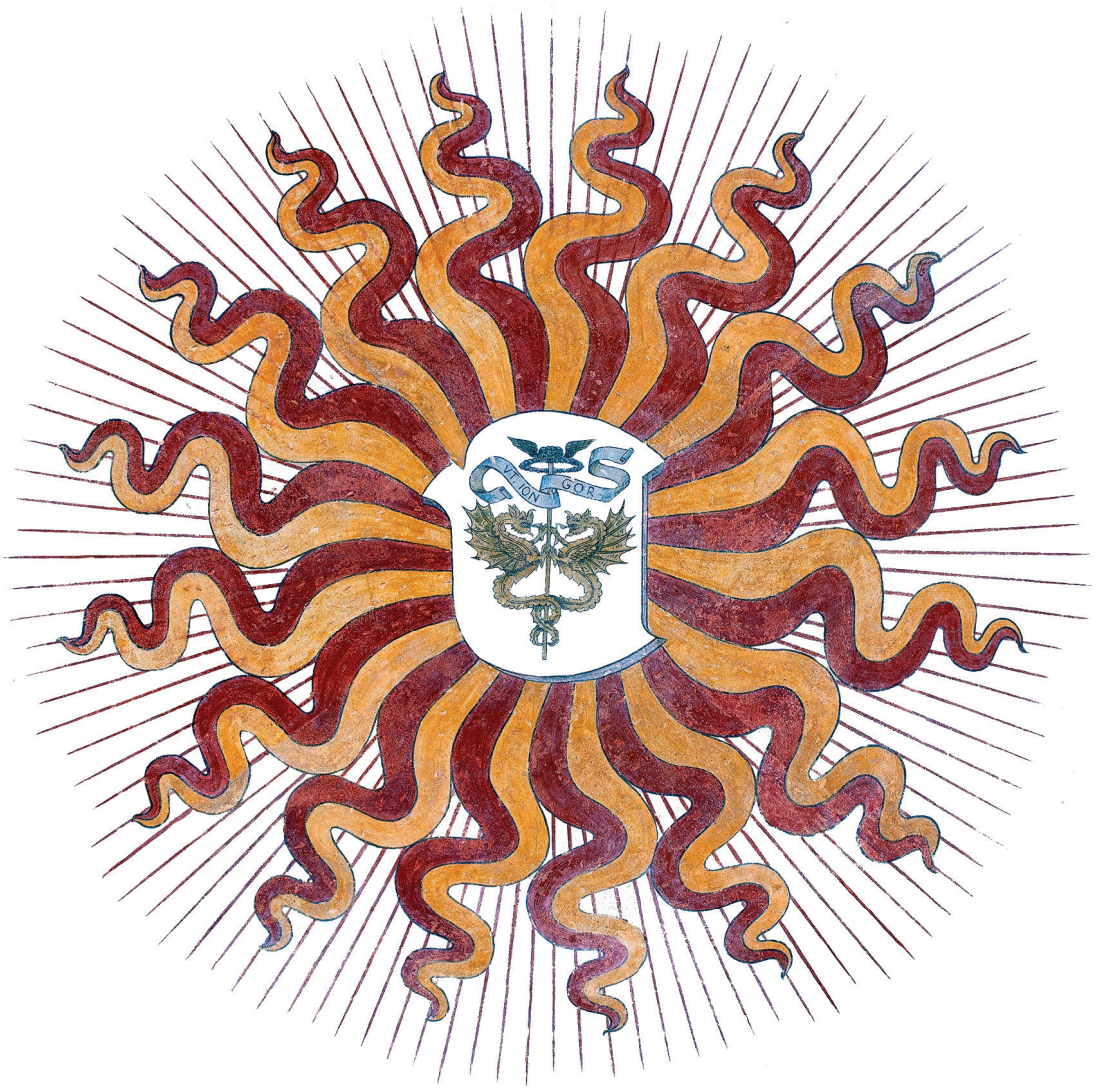


Gaspar van Weerbeke

New Perspectives on his Life and Music

*edited by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
and Paul Kolb*



BREPOLS
Collection « Épitome musical »

Gaspar van Weerbeke

New Perspectives on his Life and Music

Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance

Université de Tours / UMR 7323 du CNRS

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BREPOLS

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

II

CARLO BOSI received his D.Phil. at the University of Oxford (2004) with a dissertation on modality in the songs by Du Fay and Binchois. In 2004–5 he was a DAAD scholar at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena-Weimar and in 2006–7 he held a scholarship of the Norges Forskningsråd at the NTNU Trondheim with a project on chant in medieval Scandinavia. He was Research Fellow at City University, London between 2007 and 2009. Since 2010 he has been working as a postdoc and a senior postdoc on two FWF projects on the borrowing and citation of monophonic tunes in polyphonic textures (chansonmelodies.sbg.ac.at). Other interests include music and Renaissance magic and the relationship of libertine literature and libretti in early Venetian opera. He has recently started a new research project on the latter topic.

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DAVID FALLOWS studied at Jesus College, Cambridge (BA, 1967), King's College, London (MMus, 1968), and the University of California at Berkeley (Ph.D., 1977). From 1976 until his retirement in 2010 he taught at the University of Manchester. His publications are almost all on the music of the 'long' fifteenth century, including books on *Dufay* (1982) and *Josquin* (2009) as well as *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (1999). Recently he has turned his focus more to English music, with a major Musica Britannica edition of *Secular Polyphony, 1380–1480* (2014), an elaborately commented facsimile of *The Henry VIII Book* (2014), a book on *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols* (2018), and a revised edition of Musica Britannica, vol. 4, *Medieval Carols* (2018). He was appointed Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres (République Française) in 1994, elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1997, and was President of the International Musicological Society, 2002–7.

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SEAN GALLAGHER's research focuses on the musical cultures of Italy, France, and the Low Countries during the 'long' fifteenth century. In addition to many articles in this area, he is the author or editor of five books, on subjects ranging from early plainchant to Mozart. His monograph on the composer Johannes Regis was published by Brepols in 2010. As an adviser for recording and performance projects, he has worked with various leading early music ensembles. Since 2013 he has taught at New England Conservatory, having previously served on the faculties of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Harvard University, and held visiting professorships at Boston University and Villa I Tatti.

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PAUL KOLB is a post-doctoral research fellow at KU Leuven, where his research focuses on aspects of music notation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Previously he was a post-doctoral research assistant at the University of Salzburg working on the Gaspar van Weerbeke project. He has edited the second volume of masses and co-edited the volume of settings of liturgical texts, songs, and instrumental works for the Gaspar edition in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*. His articles have been published or are forthcoming in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, *Musica Disciplina*, *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, and *TVNM*. He studied music at Harvard University and completed his doctorate on fifteenth-century motets at the University of Oxford.

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PAUL MERKLEY studied piano privately with Orazio Frugoni in Florence before earning a BMus (1980) at Western University in Canada and a Ph.D. in music (1985) at Harvard University. He has written two books on tonaries and, with Terence Bailey, two books on Ambrosian chant before undertaking archivally-based research on Renaissance music with his late wife Lora Matthews. They published articles on the activities of Josquin des Prez and other singers in Italy and France, and together they wrote a book on music in the Sforza court. Most recently Merkley has published new findings in his book on the court of René d'Anjou (2017). He is an emeritus professor of the University of Ottawa, where he began teaching in 1985. He was named professor of the year of the Faculty of Arts in 2002. He received a Deems Taylor award for his article on the score of *2001: A Space Odyssey*. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

AGNESE PAVANELLO is a research associate at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, one of the affiliated institutes of the Musik-Akademie Basel and the Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz. Her research interests focus on Renaissance sacred polyphony and instrumental music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She has published articles on Arcangelo Corelli as well as studies and editions of music by composers of the following generation (Locatelli, Bomperti, and Tartini). She is the author of a monograph on Roman ‘concerti grossi’. Her contributions to Renaissance studies concern in particular the Franco-Flemish composer Gaspar van Weerbeke, and she has published editions of his masses and motets as well as studies on specific works. More recently, in her research project ‘Motet Cycles (c.1470–c.1510). Compositional design, performance, and cultural context’ she has focused on issues concerning the transmission and function of motet cycles at the end of the fifteenth century (see www.motetcycles.com). She is currently leading the follow-up project ‘Polifonia sforzesca: The Motet Cycles in the Milanese Libroni between Liturgy, Devotion, and Ducal Patronage’, which further explores the historical and liturgical-devotional context of the Milanese *motetti missales* (see http://blogs.fhnw.ch/polifonia_sforzesca/). New editions of the music along with a digital reproduction of the Milanese manuscripts known as the Gaffurius codices will be made available online.

KLAUS PIETSCHMANN graduated in medieval history and received his Ph.D. from the University of Münster with a doctoral thesis on the papal chapel during the pontificate of Paul III. After an appointment at the University of Zurich (2003–6), where he finished his habilitation with a study on Viennese opera around 1800, he was Assistant Professor of Musicology at the University of Bern (2006–9) and Deborah Loeb Brice Fellow of the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti in Florence (2008/9). Currently he is Professor of Musicology at the Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz. His principal research interests are the social, institutional, and theological aspects of sacred music in late medieval and early modern Europe, in particular the papal chapel in the sixteenth century; iconography; and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Viennese opera. He is general editor of *MARS* (*Musica e aristocrazia a Roma nel Sei- e Settecento*, together with Laurenz Lütteken) and of the journal *MusikTheorie* (together with Matthias Schmidt and Wilhelm Seidel). Recent publications include *Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition und Reform: Die päpstliche Kapelle im Pontifikat Pauls III* (Vatican City, 2007) and the edited volume *Vokalpolyphonie zwischen Alter und neuer Welt: Musikalische Austauschprozesse zwischen Europa und Lateinamerika im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (troja online 14)

ABBREVIATIONS

15

Manuscript Sources

Annaberg Choirbook I	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Mus. 1/D/505
Apel Codex	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494
Basel F.X.1–4	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS F.X.1–4
Bayeux	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 9346
Berlin 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40021
Bol Q16	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, MS Q16
Bol Q17	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, MS Q17
Brussels 215–216	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 215–216
Brussels 228	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 228
Brussels 11239	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 11239
Cambrai 18	Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 18 (20)
Cape 3.b.12	Cape Town, South African Public Library, MS Grey 3.b.12
Chigi Codex	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234
Civ 59	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS LIX
Cop 17	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fragm. 17a
Cop 1848	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2°
CS 14	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14
CS 15	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 15
CS 16	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 16
CS 35	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 35
CS 41	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 41
CS 51	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 51
Eton Choirbook	Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 178
Flor 178	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX, 178
Flor 229	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229
Flor 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439
Flor 2442	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2442
Flor Panc 27	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatici 27
Hei X/2	Heilbronn, Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung, MS X/2
Jena 21	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, MS 21
Jena 31	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, MS 31
London 35087	London, British Library, Add. MS 35087
Lucca Codex	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238

Abbreviations

16	<p>Milan 1</p> <p>Milan 2</p> <p>Milan 3</p> <p>Milan 4</p> <p>Mod M.1.13</p> <p>Mu 3154</p> <p>Occo Codex</p> <p>Paris 4379</p> <p>Pav 362</p> <p>Pixérécourt Chansonnier</p> <p>Seg s.s.</p> <p>Sev 5-1-43</p> <p>SGall 461</p> <p>SGall 463</p> <p>SGall 530</p> <p>Siena K.I.2</p> <p>SMM 26</p> <p>Trent 89</p> <p>Upps 76a</p> <p>Upps 76e</p> <p>Vat CG XIII.27</p> <p>Ver 76r</p> <p>Zwi 78/3</p>	<p>Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, Librone 1 (<i>olim</i> MS 2269)</p> <p>Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, Librone 2 (<i>olim</i> MS 2268)</p> <p>Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, Librone 3 (<i>olim</i> MS 2269)</p> <p>Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, Librone [4]</p> <p>Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.M.1.13</p> <p>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3154</p> <p>Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS IV.922</p> <p>Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, n. ac1. fr., MS 4379</p> <p>Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 362</p> <p>Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr., MS 15123</p> <p>Segovia, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral, MS s.s.</p> <p>Seville, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43</p> <p>Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 461</p> <p>Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463</p> <p>Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 530</p> <p>Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS K.I.2</p> <p>Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Santa Maria Maggiore 26</p> <p>Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1376 (<i>olim</i> 89)</p> <p>Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a</p> <p>Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76e</p> <p>Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XIII 27</p> <p>Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLXI</p> <p>Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS LXXVIII, 3</p>
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Abbreviations

Printed Sources¹

Egenolff, <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i>	<i>Cantiones selectissimae LXVIII, vocum trium</i> (Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, [c.1536]; RISM [c.1535] ¹⁴ , vdm 30)
Formschneider, <i>Trium vocum carmina</i>	<i>Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis composite</i> (Nuremberg, Hieronymus Formschneider, 1538; RISM 1538 ⁹ , vdm 41)
Heyden, <i>De arte canendi</i>	Sebald Heyden, <i>De arte canendi</i> (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1540; vdm 548)
Heyden, <i>Musicae</i>	Sebald Heyden, <i>Musicae, id est artis canendi, libri duo</i> (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1537; vdm 550)
Newsidler, <i>Der ander Theil</i>	<i>Der ander Theil des Lautenbuchs . . . Hansen Newsidler . . .</i> (Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1536; RISM 1536 ¹³ , vdm 34)
Petrucci, <i>Canti B</i>	<i>Canti B numero cinquanta</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502; RISM 1502 ²)
Petrucci, <i>Canti C</i>	<i>Canti C numero cento cinquanta</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1503; RISM 1504 ³)
Petrucci, <i>Fragmenta missarum</i>	<i>Fragmenta missarum</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1505; RISM 1505 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Frottole XI</i>	<i>Frottole libro undecimo</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1514; RISM 1514 ²)
Petrucci, <i>Lamentationes II</i>	<i>Lamentationum liber secundus</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1506; RISM 1506 ²)
Petrucci, <i>Laude libro primo Dammonis</i>	<i>Laude libro primo In. Dammonis</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508; RISM DD 833 I,1)
Petrucci, <i>Laude libro secondo</i>	<i>Laude libro secondo</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508; RISM 1508 ³)
Petrucci, <i>Misse Agricola</i>	<i>Misse Alexandri Agricole</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504; RISM A 431)
Petrucci, <i>Misse Gaspar</i>	<i>Misse Gaspar</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507; RISM G 450)
Petrucci, <i>Misse Ghiselin</i>	[<i>Misse</i>] <i>Ghiselin</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1503; RISM G 1780)
Petrucci, <i>Misse Isaac</i>	<i>Misse Henrici Isaac</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1506; RISM I 88)
Petrucci, <i>Missarum diversorum auctorum</i>	<i>Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508; RISM 1509 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Missarum Josquin liber secundus</i>	<i>Missarum Josquin liber secundus</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1505; RISM J 670)
Petrucci, <i>Missarum Josquin liber tertius</i>	<i>Missarum Josquin liber tertius</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1514; RISM J 673)
Petrucci, <i>Motetti A</i>	<i>Motetti A numero trentatre</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502; RISM 1502 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Motetti B</i>	<i>Motetti B</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1503; RISM 1503 ¹)
Petrucci, <i>Motetti C</i>	<i>Motetti C</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504; RISM 1504 ¹)

¹ Full citations are followed by RISM or vdm sigla. See Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, A/I: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Individual Prints before 1800), 9 volumes plus supplements, index, and CD-ROM (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–2012); B/II: *Recueils imprimés, XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Printed collections of the 16th–17th centuries), ed. François Lesure (Munich: Henle, 1960); and *Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdrucke (Catalogue of Early German Printed Music)*, <<http://vdm.sbg.ac.at/>>. Relevant portions of the RISM catalogue are available online at <<https://opac.rism.info/>>.

Abbreviations

18	Petrucci, <i>Motetti libro quarto</i> Petrucci, <i>Motetti a cinque libro primo</i> Petrucci, <i>Motetti de la corona III</i> Petrucci, <i>Odbecaton</i> Spinacino, <i>Intabolutura de lauto II</i>	<i>Motetti libro quarto</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1505; RISM 1505 ²) <i>Motetti a cinque libro primo</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1508; RISM 1508 ¹) <i>Motetti de la corona libro tertio</i> (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1519; RISM 1519 ²) <i>Hamonice musices Odbecaton A</i> (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1501; RISM 1501; later editions 1502, RISM 1503 ² and 1504, RISM 1504 ²) <i>Intabolutura de lauto libro secondo</i> [Francesco Spinacino] (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1507; RISM 1507 ⁶)
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Other Abbreviations

AIM	American Institute of Musicology
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology)
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	< www.oxfordmusiconline.com >
<i>MGG Online</i>	< www.mgg-online.com >
NJE 5	Josquin des Prez, <i>Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs</i> , ed. Martin Just (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2010)
NJE 22	Josquin des Prez, <i>Motets on Non-biblical Texts: De Domino Jesu Christo</i> , 2, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2003)
NJE 25	Josquin des Prez, <i>Motets on Non-biblical Texts: De beata Maria virgine</i> , 3, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2009)
NJE 27	Josquin des Prez, <i>Secular Works for Three Voices</i> , ed. Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1987; Critical Commentary, 1991)
NJE 28	Josquin des Prez, <i>Secular Works for Four Voices</i> , ed. David Fallows (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005)
NOE 17	Jacob Obrecht, <i>Secular Works and Textless Compositions</i> , ed. Leon Kessels and Eric Jas (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997)
NOE 18	Jacob Obrecht, <i>Supplement</i> , ed. Eric Jas (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1999)
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> , < https://opac.rism.info/ >
vdm	<i>Verzeichnis deutscher Musikfrühdrucke / Catalogue of Early German Printed Music</i> , < http://vdm.sbg.ac.at/ >
Weerbeke, <i>CW</i>	Gaspar van Weerbeke, <i>Collected Works</i> , ed. Gerhard Croll, Eric F. Fiedler, Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Agnese Pavanello, and Paul Kolb, 5 vols., CMM 106 (American Institute of Musicology, 1988–)
	1 <i>Masses, Part 1</i> , ed. Agnese Pavanello, in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (American Institute of Musicology, 2016)
	2 <i>Masses, Part 2</i> , ed. Paul Kolb, in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (2018)

Abbreviations

- 3 *The Motet Cycles*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (1998)
- 4 *Motets*, ed. Agnese Pavanello, in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl
(2010)
- 5 *Settings of Liturgical Texts, Songs, and Instrumental Works*, ed. Paul Kolb and
Agnese Pavanello, in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl (forthcoming)

Introduction

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb

ALL COMPOSERS HAVE TWO LIVES: that which they themselves lived and experienced, and that which is written by those who came thereafter. Documentary evidence can at best give us some fixed points in the former, but the writing of a biography involves interpretation of the evidence in a historical and compositional context. In their own lives, composers enjoyed different levels of reputation with respect to their contemporaries; over time, these levels fluctuate along with the reception of their music and the place that they find in written history. For pre-classical composers, almost all of whom fell out of continuous performance practice, their history and reception involved some sort of rediscovery, and their modern reputation is the result of sometimes arbitrary events.

The known facts of Gaspar van Weerbeke's life point to a composer who was one of the most successful and important of his lifetime. Born in the mid-fifteenth century in the city of Oudenaarde in the Burgundian Netherlands, now in the province of East Flanders, he occupied positions of prestige in the best-known musical institutions of the time: the Sforza court in Milan, the Burgundian court chapel, and the papal chapel in Rome. His music enjoyed widespread manuscript transmission, and he was one of the best-represented composers in the Venetian music prints of Ottaviano Petrucci, with one publication devoted exclusively to his works. Contemporary commentators from Franchinus Gaffurius to Guillaume Crétin mention his name alongside Josquin des Prez and others.

For all of this, today he remains a somewhat peripheral figure, known primarily for his contributions to the Milanese *motetti missales*. His modern reputation is vastly overshadowed by his Franco-Flemish contemporaries Henricus Isaac, Pierre de la Rue, Jacob Obrecht, and, of course, Josquin. Gaspar's work has been the subject of two doctoral dissertations, only one of which was published as a monograph. The edition of his complete works, despite having been long planned, has only recently approached completion. Mostly because of this, very few of his compositions have been performed, let alone recorded.

But it was not always going to be like this. Modern research on Gaspar began earlier and more earnestly than one might today have expected, alternating between potential breakthroughs and disappointing setbacks. It is closely tied up with the twentieth-century history of musicology in Western Europe, with a focal point at the University of Göttingen.

Early Gaspar Research

Gerhard Croll (b. 1927), the father of modern Gaspar research, introduced his doctoral dissertation with the remark that Gaspar's life is relatively well documented compared to that of his contemporaries.¹ This was indeed the case. When he submitted his dissertation at the University of Göttingen in 1954, quite a number of details concerning Gaspar's biography were already known: that he was born in Oudenaarde; that he worked for the Sforzas in Milan; that he returned to the north on recruitment trips for singers; that he was briefly connected with the Burgundian court chapel; and that he was long active in the papal chapel.²

Many of the pertinent documents were discovered by Edmond Vander Straeten (1826–95), a Belgian music historian who was born in the same city as Gaspar and lived there for the last fifteen years of his life. Vander Straeten studied classics, philosophy, theology, and composition, and in 1853 he became the personal secretary of François-Joseph Fétis, the author of an extensive and ground-breaking music dictionary and director of the Brussels Conservatory.³ Vander Straeten's interest in local history was encouraged by the parallel interest of the government of Belgium, then a young state, in promoting its past history as the Low Countries to build up a national identity. After several years of research at the Archives générales du Royaume (Algemeen Rijksarchief) in Brussels, Vander Straeten was sent to Italy, France, and Spain to plough through unsorted archival documents and find those which related to his home country. He devoted the rest of his life to reviewing the collected material to be published in his music history of the Low Countries, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*.⁴

The multi-volume book, published between 1867 and 1888, is a real treasure trove of information on the history of Franco-Flemish music. Nevertheless, its unorthodox structure, the author's stream of consciousness, and sometimes nasty remarks about Fétis's dictionary make a thorough reading challenging; the index is indispensable for finding the relevant information on a given topic. Gaspar is mentioned all over: there are two separate chapters with his name as title, in volumes 2 and 6 respectively, and there is additional information on his family in volume 4 and on his time at the Burgundian court in volume 7.⁵ The Strophe in Crétin's *Déploration* on the death of Ockeghem that mentions Gaspar is quoted three separate times.⁶ As a musician himself, Vander Straeten was interested not only in archival documents but also in music sources. The initial section on Gaspar in volume 2 mentions several Petrucci prints that contain works ascribed to him: the *Odhecaton*, the *Misse Gaspar*, and the *Fragmenta*

1 Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 1: 'Für die meisten Komponisten der Josquin-Zeit fließen die biographischen Quellen so spärlich, daß es kaum möglich ist, sich ein klares Bild von ihrem Lebenswege zu machen. Bei Gaspar van Weerbeke sind wir in einer glücklicheren Lage. Denn über den größten und wichtigsten Abschnitt seines Lebens sind verhältnismäßig viele Nachrichten auf uns gekommen.'

2 See the Appendix in Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', with a transcription of the relevant documents.

3 François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 8 vols. (Brussels: Leroux, 1835–44).

4 Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1867–88). See also M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'Vander Straeten, Edmond', *Grove Music Online*, and Henri Vanhulst, 'Straeten, Edmond Vander', *MGG online*, both accessed at 6 June 2018.

5 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 2 (1872): III. Van Weerbeke (Gaspard), 65–71; vol. 6 (1882): I. Van Weerbeke (Gaspard), 1–68; vol. 4 (1878): 147 ff.; and vol. 7 (1885): 497 f.

6 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 3, p. 4; vol. 6, p. 49; vol. 7, p. 120.

missarum.⁷ Ten years later, in volume 6, Vander Straeten was aware that Gaffurius's *Practica musica* lists Gaspar among the 'most pleasing' composers.⁸ He also expanded his discussion to include numerous manuscript sources, including the Chigi Codex, 'a magnificent volume in folio format from the fifteenth century, bound in red velvet and originally from Flanders or the north of France, as can easily be demonstrated'.⁹ After a detailed description of the manuscript, including a reproduction of its heraldic arms, Vander Straeten systematically proceeds through all the compositions copied therein. When he reaches Gaspar's *Stabat mater*, his comments are much more detailed and supported by a four-page transcription of the first forty-five bars of the composition.¹⁰ Although this is less than a quarter of the work, it is one of the first modern published examples of Gaspar's music. And Vander Straeten considered his local hero's composition, as one might expect, to be particularly excellent: the *Stabat mater* 'further strengthened, if it is possible, the high reputation which the artist already enjoys among the masters of the fifteenth century'.¹¹

But before Vander Straeten, there was a much earlier attempt to publish one of Gaspar's works by none other than Johann Nikolaus Forkel, music director at the University of Göttingen and the so-called founder of German music research. In his seminal *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, published in Leipzig at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gaspar merits only a few mentions by name, coming off poorly compared to some of his contemporaries.¹² Forkel knew the composer from Gaffurius's treatise, his mass collection published by Petrucci, and Crétin's *Déploration*. But his primary source of knowledge concerning Franco-Flemish composers was Glarean's *Dodekachordon*, which does not mention Gaspar.

This makes it all the more surprising that Forkel chose to include an entire mass by Gaspar in a planned volume with Franco-Flemish music compiled at the request of Joseph Sonnleithner (1766–1835). Sonnleithner was secretary of the Habsburg court theatre, a friend of Franz Schubert, and author of the libretto for Beethoven's *Fidelio*. Alongside his activities as an influential music organizer in Vienna, he planned a series of editions of early music 'monuments' (*Denkmäler Ausgabe*).¹³ For his contribution to Sonnleithner's series, Forkel collected works by Agricola, Brumel, De Orto, Isaac, Josquin, La Rue, Obrecht, and Ockeghem, among others. And, at number XII of the volume, it was going to include all movements of Gaspar's *Missa Nas tu pas*, transcribed in full score from Petrucci's *Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus*.

7 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 2, pp. 68–69.

8 See Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 6, p. 31; cf. Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musicae*, trans. Clement A. Miller, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 20 (American Institute of Musicology, 1968), 144.

9 '[U]n magnifique vélin in-folio du XV^e siècle, relié en velours rouge, et originaire, comme il sera facile de le démontrer, de la Flandre ou du nord la France'; Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 6, pp. 31–32.

10 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 6, pp. 42–44; the music example was included between pages 42 and 43 on four separately numbered pages.

11 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 6, p. 31: 'à renforcer encore, s'il est possible, la haute réputation dont l'artiste jouit déjà parmi les maîtres du XV^e siècle'.

12 Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1801), reprint ed. Othmar Wessely (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 513, 518, 519, and 528.

13 Alex Fischer, 'Forkel, Johann Nikolaus', *MGG Online*, accessed on 6 June 2018; Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Sonnleithner, Joseph', *MGG Online*, accessed on 6 June 2018. To help him achieve this endeavour, Sonnleithner succeeded in engaging the most distinguished composers living in Vienna, including Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, Joseph Haydn, and Antonio Salieri.

But political circumstances got in the way. When Vienna was first captured by French troops in 1805, the occupying power melted the finished copper plates of Forkel's anthology to be moulded into bullets just before the volume was to be printed. The only remaining trace is a galley proof that was preserved in the Berlin State Library until the Second World War.¹⁴ This unique copy, representing a virtual edition, was known to some later music historians. In his 1913 *Geschichte der Messe*, Peter Wagner complains that the music of some contemporaries of Ockeghem and Obrecht, such as Regis and Compère, cannot be evaluated properly due to a lack of modern editions.¹⁵ But one source he did have access to was the 'Sonnleithner-Forkelsche Druck' from the Berlin library.¹⁶ He used this copy as the basis for his lengthy music examples from Gaspar's *Missa Nas tu pas*, which he praised especially for its playful duos alternating between voice pairs.¹⁷

Concurrently with Vander Straeten, another historian was writing his own music history with a focus on earlier music. August Wilhelm Ambros (1816–76) was, like Sonnleithner, a court official in Habsburg Austria, which enabled him to live out his love for music. The Austrian Royal Imperial Academy of Sciences funded several years of archival studies throughout Europe, just as the Belgium government enabled Vander Straeten's research. He was eventually named professor of music history at the University at Prague. His rich research materials were incorporated into a three-volume music history, the third volume of which focused on the music of the Renaissance up to Palestrina.¹⁸ For German-speaking musicologists—including, much later, Gerhard Croll—this volume long remained a primary reference book. Gaspar is listed as one of the Franco-Flemish contemporaries of Josquin. Ambros incorporated Vander Straeten's biographical research, but he had much deeper insight into Gaspar's compositions than his Belgian colleague. He was familiar with all of Petrucci's prints and made transcriptions of many of Gaspar's works contained therein.¹⁹ Ambros's evaluation of Gaspar's style is significantly more insightful: he appreciated Gaspar's music for its 'full mastery and the solid structure of the counterpoint', revealing a 'decisive striving for proportion and clarity'.²⁰ He considered the motet *Dulcis amica Dei* to be perhaps the most beautiful of Gaspar's compositions. Ambros was not always positive about Gaspar's style: in the masses, 'his austere strength and dignified simplicity would have a more favourable effect, if the two-voice sections, which he liked to insert, were not occasionally somewhat meagre and dry'.²¹

14 During the war the copy was transferred eastward, as with many other sources from the Berlin library, and it emerged afterwards in the Jagiellońska library in Kraków (PL-Kj), where it is still held under the signature 6 syn. Mus 15182. We thank Elisabeth Giselbrecht and Grantley McDonald for confirming this.

15 Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913), 140.

16 Ibid. 102, 140, and 141.

17 Ibid. 141–45. Wagner's largely positive appraisal ends oddly with the statement that 'such happy, wanton sounds betray the presence of the organ' ('[s]olche fröhliche, mutwillige Klänge verraten die Nähe der Orgel', 145).

18 August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 3 (Breslau: Leuckart, 1868); 2nd edn. ed. Otto Kade (Leipzig, 1881); 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1891; repr. Hildesheim, 1968).

19 See Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.1554 and Mus.Hs.1602, which include transcriptions of some of Gaspar's compositions from Petrucci, *Missarum diversorum auctorum*, *Motetti A*, and *Motetti libro quarto*.

20 'Bei voller Beherrschung und solider Durchbildung des Tonsatzes zeigt Gaspar hier ein entschiedenes Streben nach Mass und Klarheit der Composition'; Ibid. 247.

But this modest criticism is more than compensated for by his praise: *Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis* ‘speaks to the heart in pure devotion’, and *Ave stella matutina* ‘sounds like music from a world of peace’.²² Some years after the author’s death, Otto Kade published a volume of music examples to the third volume of Ambros’s history, which included a full edition of the motet *Virgo Maria*.²³ This was released in 1882, the same year that Vander Straeten published his transcription of the beginning of the *Stabat mater*. Together they can claim to be the first published transcriptions of Gaspar’s music in the modern era.

Despite the Forkel volume not reaching publication, scholars in the nineteenth century laid promising foundations for future developments in Gaspar research. But as two world wars shook the Continent, the first half of the twentieth century mostly left his music collecting dust, even as musicology was establishing itself as an academic discipline. A major setback came in Heinrich Bessler’s influential 1931 handbook on the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which, in contrast to the histories of Vander Straeten and Ambros, almost completely ignored Gaspar. He was mentioned only briefly as one of a number of composers of the late Burgundian motet.²⁴ Studies by local historians did bring a few more biographical details to light, and Knud Jeppesen’s 1931 article on the Milan Libroni called attention for the first time to the *motetti missales*.²⁵ But the study of his music made little progress, not least because so few of Gaspar’s compositions were available in edition.²⁶ André Pirro’s 1940 *Histoire de la musique* is a notable exception; detailed analysis was accomplished by transcribing significant sections of the music by hand.²⁷ Pirro considered the still unpublished *Missa Princesse d’amourettes* to be Gaspar’s most remarkable work, as exemplified in the first eighteen bars of the *Agnus Dei*. Appearing in France in the middle of the Second World War, however, Pirro’s *Histoire* did not achieve a wide reception, least of all in Germany.

- 21 ‘Seine schlichte Gediegenheit und würdevolle Einfachheit würde noch günstiger wirken, geriethe er nicht in den zweistimmigen Stellen, die er gerne anbringt, gelegentlich einigermaßen in’s Magere und Trockene’; *Ibid.*
- 22 ‘Der herrliche, zum Herzen in reinster Andacht sprechende Gesang des *Virgo Maria non est tibi similis*, das ähnlich gestimmte *Ave stella matutina* tönen wirklich wie Klänge aus einer Welt des Friedens’; *Ibid.* 248.
- 23 *Ausgewählte Tonwerke der berühmtesten Meister des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Eine Beispielsammlung zu dem dritten Bande der Musikgeschichte von A. W. Ambros nach dessen unvollendet hinterlassenem Notenmaterial mit zahlreichen Vermehrungen*, ed. Otto Kade (Leipzig: Leuckart, 1882), 183–85 (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1887; 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1911). In the footnotes, Kade comments on his corrections, expresses his reservations, and proposes what he considers to be better versions than in Ambros’s source material. The same motet is later the only work by Gaspar to be included in *Die Kunst der Niederländer*, ed. René B. Lenaerts, *Das Musikwerk*, 22 (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1962), 54–55.
- 24 Heinrich Bessler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (Potsdam: Athenaion 1931), at 215, 240, 241.
- 25 Jeppesen called them ‘Vertretungs-Messen’, or ‘substitution masses’; see Knud Jeppesen, ‘Die 3 Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano’, *Acta Musicologica*, 3 (1931), 14–28 at 16–17.
- 26 The early twentieth-century additions to the music examples already mentioned include the first *Agnus Dei* to the *Missa N’as tu pas* in Harry Ellis Wooldridge, *The Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2: *The Polyphonic Period, Part II*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 247–48; the second half of the motet *Tota pulchra es* from the cycle *Quam pulchra es* in Gaetano Cesari, ‘Musici e musicisti alla corte sforzesca’, in Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, vol. 4: *Le arte industriali, la letteratura, la musica* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1923), 183–254 at 201–4; and a substantial passage from the Lamentations in Arnold Schering, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1931), 54–56.
- 27 André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1940), 210–14. Most transcriptions are based on editions by Petrucci.

A New Start for Gaspar Research

26

Shortly after the end of the Second World War, a new generation of students, who were either too young for military service or had happily survived the war, began their university studies. Göttingen was one of the few cities that was not heavily bombed, and its university was the first to reopen in post-war Germany. With figures such as the philosopher Nicolai Hartmann and the historian Hermann Heimpel as well as the physicists and Nobel laureates Otto Hahn and Werner Heisenberg, the intellectual atmosphere was highly stimulating.²⁸ Musical life in the city was influenced by the Göttingen International Handel Festival and by the organ movement that aimed to reconstruct historical sounds and performance techniques. The theologian and musicologist Christhard Mahrenholz, the main exponent of this movement in Göttingen, initiated the building of a 'historical' organ in the local Marienkirche as early as 1926.²⁹ Mahrenholz also focused on restoring the liturgy to accompany a movement of religious renewal in the German Protestant church.³⁰ Both movements were interested in music history going back primarily to Johann Sebastian Bach but also to pre-Reformation music. Göttingen also benefited from the rich research collection of the musicological seminar, much of which originated from the reference library of its founder, Friedrich Ludwig (1872–1930). The library specialized in literature on music of the Middle Ages as well as the Renaissance.³¹ Hermann Zenck, a student of Theodor Kroyer in Leipzig and Ludwig's successor, had a special interest in sixteenth-century music, focusing on Sixt Dietrich, Ludwig Senfl, and Michael Praetorius.

When Gerhard Croll arrived in Göttingen in 1948, Rudolf Gerber had held the chair since 1943. Gerber, who had an active role in the Third Reich, lectured on the history of church music among other things. He was particularly interested in the history of Lutheran hymnody, which led him to the polyphonic hymns of the fifteenth century.³² As was common in many German universities at the time, he fostered musical practice in his department by directing a 'collegium musicum', a choir focused on early music in the tradition of the 'Jugendmusikbewegung'.³³ *Das Chorwerk* was the most comprehensive series of music edi-

28 We thank Rudolph Stephan (b. 1925) and Gerhard Croll (b. 1927) for sharing their memories of this time with us.

29 Rainer Fanselau, 'Orgelwissenschaftliche Forschungen im Dienste der Liturgie bei Christhard Mahrenholz', in *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. Martin Staehelin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 176–92.

30 The multi-volume *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, ed. Konrad Ameln, was published at the Göttingen press Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht between 1935 and 1974.

31 Ursula Günther, 'Friedrich Ludwig in Göttingen', in *Musikwissenschaft und Musikpflege an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*, ed. Martin Staehelin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 152–75; Julian Heigel, Christine Hoppe, and Andreas Waczkat, "... es liegt also für das Gebiet der Musikwissenschaft eine aus der Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart wirkende Verpflichtung in Göttingen vor": Zur Gründungsgeschichte und Institutionalisierung des Göttinger Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars', in *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930: Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin*, ed. Wolfgang Auhagen et al. (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 2017), 162–81.

32 Rudolf Gerber, *Zur Geschichte des mehrstimmigen Hymnus: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Gerhard Croll, *Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, 21 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965). For a personal view of Gerber see the obituaries by Ludwig Finscher, *Musica*, 11 (1957), 382; Anna Amalia Abert, *Acta Musicologica*, 29 (1957), 51 ff., and Wolfgang Boetticher, *Die Musikforschung*, 10 (1957), 384–87.

33 Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), ch. 'Musicology and the Amateur Movement, 1918–1945', 41–46; Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'The Modern Invention of the "Tenorlied": A Historiography of the Early German Lied Setting', *Early Music History*, 32 (2013), 119–77 at 145–50.

tions published specifically for such vocal ensembles. The fifty-two volumes that had appeared by then contained works by Josquin, Du Fay, Ockeghem, Isaac, La Rue, and other major composers of the time; there were no edited compositions of Gaspar. The students who sang together in the Göttingen collegium included, in addition to Croll, the music critic Joachim Kaiser and the Bach scholar Alfred Dürr, as well as Rudolph Stephan (a former student of Heinrich Bessler), Carl Dahlhaus, Ludwig Finscher, and Ingrid Brainard (née Kahrstedt). Before continuing their distinguished careers in various musicological fields, five completed doctoral dissertations on early music topics. Stephan worked on the tenor melodies of early motets (1950), Dahlhaus on the masses of Josquin (1953), Finscher on the life and works of Loyset Compère (1954), Croll on Gaspar's motets (1954), and Brainard on fifteenth-century court dances (1956). Parallel to the collegium, Croll directed a private 'Chörchen' (little choir), in which he and his fellow students, meeting regularly in the Finscher family home, sang from early editions and their own transcriptions of Renaissance music. It was here that Finscher developed his interest in the music of Compère.³⁴

Croll's interest in Gaspar, however, goes back to his earlier studies at the conservatory in Düsseldorf, where—in the tradition of the 'Singbewegung'—he was part of a small group of enthusiasts that sang and familiarized themselves with the musical Renaissance. Encouraged by Joseph Neyses, director of the local Bach society and an early music enthusiast, and his teacher Paul Müller, an Agricola specialist, he transcribed Gaspar's *Missa O Venus bant* from the manuscript Berlin 40021 and was immediately drawn to the music. The source material for the transcription was taken from Werner Wegner's study of the same mass. Both Müller and Wegner had studied in Marburg with Herbert Birtner (1900–42), an influential early advocate for music of this period. He encouraged his graduate students to choose related topics for their dissertations. In 1940 Birtner was offered a professorship at the University of Graz, and transferring there he took Wegner and Müller with him, the former as a graduate student and the latter as his assistant.³⁵ This new position in the 'Ostmark' was overshadowed by the ongoing war, with consequences for academic life. In May 1941 Birtner requested that Wegner receive working holidays from military service, though it is unclear if the request was honoured. A year later both Birtner and Müller also had to enlist in the army.³⁶ Birtner and Wegner did not return from the field, and Wegner's dissertation—the first significant Gaspar research of the twentieth century—was never finished.

Back in Göttingen, Rudolf Gerber accepted Croll's proposal that he write a dissertation on Gaspar's motets. Having collected a substantial amount of material on the topic, he published a short but foundational article on the composer in the 1952 volume of *Musica Disciplina*, providing for the first time a catalogue of works and sources.³⁷ His dissertation was completed two years later.

34 This is documented in Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 12 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 11 f.: 'Thanks are due to my colleague Dr Gerhard Croll who first directed my interest to Loyset Compère and his works and in whose small choir in our student's days I first sang and began to love much of the music analyzed in these pages.'

35 Rudolf Flotzinger, *Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Graz: 50 Jahre Institut für Musikwissenschaft* (Graz: Universität Graz, 1990), 44 ff. Rudolf Gerber was second on the shortlist for this position (p. 47).

36 Ibid. 50 and 52 n. 178.

Origins of the Gaspar Edition

As early as 1950 Croll began corresponding with Armen Carapetyan, founder of the American Institute of Musicology (AIM), about the possibility of publishing a Complete Works edition for the composer in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (CMM). After meeting each other in Florence, Carapetyan agreed to the edition and even offered Croll a position as his assistant. The contract was signed on 5 September 1951 (see Figure 0.1). Article I, paragraph 1

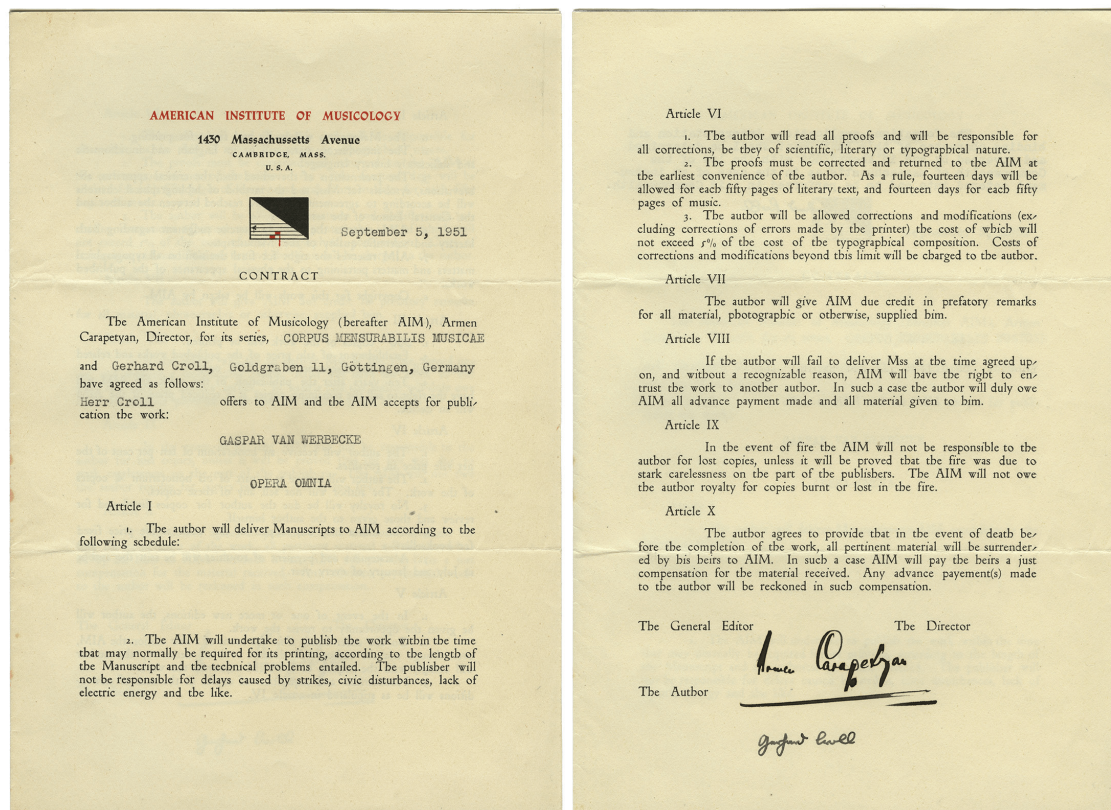


Figure 0.1. Contract between the American Institute of Musicology and Gerhard Croll on the Publication of Gaspar van Weerbeke's *Opera omnia*, dated 5 September 1951

of the contract, which concerns the schedule for delivering the editorial work, was left empty, a lapse which in hindsight might be seen as prophetic.³⁷ Finscher, who likewise planned an edition in the same series following his Ph.D., was able to start work on the *Compère Complete Works* right away; ten years later, he translated and revised his dissertation for

37 Gerhard Croll, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of his Life and Works', *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952), 67–81. See also Andrea Lindmayr, 'Die Gaspar van Weerbeke-Gesamtausgabe: Addenda et Corrigenda zum Werkverzeichnis', in *De editione musices: Festschrift Gerhard Croll*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer and Andrea Lindmayr (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1992), 51–64.

38 In the following paragraph, the American Institute of Musicology ensures that it will publish the work in a timely fashion, but exempts 'delays caused by strikes, civic disturbances, lack of electric energy and the like'. A scan of the complete contract can be seen on the homepage of the edition, <www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/project-summary/project-history.html>.

publication in the AIM's monograph series, Musicological Studies and Documents. Croll, however, was quickly pushed in a different direction. Thanks to Gerber, he soon found himself involved in editorial work for the Neue Mozart Ausgabe and the Gluck Gesamtausgabe, and he took over the leadership of the latter in 1960.³⁹ He completed his habilitation on the Baroque composer Agostino Steffani in 1961. Croll's study on Gaspar's motets was never published, and no progress was made on the edition for CMM.⁴⁰

For most of the second half of the twentieth century, only a few further editions contained works by Gaspar. Two were published by the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis: Albert Smijers's 1951 anthology, *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck*, contained the motets *Tenebre facte sunt* and *Verbum caro factum est* as well as the Kyrie of the *Missa Princesse d'amourettes*, and Willem Elders edited the same mass in its entirety in 1974 in the series *Exempla Musica Neerlandica*.⁴¹ From Milan came a more substantial contribution, a volume edited by Giampiero Tintori in 1963 containing Gaspar's motet cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, four motets, and the *Missa Ave regina celorum*, all of which were transmitted in the first two Milanese Libroni.⁴² But the influence of this edition was relatively limited geographically.

That the CMM edition was announced in the article on Gaspar in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* has occasionally stopped scholars from proceeding with other editions. Günther Massenkeil, editor of a well-received anthology of polyphonic Lamentations from the first half of the sixteenth century, excluded those works that were projected for publication in a complete works edition.⁴³ In fact, Croll informed Massenkeil that the Gaspar edition was in preparation and the Lamentations would be included in the first volume.⁴⁴

Towards the end of the century, progress on the edition finally restarted. After Andrea Lindmayr(-Brandl) completed her dissertation on the sources of Ockeghem's motets under Croll's supervision, Croll left her his collection of Gaspar materials and encouraged her to proceed with the edition.⁴⁵ Eric Fiedler, who had finished a dissertation on Gaspar's masses a few years earlier, also provided his transcriptions to add to the collection.⁴⁶ After some pub-

39 Only four years after he finished his doctoral dissertation, he published an edition of *Der Schauspieldirektor*, K. 486, Neue Mozart Ausgabe, II/5/15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), *Tassilone* by Agostino Steffani, Denkmäler rheinischer Musik, 8 (Düsseldorf, 1958), and *Le Cinesi: Die Chinesinnen*, Gluck Gesamtausgabe, III/17 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958).

40 A scan of Croll's dissertation is now available on the website of the Gaspar Edition, <www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/salzburg-collection.html>.

41 *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck*, ed. Albert Smijers, Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis in Voorbeelden, 6 (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1951); Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa Princesse d'amourettes*, ed. Willem Elders, *Exempla Musica Neerlandica*, 8 (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1974).

42 Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Messe e motetti*, ed. Giampiero Tintori, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 11 (Milan: Veneranda fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1963).

43 *Mehrstimmige Lamentationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Günther Massenkeil, Musikalische Denkmäler, 6 (Mainz: Schott, 1965).

44 'Professor Dr. G. Croll (Münster i. W.) teilte dem Herausgeber freundlicherweise mit, daß er eine Gesamtausgabe der Werke Gaspars vorbereitet, die in ihrem 1. Band auch die Lamentationen enthält'; *Mehrstimmige Lamentationen*, ed. Massenkeil, 5*, n. 4.

45 Andrea Lindmayr, *Quellenstudien zu den Motetten von Johannes Ockeghem*, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 16 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990).

46 The dissertation, at Heidelberg University, was supervised by Ludwig Finscher and was published a decade later as Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445–nach 1517)*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997).

lishing delays, the first volume, containing the three motet cycles edited by Lindmayr-Brandl, went to print in 1998. Since then, financial support from the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) has enabled further volumes to be edited by Agnese Pavanello and Paul Kolb under the project leadership of Lindmayr-Brandl.⁴⁷ The editorial work on the Complete Works, shared by three generations of musicologists, is scheduled to be completed by 2019.

About This Book

Alongside the completion of the edition, the collection of essays that make up this book are designed as a catalyst for a new generation of Gaspar research. Most of the contributions derive from selected papers at the conference ‘Gaspar van Weerbeke: Works and Contexts’, held in Salzburg in June/July 2017.⁴⁸ While answers to some questions have been proposed, the contributions in turn raise many more. For the foreseeable future, Gaspar will remain fertile ground for various modes of musicological research.

If the basic facts of Gaspar’s life were known when Croll started his dissertation, much work remains to be done to flesh out the details. Klaus Pietschmann’s contribution gives a broad overview to his biography as seen through the lens of one of Gaspar’s most consequential decisions: to spend most of his life working in Italy, far away from his home country. Paul and Laura Merkley’s book, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, has revolutionized our knowledge of music in Milan through their careful archival research; in his contribution here, Paul Merkley analyses these materials anew with focus on their implications for Gaspar specifically.⁴⁹ The Milanese court was home to more than just musicians, and Laure Fagnart considers the possible personal and intellectual interactions of visual artists and musicians in a reflection on Leonardo da Vinci’s famous *Portrait of a Musician*.

Less is known about Gaspar’s association with courts and chapels to the north, and Grantley McDonald provides a comprehensive overview of his activities as a member of the Burgundian chapel. Based on a close reading of Cretin’s *Déploration* and the histories of the figures listed therein, Jeannette Jones proposes to fill one of Gaspar’s biographical gaps with a short period at the French royal court. Sean Gallagher presents two letters written by the singer Guillaume Steynsel, one of which is addressed to Gaspar, as a window into the personal circumstances and interactions of singers and their patrons.

If Gaspar research from Forkel onwards has experienced its arbitrary ups and downs due to circumstance, Fabrice Fitch’s first chapter looks at the reception of Gaspar’s music since Croll’s dissertation as influenced by his use of borrowed material, dissonance, and voice-leading. His own analysis reveals Gaspar’s music as both unorthodox but also ‘classically’ bal-

47 Three separate projects were funded by the FWF, all under the project leadership of Lindmayr-Brandl: *Gaspar van Weerbeke Gesamtausgabe. Motetten (2), Laude und Chansons*, 2004–2009 (P17265), with Pavanello as project assistant; *Gaspar van Weerbeke Gesamtausgabe. Masses (1)*, 2009–2012 (P21795), with Pavanello as project assistant; *Gaspar van Weerbeke Gesamtausgabe. Masses (2)*, 2014–2017 (P26705), with Kolb as project assistant.

48 The conference was convened by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Agnese Pavanello, and Paul Kolb. For more information including conference programme and abstracts, see the website of the Gaspar Edition <www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/conference.html>.

49 Cf. Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

anced in its form and melody. In his second chapter, Fitch offers a new, ‘modular’ method of interpreting motet cycles, using as a metaphor some recent compositional ideas about cyclicity. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl re-evaluates the importance of Petrucci’s *Misse Gaspar*, using a broad analysis of their transmission to illustrate the outsized influence of the musical readings contained therein.

The more general analysis of Gaspar’s oeuvre in Fitch’s first chapter is complemented by contributions focusing on more specific portions of his work. Taking Croll’s analysis of the motets one step further, Agnese Pavanello examines Gaspar’s shorter Marian motets, discovering compositional commonalities, the lingering influence of chant, and remnants of cyclicity. Wolfgang Fuhrmann looks at Gaspar’s *Stabat mater*, placing it within the tradition of late fifteenth-century settings of laments and other sorrowful texts, finding specific textural kinship with Johannes Regis’s *Clangat plebs*, and pushing back the date of composition to the 1470s or early 1480s. Paul Kolb attributes an anonymous mass to Gaspar on the basis of transmission, compositional features, and a partially cut-off scribal inscription, placing it within the context of the composer’s later, shorter masses.

The authorship of the songs with mixed or otherwise questionable attributions remains one of the major unanswered questions in Gaspar research. David Fallows gives an overview, looking especially at the potential scribal confusion between the names of Gaspar and Jean Japart, concluding that the authorship of most of the songs remains open for debate. Considering the specific case of *La Stangetta*, Eric Jas uses a close analysis of the transmission and composition to suggest that it fits more comfortably within the oeuvre of Henricus Isaac. Carlo Bosi looks at the convoluted interrelations of the various texts and melodies in the transmission of the song family *Bon vin/Bon temps*, suggesting that the related song attributed to ‘Gaspar’ and its source, Flor 2442, are both later than previously believed. Bosi proposes a new identity of the composer that fits with this later dating.

In 1837, Fétis claimed: ‘Gaspar’s style is not distinguished by any particular quality from those of the other good contrapuntalists of his time.’⁵⁰ Today we might be surprised by his willingness to make such a broad claim on the basis of so little evidence. Since then we have come a long way, even if the journey has been bumpier and more circuitous than its early progress might have led one to expect. Gaspar’s second life, that is, has not always been as successful as his first. Even so, we are now finally in a position to make judgements concerning his work for ourselves. And—if the contributions here are any indication of what is to come—Gaspar’s future shows a great deal of promise.

50 ‘Le style de Gaspar ne se distingue par aucune qualité particulière de celui des autres bons contrapuntistes de son temps’; Fétis, *Biographie des musiciens*, vol. 4, p. 268.

PART I: BIOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS

Seven Reasons for Italy:

Gaspar von Weerbeke's Career between Flanders, Milan, and Rome

Klaus Pietschmann

ANNIVERSARIES are often a welcome opportunity to engage more deeply with composers who have yet not been granted the attention they deserve. This certainly applies to Gaspar von Weerbeke. This chapter concentrates primarily on a survey both of already published sources and of the available secondary literature: the pioneering achievements of Edmond Vander Straeten, Gerhard Croll, and Richard Sherr as well as Paul and Laura Merkley provide the essential foundation.¹ To avoid limiting this engagement with Gaspar's biography to a mere listing of already known facts, I want to focus on the following question: which factors contributed to the strong focus on Italy in Gaspar's career? This question might seem trivial, for after all, Gaspar was only one amongst many prominent Franco-Flemish 'Italienfahrer', or 'Italy travellers' (as Wulf Arlt and others called them).² It therefore appears that we would have been in need of an explanation only if Gaspar had *not* travelled to Italy, as with Ockeghem, for example. However, recent studies about the migration of musicians in the early modern period have revealed that this phenomenon is more complex.³ Hence a more differentiated investigation into migration streams of musicians in the fifteenth century, in particular from the north-west to the south of Europe and more precisely to Italy, promises to be rewarding. In the light of the extensive knowledge from these new studies, it could certainly be demonstrated that an individual's motive to migrate could be more complex and more diverse than that of an attrac-

- 1 Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1872); Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke', (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954); Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Lora L. Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of Clientage at Court', in *Album amicorum Albert Dunning in occasione del suo LXV compleanno*, ed. Giacomo Fornari (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 189–230; Richard Sherr, *The Papal Choir during the Pontificates of Julius II to Sixtus V (1503–1590): An Institutional History and Biographical Dictionary*, Storia della Cappella Musicale Pontificia, 5 (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2015).
- 2 Wulf Arlt, 'Musik und Text im Liedsatz franko-flämischer Italienfahrer der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, NS 1 (1981), 23–69.
- 3 *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. Gesa zur Nieden and Berthold Over (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016); *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750)*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, *Analecta musicologica*, 52 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015).

tive job opportunity. In the case of Gaspar, it can equally be shown that the decision to forsake one's native land and to leave behind one's family was a drastic one, the reasons for which must have varied in each individual case. Whether there existed precisely seven reasons, as the title suggests, is certainly up for debate. However, it is my main concern to present a number of possible considerations that could have guided Gaspar in his long-term inclination towards Italy.

Building on some reflections and observations of Gaspar's provenance and early career, I will posit the following seven aspects as the focal points of my argument:

1. An illegitimate birth
2. A growing reputation in his own country
3. Political instability in the north-west of Europe
4. Artistic challenges
5. Financial prospects
6. Access to the benefice market
7. The hope for salvation

Gaspar's Provenance and Early Career

Gaspar's provenance seems indisputable. Matthias Herbenus calls Gaspar a 'cimber', a common humanistic umbrella term for Scandinavians and Balts of all kinds, yet he mistakenly associates the name Weerbeke with a castle of the same name in Estonia.⁴ Ever since Vander Straeten, Oudenaarde in southern Flanders has been accepted as Gaspar's native town. Oudenaarde, by the way, was also van der Straeten's own home town, and he spent most of his life there. This also explains why he knew the city's archives so extraordinary well and why he noticed that the name 'Weerbeke' appeared frequently in the fifteenth century. In the second volume of *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, for instance, he mentioned a Jean van Weerbeke, who purchased shipping rights on the river Schelde between Oudenaarde and Tournai from the city council, and an Adrian van Weerbeke, who paid for a fishing lease in the city moat of Oudenaarde in the same year.⁵ Vander Straeten could not know that these two people were probably Gaspar's brother and father: in 2002 Lora Matthews published documents from Milan referring to 'domino Iohanni fratri ipsius domini Gaspariis in terra Alenardi Tornacensis diocesis' in 1477.⁶ In 1494 they list this brother as 'Gianes Werbeke' from Oudenaarde in Flanders, the son of Adrianus. Since this 1477 document from Milan also mentions 'domine Catherine, matri ipsius d. Gasparriis',⁷ the ambiguity over Gaspar's family circumstances seems to be resolved—I intentionally say 'seems', since a later petition to the pope by Galeazzo Maria Sforza asking for a dispensation for Gaspar on account of his 'defectum natalium' suggests that he was considered to be an illegitimate child; so obviously Adrian and Catherina were not married at the time of Gaspar's birth. I will return to this aspect shortly.

4 Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, 'Zu den Fassungen der Musikschrift des Mattheus Herbenus (um 1495)', *Die Musikforschung*, 55 (2002), 395–405 at 399; Kustaa Vilkkuna, 'Über mittelalterliche Sperrschlösser an Handelswegen im Balticum und in Finnland', in *Häuser und Höfe der handeltreibenden Bevölkerung im Ostseegebiet und im Norden vor 1500: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Wohnens*, ed. Gunnar Svahnström (Visby: Museum Gotlands fornsal, 1976), 191–202 at 192.

5 Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, vol. 2, pp. 91–95.

6 Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 199 f.

7 Ibid.

Recently Erik Verroken has presented many further documents that reveal a much more detailed picture of Gaspar's family background. His ancestors can be traced back to the thirteenth century in the town of Avelgem, close to Oudenaarde. Furthermore, he shows that Gaspar's parents married in about 1452 (which, in the light of Gaspar's illegitimate birth, can be seen as a *terminus ante quem* for the same), and his father Adrian was indirectly in contact with the father of the composer Alexander Agricola.⁸ Verroken's detailed investigations illustrate the enormous potential of prosopographical research for future work on the networks of Franco-Flemish composers in Italy.

Oudenaarde was anything but insignificant in the late Middle Ages. It was renowned for its tapestry workshops, and ever since the fifteenth century it was home to the largest number of poets' guilds next to Antwerp. On the main feast days, these guilds organized processions with *tableaux vivants* and declaimed poetry.⁹ The spiritual centre of the town was the collegiate church of St Walburga. At the time when Gaspar (probably) received his musical education at its *maîtrise* in the 1450s, only the choir of the church had been completed. Verroken points out that the church's Latin school in the first half of the fifteenth century would have had the infrastructural and human resources that make it likely that Gaspar's earliest musical training took place there.¹⁰

Gaspar's year of birth has been indicated at 'around 1445' since it was assumed that he must have had some prior experience when he took up his position in Milan in 1472.¹¹ This argument, however, appears rather tenuous. If we consider Gaspar's contemporary Johannes von Soest, for example, whose career is known to us through his autobiography, it becomes clear that one could have a well-developed career at quite a young age.¹² Von Soest was only twenty-four years old when he was appointed the first electoral choirmaster in Heidelberg in 1472, but he had nevertheless already gathered educational and professional experience in Soest, Cleves, Bruges, Aardenburg, Maastricht, Cologne, and Kassel. He had been taught composition and improvisation by two English singers and was personally promoted by several high-ranking personalities, amongst whom were the Duke of Cleves and the Landgrave of Hessen. At the age of only about twenty, von Soest decided to travel to Rome to see the papal chapel and probably to become a member. However, along the way he received a different appointment in Cologne and gave up his initial plan—Italy was thus for him one of several options. This example demonstrates that nothing would speak against dating Gaspar's year of birth five years later at 'around 1450', nor assuming that he was around the same age as Josquin or Brumel. This hypothesis is not contradicted by Verroken's new archival discovery that Gaspar, together with at least two other singers, was a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in Oudenaarde

8 Erik Verroken, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445–† na 1517) een Oudenaards componist', *Handelingen van de geschied- en oudheidkundige kring van Oudenaarde*, 55 (2018), 129–72, *passim*.

9 Bartholomeus Adrianus Maria Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren: Toneelkunst en processieculuur in Oudenaarde tussen Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijd* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

10 Verroken, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke', 147 f.

11 Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 3.

12 Klaus Pietschmann and Steven Rozenski, Jr., 'Singing the Self: The Autobiography of the Fifteenth-Century German Singer and Composer Johannes von Soest', *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), 119–59.

in 1468.¹³ In any case this proves that he remained at least temporarily in Oudenaarde shortly before his departure for Milan.

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Further investigations into his early career might focus on Tournai Cathedral, where Gaspar would have most probably continued his training after completing his *maitrise* in Oudenaarde.¹⁴ This is further corroborated by the fact that Gaspar was often called ‘clericus tornacensis’ throughout his life. Hence he must have received his minor orders at Tournai. Within the cathedral’s boys’ choir, called the ‘clericuli’, there existed an elite group, the ‘primitivi’, who received a particularly wide-ranging education.¹⁵ They performed the liturgical singing together with eight ‘vicariots’. The twelve Grands-vicaires, who were priests and closely tied to the group of the canons, seemed to have been recruited mostly from former ‘clericuli’. However, they were responsible only for liturgical and not for musical tasks. A possible scenario would have seen Gaspar begin as a ‘primitivus’ in Tournai and later progress to be a ‘vicariot’. This is where his illegitimate birth now becomes significant, as it fundamentally inhibited a clerical career and hence also any access to benefices. This situation also directly affected his employment relationship with the cathedral, since it was financed by benefice endowments linked to minor orders. The local bishop could issue an exemption to those of illegitimate birth for minor orders and the acceptance of up to two benefices, but he could not do more than that.¹⁶ The position of a ‘vicariot’ would have been the highest career stage that Gaspar could have reached in Tournai—and in other cathedrals or collegiate churches he would fundamentally have faced the same problem. Incidentally, Gaspar would quite probably have worked at the cathedral in Tournai together with the young Marbriano de Orto, who was born there around 1460, also as an illegitimate child. De Orto arrived in Rome around 1482 in the entourage of the cardinal-bishop of Tournai, Ferry de Cluny.¹⁷ This was about the time when Gaspar had just become a member of the papal chapel.

An Illegitimate Birth

In order to receive major orders, Gaspar was in need of a papal exemption, and this now constitutes the first ‘reason for Italy’: even if such an exemption could have been applied for from Tournai, the physical proximity to the Curia significantly increased the chances of obtaining such an exemption for a talented musician of humble descent. The prominent example of Guillaume Du Fay demonstrates the extent to which a decision to travel (in order to receive an exemption) was a reasonable one. The latter, an illegitimate child in Cambrai, also had very limited future prospects: after having received a small chaplaincy benefice as a seventeen-year-old, he evidently moved to the council in Konstanz. It is probable that in this environment he

13 Verroken, ‘Gaspar van Weerbeke’, 149 f.

14 Verroken mentions this possibility, while also considering Cambrai and Bruges as further possible locations. *Ibid.*, 146 f.

15 The only publication known to me on the cathedral music in Tournai in the fifteenth century dates back to 1862: Joseph Voisin, ‘Recherches sur les petits Clercs (clericuli), les enfants de choeur et les Musiciens de la cathédrale de Tournai’, *Bulletin de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, 8 (1862), 62–99.

16 *Illegitimität im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Ludwig Schmugge (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 2.

17 Martin Picker, ‘The Career of Marbriano de Orto’, in *Collectanea 2. Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle*, ed. Bernhard Janz (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 529–57.

had already received a papal exemption, as his ecclesiastical and beneficial career progressed very rapidly and culminated in 1436, when he received a canonry in Cambrai.¹⁸ Gaspar's career progressed similarly, but in his case, we are better informed: in 1473 in Milan he was initially listed as a 'presbyter' (priest) and received profitable benefices in addition to his salary.¹⁹ This is slightly irritating, given that two years later Galeazzo Maria Sforza made hectic efforts to obtain a papal exemption for Gaspar on account of his 'defectum natalium', as is well known.²⁰ I can see two possible explanations for this: first, that Gaspar had been ordained a priest before his appointment in Milan without a valid exemption, or second, that he had illegitimately claimed to be a priest upon arrival in Milan and was later denounced, possibly by one of the singers he had recruited from his home country. The latter thesis is corroborated by the fact that he is no longer called a priest in later documents;²¹ the papal exemption, however, must have been issued, for he was subsequently able to assume highly remunerative benefices, which culminated in the canonry at St Donatian's in Bruges in 1489.²²

A Growing Reputation in his Own Country

Linked to this exemption and to his career as a singer in Italy was an enormous social advancement combined with a growing reputation, particularly in his own country. That this prospect was another of Gaspar's 'reasons for Italy' seems apparent in view of the disadvantages he certainly had to face at home as an illegitimate child. Even if new estimations posit that about a third of the late medieval population was illegitimate (which is roughly equivalent to the number of children born out of wedlock in a city like Berlin today), professional limitations and social ostracism were common currency at that time. Members of all social classes strove to overcome the flaw of illegitimate birth, and in many cases this endeavour required considerable effort.²³ For Gaspar, a certificate has survived documenting his growing reputation in a striking manner. Perhaps while on his way to Bruges to receive the recently awarded canonry at St Donation's Church, Gaspar visited his home town Oudenaarde on 14 November 1489, where he was honourably received:

Presented to Gaspar van Weerbeke, the choirmaster of the Duke of Milan, on 14 November, 4 'stoepe' wine, of which 2 'stoepe' at Saseelere for 10 shillings per 'stoepe' and 2 'stoepe' of Baes at 4 shillings [per 'stoepe'] 34 shillings.

Item ghepresenteert jaspert weerbeke sanck meester van den herthoge van melanen XIII in novembre IIII stoepe wijns II stoepe tsaseelers van X S den stoepe ende II stoepe in den baes van VII S. XXXIII S.²⁴

18 David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), 47; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy', *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), 117–71 at 133 f.

19 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 77–79.

20 Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 197 f.

21 *Ibid.*, 198 ff.

22 *Ibid.*, 202 f. and 228 f.

23 As demonstrated by means of multiple examples in *Illegitimität im Spätmittelalter, passim*.

24 Stadtarchiv Oudenaarde, Stadsrekeningen, nr 16 (1489–90 / 1490–91 n.s.), fol. 247^r. See also Verroken, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke', 165. My thanks to the archivist Stijn Lybeert for sending me a scan of the original as well as to Frank Willaert, Thom Mertens, and Kees Schepers for help with the translation.

The entry indicates that Gaspar was given two ‘stoepe’ of wine each from the wine merchants Saseelere and Baes.²⁵ Greeting illustrious guests of the city with so-called ‘presentwijn’ was a widespread tradition in Flanders. If we compare this to the amount of wine that was presented to the entourage of Emperor Maximilian on a visit to Oudenaarde in 1513, it becomes evident that the amount of four ‘stoepe’ was also granted to the imperial court master, kitchen master, almoner, and archdeacon—people whose standing could certainly be compared to that of a choirmaster; the whole chapel was designated with a total of twelve ‘stoepe’.²⁶ It is interesting that Gaspar apparently called himself a ‘choirmaster’, as this did not correspond to his actual position within the chapel. One can regard this as yet another sign of his inflated self-confidence, which might already have tempted him to masquerade as a priest in Milan, but more importantly this reevaluation of his own position makes it apparent how important a proper reception in his home town must have been to him.

Political Instability in the Diocese of Tournai

Guillaume Fillaestre the Younger, Bishop of Tournai, was also an illegitimate child.²⁷ Son of a priest and a nun, he equally experienced a latent contempt throughout his life despite having received an exemption at an early age. He consistently fought against this contempt by demonstrating a brilliant intellect, high level of education, and complete loyalty to the Duke of Burgundy. More important for our concerns, however, is the context of Fillaestre’s eventful tenure as the Bishop of Tournai, the largest and most important diocese in Burgundy, whose right of possession was constantly fought over by the dukes and French kings. Fillaestre emerged as the candidate of Philip the Good after a long schism and then had to come to terms with the pro-French citizenship. The 1460s were characterized by continuous tension between Philip (as well as his son Charles the Bold) and Louis XI, which repeatedly entailed military conflict and which—together with the presence of the English—gave rise to a high level of political instability. In contrast to this, the stability of the Italian peninsula ever since the peace of Lodi in 1454 was remarkable—for Gaspar as well as for many of his contemporaries it must have been a third ‘reason for Italy’ which cannot be underestimated.

Artistic Challenges

If Gaspar indeed worked under Bishop Guillaume Fillaestre at the Cathedral of Tournai, he would also have come into contact with the newest styles of Italian art. The bishop used his sojourns to the peninsula among other things to commission from the Florentine sculptor Luca della Robbia in 1467 one of the first Renaissance sepulchral monuments in Flanders.²⁸ It is less apparent, however, to what extent the dynamic chapel expansions, which began in Ital-

25 The wine merchant ‘Baes’ or ‘De Baers’ is documented on various occasions; cf. for example Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 61. By analogy, one can assume that Saseelere also traded in wine. My thanks for help with the interpretation of this entry goes to Frank Willaert, Thom Mertens, Kees Schepers, and Steve Rozenski.

26 *Audenaerdsche Mengelingen*, vol. 3, ed. Lodewyk van Lerberghe and Jozef Ronsse (Oudenaarde: F. van Peteghem-Ronsse, 1848), 1–6.

27 Malte Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillaestre der Jüngere (1400/07–1473): Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat* (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2001).

28 *Ibid.*, 402 f.

ian centres of music, were known in Gaspar's environment in the 1460s.²⁹ The court chapel in Naples, which comprised twenty-two singers in 1451 and which was exemplary on the peninsula, initially recruited only in Aragon. Only in the 1440s did it begin hiring Franco-Flemish singers on a continuing basis. In Florence, Franco-Flemish singers were regularly recruited from the 1440s onwards. In Ferrara, the chapel established by Leonello d'Este together with 'cantores ex Gallis' was dissolved upon his death in 1450, but after 1471, under Ercole I, it built up its reputation again. It was only in Rome that Christopher Reynolds detected a consistent 'northern dominance' between Nicholas V and Sixtus IV.³⁰ It thus appears plausible for Johannes von Soest to invoke in his autobiography the following intrinsic motivation to leave Maastricht for Rome in around 1469: 'One time the idea came to me that I would like to go to Italy. To Rome, where a group sang well in the papal chapel.'³¹ The expectation resonating in these words is to find an artistic challenge which could also have been a 'reason for Italy' for Gaspar. Whether he could have anticipated before his departure that such an elite ensemble would be established in Milan, or whether Rome was his primary destination, can hardly be answered with our current state of knowledge.

Financial Prospects

The fifth 'reason for Italy' is closely linked to the situation just described. Italy famously offered outstanding income opportunities: as we know, Gaspar received an excellent starting salary of 12 ducats.³² In Rome the regular salary of 8 ducats was one-third less than this but still higher than the average income in northern France, Flanders, or England. In this context I want to recall the case of Johannes de Vos, who was employed at St Donatian's in Bruges.³³ In 1482 he explained to his employer that he had received an offer from the Corvinian court in Buda and that he was inclined to accept it, because he could barely live off of his salary in Bruges. Institutions such as the court chapel of Burgundy were equally attractive for their lucrative salaries, but the number of well-paid positions for musicians was distinctly lower than in Italy and by no means proportional to the large number of highly educated young talents. Nevertheless, Gaspar—assuming that he himself was not recruited by another person—could not have known before his departure precisely how high his salary would have been.

Access to the Benefice Market

Even more relevant than the lucrative base salaries was the access to profitable benefices, which in Gaspar's case were certainly a more central 'reason for Italy'. As Paul and Lora Merkley have

29 For a recent overview see my chapter 'Musical Institutions in the Fifteenth Century and their Political Contexts', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 403–26.

30 Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 33.

31 'Eyn mol kam myr das in myn syn / Das ich wolt gen das welchslant yn / Tzu rom tzu dar da dy gesellen / Wol songhen in des babst capellen.' Translated by Steven Rozenski, quoted after Pietschmann and Rozenski, 'Singing the Self', 144 and 157.

32 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 102.

33 Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 605.

shown, Galeazzo Maria Sforza lured Franco-Flemish musicians to his court in the 1470s with the prospect of such benefices in the Duchy of Milan.³⁴ I will subsequently concentrate mainly on the situation within the papal chapel. This chapel also offered additional access to attractive benefices in Gaspar's own country, which would have been available in Milan only with major difficulty. This was amongst the central reasons why Gaspar became a member of the papal chapel in 1481. Agnese Pavanello supports this conclusion in her publication of a number of documents about Gaspar's Roman beneficial career in the 1480s:

A few months after Weerbeke's arrival at Rome, in October 1482, Sixtus issued a bull granting him a canonry and prebend in the Church of St Géry at Cambrai [where Du Fay also received his first benefice, by the way]. Further bulls secured his right to win other provisions, in 1484 concerning benefices in the Church of St Sauveur in Arlon, St Michiel in Ghent in the diocese of Tournai, and the Benedictine Abbey of Afflighem in the diocese of Cambrai. Innocent VIII added new provisions, in a bull of May 1487: an annual pension deriving from a canonry and prebend in the diocese of Utrecht, and, in a subsequent bull of April 1488, from a canonry and prebend in the Church of St Omer in the diocese of Thérouanne. These acts document the granting or promise (expectative) of benefices.³⁵

He must have additionally received a canonry at the Church of St Gertrude in Nivelles, which he exchanged with the solicitor Wilhelmus Alfin on 9 May 1489 in Milan for the already mentioned canonry at St Donatian's in Bruges.³⁶

Further documents about Gaspar's beneficial career are known from the period after his return to the papal chapel in 1499. In the meantime, the possibilities for papal singers to secure benefices had been further increased. As Richard Sherr has shown, on 20 July 1492, Pope Innocent VIII in the bull 'Etsi romanus pontifex' granted the chapel master the privilege to nominate members of the chapel to benefices that became vacant through the death of present and former chapel members, whether or not they died in Rome.³⁷ This privilege entailed that all members of the chapel could negotiate who would inherit the benefices of a deceased colleague. Otherwise, these benefices usually would have been returned to the Curia or to their respective institution. The series of registers during these years show that Gaspar benefited from Innocent's provision on several occasions.³⁸ In 1505, for instance, the chapel master recommended him for the benefices of the former singer Jacobus Mercury that had become vacant at the Cathedral of Metz.³⁹ Even more extensive were the benefits of the famous master of ceremonies Johannes Burckard in the latter's home diocese of Strasburg, which was intended

34 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 125 and *passim*.

35 Agnese Pavanello, 'Weerbeke at Rome – The Making of a Papal Composer', in *Musikalische Performanz und päpstliche Repräsentation in der Renaissance*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann, *troja Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2014), 227–51 at 248.

36 Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 202 f. and 228–30.

37 Richard Sherr, 'A Curious Incident in the Institutional History of the Papal Choir', in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 187–212 at 193.

38 Richard Sherr systematically analysed these sources and was so kind as to make his Gaspar records available to me.

39 Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, RS 1202, fol. 106^r. I thank Richard Sherr for this reference.

for Gaspar after Burckard's death on 15 May 1506.⁴⁰ Other sources dating from subsequent years concern benefices in the dioceses of Cambrai, Metz, and Tournai.⁴¹

The last known document deals with a canonry in the Church of St Maria ad Gradus in Mainz and further benefices in the dioceses of Utrecht and Osnabrück.⁴² I want to focus more closely on this peculiar case, as it also serves as an example of the basic procedures in the acquisition of benefices. In the preserved archival material of the collegiate church in Mainz, no trace of Gaspar can be found.⁴³ These archival records, however, are incomplete, and hence we cannot eliminate the possibility that Gaspar accepted the canonry merely based on the records. In theory, this would have been possible: in odd-numbered months popes had the right to nominate a candidate for the position, while in even-numbered months this right belonged to the church chapter. Even if popes only made use of this right very rarely, it is striking that in the case of Gaspar the commission was issued in November 1517, an odd-numbered month. After the vacancy was announced, the benefices had to be claimed by an outsider or by a procurator within five days. It can therefore be assumed that the holder of the canonry died in Rome. Given that the news of this death could not have reached Mainz so soon afterward, we may assume that the vacancy had not yet been announced there. Gaspar could make use of the delay and secure the papal provision. Moreover, he could theoretically also have appointed a procurator who would represent his rights in Mainz in time, or he could even have travelled to Mainz himself. This latter possibility, however, is not particularly likely, given that all known canons of the Church of St Maria ad Gradus were generally from the area surrounding Mainz.

The case might rather be compared to the numerous nominations of papal singers to benefices, which were in turn renounced in return for financial compensation by another candidate. Richard Sherr treats such cases in close detail and writes on this note: 'The point was not to get possession of the benefice, the point was actually to resign the rights to the benefice as soon as possible in return for compensation from the other party in the form of an annual pension or some other type of compensation.'⁴⁴ In this respect, the handling of the benefices in the context of the papal chapel was thoroughly comparable to the situation in Milan, though with the difference that in Milan it only concerned nearby benefices within the duke's sphere of influence.⁴⁵

The assessment of the Mainz document, on the other hand, is complicated by the fact that the date, after closer inspection, proves to be highly questionable. The date had been

40 Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, RS 1245, fol. 218^r; RS 1247, fol. 178^v; RS 1247, fols. 273^v–274^r; RS 1267, fols. 187^v–188^r; RS 1267, fol. 187^{r-v}; RS 1275, fol. 93^v; RS 1279, fols. 170^v–171^r; RS 1291, fol. 107^{r-v}. I thank Richard Sherr for this reference.

41 I thank Richard Sherr for this reference. See also Sherr, 'A Curious Incident', 296 f.

42 Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', Anhang, XIII. In the Weerbeke literature a wrong folio indication is sometimes given. The correct indication is: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 1150, fols. 137^v–140^r. I thank Alexander Koller for this information.

43 This material was extensively evaluated in a dissertation by Margarete Dörr, 'Das St. Mariengredenstift in Mainz: Geschichte, Recht und Besitz' (doctoral thesis, Universität Mainz, 1953).

44 Richard Sherr, 'A Tale of Benefices: Papal Singers and the Archdiocese of Cologne in the First Decade of the 16th Century', in *Das Erzbistum Köln in der Musikgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann (Kassel: Merseburger, 2008), 351–76 at 353 f.

45 Cf. Paul Merkley's chapter in this volume.

left blank and was clearly added later in a different hand. This date, 1 November 1517, had a special significance for the granting of expectatives in the pontificate of Leo X, as Richard Sherr long ago ascertained: 'Expectatives were a special class of papal bull. They were issued in great numbers by popes on a specific day in their pontificates (the day for Leo clearly being November 1, 1517), to all members of the Curia and the papal *familia*.' In this context, Sherr's following sentence is especially relevant: 'But this date was also considered to be the legal date of expectatives granted *after* the original release of graces, and such expectatives were back-dated, ... sometimes simply by being given the older date.'⁴⁶ Sherr pointed to two documents concerning the composers Eustachius de Monteregalis and Antoine Bruhier, and evidently the present document also deals with such a case. This means that the date 1 November 1517 should actually be considered a *terminus post quem*, and it is highly likely that it was issued later—though it cannot be determined whether this was only a few days afterwards or shortly before Leo's death on 1 December 1521.

This example reveals the complexity of the benefice trade as well as the difficulty of interpreting documents from the Vatican. We will therefore never be able to attain a comprehensive image of Gaspar's beneficial career; it would certainly be promising, however, to further investigate the papal registers in the years after 1517, since it is certain that the papal singers would have attempted to distribute Gaspar's benefices amongst themselves after his death with reference to the bull of Pope Innocent VIII.

The Hope for Salvation

This brings me to the seventh and final 'reason for Italy', which should perhaps more fittingly be called a 'reason for Rome': the eternal city's special promise to grant salvation of the soul. This promise attracted not only streams of pilgrims, but it was connected—also for Roman residents—to enormous expectations for, and indeed even a head start towards, redemption. Aside from the papal benedictions, which were only granted on specific occasions, in particular visiting the seven pilgrim churches came with the promise of a plenary indulgence. The papal singers were certainly aware of their own residency's benefits: while regularly participating in the papal benedictions in their very function once a year, they granted themselves a day off to go on a pilgrimage to the seven churches. As a group of singers they also regarded themselves as a fraternity and saw it their special task to carry out prayers for their deceased members (which were occasionally called 'confratres' in the diaries) and to perform a memorial service in the church of San Gregorio every year on All Souls' Day.⁴⁷ What is more, many chapel members joined other fraternities, which had special charitable purposes, were frequented by high-ranking members of the Curia, or which were the point of contact for members coming from a particular region. Aside from Gaspar's membership in the Holy Spirit fraternity with the entourage of Pope Sixtus IV and other parts of the Curia, we note his entry into the fraternity of Campo Santo Teutonico on 26 December 1514 as a particularly

⁴⁶ Richard Sherr, 'Notes on Some Papal Documents in Paris', *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), 5–16 at 12.

⁴⁷ Klaus Pietschmann, *Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition und Reform: Die päpstliche Kapelle und ihr Repertoire unter Papst Paul III. (1534–1549)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2007), 154.

relevant event. Founded in 1461, this fraternity was a melting pot for German speakers of different social standings, most of whom were craftsmen. Members of the Curia and other high-ranking Germans, on the other hand, would instead turn towards the national fraternity at Santa Maria dell'Anima.⁴⁸ It is interesting that nearly all names of papal chapel singers in the fraternity books of the Campo Santo sound German or Dutch, suggesting the presence of a certain system. It is possible that Gaspar joined the fraternity mainly for this reason. In contrast to other colleagues, who continued to pay their contributions for several years, Gaspar's record lacks relevant indications. I therefore consider it more probable that Gaspar saw death drawing near on Christmas 1514 and thus wanted to make preparations for his last resting place in the eternal city: for the fraternity members had the prospect of being buried in the Campo Santo, a cemetery that still exists today, located in close proximity to the tomb of St Peter. According to a legend, the soil of this cemetery was fetched from the Holy Land by the hands of an angel. It is impossible to determine whether Gaspar actually found his last resting place in this cemetery—the fact that there is no corresponding record in the confraternity book and that no tombstone has been preserved does not preclude this possibility. This was, for example, precisely the case for the papal singer Franciscus Goes, who, according to the *Diarii Sisini*, was buried in the Campo Santo in 1539, but no traces of a gravesite survive.⁴⁹

I will take this as an occasion to articulate a final consideration about Gaspar's death. There exist no known indications of Gaspar's whereabouts after 1517. Hermann-Walther Frey was able to prove the existence of a 'Gasparo fiamengo' in the *Musica secreta* of Pope Leo X between August 1520 and February 1521.⁵⁰ Yet I agree with his own doubts as to whether this was Gaspar van Weerbeke—my reasons, however, are less his age (we know that the papal singer Antonio Calasanz, for instance, still had a magnificent voice at the age of eighty). Rather, the crucial indication has so far hardly been noticed: in an early, undated version of the chapel constitutions, which must have been created under the papacy of Leo X, Gaspar is described as so ill and fragile that he could no longer participate in the daily chapel services.⁵¹ It cannot be determined at which point in time his frailty began and when exactly the constitutions were written down; nevertheless this indication should leave no doubt that Gaspar passed away as a chapel singer relatively soon after 1517.

The aim of these thoughts is to better understand Gaspar's career path through his possible motivations to depart for Italy, as well as to provide stimulation for further research. I have intentionally avoided speaking about compositions as the available information is too scant to attempt a fusion of 'life and work'; such attempts are in any case dangerous for the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. If it were to be stated, for example, that no further

48 Klaus Pietschmann, 'Deutsche Musiker und Lautenmacher im Rom der Renaissance: Spuren im Campo Santo Teutonico und der deutschen Nationalkirche Santa Maria dell'Anima', in *Deutsche Handwerker, Künstler und Gelehrte im Rom der Renaissance*, ed. Stephan Füssel and Klaus A. Vogel, *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung*, 15 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 181–213.

49 *Ibid.*, 195.

50 Hermann-Walther Frey, 'Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle', *Die Musikforschung*, 9 (1956), 46–57 at 55.

51 Rafael Köhler, *Die Cappella Sistina unter den Medici-Päpsten, 1513–1534: Musikpflege und Repertoire am päpstlichen Hof* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2001), 234.

compositions of Gaspar's can be found in the Vatican choirbooks of the early sixteenth century, that in no way means that he stopped composing or that his compositions had gone out of fashion. Examples such as Bernardo Pisano (whose works were only in the repertoire during the papacy of Leo X, even though he remained an active singer in the chapel until 1548) and Costanzo Festa (who seems not to have composed any further masses after the death of Leo X) suggest that composition and the copying of compositions are rather subject to a specific division of labour among the singers, the motives for which remain unclear. In this respect as well, Gaspar proves to be a unique compositional personality, whose career path nevertheless corresponds to typical patterns and whose very individual 'reasons for Italy' accord with those of many of his colleagues.

Weerbeke in Milan: Court and Colleagues

Paul A. Merkley

THE BROAD OUTLINES of Weerbeke's Italian service are well known, but the details reported in Milanese documents, when considered in the context of patronage and clientage at this time, reveal parallels with other composers, as well as indications that can affect our understanding and appraisal of his musical styles. The research I carried out with my late wife Lora Matthews-Merkley in Milanese archives turned up a wealth of information on Gaspar, revealing him as a new kind of composer-client in his negotiation of Sforza patronage and his personal and professional mobility.¹ In addition, this documentation holds implications for the chronological layers of his repertoire, and for the measurement of the impact he had on the style in that court.

Gaspar's First Documentation at the Milanese Court and his Recruitment Mission

The first documented biographical point is the composer's trip in the winter of 1473 to recruit singers for Galeazzo Sforza's choir. The duke issued a six-month pass, equivalent to a visa, to allow the composer to travel to different regions, and a letter of credence for him to show to singers (the document specifies sopraniſts and tenoriſts) who were to be recruited to the Milanese ducal chapel from the region of Bruges: 'We are sending ... to Bruges ... the prieſt Gaspar of Flanders, bearer of the present letter, our well-loved singer, to conduct some sopraniſts and tenoriſts to our service.'²

At the outset, the terms of this letter, a copy of which Weerbeke would have carried since he is named the bearer, indicate that this recruitment trip was above board, completely unlike Galeazzo's clandestine poaching of singers from the chapels of Savoy (as well as

1 Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. Matthews Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). Documentation specifically referring to Weerbeke has been collected more recently in Lora L. Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of Clientage at Court', in *Album amicorum Albert Dunning in occasione del suo LXV compleanno*, ed. Giacomo Fornari (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 189–230.

2 Milan, Archivio di Stato [hereafter ASMil], Registri ducali 175, fol. 103: 'Mitemus ad ... Brugiensis ... presbiterum Gasparem de Flandria, presentem exhibitorem, cantorem nostrum dilectum, ut nonullos sopranos ac tenoristas cantores ex illis regionibus ad stipendia nostra conducatur' (this and the following quotations are my translations).

Antonio Guinati, discussed below) and Naples. Any official or singer seeing the letter would have understood Weerbeke's intentions, and it would not have been possible for him to steal singers away from the imperial chapel.

There is no indication of how Weerbeke was recruited to the Milanese chapel, or where he served before Milan. The noble Milanese ambassador Branda Castiglione had personal connections in Burgundian territories, and he recruited other singers for Galeazzo, but no specific connection between him and Weerbeke is documented. So far there is no decisive evidence of the year of Weerbeke's birth, so that must remain an open question. Klaus Pietschmann has put forward the possibility of around 1450, and he has made the interesting suggestion that he took minor orders in the cathedral of Tournai, although the designation 'tornacensis' refers to his first incardination in the diocese of Tournai, not necessarily in the city.³ In the letter above, the composer is called a priest, and the usual implication, although there were undoubtedly exceptions, is that he was probably thirty years old, or nearly; at least this is the age encountered in Milanese documents—the bishop of Tournai may have acted differently. His appointment as a recruiter indicates that he enjoyed the duke's trust. Perhaps his physical age is not as germane as his position in the ducal choir: he was ordained, he was trusted to recruit singers, and he was soon made the vice-abbot of the ducal chapel, whatever his age may have been. On the very next day, 17 January, Galeazzo wrote to Francesco d'Este at the Burgundian court, asking him to give aid to Weerbeke on this recruiting mission, as well as a companion letter to the duke of Burgundy to the same effect.⁴

On 18 January 1473 Gaspar was given his specific orders: 'Instructions given to Gaspar the singer, sent to Picardy and France for more singers: first he is to engage two good sopraniſts, also a high tenoriſt like Bovis, also a tenor like Peroto, also two basses.'⁵ This document gives more particulars of the voice ranges needed: sopraniſts, basses, and two ranges of tenoriſts, suiting the four-part texture prevalent in the Milanese repertoire.

Again on 18 January Galeazzo, through his treasurer Antonio Anguissola, asked the Medici bank to instruct its officer in Bruges to advance 20 gold ducats to the singers whom Gaspar would recruit: 'In the enclosed letter we have asked Azarito Portinari to write to his brother Thomaso to give 20 gold ducats to each of the companions conducted to us by the priest Gaspar of Flanders, whom we have sent in the regions of Burgundy to recruit singers for us.'⁶ On 29 April 1473, the duke instructed his treasurer to reimburse Acerito Portinari for the money that had been given by his brother in Bruges to Weerbeke: 'We want you to pay to Acerito Portinari 300 gold ducats in *testoni*, in compensation for the 300 ducats that Acerito, on our orders, supplied by letters of exchange in Bruges, through Thomaso Portinari, his brother,

3 See Klaus Pietschmann's chapter in this volume.

4 ASMil, Registri di missive 100, fol. 131^v has both letters, the texts of which are published in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 77.

5 Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana [hereafter MilB Triv.], Arch. Cod. B 7 a, fol. 33. 'Instructione data a Gasparo cantore mandata in Picardia et Francia per altri cantori: primo che'l conduca soprani due boni, item tenore uno alto, como Bovis, item tenor uno como Peroto, item duy contrabassi.'

6 ASMil, Potenze sovrane 124, item number 94. 'Scrivemo per l'alligata ad Azarito Portinaro che'l voglia scrivere ad Thomaso suo fratello che daga vinti ducati d'oro ad caduno delli compagni che ne condurà prete Gasparo de Fiandra, quale mandiamo in le parte de Burgogna ad condurne cantori.'

to Gaspar Verbeke of Flanders, our singer.⁷ Letters of exchange and letters of credit to bankers and merchants allowed money to be moved quickly and securely. It may also be remarked in passing that the gold *testone* is widely considered to have been an important instrument in the monetization of the economy, and that this is an early notice of that coin, known to have been minted in Milan in 1474 (and perhaps first in Milan). In addition, this is the time of the establishment of corporations and concessions in Milan.

Pay Lists and Structure of the Chapel

The pay lists form the next group of documents to be considered. At one time it was held that the Milanese chapel was dissolved with the assassination of Galeazzo on 26 December 1476, but we were able to reconstruct the later years of the chapel, through notarial documents and with the 1480 pay list, recovered by Lora Matthews-Merkley.⁸ Weerbeke remained in Milanese service through this period and beyond. The structure of the chapel requires some explanation. No copy of the papal charter for the chapel has been recovered, but the charter for the nearby choir of the Duke and Duchess of Savoy (the duchess was Galeazzo's sister-in-law) is extant.⁹ One of its most important provisions is that the chapel needed a master, who was to hold either a master's degree in theology or a doctorate of both laws (civil law and canon law). As long as the master of the chapel held one of those degrees, he could allow persons of any or no clerical status to participate in the services; in other words, the master of the chapel ensured correct liturgical observance and propriety, but otherwise anyone the rulers wished could sing in the choir.

It seems logical to regard the Milanese case in that way, especially in the light of the unique liturgical genre the *motetti missales*. This genre can arguably be thought of as part of the rapid expansion and modification of liturgy and ceremonial undertaken by Galeazzo Sforza, including, for example, his borrowing of a liturgical book from the Sisters of the Annunciation, probably related to the composition and arrangement of one of the motet cycles.¹⁰ If the observance was certified appropriate by a doctor of canon and civil law, then it could go forward. For Galeazzo, this position was filled by Antonio Guinati, doctor of both laws, previously the master of the chapel of Savoy. Galeazzo 'stole' him from his sister-in-law the duchess and designated him 'abbot' or 'regulator' of the Milanese choir. To entice him to

7 ASMil, Potenze sovrane 124, item number 90. 'Volemo che tu exborsi ad Acerito Portinaro ducati trecento d'oro testoni, per altri ducati trecento ch'esso Acerito de ordinatione nostra ha facto respondere per littere de cambio in Bruges per Thomaso Portinaro suo fratello ad Gaspar Verbeke de Fiandra nostro cantore.' It should be noted that Emilio Motta, 'Musicisti alla corte degli Sforza', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 14 (1887), 29–64, 278–340, and 514–61 (repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), perhaps through a typographical error, published the last digit of the year incorrectly (p. 304). The correct year is 1473; although Weerbeke must have joined the chapel before January 1473, there is no documentation of a recruitment trip by him in 1472. The error is replicated in Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke, Gaspar van', *Grove Music Online* (2012).

8 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 242–43.

9 Chambéry, Archives départementales Savoie, SA 2509, Pacquet 4, bull of 1474. Quoted and discussed in Paul Merkley and Lora L. M. Matthews, 'Aspects of Sacred Music and the Network of Patrons at Court during the Time of Ercole d'Este', in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del rinascimento: Atti del convegno internazionale Camaiore, 21–23 ottobre 2005*, ed. Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 193–223 at 197–98.

10 ASMil, Famiglie 202. Quoted and discussed in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 344.

Milan, Galeazzo gave him the lucrative concession of the mining rights for the entire duchy of Lombardy, making him one of the wealthiest men in Milan.¹¹ It seems reasonable to think of him as the guarantor of liturgical propriety in the chapel.

The division of the Milanese ducal choir into two groups is noteworthy. If their names, ‘Singers of the chapel’ and ‘Chapel of the chamber’, suggest anything, it could be that one group performed in the intimate space of the ruler’s chamber and the other in the more public space of the chapel. This would be a very early example of the designation of groups of singers to specific spaces in that way—the next example would be 1515 in France¹²—and no case of a ducal order to one group or the other separately has been recovered in Milan; indeed their pay and provisions are documented together. On the other hand, Weerbeke’s later complaint that he had to go to the castle daily to celebrate the mass and his house was too far away (discussed below) is an indication of the service he was required to do and may suggest celebration of ducal mass in the ruler’s chamber. It tells us something of the Sforza ceremonial, the repertoire for it, and the modes of observance. It seems likely that Galeazzo heard a daily mass in his private chamber, one that required certain members of his polyphonic choir, including Weerbeke.

In the summer of 1474 Weerbeke was placed at the head of his group of singers (‘cantori da camera’) and designated the vice-abbot of the choir.¹³ The salary raise of 2 ducats per month one year earlier coincides with the arrival of singers from Naples.¹⁴ In this period of aggressive recruitment of ultramontane singers and the high demand for them, especially in Italian courts, the courtly protocol for leaving a ruler’s service was under great strain. Traditionally, before exploring the possibility of moving to a new position, a singer was expected to ask the ruler’s permission to leave his service, usually giving the reason that he wanted to ‘seek his fortune elsewhere’. The ruler then gave him a letter of good service (a good number of such letters survive), and the singer was free to approach another patron and enter discussions for a new position. This protocol did not fit at all well with the heated competition between courts for singers. Galeazzo sent agents to Rome to meet with the singers of the King of Naples that he wanted to recruit. Salaries were offered and promises made at clandestine meetings. The prize was the star tenorist Cordier, whom Galeazzo enticed away from the chapel of Naples with munificent benefices, gifts, a high salary, and honours. There were denials and an angry letter from a singer in Naples (probably the master of that chapel). The rupture between Milan and Naples because of this theft was so great that the matter had to be adjudicated by the Duke of Burgundy.¹⁵

It may be noted that Weerbeke, Guinati, and Cordier received extra, sometimes distinctive, clothing for the feasts of St George 1475, Christmas 1475, and St George 1476.¹⁶ The

11 ASMil, Registri di missive 122, fol. 265. 15 January 1476: ‘A concession that we wish to make to Antonio Guinati, master of our chapel, for the minerals that he intends to recover’ (‘Concessione che volimo fare a Messer Antonio Guinati, maestro della nostra capella, super mineralibus quale luy vole trovare’).

12 Leeman L. Perkins, ‘Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 507–66 at 544.

13 ASMil, Registri di missive 111a, fol. 304^v. Cassano, Friday 15 July 1474.

14 19 August 1473. ASMil, Carteggio Interno Milano Città e ducato, Sforzesco 914. The salary of the deceased singer Pergier was redirected: 2 additional ducats per month to Weerbeke, perhaps because of salaries paid to new singers from the court of Naples.

15 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 41–57.

16 For example, at Christmas 1475, all of the singers are listed, MilB Triv., Cod. Triv. 1384, fol. 67, as receiving

clothing was a sign of preferment, and it may also suggest particular participation of these musicians in the performances. There is also an occasion on which Loyset Compère was given distinctive clothing, perhaps singling him out as the composer of works that were performed.

Benefices

The dukes of Milan paid their singers not only in salary, but also with funds from church positions, or benefices. Since the singers could not fulfil the duties of these positions, they had recourse to three possible arrangements. They could rent the benefice out to someone who would fulfil the duties and receive the income. They could pay someone else to fulfil the duties for them. Or they could have the benefice conferred on someone else, reserving a pension for themselves, usually set at approximately one-third of the income. The first period of Weerbeke's Milanese service is characterized by the rapid accumulation of several ecclesiastical benefices, most of which he resigned to other candidates in return for a substantial pension, probably in order to avoid the canon-legal limit of two benefices with cure of souls.

Weerbeke held pensions on several benefices. On 17 August 1473, Galeazzo Sforza wrote to Petro de Modegnano, papal protonotary: 'If you are willing to give to the priest Gaspar the German our singer 40 ducats as an annual pension on the provostship of St Lorenzo of Lodi, we agree that you may have it. And in that case come here tomorrow.'¹⁷ At this time Weerbeke's salary from the duke was 10 ducats per month, so this pension effectively represented an augmentation of his salary by one-third.

On 9 January 1474, Galeazzo sent instructions to Sagramorro Menelotti, called de Rimini, his representative to the pontiff for matters of ecclesiastical benefices: 'Since recently the provostship of Ogiate, diocese of Como, of an annual value of 25 chamber florins, has become vacant, we desire that without delay you meet with his Holiness, and supplicate him in our name ... that he deign, for our satisfaction, to confer this provostship on Jaspas Verbeche ... and you will not fail for any reason.'¹⁸ Galeazzo wrote again on 25 March 1474. It seems that the benefice was granted, but Weerbeke wanted a bull, which would cost more. A papal bull required lead seals, parchment, extra copying, and the pontiff's own signature, hence the added expense. A signed supplication could be executed much more quickly.¹⁹ On 16 April

black velvet and fine, dark-coloured linen for clothing for Christmas. Weerbeke and Guinati's names are on this list. See also MilB Triv. Cod. Triv. 1384, fols. 69^v-70, 16 December 1475: 'Faci vestire l'Abbate nostro cappellano de panno secondo l'habito suo, videlicet de tunegha et mantello ... a l'Abbate, a domino Cordero, et a Gasparro nostri cantori volemo daghi el veluto negro per farse uno vestito per caduno qual gli donamo, ultra quello che hay commissione de dare a tuti li cantori de presente' ('Clothe the Abbot, our chaplain [Antonio Guinati] in linen according to his custom, that is with a tunic and cape ... to the Abbot, to Cordier, and to Gaspar our singers, we wish to give the black velvet to make a suit for each one, which we give them, beyond that which you have orders to give to all of the singers at present').

17 ASMil, Registri di missive 112, fol. 134^v. 'Se vuoi volete dare ad prete Gaspar Todesco nostro cantore 40 ducati de pensione l'anno sopra la prepositura de Sancto Lorenzo de Lodi, siamo contenti che l'habiate vuy. Et in tal caso venite qua domatina.'

18 ASMil, Potenze estere Roma, Sforzesco 74. 'Essendo vacata novamente la prepositura de Ogiate, diocesis Comensis, annui valoris florenorum Xxv auri de Camera, volemo che senza dimora te ritrovi con nostro Signore, et supplichi in nostro nome ... che se digni ad nostra complacentia conferire essa prepositura ad Iaspas Verbeche ... non mancharay per cosa alcuna.' A fuller version is in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 194, n. 14.

19 Transcription *ibid.*, 195, n. 15.

1474, Galeazzo allowed Weerbeke to resign the provoštship of Ogiate and receive a pension on it; the first payment was 8 gold florins, so the pension amounted to about a third of the value. On the same day, Weerbeke appointed Sagramoro his procurator to resign the canonry at the church of Santo Stephano in Vimercate in favour of the priest Giuliano da Canova.²⁰

On 23 April 1474 Gabriel de Ursonibus, a ducal official who had previously exchanged benefices with Milanese singers, obtained a canonry and prebend in San Lorenzo Maggiore in Milan after Weerbeke's resignation. In return, a pension of 16 gold florins was to be paid to either Weerbeke or Knoep, the ambiguity probably related to a three-way benefice exchange that had not yet been finalized.²¹ In fact, in a triangular permutation enacted on 11 August 1474, Knoep resigned his canonry in the major church of Lodi, a canonry in San Lorenzo in Milan, a canonry in Santa Eufemia de Insula in the diocese of Como, and his pension on the provoštship of Rivolta, to be conferred on 'Gaspar Verbech', except Eufemia, which was to go to Iacomo Antiquario, chancellor, whose pension of 200 ducats from the Abbey of Sant'Abbondio in Como was transferred to 'Henrico Knoep, cleric of Liège and chaplain of Brussels, our singer'.²² On 15 October 1474 Galeazzo instructed his orator in Rome to see that Weerbeke received a pension of 10 ducats annually on the benefice conferred on Domenico di Suardi.²³

On 21 October 1474 Weerbeke, provošt of Ogiate, received a pension on the rectory of San Donato, diocese of Parma, from Antiquario.²⁴

There are ducal instructions dated 14 January 1475 to Galeazzo's papal representative: 'Sagramoro, from the enclosed letters you will understand the dispensations that are needed for Gaspar Verbech our singer, concerning his illegitimate birth, both for the benefices that he has, to be able to hold them, and to be able to seek others in the future, and since this singer of ours is very dear to us, we want you to use all effort and diligence to persuade His Holiness to concede this favour.'²⁵ The sudden need for a dispensation *super defectu natalium*, some two years into his Milanese beneficial career, is a puzzling development—why did the question not arise sooner,

20 ASMil, Notarile 1275.

21 Ibid.

22 ASMil, Potenze sovrane 124, item number 164. See Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 29, n. 63, and Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 197, n. 22.

23 Sforzesco PE Roma 77. 'Messer Sagramoro. Don Dominico di Suardi ha costituito d. Prete Piero Casola et Bonifacio Cagnola suoi procuratori ad renentiandum el beneficio de S. Petro da Berzaniga diocesis Cremonensis: como vederete per lo instrumento publico qui alligato: el quale beneficio volemo che faciate statim conferire dala S.^{ta} del N. s.^{re} ad don Baptista de Cisena Cremonese, nostro affectionato, reservato sopra epsa chiesa pensione annuale de diece ducati ad d. Casparre verbech preposto de Ogiate nostro cantore: Sicomo epso don Baptista ne ha facto la debita procura ad consentiendum: quale simelemente ve mandamo qui alligata: signate che seran poi le supplicatione ne avisarete: adcio costoro possono mandare li denari ad expedire le bolle. Papie xv. octobris 1474.' On the 30th Sagramoro reported that the instructions had been carried out and asked that the expenses be paid. On 17 December Ludovico replied with a letter of exchange for the taxes on various benefits, including those 'per le bolle de la pensione assignata sopra epso ad Casparre [*sic*] nostro cantore' (Sforzesco PE Roma 78). These documents were kindly brought to my attention by Bonnie Blackburn.

24 ASMil, Sforzesco 925.

25 ASMil, Autografi 93, fascicle 3, item number 315. 'Messer Sagramoro, intenderite per le incluse lettere le dispense che bisognano ad Messer Gaspar Verbech nostro cantore, super defectu natalium, et quanto ad li beneficii chel ha, de poterli tenere, et quanto ad conseguirne delli altri in futurum, et perché havemo molto caro epso nostro cantore, volemo mettate ogni studio, et industria per disporre la S.ta del Papa ad concedere questa gratia.' Transcribed in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 197, n. 26.

for example at the moment of his ordination? Perhaps, practically speaking, the pensions were not vulnerable to challenges, but the canonries that he obtained in the summer of 1474 were. By December 1475 the matter had evidently been settled, for a pension of 8 ducats is secured for 'Casparre Verbech nostro cappellano et cantore dilectissimo' on a canonicate in Lodi.²⁶

At this time, in the matter of the conferral of church benefices, there was considerable tension between Duke Galeazzo and the noble Lombard families, who expected these church positions to fall to members of their families, who would then fulfil the proper duties. There are letters of complaint to the duke to the effect that the parishes were not well served by the substitutes of the singers, and that young men who had a reasonable claim on open positions were passed over in favour of members of the duke's chapel, whom the parishioners considered foreigners.²⁷

The Duke's Assassination and its Consequences for Benefices

Galeazzo was assassinated on the feast of St Stephen in the year 1476. The official account states that there were three assassins: one a republican, one a man whose sister Galeazzo had molested, and the third someone whose corporation was deprived of a lucrative benefice by the duke. But this account is only an allegory for Galeazzo's vices: it has recently been found that Galeazzo was killed by a conspiracy of forty noble Lombard families. On the day after the assassination, the son of Cicco Simonetta wrote to his father that: 'Now at least we will not have to put up with the singers.'²⁸ As it turned out, he was wrong. If the large chapel of ultramontane singers was a symbol of Galeazzo's desire to 'rule as a sovereign', as he himself put it, the performances of the liturgy being considered the most important expression of princely power, the assassination of the duke was only a temporary setback to that ambition. Cicco Simonetta ran the duchy to the benefit of the noble families for just over three years under the regency of Galeazzo's widow Bona of Savoy, who exiled Galeazzo's brothers to separate cities for a time.

One can observe a cluster of benefice transactions in the weeks after the assassination. An example concerns the composer's pension on a canonry in Lodi, a pension that was assigned with papal authority in May 1476 and augmented on 30 December 1476, because officials had investigated the 'true value' of the benefice.²⁹ Church positions had a stated monetary value, which was often lower than the actual value, allowing the holder to pay less tax than if the true value—the actual income from the rental of the property and the fruits of the agriculture—was revealed. For the benefice holder it was preferable to represent a low value to keep taxes down, but for the holder of the pension, who was receiving a third of the stated income, if there was a large discrepancy between the stated value and the true value, it was advantageous to ask for an investigation. No doubt such discrepancies were most often solved under the table, but in this case an investigation was carried out. Indeed in this case we may infer that there was a conflict

26 Sforzesco PE Roma 79. I owe thanks to Bonnie Blackburn for sharing this document.

27 For example, the series of letters on the controversial appointment of the singer Knoep to the estimable position of the rectory of San Satiro; Merklej and Merklej, *Music and Patronage*, 130.

28 ASMil, Miscellanea Storica 9b. 'Ormay li cantarini non ne darano tanto impazi.' I thank Professor Valori of Milan for bringing the document of the conspiracy to my attention before its publication.

29 ASMil, Notarile 1276. The new pension was 8 gold florins, assigned to Gaspar Weerbeke.

between the holder of the benefice and the composer, because a second order was needed to enforce payment of the augmented pension, and Weerbeke did not receive his income until March of 1477. The first document in the series on the canonry in Lodi, dated May 1476, was notarized in Weerbeke's house, in the Porta Vercellina, in the parish of San Protasio in campo. The ducal singers were assigned quarters within the Sforza castle, and indeed quarters in the several residences to which the duke travelled, but some were given houses in the city of Milan, another form of compensation for these extravagantly paid musicians.

As another example, Weerbeke rented out his canonry in Bobio, diocese of Ravenna, receiving 40 *libri* as part payment for that rent. At this time there were just over 3 *libri* in one gold florin and just over 4 *libri* in one ducat.³⁰ On 1 February 1477 he undertook a complicated exchange of benefices, including a proxy, or procuration, that, if not unique, is certainly unusual in notarial documentation.³¹ The composer empowered Gabriel de Ursonibus to collect the income from all of his benefices. Clearly Gaspar had a good deal of benefice income from different sources. Given his duties in the choir, he could not spend the time needed to collect all of it. In addition, in cases like the Lodi benefice, if a debtor was reluctant, a ducal official like Ursonibus could press for payment in ways that the musician could not. Next, he ordered Ursonibus to pay 40 florins of the income from Bobio to his mother or his brother (named Catherina and Johannes) in Oudenaarde. If notarial documents are very difficult to locate and recover, one of their advantages is the richness of information they convey, including, in many cases, information about a musician's family or his home city or territory. Oudenaarde was at this time within the territory of the Counts of Flanders. The city had the choir school of St Walburga. Further to the composer's family, a Milanese notice of June 1494 states that one Giances Werbeke, from Oudenaarde in Flanders, son of Adrianus, changed procurators, appointing Paulus Ghiselin, who lived in Oudenaarde, to receive all of his income from that city. Like Gaspar, Giances listed his residence in the parish of San Protasio in campo. Giances probably refers to Johannes, the composer's brother, and the connection to the Ghiselin family is worthy of further exploration.³²

Documents of 1478 and 1479 continue to attest the web of financial transactions arising from ecclesiastical property in which the composer was involved. On 31 December 1478 the ducal singer Johannes Hanon received 30 gold ducats of pension income from Weerbeke on a canonry held by one Lucho de Briziis. On the same day Weerbeke received 7 gold ducats from de Briziis.³³ On 11 May 1479 the composer notarized his receipt of income from the abbacy of a monastery that he held.³⁴ Of the different ecclesiastical sources of income, the abbot's income

30 ASMil, Notarile 1277. 8 January 1477.

31 ASMil, Notarile 1277 and related act of 4 November 1477, ASMil, Notarile 3004. Transcription in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 199, n. 36.

32 On the branches of Weerbeke's family see Erik Verroken, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445–† na 1517) een Oudenaards componist', *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudbeidkundige Kring van Oudenaarde*, 55 (2018), 129–72. Among many intriguing details, Verroken's notices name the composer's mother, Kateline van Steenweghe, and his younger brother Jan, who married Josijne Ghiselins; the genealogical chart is on p. 140. See also Klaus Pietschmann's contribution to this volume.

33 ASMil, Notarile 1926.

34 ASMil, Notarile 1279.

from a monastery, the so-called *commendata*, was the most lucrative. The above indications show that the musician continued to prosper in the ducal choir during the regency of Bona Sforza (her son Giangaleazzo was not yet of age to assume power). Following a failed coup against Bona, Ludovico Sforza had been exiled to Pisa. From there he plotted and, with the help of the Duke of Ferrara, raised a large army which camped outside Milan in 1480 until, a very few days later, Bona agreed that Ludovico return to Milan first as governor, then as general governor of the city. Cicco Simonetta, the ducal secretary who had administered the city during Bona's years, was decapitated.

Weerbeke as Landlord

The documents of the first ducal gift of a house to Weerbeke, and the composer's successful petition to sell it just a short time before his transfer to the papal chapel, not only form an important point of clientage, but also furnish evidence for his precise duties. Around 1480 Weerbeke petitioned for and received Ludovico Sforza's permission to sell the house because, he explained, it was inconvenient to have to walk all the way to the Castello Sforzesco every morning for ducal mass.³⁵ The terms of the right of sale are included in a transaction for the ducal physician, as part of the history of ownership of the same house, on 22 August 1494.³⁶ In the latter document, Duke Giangaleazzo praised Weerbeke's 'singular virtue in the art of music', and the document repeats the wording of the original petition that it was not convenient for him to walk to the Porta Giovia (the castle) every day from the house, and that he was allowed to sell the house on the authority of Ludovico because of the composer's 'qualities and service'. The date of the petition can be estimated from the rulers—nominally Giangaleazzo Sforza, practically Ludovico Sforza—and therefore the house had been given to him by Galeazzo Sforza. Ludovico returned to power in Milan after his exile to Pisa in 1480, and Weerbeke joined the papal choir in 1481. The house was in an upscale neighbourhood, and indeed the neighbouring owners are named in the record of the later sale to the ducal physician. It is situated a fair distance from the ducal residence, but it seems more likely that the composer's reason for selling it had to do with his plan to transfer to the papal chapel. On 26 April 1480, Weerbeke, styled 'son of the deceased Adrianus', rented a house with three roommates, two of them singers in the Milanese chapel, this house also in the same broad area of the city, the Porta Vercellina.³⁷

Weerbeke in Rome and Back in Milan

On 17 October 1481, Weerbeke and another Milanese singer were already in Rome, appointed as procurators by the Milanese singer Hanon to resign one of his pensions to papal authorities in Rome.³⁸ By 1483 they were named in a papal *motu proprio* for singers of the papal chapel, all entitled to claim two canonries. Already in 1482, Ludovico Sforza took steps to try to recruit Weerbeke back to Milan.³⁹

35 ASMil, Potenze sovrane 124, item number 6.

36 ASMil, Registri di missive 198, fol. 52. Transcription in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 204, n. 59.

37 ASMil, Notarile 864. 26 April 1480. Weerbeke's roommates were Chocere, Walterius Maes (Milanese ducal singers), and Guilelmus de Neous. The house had a solarium and courtyard and was rented for 22 ducats per year.

38 ASMil, Notarile 1929.

39 Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 202 and n. 46.

What were the composer's circumstances like in Rome? He would have retained the considerable income from the Milanese benefices. He would have needed a house in Rome; even though papal singers were called commensual familiars, at this time they did not reside in the Vatican. Some of them belonged to the private chapels of cardinals while members of the papal chapel.⁴⁰ It is not to be excluded that he sang for Ascanio Sforza when the latter established his household in Rome as a new cardinal, in 1484, but Ascanio's papers are not extant.

In May of 1489, Weerbeke is documented back in Milan as a ducal singer, undertaking a complicated exchange of benefices leaving him in possession of a canonry in Bruges and a pension from a benefice in the diocese of Liège.⁴¹ He was therefore in the city at least one month before the copying of the choirbook Milan 1 was completed (23 June 1489, the date written at the start of the manuscript), although it is also true that Gaffurius could have obtained compositions by Gaspar in many ways (e.g. directly from the composer in Rome or from ducal chapel manuscripts).

In 1491 his procurator was Jacobus Barbireau, a composer, the master of the choir in the cathedral of Antwerp, and a musician in the service of Maximilian I, King of the Romans.⁴² Instances of composers acting for one another in benefice transactions are not infrequent. Could this connection have been the first step towards Weerbeke's second departure from Milan? It seems unlikely. On 17 January 1492, Weerbeke received his pension for the provostship of Ogiate, the transaction for which was enacted in the house of Carcano, a doctor of law and a ducal fiscal adviser.⁴³ The composer had undertaken an act of *comparaggio* with him, a formalization of a close friendship, a kind of extended kinship. In their dealings with neighbours and in notarial transactions, the ultramontane singers can be seen to have insinuated themselves deeply within the Milanese social fabric.

The document of 1493, in which Weerbeke rented the property where the laundry operated, is the only notice recovered of his commercial activities. Such activity was not atypical for the Milanese singers at the time, but this was a venture on a larger scale than most.⁴⁴ Added to his accumulated benefice income and his salary as a singer, the profit from the laundry would have made him an even wealthier man. In 1493 he rented out a house that he owned in the area of the Porta Ticinese for 400 *libri* per year.⁴⁵ Documents of 1496 show that this house was a gift from Ludovico, valued at 300 ducats, confiscated from someone who owed money to the ducal *camera*.⁴⁶ On 31 October 1494 Weerbeke resigned a benefice in favour of the

40 Richard Sherr, 'Laudat autem David: Fallows on Josquin', *Music & Letters*, 92 (2011), 437–61 at 447.

41 ASMil, Notarile 3008 and related act on the same day, Notarile 1288, 9 May 1489. Weerbeke, in Milan, notarized an agreement of permutations: his canonry at St Gertrude of Nivelles plus pension of 21 florins on a prebend in Trèves, to Wilhelmus Alfin, doctor of law, for a canonry in St Donatian of Bruges, and a pension worth 25 Rhenish florins from a deaconate in the diocese of Liège. Nivelles was finally resigned in 1491. The full document is transcribed in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', App. B.

42 ASMil, Notarile 3010.

43 Ibid.

44 On 11 May 1493, Weerbeke rented, for 50 *libri* annually, a garden in the Porta Ticinese, parish of St Eufonia, 'in which garden the laundering of cloth takes place' (ASMil, Notarile 5137: 'Investitura ... in dominum Gasparem de Verbech ... de zardino uno situ et iacente in ... S. Euffemia fors in quo zardino fiebat et fit lavandaria draporum ... libras 50 imperiales').

45 ASMil, Notarile 4082.

46 ASMil, 3211, documentation dated 20 August and 22 October 1496.

new ducal singer Bonus Radulfus, priest of Théroutanne, the composer reserving a pension of 20 gold ducats for himself.⁴⁷ Cordier appointed procurators on 2 May 1494, the act witnessed in Milan by Egidius Cosse and Weerbeke, both called ducal singers.⁴⁸

In March of 1494, Ludovico Sforza's sister Bianca Maria married Maximilian I. It is not known which Milanese musicians accompanied her for the wedding, but evidently the marriage opened an avenue for the movement of singers. The composer rented property from Galeazzo Visconti, and on 13 June 1495 he remitted 48 *libri* as part payment.⁴⁹

Ludovico lost Cordier to imperial patronage and in 1495 Weerbeke too jumped ship, joining the chapel of Maximilian and Bianca Maria Sforza without asking permission or giving notice. Ludovico wrote to the Archduke of Burgundy on 30 October 1495: 'Gaspar was beloved by us ... and we tried our best to satisfy him, ... even giving him a house and other money. He, in an ungrateful way ... has left.'⁵⁰ Ludovico wrote to Cordier twice in 1495, trying to win the tenorist back, adding: 'Know with how little honour Gaspar the singer left our service, that he ran away, having taken his salary, and at present he has many debts and there are liens against his house'.⁵¹ The situation speaks to the mobility of sought-after singers at this time. However angry Ludovico was at Weerbeke, he could do little more than put a lien on the house he had given the composer. He could not seize the composer's church positions or even his laundry. Further, if he wished to insist on high-level legal proceedings, the case would have been adjudicated by Maximilian, the singer's new patron.

In any case, since Weerbeke had in effect transferred to the service of his sister, the rancor did not last long. In 1498 Weerbeke offered to recruit singers to Milan, and on 13 July Ludovico offered to take him on again, at his usual salary, adding that the sooner he arrived the better it would be. 'Gaspar de Verbecha, who was formerly our chapel singer, has found three singers in France who are good for our chapel ... we will give to Gaspar his usual salary ... which will commence from the time that they depart.'⁵²

Summary

To summarize, these notices paint the portrait of a composer consistently in demand, sought by the Sforzas, the pontiff, and those in imperial circles. More than is the case for the other singers studied, Weerbeke was involved in a great many financial transactions, most involving benefices, but also some having to do with property. The other singer with whom he could be compared in this way was Antonio Guinati. As abbot and vice-abbot of the chapel of ducal singers, they would have been entitled to larger remuneration than the other singers, but was that the reason for the large number of benefices?

47 ASMil, Notarile 3011.

48 ASMil, Notarile 3011 and notarized as coming into effect on the same day in Notarile 1293.

49 ASMil, Notarile 3730.

50 ASMil, Potenze estere Borgogna e Fiandra, Sforcesco 521. 'A nobis diligebatur Gaspar ... et optime ei satisficeret, ... domo etiam et aliis muneritus donatus a nobis foret. Is in ingrato modo ... abiit.'

51 ASMil, Miscellanea Storica 15. 'Intenderete cum quanto honor suo Gaspar cantore se n'è partito dal servizio nostro, che' l se ne è fugito, havendo tochata la paga e lassato molti debiti e impignata la casa.'

52 ASMil, Registri ducali 123, fol. 257. 'Gaspar de Verbecha, quale altre volte è stato nostro cantore de capella, ha trovato in Franza tri cantori quali sono boni per la capella nostra ... daremo ad messer Gaspare la provisione sua consueta ... la provisione sua comminciarà al tempo che si partirano.' A fuller transcription is in Matthews, 'Weerbeke in Milan', 208, n. 66.

Perhaps it was not that simple. It does seem most likely that Guinati was in charge of the administrative aspects of the choir, and in certifying liturgical propriety. Weerbeke would, it seems most likely, have been responsible for directing the choir, for choosing repertoire, and probably, to a large extent, in choosing singers, hence his role in recruitment. The daily and weekly rhythm of musical performance in Milan, especially the performance of sacred music as an aspect of ducal ceremonial, was surely an important function, and for this reason Weerbeke was well paid.

In addition, his contribution to the repertoire of the court cannot be discounted, particularly in the case of the 'signature' genre the *motetti missales*. Both Galeazzo and Ludovico Sforza spent time in their youth at the court of the King of France, and they must have been well acquainted with Ockeghem and the great emphasis of patronage placed on his musical service. Indeed there is a letter from Galeazzo to 'prete Oken' (presumably Ockeghem), dated 3 November 1472, concerning recruitment in France.⁵³ Since Galeazzo wanted to create a chapel of ultramontane singers in imitation of and in competition with French practice, he needed someone like Ockeghem, and it seems likely that for him this was Weerbeke.

On his side of the equation, Weerbeke, as a prominent client at court, acted differently from Ockeghem. Weerbeke worked in the new, monetized economy. Instead of a tithe on a large fief, he acquired benefices, which he converted to monetary value as pensions, he traded in property, and he went into business. Instead of following the traditional protocol of asking leave of his patron to seek his fortune elsewhere, he made his own move, understanding that the period of asking permission to change patrons was out of date.

A discussion of the implications that Weerbeke's record has for musical style is beyond the scope of this essay. It may nevertheless be remarked that, with the revised dates of Josquin's service with the Sforzas, and the portrait of the central position of Weerbeke in Milan (active in the choir at the inception of the *motetti missales*), and the demand for his music in Rome and in the empire, a new assessment of the musical landscape is in order, and Weerbeke will be seen to be a very prominent figure.

53 See Martin Picker, *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), 8.

Belle promesse e facti nulla:

A Letter to Weerbeke and the Treatment of Singers in Florence and Milan

Sean Gallagher

SO MUCH OF WHAT WE KNOW about the lives of northern singers active in fifteenth-century Italy derives from institutional documents of various kinds. They appear on chapel payrolls, as members of confraternities, or in notarial and ecclesiastical records, most often in connection with benefices or other transactions involving money. Similarly, the circumstances surrounding the poaching of singers—a practice Italian rulers regularly engaged in—have mostly been gleaned from documents generated by those in power, rather than by those who would have been most directly affected, the singers.

There are good reasons for this state of affairs. Principal among these is a scarcity of personal documents from the singers themselves.¹ Letters of any sort written by fifteenth-century musicians are comparatively rare, and most of the known examples are, broadly speaking, professional in nature, often amounting to job applications addressed to a potential employer. The singer Jachet de Marville's 1473 letter to the Duke of Milan, written in formal Latin and humbly requesting a return to Milanese service, is representative of the fawning language and deferential tone common to such letters:

Truly my mind cannot belong to any prince or ecclesiastic except in the service of your excellency, on whom I have placed the affection of my heart... your illustrious lordship will ask the abbot of the chapel how I am in voice, practice, and sufficiency of my office, as a high contratenor. If he does not want me, I ask to be removed from the chapel and incarcerated at the pleasure of your lordship.²

Less formal in tone, if similar in intent, is Filipotto de Dortenche's 1471 letter to Lorenzo de' Medici. Filipotto, then a singer at the Neapolitan court, offers his services to Lorenzo and

* For help of various kinds during my work on this project I wish to thank Eric Jas, Giovanni Zanovello, Agnese Pavanello, Louise de Koning-van Benthem, Eugeen Schreurs, Willem Kuiper, Frits van Oostrom, Ingrid Biesheuvel, John Nádas, Bonnie Blackburn, Grantley McDonald, and Joshua Rifkin.

1 Perhaps the most unusual such document from the period comes not from Italy but Germany: a detailed autobiography in verse by the singer and composer Johannes van Soest (1448–1506); see Klaus Pietschmann and Steven Rozenski, Jr., 'Singing the Self: The Autobiography of the Fifteenth-Century German Singer and Composer Johannes van Soest', *Early Music History* 29 (2010), 119–59.

2 For the full text and translation of Jachet's letter, see Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 68–69.

explains his reasons for wanting to return to Florence, not least of which is his Florentine wife's desire to return to her native city.³ Despite the occasional glimpse into a singer's private life, letters such as these are still professional correspondence, with the writers ever mindful of whom they are addressing. Even Antonio Squarcialupi's famous letter to Guillaume Du Fay cannot really be considered a private communication between musicians since he was writing on behalf of his employers, the Medici.⁴ How might Antonio have expressed himself without a patron looking, as it were, over his shoulder? How did fifteenth-century musicians, when not addressing current or potential patrons, discuss their personal and professional circumstances?

Two letters written by the singer Guillaume Steynsel (*fl.* 1479–93) are useful in addressing these questions. The earlier of the two letters, addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici, is of the 'professional' type and in some ways resembles Filipotto's letter to Lorenzo. There are, however, also notable differences between them which reveal something of Steynsel's character. But it is the second letter, discovered some years ago by Gino Corti, that is of particular interest.⁵ Addressed to Gaspar van Weerbeke, whom Steynsel calls his 'dear friend', this is a rare example of a genuinely private letter between fifteenth-century musicians.⁶ While hardly soul-baring in nature, it does provide an example of unguarded language between colleagues, as well as a sense of how these singers worked around the difficulties of being caught between competing rulers, each of them intent on bolstering the status of his chapel.

In Milanese documents of the 1480s Steynsel is described as being from 'lower Germany' and as a 'priest of the diocese of Utrecht', both of which would be consistent with him (or his family) having come from the village of Steynsel in Brabant, 95 km from Utrecht.⁷ Beyond this, nothing is known of his life prior to September 1479, when 'messier Guillaume Steynsel' appears among the singers of the Habsburg-Burgundian chapel of Maximilian I.⁸ Between 1479 and 1493 (when we lose all trace of him), he would serve in at least two other important chapels: the *cantori di San Giovanni* in Florence and the ducal chapel in Milan.

3 Frank A. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), 307–58 at 325. On the identification of the Neapolitan singer Ffelippo de Burgunya as Filipotto de Dortenche, see Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 39–40.

4 For details of Squarcialupi's letter, see David Fallows, *Dufay*, rev. edn. (London: J. M. Dent, 1987), 76–77.

5 Gino Corti gave his draft transcriptions of both Steynsel letters to Anthony Cummings, who, upon learning of my interest in the singer for other reasons, kindly passed them on to me, for which I thank him. Transcriptions and translations of the two letters provided here are my own.

6 Milanese documents from these decades provide occasional indirect references to letters between musicians; see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 66, 85, 396–97. The unnamed author of a 1474 letter to the singer Jean Cordier may have been a member of the Neapolitan chapel (*ibid.*, 55–56). The Merkleys suggest that an undated letter addressed to three members of the Milanese chapel (Henricus Knoep, Johannes de Lomont, and Petrus de Tongris) 'is apparently from the composer Brumel' (*ibid.*, 281; facsimile of the letter on 282–83). However, as Bonnie Blackburn has noted (private communication): (1) the letter is signed 'Anthonius de Brucella', not 'Brumella'; (2) it must date from 1477–81 since Knoep and the others are called singers of the Duchess of Milan; and (3) there is no obvious reason to think either Anthonius de Brucella or the 'magister Anthonius de Brux[elles]' mentioned in the letter was a musician.

7 For the relevant Milanese documents, see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 380, 382, 386.

8 *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord, Archives civiles—Série B. Chambre des comptes de Lille, Nos. 3390 à 3665*, vol. 8, ed. Jules Finot (Lille, 1895), 66. Steynsel is listed seventeenth among the chaplains.

During his career, then, he would sing alongside some of the leading musicians of the time, among them Antoine Busnoys, Jean Cordier, Henricus Isaac, and—perhaps briefly—Weerbeke.

Evidently a gifted singer, Steynsel seems also to have had a talent for making trouble, both for himself and his employers. Just two years after joining the Burgundian chapel and for reasons unknown, Steynsel left without Maximilian's permission, accompanied by the veteran ducal singer Philippe du Passage.⁹ Both singers' names are crossed out in the *escroes* for December 1481, and soon thereafter they were arrested 'in the territories of Germany' on orders of Maximilian, who then sent another of his chaplains, Johannes Blidenberg, to retrieve the two 'prisoners'.¹⁰ Something in the plan must have gone awry since the two singers seem never to have returned to Burgundian service. Philippe du Passage soon found other work in the Low Countries, serving at the Onze Lieve Vrouw church in Antwerp, but Steynsel's whereabouts for the following two and a half years are unknown. Only in August 1484 does he resurface, far from Burgundian territory, when 'Guglielmo d'Arnoldo de Steynsel' is first recorded in Florence as one of the *cantori di San Giovanni* serving at Santissima Annunziata.¹¹

He may have brought more than just his singing skills to Florence. Elsewhere I have noted that Steynsel's arrival coincides with what appears to have been a significant and otherwise unexplained influx there of chansons by Busnoys, his former colleague in the Burgundian chapel. This increased availability of Busnoys's music in Florentine circles is most clearly reflected in the two repertorially distinct sections of the Pixérécourt Chansonier (Paris, Bibl. nat., fonds fr., MS 15123), the most substantial Florentine songbook from the 1480s. Steynsel was the only member of the *cantori di San Giovanni* in the mid-1480s to have recently sung in the Burgundian chapel, making him a potential conduit for music by the leading Burgundian composer of the time.¹²

- 9 Philippe du Passage was known to Johannes Tinctoris, who in the *De inventione et usu musicae* described him as a low tenor: 'inter tenoristas bassos: Philippus de Passagio natione Cyprius sed eruditione Brabantius'; see Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae'* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961), 33. Philippe joined the chapel in 1462; he later worked in Antwerp (see below) and died in March 1492. For further details of his career, see Georges van Doorslaer, 'La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 4 (1934), 21–57 at 32. In 1473 Philippe held a canonry at St Goedele in Brussels; Barbara Helen Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), 642.
- 10 On their defection from the chapel, see Paula Higgins, 'In hydraulis Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 36–86 at 62: 'To Messire Jehan Blidenberch, priest, domestic chaplain in the hotel of my said Lord, the sum of twenty livres... in order to bring back and lead before him Messire Guillaume Steynsel and Phelippe du Passage, singer and tenor of his domestic chapel, being arrested on my said Lord's orders in the territories of Germany, and to assist him with the expenses that the said prisoners would incur en route.' Grantley McDonald has recently discovered new information on Johannes Blidenberg, who was a priest and singer who had served in Emperor Friedrich III's chapel from at least 1460. In early 1481, Friedrich sent him and Nicole Mayoul to serve in Maximilian's chapel. Contrary to Higgins's claim that Blidenberg never returned from his mission in early 1482 to retrieve Steynsel and Philippe du Passage (*ibid.*, 67), there is evidence that by that June Maximilian had sent him to Antwerp to meet Friedrich and Sigismund of Tirol 'on certain secret business' (Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 2127, fol. 175^v). Blidenberg lived until 1495 and is recorded as having benefices in Eindhoven and Nivelles. I am very grateful to Dr McDonald for sharing his research.
- 11 D'Accone, 'Singers', 335–39. Two weeks after first being recorded in Florence, Steynsel appears as one of eight singers of the Florentine Signoria who sang in Siena Cathedral on the feast of the Assumption; Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 243.

Once Steynsel was in Florence, history would soon repeat itself: in August 1485, a year after his arrival, Lorenzo de' Medici wrote to Bernardo Rucellai, Florentine ambassador in Milan, saying that Steynsel had 'most rudely (*molto villanamente*) departed from the church of San Giovanni', and that Ludovico Sforza should not engage him.¹³ Steynsel had in fact left Florence in the company of another singer, Franchois Millet (Francesco Migliotti in Florentine documents), who had joined the chapel of the Annunziata in February 1484 and been named to the *cantori di San Giovanni* the following September.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Ludovico ignored Lorenzo's request, and both singers quickly joined the ducal chapel in Milan. Here matters might have rested, except that by the following summer Lorenzo had reversed course and now sought to bring the errant singers back to Florence.

As it happens, we only know of this reversal from Steynsel's letter to Lorenzo, dated 7 August 1486, which begins by thanking him for the offer to return, an offer conveyed by one 'Iohannes', whom he describes simply as 'our companion' (for the full letter, see Appendix A).¹⁵ Steynsel's letter, signed by both him and Franchois, has received little notice since it was first published more than a century ago.¹⁶ While it shares features with other such letters—an expressed willingness to serve the patron/city in question, the seeking of assurances with respect to salary and benefices, the request for secrecy—Steynzel's letter is in some ways unusual. Despite his formulaic deference, he is no diplomat, and his language is unpolished. His frequent shifts between Italian and Latin might simply reflect an imperfect knowledge of Italian, but they also seem a linguistic habit (as we shall see, this mixing of languages is even more pronounced in his letter to Weerbeke, a fellow Flemish speaker). In attempting to justify his and Franchois's departure from Florence, Steynsel is blunt in complaining about the treatment they received there: in order to receive their salaries and clothing they were sent 'da botega in botega, da persona ad personas, de casa in casa', which, he says, is not an honest way to treat men who have served 'in capella regum et aliorum principium' (lapsing back into Latin). He wants to know what their salary would be should they return, as well as their prospects for benefices. In dogged detail he spells out his emoluments from a canonry he holds at the

12 That the Pixérécourt Chansonnier marks an important stage in the Florentine reception of Busnoys's music was first noted in Joshua Rifkin, 'Busnoys and Italy: The Evidence of Two Songs', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed. Paula Higgins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 505–71 at 554–55. On the two repertorial layers of the Pixérécourt manuscript, see Sean Gallagher, 'Caron and Florence: A New Ascription and the Copying of the Pixérécourt Chansonnier', in *Recevez ce mien petit labeur: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, ed. Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 83–92. On the significance of these layers in tracing the circulation of Busnoys's chansons in Italy, and on Steynsel's possible role, see Sean Gallagher, 'The Berlin Chansonnier and French Song in Florence, 1450–1490: A New Dating and its Implications', *Journal of Musicology*, 24 (2007), 339–64 at 356–60.

13 A record of the letter survives: 'Adi 10 [agosto 1485]: A Bernardo Rucellai che operi col s. Ludovico, Guglielmo [sic] cantore che se partito di San Giovanni molto villanamente, non sia acceptato.' (Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il principato, LXIII, 50); see *Protocolli del carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1473–74, 1477–92*, ed. Marcello Del Piazzo, Documenti di storia italiana, II/2 (Florence, 1956), 334; see also D'Accone, 'Singers', 335–36.

14 Steynsel and Millet/Migliotti's departure is discussed in D'Accone, 'Singers', 335–36.

15 This 'Iohannes' is possibly Giovanni Pichardi, another singer who had departed Florence the previous year; see *ibid.*, 339.

16 Vittorio Rossi, 'Per la storia dei cantori sforzeschi', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 3rd ser., 15 (1901), 150–60. Rossi mentions the letter's 'bizzarro e spropositato ibridismo linguistico' (p. 159).

church of San Giovanni in Pavia, noting that Franchois holds an expectative for a comparable benefice, all of which will certainly be lost should they leave the Duke of Milan's service. An annotation records receipt of the letter in Florence on 26 August, but whether Lorenzo took offence at Steynsel's candour or for some other reason, nothing came of it at the time, and it would be more than two and a half years before the singer returned to Florentine service.

Gaetano Cesari, writing in the 1920s, mistakenly inferred from the letter to Lorenzo that Steynsel's return to Florence occurred soon after August 1486. D'Accone, however, has noted that he reappears as a member of the Florentine chapel only at the end of May 1489.¹⁷ What has remained unclear is whether Steynsel was in fact in Milan during those two and a half years, and indeed how he eventually came to work again in Florence. In their detailed study of music and patronage at the Sforza court, Paul and Lora Merkley discuss documents concerning a ducal singer whose name they give as 'Guillelmus Steifel' or 'Stensfel'. He is described as both a priest of the diocese of Utrecht and as being from Lower Germany.¹⁸ All the documents date from between March 1486 and December 1488 (i.e. within the apparent time-frame of Steynsel's service in Milan), and all involve 'Steifel's' canonry at the church of San Giovanni in Pavia (the same church at which Steynsel held a canonry, according to his 1486 letter to Lorenzo de' Medici). One further detail seems to cement the identity of Steifel/ Steynsel: a Milanese document of 1488 notes that Steifel is son to the deceased 'Ranoldus', while certain Florentine documents provide Steynsel's patronymic as 'd'Arnoldo'.¹⁹

Confirmation that Steynsel worked in Milan until at least December 1488, and (as we shall see) likely up until shortly before his documented presence in Florence at the end of May 1489, takes on new significance in light of his recently discovered letter to Weerbeke. In the spring of 1489 Weerbeke was about to begin his second period of service in Milan after eight years singing in the papal chapel. He was paid in Rome through the end of March, and on 9 May appeared before a notary in Milan.²⁰ If in fact Steynsel and Weerbeke overlapped briefly in Milan that spring, it would be the only known time they can be placed in the same city.

17 Gaetano Cesari, 'Musica e musicisti alla corte sforzesca', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 29 (1922), 1–52 at 16; D'Accone, 'Singers', 323, n. 45; 336, n. 114; 342. Steynsel's absence from Florence from August 1485 until spring 1489 is further supported by documents discovered by Giovanni Zanovello relating to the confraternity of Santa Barbara in Florence (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 205 N. 9 [Entrate dal 1475 al 1526]). Membership dues were paid on 10 April 1485 by 'messere gulgielmo [sic] cantator in san giovanny' (fol. 20). Steynsel was the only 'Guglielmo' among the *cantori di San Giovanni* in 1485. According to Zanovello (private communication), the statutes of the confraternity stipulate that members were not required to pay dues if they were away from Florence for an extended period. It is telling that the next payment by a 'gulgielmo cantore' (presumably the same man) comes only several years later, on 4 December 1489 (fol. 30^v), precisely two weeks before Steynsel's letter to Weerbeke. I am indebted to Prof. Zanovello for sharing his research.

18 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 380, 382, 386. The 1488 document notes that Steifel lived in the Porta Vercellina, parish of San Protasio in campo within Milan. For the specific date of this 1488 document, see Lora Matthews, 'Reconstruction of the Personnel of the Ducal Choir in Milan, 1480–1499', *Musica e storia*, 6 (1998), 297–312 at 307–8. Matthews gives the singer's name as 'Guilelmus de Steifel (or Stensfel)'.

19 For the inclusion of Steynsel's patronymic in records of the *cantori di San Giovanni* in 1484–85 and 1490–92, see D'Accone, 'Singers', 335–44.

20 On the date of Weerbeke's last payment in Rome, see Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria* . . . *virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350 at 258, n. 44.

One wonders whether they might have known each other from their early days in the north, either prior to their travelling to Italy, or during Weerbeke's 1473 trip to the Low Countries to recruit singers for the Milanese court (either way, any such contact would have occurred years before our earliest record of Steynsel).

Certainly his letter to Weerbeke, written in December 1489 (six months after Steynsel's return to Florence) suggests a friendship of some standing. It is not simply that Steynsel addresses him as a 'dear friend', but that his letter is clearly a reply to one (now lost) from Weerbeke. His tone is familiar, and he sends friendly greetings to (among others) Weerbeke's brother and sister. Perhaps above all, it is the fact that he is asking for Weerbeke's help in dealing with a delicate problem resulting from Steynsel's departure from Milan, which we learn was effected by Lorenzo de' Medici's son, Piero. Roughly half the letter is in Flemish, half in Italian, with little Latin phrases (going beyond the usual salutation and date) sprinkled in the middle. (In the following translation, passages in Flemish are in normal typeface, with the Italian in italic, Latin in bold.)

Greetings, dearest brother. I thank you for your news. I'm very surprised that you haven't written me about these matters for a long time. Nevertheless, it is only reasonable that you be paid. Piero de' Medici is writing to the *Florentine ambassador* a letter of recommendation [enen brief ... de bono inchiostro],²¹ *which, for his love, asks messer Marquisino not to be spiteful if his Magnificence has taken me from Milan, and for this reason not pay me my salary for this past month of March* [margin: *which I earned and deserved*]; *noting that, if Piero has taken me from Milan, previously I have been taken from the service of the house of Medici with beautiful promises and nothing done, etc.* Take heed of these words. Dear friend, since **I am most certain** that you wish me well—as **experience teaches**—earnestly solicit this ambassador and take pains on my behalf. I hope you still consider me worthy. Item: I pray you ask Francois, my companion, whether he still hasn't received my letter from Francois Rogegolle. I sent him a nice little gift for his wife, enclosed in the letter. And greet him a hundred thousand fold, as well as his wife. Item: furthermore, greetings to my godfather, to your brother and your sister, and to my godmother Betken; and greet Iannes Liegeois, messer Piero de Holy, and all the good men of the chapel. **Farewell. Florence, 18 December 1489.**

Entirely yours, Guillelmus de Steynsel, singer of Lorenzo de' Medici

It might seem surprising that it was not Lorenzo de' Medici writing a letter on Steynsel's behalf, but rather his young son Piero (then just seventeen years old). This detail, however, points to what must have been the background both to Steynsel's letter and to his return to Florence. Ten months earlier, Piero de' Medici had been sent to Milan on a diplomatic mission under the cover of representing Florence at the elaborate wedding festivities for Giangaleazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon. The Florentine ambassador mentioned by Steynsel was Piero Alamanni, a veteran diplomat with long experience in Milan, who in his dispatches to Lorenzo had reported favourably on young Piero's activities and his warm reception at Ludovico's court.²² Piero's

21 On the meaning of this idiom, see Girolamo Cafaro, *Elocutiones atque clausulae e singulis M. T. Ciceronis* (Venice, 1571), 151.

22 On Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici's 1489 visit to Milan and Alamanni's dispatches to Lorenzo, see Alison

extended visit to Milan would have provided Steynsel an opportunity to re-establish contact with the Medici and belatedly to take up Lorenzo's offer to return to Florentine service.

While Piero might not have actually taken Steynsel with him when departing Milan, some arrangement must have been made by then. According to the letter, Steynsel's last month working in Milan appears to have been March 1489, just weeks after the wedding. Eight months later he was still trying to claim the month's wages he had 'earned and deserved'. His complaint rings true: there is ample evidence Ludovico could be vindictive in this way with singers who had abandoned his chapel.²³

A notable figure in all this, and one whose contacts with the Milanese chapel merit further study, is the person Steynsel calls 'messer Marquisino'. This was Marchesino Stanga (d. Aug. 1500), member of a distinguished Cremonese family, and close friend and secretary to Ludovico Sforza. For the festivities following Ludovico's marriage to Beatrice d'Este in 1491, Marchesino reportedly paid for an elaborate spectacle involving 'fourteen armed men, and three tubiciniists, in German costume, on white horses'.²⁴ His connection to music has previously been limited to the possibility that the three-voice *La stanghetta* (ascribed to Weerbeke in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, but elsewhere to Isaac or Obrecht) somehow relates to him (or another member of his family), though even this link has recently been questioned.²⁵ What is clear is that Ludovico relied heavily on Stanga: in addition to his duties as secretary, he is reported to have been superintendent of the treasury, director of the granary, and Ludovico's representative in overseeing numerous architectural and other artistic projects, including Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Stanga himself paid for the organ in this same church.²⁶ He enjoyed a reputation for having refined tastes and for supporting writers, and at least one *strambotto* is ascribed to him.²⁷ If, as Steynsel's letter strongly suggests, Stanga's duties as superintendent of the treasury extended to authorizing payments to members of the ducal chapel, any surviving documentation relating to his activities at court offers a promising path for future research into the chapel's personnel and finances.²⁸

Brown, 'The Early Years of Piero di Lorenzo, 1472–92', in *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. John E. Law and Bernadette Paton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 209–22. Piero Alamanni (1434–1519) had been ambassador to Milan in the time of Francesco Sforza (d. 1466).

23 On Ludovico's response to Weerbeke's departure from the chapel without permission in 1495, see below.

24 Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 306, citing the humanist Tristano Calco's detailed account of the wedding. This appears to be the book's only mention of Stanga.

25 See Eric Jas's contribution to this volume.

26 Rodolfo Renier, 'Gaspere Visconti', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 2nd ser., 3 (1886), 777–824, at 802.

27 The *strambotto* is in Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Urb. lat. 729 (attributed in another source to Serafino de' Ciminelli); Giuseppina La Face Bianconi and Antonio Rossi, "'Soffrir non son disposto ogni tormento': Serafino Aquilano: figura letteraria, fantasma musicologico", in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia. Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols., ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: EDT, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 240–54, at 250, n. 18.

28 Bonnie Blackburn has recently brought one such document to my attention, a letter from Stanga to Bartolomeo Calco, dated 17 April 1492 (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Autografi III. 94.41), concerning the organist Magister Petrus Lieb and an organ built for the duke: 'Magnifice et prestantissime eques tanquam pater observandissime. Convent superioribus mensibus quidam Magister Petrus Lieb organista pro organo ligneo Ill.mo Domino nostro vendito se sumerium cum cannis bene compositis facturum: ut scriptura manu propria firmata constat tenoris inclusi: quas conventiones Petrus ipse minime adimplevit. Non ignorat tamen: M. V. Petrum predictum proximis diebus alium conduxisse organum: qui quantum ad vocis concentum altero interior certo iudicio affirmari poterat: et quia accepi eundem Petrum conquestum fuisse precij conventi integram satisfac-

Piero de' Medici evidently knew to direct his ambassador to Stanga in a matter involving payment to a singer. While he might have learned of Stanga's responsibilities during his recent stay in Milan, it is Steynsel who could most readily have provided such details about the administration of the Milanese chapel. A telling detail pops up when Steynsel is describing Piero's letter of recommendation: it is only here that he slips mid-sentence into Italian ('enen brief ... de bono inchiostro'), surprising given he is writing to a fellow Flemish speaker.²⁹ It is as if he were paraphrasing or recalling a letter he has actually seen, or at least discussed with Piero. Similarly, Steynsel's use of the highly specific idiom 'de bono inchiostro' is unexpected coming from a foreigner with still modest skills in Italian unless he had heard or read it in connection with just this kind of recommendation letter.

And what of Weerbeke's role in all this? As noted above, the beginning of Steynsel's letter makes clear that Weerbeke had previously written to him on at least one occasion, probably more, as suggested by Steynsel's statement that he is surprised Weerbeke has not written him about 'these matters for a long time' (*overlanc*). That 'these matters' involved Weerbeke not getting paid for having done something seems clear enough, though one can only speculate on whether this referred to his time in Milan or elsewhere. One clue that this might in fact concern Milan is Steynsel's description of having been lured from Florence to Milan with 'beautiful promises and nothing done' (*belle promesse e facti nulla*). Presumably he felt that assurances had been made but not kept, and he seems to have soured on the Sforza chapel. It is at this point that Steynsel warns Weerbeke: 'Take heed of these words' (*Laet varen deze worden*; again, tellingly, it is at this point that Steynsel shifts back to Flemish for the remainder of the letter.) Weerbeke himself, of course, had only recently been lured back for a second period of Milanese service after eight years in Rome, having refused an offer to return in 1482. By then it was approaching twenty years since the start of his first period in Milan, first under Galeazzo Sforza and then for three further years following Galeazzo's assassination at the end of 1476. He had left for the papal chapel soon after Ludovico was formally named governor general of Milan.³⁰ Despite the composer's long experience with Milan, in 1489 he was returning to a different political environment. It was now firmly Ludovico's city.

tionem se minime assequi posse: visum est mihi M. V. de his omnibus que cum eo agitata fuerunt certiore reddere: ut causam contra ipsum iniuste conquerentem tueri possit: affirmare etiam poterit M. V. quod si petrus ipse conventa adimpleverit Ill. m. principem nostrum quicquid ea de causa promiserit observaturum: et me eidem commendo. Ex arce porte jovis mediolani die xvij aprilis 1492. E. M. V. uti Filius Marchesinus Stanga.' The letter is mentioned briefly in Emilio Motta, 'Musicisti alla corte degli Sforza', *Archivio storico Lombardo*, 2nd ser., 4 (1887), 294. I am indebted to Dr Blackburn for sharing her transcription of the letter.

29 While one can imagine northern singers mixing languages during everyday speech, the discovery of other such informal letters between musicians would help confirm whether this was a genuinely widespread linguistic habit or merely an idiosyncrasy of Steynsel's. The latter seems more likely given a letter from 1492 written in Italian by the ducal singer Iannes Liègeois (see n. 30 below).

30 Weerbeke is last documented in Milan on 26 April 1480, but first appears as a member of the papal chapel only in February 1481; see Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan', 259, n. 48, where doubts are raised about whether the composer is to be identified with the Gaspar 'Alamanno', cleric of Tournai, who is recorded witnessing a notarial transaction in Milan on 13 April 1481. On the other hand, a ducal letter to the orators in Rome, dated 20 April 1482, states that 'sonno più mesi che messer Gaspar Verbech se parti del nostro servitio'; see Motta, 'Musicisti', 326. My thanks to Bonnie Blackburn for bringing this 1482 letter to my attention.

We gain some sense of the form Ludovico's *belle promesse* could take from a 1495 letter to Jean Cordier, in which the duke attempts to bring the celebrated singer back to Milan with assurances that members of his chapel, well treated in the past, can expect to be treated even better in the future (despite rumours at the time that the chapel was breaking up):

Messer Cordier: Ianes de Liège, our singer, has told us that you want to return to us, but that you are delaying because you have heard where you are that we have broken up our chapel, and your colleagues have gone some here, some there, which is not true. Our intention is that, if in the past we have treated our singers well, we will treat them even better in the future, both with benefices and with temporal goods. Therefore, the sooner you return, the more we will receive singular pleasure ...³¹

It should be noted that, by the time Ludovico wrote this, Weerbeke had fallen out with him, left the chapel without permission, and headed to the court of Philip the Fair. Further on in the letter to Cordier, Ludovico complains about Weerbeke's behaviour and about an unsatisfactory soprano the composer had recruited. He then announces he has placed a lien on Weerbeke's house: Ludovico in vindictive mode.

But in December 1489, when Steynsel wrote his letter, all this lay in the future. Whatever Weerbeke's situation at the time, Steynsel clearly hoped his friend could help him retrieve his wages. It was all well and good to have ambassadors, secretaries, even rulers working to help sort out one's affairs, but to ensure things actually got done, better perhaps to trust in a fellow singer, especially one high up in the chapel hierarchy. Whether Weerbeke truly was in a position to press the Florentine ambassador and/or Marchesino Stanga in this matter, apparently his reputation among his colleagues was such that Steynsel believed he could. As vice-abbot of the chapel Weerbeke might well have had access to Stanga or an ambassador that most others in the chapel did not. 'Experience teaches', as Steynsel notes, and any experienced singer in Italy would have known from dealing with procurators and disputes over benefices that in such situations it was crucial to have your representative on the spot. Seen in this light, Steynsel's request of Weerbeke seems an informal (and thus probably trickier) version of what singers, acting as procurators, regularly did for one another in more formal circumstances.

Setting aside money matters and chapel politics, Steynsel ends his letter with a series of greetings. These, too, prove interesting in various ways. He begins with his companion Franchois Millet, with whom he had fled Florence four years earlier. Unlike Steynsel, Franchois had remained in the Milanese chapel and later invested in a business (as did a number of the singers; in his case, a fish market).³² From the letter we learn he had also married, and Steynsel asks Weerbeke to inquire about the arrival of a letter sent to Franchois that contained a 'nice little gift' for his wife. In addition to sending greetings to 'all the good men of the chapel', Steynsel mentions two other Milanese singers by name: Iannes Liègeois and Piero de Holy (Petrus de Holey; in Milanese documents he is normally called Pietro Holi). Iannes is documented in the chapel as early as January 1486, when Ludovico granted him property near Piacenza for 'the duration of his life'. He was still there in September 1497. A letter of his from 1492 survives,

³¹ For the letter (dated 19 September) and translation, see Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 396–97.

³² *Ibid.*, 402; Matthews, 'Reconstruction', 310.

addressed to the son of a ducal secretary. It makes for an interesting comparison with Steynsel's letters, showing a better command of Italian, and with none of Steynsel's linguistic mixing.³³ Petrus de Holey had been a member of the ducal chapel since 1473. He belonged to a noble family from Tongeren, and probably for this reason always enjoyed special status among the singers.³⁴ Soon after joining the chapel, he was named one of Galeazzo Sforza's *camerieri di camera*, and there were other marks of favour. Galeazzo included him among members of the ducal family to be depicted in a fresco of a hunting scene in the Porta Giovia castle.³⁵ Petrus had a son, whose name (Antonio Galeazzo) suggests the singer had entered into a formal bond of *comparaggio* (co-parenthood) with the duke.³⁶

The most striking in Steynsel's list of greetings are those he sends to 'my godfather' (*myn ghevaders*), 'my godmother Betken' (*myn meterkijn Betken*), and to Weerbeke's brother and sister, neither of whom is named. It is unclear what relation exactly Steynsel had to this 'godfather' and 'godmother Betken'. His choice of the Flemish terms rather than their Italian equivalents (*compare / comare*) weighs against the possibility he is here signalling a bond of *comparaggio* with Italians (as Weerbeke had with Pietro da Carcano, a Milanese doctor of canon law).³⁷ As with his use of the characteristically Flemish diminutive *Betken*, the terms *ghevaders* and *meterkijn* suggest instead that these were northerners. This in turn raises further questions for future research. Beyond the singers of the chapel, how extensive was the Flemish community in Milan, and what contact did it have with the court?

Such a community could have included ducal singers' relatives visiting from the north. In May 1475, Galeazzo Sforza gave permission for 'a man from Flanders, with four companions, to visit his son', then a ducal singer, in Pavia.³⁸ Such a scenario would help account for the otherwise surprising presence of Weerbeke's brother and sister in Milan. That the composer had a brother named Iohannes is clear: in a Milanese notarial document from February 1477 the composer arranges for annual payments to be made to his brother Iohannes and his mother Catherine, both of whom are said to be in Oudenaarde in the diocese of Tournai.³⁹ His father's name is also known: another notarial document, from April 1480, describes Gaspar as 'son of the deceased Adrianus'.⁴⁰ But Steynsel's letter is the first record of the composer having had a

33 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 380, 403, 412–13 (text and translation of the 1492 letter).

34 In 1485 Petrus held a canonry at St Lambert in Liège, where in order to be accepted a canon had to be a nobleman. I am indebted to Eugeen Schreurs for providing information on Petrus's origins and his canonry in Liège.

35 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 70–72, 155–56.

36 *Ibid.*, 26–27. Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 223–26, at 223: 'The one formal social relationship that was undertaken purely as a matter of personal choice was *comparaggio*, or ritual co-parenthood. Parents (generally, fathers) chose *compare* (literally, co-fathers) for the baptism of each child ... *Comparaggio* created fictive kin of theoretically equal standing. It expanded or reinforced an individual's network in ways that could be politically or professionally useful as well as personally pleasant.'

37 *Ibid.*, 226; Lubkin notes that '*comparaggio* was not an exclusively male institution, and women could also call on compaternal relations for favors'.

38 Gregory Lubkin, 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the *Cappella musicale* of the Milanese Ducal Court: A Historian's Perspective', in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del rinascimento. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Camaiore, 21–23 ottobre 2005*, ed. Franco Piperno et al. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), 181–92 at 190, n. 38.

39 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage*, 286.

40 *Ibid.*, 297.

sister. It is impossible to determine when Weerbeke's siblings might have arrived in Milan, but if Steynsel thought to pass on greetings to them in a letter, it seems likely they were already there prior to his departure for Florence seven or eight months earlier.

In the end, Steynsel's attempt to enlist Weerbeke's help may have been in vain. On 14 November 1489—one month before Steynsel wrote his letter—Weerbeke, 'sanckmeeſter van der herthoge van Melanen', was back in the north, in his hometown Oudenaarde.⁴¹ The next document confirming his presence in Milan comes only nine months later, in August 1490.⁴² It is therefore possible Weerbeke, being then far from Milan, never received the letter, or at least not until many months later, by which time the moment to press Steynsel's case with Marchesino Stanga would have long since passed.

On the other hand, this trip north has always seemed strange both in terms of its timing and its long duration. Weerbeke had only recently returned to Milanese service, making it seem unlikely Ludovico would have approved such an extended absence from court. There is no indication this was a recruitment trip to find singers, such as Galeazzo had sent him on in 1473. His reasons for going north seem instead to have been personal, having to do with various benefices he held in the region. The absence of records explicitly placing him back in Milan does not exclude the possibility that he returned to Italy soon after the documented event in Oudenaarde. All of which is to say that Steynsel—who seems after all to have been in direct contact with the composer in this period—perhaps knew something we don't about Weerbeke's whereabouts in December 1489. But confirming or refuting this suggestion will require unearthing more letters like Steynsel's, or—more likely—digging further into the institutional documents on which we so often must depend.

41 On Weerbeke's trip to Oudenaarde, see most conveniently Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan', 258, with references there to earlier literature.

42 Ibid.

APPENDIX A

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Letter from Guillaume Steynsel (and Franciscus Millet/Migliotti) to Lorenzo de' Medici
7 August 1486, Milan

Source: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il principato, XXXIX, 537

(**Recto**): Magnifico Lorenzo, he passato per chi Iohannes compangio nostro, che per parte da vostra magnificencia ha facto tanto profferto a noi, che per nostro honore non poteami faire de mancho che scrivere a vostra Magnificencia, ringraziando quella del honore et offerti facti per lo suprascripto Iohannes; avizando tamen che non volgiamo [*sic*] essere ingrato del bene del tempo passato; sempre siamo aparitgiati [*sic*] a servire vostra Magnificencia segundo nostra possibilita cum pacto, sapiendo in che modo la vostra Magnificencia noi voldreva tractare. Avizando che per questo tempo passato siamo stato mandato tanto [canc.: pro] pro nostro salario che por nostri vestiti da botega in botega, da persona ad personas, de casa in casa, la quale coze non e [canc.: hon] honesta por homini de beni chi son stati in capella regum et aliorum principium. Et ista fuit causa quare recessimus a domo vostra. Iste tamen non obstante, ob amorem quem gerimus Dominacioni vostre et Comunitati Florencie et eciam propter melius habere, sempre siami [*sic*] parati servire vostra Magnificencia, sapiendo pero quali salario, quali promecione beneficiorum, cum ego Guillelmus beneficium optineo in civitate Papie non curatum, in valore XL ducatorum cum X saccis de spelta, caponibus VI et porcum unum in pondere C librarum grossi, el quale beneficio lassando el servicio del ducha, son certo et securo che me sera tolto et levato non obstante che ho la legittima possessione et confirmacione episcopi et capittuli. Et Francisco mio compangio habet primam expectativam ad simile vel ad similia. Istis pravisatis vostra Magnificencia nobis secreto modo scribat vel scribere faciat suam voluntatem, et illam visam et intellectam faciemus che vostre Magnificencia sunt placita. Item rogamus et insuper supplicamus quod ista [illegible] omnia secreto modo fiant, ne forte nobis pegiora supervenirent. Vale felix, vir egregie et noſter patronus. Scriptum Mediolani, septima mensis Augusti, anno 1486. Franciscus et Guillelmus tui servitores fedeles, cantores Mediolani Ducis
Ita est Guillelmus de Steynsel, presbiter et canonicus Sancti Iohannis Domnarum Papie
[in same hand as letter]

Ita est Franciscus Milleti, cantor Ducis Mediolani [in different hand]

(**Verso**): [Mag]nifico Laurentio [de] Medicis

(Note of receipt): 1486. Da Milano

Da Guglielmo et Francesco cantori, adi 26 di Agosto

APPENDIX B

Letter from Guillaume Steynsel to Gaspar van Weerbeke

18 December 1489, Florence

Source: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il principato, XLVII, 473

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(**Recto**) Salve frater charissime. Ic dancke u zere van uwen avize. My wondert zere hoe ghy my overlanc van deser materien niet ghescreven en hebt. Des niet te min het es wel relicke dat ghy betaelt sijt. Piero de Medicis die scrijft enen brief aen den ambazatore fiorentino de bono inchiostro, che por suo amore pregha messer Marquisino che non volgia [*sic*] haver zespecto⁴³ [*sic*] se la Sua Magnificia me [canc.: habi] habia levato da Milano e por quello non me pagare dal myo salario del meze [canc.: passato] de martzo ultimo passato [marg.: el quale io guadangio e deservito]. Avizando se Piero m'a levato da Mylano, altre volte sono stato levato del servicio della caza de Medicis con belle promesse e facti nulla etc. Laet varen deze worden. Daer om, gheminde vrient, ego sum certus et certissimus dat ghy my wel wilt, quia experientia docet, solliciteert nersteliken dese ambassator ende neemt wat piene om mine wille. Ic hope dat ic noch aen u verdienen sal. Item ic bidde u vrecht aen Francois myn ghezelle of hy noch van Francois Rogegolle⁴⁴ mynen brief niet ontfangen en heeft, want ic hem sant vor sijn wijf inden brief besloten een proper gieweeken; ende gruet my hem c m⁴⁵ fout ende sijn wijf mede. Item vort soe gruet my zere myn ghevaders u broder ende u zuster ende myn meterkijn Betken; ende [canc.: ic sende] gruet my zere Iannes liegois, messer Piero de Holy etc. ende alle die guede heren vander capelle. Valete. Ex Florentia 18 Decembris 1489
Vester totus Guillelmus de Steynsel cantor Magnifici Laurentii de Medicis

(**Verso**) Venerabili viro domino Gaspari [Weerb]eke Cantori Capelle [Ill.]simi Ducis [Mediol]ani, benmerito [frat]ri charissimo in Milano⁴⁶

43 Perhaps owing to Steynsel's patchy knowledge of Italian, it is unclear what he is trying to say here: 'zespecto' (i.e. 'respect') makes little sense given the context, however 'despecto', an emendation proposed by Giovanni Zanovello (private communication), fits perfectly, and I have followed it in my translation.

44 Francois Rogegolle has yet to be identified.

45 Roman numerals, thus 'hundred thousand'.

46 There is evidence of the letter having been sealed. Excellent digital images of both of Steynsel's letters are available through the website of the Archivio di Stato, Firenze; see <<http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/map/>>.

Gaspar Depicted?

Leonardo's Portrait of a Musician

Laure Fagnart

THE CITY OF MILAN as ruled by the House of Sforza for half a century was not only a centre of music but was also attractive to other types of artists, including writers, painters, and sculptors. One of these figures was Leonardo da Vinci, who lived there for twenty-two non-consecutive years. In Milan he was involved in several diverse projects and was an active member of court life in organizing ceremonies and festivities.

Only one male portrait by Leonardo survives. Kept at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan, it depicts a young man who, in one of his hands, holds a folded sheet on which one can make out letters and musical notes (see Figure 4.1 and 4.2). Due to the poor conservation of this part of the picture, the music is now illegible, but it is definitely mensural notation and thus in all

likelihood polyphonic music.¹ Presented as a three-quarter bust, the model, who is generally considered to be a musician, is shown in front of a black background. His hair, shoulder length and curly, sits under a red hat. He is wearing a black doublet under a brown stole.



Figure 4.1. Leonardo da Vinci, *Portrait of a Musician*
Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana



Figure 4.2. Detail

¹ David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 135.

The portrait was made during Leonardo's first Lombard period (c.1482–99). The reasons for his relocation from Florence to Milan around 1482 remain unknown. Leonardo's first biographers state that Lorenzo de' Medici employed him to make a silver lyre for Ludovico Sforza. The reality is most likely different: a rough draft of a letter survives in which Leonardo addresses the Duke of Milan in order to offer him his services specifically in the field of military engineering. Such a request is unusual: princes ordinarily sought out artists and not vice versa. The first commission that Leonardo obtained in Milan did not come from Ludovico Sforza or a member of the Lombard court, but rather from the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception: this was for the *Virgin of the Rocks* now in the Louvre Museum, which he began after he accepted the commission in 1483. Due to stylistic connections between these two paintings, the portrait at the Ambrosiana must also date from these first years in Milan, specifically around 1485.² In fact, the two paintings show similar approaches to light and chiaroscuro and are still related to Leonardo's somewhat earlier works from Florence. More specifically, the portrait may have been made between 1486 and 1487. It must have been painted before the *Lady with an ermine* (*Portrait of Cecilia Gallerani*), kept in Kraków and dated c.1489–90. This possesses a much more complex and dynamic approach; the details of the young man's face do not yet bear the advanced anatomical meticulousness that Leonardo produced starting in 1489, specifically on the structure of the human skull.³

The picture, in a poor state of conservation with the exception of the young man's face, has largely been repainted.⁴ Originally, the doublet was dark red and not black as we see today; the stole was a bright yellow. For a long time, a layer of black paint covered the hand and sheet of music. It was only in 1905 when Luigi Cavenaghi and Antonio Grandi restored the painting that these two features reappeared. This important repainting was apparently quite old: in 1672, Pietro Paolo Bosca registered the painting at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana with the description 'the face of the Duke of Milan, with such elegance, that perhaps the living Duke would have wanted it for himself'.⁵ There was no allusion to the sheet of music. The portrait was otherwise long considered to be of a Milanese duke. Finally, following his work habits, Leonardo seems to have hesitated numerous times: the underdrawing of the costume is different from the contour finally adopted, and the hand and the sheet of music were added at a later date, over pictorial layers defining the doublet and the stole, with pigments different from those used for the rest of the painting.⁶

In any event, it is likely to have been repainted by Leonardo himself.⁷ The artist was able to incorporate the fingers and the sheet of music subsequently to clarify the general atti-

2 Pietro C. Marani, *Léonard de Vinci: Une carrière de peintre* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1999), 163; Pietro C. Marani, 'Lo sguardo e la musica: Il Musico nell'opera di Leonardo a Milano', in *Leonardo da Vinci: Il Musico*, ed. Pietro C. Marani (Milan: Silvana Editore, 2010), 29, 44.

3 *Leonardo da Vinci: Painter at the court of Milan*, ed. Luke Syson and Larry Keith (London: National Gallery Company, 2011), cat. 5, 95 (notice by L. Syson).

4 Giulio Bora, *Due tavole leonardesche: Nuove indagini sul Musico e sul San Giovanni dell'Ambrosiana* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1987), 12.

5 'vultum Mediolanensis Ducis tantà elegantia, quantam fortasse, cum viveret sibi illa Dux exoptaverat'. Pietro Paolo Bosca, *De origine et statu Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1672), 117.

6 Bora, *Due tavole leonardesche*, 12, 14–15.

7 Marani, *Léonard de Vinci*, 163.

tude of the model, that of a young man captivated by the music he had just composed or sung. This helps us to understand the tension in his jaw and his fixed gaze. Above all, we notice the accumulation of lacrimal fluid shown by the flush of white paint in the lower part of the eyes.⁸ Here, Leonardo tries to demonstrate his theory of 'motions of the mind': the model is so focused on his internal thoughts—on the music produced or deciphered—that his physical attitude is transformed and his natural reflexes altered, his eyes filling with tears.

Since the sheet of music was uncovered in 1905, researchers have tried to identify the 'musician' shown. The task is not an easy one: around 1485, there were many musicians and singers in Milan, both in the cathedral and in the court of Ludovico Sforza.⁹ However, those with the social status and financial resources to order a personal portrait were much rarer.

In 1906, Luca Beltrami put forward the name of Franchinus Gaffurius (1451–1522), a contemporary of Leonardo: a meeting with the artist would have been possible since the musician and theorist both lived in Milan from January 1484, when Gaffurius became choir-master at the cathedral. In addition, he suggested, the words 'Cant.' and 'Ang.' deciphered on the sheet of music could be abbreviations of the words 'Cantum' and 'Angelicum', allusions to *Angelicum ac divinum opus* published by Gaffurius in 1508.¹⁰ This appealing hypothesis was long accepted, but no sufficient iconographic comparison confirms it.¹¹ The age of the model may also be an issue: around 1485, Gaffurius was probably too old to be depicted as the young man who appears in the picture at the Ambrosiana.

In 1972, Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune identified the model as Josquin des Prez (c.1450–1521), who was in Milan in 1484, 1485, and once again in 1489.¹² According to Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, the abbreviations 'Cont.' and 'Catuz.' and the letters 'A Z', which she identified on the sheet of music, referred to the words 'Contratenor', 'Cantuz' and 'Altuz'.¹³ They could be associated with a motet, a mass, or a song with a descending melodic line found frequently in the compositions of Josquin, for example in the motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, but also in all music of this period. Moreover, the notation is largely illegible. The model also appears to be younger than Josquin was at the time the portrait was painted.

Recently, Pietro C. Marani suggested linking the model depicted in the Ambrosian picture to the lute player, actor, and singer Atalante Migliorotti (1466–1535), who, according to Anonimo Gaddiano, one of Leonardo's first biographers, moved to Milan at the same time as the Florentine artist.¹⁴ Around 1485, Migliorotti was in his twenties and is thus a more likely candidate to be the young man depicted in the Ambrosiana painting. In addition, in folio 888 recto (ex 324 recto) of the Codex Atlanticus, in a list of assets that Leonardo prepared in 1499 in advance of his departure from Milan, he mentions 'una testa ritratta d'Atalante che alzava

8 Jérémie Koering, *Léonard de Vinci: Dessins et peintures* (Paris: Hazan, 2007), 264.

9 Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

10 Luca Beltrami, 'Il Musicista di Leonardo da Vinci', *Raccolta Vinciana*, 2 (1906), 75–80.

11 Cf. figures 2, 3, and 4 in Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, 'Fortuna Josquini: A proposito di un ritratto di Josquin des Prez', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 6 (1972), 315–37.

12 Fallows, *Josquin*, 359–61. Clercx-Lejeune was still relying on the now discounted belief that the 'Josquin' at the Milanese court in the 1470s and later was Josquin des Prez.

13 Clercx-Lejeune, 'Fortuna Josquini'.

14 Marani, *Léonard de Vinci*, 165.

il volto' ('a portrait of Atalante with his upturned face'). The expression 'che alzava il volto' could refer to the Ambrosian portrait, although, as Fallows recently pointed out, the sheet of music should in this case be turned towards the model and not towards the viewer, as can be seen from the painting.¹⁵

Can we add Gaspar van Weerbeke to these three suggestions? Gaspar contributed to the cultural and musical life of the Lombard Duchy during the years in question. Attending the same court, the musician was familiar with Leonardo. This is documented in Henrico Boscano's *Isola beata*, a literary work in dialogue form today in private hands.¹⁶ In this text, written around 1513 but which recounts recollections from the 1490s, the author declares that he was involved in an academy's meetings in Milan ('molti signori, conti e cavalieri, philosophi e poeti, e musici').¹⁷ Among the painters and engineers, he mentions Leonardo, while Gaspar is cited alongside the musicians. In addition, under the reign of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Gaspar wore, as did other singers attached to the ducal court, a specific costume which could be the one depicted in the Ambrosiana portrait. This is shown by the many letters that Galeazzo Maria Sforza sent to Gotardo Panigarola concerning suits of clothes intended for singers at the court: 'Gotardo. To Gaspar, our singer, we would like to give a dark velvet robe, such as you have given to the Abbot [Antonio Guinati] and to Cordier, both of them also our singers. Milan, 22 April 1475.'¹⁸ And: 'In addition to the material ordered at present for all of the singers, we want you to give to each of the Abbot, Cordero, and Gasparro [*sic*], our singers, black velvet for suits ...'¹⁹ But if you look closely, these statements are too generic to be definitely related to the clothing depicted in the Ambrosiana painting. As already pointed out, the musician's doublet was originally dark red rather than black. In addition, in 1486/87, Gaspar, like Gaffurius and Josquin approximately thirty-five years old, was probably also too old to be depicted as the young man portrayed in the picture at the Ambrosiana.²⁰

Ultimately, none of the identities put forward is completely satisfactory. And questions remain. Why face the sheet of music towards the outer portion of the tableau when the young man seems so focused on his internal thoughts? Why show it to the viewer? Why has the music been folded like a letter? Should it be considered, as is usually the case, to be an inset intended to identify a specific musician or composition? Could the sheet evoke the art of music in general, the work of Leonardo in this field, or the status held by music, in the eyes of the artist, among the different artistic disciplines?

15 Fallows, *Josquin*, 135.

16 Jill Pederson, 'Henrico Boscano's "Isola beata": New Evidence for the Academia Leonardi Vinci in Renaissance Milan', *Renaissance Studies*, 22 (2008), 450–75.

17 Henrico Boscano, *Isola beata*, fol. 9', cited by Pederson, 'Henrico Boscano's "Isola beata"', 453.

18 'Gotardo. A Gaspar nostro cantore volemo daghi una veste de veluto morello ut como hay dato a l'Abbe [Antonio Guinati] et Cordier similiter nostri cantori. Mediolani 22 Aprilis 1475'. Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. Triv. 1384, fol. 24', Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Gotardo Panigarola, Milan, 22 April 1475. Cited in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 177, translated by Carlo Bosi.

19 'A l'Abbate, a. d. Cordero et a Gasparro nostri cantori volemo daghi el veluto negro per farse uno vestito per caduno qual gli donamo, ultra quello che hay commissione de dare a tuti li cantori de presente ...'. Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. Triv. 1384, fol. 70, Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Gotardo Panigarola, Cupago, 16 December 1475, cited and translated in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 178.

20 On a recent estimation of Gaspar's year of birth see Klaus Pietschmann's contribution to this volume.

In one of the first sections of *Libro di pittura*, Leonardo famously gathers arguments in favour of the superiority of painting over poetry, music, and sculpture. On music he writes:

How Music Ought to be Called the Sister and Junior to Painting. Music is to be regarded none other than the sister of painting since it is subject to hearing, a sense second to the eye, and since it composes harmony from the conjunction of its proportional parts operating at the same time. [These parts] are constrained to arise and to die in one or more harmonic tempos which surround a proportionality by its members; such a harmony is composed not differently from the circumferential lines which generate human beauty by its [respective] members. Yet painting excels and rules over music, because it does not immediately die after its creation the way unfortunately music does. To the contrary, painting stays in existence, and will show you as being alive what is, in fact, on a single surface. O marvellous science, you keep alive the transient beauties of mortals! [These beauties] are more permanent than the works of nature, which are continuously changed by time, which duly leads to old age. This science is in the same proportion to divine nature as are its works to the works of nature, and on this account it is revered.

77

Come la musica si de' chiamare sorella e minore della pittura. La Musica non è da essere chiamata altro che sorella della pittura, con ciò sia ch'essa è subbietto dell'audito, secondo senso a l'occhio, e compone armonia con la congiunzioni delle sue parte proporzionali operate nel medesimo tempo, costrette a nascere e morire in uno o più tempi armonici, li quali tempi circondano la proporzionalità de' membri di che tale armonia si compone, non altrimenti che si faccia la linea circonferenziale le membra di che si genera la bellezza umana. Ma la pittura eccelle e signoreggia la musica perché essa non more immediate dopo la sua creazione, come fa la sventurata musica, anzi, resta in essere, e ti si dimostra in vita quel che in fatto è una sola superfizie. O maravigliosa scienza, tu riservi in vita le caduche bellezze de' mortali, le quali hanno più permanenza che l'opere de natura, le quali al continuo sono variate dal tempo, che lle conduce alla debita vecchiezza; e tale scienza ha tale proporzione con la divina natura, quale hanno le sue opere con le opere di essa natura, e per questo è adorata.²¹

This passage, dated c.1490–92, expresses a harsh attitude towards music: the ephemeral art of music cannot rival the eternal art of painting, especially since the harmonies of the former cannot be given simultaneously, as is the case for those of the latter. If the Ambrosian portrait were designed specifically to reflect Leonardo's ideas on the 'paragone', we might consider the melancholy on the face of the young man to be an echo of the predicted death of the unfortunate music.

21 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Urbinatense lat.1270, fol. 16^{r-v}; see *Leonardo da Vinci. Libro di pittura. Codice Urbinatense lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. Carlo Pedretti with a critical transcription by Carlo Vecce (Florence: Giunti, 1995), vol. 1, p. 153. The English translation is taken from Claire Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone: A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 241–43.

Gaspar van Weerbeke as a Member of the Burgundian Chapel

Grantley McDonald

LIKE MANY SINGERS AND COMPOSERS around 1500, Gaspar found that the skills he had learned as a boy in the Low Countries opened doors at princely courts around Europe. Court chapels were generally desirable workplaces for singers and composers—even if financial stability and employment security could be uncertain—since they allowed close access to sources of patronage. The turnover of personnel in such bodies could also forge contacts with other courts or important churches, and with further patrons. This chapter will provide a general account of the Burgundian court chapel, one of the most splendid in Europe, during Gaspar's period of service, and the kinds of opportunities it presented for professional and artistic development.

The foundation documents of princely chapels, especially those located in a permanent building, routinely specify that they were to be staffed by a certain number of canons or chaplains charged with performing the daily services for the benefit of the prince and court. The benefices (endowed ecclesiastical offices) granted to these clergy were usually funded by the income on properties given as part of the foundation, either in rents or natural produce. During the fifteenth century, princes increasingly wished to hear polyphony during the services at their court, both for their own enjoyment and as a means to impress visitors. As in cathedrals and collegiate churches, the provision of polyphonic music in princely chapels could be supported financially by employing professional singers in clerical orders to fulfil the liturgical needs specified in the deed of foundation. (This did not mean that princes did not employ married singers, but they were in some ways less appealing, because alternative emoluments had to be found from other sources.) If a prince possessed the right to present candidates for a benefice in another church, he could appoint a singer from his court chapel; the singer would then appoint a vicar, who fulfilled the liturgical requirements demanded by the foundation, and received part of its income. In this way, the prince not only established himself at the top

* I thank David Fiala for sharing the rich archival appendices to his study, 'Le Mécénat musical des ducs de Bourgogne et des princes de la maison de Habsbourg (1467–1506)' (doctoral diss., 2 vols., Université François Rabelais de Tours, 2002), on which I draw gratefully here. The research for this paper was undertaken in the context of my FWF project at the University of Vienna, *The court chapel of Maximilian I: between art and politics* (Project Number P 28525); I acknowledge the generous support of the FWF here.

of the patronage food-chain; he could also avoid the need to pay the singer anything more than a basic salary, and incidental expenses such as board, travel costs, or cloth for court livery.

Gerhard Croll sketched Gaspar's life in a pioneering article published in 1952, then sharpened some of the outlines in an article for the *New Grove*.¹ Where Croll wrote that Gaspar had 'temporary activity' in the Burgundian chapel from 1489 until 1498, subsequent research has defined this period more precisely. Gaspar is documented—as 'Jaspar Warebeke', 'Jaspart de Werebeke', 'Jaspar Werbeke', or 'Jaspar Dodemere'—as a contratenor in the Burgundian court chapel between 8 October 1495 and 13 April 1498. His name also appears in the surviving *escroes* (daily pay records, recorded on long strips of parchment) for 4 June and 10 June 1498, but there it is crossed out, which suggests that he was absent, perhaps already in search of new employment.² Although little is known specifically about his activities at the Burgundian court, much can be inferred from documentation relating to his colleagues.

The Duke of Burgundy during Gaspar's period of service at the court was Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian I von Habsburg, King of the Romans. Maximilian had ruled the Burgundian Netherlands as Philip's regent since the death of his wife, Mary of Burgundy, in March 1482, but had to struggle continually against the cities and estates of the Low Countries. In March 1490, Sigismund of the Tyrol ceded control of his territories to Maximilian, who then moved his own court progressively to Innsbruck, glad to leave the troublesome Flemish cities behind. Maximilian then initiated the process of transferring rule over the Low Countries to the teenaged Philip. Maximilian ceded the Burgundian chapel in November 1492, and gave his son full control over the Low Countries in September 1494.

Philip's court chapel had strong continuities with those of his two grandfathers, Charles the Bold and Frederick III, as well as that of his father Maximilian. Several singers from Charles's chapel remained in the service of Maximilian; some, such as Pierre Basin and Pierre du Wez, even served under Charles, Maximilian, and Philip in turn. Of the eight singers who accompanied Maximilian to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1493, six were in Philip's service in 1495: Jean Lauwier, Valentin Hongher, Jean Picavet, Gérard Barbet, Mathieu de Champagne, and Michel Berruyer.³ The Walloon Nicolas Mayoul the Elder, who had served in the chapel of Frederick III from about 1460, was a chaplain of the low mass in the chapel of Maximilian from about 1480, and was appointed as Maximilian's *premier chapelain* in 1485.⁴ Mayoul came with Maximilian when he moved his court to Innsbruck, still as his *premier chapelain* (or, as

1 Gerhard Croll, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of His Life and Works', *Musica Disciplina*, 6 (1952), 67–81; Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke [Werbeke, Werbeck], Gaspar [Jaspar, Gaspard] van', *Grove Music Online* (2012).

2 The *escroes* and other relevant rolls of court employees for this period are preserved in Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord [ADN], B 2151, 110^v–111^v (17.11.1492–30.9.1495); B 2152, n° 70529; B 2156, n° 70811 (1496); B 3453 (1495); B 3454 (1496); B 2159, 97^v–99^r (1.5.1496–9.3.1497); B 3455 (16.3.1497); B 3456 (16.1.1498–10.12.1498); B 2162, 233^v–234^r (15.4.1498); Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume [AGR], EA 13, n° 330 (30.4.1496); EA 22 bis (1497); EA 13, n° 332 (7.9.1497); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], n. a. fr. 5904, n° 70 (12.11.1497). These accounts are analysed in Fiala, 'Le Mécénat', appendix 1, tables 27–31.

3 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Inv. 122 (Rekeningen 1485–1495), 242^r (St John's day 1492 to St John's day 1493).

4 Vatican, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. 35.134 66rs; Lille, ADN, B 2121, 399^v; Jean Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Georges Doutrepoint and Omer Jodogne (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935), vol. 1, p. 470; Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Reichsregisterbuch EE, 96^r.

described in the German records, 'Rector der Römischen kunigklichen Majestät Capellen'). Between 1496 and 1499, Mayoul served as *premier chapelain* in Philip's court. In 1508 and 1510 he was described as *premier chapelain de l'empereur*, though he was apparently still present at the Burgundian court—now under the regency of Margaret of Austria—since Maximilian's chapel was by then being led by Georgius Slatkonja.

The structure of Philip the Fair's chapel during Gaspar's time is laid out in detail in the *Ordonnance de l'hotel* ('household ordinance') dated 10 March 1497.⁵ In this document, drawn up with the assistance of the chancellor, Thomas de Pleine, Sieur de Maigny, Philip declared his desire to bring order to the court, which had been disturbed by the ongoing struggles between his father and the cities of the Low Countries, for the good of his people, himself, and his wife Juana. The first article in the ordinance concerns the structure and personnel of the *grande chapelle*. The size of the Burgundian chapel had remained relatively stable since the time of Philip the Bold fifty years earlier. The 1497 ordinance specified that the chapel was to include fourteen chaplains, including the *premier chapelain* Nicolas Mayoul and the organist Fleurquin de la Grange. (At least three organists served in Philip's chapel during Gaspar's time there: Gouvert Nepotis, Martin de la Grange, and Fleurquin de la Grange. Fleurquin was replaced in 1500 by the famous Henri Bredemers, who served under Philip and Charles V for many years.) The chaplains were arranged in order of seniority. Amongst these chaplains were three composers: Gaspar, 'Pierchon de la Rue', and Jean Braconnier. However, as Honey Meconi points out, they were 'hired to sing, not compose'.⁶ While Maximilian's court composer Isaac was not required to attend the chapel services, or even reside at the court, none of the composers Philip employed enjoyed such liberty. All of Philip's chaplains received 12 sous a day, except for his *premier chapelain* Mayoul, who received 24. Below the chaplains in rank were two *clercs de la chapelle* and two *sommeliers* (chapel attendants), who each received 10 sous a day, two *fourriers* (quartermasters), who received 6 sous a day, and three organ-carriers (responsible also for carrying and caring for the vestments and the books), who each received 4 sous a day. Also counted under this heading were several 'pensioners', such as the *premier chapelain* of the duchess Juana, who received 272 livres annually, and Augustin Schubinger, who was appointed in 1497 as a player of cornetto and lute with a salary of 270 livres a year, or about 15 sous a day. Schubinger was employed officially as a *varlet de chambre*, presumably because this office was already present in the structure—and budget—of the court, while the position of cornetto player was not.⁷ (In 1500, Schubinger appears in Maximilian's service, where he remained for many years, though he occasionally visited the court in the Low Countries over the coming years.) Two isolated payments were made to boys singing in the Burgundian chapel from 1468 and 1475, but it seems that they were not a permanent part of this institution, in contrast with Maximilian's chapel in Austria or that of Frederick of Saxony, which at their height included up to twenty boys.⁸

5 Brussels, AGR, EA 22 bis; see Fiala, 'Le Mécénat', appendix II.

6 Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83.

7 Lille, ADN, B 2160, n° 71187. Further on Schubinger, see Keith Polk, 'Augustein Schubinger and the Zinck: Innovation in Performance Practice', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 1 (1989), 83–92.

8 Lille, ADN, B 2068, 163^r ('enfants de la chappelle de mondit seigneur'); Lille, ADN, B 2105, Nr 67594, 20^v ('enfants de cuer de la chappelle de son hostel de la Sale de Valenciennes').

Besides the *grande chapelle*, which performed polyphony, the *petite chapelle* provided said low masses. This body comprised the duke's confessor Nicolas Brugheman, Bishop of Selymbria (a historical bishopric on the Propontis), who received 24 sous a day; the almoner, who received 18 sous a day; two under-almoners, who received 9 sous a day; 'two chaplains to say the low masses', each receiving 6 sous a day; two clerks to serve at the low masses, who received 3 sous a day; two *sommeliers* at 6 sous a day; and three chaplains assigned to the *maitres d'hôtel*, each receiving 6 sous a day. This division of the chapel into *grande* and *petite chapelle* resembles that at the court of Maximilian, which included both 'Caplän' ('chaplains') and members of the 'Capellen oder Cannthorey' ('chapel or choir'); some of the former are also known to have been singers. Likewise, the court of François I included both a *chapelle de musique* and a *chapelle de plainchant*, some of whose members are also known to be singers.⁹ It is not clear if any of the members of the Burgundian *petite chapelle* were also trained singers.

Attached to the Burgundian chapel were six trumpeters, who each received 12 sous a day, and one drummer, who received 6 sous. The expenses of the chapel amounted to just over 6,000 livres in 1496, a sizeable fraction of the court budget. About half was spent on regular salaries, and the other half on ancillary expenses such as cloth, church plate, books, travelling expenses, incense, and the purchase and repair of vestments. In the ordinance, Philip declared that the members of the chapel should conduct themselves in accordance with the regulations laid down some thirty years earlier by Charles the Bold.¹⁰ It is likely that Charles's ordinance also guided the structure and running of Maximilian's chapel, both in the Low Countries and in Austria. This supposition is supported by a certain continuity of personnel between the various Burgundian and Habsburg courts, as already mentioned.

Musicians could be found even amongst those officers whose titles seem unrelated to music-making. Pierre du Wez was first employed as a *petit sommelier* in 1464, promoted to the ranks of *sommelier* in 1466, clerk in 1469, and chaplain in August 1477. Maximilian was sufficiently impressed by Du Wez that he recalled him from service in the papal chapel to serve in his own chapel in about 1485.¹¹ Georges de Buisson (otherwise known as Joris vander Hagen) was appointed as a *sommelier* in the Burgundian court on 12 May 1498. David Fiala has suggested that he was probably identical with the contratenor Georgius de Dunis, who served at Rome from 1478 until at least 1494, and perhaps also identical with Georgius Zuny, composer of a chanson transmitted as a fragment in the Seville chansonnier (Sev 5-1-43).¹² Buisson was promoted to the rank of chaplain on 3 July 1498, the date when Gaspar's name is crossed off the Burgundian *escroes*, and he, attested as a singer of the same voice-type as Gaspar, was probably his replacement.¹³ The careers of such men as Du Wez and De Buisson show that the tasks en-

9 Christelle Cazaux, *La Musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris and Tours: École des Chartes/CESR, 2002), 96–97.

10 On Charles's ordinance, see David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109–59 at 145–59.

11 David Fiala, 'Pierre Du Wez', *Prosopographie des Chantres de la Renaissance* (<<http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/PCR/>>).

12 David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 676.

13 David Fiala, 'George de Buisson', *Prosopographie des Chantres de la Renaissance*.

trusted to minor officers such as clerks and *sommeliers* were not chiefly 'gastronomic', as Louise Cuyler mistakenly asserted, but involved service in the chapel, and represented a possible stage along the road to promotion to an endowed chaplaincy.¹⁴ In any case, as Honey Meconi has pointed out, the office of *sommelier* disappeared around 1500, and the tasks earlier performed by these officers were shared amongst the other members of the chapel.

Even though the structure of the chapel was deeply hierarchical, there was room for upward mobility. Nicolas Mayoul the Younger, nephew of the *premier chapelain*, entered Philip's chapel in 1494 at the rank of chaplain, but soon received a canonry at St Gudule in Brussels, and was later appointed as one of Maximilian's almoners.¹⁵ For other musicians, such as Gaspar or the famous tenor Jean Cordier, a period of service in the Burgundian chapel was a high-profile stopgap, or a useful stepping-stone to service elsewhere. Some members of the Burgundian chapel went on to more elevated ecclesiastical careers. Jean Sampeyn, who served as a singer in the chapels of Charles and Maximilian from 1473 until 1483, was subsequently appointed as abbot of Floreffe.¹⁶

Records from the court give some indication of the other duties performed by the members of the chapel when they were not singing high mass or vespers for the duke. Many of course were priests, and provided liturgical and pastoral services. Jean Plouvier, one of Philip's chaplains and singers, was described as 'saying the high masses before the person of my lord'.¹⁷ Philip's chaplain and singer Pierre Barbier (Barbry) also served as chaplain to the duke's company of archers.¹⁸ In 1497, Philip's trumpeter Cornelis van Zeeland was sent as a messenger on secret affairs.¹⁹ In 1480, Maximilian's organist Pierre Beurse received a payment of 10 livres for providing Mary of Burgundy with lessons on the clavichord, and similar pedagogical duties performed by court musicians are attested elsewhere.²⁰ It is not known whether Gaspar was also required to perform extra duties at court, such as composing music for specific occasions, though this is likely.

One issue that remains unclear for the courts of Philip and his father Maximilian is the nature and extent of the chapel and other musical forces in the direct employment of the duchesses. Mary of Burgundy employed three drummers, but I know of no evidence of a separate group of singers. Juana had a *premier chappellain* of her own, Diego de Ramírez de Fuenleal, a licentiate in theology who also acted as a counsellor. His other duties remain unclear, but he presumably celebrated low masses and acted as a confessor. At first he received 272 livres a year, though this amount increased to 345 livres a year after he was appointed as Bishop of Astorga in 1498.²¹ Jan de Hond, one of the singers in Philip's chapel, was also described as 'priest and chaplain of our lady the duchess'.²² In October 1496, a group of 'singers of the chapel

14 Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 26.

15 David Fiala, 'Nicole Mayoul l'ainé', *Prosopographie des Chantres de la Renaissance*.

16 David Fiala, 'Jean Sampeyn', *ibid.*

17 Lille, ADN, B 2159, 207^v.

18 Brussels, AGR, CC 1926, 94^v.

19 Lille, ADN, B 2159, 172^f.

20 Lille, ADN, B 2121, 437^v.

21 Lille, ADN, B 2160, n^o 71133–71135; B 2162; B 2165, 72^f.

22 Brussels, AGR, CC 20 784.

of my lady the duchess' were paid 20 livres for singing some songs before her at dinner for her pleasure.²³ However, a payment was made on the same day to the minstrels of the Admiral of Spain, who played before Philip, and it is possible that the 'singers of the chapel of my lady the duchess' were actually visitors from the Spanish court rather than permanent fixtures at the Burgundian court.

The payment records of Philip's court, like those of his father Maximilian, show that court employees enjoyed some kinds of social security. The contracts for married musicians—many of the trumpeters, and a few of the lay singers—often provide for a pension for their wives, should they die while in the duke's service. Such payments to widows of deceased members of the chapel are scattered throughout the accounts of the court. Likewise, when court musicians fell ill, they sometimes received *ex gratia* payments, presumably to pay for doctor's fees and medication. For example, in 1497, Gaspar received a gift of 36 livres from Philip, on top of his regular salary, 'to help him recover from a certain illness which he had contracted a little while previously'.²⁴

When the court was on progress, many local musicians performed before the duke and his household, mainly trumpeters, lutenists, or minstrels in the service of other princes or of cities, especially for events such as ceremonial entries or dances. Such musicians invariably received a gratuity from the court treasurer. Occasionally payments were made to singers. On 20 June 1497, a twenty-year-old woman received 16 livres for singing before the duke, which was to be spent on cloth for a robe.²⁵ On 16 November 1497, a young German performed on the harp and other instruments during a dinner attended by the duke.²⁶

Such payments may suggest that Philip's chapel did not invariably accompany him on his travels, or if it did, that its members did not supply all the musical services heard by the duke and his household. For example, on 13 December 1496, Philip's receiver-general Simon Longin paid the singers of the Church of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch and the minstrels of the city 6 livres for performing at a polyphonic High Mass for Philip; the city minstrels also provided instrumental music at dinner on the same day.²⁷ The confraternity at 's-Hertogenbosch had recently taken delivery of manuscripts of masses and motets from Petrus Alamire; it is tempting to imagine them singing from these splendid new books before the duke.²⁸

23 Lille, ADN, B 2155, 187^{r-v}: 'aux chantres de la chappelle de [187^v] ma dame l'archiduchesse quant le 23e jour dudit mois d'octobre ilz vindrent chanter devant lui a son disner aucunes chansons, musique pour sa plaisirance, 20 £.'

24 Lille, ADN, B 2159, 190^v: 'A Jaspert de Werebecke, hault contre de la chappelle domesticque de l'ostel de mondit seigneur ... 36 £ ... don ... oultre et pardessus ses gaiges ordinaires ... pour les bons et agreables services qu'il lui fait journellement, mesmement pour l'aidier a garir certaine maladie qui lui estoit lors nagaires survenue.'

25 Lille, ADN, B 2159, 194^r: 'a une femme qui le 20e jour de juing ... chanta devant mondit seigneur pour sa plaisirance pour employer en l'achat de drap et de fourrure pour en faire une robe, 16 £.'

26 Lille, ADN, B 2159, 201^r.

27 Lille, ADN, B 2121, 193^v: 'Aux chantres de l'eglise Nostre Dame de Bois le Duc et aux menestriers de ladite ville la somme de 6 £ dudit pris pour don que icellui seigneur leur en a fait, assavoir aux chantres quant le 13e jour dudit mois de decembre oudit an 96 ilz chanterent une grant messe a deschant pardevant lui, 60 s. Et ausdits menestrelz quant ledit jour ilz jouerent devant lui a son disner pour sa plaisirance ...'.

28 Albert Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. V. Rekeningen van Sint Jan 1475 tot Sint Jan 1500', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 13 (1931), 181–237 at 210–11.

From this overview of the Burgundian court during Weerbeke's time we can draw several conclusions that go beyond the few documentary traces that relate directly to him. First, the fact that he found employment in an institution as venerable as the Burgundian chapel, and entered at the rank of *chapelain* and not, say, *sommelier*, says much about the esteem in which he was held. Secondly, working alongside two other composers at the Burgundian chapel, Pierre de la Rue and Jean Braconnier, surely provided superb opportunities for artistic exchange. Finally, examining the lives of other singers who served alongside Weerbeke in the Burgundian chapel shows that his international career took in many of the same stops as his most prominent colleagues there, notably the court of Milan and the papal chapel. In each of these places Weerbeke encountered different circles of singers. For example, while few singers in the service of Maximilian or Philip the Fair also worked at the French court, Weerbeke sang alongside French singers at Milan and Rome. The international mobility of singers could thus lead to musical contacts that transcended the alliances and enmities of their patrons.

Gaspar van Weerbeke and France: The Poetic Witness of Guillaume Crétin

Jeannette DiBernardo Jones

THE DEATH OF JEAN DE OCKEGHEM, *premier chapelain* of the royal chapel of the King of France, on 6 February 1497, inspired contemporary writers to eulogize his life and works as a musician and servant of the king.¹ Guillaume Crétin's *Déploration ... sur le trépas de Jean Ockeghem* was evidently the first offering of posthumous praise for Ockeghem.² The poet Jean Molinet, entreated in Crétin's text also to eulogize Ockeghem, answered Crétin's plaint with his own two-part epitaph in honour of the composer: a Latin ballade, *Qui dulcet modulando*, and the French poem, *Nymphes des bois*, the latter set to music by Josquin.³

Musicologists often refer to Crétin's *Déploration* for one stanza in particular in which he lists a group of musicians, who seem united by nothing more than their association with Ockeghem as his pupils, either figurative or literal.⁴ In this latter part of the poem, the poet-narrator turned his address to those who survived Ockeghem, including the people of Tours, Evrard de la Chapelle (his successor), and the following singers:⁵

* I am grateful to Joshua Rifkin and Jennifer Thomas for comments on earlier drafts of this essay and to Bonnie Blackburn for her helpful advice concerning the archival documents in Milan.

1 Jean-Michel Vaccaro, 'Jean de Ockeghem, trésorier de l'église Saint Martin de Tours de 1459 (?) à 1497', in *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd: Tentoonstelling gehouden in het Stadhuis te Dendermonde, 14 november–6 december 1970* (Dendermonde: Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Dendermonde, 1970), 60–79 at 68.

2 Guillaume Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1932), 60–73.

3 In line 277, Crétin addressed Molinet specifically, asking: 'Sus Molinet, dormez vous, ou resvez?' (Molinet, are you asleep or dreaming?), indicating that no poetic homage had yet been offered by Molinet on Ockeghem's death. Molinet and Crétin had already been in correspondence via poetic letters, which were popular at the time, so it is likely that Crétin's comment may have fallen in the larger context of their epistolary exchange. For Jean Molinet's poems commemorating Ockeghem, see *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Noël Dupire (Paris: S.A.T.F., 1937), vol. 2, pp. 831–33. For more on the poetic letters, see François Suard, 'Les Épitres de Guillaume Crétin', in *La Grande Rhétorique: Homage à la mémoire de Paul Zumthor*, ed. Rose M. Bidler and Giuseppe Di Stefano (Montreal: Edition Ceres, 1994), 175–88.

4 Paula Higgins outlines the important role of a master in the creative development of a musician. Around 1500, the master had begun to become connected with the figure of a father. Higgins places Crétin's poem within this discursive framework, which she calls 'creative patrilineage'. See her 'Lamenting "Our Master and Good Father": Intertextuality and Creative Patrilineage in Tributes by and for Johannes Ockeghem', in *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen*, ed. Birgit Lodes and Stefan Gasch (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007), 277–314 at 279.

5 Crétin, *Œuvres poétiques*, 72, lines 389–404. Translations mine unless otherwise indicated.

Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,	<i>Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,</i>
Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compère	<i>Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brumel, Compère</i>
Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris,	<i>Speak no more joyous songs nor laugh,</i>
Mais composez ung Ne recordis,	<i>But compose a Ne recordis</i>
Pour lamenter nostre maïstre et bon père.	<i>To lament our maïster and good father.</i>
Prevošt, Ver Jušt, tant que Piscis Prospère	<i>Prevošt, Ver Jušt, and Piscis Prospère</i>
Prenez Fresveau pour vos chantz accorder,	<i>Along with Fresneau join your song,</i>
La perte est grande et digne à recorder.	<i>For the loss is great and worthy to record.</i>

Crétin's appeal falls into two sections. First, he asks Agricola, Verbonnet (Ghiselin), Prioris, Josquin, Gaspar, Brumel, and Compère—all well-known composers—to create a *Ne recordis* to lament *notre maïtre et bon père* ('our maïster and good father'). After that, he calls on the singers Prevošt, Verjus, Piscis (Poisson), and Fresneau to join their song.⁶

The rationale behind the list has proved elusive. On the one hand, according to David Fallows, Crétin 'seems to name the leading composers active in 1497'.⁷ Yet this perspective, as Fallows also remarks, reveals several gaps; he asks why Crétin did not mention figures such as Obrecht, De Orto, Isaac, or Tinctoris, among others. He might also have asked why the list goes on to name several more obscure figures, not all of them even known as composers. In their biographical research on each of these musicians, scholars have pondered the implications of the list's inclusions. However, the implications of Crétin's position as the maker of the list have not been explored. As I appraise the presence of Gaspar van Weerbeke on Crétin's list, I first consider the perspective offered by Crétin's position within the French royal court, followed by an assessment of the known biographies of the musicians in this frame of reference. Finally, I evaluate Gaspar's place within the poetic space, examining known documentation about his life in a fresh light.

Guillaume Crétin: Poet, Courtier, Singer

Crétin's *Déploration* is certainly neither the first nor last instance of literature to include musician lists, yet its particular time and place reflect an experience distinct to Crétin.⁸ Guillaume

6 No record of any musician called 'Prosperer' is known. Another possibility for the word 'prospère' offers a compelling solution. Rather than referring to an individual, as the editions convey, it could simply be the adjective 'prospère' modifying 'Piscis', providing a third instance of the rhyme '-père' in this stanza. Thus, the line would read *tant que Piscis prospère* ('as well as prosperous Piscis'). When Brenet copied the poem from the Thoinan edition (p. 56), she did not capitalize 'prospère', as he does. In all other editions, 'Prospère' is capitalized as if it were another person; however, no such person has surfaced in extant sources. See Guillaume Crétin, *Déploration de Guillaume Crétin sur le trépas de Jean Okeghem, musicien, premier chapelain du roi de France et trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours*, ed. Ernest Thoinan (Paris: Claudin, Libraire-Éditeur, 1864), 40. Olivier Carillo and Agostino Magro also mention the possibility that 'prospère' describes Piscis and is not another individual. See the discussion in Jean Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, ed. Olivier Carillo and Agostino Magro (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), viii, n. 2.

7 David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 209.

8 The early *rhétoriqueur* Simon Gréban wrote a *Complainte sur le mort de Jacques Milet* (1466), another poet, in which four musicians—Ockeghem, Du Fay, Fedé, and Binchois—were called upon to provide music. See Arthur Piaget, 'Simon Greban et Jacques Milet', *Romania*, 22 (1893), 230–43. The poet and musician Éloy d'Amerval named nineteen musicians in his *Livre de la déablerie*. See Paula Higgins, 'Speaking of the Devil and *Discipuli*: Eloy d'Amerval, Saint-Martin of Tours, and Music in the Loire Valley, c.1465–1505', in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 169–82.

Crétin (c.1455–1527) was a poet and a courtier. In a letter from 1513, the poet Jean Lemaire explicitly linked and compared Ockeghem to Crétin, stating that Ockeghem ennobled music, just as Crétin elevated the French language.⁹ Crétin belonged to a school of writers, active in northern France and Burgundy during the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, known as the *rhétoriciens*, who incorporated verse as a branch of *rhétorique*.¹⁰ He wrote at the height of the popularity of the *rhétoriqueur* school and was highly regarded not only by his peers, but also in the French literary circles of the next generation.

While Crétin's exact birthdate is unknown, according to his epitaph he had been in the service of four kings, who would have been Louis XI (r. 1461–83), Charles VIII (r. 1483–98), Louis XII (r. 1498–1515), and François I^{er} (r. 1515–47).¹¹ Nearly nothing is known about Crétin's family, though he is probably from Paris, based on the attribution by Clément Marot in his poem, *Des poètes françois, à Salel*, an epigram to the poet Salel: 'Villon, Crétin, ont Paris decoré' ('Villon and Crétin have adorned Paris').¹² In the larger context of the poem, this explanation for Crétin's origins is logical, since Marot lists several French poets along with their places of origin, and from this line in particular, we can corroborate Parisian origins with what we know of François Villon.¹³ Crétin's early employment placed him directly at the heart of French royal court culture in Paris. The earliest documented mention of Guillaume Crétin is from 1476, when he is listed as *chapelain perpétuel* of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, responsible for singing endowed masses, a position that his nephew eventually inherited in 1514.¹⁴

In the last years of the fifteenth century, references within Crétin's own writing open further details of his biography (see Table 6.1). From approximately the latter part of 1498 or 1499 to 1502, Crétin was active in Lyon, probably in connection with Louis XII's court, which was intermittently based in this city from the summer of 1499 and following years (see Table 4 below).¹⁵ Crétin probably also wrote the *Déploration* around this time. While in Lyon,

9 *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, ed. A. Jean Stecher (Leuven: Imprimerie Lefever Frères et Sœur, 1891), vol. 3, p. 197.

10 *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le XVI^e siècle*, ed. Michel Simonin (Paris: Fayard, 2001). The term comes from the titles of treatises using the term *rhétorique*, such as Jean Molinet's *Des arts de seconde rhétorique*.

11 'Quatuor ille olim Regum comes ordine honeste'. Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales* (Paris: M. Drouhin, 1790–98), vol. 2, p. 52. The epitaph was at the foot of a statue of Crétin in the Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes. Most of the statues in this building, including Crétin's, were destroyed in the French Revolution.

12 Clément Marot, *Oeuvres complètes... revues sur les éditions originales*, ed. Pierre Jannet (Paris: E. Picard, 1868), vol. 3, p. 71. Marot included the following poets: Jean de Meun, Alain Chartier, Octavian St-Gelays, Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire, Georges Chastelain, François Villon, Guillaume Crétin, the brothers Arnoul and Simon Gréban, Jean Meschinot, Guillaume Coquillart, and Hugues Salel.

13 For example, in the lines preceding, Maitre Alain [Chartier] 'takes glory' to Normandy, his birthplace; Octavien [St-Gelais] renders Cognac 'eternal'; and Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire, and Georges [Chastelain] 'sing' for Hainaut. Marot, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3, p. 71, lines 2–6. Further information on François Villon's biography can be found in Judy Kem, 'François Villon (1431–circa 1463?)', in *Literature of the French and Occitan Middle Ages: Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi and Ian S. Laurie, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 208 (Detroit: Gale Group, 1999), 272–79.

14 Gilles Dongois, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Sainte-Chappelle* (1709), Paris, Archives Nationales (AN), LL 630, fol. 321.

15 The date of Crétin's arrival in Lyon is usually linked to his association with the poet Jean Lemaire, who around this time had just come to Villefranche (near Lyon) as a financial clerk for Pierre II of Bourbon. Lemaire described his arrival as 'after the death of Charles VIII', though no document specifies 1498. Thus, based on this connection, the most we can say for Crétin's arrival in Lyon is that it was sometime after the

Table 6.1. The early career of Guillaume Crétin

Year	Biography
1476	chapelain perpétuel, Ste-Chapelle, Paris
1486	among the cantores-capellani, French royal chapel; seeking Evreux benefice
c.1498–1502	in Paris (summer 1498) for Louis XII's royal entry (?) in Lyons (late 1498/1499 and following)
14 Mar. 1502	exchanged Evreux benefice with Jean Dronin for benefice of Fidelaire
21 Mar. 1502	took possession of benefice, held until death (Nov. 1525)
28/30 Nov. 1504	becomes treasurer of Ste-Chapelle, Vincennes
5 Dec. 1504	received by the canons at Ste-Chapelle, Vincennes

evidence of Crétin's own literary network emerged through exchanges of poetic letters with other poets and members of the court, including Jean Lemaire, Jacques de Bigues, François Robertet, and Jean Molinet.¹⁶ If the early part of Crétin's career was spent in the service of the French court, as all evidence indicates to this point, the details of this career as a member of the court have disappeared with those of his colleagues. However, the picture of Crétin as a person skilled in music and solidly centred in French court circles already begins to emerge.

Not only was Crétin a poet and courtier, he was also a singer in the French royal chapel, listed as a member of the *cantores-capellani*, at the head of which was Ockeghem, *prothocapellanus*.¹⁷ This collection of singers' names was derived from a series of executorial letters requested by the crown and prepared for Innocent VIII on 28 July 1486.¹⁸ The fact that Crétin was seeking a benefice at the Cathedral of Évreux, which he is documented to have exchanged later in 1502 (see Table 6.1), allays any doubt that the name 'Guillermus Crétin' refers to the poet.¹⁹ Crétin, in other words, was a colleague of Ockeghem's. When Crétin appears on the 1486 list of singers, he is joined by some musicians whom he will include later in the *Déploration*—most notably Compère, but also Fresneau, Piscis, and Prepositi.

Pour lamenter: The Musicians in Crétin's Stanza

Returning to Crétin's stanza in the light of his close connection with French royal court circles, a rationale for his inclusions and omissions emerges. Turning first to the list of names in the second part of the stanza—Prevošt, Verjušt, Piscis (Poisson), and Fresneau—we encounter some of Crétin's fellow *cantores-capellani* from 1486:

death of Charles VIII on 7 April 1498. See Crétin, *Oeuvres poétiques*, xii, and *Oeuvres de Jean Lemaire*, vol. 4, p. 440.

16 I explore Crétin's literary connections, further biographical consideration, and his *Déploration* more fully in my dissertation, 'Rhétorique and Musique: The Poetry of Musical Networks in Fifteenth-Century France' (Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 2019).

17 Leeman L. Perkins, 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 507–66 at 552.

18 The *cantores-capellani* on this list are as follows: Radulphus Calvi, Robertus Caulier, Ludovicus Colebart, Ludovicus Compatris (Compère), Guillermus Crétin, Radulphus Fabri, Johannes de Fontenay, Johannes Fresneau, Guillermus Gigard, Petrus Mignot, Johannes Piscis (Poisson), and Bartolomeus Prepositi.

19 Crétin, *Oeuvres poétiques*, p. xii.

'Ver Just' refers to Estienne Guillot dit Verjust, a French singer. There is some discussion about whether 'Prevoſt, Ver Just' is one person or two.²⁰ 'Prevoſt' could refer to Guillot's position as 'prevoſt d'Anjou' or to Bartolomeus Prepositi (the Latin version of *prevoſt*), another royal chapel singer from the 1486 list. In 1490 Estienne Guillot was paid as *chantre* and *varlet de chambre* in the *maison du roi* of Charles VIII.²¹ An account of Philip the Fair's journey across France in 1501 notes that the singer in Blois named 'Verjus' was highly valued by the king, Louis XII, and that this singer was the 'second maſter Alexander [Agricola]'.²² He continued to be active at the French royal court until his death in 1518.²³

Jehan Poisson (Piscis) was a singer for the *chapelle du roy*. He appears on the chapel payment lists for 1473 and 1474.²⁴ As noted earlier, Poisson also appears on the 1486 list compiled from benefice requests. In 1492, he received a prebend at St-Martin of Tours given by Charles VIII.²⁵

Jehan Fresneau was active as a singer in the French royal court from around 1469 until 1476, consistently appearing on chapel pay records.²⁶ Leaving Tours in 1476, Fresneau joined the chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, but his time in Milan was cut short after the murder of Galeazzo in December 1476. Fresneau was among those who departed in 1477, presumably returning to France, as a document in 1480 calls him a singer for the king. As previously mentioned, he also appeared on the 1486 list. He probably stayed in the Loire Valley as a member of the royal chapel until his death in 1505 or later.

This lesser-known group of musicians is, without a doubt, centred around the French royal court, and they may still have held positions there even at the time of Ockeghem's death. As already mentioned, the first list of musicians in the stanza seems to name many of the leading composers active at the end of the fifteenth century. Focusing on the years just preceding and following Ockeghem's death, the decade of the 1490s, the known record of many of these musicians reflects direct employment in the French royal court. For the rest, documenta-

20 See the discussion in Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, ed. Carrillo and Magro, vii–viii. John T. Brobeck refers to the singer as 'Le Prevost Verjust' on the payment lists for the *chapelle du roi* between 1515 and 1517. 'Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48 (1995), 187–239 at 195–97.

21 Paris, AN, KK 76, fols. 162^v and 182^v, *Compte des Menus Plaisir du Roi*, 1 October 1490 to 30 September 1491. Quoted in Stephen Bonime, 'Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 30 and 48. Most of the biographical information for Verjus comes from archival sources in Bonime's dissertation.

22 'Et chanterent et firent le service les chantres du Roy, qui est fort somptueuse chappelle de belle voix tant comme dessus, et y est ung chantre nomme Verjus qui est le second maistre Alixandre et est fort ayme du Roy et d'un chacun.' Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, MS 3410, fol. 9, quoted by Joseph Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1841), vol. 2, p. 568. Quoted in Bonime, 'Anne Bretagne', 48 and 131.

23 John T. Brobeck, 'The Motet at the Court of Francis I' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 27.

24 See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fr. 32511, Cabinet des titres, vol. 685, fol. 317^v. Another copy of the same is found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 20684, fols. 623 and 631. Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France* (Paris: Alcan, 1911), 62. See also Bonime, 'Anne Bretagne', 48 and 131, and Vaccaro, 'Jean de Ockeghem', 64–65. Vaccaro consulted BnF MS fr. 32511, but there appears to be a misprint in his citation (p. 64), which lists the Cabinet des titres volume number as '1685', rather than '685'.

25 *Lettres de Charles VIII*, ed. Paul Pélicier (Paris: Renouard, 1902), vol. 3, p. 277. See also Brenet, *Musique et musiciens*, 40.

26 For further detailed summary on his biography see Fresneau, *Messes et chansons*, viii–xii.

tion gaps in their biographical record strongly suggest evidence connecting them to activity in French court circles (see Table 6.2).²⁷

Reviewing the known biographies of this group of composers reveals not only opportunities for each of them to have intersected with the French royal court, but in some cases with Gaspar as well. We know that Loyset Compère joined the court chapel in Milan in July 1474 and served there until the murder of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in December 1476 disrupted the institution. Like Fresneau, Compère was among those who left Milan in February 1477. During this time, both Compère and Fresneau would have been colleagues with Gaspar. Compère's whereabouts are unknown until 1486, when he is documented as a singer for the French king, Charles VIII.²⁸ Compère was a member of Charles's entourage during his invasion into Italy in 1494–95.²⁹ He stayed at the French court until April 1498, at which time he became resident dean of St-Géry in Cambrai until April 1500. Like Compère, the career of Dionysus Prioris was firmly centred around French court circles.³⁰ As early as 1491, Prioris was employed as the chapel master of Louis d'Orléans in Blois. When Louis was crowned king in 1498, Prioris continued his service in the royal chapel until his death.

While Compère and Prioris had certain documented employment with the French royal court, the connection to the court of the other composers has been pieced together through references and inferences from other sources. Little is known of Alexander Agricola's whereabouts between 1476 and 1491 and again between 1494 and 1500, at which point he went to the Habsburg-Burgundian court.³¹ In October 1491, Agricola is recorded as a cathedral singer in Florence under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici.³² However, he must have been in France before this time, because in April 1492, Charles VIII wrote to Pietro de' Medici, asking for the return of Agricola, his chapel singer, who had already left Florence to go to Naples.³³ Agricola may not have returned to France until late 1492. He visited Naples again from February to March 1494, stopping again in Florence along his way. His documentary record fades for the rest of the decade, but in 1494–95, Charles VIII was also moving through Florence towards Naples, so it is quite possible that Agricola and his former employer connected again.

27 This line of reasoning has also been explored by Jennifer Thomas in her unpublished paper, 'Never Mind the Gap: Josquin Des Prez and the French Royal Court', presented at the Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, Glasgow, 2004. In her investigation surrounding Josquin, she also turned to Crétin's stanza, noting that the gaps in these musicians' biographies coincide with the gaps left by the loss of documentation.

28 Perkins, 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court', 507–66 at 552.

29 Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (2nd edn., New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 223.

30 Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65 (2012), 5–65.

31 Bonnie Blackburn (personal communication) has found that he was in Hungary at the court of Matthias Corvinus in 1486, and probably remained there for a few years.

32 Frank A. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), 307–58 at 344.

33 Martin Picker, 'A Letter of Charles VIII of France concerning Alexander Agricola', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 665–72 at 668–69. Agricola's movements in Italy at this time are summarized in Allan W. Atlas and Anthony M. Cummings, 'Agricola, Ghiselin, and Alfonso II of Naples', *Journal of Musicology*, 7 (1989), 540–48.

Table 6.2. Locations of singers before 1500s

Composer	1470s	1480s	1490s	1500
Compère	Cambrai: early 1470s Milan: July 1474–Feb. 1477	unknown 1477–86 France: 1486–98, singer, chapelle du roi	France: 1486–98 Cambrai: Apr. 1498–Apr. 1500, dean of St-Géry	1500
Prioris			France: from 1491 chapelmaster in Blois; continued in service of French king	France
Agricola	Cambrai: 1475–76	unknown 1476–91 France: before Oct. 1491, singer for Charles VIII	France: Oct. 1491–before June 1492 Naples: visits May–June 1492; Feb.–Mar. 1494. France: before Oct. 1491; 1493; (after 1494?) unknown: 1494–1500	Burgundy: 1500–6
Verbonnet			Ferrara: 1490–92 Florence: 1493 Naples: 1494 unknown: 1494–1501; (in Florence with Agricola) France: before 1501, royal singer	France: 1501 Ferrara: 1503
Josquin	Provence: 1475–80	France: 1480–83 Milan, Rome, and unknown: 1484–89 Rome: 1489–94, papal chapel choir	unknown/France/Cambrai: 1494–1503. Intermittent connections with French royal court	France: 1501 Ferrara: 1503
Brumel		Geneva: 1486–92, magister puerorum	unknown/France(?): 1492–1501 Paris: 1498–1500, Notre-Dame, magister puerorum	Savoy: 1501 'formerly a royal singer'
Gaspar	See Table 6.3			

Also known as Johannes Ghiselin, Verbonnet probably travelled to Naples with Agricola during this time. After having served as a singer at the court of Ferrara from 1490 to 1492, Verbonnet became a singer at San Giovanni in Florence until 1493.³⁴ A documentary gap in his biography lasts from 1494 until 1501.³⁵ At some point he must have joined the French royal chapel, because in 1501, Verbonnet was in Blois and referred to as a singer for ‘his most Christian majesty’, the King of France.³⁶ Later, when Josquin travelled to Ferrara in 1503, Verbonnet accompanied him.

Josquin’s first substantial position as a singer was at the court of René d’Anjou in Provence from 1475 until René’s death in 1480.³⁷ Louis XI absorbed many of René’s singers into his own court, and Josquin was probably among them. Around 1484, Josquin travelled to Italy. For some of the time between 1484 and 1489, he moved back and forth between Milan and Rome, at times accompanying Ascanio Sforza.³⁸ Josquin joined the papal chapel in Rome in 1489, remaining there until at least 1494, when the records are interrupted. The years following contain sparse information concerning his whereabouts until 1503, when he joined the court at Ferrara. During this gap, Josquin had intermittent connections with the French royal court, at the very least, if not official employment.³⁹

The biography of Antoine Brumel offers yet another suggestive documentary gap. After his six-year position as *magister puerorum* in Geneva (1486–92), Brumel’s whereabouts are unknown until 1498, when he joined the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris.⁴⁰ He held this position until he joined the court of Savoy in 1501. A document from Savoy referred to Brumel as ‘formerly a royal singer’, perhaps implying earlier employment with the French royal court.⁴¹

So why is Gaspar van Weerbeke in the mix? With no obvious connections to the French royal court from extant documents, Gaspar seems to be the odd person out. After spending years in Milan, Gaspar left the duchy in 1495 without Ludovico il Moro’s permission or knowledge, beginning a short tenure as a singer in the chapel of Philip the Fair.⁴² Gaspar’s

34 Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 225.

35 Atlas and Cummings, ‘Agricola, Ghiselin, and Alfonso II of Naples’, 545.

36 Fallows, *Josquin*, 202.

37 See Fallows, *Josquin*.

38 See Joshua Rifkin, ‘Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic’, in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 221–335, which offers a deeper analysis of Josquin’s whereabouts during these years, not all of which are yet accounted for.

39 See Joshua Rifkin’s discussion in ‘A Black Hole?: Problems in the Motet around 1500’, in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 21–82 at 45–50.

40 Pierre Pidoux, ‘Antoine Brumel à Genève (1486–1492)’, *Revue de musicologie*, 50 (1964), 110–12, and Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 307–8.

41 The document describing Brumel as ‘formerly a royal singer’ (*dudum cantoris regii*) is quoted in Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, ‘La Cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia dal 1504 al 1550’, *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 5 (1970), 3–36 at 6–7. In my paper, ‘Faint Footsteps: Brumel’s Early Career and the French Royal Court’, presented at the Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (Birmingham, 2014), I argued that Brumel may have been connected with Charles VIII in his 1494–95 Italian invasion. In the earliest manuscript sources of Brumel’s music, a sudden influx of pieces appeared in Roman sources just at this time and in a manner similar to the appearance of several pieces by Compère, who we know was in Rome with Charles VIII.

42 Paul Merkley and Laura L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 402.

sojourn in the Habsburg-Burgundian court continued until the summer of 1498, at which point documentation dwindles until he was again in Milan in the autumn of 1499.⁴³

Gaspar van Weerbeke and France

This gap in his biography requires further investigation. Honey Meconi's survey of the 1498 *escroes*, or daily lists, of Philip the Fair's chapel reveals Gaspar's final presence on 10 June. The next *escroe*, dated 3 July, omits him.⁴⁴ Ludovico il Moro must have soon discovered Gaspar's availability. Within a month, Ludovico sent a letter, dated 13 July, expressing his desire for Gaspar's return to Milan:⁴⁵

We have been pleased having heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers that are good for our chapel; and wishing that they come to us with the same Messer Gaspare, by the present letter we promise them that on their coming, we shall give messer Gaspare his usual provision and to the tenorist 16 ducats of provision per month, and to the sopranos 12 ducats each per month, as we give to all the others whom we have in our said chapel; and also regarding clothing and every other thing we shall treat them in the manner that we do all our other singers. Regarding which, so that they have more certainty that what we promise will be attended to, we have wished to sign this present letter with our own hand, and thus we promise that their provision will begin from the time that they will leave to come here. Milan, 13 July 1498. Signed Ludovicus Maria.

Havendo noi inteso che Mr Gaspar de Verbecha quale altre volte e stato nostro cantore de capella ha trovato in Franza tri cantori quali sono boni per la capella nostra, ne habiamo ricevuto piacere, et desiderando che vengino da noi con epso M. Gaspare Per le presente li promettemo che venendo loro daremo ad M. Gaspare la provisione [fol. 257^v] sua consueta, et al Tenorista ducati sedeci de provisione il mese, et alli supranisti dodeci ducati per caduno il mese como dasemo ad tutti li altri quali havemo in la dicta nostra capella, et poi de veste et de omne altra cosa li tractaremo in quello modo che facimo tutti li altri nostri cantori, Delche perche habijno piu certeza che quello li promettemo li sara atteso, habiamo voluto sottoscrivere le presente de nostra propria mano, et cosi promettemo che la provisione sua cominciarà al tempo che se partirano per venire in qua. Mediolani xiiij. Julij 1498 Ludovicus Maria subscripsit. B. Ch. [= Bartolomeo Chalco, the secretary].

The contents of the letter reveal that Gaspar was 'in France' and in good musical company. Ludovico's letter outlined compensation details for Gaspar and the singers—two sopranos and a tenorist—should they accept his offer. The recipient of the letter remains unknown; we know its text only through the record in the ducal registers. The same is the case with a second letter, dated 18 August, in which Ludovico not only gave Gaspar full authority to hire the singers but also agreed to whatever arrangements Gaspar made with them:⁴⁶

43 For Gaspar's time at the Burgundian Court see Grantley McDonald's contribution to this book.

44 Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 65.

45 I thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing not only information regarding these archival records but also the transcription and translation, on which the above translation is based, of Milan, Archivio di Stato, Registri ducali 123, fol. 257^{r-v}. Transcriptions also can be found in Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), ix; Emilio Motta, 'Musici alla corte degli Sforza: Ricerche e documenti milanesi', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 14 (Milan, 1887; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), 327; and in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 403, n. 197.

We have given commission to Gasparro da Verbech our singer to find and bring to us some more singers, sopranos and one tenorist for our chapel; and being persuaded by the faithfulness and affection that he has demonstrated continuously that he will execute this commission of ours faithfully and prudently, by the strength of these words we grant to the said Gaspar ample authority to bring about, conclude, and establish with those singers that he will choose the salary and provisions as will seem best and most appropriate to him [i.e. Gaspar], we promise; and thus we promise through the present signature by our own hand to follow and observe all that the said Gaspar will promise in our name in order to execute our commission. Milan, 18 August 1498. Ludovicus M signed.

Havemo dato commissione ad Gasparro da Verbech nostro cantore de cercare et condurre ad noi alcuni altri cantori soprani et uno tenorista per la capella nostra, et persuadendone per la fede et affectione quale continuamente ne ha demonstrato exequira questa nostra commissione fidelmente et con prudentia concedemo per virtu de queste nostre ad epso Gasparro ampla auctorita de praticare concludere et stabilire cum quelli cantori chepso ellegira el stipendio et provisione como a luy parira meglio et essere conveniente, promettendo noi, et cosi promettiamo per le presente sottoscripte de nostra propria mano attendere et osservare tutto quello chepso Gasparro promettera in nostro nome per executione de la commissione nostra. Mediolani 18. Augusti 1498. Ludovicus M subscripsit.

A second letter on the same day gave Gaspar and the three singers assurances of safe conduct during their journey to Milan.⁴⁷ Though most biographical accounts of Gaspar presume that he returned to Milan not long afterwards in the autumn of 1498, the record remains unclear when he actually did travel back to Milan, and whether or not the singers indeed went with him.⁴⁸ But he had definitely arrived there by November 1499, as Ercole d'Este, himself present in the

Table 6.3. Gaspar in the 1490s

Year	Biography
1472–95	Milan & Rome. Left Milan between April and October 1495, without Ludovico il Moro's permission
1495–98	Burgundy. Joined the chapel of Philip the Fair in Habsburg-Burgundy
10 June 1498	last appearance on Philip's escroe (absent on the following escroe, 3 July)
Summer 1498	France
13 July 1498	letter from Ludovico Sforza: 'Having heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers.'
18 Aug. 1498	letters from Sforza giving full authority for Gaspar to hire these singers and guaranteeing their safe conduct in travel to Milan
Aug. 1498–Nov. 1499	unknown. No extant documentation of Gaspar
Nov. 1499	Milan. Ercole d'Este unsuccessfully attempted to recruit Gaspar

46 Again, I thank Bonnie Blackburn for sharing her transcription of Milan, Archivio di Stato, Registri ducali 192, fol. 7^{r-v}. The translation is mine. The text of this letter can also be found in Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1867–88), vol. 6, p. 11, and Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', ix.

47 The letter giving assurance of safe conduct is referred to, but not quoted, in Motta, 'Musici alla corte degli Sforza', 328 and Vander Straeten, *Musique*, vol. 6, p. 11.

city, tried to recruit him as *maestro di cappella* to replace the recently deceased Johannes Martini (see Table 6.3).⁴⁹

Ludovico's first letter, indicating that Gaspar was 'in France', was dated within just a few weeks of Gaspar's departure from Burgundy. This indicates that he obtained knowledge of Gaspar's arrival soon after the fact, though how he was notified remains unknown. In addition, given the earlier attempt by Louis d'Orléans in 1495 to assert his claim on the Duchy of Milan, Ludovico's use of the phrase 'in France' is unlikely to be a general reference to anywhere north of the Alps. In other words, the political circumstances at the time give every reason to believe that when Ludovico stated that Gaspar was 'in France', he meant exactly that. Gaspar's being in France, of course, fits neatly with the implications of the rest of Crétin's list. With that in view, we might consider some events in France in the spring of 1498—events that Ludovico followed with intense interest.

At the beginning of 1498, affairs between Italy and France lay in relative calm. An Italian ambassador even remarked in a letter that 'things in France have been quiet'.⁵⁰ But on 7 April 1498, Charles VIII died unexpectedly from a head injury in Amboise at his residence, without an heir. His closest male relative, his cousin Louis II of Orléans, quickly assumed the crown without protestation from the noble peers. Even the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon, Anne and Pierre, the most likely contenders, sent their congratulations promptly to the now Louis XII of France.⁵¹

Charles VIII's sudden death ended the tranquillity between Italy and France: as they received the news, rulers across Europe sprang into action, not expecting the transition from Valois to Orléans to go as smoothly as it did. Moving closer to the French border, Emperor Maximilian brought his army into Burgundian territory controlled by his son Philip the Fair. Anxieties grew, especially among the Italians, regarding the question of Louis XII's intentions with respect to his claims to Milan through his paternal grandmother, Valentina Visconti. Louis, as Duke of Orléans, had made an earlier attempt to assert his claim while accompanying Charles VIII in his Italian conquest in 1494–95.

Louis's coronation clarified his stance as he took the title 'King of France' and 'Duke of Milan'. Ludovico, who would have felt the threat most keenly, acted quickly to deduce the details of Louis's ambitions. The Italian rulers in general, but especially Ludovico, sent agents to France charged with gathering scrupulous information about the changing court and the sentiments and aspirations of Louis XII.⁵² The detailed correspondences resulting from the intelligence initiatives preserve a significant portion of the extant knowledge of Louis XII's first

48 Motta takes this document as proof that Weerbeke and the other singers made the journey to Milan in the autumn of 1498; 'Musici alla corte', 328. The biographical account in *Grove Music* also surmises his return in autumn 1498. See Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke [Werbeke, Werbeck], Gaspar [Jaspar, Gaspert] van', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 28 March 2018.

49 Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 2nd edn., 225.

50 'Le cosse de Franza passano molto quiete.' Donato de Preti, ambassador in Milan, to the Marquis of Mantua on 8 April 1498. From the document (Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, E XIX, 3) quoted in Leon Pélissier, 'Nouvellistes italiens à Paris en 1498', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Paris et d'Ile-de-France*, 19 (Paris: Champion, 1892), 146.

51 Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 51–58.

52 Pélissier, 'Nouvellistes italiens', 147.

months. The occasion to report on the news of the French court offered an influx of employment opportunities during the spring and summer of 1498, resulting in large numbers of Italians rapidly taking up residence in Paris, the place through which most exchanges already travelled.⁵³ The nineteenth-century French historian Léon Pélissier, who transcribed and published many of their accounts and letters, called them *les nouvellistes italiens* ('the Italian newsmen').

In the first months of his reign, Louis XII also centred his activities in Paris and its vicinity. The day after Charles's burial, 2 May, Louis arrived at the Château de Vincennes, just outside Paris, remaining the next few weeks to guarantee court appointments. On 26 May he arrived in Reims for his coronation, followed by a tour in north-east France. In a letter addressed from Reims on 26 May, a certain Philippe from Valperga wrote to the Chancellor of Savoy conveying details of the king's coronation and subsequent plans for travel leading up to the king's entry official entry into Paris.⁵⁴ While his exact route is unknown, we do know that Noyons and Compiègne, both on a pilgrimage route, were included in the route and that travelling from Reims to Paris along pilgrimage routes is possible.⁵⁵ Such a route would also have taken the king's entourage close to the border between France and Burgundy, just during the time between Gaspar's last appearance on the Burgundian *escroes* and before he was seen in France. Louis XII's tour ended in Paris with his official entry on 2 July. Meetings with the Parlement and the business of establishing his administration kept Louis in Paris for most of the summer.⁵⁶

A likely scenario for Gaspar arises from this historical backdrop, contextualizing Ludovico's recruitment letters within heightened correspondence activity between Paris and Milan. That Gaspar came to France from Burgundy is apparent, but the surrounding details point to a larger context for Ludovico's 13 July letter. A plausible explanation for Gaspar's movements could be that when he left Burgundy, he came to Paris, possibly even travelling with Louis's entourage (see Table 6.4). Crétin was probably in Paris at that moment and could have become acquainted with Gaspar then. Some of the Italians who had already gathered in Paris may have been familiar to him from his years employed in Italy. A former colleague may have recognized Gaspar and sent word to Ludovico that Gaspar was musically active in France, prompting the duke to encourage his contact to lure Gaspar back to Milan.

Placing Gaspar in this French context not only reveals implications touching on a more nuanced understanding of this transitional moment in Weerbeke's life, but also has historiographical implications. Every musician listed in Crétin's stanza had some connection to the household of the King of France by the end of the century except for Gaspar. Reading Crétin's stanza as a performative list of singers at the French royal court offers the tantalizing speculation that Gaspar joined Louis XII's *chapelle* sometime in 1498. In Louis's entourage, he would

53 Ibid., 147.

54 Leon Pélissier, 'Documents sur la première année du règne de Louis XII tirés des archives de Milan', Extrait du *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889), 59–60.

55 Considering pilgrimage routes as an option, it is possible to take routes included in the way of St James from Reims to Paris. The Reims–Tournai route would have intersected with the Via Thiérache, which goes from Olloy-sur-Viroin to St Quentin, right above Guise (in the town of Buironfosse), quite close to the border between France and Flanders at the end of the fifteenth century. In St Quentin, the route called the Chemin Estelle begins, going through Noyon and Compiègne to Paris.

56 Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 63–77.

Table 6.4. Comparison of Gaspar's and Louis XII's movements

Date	Gaspar in the 1490s	The first months of Louis XII's reign
1472–95	Milan: in the chapel of Ludovico Sforza. Left in 1495 without Sforza's permission	
1495–98	Burgundy: joined the chapel of Philip the Fair in Habsburg-Burgundy	
Apr. 1498		Blois: after Charles VIII's death on 7 Apr., Louis receives pledges of loyalty from French noble peers.
2 May 1498		Vincennes: arrives at Château to guarantee court appointments.
26–27 May 1498		Reims: coronation. Followed by a tour in northern France, which included stops in Noyons and Compiègne.
10 June 1498	last appearance on Philip's escroes (absent on the following escroe, 3 July)	
2 July 1498		Paris: first official entry
summer 1498	France. Paris?	Paris: until the autumn
13 July 1498	letter from Ludovico: 'Having heard that [Messer] Gaspar de Verbecha, who formerly was our chapel singer, has found in France three singers'	
18 Aug. 1498	letters from Sforza giving full authority for Gaspar to hire these singers and guaranteeing their safe conduct in travel to Milan	
Aug. 1498–Nov. 1499	Unknown. No extant documentation of Gaspar	
winter 1498–99		Loire valley
summer 1499		Lyon: managing invasion into Milan
Oct. 1499		Milan: triumphal entry
Nov. 1499	Milan: Ercole d'Este unsuccessfully attempts to recruit Gaspar	

have travelled to Lyon in the spring of 1499, where Crétin himself was by then, and then to Milan in the autumn. Following Sforza's defeat, Louis made his victorious entry into Milan on 6 October 1499. The following month Ercole d'Este, who was in Milan for the occasion of Louis's entry, attempted to recruit Gaspar into Ferrarese service.⁵⁷ At that point, Gaspar parted ways with Louis's entourage and by 1500 was employed in the papal chapel in Rome.⁵⁸

57 For further discussion on Ercole's presence in Milan see Lewis Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979), 191–246 at 196, n. 11.

58 The fact that his tenure with Louis would have only been a year should not problematize this speculative

Because the documentation detailing the *chapelle du roi* for these years is now lost, speculation on Gaspar's role or associations with this institution can only be surmised from the broader context of Ludovico's letters in the context of historical events and Crétin's poem.

Reflecting on this reading of these documents might also contextualize the motivations of Gaspar's earlier movements. The relationship between Ludovico Sforza and Gaspar van Weerbeke during these last few years of the fifteenth century deserves further scrutiny for its implications for Gaspar's probable association with the French royal chapel. Weerbeke left Milan sometime between April and October of 1495. In April he had made a payment on a rental property in Milan.⁵⁹ Then he first appears on Philip's *escroe* on 8 October 1495 and is present on all surviving *escroes* from then until he left in June 1498.⁶⁰ Later in that October 1495, Sforza wrote to Philip the Fair of Burgundy acknowledging Weerbeke's arrival in the service of the archduke but expressing his displeasure that Weerbeke had deceived him and not taken leave.⁶¹

The events in Milan between April and October of 1495 are relevant to the discussion here, because during the summer of 1495, Louis, as the Duke of Orléans, made his first advance towards claiming Milan. Louis, accompanying Charles VIII's conquest into Italy, had stayed behind in Asti while Charles invaded Naples. While Louis had ultimately been unsuccessful in his conquest of Milan that summer, he did remain encamped close by for several weeks, just before Gaspar left for Burgundy. In the autumn, Charles joined Louis on his departure from Naples, and the royal entourage returned to France.⁶² It seems plausible that Gaspar may have encountered the entourage of either the King of France or the Duke of Orléans during this sojourn. Furthermore, perhaps the opportunity to travel up to the north presented itself with members of the royal entourage crossing the Alps, thus possibly establishing an earlier connection with French royal court circles. Though we do not know exactly what drew Gaspar to the north or how he got there, he did find a willing employer in Philip the Fair, who was able to pay him at the highest level—a possibility probably unavailable to the French royal court at the time as it staggered back home after significant financial investment in the Italian invasion.⁶³

The possibility of Gaspar in France also sheds light on a curious item in Gaspar's repertoire found in the collection of chansons in four partbooks, Flor 2442. Since Howard Mayer Brown's introductory study, scholars have remarked on the manuscript's French orientation.⁶⁴

narrative; the personnel of the *chapelle du roi* was shifting and changing considerably around the turn of the century. Brobeck outlines some of these shifts in 'The Motet at the Court of Francis I', 4–5.

59 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 396.

60 Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 65.

61 Merkle and Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, 396.

62 Further discussion of these events found in Baumgartner, *Louis XII*, 42–49.

63 Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 65.

64 Howard Mayer Brown, 'Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine Patrician: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 55–66. Joshua Rifkin has remarked on a northern provenance in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, ed. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, *Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 235–36. Louise Litterick provides further insight on some of the French characteristics in her recent examination of the chansonnier in 'Out of the Shadows: The Double Canon *En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet*', in

Although it does include a piece each by Isaac and La Rue, French composers dominate its repertoire: Gaspar's place in it has thus seemed puzzling.⁶⁵ Of the three chansons credited to him here, two are *unica*; and of these two, the quodlibet *Bon temps* concludes with the following lines, welcoming *le dauffin*:

Sonnez chanter du bon cuer de bon fin
 Sonnez la bienvenu de monseigneur le dauffin.
 Sonnez trompettes sonnes bombardier,
 Sonnes falcons, sonnez chantres soir et matin
 Sonnez la bienvenu de monseigneur le dauffin.

While Brown sought to connect these lines, and Gaspar's song itself, to the birth of a real French prince, we hardly have to follow him in this to recognize that they fit neither in Rome nor in Burgundy, but imply a French context.⁶⁶ Where better—where else, in fact—for Gaspar to have quoted them?⁶⁷

Crétin's memorial to Ockeghem articulated networks of individuals active in France. In the final section of the *Déploration*, the narrator-poet addressed four groups, representing communities in which Ockeghem worked: the city of Tours, the royal chapel (signified in this stanza of musicians), and St-Martin, where he held the position of treasurer. The last stanza, with the *enfans de choeur* (lines 413–20), portrays a burgeoning *chapelle* of singers. The choirboys join in remembering Ockeghem forever, creating a kind of poetic foundation in perpetuity for his soul. In the fictive space of a poem Crétin had the creative freedom to connect people in asynchronous time and unbounded space. Given Crétin's connections with the French royal court, his poetic testimony reflected a reliable narrative of the assemblage of musicians serving the French king at the end of the fifteenth century.

Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600: Essays in Honour of Keith Polk, ed. Timothy J. McGee and Stewart Carter (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 263–98.

- 65 Some have speculated that the 'Gaspar' attribution is a different person entirely from Weerbeke. Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows', 272–73, esp. n. 32. See also Carlo Bosi's and David Fallows's contributions to this volume for further thoughts on authorship.
- 66 Lawrence F. Bernstein outlines Brown's observations along with a detailed analysis of the manuscript's French orientation. He also notes that the title 'dauphin' could be applied informally, as a *titre de complaisance* (a 'title of convenience'), which could have been the case with the sons of Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII, who died in infancy. See 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson', *Journal of Musicology*, 1 (1982), 275–326 at 286–89, esp. n. 28.
- 67 Another interpretation of this song is given in Carlo Bosi's contribution to this volume.

PART II: MASSES AND MOTETS

‘Under the Radar’ or ‘Caught in the Crossfire’?

The Music of Gaspar van Weerbeke and its Reception History

Fabrice Fitch

IN JANUARY 2016 the musical world marked the death of Pierre Boulez—composer, conductor, polemicist, and founder of one of new music’s iconic institutions. The media reactions to his death made mention of all these facets of his extraordinary career; what was not observed, so far as I am aware, was the symbolism of his passing: he was arguably the last significant remaining member of that extraordinary group of composers whose more or less close identification with the Darmstadt summer course gave it a collective identity that few subsequent moments of recent music history have achieved, and whose close personal relationships and fallings-out were the stuff of legend. The years since the turn of the millennium were punctuated by their deaths (Luigi Nono and Karel Goeyvaerts having died prematurely, in 1990 and 1993 respectively): Franco Donatoni (2000), Iannis Xenakis (2001), Luciano Berio (2003), György Ligeti (2006), Karlheinz Stockhausen (2007), Mauricio Kagel (2008), Henri Pousseur (2009), etc. As one who has felt the passing of that generation very keenly, it strikes me that a musical observer five hundred years ago might have harboured very similar feelings as one by one the members of another significant generation of composers (‘the generation formerly known as Josquin’) passed into history. Obrecht, Agricola, and Ghiselin having died in the previous decade, the process came to a head in the period we have now entered at five hundred years’ remove: in 1517, Gaspar (presumably) and Isaac; in 1518, Compère and La Rue; Josquin, of course, in 1521, and Mouton in 1522. It might well have seemed to our hypothetical observer that an exceptional era was drawing to a close.

This cycle of quincentenaries has coincided with a common musicological project to consider these composers on their own terms rather than as mere satellites of their putative standard-bearer.¹ More than ten years ago I made such a case for Agricola: how (I asked) could

* I thank David Fallows, Warwick Edwards, and Andrew Kirkman for reading and commenting on drafts of this study, and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Agnese Pavanello, and Paul Kolb for helping to make countless documents available to me.

1 The process was arguably initiated with Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), continuing with Honey Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); on Agricola see in particular Fabrice Fitch, ‘Agricola and the Rhizome: An Aesthetics of the Late Cantus Firmus Mass’, *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 59 (2005), 65–92; Fitch, ‘Agricola and the Rhizome II: Contrapuntal Ramifications’,

we account for the discrepancy between his modern-day reception history and his contemporary fame: a composer who was a particular favourite of Petrucci; whose source distribution bespoke a European renown; whose career included stints at the most prestigious choral establishments of the day; and whose discography at the time lagged behind that of many contemporaries?² I was describing Agricola, but these points apply in equal measure to Gaspar van Weerbeke.³ Indeed, the proportion of Gaspar's extant output published by Petrucci is higher still, and his discography is virtually non-existent even today, far smaller than Agricola's was when I made those comments.⁴ (At the time of writing there is still no recording devoted exclusively to Gaspar's music, none of an entire mass, and only one of either five-voice motet.) As with Agricola, the reasons for this situation are diverse, and they tell us a great deal about our own priorities—or, if you prefer, biases. How then has Gaspar slipped under the radar?

First, a brief aside concerning Gaspar's *O salutaris hostia*, one of a number of settings of the text that opens the Occo Codex. The piece was recorded as part of a CD of Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua* by the combined Clément Janequin and Organum Ensembles, issued in 1986. It may well have been the first CD recording of Gaspar's music (and there cannot have been very many in the LP era).⁵ But the recording information gives the piece as anonymous, presumably because it is transmitted that way in Occo.⁶ Having often advocated for discography as key evidence of composers' modern-day reception, I offer this little vignette as emblematic of Gaspar's situation.⁷ Another possible reason for the anonymous listing of *O salutaris hostia* is that its concordances in the Milanese Librone codices (as part of the motet cycle *Ave mundi Domina*) had not yet been reported in print.⁸ That in turn raises the most obvious reason for Gaspar's relative neglect: the absence of a critical edition.⁹ But that is only part of the story: in the case of Johannes Ghiselin (alias Verbonnet), a complete edition has existed for nearly fifty years, and yet his critical fortune in the modern era has been, if anything, even less than Gaspar's.¹⁰ In Gaspar's case there are additional factors in play.

Surveying the entire output, one observes that, with one or perhaps a couple of exceptions, his borrowed materials are taken from pieces that had little impact in their own right

Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 6 (2006), 19–57; Fitch, 'Text, Music and Mannerist Aesthetics in Agricola's Songs', *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik*, 7 (2007), 105–31; and most recently Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) for assessments of de Orto (pp. 189–230) and Gaspar (pp. 134–63).

2 Fitch, 'Agricola and the Rhizome', 65–68.

3 See, however, the two pioneering studies of his sacred music, Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954); Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (c.1445–nach 1517)*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997).

4 Fitch, 'Agricola and the Rhizome', 65–66, n. 2.

5 Gaspar's discography is so small that he does not warrant an entry to himself in the very thorough database at <www.medieval.org>, curated by the late Pierre-F. Roberge and Todd McComb.

6 The work is still listed as anonymous in the disc's most recent reissue (2008).

7 Fabrice Fitch, 'Senf in the Studio', in *Senf-Studien 1*, ed. Birgit Lodes, Stefan Gasch, and Sonja Tröster, Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte, 4 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2012), 497–510.

8 It is not listed in Gerhard Croll, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of his Life and Works', *Musica Disciplina*, 6 (1952), 67–81, or Andrea Lindmayr, 'Die Gaspar van Weerbeke-Gesamtausgabe: Addenda et Corrigenda zum Werkverzeichnis', in *De editione musices: Festschrift Gerhard Croll*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzer and Andrea Lindmayr (Laaber, 1992), 51–64.

9 On the history and pre-history of the edition, see the Introduction to this volume.

10 Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Clytus Gottwald, 4 vols., CMM 23 (1961–68).

and elicited few other responses in terms of borrowing by other composers. (The exceptions are *O Venus bant* and, to a lesser extent, Convert's *Se mieux ne vient*, both of them models for one of Gaspar's masses. Both have fared reasonably well on both counts.¹¹) In other words, no *Fortuna desperata*, no *Comme femme*, no *Malheur me bat*, *Je n'ay dueil*, or *Fors seulement*, and for that matter no *L'homme armé* either. This observation extends to what little secular music survives, since Gaspar appears not to have participated in the vogue for textless settings of secular cantus firmi. All this has precluded his being mentioned in the sort of comparative evaluations to which such pieces have so often given rise. Extending this line of enquiry further, Gaspar's output lacks a signature practice with which his name might be associated, or by which his output might be characterized: there is no Gaspardian equivalent of the Josquinian *soggetto cavato*, the Obrechtian segmentation mass, and no equivalent to distinctive, eye-catching one-off works such as Obrecht's *Missa Sub tuum presidium* or Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terre motus*, let alone the monumental achievement of Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*. Finally, no single piece of his ever achieved the runaway success of, say, Agricola's *Si dederò* or elicited a comparable number of reworkings (though again, the *Missa O Venus bant* enjoyed a relatively wide circulation, judging from its source distribution). All these categories having tended to elicit a musicological response, Gaspar's absence (or near-absence) from them explains why scholarship has struggled to come to terms with him.

Another point, to which Jesse Rodin has drawn attention in his fine study of polyphony at the Sistine Chapel in the late fifteenth century, *Josquin's Rome*, is Gaspar's use of 'unorthodox' dissonance and voice-leading. Rodin examines this in considerable detail and proposes it as 'a distinguishing feature of his style'.¹² Certain features occur with sufficient frequency and contextual consistency to rule out contrapuntal solecism. Perhaps the most striking of these are the upwards leaps of a seventh, the use of which exceeds anything found in Gaspar's contemporaries, as Rodin correctly notes.¹³ Rather than regard these as 'infelicities', Rodin invites us to 'avoid passing judgment on Gaspar's practice' or view it through the retrospective lens of later practice—particularly since 'such writing is often planned to create a particular effect'.¹⁴ Those effects focus sometimes on matters of pitch, but they are just as often motivated by texture, for example the bunching together of voices in a given part of the register—an effect enhanced by judicious admixture of dissonance. On paper they may look puzzling, even awkward; but vocal performance (and I say 'vocal performance' advisedly) shows them to be very effective, subtle inflections of the *lingua franca*. I will return to *Josquin's Rome* in due course, and indeed to certain aspects of Gaspar's voice-leading; but for the moment, I suggest that his approach to dissonance has been taken as evidence of a less than fastidious craftsman.¹⁵ To be fair, the charge has been levelled at other composers of his generation (Obrecht and Brumel spring to mind), but in Gaspar's case it has compounded the

11 Though surviving in numerous sources, *Missa O Venus bant* is the only extant cycle on the tune, while for *Se mieux ne vient* there is only the assuredly later setting by Carpentras.

12 Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 151.

13 Ibid., 141–46.

14 Ibid., 153 for both previous quotations.

15 A composer whose contrapuntal quirks are more easily assimilated with a faulty technique is Gaspar's Sistine Chapel colleague Bertrandus Vaqueras (see Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 176–79).

points made earlier and led to the perception of a composer of the second rank.¹⁶ That is the more ironic as prolonged scrutiny of Gaspar's music actually leads one to precisely the opposite conclusion. In his monograph on Loyset Compère, Ludwig Finscher makes passing but telling reference to 'the stylistic unity and aesthetic *perfection*' (no less!) of Gaspar's *motetti missales* cycles, and the more detailed statement of André Pirro's is similarly positive.¹⁷ The context of Finscher's remark calls for further scrutiny; but apart from these two commentators, the number of historic assessments of Gaspar's style remains surprisingly small.

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I say 'surprisingly', because Gaspar's name appears reasonably often in bibliographical terms, but more often than not in contexts with which he happens to have been associated, rather than as an object of study in his own right. A few such cases come immediately to mind: first and perhaps most prominently, the context of *motetti missales* (whether considered on its own or in terms of the other composers involved); another is the attempt to view musical style as the reflection of regional preference, be it Milanese (as Joshua Rifkin has proposed) or more broadly Italian (as several scholars have suggested, most recently M. Jennifer Bloxam).¹⁸ The two issues are related, but they also share another common denominator: Josquin, whose silent presence is felt even in Finscher's early characterization of Gaspar. As we have just seen, Finscher contrasts the 'stylistic unity and aesthetic perfection' of Gaspar's *motetti missales* with those of Compère, whose 'aesthetic value is but small, [even though] their historical importance is . . . considerable'.¹⁹ But this judgement rests on assumptions that have either been seriously challenged or disproved. First, the stylistic heterogeneity that Finscher identifies in Compère appears to draw on his own attribution to the composer of a work—the cycle *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*—that is probably not by him, and which does indeed differ from Compère's two far more securely ascribed cycles: taking these three works together as Finscher does, Gaspar's two Milanese cycles present a far more consistent stylistic profile, to say nothing of coherent aesthetic purpose (which *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* certainly lacks).²⁰ Second is the assumption that Compère was younger than either Gaspar or Josquin and a newcomer to the Milanese court where Gaspar was already established, leading in turn to the presumption that Gaspar's *motetti missales* cycles were the models for Compère's.²¹ Third and most fundamental is the

16 On this point see, for example, Fabrice Fitch, 'For the Sake of his Honour: Obrecht Reconsidered', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48 (1998), 50–63 at 51–52.

17 Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 12 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 116 (emphasis mine); André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1940), 210–14.

18 Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350; M. Jennifer Bloxam, "'La Contenance Italienne': The Motets on *Beata es Maria* by Compère, Obrecht and Brumel', *Early Music History*, 11 (1992), 39–89.

19 Loyset Compère, *Opera omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 5 vols., CMM 15 (1958–72), vol. 2, ii.

20 For the detailed argument on this point, see Fabrice Fitch, 'Loyset Compère and the Motetti missales Cycle *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 10 (2018), 293–304.

21 Finscher, *Compère*, 91. Finscher follows scholarship of the time in putting Compère's birthdate at c.1450, Gaspar's about five years earlier, and Josquin's about five years before that. Elsewhere in this volume I propose that it is difficult to establish precedence between Gaspar and Compère, especially since their cycles are likely to have been composed within months of each other.

view of Compère as a composer 'who ranks just below the first order',²² a category in which Finscher also places Gaspar.²³ My point here is not so much to observe yet again Josquin's implicit primacy (which is repeatedly alluded to) but to show how Finscher's apparently very favourable evaluation of Gaspar is more nuanced when viewed in context.²⁴ Here, as in several later studies, our composer appears as an innocent or at least unwitting bystander, caught in the crossfire of a scholarly debate of which he is not the primary focus. The same might be said in the case of Rifkin's more recent study of the Milanese repertoire: for all the pertinent and detailed remarks on Gaspar's style it contains, Josquin's early development is the primary focus of inquiry. A third case is Jaap van Benthem's hypothetical attribution to Gaspar of the *Missa Une musique de Biscaye* ascribed in all its sources to Josquin.²⁵ One can reasonably infer from van Benthem's argumentation that he seeks as much to disprove Josquin's authorship as to advance Gaspar's (which is more cautiously proposed), while the majority of responses to it (with the exception of Eric F. Fiedler's, published soon afterwards) consider the style of the former rather than the latter.²⁶ In saying this I seek in no way to criticize the scholars concerned, but to observe how many of Gaspar's historiographical appearances are cameos. With the edition nearing completion we are in a better position to evaluate Gaspar on his own terms. But given that the debates just mentioned have loomed so large in his reception history—particularly the matter of the *motetti missales*—it is worth pausing briefly to consider them further; apart from anything else, they serve as a convenient jumping-off point for a discussion of Gaspar.

The most recent discussions of the *motetti missales* bear witness to an increasingly critical attitude to notions of genre in the early Renaissance.²⁷ Agnese Pavanello has argued that the motets published under the guise of a third such cycle in the Complete Works did not originate in Milan but were written for the Roman confraternity of the Holy Spirit, of which Gaspar was a member.²⁸ This is supported by a number of factors which have cumulative force: the destination of its texts, the reliance of a certain number of the motets on plainsong (which

22 Finscher, *Compère*, 115; see also Finscher's overall evaluation (244–53).

23 *Ibid.*, 252; see also my chapter on the *motetti missales* in this book, Ch. 9.

24 See Finscher's concluding paragraph (*Compère*, 253).

25 Jaap van Benthem, 'Was "Une mousse de Biscaye" Really Appreciated by l'Ami Baudichon?', *Muziek en wetenschap*, 1 (1991), 175–94.

26 Eric F. Fiedler, 'A New Mass by Gaspar van Weerbeke? Thoughts on Comparative Analysis', in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, ed. Annegrit Laubenthal (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 72–87. Fiedler concluded that the mass's treatment of the model differs markedly from Gaspar's practice in his securely attributed cycles. As I argue here and elsewhere, Gaspar's contrapuntal touches are a matter of choice rather than inexperience; but the same cannot be said as confidently of lengthy sections of *Missa Une musique*. This is particularly true of bb. 46–115 of the Credo, where the extreme length of the cantus firmus's pitches diverges from Gaspar's treatment of his models (which entirely avoids mensural transformation). Equally tellingly, the passage also betrays a seeming inability to negotiate the contrapuntal challenges this strategy entails. In my view this passage militates equally strongly against the possibility of Josquin's authorship, and the heterogeneity of model treatment throughout the work is uncharacteristic of either composer. (The mass is edited in NJE 5: Josquin des Prez, *Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs*, ed. Martin Just, 33–71 (music volume) and 72–112 (commentary volume)). This case is also discussed in detail in Paul Kolb's contribution to this book.

27 Perhaps the earliest cogent statement on the specific case of the *motetti missales* is Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl's introduction to Weerbeke, *CW 3: Motet Cycles*, x, which I discuss at greater length in Ch. 9 below.

28 Agnese Pavanello, 'Il ciclo di motetti "In Honorem Sancti Spiritus" di Gaspar van Weerbeke: Un'ipotesi sulla sua origine', *Musica Disciplina*, 54 (2009), 147–80.

is all but avoided in the other extant cycles), differences in musical style, and finally Petrucci's designation of 'cycle' in the *Motetti libro quarto*. Lynn Halpern Ward was the first to propose that these motets formed a cycle or part of one, on which basis they were published in the same volume as the cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* in the Complete Works.²⁹ Whilst endorsing the idea of a cycle, Pavanello's hypothesis removes it from the immediate context of *motetti missales*; but this leaves us with an apparently paradoxical situation, since the cycle's Milanese transmission is incontrovertible evidence of its incorporation into that context. That returns us to Ward's original thesis, a critique of the rigid taxonomy that had attached itself to the *motetti missales*.³⁰ Not only does Pavanello's discovery support Ward's stance, it encourages us to go further: rather than constituting a 'genre' (with all the prescriptive assumptions that entails), the *motetti missales* may be viewed as a local instantiation of a more generalized practice or set of practices associated with polyphonic composition for the mass liturgy.³¹

Viewing the matter from the opposite direction, the presence of Gaspar's *O salutaris hostia* within the Occo Codex, mentioned previously, is entirely logical in a manuscript whose contents centre on the feast of Corpus Christi. Even stylistically, the piece fits its new environment perfectly—so perfectly that had the Milanese Libroni not survived (or any trace of *motetti missales*) we might well view the clutch of settings in the Occo Codex as the joint efforts of (perhaps even the fruits of a 'laudable competition' between) Habsburg-Burgundian court composers. In fact, this very hypothesis is supported by two unique circumstances: as far as can be established, *O salutaris hostia* is the only passage in either of Gaspar's Milanese cycles to use a pre-existent melody; that melody appears in German and Flemish circles exclusively, including a setting by Obrecht (see Example 7.1).³² There is therefore every possibility that the setting pre-dates Gaspar's Milanese period, and that its incorporation within *Ave mundi domina* was not the first stage of its history but the second. With *O salutaris hostia* it is not just the individual piece that is malleable (in this instance it does not even necessitate a change of text); the transmission of pieces and cycles within the Libroni cautions us that those contexts are themselves too fluid to sustain straightforward mappings on the basis of genre.³³

This forms part of a broader argument in favour of considering polyphonic practice in terms of broad categories through which to evaluate individual works or groups of works, any

29 Lynn Halpern Ward, 'The *Motetti Missales* Repertory Reconsidered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 491–523 at 503–8.

30 See also the earlier critique of the 'hard' taxonomy of *motetti missales* in David Crawford, review of Thomas L. Noblitt, 'The *Motetti Missales* of the Late Fifteenth Century', *Current Musicology*, 10 (1970), 102–8, cited in Ward, '*Motetti Missales*'.

31 I explore the implications of this position elsewhere in this book (see Ch. 9).

32 See NOE 17: *Secular Works and Textless Compositions*, ed. Leon Kessels and Eric Jas, xxxvii. On the prevalence of the hymn *O salutaris hostia* in the Low Countries and France, see Agnese Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 33–60 at 45–48; and on the pre-existent melody see also Felix Diergarten, "Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonorositatem": Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 61–88, at 79–80.

33 Note how our nomenclature is inadequate on this question: the terms 'work' or 'piece' are so connoted as to be misleading, while 'excerpt' or 'section' won't do either, since the potential for music to escape its initial context applies not only to parts of an original but also its entirety (I use the term 'original' here to denote the composer's initial casting of the musical idea, not to imply that temporal primacy confers any privileged status).

'Under the Radar' or 'Caught in the Crossfire'?

Example 7.1. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *O salutaris hostia*

III

52

Sopranos

O sa - lu - ta - ris hos - ti - a,

Altos

O sa - lu - ta - ris hos - ti - a,

Ténors

O sa - lu - ta - ris hos - ti - a,

Basses

O sa - lu - ta - ris hos - ti - a,

53

Quae cae - li pan - dis os - ti - um,

Quae cae - li pan - dis os - ti - um,

Quae cae - li pan - dis os - ti - um,

Quae cae - li pan - dis os - ti - um,

54

Bel - la pre - munt hos - ti - li - a,

Bel - la pre - munt hos - ti - li - a,

Bel - la pre - munt hos - ti - li - a,

Bel - la pre - munt hos - ti - li - a,

55

Da ro - bur, fer au - xi - li - um.

Da ro - bur, fer au - xi - li - um.

Da ro - bur, fer au - xi - li - um.

Da ro - bur, fer au - xi - li - um.

and all of which can partake of those different categories to a greater or lesser extent and in different ways. Such an approach takes account of contingency whilst standing outside it; and it enables us to discern patterns across relatively wide geographical and even temporal spans. An early case in point is Finscher's suggestion linking the *motetti missales* and the *cantio* repertoire, which Sean Gallagher has since developed with respect to Regis.³⁴ As mentioned earlier, specific features of Gaspar's style have sometimes been linked to his long sojourn in Italy, or more specifically to his Milanese period (with the *motetti missales* as primary evidence). Such proposals have been questioned or qualified on the grounds that the stylistic categories invoked are very general or can be found elsewhere.³⁵ Although shared characteristics between groups of works may indeed have been motivated by local considerations, both musical and extra-musical (with liturgy the most obvious example), they are just as likely to reflect the reality of singer-composers working alongside each other—particularly when those musicians shared an upbringing in the same environment and were as widely travelled as were Gaspar and his colleagues. One of the most stimulating features of Jesse Rodin's *Josquin's Rome* is its portrayal of the Sistine Chapel choir as just such a community. The study of individual institutions or even cities is a fruitful seam within Renaissance music scholarship, but rarely has the question of concrete musical interaction between known creative personalities been placed so explicitly at its heart, extending to credible influences at the level of individual works.³⁶ (Anyone who has worked in a city that supports a thriving community of new music ensembles, composers, and performers can easily think of particular instances of a musical feature circulating between colleagues, each of whom interprets it in a particular way but without diluting its recognizable essence; and this can happen without any verbal communication, through the media of scores and performances.) Of course, Rodin could hardly have pursued this approach without previous extensive archival and palaeographical research, and a wealth of primary sources, not least the preservation of an usually high proportion of the manuscripts and repertoire created for its use. In this sense, the Sistine Chapel sustains a level of detailed scrutiny matched by few other comparable musical institutions of the time, if any; but the shift in emphasis from the 'institution' to the 'community' casts the matter of stylistic influence in a new light. Like so many of his contemporaries, Gaspar's career spanned a wide geographical area and several institutions; but the number of renowned singer-composers and the number of institutions

34 Sean Gallagher, *Johannes Regis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 163–65. See the comment in Finscher, *Compère*, 114 and n. 45, concerning these stylistic features, that 'the hypothesis of their Italian origin does not exclude the possibility that similar stylistic features were independently developed elsewhere'. Significant is the distinction made immediately afterwards between sacred and secular with reference to 'peripheral regions (Iberian peninsula, Germany) where folksong and art music had not yet drifted apart as far as in the Burgundian-Flemish tradition'. See further Finscher, *Compère*, 95–96 and n. 24. I thank Sean Gallagher for drawing my attention to this point.

35 Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Reconstructing and Repositioning Regis's *Ave Maria* ... *virgo serena*', *Early Music*, 37 (2009), 73–88 at 86; Gallagher, *Regis*, 198–208; John Milsom, 'Josquin and the Combinative Impulse', in *The Motet around 1500: On the Relation of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 211–46 at 232–46; and most recently Clare Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin's *Ave Maria* ... *virgo serena*', *Journal of Musicology*, 34 (2017), 182–240 at 182–88. See also Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 163 ff. Similar critiques have arisen concerning M. Jennifer Bloxam's 'Contenance Italienne' hypothesis; see most recently Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin', 229–33.

36 Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 4–6.

capable of attracting them being comparatively small, he would have encountered some of those colleagues several times in different places for shorter or longer periods, or played musical chairs with them in nearly endless permutations, rather like modern-day *galacticos*. (Rodin likens Josquin's and Gaspar's careers to the proverbial ships passing in the night.³⁷) Given such a scenario, shared characteristics between works may be viewed not as the result (or at least, not exclusively) of regional or institutional preferences, however motivated or formulated, but of informal and episodic interactions between colleagues. Such a vantage point may well explain the points of contact between the motet cycles of Gaspar and Compère.³⁸ Extending the model sketched in *Josquin's Rome* to the totality of musical establishments dotted throughout Europe yields a network of communities whose membership was not only constantly changing but also interchangeable, as in the French notion of *vases communicants*—dare I say it, a rhizomatic arrangement encompassing individuals, influences, practices, and compositions circulating fluidly within and throughout it. Such a network is difficult to flesh out, contingent as our understanding of it must be on the documents that happen to survive; but as we see time and again, those musical sources that do survive—even the most elegantly copied—are witnesses to that fluidity. Rather than reluctantly accept fluid models as forced upon us by lack of evidence, we might simply recognize them as most closely matching the phenomena or situations we seek to understand.

For present purposes, *Josquin's Rome* is of particular interest for its assessment of Gaspar, the most detailed since the pioneering work of Gerhard Croll and Eric F. Fiedler, and the first to reflect the re-evaluative efforts of recent years on behalf of Gaspar's direct contemporaries. I referred earlier to Rodin's view that Gaspar's treatment of dissonance and unorthodox voice-leading constitutes 'a distinguishing feature of his style'. Although Rodin's assessment is confined to works copied into papal chapel choirbooks before c.1500 (and therefore plausibly composed before or during Gaspar's first period of tenure in the 1480s), the pertinence of the features he identifies can be extended chronologically on either side. Leaps of a seventh (whether mediated or unmediated) occur in fact throughout his output as far as sources allow one to judge: the *O salutaris hostia* (which must date from his first Milanese period, in the 1470s) and the *Stabat mater* (most likely composed during his tenure at the Habsburg-Burgundian court in the mid-1490s)³⁹ sport prominent unmediated leaps of a seventh, as does the *Missa Nas tu pas*, which appears to date from the composer's second Roman period.⁴⁰ The extent and diversity of unorthodox dissonance in Gaspar's music endorses Rodin's assessment.⁴¹

37 Ibid., 134.

38 See Ch. 9 below.

39 See Agnese Pavanello, 'Stabat mater / Vidi preciosam: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 60 (2010), 3–20. Pavanello's identification of the work's plainchant cantus firmus reinforces the circumstance of its unique survival in the Chigi Codex, a source compiled within the orbit of the Habsburg-Burgundian court. Pavanello follows Herbert Kellman's most recently expressed dating of the manuscript (1498–1503), just after Weerbeke's tenure at the chapel in 1495–97; see *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999), 125. The strength of the hypothesis is not diminished by my (slightly later) proposed dating of the manuscript to 1503–4; see *Choirbook for Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile, c.1504–6: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS. 9126*, Introduction by Fabrice Fitch (Peer: Alamire, 2000). For a different dating of the *Stabat mater*, see Wolfgang Fuhrmann's contribution to this book.

But it needs to be set against a feature that has been discussed less often, albeit hinted at by previous writers: a consummate formal and melodic balance that might be called ‘classical’.⁴² The brief motet *Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis* illustrates this well (Example 7.2). The superius’s opening phrase, with its graceful rise to the cadence, is immediately memorable (though in fact it is adumbrated by the tenor rise from E to C in the first four bars); thereafter, cadences occur at regular intervals, but with sufficiently varied spacing between them to offset that regularity. The Phrygian final is only stated twice; the first of the two cadences (b. 26) effectively divides the piece into two roughly equal sections. That first Phrygian cadence is attenuated by the falling-off of the altus and bassus, whereas the corresponding final cadence has a lengthier preparation, fuller scoring, and a coda. The division of the motet into two parts is further emphasized by the paired-duos gambit that opens the second half—an archetypal opening gesture, and the only instance of it in this short piece. Both cadences are immediately preceded by examples of Gaspar’s trademark dissonances: the superius’s melodic cast at the downbeat of bar 25 is perfectly normative taken on its own, but it clashes with every other voice. The contrary motion of the superius and the altus makes the arrival onto this dissonance especially unusual. The next telling dissonance (b. 47) involves the same two voices, albeit this time in parallel motion (and consecutive fifths!); again it is the slower low voices that force the dissonance. A remarkable feature of the motet is the activity of the altus, which contrasts markedly with the placid cast of the other voices. It might almost appear hyperactive (reminiscent of the contratenors of an Agricola or a Brumel, or occasionally Obrecht) but for the perfect balance of its rise and fall, from the very top of its range to the very bottom and back up again in a nearly equal space (bb. 6–15), followed by a graceful cadential formula at its registral midpoint. Set against such poised part-writing and pacing the view of Gaspar’s dissonances as ‘infelicities’ is plainly unsustainable. One might instead regard them as the warp and woof that enliven a contrapuntal fabric otherwise remarkable for its unobtrusive elegance.

Further proof of Gaspar’s ‘classical’ interpretation of the style of his generation is his use of the common coinage of the *lingua franca*, most notably sequence and the ‘celebrated procedure’ of parallel tenths. Though both techniques are ubiquitous, they are never taken to excess as Isaac, Brumel, or Obrecht sometimes do for rhetorical, expressive (or other) reasons.⁴³ The fullest expression of this classical quality may be Gaspar’s five-voice *Stabat mater*, perhaps most famous up till now for standing alongside Josquin’s setting in the Chigi Codex. In con-

40 See, for example, the bassus of *O salutaris hostia* (at ‘pandit’); *Stabat mater*, vagans, b. 134 and superius bb. 179–80; and *Missa Nas tu pas*, Gloria, superius, bb. 89–90. On the dating of *Missa Nas tu pas*, see the discussion below.

41 Widening the net in search of other Gaspardian traits yields another plausible candidate, a type of ‘inverted’ cadence at the octave with the ‘tenorizans’ component on top. When embedded within a phrase (particularly in an imitative context), this feature is commonplace, but its use at the end of a phrase (especially under the guise of a two-voice clausula: see, for example, the motet *Ave regina celorum* from the cycle *Ave mundi domina*, bb. 23–24) is far less so. Gaspar’s use of it, though episodic, is audible enough to qualify as a personal habit.

42 This may well underlie Finscher’s reference to ‘aesthetic perfection’; Joshua Rifkin, meanwhile, draws attention to Gaspar’s preference for balanced internal structures in the articulation of paired duos (see Rifkin, ‘Munich, Milan’, 266).

43 One of the few apparent exceptions is *La stangetta*, but the extensive use of parallel tenths in that piece is one of a number of considerations supporting the competing ascription to Isaac (as noted by Eric Jas in his contribution to this volume). I thank Paul Kolb for pointing this out.

'Under the Radar' or 'Caught in the Crossfire'?

Example 7.2. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis*

Musical score for the first system (measures 1-6). The score is for four voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: Vir - - - go Ma - ri - a, non

Musical score for the second system (measures 7-13). The lyrics are: est ti - bi si - - mi - lis na - ta in
 - ti - bi si - mi - lis na - - -
 non est ti - bi si - - mi - lis na - ta in
 non est ti - bi si - - mi - lis

Musical score for the third system (measures 14-20). The lyrics are: mun - - - do, in - ter o -
 -ta in mun - - do, in mun - - do in - ter
 mun - - - do in -
 na - ta in mun - do in - - ter o - - -

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21

mnes mu - li - - - e - res,
o - mnes mu - li - e - res, mu - li - e - res,
ter o - mnes mu - li - - - e - res,
mnes mu - li - - - e - res, Do -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 21 through 26. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a vocal line (alto clef), and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are: mnes mu - li - - - e - res, o - mnes mu - li - e - res, mu - li - e - res, ter o - mnes mu - li - - - e - res, mnes mu - li - - - e - res, Do -

27

fra - grans sic-ut
fra - grans sic-ut li -
Do - rens ut ro - - - - sa,
rens ut ro - - - - sa, sic -

Detailed description: This system contains measures 27 through 33. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a vocal line (alto clef), and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are: fra - grans sic-ut, fra - grans sic-ut li -, Do - rens ut ro - - - - sa, rens ut ro - - - - sa, sic -

34

li - - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis
- - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis
in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis
ut li - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis

Detailed description: This system contains measures 34 through 39. It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a vocal line (alto clef), and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are: li - - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis, - - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis, ut li - li - um, in - ter - ce - de pro no - bis

'Under the Radar' or 'Caught in the Crossfire'?

42

ad Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - - -

ad Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - - -

ad Do - mi - num Je - - - sum Chri - - -

ad Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri -

49

stum.

stum, Chri - - - stum. - - -

stum.

stum, Chri - - - stum. - - -

traſt to his other large-scale motets (the relatively florid and discursive *Ave regina celorum* for four voices and the darker, Phrygian intricacy of the five-voice *Dulcis amica Dei*), the *Stabat mater* is remarkable for its contrapuntal restraint, clear projection of text, and particularly the tendency to parcel out text phrases into two- or three-bar units. Gaspar’s trademark dissonances are kept to a minimum, though the ſtately pace is ſuch that one can hardly miſs them; the ſame goes for the two ſtarkly rendered ſeventh leaps cited earlier. On paper, the ſetting is ſo reſtrained as to ſeem almoſt bare, but this is deceptive becauſe, again, the ſucceſſion and weighting of events is ſo well judged. In particular, the proportioning between ſections with cantus firmus and thoſe with tenorleſſ ſections is ſtriking: the firſt half of the motet has a ſucceſſion of duets followed by two extended periods with tenor (divided by further duet episodes—a thoroughly normative arrangement); the ſecond is more fluid, the tenor weaving in and out before falling ſilent twenty breves before the final long. This ſets the ſcene for the freely composed voices’ near-homophonic projection of the final ſtrophe (ſee Example 7.3), a rhetorically effective and affecting concluſion.⁴⁴

44 This piece is diſcuſſed in greater detail in Wolfgang Fuhrmann’s contribution to this volume.

Example 7.3. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Stabat mater*, bb. 200–14

118

200

ti - a _____ Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac - ut a - ni - me do - ne -

- ri _____ gra - ti - a. Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me do - ne -

- a. _____ Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me do - ne -

- a. _____ Quan - do cor - pus mo - ri - e - tur, fac ut a - ni - me do - ne -

207

tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a, A - - - - men.

tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a, A - - - - men.

- men.

tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a A - - - - men.

tur pa - ra - di - si glo - ri - a. A - - - - men.

It remains in this brief overview to consider the music that forms the bulk of Gaspar’s surviving output: the masses. Doing so poses a challenge: inherent in any classicizing aesthetic is the comparative absence of bold gestures and *coups de théâtre*, compounding the situation noted at the outset concerning Gaspar’s choice and treatment of models—namely, the absence of bold architectural or technical programmes within the extant masses. This entails an exceptional degree of stylistic homogeneity within the cycles based on a named cantus firmus (the bulk of which, perhaps not coincidentally, comprises Petrucci’s monographic mass publication of 1507). As appears from Fiedler’s investigations, the treatment of the model by means of tenor paraphrase is broadly similar from work to work, differing primarily in the degree to which

elements of the model are present in the free voices; and all these masses consistently include *tricinia* in all inner subsections. This consistency suggests that the time-span for their composition may be shorter than was previously thought; it is entirely possible that those deemed to be the earliest masses, *Ave regina celorum* and *O Venus bant*, may have been composed not so very long before his arrival in Italy, or maybe even afterwards. Furthermore, the style and length of these *tricinia* places Gaspar's mass output nearer to those of Obrecht and Agricola than Compère or Martini. (The same goes for the habit of reserving special treatment of the borrowed material for the final Agnus, which happens in *O Venus bant*, *Princesse d'amourettes*, and *Se mieulx ne vient*.)⁴⁵ As I have suggested, Gaspar's broad consistency of practice may have impeded the appreciation of his music, especially when contrasted with the more forcefully delineated features in the music of his contemporaries. Distinguishing meaningfully between the *Misse Gaspar* involves qualitative judgements that are difficult to formulate. Echoing Pirro, Rodin identifies *Princesse d'amourettes* as the most attractive of the group;⁴⁶ another strong candidate in my view is *Se mieulx ne vient*, which integrates the model within the contrapuntal fabric even further. Intriguingly, the model's opening gesture coins a feature that Rodin proposes as a melodic favourite of Gaspar's, the outlining of a triad; it occurs many times in the mass, both literally and in outline, and not always in tandem with its appearance in the tenor, as the opening Kyrie illustrates very succinctly (see Example 7.4). Apart from its appearance in the free voices at the very start, the model's opening gesture is also woven into the section's closing bars in the superius and altus (in neither case prepared or signalled by a rest). The superius's opening phrase is in fact closer to that of the song superius than to its tenor, but the same outline is embedded near the section's mid-point. This symmetry is balanced by a couple of local touches in the opposite direction: the first is the superius's continuation of the phrase just mentioned, which hangs in mid-phrase at bar 12, leaving the cadence to the lower voices; the second is the altus's rising syncopated line from the end of bar 7, which begins by deliberately accentuating the superius's passing dissonance and counteracts the other voices' descending motion on the beat. (Note how the rise by thirds at the beginning of the phrase is balanced by a corresponding, swifter descent by the same degrees just a bar later—reminiscent of the cast of the same voice in *Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis*.) These countermanding touches reinforce the earlier point that Gaspar's dissonances add relief and pungency to what is otherwise poised and elegant contrapuntal handling: plainly, the same goes for his sense of line. *Se mieulx ne vient* builds on *Princesse d'amourettes* in the degree of contrapuntal intricacy that obtains throughout.

A second, apparently later group of masses is affiliated with the general category of *missae breves* (I use the term 'general category' in order to accommodate the *Missa octavi toni*, which has stylistic similarities with these shorter masses but was included in Petrucci's *Misse Gaspar*). Taken together, and with due allowance for the possible loss of other music, these later works point to a less ambitious approach in the latter stage of Gaspar's career (as Paul

45 These stylistic features support the case for bringing forward the currently accepted birthdate (proposed from a biographical standpoint by Klaus Pietschmann in his contribution to this volume), making Gaspar a more exact contemporary of Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, La Rue, and Agricola, among others.

46 Pirro, *Histoire*, 212; Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 149.

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Example 7.4. Weerbeke, *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*, Kyrie I

120

S. Ky ri - e -

A. ky ri - e - ley -

T. Ky - ri - e - ley - son, ky - ri -

B. Ky - ri - e - ley - son, ky - ri -

5

S. - lei - son, Ky - ri - e - e -

A. - e - - - - - ley - son, ky - ri -

T. Ky - ri - e, ky - ri - e

B. - e e - - - - - ley - son, ky - ri - e -

9

S. - lei - son Ky - ri e e

A. - e, e - ley - son, ky - ri - e e - ley - son,

T. e - ley - - - - - son,

B. e - - - - - ley - son, ky - ri - e

14

S. e - - - - - son.

A. - e - - - - - ley - son.

T. e - - - - - ley - son.

B. e - - - - - ley - son.

Kolb suggests elsewhere in this volume); but I would draw attention to a mass that synthesizes both groups in a highly distinctive manner, the *Missa Nas tu pas*. Apart from the named model, the recurrence of certain phrases across all five movements points to derivation from borrowed material, but nowhere is that model treated in the manner of a *cantus firmus*. Otherwise the compact setting, the alternation of syllabic antiphonal duos and homophony, the absence of reduced sections, and the conflation of the Osannas with the preceding *Pleni* and *Benedictus* statements all relate it to the broad practice of shorter masses. Both Fiedler and more recently Paul Kolb have considered the possible significance of the work's absence from *Misse Gaspar* and its appearance instead in the *Missarum diversorum auctorum liber primus* only a year later.⁴⁷ This may just be a coincidence, but the stylistic distance from the other cycles on named models makes its segregation seem appropriate. Apart from anything else, there is a suggestion of parody technique, of which the first documented examples post-date the mass's publication by less than a decade. Given that a relatively late date of composition is very likely, *Missa Nas tu pas* suggests that the lessons learned from the *motetti missales* cycles stayed with Gaspar the rest of his career. Notwithstanding the discursive approach typical of *missae breves*, nothing here is mechanical or predictable. In antiphonal passages a third voice commonly joins the second duo statement in the interest of variety; elsewhere, the swift alternation of textures is skilfully dovetailed by the briefest of imitative or connective touches. Above all, the succession and pacing of these episodes (the variety of placement and formulation of cadences or of parallel and contrary motion, for instance) is as deft and surefooted as Gaspar at his best.

Perhaps what is most urgently needed is the opportunity to hear more of Gaspar's music in performance—something that seems harder to make happen than it once did; but as sustained exposure to his music makes clear, Gaspar has in the end no more need of special pleading than Agricola, De Orto, La Rue, or any of the other composers on the re-evaluation of whose critical fortune scholarship has focused in the last twenty-odd years. If this book, along with the completion of the edition, helps to stimulate its performance, we could be very confident that the Gaspar pudding—if I may so call it—will eventually be eaten.

47 Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 100–1; Paul Kolb, introduction to Weerbeke, *CW 2: Masses 2*, xxiv, and his contribution to this volume, Ch. 11.

Weerbeke's Stylistic Repertoire: New Insights from the Marian Motets

Agnese Pavanello

WEERBEKE PARTICULARLY cultivated the genre of the motet. Although the corpus of his surviving or identifiable motets is not large—forty-two altogether, including those transmitted in cycles—his contemporaries were aware of his substantial and successful compositional activity in designing Latin works of small size. For example, in his *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (1482), Franchinus Gaffurius referred to Weerbeke's 'motetti ducales', and the Dutch humanist Matthaëus Herbenus (1496) mentioned Weerbeke's Marian motets.¹ In the first printed collection of motets, published by Ottaviano Petrucci in 1502, Weerbeke is better represented than any other composer.² This substantial presence is a significant witness of the composer's production of motets and hints at the wide circulation of his pieces during his lifetime, for which we still possess just fragmentary evidence.

Yet within this relatively small corpus of works, Gaspar displayed a vast spectrum of styles and polyphonic techniques. In his pioneering study of Weerbeke's motets, still the only stylistic overview of Weerbeke's motet production, Gerhard Croll divided the extant mo-

* I warmly thank Grantley McDonald for revising my English text and for his valuable suggestions.

1 'Gaspar ille dulcissimus compositor in motettis suis ducalibus', in Franchinus Gaffurius, *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, MS A. 69), cited *inter alia* in Clement A. Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions', *Musical Quarterly*, 56 (1970), 367–87 at 380, and Paul A. Merkley and Lora L. M. Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 357. 'Quamobrem ut mihi itidem et multis aliis credo placere tales cantus ac hymnos, quales Iasper Cimber in divam parthenicem edidit plurimos et Jacobus Hoberti, eius patriota, in honorem consecrationis templi atque salutiferae crucis, ceterique huiusmodi. Quibus singillatim comprehensio notulis, una cum verborum debite applicatis syllabis, mens ad altiore contemplationem facile rapitur, dum pulchritudo cantus tam apte conservatur' (It is for this reason, I believe, that I myself and many others take pleasure in those songs and hymns of which Gaspar the Cimbrian [Weerbeke] wrote many for the Holy Virgin, and Jakob Obrecht, his compatriot, in honor of the dedication of the church and of the salvific Cross, and more of this kind. The mind is easily carried off to a higher contemplation by those singly-understood notes, together with properly placed syllables, the beauty of the song being so aptly maintained), in Matthaëus Herbenus *Traiectensis, De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis*, ed. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe (Cologne: Volk, 1957), 58, translation from Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 176. I thank Rob Wegman for drawing my attention to the passage from Herbenus.

2 Petrucci, *Motetti A*; see George Warren J. Drake, 'The First Printed Books of Motets. Petrucci's Motetti a Numero Trentatre, Venice 1502, and Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et Huius modi B, Venice 1503: A Critical Study and Complete Edition' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1972), 39.

tets into groups on the basis of compositional and functional features: cantus-firmus motets ('Tenormotetten'), motets based on chant ('Choralbearbeitungen'), freely composed motets not based on chant melodies (the 'Choralfreie Motetten'), and the motet cycles ('Motetten "loco missae").³ He especially focused his analysis on the use and elaboration of cantus prius facti, and he also attempted a provisional chronological overview, sorting and ordering the pieces, mostly on the basis of manuscript evidence, though this account was necessarily limited to just a few motets. Unfortunately, no manuscript concordances are available for several motets published by Petrucci from 1502 to 1506, which hinders their chronological and geographical contextualization.⁴ Croll proposed that the 'choralfreie Motetten' not transmitted in the Milanese Libroni, especially the homophonic ones, were written in the 1490s, since the sources for Weerbeke's music which relate to his first stay in Rome (1481–89) do not contain any comparable motets.⁵ Croll also adopted the differentiation between Burgundian and Italian style described by Wolfgang Stephan in his monograph on the motet. Stephan characterized the Burgundian style as more artificial and polyphonically elaborate, and the Italian as declamatory and largely homophonic, aimed at a flexible and easily comprehensible text-setting. Croll generally considered Weerbeke's 'choralfreie' motets as expressions of an Italian 'Klangideal'.⁶

Even if this approach permits us to frame some repertoire in general, it does not clarify Weerbeke's stylistic choices or his compositional process. Although some of the motets can be connected to specific stages of his career and thus dated approximately, as Croll already suggested, it is difficult to relate others to a particular performance environment or function, or to explain their specific stylistic features. A more precise contextualization of the motets of Weerbeke—as indeed that of most of his contemporaries—represents a major task, especially when trying to understand matters of style and compositional choice.

The Marian motet cycles known as 'motetti missales' have attracted interest because of their transmission in the Milanese Libroni, which attests to their use during the mass liturgy.⁷ The works in this corpus, which include the earliest motets attributed to the composer,

3 Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 24–238. Croll largely followed the criteria used by Wolfgang Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, Heidelberg Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973).

4 I refer to Weerbeke's motets published in Petrucci's *Motetti A*, *Motetti B*, and *Motetti libro quarto*. For details see Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, ed. Pavanello. For more details about these motet collections, see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 473–77, 496–503, 584–91.

5 Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 239–47.

6 *Ibid.*, 245.

7 Weerbeke's Marian motet cycles are generally dated to the years of his first Milanese stay (winter 1471/2–1481). See Weerbeke, *CW 3: Motet Cycles*, ed. Lindmayr-Brandl. On the *motetti missales*, including Weerbeke's examples, see the studies by Thomas L. Noblitt, 'The "Motetti Missales" of the Late Fifteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, 1963); Noblitt, 'The Ambrosian *Motetti Missales* Repertory', *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 77–103; Lynn Halpern Ward, 'The *Motetti Missales* Repertory Reconsidered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 491–523; more recently Daniele V. Filippi, 'Breve guida ai *motetti missales* (e dintorni)', in *Codici per Cantare: I Libroni di Gaffurio nella Milano Sforzesca*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2019), 139–69. A chapter on the 'missales' is included in Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*, 321–57. Nolan Ira Gasser's dissertation includes substantial analytical remarks on Weerbeke's Marian motet cycles; see Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurios Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2001),

have been studied especially for their cyclic design and their Milanese context.⁸ Recently, Jesse Rodin has scrutinized the cantus-firmus motets copied in sources from the Sistine chapel, with particular focus on stylistic characteristics.⁹ Besides his observations on technical aspects of the polyphonic writing and on the 'stylistic markers' of Weerbeke's polyphony, Rodin highlights the striking differences of melodic pace and rhythmic treatment between motets such as *Ave regina caelorum* and *Dulcis amica dei*.¹⁰ These divergences, occurring in pieces using the same cantus-firmus technique and a similar formal layout, display Weerbeke's mastery of distinct polyphonic styles.¹¹ While such different compositional approaches may hint at stylistic development over time, they also invite us to consider how specific models, singing practices, textual traditions, functions, or performance contexts may have influenced Weerbeke's compositional choices within a given period. One wonders whether the differences between two cantus-firmus motets are to be considered more as an expression of distinct compositional or aesthetic ideas, or as the result of stylistic preferences related to different chronological stages of his career.¹² The variety evident in Weerbeke's motets thus raises questions of chronology, geographical context, stylistic register, and function, as well as matters of intention and aesthetic approach.

268–302. Several aspects of Weerbeke's *motetti missales* are discussed also in Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350 at 245–69. Single motets are also mentioned or briefly discussed here and there in different publications of more general interest (further references will be given to the motets discussed below).

- 8 On the traditional idea of a 'Milanese style' see, for instance, Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', where stylistic features associated to the *motetti missales* by Weerbeke and Compère are discussed. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Milan, Motet Cycles, Josquin: Further Thoughts on a Familiar Topic', in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 221–335 for further detailed bibliographical references to this topic. A critical observation on the concept of a 'Milanese style' is, however, expressed by Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices', 491, who observes the stylistic differences between works by local composers such Franchinus Gaffurius and those by ultramontane singers. For a recent discussion of the Milanese style, see Clare Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*', *Journal of Musicology*, 34 (2017), 182–240.
- 9 Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 134–70.
- 10 Rodin identifies the tendency for unusual leaps and unusual melodic outlines, particularly in approaching medial and final cadences, as a stylistic marker of Weerbeke's music, as observed in *Dulcis amica dei*, but not in *Ave regina caelorum*, which does not present the same unusual melodic contours. To Weerbeke's style Rodin also ascribed the metrical play, irregular imitations, unusual suspensions, 6–4 sonorities, cadences on the second beat, alternation of trochaic and iambic fillings out of perfection under O. These features, which characterize passages of Weerbeke's *Dulcis amica dei*, were increasingly rare by the 1480s and are not found in the music of De Orto or Josquin. See Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 139–48.
- 11 Both are in two main sections, the first one in *tempus perfectum*, the second one in *tempus imperfectum* followed by a concluding passage in *sesquialtera*.
- 12 On the basis of similarities between Weerbeke's *Ave regina caelorum* and Du Fay's homonymous mass, Eric Fiedler suggested an early origin of Weerbeke's *Ave regina*, both the mass and the motet, which share common material, compositional procedures, and polyphonic style, although he inclined to consider the works as compositions from Weerbeke's first period in Rome. See Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (c.1445–nach 1517)*, *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 17–20. Indeed, the mass represents, together with the mass *O Venus bant*, one of the earliest Ordinary cycles among the known works by Weerbeke, as far as can be inferred from stylistic and structural elements. However, the meaning of this in terms of concrete chronology is an open question. *Dulcis amica Dei* was convincingly dated to the mid-1480s by Jeremy Noble, 'Weerbeke's Motet for the Temple of Peace', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens et al. (Warren, MI: Harmonic Park Press, 1997), 227–40. We may therefore have evidence that *Ave regina* and *Dulcis amica dei* belonged to different phases of Gaspar's experience as a composer. Nevertheless, these chronological references do not invalidate the general argument made above.

In this chapter, I will focus on Weerbeke's Marian motets without cantus firmi, which have received little attention since Croll's dissertation. The Marian motets represent the most substantial part of Weerbeke's motet output outside the Milanese Libroni and display both stylistic homogeneity and variety. I shall first discuss the extraordinary *Ave mater omnium*, which exemplifies the difficulties modern scholars face in trying to establish reliable criteria for identifying style and stylistic choices within a fragmentary musical transmission. Moving on from the issue of a unique compositional character, I will focus on a group of related motets, which allow us to observe Weerbeke's technique of individually characterizing the design of his motets by employing distinct structural elements. Attention to this compositional approach allows us to assess particular cases, such as that of *Ave mater omnium*. The compositional features of these motets also suggest new ways of understanding compositional unity. These new ways turn out to be extremely significant for the analysis of other Marian motets by the composer, especially the pieces transmitted only by Petrucci. The final examples highlight compositional procedures that have not been discussed in previous studies of Weerbeke's work, but which are crucial for the interpretation of his strategies for writing 'chant-free' motets, and of his stylistic development over time. In particular, his approach to paraphrase technique sheds light on aspects of his motivic elaboration, which in turn provides new tools for the analysis of this repertoire, opening new perspectives for further research and stylistic exploration.

Uniqueness in Style and Transmission: The Case of *Ave mater omnium*

Among the Marian motets transmitted under Gaspar's name in the collections printed by Ottaviano Petrucci, *Ave mater omnium*, included in *Motetti libro quarto*, stands out.¹³ Here Weerbeke set an unknown and otherwise undocumented Marian poem written in lines of six syllables (6 pp; 6p), which plays on the contrast between Mary and Eve:

Ave mater omnium
 Viri adiutorium,
 Et virago dicta
 Eva morientium,
 Maria viventium,
 Mater benedicta.

Ave virgo virginum
 Imperatrix agminum
 Omnium sanctorum,
 Regina clementie,
 Spes misericordie
 Omnium reorum.

This is the only motet transmitted under Weerbeke's name that is written in C3, a sign expressing what was earlier indicated by *prolato maior*.¹⁴ The first part of the motet corresponds to the first six lines of the text. This part is distinguished by a song-like character. Imitations constitute

¹³ In Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, xl, 7–9.

¹⁴ Concerning the text and its reference to the Conception of Mary, see the critical notes in the Weerbeke edition.

a main structural feature (see Example 8.1). The metrical regularity of the poem is realized in this section by the alternation of motifs between superius and tenor, occasionally playing with

Example 8.1. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave mater omnium*, bb. 1–8

the contrast between trochaic and spondaic metre. Here Weerbeke avoids homorhythmic declamation. The second part of the motet (*Ave virgo virginum*) is the same length and covers the next six lines. It is characterized by a striking change of texture and of rhythmic pace. Although the poem's structure and semantics remain unaltered, the listener experiences a stylistic shift, which catches the attention and brings the composition to a climax. Especially remarkable is the imitation in syncopated rhythm between superius and tenor on *Ave virgo virginum*, moving in thirds, sixths, and tenths (bb. 22–25). The sequential patterns in the last section, mostly based on a succession of sixths, appear first in the tenor and bassus (bb. 33–38), and then reappear in a varied form in a full texture on the words 'spes misericordiae' (see Example 8.2).¹⁵

Since the design of *Ave mater omnium* is unique among Weerbeke's motets, and the text gives no evidence of a particular model or associated musical tradition, it is extremely difficult to assess the piece within a specific context. No concordances are available to attest to the copying or use of the piece in a specific area, so all we possess for an assessment of the

15 The use of syncopations in this motet was highlighted by August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 3, 3rd edn., ed. Otto Kade (Leipzig, 1891, repr. Hildesheim, 1938), 252. Croll especially underlined the pronounced polyphonic structure of this motet. For a more detailed description of the motet structure, see Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 127–30.

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Example 8.2. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave mater omnium*, bb. 22–41

128

22

S
A
T
B

A - - ve vir - - go vir - gi - num,
im - pe - ra -

27

- trix a - - - gmi - num, o - mni - um san - cto -

32

rum,
- rum, re - gi - na cle - men - ti - e, spes mi - - se - (b)
rum, re - gi - na cle - men - ti - e, spes mi - - se - - ri -

37

o - mni - um re - - o - - rum.
o - mni - um re - - o - - rum.
- ri - - cor - di - o - mni - um re - o - rum.
- cor - di - e o - mni - um re - o - - rum.

piece are its internal features.¹⁶ While the articulation of rhythm and metre seems to look back to the generation before Weerbeke, which might suggest that the piece was composed early in Weerbeke's career, the elegant motivic elaboration and the passage with the progression in syncopations suggest the 'subtle compositional hand' of a more experienced composer.¹⁷ Many features of the motet as a whole seem to evoke Burgundian taste, from the cantilena style and the time signature to the vivid use of syncopations in sequences.¹⁸ As a result, one might be tempted to apply a geographical differentiation in matter of style and speculate that Weerbeke composed this piece for his own country. The periods before 1471 and between 1495 and 1497, when the composer lived in Flanders, would thus seem suitable choices.¹⁹ Yet, whereas the first period would fall at a very early stage of Weerbeke's career, the second one would seem quite late when considering the style and rhythmic organization of the first section.²⁰ In the context of Weerbeke's biography, it seems more plausible that this work was written in Italy than in the north, even if stylistic features point to Burgundian models. Yet if we were to work from the assumption that all motets composed in one place should display a stylistic similarity, we would have difficulty placing such a motet in Milan alongside those copied in the Milanese Libroni, or in Rome beside *Dulcis amica dei*.²¹ The question is whether our parameters of stylistic differentiation and chronological development are always meaningful, and whether they help us

16 The motet is also printed in Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi* (1549), 144–47; facs. edn. in *Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile*, 2nd ser., Music Literature, 139 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1969). This transmission very likely depends on Petrucci's print. See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, xl.

17 The citation from Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 136, refers to the opening of *Dulcis amica dei*.

18 For the definition of 'cantilena style', see, for instance, Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 70. On the use of sequential patterns in the music of Franco-Flemish composers, see Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 229–35. Sparks argues that the practice of patterning lines became widespread in the 1460s, and observes that Busnoys in particular exploited the devices of sequence and ostinato. The examples by Du Fay and Ockeghem reported in his book show sequential patterns in syncopation.

19 For new information about Weerbeke's early years in Flanders, see Erik Verroken, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445–† na 1517), een Oudenaards componist', *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudbeidkundige Kring van Oudenaarde*, 55 (2018), 129–72.

20 C3 as a time signature does not appear at all in the motets included in Petrucci's *Motetti A* and *Motetti B*. A table of the mensural signs used in the two collections is given by Drake, 'The First Printed Books of Motets', 135. As Bonnie Blackburn kindly reminds me, Weerbeke used this time signature in a few mass sections, the Osanna of the *Missa Ave regina* and that of the *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*; moreover, that the only other piece in the Milanese Libroni which shows C3 as initial time signature for a section is another Osanna, namely from the Sanctus of Johannes Martini's *Missa Ma bouche rit* (Librone 2, fols. 32^v–33^r).

21 The idea that stylistic dissimilarities relate to different places or to distinct periods has been very influential in the musicological approach to the surviving repertory from the end of the fifteenth century. This problem is addressed, for instance, by Rodin, in dealing with a Credo by Weerbeke and an anonymous one transmitted in the manuscript CS 51, which show features generally associated with Milan but are also found in other pieces from the north, and in some measures not at all in the Credos of the Milanese Libroni. See Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 165–70. Such discussions have been occasioned by the reassessment of Josquin's biography and the reassignment of many works formerly attributed to his Milanese years. One of the most discussed pieces is *Ave Maria... virgo serena*, on which several studies have been written discussing stylistic, chronological, and geographical issues. See Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet'; Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Reconstructing and Repositioning Regis's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*', *Early Music*, 38 (2009), 73–88; Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*'.

understand deliberate compositional choices. Leaving the question of this motet's origin aside, we can at least be certain it circulated in Italy, as its presence in Petrucci's collection testifies.

The fact that *Ave mater omnium* is transmitted uniquely by Petrucci leaves some possible doubt about its authorship. If we have good reasons to doubt Petrucci's ascription, this could constitute grounds to exclude this piece from Weerbeke's compositional corpus.²² Yet jettisoning the attribution to Weerbeke does not get us very far. While it might explain the singular character of the piece within Weerbeke's motet corpus, it still would not help answer the questions raised by the piece. In any case, more than half of the motets not belonging to cycles which Petrucci assigns to Weerbeke are transmitted anonymously in concordant sources (see Table 8.1).²³ In other words, the majority of Weerbeke's Marian motets outside of the Libroni

Table 8.1. Motets attributed to Gaspar only in Petrucci (included sources deriving from his prints)

Unica

- Ave domina sancta Maria* (Petrucci, *Motetti A*)
- Ave mater omnium* (Petrucci, *Motetti libro quarto*)
- Ave verum corpus* (Petrucci, *Motetti B*)
- Panis angelicus* (Petrucci, *Motetti B*)
- Salve sancta parens* (Petrucci, *Fragmenta missarum*)
- Verbum caro factum est* (Petrucci, *Motetti B*)
- Vidi speciosam sicut columbam* (Petrucci, *Motetti A*)

With attribution in sources probably deriving from Petrucci

- Adonay sanctissime Domine Deus* (Flor Panc 27)
- O pulcherrima mulierum* (Flor Panc 27)
- Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis* (Flor Panc 27)

With concordances without attribution

- Anima Christi sanctifica me* (Civ 59)
- Ibo mihi ad montem Mirrhe* (Flor Panc 27)
- O pulcherrima mulierum* (Cape 3.b.12)
- Tenebre facte sunt* (Cape 3.b.12)
- Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis* (Siena K.I.2)

Probably also deriving from Petrucci

- In Heyden, *De arte canendi*
- Ave mater omnium*
- In tablature with attribution in SGall 530
- Adonay sanctissime*
- Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis*

22 A good example of Petrucci's uncertain attributions is the ascription to Josquin of the chanson *Venus bant* in Petrucci, *Odbecatton*, transmitted with the attribution to Gaspar in Sev 5-1-43, fols. 135^v-136^r, and anonymously in Mu 3154, fol. 53^v.

23 See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, Introduction and critical commentary. While none of Weerbeke's motets is transmitted with conflicting attributions, it is noteworthy that most of the concordant sources are anonymous.

are transmitted by Petrucci as *unica*, or with unique attributions to Weerbeke. However, in no other case have matters of style been cited as reason to question Petrucci's reliability; indeed, those motets by Weerbeke transmitted only in *Motetti A*, alongside a group of pieces whose attribution is supported by other evidence, seem authentic. In the end, we should accept Petrucci's authority, at least in the absence of alternatives, especially considering that there are no conflicting attributions to weaken Petrucci's ascriptions of any of the other motets.

Despite the apparently unusual features of *Ave mater omnium*, a few compositional elements help to connect the piece with other motets by the composer. For instance, Weerbeke also made use of a sequence characterized by syncopations in *Mater patris filia* from the motet cycle *Quam pulchra es*. Curiously, this musical figure is once again found on the word 'Misericordia' (see Example 8.3). This word is also underlined by sequential patterns in *Ave mater omnium* (see

Example 8.3. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Mater patris filia*, bb. 42–47

42 c

ae. Sis

Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae.

Sis re -

Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae.

Example 8.2 above).²⁴ The ascending progression in *Mater patris filia* elaborates a succession of the intervals 5–6–5–6 and involves the altus and bassus moving in identical rhythmical figures. In this case, Weerbeke seems to have inserted the figure to highlight this specific word and the next cadence, rather than to reach and emphasize the final climax of the piece, as in *Ave mater omnium*, where this figure creates a strongly rhetorical effect. The comparison of the two sequences also makes clear that the sequential patterns of *Ave mater omnium* are more carefully elaborated and realized in more articulated lines, which are not identical for the paired voices. If it is interesting to find similarities with a solidly attributed motet from rather early in Weerbeke's career, the elaboration of the sequential patterns in *Ave mater omnium* manifests a greater compositional engagement. However, it remains difficult to assess what this implies in terms of stylistic development or chronology.

A similar placement of prominent sequential patterns at the end of a short motet can be seen in yet another motet by Weerbeke, *Adonay sanctissime*, a setting of a brief penitential prayer, the only non-Marian motet ascribed to Gaspar in Petrucci's *Motetti A*.²⁵ The passage sets the words 'ora canentium te Domine'; here the progression, highlighted by melismatic patterns of mostly semiminims, serves to depict the sound of many people singing to God (see

²⁴ In *Ave mater omnium* the phrase 'spes misericordiae' is found.

²⁵ See Weerbeke, CW 4: *Motets*, liv–lv, 40–42.

Example 8.4. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Adonay sanctissime*, bb. 52–58

132

The image displays a musical score for a motet, Example 8.4, by Gaspar van Weerbeke. The score is in 3/2 time and B-flat major. It consists of two systems of music, numbered 52 and 57. Each system includes four staves: a vocal line (Soprano/Alto), a vocal line (Tenor/Bass), a lute line (G-clef), and a basso continuo line (C-clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The first system (bars 52-56) features a complex texture with overlapping vocal lines and a prominent basso continuo line. The second system (bars 57-60) shows a reduction in texture, with the vocal lines and basso continuo line continuing the melodic and rhythmic motifs.

Example 8.4).²⁶ For this motet too we lack evidence to provide a precise context or date of origin. The motet begins with a section in full texture. A motif is presented in imitation between the altus and the superius (and partially presented by the tenor), and continues with a rather long duo (tenor and bass).²⁷ The alternation of full and reduced texture is commonly found in many other motets by Weerbeke and others. Remarkable in *Adonay sanctissime*, however, is the insistent presentation of a motif several times in the tenor and in the superius, returning without alteration, or with small melodic and rhythmic variants, but always with slight variations in the accompanying contrapuntal line (see Example 8.5). The prominent melodic repetition and repeated notes in *Adonay* are quite striking and suggest that the composer might have

26 Sequences are employed in a few other motets by Weerbeke with different structural relevance. It is interesting in this regard to compare the cantus-firmus motets. In *Ave regina celorum*, several sequential passages are included, and sequences appear to be a significant means of large-scale structural organization. In *Dulcis amica dei*, ascending sequential patterns occur in the middle of the piece, at bars 84–88, 89–94, after the invocation to the pope at the words ‘tuis altissimis meritis’. Sequential patterns are employed at first in duo writing (superius and tenor), combined with imitation at the octave, and then by the bassus and altus in imitation within a four-voice texture. Besides what we would call a harmonic function, sequences seem here to move to the next point of tonal articulation, lending a rhetorical significance and a ‘madrigalistic’ touch. In the *Stabat mater*, such compositional means are not relevant for the structural design. Among the ‘chant-free’ motets, *Ave domina sancta Maria* includes a short passage at the end at bars 100–2.

27 Compare the opening to the imitation procedure that Cumming and Schubert call *stretto fuga*. See Julie E. Cumming and Peter Schubert, ‘The Origins of Pervasive Imitation’, in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 200–28.

Weerbeke's Stylistic Repertoire: New Insights from the Marian Motets

Example 8.5. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Adonay sanctissime*, bb. 15–42

15

Do - mi - ne De - us, Do - mi - ne mi - ne De - us, Do - mi - ne De -

21

De - us o - mni - po - tens, -us o - mni - po - tens, ex -

28

ex - au - di pre - ces ser - vo - rum tu - o - rum, au - di pre - ces ser - vo - rum tu - o - rum, et ex - au - di pre - ces ser - vo - rum tu - o - rum, ex - au - di pre - ces ser - vo - rum tu - o - rum,

36

et da no - bis lo - cum pe - ni - ten - da no - bis lo - cum pe - ni - ten -

been alluding intentionally to an external reference, such as a prayer tone. Even if the melodic repetition recalls Johannes Tinctoris's discussion of melodic repetition (*redicla*), written in the 1470s,²⁸ this structural feature may likewise be found in another motet discussed below, *Christi mater ave*. Such structural connections, suggested by a principal compositional element, are emblematic of a habit recognizable in other motets by Weerbeke. They produce a chain of indirect links from one piece to another, which help us to define aspects of stylistic identity and may help assess disputed attributions.

A motet such as *Ave mater omnium* thus leads us to reconsider our ideas of stylistic consistency or development, in full awareness of the fragmentary transmission of Weerbeke's work. Such a piece also shows that Weerbeke—if we accept Petrucci's ascription—was following a particular compositional purpose, possibly motivated by circumstances that were relevant to his composition and that influenced his choices when setting such an unusual text.

Milanese Marian Motets

Among the motets with no cantus firmus, *Christi mater ave*, *Mater digna dei*, and *Ave stella matutina* provide representative examples of the motet style that Weerbeke cultivated in Milan, where he lived from 1471/72 to 1481 and from 1489 to 1495.²⁹ Transmitted in Milan 1, they were later printed with an attribution to Gaspar in Petrucci's *Motetti A*. Their origin in Milan during Weerbeke's activity at the Sforza court can be considered quite certain since two of them are based on prayer texts that circulated above all in Milan and northern Italy. Specifically, the poem *Christi mater ave* was written by the thirteenth-century Milanese poet and writer Bonvesin de la Riva.³⁰ The three motets share a common mode, melodic ideas, and structural devices, such as the alternation between full and reduced textures, homophonic and imitative passages, use of repetitions, and so forth. On account of their musical similarities, and the fact that Gaffurius copied them consecutively in Milan 1, they have been regarded as a compositionally coherent group, or as a short cycle.³¹ A closer look at these motets, already scrutinized carefully by Croll

28 Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, ch. 6, sentence 4. See Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, vol. 2, ed. Albert Seay ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1975). If the repeated notes of *Adonay sanctissime* are intended to recall a recitation tone, it would of course be inappropriate to evaluate this compositional choice with reference to Tinctoris's negative attitude towards prominent use of repetitions. In any case variations in the counterpoint ensures the 'variety' to which Tinctoris primarily refers. For an accurate discussion of Tinctoris's rules on *varietas* and repetitions see Alexis Luko, 'Tinctoris on "Varietas"', *Early Music History*, 27 (2008), 99–136 at 115–26.

29 For more detailed chronological references, see the biography of the composer in Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke, Gaspar van', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 13 April 2018.

30 The author of this text (*Vita scolastica*, 339–44) was identified by Daniele Filippi, whom I thank for sharing this information with me. The motets are edited in Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, xlv–li, 22–32. On the motet texts see also *Motet Cycles Database*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, <www.motetcycles.ch>, accessed 25 April 2018. For an analytical examination of these motets, see Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 141–52; Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices', 420–42. Gasser devoted particular attention to the texts of the motets, discussed for the first time in detail within an analysis of the Marian repertory included in the first of the manuscripts associated with Franchinus Gaffurius's service as choirmaster at the Milanese cathedral.

31 See Ward, 'The *Motetti Missales* Repertory Reconsidered', 523, n. 56. On the idea that these motets represent a small cycle, see Drake, 'The First Printed Books of Motets', 285–89. On the musical ties between the three motets, detailed information is given in particular by Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices', 426–46, esp. 435–37. Rifkin also sees the motets as a cycle; see Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 311, n. 155.

Example 8.6. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Christi mater ave*, bb. 19–26

and Gasser, reveals that each also contains peculiarities and distinctive features. For instance, *Christi mater ave* includes a striking example of the same voices repeating melodic material at pitch (at bb. 19–22 and 22–26; see Example 8.6). For such a literal repetition of material in a duo passage, one would expect a change of voices and register (as seen in bb. 26–30), as is usual in other motets by Weerbeke and his contemporaries. For example, in *Mater digna dei* and *Ave Stella matutina*, the repetition of a phrase never occurs in the same voices, but is always associated with a change of register, texture, or harmony. While *Christi mater ave* features extensive use of imitations—between superius and tenor in the full-texture passages, or between altus and bassus in the duo passages—similar melodic repetitions in the same voices recur conspicuously later in the piece (bb. 34–38 and 45–50).³²

In *Mater digna dei*, sections of block chords, usually marked with fermatas, occur at prominent places in the piece: at the beginning, at the words ‘Mater digna dei’ (bb. 1–6); in the middle, on ‘miserere’ (bb. 32–37); and at the end, on ‘Jesu fili dei Christi, tu miserere mei’ (bb. 64–72), here without fermatas but similarly in block-chordal style.³³ These chordal passages subdivide the motet into clearly articulated sections, creating a design without comparable examples among Weerbeke’s Marian motets.³⁴ These changes of texture and musical pacing in reaction to the text are realized in a completely different way from *Ave mater omnium* and the other examples discussed here.

Ave Stella matutina has its own constellation of unique features: the octosyllabic verses of the metrical poem are sung in regular phrases, usually four bars long, alternating duos and full texture. The ends of the textual and musical verses are regularly marked by cadences. Because the same material is usually presented by one duo and repeated by the other two voices, paired

32 This feature connects this motet with *Adonay sanctissime*. If the phrase sung by the superius in bars 34–36, repeated at bars 36–38 with small changes in the lower voices, represents a similar compositional habit, the preceding repetition of the same phrase at bar 19 of *Christi mater ave* is indeed very peculiar. On the structural construction of the motet and the use of repetition, see Gasser, ‘The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices’, 433.

33 See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, 25–28.

34 On the structural relation between text and music in this motet, see Gasser, ‘The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices’, 438–39. Croll observed that *Mater digna dei* is the motet in which the compositional technique changes most frequently. See Croll, ‘Das Motettenwerk’, 141.

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Example 8.7. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave Stella matutina*, bb. 1–25

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The musical score is written in 2/2 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It features four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a lute line (treble clef), a keyboard line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Latin and are distributed across the vocal and keyboard parts.

1
 A - ve stel - la ma - tu - ti - - - - - na,
 A - ve stel - la ma - tu - ti - - - - - na,

6
 lu - cens o - mne se -
 vi - ta no - stra, lux di - vi - - - - na, lu - cens o - mne se -
 lu - cens o - mne se -
 vi - ta no - stra, lux di - vi - - - - na, lu - cens o - mne se -

13
 - - cu - lum, nos de - fen - de a ru - i - - - - na,
 - - cu - lum,
 - cu - lum, nos de - fen - de a ru - i - - - - na,
 - cu - lum,

19
 pec - ca - to - rum o - mni - um.
 que es no - stra me - di - ci - - - - na pec - ca - to - rum o - mni - um.
 pec - ca - to - rum o - mni - um.
 que es no - stra me - di - ci - - - - na pec - ca - to - rum o - mni - um.

duo composition is predominant.³⁵ Such a feature can be found at the beginning of the motet, and it recurs throughout the entire piece (see Example 8.7).

A long ternary section, absent from the two other motets of the group, associates *Ave stella matutina* with some Marian motets belonging to the motet cycles, and especially to the *Ave mundi domina* cycle. *Ave stella matutina* also shares the same poetic form—the so-called Stabat mater strophe (except for the last three lines)—with a substantial group of motets from the Marian motet cycles:

- 1 Ave stella matutina,
vita nostra, lux divina,
lucens omne seculum,
nos defende a ruina,
5 que es nostra medicina
peccatorum omnium.
Aures tuas nunc inclina,
cum pietatis sis regina,
audi nostra cantica,
10 quibus tibi nostros duces
supplicamus ita duces
omni cum familia.
Ut ducendo semper tui,
sint et possint post hec duci,
15 tecum ad celestia.
O gloriosa, o benedicta,
celi regina, audi, exaudi
nos, virgo Maria. Amen.

The close adherence to the structure of the text shows that the structural design is based on *alternatim* technique and involves the repetition of musical phrases. It thus evokes traditions of singing sequences and similar texts written in metrical poetry.³⁶ In this piece we also hear echoes of intonation or recitation formulae. In this respect, the similarities between the melodic phrase of bars 46–53 and a passage from Josquin's *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia* are instructive (see Example 8.8).³⁷ This correspondence suggests that both Gaspar and Josquin may have adapted a common pre-existing melody or melodic formula used in the intonation of prayers. Such choices probably evoked a familiar sound world, enriching the composition with an additional metatextual dimension.

These few examples illustrate Weerbeke's attentive approach to composition, his efforts to set his texts to polyphony in varied and interesting ways, and his interest in creating

35 Gasser provides a table analysing the formal structure of *Ave stella matutina*; Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices', 434–35. Croll already noticed the clear formal setting of the motet, modelled on the text, for which he could not find parallels in other authors, even in works such as Brumel's *Ave stella matutina*, a motet on a different version of the text but with identical verse structure; see Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 155.

36 On the importance of examining earlier musical traditions related to the metrical texts, especially for framing a repertory such as the Milanese *motetti missales*, see my study, 'Praying to Mary: Another Look at Gaspar van Weerbeke's Marian *Motetti missales*', in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Basel: Schwabe, 2019) 339–80.

37 NJE 22, ed. Blackburn: *Motets on Non-biblical texts: De domino Jesu Christo* 2, no. 5, pp. 30–47 (critical notes). I am not aware of this melodic correspondence having been noticed elsewhere, in particular in Josquin scholarship.

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Example 8.8. (a) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave Stella matutina*, bb. 46–53

46

o - mni cum ____ fa - mi - li - a.

o - mni cum ____ fa - mi - li - a.

o - mni cum ____ fa - mi - li - a.

o - mni cum ____ fa - mi - li - a.

Example 8.8. (b) Josquin, *Tu solus facis mirabilia*, bb. 53–60

53

Ex - au - di quod ____ sup - pli - ca - mus

Ex - au - di quod ____ sup - pli - ca - mus

Ad te pre - ces ____ ef - fun - di - mus, ex - au - di quod ____ sup - pli - ca - mus

Ad te pre - ces ____ ef - fun - di - mus,

individual polyphonic pieces with distinctive formulations out of single structural means or specific details.

Besides their distinctive features, *Christi mater ave*, *Mater digna dei*, and *Ave stella matutina* also share compositional features which create a sense of stylistic homogeneity, as Croll and Gasser have already underlined.³⁸ Weerbeke skilfully creates this sense of stylistic consistency through sophisticated treatment of melodic motifs and constituents of the chosen mode, and through a clearly shaped polyphonic architecture carefully modelled on the syntax of the text, with alternation between homophonic and imitative sections and extensive use of repetition.³⁹ While the works are not linked through a clearly defined motto or identical incipits,⁴⁰ the elaboration of similar motifs and figural patterns creates a network of associations and remi-

38 Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 152–55.

39 See *Christi mater ave*, bars 39–49 (with transposed phrases at bb. 43–44 and bb. 46–48).

40 In the wake of Croll's observations, Gasser, 'The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices', 436, highlights the presence of a common head-motif ('a' [g'] c' b') between the motets, which, however, is not as clearly shaped as the head-motifs that unify the movements of the Ordinary mass cycles of the 1450s–1470s. The means of unification in these motets are tangible, but subtle.

niscences which produces a heightened sense of unity and stylistic coherence, while preserving the individual design of each piece, which is defined by particular details and solutions. In fact, since each motet has its own compositional features, the performance of each acquires its own plastic dimension and resonance, especially if we conceive of a performance of several motets over an extended period.

The shared structural elements and melodic lines leave little doubt that the three motets represent a motet cycle, or at least a group of works intended to be performed together.⁴¹ These common stylistic features, together with the shared transmission, strongly support the conclusion that these pieces reflect a common compositional plan. This conclusion has consequences for an evaluation of Weerbeke's compositional procedures and his stylistic development. In fact, this group of motets suggests new criteria for the grouping of pieces, or even for the idea of cyclicality.⁴² Compared to the Marian *motetti missales* transmitted in Milan 1, these three Marian motets embody a new approach to writing shorter polyphonic settings as well as fresh ways of conceiving a cyclic design in polyphony. Codicological evidence suggests that this group of motets was written later than the composer's motet cycles in the same source.⁴³ These pieces can be considered, therefore, paradigmatic examples of successive steps in Weerbeke's compositional path as documented in the Milanese sources and witness to the composer's experimentation in designing small-scale pieces of polyphony.

Pre-existing Melodic Material and Techniques of Paraphrase

Giving shape to compositions by using pre-existent melodies was common practice, indeed a daily task for singers and composers of Weerbeke's time. Whether in the extempore polyphonic performance of a liturgical chant, or in the composition of a new piece, the musical heritage of the Catholic Church was an integral reference point of compositional thought and process. While Weerbeke's works based on *cantus firmi* allow us to observe how he approached this legacy, most of his Marian motets seem to be freely composed. However, in a few cases references and quotations of pre-existing melodies have been recognized in these motets.⁴⁴ For example, the identification of a common melody in Weerbeke's *Ave stella matutina* and Josquin's *Tu solus facis mirabilia* suggests that Weerbeke might have worked with borrowed melodic material in his motets more often than has hitherto been realized.

The following examples, taken from two different Marian compositions, illustrate that the elaboration of pre-existent melodic material seems to have been an important aspect of Weerbeke's compositional strategy, even in the motets that lack a more regular *cantus firmus*.

41 This suggestion has also been proposed in the Weerbeke edition.

42 For a discussion of different notions of cyclicality, see Fabrice Fitch's contribution to this volume, Ch. 9.

43 The motets were in fact copied in Gaffurius's hand into Milan 1 and are a later addition. See Martina Pantarotto, 'Franchino Gaffurio maestro di cantori e di copisti: Analisi codicologico-paleografica dei Libroni della Fabbrica del Duomo', in *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2019), 101–38. Croll proposed a dating at the end of Weerbeke's first Milanese stay; 'Das Motettenwerk', 241, 244. Rifkin is inclined to assign them to Weerbeke's second stay in Milan. See Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 311.

44 For instance, Weerbeke used the chant melody when composing the motet *Fit porta Christi pervia* from the motet cycle *Ave mundi domina*.

10

- a, Ma - ri - - - a, ma - ter De - i, re - gi -

ma - - - ter De - - - i, re -

- a, Ma - ri - - - a, ma - ter De - - - i, re - gi -

ma - - - ter De - - - i, re - gi -

To give form to his composition, Weerbeke made use of paraphrase technique, distributing the borrowed melodic fragments, in particular to the framework of cantus and tenor, and occasionally to the other voices.⁴⁹

Weerbeke's technique of paraphrasing motifs from pre-existing melodic material in different voices is particularly evident in the treatment of imitation, as the following example will make clear. *Vidi speciosam sicut columbam* is clearly built on motivic or thematic cells derived from a *Vidi speciosam* plainchant melody, even if a cantus prius factus in a narrow sense cannot be recognized.⁵⁰ The motif on 'speciosam' in the tenor occurs several times in the motet: in slightly varied form in the superius on 'sicut columbam' and elaborated in bars 32–34 (see Example 8.11). This conspicuous melodic element characterizes different versions of the chant *Vidi speciosam*, both as antiphon and responsory in E-modus, including the version Weerbeke used as a cantus firmus in his *Stabat mater* (see Example 8.12).⁵¹

Example 8.11. (a) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Vidi speciosam*, bb. 1–13

35

Vi - di spe - ci - o - - - sam si - cut co -

Vi - di spe - ci - o - - - sam, vi -

49 For instance at bars 30–33, where altus and bassus briefly sing a duo, and the latter carries the main melody, which is then imitated by the superius. See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, 4.

50 Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 139, already noticed this aspect.

51 See <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/412224>>, accessed 16 April 2018, *Vidi speciosam* (Cantus ID 5407). See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, lxix.

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7

spe - ci - o - sam si - cut co - lum - bam,
lum - bam, a - scen - den - tem su -
di spe - ci - o - sam si - cut co - lum - bam,
di spe - ci - o - - si - cut co - lum - bam,

Example 8.11. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Vidi speciosam*, bb. 28–41

e - rat ni - - - mis
lis o - dor e - rat ni - mis
lis o - dor e - rat ni - mis in ve - sti - men - tis e -
e - rat ni - - - mis in ve - sti - men - tis e -

8

in ve - sti - men - tis e - ius. Cir - cum - da - bant e - am flo - res
in ve - sti - men - tis e - ius. Cir - cum - da - bant e - am flo - res
- ius, e - - - ius. Cir - cum - da - bant e - am
- ius, e - - - Cir - cum - da - bant e - am flo - res

Example 8.12. Antiphon *Vidi speciosam* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dép. de la musique, MS lat. 15181, fol. 473)

Vi - di spe - ci - o - sam sic - ut co - lum - bam,
a - scen - dem - tem de - su - per ri - vos a - qua - rum,

cu - ius in - ex - ti - ma - bi - lis o - dor e - rat ni - mis
in ve - sti - men - tis e - ius;
et cir - cum - da - bant e - am
flo - res ro - sa - rum et li - li - a con - val - li - um.

Looking at the distribution of motifs and borrowed melodic units, it emerges that imitation is used in passages which paraphrase fragments of the plainchant melody (superius at bb. 19–20, 35–38; tenor at bb. 40–44). Imitation thus assumes a precise function in amplifying the hidden chant and announcing it in a new and personal way within a setting conceived to allow the text to be understood easily.⁵² To obtain this transparency, Weerbeke uses homorhythmic patterns, both in chordal and imitative passages, skilfully varying the rhythmic pace with hemiola, rhythmic subdivision, passing notes, and the lightening of texture. The motet is an outstanding example of compositional sobriety and efficacy.

Weerbeke's way of working with pre-existing melodic material, as exemplified by *Vidi speciosam*, becomes even more evident if one compares his setting with the way the *Vidi speciosam* chant is treated in an anonymous motet transmitted in the Lucca Codex and CS 15 (see Example 8.13).⁵³ In this setting, the melody is placed mostly in the tenor. This gives shape to the overall design of the motet using the traditional cantus-firmus technique; the chant is thus to be heard as a whole in the tenor, although it is enriched with additional notes.⁵⁴ The difference of approach in setting the same text in polyphony could not be more striking in the two motets. Remarkably, the motif of the superius in Weerbeke's motet, imitated by the tenor, built on the notes A A G at bars 5–7—namely a transposition of E E D, the incipit of the melody of *Vidi*

52 A comparable example in the use of imitations to amplify the chant melody paraphrased between discantus and tenor is the motet *Recordare* by Johannes Tourout, presented in Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 268–69. Points of imitation deriving from borrowed material characterize works such as the anonymous Kyrie *Fons bonitatis* in Trent 89, fols. 391^v–392^r, or Busnoys's *Regina caeli laetare* discussed in Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 174–75, 216. Cumming points out that imitation related to the citation of chant melodies can be observed in those Milanese motets in which chant is paraphrased. These are just a small number within a repertory mostly constituted by chant-free motets, which Cummings classifies as a subgenre of the motet. See Julie Cumming, 'From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 6 (2008), 21–44 at 42.

53 Lucca Codex, fol. 54^{r-v} (fragment); CS 15, fols. 199^v–201^r. Both sources are available online on the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), <www.diamm.ac.uk>, accessed 15 February 2018.

54 The superius also carries the melody when it anticipates material presented by the tenor, as, for instance, at the beginning of the second part of the motet, in tempus imperfectum, where superius and altus sing the first eight-measure phrase, followed by a similar passage paraphrasing the chant sung by the tenor and bassus. The setting is characterized by an extensive use of duets and trios. See Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 274–76.

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Example 8.13. Anonymous, *Vidi speciosam*, CS 15, fols. 199^v-200^r, opening

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0

Vi - di spe - ci - o - sam si - cut co - lum - bam

Vi - di spe -

Vi - di spe - ci - o - sam si - cut co - lum -

5

Imit. of the tenor voice

Vi - di

a - scen - den - tem

-ci - o - sa

bam a - scen - den - tem,

9

spe - ci - o - sam si -

su - per ri - vos

a - scen - den - tem su - per ri - vos

14

cut co - lum - bam a -

(su - per ri - vos

si - cut

speciosam—is expanded into a rhythmic-melodic unit resembling the incipit of the anonymous *Vidi speciosam* (see Example 8.12 above). The superius motif in Weerbeke's motet at bars 11–13 also resembles that of the anonymous motet at bars 10–13, both paraphrasing the same notes from the chant. Since the latter is copied in CS 15 along with the composer's cantus firmus-motets in the same source, I have argued elsewhere that this anonymous *Vidi speciosam* may represent an early work by Weerbeke himself.⁵⁵ In this case an early dating is suggested by its inclusion in the Lucca Codex, which precedes the Roman source by many years.⁵⁶ It is suggestive to imagine that the older Weerbeke decided to write a new setting of *Vidi speciosam* in a completely different polyphonic style, after having explored a more traditional approach in setting the same liturgical chant to polyphony in the form of a cantus-firmus motet.

Although no information is available to situate the motet in a particular place or period of composition, Weerbeke's *Vidi speciosam* from Petrucci's *Motetti A* doubtless exemplifies the composer's new manner of working with traditional melodic material. This short motet paradigmatically shows the importance of identifying models and melodies of reference to reach new insights on the composer's work, his stylistic choices, and his intentions.

Issues of Cyclicity and Beyond

As Croll already noticed, *Vidi speciosam* shares melodic contours and stylistic features with the other motets on the Song of Songs by Weerbeke, *Ibo michi ad montem Mirrhe* and *O pulcherrima mulierum*.⁵⁷ The three motets are not transmitted in Petrucci as a group.⁵⁸ However, their stylistic similarities suggest that they might have been conceived to fit into a longer musical performance, just like the group of motets from Milan 1 discussed above, which Petrucci published separately. Each of these three settings from the Song of Songs has its own individual design and particular details.⁵⁹ Still, common melodic references and profiles subtly connect them, and create a network of reminiscences which produces a pronounced sense of unity.⁶⁰

55 Agnese Pavanello, 'Stabat mater / Vidi speciosam: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 60 (2010), 3–20 at 10.

56 For the dating of the Lucca Codex (main corpus copied c. 1467–70, with later additions), see *The Lucca Choirbook: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Ms 238; Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, Ms 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella 11/III*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), introduction. For the dating of CS 15 to about 1495–97, see Richard Sherr, 'The Papal Chapel ca. 1492–1513 and its Polyphonic Sources' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1975), 161–65, 204–15; and Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1996), 58–131. For additional bibliography and information, see also the website of DIAMM.

57 For a detailed description of the three motets and their shared material, see Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 133–39. On these pieces as a group with common features see also Drake, 'The First Printed Books of Motets', 270–72.

58 See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, xxxvi.

59 Each motet has, for instance, a different mensuration and a different opening melodic figure. In *Ibo michi* the opening is given to the superius and altus, followed by the tenor in imitation. The bassus then presents a motif in free inversion. In *O pulcherrima mulierum*, the superius begins in bar 7, after the other three voices begin. This opening section is melodically dominated by the tenor, which carries the melody; this then passes to the superius. *Vidi speciosam* in turn starts in another way, namely with a four-bar phrase sung by the altus and bassus, introducing the entry of the superius with the main notes of the plainchant, imitated by the tenor. In relation to the incipits it is worth recalling that Weerbeke often abandoned the motto technique in his later masses.

60 For instance, the motif of 'speciosam' mentioned above is integrated into the tenor of *O pulcherrima mulierum* at the beginning of the motet. It is elaborated and distributed in two phrases cadencing on A (bb. 1–3, 4–7),

Support for the suggestion that these three pieces constitute a cycle may be found in other features, such as their mode. Six of the eight Marian motets by Weerbeke published in Petrucci's *Motetti A* are in the A-mode, whereas the other two are composed in the E-mode (see Table 8.2). Further elements concerning the melodic elaboration connect the pieces to

Table 8.2. Weerbeke's 'chant-free' Marian motets in A-mode and E-mode

<i>Christi mater ave</i>	A
<i>Mater digna dei</i>	A
<i>Ave stella matutina</i>	A
<i>Ibo michi ad montem Mirrhe</i>	A
<i>O pulcherrima mulierum</i>	A
<i>Vidi speciosam sicut columbam</i>	A
<i>Ave domina sancta Maria</i>	E
<i>Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis</i>	E

each other. For instance, the opening duo of *Vidi speciosam* introducing the main motif of the superius recalls *Ave stella matutina*, which likewise begins with a duo stating the first cadence on A (see Examples 8.7 and 8.11 above). Since the initial duo in *Vidi speciosam* is not suggested by a particular thematic connotation, one might suppose that besides its introductory function, establishing the mode with the first cadence, it might serve to forge a link with another motet in the set. Similarly, the beginning of *O pulcherrima mulierum*, in an E-sonority, leading to the first cadence on A two bars later, may also serve to create an aural link with the other motets in the E-mode.⁶¹ Since there is among the Elevation motets printed under Gaspar's name in *Motetti B* one piece in the A-mode, *Anima Christi*, which would fit perfectly into a performance of Weerbeke's other motets on the same mode, one might easily imagine that these short Marian motets were originally intended for a cyclic performance during mass, just like the *motetti missales* of the Milanese Libroni.⁶²

On the whole, a detailed analysis of the Marian motets in the same mode hints at a conscious compositional project with a view to cyclic performance. The fact that Petrucci's

which are repeated in full texture with the motif now in the top voice (bb. 7–9, 11–13). Literally cited at bars 20–21 in the superius, this melodic idea also shapes the entries in imitation of tenor and superius at bars 31–34, a variation of the opening of the motet. The following bars 34–37 are very similar to bars 39–41 of *Vidi speciosam*. In *Ibo michi* the opening phrase of superius and tenor in imitation includes the motif on E–G–A–C of *Vidi speciosam*, although the melodic profile is distinguished by a rhythmic-melodic pattern (dotted minima, semiminima, and minima covering the interval of a fourth) that recurs in the piece and is picked up in the other motets. *Ibo michi* also shares with *O pulcherrima mulierum* a passage in which C is repeated several times as a recitation tone in the altus (*Ibo michi*, bb. 11–13) or in the tenor (*O pulcherrima*, bb. 14–19).

61 When describing the chant-free Marian motets, Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', discussed *Virgo Maria non est tibi similis* together with the group constituted by *Christi mater ave*, *Mater digna dei*, and *Ave stella matutina*, on the basis of melodic correspondences he noticed in the motet. He did not go so far as to hypothesize the existence of cycles besides those known from the Libroni, but observed the rich melodic relationships among the Marian motets in question.

62 For *Anima Christi*, see Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, lvii–lx, 51–53; Ottaviano Petrucci, *Motetti de passione, de cruce, de sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi B: Venice, 1503*, ed. Warren Drake (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 52–53, 214–16.

transmission does not give any clues to confirm this idea (just as for the group of motets handed down in Milan 1) suggests that the music came to the publisher in a manner devoid of association with a specific performance context. As a consequence, Petrucci's motet editions need to be evaluated with regard to possible earlier stages of transmission, and in this case especially in relation to the question of cyclic performances.

The implications of these considerations about Weerbeke's Marian motets in *Motetti A*, in terms of chronology or compositional context, are difficult to guess. Since the Milanese group is also included in the same collection, we might be justified in ascribing the composition of other Marian motets, such those from the Song of Songs or *Virgo Maria*, to the Milanese years as well. Such an assumption, however, would require us to distinguish between pieces from Weerbeke's first and second periods in Milan. It would also require us to consider a wider panorama of the production and performance of motets, for which unfortunately we have a scanty documentation. As Stanley Boorman has argued, it is quite likely that the repertoire printed in *Motetti B* came from Rome.⁶³ This would contradict the general idea that homophonic repertoire, so widely represented in this collection, should have come from northern Italy. Moreover, Herbenus's reference to hearing Weerbeke's Marian motets in Flanders provides evidence that Weerbeke's motets circulated in his native country, and may suggest that he also composed there in the mid-1490s, even if we have practically no extant traces of such activity.⁶⁴ The identity of the motets Herbenus heard is, obviously, a matter of speculation, yet a motet such as *Vidi speciosam* would fit his description well; we might therefore also suppose that Weerbeke composed this or similar pieces in Flanders. Nevertheless, even though Weerbeke's biography suggests that his major compositional output took place on Italian soil, and even if the transmission of his motet cycles points to Milan, and moreover even if most of his surviving Marian motets seem to have been conceived following an idea of cyclic performance, this does not necessarily imply that this kind of compositional activity was restricted to Milan, or that the motets in question must have been composed there. Since this cannot be proved, in particular for those motets without Milanese concordances, the question must remain open. In any case Petrucci's transmission testifies that Weerbeke's motets were transmitted outside their original place of composition, and this fact made his works into an international repertory.

Conclusions

Despite all of the remaining uncertainties, the Marian motets examined here attest to Weerbeke's experiments with small forms in interaction with older and more recent musical models and traditions, in response to the practical needs of liturgical and devotional services. His motets reflect a compositional path which still needs to be reconstructed and understood in the light of recent research and a wide-ranging analytical approach which steers away from historically reductive categories. Further investigation of Weerbeke's use of different techniques of citing and paraphrasing pre-existent melodic material and techniques of borrowing promises to advance our

63 Boorman, *Petrucci: Catalogue*, 273.

64 See n. 1 above. The only motet by Weerbeke transmitted in a Flemish source (the Chigi Codex) is the *Stabat mater*, a long cantus-firmus motet. See Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, lxviii–lxxi, 83–97.

understanding of his music and help us to reconstruct his stylistic development over time. Further study of the musical traditions associated with the Latin texts of the motets should open up possibilities for interpreting the compositional design, may lead to further identification of borrowed material, and will assist in the development of a clearer understanding of specific choices.

The example of *Vidi speciosam* shows that classifying the piece as a ‘chant-free motet’, as proposed by Croll, only partially does justice to the composer’s work and to the role of paraphrase in the creation of a musical tradition. This case thus invites further reflection on the criteria of stylistic differentiation, which can generate confusion if not well chosen. We still need more clarity in dating Weerbeke’s works and evaluating his compositional strategies, but a deeper appreciation of his favourite procedures and techniques of borrowing should provide material for a broader contextualization of his works and for a historical assessment of his personality as composer.

In this regard, and as a last point, it is worth returning to the witness of the Dutch humanist Herbenus. His appreciation of Weerbeke’s Marian motets, cited as an example of polyphony set in service of the words, reveals a dimension of Weerbeke’s contrapuntal writing which needs to be investigated beyond the stereotypical opposition of Italian and Burgundian styles. The reference to Obrecht as a composer with a similar approach to setting sacred texts suggests that the issue of the intelligibility of the text was not just a matter of national style, but was perhaps the result of a particular aesthetic vision of the significance and purpose of the musical work.⁶⁵ If the treatise of Herbenus illuminates an increasing sensibility to the intelligibility of the words and the relation of text and music in polyphony, it also suggests that composers such as Weerbeke and Obrecht were perhaps aware of humanists’ reflections on human singing and different attitudes towards the appropriate style for singing prayers in polyphony. This consideration acquires more solidity in association with a recently discovered document about the participation of Weerbeke in Milanese literary circles during his second period in Milan. In Henrico Boscano’s *Isola beata*, a literary dialogue written in about 1513, ‘Gaspar’ is mentioned alongside ‘Janes da Legi’, ‘Pietro da Olli’, and ‘Giovan Ciecho’ among the musicians, painters, poets, and gentlemen meeting in an academy at Milan during the early 1490s. Leonardo da Vinci and Bramante are also mentioned among the ‘pictori et ingegneri’.⁶⁶ This finding sheds new light on Weerbeke’s life in Milan, especially his contacts with the humanistic and literary culture in which aesthetic debates and conversations about music were conducted. This document adds a new perspective to research on Weerbeke’s music and its possible interaction with

65 See again n. 1 above. Concerning Herbenus’s passage in relation to Obrecht and for further references, see Jennifer M. Bloxam, ‘Preaching to the Choir? Obrecht’s Motet for the Dedication of the Church’, in *Music and Culture in the Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. Benjamin Brand and David J. Rothenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 263–92 at 291.

66 The participants are generally described as ‘Signori conti e cavalieri, philosophi e poeti, e musici, tutti adornati da virtù e buoni costumi’, cited in Jill Pederson, ‘Henrico Boscano’s “Isola Beata”: New Evidence for the Academia Leonardi Vinci in Renaissance Milan’, *Renaissance Studies*, 22 (2008), 450–47. For a further discussion of Boscano’s references to composers, see Edoardo Rossetti, ‘L’“Isola beata” dei musici e degli aristocratici: Qualche appunto su gerarchie sociali e culturali nella Milano di fine Quattrocento’, in *Codici per cantare: I Libroni del Duomo nella Milano sforzesca*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Agnese Pavanello (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2019), 53–87. This is the only evidence we have so far about Weerbeke’s participation in the cultural and intellectual life in Milan outside the court. The manuscript mentioning the academy is today in private hands.

the intellectual life of contemporary humanists. Such contacts, and the account of Herbenus, suggest an interpretation of pieces such as *Vidi speciosam* as an expression of a humanistic approach to polyphony, as well as a relevant step of a personal path in composition. These questions invite further exploration.

The Cycle as Modular Composition: The *Motetti missales* of Gaspar van Weerbeke

Fabrice Fitch

SCHOLARLY SCRUTINY OF the *motetti missales* has generally focused on the practice as a whole rather than on individual works or composers.¹ Although the reasons for this can only be summarized here, their pertinence to musicology is easy to grasp: first, the basic premises of the *motetti missales* are readily summarized but their practical implications continue to stimulate debate; second, the bulk of the extant evidence locates them precisely and conveniently in both time and place (the court of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan), an environment not only well documented but conspicuous for its cultivation of polyphony; third, considering the *modus operandi* of the *motetti missales* has shed a rather hectic light on issues that have long exercised musicological enquiry, not least the relation of polyphony to liturgy and the emergence of cyclical practices in Western art music. Whilst discussion of these points has grown in nuance and sophistication, consideration of individual works has tended to privilege context over (musical) content. Ludwig Finscher's detailed discussion of Compère's *motetti missales* was predicated on the view that 'their aesthetic value is but small, their historical importance however considerable'.² He compared them unfavourably to the single surviving cycle of Gaffurius and most especially those by Gaspar van Weerbeke, which he singled out for their 'stylistic unity and aesthetic perfection'.³ Notwithstanding Finscher's

* I thank David Fallows and Andrew Kirkman for reading and commenting on drafts of this study, and Paul Kolb and Wieland Hoban for helping to make countless documents available to me. I also wish to thank Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb for their careful reading of my typescript.

1 See most recently Agnese Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 33–60; Daniele V. Filippi, "Audire missam non est verba missae intelligere": The Low Mass and the Motetti Missales in Sforza Milan', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 11–32; and Felix Diergarten, "Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonoritatem": Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 61–88. A more recent exception is Pavanello's 'Praying to Mary: Another Look at Gaspar van Weerbeke's Marian *Motetti missales*', in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Agnese Pavanello and Daniele V. Filippi (Basel: Schwabe, 2018), 339–80, which the author shared with me after this was written.

2 Loysset Compère, *Opera omnia*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 5 vols., CMM 15 (1958–72), vol. 2 (1959), ii. Editions of Compère's cycles in vol. 2, pp. 1–25 (*Missa Galeazescha*) and 41–57 (*Hodie nobis de Virgine*), and in Loysset Compère, *Messe, Magnificat e Motetti*, ed. Dino Faggion, Archivium Musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 13 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1968), 45–73 (*Hodie nobis de Virgine*) and 75–112 (*Missa Galeazescha*).

3 Ludwig Finscher, *Loysset Compère (c.1450–1518): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 12 (n.p.:

strikingly positive assessment, formulated over half a century ago, Gaspar's own contribution to the *motetti missales* has not since been considered in the round and on its own terms.⁴ That neglect is symptomatic of his reception history more generally, as I argue elsewhere in this book (where I also consider further Finscher's position with respect to Gaspar and Compère).⁵ Here, I aim to redress the balance.

Their compositional pre-eminence aside, Gaspar and Compère are the only named figures from whom at least two such cycles are extant, and as Joshua Rifkin tacitly acknowledged in his seminal study on Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*, it is practically impossible to discuss the *motetti missales* of either in isolation. Rifkin put forward a convincing case for dating Compère's cycles *Galezescha* and *Hodie nobis de Virgine* within his brief period of tenure at Milan (from 1474 to early 1477) and those of Gaspar within his first stint there in the 1470s rather than the second in the 1490s.⁶ Given the similarities between their *motetti missales* and the likely process of emulation out of which they arose, it seems plausible (following Rifkin) to narrow that period further in the case of Gaspar to Compère's tenure. This sets their cycles apart from Gaffurius's *Salve mater salvatoris* and the two anonymous cycles preserved in Mu 3154, in that Gaffurius's work is assuredly later and the profile of the Munich cycles exhibits significant differences both musically and textually.

At this point a word is in order concerning the cycle *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*, whose attribution to Compère by Finscher was first questioned on codicological grounds by Lora Matthews Merkle and Paul Merkle.⁷ While noting their doubts, Rifkin found the stylistic evidence for 'de-attributing' *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* insufficient; nevertheless, he based his remarks on Compère's style on 'the two cycles that actually bear his name', noting that *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* 'clearly belongs to the same immediate family as the [cycles] explicitly credited to him and to Gaspar'.⁸ Elsewhere I argue that the stylistic case for questioning Compère's authorship is actually very strong; for that reason, *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* will figure in the following discussion only in passing.⁹

I will draw attention to those aspects of Compère's cycles that shed significant light on Gaspar's practice. Since this in turn has consequences for the *motetti missales* as a whole

American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 89–117 at 116. The three cycles by Gaspar are published in Weerbeke, *CW 3: Motet Cycles*, ed. Lindmayr-Brandl, and in Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Messe e Motetti*, ed. Giampiero Tintori, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 11 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1963), 13–43 (*Ave mundi domina*) and 44–75 (*Quam pulchra es*), and the motets in Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, ed. Pavanello. See, however, the unpublished dissertation of Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 63–85 (for the cycle *In honorem Sancti Spiritus*) and 178–238 (for the two Marian cycles).

4 See Ch. 7 above.

5 See Ch. 7 above.

6 Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350 at 245–64. On the dating of the cycle *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*, see Fabrice Fitch, 'Loyset Compère and the Motetti missales cycle *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 10 (2018), 293–304.

7 Paul A. Merkle and Lora L. M. Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 339. Edition of the work in Compère, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, pp. 26–40 and Compère, *Messe*, 15–43.

8 Both citations are in Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan', 259–60, n. 49 (see also 268, n. 65 and 271–72, n. 68).

9 The cycle's authorship is examined in Fitch, 'Loyset Compère', which sets out Rifkin's and Finscher's views more fully.

(not least the peculiarities of its transmission in the sources), I return in the second part of this chapter to some of the issues adumbrated above, albeit through the prism of Gaspar's output—not least recent views on the notion of cycle and its implications for our understanding of the practice in Milan and elsewhere. This wider perspective will help contextualize the third motet cycle ascribed to Gaspar, *In honorem Sancti spiritus*, transmitted under his name in Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto* and without ascription in Milan 4 (in a seemingly truncated version), as well as a number of pieces classed as motets in the *Collected Works*.

Ave mundi domina, Quam pulchra es, and Compère's Cycles

From their textual sources to their near-identical dimensions, shared mode, and compositional strategies, Gaspar's two cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* are closely related. Their overall ranges differ, but only slightly, *Quam pulchra es* lying about a third higher (Figure 9.1). In both cycles the contratenor altus lies pretty consistently a fourth above the tenor, which contributes to the textural transparency that characterizes both cycles.

Figure 9.1. Voice ranges of Gaspar van Weerbeke's cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*



The cycles of Gaspar and Compère share a marked consistency in their choice and deployment of texts. Those of Compère's *Hodie nobis de Virgine* are all in prose and derive from the Office for the Nativity (barring the Sanctus and the moment of Elevation, which immediately follows it); though more diverse as to their provenance, those of *Galezescha* are all verse (barring again the moment of Elevation, and a few short invocatory interpolations).¹⁰ Gaspar's sources are more diverse, but their usage is equally consistent on its own terms. Three types of texts are involved: hymns and sequences (both by definition in verse), Marian antiphons (prose and verse), and excerpts from the Song of Songs.¹¹ All of these occur in both cycles but with slightly different emphasis (see Table 9.1). The texts also share a common destination through their use in Marian feasts. Most motets are a conflation of different texts and types of text, but verse and prose never appear in the same motet and materials from the Song of Songs likewise appear on their own. The Song of Songs is foregrounded in *Quam pulchra es*, supplying the texts for three motets (the first, the last, and the fourth). Apart from its obvious significance in opening and closing the cycle, the Song of Songs' position within *Quam pulchra es* is further cemented by

10 By contrast, the prose and verse texts of *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* are markedly heterogeneous, one of a number of factors that sets it apart from the other two cycles (see Fitch, 'Compère').

11 On these texts and their sources, see especially Pavanello, 'Praying to Mary'.

Table 9.1. Textual provenance of Gaspar van Weerbeke's cycles *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* (Weerbeke Edition)

Ave mundi domina	Textual type/provenance	Quam pulchra es	Textual type/provenance
1. Ave mundi domina	verse/hymn (rhymed)	1. Quam pulchra es	antiphon (Song of Songs)
2. Ave mater gloriosa	verse/hymn (rhymed)	2. Alma redemptoris mater	Marian antiphon (prose)
3. Salve virgo virginum	hymn Salve virgo virginum	3. Salve, virgo salutata	sequence Salve, virgo salutata
4. Anima mea liquefacta est	antiphon (Song of Songs)	4. O pulcherrima mulierum	Song of Songs
5. Ave regina caelorum, ave... / O salutaris hostia	Marian antiphon (rhymed) / Hymn Verbum supernum prodiens	5. Ave regina caelorum, mater... / Ave corpus domini	Marian antiphon (rhymed) / Prayer Ave corpus domini (rhymed)
6. Quem terra, pontus, aethera	hymn Quem terra, pontus, aethera	6. O Maria, clausus hortus	rhymed office De conceptione beatae Mariae virginis
7. O virginum praeclara	from the hymns Quem terra, pontus, aethera and A solis ortu cardine	7. Mater patris filia	Marian antiphon (rhymed)
8. Fit porta Christi pervia	hymn Fit porta Christi pervia	8. Tota pulchra es	antiphon (Song of Songs)

the fourth motet, which opens up another conspicuous relationship between the two cycles: the only motet in *Ave mundi domina* to set the Song of Songs is also in fourth position.

An even closer correspondence is set up in the motets situated in fifth position, which set the antiphons *Ave regina caelorum*, *ave domina angelorum*, and *Ave regina caelorum, mater regis angelorum*... respectively. In both cycles, the fifth motet marks the moment of Elevation, which sets a distinct, liturgically appropriate text in chordal or quasi-chordal fashion and follows the *Ave regina* settings without a break. Thus, the fifth motet comprises two components, which are theoretically detachable. (The Elevation section for *Ave mundi domina*, *O salutaris hostia*, does in fact survive on its own in the *Occo Codex*, where it is one of a number of settings of the same text, at least one of which similarly derives from a larger work, La Rue's *Missa de Sancta Anna*, where it substitutes for the *Osanna I.*) That the direct invocation to the Virgin (by means of particularly famous antiphons associated with her) should immediately precede the invocation to the son to whom she was the privileged intercessor, is hardly surprising. But the detachability of the two components may also have had a practical motivation, that of ensuring that the performance of the second component would coincide with the liturgical action it was intended to accompany, if necessary by omitting the first component in performance.¹² (In neither case is the text of the preceding section related to the Elevation.) The feature is symptomatic of the *motetti missales* as a whole, and confirms the privileged status of the Elevation as regards the coordination of music and liturgical action. (Compère's cycles follow a similar strategy, but the rubrics are still more precise as to co-ordination: in *Hodie nobis de Virgine* the sixth motet has the rubric 'Post Elevationem' (with the Elevation music being placed, as with Gaspar's cycles, at the end of the fifth) and in *Galezescha* the Elevation music occurs as the beginning of the sixth motet, which bears the rubric 'ad Elevationem'). Already at the textual level, then, Gaspar's two cycles share close correspondences; musically matters are more complex, for such stylistic distinctions as there are resist straightforward correspondence with the different textual types just discussed.

As with text, Compère's musical choices are a useful starting point from which to consider Gaspar's. Again, *Galezescha* and *Hodie nobis de Virgine* are noticeably differentiated but internally consistent.¹³ *Galezescha* is the more imposing, being longer and employing full texture most of the time where *Hodie nobis de Virgine* is shorter and more varied texturally, with frequent two-voice episodes (some antiphonal, some not). This fundamental textural distinction may reflect the incorporation in *Galezescha* of chant, which informs the discantus/tenor framework throughout; in *Hodie nobis de Virgine* the discantus/tenor framework is looser and no pre-existent material is apparent.¹⁴ A constant feature across both cycles is the alternation of episodes with and without sesquialtera. Typically, *Galezescha* contains two such passages per motet while the shorter *Hodie nobis de Virgine* has just one. The material in these episodes is sub-

¹² On this phenomenon, see Pavanello, 'Elevation', 41–44.

¹³ Much of the following discussion concurs with Finscher, *Compère*, 89–117.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 102. On the chants identified in *Galezescha*, see the fuller statement in Ludwig Finscher, 'Die Messen und Motetten Loyset Compères' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 265. It is likely that the majority if not the entirety of the mass is based on chant, albeit in some cases as yet unidentified. An interesting case is the use of *Victimae paschali laudes* (in the final motet of the *Galezescha* cycle) to set words clearly modelled on those of the original: 'Virginis Mariae laudes / intonent christiani'.

tly different, but includes some of the cycles' most memorable moments. *Hodie nobis de Virgine* has several instances of 'Mexican waves', wherein a point of imitation is passed between all the voices from top to bottom (or the reverse) in a regular metrical pattern.¹⁵ Another conspicuous passage is the extended bell-like episode that concludes the Offertory, in which the discantus and tenor exchange repeated triadic material over a two-note bassus ostinato (the reference to bells may well have had a mimetic function in relation to the liturgical action at this point). Several motets of *Galeazescha* feature a chordal episode in sesquialtera (typically set off from what precedes it by an anacrusis), by which the address to the Virgin gains fresh impetus.¹⁶ That distinction aside, sesquialtera movement closes all the motets of both cycles.¹⁷ Another distinguishing feature of *Galeazescha* is the more frequent incidence of fermata episodes at moments of direct invocation (e.g. 'Exaudi nos, O Maria'), whereas *Hodie nobis de Virgine* has just one, at the moment of the Elevation.

In both of Compère's cycles it is not just the Elevation that is set off musically; the motet to which it is conjoined has music that departs audibly from the rest, to the extent of importing a seemingly foreign idiom. In *Hodie nobis de Virgine*, the opening of the 'Loco Sanctus-Verbum caro factum est' is expansive and melismatic in a way that recalls the setting of that text in mass Ordinaries—one might say indexically so, bearing in mind the sudden irruption of the mass Ordinary text at this precise moment. The motet 'Ad Elevationem' of *Galeazescha* is especially elaborate. Following the Elevation proper is a self-contained section quite unlike anything either in the *motetti missales* literature or Compère's sacred music (bb. 10–27). Its melodic design and orientation and its phrase-structure (A A B A A) are suggestive of secular rather than sacred music, although it is difficult to think of a direct parallel; whatever the intended allusion, it is hard not to hear this episode as a direct response to the event that has just preceded it. As with the Sanctus of *Hodie nobis de Virgine*, nothing comparable is heard afterwards: the rest of the motet (and the rest of the cycle) reverts to *Galeazescha*'s habitual strategies and textures.

Gaspar's *motetti missales* are concise to the point of pithiness. In scale, they are nearer to *Hodie nobis de Virgine* than to the more expansive *Galeazescha*, and they share with Compère's shorter cycle a greater emphasis on two-voice writing, though the turnover of textures is even more frequent. The imitative structure of the discantus/tenor framework is rigorously prosecuted; from that standpoint, Gaspar's cycles stand closer to *Galeazescha* than to *Hodie nobis de*

15 These 'Mexican waves' (a football term) differ from other imitative episodes in that they begin *ex nibilo* (that is, with a lone voice unsupported by other material) and involve all four voices ('Loco Offertorii', bb. 20–24; 'Loco Agnus', bb. 24–28; 'Loco Deo gratias', bb. 12–15). *Galeazescha* has several similar Mexican waves (e.g. 'Loco Credo', bb. 23–27), but perhaps significantly, only one of them is expressed in sesquialtera ('Ad Elevationem', bb. 39–46) and not all of them go rigorously from one extreme voice to the other. They do not stand out quite as strongly as those of *Hodie nobis de Virgine*.

16 Several of these occur near the ends of motets: 'Loco Gloria', bb. 25 ff.; 'Loco Offertorii', bb. 50 ff.; 'Loco Sanctus', bb. 12 ff.; 'Loco Deo gratias', bb. 34 ff.

17 On the use of sesquialtera as an index of closure, and an insightful consideration of the mensural issues in the core *motetti missales*, see Clare Bokulich, 'Metre and the *Motetti missales*', in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Agnese Pavanello and Daniele V. Filippi (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 397–428. I thank Professor Bokulich for letting me have sight of her article in advance of publication. As Andrew Kirkman reminds me (private communication, December 2017), this signal for closure may also have been intended for the celebrant.

Virgine, but unlike *Galezescha*, they appear to be freely composed.¹⁸ This is not to suggest that Gaspar's stylistic choices should be viewed as reactions to Compère's (there being no discernible grounds on which to establish chronological precedence) but to say that his two cycles are as consistent in their approach as Compère's are differentiated.¹⁹

The mensural consistency of Compère's cycles is somewhat attenuated in Gaspar's: half the motets of *Quam puchra es* have no sesquialtera episodes at all. But for all that, the two composers' deployment of sesquialtera binds their cycles especially closely, as Clare Bokulich has shown.²⁰ For present purposes, two points stand out: first, although Gaspar uses sesquialtera more sparingly than Compère and the anonymous composer of *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*, he uses it exclusively at the level of the minim, whereas in the rest of his output sesquialtera at the level of the semibreve predominates; and second, Compère's use of minim sesquialtera (if not quite as stringent as Gaspar's) is likewise far more consistent in his *motetti missales* than elsewhere. Bokulich's observations have wider implications, to which I will return. In *Ave mundi domina*, sesquialtera occurs in all but the two central movements, with the two outer motets toggling between ♮ and ♮3 more than once. Its presence or absence is noticeable: when present it tends to be introduced near the end, concluding the motet; and when absent, some positive motivation can usually be deduced. Thus, neither Elevation motet includes one (possibly to reflect the solemnity of that moment), and the fourth motet of *Ave mundi domina* stands out as the cycle's sole Song of Songs setting, and in other ways as well, as we shall see.

The opening motet of *Ave mundi domina* (see Appendix) stands for some of the procedures typical of both cycles. A fully scored opening phrase, with the discantus and tenor working non-imitatively, sets out the modal final, cadencing at bar 9. Thereafter, the tenor is involved in nearly every point of imitation, either with the discantus or with the bassus. Up until the first move into sesquialtera (b. 49) its cadences with the discantus tend, however, to be inconclusive, either on a pitch other than the final (bb. 19 and 27, both on F) or embedded in a system of interlocks that delay the cadential moment (bb. 35–42, after which the cadence on G is elided in order to finish yet again on another pitch at b. 44). The tenor's cadences with the bassus are fewer (in fact just two) but both times unambiguously on G and set out in identical fashion (bb. 23, 46). Recalling the close of the opening phrase, they function in the same way, i.e. as sectional closes. The remainder of the motet introduces a strategy common to several motets across both cycles, a kind of antiphony (in the strict etymological sense) wherein two contrasted phrases or types of material alternate repeatedly. The nature of the difference between the two components varies from case to case, but it is their juxtaposition

18 Though prevalent in the *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* cycle and in the anonymous cycles preserved in Mu 3154, the use of chant in Gaspar's cycles is rare, making him the only composer of *motetti missales* to have shunned borrowed material within his cycles. A conspicuous exception is the tenor of *O salutaris hostia*, which quotes a melody also set by Obrecht with a Flemish text, 'Laet u ghenoughen'. See the references cited in Fitch, Ch. 7 above, n. 33.

19 Finscher (*Compère*, 99–117 *passim*) and Merkley and Merkley (*Music and Patronage*, 341) hypothesize independently that Gaspar's settings came first, Finscher on the basis that he was the older of the two composers (an assumption that cannot be taken for granted) and Merkley and Merkley on the basis that he would have taken the lead as the chapel master (which does not necessarily follow).

20 For this and the specific points that follow, see Bokulich, 'Metre'.

and repetition—quite often literal—that characterizes the strategy. Here, the first component is a short chordal utterance in C (bb. 47–49) cadencing on G; the second is a more extended imitative episode set in sesquialtera (bb. 49–56) that does not. This alternation happens three times, with few variations between statements. A final section in sesquialtera, itself consisting in the repetition of a phrase but with a different final (bb. 66–74), concludes the motet.²¹

The melodic material of *Ave mundi domina* is fluent and concise, and rarely stretches the *lingua franca* of the period. The literal or near-literal repetitions of material can seem obvious. What distinguishes it—up until the sesquialtera section—is the symmetry and balance of its cadential planning, skilful dovetailing of episodes, and occasional textural touches such as the fauxbourdon passage of bars 24 to 27.²² Against this mellifluous but commonplace material the rhythmic assertiveness of the concluding section stands out the more strongly: it is the only passage in either cycle in which changes from C to $\text{C}3$ are motivic rather than structural. The juxtaposition of two contrasted elements occurs in no fewer than five motets across both cycles, often coinciding with the move into sesquialtera.²³ The strategy may in part be a response to the text, for with a single exception (the final motet of *Quam pulchra es*, to be discussed below) all instances of it involve verse, to whose metre and rhyme it draws attention; but since the placement of these episodes does not always coincide with the beginnings or endings of stanzas, it does not follow that textual form or function has any clear role in articulating musical form or structure: in Example 9.1, the move into sesquialtera follows the antiphonal strategy just described, and concludes the stanza ushered in by it.

Example 9.1. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Salve virgo virginum*, from the cycle *Ave mundi domina*, bb. 51–69

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The score is in 2/2 time and begins at measure 51. The lyrics are: - num. Spe - ci - o - sa dux er - ran - ti - um, Glo - ri - o - sa. The lyrics are repeated in the subsequent measures. Three sections of the score are highlighted with grey shading: the first section covers measures 51-52, the second covers measures 53-54, and the third covers measures 55-56. The lyrics under these shaded sections are: Spe - ci - o - sa dux er - ran - ti - um, Glo - ri - o - sa.

21 The repetition of a phrase as a closing gesture also occurs several times across both cycles: in *Ave mundi domina*, apart from the first motet, see *Ave mater gloriosa* and *Quem terra, pontus, aethera* (bb. 35–38); and in *Quam pulchra es*, *Quam pulchra es* itself, *Mater patris*, and *Tota pulchra es* (for which again, see below).

22 On Gaspar's predilection for balanced internal structures, see Rifkin, 'Milan, Munich', 266.

23 In addition to Example 9.1, see from *Ave mundi domina* the concluding passages of *Salve virgo virginum*, bb. 52–64 (Example 9.2) and *O virginum praeclara*, bb. 62–76 (with sesquialtera); and from *Quam pulchra es*, *O Maria, clausus hortus*, bb. 33–56 and *Tota pulchra es*, bb. 30–47 (with sesquialtera; discussed below). This repetition of material is noted and discussed independently (and from a slightly different standpoint) in Clare Bokulich, 'Contextualizing Josquin's *Ave Maria* . . . *virgo serena*', *Journal of Musicology*, 34 (2017), 182–240 at 202–4.

58

vox læ-tan - ti - um in hac val-le sis te lau - dan - ti - um, Con-so - la-

60

62

65

trix a-pud pa-trem et fi - li - um, et fi - - - - li - um.

67

69

Even as a determinant in local decision-making (and notwithstanding the points just made), the role of text is less apparent in Gaspar's cycles than in those of Compère, though it should be understood that the observation implies no value judgement.

Neither is there a clear-cut correspondence between textual types and musical strategies (apart from the obvious one of chordal music for the Elevation). The textual parallel across the cycles' fourth and fifth motets (noted above) is worth pursuing, however. *Anima mea liquefacta est*, the lone Song of Songs setting in *Ave mundi domina*, introduces a very different style from the outset (Example 9.2a), expansive and lyrical in the manner of Busnoys, marked by frequent fermatas at unexpected cadential turns and a striking moment of melodic registral expansion at 'Filiae Hierusalem' (Example 9.2b, bb. 50–59, offset by the close spacing of the fauxbourdon just before). Interpreting the change of style in both motets as a response to the text's sensuous quality is difficult to resist, especially since this more relaxed idiom is found nowhere else in *Ave mundi domina*; but it is equally tempting to read its position so near the Elevation in the light of Compère's placement of markedly different music in close proximity to the same moment. *Anima mea liquefacta est* is a high point of the cycle, its style surely designed to enhance its distinct position within it; it is hardly surprising that it should be one

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Example 9.2. (a) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Anima mea liquefacta est*, from the cycle *Ave mundi domina*: bb. 1–28

160

C **

S. A - - ni - ma me -

A. A - - ni - ma me - - a

T. A - ni -

B. A - - - ni - ma me - - - a

8

- a ut di - lec - tus me - us

ut di - lec - tus

8 ma me - a li - que - fac - - ta est ut di - lec - tus

li - que - fac - - - ta est, ut di - lec -

16

lo - cu - - tus est. Quae - si - vi il - - lum

me - us lo - cu - tus est. Quae - si - vi il - - lum

me - us lo - cu - tus est. Quae - si - vi il - lum

tus me - us lo - cu - tus est. Quae - si - vi il - - - lum

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23

et non in - ve - - - ni vo - ca - vi

et non in - ve - - - ni, vo - ca - vi

et non in - ve - - - ni, vo - ca - vi

et non in - ve - - ni, vo - ca - vi

Example 9.2. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Anima mea liquefacta est*, from the cycle *Ave mundi domina*: bb. 50–59

43

ra - ve - - - runt me

vul - ne - ra - - ve - runt me

vul - ne - ra - ve - runt me tu - le - runt pal - li - um me

vul - ne - ra - ve - runt me tu - le - runt pal - li - um me

50

cus - to - des mu - ro - rum. Fi - li - ae Hie - ru -

cus - to - des mu - ro - rum. Fi - li - ae Hie - ru -

- um cus - to - des mu - ro - rum. Fi - li - ae Hie - ru -

- um. Fi - li - ae Hie - ru - - -

58

- sa - lem, nun - ti - a - te di - lec - to me - o,
 - sa - lem, nun - ti - a - te di - lec - to me - o,
 - sa - lem, nun - ti - a - te di - lec - to me - o,
 - sa - lem, nun - ti - a - te di - lec - to me - o,

of only two excerpts of *Ave mundi domina* to survive outside Milan.²⁴ In some respects, the corresponding motet of *Quam pulchra es* more nearly resembles the ‘normative’ strategies of Example 9.1 (notably the turn to sesquialtera near the end), but the expansive point of imitation involving all the voices at bars 35–44 is reminiscent of *Anima mea liquefacta est*: its relaxed rhythmic cast, the dovetailing that introduces it, and the intertwining of the middle voices not long before (bb. 24–26), extending a moment of chordal stasis.

But at least as strong or exact an analogue to *Anima mea* is the final motet of *Quam pulchra es*, which—surely not coincidentally—also sets a Song of Songs text. The frequent fermatas are a point in common between the two motets, but the expansive tone of *Anima mea* is audibly joined in the last section (Example 9.3), which is entirely dominated by the quasi-antiphonal strategy described earlier. A two-voice pattern (indicated by black lines), always identically configured and ending in an unusual *désinence*, is exchanged repeatedly between voices, its course twice arrested by a much shorter four-voice interjection ending each time on a fermata (in striped boxes), each of which is preceded by a strong cadence (in grey boxes) that also recurs just before the end. Although the extent of internal repetitions is considerable, the scale of the passage exceeds anything that is attempted elsewhere. The effect of sesquialtera is different here, not rousing but gently obsessive, achieving an almost hypnotic quality.²⁵ In its own way, *Tota pulchra es* is as distinctive and memorable as *Anima mea* and fulfils a similar role as the outlier within its parent cycle, albeit as a concluding gambit. Although Song of Songs settings account for only a quarter of the motets of *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, their rhetorical efficiency—a matter of placement and tone—sets them literally and figuratively at the heart of both cycles.

To summarize: the extent of musical and textual interrelationships between Gaspar’s cycles is such that they were very likely composed side by side or virtually so, each with the other in mind. Apart from the special case of those in central position, the motets are charac-

24 It appears in a total of eight concordances, two of which transmit a different version. The only other concordance is the *O salutaris hostia* in the Occo Codex.

25 Because Gaspar’s discography is so sparse, it is worth mentioning that this exceptional motet can be heard (along with *Anima mea liquefacta est* from *Ave mundi Domina*) in a fine recording by Capilla Flamenca, *Canticum canticorum*, Eufoda 1359 (rec. 2003).

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Example 9.3. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Tota pulchra es*, from the cycle *Quam pulchra es*, bb. 30–47

30

-runt, o-do - rem de-de - runt,

-runt, vi-nae flo - ren-tes o-do - rem de - de-runt,

-runt, vi-nae flo - ren - tes o-do - rem de - de-runt, et vox tur tu -

o-do - rem de-de - runt, o-do - rem de-de - runt, et vox tur -

34

et vox tur - tu - ris au-di - ta est

au-di - ta est in ter - ra nos-tra.

ris, tur - tu - ris au-di - ta est in ter -

tu - ris au-di - ta est in ter - ra nos -

38

Sur-ge, pro - pe - ra, a - mi - ca me - a,

Sur-ge, pro - pe - ra, a - mi -

-ra nos-tra a - mi - ca me - a,

- tra. a - mi -

41

et ve - ni.

-ca me - - a,

et ve - ni.

ve - ni - de Li - ba - no,

et ve - ni,

ve -

-ca me - - a, et ve - ni, ve - ni - de Li - ba - no, ve -

44

ve - ni - co - ro - na - be - ris. co - ro - na - be - ris.

(b)

ve - ni, co - ro - na - be - ris.

ni - de Li - ba - no, ve - ni, co - ro - na - be - ris. co - ro - na - be - ris.

ni - de Li - ba - no, ve - ni, co - ro - na - be - ris.

terized by a shared typology. The features noted in the discussion of the opening motet of *Ave mundi domina* are broadly common across both cycles. In particular, two features associated with their design recur again and again: the use of sesquialtera as a closing gambit and the juxtaposition of two contrasted ideas whose repetitions (literal or virtual) articulate that conclusion. These two features account for ten of the sixteen motets, but it is important to note that in some they occur independently of one another: the ‘juxtaposition’ gambit sometimes displaces sesquialtera as the marker for closure. It is only the Elevation motets that omit them both.

A nearly identical conclusion imposes itself concerning the relationship of Gaspar’s cycles with those of Compère. The privileged position of the Elevation (not merely the chordal nature of the Elevation music proper but the insertion of other stylistically divergent material in close proximity to it) would appear to be common to both; so too is the tendency for an audible signal for the onset of closure. As one of the key shared markers of that tendency, the use of sesquialtera calls for further comment, for not only does it bring together Gaspar’s and Compère’s cycles, it distances them from the other extant ones. As mentioned previously, Clare Bokulich has observed that whereas the two named composers use sesquialtera exclusively at the level of the minim or nearly so, the anonymous composer of *Ave Domine Jesu*

Christe uses only the semibreve variety. Whereas the three composers favour sesquialtera as part of a closing strategy in most cases, its appearance in the Munich cycles is much more restricted and anyway inscribed within a greater variety of mensural configurations.²⁶ Hence the conclusion that *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* was composed under the direct influence of Compère's settings, with the Munich cycles standing at a further remove again, as suggested by other stylistic aspects of these anonymous works (particularly the Munich cycles).²⁷ By contrast, the degree of coherence both within and between Compère's and Gaspar's cycles reinforces Rifkin's proposal concerning their dating. I am tempted to go further and suggest that the cluster of four cycles is the result of close mutual observation and emulation within that very brief time span—a notion itself bolstered by the status of Gaspar's own cycles as 'stylistic twins' and the seemingly epigonal position of the anonymous composer of *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*.

A third conclusion is that the coherence of Gaspar's and Compère's cycles is predicated on the consistency of facture of their individual components—not least, apart from the factors rehearsed above, their comparable length. Within certain limits—primarily concerning the Elevation and the motets adjacent to it—some of those components are virtually interchangeable; one might conceivably exchange their positions without compromising their textual or musical integrity.²⁸ (It is only their slight difference in range that prevents that observation applying not only within but across *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*.) This returns us to the status of these motet collections as cycles, and the notion of cyclicity itself.

Modularity and the Cycle within the *Motetti missales* and Beyond

Several recent investigations of the *motetti missales* focus on their problematization of the notion of cycle—a question that has been gaining ever wider traction and whose ramifications extend far beyond the scope of this study, as recent scholarship attests.²⁹ This operates on three fronts: textually, in that the chosen texts may be linked in some ways (destination) but not in others (type or form); musically for the same reason, in that while certain markers of cohesiveness are typically present (modal identity across movements characterizes all the extant cycles currently agreed as such), others are conspicuously absent—most notably the presence of shared material and head-motif, or the coexistence of markedly differentiated strategies pertaining to text-setting, musical material, or musical texture; finally and perhaps most crucially, the apparent loosening of both text and music from the moorings of liturgy. Concern-

26 Bokulich, 'Metre'.

27 Most notably, these cycles largely eschew the antiphonal deployment of paired duos that is common in Gaspar's cycles, Compère's *Hodie nobis de Virgine*, and the anonymous *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*.

28 By contrast, the motets of the Munich cycle could not be so exchanged because their texts impose a successive reading, *Gaude flore virginali* by virtue of setting a continuous sequence across its movements and *Natus sapientia* through the telling of the Passion story.

29 See most recently Andrew Kirkman, 'Structure and Meaning in the Mass: The *Ordinarium Missae* and Beyond', in *Motet Cycles between Devotion and Liturgy*, ed. Agnese Pavanello and Daniele V. Filippi (Basel: Schwabe, 2019), 19–36. One of the first statements on the matter was by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl in the introduction to Weerbeke, *CW 3: Motet Cycles*, x (cited and discussed in more detail presently). For a similar questioning stance in relation to the conceptualization and actualization of cyclicity within fifteenth-century repertoires, see Paul Kolb, 'The Mass-Motet Cycle Revisited', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 8 (2016), 197–207.

ing the last point, it has long been recognized that the relation of polyphony to the liturgy was never intrinsic, even when it appeared to be: thus, it was not the singing of the words of the Ordinary that constituted the liturgical action, but their (sometimes inaudible) enunciation by the celebrant. The practice of *motetti missales* does no more than make explicit this ‘concentric’ relationship between the liturgy and its adornment. The only concrete tether between the two is the moment of the Elevation, indicated by the rubrics ‘ad/post Elevationem’. This feature has been recognized from the earliest studies of *motetti missales*; recent literature has not only confirmed its importance but magnified it, recognizing the centrality of the Elevation not only to the *motetti missales* but to the hermeneutics of polyphonic Ordinary settings, reflected in myriad ways and in cycle after cycle. In the case of the *motetti missales*, the Elevation music forms a self-contained section of the movement in which it occurs, both textually (in that at least two textual groups occur within the movement, one of which is explicitly associated with it) and musically (through chordal setting rendered more or less starkly but always distinguishably from what either precedes or follows it).³⁰ This distinction very likely reflects the privileged status of the Elevation as the moment at which co-ordination between liturgy and polyphony seems to have been considered essential (as per the aforementioned rubrics, and as several recent studies emphasize). Apart from this central moment there was no necessary textual or functional connection between a given motet and the liturgical action to which it notionally corresponded. More often than not, such points of textual coherence as exist would appear to be *sui generis* or even *ad hoc*.

In a recent article, Andrew Kirkman trenchantly puts the question that arises: to what extent need *motetti missales* be considered cycles at all, given that ‘conventional notions of cyclicity can get us only part way to any kind of answers [to the issues to which the *motetti missales* give rise]’.³¹ Kirkman himself notes that in certain cases, textual cohesiveness may have obviated the need for musical cohesiveness.³² In the case of Compère’s *Galezescha* cycle text and music are neatly aligned, thanks to the latter’s reflection of the former’s verse structure; but in fact, nearly all the extant cycles differ in the precise relation between them. In most cases, the extent to which recurring musical features are conditioned by textual considerations is seldom so straightforward. Even when a given (musical) feature appears so consistently as to qualify as a ‘unifying principle’ (such as the alternating absence and presence of sesquialtera), its deployment within the cycle as a whole—let alone *across* cycles—seldom follows a consistent pattern. Perhaps the closest one gets to such consistency is the common origin of the texts for the central motets of Gaspar’s *Ave mundi Domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, leading up to the Elevation; but even then (notably, in the cases involving the Song of Songs settings *Anima mea liquefacta est* and *O pulcherrima mulierum*), significant differences exist between the musical settings.

Kirkman invokes a second *cas de figure*, most recently expounded by Daniele V. Filippi.³³ According to his hypothesis, movements of the *motetti missales* cycles may have been performed successively and consecutively (as indicated by the term ‘motetti missales consequentes’ in the

30 See most recently Pavanello, ‘Elevation’.

31 Kirkman, ‘Structure’.

32 Ibid.

33 Filippi, “Audire missam”.

index of Milan 1) in the context of both Milanese votive Masses. As such, they would have functioned as an additional layer superimposed upon the liturgy. In support of this model, Filippi makes reference to similar practices elsewhere (albeit from later periods, but with clear implications for his reading of contemporary accounts) and points to the injunctions directed at members of the congregation to join in this counterpoint of sacralized actions by private prayers or contemplation. In Filippi's words, '[s]een from this perspective, the *motetti missales* are but one instance of the superimposition of layers that took place at the meeting point between liturgy and devotion, between ritual actions, individual spirituality, and collective experiences'.³⁴ The one moment at which all these layers were required to synchronize (unsurprisingly) was the Elevation. The attractiveness of this notion lies above all in its location of the *motetti missales* practice within a specific performance, one moreover that is liturgically situated. Even in the hypothetical absence of any textual and/or musical connections between them, the movements are unified by virtue of their performance at the same time and place in the service of the same liturgical action. (Filippi himself likens the situation to a kind of 'devotional soundtrack'.)³⁵ But such a relationship, founded not on shared musical or textual features but simply on contingency, is a far cry from later notions of 'cyclicality'.³⁶ And so it seems that we are returned to Kirkman's original challenge that cyclicality 'is in the eyes of whoever, for whatever reasons, chooses either to fashion or to behold it'. This leaves the question open as to what precise interpretation of the term (if any) the *motetti missales* might be held to conform.

In formulating an answer, it may be helpful to consider more recent perspectives on the notion of cycle, described independently by James Saunders and Wieland Hoban.³⁷ Situating his own compositional practice historically, Saunders cites Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928–2007) and John Cage (1912–92) as precursors, while Hoban investigates the notion of cyclicality in the work of Richard Barrett (b. 1959) and Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf (b. 1962), among others. Notwithstanding these figures' very different aesthetic positions, their practice embraces a modular approach to a greater or lesser extent, whereby individual works are often subsumed within larger cycles. In practice, the spectrum of possible relationships is huge: a single work may be detachable from its parent cycle or may on the contrary only be performed as part of it, or it may belong to more than one cycle; the performance of a cycle need not involve all available components, nor need their playing order be fixed: they may be performed in different combinations, including synchronically; and so on. Taking account of such parameters, a list of composers whose work challenges earlier practices of cyclicality would be vast. Saunders's approach is one of the more radical: since 2001, his entire practice has been subsumed within a single project which exists in the form of individual modules, none of which may be performed separately but only (re)deployed and (re)combined with other modules according to

34 Ibid., 29.

35 Ibid., 30–31.

36 In practice, there is always at least cohesiveness at the level of mode, as pointed out earlier.

37 See James Saunders, 'Modular Music', *Perspectives of New Music*, 46 (2008), 152–93, and Wieland Hoban, 'On the Morphology and Aesthetics of Form-Polyphony', in *The Foundations of Contemporary Composing*, ed. Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf et al., *New Music & Aesthetics in the 21st Century*, 3 (Hofheim: Wolke, 2004), 85–117. Saunders considers examples from the fine arts, but examples from literature abound: a key discussion is Umberto Eco's *The Open Work*, from which Saunders cites extensively (181 ff.).

given criteria for a specific performance. Each individual performance is irreproducible and has no independent status, being an instantiation of, and inseparable from, the parent project. Saunders calls this ‘modular composition’ and likens it to the assembly principle familiar from industry. Of course, his approach extends the concept of the ‘modular cycle’ beyond any of the other examples cited (let alone present purposes) but I mention it here to underline how far modularity has come to inflect cyclical thinking within contemporary practice.

To the extent that the *motetti missales* lay bare the tensions existing between them and conventional concepts of cyclicity (to say nothing of similarly problematic notions of genre), the notion of ‘modular cycle’ resolves some of the more significant ones: the loosening of the relationship between individual movements and their notional mapping onto the liturgy, and the fact that in some cases the position of certain movements within a cycle is to all intents and purposes interchangeable, both musically and textually. It also offers a fresh perspective on the seemingly haphazard transmission of individual motets and motet groupings within the Librone complex and elsewhere. While Lynn Halpern Ward’s interpretation of more or less the entire motet group of Milan 4 as a series of cycles runs the risk of overstating the situation, it is worth noting that its fundamental premise is inherently modular: one can readily imagine how these individual groupings might function as the nucleus for a performance that might resemble an extant *motetti missales* cycle.³⁸ The absence from Ward’s putative cycles of Elevation motets (and their relative scarcity within the Librone corpus as a whole) is no impediment to such assemblages, since in all the extant cycles the moment of Elevation proper is detachable from the polyphony that notionally precedes or follows it.³⁹ So long as modal identity is preserved, a polyphonic setting of any appropriate text could be imported from the existing pool, or indeed extemporized.⁴⁰ In the introduction to the edition of the *motetti missales*, Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl succinctly adumbrated this situation, remarking that the concept (or, as I prefer to think of it, the practice) of *motetti missales* ‘does not denote a fixed repertory but rather an *unstable formation* of motets which can also be used as single compositions or combined in different ways’. Still more provocatively, Lindmayr-Brandl goes on to say that ‘[o]nce this is done, it no longer seems appropriate to give such *compilations* the status of a genre on its own’.⁴¹ In short, rather than consider the motet groups of Milan 4 as ‘cycles’, one may view each of them as a consolidated pool of materials from which to compile a ‘playlist’ for performance on a given occasion. The Libroni contain instances of recopying of

38 Lynn Halpern Ward, ‘The *Motetti Missales* Repertory Reconsidered’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), 491–523 at 508 ff. (but see the reservations expressed on this point in Rifkin, ‘Milan, Munich’, 263–64, concerning Ward’s putative Compère cycle *O admirabile commercium*). The addition in Milan 4 of the motet *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis* after the cycle’s first four motets is one example of the possible expansion of an existing core of pieces. The attribution to Gaspar of *Sancti spiritus* is challenged in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, ‘Gaspar van Weerbeke and the Motet *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*: An Analytic Study in the Diplomatic Environment of the *Motetti Missales*’, *Musica Disciplina*, 46 (1992), 105–31.

39 The point is made by the free-standing transmission of *O salutaris hostia* in the Occo Codex. On this feature see also Fitch, Ch. 7 in the present volume.

40 Ward suggests that the absence of ‘free-standing’ Elevation motets in the Librone corpus indicates that they were not always deemed necessary in performance. However, their ubiquity within the extant Milanese cycles and the central position of the Elevation in their presentation undermines this argument, at least with respect to the Librone codices themselves.

41 See n. 29 above (emphasis mine).

motets in different contexts: a conspicuous case to which Ward draws attention is her proposed Compère cycle *O admirabile commercium*, whose motets appear in several places, sometimes bearing evidence of recomposition.⁴² The transmission of Gaspar's *In honorem Sancti Spiritus* bears witness to a similar fluidity, in that the number and the specific motets included in its three sources is markedly different (in one case the two transmitted movements are not copied consecutively).⁴³ Finally, the notoriously problematic transmissions of Josquin's motet cycles (especially *Vultum tuum*) may be similarly interpreted, since between them they share most of the indices of fluidity noted above in one form or another.⁴⁴

How far such assemblages (whether actual or hypothetical) take us from the original layer of *motetti missales* is a moot point, but it is worth recalling that the core of that layer consists of a very small number of works whose relationship is difficult precisely to pin down (apart from those of Gaspar and Compère) and about which significant questions remain. The status of the Munich cycles is a case in point: if they did indeed originate in Milan (as is widely assumed), to what extent is their stylistic distance from the Compère/Gaspar group indicative of a greater diversity than is generally acknowledged? Or does that stylistic distance indicate that the broad practice designated in the Libroni by the term 'motetti missales' may have extended beyond Milan? Either way, the existence of the Munich cycles cautions against defining the practice too strictly according to the works explicitly designated as Milanese.⁴⁵ The distance between Gaspar's *In honorem Sancti spiritus* and his other two cycles is not incommensurate with the distance between the latter and the Munich cycles, especially *Gaude flore virginali*: this work and *In honorem Sancti spiritus* also exhibit a comparable degree of stylistic homogeneity. The terse, pithy style of *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* gives way in Gaspar's third cycle to something more sonorous and longer-breathed: duos are longer and more expansive, the range of the contratenor altus is considerably wider and its lines are more active, scalar figurations in minims are far more prominent, the participation of all four voices in points of imitation is more widespread, and there are fewer leaps of a seventh or other striking contrapuntal strokes. Yet if the style is noticeably different from the two more securely 'Milanese' cycles, it is similar to them in its interpretation of the *lingua franca*: while nothing markedly exceeds or stands outside it, the sense of poise and balance, leavened by occasional registral touches, is common to all three works. In short, what I have just proposed for the Munich cycles applies equally to *In honorem Sancti Spiritus*: whether or not one regards it as a Milanese work, the implications for the 'motet cycle' concept are equally significant.⁴⁶

42 See n. 38 above.

43 For a detailed study of the cycle's transmission, see Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke and the Motet *Sancti Spiritus*' and the concise factual summary in Weerbeke, *CW 3: Motet Cycles*, lxxviii–lxxix.

44 For a recent summary, see David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 119–29 (esp. 124 ff. on *Vultum tuum*). No two of *Vultum tuum*'s sources have the same number of components or ordering, and none contains an Elevation motet; and its problems of transmission aside, the diversity of styles of *Qui velatus facie* prompts Fallows's description of it as Josquin's 'most postmodern work' (p. 120). Intriguingly, the use of the same phrase at the beginning of each component of Josquin's *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* obviously relates it to the anonymous cycle of the same name, whose first four movements do the same.

45 See the references listed in Fitch, Ch. 7 above.

46 On the cycle's possible Roman origin, see Agnese Pavanello, 'Il ciclo di motetti "In Honorem Sancti Spiritus" di Gaspar van Weerbeke: Un'ipotesi sulla sua origine', *Musica Disciplina*, 54 (2009), 147–80. On its status as a motet cycle, see Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke and the Motet *Sancti Spiritus*'.

Returning to the notion of pools of works existing within the Librone complex, the number of Gaspar's extant, free-standing motets that might similarly have formed part of such collections pools is intriguing:

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- ◇ Three Marian motets appearing consecutively in the edition (*Christi mater Ave*, *Mater digna Dei*, and *Ave stella matutina*) also appear alongside each other in Milan 1. They share voice-ranges and a common final, their dimensions are similar to the motets of *Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es* (albeit marginally longer, but very comparable to each other) and their texts are perfectly consonant with them. There is an exact parallel with the putative Compère cycle *O admirabile commercium* preserved in Milan 4 (discussed by Ward), all of whose three motets were assigned by Finscher to the motet volume of the composer's *Opera omnia*. Another of Gaspar's stand-alone motets, *Virgo Maria, non est tibi similis* (discussed in Ch. 7 above) bears a striking similarity to the Milanese motets in its scale and cast.
- ◇ The next three motets in the Gaspar edition (*Ibo michi ad montem Mirrhe*, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, and *Vidi speciosam*) are all transmitted in Petrucci's *Motetti A*, and their cohesiveness is if anything greater still than for the previous group: in addition to a shared final and similar ranges and dimensions, they all set passages from the Song of Songs (already a strong presence in Gaspar's output, as we have seen; its material also provided the source for the cantus firmus of his *Stabat mater*, where it is quoted in its liturgical form), the first text also being an antiphon, and the third a responsory. Despite their transmission bypassing the Milanese sources entirely, it is tempting to view their kinship as evidence of another, possibly still larger group or cycle of Song of Songs settings that may once have existed.⁴⁷
- ◇ Another related group is nos. 14 to 18 of the Gaspar edition, all of which relate to the Elevation and are transmitted in Petrucci's *Motetti B*. Two of them, *Panis angelicus* and *Verbum caro factum est*, appear as anonymous contrafacta in Petrucci's *Laude libro secundo*.⁴⁸ *Verbum caro* is of further interest in that its structure refers directly to the Elevation motets of Gaspar's extant cycles: it consists of two distinct textural groups, a predominantly chordal setting in \mathbb{C} of *Verbum caro* followed by a markedly more contrapuntal setting in $\text{O}3$ of *Ave verum corpus* (a text that Gaspar also set independently). The first section marks the actual moment of the Elevation and might easily be detached from the rest, as suggested previously: in fact, one of the aforementioned contrafacta, *O inextimabilis dilectio*, does just that.⁴⁹

47 These first two groups of motets are also discussed in Agnese Pavanello's contribution to this volume.

48 Editions in Weerbeke, *CW 4: Motets*, ed. Pavanello, 104 f. and 106 f.

49 The commentary to the edition of *O inextimabilis dilectio* states that only the first twenty-seven bars derive directly from *Verbum caro* (ibid., lxxiii). In fact, *O inextimabilis dilectio* consists of the first section of *Verbum caro* in its entirety.

To be clear, my aim is neither to propose a new taxonomy for the *motetti missales* nor to claim for these groupings—even the designated ones—the label of ‘modular cycles’, but to propose the modular principle as a possible key to interpreting them, how they may have come about, and how they may have been used. Interpreting the designated cycles by Gaspar and Compère through the prism of Ward’s groupings is to view the process of compilation hinted at above in reverse: the first four movements of *Galezescha* and *Ave Domine Jesu Christe*, for example, open with the same word or phrase. In terms of cohesiveness, either group stands comparison with not a few of Ward’s. Though it may be a step too far to claim that either may once have formed the nucleus of a cycle now lost,⁵⁰ it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that each may have been conceived (and perhaps once existed) independently of their current transmission. Be that as it may, their example suggests how the modular principle may pervade the entire corpus, cutting across both the designated cycles and Ward’s putative groupings. Furthermore, the modular approach has practical implications: it may explain the brevity of the individual movements, which could be omitted individually by the singers in real-time response to time-constraints (since the mapping of movements onto the liturgy is purely indicative).⁵¹ From this perspective, Filippi’s image of a ‘devotional soundtrack’ is apt: updating it further, one can liken the situation to the latter-day playlist (alluded to above), which has the principle of compilation as its basis. To expand on the point just made: while it is perfectly possible that the designated cycles were conceived as currently transmitted by the composers to whom they are ascribed, other scenarios should not be discounted. In each case, the existing configuration may have been one of several equally valid ones, to be adopted and adapted from one performance to the next. Finally, the selection and ordering of movements as transmitted in the Libroni need not have stemmed directly from the composers: the compilation may have been the work of a ‘controlling mind’ (presumably Gaffurius’s) intent on codifying a practice that had been inherently fluid but was by then passing into history.⁵²

To conclude, the challenge the *motetti missales* pose to post-Enlightenment notions of cyclicity negates neither their participation in certain aspects of cyclical behaviour nor an awareness of those aspects on the part of early Renaissance musicians. They are clear evidence that fifteenth-century musicians appreciated the potential for pieces intended to accompany the same liturgical action to relate to each other on a number of levels, both textually and musically.⁵³ Rather than with how they may have conceptualized that potential (to the extent that they felt the need to do so) I have been concerned with their concretization of it. Beyond

50 The fact that the ‘divisi’ tenor scoring cuts across the movements beginning ‘Ave domine Jesu Christe’ and those that do not arguably lessens the likelihood of the first group having had a separate existence.

51 For example, the preface to Frescobaldi’s *Primo libro di Capricci* (1624) states that the sectional nature of these pieces provides the performer with convenient stopping-points to respond to the demands of the service, a stipulation found in other prints of keyboard church music during this period.

52 In any case it overstates the available evidence (of whatever sort) to say that ‘[m]otetti missales were not compilations of previously written motets but were originally conceived and composed as cycles’ (Thomas L. Noblitt, ‘The Ambrosian *Motetti Missales* Repertory’, *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 77–103 at 85).

53 Ironically, if Filippi’s hypotheses are correct, the possibility of *continuous* performance would constitute evidence of a practice much nearer to today’s performances of Renaissance mass repertories than would have been the case with contemporary settings of the mass Ordinary, where the temporal gap in the liturgy between movements (the longer ones in particular) would have been very wide.

that, the cyclicity of *motetti missales* is neither more nor less a problem than we choose it to be. If cyclicity is indeed ‘in the eyes of whoever ... chooses either to fashion or to behold it’, then (paraphrasing Luciano Berio’s definition of music) ‘a cycle is everything that one listens to with the intention of listening to a cycle’.⁵⁴

54 Luciano Berio, with Rossana Dalmonte and Bálint András Varga, *Luciano Berio: Two Interviews*, ed. and trans. David Osmond-Smith (New York and London: Marion Boyars, 1985), 19.

APPENDIX

Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Ave mundi domina*

S. A - ve mun - di do - mi - na Et cæ - li re - gi -

A. A - ve — mun - di do - mi - na — Et cæ - li re - gi -

T. A - ve mun - di do - mi - ne Et cæ - li re -

B. A - ve — mun - di do - mi - na Et cæ - li re -

- na, Ma - ter de - i in - te - gra, Ro - sa — si -

- na Ma - ter de - i in - te - gra, Ro - -

- gi - na, Ma - ter de - i in - te - gra, Ro - -

- gi - na, Ma - ter de - i in - te - gra, Ro -

- ne spi - - - na.

- - - sa si - ne spi - na.

- sa si - ne — spi - na. Tu - a sit con - cep - -

- sa si - ne — spi - na, spi - na. Tu - a sit con - cep -

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23

Nos - tra me - di - ci - na

Nos - tra me - di - ci - na Et tu - a na -

- ti - o Nos - tra me - di - ci - na

- ti - o Et tu - a na -

30

Tu - a præ -

- ti - vi - tas Vi - a ma - tu - ti - na

Tu - a præ - sen -

ti - vi - tas Vi - a ma - tu - ti - na. Tu -

36

sen - ta - ti - o Nos - tra sit o - bla -

Tu - a præ - sen - ta - ti - o Nos -

ta - ti - o Nos - tra sit o - bla - ti -

- a præ - sen - ta - ti - o Nos -

41

ti - o
Et an - nun - ti - a - ti - o

tra sit o - bla - ti - o
Et an - nun - ti - a - ti - o

o nos - tra sit o - bla - ti - o

-tra sit nos - tra sit o - bla - ti - o
Et an - nun - ti - a - ti - o

49

Et pu - ri - fi - ca - ti - o, Nos - tra sit pur - ga -

Et pu - ri - fi - ca -

Et pu - ri - fi - ca - ti - o, Nos - tra sit pur - ga - ti - o

Et pu - ri - fi - ca - ti - o,

56

ti - o Tu - a sit as - sump - ti - o

ti - o, Tu - a sit as - sump - ti - o

Tu - a sit as - sump - ti - o Nos - tra sa - lu - tis vi -

Tu - a sit as - sump - ti - o Nos - tra sa - lu - tis vi -

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Tu nos te-cum as-tru - e Quæ reg-nas cum

Tu nos te-cum as-tru - e in ve - ra — so-phi - a Quæ reg-nas cum

- a Tu nos te-cum as-tru - e in ve - ra so-phi - a. Quæ reg-nas cum

- a Tu nos te-cum as-tru - e Quæ reg-nas, reg-nas cum

69

fi - li - o, O cle - mens, o - pi - a, Fac nos te - cum vi - ve - re, O dul - cis Ma - ri - a.

fi - li - o, O cle - mens, o - pi - a, Fac nos te - cum vi - ve - re, O dul - cis Ma - ri - a.

fi - li - o, O cle - mens, o - pi - a, Fac nos te - cum vi - ve - re, O dul - cis Ma - ri - a.

fi - li - o, O cle - mens, o - pi - a, Fac nos te - cum vi - ve - re, O dul - cis Ma - ri - a.

Another ‘Most laudable competition’?

Gaspar, Josquin, Regis, and the Virgin in Distress

Wolfgang Fuhrmann

IN THIS CHAPTER I attempt to put Gaspar van Weerbeke’s *Stabat mater* into the context of other settings of this text (especially Josquin’s), and to place the work in the broader tradition of five-part tenor motets in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. First, I will discuss the tradition of *Stabat mater* settings that emerged quite suddenly in the last decades of the fifteenth century and try to offer an explanation for this sudden vogue. I will then discuss Gaspar’s work, focusing especially on text treatment and handling of texture and exploring a striking case of ‘imitation’ in relation to another famous five-part motet of the fifteenth century. This leads me, finally, to suggest a somewhat earlier dating for this motet than has been proposed recently.

The Vogue for *Stabat mater* Settings

In April 1488, the Florentine Ambrogio Angeni wrote to his friend and fellow citizen Antonio da Filicaia that he had received a *Stabat mater* and a set of Lamentations, both to be sung during Holy Week.¹ In a somewhat later letter, he explicitly refers to this setting as a ‘motet’ (*motteto*), thus proving he was not talking about a polyphonic (or monophonic) *lauda*. The wording strongly suggests that he had received these compositions from Antonio himself, who was on a business trip in Nantes at this time. In November 1489, Angeni received another arguably polyphonic *Stabat mater* setting, this time from the hands of ‘Machiavelli’;² this was probably Niccolò, the political theorist, who would have been just twenty at this time, and whose interest in music is documented elsewhere.³ Though Ambrogio does not say so explicitly, we may assume that this, also, was a motet.⁴

1 Blake Wilson, ‘Heinrich Isaac among the Florentines’, *Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), 97–152, at 119–20. Though Ambrogio does not explicitly say that he received the motet from Antonio, the context makes this extremely likely, and I will proceed below on the assumption that this was the case. To my knowledge, the only fifteenth-century composer to have had any association with Nantes was Pietrequin Bonnel, though much later: Bonnel is listed in a salary list of Anne of Bretagne’s chapel written in Nantes 12 December 1498 (Stephen Bonime, ‘Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study’ (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 8).

2 Wilson, ‘Heinrich Isaac among the Florentines’, 122, n. 61.

3 Niccolò Machiavelli’s musical interests are reflected in the biography of Philippe Verdelot, who was quite probably a member of Machiavelli’s circle at the Orti Oricellari and also set several of his poems; Machiavelli

These are, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest testimonies documenting interest in polyphonic *Stabat mater* settings. *Stabat mater* motets mushroomed in European music around 1500. Indeed, sometime in the last quarter of the century there seems to have been a kind of craze for settings of this text all over western Europe (see Table 10.1). Of course, all kinds of Marian devotional texts with or without chant had been set regularly in the late Middle Ages, and especially from the early fifteenth century onwards. But the *Stabat mater*, a very popular prayer and also sung in various contexts and to various melodies at least from the late fourteenth century, had a very late entry onto the stage of polyphonic music; for all we know there are no settings pre-dating the 1480s.

How shall we account for this sudden popularity among composers of a text that had been circulating since the thirteenth century, and was demonstrably sung monophonically at least from the late fourteenth century onwards, but only entered the world of polyphonic art music in the late 1400s?⁵ This is the question I wish to discuss in the first part of this essay, for an answer might help us to understand Gaspar's motet better.

There was an affinity with song throughout the history of the *Stabat mater*. The authorship of the text is unknown: the ascription to Jacopone da Todi, still upheld by some scholars, rests on very shaky ground.⁶ It was transmitted in two kinds of sources: in prayer books, breviaries, and books of hours, where it bears the rubric *planctus beatae mariae virginis* or *oracio*, and in missals, where it is variably called a *sequentia*, *prosa*, or even *antiphona*.⁷ Indeed, with its double stanzas the poem suggests the form of a sequence, notwithstanding the fact that it is cast in the first person singular, therefore adopting the register of a personal prayer.⁸ As a matter of fact, some adaptations for missals even changed the speaker of the poem into the first person plural.⁹

seems to refer to Verdelot's settings of *canzoni* from *La Mandragola* in a letter of 3 January 1526. See H. Colin Slim and Stefano La Via, 'Verdelot [Deslougés], Philippe', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 25 January 2018. See also Renato Chiesa, 'Machiavelli e la musica', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 4 (1969), 3–31, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Myself when Young: Becoming a Musician in Renaissance Italy—or Not (2011 Italian Lecture)', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 181 (2012), 169–203, at 186 f.

4 It may seem idle to speculate on the composer of this piece. But a good candidate would be Franchinus Gaffurius, though his *Stabat mater* is more a *cento* than a setting of the poem proper (see Table 10.1). In any case it is intriguing that Gaffurius's setting was entered in Milan 1, which is famously dated 23 June 1490. I will argue further below that Gaspar's *Stabat mater* setting also pre-dates, in all probability, 1489, perhaps even by a decade or more, and thus it too may rank among the candidates that Ambrogio mentions. But it is entirely possible, indeed probable, that both letters refer to totally different, and probably lost, settings.

5 Given the popularity of the text in music history, there is a lack of good studies concerning its early history. The best general overview is Karl-Heinz Schlager, 'Stabat mater, I. Einstimmige Vertonungen des Stabat mater', *MGG Online*, accessed on 25 January 2018. Andreas Kraß, *Stabat mater dolorosa: Lateinische Überlieferung und volkssprachliche Übertragungen im deutschen Mittelalter* (Munich: utb, 1998) concentrates on the history of the text mainly (but not exclusively) in German-speaking areas, but also discusses the various hypotheses concerning the authorship of the poem and even devotes a few pages to the musical tradition. Jürgen Blume, *Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Stabat-mater-Vertonungen*, 2 vols. (Munich: Katzschler, [1992]), discusses the early history and monophonic settings only very superficially.

6 Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 133–35.

7 Ibid., 45–46.

8 See *ibid.*, 143–44.

9 Ibid., 54–55. Three text versions using the plural are edited at 71 f.

Table 10.1. Polyphonic *Stabat mater* settings around 1500, including partial settings

Composer, number of voices*	Sources	Editions	Remarks
Anonymous 2vv	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Casello del Buonconsiglio, Coll. Feininger, MS XV	Laurence K. Feininger, 'Eine neue Quelle zur Polyphonie des 15. Jahrhunderts', in <i>Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtsstag</i> (Munich and Salzburg: Katzschler, 1973), 53–63, at 62.	lauda
Anonymous 2vv	Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale (Bibliothèque Louis Aragon), MS 162, fols. 30 ^v –35 ^r	Peter Woetmann Christoffersen (ed.), (< http://amiens.pwch.dk/Amienso7.pdf >)	See Helma Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Eine neue Quelle zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit', in <i>Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtsstag</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 109–15.
Anonymous	Milan 3, fols. 223 ^v –227 ^r	<i>Anonimi: Mottetti</i> , ed. Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 9 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1961), 120–33	
Anonymous	Annaberg Choirbook I, pp. 510–13	—	
Anonymous, <i>Stabat</i> (1488)	—	—	Mentioned in the correspondence of Ambrogio Angeni as 'motteto' (lost?).
Anonymous, <i>Stabat</i> (1489)	—	—	Mentioned in the correspondence of Ambrogio Angeni (lost?).
Alonso de Alba 3vv	Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Archivo MS 2, fols. 68 ^v –69 ^r	—	
Thomas Ashwell ?vv	London, British Library, Harley 1709 (medius partbook only), fols. 7 ^r –9 ^r	—	
John Browne 6vv	Eton Choirbook, fols. 11 ^v –14 ^r ; Cambridge, University Library, Buxton MSS Box 96 (bassus part, single fragment of folio)	<i>The Eton Choirbook</i> , ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, Musica Britannica, 10 (London, 1956), pp. 43–53	Text continues to 'ut sibi complacem', then comes the paraphrase 'Stabat mater rubens rosa, popular in England (compare Davy). Browne also set two other paraphrases: <i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i> (4vv and 6vv versions) and <i>Stabat iuxta Christi crucem</i> [From stormy winds].
William Cornysh (senior) 5vv	Eton Choirbook, fols. 78 ^r –80 ^r (fragm.)	<i>The Eton Choirbook</i> , ed. Harrison, Musica Britannica, 11 (London, 1958), pp. 137–48	The same (?) piece was also copied in a now missing section of the manuscript.

* Four voices unless otherwise stated.

Composer, number of voices*	Sources	Editions	Remarks
Innocentius Dammonis	Dammonis, <i>Laudé libro primo</i> , fol. 20 ^r	<i>Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500</i> , ed. Knud Jeppesen (Leipzig and Kopenhagen: Breitkopf & Härtel and Levin & Munksgaard, 1935), II, no. 69; Francesco Luisi, <i>Lauda-rio giustiniano</i> (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983), 86.	Lauda, setting only the first stanza. The opening point of imitation is related to Josquin's setting.
Richard Davy 5vv	Eton Choirbook, fols. 62 ^v -65 ^r ; Cambridge, St John's College Library, MS 234 (K.31), fols. 5 ^v -7 ^r ; Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.13.27, fols. 6 ^v -8 ^r ; London, British Library, Harley 1709 (medius partbook only), fols. 20 ^v -21 ^r	<i>The Eton Choirbook</i> , ed. Harrison, Musica Britannica, II, pp. 83-93	Text continues to 'ut sibi complacem', then comes 'Stabat mater rubens rosa' (compare Browne).
Pedro de Escobar	Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Archivo MS 2, fols. 99 ^v -100 ^r ; Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional, Coleção Dr. Ivo Cruz, MS 60, fols. 9 ^v -11 ^r	<i>Autores hispanos de los siglos XIV-XVI de los Ms. 2 y 5 de la Catedral de Tarazona</i> , ed. Pedro Calahorra Martínez, Polifonía Aragonesa, 9 (<i>Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico</i> , 1995)	
Robert Fayrfax 5vv	Eton Choirbook (loft)	—	
Franchinus Gaffurius	Milan 1, fols. 181 ^v -182 ^r , F. G.; Milan 3, fols. 185 ^v -186 ^r ; anon.	<i>Franchino Gaffurio, Motetti</i> , ed. Luciano Migliavacca, Archivium Musicum Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 5 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, 1959), 1-7	Quotes only three stanzas of the poem, intermingled with an adoration of the cross and culminating in a prayer to Christ.
Josquin des Prez 5vv	Chigi Codex, fols. 241 ^v -245 ^r (and many more)	NJE 25, ed. Elders, 36-48	For later sources and earlier editions, see NJE 25, Critical Commentary, 85-91.
Francisco de Peñalosa, <i>Santía mater istud agas</i> , 5vv	Barcelona, Biblioteca nacional de Catalunya, M 454, fols. 64 ^v -65 ^r ; Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, MS 5-5-20, fols. 51 ^v -52 ^r (old 12 ^v -13 ^r); Tarazona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Archiv. MS 2, fols. 77 ^v -78 ^r ; Toledo, Archivo	<i>Francisco de Peñalosa, Twenty-Four Motets</i> , ed. Jane Morlet Hardie (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994), 138-42; <i>Francisco de Peñalosa, Motetes</i> , ed. Dionisio Preciado, Opera omnia, I (Madrid: Sociedad Española	only four stanzas

Composer, number of voices*	Sources	Editions	Remarks
Denis Prieur (Dionisius Prioris; formerly identified as Johannes Prioris), <i>Stabat mater/La belle se siet</i> , 5vv? ¹ 6vv?	y Biblioteka Capitulares de la Catedral Metropolitana, MS 21, fols. 62 ^v –64 ^r ; Guatemala City, Cathedral, Archivo Capitular, MS 3, fols. 28[a] ^v –30 ^r	de musicología, 1986), 123–27; <i>A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service</i> , ed. Robert J. Snow, Monuments of Renaissance Music, 9 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 136–9	only tenor partbook extant
Thomas Stoltzer	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), MS Bártfa 22	—	only tenor partbook extant
Turplin, <i>Stabat mater/Nativitas unde gaudia</i>	Petrucci, <i>Motetti libro quarto</i> , 4 part-books: S fols. 14 ^v –15 ^r ; A fols. 77 ^v –78 ^r ; T fols. 45 ^r –45 ^v ; B fols. 110 ^v –111 ^r	<i>Selections from Motetti libro quarto (Venice, 1505)</i> , ed. Richard Sherr, <i>The Sixteenth-Century Motet</i> , 3 (New York: Garland, 1991), 73–88	Quotes the 'Salve regina' in A (T. 1 ff.), B (T. 4 ff., 22 ff.) and T (T. 44 ff.). S quotes three times 'Nativitas unde gaudia nobis hodie confert annua', a line almost exactly the same as in Brumel's motet <i>Nativitas unde gaudia</i> . ¹ This is 'Turplin's only known work.
Gaspar van Weerbeke, <i>Stabat mater/Vidi speciosam</i> , 5vv	Chigi Codex, fols. 245 ^v –249 ^r	<i>Die Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis in der Überlieferung des Chigi-Kodex II: Edition</i> , ed. Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, <i>Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinae, que Collectanea Acta Monumenta</i> , 5 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1999), 23–37; Weerbeke, <i>GW: Motets</i> , ed. Pavanello, 83–97	

1 Barton Hudson, 'Antoine Brumel's *Nativitas unde gaudia*', *Musical Quarterly*, 59 (1973), 519–30.

Steering a third course between use as sequence or as personal prayer, the *Stabat mater* seems to have been sung by *compagnie dei laudesi* from about 1400 at the latest.¹⁰ It was also sung by a penitential movement in Genoa in 1389 and by flagellant movements around the turn of the century.¹¹ Its popularity as a song is further documented by the fact that a manuscript discovered by Laurence Feininger contains a very simple two-part setting, probably Franciscan in origin, and that there are at least two laude settings from the sixteenth century.¹²

More important for our present investigation, however, is the chant tradition. Here, several melodies were attached to the *Stabat mater* poem, but one in the sixth mode on F gained special currency.¹³ It was connected to a German translation of the poem, probably by the Monk of Salzburg, as early as the late fourteenth century, albeit in a manuscript dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ The melodic structure of this chant, following that of the text, again suggests that it was intended as a sequence. In any case it was this melody that was raised to the liturgical status of a sequence for the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows (*Compassio Mariae*) established by the Diocese of Cologne in 1423 and celebrated on the third Friday after *Jubilate*.¹⁵ Doubtless the liturgy of the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows caused the promulgation of the aforementioned *Stabat mater* sequence, if not its creation.¹⁶ But the sequence also circulated independently: it can be found, for instance, in the *Graduale Pata-*

- 10 It is found as an appendix to a section in a text manuscript devoted to the *laude* of Jacopone da Todi in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds it. 559, fol. 111^r, an association which may have led to the idea that Jacopone was its author. See Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 134. Singing the *Stabat mater* would have routinely occurred during Passiontide, on which see Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 66–70.
- 11 See *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. 17, ed. Ludovico Muratori (Milan, 1730), vol. 2: Georgii et Iohannis Stellae Annales Genuenses, cols. 1170–74. Georgius Stella describes precisely the way the *Stabat mater* was sung by the movement, which consisted primarily of a rural population, with two precentors singing the *Stabat mater* and all others repeating after every third verse the initial stanza in the manner of a responsory. He also gives a text version considerably augmented in relation to the ‘Roman’ standard version. Cf. Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 61–62 and 156–57, where he also quotes chronicles from Florence and Lübeck (referring to Italy).
- 12 Laurence K. Feininger, ‘Eine neue Quelle zur Polyphonie des 15. Jahrhunderts’, in *Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich and Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1975), 53–63; the *Stabat mater* is edited on p. 62. The source in question is now located in Trent, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Coll. Feininger, MS XV. On the later settings, see Table 10.1 above.
- 13 See Schlager, ‘Stabat mater’, who cites yet another melody in a two-voice setting in Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale (Bibliothèque Louis Aragon), MS 162. Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 146, speaks of four different melodies, referring to Irmtrud Booms, ‘Materialien zur Frühgeschichte des “Stabat mater” und seiner mittelhochdeutschen Übersetzungen’ (MA thesis, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1982), 98–111. This thesis was not available to me.
- 14 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 715, fols. 70^{r-v}, 72^r–75^v. See Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 169 f. and 193 f. Arguments against the Monk’s authorship are put forward by Burghard Wachinger, *Der Mönch von Salzburg: Zur Überlieferung geistlicher Lieder im späten Mittelalter*, Hermaea NF 57 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 28 f. The dating is proposed in Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Cgm 691–867. – Editio altera* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 90. The same melody is also found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 716, fols. 54^v–56^r (Tegernsee, third quarter of the fifteenth century).
- 15 In the *Antiphonarium, Omnia pia Canoniarum horarum cantica* (Münster, 1537) for the diocese of Münster (Westphalia), fol. 489^v, the *Stabat mater* bears the rubric of the feast *Compassio Mariae*. But the feast apparently spread as far as Brno; see Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 43. For a quick overview with further bibliography, see Carol M. Schuler, ‘The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe’, *Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 21 (1992), 5–28, at 13.
- 16 The text of the office for the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows is printed in Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 145 f. after a Misale for St James in Brno.

viense, where it simply bears the rubric 'De veneratione beate Marie sequentia'.¹⁷ This was not the first devotion to the Sorrowful Virgin: a brotherhood had been founded in 1380 in Utrecht. In any case, there is ample documentation that popular texts were sung with or without the traditional chant melodies commonly associated with them. But the most prominent use of the sequence was in the newly created feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary (15 September), promoted by the Burgundian court from the early 1490s, but not raised to universal rank until Pope Benedict XIII established it in 1727.¹⁸ (The melody found in the *Liber usualis* stems from the nineteenth century, according to Karlheinz Schlager.)¹⁹

It is tempting to speculate that it was this new feast of the Seven Sorrows that sparked interest in the sequence, and hence caused its polyphonic settings. But there is a problem with this hypothesis: as far as I am aware, the *Stabat mater* chant was never used in a polyphonic setting. Sequence settings throughout the fifteenth century typically paraphrase the chant. Stylistically, they occupy the spectrum between comparatively simple, mostly alternatim settings for liturgical use and more sophisticated motet settings: Antoine Brumel's *Dies irae* setting from his *Missa pro defunctis* is an example for the former approach, and Johannes Regis's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena* (the beginning of which famously was emulated by Josquin) is a good specimen of the latter.²⁰ Jacob Obrecht's *Salve crux, arbor vitae / O crux lignum triumphale*, a considerably more complex five-voice motet, paraphrases the sequence of the main text in the outer voices while the seventh stanza of another sequence, *Laudes crucis attollamus*, is used as a cantus firmus. And all six sequence motets ascribed to Josquin des Prez, whether accepted as authentic or not by current scholarship, clearly refer to their parent chant throughout. Sequence settings with no reference to their chant model at all can be found through the early Renaissance only, it seems, in England, where they were used as votive antiphons.²¹

But in the *Stabat mater* vogue around 1500 there seems to be no reference to any of the known chant melodies at all; instead, in several of them a cantus firmus from another, sacred or secular, context is chosen, while others are freely composed. I am not aware of any other tradition of sequence settings around 1500 that ignores the related chant melody so thor-

17 *Graduale pataviense* (Vienna: Johannes Winterburger, 1511), fols. 285^v–287^r.

18 Barbara Hagg, 'Charles de Clerc, Seigneur de Bouvekercke, and Two Manuscripts: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 215–16, and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40', in *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500–1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire = Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 5 (2003), 185–202. See also Emily C. Snow (Thelen), 'The Lady of Sorrows: Music, Devotion, and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2010), and *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)*, ed. Emily S. Thelen, with the collaboration of Susie Speakman Sutch, *Studies in European Urban History (1100–1800)*, 37 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

19 Cf. Schlager, 'Stabat mater'.

20 See Oliver Korte, 'Antoine Brumel und Guilielmus Monachus: Falsobordone in Praxis und Theorie', in *Musiktheorie im Kontext. 5. Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie, Hamburg 2005*, ed. Jan Philipp Sprick, Reinhard Bahr, and Michael von Troschke (Berlin: Weidler 2008), 247–59, and Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Reconstructing and Repositioning Regis's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*', *Early Music*, 37 (2009), 73–88.

21 Incidentally, the feast of the Seven Sorrows was not adapted in England, and no tradition of setting this sequence developed there, though there were several texts obviously modelled in style and structure after the *Stabat mater* such as *Stabat iuxta crucem virgo* or *Stabat mater, rubens rosa*. Settings of isolated stanzas of the sequence can also be found in the Eton Choirbook (1490–1502). John Browne's impressive six-voice setting, for instance, uses the double stanzas I, II, III, and V but continues with stanzas from *Stabat mater, rubens rosa*.

oughly. This may be due to the fact that the chant itself probably came into being only around 1400 and seems to have circulated only in a limited geographical spectrum mostly in the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire (especially the Rhine area, the southern German/Austrian region, and Bohemia); there seems to be no French (or Italian) tradition of this or any other chant melody.²² But local or obscure chants were by no means beneath the dignity of composers around 1500.²³ And so the fact that no Renaissance composer ever used, to the best of my knowledge, any melody attached to the *Stabat mater*, strongly suggests that the settings by Gaspar, Josquin, and others were not necessarily intended for liturgical use; in any case, they do not suggest themselves for a particular liturgical use or paraliturgical association. Indeed these works are best regarded as motets, that is, as sacred pieces deliberately ‘open’ to de- and recontextualizing, pieces that might be used on a liturgical occasion but by no means were bound to one. So, it is difficult to construe a direct causality between the liturgy of the new feast of the Seven Sorrows and the sudden interest in settings of the *Stabat mater*, though there may have been a certain synergy.²⁴

If the *Stabat mater* was received in the Franco-Flemish area not as a sequence but as a free prayer text to be set as a motet, the fact that there are no polyphonic settings of the *Stabat mater* before the closing decades of the fifteenth century to speak of (that is, apart from the

22 Much more work would be needed to fully substantiate this statement, which is founded basically on the overview of sources by Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 22–37 (German sources), and 37–42 (other provenances), only ten of which, all German, contain melodic notation, and on the remarks by Schlager, ‘Stabat mater’. *Cantus Manuscript Database: Inventories of Chant Sources*, University of Waterloo, <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>>, adds a handful of mostly southern German sources (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 17, fol. 378^r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 27020, fol. 256^r; Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek und Zentralbibliothek, MS 1/II, fol. 509^r; MS 42/II, fol. 24^r; MS 7/II, fol. 74^r; MS 7/II, fol. 72^r; and Zutphen, Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek, MS 6, the only Netherlands source so far). The prints from Vienna and Münster have already been mentioned above. Jacquelyn A. Mattfeld, ‘Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), 159–83, states that the *Stabat mater* ‘is not known to appear with a melody in any liturgical source before the office books issued in the Pian reform’, by which she refers to the liturgical reform carried out by Pope Pius V in 1570 (p. 179, n. 163). However, in n. 72 on p. 168, she refers nonetheless to several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century liturgical books containing the *Stabat mater* text, mostly from Italy. This may be considered an indirect proof for a primarily German transmission of this melody.

23 See M. Jennifer Bloxam, ‘In Praise of Spurious Saints: The *Missae Floruit egregiis* by Pipelare and La Rue’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 44 (1991), 163–220.

24 Only one source for the feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary does prescribe the *Stabat mater* as a sequence: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 3787. The first edition, *Quodlibetica decisio de septem doloribus virginis Mariae ac confraternitate desuper instituta* (Antwerpen: Theodricus Martinus, c. 1496/1497), sig. Fv^r, at least in the version published by the digital library of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, prescribes the sequence *Salve virgo generosa*. The reprint (Schrattenthal: Martin Eytzinger, 1501), fol. [141]^{r-v}, opts for the same chant or, alternatively, *Gembundus marie decantet clerus voce pia*. Finally, Brussels 215–216 replaces this with the otherwise unknown *Astat virgo virginum*. See Haggh, ‘Charles de Clerc’, 193 (though she lists, by a slip of the pen, the *Stabat mater* as part of the Antwerp print on p. 190); and Emily Catherine Snow, ‘Music, Devotion, and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands’ (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2010), 94. Curiously, in Brussels 215–216 a very short excerpt from the *Stabat mater* text—the verse ‘Eya mater fons amoris’ (Va)—is used as a responsory for vespers (as noted by Haggh, ‘Charles de Clerc’, 191; cf. Snow, ‘Music, Devotion, and Politics’, 99). This half-stanza has been rather awkwardly adapted to the first person plural: ‘Eya mater fons amoris fac nos sentire tui vim doloris ut tecum lugeamus’, ruining metre and rhyme. This is akin but not identical with the adaptations reproduced by Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 71, especially versions 1 and 3. The chant, in the seventh mode, does not refer to the sequence version. I am indebted to Barbara Haggh for discussion on this aspect.

simple version in the Feininger manuscript) becomes irritating. And even more so as the *Stabat mater* was widely transmitted with an indulgence of seven years for recitation of the prayer since the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the authority for that being variously identified as Gregory the Great or (more credibly) as Boniface VIII (1235–1303), as well as other popes.²⁵ Bonnie Blackburn has demonstrated that indulgenced prayers were often set to polyphony; *Ave sanctissima Maria*, a prayer endowed with an indulgence by Sixtus IV in the 1470s, was eagerly set by composers around 1500 like Agricola, Diniset, Ghiselin, Isaac, La Rue, Mouton, and Gaspar van Weerbeke, as well as by a considerable number of later composers.²⁶ If composers jumped at this occasion, why were they so reluctant to set the *Stabat mater*?

I believe the reason for this was that the *Stabat mater* was associated with Passiontide. For there was a notable reluctance of composers during the first three quarters of the fifteenth century to set music associated with Passiontide—or, more generally, music of a penitential, mourning, or lamenting nature. Up to c.1480, polyphony in sacred music was widely regarded as joyous and festive.²⁷ This—and the often-lacking comprehensibility of the text—led to heavy criticism, especially from some quarters interested in religious reform.²⁸ Around 1500, composers arguably tried to confront this criticism by proving that sacred polyphony was also capable of expressing the affects of contrition, penitence, lament, mourning, and general sadness.²⁹

This tendency to widen the emotional expressiveness of sacred polyphony is manifest in a rush for new texts, almost none of them set to polyphony before c.1480:

- (1) Biblical laments (Josquin? / Ninot le Petit?, *Planxit autem David* and Josquin? / La Rue?, *Absalon, fili mi*);
- (2) penitential psalms (Josquin? / Nicolas Champion?, *De profundis* and Josquin, *Miserere mei, Deus*);
- (3) penitential prayers (Josquin, *O bone et dulcissime Jesu* and Ockeghem, *Intemerata dei mater*);
- (4) texts dealing with the passion and/or compassion (Josquin, *Huc me sydereo*; Michele Pesenti, *Tulerunt dominum meum*; and Matthaues Pipelare, *Memorare Mater Christi*);

25 Kraß, *Stabat mater*, 151–53, quoting German, French, Italian, and Dutch sources. The wide distribution of this belief in an indulgence is also documented, for instance, in Castile; see Cynthia Robinson, *Imagining the Passion in a Multiconfessional Castile: The Virgin, Christ, Devotions, and Images in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 156 and 365.

26 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), 157–95.

27 I have tried to argue this at length in Wolfgang Fuhrmann, 'Englische und irdische Musik im 15. Jahrhundert', in *Den Himmel öffnen... – Bild, Raum und Klang in der mittelalterlichen Sakralkultur*, ed. Therese Bruggisser, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/56 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 85–131. The clearest exposition of this view is Gilles Carlier's famous *Tractatus de duplici ritu cantus ecclesiastici in divinis officiis*, trans. and annotated by J. Donald Cullington, in *On the Dignity & the Effects of Music. Egidius Carlerius – Johannes Tinctoris: Two Fifteenth-Century Treatises*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and J. Donald Cullington, Study Texts, 2 (London: King's College London, 1996), 39–47.

28 Complaints against polyphony are discussed most comprehensively in Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe 1470–1530* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

29 This thesis is sketched out in Wolfgang Fuhrmann, 'The Simplicity of Sublimity in Josquin's Psalm-Motets', in *Josquin and the Sublime: Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium at Roosevelt Academy, Middelburg, 12–15 July 2009*, ed. Albert Clement and Eric Jas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 49–71. Of course, I do not wish to state that such an approach was totally unheard of before 1470/1480—several of Du Fay's motets attempt quite successfully to incorporate sad affects (witness the closing of *Flos florum*, the famous third trope in *Ave regina celorum* III, and the *Lamentatio sanctae matris ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*).

- (5) motets of mourning (Obrecht, *Mille quingentis/Requiem*; Josquin, *Nymphes des bois/Requiem*; and Mouton and Festa, *Quis dabit oculis*); and even
- (6) ancient laments (the famous group of *Dulces exuviae* settings by Josquin, Mouton, Agricola, de Orto, Ghiselin, and others).

Our *Stabat mater* settings obviously fall in the fourth category. They can also be interpreted as specimens of a general compositional trend regarding text treatment. Composers around 1500 strived to explore new dimensions of affect by employing several new or little-used devices of text-setting (in regard to both formal and semantic features of the text), and they did so with particular vigour in order to imbue sacred polyphony with low-spirited affects (sadness, sorrow, lament, mourning, anxiety of salvation, religious melancholy, etc.). To distinguish at least the most salient of these devices:

- ◇ A predominantly syllabic setting that in some cases borders on the declamatory and even austere, often used in combination with pervasive imitation;³⁰
- ◇ special emphasis on central text passages by textural means, e.g. homophonic declamation, sometimes enhanced by preceding and/or following general pauses;
- ◇ occasionally also an intensification of meaningful words or passages by techniques that may be vaguely termed mimetic and/or rhetorical (e.g. ‘word-painting’, ‘madrigalisms’, ‘rhetorical figures’);
- ◇ choice of appropriate modality, especially the third or fourth and the sixth mode, both associated with sadness or mourning from the Middle Ages;³¹
- ◇ dramatic use of register, especially very low sounds;
- ◇ very occasionally a tendency towards the expressive use of dissonance.

We may also note that several of the works in question cross the boundary between sacred and secular: motets with secular cantus firmi such as *Comme femme desconfortée* or *Nunca fue pena maior*; and chansons with sacred cantus firmi, in other words motet-chansons. Both subgenres are typical for the Gaspar generation, and both contain some of the most expressive works composed in that generation.

The *Stabat mater* settings so in vogue around 1500, then, were in all probability not caused by the liturgy of the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows. Rather, they seem the result of a new interest in a vivid presentation and interpretation of this highly affective and dramatic text. This is most evident in the settings by Josquin and Gaspar, two motets that seem to invite further comparison.³²

30 The classic statement is Ludwig Finscher, ‘Zum Verhältnis von Imitationstechnik und Textbehandlung im Zeitalter Josquins’, in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (Tutzing: Schneider 1979), 57–72. See further Thomas Schmidt-Beste, *Textdeklamation in der Motette des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), and *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

31 A topic I have treated in an as yet unpublished paper ‘The “Renaissance” of the Phrygian Mode and the Rise of Negative Affect in Sacred Music, ca. 1460–1520’, read at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (Berlin, March 2015) and at the conference ‘Hearing the Voice, Hearing the Soul’ (University of Warwick, June 2015).

32 I hope I will be forgiven for excluding Browne’s impressive motet as belonging to the insular tradition.

Gaspar's *Stabat mater*: A Case of Intertextu(r)ality?

The foregoing general survey was necessary to approach the question how Gaspar's setting fits into the early history of *Stabat mater* settings, both musically and historically. In particular, I will take issue with Agnese Pavanello's suggestion that Gaspar's work dates from the time of his Burgundian service (1495–98).

The story must start with Josquin's setting of the same text. Barbara Hagggh has argued that Josquin's *Stabat mater* was composed for the feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, probably directly for the already mentioned confraternity of that rite, founded by Jean de Coudenberg and promoted by the Burgundian Duke Philip the Fair.³³ This seems just about right: Josquin's *Stabat* is included (anonymously) in the manuscript Brussels 215–216, produced for Charles de Clerc, Seigneur de Bouvekercke, together with works devoted to the Seven Sorrows by Pipelare, La Rue, and an anonymous composer. The last part of the manuscript contains a new office for the Seven Sorrows feast, recently written by Petrus Verhoeven alias De Manso, in a chant setting probably by Pierre Duwez.³⁴ This manuscript, however, is not the first copy of Josquin's *Stabat mater*: Brussels 215–216 is now dated *c.* 1508–18, while Josquin's motet was copied *c.* 1504 into the Chigi Codex.³⁵ Given the fact that *Stabat mater* settings mushroomed in the closing decades of the fifteenth century, one cannot be sure that Josquin's work was destined for the fraternity from the beginning, though it is a quite plausible scenario. It would have worked, just like Pipelare's *Memorare mater Christi*, as an extra-liturgical addition—in short, a motet.

Building on Hagggh's findings, Agnese Pavanello has developed the thesis that Gaspar van Weerbeke composed his *Stabat mater* for the same institution as Josquin.³⁶ One of her reasons for this is that in the single source for Gaspar's setting, the famous Chigi Codex just mentioned, Gaspar's *Stabat mater* is placed alongside Josquin's. As is well known, Chigi is a manuscript from the Burgundian orbit, thus originating in the same centre of cultural and political power as the cult of the Seven Sorrows.

33 Hagggh, 'Charles de Clerc'. See also Jozef Robijns, 'Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts im Zeichen der Verehrung Unserer Lieben Frau der Sieben Schmerzen (Brüssel, Kgl. Bibliothek, Hs. 215–216)', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 44 (1960), 28–43.

34 Hagggh, 'Charles de Clerc', 188–91.

35 *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1550–1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999), 67, gives the approximate dating of Brussels 215–216 as 1503–1518 (Robijns), 1508–1518, probably 1512–1516 (Kellman), and 1516 (Warmington). More recent scholarship tends to place the production of the manuscript in the first half of the second decade of the 1500s. (As Pipelare's name is marked with a cross and 'pie memorie', knowledge about his exact death date would help to narrow the date of production even further.) See also the remarks in Hagggh, 'Charles de Clerc', 185, n. 1, who also provides an inventory (p. 187). A digital facsimile of the manuscript is now available via *IDEM. Integrated Database for Early Music*, Alamire Foundation, <www.idemdatabase.org/alamire/items/show/76>, accessed 4 April 2018. On the dating of the Chigi Codex, see Fabrice Fitch, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), ch. 1. The manuscript has been edited as volume 22 of *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, introduction by Herbert Kellman (New York: Garland, 1987); it is also available online: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.C.VIII.234>, accessed 4 April 2018.

36 Agnese Pavanello, 'Stabat mater / Vidi speciosam: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek-geschiedenis*, 60 (2010), 3–20.

I will return to this argument in the third section. For now, I wish to concentrate on one minor aspect of this thesis: if, as Pavanello has speculated, Josquin's and Gaspar's settings were commissioned by the confraternity or by Philip himself in the 1490s, they would have been composed in what Glarean might have called 'a most laudable competition' (as he did in the case of Josquin's and Brumel's *Missae de beata virgine*).³⁷ A comparison of the two motets looks promising at first glance: both are five-voice motets with axial tenor, suggesting a tradition or even conscious acknowledgement of the other composer's work. Indeed this is where I started this investigation. But on closer inspection, both motets are only superficially similar. As a matter of fact, Gaspar's composition *does* engage in a 'most laudable competition'—but not with Josquin.

To elaborate a little: as is well known, Josquin quoted the tenor from Binchois's chanson *Comme femme desconfortée*.³⁸ Indeed, he bound himself to Binchois's cantus firmus, which runs through inexorably from the first measure to the last. To do so, Josquin quadrupled the notated values of Binchois's tenor.³⁹ This imbues his piece with a quality of drawn-out sounds of almost 'harmonic' quality (to modern ears, at least). Though this motet is by no means homophonic, it can very profitably be sung by adapting the upper voice as a monody while the lower voices are reduced to a 'harmonic' accompaniment on the lute. (Pierre Phalèse actually published such an arrangement in 1553 in his *Horti musarum secunda pars*.⁴⁰)

Josquin's texture is very dense throughout, though exquisitely under control. There is no opening duet;⁴¹ there are almost no passages with reduced voices; only occasionally are there some measures where only three voices sing together—a most unusual texture not only for Josquin but for any of his contemporaries. Very seldom the cantus firmus allows Josquin to engage in the duet texture that is a hallmark of his style, and almost never is it possible to indulge in the kind of antiphonal duet structure he favours. A rare example is at bars 55–65, the end of the second line of Binchois's rondeau. And even then the texture is for three voices throughout.

We do know of at least one other *Stabat* setting that was modelled in the same way: the almost entirely lost work of the composer formerly known as 'Johannes Prioris' and recently identified by Theodor Dumitrescu as Denis Prieur (Dionisius Prioris; see Table 10.1 above).⁴² Only its tenor survives in the fragment of a single partbook, and it is identical with the popular monophonic song *La belle se siet*.⁴³ The tenor runs through from the first to the last

37 See Jesse Rodin, 'A "most laudable competition"? Hearing and Composing the Beata Virgine Masses of Josquin and Brumel', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 59 (2009), 3–24.

38 Recent studies of this famous work include David Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 193–211, and Martin Christian Dippon, 'Textdarstellung und Textinterpretation in Josquins *Stabat mater*', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 99 (2015), 7–44.

39 As David Fallows has pointed out, in actual sound it may have lasted even longer, as the semibreve around 1500 was arguably longer than that of around 1450. Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 213, n. 59.

40 *RISM B/I* 1553³³. I know of no recording, and I have heard it only once and incompletely, as the performance was broken off by the confusion of the musicians. But even this showed how convincing such an arrangement can be, in a way other Josquin motets may not be performed.

41 The beginning of this motet is echoed in a *lauda* by Innocentius Dammonis, or vice versa; see Table 10.1.

42 Theodor Dumitrescu, 'Who Was "Prioris"? A Royal Composer Recovered', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 65 (2012), 5–65.

43 See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Song, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 229. I am indebted to David Fallows for lending me a reproduction of that manuscript.

perfection, not allowing for any introductory section, just like Josquin's motet. The voice bears the original text, but there are two incipits 'Stabat mater' and 'Eya mater' at the beginning of the two *partes* that unequivocally refer to the other voices. In all these aspects, Prioris's composition is a structural twin to Josquin's *Stabat mater*, which likewise uses a secular chanson with obvious symbolic content, and also has the break at this point in the text. We even may suspect that Prioris, like Josquin, shortened the text by cutting four stanzas, for otherwise the second part would have to be much longer than the first.⁴⁴ (The main difference is that in Josquin's work the cantus firmus runs through once in augmented values, while in Prioris's work it is quoted twice, once in each of part, making them exactly the same length.) One of those pieces must be the conscious emulation of the other, and however this may be, one might argue that Prioris's choice of *La belle se siet* as cantus firmus fits the sujet of the main text even better. This folk-song (for once, this description is appropriate)⁴⁵ recounts the sad story of a weeping girl sitting at the foot of a tower where her lover is a prisoner, who will be hanged tomorrow. Essentially, the poem consists of a dialogue between the girl and her father, where she tells him that she wants no bridegroom other than this man. It is easy to allegorize these characters as referring to God the Father, Christ, and Mary.⁴⁶ It seems also, judging from the other works contained in this set of partbooks, that Prioris's work was in five (or possibly six) voices.⁴⁷ One might suspect that Prioris also composed his motet for the confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, though he was active in French royal circles. If Prioris's *Stabat mater* setting were extant, it would by all accounts make a better comparison with Josquin's than does Gaspar's motet, to which we now must turn.

As I mentioned earlier, at first glance Josquin's and Gaspar's *Stabat mater* settings bear at least a superficial resemblance to each other (and, by implication, to Prioris's setting): both are five-voice motets of considerable dimension built around a cantus firmus set out in long notes in the axial tenor. But the resemblance does not go much further than that—except for their aspiration to set this highly affective (and extremely long) text in the most appropriate manner; and it is interesting how differently they approach this problem.

44 For what it is worth, a (hauntingly expressive) motet by Francisco de Peñalosa sometimes ascribed to Josquin sets exactly these four missing stanzas, 'Sancta mater, istud agas'. This does not look like pure coincidence, though Peñalosa's setting cannot have been intended as 'filling the gap' in Josquin's work: first, the gap comes in part 2 of Josquin's *Stabat*, not between the parts; second, the mode is different; and third, Peñalosa's setting closes with 'Amen', thus suggesting self-containment.

45 Robert Nosow, 'The Adventures of *La belle se siet*', in *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 413–26.

46 Nosow, who is seemingly unaware of Prioris's *Stabat mater*, develops a similar allegory but reads the daughter as Mary Magdalene (*ibid.*, 424 f.).

47 The Paris fragment contains four motet tenors: *Ascendens Christus in altum* by Antoine de Févin is for six voices, but not canonic, and each of the voices is sufficiently florid to warrant its own partbook; the other two motets are also known only from this source; Févin's *Letabundus* was presumably also for six voices, and the tenor is canonic; the fourth piece, *Rogamus per patris*, is ascribed to 'Copinet', probably Alessandro Coppini. The source seems to be French and to date from the early sixteenth century. On the manuscript see Joshua Rifkin, 'Jean Michel and "Lucas Wagenrieder": Some New Findings', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 55 (2005), 113–52, at 120.

First, Gaspar does not use a secular cantus firmus, which was a short-lived trend in motet composition in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He selected a chant melody, a traditional choice: the responsory *Vidi speciosam*.⁴⁸ Second, Gaspar's cantus firmus treatment and approach to texture also differ sharply from Josquin's. Gaspar fragments his cantus firmus almost at will, especially in the second part of the motet (more on this later), and he articulates the single stanzas, and sometimes even individual lines, by a change of texture, by juxtaposing higher and lower voices in many combinations, in stark contrast to Josquin's more homogeneous moulding of sound.

In this, Gaspar's articulation of macroform is clearly more directly related to older traditions of five-part motet writing, to the motets by Johannes Regis, and especially to *Clangat plebs*. This observation is not exactly new (though I arrived at it independently): as Sean Gallagher reminded me, it was already pointed out in Wolfgang Stephan's still indispensable study of the motet in the Ockeghem era from 1936.⁴⁹ Gerhard Croll, in his 1954 doctoral thesis on Gaspar's motets, described the structural parallels between Regis's *Clangat plebs* and Gaspar's *Stabat mater* in exhaustive detail.⁵⁰ More recently, Richard Sherr also noted the similarity while arguing for a Roman origin of Gaspar's motet.⁵¹

Yet the implications of this relation between Gaspar's *Stabat mater* and Regis's *Clangat plebs* have not, I think, been fully explored. I submit that Gaspar's motet is a conscious imitation of Regis's motet.⁵² A mere glance at the diagram in Table 10.2 that sketches the texture of both pieces will serve to illustrate this statement. It must be pointed out that the width of the columns does *not* represent the actual length of the sections as counted in bars, but only outlines roughly the distribution of texture by text lines. A three-line-stanza in Gaspar corresponds approximately to a hexameter or pentameter in Regis.

The texture of both motets starts with a three-voice passage, then continues with the two higher voices. Next comes an entry of the two lower voices, then the two higher voices join in again, and finally, the tenor (shaded in light grey) enters with the cantus firmus, accompanied by all other voices. None of this in itself is outstanding, yet I am not aware of two other five-voice pieces that so closely match in texture; one might use the term 'intertextuality' to

48 Pavanello, 'Stabat mater/Vidi speciosam', has treated this melody at length, and I have nothing to add to her observations.

49 Wolfgang Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1937; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), 36.

50 Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 45–48. Croll's unpublished thesis is now finally available to scholarship on the Gaspar website (www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/salzburg-collection.html), accessed 2 April 2018).

51 Richard Sherr, 'Illibata Dei virgo nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41 (1988), 434–64, at 443, n. 9. See also Dippon, 'Textdarstellung', 12.

52 See the classic essay by Howard Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 35 (1982), 1–48. Two important (and controversial) reactions are Rob C. Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé*—and some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989), 189–202; and Honey Meconi, 'Does *Imitatio* Exist?', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 152–78. See also Jesse Rodin's thoughtful essay 'The *L'homme armé* Tradition – and the Limits of Musical Borrowing', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 69–83.

describe this relationship. As can be seen in the diagram, the closing portion of Regis's first part is not mirrored by Gaspar; though both contain an extended upper-voice duet and a full-voice ending, these parallels are more rooted in general convention. But if we look at the beginning of the second parts, the relation between the two works becomes even more astonishing.

Regis's texture during the second part is organized according to an almost provocative strategy: after a duet of two upper voices that lasts four bars, there comes a full-voice section that also lasts four bars. And this rigid antiphonal swap repeats itself for no fewer than six times! Looking at Gaspar's motet, the effect of a constant shift between duets and full texture is much the same. Gaspar does not stick to the upper voices, and he does not adhere to the same strict metric regularity as Regis, but it is obvious that the motet of the older master served him as a model. If anything, Gaspar's setting is even more impressive than Regis's. This results from a different approach to text setting.

Regis's setting projects the regular change of texture more or less randomly on the poem; there is no coherent correlation between texture and text (if we can trust the sources, all of which, with the possible exception of CS 15, are posthumous). Here and elsewhere in his oeuvre, Regis is more interested in the sonorous effect which manifests itself 'through the careful spacing of vertical sonorities, frequent and sharp textural contrasts, and a liberal use of explicit accidentals' than in underlining the meaning.⁵³ Gaspar, by contrast, adapts Regis's strategy here precisely to the specific formal layout of the *Stabat mater* poem: every other line is singled out with full texture (that is: lines 2, 4, 6, 8, etc.), and in contrast to Regis, Gaspar also projects the text clearly using mostly homophonic declamation. The effect is more powerfully rhetorical than with Regis.

At this point we should address questions of dating and the direction of influence. Though Gaspar and Regis were contemporaries for some fifty years, I have proceeded on the assumption that Regis's motet served as a model for Gaspar, not the other way around. I think there are good reasons to believe this assumption to be correct. First, Regis was Gaspar's senior by around twenty years, and it is reasonable to assume, at least for the fifteenth century, that the older composer is imitated by the younger. At the very least I am unaware of proven cases where it happened the other way around. The relation between Regis's five-voice *Ave Maria... virgo serena* and Josquin's famous homonymous motet, for instance, also points to Josquin imitating Regis, as Theodor Dumitrescu has demonstrated.⁵⁴ This direction of imitation shows that Regis's great motets were evidently held in esteem by the younger generation. Another proof of that is Johannes Tinctoris singling out Regis's very motet *Clangat plebs* as an example of *varietas* in his counterpoint treatise of 1477. Assuming that Tinctoris cited well-known and widely distributed pieces, Regis's motet most likely was composed in the first half of the 1470s, when Gaspar was still in his twenties, though already working as a leading musician at the Milanese court.

53 Sean Gallagher, 'Regis, Johannes', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 13 May 2016. Gallagher explores this aspect in further detail in *Johannes Regis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

54 Dumitrescu, 'Reconstructing and Repositioning Regis's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*'.

Table 10.2. Texture in Regis's *Clangat plebs* and Gaspar's *Stabat mater*

The horizontal columns refer to activity of voices, the bottom line to bar numbers.

192

Regis (1.p.)	1 Clangat plebs	2 Ut famulis mores	3 Cui cleri collo	3 Cui cleri (text repet.)	4 Cum cantu claro	5 Ut viventem
C ₃						
Ct C ₄						
T C ₃						
V F ₄						
B F ₅						
	1	9	15	23	30	36 (?)

Gaspar (1.p.)	1 Stabat mater	2 Cuius animam	3 O quam tristis	4 Quae merebat	5 Quis est homo
C ₁					
Ct C ₄					
T C ₄					
V C ₅					
B F ₅					
	1	9	17	26	31

Regis (2.p.)	11 Carmina condentem	12 Maxime deflen-te(m)	13 Me dignare tuos hoſtes	14 Et te laudare valeam	15 Carpere divina directo
C ₃					
Ct C ₄					
T C ₃					
V F ₄					
B F ₅					
	72 76 80	84 88 92	96 100 104	108 112 116	120 129 138

Gaspar (2.p.)	11 Sancta mater	12 Tui nati vulnerati	13 Fac me vere	14 Iuxta crucem	15 Virgo virginum
C ₁					
Ct C ₄					
T C ₄					
V C ₅					
B F ₅					
	83	99	115	131	142

Another 'Most laudable competition'?

6 Nos radiantem	7 Sed quia terribili	8 Possumus haud digne	9 Hinc veniam	10 Ut rogitatu tuo
45	51	55	61	66

6 Quis non posset	7 Pro peccatis	8 Vidit suum	9 Eya mater fons amoris	10 Fac ut ardeat
39	45	55	63	72

16 Ac mala terge malis	17 Orbis stelleriferi regina	18 Orci pelliferi. Penas gens
168	174 179 184 190 195	201 205 209 216

16 Fac ut portem	17 Fac me plagis	18 Inflammatus	19 Fac me cruce	20 Quando corpus
153	161	175	188	200 (214)

Gaspar, then, must have been the imitator who took Regis's piece as a model. Was he still an apprentice? There are passages in his *Stabat mater* that look perhaps less than convincing—on paper at least, the piece sometimes seems a little bit on the plodding side. But the effect, as always, very much rests on the performance. To bring this piece fully to life, the singers have to sing its text with understanding, with passion and compassion, or as a contemporary may have put it, with heart and voice. Only when the emotional drama unfolded here is retold by singers who articulate the text in the way a good lieder singer would articulate a text of a Schubert or Schumann lied does the piece really come to life.⁵⁵ And this brings us back to the question of text treatment, and to the specific passage just discussed, the beginning of the *secunda pars*.

I have just said that Gaspar's setting, especially at the beginning of the second part, more clearly reflects the structure of the text, and unfolds a more powerfully rhetorical effect through the homophonic declamation prevalent in the full-voiced sections. But it seems also, in a curious way, to be neutral concerning the meaning of the text. How can this be? A homophonic and declamatory full texture was possibly the strongest technique to emphasize a certain text passage around 1500. Roughly speaking, this technique was used in two ways in sacred music: on the one hand, to emphasize certain special moments of intense devotion, such as the 'Et incarnatus est' in the Credo or the veneration of the host in Elevation motets.⁵⁶ In such cases, the setting is slowly paced and sometimes fermatas suggest a full stop. Let us call this technique 'representation of devotional awe'. On the other hand, homophonic declamation was used to appeal in an emphatic way to God or the saints, mostly in imperatives, for instance in setting the words 'miserere mei' or the like. Here, the setting suggests more the rhythm of someone speaking in normal tempo, perhaps even in an agitated manner. I would like to call this 'appellative rhetoric'.⁵⁷

Now, in the very beginning of Gaspar's second part, 'appellative rhetoric' seems to be at stake. In the first full-voice passage, the Virgin is addressed: 'Holy Mother, do this: thrust the wounds of the Crucified with force into my heart.' But as the piece moves on, it soon becomes evident that Gaspar rather mechanically sets every even verse in this way, independent of its syntactic or semantic structure. In other words, he adheres to Regis's textural strategy at the cost of sensibly expressing the meaning of the text (see Table 10.2 above). Nevertheless, I argue that this passage would have made a profound effect on the contemporary listener—as it does today. This is so, I think, because the text at this point has turned from the contemplation of the Virgin's distress under the cross to the speaker appealing to Mary to help him sympathize with her and her son's emotional and physical pain. In other words, we have now

55 I must acknowledge that the singers who graciously performed Gaspar's *Stabat mater* at the Gaspar conference did much to enhance my appreciation of the piece, and it is my pleasure to thank Matthew Gouldstone, Paul Kolb, Erik Leidal, Grantley McDonald, and Nate Pence.

56 On Elevation motets, see most recently Agnese Pavanello, 'The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 33–60, and Felix Diergarten, "'Aut propter devotionem, aut propter sonorositatem": Compositional Design of Late Fifteenth-Century Elevation Motets in Perspective', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 9 (2017), 61–88.

57 One famous example is found at the closing bars of Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena* on the words 'O mater Dei, memento mei'. Equally famous is Josquin's *Miserere mei, Deus*: even if not all of the invocations of the litany-like refrain are completely homophonic, most of them aspire to homophony.

Another 'Most laudable competition'?

turned to the devotional aim of self-induced compassion as a path to salvation, which is the real *raison d'être* of this and so many other late medieval religious texts. The music now directly addresses the Virgin as the path to salvation, and the pathos of the full-voice texture unfolds, as it were, independently of what exactly is said in the text.

This new communicative orientation towards the mediatrix of God and man, to be sure, already began with the last stanzas of the first part, from 'Eya mater' (b. 63) onwards; and already here the imperative clauses are set in full texture and with quite effective declamation rhythms in the superius (b. 69 and following). But at the beginning of the new part the address to the Virgin is enhanced by the very effective textural contrasts and the quasi-homophonic declamation. As we have already noted, Gaspar is less formal than Regis and he is not interested, like the older composer, in juxtaposing an upper-voice duet and the full texture strictly, instead using several different voice-pairings: high, low, and mixed. The most interesting moment comes in bar 121, where Gaspar breaks with the scheme: instead of resorting to the full texture, he sets the entry of the cantus firmus as a duet with the upper voice (see Example 10.1).

Example 10.1. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Stabat mater*, bb. 120–29

120

Cru - ci - fi - - - - - xo con - do - le -

- re.

e - - - - -

- re,

126

- - re.

am

Do - nec e - go vi - xe -

do - nec e - go vi - xe - - - -

This is an unusual strategy, and even more unusual is the highly melismatic setting of the verse. The ratio of notes to syllables is 24:8 or 3:1, way above the average ratio (which is roughly 1.2:1). Moreover, the melodic line is also unusual especially in this passage, oscillating between E and F, reminiscent of sighing or sobbing. All this, I claim, is to enhance the central words ‘crucifixo condolare’.

This is just one of several occasions where Gaspar sets specific passages in a specific way. This is not necessarily ‘word-painting’, though I think the ‘sigh figure’ in the passage just cited is intentional. Consider a somewhat earlier passage, which describes Mary seeing her son dying on the cross (Example 10.2): the words ‘morientem, desolatum’ are singled out by a preceding pause in the upper voice, a long final note, and a ‘gymel-like’ setting in parallel thirds and sixths. The effect is quite exciting, though it is achieved by means that seem more formal than semantic.

Example 10.2. Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Stabat mater*, bb. 54–63

The image displays two systems of a musical score. The first system, starting at measure 54, features a vocal line in the upper voice with lyrics: "Vi - dit su - um dul - cem _____ na - - tum mo - ri - di - tum. Vi - dit su - um dul - cem _____ na - tum mo - ri - qua - - rum,". The melody is characterized by a "sigh figure" oscillating between E and F. The second system, starting at measure 59, continues the vocal line with lyrics: "en - tem, de - so - la - tum, cum e - mi - sit spi - ri - tum." and includes a "gymel-like" setting in parallel thirds and sixths. The score includes staves for the vocal line, a treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff.

Several other passages can be interpreted in a similar way, though any account of musical expressivity depends at least as much on the quality of the performance as on compositional structure, as I have already noted. My point is that seemingly 'formal' procedures such as change of texture are used by Gaspar to achieve powerful rhetorical/affective effects, while Regis, his model, is more interested in the sheer exploration of sound as a formal means.

This is, of course, in line with the general trend towards more expressivity and rhetorical treatment of the text—a trend that is widely accepted as part of the standard narrative of Renaissance music, especially in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Gaspar's creative appropriation of the model established by Regis therefore shows both imitation in texture treatment and emancipation in text treatment, indebtedness and distance. And these observations lead us quite inevitably to the question: when did Gaspar write this piece?

Dating Gaspar's *Stabat mater*

Gaspar's *Stabat mater* is a curious work. In formal design, it is obviously indebted to the model of Regis's five-voice motets and is a conscious imitation of *Clangat plebs* in particular. In text treatment, it is much more forward-looking in every respect, but certainly more conservative than Gaspar's Milanese motets: its use of imitation is much more sparing, and downright declamation is reserved for special passages.

This leads us back to Agnese Pavanello's argument that Gaspar's setting had its origin in the composer's northern sojourn from 1495 to 1497. Pavanello argues for the northern origin of the composition on the basis of peculiarities in the text and in the chant *Vidi speciosam* that Gaspar used as cantus firmus. The evidence she assembles here is absolutely convincing. She further argues that Gaspar's *Stabat mater* is possibly related to the celebrations of the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows promoted by Philip the Fair. The evidence for this is somewhat indirect; the motet is not contained in the single manuscript securely associated with this rite, Brussels 215–216, but only, as mentioned previously, in the Chigi Codex. Moreover, this would mean that Gaspar composed the *Stabat mater* in the 1490s, as Josquin arguably did. In what follows, I wish to reopen this question of dating, based on a fresh assessment of style and technique in Gaspar's *Stabat mater*.

The sole source for Gaspar's motet, the Chigi Codex, is of no obvious help here. The only two conclusions to be drawn from this largely retrospective source, now dated 1504, are that Gaspar's work may have originated at some time from 1460 onwards, and second, that it more likely originated in the north (this is somewhat more helpful). In the Chigi Codex, Gaspar's *Stabat mater* immediately follows Josquin's composition, a fact that Pavanello took as evidence that both compositions originated for the same occasion.⁵⁸ But the scribe of Chigi sometimes ordered works according to cantus firmus and/or genre rather independently of their original context or chronology. Immediately before the two *Stabat mater* settings, the scribe copied four *Missae L'homme armé*: Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo of Josquin's second mass, *sexti toni*, and the masses by Brumel, Busnoys, and Compère. There is no evident historical connection between these works except that they adhere to the same tradition, and certainly

58 Pavanello, 'Stabat mater / Vidi speciosam', 16.

Busnoys's mass antedates the three others by far. More to the point, directly after Weerbeke's *Stabat mater* the compiler placed Heinrich Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*, a motet based on the same cantus firmus *Comme femme desconfortée* as Josquin's *Stabat mater* and evidently copied here to alert to this relationship.⁵⁹ The pairing of the only two motets with the same text in this manuscript certainly does not prove much.

On the other hand, there remains the glaring fact that Gaspar's *Stabat mater* was *not* included in Brussels 215–216, produced approximately a decade after Chigi.⁶⁰ If we concede that Gaspar's composition was commissioned by the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows or directly by Philip the Fair, as was (in all probability) Josquin's setting, such an omission is strange, even given that we do not know who commissioned the manuscript (most likely the Confraternity itself or a member of it). If Gaspar's *Stabat mater* was unrelated to (and probably unknown to) the Confraternity, or if it were considered already an outdated work, such an omission might be more easily explained.

Moreover, if Gaspar's motet originated around 1500, it would seem strange that it is not found in Roman—or more generally Italian—sources. From Burgundy, Gaspar returned directly to Italy (first to Milan, in the autumn of 1498, then to Rome in 1500), yet the *Stabat mater* is absent from Italian sources. Wouldn't a composer at the height of his powers and popularity be proud to promulgate such an ambitious, large-scale work? Given the Roman penchant for five-part works, and Gaspar's decades-long relationship with the papal chapel, one would expect it to be found in SiStina sources and also to be transmitted (via Crispin van Stappen, for instance) in Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque libro primo*, where it is absent, as is Josquin's setting.⁶¹

It would certainly stretch the point to speculate that Petrucci planned to include both *Stabat* motets in a projected *libro secondo* of five-part motets that never came to fruition. More likely he was not aware of both works by 1508, as they had been confined to the north. Only in 1519, in the third book of *Motetti de la corona*, did Petrucci issue the *editio princeps* of Josquin's *Stabat mater*; but he never published Gaspar's setting.

This is even stranger as Gaspar was, along with Josquin, obviously a composer whom Petrucci thought highly marketable. As has been noted by several scholars, in Petrucci's first motet volume he is represented more fully than even Josquin. Petrucci also published six of his eight masses (in *Misse Gaspar* and *Missarum diversorum auctorum*), the introit *Salve sancta parens*, two Credo settings, a set of Lamentations, the motet cycle *Spiritus Domini replevit*, *La stangetta*,⁶² and virtually *all* of Gaspar's motets known today (two of them also adapted as *laude*).

59 A more logical solution would be to place the Isaac and Josquin motets adjacent and only then the Gaspar motet, to form two interlocking pairs, one related by cantus firmus and the other by text. One could speculate on a scenario that prevented the scribe from doing so.

60 See above, n. 35.

61 See Sean Gallagher, 'Crispin van Stappen and Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque*', in *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayarznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 563–74. Gallagher speculates that Crispin might have been Petrucci's main source for his book of five-voice motets in 1508. Certainly, Crispin would have had access to a fair share of the five-voice repertoire cultivated in Rome, including the motets by Regis, Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, and Gaspar's *Dulcis amica dei*.

62 The authorship of *La stangetta* and indeed the whole question whether Gaspar wrote any secular works and which is a matter of dispute; see the contributions by Eric Jas and David Fallows to this volume. Two other

He also published, notably, in *Motetti a cinque* the only other five-voice motet known by Gaspar, *Dulcis amica Dei*. Indeed, it is almost easier to count the (sacred) works Petrucci did *not* print: apart from the *Missae brevis*⁶³ and *Princesse d'amourettes*, two *motetti missales* cycles (*Ave mundi domina* and *Quam pulchra es*), and two motets: the *Stabat mater*, of course, and an *Ave regina celorum*, extant in CS 15.

This latter piece—not to be confused with the free setting of a different text in the *Ave mundi domina* motet cycle—deserves a short comment. It is a tenor motet, based on the well-known Marian antiphon, and (it seems to me) loosely inspired by Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum* III in its structure (sections divided by mensurations) and the relationship between the tenor cantus firmus and the outer voices (though it lacks Du Fay's personal tropes, of course). It also uses the same version of the chant as Du Fay. Another parallel, pointed out by Eric Fiedler, is that there is an obvious connection between this motet and Gaspar's *Missa Ave regina celorum*: both share an unusually low cleffing and also the specific chant version. This is again a parallel to the (more direct) relation between Du Fay's motet and his mass on the same chant.⁶⁴ At the same time, the Du Fay model, if it *was* a model, is stylistically updated with more quirky rhythms and a penchant for robust sequences more akin to Busnoys and Obrecht.⁶⁵ These observations, and the loose word–tone relationship in the mass, as noted by Fiedler, also suggest an early date.

All of which is to suggest that the only two motets by Gaspar not printed by Petrucci are arguably his oldest, or at least most archaic (he seems not to have had any scruples to publish Gaspar's *Missa Ave regina celorum*, however). The only tenor motet by this composer Petrucci ever printed—*Dulcis amica Dei*—was also by far the most 'advanced' Gaspar ever wrote.

Striking as the prominence of Gaspar's music in Petrucci's prints may be, this composer's music was also popular outside of (and independent of) the prints, which makes the absence of his *Stabat mater* from all contemporary Italian sources—Roman, Milanese, Veronese, and others—the more striking.⁶⁶ This again points to a northern origin, but it seems, to repeat the argument, hard to believe that Gaspar would not have brought his newest composition

pieces published by Petrucci were ascribed to Gaspar in other sources: *Jay pris amours/De tous biens* and *O Venus bant*.

63 And possibly the following mass in Jena 21; see Paul Kolb's contribution to this volume.

64 See Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (c.1445–nach 1517)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 23–43.

65 On *Ave regina celorum*, see the analyses in Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk', 53–60, and Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 158–63. If I am not mistaken, no one has yet explicitly gone down on record to claim a structural similarity between the two, and hence an influence of Du Fay's late setting on Gaspar's motet, but Heinz-Jürgen Winkler has at least implied such a view by writing 'Mit diesem Werk [= *Ave regina celorum*] setzt Gaspar die Tradition des späten Dufay fort, wie sie uns exemplarisch in seiner Sterbemotette *Ave regina celorum* vor Augen steht.' Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil 7, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), cols. 569–74, at col. 573. Also, the following comments on Gaspar's early masses *Ave regina celorum* and *O Venus bant* support my impression indirectly: 'In their structure, disposition of voices and general compositional technique they are reminiscent of the late masses of Du Fay, which may have served as models. But Weerbeke's works lack the symmetry and balance of Du Fay's, and show a stronger tendency to work out the outer voices in detail by sequence and sequential repetition.' Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke, Gaspar van', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 29 January 2018; cf. Winkler, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke', col. 572 for a comparable statement.

66 On the motet sources and their complex interrelations, see the general introduction in Weerbeke, *CW* 4: *Motets*, ed. Pavanello, esp. at xxiv–xxviii.

with him when he returned to Italy. (Given the proliferation of Josquin's *Stabat mater*, it also seems hard to believe that the Confraternity would have forbidden, or at least would not have encouraged, the copying of the piece.)

This being the source situation, we must now turn to the slippery ground of style and compositional approach. Let us consider for a moment what the relationship to Regis's *Clangat plebs* could possibly tell us about Gaspar's work. I have argued that there are intertextual references to Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum* mass and motet in Gaspar's works, and other scholars have stated that these must be early works. It is natural for a young composer to look for his model among the older generation. So, the relation to Regis's motet probably points to an early origin of Gaspar's piece—to a point in his career where he thought it safe to follow an approved model.

But when could this have taken place, given that the piece most likely originated in the north? Gaspar was active in Italy from a very young age, though he must already have been an accomplished musician and probably a somewhat renowned composer when he was called in the winter of 1471/72 to Milan to organize Galeazzo Maria Sforza's chapel. From then, he was based continually in Italy until 1495, first in Milan (through winter 1480/81), then in Rome. If he composed the *Stabat mater* in the north, when could he have done that? A date of origin before 1471 is perhaps too early; probably even Regis's *Clangat plebs* did not yet exist by then.

But in his Milanese years he would at least on one occasion go back to the north to recruit singers, in January 1473.⁶⁷ At this time, Regis's *Clangat plebs* would have been an up-to-date work and imitating it a worthwhile task; Gaspar was a composer by all accounts still in his twenties, and he may have looked for a model when he fulfilled a commission from the north. But there may be a later occasion that we do not know of; perhaps a composition date in the late 1470s or early 1480s is more likely.

On the other hand, a date after 1495, as proposed by Pavanello, seems rather too late. I do not think that musicians in the middle of the 1490s still regarded it this way though they certainly held Regis's music in esteem; but there had been new stylistic developments, and Gaspar was one of the leading protagonists.

This argument needs careful treatment. *Clangat plebs* was easily Regis's most popular and in any case his most long-lived work. It was sung in the papal chapel from the 1490s until the 1510s, as witnessed by not one but two choirbooks (CS 15 and 16), and it was published in 1508 in Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque libro primo* (alongside Regis's *Salve sponsa*, *Lux solemnis adest/ Repleti sunt*, and *Ave Maria... virgo serena*), where it takes pride of place. At this time the piece was more than thirty years old and most of the music by Regis (masses, mass movements, motets for less than five voices, and chansons) had long since ceased to circulate.

There is another story. The impact of *Clangat plebs* is very clear in Gaspar's *Stabat mater* but can be traced beyond this work in the history of five-voice motet composition, and this concerns exactly the impressive passage of alternating two-voice and five-voice texture at the beginning of the second part. Reverberations of this textural approach can be found, for instance, in Obrecht's motet *Laudemus nunc dominum* (bb. 35–63, at the end of the first part), where imitative

67 For the corrected date cf. Paul Merkley's contribution in this volume (Ch. 2, n. 7).

or free duets (and a trio) are contrasted with homorhythmic declamatory four-voice passages; in contrast to Regis, the cantus firmus in the tenor is silent and re-enters only for the ending. Another possible ramification of Regis's idea is notable in the antiphonal structure at the beginning of the second part in Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, for instance, though here a duo in the upper voices is juxtaposed with a lower trio (with the *soggetto cavato* that serves as cantus firmus standing out very prominently). The idea also arguably made an impact on Josquin's *Miserere mei, Deus*, where the contrast between spare textures and full-voiced refrains became a structural principle.⁶⁸ But the most unequivocal trace of Regis's texture outside Gaspar's *Stabat mater* comes in another work by Gaspar: his other five-voice motet, *Dulcis amica Dei/Da pacem*, which, as Jeremy Noble has argued, was composed in 1486 for Pope Innocent VIII.⁶⁹ In the second part of this piece, Gaspar once more turns back to the Regis model of alternating short duos and cantus-firmus fragments in full-voice texture. But he does not follow his model as closely as in the *Stabat mater*. First, he opens the second part with a long homophonic declamation, imploring the Virgin for the pope, then adding a virtuosic imitation stretto for four voices. And while he follows the textural model of Regis quite closely from bar 96 onwards, he gradually dissolves it after bar 117 into a more integrated texture.

Common sense would suggest that *Stabat mater* is the earlier work, more directly, even unblushingly imitating the textural strategies of Regis's model, while *Dulcis amica Dei* shows a more relaxed approach, a conscious nod to the grand old master. *Stabat mater* gives the impression of being an intertextual imitation of a great model by a young composer; *Dulcis amica* suggests a self-assured statement of a more confident composer.

This interpretation can be supported by looking more closely at the relationship between imitation and text treatment in both works, which make for an ideal comparison. Of unquestionable Roman origin, *Dulcis amica Dei* seems to bear more clearly the traces of what one might call 'the Milanese experience'.⁷⁰ In a now classic essay, Ludwig Finscher traced the relationship between through-imitation and text treatment in the Josquin generation back to the Milanese court in the 1470s, when Gaspar and Compère were working there.⁷¹ More recently Joshua Rifkin has engaged with this Milanese tradition and its larger implications for the history of the motet above all. He has suggested that *Dulcis amica* 'embeds "Milanese" elements in a "Netherlandish" context', and I concur.⁷² There are more and longer points of imitation, and they involve more of the voices. The beginning alone, connecting all four voices in imitative and

68 I owe this observation to David Fallows at the Gaspar conference.

69 Jeremy Noble, 'Weerbeke's Motet for the Temple of Peace', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 227–40. This thesis has found universal approval; the only dissenter is Winkler, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke', col. 572, who criticizes Noble's dating as 'nicht überzeugend' without giving any reasons.

70 In fact, the common dating of Gaspar's Milanese motets, especially the *motetti missales*, in the 1470s has been put into question by David Fallows, 'Josquin and Milan', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5 (1996), 69–80, at 76–77, and more vigorously by Joshua Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria... virgo serena*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 239–350, at 252–59, who, however, reinforces the traditional conclusion that they must date from Gaspar's first Milanese sojourn, that is, between 1471/2 and 1480/1. This is convincing as long as one believes that a composer has to be present at a place to compose for it. See also Fabrice Fitch's contribution in this volume, Ch. 9 above.

71 Finscher, 'Zum Verhältnis'; see also further the literature cited in n. 30 above.

72 Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 326, n. 188. See also Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 134–48.

motivic interplay, can suffice as an example, but more comes at every page, suggesting a stylistic orientation somewhere between Busnoys and Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*.

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I am unable to see 'Milanese' elements in the *Stabat mater*, however, if we understand these as 'extended spans marked by a varied play of [*motivic, W.F.*] symmetry and repetition'.⁷³ Use of imitation and repeated melodic modules, so typical for Gaspar's (or Loyset Compère's) Milanese compositions, is quite sparse in this piece. In the first part, there are only two, directly adjacent verses that use points of imitation: 'Cujus animam gementem' and 'Contriſtatam et dolentem'; and in the second part, there are between five and seven (depending on how far you stretch the term) instances of imitation, but only two of them take place in more than two voices (see Table 10.3). Moreover, most of these points of imitation do not go beyond the first few notes. Looking at the closely-knit motivic texture of Gaspar's Milanese motets or the Roman *Dulcis amica*, his *Stabat mater* seems of somewhat loose construction.

Table 10.3. Points of imitation in Gaspar's *Stabat mater*

Verse	Voices involved	Length of imitation points (in notes)
Prima pars		
Cujus animam	V, A, S	8
Contriſtatam	A, S	8 + 8 (sequence)
Secunda pars		
Sancta mater	A, S	14
iam dignantis	B, V	4 + 3 (sequence)
fac me vere	B, A	8 (not counting a passing tone in B)
donec ego	B, A	5 (not counting three passing tones in V)
(virgo virginum)?	A, S	only first two notes
fac me tecum—fac ut portem—passionis—et plagas	S, A	more a kind of motivic interchange than 'real imitation'

However suspicious we may be of teleological constructions in style history (or wherever), the general trend towards and preference for through-imitation in the late fifteenth century cannot be denied. There is nothing wrong with the idea of 'progress' as long as we keep in mind that new is not always better (but was often considered so) and that many different approaches are always possible and legitimate at any given point. 'Progress' just means that sensibilities changed and that composers took up new trends and relinquished old ones. When Hermann Finck compared Josquin's 'nude' style unfavourably with Gombert's, he made a value judgement that we need not share; but we have to grant him that his observation on stylistic change in the first half of the sixteenth century was sound. Throughout this essay, I have avoided terms suggesting that certain stylistic parameters in Gaspar's *Stabat mater* were infelicitous, but I have not avoided suggesting that there are 'conservative' and 'progressive' traits in his music.

In sum, I would date the composition of Gaspar's *Stabat mater* roughly between the early 1470s (when Regis's motet was an up-to-date experience) and the early 1480s, with 1485 as the very latest *terminus ante quem* (because *Dulcis amica dei*, composed in 1486, shows a mark-

73 Rifkin, 'Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet', 266.

edly different approach). This coincides roughly with Gaspar's first Milanese sojourn. It would make Gaspar's setting one of the earlier, if not *the* earliest setting of the whole sequence. It would also allow us to arrive at a less confusing picture of his stylistic development.

None of the arguments brought forward so far in favour of an earlier dating of Gaspar's *Stabat mater* is incontrovertible, but taken together, they form (I believe) a strong circumstantial case. In closing, I summarize them:

1. The vogue for setting religious texts expressive of sad emotions was a general current in the last decades of the fifteenth century; *Stabat mater* settings were part of this current and were certainly not restricted to the realm of Burgundian patronage and the rite of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.
2. In its treatment of texture Gaspar's *Stabat mater* setting is consciously modelled on Regis's *Clangat plebs*. A piece so openly dependent on another is more likely to be the work of a young composer than an already established and renowned one.
3. Though Regis's motets and especially *Clangat plebs* continued to be revered through the early sixteenth century, they no longer served as a model for five-voice motet composition around 1500. Josquin and others had long since moved on. Gaspar's other five-voice motet, *Dulcis amica Dei/Da pacem*, plausibly dated to 1486 by Jeremy Noble, shows a much more independent handling of texture and pace. In my view, this work clearly post-dates the *Stabat mater*.
4. The 'relationship of imitation and text treatment' in Gaspar's *Stabat mater* is neither consistent nor allows for clear declamation, two observations that seem inconsistent with the practice in his Italian (and arguably later) motets. Also, the piece notably lacks the use of self-contained motivic units that are so obviously present in most of Gaspar's other motets, including the *motetti missales*.

A New Mass and its Implications for Gaspar's Late Mass Style

Paul Kolb

COMPARED TO GASPAR'S THREE MOTET CYCLES, his surviving output of conventional mass cycles is significantly larger. But these masses have received comparably little scholarly attention. The existing literature consists primarily of two dissertations: the unpublished dissertation of Werner Wegner from 1940 on the *Missa O Venus bant*, and that of Eric Fiedler, published in 1997 as *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*.¹ The long-awaited publication of Gaspar's masses in edition provides the opportunity to re-examine this repertory in context.²

There are eight surviving complete masses and two independent Credo settings with clear contemporary attributions to Gaspar. The *Missae Ave regina celorum* and *O Venus bant*, surviving in CS 14 and 51 respectively, date from before Gaspar joined the papal chapel in 1481.³ At the time of composition, Gaspar would have been in his mid- to late twenties, a young Fleming in Milan, composing ambitious works and ambitiously promoting them beyond the confines of the city. The two masses surviving in CS 35, the *Missae Se mieulx ne vient* and *Princesse d'amourettes*, were probably composed in the 1480s while Gaspar was a member of the papal chapel.⁴ The *Missa Et trop penser* may also date from this decade, even though its earliest source, CS 41, was copied somewhat later.⁵ Whether or not these masses were composed in Rome, they quickly became part of the repertoire of the papal chapel. Despite some striking aspects, they all fit within the contemporary tradition of cantus-firmus masses. All of these masses survive additionally in later sources, and the *Missa O Venus bant* is one of the most widely transmitted masses of the fifteenth century.

1 See Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (ca. 1445–nach 1517)*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997). Werner Wegner's dissertation at the University of Marburg was never published as he did not survive the Second World War. It consists primarily of a tenor-based analysis of the *Missa O Venus bant*. The submitted manuscript can be found in the Marburg University Archives under the signature UniA MR 307d Nr. 2621.

2 Weerbeke, *CW 1: Masses 1*, ed. Pavanello and Lindmayr-Brandl, and *CW 2: Masses 2*, ed. Kolb and Lindmayr-Brandl. In some of what follows, I am summarizing or elaborating on arguments already put forth in my introduction to the latter volume.

3 See Weerbeke, *CW 1*, pp. xxi–xxvii, and the literature cited therein.

4 See *ibid.*, pp. xxvii–xxix.

5 See Weerbeke, *CW 2*, p. xxii.

The two Credo settings survive together in Petrucci's 1505 *Fragmenta missarum*. In addition, the unnamed *Credo* was copied towards the end of CS 51 and thus dates from the early 1480s at the latest. There are no further sources of the *Credo cardinale*, but there is little to suggest that this second Credo was not also composed significantly earlier than the print date.⁶ While there is much that connects the style of these works to Gaspar's complete mass settings, they were almost certainly composed as single mass movements. In addition to being found in Petrucci's print *Fragmenta missarum*, which transmits almost exclusively independently composed movements, there are a few musical indications of this, including the use of a plainchant Credo melody in the *Credo cardinale* and the avoidance of sections with reduced texture in both settings.⁷

The remaining masses, like the earlier cycles, set the complete text of the Roman mass ordinary in five movements. Otherwise they stand out from Gaspar's other masses: there are no clear connections to Rome, none of them uses a tenor cantus firmus, and the transmission is fairly sparse. The *Missa octavi toni* survives in three complete and independent sources, the earliest of which—Jena 31—probably dates from the final years of the fifteenth century. The *Missa Nas tu pas* survives complete only in a Petrucci print: not the 1507 *Misse Gaspar* but instead the 1508 anthology *Missarum diversorum auctorum*. This might suggest that Petrucci had access to the mass only after the 1507 print was completed.⁸ Finally, the *Missa brevis* survives uniquely in Jena 21, an Alamire source probably dating from the early 1520s.⁹ Following Fiedler, the *Missa octavi toni* was probably composed in the 1490s and the *Missa Nas tu pas* in the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Based on stylistic similarities, the *Missa brevis* very well may date from around the same time as the *Missa Nas tu pas*. Despite my tentative dating of these last two masses to a period in which Gaspar was at the papal chapel, there is little evidence of a performance tradition of these late masses in either Rome or Milan.

Two of these masses are not based on a pre-existing chant or song. The titles 'octavi toni' and 'brevis' are reminiscent of the labels given by Franchinus Gaffurius in the Milanese codices, and they more generally reflect Petrucci's practice of assigning names to the masses he published.¹¹ Whereas 'octavi toni' references the mode in which the mass was composed,

6 See Weerbeke, *CW 2*, pp. xxv–xxvi.

7 Petrucci's print does include a three-movement *Missa ferialis*, but including this mass, none of the compositions is found elsewhere in more complete versions. See Weerbeke, *CW 2*, p. xxv. Of course, neither of the mentioned indications is conclusive. Two of Gaspar's securely attributed masses, as well as the new mass discussed below, avoid reduced texture altogether, and the new mass also uses portions of a plainchant Credo as a brief cantus firmus.

8 On the other hand, as Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl pointed out to me, Petrucci probably would not have added the sixth mass to the collection even if he had had access to it. Petrucci's mass collections most often included five masses each, spread out over seven or eight gatherings (quaternions or quinterns); *Misse Gaspar* already filled out the available space. See Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 154 and 640–45. It is possible that the *Missa Nas tu pas* was collected along with the other Gaspar masses but was only able to be used in the anthology the following year.

9 On these three masses, see Weerbeke, *CW 2*, pp. xxii–xxv.

10 Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 100–1 and 109–13.

11 See Honey Meconi, 'Petrucci's Mass Prints and the Naming of Things', in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale / Venice 1501: Petrucci, Music, Print and Publishing*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia, ser. III, Studi musicologici B, Atti di Convegno, 6 (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 397–414.

'brevis' apparently refers to the brief length of the composition.¹² While the *Missa octavi toni* is similar in length to the earlier masses, the *Missae Nas tu pas* and *Brevis* are both significantly shorter—but *Nas tu pas*, based on pre-existing musical material, did not require a new label.¹³

Gaspar's *Missa brevis* was one of several masses from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the same title. Despite its late transmission in a single manuscript, among the masses therein it is not notably short: the title was probably taken from its exemplar and may even date back to its composition. Most of the other instances are found in the Gaffurius codices, Milan 2 and 3. Adelyn Peck Leverett argued that these *Missae breves* formed a stylistically differentiated subgenre originating from (if not unique to) Milan, with common musical characteristics including syllabic text setting, shortened texts of the Gloria and Credo, a common head-motif, and a single mensuration used throughout.¹⁴ Some of these characteristics might also be described as strategies for composing a short mass. Fiedler added Gaspar's *Missa brevis* to the discussion, arguing that the *Missae breves* of Gaffurius, Compère, and Gaspar all emphasize the careful division of text into homophonic sections and short, paired duets, especially within the Glorias and Credos.¹⁵ The *Missa Nas tu pas*, as a mass of similar length, should also be placed under consideration, even though it is based on pre-existing musical material.¹⁶

While the *Missae brevis* and *Nas tu pas* both share certain of the stylistic elements common to Leverett's supposed subgenre of 'missae breves', these masses are not nearly as short as those by Gaffurius, nor are their musical features quite so straightforward. But before discussing these in detail, another mass needs to be added to the picture. This mass, given no title, shares much in common with the *Missae brevis* and *Nas tu pas* and also has similarities to the *Missa octavi toni* and the *Credo cardinale*. And it is probably also the work of our composer.

The *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*

The repertory of masses composed by Gaspar has remained stable since Gerhard Croll first published a list of Gaspar's works in 1952.¹⁷ But there has been one proposed addition: Jaap van Benthem has suggested that the *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*, included in Petrucci's 1505 *Missarum Josquin liber secundus* and also attributed to Josquin in its two manuscript sources, may have actually been composed by Gaspar.¹⁸ Van Benthem was in fact one of the first to

12 The title 'octavi toni' is first associated with this mass in the Petrucci print, and among later sources it is only found in those which are dependent on Petrucci. It seems unlikely that Gaspar was intentionally composing a mass 'in the eighth mode' as such; rather, Petrucci's editor presumably added what he considered to be an appropriate label.

13 Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 114, compiled a chart with the number of bars (breves) in each movement of each mass. Comparisons on this basis are not altogether unproblematic, but there is nevertheless a significant difference between the total lengths of these two masses as compared to the other six.

14 Adelyn Peck Leverett, 'An Early *Missa brevis* in Trent Codex 91', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Context*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152–73.

15 Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 113–25.

16 As comparable instances, Leverett also mentions Josquin's *Missa D'ung aultre amer* and Martini's *Missa In Feuers Hitz* as belonging to the compositional phenomenon of the 'missa brevis' ('An Early *Missa brevis*', 169–70).

17 Gerhard Croll, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of his Life and Works', *Musica Disciplina*, 6 (1952), 67–81.

18 Jaap van Benthem, 'Was "Une mousse de Biscaye" Really Appreciated by Lami Baudichon?', *Muziek und Wetenschap*, 1 (1991/1992), 175–94, at 184–85. Thanks to Professor van Benthem for providing a copy of his article.

argue that the mass was not by Josquin.¹⁹ Among other things, the mass's sources all share numerous apparent errors. They may ultimately derive from the same exemplar, whose scribe could have confused the attribution with that of Josquin's four-voice song, *Une mousse de Biscaye*.²⁰ For van Benthem, the lack of an independent Agnus dei and curiosities in the textual composition of the Benedictus suggest that it may have originally been an Ambrosian mass, which was then modified for use in the Roman rite.²¹ Finally, its style does not resemble other early Josquin compositions. Instead, van Benthem posits numerous stylistic connections between the mass and compositions by Gaspar:

Missa Une mousse de Biscaye is characterized by unsystematic, rather loose motivic interplay between the voices, an overall presence of *minima* against *minima* counterpoint in which the inner voices lose their individuality, and by phrases built up in a succession of (mainly) short-term impulses....

But also compositorial details in *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye*, like various types of short and isolated dissonant clashes, ... strikingly match general tendencies in Gaspar's counterpoint. The same can be said of some rather primitive, parallel motion between the voices, including a particular cadential formula standing out by a parallel fifth between the Superius and Altus.²²

Scholars have responded to this with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Fiedler pointed to numerous differences in style between the *Missa Une mousse* and Gaspar's other surviving masses, especially those concerning overall textural/structural design and cantus-firmus treatment. He concluded by saying, 'we must assess the chance of Gaspar's authorship as being rather small'.²³ Fabrice Fitch (in Ch. 7 above) considers the cantus-firmus treatment and contrapuntal clumsiness to speak against authorship by either composer.²⁴ The remaining responses only questioned whether the mass was composed by Josquin. Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans argued that the parallel intervals, voice-leading, dissonance treatment, and certain cadential features found in the *Missa Une mousse* are uncommon in other compositions of Josquin; together they point towards misattribution.²⁵ Rob C. Wegman, on the other hand, challenged this sort of stylistic attributive research on methodological grounds, arguing that, based on the strength of the contemporary attributions, the *Missa Une mousse* 'must count as one of the most solidly attested in the Josquin canon'.²⁶ Despite suggesting that the young Josquin

19 Jeremy Noble, 'Josquin des Prez', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1980), vol. 9, pp. 713–38, at 724, had previously discussed the problem of its attribution, arguing that it could only be accepted as an early work of Josquin's. This is cited in van Benthem, 'Was "Une mousse de Biscaye"', 178.

20 Van Benthem, 'Was "Une mousse de Biscaye"', 177 and 189–90.

21 Ibid., 177–84.

22 Ibid., 184–85.

23 Eric F. Fiedler, 'A New Mass by Gaspar van Weerbeke? Thoughts on Comparative Analysis', in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, ed. Annegrit Laubenthal (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 72–87, quote at 87.

24 Fitch, Ch. 7, n. 26.

25 Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans, 'A Stylistic Investigation of *Missa Une mousse de Biscaye* in the Light of its Attribution to Josquin des Prez', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48 (1998), 30–50.

26 Rob C. Wegman, 'Who was Josquin?', in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21–50, at 30.

might have wanted to compose a mass emulating Gaspar's style, David Fallows was unable to convince himself that Josquin composed this mass: 'logic aside, it simply feels to be wrong'.²⁷ In the New Josquin Edition, Martin Just analysed all of the stylistic arguments and found the attribution to Josquin justifiable, suggesting that Josquin may have instead used the masses of Ockeghem as a model.²⁸

To add a couple of minor points, there *are* some features of the *Missa Une mousse* which are reminiscent of the masses of Gaspar. The voice ranges, while not unusual at the time, are more typical of Gaspar than Josquin.²⁹ The cadences also share certain features commonly used by Gaspar.³⁰ As van Benthem already suggested, Gaspar's imitation (or 'motivic interplay') is indeed often 'unsystematic', if no less compelling for that reason. Certain dissonances, for example between passing semiminims, were part of his musical vocabulary. Quickly alternating sonorities, as in bar 128 of the Gloria, are particularly characteristic. There are some striking modal shifts which might be considered unusual for Gaspar, but these derive quite clearly from the nature of the pre-existing melody.³¹

All of this being said, I remain unconvinced that the musical style really resembles Gaspar. Perhaps significantly, the *Missa Une mousse* contains a surprising number of accented sixth chords within three- or four-voice texture which are neither suspensions nor part of a cadence, often without the third in another voice.³² Such instances in other Gaspar masses are relatively rare. Overall, if this mass had survived with contemporary attributions to Gaspar instead of Josquin, stylistic analysis would not immediately cause one to question the attribution: indeed, resonances with other well-attested works, such as those in van Benthem's examples, would give one the impression of being on solid ground. But even if one were inclined to reject the clear contemporary attributions to Josquin, the musical style would not unilaterally point to Gaspar as a replacement.

A Mass Pair in Jena 21

For our new mass, then, we must look elsewhere. Consisting exclusively of eight masses, the Alamire manuscript Jena 21 was probably copied for the court chapel of Frederick the Wise around the early 1520s.³³ The copying thus took place shortly after the deaths of Matthaueus

27 David Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 268.

28 NJE 5: *Masses Based on Secular Monophonic Songs 1*, ed. Just, critical commentary, 79–89.

29 Numerous exceptions aside, Gaspar's tenor lines tend not to have the high upper register of his alto lines.

30 Gaspar's cadences almost always rearticulate any common tones, as often happens in the *Missa Une mousse*. There are also frequent cadences we might anachronistically call 'deceptive', where the bass resolves to the third, not the octave, below the tenor.

31 Specifically, the movements of the mass generally start on F, have numerous internal cadences on G or F, but finish with a final cadence on B^b—all of which are characteristics of the song. All of Gaspar's complete masses and motet cycles have a final of either F (with B^b signature) or G (with or without B^b signature), though his individual motets have somewhat more variety.

32 In the Credo alone, see bb. 18, 30, 103–5, 117, 143, 150, 151, 180, and 181–82, as in NJE 5, pp. 45–58.

33 Herbert Kellman, 'Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources', in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference Held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 181–216, at 213. This was confirmed by Eric Jas in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion,

Pipelare, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin, and Gaspar, all of whom are represented musically in the manuscript. Five of the masses, including Gaspar's *Missa brevis*, survive completely only in this source; the exceptions are Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*, Pipelare's *Missa de feria*, and the *Missa Allez regretz* attributed to 'Io. de pratis'. Perhaps surprisingly given his Flemish origins, unlike the other named composers Gaspar is poorly represented in the Alamire choirbooks; the *Missa brevis* is a rare exception.³⁴

The first seven masses in Jena 21 almost all have both an attribution and a title or an identification of the cantus firmus in red ink. The opening mass, Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*, labelled 'Missa de venerabili sacramento', does not have an attribution, but the mass was well known among the Alamire scribes and Josquin's authorship was probably taken for granted (see Figure 11.1). The seventh mass is Gaspar's *Missa brevis*, given the red header 'Missa brevis iaspar'. This is followed by an unnamed, anonymous mass (see Figure 11.2). In this context, the first opening of this final mass is striking for its lack of red ink or indications of any kind, whether giving the name of the composer, a title for the mass, or the source of the cantus firmus.³⁵

The anonymous mass was transcribed and discussed extensively by Zoe Saunders, who suggested Martini, Compère, and indeed Gaspar as possible composers.³⁶ But the stylistic arguments in favour of Gaspar are by far the strongest. More specifically, the mass forms a compositional pair with the mass that precedes it in the manuscript, Gaspar's *Missa brevis*.³⁷ Finally, as will be discussed later, a cut-off inscription appears to confirm that Gaspar was the composer.

On a structural level, the mass shares specific and unique details of design which are common to the late masses of Gaspar. Like the *Missae brevis*, *Nas tu pas*, and *octavi toni*, the Sanctus is in three self-contained sections, with two different Osannas following continuously from the Pleni sunt and Benedictus. These are the only four masses that I know by any composer which do this in precisely this manner.³⁸ Other details of textual structure are also identical if more generally common. There are three separate sections of the Kyrie and Agnus,

1999), 103. While Kellman posited a *terminus post quem* of 1521 based on a cross next to the name 'Io. de pratis', this only holds if the attribution can be identified with Josquin; see Zoe Saunders, 'Anonymous Masses in the Alamire Manuscripts: Towards a New Understanding of a Repertoire, an Atelier, and a Renaissance Court' (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2010), 81–92.

34 See e.g. *Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 174.

35 There appear to have been at least two hands at work in the manuscript. The scribe who copied Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*, as in Figure 11.1, may also have copied Pierre de la Rue's *Missa Sancta Dei genitrix*. A different scribe copied the remainder of the manuscript, including both Gaspar's *Missa brevis* and the anonymous mass, as in Figure 11.2.

36 Saunders, 'Anonymous Masses in the Alamire Manuscripts', 65–93.

37 See Weerbeke, *CW* 2, pp. 143–70, for a complete edition of the mass, included in the appendix to the volume as an 'opus dubium' under the title *Missa [sine nomine]*.

38 Pipelare's *Missa de feria* in this manuscript is similar, though the Benedictus is split into three sections (Benedictus, Qui venit, and In nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis). Some of Gaffurius's masses also share certain similarities: in the *Missa sexti toni irregularis*, for example, there are two different Osannas which continue without barline from the Pleni sunt and Benedictus duets. Nevertheless, these both follow clear cadences and begin with four-voice, chordal Osannas with fermatas. The first version of the Sanctus in his *Missa brevis octavi toni* is completely through-composed, though with semibreve rests in all voices before the Benedictus. See Franchinus Gaffurius, *Messe*, ed. Amerigo Bortone, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, 1–3 (Milan, 1958–60), vol. 1, pp. 71–74 or vol. 2, pp. 130–34, and vol. 3, pp. 108–11. On the other hand, there are no comparable examples in the surviving output of Josquin or Compère, for example.

which is true of all other masses by Gaspar. Gaspar's settings of the Gloria and Credo are remarkably inconsistent in the way that they divide the text; nevertheless, this Gloria is divided into two sections in the same way as the *Missa Ave regina celorum* and, again, the *Missa brevis*. There is no exact corollary to the text division of this mass's Credo, but it is similar to the *Missa brevis* and *Missa Nas tu pas*.³⁹

While there are numerous short duets within individual sections of this mass and longer duets at the beginning of the Benedictus, there are no complete sections with reduced texture. This is again common in Gaspar's late masses, specifically the *Missa brevis* and *Missa Nas tu pas*.⁴⁰ Like both of these masses, the essential mensuration is C , with brief triple sections (most commonly notated as $\text{C}\text{3}$) at the end of some of the longer movements. This is not unusual, but it adds to the list of commonalities in these masses.⁴¹

Unlike Gaspar's other known masses, this mass references multiple pre-existing melodies. The beginning of the Gloria includes very brief resonances of the songs *De tous biens plaine* and *La morra*, while the Credo quotes two portions of a Credo chant melody.⁴² The chant quotations have their main statement in the superius or tenor with imitation in the other voices, not unlike the complete citation of a different Credo chant in the *Credo cardinale*. Nevertheless, the use of multiple pre-existing sources of musical material, all so briefly, is unusual in the mass repertory as a whole.

If general structural aspects are compatible with Gaspar's other masses, stylistic aspects found in this mass are characteristic of his later masses specifically. Among those, the anonymous mass and the *Missa brevis* form a textural and contrapuntal pair. In the Kyrie, for instance, both masses begin in full texture with an identical chord. The Christe and second Kyrie begin with brief imitation in all voices, though the entrances are slightly closer in the latter section. The imitation found throughout the anonymous mass is, to use van Benthem's words, 'unsystematic' and 'rather loose': phrase openings will often imitate or resemble those in another voice, but these similarities are almost always short-lived. Some of the only more extensive imitation occurs at the beginning of the Benedictus; the same occurs at the corresponding location of the *Missa brevis*. In both of these cases, the Benedictus begins with an imitative duet, and the *Qui venit* begins with an imitative duet in the other two voices. Contrapuntally, the cadences tend to have features typical of Gaspar.⁴³ And as in Gaspar's other masses, the counterpoint here might be described as reliable if not particularly adventurous or elegant.⁴⁴

Given the similar lengths and compositional techniques used, the anonymous mass might reasonably be considered another 'missa brevis'. In both masses, the Glorias and Credos almost exclusively use syllabic text-setting; the readings in Jena 21 are particularly clear in this regard. Both Glorias begin in four-voice texture (again, with an identical chord); this eventually

39 For the sake of comparison, there are no corollaries amongst the known masses of Weerbeke to the textual division of the Gloria or Credo in *Missa Une mousse*, nor is there a comparable instance of 'Agnus dei super Kyrie'.

40 This is also true of both independent Credo settings and most of the *Missa octavi toni*, as well as, incidentally, the *Missa Une mousse*.

41 In the *Missa brevis* C_2 is used interchangeably with C , apparently to signify interior sections of movements.

42 These are discussed in more detail at Weerbeke, *CW* 2, p. xci.

43 See above, n. 30.

44 Certain duets are even rather banal; see especially the Credo, bb. 44–54.

Missa de venerabili

Pange lingua Kyrie

eleys son.

Kyrie *eleys son.*

Euma *Pange lingua* *Kyrie*

eleys son *Kyrie*

eleys son.

Figure 11.1. Jena 21, fols. 1^v-2^r
 (first opening of Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*)

Sacramento.



Diferentioz

Musical notation on a five-line staff with square neumes. Below the staff, the text 'Kyrie Pange lingua eleyson' is written in black Gothic script, with 'Pange lingua' in red.

Musical notation on a five-line staff with square neumes. Below the staff, the text 'Kyrie eleyson.' is written in black Gothic script.



Africanos

Musical notation on a five-line staff with square neumes. Below the staff, the text 'Kyrie Pange lingua eleyson.' is written in black Gothic script, with 'Pange lingua' in red.

Musical notation on a five-line staff with square neumes. Below the staff, the text 'Kyrie eleyson.' is written in black Gothic script.



Entrance

kyrie

eley son

 A musical score for the 'Entrance' section. It consists of three staves of music. The first two staves are joined by a brace on the left. The notation is in a medieval style, using square neumes on a four-line staff. The first staff begins with a clef and a time signature. The word 'kyrie' is written below the first staff, and 'eley son' is written below the third staff. The music concludes with a double bar line.


Agnus

kyrie

eleyson

 A musical score for the 'Agnus' section. It consists of three staves of music. The first two staves are joined by a brace on the left. The notation is in a medieval style, using square neumes on a four-line staff. The word 'Agnus' is written vertically to the left of the first staff, 'kyrie' is written below the second staff, and 'eleyson' is written below the third staff. The music concludes with a double bar line.

deolves into a series of paired duos, returning to full texture at (or shortly in advance of) 'Jesu Christe'. In the Qui tollis sections which follow, the alternation of full texture and duets occurs over the same text phrases. The full-texture sections are often homophonic, repeating or alternating between sonorities at the level of the minim or semibreve (see Example 11.1).

Example 11.1. (a) *Missa [sine nomine]*, Gloria bb. 49–63

49 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui tol -
 8 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis. Qui
 8 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.
 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

56 lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.
 8 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.
 8 su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.
 su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram. Qui

While similar compositional techniques are also found in the Credo, the parallels are somewhat less obvious in the phrase-by-phrase comparison, if only because the composer of the anonymous mass also incorporated two sections of chant (bb. 1–5 and 57–79). One notable detail, however, is the quick alternation of text between the paired duos, often breaking larger text phrases and separated by only a minim (see Example 11.2). As is also seen in this example, both masses change into $\text{♩}3$ at the 'Confiteor'.

The alternating harmonies in homophonic/syllabic sections mentioned above form the first of several potential Gaspar stylistic fingerprints.⁴⁵ A second feature is one voice acting briefly as a sort of long-note cantus firmus, even though it is not based on a pre-existing melody. In Gaspar's masses this happens regularly in the Sanctus, and especially at the beginning of the Pleni sunt and/or Benedictus. In the Pleni sunt of the *Missa brevis*, the altus has

45 For alternating harmonies in these homophonic/syllabic sections, compare e.g. *Missa [sine nomine]*, Credo, bb. 12–13, and *Missa brevis*, Credo, bb. 42–45.

A New Mass and its Implications for Gaspar's Late Mass Style

Example 11.1. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa brevis*, Gloria bb. 46–62

46

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

51

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

58

su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram.

Paul Kolb

Example 11.2. (a) *Missa [sine nomine]*, Credo bb. 136–50

218

136

qui lo - cu - tus est per pro - phe - tas.

qui lo - cu - tus est _____ per pro - phe - tas.

Et u - nam san - ctam ca - tho -

Et u - nam san - ctam ca -

141

et a - po - sto - li - cam ec - cle - si - am. Con -

et a - po - sto - li - cam - ec - cle - si - am. Con -

- li - cam Con -

tho - li - cam Con -

146

fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma

fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma in re -

fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma

fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma in re -

A New Mass and its Implications for Gaspar's Late Mass Style

Example 11.2. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa brevis*, Credo bb. 108–23

108

per pro - phe - tas. Et u - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li -
 qui lo - cu - tus est

114

cam et a - po - sto - li - cam ec - cle - si - am. Con -
 cam et a - po - sto - li - cam ec - cle - si - am. Con -

119

fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma

a long D and long E \flat , resolving to the D, while the superius plays around with minims and semiminims; their functions are then reversed in the following bars. At the same point in the anonymous mass, the tenor holds a B \flat for almost two longs, while the bass has an improvisatory line eventually leading to the cadence on G (see Example 11.3).⁴⁶ Related to this is the

Example 11.3. (a) *Missa [sine nomine]*, Sanctus bb. 40–45

Musical score for Example 11.3(a) showing vocal parts for Ple - ni sunt ce - li. The score is in 2/2 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: Superius, Tenor, Alto, and Bass. The lyrics are: Ple - ni sunt ce - li. The Superius part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Tenor part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Alto part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Bass part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The lyrics are: Ple - ni sunt ce - li.

Example 11.3. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa brevis*, Sanctus bb. 45–54

Musical score for Example 11.3(b) showing vocal parts for Ple - ni sunt ce - li et ter - ra, ce - li et. The score is in 2/2 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: Superius, Tenor, Alto, and Bass. The lyrics are: Ple - ni sunt ce - li et ter - ra, ce - li et. The Superius part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Tenor part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Alto part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The Bass part has a long note on 'Ple' followed by a rest. The lyrics are: Ple - ni sunt ce - li et ter - ra, ce - li et.

presence of imitation in two or three voices over a single extended sonority. In the anonymous mass, this occurs in the middle of the Credo; a comparable moment in the *Missa brevis* is the beginning of the Sanctus (see Example 11.4).⁴⁷

46 For other instances, see the opening of the Pleni sunt of the *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*, Sanctus, bb. 40–45; the Benedictus of the *Missa Et trop penser*, Sanctus, bb. 115–27; and the opening of the Sanctus of the *Missa octavi toni*, bb. 1–12. Jesse Rodin describes a similar feature in the *Missa Princesse d'amourettes* as having 'rhapsodic lines in the upper voices', though that example includes an actual, song-based cantus firmus; see Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 154, music example at 155.

47 This feature is related to what Rodin calls "triadic" outlines, a practice especially cultivated by Gaspar; see Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*, 146–49.

A New Mass and its Implications for Gaspar's Late Mass Style

Example 11.4. (a) *Missa [sine nomine]*, Credo, bb. 115–18

115

nis. Et in spi - ri - tum san - ctum, do - mi - num _____

nis. Et in spi - ri - tum san - ctum, do - mi - num _____

Et in spi - ri - tum san - ctum, do - mi - num et

Et in spi - ri - tum san - ctum, do - mi - num

221

Example 11.4. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa brevis*, Sanctus bb. 1–5

San - ctus,

San - ctus,

San - ctus, san - ctus,

San - ctus,

Despite the similar tonalities between these two masses, the voice ranges are not identical. Here the *Missa brevis* is somewhat of an outlier, with ranges in all voices approximately a third higher than in most of Gaspar's other masses. The anonymous mass uses the slightly lower ranges more common in Gaspar's music.

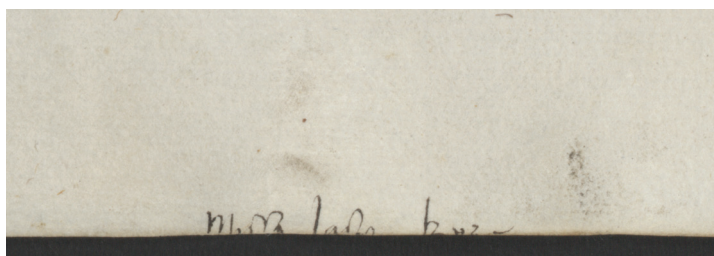
A Cut-off Inscription

All of this demonstrates that the anonymous mass exhibits many of the structural and stylistic elements common in Gaspar's other late masses. In addition, there is a fairly direct compositional relationship between the anonymous mass and the *Missa brevis* specifically. This could point either to Gaspar having been the composer, or to someone else having written this mass in emulation of the *Missa brevis*. But there is no third option: these two masses could not have been composed completely independently of each other. And the types and quantities of stylistic similarities probably point to authorship rather than emulation.⁴⁸

48 One can only speculate about which sorts of compositional similarities might point to emulation versus authorship. It is generally assumed that emulation involved both the mastery of a specific compositional style or genre *as well as* the desire to surpass it in some way. As discussed by Honey Meconi, when Josquin composed *Nymphes des bois* in homage to Ockeghem, the new composition was both modelled on the older

But the most convincing detail concerning authorship is not analytical but scribal: a cut-off inscription on the bottom of the first page of the mass appears to name Gaspar as the composer (see Figure 11.3). Saunders read this as ‘Missa las... kyrie’ and suggested that the second word refers to an unidentified model or liturgical occasion.⁴⁹ But the second word is more likely to be ‘Iaspar’, potentially abbreviated to ‘Iasp’. This would match the previous mass’s attribution to ‘iaspar’.

Figure 11.3. Detail of Jena 21, fol. 101^v



The manuscript is full of similar markings on the bottoms of pages, but most of them are simply a small line or loop of ink. Two additional more extensive inscriptions can be found on folios 43^r and 88^r. While the lines and loops are found indiscriminately throughout the manuscript, all three of the more extensive inscriptions are found at the beginnings of masses: either on the blank recto before the first opening of the mass, or on the verso or recto of the first opening of the mass. It is impossible to say for sure, but the two loops on folio 88^r (on the first opening of the *Missa brevis*) are also conceivably part of ‘iaspar’, not unlike the inscription for the anonymous mass (see Figure 11.4). These inscriptions were probably written to indicate what the scribe should copy at these points in the manuscript. If so, the inscriptions preceded the copying of the music. After the masses were copied, they served no further purpose and could be trimmed off as necessary.

Figure 11.4. Detail of Jena 21, fol. 88^r



composer’s *Mort tu as navré* (‘recalls Ockeghem’ and ‘inverts Ockeghem’s formal structure’) while also trying to transcend the original (‘outdoes Ockeghem’); see Honey Meconi, ‘Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France’, in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XL^e Colloque international d’études humanistes, Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 381–402, quotes at 391. Of course, this does not have to be the case. But the types of formulaic similarities here suggest that they have been internalized by the composer rather than being intentionally parodied. Equally, there is no apparent desire to have stylistically distinguished the ‘new’ composition from the ‘original’.

49 Saunders, ‘Anonymous Masses in the Alamire Manuscripts’, 66–67.



When I first began to transcribe the anonymous mass at the end of Jena 21, I was struck from the first Kyrie that this could be Gaspar, and the impression grew with each subsequent movement. The arguments which I built to support this impression thus did not stem from a completely neutral analysis. But musical impressions, if sometimes elusive and ephemeral, are nevertheless valuable, and in this case they were eventually reinforced by scribal evidence.

For Gaspar, at the risk of being somewhat circular, this mass helps to confirm a certain compositional narrative. As a younger, ambitious composer, his output consisted of masses which are virtuosic and striking if more traditional: all qualities which make them ideal repertoire for the papal chapel. Later in life, well-established as one of the top composers of his generation, his masses were simpler, shorter, sometimes approaching the pedestrian, but increasingly containing stylistic aspects and compositional features unique to him.

If these masses—the *Missa Nas tu pas*, the *Missa brevis*, and the *Missa [sine nomine]*—should then be added to the repertoire of 'missae breves', the implications are less clear. On the one hand, the transmission of all three is completely independent of Milan (as well as, for the most part, Rome). On the other hand, while there are stylistic similarities to the other *Missae breves*, they are on the whole less extreme: less short and less uncomplicated. When taken together with the other *Missae breves*, they appear as less of a locally defined subgenre and more of a wide-ranging spectrum, probably reflecting compositional trends (both in Milan and elsewhere) towards a style of composed polyphony that could be performed more regularly and by a wider range of singers and choirs. But for Gaspar, in the twilight of his glistening career, if there was a specific reason for the composition of masses of this sort, it remains a mystery.

Petrucci's Gaspar: Sources, Editing, and Reception

Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl

THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY saw the initiation of polyphonic music printing, and the figure at the centre of its development was Ottaviano Petrucci. Although his role as mythological 'inventor of music printing' has long been overstated—as a matter of fact, musical notation had been printed about twenty-five years before his 1501 *Odhecaton*—Petrucci played an important role in the dissemination of vocal and instrumental repertoire through central Europe and beyond.¹ His sacred and secular publications established a kind of musical canon with far-reaching consequences for the reception history of a composer's work, influential in the years immediately following publication yet remaining so today. Gaspar was lucky to have a prominent place in his portfolio.

The still extant sources of Gaspar's compositions comprise fifty-six manuscripts and twenty printed books, including theory treatises and music collections, of which three-quarters were published by Petrucci.² But these numbers are somewhat misleading: the number of prints refers to the number of editions, including reissued editions but not taking into account the number of surviving physical copies. The fifteen Petrucci prints containing works by Gaspar survive today in forty-seven different copies, found in libraries all over Europe (and beyond). Taking the numbers of copies into consideration, the print transmission can be seen in a significantly different light vis-à-vis the manuscript transmission.

This thinking also rebalances the importance of Petrucci's prints with respect to Gaspar's reputation and the distribution of his works. The forty-seven copies from his workshop are the surviving remains of approximately four thousand copies that contained compositions by Gaspar, all of which were printed during his lifetime. The repertoire published by Petrucci comprises twenty-five motets, six mass Ordinary settings, two Credo's, one set of Lamentations, and a few songs and lute intabulations. Most of these works are ascribed to Gaspar, and each of the approximately three hundred copies of a single edition transmits the

1 For the most recent and detailed information on Petrucci and his oeuvre see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

2 Cf. the up-to-date catalogue of sources on the homepage of the research project *The Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition*, <www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at>.

same version of a work.³ The great number of more or less identical music sources does not mean that the readings in Petrucci's versions are 'better' than those of manuscript sources. As with the manuscripts, they also depend on the quality of the exemplars from which they were copied and on the competence of the editor at hand. Nevertheless, their readings must have had a much greater impact than the handwritten versions because of the quantity and the extensive distribution of the copies.

The *Misse Gaspar*

Keeping these considerations in mind, I will concentrate in what follows on Petrucci's only print devoted exclusively to the music of Gaspar van Weerbeke: the *Misse Gaspar*, published in 1507 as the tenth volume in a series of mass collections dedicated to a single composer. The copy preserved in Bologna (Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.65) is the only complete set of the four partbooks. The title page of the superius gives the name of the edition as well as its inventory (see Figure 12.1). The masses are listed in their order of appearance in the book: *Ave regina caelorum*, *O Venus banth*, *E trop penser*, *Octavi toni*, and *Se mieulx ne wient*. These five works are more than half of the known mass Ordinary cycles with clear contemporary attributions to Gaspar, which makes this source particularly relevant to the study of his masses.⁴ The title pages of the other partbooks only give the first letter of the voice-part. The richly ornamented initials of the voices T, A, and B respectively are placed in the upper middle centre of the otherwise blank page.

Figure 12.2, the very last printed folio of the bassus partbook, displays a music page with Petrucci's typical elegant types in its distinctive layout: slim music notes with long stems, set together tightly and printed with his clear multiple impression technique, usually on six staves per page. On this page the number of staves has been reduced to leave space for the colophon, an early version of the modern imprint, that brings the collection to a close. It informs the reader of the name of the printer, as well as the place and date of printing: Venice on the seventh of January, 1506 (N.S. 1507). It mentions the Venetian privilege for printing *cantus figuratus* (polyphony), under threat of punishment. Following common practice in many incunabula editions, especially in Italy, it also provides the collation of the gatherings (AA–GG). Most of the gatherings consist of eight folios; only the final gatherings of the superius, altus, and tenor partbooks (BB, CC, and EE) comprise ten folios.⁵

What we do not find in this book is Petrucci's typical printer's mark, a woodcut with stylized heart surmounted by a cross and inscribed with the letters O, P, and F (for 'Octavianus Petrutius Forosempronensis'), with white lines on black background.⁶ More unfortunate is the

3 Boorman estimates an initial print run in the workshop of Petrucci to have a maximum of three hundred copies (Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 366).

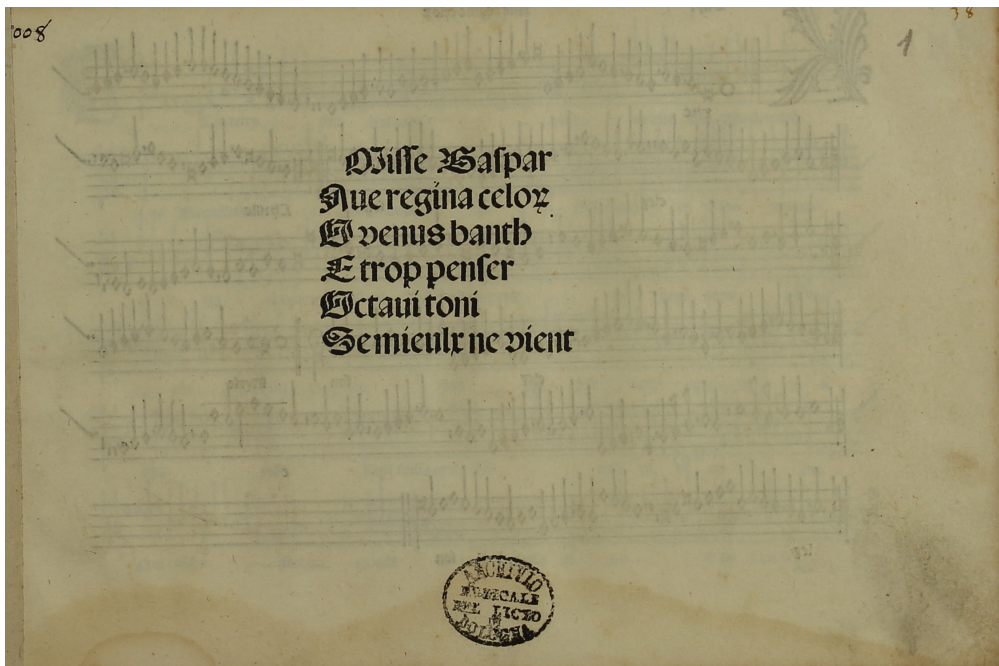
4 For a possible ninth mass cf. Paul Kolb's chapter in this book.

5 'Impressum Venetijs per Octavianum Petrutium Forosempronensem. 1506. Die. vij. Januarij. Cum privilegio invictissimi Dominij Venetiarum quae nullus possit cantum Figuratum imprimere sub pena in ipso privilegio contenta. Registrum. AA BB CC DD EE FF GG Omnes quaterni preter B C E quaterni' (quoted after Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 640).

6 This device, used for twenty years, was replaced in 1538 by a second version with black lines on white background (Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 136).

Petrucci's Gaspar: Sources, Editing, and Reception

Figure 12.1. Petrucci, *Misse Gaspar*: title page of the superius partbook. Copy in I-Bc (Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna), Q.65



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Figure 12.2. Petrucci, *Misse Gaspar*: colophon of the bassus partbook. Copy in I-Bc, Q.65

absence of any verbal material, such as a dedicatory letter or preface, that could reveal the motivation for this collection. Without any other associated documents, we do not know if the *Misse Gaspar* was promoted by someone specific, for example if a wealthy sponsor supported the funding, or if there was an honorary dedicatee. We are also groping in the dark concerning who was responsible for the music editing, who collected the music, or indeed anything concerning the origins of the manuscript exemplars for the first print of the masses. At the time of production, Gaspar had been an esteemed member of the papal chapel for many years and was at that point the only major composer in the ensemble.⁷ Reflecting on his long, successful career with a rich compositional output, one wonders if he himself may have been involved.

Of course, almost all the other music prints of Petrucci also lack verbal matter. None of the other twelve mass collections dedicated to a single composer nor any of the other music collections with works by Gaspar contains preliminary texts. The only significant texts in Petrucci's prints are the two letters found in his first music print, the renowned *Odhecaton*. They are addressed to the dedicatee Girolamo Donato and name the editor of the book, Petrus Castellanus, who is said to have corrected the almost one hundred songs by his 'diligent labor'.⁸ Bonnie J. Blackburn revealed the biographical background of both historical figures: the former being a Venetian patrician in the diplomatic service, a humanist of the highest rank, and an enthusiastic music lover; the latter being a Dominican friar, a choirmaster, teacher, and singer at the Venetian church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Here Castellanus must have had an extensive collection of sacred polyphonic music at his disposal, and Blackburn concludes that Petrucci and Castellanus probably continued working together until 1509, when Petrucci left Venice.⁹

Stanley Boorman puts this hypothesis into perspective in his discussion of one volume of the mass collections. He accepts the assumption that Castellanus was the supplier of music for the first group of mass books, published between September 1501 and March 1504 and comprising settings by Josquin, Obrecht, Brumel, Ghiselin, La Rue, and Agricola.¹⁰ But he is not convinced that Castellanus was also responsible for the second group of mass books, published starting one year after the last publication of the first group, and of which the *Misse Gaspar* was the final print. Concerning Josquin's second mass volume of 1505, Boorman argues instead that it was a commission by members of the court of Ferrara, from where the music was probably transmitted. The subsequent volume, *Fragmenta missarum*, a collection of individual masses and mass movements by several composers, was apparently intended to close the series of mass volumes. That Petrucci proceeded further with his mass series was possibly due to the

7 Richard Sherr, *The Papal Choir during the Pontificates of Julius II to Sixtus V (1503–1590): An Institutional History and Biographical Dictionary*, Storia della Cappella Musicale Pontificia, 5 (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2015), 119.

8 An English translation of both letters and a diplomatic transcription with the Latin abbreviations resolved can be found in Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici, a Lost Isaac Manuscript, and the Venetian Ambassador', in *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 19–44, at 33–35 and at 42–44.

9 Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici'; Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', *Musica Disciplina*, 49 (1995), 15–45, quote at 28.

10 Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 274–78.

success of the two volumes of Josquin masses that had already been published (a third volume appeared several years later in Fossombrone). Shortly after he produced a second edition of the first Josquin mass collection, two additional volumes with new music by new composers left his printing press: the *Misse Henrici Isaac* (October 1506) and the *Misse Gaspar* (January 1507). Following Boorman, Castellanus once again might have been responsible for these last two mass volumes printed in Venice and might have provided the music.¹¹

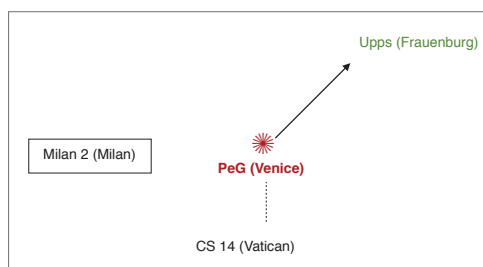
Source Maps

To test the hypothesis that Castellanus was indeed involved in the publication of the *Misse Gaspar*, we will evaluate Petrucci's music versions by comparing the print to its other contemporary sources. In the Critical Commentaries of the Gaspar edition, the transmission of individual masses is documented and discussed in detail.¹² To make the relationships between the extant sources visible in their approximate geographical context, I use visualizations that I call 'source maps'. The source maps here focus on the *Misse Gaspar* and are designed to visualize two questions: where did the music for the Petrucci print originate? And where did the music subsequently go? That is to say, which sources (or source traditions) could have served as exemplars for the *Misse*? And for which later sources did the *Misse* itself serve as an exemplar? Since the mass settings in the Petrucci print are all complete, only earlier sources containing the complete cycles are here taken into consideration. Sources that potentially descend from the Petrucci print (originating after 1507), here printed in grey/green, are not necessarily complete. A relationship between the versions of specific sources is indicated as appropriate, with dotted lines representing a distant relationship, continuous lines a close relationship, and an arrow a direct relationship. To keep the maps uncluttered, source relationships are only displayed when they are relevant to the *Misse Gaspar*. For reference, the principal source for the Gaspar edition is boxed. Print sources are represented by a sun with radiating beams to indicate the potential wide-ranging influence of its many circulating copies.

Hence, these source maps address three parameters: the place or area where a relevant source was in use; the relationship of readings of a specific composition transmitted by the relevant sources; and their temporal relation (earlier or later) to the central source. With this tool, the enormous amount of information packed into a critical comment can be reduced to a compact representation that is focused on a specific research question, which is now formally depicted and clearer to view.

Let us start with a discussion of the source map of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, which opens the *Misse* print (see Figure 12.3a). This composition is transmitted completely in three sources: CS 14, Milan 2, and

Figure 12.3. (a) Source map of the mass *Ave regina caelorum*



¹¹ Ibid., 284–88.

¹² Weerbeke, *CW 1: Masses 1*, ed. Pavanello and Lindmayr-Brandl; *CW 2: Masses 2*, ed. Kolb and Lindmayr-Brandl.

the Petrucci print (PeG). The readings in all of these sources are mostly independent, but the readings in the print are somewhat closer to those of the Vatican choirbook than to those of the Milan source, and they share single conjunctive errors. This is indicated in the source map by a dotted line. The principal source, though, is Milan 2, the only Milanese source that transmits a mass by Gaspar.¹³ The only direct descendant from the Petrucci print is a single partbook preserved at Upps 76e (here abbreviated Upps), which transmits the complete content of the superius voice of the *Misse Gaspar*.

The source map of the *Missa O Venus bant* (Figure 12.3b) is strongly reduced considering the rich transmission of the work. The composition was circulating in central Europe as early as the 1480s. Only three sources, all Italian, transmit the complete mass, and again, all three of them have independent readings. The other two sources, Mod M.I.13 (here M.I.13) and CS 51, are more closely related to each other than to the Petrucci print. Petrucci shares more commonalities with Mod M.I.13, but CS 51 was chosen as the principal source of the edition. Besides the Uppsala partbook, a second source originates from after the publication of the *Misse Gaspar*: the choirbook SMM 26, dating from the second decade of the sixteenth century. However, its incomplete version of the mass is related not to the Petrucci print but rather to the Modena choirbook (as well as other central European manuscripts).¹⁴

The next two source maps (Figure 12.3c and d) depict the transmission of the *Missa Et trop penser* and the *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*. Only one source of the *Missa Et trop penser*, CS 41, pre-dates the Petrucci print. A number of substantive variants between the print and the manuscript indicate that there is no close connection between them.¹⁵ In the case of the

Figure 12.3. (b) Source map of the mass *O Venus bant*

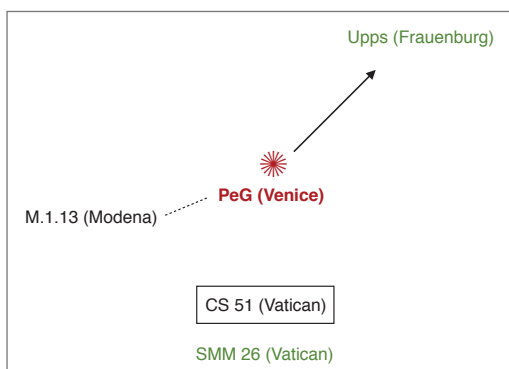


Figure 12.3. (c) Source map of the mass *Et trop penser*

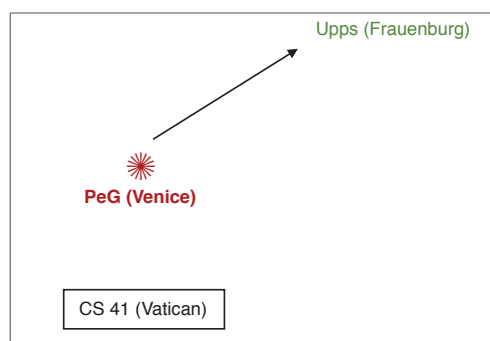
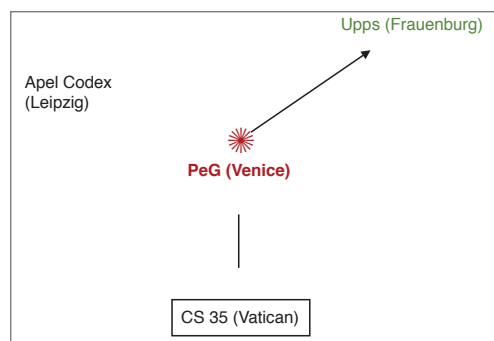


Figure 12.3. (d) Source map of the mass *Se mieulx ne vient*

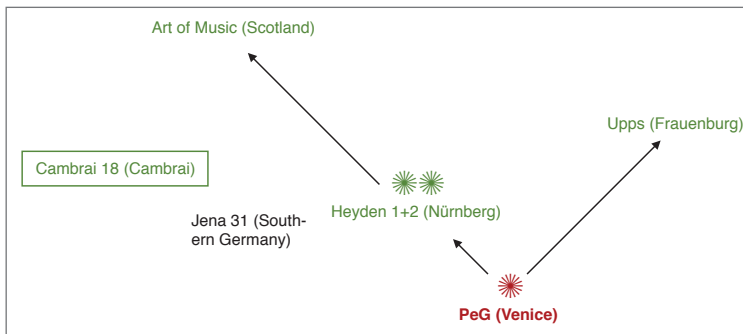


13 Weerbeke, *CW* 1, pp. xxxix–xl.
 14 Ibid., pp. lxi–lxii.
 15 Weerbeke, *CW* 2, pp. xxxv–xxxviii.

Missa Se mieulx ne vient, a copy of the Vatican source, CS 35, might have served as an exemplar for the Petrucci version. While the readings in these manuscript and printed sources do not contain many musical variants, a direct relationship cannot be affirmed. The Apel Codex from north of the Alps has significantly different readings and would have belonged to a different line of transmission.¹⁶

Finally, the *Missa oclavi toni* presents a different situation (see Figure 12.3e). Here the edition by Petrucci is the single extant Italian source for the composition. Only Jena 31 predates the print; Cambrai 18 was copied several years later. All three complete sources offer an unusually high number of musical variants and are independent of each other. Moreover, none of them has any clear connection or proximity to the composer. That Cambrai 18 was chosen as the principal source is 'based on the totality of its musical reading: on the whole, it has the most advantages and the fewest disadvantages'.¹⁷ The other sources depicted in this figure all derive directly from the *Misse Gaspar*.

Figure 12.3. (e) Source map of the mass *Oclavi toni*



To sum up, the source maps make it clear that there is no common line of transmission for all five printed masses. The only extant source from Milan has no relation to the *Misse Gaspar*, and the only Franco-Flemish source, Cambrai 18, is also independent of Petrucci's version. Even more astonishing is the fact that Petrucci's readings are generally only distantly related to the surviving Roman sources. In only two cases is there a direct or indirect line of transmission from Rome to Petrucci: the *Missa Se mieulx ne vient* as transmitted in CS 35, and the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* as copied in CS 14. The other relevant Roman sources, CS 51 and 41, do not have any apparent connection to the *Misse Gaspar*. Thus we come to the rather unsatisfying but nevertheless noteworthy conclusion that the Gaspar masses were collected from exemplars derived from non-extant sources, potentially from a number of different regions. Only the *Missa Se mieulx ne vient* has a Roman provenance.¹⁸

16 For the evaluation of the sources see Weerbeke, *CW* 1, p. lxxxix.

17 Weerbeke, *CW* 2, pp. lxi–lxvi, quote at lxi.

18 Boorman discusses the question of where the music of the *Misse Gaspar* (and the *Misse Henrici Isaac*) might have come from with great caution: 'There is no reason to believe that the music for both volumes did not come from Rome, at least indirectly; nor is there enough reason to be obliged to accept a Roman provenance' (Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 288).

Readings in the *Misse Gaspar*

Let us now have a closer look at the music of the Gaspar print and explain why the *Misse Gaspar* was never chosen as the principal source. This decision was not exclusively due to errors in their readings of the music; after all, errors can also be found in other sources, even sometimes in the principal source. The crucial argument is rather that they show a great number of unusual readings which appear to be the work of a strong editorial hand and were presumably not in Gaspar's 'original version'. Compared with the concordant sources, the critical notes for all five masses describe the same characteristics found in the Petrucci versions: a large number of rhythmic variants and substitutions, not only at cadences; shorter repeated notes on the same pitch instead of single longer notes; more passing notes; more explicit accidentals; fewer instances of coloration; fewer ligatures; different mensuration signs; and the use of Petrucci-specific proportion signs. Most of the variants are relatively minor, and the more substantial ones can be found as music examples in the Critical Commentaries for the masses.¹⁹

That these variants have not emerged by chance, but are indeed evidence for considerable revisions and editorial interventions, can be observed in the *Missa octavi toni* at the beginning of the third Agnus Dei. Example 12.1a shows the version in the Gaspar edition, which is based on Cambrai 18. Ovals indicate where the Petrucci print has a different reading.²⁰ This includes the proportion sign (to be discussed below) and the altus clef (c₃ instead of c₄ in Cambrai). The oblong ovals designate melodic and rhythm deviations. Of special interest are the first notes in the altus, tenor, and bassus: in the printed version they consist of two notes, an imperfect breve and a semibreve, instead of a perfect breve (see Example 12.1b). Aligning with the beginning of the superius, this rhythmic pattern produces a distinctive head-motif that starts with two bars of two-voice counterpoint in the altus and bassus and is repeated an octave higher by the superius and tenor, now embedded in four-voice texture.

This apparent intervention has consequences for the text underlay. The two repeated notes on the same pitch imply a change of syllable, which forces the words 'Agnus Dei' over the first two bars in the bassus.²¹ They now function like a signal that opens the final section of the last movement of the mass. For the sake of appropriate word underlay, the two semibreve ligatures in the altus and superius in bars 96 and 97 were removed. On the other hand, a ligature has been set in the bassus in bar 98, probably due to the splitting of the breve C in bar 96, achieving a parallel wording with the tenor ('dei'). That ligatures in this Petrucci print are also used alongside dots of division to indicate alteration was demonstrated by Paul Kolb.²²

In addition to ligatures, coloration was also an issue for the editor of the *Misse Gaspar*. While the coloration passage in bars 94 to 95 (end of the first system) in all voices except the tenor is found in both sources, the notation in the Petrucci print singles out a rhythmically and melodically similar hemiola with black-full notes in the bassus (bb. 103–4) and superius

19 *Missa Ave regina caelorum*: Agnus, Exx. 2 and 3; *Missa Et trop penser*: Credo, Exx. 1 and 2; Sanctus, Ex. 3; Agnus, Exx. 4 and 5; *Missa octavi toni*: Gloria, Exx. 13 and 14; Credo, Exx. 15, 20, and 21; Sanctus, Exx. 16–19.

20 The indicated discrepancies are not (always) shared with the third complete source, the manuscript Jena 18.

21 The text underlay of the altus in my edition follows the bassus. It also would be possible to orientate the altus towards the superius in singing the last syllable of '(de-)i' on the first note of bar 92 (on G).

22 Paul Kolb, 'The Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition: Sources, Reconstruction, Commentary', paper at the Project Workshop, Salzburg, 26 May 2016.

(bb. 105–6). Such a procedure provides further evidence that the person in charge of the editing was a trained musician and had a deep analytic understanding of the compositions to be adapted for the printing press.

Example 12.1. (a) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa Oclavi toni*, beginning of Agnus Dei III: edition based on the principal source, Cambrai 18

The image displays a musical score for the beginning of Agnus Dei III by Gaspar van Weerbeke. It consists of four systems of vocal staves, each with a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass line. The lyrics are in Latin. Several notes are circled in black, highlighting specific musical features or editing points. The first system (measures 90-95) shows the beginning of the piece with the lyrics "A - gnus de - i, a - gnus". The second system (measures 96-101) continues with "de - i, qui tol - lis pec -". The third system (measures 102-107) continues with "ca - ta, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -". The fourth system (measures 108-113) continues with "lis, qui tol -".

90 (5)
A - gnus de - i, a - gnus
A - gnus de - i, a - gnus
A - gnus de - i, a - gnus
A - gnus de - i, a - gnus

96
de - i, qui tol -
- gnus de - i, qui tol - lis pec -
- i, a - gnus de - i, qui tol -
- i, a - gnus de - i,

102
- lis pec - ca - ta mun -
ca - ta, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
- lis, qui tol -
qui tol - lis

only the ligatures, since Petrucci's type sorts did not include ligatures for more than two notes or ligatures with coloration or half-coloration. In contrast to the tacit assumption that ligated notes in Petrucci prints were rare and only of a few different types, the *Misse Gaspar* displays fourteen different types of ligatures (see Table 12.1). The intervals of the ligated notes range from seconds to octaves (though there are no ligatures of a sixth or seventh), in both directions (ascending and descending), with note values of two semibreves *cum opposita proprietate* (*c.o.p.*) or two breves, both also in *obliqua* form.²³ Altogether, 123 ascending and 75 descending ligatures appear in the partbooks, for a total of almost two hundred.

The *Misse Gaspar* also presents specific features that are representative of other music prints by Petrucci, such as resolutions of mensuration canons and the use of uncommon proportion signs. A telling example of the former is the tenor in the Sanctus of the *Missa O Venusbant* (see Figure 12.4). Petrucci's business model involved marketing his printed music books not only to professional singers but also to amateurs, and the editor of the mass collection obviously felt obliged to support potential singers by resolving the *prolatio maior* notation. He kept the original version that has to be sung in augmentation while also including a resolution of both sections, the Sanctus and the Osanna, with note values equivalent to the other voices (the instruction 'Resolutio' is boxed in Figure 12.4). That means that the whole mass movement is notated twice in the tenor partbook: once in a more sophisticated way, the second time in a version easier to sing.²⁴

In another article, Blackburn draws attention to a specific notational sign for sesquialtera, a circle over 3, that could be understood as a kind of fingerprint for the editor Castellanus.²⁵ In the Gaspar collection this sign was not used, but there is another sign which has the same function: a full cut circle combined with the fraction $3/2$ [Φ_3^2]. This proportion sign appears in movements of all five masses, always in all four voices simultaneously. Yet it cannot be found in any of the concordant sources, which instead use C3, Φ_3 , or 3.²⁶ The sign Φ_3^2 was also used sparsely in three other prints by Petrucci which pre-date and postdate the *Misse Gaspar*.²⁷ To use a fraction instead of simply 3 to indicate sesquialtera was proposed by the Milanese chapel master Gaffurius in his music treatise *Practica musicae* of 1496 and was also specified in his *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicae* of 1508. In the latter book he even mentions Gaspar and Josquin as composers who used 'incorrect' notation in this manner: 'Many years ago I alerted the worthy compos-

23 Petrucci had even more ligature fonts in his stock. Boorman counts twenty-three different ligatures, with only a few shapes that can be produced by inverting the type (Boorman, *Petrucchi Catalogue*, 430–31).

24 For more on canons and resolutions in Petrucci prints see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Canonic Conundrums: The Singer's Petrucci', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 25 (2001), 53–69.

25 Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Sign of Petrucci's Editor', in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale / Venice 1501: Petrucci Music, Print and Publishing*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia, ser. III, *Studi musicologici B, Atti di Convegno*, 6 (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 2005), 415–29; see esp. Table I at 427. From the use of this proportion sign, she concludes that 'Petrus [Castellanus] continued to function as editor throughout the time that Petrucci was in Venice—though not for all volumes' (p. 423).

26 The only exception in the *Misse Gaspar* is in the third Agnus Dei of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. There, the tenor has the same mensuration sign as the other sources, Φ .

27 In *Motetti libro quarto* (1505) it is used once (in Lapidica, *Virgo prudentissima*); in the *Missarum Josquin liber tertius* (1514) three times (in the *Missa Mater patris*, *Missa Di dadi*, *Missa ad fugam*); and in the eleventh Frottole book (1514) twice (Pesenti, *Che faralla*; Timoteo, *Uscirallo o restrallo*) (private email from Bonnie Blackburn, with gratitude).

Table 12.1. Ligatures in *Missa Gaspar*

Direction	Note values	Interval	Number	Total
ascending				123
	2 semibreves <i>c.o.p.</i>	2	71	
		3	24	
		4	7	
		5	6	
		8	2	
	2 breves	2	12	
		5	1	
descending				75
	2 semibreves <i>c.o.p.</i>	2	36	
		3	14	
		4	7	
		5	2	
		8	1	
	2 semibreves <i>obliqua</i>	2	5	
	2 breves <i>obliqua</i>	2	10	

Figure 12.4. Canonic Resolution in *Missa O Venus bant*, Sanctus (Tenor)



ers Josquin des Prez and Gaspar to these improprieties; although they acceded to my opinion, nevertheless it was difficult to turn them from their habitual incorrect practice.²⁸ It seems that the editor of the *Missa Gaspar* was aware of this apparent defect and corrected the manuscript exemplar to comply with Gaffurius’s recommendations.²⁹

28 ‘De questi inconvenienti ne advertite gia molti anni passati Iusquin despriet & Gaspar dignissimi compositor: qui quandoque acqvieverunt sententie nostre tamen ab assueta eorum corruptela difficile diverti potuerunt.’ Book V, ch. 6, Latin text and English translation quoted from Blackburn, ‘The Sign’, 419.

29 The same proportion sign can be found in the Gaffurius libroni, but strangely not in the Milanese concordance of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* (Milan 2). However, Castellanus might have had access to other musical

The Editor of *Misse Gaspar*

But who, finally, was this editor? It is clear that he had a very specific idea of the compositions and a unifying hand that required significant musical experience. Could it be the late Gaspar, who revised his major works for publication, not unlike Johann Sebastian Bach with his *Clavierübungen*? That would make a touching story, but there is a strong argument against this hypothesis: the specific editorial features of the *Misse Gaspar* are not isolated but can also be found in other prints by Petrucci. That does not mean that Gaspar could not have been involved in the project at all. He might have been the driving force to produce the book, or he could have provided the music for one or more of the masses. But taking all arguments into account, it is quite clear that it was not he who functioned as editor of his own works. In all likelihood, that position was filled by Petrus Castellanus, Petrucci's chief music editor. From the musical readings, one can tell that he made many intentional changes, even if there were frequent careless mistakes.³⁰

Castellanus had already included several works by Gaspar in earlier volumes printed by Petrucci. We can assume that most of the relevant sacred works came from the lost choirbooks from the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which was famous in its day for its performances of polyphonic music. Since Castellanus, as a Dominican friar, was more or less bound to stay in his monastery, it is tempting to suppose that Girolamo Donato, the Venetian ambassador and music lover, served to supply Castellanus with new compositions from outside Venice. In his extensive diplomatic missions, Donato came into close contact with several renowned central European courts and eminent figures, and he would have had the opportunity to hear the best vocal ensembles of the time. Among other positions, Donato served for more than a year as an ambassador in Milan, where he must have noticed Gaspar's return to the court of Ludovico Sforza in April 1489, shortly after his own arrival. He also had close ties to Rome, being the Venetian envoy in 1491–92, 1497–99, and again in April to July 1505.³¹ Thus, the chances are high that Donato knew Gaspar personally, that he heard him singing, and that he appreciated his compositions.

The Owners and Users of the *Misse Gaspar*

Thus Castellanus and Donato may have been involved in the collection and editing of the music; but who purchased and used the *Misse Gaspar*? For the sixteenth century only a handful of owners can be traced.

The copy with the closest ties to Venice, the place of production, is the superior part-book today kept in the Milan Conservatory under the shelfmark S.B.178/2. Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520) acquired for his chapel several Petrucci prints, all of them produced before 1509, probably including this copy of the Gaspar mass volume. Like his famous father Duke Ercole I of Ferrara, Ippolito was an ardent music lover. As the Archbishop of Milan from

sources that he had directly inherited from Gaffurius (see *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 826–27). Thanks to Paul Merkley for this information.

30 The extant copies show several in-house corrections and individual later corrections; cf. Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 641.

31 Blackburn, 'Lorenzo de' Medici', 37–40.

1497 and brother-in-law to Ludovico Sforza, it is possible that he was in personal contact with Gaspar.³² Another copy of the *Misse Gaspar* was transferred across the sea to Split in Croatia, which was at that time under the control of Venice. The centres of musical activities in Split were the cathedral church and the Franciscan monastery. We can easily imagine that Gaspar's music was sung in either of these institutions.³³ This copy later went back to Venice, where it was owned by Padre Martini, and it is now held at the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (formerly Conservatorio Giovanni Battista Martini) in Bologna (I-Bc, Q.65).³⁴ A longer sea voyage was undertaken by the copy owned by Fernando Colón. The illegitimate son of Christopher Columbus was an enthusiastic music collector. According to the entry number 5598 in his library catalogue, he purchased the 'Gasparis misse' on his third book-buying tour to Italy in 1530/31 and brought it with him to Seville. Unfortunately, the book is one of the many prints that disappeared from the Biblioteca Colombina.³⁵

Only two copies are documented of those that found their way to the North. One was in the rich private library of the Augsburg patrician Raimund Fugger the Younger. The inventory from 1566 reveals that the Gaspar copy stems from the library of his father, Raimund Fugger the Elder (1489–1533), who had a large collection of Franco-Flemish sacred music. The *Misse Gaspar*, leading the list of 'truckhte Buecher', was bound in the same yellow leather as his copies of the other Petrucci prints, *Misse Agricola*, *Fragmenta missarum*, *Misse Ghiselin*, and *Motetti C.*³⁶ Another south German copy can be traced to Nuremberg. It was in possession of the local patrician and book collector Ulrich Starck (1484–1549), who seems to have owned a great number of music editions by Petrucci, all published between 1502 and 1507.³⁷ Starck was portrayed by Albrecht Dürer in 1527 and is depicted on a wooden medallion.³⁸

The existence of the Nuremberg copy can be deduced from a paragraph in the preface of a theory book by Sebald Heyden, rector of the St. Sebald School in the same city. The treatise *Musicae, id est artis canendi, libri duo* from 1537 is based on an earlier book by the same author and contains numerous polyphonic examples, including one by Gaspar. In the preface Heyden informs the reader about the origins of these works:

32 Lewis Lockwood, 'Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 85–112. Ippolito lived in Hungary, Rome, and Ferrara and is buried in the Ferrara Cathedral. The copy associated with his chapel came from the collection of St Barbara in Mantua. In the Milan Conservatory it is bound together with the second volume of the *Misse Josquin*. See Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 643 and 343.

33 Bojan Bujic, 'Split', *Grove Music Online*, accessed 9 November 2017.

34 It is the only set of partbooks that survives complete, and it was formerly bound with the *Misse Agricola*. See Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 343, 347, 642–3.

35 Catherine Weeks Chapman, 'Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), 34–84; see esp. 61, no. 21. Columbus also owned a copy of Petrucci's *Lamentationes II* from 1506 that contains a composition by Gaspar as well as a copy of the *Misse Isaac*, the latter entry found immediately after the *Misse Gaspar*. Both copies are also lost.

36 Richard Schaal, 'Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger d. J.: Ein Beitrag zur Musiküberlieferung des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Musicologica*, 29 (1957), 126–37, esp. at 129. It is possible that the mass prints by Gaspar, Agricola, and Ghiselin as well as the *Fragmenta missarum* were bound together, since they were listed consecutively.

37 Cf. Cristle Collins Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000), 95 and 101.

38 The medallion is preserved in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München, Inv. Nr. 54/43.

In so acquiring these examples, I have certainly been placed under no small obligation by Ulrich Starck, a gentleman both distinguished in the first place by his birth and reputation, and one who is also a very great lover of music, and on this account worthy of being remembered in these books. For he, perfect gentleman that he is, had lent me for some time towards this project the finest books of vocal music that he has.³⁹

Heyden chose the third Agnus Dei of the *Missa octavi toni* from the Gaspar mass collection as an example of the eighth mode, ascribing it to the composer but giving it no title. In the later and more popular revised edition of the treatise, *De arte canendi* (1540), he used the same example for the same purpose, again with Gaspar's name.⁴⁰ Both books, particularly the latter, were well received in German schools. This is also documented by the relatively high number of extant copies: at least seven copies of the 1537 edition and thirty-four of the 1540 edition survive today.⁴¹

In the source map of the *Missa octavi toni* (see Figure 12.3e above), the two German theory books are designated with the siglum 'Heyden 1+2' and are represented by two grey/green sun symbols indicating the high number of print copies. The two Heyden editions are the only printed sources that include pieces from Petrucci's Gaspar collection and are also the only prints in German-speaking areas that contain a work by Gaspar with attribution. Moreover, it was only a single section of the mass movement that circulated under his name to the north of the Alps, and it was not in a polyphonic music book but in a music treatise. Hence we can assume that a great number of German schoolboys and their teachers knew Gaspar by name but were probably unfamiliar with his music beyond this particular mass section.

That said, we should not forget that printed editions often served as exemplars for manuscript copies. These copies were far more vulnerable to the ravages of time, so it is no surprise that only two such manuscript sources survived. The first of these, directly related to the *Misse Gaspar*, is the superius partbook in Uppsala (Upps 76e) that contains all of the masses in the print, copied in the same order. It also contains the full repertoire of the *Misse Isaac* and three Obrecht masses copied from other sources. It is of East German origin and was presumably used in the Cathedral of Frauenburg in Ermland, today northern Poland.⁴² This was also the residence of the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus, a canon at the cathedral, who presumably would have heard the Gaspar masses while developing his revolutionary theories.

Indirectly related to the Petrucci print is a copy from much later in the opposite corner of Europe. It is a theory treatise by a Scotsman with the title *The Art of Music collected out of*

39 Heyden, *Musicae*, preface: 'In quibus exemplis, ita conquirendis, certe haud vulgarem à me inivit gratiam Vdalrichus Starcus, vir ut alioqui genere & honestate clarus, ita & Musice amatissimus, & propterea dignus, cui in his nostris libellis sua memoria sit. Is enim, ut est humanissimus, omnes suos libros, quos Musicarum cantionum electissimos habet, in hunc usum mihi aliquandiu commodaverat' (fol. A3^v). English translation quoted after Judd, *Reading*, 100.

40 In *De arte canendi* Heyden added the motet *Ave mater omnium* from *Motetti libro quarto* (1505) as an example for the second mode, also mentioning Gaspar as author of the composition.

41 Cf. vdm 550 (7 copies), vdm 548 (34 copies), accessed on 9 November 2017.

42 Martin Staehelin, 'Obrechtiana', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 25 (1975), 1–37, esp. at 33, n. 81.

all Ancient Doctouris of Music, whose ownership can be traced back to Sir Francis Kinaſton, an English politician and poet in the firſt decades of the ſeventeenth century. The manuſcript clearly draws on Heyden's *De arte canendi*, not only copying the Agnus Dei ſection but also various other music examples from this print.⁴³ In omitting the composer's name, the ſource documents the fading of Gaspar's reputation in the later ſixteenth century.

Conclusions and Prospects

It is intriguing that theſe two print editions and two manuſcripts are the only extant direct or indirect descendants of the *Miſſe Gaspar* (ſee Figures 12.3a–e above). That ſome copies were ſtill available when Fernando Colón was hunting for Italian music prints about twenty-five years after the publication gives the impression that this edition by Petrucci did not ſell well. The production proceſs itſelf ſeems to have been ſomewhat reduced, ſince the edition did not have any additional internal printings indicated by cancels or replacement ſheets, as was the caſe with many other Petrucci prints.⁴⁴

More broadly, no other extant music prints beſides thoſe by Petrucci transmit any works by Gaspar, whether north or ſouth of the Alps, and there are only three manuſcript ſources in German-speaking areas dated after the publication of the *Miſſe Gaspar* that give his name as a composer.⁴⁵ In general we can aſſume that Gaspar's fame was ſhort-lived and geographically confined.⁴⁶

Although the impact of Petrucci's *Miſſe Gaspar* is barely viſible today, the great number of printed copies nevertheless had a ſignificant effect on the diſtribution of his music, at leaſt in the period immediately following publication. The idiosyncratic verſions of the maſſes, which very likely represent the musical preferences and practical experiences of a relatively obſcure Venetian friar, would have been the beſt known at the time and ſhaped the idea of Gaspar's music to a larger audience than that of any individual manuſcript. I certainly do not wiſh to revive earlier editorial practices that would choſe the print—and eſpecially thoſe neat and beautiful prints by Petrucci—as the principal ſource ſimply becauſe they were prints and thus appeared more objective. Today we are intereſted not only in the original, authorial verſion, which almoſt always remains eluſive to us, but also in any of the various verſions that were ſung and heard by muſicians and music lovers all over Europe. Seen in this light, 'Petrucci's Gaspar' may be as ſignificant as 'Gaspar's Gaspar'.

43 Cf. Judson Dana Maynard, 'An Anonymous Scottish Treatiſe on Music from the Sixteenth Century, British Muſeum, Additional Manuſcript 4911: Edition and Commentary' (Ph.D. diſs., Indiana University, 1961).

44 Boorman, *Petrucci Catalogue*, 645.

45 Theſe are Jena 21, SGall 463, and SGall 530.

46 This can be ſeen with a quick ſearch in vdm for editions that name ſpecific composers. Among thoſe composers to whom Petrucci dedicated maſs volumes, Isaac's name is moſt prominent, found in 36 editions. This is followed by Joſquin with 29 items, La Rue with 19, Mouton with 15, Obrecht with 14, Brumel with 10, Févin with 9, Ghiselin with 7, Agricola with 7, and De Orto with 4. Gaspar is laſt on the liſt, with only the two theory prints by Heyden (acceſſed on 10 November 2017).

PART III: SECULAR WOKS

Gaspar and Japart:

The Secular Works, with Particular Reference to Basevi 2442 and a Word about Fridolin Sicher

David Fallows

THAT GASPAR VAN WEERBEKE AND JOHANNES JAPART were two different people is beyond doubt, not least because they both appear in the Milan court payment records at the same time in the 1470s.¹ Japart is unambiguously reported in the court choir in April 1476, in July 1476, and in February 1477; during all those months Gaspar van Weerbeke was *vice-abbate* of the court's *cantori di camera*.² Nevertheless, my aim today is to explore the possibility that there was at the time some confusion between Japart and Gaspar.

The grounds for such confusion are clear. The two first appear in the documents at about the same time in the 1470s and presumably were of roughly the same age; they both seem to have come from Flanders; they both sang in the Milan court; they were both composers as well as singers; they were both apparently active mainly in Italy during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The main difference between the two is that Gaspar van Weerbeke has a well-documented career at least until 1517 whereas Johannes Japart disappears from the record in 1481. But the court manuscripts of the Low Countries always credited Gaspar's music to 'Jaspar'.³ There would be every reason to think that a French musician out of touch with Italy, such as the copyist of the Flor 2442, would be a little confused as to which was which.

From our viewpoint they seem entirely different figures: Japart is known only for secular songs; in the case of Weerbeke, one could easily point out that almost all of his secular songs are the subject of conflicting ascriptions and that there is a good chance that he composed only sacred music. Already in his 1952 article in *Musica Disciplina* Gerhard Croll remarked that 'Not a single chanson can without doubt be ascribed to Gaspar. Whenever as composer "Gaspart" or "Jaspar" is named we have to reckon with the possibility of the authorship of Japart.'⁴ A footnote

1 I cannot explain why I stated that Japart is 'documented only during times when Gaspar cannot be traced'; see David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 724. That is quite wrong.

2 Claudio Sartori, 'Josquin des Prés cantore del duomo di Milano (1459–1472)', *Annales musicologiques*, 4 (1956), 55–83.

3 Andrea Lindmayr, 'Die Gaspar van Weerbeke-Gesamtausgabe: Addenda et Corrigenda zum Werkverzeichnis', in *De editione musices: Festschrift Gerhard Croll zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzner and Andrea Lindmayr (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1992), 51–64, at 56–57. See also the more recent list of works on the website of the Gaspar edition (www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at).

4 Gerhard Croll, 'Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of his Life and Works', *Musica Disciplina*, 6 (1952), 67–81, at 81.

then cites Pirro, who does not actually state it in quite such direct terms;⁵ but Croll described the situation accurately and provides the basis for what follows here.

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Now that we have the edition of Japart's *Collected Works*, excellently edited and copiously annotated by Allan Atlas, we can perhaps have another go at sorting out Gaspar's secular works.⁶ Atlas printed seventeen songs ascribed to Japart plus a further five with conflicting ascriptions (none involving Gaspar).

And it is as well to start with one further piece, missing from Atlas's edition, though mentioned in the commentary and only recently added to the list of works in the Salzburg online database. This is the four-voice setting of *J'ay pris amours*, no. 5 in Petrucci's *Odbecatton*. Already in 1980 Hans Joachim Marx had pointed out that this piece has an ascription to 'Jaspart' in the keyboard tablature of Fridolin Sicher at Sankt Gallen (SGall 530).⁷ Marx automatically listed this as Johannes Japart, though Allan Atlas omitted it from his edition of Japart on the grounds that 'no piece—including those with conflicting ascriptions—that bears an attribution to "Japart" in any source is ever found in any other source with an ascription to "Jaspart"'.⁸

In fifteenth-century French an 's' before another consonant was normally inaudible and therefore of no etymological significance. And in the case of this particular piece, everything on its exterior points to Japart. Like one of Japart's other *J'ay pris amours* settings, it transposes the superius melody down a step, requiring a staff signature of two flats; like several other Japart pieces, it includes within its texture a looser presentation of the tenor of another song, *De tous biens plaine*. Besides, the Sicher tablature ascribes this piece 'Jaspart' whereas it ascribes two other pieces to 'Gaspar'—pieces that we know from elsewhere to be by Weerbeke.⁹ Plainly Japart is indeed meant here. I suspect in fact that Atlas excluded it because he noticed the Sankt Gallen ascription only at the last moment and it was too late to incorporate it into his edition. He was not alone in that: it was not known to the authors of the 2001 *New Grove* articles on Weerbeke or Japart; it was not known to the authors of the revised *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* articles (2002, 2003); it was not known to me when I did my *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* (1999); it was not known to Stanley Boorman when he did the entry in his Petrucci catalogue of 2006.¹⁰ Although Marx stated it clearly enough in his famous article of 1980, it seems to have slipped into oblivion. My own view is that it is firmly a work of Japart. Allan Atlas noted that Japart is represented by an unusually large number of pieces in Petrucci's three *Canti* volumes: in *Canti B* and *Canti C* they are all ascribed to Japart, but

5 André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1940), 214.

6 Jean Japart, *The Collected Works*, ed. Allan Atlas, *Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance*, 6 (New York: The Broude Trust, 2012).

7 Hans Joachim Marx, 'Neues zur Tabulatur-Handschrift St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 37 (1980), 264–91, at 273; he did the same in his edition *St. Galler Orgelbuch: Die Orgeltablatur des Fridolin Sicher*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx and Thomas Warburton, *Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler*, 8/114 (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1992). In neither publication is there any hint that the composer could be other than Japart.

8 Japart, *The Collected Works*, xxxvi, n. 78.

9 Namely nos. 101 and 110, both ascribed to Gaspar in Petrucci, *Motetti A*.

10 Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1049.

in the *Odhecaton* three of them are ascribed to him in other sources only. As Atlas proposed, it seems likely that after the *Odhecaton* Japart had some formal association with Petrucci.¹¹

With the *Odhecaton* version of *Jay pris amours* safely restored to Japart, we can view the remains of the secular pieces with ascriptions apparently to Gaspar. They are:

1. *Sans regretz vueil entretenir/Allez regretz*: unique in Flor 2439, fols. 79^v–80^r, ascribed ‘Jaspar’
2. *La stangetta*: Seg s.s., fol. 172^r, with text ‘Ortus de celo flos est’, ascribed ‘ysaac’; Petrucci, *Odhecaton*, fols. 54^v–55^r, ascribed ‘Uerbech’ in first edition only; Zwi 78/3, no. 18, ascribed ‘Obrecht’; anonymous in four further sources
3. *O Venus bant*: Sev 5-1-43, fols. 135^v–136^r, ascribed ‘Gaspar’; Petrucci, *Odhecaton*, fols. 84^v–85^r, ascribed ‘Josquin’, similarly in SGall 463, though this is demonstrably copied from Petrucci; anonymous in two further sources
4. *Vray dieu que payne m’esse*: Petrucci, *Canti C*, fol. 130^r, ascribed ‘Compere’; SGall 530, fol. 67^r, ascribed ‘Matheus Pipalare’; Flor 2442, no. 48, ascribed ‘Gaspart’; anonymous in three further sources, among them Vat CG XIII.27 (c.1492–94)
5. *Bon temps je ne te puis laisser/Bon temps ne viendra tu jamais/Adieu mes amours*: Flor 2442, no. 49, ascribed ‘Gaspart’
6. *Que fait le cocu au bois*: Flor 2442, no. 50, ascribed ‘Gaspart’

Turning to the second song ascribed ‘Jaspar’, we are plainly in quite different territory. This is the song *Sans regretz veul entretenir* in Flor 2439 (see Appendix).¹² It is a formal setting of what was obviously a five-line rondeau, though we have only just over half of its first stanza. It is in three voices, which is rare in Japart. Its courtly style is also quite unlike the textures we know from Japart. That it begins with a quote from Hayne van Ghizeghem’s *Allez regretz* in the bassus firmly embeds the song within the series of ‘regretz’ chansons associated generally with Margaret of Austria and her entourage. Certainly that brief allusion could hint at authorship by Japart, who often included such details; but Japart tends to use them differently. This looks very much like a composition of Gaspar.

One further point could be made about *Sans regretz*, namely its classical design. For each of the five lines of text there is a musical section of eleven to fourteen breves; in the superius, each line has a rest about half way through to accommodate the caesura that always comes after the fourth syllable in this kind of ten-syllable line. In the Appendix I have numbered the syllables for each line in the superius and the tenor (since the tenor seems to carry text equally well, though the bassus does not). And for the little text that survives I have underlaid the syllables according to the resulting pattern (quite different from the underlay in the Basevi codex, which is most fully texted in the tenor). It will be evident that in most cases there is very little

11 As first proposed in Allan W. Atlas, ‘Petrucci’s Songbooks and Japart’s Biography’, in *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia, ser. III, Studi musicologici B, Atti di Convegni, 6 (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2005), 645–60.

12 On the manuscript, copied in the Low Countries in about 1510, see the facsimile, *Basevi Codex: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS 2439*, ed. Honey Meconi (Peer: Alamire, 1990), and *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, ed. Herbert Kellman (Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 1999), 78–79.

doubt as to where each syllable falls and that the two voices generally declaim their texts more or less simultaneously. The manuscripts of this generation may be very vague about placing the underlaid texts; but for a musician familiar with the style the texting was often relatively easy.

But the main point of that texting diagram is to show that the song reflects the style of the three-voice chansons by Compère and Hayne in Brussels 11239. That is to say that it is fully compatible with a date during Gaspar's time at the court of Burgundy in the 1490s. Incidentally, Gerhard Croll's article on Weerbeke for the 1980 *New Grove* viewed it as probably by Japart 'though Weerbeke cannot be completely excluded'; the 2001 *Grove* said it 'could be by either composer'. I disagree very strongly. First, there is nothing remotely comparable among the known works of Japart; second, every detail of the music says it was done either at the Burgundian ducal court or by somebody strongly influenced by what was happening there; third, its general style matches that of the trios that appear throughout Gaspar's mass Ordinary cycles.¹³

As concerns *La Stangetta*, I can safely leave the argument to Eric Jas; but I agree with his earlier statements that the ascription to 'Ueberbeck' in only the first edition of Petrucci's *Othecatone*, and carefully withdrawn in the two later editions, looks very weak indeed whereas the ascription to Isaac in the Segovia choirbook looks very strong; moreover, Petrucci otherwise always wrote 'Gaspar'. It would be easy to disagree stylistically with the verdict of the New Obrecht Edition that the piece cannot be by Obrecht; but the large quantity of apparently correct Obrecht ascriptions that are unique to the Segovia chansonnier can be used as a strong argument that its absence there amounts to further support of Isaac as the composer.¹⁴ But for the present purposes all that matters is that it cannot be by Gaspar.

Before progressing any further, it is worth adding a remark about Loyset Compère's *Plaine d'ennuy/Anima mea*, which appears among the *dubia* on the Weerbeke website and in the 2001 *Grove* article on Weerbeke, both citing Ludwig Finscher's 1964 Compère monograph.¹⁵ The history of this appears to be that there is substantial discussion of it in the final version of Finscher's book. The piece had been fully reported in the previous year in Martin Picker's article on 'The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria', drawing attention to the relationship between the bassus of *Plaine d'ennuy* and the tenor of Weerbeke's motet *Anima mea* (which happened also to appear in the same manuscript, Brussels 228, though it appears more famously in one of the Gaffurius codices in Milan).¹⁶ Finscher plainly did not have access to Picker's article but cited Gerhard Croll's dissertation, which in turn refers back to Finscher's own dissertation of the same year and university.¹⁷ Finscher summarized: 'Compère took over the T section corresponding to his text selection from Gaspar van Weerbeke's composition of a more complete text version in one of the Milanese motet cycles', and he then printed the two

13 Weerbeke, *CW: Masses 1*, ed. Pavanello and Lindmayr-Brandl.

14 A point kindly drawn to my attention by Eric Jas. See also his chapter in this book (Ch. 15).

15 Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (c. 1450–1518): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 12 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964). Finscher's discussion of the piece is on pp. 215–17.

16 Martin Picker, 'The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria', *Annales musicologiques*, 6 (1958–63), 145–285, at 215.

17 Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 240, n. 3.

melodies in parallel.¹⁸ There are indeed some remarkable similarities, both melodic and rhythmic, though only in certain parts of the melody. But it needs to be absolutely clear that the song is ascribed to Compère in three entirely independent sources.¹⁹ Moreover, it is absolutely in line with the style of Compère's other motet-chansons.²⁰ Whether Compère borrowed from Weerbecke or vice versa, or whether the two composers happened on the same melody, presumably in Milan, is of secondary interest: there is absolutely no case, on present evidence, for crediting *Plaine d'ennuy* to Weerbecke.

Next we must consider the setting of *O Venus bant* (NJE 27.29), credited in the Seville–Paris chansonnier to 'Gaspar'—one of the last pieces copied into that manuscript and one of its very few ascribed pieces—but credited in Petrucci's *Odbecaton* to Josquin.²¹ Josquin's name also appears for the piece in SGall 463, but since Donald Loach has demonstrated that the piece was copied there from the *Odbecaton*, that fails to count as an independent ascription.²² I do have to say that the arguments against Josquin presented in the commentary to the New Josquin Edition, published in 1991, are a bit different from what Josquin scholarship would use today. It lists a few features of other three-voice tenor settings credited to Josquin and states that these features are not present in *O Venus bant*. Since I am on record as believing that the young Josquin composed in many different ways before settling down to an identifiable style, I would be inclined to say that same about *O Venus bant*.²³ But in my view there is as yet no plausible case in either direction. It may be important to know when the last portions of the Seville–Paris chansonnier were copied: estimates vary from about 1480 to 1485, though most authorities agree that the manuscript was copied somewhere in southern Italy. As his life is currently understood, Josquin is unlikely to have been in Italy before 1484, whereas Gaspar was certainly there by 1472.

This is of course one of those cases where the Josquin Research Project ought to be helpful, but *O Venus bant* shows no technical flaws and no contrapuntal eccentricities.²⁴ But there is actually a problem concerning staff signatures. The Josquin Research Project follows the New Josquin Edition in including in the bassus a B \flat staff signature that is in only one of the work's sources; but it does not follow the New Josquin Edition in adding an editorial B \flat staff signature to the tenor or adding copious editorial flats to the superius. As Richard Taruskin beautifully argues in his edition of *O Venus bant* settings for his *Ogni Sorte* editions,

18 Finscher, *Loyset Compère*, 215–16, quote at 215.

19 Bol Q17, fols. 6^v–7^r, 'loyset comperere'; Flor 2439, fols. 50^v–51^r, 'Comperere'; London 35087, fols. 86^v–87^r, 'Loyset comperere'.

20 There are in all five motet-chansons credited to Compère, printed together in *Loyset Compère, Opera omnia*, vol. 5, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *CMM* 15/5 (1972), 1–7.

21 The 'Seville–Paris' chansonnier comprises not just Sev 5–1–43 but also Paris 4379, fols. 1–42, as famously reassembled in Dragan Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville', *Musical Quarterly*, 37 (1951), 501–42, and 38 (1952), 85–117 and 245–77.

22 As reported in NJE 27: *Secular Works for Three Voices*, ed. van Benthem and Brown, *Critical Commentary*, 192, citing Donald G. Loach, 'Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook (St. Gall MS 463)' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1969), vol. 1, p. 80.

23 David Fallows, 'Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin: An Interim Report', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, NS 19 (1999), 131–50.

24 *The Josquin Research Project*, directed by Jesse Rodin and Craig Sapp, available online at <www.josquin.stanford.edu>.

the case of whether the melody should be Dorian or Mixolydian is not at all clear; but for the Josquin/Gaspar setting he cites particularly the Spinacino intabulation and the annotation 'Mixolydius' added by Aegidius Tschudi in the manuscript SGall 463.²⁵

Of course the decision of whether it is Dorian or Mixolydian is of central importance here, because Gaspar's own mass *O Venus bant* has the melody resolutely in the Mixolydian mode throughout (of its eleven sources there is just one staff signature B \flat , for the bassus of a tiny section in Flor 229). If we decide that the three-voice song is Dorian, the chances that it was by Gaspar would be minimal; if we decide that it is Mixolydian, the chances increase dramatically.

And the final problem here is that our current view on what is genuine and what is spurious among Josquin's three-voice songs is decidedly more pessimistic than it was when NJE 27 was published in 1987. Back then, of the thirty-six pieces, twelve were judged spurious and only six were judged doubtful. In the work list presented in the Josquin Research Project, only four are accepted without qualification (and I myself would enter decided qualifications against all four, as it happens).²⁶ In sum, we really do not have enough information to offer a judgement either way about who composed this piece.

With *Vray Dieu quel payne m'esse* we come closer to the core of the problem here. It is ascribed to 'Gaspar' in Flor 2442, to Pipelare in Fridolin Sicher's keyboard tablature, and to Compère in Petrucci's *Canti C*. A certain confusion arises because Ludwig Finscher claimed that there were additional ascriptions to Compère in Bol Q17 and Flor 178: both sources in fact have the work anonymously, as Allan Atlas pointed out in 1975.²⁷

All writers on the topic have dismissed the Pipelare ascription on the grounds that the Sicher keyboard tablature is 'peripheral'. I would raise an important note of caution here, because there are plenty of grounds for thinking of Sicher as an extremely well-informed musician. In 1996 I suggested for the first time that another Sankt Gallen manuscript, SGall 461, was copied not in Florence or the Low Countries, as earlier writers had thought, but actually in Switzerland; I also suggested that it was copied by Fridolin Sicher himself.²⁸ Those comments—which I thought fairly revolutionary and in fact contradicted the view of the reigning expert on Sicher's activity, Dr Beat von Scarpatetti—raised no reaction apart from one article about Josquin which included the view that I must be wrong.²⁹ So in writing an article on Sicher for *MGG* some years later (published in 2006) I forwarded this view with much more

25 *O Venus bant: Ten Settings in Three and Four Parts*, ed. Richard Taruskin (Coconut Grove, FL, 1979), 2–7, and particularly 6.

26 The four are (as at my last visit to the site on 25 January 2018): *Cela sans plus* (NJE 27.3), *Entrée suis en grant pensée* (NJE 27.8), *Ille fantazies de Joskin* (NJE 27.15), and *Que vous madame* (NJE 27.33). That is more or less in line with current thought: in my own edition of Josquin's four-voice secular music I concluded that only three of the thirty-nine works were of certain authenticity, namely *Adieu mes amours* (NJE 28.3), *Plus nulz regretz* (NJE 28.28) and *Une musique de Biscaye* (NJE 28.35), see NJE 28: *Secular Works for Four Voices*, ed. Fallows, xii.

27 Allan Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C. G. XIII. 27)*, *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological Studies 27* (Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1975–76), 197, n. 2.

28 *The Songbook of Fridolin Sicher, around 1515: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 461*, ed. with an introduction by David Fallows, *Facsimile Editions of Prints and Manuscripts* (Peer: Alamire, 1996), 6–8.

29 Jesse Rodin, "When in Rome...": What Josquin Learned in the Sistine Chapel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 61 (2008), 307–72, at 354 and n. 118.

caution. Then, two years later, the second volume of Beat von Scarpatetti's catalogue of Sankt Gallen manuscripts unequivocally supported my position.³⁰ I am obviously much relieved about this; but, more importantly, with the view that SGall 461 and 530 were both copied by Fridolin Sicher we have a much fuller and more positive view of his musical knowledge and the music that was available to him, in particular that he had access to a very large number of pieces that survive otherwise only in manuscripts from the Low Countries and particularly the Habsburg court scriptorium in Mechelen. I file those remarks merely to say that it is no longer possible to dismiss an ascription by Sicher as peripheral and unreliable, particularly when discussing the matter of composers active in the Low Countries—which is the case with both Gaspar and Pipelare. I would also flag that the activities of Fridolin Sicher as a music collector and copyist are overdue for reinvestigation.

On the other hand, there is plenty to suggest that in this particular case Sicher's intabulation of *Vray Dieu quel payne* rests on a shaky basis. On the facing verso in the manuscript is a piece entitled 'Vräy dien d'amor', also ascribed to Pipelare.³¹ This is in fact a setting of an entirely different tune, the ballade *Vray Dieu d'amours confortez l'amoureux*,³² whereas our piece is musically unrelated (and is based on the pitch G, whereas the preceding piece is on F).³³ Moreover, our piece has in its heading '2^{da} pars Recordamini', which Allan Atlas construed as suggesting that the piece at some point had a Latin text.³⁴ Atlas said that he was unable to identify the *prima pars*; but it seems clear enough from the context that the *prima pars* was indeed the piece on the facing verso in the same manuscript. If so, there was a double confusion in yolkng these two entirely unrelated pieces together, perhaps because they have similar text openings. And with that the ascription of our piece to Pipelare begins to look thoroughly suspect.

Beyond that, the piece appears in the Cappella Giulia chansonnier of the early 1490s, which would make it more than ten years earlier than any other known source of Pipelare's music. Certainly Pipelare belongs alongside another northern composer, Johannes Mouton, as having an active professional life long before his music appears in the surviving manuscripts. On the other hand, what must immediately be said about *Vray dieu quel payne m'esse* is that its decidedly odd form matches precisely the form found in Compère's setting of *Scaramella va alla guerra*. That is to say that in both songs you have the main melody in the tenor, treated

30 Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Band 2: Abt. III/2: *Codices 450–546* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 37–39.

31 Published in Matthaues Pipelare, *Opera omnia*, ed. Ronald Cross, vol. 1, CMM 34/1 (1966), no. 7 (from Regensburg and then from Sicher's keyboard manuscript).

32 This text is derived, as Ronald Cross points out (*ibid.*, xv–xvi) from the fragment presented by Tinctoris, which has the text 'Vray dieu d'amer conforte l'amoureux qui nuit et jour' in just one of its three sources (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS II 4147), and this opening matches a complete ballade found only in Olivier Arnoullet's *Lesperit troublé* (Paris, [c.1537]). What he does not say is that the ballade matches the music very badly indeed, since the ballade has the rhyme scheme 'abab bc cdcd' and the music (uniquely among ballade settings of the fifteenth century) repeats after the first four lines, not the first two. I am fairly confident that this late source does not contain the poem set in the various known *Vray dieu d'amours confortez l'amoureux* settings listed in Fallows, *Catalogue*, 408–9. A more recent discussion of the piece appears in Susan Lempert, 'Studien zu den Chansons und Motetten von Matheus Pipelare' (doctoral diss., Hamburg, 2004), 80–92.

33 Published in Pipelare, *Opera omnia*, no. 8.

34 Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 198.

with each line presented first in the superius, albeit in looser fashion, and then followed by a repeat of the entire procedure in a faster triple time. Perhaps it is time to explore other comparable forms from that generation; there is a slightly similar form in *Que fait le cocu*. So the ascriptions of *Vray dieu quel payne* to Compère and Weerbeke seem equally strong. The only composer I would rule out, on stylistic grounds, is Japart. That is to say that the ascription in Flor 2442 would seem to be to Weerbeke, not Japart, but there seems no solid basis for deciding which ascription—Gaspar or Compère—is correct.

Now that in its turn leads to important features that need to be discussed about Flor 2442. This is the set of three partbooks—the bassus partbook is lost—described at some length in three important articles by Howard Mayer Brown, the first in 1966 and the last published in 1981.³⁵ To the end of his life, Brown maintained that the partbooks were copied in Florence around 1527, though he did in 1976 concede the possibility that Joshua Rifkin was right in suggesting that its origin was French.³⁶ Briefly, what seems to me absolutely the correct story on this manuscript was printed in 1979 in the first volume of the Illinois *Census-Catalogue*.³⁷ Here Brown's views are reported but followed immediately by the views of Joshua Rifkin, who stated that the origin was conceivably in France—and I quote: 'based on format, gathering structure, and script'. Rifkin also suggested a date *c.* 1510–15; for this he gave no reasons, but any glance at the repertoire in this manuscript would suggest that he was right. In terms of style, there is almost nothing here that does not appear in Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1504—a very useful comparator, not just because it is precisely dated but also because it contains 150 pieces.

Brown's date rests entirely on the watermarks of the endpapers, which are part of the binding, demonstrably for the Strozzi family of Florence. The clearest statement on its date came, I think, from Lawrence Bernstein, who in 1982 pointed out that the only evidence of dating is the presence there of Josquin's *Plus nulz regretz*, firmly dated 1507.³⁸

As for the place where it was copied, every detail says it was in France. Certainly it has a watermark apparently from northern Italy; but Italian paper was valued everywhere, as it is even today. This is an unusually high-quality manuscript, perhaps the most flawless we have before the Pollet manuscripts of the late sixteenth century. Richard Wexler's recent proposal that it was prepared in Rome, because Antoine Bruhier and various Strozzi family members were there during the papacy of Leo X, has almost nothing to recommend it and nothing to support

35 Howard Mayer Brown, 'Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine Patrician: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 56–66; Howard Mayer Brown, 'The Music of the Strozzi Chansonnier (Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442)', *Acta Musicologica*, 40 (1968), 115–29; Howard Mayer Brown, 'Words and Music in Early 16th-Century Chansons: Text Underlay in Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442', in *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I: Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 6 (Munich: Kraus, 1981), 97–141.

36 Printed in the 'Diskussion' after Brown's 1981 paper (actually delivered in 1976), at 123.

37 *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, ed. Herbert Kellman and Charles Hamm, vol. 1, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 1/1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1979), 235–36.

38 Lawrence F. Bernstein, 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson', *Journal of Musicology*, 1 (1982), 275–326, at 287, n. 28.

it.³⁹ But if it was copied in France, there is, as I said, a very good chance that the copyist did not know the difference between Gaspar and Japart. For the record, a recent article by Louise Litterick suggests that the composer concerned was neither Japart nor Weerbeke but another musician called Gaspar.⁴⁰ That seems unnecessary though perhaps it is an important caution.

The manuscript also contains some of the dirtiest texts ever used for sophisticated music. I would suggest that this probably rules out any ecclesiastical court—not because all bishops in the early sixteenth century were the purest souls, but because the compiler could have thought it inappropriate to include such songs in a collection intended for a bishop. A possible origin for that manuscript remains a major desideratum in today's musicology.

That, in any case, is the background for approaching the two last songs to be considered here, and in both cases my own view is that a case could be made for their being by Japart. *Bon temps/Adieu mes amours* is in the relatively rare genre of quodlibet. Allan Atlas credits three quodlibet songs to Japart: bizarrely, all three are of exactly the same length, namely fifty-one breves, whereas the 'Gaspart' quodlibet in Flor 2442 is only forty-nine breves long.⁴¹ But two of the Japart quodlibets use the melody *Il est de bonne heure né*, as does *Bon temps*. In the absence of a bassus voice, it is obviously hard to strike grounded judgements, but we do have evidence that Japart was interested in quodlibets. As concerns *Que fait le cocu*, very similar textures occur in Japart's *Famene un pocho de quella mazacrocha* (no. 3) and *Loier mi fault ung carpentier* (no. 10); moreover, these two and *Trois filles estoient* (no. 16) share with *Que fait le cocu* the technique of repeating the opening material at increased speed for the final reprise. That may not be much to go on, but it does seem unwise to eliminate the possibility that these two songs are by Japart.⁴²

Anyway, my conclusions on the possible secular works of Gaspar are that only *Sans regretz* can be considered secure, that only *J'ay pris amours* seems definitely by Japart. The rest are no clearer to me now than they were to Gerhard Croll in 1952.

39 Richard Wexler, *Antoine Brubier: Life and Works of a Renaissance Papal Composer* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 49–68, and particularly 66–68. Despite which, and since it is relevant to the topic of Gaspar, no praise can be too high for Wexler's demonstration (51–53) that Gaspar's *Bon temps je ne te puis laisser* cannot possibly mark the birth of a French dauphin in 1518.

40 Louise Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows: The Double Canon *En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet*', in *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600: Essays in Honour of Keith Polk*, ed. Timothy J. McGee and Stewart Carter (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 263–98m at 272, n. 32. The new candidate she brings to the table is Jaspard du Sanchoy, a *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral in 1496.

41 Japart, *The Collected Works*, nos. 6, 18, and 19. Nos. 18 and 19 have contrary ascriptions to Busnoys in Bol Q17; and no. 18 has an ascription to 'Pirson' (Pierre de la Rue) in Basel F.X.1–4; but the case for both being by Japart is very strong, as outlined by Atlas.

42 For a different interpretation of the authorship of *Bon temps* as well as the dating of both song and manuscript, see Carlo Bosì's contribution to this volume, Ch. 14.

APPENDIX

Sans regretz veul entretenir/Allez regretz, after Flor 2439, fols. 79^v-80^r

1 Sans 2 re - gretz 3 veul 4

1 Sans 2 re - gretz 3 veul 4

[Al - lez re - gretz]

5 en - - 6 tre - te - 7 nir 8 9 mon 10 cuer

5 en - - 6 tre - te - 7 nir 8 9 mon 10 cuer

7 1 Qui 2 long - - 3 temps 4 5 souf -

1 Qui 2 long - temps 3 a 4 5 souf -

10 6 fert 7 dueil 8 et 9 lan - - - 10 gueur. 1 Re -

6 fert 7 dueil 8 et 9 lan - - - 10 gueur. 1 Re - -

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13

2 3 4
me - dy n'ay

16

5 6 7 8 9 10
qu'a ma da - me Na - tu - -

19

+ 1 2 3 4 5 6
-re Qui nous

24

7 8 9 10 + 1 2
6 7 8 9 10 + 1 2

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27

Musical score for measures 27-29. The score is written for three staves: Treble, Bass, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 27: Treble staff has notes G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5 with fingerings 3, 4, and 5. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with fingerings 3, 4, and 5. Measure 28: Treble staff has notes B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 with a flat above the first B. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with a flat above the first B. Measure 29: Treble staff has notes C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4 with a flat above the first C. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with a flat above the first C.

30

Musical score for measures 30-32. The score is written for three staves: Treble, Bass, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 30: Treble staff has notes G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5 with fingerings 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with fingerings 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. Measure 31: Treble staff has notes B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4 with flats above the first B and the first A. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with flats above the first B and the first A. Measure 32: Treble staff has notes C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4 with flats above the first C and the first B. Bass staff has notes G3, A3, B3, C4, D4, E4 with flats above the first C and the first B.

Caught in the Web of Texts: The Chanson Family *Bon vin / Bon temps* and the Disputed Identity of ‘Gaspart’

Carlo Bosi

IN AN ESSAY PUBLISHED in the Reese *Festschrift* in 1978, Helen Hewitt discussed six different musical versions of the song *Bon vin/Bon temps*, of which one is monophonic and at least three purely textual versions or arrangements of the song. Although she also included in her survey the mass *Bon temps* by Antoine Brumel, transmitted among other sources in Jena 31, she considered it in far less detail than the songs, since, as she wrote, the composer ‘manipulates it in such a way that it is useless for our purposes here’.¹ In fact in her synoptic transcriptions of the melody as it appears in the different sources, she opted for the least ornamented version, which is presented in the ‘Tu solus altissimus’ section of the Gloria (phrases 1 and 2) and in the second Kyrie (phrases 3 and 4). Of course, this is not because the composer changed the order of appearance of the four distinct phrases, but because Hewitt aimed at offering the version closest to the melody as it appears in all other sources: in her own words, the ‘purest’ version. This is of course reasonable, considering that she needed to compare the four short phrases making up the song in its different transmissions synoptically. But the real motivation behind her choice was her conviction, stated at the beginning of her essay and shared with Howard Mayer Brown, that ‘an original [tune] did exist but no one will find it, for probably a *ménétrier* himself would not have been able to reconstruct it exactly’, adding that ‘a similar judgment must be made concerning the words of these *chansons rustiques*’.² Of interest here is not only the assumption of the existence of an ‘original melody’, but also that a *ménétrier* might have hypothetically wished to recall to mind its ‘original’ pitch and rhythmic content. Even though Hewitt finds the effort to identify such an ‘original’ futile, this is merely because she, with Brown, assumes that access to it is irrecoverable, either due to the loss of written sources or because, as with most *chansons rustiques* or *chansons de ménétrier*, the ‘original’ transmission, at least in its monophonic state, must have been oral.

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1 See Helen Hewitt, ‘A *Chanson rustique* of the Early Renaissance: *Bon temps*’, in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue and others (New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), 376–91, at 382–83.

2 Hewitt, *Ibid.*, 376.

Table 14.1. The song *Bon vin/Bon temps* and its musical sources

Sources (chronological)	Text and texting	Number of voices and presentation of the melody	Modality
<i>Canti B</i> , fols. 17 ^v –18 ^r (1502)	<i>Bon temps</i> (incipit)	4vv, melody mainly in T, though also circulating throughout the other parts	D-protus
SGall 461 (c.1515), pp. 38–39; Cop 1848 (1520–25), pp. 392 (C & T) & 411 (Ct)	SGall 461: <i>Bon tamps</i> (incipit); Cop 1848: <i>Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais</i> (C & T: incipit; Ct: one full stanza)	3vv, each phrase of the melody is presented by each voice in turn	D-protus
Bayeux, fols. 43 ^v –44 ^r (c.1516)	<i>Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser</i> (four full stanzas, the first one underlaid)	1v	C-tritus / C-Ionian
Cop 1848, p. 213	<i>Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser</i> (C: one full stanza; T & Ct: incipit)	3vv, melody in T	G-protus
Cop 1848, p. 376	<i>Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser</i> (incipit)	3vv, melody in T	D-protus
Flor 2442, no. 49 (quodlibet) (1510–20)	<i>Bon temps, je ne te puis laisser</i> (C: first couplet); <i>Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamais</i> (A: first couplet): Gaspard	[4vv] (B missing), the first two melodic phrases appear in the A	G-protus

Of the sources considered by Hewitt for the song (see Table 14.1), Petrucci's *Canti B* is by far the earliest; SGall 461, Flor 2442, and Cop 1848 are datable to around 1515, 1510–20, and 1520–25 respectively.³ The dating of Bayeux, on the other hand, has varied from the late 1490s until around 1515, but for internal reasons and reasons linked with the biography of its first owner, Duke Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier (1490–1527), I am inclined to believe that the manuscript was compiled around 1516, which means that it is basically contemporary to most

3 On *Canti B*, see in particular *Canti B numero cinquanta, Venice, 1502*, ed. Helen Hewitt, Monuments of Renaissance Music, 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), with a more recent bibliographical, historical, and repertorial assessment of it in Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 153, 271–72, and 468–73. For SGall 461, see *The Songbook of Fridolin Sicker, around 1515: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. San. 461*, ed. with an introduction by David Fallows, Facsimile Editions of Prints and Manuscripts, A10 (Peer: Alamire, 1996), whereas the most detailed scrutiny of Cop 1848 remains Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century: Studies in the Music Collection of a Copyist of Lyons. The Manuscript Ny kgl. Samling 1848 in the Royal Library, Copenhagen*, I–III (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press/University of Copenhagen, 1994). On the other hand, no monograph is available for Flor 2442, and the planned facsimile edition by Howard Mayer Brown did not make it to the press due to the untimely death of the scholar. Brown did, however, produce the first two important studies of this incomplete set of partbooks: 'Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine Patrician: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 55–66; and 'The Music of the Strozzi Chansonnier (Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442)', *Acta Musicologica*, 40 (1968), 115–29. See, moreover, Lawrence F. Bernstein, 'Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson', *Journal of Musicology*, 1 (1982), 275–326, at 286–89.

sources transmitting this song.⁴ Regarding Flor 2442, Brown dated it, on paper and circumstantial evidence, to around 1520 to 1525, if not 1527.⁵ More recent surveys, mainly based on the repertoire transmitted therein, point rather to around 1510 to 1515.⁶ As we shall see below, however, repertorial and circumstantial evidence might point to a dating between these two extremes.

With regard to provenance, all sources apart from *Canti B* are French. Even Flor 2442, which lacks the bassus partbook, must have been copied by a French scribe, as shown by its script, its almost impeccable texts, and by the fact that the fascicles are gathered in quaternions, a practice normally associated with French *scriptoria*.⁷ However this does not necessarily mean that the partbooks were compiled in France, since there were enough French scribes working in Italy in the early sixteenth century. Indeed, Richard Wexler firmly places the compilation of the source in Rome during the papacy of Leo X (1513–21) and, discarding Brown's association with Filippo Strozzi, prefers to link the manuscript with Filippo's elder brother Lorenzo (1482–1549).⁸ Lorenzo was much more musically endowed; he was a poet and a singer himself and an enthusiastic organizer of feasts and banquets for the papal Curia and its guests, where at least some of the songs transmitted in Flor 2442, as we shall see, could have been performed.⁹

Of interest is that all three songs à 3 are transmitted with varying amounts of text in the Lyonnaise manuscript Cop 1848, compiled in the early 1520s. This is a large, mixed source, put together by a local musician for his personal use.¹⁰ The compiler apparently collected different compositions based on the same *cantus prius factus*, but he may also have been interested in

4 See Carlo Bosi, *An Early 16th-Century Monophonic Source and its Polyphonic Relatives*, to be published by Brepols. The closest approximation to my proposed dating was provided by the late Frank Dobbins, 'Andrea Antico's *Chansons* and the Diffusion of French Song in the Second Decade of the Sixteenth Century', in « La la la... Maître Henri »: *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, ed. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (Brepols: Turnhout, 2009), 127–57. Here he indeed stated that '[t]his manuscript may have been compiled around the time that the duke was at the height of his power and fortune, after leading [the] King's army to victory over the imperial forces at the Battle of Marignano in 1515' (p. 139), but without further qualifying this assertion. The only extant monograph on this almost unique monophonic source is the dated, but still useful dissertation by Théodore Gérold, *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux: Texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XV^e siècle* (Strasbourg: Commission des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres; Palais de l'Université, 1921), republished by Minkoff Reprint (Geneva) in 1979. Important observations on Bayeux were also provided by Isabel Kraft, in her monograph on the other slightly earlier monophonic source: *Einstimmigkeit um 1500: Der Chansonier Paris, BnF, f. fr. 12744*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 64 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009), 70–75, although she posited a much earlier dating for our manuscript.

5 See Brown, 'Chansons for the Pleasure', 65–66.

6 See especially NJE 28: *Secular Works for Four Voices*, ed. Fallows, *Critical Commentary*, 141; Louise Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows: The Double Canon *En l'ombre d'ung buissonnet*', in *Instruments, Ensembles, and Repertory, 1300–1600. Essays in Honour of Keith Polk*, ed. Timothy J. McGee and Stewart Carter (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 263–98; and Vassiliki Koutsobina, 'A King, a Pope, and a War: Economic Crisis and *Faute d'argent* settings in the Opening Decades of the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, 7 (2015), 83–102.

7 The French origin of the manuscript was first hypothesized by Joshua Rifkin in a remark appearing at p. 122 following another essay by Howard Mayer Brown on this source: 'Words and Music in Early 16th-Century Chansons: Text Underlay in Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS Basevi 2442', in *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I: Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 6 (Munich: Kraus, 1981), 97–141. Explicitly supporting a French provenance are Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows', 269–70 and Koutsobina, 'A King, a Pope, and a War', 99.

8 For another view on the origin of the manuscript, see David Fallows's essay in this volume, Ch. 13 above.

9 See Richard Wexler, *Antoine Brubier: Life and Works of a Renaissance Papal Composer* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 49–68. On the possible implications of this for Gaspart's quodlibet, see the relevant discussion below.

10 See the relevant discussion in Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century*, passim.

putting together samples of distinct compositional approaches to cantus-firmus composition. One could even hypothesize that he composed some of the music. But at least for *Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais*, with the contratenor copied a few pages away from cantus and tenor, this cannot be true: there is an independent textless concordance in the earlier SGall 46r, with no more than the incipit *Bon temps* under the cantus and few musical variants. Interestingly, this is the only polyphonic arrangement of the melody with a concordance, and it is also the longest, even longer than the four-voice arrangement in Petrucci or the quodlibet by ‘Gaspart’. However, it might somehow have emulated the four-voice arrangement in *Canti B*, and one gets the impression that the anonymous author wanted to outdo his ‘model’, albeit in a three-voice texture. In Petrucci the phrases of the melody, after two brief ‘mock’ entries in the bassus and altus, appear one after the other in cantus and tenor, but also with a certain degree of flexibility and overlapping (see Appendix 1). The three-voice arrangement in SGall 46r and Cop 1848, pages 392 and 411, systematically presents each phrase in each voice without any overlapping and with long sections of filler material in between. This material closely resembles Petrucci but is at the same time more elaborate and clearly separates the presentations of each phrase (see Appendix 2). The compass of this composition is quite unusual, with the two upper voices overlapping within the range of a cantus and the lowest voice straddling the ambitus of an altus and a tenor and written in a C₃ clef. Curiously, it is the lowest part that the scribe of Cop 1848 underlaid with the greatest amount of text (a full stanza), although this is not the only such case in this manuscript. In the other two arrangements (pp. 213 and 376), which are the two shortest in this corpus, the melody is presented straightforwardly and just once in what is now a true tenor. Whereas the arrangement at page 213 (see Example 14.1) has a full stanza with the incipit *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser* underlaid to the very melismatic cantus (in fact, most of the phrasing is made up of scalar runs), the other one (see Example 14.2) has only the incipit *Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser* in the three voices. Otherwise the two arrangements are quite similar, since both are in triple time, begin with an anacrusis, and, as already mentioned, present the cantus prius factus once in the tenor, although *Bon Temps* is in D-protus (starting on A and ending on D) whereas *Bon vin* is in a protus on G (starting on D and ending on G).

The two polyphonic arrangements in Cop 1848 with complete stanzas have the following texts:

Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser,	<i>Good wine, I cannot forsake you,</i>
Je t’ay m’amour donnée;	<i>I have offered you my love;</i>
Tu m’as fait coucher au foyer	<i>You have made me lie down by the fireplace</i>
Tout au lon[g] de l’année (p. 213)	<i>All year long</i>

and

Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais	<i>Good time, will you ever come back</i>
À ta noble puissance	<i>To your noble strength</i>
Pour maintenir toujours en paix	<i>In order to always keep at peace</i>
Le réaume de France? (pp. 392 and 411)	<i>The kingdom of France?</i>

Effectively the texts could not be more different. Whereas the former relates the story of someone so prone to wine that he ends up spending his nights completely drunk by the fire-

Caught in the Web of Texts: The Chanson Family *Bon vin/Bon temps*

Example 14.1. *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*, from Cop 1848, p. 213

Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser, Je
 Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser,...

6
 t'ay m'a-mour don-né e; Tu

10
 m'as fait cou-cher au fou-yer Tout au

15
 lon[g] de l'an-né e.

Carlo Bosi

Example 14.2. *Bon Temps, je ne te puis laisser*, from Cop 1848, p. 376

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The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

System 1 (Measures 1-4):

- Soprano:** Bon Temps, je ne te puis lais - #
- Alto:** Bon Temps, je ne te puis lais - - -
- Bass:** Bon Temps, je ne te puis lais

System 2 (Measures 5-8):

- Soprano:** ser,...
- Alto:** ser,...
- Bass:** (No lyrics)

System 3 (Measures 9-12):

- Soprano:** (No lyrics)
- Alto:** (No lyrics)
- Bass:** (No lyrics)

System 4 (Measures 13-16):

- Soprano:** (No lyrics)
- Alto:** (No lyrics)
- Bass:** (No lyrics)

place, the other seems to nostalgically recall the good old times when France was at peace, implying that this is no longer the case.

An even longer text version of *Bon vin* is the Bayeux transmission, with its four full stanzas (see Figure 14.1). The message is the same, but the wording is different. To quote the first stanza:

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Figure 14.1. *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*, Bayeux, fols. 43^v-44^r, © Bibliothèque nationale de France



Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser,
 Je t'ay m'amour donnée,
 Ane hauvoy!
 Souvent m'as faiçt la soif passer,
 Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser
 Ne soir ne matinée

*Good wine, I cannot forsake you,
 I have offered you my love,
 Hey, evohé!
 Often have you quenched my thirst,
 Good wine, I cannot forsake you,
 Neither in the evening, nor in the morning*

This version adds the Bacchic exclamation 'Ane hauvoy' before textual repeats, and the musical figure spans a fifth and helps to close the gap of a seventh between the end of the second phrase on C and the beginning of its repetition on B. Otherwise the endings are different, but the general meaning is the same. Indeed, the idea of collapsing under the influence of alcohol is still present, but it is only in the third stanza that the protagonist falls asleep, albeit this time not by the fireplace, but under the table, where he snores all night long:

Soubz la table me as faiçt coucher	<i>You've made me lie down under the table</i>
Mainçte foys cette année	<i>Many times this year,</i>
Et si m'as faiçt dormir, romfler	<i>And you've made me sleep, snore</i>
Toute nuit à nuitée	<i>Every night all night long</i>

In a way, as Hewitt also observes, the Cop 1848 *Bon vin* stanza looks like a summary of the four stanzas in Bayeux, with the implication that this text was circulating independently of the two sources, since Cop 1848 and Bayeux are completely unrelated.¹¹ (In fact Bayeux is directly related only to a couple of other northern French sources.)¹² But in this reworking, the unknown 'author' of Cop 1848 exchanges the first line of Bayeux's third stanza and the second stanza's last one:

Cop 1848, p. 213	Bayeux, fols. 43^v–44^r
Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser, Je t'ay m'amour donnée.	1. Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser, Je t'ay m'amour donnée...
Tu m'as fait coucher au foyer Tout le lon[g] de l'année	2. ... Je prens plaisir à te verser Tout le long de l'année.
	3. Soubz la table me as faiçt coucher...

Indeed, whereas in Cop 1848 what the reveller does 'all year long' is fall asleep by the fireplace (presumably repeatedly) (*Tu m'as fait coucher au foyer / Tout le lon[g] de l'année*), in Bayeux he enjoys pouring his wine during the same time-frame (*Je prens plaisir à te verser / Tout au long de l'année*). Here the act of falling asleep under the table (*Soubz la table me as faiçt coucher*) is explicitly described as a consequence of his heavy drinking. The music in Bayeux is a variant in C-*tritus* or C-Ionian, with considerably more internal, textually motivated repetition than all the other versions (see Example 14.3). Indeed, the first verse (*Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*) returns as a kind of refrain before the last one (*Ne soir ne matinée*), which is itself repeated after the 'Ane hauvoy' interjection.

In his quodlibet, 'Gaspard' quotes two lines each of both *Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamais* (which is a better reading than the hypermetric line of *Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais* in Cop 1848) and *Bon temps [sic, not Bon vin] je ne te puis laisser* in the altus and cantus respectively. But the second quoted line is different from the versions known thus far: whereas the first two lines in Cop 1848 read *Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais / À ta noble puissance*, in the 'Gaspard' variant they are *Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamaiz / Tu m'à[s] donné merencollie*. And, whereas 'Gaspard' has *Bon temps, je ne te puis lassier / Tu m'as t'amour donnée*, both Cop 1848 and Bayeux have *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser / Je t'ay m'amour donnée*. However, the incipit *Bon temps*,

¹¹ Hewitt, 'A *Chanson rustique*', 388.

¹² These are Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 1760 and London, British Library, Harley 5242, on which see, respectively, *Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1760*, facs. ed. Howard Mayer Brown (London: Routledge, 1988) and John T. Brobeck, 'A Music Book for Mary Tudor, Queen of France', *Early Music History*, 35 (2016), 1–93; Paule Chaillon, 'Le Chansonnier de Françoise (Ms. Harley 5242, Br. Mus.)', *Revue de musicologie*, 35 (1953), 1–31, and Frank Dobbins, 'Poésie et musique pour François et Françoise (de Foix): Changement des genres et des manières de poésie chantée en musique', in *La Poésie à la cour de François I^{er}*, ed. Jean-Eudes Girot, Cahier V.L. Saulnier, 29 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2012), 137–56.

Example 14.3. *Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser*, from Bayeux, fol. 43^v

Bon vin, je ne te puis laiss - ser, Je t'ay m'a - mour don -

8

né - - e, A - ne hau - voy! Je t'ay m'a - mour don - né - -

15

- e. Sou - vent m'as fait la soif pas - ser, Bon vin je

21

ne te puis laiss - ser Ne soir ne ma - ti - né - -

27

- e, A - ne hau - voy! Ne soir ne ma - ti - né - - e.

je ne te puis laisser used by 'Gaspart' is the same as in the otherwise textless arrangement in Cop 1848 at page 376. On the other hand, the melodic quotation in 'Gaspart' (see Appendix 3) is found only in the altus with the text *Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamais* (in G-protus); the cantus, sung to the text *Bon temps, je ne te puis laissier*, is a contrapuntal accompaniment to the altus and does not cite any known melody.

Bon vin seems also to have had an unrelated musical setting, though a much earlier one. At fols. 2^v-3^r of Paris 4379, the section of the Colombina chansonnier (with Sev 5-1-43) now in Paris, there is a two-voice quodlibet whose cantus is made up of a string of famous songs, beginning with Binchois's *Seule esgarée*, whereas the tenor has the incipit *O rosa bella*, quoting in effect from the famous song by John Bedyngham.¹³ In bars 30-33 the full first line *Bon vin, je ne te puis laissier* is sung on the descending tetrachord G-D, with a cadence on D

Example 14.4. *Seule esgarée/O rosa bella*, cantus, from Paris 4379, fols. 2^v-3^r, detail

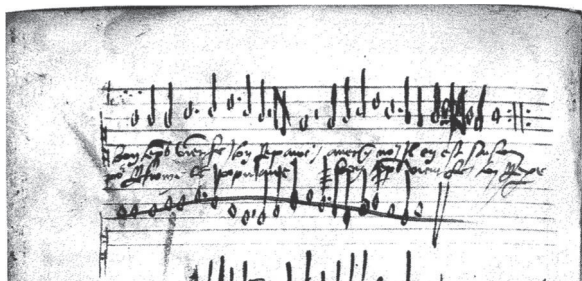
Bon vin, je ne te puis laissier

13 On the Colombina chansonnier, see Dragan Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville', *Musical Quarterly*, 37 (1951), 501-42, and 38 (1952), 85-117 and 245-77; *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschriften Sevilla 5-I-43 & Paris N. A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)/Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Sevilla 5-I-43 & Paris N. A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)*, ed. Dragan Plamenac, Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften, 8/Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 8 (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1962); and Alice A. Moerk, 'The Seville Chansonnier: An Edition of Seville 5-1-43 and Paris n.a.fr. 4379 (part 1)', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1971). On *O rosa bella* and its recent ascription to John Bedyngham rather than John Dunstaple, as formerly assumed, see David Fallows, 'Bedyngham, Johannes', in *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 5 February 2018. An annotated transcription of this and other quodlibets in the Colombina chansonnier was provided, before Moerk's dissertation, by Dragan Plamenac, 'The Two-Part Quodlibets in the Seville Chansonnier', in *The Commonwealth of Music: Sachs Memorial Volume*, ed. Gustave Reese and Rose Brandel (New York: Free Press, 1965), 163-81.

(Example 14.4). Although this is clearly unrelated to any of the *Bon vin/Bon temps* melodies, it shares the same iambic metre. In any case I believe that the presence of this text line is proof enough that at least the same poem or a close variant of it must have been circulating already in the 1470s, and also in Italy, given that the Colombina chansonnier was probably copied in or around Naples. Note, moreover, that this is the only Italian source with the text *Bon vin*. Regarding *Bon temps*'s transmission in *Canti B*, it is possible, as I have argued elsewhere for other *canti*, that this song reached Petrucci following the Italian campaigns of Charles VIII.¹⁴ This is all the more likely, given that, as we shall see below, a purely literary source of the text suggests a connection to this war and the king's absence from France.

Finally, echoes of this family of songs seem to surface much later in southern France. At fol. 58^v of Upps 76a (see Figure 14.2), which is on the whole up to a decade earlier than

Figure 14.2. *Bon temps vient...*, Upps 76a, fol. 58^v, detail, © Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek



Cop 1848 and which also seems to have originated in or around Lyons, there are several different attempts at composing the cantus of a song. The barely legible text begins 'Bon temps vient', but the music is unrelated to the *Bon temps* family.¹⁵ However, as remarked by Christoffersen, this specific entry is to be dated much later than the core repertory of the manuscript and in fact

could be a student compositional draft dating from the 1530s, from a period when the songs and the motets transmitted by this manuscript had lost all currency.¹⁶

*Bon temps, je ne te puis laissier/Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamais/
Adieu mes amourz: A Quodlibet or a Fricassée?*

The quodlibet is also the only version of the *Bon temps/Bon vin* chanson family carrying an ascription; all the others are anonymous. Weerbeke scholars assume that the attribution to 'Gaspart' indicates the Flemish master.¹⁷ Indeed, the spelling with final 't' of his first name (see Figure 14.3) is precisely what one could expect from a French or French-speaking scribe, as the compiler of Flor 2442 certainly was (see above). This makes the tentative identifica-

14 See Carlo Bosi, 'Gentilz gallans de France: The Vicissitudes of a French War Song between Brittany and Rome', *Musica Disciplina*, 59 (2016), 7–51.

15 For Upps 76a, see Howard Mayer Brown, 'A "New" Chansonnier of the Early Sixteenth Century in the University Library of Uppsala: A Preliminary Report', *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), 171–233; *Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i handskrift 76a*, ed. with an introduction by Howard Mayer Brown, *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 19 (New York: Garland, 1987); *The Uppsala Chansonnier MS 76a*, ed. Peter Woetmann Christoffersen (<<http://uppsala.pwch.dk/index.html>>, accessed on 5 February 2018).

16 See *The Uppsala Chansonnier MS 76a*, ed. Christoffersen, *Dating and Function* (<<http://uppsala.pwch.dk/Dating.html#fr>>, accessed on 5 February 2018).

17 See especially Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke, Gaspar van', 2. Works, *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 7 February 2018, and the website of the Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition, hosted by the University of Salzburg (<<http://www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/home.html>>, accessed on 7 February 2018).

Figure 14.3. Beginning of the Cantus of *Bon temps*, with the Ascription to 'Gaspart', Flor 2442, fol. 172^r
© Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini



tion with Japart, already unlikely for a composer whose identifiable activity spans the years 1476–81, untenable, since no Frenchman, even in the sixteenth century, would ever confuse the pronunciation of the syllables 'ga' and 'ja', especially such an accurate and consistent scribe.¹⁸ In reviewing the three 'Gaspart' ascriptions in Flor 2442, Louise Litterick, though generally

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tending to discard the identification of 'Gaspart' with Japart, admits that the composition 'resembles the somewhat old-fashioned quodlibet that Japart favoured'.¹⁹ However, the quodlibets Japart composed were rather of the combinative song type, where each voice consistently sings a distinct melody, whereas in 'Gaspart's' quodlibet each part is made up of a patchwork or a string of fragments of different popular melodies and/or texts (see Appendix 3).²⁰ This compositional procedure was still something of a novelty in the early sixteenth century, and in French-speaking areas it will later be designated *fricassée*.²¹ The few earlier examples of this compositional type, like the quodlibets in the Colombina chansonnier and the single examples in the so-called Copenhagen fragments (Cop 17) and in Pav 362, are à 2 and only one of the voices is constructed as a patchwork of different song fragments, the other integrally quoting a

18 For this same reason, it is unlikely that Gaspart might turn out to be the Cambrai vicar Jaspart du Sanchoy or the Jaspert who in 1507 was a member of the chapel of the Lieve-Vrouwe Brotherhood at Bergen-op-Zoom, as suggested by Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows', 272–73, n. 32. For Japart, see Allan W. Atlas and Jane Alden, 'Japart, Jean', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 7 February 2018, and Allan W. Atlas, 'Japart, Jean, Johannes', *MGG Online*, accessed on 23 March 2018, where the scholar suggests that Japart may have been identical with a 'Johannes de Francia, Frater', documented at the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice on 8 December 1499: this would of course add further eighteen years to the composer's recorded presence, if not his activity. However, as pointed out by Bonnie Blackburn in a private communication, the identity of this French friar with Japart is rather unlikely, also considering that in a document of safe conduct dated 6 February 1477 his name is spelt as 'Happaert', thus suggesting a Flemish origin (see Atlas and Alden, 'Japart, Jean'). But even then, it is hardly likely that a French scribe would have spelt the name of a composer generally known under the French-sounding name 'Japart' as 'Gaspart'. It is true that, as rightly remarked by Paul Kolb in a private exchange, a few works more securely ascribed to Gaspar van Weerbeke carry in some sources (Flor 2439, Jena 21, and the Chigi Codex: see the website of the Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition) the ascription 'Jaspar' or 'Iaspar', but these are all manuscripts coming from a northern Flemish/Germanic cultural milieu, where such a spelling of the name 'Gaspar'—though pronounced with a German, not French 'j'—is common, albeit not exclusive.

19 Litterick, 'Out of the Shadows', 272–73, n. 32.

20 David Fallows, on the other hand, argues that the potential attribution to Japart should not be so easily discarded in part due to the similarities of this setting with Japart's other quodlibets; see his contribution to this volume, Ch. 13. For a general history of the term 'quodlibet' and its interpretative context, see Maria Rika Maniates, Peter Branscombe, and Richard Freedman, 'Quodlibet', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 7 February 2018, and Axel Beer, 'Quodlibet', *MGG Online*, accessed on 7 February 2018.

21 The term first appears in the *Second livre contenant XXV. chansons nouvelles à quatre parties le tout en ung livre* (Paris: Attaignant, 1536) (RISM 1536^s). For a history of the term, see Maria Rika Maniates and Richard Freedman, 'Fricassée', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 7 February 2018.

complete melody.²² In ‘Gaspart’'s four-voice quodlibet, on the other hand, the patchwork character applies to the whole texture and for this reason this composition may be considered one of the earliest instances of *fricassée*. It can therefore be argued that *Bon temps, je ne te puis laisser/Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamaiz/Adieu, mes amourz* was composed not long before its entry into the anthology, making it one of its latest works.

Of the six secular compositions generally associated with Weerbeke, the three ‘Gaspart’ songs transmitted in Flor 2442 are the only ones providing a full text.²³ Of these, *Vray dieu, quel payne m’esse*, carries a conflicting attribution to Compère in *Canti C*, an attribution which Compère scholarship strongly supports.²⁴ But it must be said that Flor 2442 is generally very reliable in its ascriptions. It is, moreover, intriguing that the two songs transmitting a full text in all surviving parts are unique to FlorC 2442, one being, of course, our *fricassée*. The other, *Que fait le cocu au bois* (no. 50), though based on a single text, is equally if not more entertaining and, by building on the metaphor of the ‘cuckoo’ for the cuckolded man, falls well within the obscene/hilarious tone of most songs in the manuscript. But on closer inspection, even the texts in *Bon temps*, and, perhaps even more their interaction, lend themselves in some passages to obscene or at least humorous interpretations. It is amusing, for instance, to hear the cantus exclaim ‘Levez-vous hau, Guillemette, car il est jour’ (Stand up high, Guillemette, since it is daytime), with the tenor simultaneously singing ‘Dessuz ton liēt, ton liēt et là demourrons’ (On your bed, on your bed and there shall we stay) (see Appendix 3, bb. 14–17). While this makes sense as a synchronic unit, it is totally disconnected to the preceding respective quotations in cantus and tenor. Later (bb. 32–39), the cantus summons the audience to play trumpets and bombardes to welcome the dauphin, whilst the altus reprises the Guillemette text, though not the music, at the same time seemingly imitating the trumpet’s sound with its fourth and fifth leaps. At the same time the tenor sings ‘Il est de bonne heure né / Qui tient s’amie en ung pré / Sur l’herbe jolye’ (He is a born under a lucky star / Who holds his girlfriend in a meadow / On the pleasing grass), the same words, with different music, which had been sung by the altus immediately after the previously cited passage (bb. 17–23). The fluid association between a certain melody and its attendant text is common in this ‘popularizing’ repertoire and, as previously remarked for the cantus opening *Bon temps, je ne te puis laisser*, it often happens that the words of a well-known song are cited with new music. In fact, it is only towards the beginning that ‘Gaspart’ cites words with a pre-existing musical combination. After ‘Il est de bonne heure né’ in the altus (bb. 17–23), no other recog-

22 For the quodlibets in the Colombina chansonnier, see Plamenac, ‘The Two-part Quodlibets’; concerning the quodlibet in the Copenhagen fragment, see Jaap van Benthem, ‘Ein verstecktes Quodlibet des 15. Jahrhunderts in *Fragmenter 17* der Kongelige Bibliotek zu Kopenhagen’, *Tijdschrift van der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 23 (1973), 1–11. For the manuscript Pav 362, see Henrietta Schavran, ‘The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, codice Aldini 362: A Study of Song Tradition in Italy ca. 1440–1480’ (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978); the quodlibet is at fols. 29^v–30^r.

23 *Sans regretz veul entretenir*, transmitted in Flor 2439 with the ascription ‘Jaspar’, has only incipits in discantus and bassus and an almost complete text in the tenor: see the website of the Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition.

24 See *Canti C*, fol. 130^r. For Compère, see Joshua Rifkin et al., ‘Compère, Loyset’, *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 8 February 2018, and the Compère *Opera omnia*, I–V, ed. Ludwig Finscher, CMM 15 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1958–72), which includes the song.

nizable pre-existent melody is cited.²⁵ Both the words and music of the other song appearing in the tenor and beginning with ‘Chantez du cuer fin / La bienvenue / De monsieur le dauffin’ are unknown from other sources. Subsequently this latter text permeates the whole polyphonic texture and from bar 40 until the end it is the only one being sung: it is as though the *fricassée* gradually transmogrifies into this apparent homage to a mysterious *dauffin*. That this *dauffin* is unlikely to refer to any real heir apparent to the throne of France, as originally suggested by Brown, was convincingly argued by Wexler in his Bruhier monograph, especially in view of its jocose combination with the ‘Guillemette’ song, whose words, incidentally, reappear in an arrangement by Ninot le Petit to be found in the same source (no. 10).²⁶

Bon temps and Bon vin on Stage

None of the *Bon temps/Bon vin* poems is transmitted in a purely poetic anthology, although many texts which, like these, can be ascribed to the *rustique* tradition were already being published in Paris starting from about 1512 in cheap octavo volumes.²⁷ However, as Howard Mayer Brown taught us, many more were cited in contemporary farces and *sotties*, a kind of a street theatre with Commedia dell’Arte-like characters, but also with personifications of vices, virtues, and allegorical figures.²⁸ This is the case for both *Bon temps* and *Bon vin*. The former was sung on stage in a ‘Farce nouvelle à cinq personnages, c’est assavoir Faulte d’Argent, Bon Temps et les troys gallans...’, to be found in the so-called *Recueil de Florence*, of around 1515;²⁹ the latter was sung in a ‘Farce à trois personnages, c’est assavoir Le savetier, le sergent et la laitière...’, probably published around the same time in the *Recueil Trepperel*.³⁰ In the latter, which, according to the modern editor, Eugénie Droz, was originally staged in Évreux, Normandy between 1480 and 1490, ‘le savetier’, i.e. the cobbler, starts by singing the first two lines of the *Bon vin* text, which correspond exactly to the Cop 1848 and the Bayeux versions (‘Bon vin, je ne te puis laisser / Je t’ay m’amour donnée...’).³¹ On the other hand, in the ‘Farce à cinq

25 For the family of songs based on this monophonic tune, refer to the database *Monophonic chansons in Polyphonic Textures, c.1450 to c.1550* (<<http://chansonmelodies.sbg.ac.at>>, accessed on 8 February 2018).

26 For Brown’s hypothesis, see his ‘Chansons for the Pleasure’, 65, whereas Wexler’s argument is in *Antoine Bruhier*, 52–53. During the reconstruction workshop at the Gaspar conference, Jaap van Benthem suggested that both Guillemette, who ‘stands up high’, as well as the *dauffin*, could refer to the male sexual organ, an innuendo which would indeed intensify the mimetic character of the interplay between cantus and altus (bb. 32–33) mentioned above. Moreover, this meaning, which accords pretty well with the general character of most songs in Flor 2442, seems to be confirmed by the original context of this line in Ninot’s song. However, lacking a specialized knowledge of early modern French erotic metaphors, this captivating hypothesis must remain a conjecture.

27 Brian Jeffery, *Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance*, vol. 1 (London: Jeffery, 1971), 37 ff.

28 Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1450–1550* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). He mentions the theatrical contexts of *Bon vin/Bon temps* at p. 194 f.

29 See *Le Recueil de Florence: 53 farces imprimées à Paris vers 1515*, ed. Jelle Koopmans, *Medievalia*, 70 (Orléans: Éditions Paradigme, 2011), 663–72. Koopmans’s edition is a very much improved and commented revision of Gustave Cohen, *Recueil de farces françaises inédites du XV^e siècle* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1949), who for the first time brought this important collection—still in private hands—to the attention of the public. In many cases Koopmans questions the dating proposed by Cohen, who was convinced that most of these farces were written or conceived in the years 1480–90.

30 See *Le Recueil Trepperel*, ed. Eugénie Droz and Halina Lewicka, *Travaux d’humanisme et Renaissance*, 45 (Geneva: Droz, 1961), 25–40.

31 *Le Recueil Trepperel*, 25.

personnages', staged in Paris probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only is a full stanza of *Bon temps* sung by the three *gallans* (who, according to the modern editor, Jelle Koopmans, must in this case be poor students), but *Bon Temps*, together with *Faulte d'Argent*, are themselves allegorical characters appearing soon afterwards.³²

If the significance of *Faulte d'Argent* (Lack of Money) is quite clear, the nature of *Bon Temps* is more difficult to define. This figure has been variously interpreted as a personification of the returning spring or of Carnival.³³ In this case it seems more generally to evoke a carefree time of abundance, which the three *gallans* longingly remember, until the voice of *Bon Temps* is heard off-stage, announcing that he is not dead, but that he has been chased out of France after the war began and now is kept prisoner by *Faulte d'Argent*. Later we learn that this war is 'loingtaine', far away, something which may possibly hint at the Italian campaigns, fought in three different stages: the first (1494–95) under Charles VIII, the second (1499–1504) under Louis XII, and the third (1508–16) under Louis XII and his successor François d'Angoulême (Francis I). During this time France was repeatedly struck by periods of financial upheavals, hence probably the 'faulte d'argent'; the nostalgic memory of *Bon Temps* could have referred to the later decades of the fifteenth century, when a relatively high state of well-being had spread to all social classes.³⁴ Whichever of these stages it might refer to, this would indirectly help us in dating not so much the origin of our *Bon Temps* song as one of the periods of its most widespread popularity, since it is unlikely that street actors would sing something which would not have been immediately recognized by the public. And a text having to do with money or the lack of it, like *Faulte d'argent* or *Tant que mon argent dura*, both also transmitted in Flor 2442, might possibly be what the missing bassus of Gaspart's *fricassée* sang. This would have had to be quoted with a different or highly modified version of the melody normally attached to them, since neither of the two fits without significant rhythmic or melodic adjustment into the contrapuntal fabric of the song. It should, moreover, be remarked that the 'Guillemette' character, cropping up in the Gaspart *fricassée* and the protagonist of Ninot's song no. 10, has an even more distinguished theatrical pedigree: she not only appears in three farces of the *Recueil de Florence* but is also a key figure in the far older *Farce de Maître Pathelin* (1456–60).³⁵

32 See *Le Recueil de Florence*, 663–70.

33 Compare with *Il Maggio* of the Italian *Calendimaggio*, still celebrated in many localities of central Italy. See *Calendimaggio: Festa di Primavera*, ed. Ente Calendimaggio (Assisi: Ente Calendimaggio, 1988).

34 On the financial turmoil during the Italian wars and the preceding favourable financial conditions, see R. Doucet, 'France under Charles VIII and Louis XII', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. G. Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 292–315, at 310. Contrary to Koutsobina's statement, it is not at all clear that this farce was 'written during the first Italian war led by Charles VIII' ('A King, a Pope, and a War', 93). In this she seems to follow Élisabeth Caron, 'Des *Esbabis* la sottie aux *Esbabis* la comédie: La formation et l'usurpation d'un théâtre national populaire', *French Review*, 65 (1992), 719–32, at 725, who, however, merely implies that this theatrical piece 'refers' to the first Italian campaign, not that it was written during it. And even this is doubtful, as Koopmans (*Le Recueil de Florence*, 671) suggests. This farce was in any case staged during the reign of Louis XII (1498–1515), a sovereign who was known to tolerate and even enjoy this kind of satire, even when it was directed against himself, but of course particularly when it was aimed at Pope Julius II, his main opponent in Italy from 1510. See in this respect Eugène Lintilhac, *La Comédie: Moyen âge et Renaissance*, Histoire générale du théâtre en France, 2 (Paris: Flammarion, 1904–10), 27–28, and Caron, 'Des *Esbabis*', 727–28.

35 In the *Recueil de Florence* the character of Guillemette appears in no. 29 (pp. 413–26) and no. 41 (pp. 563–79). For Pathelin, see *La Farce de Maître Pathelin (et ses continuations): Le nouveau Pathelin et Le testament de Pathelin*, ed. Jean-Claude Aubailly (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1979).

In all of these cases, she either plays tricks at the expense of other characters in cahoots with her husband ('Pathelin') or she cuckolds her naïve husband, making use of cunning ploys. In consideration of this literary background, the noted intertwining of the Guillemette with the *dauffin* text in Gaspart's *fricassée* (bb. 32–39) acquires an additional erotic allusion, the *dauffin* potentially referring to a lover she fitly 'welcomes'. Finally, although not identical, the text's version sung by the three *gallans* is very close to the one appearing in Cop 1848, and the first line presents the correct number of syllables:

<i>Farce nouvelle à cinq personnages...</i> , vv. 1–4	Cop 1848, pp. 392 and 411
Bon Temps, reviendras-tu jamais	Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais
À ta noble puissance?	À ta noble puissance
Que nous puissions tous vivre en paix	Pour maintenir toujours en paix
Au royaume de France	Le réaulme de France?

Given that in the index of one of its concordant sources, Ver 761, the Brumel mass on *Bon temps* carries the complete title *Bon temps, reviendras-tu jamais*, it is legitimate to suppose that this text version was the most widespread.

The intimate connection of our song texts with theatre lends further if indirect weight to Wexler's hypothesis 'that someone, if not Bruhier, collected the fifty-five pieces in [Flor 2442] for the purpose of providing entertainment at the Vatican between the courses of banquets and the acts of plays, and for the performance at other similar theatrical occasions'.³⁶ And indeed it is hard to imagine other kinds of occasions, if not some festivity or on the stage, where these often bawdy songs, including the two relevant 'Gaspart' arrangements, could have been performed. Wexler, for instance, suggested that Bruhier's songs, and specifically the frankly obscene *Impotent suis et affolé* (no. 20 in Flor 2442), would have seemed appropriate to be performed as a sort of *intermedio* for the Roman staging of Machiavelli's *Mandragola* in late September 1520.³⁷ The *Mandragola* tells of a young Florentine man who, having returned to his hometown after spending most of his life in Paris, seduces the wife of a rich but foolish lawyer through a stratagem, managing in the end to become her lover. Such a comedy could also have provided the context for performing *Que fait le cocu au bois* (no. 50 in Flor 2442), with its allusion to a cuckolded man. But the *dauffin*'s text, which completely takes over the contrapuntal fabric of the *fricassée* after bar 40, might also allude to the Florentine expatriate coming back from France and successfully 'conquering' the young woman.³⁸

36 Wexler, *Antoine Bruhier*, 65. Bruhier was *cantor secretus* of Pope Leo X during the latter's entire pontificate, i.e. from 1513 until 1521 (see Richard Sherr, 'Bruhier, Antoine', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 14 January 2019) and during this time he may have had ample opportunity to provide Leo with music and entertainment.

37 See Wexler, *Antoine Bruhier*, 83–86. For the general musical and cultural context of the Roman performance of the *Mandragola*, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: A Venetian View', *Early Music History*, 11 (1992), 1–37, at 26–28. For a modern edition, see Niccolò Machiavelli, *Mandragola*, ed. Pasquale Stoppelli (Milan: Mondadori, 2006).

38 Even though the bassus is missing, we can assume that after bar 40 it also sang the *dauffin*-related verses, like all other parts.

The Identity of 'Gaspart'

Assuming that 'Gaspart' really refers to Gaspar van Weerbeke, one wonders what could have induced an already aged composer, by whom so few secular compositions survive,³⁹ to write a piece which displays such a 'theatrical' nature and which so strongly diverges from the character of the bulk of his ascribed works. Moreover, it is uncertain whether by 1520, if the *fricassée* dates from around this time, the composer was still resident in Rome, given that as of 1 November 1517 he held a canonry at S. Maria ad Gradus in Mainz.⁴⁰ But most of all, as we have seen, the *fricassée* was a relatively new 'genre' in the early sixteenth century, something which was more likely to have been cultivated by a composer of the new generation.⁴¹ And if Bruhier really was the mastermind if not the actual compiler of Flor 2442 during his tenure as Leo X's *cantor secretus*, 'Gaspart' may be the 'Gasparo fiamego' who in late August 1520 became Bruhier's colleague, a singer who, due to chronological reasons, is unlikely to have been Gaspar van Weerbeke.⁴² The immediate implication is that 'Gasparo fiamego' should also be the author of the other two songs attributed to 'Gaspart' in Flor 2442: *Que fait le cocu au bois* and *Vray dieu, quel payne m'esse*. *Vray dieu* is also transmitted anonymous in Florentine sources of the 1490s, such as Flor 178, Vat CG XIII.27, and Bol Q17 and with an attribution to Compère in Petrucci's *Canti C* of 1504; additionally, this song is handed down in SGall 530 as an organ tablature attributed to Pipelare.⁴³ If the Compère attribution is considered the most likely and the Pipelare can readily be discarded⁴⁴ this would be his only four-voice song with a courtly text and also the only one not correctly identified by the scribe of Flor 2442, which transmits four songs by the composer. Moreover, in its earliest sources, all of which transmit other works with Compère ascriptions, this song is anonymous, as we have seen. Admittedly we know nothing of 'Gasparo fiamego' and it could well be that by 1520 he had already been active for some time, in which case *Vray dieu* would be a work of his youth. The other implication of 'Gasparo fiamego's' authorship is that Flor 2442 was compiled around or soon after 1520, i.e. after the documented arrival of this otherwise unknown composer in Leo X's entourage, but before the end of 1521 when, after the pope's death, Bruhier's name disappears from the written records. Incidentally this would fit in nicely with the performance of the *Mandragola*, if the comedy was played on the feast

39 For an up-to-date list, refer to the website of the Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition at <<http://www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/home.html>>.

40 Though Klaus Pietschmann considers it unlikely that Gaspar would have actually travelled to Mainz; see Ch. 1 above.

41 In its conception and jocose intention the *fricassée* can be seen as a development of the earlier quodlibet, though this does not necessarily apply to its genesis, since the sources transmitting the former are chronologically far apart from those transmitting the latter: hence the notion of 'genre' in quotation marks.

42 On Bruhier's possible role in the compilation of Flor 2442, see Wexler, *Antoine Bruhier*, 67; on this 'Gasparo fiamego', see Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities', 6, n. 13, based on Herman-Walther Frey, 'Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle (3. Fortsetzung)', *Die Musikforschung*, 9 (1956), 55. Frey thinks it unlikely that 'Gasparo fiamego' can be identified with Weerbeke on grounds of age (see pp. 55–56), as do Croll and Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke'.

43 See the website of the Gaspar van Weerbeke Edition at <<http://www.gaspar-van-weerbeke.sbg.ac.at/home.html>>.

44 See Joshua Rifkin et al., 'Compère, Loyset', 2. Works, *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 24 March 2018. However, see also Ludwig Finscher, 'Compère, Loyset, Aluyseto', III. Werke mit einander widersprechenden Zuschreibungen, *MGG Online*, accessed on 24 March 2018, where the author considers the ascription of *Vray dieu* 'stilistisch kaum zu entscheiden'.

day of SS. Cosmas and Damian on 27 September, as widely assumed, basically a month after Gasparo's first recorded payment as 'cantor secretus'.⁴⁵

That by this 'Gasparo' no other compositions survive is not necessarily a problem: it is also true of other composers in Flor 2442 such as Henricus Morinen[sis], with two attributed pieces; Holain, with three; and Lourdault (Jean Braconnier) and N. Beauvoys, with one each.⁴⁶ These may be composers whom Bruhier, if he was the compiler of the manuscript or at any rate its planner, had known from his years in the North. Lourdault, for example, was in the service of Louis XII between 1507 and 1512, and after 1504 Bruhier 'may ... have had some connections with the French court'.⁴⁷ Most remarkable of course is the presence of thirteen compositions by Ninot le Petit, which represent the majority of the secular output of this composer.⁴⁸ Bruhier 'preceded ... Lepetit as *maitre* at Langres [cathedral]' and Ninot's only mass appears 'in the Casale Monferrato choirbooks [in the Archivio Capitolare] alongside works of Bruhier', suggesting that they could have been somehow associated.⁴⁹ On the other hand, it is not difficult to justify the presence in the manuscript of works by the more famous composers, such as Josquin, de Orto, La Rue, or Compère, whose works must have been current by then in Italy, as the presence of several of them in the Petrucci *Canti* series demonstrates. Moreover, both Josquin and de Orto had been singers in the papal chapel, even if many years before Bruhier became one of Leo's *cantores secreti*; Compère accompanied his employer Charles VIII, who in January 1495 sojourned in Rome on his way to Naples.⁵⁰ The works of all these composers thus cannot have been unfamiliar to papal singers. What should again be stressed here is that most of the four-voice arrangements the compiler chose to collect have a distinctly salacious character, such as could have found a suitable performance backdrop in the numerous spectacles, pageants, and theatrical performances so often staged at the court of the pleasure-loving Medici pope.



To sum up: two variants of the same melody are combined with two different texts and their own variants. The *Bon temps* texts, all of them variations of the same poem, are always associated with the G- or D-*protus* version, including in the quotation at the beginning of Gaspart's *fricassée* and in Brumel's mass, which moreover in the Ver 761 concordance carries the complete and metrically correct title *Bon temps, reviendras-tu jamais*. In only one case is this version associated with the *Bon vin* text: this is in one of the Cop 1848 three-voice cantus-firmus settings. Otherwise the *Bon vin* poem is only combined with the C-*tritus* or C-Ionian tune in

45 See Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities', 26–27.

46 See Brown, 'The Music of the Strozzi Chansonnier', 125–26.

47 Sherr, 'Bruhier, Antoine'. On Jean Braconnier, alias Lourdault, see Lewis Lockwood and John T. Brobeck, 'Braconnier, Jean', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 12 February 2018.

48 David Fallows and Jeffrey Dean, 'Ninot le Petit', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 12 February 2018.

49 Ibid.

50 See Rifkin et al., 'Compère, Loyset', 1. Life. On Josquin and de Orto, see, respectively, Patrick Macey and others, 'Josquin des Prez', 4. The Papal Chapel (1489–1494), and Martin Picker, 'Orto, Marbrianus de', *Grove Music Online*, accessed on 12 February 2018.

Bayeux, probably intoned by the *savetier* at the beginning of the *Farce le savetier, le sergent et la laitière*. Although Bayeux is demonstrably much later than that, much of its music seems to have originated in those last decades of the fifteenth century, and in Normandy, where Bayeux was almost certainly copied. It is thus likely that the *Bon vin* song as well was of Norman provenance, although at least the text must have been well known outside Normandy, as indicated by its quotation in the Colombina quodlibet. The citation of the *Bon vin* text in the Colombina chansonnier points to an earlier transmission, although its melody, at least from what can be judged by this short fragment, has little in common with its earliest complete transmission in Bayeux more than forty years later. If *Bon temps*'s origins are really linked with the Italian military expeditions of Charles VIII and Louis XII, as the *Farce* in the *Recueil de Florence* seems to suggest, then *Bon temps* must be later than *Bon vin* and have been partly modelled on it. However, it is equally possible that the two songs circulated independently of each other, since it is only in one of the Cop 1848 settings (p. 376) that 'temps' replaces 'vin' in the verse that continues 'je ne te puis laisser', and here it is only as an incipit. But even if this happened accidentally, the implication is that the two texts had become fused together in the mind of this provincial composer, decades after their first appearance in the sources. For him and also for 'Gaspart', it was no longer thinkable to have 'bon temps' without some... wine.

APPENDIX I

Bon temps, from Petrucci, *Canti B*, fols. 17^v-18^r

[Discantus]

Bon temps

Altus

Bon temps

Tenor

Bon temps

Bassus

Bon temps

This system contains the first five staves of the musical score. The top staff is labeled [Discantus] and contains a single note. The second staff is labeled Altus and contains a melodic line. The third staff is labeled Tenor and contains a single note. The fourth staff is labeled Bassus and contains a melodic line. The text 'Bon temps' is written below each staff.

6

This system contains staves 6 through 9. The top staff continues the Discantus with a series of notes. The second staff continues the Altus line. The third staff continues the Tenor line. The fourth staff continues the Bassus line. A sharp sign (#) is present above the second staff in the eighth measure.

11

This system contains staves 11 through 14. The top staff continues the Discantus. The second staff continues the Altus line. The third staff continues the Tenor line. The fourth staff continues the Bassus line. A sharp sign (#) is present above the second staff in the second measure.

16

This system contains staves 16 through 19. The top staff continues the Discantus. The second staff continues the Altus line. The third staff continues the Tenor line. The fourth staff continues the Bassus line.

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22

Musical score for measures 22-26. The score is in 4/4 time and features four staves: two treble clefs (top and third) and two bass clefs (second and bottom). The key signature has one flat. Measure 22 starts with a whole note chord in the bass clef. The melody in the top treble clef begins with a half note, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note with a slur. The bass clef continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

27

Musical score for measures 27-31. The score continues with four staves. Measure 27 features a half note rest in the top treble clef, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note with a slur. The bass clef continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

32

Musical score for measures 32-36. The score continues with four staves. Measure 32 features a half note in the top treble clef, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note with a slur. The bass clef continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

37

Musical score for measures 37-41. The score continues with four staves. Measure 37 features a half note in the top treble clef, followed by a quarter note, and then a half note with a slur. The bass clef continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs in all staves.

APPENDIX 2

Bon temps, ne reviendras-tu jamais, from Cop 1848, pp. 392 and 411, bb. 1–30

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: a vocal line (soprano), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

1
Bon temps, ne re - - vien - dras tu

6
Bon temps, ne re - - vien - dras tu
ja - mais...

11
ja - - - - - mais...

16
mais, Bon temps, ne re - - vien -
dras tu ja - mais, Bon temps, ne

21
re - vien - dras tu ja - - - - -

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26
- mais, ne re - vien - - dras tu ja - -

31
- - - - - mais À ta no -

36
ble puis - san - - - - ce

41
Pour main - - - te - nir tou - jours

46
en paix,

* F is from *SGalls 461*, which is a better reading than G of *CopKB 1848*.

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51

pour main - te - nir tou - - jours en paix, en paix,

56

pour main - te -

61

- nir tou - jours en paix

66

Le ré - aul - me de Fran - - - ce, de

72

Fran - - - - - ce.

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APPENDIX 3

Gaspart, *Bon temps, je ne te puis laissier/Bon temps, ne viendra[s]-tu jamaiz/Adieu, mes amourz,*
from Flor 2442, no. 49

278

C
A
T
B

Bon temps, je ne te puis laissier,
Bon temps, ne viendra[s] tu
A - dieu, mes a -

6

Tu m'as t'a - mour don - né - e.
ja - maiz, Tu m'a[s] don - né
mourz, a - dieu mon sou - laz, A - dieu mes es - baz,

11

Le - vez vous hau, Guil - le - met -
me - ren - col - li - e.
hé - laz, hel - laz! Des - suz ton lict, ton lict et

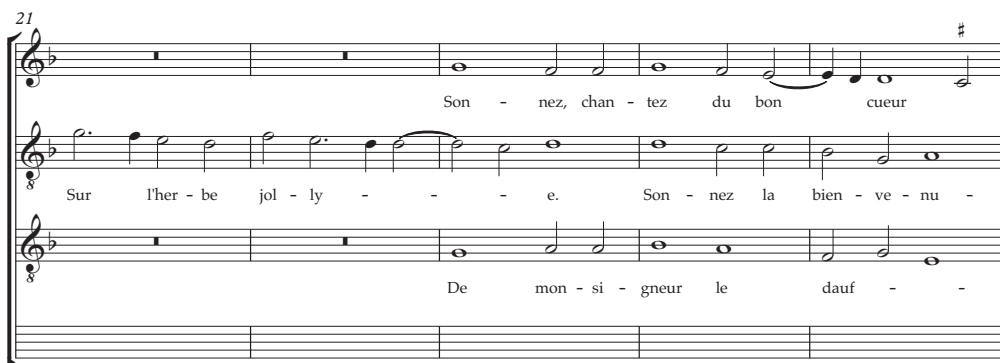
16

te Car il est jour,
Il est de bon - re né Qui tient fam - me en ung pré
là de - mour - rons. Chan - tez du cueur fin La bien ve - nue

Caught in the Web of Texts: The Chanson Family *Bon vin/Bon temps*

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21

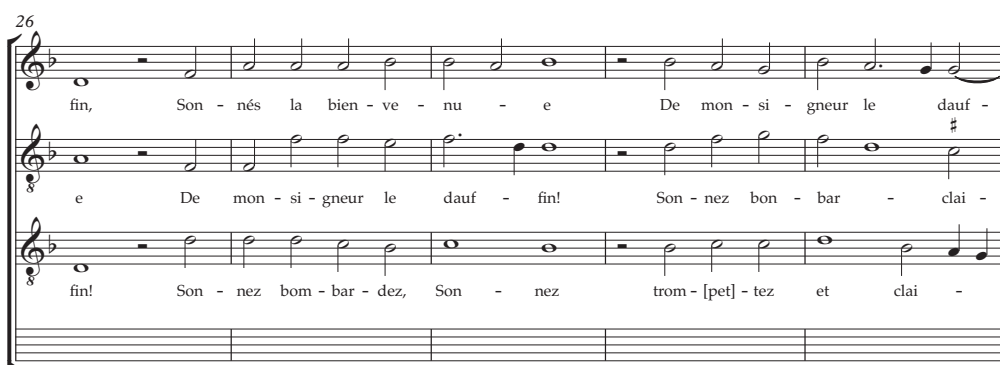


Son - nez, chan - tez du bon cueur

Sur l'her - be jol - ly - - - e. Son - nez la bien - ve - nu -

De mon - si - gneur le dauf - -

26



fin, Son - nés la bien - ve - nu - e De mon - si - gneur le dauf -

e De mon - si - gneur le dauf - fin! Son - nez bon - bar - - clai -

fin! Son - nez bom - bar - dez, Son - nez trom - [pet] - tez et clai -

31

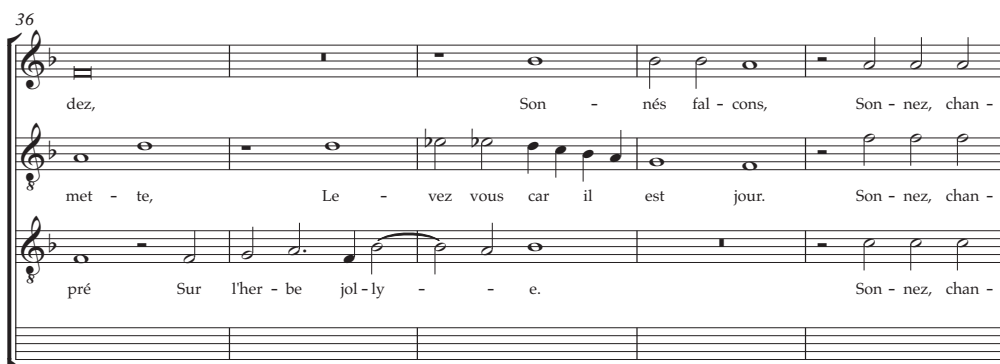


- fin! Son - nez trom - pet - te, Son - nés bom - bar -

rons! Et le - vez vous hau Guil - le -

- rons! Il est de bon heu - re né Qui tient s'a - mi - ung

36



dez, Son - nés fal - cons, Son - nez, chan -

met - te, Le - vez vous car il est jour. Son - nez, chan -

pré Sur l'her - be jol - ly - - - e. Son - nez, chan -

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41

trez [sic] soir et ma - tin! Son - nez la bien - ve - nu - e

tez soir et ma - tin, Son - nez la bien - ve - nu - e

tez soir et ma - tin! Son - nez la bien ve - nu - e

46

De mon - si - gneur le _____ dauf - - - fin!

De mon - si - gneur le _____ daul - - - fin!

De mon - si - gneur le _____ daul - fin!

La stangetta Reconsidered:

Weerbeke, Isaac, and the Late Fifteenth-Century Tricinium

Eric Jas

A QUICK LOOK AT Gaspar van Weerbeke's oeuvre suffices to remind one that secular works constitute but a small part of his output. Concise as this group may be—the number of works is limited to six or seven pieces—it presents scholars with considerable difficulties. Two of the compositions are transmitted in incomplete form, and three are also ascribed to other composers. Even the authorship of secular works that have an unconflicted 'Gaspar(t)' or 'Jaspart' ascription poses problems as confusion with the works of Jean Japart lurks.¹ Alongside these difficulties, *La stangetta* may not seem to pose much of a problem. Ever since the publication of Dietrich Kämper's 1980 article on this three-voice instrumental piece, it has been considered an authentic composition of Weerbeke.² However, things are not as straightforward as many have come to believe.

Kämper's case for Weerbeke's authorship is based on two major assumptions: that the ascription of the work in the first edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton* is trustworthy and that Marchesino Stanga, the 'cameriere d'onore' of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and later 'tesoriere' of Ludovico Sforza, can be identified as the probable dedicatee of the piece.³ A striking aspect

* I would like to thank Paul Kolb for his helpful suggestions and revisions and Adam Gilbert for kindly sharing his thoughts on *La stangetta* with me.

1 The two incomplete works are *Bon temps je ne/Bon temps ne viendra/Adieu mes amours* and *Que fait le cocu au bois*. *O venus bant* is ascribed to Weerbeke in Sev 5-1-43 but to Josquin in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*. *Vray dieu* is attributed to 'Gaspart' in Flor 2442 but is more likely by Compère, to whom it is attributed in Petrucci's *Canti C*. For a discussion of the pieces that involve confusion of Weerbeke and Japart, see the contributions in this volume by David Fallows (Ch. 13) and Carlo Bosi (Ch. 14).

2 Dietrich Kämper, 'La stangetta – eine Instrumentalkomposition Gaspars van Weerbeke', in *Ars musica, musica scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag am 2. März 1980*, ed. Detlef Altenburg (Cologne: Gitarre und Laute Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), 277–88. Among the authors that have readily accepted Weerbeke's authorship are Reinhard Strohm, in *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 570; Allan W. Atlas, in *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York and London: Norton, 1998), 368; Martin Picker, in *Henricus Isaac: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland Publishing inc., 1991), 95; and Emma Clare Kempson, in 'The Motets of Henricus Isaac (c.1450–1517): Transmission, Structure and Function' (Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 1998), 61–62.

3 Fausto Torrefranca was the first to suggest a relationship between *La stangetta* and the Stanga family. His idea that Marchesino Stanga had either composed the music or the text was later rejected by Helen Hewitt, who suggested that the piece was possibly written in honour of Stanga either by Obrecht in Ferrara or by Weerbeke in Milan; *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*, ed. Helen Hewitt, edition of the literary texts by Isabel Pope (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1942), 76.

of the discussion of *La ſtangetta* is that the conflicting attribution to Henricus Isaac has been put aside without much dispute. Now that the secular works of Weerbeke are about to be published in his *Collected Works* and a new edition of Isaac's secular works is being prepared, it may be the right time to re-evaluate the matter.

Transmission

It may be prudent to start by taking a closer look at the transmission of the work. There are seven sources in white mensural notation and two lute intabulations (Table 15.1).⁴ The *Odbecat-*

Table 15.1. Sources for *La ſtangetta*

(1)	Petrucci, <i>Odbecaton</i> fols. 54 ^v –55 ^r , <i>La ſtangetta</i> : Uuerbech (ascription in 1501 edition only)
(2)	Egenolff, <i>Cantiones selectissimae</i> , S & T only no. 54, <i>La ſtangetta</i> : anonymous
(3)	Formschneider, <i>Trium vocum carmina</i> no. 44, <i>La ſtangetta</i> [handwritten in T of Jena copy]; anonymous
(4)	Flor Panc 27 fols. 34 ^v –35 ^r , <i>La ſtangetta</i> , anonymous
(5)	Hei X/2 no. 29, <i>La ſtangetta</i> : anonymous [B only]
(6)	Seg s.s. fol. 172 ^r , <i>Ortus de celo flos eſt</i> , ysaac
(7)	Zwi 78/3 no. 18, no title/incipit, Obrecht
Intabulations	
(8)	Spinacino, <i>Intabolutura de lauto II</i> no. 28 (fols. 37 ^v –38 ^v), <i>La ſtanhetta</i> , anonymous
(9)	Newsidler, <i>Der ander Theil</i> no. 6 (sig. Cr ^v –C3 ^r), <i>La ſtangetta</i> : anonymous

ton is one of the two earliest sources. The first edition, of 1501, is incomplete and preserves only the superius and tenor of *La ſtangetta* with the ascription 'Uuerbech'. The piece is complete in the second and third editions (of 1503 and 1504), but in these the ascription to Weerbeke is suppressed. The reading of the *Odbecatton* version is without problems and was probably used as the scribal exemplar for the anonymous transmission in Flor Panc 27, which was probably copied in Mantua between 1505 and 1515.⁵ It was no doubt used as the model for the much

4 The tenor partbook of Egenolff's collection (no. 2 in Table 15.1) was recently discovered by Royston Gustavson in the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek in Bern. I am most grateful to Dr Gustavson for sharing bibliographical details and for checking the reading of *La ſtangetta* in the tenor partbook. For more information on Gustavson's discovery of two Egenolff partbooks in the Bern holdings, see his chapter, 'The Music Editions of Christian Egenolff: A New Catalogue and its Implications', in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Giselbrecht, and Grantley McDonald (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 153–95.

5 For the relationship between the *Odbecatton* and Florence readings of *La ſtangetta* and a modern edition after Flor Panc 27, see Gioia Filocamo, *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi MS 27: Text and Context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 355–58 (no. 55).

later Zwickau partbooks (Zwi 78/3), which were copied between 1535 and 1545 in the town of Zwickau (see below), and which ascribe the work to Obrecht.

A second line of transmission, with Isaac's name attached to it, is represented by another early source, one that might even be earlier than the *Odhecaton*: the famous Segovia manuscript (Seg s.s.). Differences from Petrucci are slight, but a few ligatures, rhythmic substitutions, an incidental rest, and especially the lack of the final bassus flourish make it rather unlikely that the Segovia and Petrucci readings are related to one another.⁶ A third and clearly late—and anonymous—redaction of the piece is found in Formschneider's *Trium vocum carmina* of 1538.⁷

How should the three ascriptions for *La stangetta* be evaluated? It may be helpful to start with Obrecht. The Obrecht ascription has been known since the late nineteenth century, when Reinhard Vollhardt took stock of the music manuscripts of the Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek.⁸ The piece must have looked attractive to early Obrecht scholars because of its parallel tenths between the outer voices and the explicit use of sequences, two characteristics that are easily associated with Obrecht's style. This, together with the fact that conflicting ascriptions for the work were not yet known, explains why it was included as an authentic piece in the first edition of Obrecht's works.⁹

On closer examination, however, the situation is not that favourable for Obrecht. As mentioned earlier, the set of partbooks with the Obrecht ascription was copied in Zwickau in the decade between 1535 and 1545. It was originally owned by Stephan Roth (1492–1546), who was rector of the Latin School from 1517 to 1520, town scribe as of 1528, and alderman from 1543 in Zwickau. Roth was an avid collector of books, and when he died he left his library, containing some 6,000 volumes, to the Ratsschulbibliothek.¹⁰ He was married to Ursula Krüger,

6 Appendix 1 contains a transcription of *La stangetta* after Petrucci's *Odhecaton*. For convenience' sake I have changed Petrucci's voice designation (– / tenor / contra) to the standard S, T, B. All variant readings of the Segovia manuscript are listed in a concise table at the end. With regard to the Segovia transmission, Kämper takes a different stand. While acknowledging a certain autonomy and independence ('eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit und Unabhängigkeit', 279) of the Segovia reading, he also suggests that its variants may have arisen in connection with the underlay of the contrafact text ('aus der Kontrafaktur resultierenden Erfordernissen der Textunterlegung') and concludes that it does not compromise the supremacy of the *Odhecaton* reading. This line of reasoning is problematic, however, as the Segovia reading has no contrafact text at all, but merely an alternative textual incipit (see no. 6 in Table 15.1).

7 Formschneider's edition contains a number of questionable variant readings which introduce awkward contrapuntal errors (especially in the bassus, bb. 24–26 and 56). A modern edition of this version is found in Hieronymus Formschneider, *Trium Vocum Carmina*, Nürnberg, 1538, ed. Helmut Mönkemeyer, Monumenta Musicae Ad Usus Practicum, 2 vols. (Celle: Moeck Verlag, 1985), vol. 1, no. 44.

8 Reinhard Vollhardt, *Bibliographie der Musik-Werke in der Ratsschulbibliothek zu Zwickau*, Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte 1893–1896 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896).

9 The first Obrecht edition was prepared by Johannes Wolf between 1908 and 1921 for the Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis (now Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis). *La stangetta* is included as an authentic textless composition (no. 14) in the volume containing the secular works; *Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, afl. 15–16, *Wereldlijke werken* (Amsterdam: Alsbach, s.a.). The work is still listed as Obrecht's in Lucien Gerard van Hoorn, *Jacob Obrecht* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 179–80, and in Jickeli's book on textless compositions from c.1500, Obrecht is still mentioned as a plausible candidate for the authorship; Carl F. Jickeli, *Textlose Kompositionen um 1500* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 115.

10 For detailed information on Roth's career, see most recently Regine Metzler, *Stephan Roth 1492–1546: Stadtschreiber in Zwickau und Bildungsbürger der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008).

daughter-in-law of Georg Rhaw, which may mean that it was not that difficult for Roth to gain access to musical repertoire from the first half of the sixteenth century. However, as Howard Mayer Brown's research has shown, the partbooks were copied by three scribes, none of whom could be identified as Roth.¹¹ The set contains twenty-six works for three voices, the first ten of which were copied by the first scribe. For these pieces, no existing scribal exemplar could be found. A second scribe copied compositions 11 through 25, including *La Stangetta*. Fourteen out of these fifteen works were copied directly from Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, and the single remaining piece was copied from *Canti B*.¹² This, of course, seriously weakens the ascription of *La Stangetta* to Obrecht. It would seem that the second scribe copied from the first edition of the *Odhecaton*, did not know what to make of the 'Uerbech' ascription, and interpreted it as a variant of 'Obrecht'. Unlike that of Weerbeke, Obrecht's name was well known in the German-speaking part of Europe in the 1530s and 1540s, if only because of the transmission of the Longueval *Passio* under his name.¹³ But even if the scribe did not mistake the *Odhecaton* ascription for 'Obrecht', it would seem very unlikely that a scribe in Zwickau around 1540 would have had sufficient knowledge of Obrecht's (secular) works to correct a much earlier ascription of this piece to another composer. What may be even more significant is that *La Stangetta* is ascribed to Isaac in the Segovia manuscript, a source that contains an unusual number of pieces—some of them unique—by Obrecht. If there was ever a scribe who could have known if *La Stangetta* was by Obrecht, it was most likely the Segovia scribe. *La Stangetta* would furthermore not be a very likely addition to Obrecht's secular oeuvre: while it does contain works for three voices, there is not a single piece with all characteristics of the late fifteenth-century tricinium (see below).¹⁴

Thus two ascriptions remain: one to Weerbeke and one to Isaac. The Petrucci attribution is troublesome, to say the least. What makes this ascription suspicious is not the awkward spelling of the composer's name. It would seem that 'Werbech' was intended but that Petrucci simply did not have a w in his font type, which would also explain why in his later editions he always used the composer's first name ('Gaspar') in ascriptions.¹⁵ But what does make the

11 Howard Mayer Brown, 'Music for a Town Official in Sixteenth-Century Zwickau', *Musica Antiqua: Acta Scientifica*, 7 (1985), 479–91, at 482. The high number of concordances between Zwi 78/3 and the *Odhecaton* had already been noticed by Helen Hewitt (*Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*, 116). Brown was the first to compare the readings and confirm that the Zwickau scribe had copied directly from Petrucci's edition.

12 Brown, 'Music for a Town Official', 489–91. The third scribe copied the final piece in the partbooks, a textless work for equal voices by Martin Agricola.

13 In the preface to his *Die deutsche Passion* (Wittenberg, 1568), Joachim von Burck testifies to the popularity of 'die Lateinische Passion' as it was composed by 'der berühmte Musicus Jacobus Obrecht' which was sung everywhere; cf. NOE 18: *Supplement*, ed. Jas, xl. Other pieces that are now known to have circulated under Obrecht's name in Sachsen are *Discubuit Jesus* (in Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS LXXXI, 2), *Ego sum dominus deus* (in *Tricinia*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1542; RISM 1542⁸, vdm 1023), *Hec deum celi* (in *Sacrorum hymnorum liber primus*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1542; RISM 1542¹², vdm 1024), and the Magnificat (in Annaberg Choirbook I).

14 For this observation, see Keith Polk, 'Heinrich Isaac and Innovations in Musical Style ca. 1490', in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William F. Prizer*, ed. Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith (New York: Pendragon Press, 2012), 349–64, at 357.

15 It should be pointed out, however, that a similarly garbled version of Weerbeke's name is found in Mod M.1.13, where the *O venus bant* mass is ascribed 'Guaspar uuarbec'.

ascription problematic is that it was suppressed in the 1503–4 reprints of the *Odhecaton* together with five other attributions.¹⁶

On the whole the ascriptions in the *Odhecaton* may be regarded as trustworthy. The collection contains ninety-six pieces for three, four, and five voices, of which sixty-nine have attributions. As far as we know, there are only four conflicting ascriptions: *De tous biens playne* (Bourdon vs. Agricola), *Jay pris amours* (Busnoys vs. Martini), *Malheur me bat* (Ockeghem vs. Martini or Malcort), and *O Venus bant* (Josquin vs. Weerbeke). It is generally agreed that the ascription of *Malheur me bat* to Ockeghem in the *Odhecaton* is incorrect, but the other three authorship issues are still undecided. Why six attributions were later withdrawn from the *Odhecaton* is still a matter of debate. Interestingly enough, not one of these attributions is confirmed by an independent source, and three of them are contradicted by other sources.¹⁷

Comparing the later *Odhecaton* editions to the one of 1501, it becomes clear that much care was taken in the typesetting to produce a faithful copy of the original (see Figure 15.1). Minor changes were made, for example with respect to the direction of individual stems or a more logical division of the musical line between line breaks (see the arrows in Figure 15.1b, but it is very difficult to believe that the absence of the six attributions was merely an oversight on the part of the editor or the typesetter. It would seem that there can only be two reasons why these attributions were suppressed: either Petrus Castellanus or another Petrucci editor had learned that the original attributions were false, or he had received information that rendered these ascriptions doubtful.

For Dietrich Kämper this was not a problem. He argued that the Weerbeke ascription should be regarded as trustworthy because so much attention had clearly gone into the production of the first edition of the *Odhecaton*, which was such an important contribution to the history of musical printing.¹⁸ The conflicting ascription in the Segovia manuscript was far less important for Kämper, as he considered that source to be later, more peripheral, and rather faulty with regard to attributions.

With regard to the Segovia manuscript, this point of view was common in the 1970s and 1980s. However, since then the manuscript has been studied in more detail, and it has become clear that it is anything but a later, peripheral source. As Rob Wegman notices in his contribution to a forthcoming book on the Segovia manuscript:¹⁹

16 No. 25, *Rompeltier* (Ja. Obrecht); no. 27, *Tmeiskin* (Isac); no. 35, *Le serviteur* (Busnoys); no. 49, *La stangetta* (Ueberbech); no. 66, *Madame belas* (Josquin), and no. 74, *Fortuna dun gran tempo* (Josquin).

17 *Tmeiskin* is attributed to Japart in Flor 178 and to Obrecht in the Seg s.s.; *Madame belas* has the heading 'Dux Carlus' in Bol Q16.

18 Kämper, 'La stangetta – eine Instrumentalkomposition Gaspars van Weerbeke', 278: 'Ist nicht vielmehr anzunehmen, daß gerade die erste Auflage dieser für die Geschichte des Musikdrucks so wichtigen Publikation mit besonderer Sorgfalt gestaltet wurde und deshalb als in hohem Maße glaubwürdig gelten darf?' Bonnie J. Blackburn does not take a stand and simply says that the missing attributions in the later copies 'may be inadvertent or deliberate' (see her 'Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden', *Musica Disciplina*, 49 (1995), 15–45, at 33). According to Stanley Boorman, the missing attributions merely 'suggest what Petrucci (or Castellanus) wanted his readers to believe: that he was taking care to assign correct and full authorship details wherever possible' (*Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 490–91). Martin Just was among the earliest authors to advance the point of view that the ascription to Weerbeke was considerably weakened by the fact that it does not reappear in the later editions; see his 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten' (doctoral diss., Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1960), 210.

Figure 15.1. Petrucci, *Odhecaton*: Comparison of (a) fol. 54^v from the first edition of 1501 (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q51) and (b) fol. 54^v from the third edition of 1504 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dép. de la musique, Rés-538); arrows mark the places where this issue differs from the first.

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Figure 15.1. (a) first edition of 1501

Much of Segovia's repertory can only have originated in Flanders, or at least in the Southern Netherlands, and is not otherwise known to have enjoyed international transmission. The manuscript offers unique glimpses, for example, into the compositional activities of Jacob Obrecht in Bruges during the late 1480s... the Segovia manuscript appears to open a direct window onto regional Flemish musical activity during the 1480s and 1490s, in a way no other surviving musical source does.

There are 203 compositions in the book and 133 of them are ascribed to Franco-Flemish composers. Of these 133 compositions, twenty-nine are attributed to other composers in concordant sources. Discounting *La stangetta* for the moment, there are twenty-eight cases of conflicting ascriptions. In thirteen of these the Segovia ascription is probably correct,²⁰ in eight

19 Rob C. Wegman, "The Segovia Manuscript: Another Look at the "Flemish Hypothesis", forthcoming in a book devoted to the Segovia manuscript, ed. Wolfgang Fuhrmann and Cristina Urchueguía. In advance of the book's publication, Wegman's article has been made available online at <<https://princeton.academia.edu/RobCWegman>>. Until this book appears in print, Norma Klein Baker's 1978 dissertation is still the most informative work on the manuscript: 'An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978).

20 No. 12, *Magnificat* (Agricola, not Brumel); no. 21, *Fors seulement*, with Latin incipit *Exortum est in tenebris* (Pipelare, not La Rue); no. 35, *Tmeiskin was jonc* (Obrecht, not Japart or Isaac); no. 63, *Je weinsche alle scoene vrouwen* (Obrecht, not Stoltzer); no. 76, *Ave ancilla trinitatis* (Brumel, not Mouton); no. 87, *Che nest pas jeu* (Ghizeghem, not Ockeghem); no. 88, *Aletz regretz* (Ghizeghem, not "M. Agr."); no. 93, *Een vrolijc wesen* (Barbireau, not Isaac or Obrecht); no. 102, *Si dederò* (Agricola, not Ghiselin); no. 104, *In pace in idipsum*



Figure 15.1. (b) third edition of 1504

cases the Segovia ascription is obviously false,²¹ and in seven instances the situation is still undecided.²² With eight obvious mistakes in a total of 133 pieces (which amounts to 6 per cent), it would seem unwise to characterize the Segovia attributions as untrustworthy. Even if the category of undecided cases should contain mistakes by the Segovia scribe, the picture would still be acceptable.²³

(Josquin, not Agricola); no. 115, *Elaes* [*Helas que de vera*] (Isaac, not Josquin); no. 121, *Jamays* (Brumel, not Isaac); no. 136, *Nec michi nec tibi* (Obrecht, not Virgilius).

- 21 Interestingly, in no fewer than five cases the Segovia manuscript erroneously ascribes a piece to Compère. The conflicting attributions are: no. 43, *Fortuna desperata* (not by Isaac but by Martini); no. 55, *Veci la dancha barberi* (not by Compère but by Vaqueras); no. 124, *Je ne fay plus* (not by Compère but by Mureau); no. 125, *Jay bien burwer/Jay pris amours* (not by Compère but by Agricola); no. 127, *Het es al ghedaen* (not by Isaac but probably by Barle); no. 129, *Elaes Abraham* [*Helas le bon temps*] (not by Compère but by Tinctoris); no. 141, *Comt hier* (not by Isaac but probably by Rubinet); and no. 144, *Je ne puis plus* (not by Compère but by Agricola).
- 22 No. 38, *Jay prijs amours* (Martini or Busnois); no. 65, *Missa Auleni* (Agricola or Aulen); no. 79, *Dat ic my lijden aldus helen moet* (Elinc or J. Agricola); no. 108, *De tous biens playne* (Agricola or Bourdon); no. 135, *Pour vostre amour* (Brumel or Isaac); no. 138, *Jay bien nori* (J. Joye or Japart); and no. 148 *Cecus non judicat* (Ferdinandus et frater eius or Isaac or Agricola).
- 23 In the forthcoming book on the Segovia manuscript, Wolfgang Fuhrmann deals with the attributions in the chapter 'Segovia's Repertoire: Attributions and Datings (with special reference to Jacob Obrecht)'. There are only a few differences between my own and Fuhrmann's findings and these tend to occur in my category of undecided conflicting ascriptions, where Fuhrmann seems to be more confident in choosing the composer. Among the pieces in this category is, for example, the famous *Fortuna desperata* with an ascription to Busnoys in Segovia. Fuhrmann explains, with reference to studies by Martin Picker, Honey Meconi, and Joshua Rifkin, that contradictory views on the authorship of this piece have been published, but in his table he clearly decides against the Segovia attribution. In his chapter Fuhrmann also advances the hypothesis that attributions of the Segovia scribe in fascicles 22 through 25 (nos. 96–151), containing pieces that are also

One further consideration adds to the importance of the Segovia manuscript in the evaluation of the ascription of *La stangetta*: the number of pieces it ascribes to Isaac is no fewer than eighteen. Two of these are ascribed to other composers in Flor 229, and for this reason they are usually considered not to be by Isaac.²⁴ The authorship of nine pieces is confirmed by concordant sources and five unique pieces are accepted by Martin Picker as juvenalia from Isaac's early years in Flanders.²⁵

The situation with regard to the ascriptions of *La stangetta* is thus rather different from what was originally summarized. The attribution to Weerbeke, to put it mildly, should be considered doubtful while the one to Isaac may be far more credible than Kämper suggested.²⁶ The next question is if the music can be of help in further sorting out this problem.

La stangetta

The large-scale structure of the composition is clear (see Appendix 1 for a score of the work). The piece sets out with three-voice imitation at the octave/unison at a distance of two breves. The theme itself, the beginning of which may—or may not—have been taken from the chanson *Du bon du cuer*, is highly constructed: it consists of three sets of two bars, with each second bar consisting of two semibreves, and with a sequence-like repetition of bar 3:²⁷

known from earlier Italian sources (including *La stangetta* and *Fortuna desperata*), are less trustworthy than those found elsewhere in the manuscript. This is an interesting idea but as yet difficult to verify because it is too early to be absolutely certain about which ascriptions are and which are not correct, and because more information on the exemplars that were used by the main scribe of the Segovia manuscript is needed. I am most grateful to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for sharing his text with me prior to publication.

24 These composers being Barle and Rubinet. The reason why these two composers are favoured is because Flor 229 has more than twenty works by Isaac and was compiled in Florence, where Isaac lived at the time. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that a composer by the name of Jacobus Barle is only known from this particular source and that a direct relationship between the scribe of this manuscript and Isaac has not been established. See, for example, Picker, *Henricus Isaac: A Guide to Research*, 125–26, and *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229*, ed. with an introduction by Howard Mayer Brown, French texts established and edited by Brian Jeffery and translated into English verse by Max Knight, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 7 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), Text Volume, 114.

25 Two further pieces are considered doubtful by Picker, but solely on the basis of their style (*Salve virgo sanctissima* and *Morte que fay*); cf. 'Isaac in Flanders: The Early Works of Henricus Isaac', in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, ed. Albert Clement and Eric Jas (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1994), 153–65, at 156. However, as Emma Kempson has pointed out, *Salve virgo sanctissima* is not unlike other pieces by Isaac and may have been composed during Isaac's Italian employment (Emma Kempson, 'The Motets of Henricus Isaac', 70–74). More recently Bonnie Blackburn, too, has stressed that there is no problem in accepting *Salve virgo* as a work by Isaac, while suggesting that it may have been composed for David of Burgundy, an illegitimate son of Philip the Good, who was bishop of Utrecht from 1456 to his death in 1496 (see her 'The Segovia Manuscript: Speculative Notes on the Flemish Connection', in the forthcoming book on the Segovia manuscript). I am most grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for sharing her text with me prior to publication.

26 Actually, Martin Just concluded as early as 1960 that Isaac's authorship of *La stangetta* / *Ortus de celo* was conceivable; cf. Just, 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 211.

27 The resemblance of the opening theme of *La stangetta* to that of the anonymous chanson *Du bon du cuer* is discussed in Kämper, 'La stangetta – eine Instrumentalkomposition Gaspars van Weerbeke', 286–87, where the similarity is interpreted as a meaningful quotation referring to Marchesino Stanga. The same opening is also found in the anonymous chanson *Ce n'est pas sans* (Bol Q16), which is erroneously listed as a concordant source for *La stangetta* in *Harmonice musices Odbecaton A*, ed. Hewitt, 151 (a mistake that was later repeated in Gerhard Croll, 'Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke' (doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen, 1954), 25). A modern score of *Du bon du cuer* is found in Howard Mayer Brown's edition of Flor 229 (*A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*) as no. 50.



The superius faithfully reproduces the theme of the bassus but continues in bars 8–10 with an additional flourish that later also recurs in the tenor voice (at bb. 10–12). After that, the bassus takes over the first part of the flourish starting on F (bb. 12–13), closely followed by the superius (b. 13) before the first section comes to a strong cadence on G (b. 15).

A second theme is launched at bar 16. Imitation is again at the octave but this time *ad minimam* and in voice pairs. The bassus–tenor duet of bars 16–20 is repeated by tenor and superius in bars 20–24 at the upper octave with the bassus providing fresh counterpoint. At bar 24 a third imitative entry is introduced. This time imitation is between superius and tenor (at a distance of three breves), with the bassus supporting the second half of the phrase in both instances with a very similar cadence pattern on B \flat . After the cadence the tenor seems to continue with the pitches of the opening theme but now transposed up a third (bb. 30–32: B \flat –C–D–C–B \flat –A). After a passing cadence on D, a short sequential passage leads to a deceptive cadence on G/E \flat (b. 37), and this is where the cantus–firmus-like part of the composition starts. From here on the tenor presents a *pes ascendens* starting on G and continuing to D a fifth higher (bb. 37–46).²⁸ The figure is repeated four times (at bb. 47, 52, 54, and 55) and each time the note values are halved (although in the final statement, which runs in semiminims, the diminution is not exact for all notes). The outer voices offer their characteristic contrapuntal lines and sequences in full swing, often in parallel tenths—no less than 34 per cent of *La stangetta* has parallel tenths in the outer voices—and reintroducing the two motifs, and transformations thereof, of the first theme:²⁹



La stangetta belongs to a group of instrumental works from the late fifteenth century that has been dubbed the ‘consort ricercare’ by Jon Banks.³⁰ The works belonging to this group are, almost without exception, transmitted in Italian manuscripts in the period c.1480–1500, often have titles or incipits (but never texts), and are not based on fixed forms.³¹ Isaac is well represented in this category of compositions, with his name occurring some ten times in Banks’s

28 This musical idea may, as Jickeli argued, be based on the sequential pattern of the tenor, bb. 33–35; cf. Jickeli, *Textlose Kompositionen um 1500*, 116–17.

29 In this relatively short piece of 60 bars, parallel tenths (or thirds) between the outer voices are found for the duration of circa 83 minims (amounting to approximately 34 per cent out of a total of 240 minims). The first of the two reintroduced motifs is found, for example, in the outer voices in bb. 51–55, and the second motif in bassus b. 40, superius bb. 40, 42, and 44.

30 Jon Banks, *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006), 64 ff. Other names that have been used for the compositions of this group are ‘instrumental chansons’ or ‘songs without words’, but as Banks argues, the pieces are clearly different from any tradition based on songs or vocal originals (p. 65).

31 Polk, ‘Heinrich Isaac and Innovations in Musical Style c.1490’, 355.

listings. What is even more interesting, is that several of the pieces ascribed to him share the very same compositional approaches that are also found in *La Stangetta*.

As a matter of fact, not too long ago, Keith Polk, with a characteristic eye for instrumental traditions, was the first to suggest that within the larger group of instrumental tricinia from the late fifteenth century it is possible to distinguish pieces that are cast in the traditional mould—such as the famous Benedictus of the *Missa Quant j'ay au cuer*—from works in the tricinium tradition as exemplified by pieces such as *La Stangetta*, *La Alfonsina*, *La morra*, and *La Bernardina*.³² Works belonging to this subgenre, which in Polk's discussion of Isaac's works is called 'the mature tricinia', share remarkably consistent elements. In most of the pieces there is an opening which is carefully worked out in imitation, followed by a much freer structure in which little characteristic figures, sequences, and free imitations abound. After that follows what seems to be a hallmark of the style: a passage in which one voice presents a cantus-firmus-like melody in long, held notes with the two other voices playing about it in quicker notes and parallel tenths, often involving sequences and imitation.³³ Cadences occur with great frequency and are used to define the overall tonal design.³⁴ According to Polk, 'Isaac produced by far the most authoritative examples of tricinia up to about 1490', and the works he singled out as representative of Isaac's mature tricinia are *La morra*, *Helas que de vera*, two textless works in Flor 229 (nos. 230 and 253), *Adieu fillette*, and, as a late example, *Der Hund*.³⁵ One further piece that can be added to this list is *Gratias refero tibi*.³⁶

La Stangetta opens with two of Isaac's preferred compositional procedures for three-voice music. The imitative entry in bars 1–10 is precisely what one would expect from him: an opening motif that appears in all three voices as imitation at the octave or unison.³⁷ The same

32 See *ibid.*, 355–56, and n. 18 in particular.

33 Hewitt, *Harmonice musices Odbecaton A*, 75.

34 Polk, 'Heinrich Isaac and Innovations in Musical Style', 356.

35 *Ibid.*, 355–56. *Helas que de vera* is a reworking of Caron's *Helas que pourra* and was published by Brown (*A Florentine Chansonnier*, no. 6) as a rondeau with the full French text; for another, textless, edition, see *Harmonice musices Odbecaton A*, ed. Helen Hewitt, no. 50. While it may be possible to perform the work as a rondeau, others have wondered whether the work was actually intended as a vocal piece. None of the sources preserves a texted version, and none of them suggests that the piece is actually in rondeau form. Based on this and features that link this piece to the tricinia tradition, Jon Banks has argued that *Helas que de vera* was more likely intended as an instrumental setting (Banks, *The Instrumental Consort Repertory*, 82–83). A similar point is also made by Picker in 'Isaac in Flanders', 159. Modern editions of *La morra* and Flor 229 nos. 230/253 can be found in *A Florentine Chansonnier* (*La morra* being no. 12). *La morra* is also edited in *Harmonice musices Odbecaton A*, ed. Helen Hewitt, no. 44. *Adieu fillette* is edited (as no. 44) in *Ottaviano Petrucci Canti B Numero Cinquanta, Venice, 1502*, ed. Helen Hewitt, with an introduction by Edward E. Lowinsky (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967). A modern edition of *Der Hund* is found in *Hieronymus Formschneider, 'Trium Vocum Carmina'*, ed. Mönkemeyer, vol. 1, no. 2 (under the title 'Das Kind lag in der wiegen').

36 *Gratias refero tibi Domine Jhesu Christe* is preserved uniquely in Seg s.s. This composition was published a few years ago as a textless motet in Heinrich Isaac, *Opera omnia*, ed. Edward Lerner, CMM 65, vol. 10: Motets, Part 1 (2011). There can be little doubt that this work is actually an instrumental tricinium with an incipit (in this case in Latin), just like *La stangetta*. The words *Gratias refero tibi Domine Jhesu Christe* seem to have been taken from the *Acta martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina sub Claudio Gothico*; cf. Just, 'Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten', 184. Banks, too, includes the piece among his 'consort ricercares' (*The Instrumental Consort Repertory*, 86). Picker argues that *Gratias refero* belongs to the the third quarter of the fifteenth century and that it may be one of his earliest preserved works; cf. Picker, 'Isaac in Flanders', 162.

37 For a discussion of this procedure in Isaac, see Adam Knight Gilbert, 'Elaboration in Heinrich Isaac's Three-Voice Mass Sections and Untexted Compositions' (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 2003), 42–43.

approach is not only found in Isaac's three-voice mass sections, but also in his tricinia *Adieu filette*, *Helas que de vera*, in Flor 229, nos. 230 and 253, at the beginning of the *secunda pars* of *Der Hund*, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in *Gratias refero tibi*.³⁸ The second imitative entry, which starts at bar 16, is also a favourite of Isaac's: imitation is again at the octave but this time in pairs of voices. The bassus-tenor duet at bars 16–20 is repeated by the tenor and superius in bars 20–24 at the upper octave with the bassus providing fresh counterpoint. According to Adam Gilbert, Isaac followed this procedure so diligently in his three-voice music that it sets him apart from other composers.³⁹ This second group comes to a close at the beginning of bar 24 and is followed by a new section with imitation at the octave between superius and tenor (at a distance of three breves) with a supporting bassus (see above). Again, it is not difficult to locate related examples in Isaac's tricinia.⁴⁰ A very similar situation is found in *La morra* (bb. 19–24), in *Gratias refero tibi* (bb. 52–60), and in Florence no. 253 (bb. 8–12, 32–40).⁴¹ A short sequential passage leads to the final section of *La stangetta*: the cantus-firmus passage that is surrounded by sequences. Isaac was clearly fond of such structures, and it is not difficult to find similar examples in his instrumental tricinia. Appendix 2 shows excerpts from *Adieu filette*, *Helas que de vera*, *La morra*, *Gratias refero tibi*, *Der Hund*, and from one of the textless works attributed to Isaac in Flor 229. Four of these tricinia have a cantus-firmus passage encompassing a stepwise descending line in large note values which is accompanied by two sequential voices providing the necessary vital counterpoint. In each case the melodic figuration of the sequential voices is different and two of them—*La morra* and *Gratias refero tibi*—show that Isaac was quite happy to use parallel tenths or thirds in the voice-leading of the sequential parts. The harmonic pattern used by Isaac varies among the settings. In *Gratias refero tibi* the pattern is one of stepwise descending triads (on A, G, F, E♭, D, and C, with 6–5 suspensions in the cantus-firmus voice). *Adieu filette* slightly varies upon this pattern by adding a submediant chord to each triad of the sequence, a procedure which is more fully explored in the textless setting in Florence 229.⁴² In bars 63–81 of *Der Hund*, this pattern is developed into a full 'down a third/up a second' (–3/+2) sequence: C, A, B♭, G, A, F, G, E♭, F, D, E♭, C, D, B♭, C.⁴³ *La morra* has yet another type of sequence in which all voices follow the descending-third pattern of the cantus-firmus voice (bb. 36–43). From bar 45 onwards, *La morra* has a stepwise ascending semibreve pattern in the middle voice, just like *La stangetta* has in bars 52–54. In *La morra* this pattern is combined with sequential counterpoint (–3/+4); in *La stangetta*, on the

38 The opening imitation is clearly between tenor and discantus while the bassus offers a similar but not identical opening gesture.

39 Gilbert, 'Elaboration in Heinrich Isaac's Three-Voice Mass Sections', 40.

40 As a matter of fact, similar examples can also be found in three-voice sections from Isaac's masses; see the examples in Gilbert, 'Elaboration in Heinrich Isaac's Three-Voice Mass Sections', ch. 10.

41 Slightly different, but clearly related examples involving two-voice imitation at a shorter distance or at other intervals are found in *Helas que de vera* (bb. 18 ff), Flor 229 no. 230 (bb. 11–15, 51–55), and Flor 229, no. 253 (bb. 25–31).

42 In the variant version of *Adieu filette* the submediant chord is introduced in the descending triad sequence as follows: A F A, G E♭ G, F D F, D. The same pattern is also found in Isaac's famous three-voice Benedictus; see Brown, *A Florentine Chansonnier*, no. 10 at bb. 44–51.

43 In the *secunda pars* of *Der Hund* the sequence is again adapted, this time to a +3/–4 sequence: A, C, G, B♭, F, A.

other hand, the pattern has an *ostinato* accompaniment, no doubt to provide contrast after the previous eleven measures of sequences (bb. 41–51).

The cantus-firmus passage in *La Stangetta* (Appendix 1, bb. 37 ff.) uses three different harmonic patterns. It opens with the +3/–4 pattern that is also used in the *secunda pars* of *Der Hund*: Eb, G, D, F. In bar 41 this is adjusted to a +4/–3 pattern: Bb, Eb, C, F, D, G, one that is also found for a short stretch in *Helas que de vera* (see Appendix 2). Bar 47 starts with a new pattern, one of stepwise ascending triads, which is the reverse of the pattern in *Gratias refero tibi* and *Adieu filette*. Furthermore, just like in *La Stangetta*, some of Isaac's sequences make extensive play of the alternation between E and Eb.⁴⁴ The only aspect of *La Stangetta* that is not found in Isaac's known tricinia is a cantus-firmus line with repetitions at diminution. A very similar approach is found, however, in Isaac's famous *La mi la sol*, where in the *secunda pars* the note values of the four-note cantus firmus are systematically diminished from longs, to breves, semibreves, minims, and finally semiminims.⁴⁵

The use of cantus-firmus-like passages in tricinia from the late fifteenth century is, of course, not characteristic of Isaac alone.⁴⁶ But what is important to notice is that the cantus-firmus passage of *La Stangetta* contains elements that fit Isaac's strategies in similar works perfectly.

As mentioned earlier, many of the sequential passages in *La Stangetta* involve voice-leading in parallel tenths and thirds. This, too, is something Isaac was quite happy to use in his three-voice music. In *La Stangetta* more than 30 per cent of the music uses such parallel voice-leading. While this percentage would be staggering for Weerbeke, it is comparable to Isaac's tricinia (see Table 15.2). Table 15.2 also lists the finals and key signatures for these pieces. Interestingly enough, all of these tricinia have a final on either G or F in combination with a one-flat key signature. It would seem that the Dorian mode on G was preferred for many such pieces.⁴⁷

44 See especially the excerpts in Appendix 2 from *Adieu filette*, *Gratias refero tibi*, and *La morra*.

45 For more on this piece and its relationship to Isaac's *Missa O praeclara*, see Willem Elders, 'Zur Frage der Vorlage von Isaacs Messe *La mi la sol* oder *O praeclara*', in *Von Isaac bis Bach: Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte. Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Frank Heidlberger et al. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 9–13.

46 Two of the best-known tricinia of the period, Ghiselin's *La Alfonsina* and Josquin's *La Bernardina*, have a comparable passage in which a stepwise descending cantus firmus in large note values is accompanied by vital, sequential counterpoint of the two other voices. The passage in *La Bernardina* has a harmonic pattern that is quite close to what Isaac uses in *Gratias refero tibi* and *Adieu filette*. There are several modern editions of *La Alfonsina*; the ones most easily accessible are those in *Harmonice musicae Odhecaton A*, ed. Helen Hewitt, no. 80; Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera omnia*, ed. Clytus Gottwald, CMM 23, vol. 4 (1968), 36–38 (no. 21); and in Filocamo, *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi MS 27*, 674–76 (no. 128). A modern edition of *La Bernardina* is found in NJE 27: *Secular Works for Three Voices*, ed. Van Benthem and Brown, 36–37.

47 Petrucci's *Odhecaton* contains forty-nine works for three voices, sixteen of which (32 per cent) are Dorian on G. The next most important finals are D, F (with a one-flat signature), and G (each at 12 per cent of the repertoire). In the *Trium vocum carmina* collection of 1538, which contains many early pieces, 34 per cent of the tricinia are in the Dorian mode on G; 27 per cent have the final A, and all other options are limited to percentages below ten. One wonders whether this preference might be related to instrumental voice ranges. For an introduction to the problem of vocal versus instrumental elements in the three-voice repertory of this period, see Gilbert, 'Elaboration in Heinrich Isaac's Three-Voice Mass Sections and Untexted Compositions', 10–25 and *passim*, and also Armin Brinzing, 'Zum Problem textloser Überlieferung in deutschen Quellen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Heinrich Isaac und Paul Hofhaimer im Umfeld von Kaiser Maximilian I. Bericht über die vom 1. bis 5. Juli 1992 in Innsbruck abgehaltene Fachtagung*, ed. Walter Salmen (Innsbruck: Edition Helbling, 1997), 43–56, at 47–53.

Table 15.2. Percentages of voice-leading in parallel thirds and tenths in *La Stangetta* and in Isaac's tricinia

	Number of bars	Final	Key signature	% of outer voices in parallel 3rds or 10ths
<i>La Stangetta</i>	60	g	b♭	34%
<i>Adieu filette</i>	67	g	b♭	13%
Flor 229: 230	61	g	b♭	18%
Flor 229: 253	40	g	b♭	4%
<i>Gratias refero tibi</i>	87	F	b♭	34%
<i>Helas que de vera</i>	60	F	b♭	14%
<i>La morra</i>	66	g	b♭	51%
<i>Der Hund</i>	233	F	b♭	19%

Intriguing and clear as the parallels between *La Stangetta* and the authentic tricinia by Isaac may be, they do not demonstrate that *La Stangetta* must also have been composed by Isaac. But what they do convincingly show is that *La Stangetta* fits the general profile of Isaac's mature tricinia very well.

In spite of all this, one may wonder if there is anything about *La Stangetta* that might argue for or against Weerbeke's authorship. The problem is that there is only one piece among Weerbeke's secular works that comes close to the tricinium tradition: the three-voice setting of *O Venus bant*. The problem with this setting, however, is not only that it is a contested work, but also that it is in a genre that is slightly different from the mature tricinia: it is a setting of a well-known cantus prius factus that appears in the tenor (mainly in semibreves) against which faster-moving lines are offered by the superius and bassus.⁴⁸ Although the two contrapuntal lines show much of the rhythmic vitality that is also found in *La Stangetta*, and although voice-leading in parallel tenths does occur to some extent, there is no imitation among the voices and there are no sequences. This may, of course, be more a matter of genre than pointing towards a different stylistic profile.

The only other obvious place to look for material for comparison is in Weerbeke's masses. The masses in the first volume of the *Collected Works* all have more or less extended sections for three voices, as does the *Missa Et trop penser* in the second volume of masses.⁴⁹ Contrary to quite a few of such sections in Isaac's masses, many of those of Weerbeke are not in the style of the late fifteenth-century tricinia. Whole stretches of these sections move mainly in semibreves and minims with a kind of melodic and rhythmic sturdiness that is not characteristic of the secular works in the *Odhecaton*.⁵⁰ But even in the ones that use note values and a rhythmic vitality that is closer to that of the tricinia, it is difficult to find anything that is helpful. The

48 The piece is attributed to Weerbeke in the manuscript Sev 5-1-43 and to Josquin in all issues of the *Odhecaton*. (There is also a Josquin ascription in SGall 463, but this one derives from the Petrucci edition.) For a discussion of the work and its authenticity problem, see NJE 27, Critical Commentary, 188–99.

49 I am most grateful to Paul Kolb for sending me his transcription of *Missa Et trop penser* prior to its publication in the CMM series; see Weerbeke, *CW 2: Masses 2*, ed. Kolb.

50 See, for example, the *Qui propter nos homines* and *Benedictus* of *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, and the *Christe, Domine fili unigenite*, and *Et incarnatus est* of *Missa O venus bant*.

sections demonstrate, however, that some of the compositional approaches in *La Stangetta* do belong to Weerbeke's toolkit. A number of three-voice sections from the *O Venus bant* mass open with a relatively long, imitative duet between superius and contratenor. After three to five bars, this duet leads to a number of shorter phrases involving imitative duos and trios. At the end of the section one often finds short sequences, some involving the repetition of short motifs that build up musical tension before the section comes to a close.⁵¹ Imitation is standard in these sections, and one finds examples of all the approaches that are present in *La Stangetta*: long and short stretches of three-voice imitation,⁵² imitation between two voices supported by a free third voice,⁵³ and imitation in voice-pairs.⁵⁴ Of course the scale on which musical developments takes place is, at times, rather different, and this, too, seems to be a matter of genre.

Two three-voice sections from the *Ave regina celorum* and *O Venus bant* masses end with short passages encompassing cantus-firmus techniques and sequences that remind one of *La Stangetta*.⁵⁵ Remarkably enough, both sections repeat their short sequence in varied form. Example 15.1a shows the final section of the *Christe* from *Missa O Venus bant*. The first part of the sequence runs from bars 66 to 70, and all three voices move in similar note values. The

Example 15.1. (a) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa O venus bant*, *Christe*, bb. 66–77

51 Eric F. Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke (c.1445–nach 1517)*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 61.

52 *Missa Ave regina celorum*, *Qui propter nos homines* (bb. 63 ff., 71 ff., 82 ff.), *Pleni sunt celi* (bb. 42–48, 58–62), *Benedictus* (bb. 156 ff.), *Agnus dei II* (bb. 71 ff.); *Missa O Venus bant*, *Et incarnatus est* (bb. 64 ff.); *Missa Et trop penser*, *Christe* (bb. 56 ff.).

53 *Missa Ave regina celorum*, *Agnus dei* (bb. 43–48); *Missa O Venus bant*, *Et incarnatus est* (bb. 41 ff., 54 ff.), *Agnus dei* (bb. 62 ff.); *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*, *Et incarnatus est* (bb. 65 ff.); *Missa Et trop penser*, *Et incarnatus est* (bb. 100–114), *Agnus dei* (bb. 19–25).

54 *Missa Ave regina celorum*, *Benedictus* (bb. 124–38), *Missa Princesse d'amourettes*, *Kyrie* (bb. 21–29); *Missa Se mieulx ne vient*, *Benedictus* (bb. 143–51), *Agnus dei* (bb. 43–47); *Missa Et trop penser*, *Christe* (bb. 70–73), *Domine fili unigenite* (bb. 62–68), *Et incarnatus est* (bb. 94–99).

55 The *Ave regina* sequence may involve a conflation of E and E \flat , but not exactly in the way Isaac handled this and as it is found in *La Stangetta*.

Example 15.1. (b) Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Missa Ave regina celorum*, Benedictus, bb. 170–82

scaffolding of the sequence is a stepwise ascending series of notes (encircled in the example) with an underlying harmonic pattern of $-3/+4$ (F, D, G, E, A, F, B \flat , G). The same pattern is repeated from bar 72 onward but this time in unadorned semibreves and with an extra note G at the beginning of the repeat (in b. 71). The second time around the $-3/+4$ pattern remains the same and the superius repeats most of its original notes, but the bassus supplies new notes, resulting in a different succession of chords: D, B, E, C, F, D, G, E. Something related occurs in the Benedictus of *Missa Ave regina celorum* (Example 15.1b). The first part of the sequence is built around a stepwise ascending cantus firmus in breves (bb. 170–74) with, again, a $-3/+4$ pattern: B \flat , G, C, A, D, B \flat , E \flat , C, F. In the repeat (bb. 176–78) the notes of the cantus firmus are transposed up a fourth and partly shortened, but now the bassus remains true to its original notes and harmonic pattern. These sequences look a bit more advanced than what can be observed in *La Stangetta*.

Still, Weerbeke's oeuvre is not of great help in trying to determine the authorship of *La Stangetta*. The best one can do is show that he must have been capable of composing a piece such as *La Stangetta*, and that, in essence, the techniques and procedures of the work are not alien to his music. If the *O Venus bant* setting really is by Weerbeke, it must be considered a one-off in his oeuvre. Perhaps that would make it possible to accept *La Stangetta* as something alike in a slightly different (sub)genre. But even without these considerations, I think it is fairly obvious that if Weerbeke had wanted to contribute to the tradition of tricinia, it would not have been very difficult for him to pick out the central features of the tradition and write a piece in this style.

But what about the Stanga connection: is that in itself not a strong indication that the Weerbeke ascription should be taken seriously? The problem is that we cannot be sure that the piece was actually dedicated to, or composed for, Marchesino Stanga. The Stanga family was

quite a large one and several members of it were active in northern Italian cultural circles where polyphony was performed.⁵⁶ But even if it could be demonstrated that the piece was actually composed for Marchesino, that would ultimately be of little help. After all, it has been suggested that Isaac's *La morra* may possibly refer to Ludovico il Moro.⁵⁷ If this hypothesis holds any truth, we might as well surmise that Isaac composed a similar piece for Ludovico's 'tesoriere'.



What can be concluded from the foregoing analysis? First of all that Weerbeke's authorship of *La Stangetta* is problematic. Kämper's 1980 plea for his authorship can only be seriously entertained if one is prepared to accept that the withdrawal of the Weerbeke ascription in the 1503 and 1504 reprints of Petrucci's *Odhecaton* was a mistake. This is not easy to accept, as every effort was made by Petrucci to produce a careful re-edition of his 1501 print and none of the withdrawn attributions is confirmed by an independent source. But even if one would be prepared to accept this, the case for Weerbeke remains troublesome because *La Stangetta* is clearly an outsider in Weerbeke's oeuvre. The only convincing alternative that remains is to consider the possibility that *La Stangetta* is actually by Isaac. The piece fits the profile of Isaac's mature *trincina* rather well, and there seems to be every reason to take the ascription of the work to Isaac in the Segovia manuscript seriously indeed. As a matter of fact, if the problematic *Odhecaton* ascription to Weerbeke had never come down to us, I do not think anyone would have doubted Isaac's authorship of *La Stangetta*. The rather odd title in the Segovia manuscript, 'Ortus de celo flos est', would have been accepted as merely another example of this scribe's fanciful incipits, and the work would no doubt have been incorporated into his oeuvre.

Given the fact that, in the end, so much in this discussion depends on the interpretation of the problematic *Odhecaton* ascription, this may not be the final word on *La Stangetta*. The editors of the Weerbeke edition may very well feel obliged to include the work as a composition that might be by Weerbeke in the volume containing the secular works of this composer. I do hope to have shown, however, that Isaac might be a more plausible candidate for the piece and hope that the editors of the forthcoming edition of Isaac's secular works will respond by including this composition in their volumes.

56 For information on the family, see primarily Idelfonso Stanga, *La famiglia Stanga di Cremona: Cenni storici* (Milan: Tipografia Bernardoni di C. Rebeschini, 1895); see also Filocamo, *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi MS 27*, 355.

57 *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*, ed. Hewitt, 76; this suggestion was later adopted by many others, including, for example, Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 368. The title *La morra* has also been associated with Florentine festivities celebrating the victory of Ferdinand the Catholic over the Moors of Grenada (Giulio Cattin, 'Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze nelle Maccheronee di Teofilo Folengo', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 10 (1975), 180–215, at 213) and with an Italian (finger/hand) game; what makes these suggestions a little problematic is that the other pieces with similar titles (*La Afonsina*, *La Bernardina*) all seem to refer to names of actual persons. For more on the title 'La morra', see Gilbert, 'Elaboration in Heinrich Isaac's Three-Voice Mass Sections', 213–15.

APPENDIX I

La stangetta after Petrucci, *Odbecatton* (S and T from 1501 edition; B from 1503 edition)

5

10

15 20

25

30 35

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298

40

45

50 55

60

Variant readings in Seg s.s.

Bar	Voice	Variant reading
2	B	Br
4	S B	Br
6	S T B	Br
7 ₂₋₅	B	Sb-G Mi-A
8	T	Br
10 ₁	T	Sb-d Mi-rest
11 _{2-12₁}	S	Br
12 _{3-13₁} , 18 _{3-19₁} , 23 _{3-24₁}	T	ligature
28 _{4-29₁}	T	Sb-c'

Bar	Voice	Variant reading
30	T	Br
31 _{6-32₄}	S	Sb-a' Sm-g' Sm-f'
33 _{2-34₁} , 34 _{2-35₁}	T	ligature
36-37	T	no ligature
41 ₄	B	no flat
53 ₃₋₄	B	Sb-B'
56 ₁	B	Mi-G Mi-g
58 ₂₋₆₀	B	Lo-G

APPENDIX 2
Sequential passages from tricinia by Isaac

Adieu filette, bb. 53–59

55

Musical score for *Adieu filette*, measures 53–59. The score is in three parts: vocal line (treble clef) and two lute staves (bass clef). The key signature is one flat. Measure 55 is indicated above the first staff. The music shows a sequence of chords and melodic lines, with a sharp sign above the final note of the vocal line.

Helas que de vera, bb. 50–54

50

Musical score for *Helas que de vera*, measures 50–54. The score is in three parts: vocal line (treble clef) and two lute staves (bass clef). The key signature is one flat. Measure 50 is indicated above the first staff. The music shows a sequence of chords and melodic lines.

La morra, bb. 36–49

40

45

Musical score for *La morra*, measures 36–49. The score is in three parts: vocal line (treble clef) and two lute staves (bass clef). The key signature is one flat. Measure 40 is indicated above the first staff, and measure 45 is indicated above the second staff. The music shows a sequence of chords and melodic lines.

Eric Jas

Florence 229, no. 230, bb. 16–36

300

20

25 30

35

Gratias refero tibi, bb. 75–83

75 80

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Der Hund, bb. 63–81

65 70

Musical score for measures 65-70. It consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef and a flat key signature, a middle staff with a soprano clef and a flat key signature, and a bottom staff with a bass clef and a flat key signature. The music is in a 3/4 time signature. Measures 65-70 show a sequence of chords and melodic lines in the upper parts, with a more active bass line.

75

Musical score for measures 75-80. It consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef and a flat key signature, a middle staff with a soprano clef and a flat key signature, and a bottom staff with a bass clef and a flat key signature. The music continues with similar textures, featuring some chromaticism in the upper parts and a steady bass line.

80

Musical score for measures 80-81. It consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef and a flat key signature, a middle staff with a soprano clef and a flat key signature, and a bottom staff with a bass clef and a flat key signature. The music concludes with a final chord in all parts.

Der Hund, bb. 181–92

185

Musical score for measures 185-190. It consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef and a flat key signature, a middle staff with a soprano clef and a flat key signature, and a bottom staff with a bass clef and a flat key signature. The music features a more active upper part with eighth notes and a steady bass line.

190

Musical score for measures 190-192. It consists of three staves: a top staff with a treble clef and a flat key signature, a middle staff with a soprano clef and a flat key signature, and a bottom staff with a bass clef and a flat key signature. The music continues with similar textures, featuring some chromaticism in the upper parts and a steady bass line.

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