

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Pierre Attaingnant's *Treize livres* (1534-35)
and their Anonymous Motets

by

Stephanie Lynn Treloar

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

CALGARY, ALBERTA

DECEMBER, 1993

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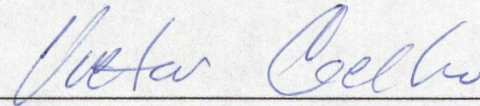
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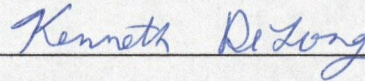


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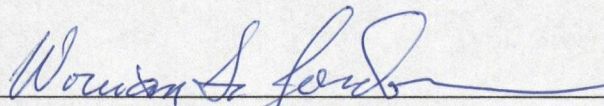
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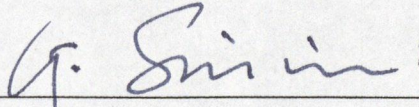
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ABSTRACT

The *Treize livres de motets*, published by Parisian music printer Pierre Attaingnant in 1534-35, comprise works by over fifty French and Franco-Flemish composers. As *imprimeur du roi*, Attaingnant appears to have had access to the music of the French royal chapel, which makes his motet prints one of the few sources that give a picture of the French royal music in the early sixteenth century. In a period where attribution of all pieces was quickly becoming standard editorial practice, the nature and positioning of anonymous motets in the *Treize livres* collection highlights issues of organization and sources within the set. Textual and stylistic analysis of the unattributed works emphasizes the early nature of the repertory as a whole, reinforces Attaingnant's use of the royal chapel holdings as a source, and offers some idea of dates and reasons for the composition of the anonymous pieces, as well as highlighting the possibility of a distinct French provincial style of composition in relation to the "Parisian" style which is generally held to represent all French music of this period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From the University of Calgary, I would like to thank Dr. Michael Dewar of the Department of Greek, Latin and Ancient History, and Dr. Marcelo Epstein of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, for their assistance with the translation of Latin texts. I wish to acknowledge the willing and helpful assistance of all Music Library staff, and I would like to thank Dr. John Brobeck of the University of Arizona for offering suggestions and sharing his recent researches with me. My most heartfelt thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Victor Coelho, for his untiring energy and ceaseless efforts on my behalf.

To my parents

whose love, support, and extreme tolerance were much appreciated,
though rarely acknowledged.

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<i>Rome 1980-81</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MSS Palatini latini 1980-81
<i>Rome VI/C6/23-24</i>	Rome, Palazzo Massimo MSS VI/C6/23-24
<i>Rome S1 35-40</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS S1 35-40
<i>Rome 16</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Sistina 16
<i>Rome 24</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Sistina 24
<i>Rome 26</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Sistina 26
<i>Rome 42</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Sistina 42

<i>Rome 46</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Sistina 46
<i>Rome XII,4</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cappella Giulia XII,4
<i>Rome 571</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vaticana Musicali 571
<i>Stuttgart I.26</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS Musica folio I.26
<i>Stuttgart I.34</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS Musica folio I.34
<i>Stuttgart I.36</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS Musica folio I.36
<i>Stuttgart I.41</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS Musica folio I.41
<i>Stuttgart I.42</i>	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS Musica folio I.42
<i>Treviso 29</i>	Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo MS 29 (destroyed)
<i>Verona 218</i>	Verona, Societa Accademia Filarmonica MS 218
<i>Verona DCCLX</i>	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare MS DCCLX

Printed Sources¹

<i>Antico 1520²</i>	Motetti novi libro tertio [4-5v.] - <i>Venezia, A. Antico, 15 oct. 1520.</i>
<i>Antico 1521⁵</i>	Motetti libro quarto [4v.] <i>Venezia, A. Antico, aug. 1521.</i>
<i>Attaignant 1531⁵</i>	Treze motetz musicaulx avec ung prelude, le tout reduict en la tabulature des orgues espinettes et manicordions et telz semblables instrumentz. <i>Paris, P. Attaignant, apr. 1531.</i>
<i>Berg 1558⁴</i>	Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum <i>Nürnberg, J. von Berg &</i>

¹ The print sigla incorporate the printer name and RISM number for each publication.

U. Neuber, 1558.

- Chemin 1553*² Liber primus collectorum modulorum *Paris, N. du Chemin & C. Goudimel, 1553.*
- Gardane 1539*³ Primus liber cum sex vocibus. Mottetti del frutto a sei voci. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1539.*
- Gardane 1539*⁶ Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus. Fior de mottetti tratti dalli Mottetti del fiore. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1539.*
- Gardane 1539*¹² Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Fior de mottetti tratti dalli mottetti del fiore. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1539.*
- Gardane 1539*¹³ Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Mottetti del frutto a quattro. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1539.*
- Gardane G2979-1541* Gomberth Gomberti excellentissimi, et inventione in hac arte facile principis, . . . Liber primus, cum quatuor vocibus, *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1541.*
- Gardane W1112-1542*¹⁰ Adriani Willaert musicorum omnium qui hactenus et nostro, . . . musicorum sex vocum, que vulgo motecta dicuntur, . . . Liber primus. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1542.*
- Gardane W1107-1545* Adriani Willaert musici celeberrimi ac chori divi marci illustrissimae reipublicae venetiarum magistri musica quatuor vocum (motecta vulgo appellant) . . . Liber primus. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1545.*
- Gardane W1109-1545* Adriani Willaert musici celeberrimi ac chori divi marci illustrissimae reipublicae venetiarum magistri musica quatuor vocum (motecta vulgo appellant) . . . Liber secundus. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1545.*
- Gardane 1545*⁴ Flos florum primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Mottetti del fior. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1545.*
- Gardane 1549*² Excellentiss. autorum diverse modulationes que sub titulo Fructus vagantur per orbem, . . . Liber primus cum sex vocibus. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1549.*
- Gardane 1549*⁸ Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri excellentissimi musici,

- novamente ristampato, con una buona giunta de motetti novi. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1549.*
- Gardane 1549¹⁰* Excellentiss. autorum diverse modulationes que sub titulo Fructus vagantur per orbem, . . . Liber primus cum quatuor vocibus. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1549.*
- Gardane 1549¹²* Electiones diversorum motetorum distincte quatuor vocibus, *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1549.*
- Gintzler 1547²²* Intabolatura de lauto di Simon Gintzler musico del reverendissimo cardinale di Trento, . . . Liber primo. *Venezia, A. Gardane, 1547.*
- Moderne 1532⁹* Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus. *Lyon, J. Moderne, 1532.*
- Moderne 1532¹⁰* Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore. *Lyon, J. Moderne, 1532.*
- Moderne 1538²* Tertius liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces *Lyon, J. Moderne, 1538.*
- Moderne 1539⁵* Quartus liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces *Lyon, J. Moderne, 1539.*
- Moderne 1539¹⁰* Tertius liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore. *Lyon, J. Moderne, 1539.*
- Petreius 1541²* Trium vocum cantiones centum, . . . Toni primi. *Nürnberg, J. Petreius, 1541.*
- Petrucchi 1502¹* Motetti A. numero trentatre. A. *Venezia, O. Petrucci, 9 mai 1502.*
- Petrucchi 1503¹* Motetti De passione De cruce De sacramanto De beata virgine et huius modi. B. *Venezia, O. Petrucci, 10 mai 1503.*
- Petrucchi 1504¹* Motetti C. *Venezia, O. Petrucci, 1504.*
- Petrucchi 1505²* Motetti libro quarto. *Venezia, O. Petrucci, 1505.*
- Petrucchi 1514¹* Motetti de la corona. Libro primo. *Fossombrone, O. Petrucci, 1514.*
- Phalèse 1552²⁹* Hortus Musarum in quo tanquam flosculi quidam selectissimorum carminum collecti sunt ex optimis quibusque autoribus *Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1552.*

<i>Phalèse 1553</i> ³³	Horti musarum secunda pars, continens selectissima quaedam ac iucundissima carmina <i>Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1553.</i>
<i>Phalèse 1547</i> ²⁴	Carminum ad Testudinis usum compositorum liber tertius <i>Louvain, P. Phalèse, 1547.</i>
<i>Phalèse 1574</i> ¹²	Thesaurus musicus continens selectissima Alberti Ripae, Valentini Bacfari et aliorum praestantissimorum carmina ad usum Chelys, vel testudinis accomodata <i>Louvain, P. Phalèse et J. Bellère, 1574.</i>
<i>Rhau 1538</i> ¹	Selectae harmoniae quatuor vocum. De Passione Domini. <i>Wittenberg, G. Rhaw, 1538.</i>
<i>Rhau 1538</i> ⁸	Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuor vocum, <i>Wittenberg, G. Rhaw, 1538.</i>
<i>Rhau 1542</i> ⁸	Tricinia <i>Wittenberg, G. Rhaw, 1542.</i>
<i>Le Roy C13-1555</i>	Moteta, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, liber primus. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.</i>
<i>Le Roy J678 1555</i>	Moduli, ex sacris literis dilecti et in 4, 5 et 6 voces distincti, liber primus. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.</i>
<i>Le Roy M4017-1555</i>	Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5 6 & 8 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1555.</i>
<i>Le Roy R1300-1556</i>	Modulorum quatuor, quinque & sex vocum, liber primus. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1556.</i>
<i>Le Roy 1562</i> ²⁸	Cinquiesme livre de tabelature de luth contenant plusieurs motez, & fantasies. Par maistre Albert de Rippe mantouan. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1562.</i>
<i>Le Roy 1564</i> ²²	Premier livre de tabelature de luth <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1564.</i>
<i>Le Roy 1565</i> ²	Modularum ternis vocibus diversis auctoribus decantatorum Volumen primum. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1565.</i>
<i>Le Roy 1565</i> ³	Modulorum ternis vocibus ducisis auctoribus decantatorum volumen secundum. <i>Paris, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard, 1564.</i>

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The *Treize Livres de motets* is a collection of thirteen printed books of motets published by Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant between 1534 and 1535. Comprising over 250 motets by fifty-eight different composers of mostly French and Franco-Flemish origin from the early sixteenth century, the set forms a rich repository of the sacred and ceremonial music performed at the French court under Louis XII (reigned 1498–1515) and Francis I (reigned 1515–1547).

This study will take as a point of departure the questions raised and answered by the existence of anonymous works in other collections. The aim is to determine what, if anything, the anonymous works in the *Treize livres* can tell us about the provenance, selection, and organization of the set as a whole. A brief look at the development of music in France, the musical institutions of the royal court under Francis I, and a review of Attaingnant's press and printing innovations, will provide a background in the cultural developments and systems of royal patronage of the time. Organization in the series will be studied, and then the anonymous works themselves will be examined according to their placement in both the collection itself, and in manuscript or print sources from the years preceeding and following the publication of the set. This information will be studied for evidence of any patterns in the provenance of the works, and also for intention in the organization of the music on the part of the publisher, Attaingnant. The anonymous works will then be analyzed stylistically to see how they stand in relation to the main body of the set, and whether they give evidence of being of a different provenance than the other pieces. Their texts will be studied for function and possible

references to political or historical events, and text-music relations in the works will be examined and compared. Finally an attempt will be made to assign the anonymous motets to a composer or school of composers, and an approximate time frame.

The first half of the sixteenth century forms a particularly interesting and exciting period in French music. Military and diplomatic contacts with Italy fuelled the spread of Italian humanistic thought in France, and King Francis's enthusiastic support for music and the arts helped establish a strong musical tradition at court. It was the reign of Francis I which witnessed the rise of uniquely French secular, sacred and instrumental styles. These important musical developments were matched by a no less impressive evolution in music printing, culminating in the increasing commercialization of music production and distribution under Pierre Attaignant, the first *imprimeur du roi* of music in France.

Attaignant's largest motet collection, the *Treize livres*, presents a varied array of musical works by both local and international composers. French musicians working under the previous monarch Louis XII and his queen, Anne of Brittany, are represented. Also featured are composers associated with Francis I, such as Claudin de Sermisy, whose homorhythmic, text-sensitive compositions resemble the "Parisian" chanson. Since early sixteenth-century sources of music which can be associated with, or assumed to have originated from, the French court are very scarce, the *Treize livres* series is particularly important, as it provides valuable insight into the music and composers of the French court under Francis I.

The entire *Treize livres* set was published at regular intervals

between April 1534 and May 1535. Table 1 shows the volumes and their dates of publication.

Table 1

Publication of the *Treize Livres*

Liber I	April	1534	Liber VII	Nov.	1534
Liber II	May	1534	Liber VIII	Dec.	1534
Liber III	June	1534	Liber IX	Jan.	1535
Liber IV	June	1534	Liber X	Feb.	1535
Liber V	August	1534	Liber XI	March	1535 (before 28)
Liber VI	Sept.	1534	Liber XII	March	1535 (29-31)
			Liber XIII	May	1535 ¹

A fourteenth volume, titled the *Liber decimus quartus*, appears later, in 1539, and contains only motets by Pierre de Manchicourt.² Although the thirteen volumes were published in close order as Table 1 shows, they were by no means completely uninterrupted. Those years were obviously busy ones for Attaignant, and interspersed with the motet books he also managed to publish at least two books of Masses and six books of chansons. It is possible that Attaignant was planning this set of motet volumes as far back as 1531, for the extension of his printing privilege to prevent unauthorized pirating of his prints granted in June 1531 covered "what has been printed and is to be printed," and mentions "books and booklets of Masses, motets, hymns, chansons, whether for lute, flutes or

¹ The dates are taken from the bibliographical catalogue in Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).

² From its much later timing and exclusivity of contents, it has not been taken for the purposes of this study as a true sequel to the first thirteen books, and thus will not be discussed here.

organ, in great or in small volumes."³

The diversity of the motets in the *Treize livres* reflects the great variety of influences on the musical style of the French royal court. Thus we find chanesque or "Parisian" style motets and free compositions next to pieces based on canons and cantus firmi. Four-voice works predominate, but a substantial number of trios and multi-voice pieces are present. Simple lauda-like works are represented, as are chant-paraphrasing pieces, *alternatim*-style polyphony, and pieces using secular melodies. The texts set range from the liturgical and paraliturgical, to the biblical, hymn-based, and to the freely-composed. They include pieces written for Francis I, Louis XII, and for performance in the French provinces, as well as for popes, the emperor and other distant patrons.⁴

This diversity of music reflects the plurality of composers represented in the set. Many of the composers had connections with the French court, particularly under Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, as is the case with Longueval, Josquin, Divitis, Mouton, Lupi, Richafort, Claudin and Moulu. Many others worked under Francis I, such as Claudin, Gascongne, l'Enfant and Certon. Most of the other composers who cannot be placed for any significant length of time with the French court itself were significant and internationally renowned Franco-Flemish composers of Attaingnant's generation. Famous Franco-Flemings from the previous generation, such as Josquin des Prez, are notably under-represented, and composers from other countries are almost completely absent. Yet within these limitations

³ Heartz, *Attaingnant*, 78.

⁴ John Thomas Brobeck, "The Motet at the Court of Francis I" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 507.

of national style, a great degree of individual variety is apparent.

The Study of Anonymous Works

As with any sizeable collection of motets, such as Petrucci's early books of motets (*Petrucci 1502*¹, *Petrucci 1503*¹, *Petrucci 1504*¹, and *Petrucci 1505*²), anonymous pieces form a significant number of works in the collection; fourteen motets in the *Treize livres* are as yet unidentified. Confronting anonymous works within a repertory is a potentially frustrating experience, particularly as many sixteenth-century publishers did not consider the acknowledgement of composers to be an important part of their job. This is ingenuously highlighted by the publisher Hieronymus Formschneider in the following remark from the preface to his *Trium Vocum Carmina* of 1538: "Nor have we felt it important to give the names of the composers because their excellent compositions have such distinctive qualities of style that they will be easily recognized by the learned musician."⁵ His confidence in the learning of both his contemporaries and in later readers is flattering but probably misplaced. Certainly a few attributions would have forestalled what often turns into little more than a guessing game in matching composers to compositions.

The focus on attributing works which is highlighted by such statements underlines an approach to anonymous works which is often taken by scholars of earlier repertories. The significance of anonymous pieces present in a body of works is frequently underestimated, with the result that anonymous works are approached as puzzles that can be solved

⁵ Translated from the original Latin given by Robert Eitner in his *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke* p. 44 (1538h); quoted in *Petrucci Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* ed. Helen Hewitt (Cambridge, Mass., 1942; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1978), 59-60. n. 12.

by merely identifying the composer. Recent studies have shown, however, that anonymous works in a repertory can provide much more significant and interesting information. Anonymous works can add to our knowledge of the provenance of a collection, fill in gaps in our knowledge of stylistic developments within a particular genre, and highlight issues of organization within a collection. A brief survey of studies made of other Attaingnant collections will illustrate these points.

In examining the output of chansons from Attaingnant's presses over the course of the firm's printing career (1515-1558), Albert Seay notes the large number of anonymous chansons in the early prints, and the tapering off of anonymous works in the later publications. This pattern leads him to speculate that Attaingnant was faced with an immediate and continuing demand for his early chanson publications, was unable to find enough new works among contemporary composers to fill this demand, and so resorted to other sources, notably manuscripts containing compositions written in the years preceding the establishment of his firm in 1525. These manuscript sources generally represented the chanson as it was composed between the years 1510 and 1528, and normally failed to mention composers, so Attaingnant was forced to list them anonymously. With the increasing production of new works over time, there was less need to pad the collections with earlier unattributed works, and thus the number of anonymous chansons falls off in the later prints.⁶ The anonymous works of these prints thus reflect the chanson in its transitional period between

⁶ Albert Seay, foreword to *The Anonymous Chansons published by Pierre Attaingnant*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 93 (Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1983), ix.

the style of the Netherlanders of the time of Josquin, and that style stabilized by Claudin de Sermisy, Jannequin and Pierre Certon, now commonly described as "Parisian." In the absence of extant manuscripts representing the works of this transitional period, these anonymous chansons of Attaignant's prints afford substantial assistance in tracing the history and development of the "Parisian" chanson.

Another Attaignant print, an anonymous collection of intabulated dances brought out in 1531, preserves a significant portion of what was once a flourishing art in the mainstream of continental keyboard music in the first part of the sixteenth century--the dance arrangement. Although these works were doubtless arranged by keyboard virtuosi of the French court, Attaignant does not assign composers' names to the intabulators. In the choice of the actual dances themselves, as well as in the details of their keyboard treatment, the pieces give evidence of the common ground between France and Italy, and so bring to light the possibility of artistic connections and stylistic influence between these two countries.⁷

As a last example of anonymous works found among Attaignant's prints there are the anonymous preludes in Attaignant's 1529-30 publication of *Preludes, Chansons et Danses pour le Luth*. Daniel Heartz observes a main principle governing the selection of the preludes in the *Introduction*: the five preludes represent, from the point of view of their final tones, four varieties of mode. These are D, F, C, and G, exactly the same modes found in the chanson intabulations which follow. The preludes

⁷ Daniel Heartz, introduction to *Keyboard Dances from the Earlier 16th Century*, ed. Daniel Heartz. Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, gen. ed. Willi Apel, vol. 8 (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), viii-ix.

are far outnumbered by the chanson intabulations, which suggests they were to be used as general openings to certain modes, as opposed to introductions to specific pieces.⁸ This set of preludes furnishes an example of anonymous works selected and arranged by mode for use in conjunction with other pieces in the set.

Such are some of the issues which come to light from the examination of anonymous works within a larger repertory. Naturally the anonymity of works will not always be a significant factor. The preludes of the lute collection, for example, are obviously organized by mode, and their anonymity affords no particular insight into our understanding of the performance of the prelude with an intabulation, although from their unattributed state one might draw conclusions about the informal and improvisational aspects of the genre. On the other hand, if, for example, only one of the preludes had been unattributed, one might suggest that preference in general was given by the editor to attributed works, and an anonymous piece only used to fill in when an attributed one in the necessary mode was unavailable. In the chanson collections, however, it was the clustering of anonymous works in certain patterns which stimulated the study of that collection along the lines of stylistic development. The point to be taken here is that by questioning the very presence of anonymous works in a collection, and their ordering or grouping, new approaches to study may lead to interesting and valuable conclusions about editorial intent, stylistic transmission, and genre development. The work which has

⁸ Danieal Heartz, foreword to *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute Published by Pierre Attaingnant, Paris (1529-1530)*, ed. Daniel Heartz (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1964), xiii.

been done to date on anonymous pieces in Attaingnant prints makes the study of anonymous motets in the Attaingnant publications a natural next step.

Review of the Literature

The motet has had as yet no comprehensive survey such as Einstein compiled for the Italian madrigal. Some studies which attempted a comprehensive overview of the genre are now dated, such as H. Leichtentritt's *Geschichte der Motette*.⁹ Other studies are limited in scope, such as Albert Dunning's *Die Staatsmotette*, which is confined to ceremonial and political motets, or Edgar Sparks' *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520*. Regarding the sixteenth-century motet, much useful work has been done on individual motet collections, either in manuscript, such as Lowinsky's study of the Medici Codex, and H. Colin Slim's work on the Newberry Partbooks, or in print, such as George Drake's and David Gehrenbeck's studies of Petrucci's early and last motet prints respectively, and Martin Picker's editions and studies of the motet anthologies of Antico.

Many bio-bibliographical studies of sixteenth-century printers include valuable discussion of the motet and its function and distribution. These include Mary Lewis's work on Gardane, Samuel Pogue's studies of Jacques Moderne, and Daniel Heartz's volume on Attaingnant himself. Other sources are being made more accessible through the recent Garland publications of lesser known sixteenth-century motet collections edited by Richard Sherr, which include many French works.

Works on royal patronage include Leeman Perkins's article on

⁹ Full citations for the following sources can be found in the bibliography.

patronage at the French court under Charles VII and Louis XI, Stephen Bonime's article on *écurie* musicians under Charles VIII and Louis XII, and his dissertation on musical development under Anne of Brittany. Richard Sherr has also written on composers in the chapels of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. A recent Ph.D. dissertation by John Brobeck on the motet at the court of Francis I gives a detailed account of court musical organizations at this time. In addition Brobeck makes a study of the overall development of motet style under Louis XII and Francis I.

Not a large amount has been written on musical contacts between Italy and France. Lewis Lockwood's article on French music and musicians in Italy in the early sixteenth century provides some idea of the rich possibilities in this field. The studies of the chanson and madrigal edited by James Haar also offer a look at connections between musical developments in France and Italy.

In general anonymous works in the studies of individual manuscripts, prints or in the entire output of a printer are seldom discussed beyond stylistic description. Questions, based on the presence of anonymous works, which might lead to a discussion of issues such as scribal or editorial organization and sources are rarely taken up in detail. The opportunity for inferring the provenance of pieces based on the ordering of works in a manuscript or print is also often ignored.

Before beginning the examination of the *Treize livres de motets* itself, some details of the musical organization of the royal court and early developments in music printing will be described. Appearing in the 1530s, the *Treize livres* falls within the peak of printing activity under the first French printer of music, Pierre Attaignant, and occurs almost directly in

the middle of the reign of one of the most influential and glorious monarchs in French history, Francis I. This King's desire to make France, and more specifically Paris, a center of literary and artistic excellence led him to surround himself with artists and scholars of high quality and great renown in all areas of accomplishment and learning. The promotion and preservation of the fruits of such an investment was no less a concern, and the fortunate conjunction of both Francis, Renaissance prince, and Attaignant, technological innovator, left for posterity a substantial representation of the musical riches of this extremely creative period in French history.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONTEXT AND FUNCTION OF THE *TREIZE LIVRES*

Introduction

The reign of Francis I (1515-1547) is held by many historians to have been one of the most glorious and creative in the history of France, particularly in arts and letters. Referring to a nation despised for its veneration of feats of war and its ignorance of learning, Baldassare Castiglione predicted that Francis would raise the estimation of letters in France to the heights which had previously been held only by arms.¹

Military and diplomatic contact with Italy encouraged the spread of Renaissance ideals of scholarship and art at the French court. As early as 1517, after his first Italian campaign, Francis conceived of a college of ancient languages directly under royal patronage, and offered the directorship to no less a personage than Erasmus. This project was unfortunately put off until 1530, but it is clear that the French monarch was from early on in his life a sympathetic and enthusiastic patron of the humanities and the arts. In this he was accompanied by his renowned sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, also a great patron of arts and letters, and herself an author.

Francis's dedication and commitment to new ideas were tested time and time again against the recalcitrant scholastic theologians of the Sorbonne. He was frequently compelled, at no small personal risk, to intervene in attempting to save his humanistic thinkers, writers and poets from censorship, imprisonment, exile, and even the stake. Even a partial list of his achievements is impressive. He sponsored such notable scholars

¹ Heartz, *Attaignant*, 7.

as Guillaume Budé, Etienne Dolet and Jaques Lefèvre d'Étaples. His establishment of a royal library eventually fostered the Bibliothèque Nationale, and he set up chairs in classical studies. Literature prospered under his relatively tolerant reign, and famed court poets such as Clément Marot and Mellin de Saint-Gelais supplied the members of the royal court with secular poetry for reading and singing. Francis himself wrote many of the poems which were set by his musicians. Marot's vernacular psalm translations were also avidly read, set to music, and sung at the court.

In the fine arts, the French King was patron to the great *émailleur* Limosin, and the Italian mannerist painters Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio, who left their mark on one of Francis's most famous dwellings, Fontainebleu. He brought the renowned artists Leonardo and Benvenuto Cellini from Italy to France, and collected works of art by other Italian masters such as Raphael, del Sarto, Sebastiano del Piombo and Savoldo, as well as works from Dutch masters such as Joos van Cleve, who painted two portraits of Francis and Queen Eleanor.² In the royal collection, statues by Michelangelo and Tribolo stood alongside antique statuary and weaponry, surrounded by fine tapestries imported from the Low Countries (before Francis set up a local factory at Fontainebleu).

Music at the French Royal Court

That music should flourish amidst this proliferation of the arts and letters comes as no surprise. Musical activities at the French court came under the umbrella of two royal organizations, the *maison du roi* and the *chapelle du roi*. The musicians of the *maison* fell under two sub-

² Desmond Seward, *Prince of the Renaissance: The Life of François I* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1973), 160.

categories, the *chambre* and the *écurie* (stable). They included cornettists, fifers, drummers, and usually a rebec or a harp, as well as singers, lutenists, and organists.³ The *écurie* performed mostly outdoor and festival music for such events as large public gatherings and dances, while the musicians of the *chambre* performed both instrumental and vocal music of a more intimate nature. Under the reign of Francis I, a marked tendency towards the performance of polyphonic vocal music is seen in the increase of the number of singers in the royal household from two to seven, and in the complementary decrease in the number of instrumentalists from fourteen to ten.⁴

A greater and more impressive expansion is seen in the second of the royal organizations employing musicians, the *chapelle du roi*. Probably the most regularly used and important musicians of the royal court, they saw to the daily celebration of the Mass and the other requirements of divine worship. In 1475, 1486, and 1511 the musical contingent of the King's chapel included only a chapelmaster and twelve or thirteen singers. Later, between 1509 and 1514, benefices requested by the leader Hilaire Bernoneau and exactly twelve other singers in the King's service suggest that the chapel was still the same size at this time.⁵

Between 1499 and 1509, however, the Queen's chapel (which traditionally consisted of only a very small number of musicians) grew

³ Brobeck, "The Motet," 6.

⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁵ Brobeck, "The Motet," 16; and Richard Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths," *Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988): 62-70.

under Anne of Brittany to the unprecedented size of sixteen singers, and included many of the most famous composers to work at the French court, such as Sermisy, Divitis and Mouton. It appears that after her death in 1514 many of her musicians swelled the ranks of the King's chapel. The names of eight of them appear on the list of the twenty-three singers who performed for her husband's funeral a year later in 1515.⁶ Further expansion took place under Francis I. According to the 1517-18 chapel *compte*, under Francis I nine additional *chantres* were added for a total of thirty-two singers, and between 1533 and 1547 about thirty-five musicians sang in the King's chapel.⁷

The elaboration of the King's chapel was not limited to a mere rise in numbers; increased specialization and quality also become apparent towards the end of the reign of Louis XII and during the reign of Francis I. By 1526 the chapel had been divided into two sub-groups - the *chapelle de musique* and the *chapelle de plainchant*.⁸ The singers of the *chapelle de plainchant*, simply called *chantres*, comprised about a third of the total number of performers, and were responsible for plainchant performances during the regular services.⁹ The singers of the *chapelle de musique*, however, were listed according to their vocal ranges - contratenors, tenors, basses - which implies that together with the choirboys (for the

⁶ Brobeck, "The Motet," 18.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 408.

⁹ Richard Freedman, "Paris and the French Court under François I," in *Man and Music: The Renaissance From the 1470s to the end of the 16th Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), 179.

soprano lines) they specialized in the performance of polyphonic music.¹⁰ The division seems to have been made with an eye to giving the polyphonists more time to devote to the practice of their art; it is even possible that the polyphonists of the royal chapel were occasionally exempted from some of their daily liturgical responsibilities.¹¹

The improvement in the quality of musicians can be roughly gauged by the number of prominent composers among their ranks. During the last two decades of the fifteenth century, the French court appears to have had difficulty attracting and keeping good musicians/composers in its employ. In 1474-75 the only composer of note at the court was Ockeghem.¹² Compère was appointed between 1475-1486, followed by a number of composers - Agricola, Brumel, Elzear Genet, Ghiselin and A. Michot - who served briefly before leaving again.¹³ Many of them went on to seek appointments in Italian cities and courts.¹⁴

By the first decade of the sixteenth century, however, there was a notable improvement in the quality of the French royal chapel. Prioris

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Brobeck, "The Motet," 24.

¹² Although Ockeghem was in possession of an appointment at the royal abbey of St. Martin in Tours, this apparently did not require his continuous residency in Tours, as he remained first chaplain in the royal chapel. See Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), 67.

¹³ Brobeck, "The Motet," 24.

¹⁴ Leeman Perkins shows that there was slow but "inexorable" growth of the French royal musical institutions during the second half of the fifteenth century. See "Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422-83)" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 507-566. Under Francis I, however, much more expansion took place in a shorter period of time.

returned between ca. 1503-07, and Longueval re-entered the service of the French court. In 1508 the King, Queen, and High Constable Charles de Bourbon raided the Sainte-Chapelle for good singers, bringing back among others Claudin de Sermisy, who was probably at this time taken into the Queen's chapel.¹⁵ By 1510-11, the King's chapel included Hilaire Bernoneau, Longueval and possibly Braconnier, and the Queen's probably included Claudin, Divitis, Mouton, and possibly also Richafort.

During the first two years of Francis's reign, 1515-17, Gascongne, Guillot dit Verjust, Le Vasseur and Jean Molin also entered the King's chapel. Many of the musicians who had left the French court in earlier days had gone on to Italy, and now it was from Italy that many of them arrived in search of positions. Gilles Charpentier, Jacotin Le Bel, Francois Le Vigoureux, Antoine de Longueval, Manicourt, Jean Maupin, Georges Vassoris (Le Vasseur), and Pierre Vermont the Younger were some of these.¹⁶ The new group of musicians also tended to stay longer, as is witnessed by the long and stable employment of Claudin, Mouton, Certon and Gascongne.¹⁷ John Brobeck has speculated that even allowing for inflation, it was the greatly increasing salaries of the chapel singers, particularly under Francis, as well as benefits such as tax-exemption and clothing allowances, which drew and kept musicians and composers of such quality to the French royal court.¹⁸ Somewhat ironically, Peter Burke has

¹⁵ Brobeck, "The Motet," 25.

¹⁶ Ibid., 49.

¹⁷ Ibid., 52.

¹⁸ Ibid., 30.

also identified the French invasions of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth as an important influence behind the dispersal of Italian artists and writers to other regions.¹⁹

Much of the increase in the size and quality of the King's chapel around the beginning of Francis's reign can thus be traced back to the unusually large growth of Anne of Brittany's own private chapel. Richard Sherr has proposed that its membership and musical standards were increased as much for the maintenance of her dignity as the reigning Duchess of Brittany, as for her love of the new imitative style cultivated by her composers.²⁰ Her musicians were of the highest quality, and received liberal benefices in her hereditary lands.

This important groundwork in the formation of a substantial musical chapel was built upon by Francis. Under his patronage, the *chapelle du roi* became a musical institution comparable in both size and brilliance only to the imperial and papal chapels.²¹ French and foreign composers flourished in this institution, perfecting the imitative style and establishing the typically French 'chansonesque' style which would find so much popularity both at home and abroad. During this time, experiments in typesetting yielded the first French prints of polyphonic music. The simultaneous growth of music printing technology alongside increasing musical patronage can be no coincidence. Now a means was at hand whereby this prolific output of high quality music could be transmitted both to a broader

¹⁹ Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 233.

²⁰ Sherr, "Membership of the Chapels," 79-80.

²¹ Brobeck, "The Motet," 9.

current audience and to posterity. Favoured with privileges and honoured with the title *imprimeur du roi*, the first French printer of music, Pierre Attaingnant, was well-placed to take advantage of these musical developments.

Attaingnant and the French Royal Music

Pierre Attaingnant can be regarded as the pivotal figure who brought music printing from the field of artistry, as exemplified by the expensive presentation-quality prints of Petrucci and Antico, to the realm of commerce.²² While various French printers had mastered the art of printing chant from type, no one in France before Attaingnant was able to set polyphonic music with type, and no one anywhere previously had been able to develop a profitable means of mass printing polyphonic music. During a printing career spanning the years 1525–1558, Attaingnant's creation and application of single-impression printing allowed him to capitalize on the rich musical resources around him and distribute them on a commercial scale not previously seen in music.

Attaingnant's birthplace and birthdate are unknown. Paris and Noyon have been postulated, and Heartz makes a convincing case for Douai in the North as Attaingnant's original home.²³ Wherever his origins were found, Attaingnant is known to have been established in Paris as early as 1514, which is the date of a business contract showing him to be in possession of a printing press for hire. At that point in time, he was already qualified

²² Mary Stuart Lewis, *Antonio Gardane, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, vol. I, 1538–1549 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 6.

²³ Heartz, *Attaingnant*, 34.

as a *libraire*--a bookseller--which suggests he was at least in his early twenties. Based on this information, Hertz suggests a possible birthdate of about 1494.²⁴

Attaignant inherited his famous printing workshop in the rue de la harpe (now Boulevard St. Michel) from his father-in-law, the great Parisian printer Philippe Pigouchet, and began his career as both a printer and a bookseller, supplying liturgical books. The extent of his musical activities in these early years is unclear, but he is known to have stocked music paper in his shop, and may also have sold music books.²⁵ The earliest examples of music printing which survive from Attaignant's presses are the *Chansons nouvelles*, dated April, 1528. They show for the first time the now-famous method which Attaignant devised for printing mensural music: the combination of the fragment of staff with the musical note on the same piece of type, making possible the much more cost-effective single-impression typesetting. Thus began an illustrious printing career crowned with his being awarded no later than 1537 the title *imprimeur et libraire du roy*, the "greatest honour to which a French printer could aspire . . .".²⁶

Perhaps the award of this prestigious title was merely the formalization of a situation which had existed for some time already. Hertz suggests that Attaignant was on friendly relations with the main musicians of the royal chapel and the Sainte-Chapelle, and that he had access to the

²⁴ Ibid., 35.

²⁵ Ibid., 42.

²⁶ Ibid., 87.

manuscripts used by the royal musicians. In the case of another *imprimeur du roi*, Robert Estienne (appointed royal printer in Hebrew, 1539, and in Greek, 1542), a similar pattern of acquisition and printing is suggested by the contents of his publications. The manuscript contents of the royal library were largely acquired by French diplomats in Italy and the Middle East, and all Robert Estienne's Greek texts save one were printed from manuscripts in that library.²⁷ It is possible that a similar progression was encouraged in music, from the King's composers to the King's chapel to the King's printer. Heartz maintains that for the most part the music in Attaignant's publications was not written on command, but derived from what was currently sung at court and in the great chapels. It represents, in effect, the royal music of France.²⁸

The composers represented most frequently in Attaignant's overall output are indeed those musicians associated with the main royal and religious institutions of Paris. They include: Claudin de Sermisy, music director of the Chapel Royal; Pierre Certon, master of the children at the Sainte-Chapelle-du-Palais; and Clément Janequin, who by his title *chantre du roi* (1531) seems to have also been a royal musician.²⁹ If the view is narrowed to just the *Treize livres*, we still see the same generous representation by Claudin, (over twenty-five works, or approximately ten percent of the whole), but only one by Certon and nothing from Janequin,

²⁷ R.J. Knecht, "Francis I: Prince and patron of the northern Renaissance," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800*, ed. A.G. Dickens (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 115-116.

²⁸ Heartz, *Attaignant*, 91.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

reflecting the latter's limited contribution to the motet as a genre. However, French and Franco-Flemish musicians of Attaignant's generation, such as Berchem, Gombert, Richafort, Lupi, Verdelot, Willaert, L'Héritier, Moulu, Longueval and Gascongne predominate throughout.

Compositions of the generation preceeding Attaignant are noticeably under-represented, and the misattribution to J. Lemaire by Attaignant of Josquin's *Mille regretz*, published in 1533, suggests that Attaignant was out of touch with the music of that period.³⁰ Of composers in the *Treize livres* represented by a substantial number of works (for purposes of this comparison, seven or more motets), only one, Mouton, belongs to the older generation of Franco-Flemish composers, and Mouton had, as was previously discussed, long-standing connections with the French royal court. In all Attaignant's output, English, German and Italian composers are entirely absent, excluding one piece by Festa. The eminence of the Franco-Flemish composers who are represented in Attaignant's prints makes their appearance in the repertory of the Chapel Royal or the Sainte-Chapelle almost mandatory, whence Attaignant could very likely have obtained them.³¹

There are in addition a number of strictly liturgical works in the *Treize livres* that appear for the first time or for the only time in this series, such as many of the Magnificats of volumes five and six. They are attributed most often to composers associated with the French court, which

³⁰ Ibid., 97.

³¹ Ibid., 100.

confirms the local source of much of this collection.³² Furthermore, some of this music reflects the liturgical practices of the French royal chapel. Lamentation settings are notoriously inconsistent depending on their place and period of composition. Attaignant's versions, two of which are by composers with connections to the French court, seem to present the liturgical assignments for these pieces as they would have been performed in the Tenebrae service at the royal chapel.³³ The *alternatim* motet *Kyrie eleison/Parce famulis* from the same volume, by Claudin, would also have been used in the royal chapel during the Tenebrae service of the *Triduum sacrum*. It would have been sung after the extinguishing of the candles, by deacons in front of and behind the altar, and by the choir. Claudin's version sets the portions performed by the choir and the deacons behind the altar.³⁴ These liturgical connections strongly suggest that many of the works in the *Treize livres*, at least the liturgical pieces, were composed by musicians in the royal chapel.

The manner in which musical manuscripts actually reached printers is still not definitely known. In the regular (non-musical) book trade, there is evidence that writers sent books to printers, who signed a contract to both print them and then return the manuscript.³⁵ It is probable that

³² John Thomas Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets' for the Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century French Motet," unpublished paper, 15.

³³ Ibid., 8.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, 12 vols (Lyons, 1895-1921), vol X, 196; quoted in Samuel Franklin Pogue, "Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1968), 94, n. 1.

printers both solicited new music from composers and that composers offered new music for printing. Agents may also have brought musical manuscripts to trade fairs, which were held in major centres.³⁶

As for Attaignant himself, one possible account for his access to the royal music is offered by Daniel Heartz. Numerous pieces in the *18 basses dances*, (published by Attaignant in 1530) have the initials "P.B." after the title. These pieces are stylistically unique, suggesting the same authorship, and some of "P.Bs" intabulations indicate his foreknowledge of ensemble dances which were to be published by Attaignant at a later date.³⁷ This suggests that "P.B." was in some way associated with Attaignant's press. Heartz takes a cue from one of the dances which has as its title *Pavane Blondeau* and suggests that a Pierre Blondeau, singer in the Sainte-Chapelle from 1506 (along with Claudin who entered in 1508), is the same man as the later-mentioned Pierre Blondeau, scribe for the Chapel Royal (as mentioned in an account of the wages paid in 1532). His name is further found in a contract for the rental of a house, dated Nov. 27, 1550, where he is referred to as "Pierre Blondeau, joueur d'instruments demourant à Paris." His name is not found among lists of *joueurs d'instruments* of Paris under the guild of Paris dance musicians, but if he was an instrument teacher he would have been similarly titled. A trained musician working as a scribe for the Chapel Royal would be the ideal contact to form the connection between Attaignant and musicians of the royal court.

³⁶ Pogue, "Jacques Moderne," 94.

³⁷ All the following information on Pierre Blondeau is given in Heartz, *Preludes, Chansons and Dances*, lv-lxii.

Another means of obtaining music for publication was by copying from pre-existing sources, such as other prints. The bouts of rivalry and plagiarism between Scotto and Gardane in Venice later in the century are well-known. Attaingnant had the music printing field in France to himself until 1531, when rival printer Jacques Moderne of Lyons published copies of what he titled the *Liber decem missarum*.³⁸ He followed this up in 1532 with the beginning of a collection of motets, the *Motetti del fiore*.

From the beginning of his activity as a printer, Moderne shares a number of pieces with Attaingnant. The *Treize livres* series and Moderne's three motet books of 1532 contain fifteen pieces in common, a small fraction out of the total. Since the shared prints are not clustered in one or two of Attaingnant's volumes, and the composers are well known international figures such as Verdelot, Willaert and Gombert, there is little evidence for direct borrowing by Attaingnant from Moderne.³⁹

This is not the case with the chansonniers of the later 1530s, in which many more shared pieces are seen, suggesting some borrowing on both sides. However, conflicting attributions and different musical details imply still yet that the two composers generally obtained their original material quite independently of each other.⁴⁰ Pogue suggests that composers offered their current work to both printers separately, in Paris

³⁸ Extant copies bear the date 1532, but the volume is entered in Columbus's catalogue as 1531, which suggests an earlier print run of some copies. (Heartz, *Attaingnant*, 145.)

³⁹ Pogue, "Jacques Moderne," 78; and Heartz, *Attaingnant*, 147.

⁴⁰ Pogue, "Jacques Moderne," 67-68; and Heartz, *Attaingnant*, 147-150.

to Attaignant, and in Lyons to Moderne.⁴¹ This would also explain the differences between composers featured in their publications. In addition to the major Franco-Flemish and French composers of the time, Moderne not surprisingly emphasizes composers rare or non-existent in Attaignant's prints, such as Layolle, Villiers and Fresneau, composers who lived in or had connections with Lyons.⁴²

The limited indications of borrowing between Attaignant and Moderne reinforce the original premise that Attaignant's main source of music, particularly for the *Treize livres*, was the repertory of the royal court. Attaignant's royal privilege, selection of music by mostly Franco-Flemish composers, and possible relationship with court scribe Pierre Blondeau, all suggest that he had close connections with the musicians of the royal chapel. However, there are also signs that his connections may not have been so intimate as is often held to be the case.

Later Attributions of Anonymous Works in the *Treize Livres*

In addition to the above-mentioned court connections, both documented and postulated, Heartz has proposed other possible links between Attaignant and royal composers, in particular Claudin de Sermisy. He has suggested that Claudin may have been personally known to Attaignant, as it is possible that Claudin's influence was responsible for the publication of Certon's motets by Attaignant.⁴³ Furthermore, in

⁴¹ Pogue, "Jacques Moderne," 93-94.

⁴² Ibid., 106.

⁴³ Heartz, *Attaignant*, 92.

discussing Claudin's motet *Quare fremuerunt gentes*,⁴⁴ Hartz notes that Attaignant's printed version of 1542 offers a more accurate musical text than does an earlier version in *Chicago 1578.M91* from Florence ca. 1524-29. He states, "Certainly Claudin was close enough to Attaignant to insure superior readings of his own works."⁴⁵

However, anonymous works in the *Treize livres* for which attributions have since been found raise some interesting questions. Table 2 is a listing, by composer, of the anonymous motets in the *Treize livres* which have since been attributed.

Although he was of French origins, no direct connections between Jacquet and the French court are known to have existed. As Courtois is not known to have been very closely connected with the royal court, the absence of attributions for his pieces in a collection of music supposedly derived from the repertory of the French royal court is also not necessarily unusual. Richafort, however, is known to have been in the royal chapel in the early years of Francis's reign, and possibly at the end of the reign of Louis XII. We also know that Mouton, and after him Claudin, were affiliated with French royal institutions for the greater part of their careers. Claudin was an employee of the royal musical household and chapel for over five decades. It seems unlikely that any of his compositions held by the royal chapel or Sainte-Chapelle would lack his name. Was Attaignant aware of Claudin's authorship but negligent in not assigning

⁴⁴ This piece appears in Attaignant's edition of twenty-eight motets by Claudin de Sermisy, titled *Claudin Claudii de Sermisy, regii sacelli submagistri, Nova & Prima motetorum editio. Liber Primus*.

⁴⁵ Hartz, *Attaignant*, 92.

Table 2

Anonymous Works attributed outside Attaingnant

<u>Title</u>	<u>Vol</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Source of Attribution</u>
<i>Descendi in hortum meum</i>	8	Jacquet ⁴⁶	RISM 1539 ³
<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	10	Claudin	RISM 1549 ¹ and 1557 ⁷
<i>Sancta Maria mater Dei</i>	13	Claudin	RISM 1540 ⁷
<i>Hi sancti quorum hodie</i>	3	Courtois	RISM 1532 ¹⁰
<i>Inviolata, integra et casta</i>	4	Courtois	RISM 1532 ⁹
<i>Miseremini mei</i> ⁴⁷	1	Mouton	RISM 1547 ¹
<i>Christum regem regum</i>	4	Mouton	RISM 1514 ¹
<i>Pater noster qui es</i>	3	Richafort	<i>St. Gall MS. 463</i> ⁴⁸

his name to the motets? Or could there be another reason for the anonymity of the pieces? An examination of anonymous works in another motet collection may suggest some answers.

A similar instance of non-attribution is found among the prints of Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau. In his introduction to the modern edition of the *Selectae harmoniae de Passione Domini* of 1538, Wolfgang Reich maintains that although Rhau fails to name the composers of certain pieces, it is not necessarily to be taken as proof that the composer was unknown to him.⁴⁹ Rhau follows two practices regarding anonymous pieces: he

⁴⁶ Attributions for this work in the sources indicate only "Jacquet." Some scholars have concluded Jacquet de Berchem is intended, but George Nugent makes a strong case for Jacquet of Mantua's authorship. See George Nugent, "The Jacquet Motets and Their Authors" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1970).

⁴⁷ Attributed to Josquin in RISM 1520², and to Richafort in RISM 1519¹.

⁴⁸ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463.

⁴⁹ Wolfgang Reich, foreword to *Georg Rhau, Musicdrücke aus den Jahren 1538-1545 in praktischer Neuausgabe, X: Selectae harmoniae de Passione Domini 1538*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, ed. Wolfgang Reich (Basel, London, New York: Bärenreiter Kassel, 1990), xiv.

leaves them completely unacknowledged, or he attributes them to "anonymous." Among the pieces which Rhau leaves unacknowledged are works by Stoltzer and Senfl, even though he must have known Senfl personally, and edited one of Senfl's unattributed pieces from a firsthand manuscript copy.⁵⁰ Reich therefore suggests that only works which Rhau specifically lists as anonymous should be taken as works whose composers are unknown to him.

This information could offer some insight into Attaingnant's own process of attributing works. However, Attaingnant follows only one editorial policy with regard to unattributed pieces; the space for the composer's name is always left blank, and the term "anonymous" is never used in his indices. If we assume that his behaviour remained consistent throughout his career, there are only two options. Either he did not choose to distinguish, by the use of the term anonymous, between the unattributed works whose composers he did and did not know, or he was unaware of the authors of *all* the unattributed works in his publications.

Unattributed pieces are not uncommon in Attaingnant's earlier prints. We have seen, however, that anonymity in the early chanson collections is probably due to their anonymity in the manuscript sources which Attaingnant used. By the time of publication of the *Treize livres*, Attaingnant was assigning names to the majority of pieces in his prints. As there are relatively few unattributed works in this series compared with the total number of pieces, we can probably safely assume that it was his general practice to assign a composer's name whenever it was known to

⁵⁰ Ibid.

him. This then implies that he was unaware of Claudin's authorship of two of the anonymous motets.

The postulated personal connections between Claudin and Attaingnant belie Attaingnant's apparent ignorance of Claudin's authorship of two works in the *Treize livres*. But even if Attaingnant had no personal connections with Claudin, and relied for much of his motet repertory on the music of the royal chapel, it seems improbable that any of Claudin's music kept by that institution would go unattributed, when the composer himself was employed there over such a long period.

The two attributions to Claudin are made in sources later than the *Treize livres*,⁵¹ and for the above reasons must be accepted with an open mind. It may also be that Attaingnant derived these works from a source outside the royal chapel, perhaps an unauthorized manuscript copy, or a manuscript of non-local provenance. It seems unlikely that the copies in the royal chapel would fail to mention the name of the foremost musician and composer at the court, particularly if the royal chapel was both the main source and consumer of works such as those found in the *Treize livres*.

Performance and Function of the Motets in the *Treize livres*

The question as to who might have performed the works found in Attaingnant's *Treize livres*, and for what purposes, can be answered with some degree of certainty by examining the functions of the court ensembles and of the motet itself at this time. The performance of motets during the

⁵¹ See Brobeck, "The Motet," 72, 74.

liturgical service, as extra-liturgical pieces, is well documented.⁵² A chronicler in the company of Francis I in 1532 reported hearing *motez* performed after the Mass.⁵³ Motets of a more ceremonial nature may also have been performed in the chapel or other religious institutions, particularly for such occasions as weddings, coronations, and perhaps to highlight political events. As Richard Freedman says in his chapter on the French court under Francis I, "The chapel, in short, was as much an implement of statecraft as it was of worship."⁵⁴ This political use of the chapel and of the music performed by the chapel is clearly seen in the musical celebrations and services that accompanied the famous meetings at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, between Francis I and Henry VIII of England.⁵⁵

The performance of motets was not confined solely to religious or political purposes, however. Many motet collections seem to have been published for domestic entertainment or the private devotion of amateur musicians. This seems to be the case with the few motets appended to the

⁵² See Anthony Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 43-59; and Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis* 35 (1985): 9-31.

⁵³ Freedman, "Paris and the French Court," 179.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁵⁵ Some comments on the musical segment of these meetings are made by Paul Kast in "Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la chapelle de François I^{er} au Camp du Drap d'Or," *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et Ceremonies au Temps de Charles Quint*, II^e Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Historiens de la Renaissance (2^e Section), ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), 135-46.

end of *Florence 19 164-167*, (ca. 1520), which consists mostly of French and Italian secular music and concludes with Marian motets, psalms and prayers.⁵⁶ Two prints from Nuremberg, *Petreius 1541*² and *Berg 1558*⁴, also show an inclination to cash in on the rising popularity of *Hausmusik*, amateur music-making in the home, in Germany. The prints contain mixtures of motets, madrigals, Lieder and chansons (the second of the two contains two concordances with the *Treize livres*).⁵⁷

The use of the motet domestically is further attested to by the mention of motets sung as dinner music in courtly settings. References contained in the diaries of the *Cappella Sistina* from the 1530s to the late 50s allude to performances of motets at the Pope's dinner table.⁵⁸ Brobeck has also pointed out that the chapel singers of the French court, although responsible mainly for the performance of the daily liturgy, also frequently performed at the royal table and in public processions attended by the kings.⁵⁹

However, the liturgical nature of many of the pieces in the *Treize livres* does suggest that their main use was in the service of the royal chapel. A more detailed look at the liturgical use of motets of this time is necessitated by the character of the music found in the *Treize livres*. It

⁵⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, introduction to *Renaissance Music in Facsimile: Sources Central to the Music of the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Vol 5 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MSS Magl. XIX, 164-167* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), vii.

⁵⁷ *Pater peccavi* by Conseil, in volume 2, and *Surge Petre* by Jacquet in volume 13.

⁵⁸ Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 45.

⁵⁹ Brobeck, "The Motet," 7.

is generally agreed that motets based upon liturgical or sacred texts may have been used in portions of the Mass such as the Offertory, Elevation and Communion, even though their texts were not necessarily taken from the liturgy for that day.⁶⁰ The use of motets after the Mass has been often remarked, and motets were probably also frequently used in special votive services and commemorations.⁶¹

In studying the musical sources of Florentine public institutions, Cummings finds that the terms *hymni*, *lamentationi*, *motetti*, *responsi*, and *psalmi* were used to refer to specific and recongnizeably distinct musical genres in Italy during the sixteenth-century, and observes that the term *motetti* in the musical sources is generally not applied to functional liturgical works such as those from the Florentine public institutions.⁶² In this way he maintains that far from indicating a work limited to a specific liturgical occasion, the term *motet* in the sixteenth century implied a para-liturgical piece with considerable flexibility of application.

Cummings also provides evidence of a musical difference between the motets thus employed, and the more strictly liturgical music which was intended to be used on the occasions to which its text pertained. The use of full contrapuntal techniques characterizes the para-liturgical motet, but strictly liturgical music such as is found in the musical sources of the

⁶⁰ Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 48-49.

⁶¹ Noble, "The Function," 13.

⁶² Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 57.

Florentine Duomo⁶³ displays a much simpler style, characterized by full chordal harmonies, syllabic declamation, and *alternatim* setting. This distinct stylistic separation between liturgical and para-liturgical music, however, does not seem to hold in Attaingnant's *Treize livres*.

In Attaingnant's collection there are pieces featuring a great variety of musical styles, from the contrapuntally complex, which clearly fall into the category of motet, to simpler, *alternatim* works which have an obvious liturgical function, such as the Passion settings of volume ten. However, there are, in addition, many works which fall between these two extremes, such as the liturgical but contrapuntally complex Magnificat settings of volumes four and five. These pieces are set in *alternatim* style, suggesting liturgical use, but they are much more complex than Cummings's description of the liturgical music performed in the Florentine institutions.⁶⁴

Attaingnant's terminology in describing these pieces varies, but not always in the manner that Cummings found in the Italian sources. The terms *motetos* or *moduli* are used for all volumes containing what would be considered motets proper. The only exception is book seven, labeled *moduli*. It contains Nativity pieces, and includes the antiphons leading up to the Nativity, which are to be matched with the Magnificats of volume five. Generally, books devoted to more explicitly liturgical music are referred to as such. Attaingnant labels the contents of volumes five and six as

⁶³ Cummings cites the series of manuscripts preserved at the Duomo (numbers 4, 6, 11, 13, 21, 27, 28, 45 and 46), see Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 54.

⁶⁴ This blurring of stylistic distinction between liturgical and para-liturgical pieces in Attaingnant's publications is discussed in Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 11.

Magnificats, and the contents of volume nine as Psalms.⁶⁵ The tenth volume, featuring music for Holy Week, is titled *Passiones*, and the Marian antiphons of volume twelve are called *musicales salutationes*.

Although the word *motet* does not appear on the title page of every book, there is some reason to believe that Attaingnant considered all the works in the series to be motets. Brobeck notes the following indications: the title page of volume seven refers to the *motets* of volume five, the Magnificat volume; Attaingnant was generally in the habit of only numbering books in a series that contain works of the same genre; and Attaingnant describes the contents of books four, seven, eleven, thirteen, and fourteen as *modulos* or *cantiones*, terms which in other publications he uses as synonyms for *motet*.⁶⁶ Brobeck concludes in this case that Attaingnant was not entirely comfortable incorporating liturgical music under the heading *motet*, but put it in the motet anthologies because its contrapuntal rigour for the most part matched the para-liturgical polyphony printed in other volumes.⁶⁷

We have seen then that a significant portion of the music in the *Treize livres* is liturgical, and indications are that it was written specifically for performance by the French royal chapel. The Magnificats of volumes five and six and the antiphons of volume seven have an obvious

⁶⁵ Nowacki raises the issue of performance of psalm motets, and suggests they were considered multi-purpose sacred music for use whenever they were judged appropriate for the daily ceremonies, as well as for occasional purposes. See Edward Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet 1500-1535" in *Renaissance-Studien: Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 159-184.

⁶⁶ Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 10.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

place in the daily liturgy, and the pieces for Holy Week found in volume ten have a specific and important function in the church year. Editorial suggestions on the title pages of various volumes show Attaignant's concern for assisting the user with practical directions, and further emphasize the liturgical function of many of the works. For example, the reader is directed to volume five for the Magnificats with which to match the antiphons of volume seven. Additionally, the partial polyphonic setting of some of the pieces, such as the Passions for Holy Week, seem intended for *alternatim* performance, which would have been ideally suited to the royal chapel after it had been divided into the two sections, *chapelle de plainchant* and *chapelle de musique*.⁶⁸

The performance of the ceremonial and political pieces in this set could also have been undertaken by members of the royal chapel. Even in the sphere of domestic music-making, Brobeck has indicated that it was royal chapel musicians who sang at the King's dinner table, probably in part because they had the numbers to be able to perform the larger multi-voiced pieces such as those which are found in the *Treize livres*. Thus, with the combined evidence of the strongly liturgical nature of the collection as a whole, and the fact that the singers of the chapel are known to have performed not only during the divine services at court and abroad but for the entertainment of the King during meals, the *chapelle du roi* seems the most likely organization for the performance of the kinds of works found in Attaignant's *Treize livres*.

Outside of the French royal court, however, what was the market for

⁶⁸ Brobeck, "The Motet," 408.

such a collection as this? An examination of Attaignant's local and foreign markets and the dispersion of the *Treize livres* series may provide some ideas of the importance of this collection.

Foreign Markets for the *Treize livres*

The development of music printing opened up to a wider amateur audience a field once almost exclusively the domain of either the professional musician, or the noble who could afford time for musical training and money for the copying of music manuscripts. The amount of time involved in the manual copying of manuscripts must have ensured that even for the wealthy they remained rare commodities. With the advent of mass printing, even though the price of a printed music book was still very high,⁶⁹ a larger amount of music could be made more quickly accessible to those for whom financial considerations were no impediment.

Many of Attaignant's instrumental intabulations, for example, would have been arranged and published with an eye to the ever-increasing amateur population. The organ transcriptions of Mass movements and motets served to fill a need for liturgical music in churches lacking a full choir. The publication of Marot's psalm translations set by Certon and Mornable both reflected and facilitated the passion for psalm singing in the vernacular which gripped the royal court in the 1540s. The increasing number of chanson collections which came from Attaignant's presses probably supplied both noble and growing middle class markets.

Important as the amateur musician was to the burgeoning music

⁶⁹ Four partbooks of Attaignant's chansons, each comprising 16 ff., were valued at the same price as a lute and its case in 1544. See Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *La musique de luth en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 65.

trade, however, international commercial connections were probably more critical to Attaignant, as indeed they were to the bookseller in general. Attaignant's overall output was likely vast. Hertz's bibliographical catalogue lists 174 items printed by Attaignant, including chansons, dances, motets, masses, and lute and keyboard tablatures. He conservatively estimates an average of one thousand copies of each publication for a total of 174,000 printed music books from Attaignant's shop. These publications could not have all found a market in sixteenth-century Paris, then reckoned a large city at three hundred thousand heads, and with only a small minority of musically literate residents. Attaignant must have had access to foreign markets.

All books, music or text, followed the standard trade routes in travelling to foreign countries. The main export markets of the Parisian book printers were northern France, England, Germany and to some extent, Northern Italy, and publications from Attaignant's presses are found in all of these countries.⁷⁰ The lack of surviving copies or records in the Franco-Flemish North suggests that Attaignant sold few motets and Masses in that region. This may have been due to the Northern music copyists who formed a music distribution industry that existed in competition with the early music printers.

Trade fairs held in the spring and fall, such as those at Lyons and Frankfort, were important venues for arranging exports. Attaignant may have engaged in business with one of the international syndicates himself, or through the firm of his more commercially active brother-in-law, Poncet

⁷⁰ The following information on export markets and the dispersion of Attaignant's prints is found in Hertz, *Attaignant*, 123-131.

Le Preux, who is known to have stocked Attaignant's music books. In addition to attendance at the trade fairs, dealers' catalogues were another method by which international sales may have been arranged by music printers. These had been used by booksellers since the very earliest days of printing: Robert Estienne, for example, printed catalogues of available books. Although no music trade lists survive before those of two late-sixteenth century Venetian firms, Vincenti and Gardane, it seems probable that music publishers were taking over the idea from booksellers earlier in the century.

While chanson collections and intabulations may have found a variety of ready buyers locally, other more specialized prints of Attaignant would have required export markets to make their publication worthwhile. A collection such as the *Treize livres* forms a case in point; it is large and probably quite costly, and comprises much liturgical music in addition to motets proper. Such a publication would have had a more limited market.

Records of private collections give some idea of the dispersion of the *Treize livres*. Paris was obviously an important home to many copies of Attaignant's prints, some of which survive there to this day. A Parisian collection once belonging to Jean de Badonvilliers (an adviser to Francis I) lists a number of Attaignant prints including chansons and motets.⁷¹ Italy was another important destination for French music books: of the several Attaignant books still in Italy, most can be traced back to the sixteenth century. Copies of the *Treize livres* series itself once formed part of the collection at Santa Barbara in Mantua, and the later motet books now

⁷¹ Ibid., 126.

in the Vatican Library belonged to Cardinal Augustani (Otto von Waldburg), patron of Lassus and a sponsor of the Tridentine musical reforms. Two of the same later motet books of 1542 were brought to the Spanish royal chapel under Philip II.

In England, whose numerous chapels and cathedrals should have formed a large repository of Attaignant prints, the only sizeable holding is at Oxford, Christ Church, and the collection bears hints of initial French ownership. The lack of Attaignant prints in England is probably due to the religious reforms of Edward VI.⁷² German-speaking lands, on the other hand, furnish numerous proofs of French music book export. Conrad Gesner, scholar and bibliographer of Zurich, cites several Attaignant volumes in his *Pandectarum* of 1548, including the *Treize livres*. This same motet series is again mentioned in an inventory made in 1566 of music books belonging to Raimund Fugger the Younger of Augsburg. A catalogue of the holdings of the choir school of Saint Anne in Augsburg (made between 1581-1625) also lists volumes of the *Treize livres*, as does the inventory of the library of the famous collector Ferdinand Columbus, who possessed no fewer than thirty-seven different Attaignant publications from before 1535, when he acquired all but one of them at Lyons.⁷³

Further indications of the dispersion and function of the works in this set are found in *Stuttgart I.26* (ca. 1538-45) which was copied in Stuttgart for the use of the court chapel of Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg

⁷² Ibid., 129.

⁷³ Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968): 52-53. Columbus possessed only the sixth volume of the *Treize livres*.

(1487-1550). This manuscript contains six Magnificat settings from Attaignant's fifth volume, and two from his sixth volume. The number of works and their order in the manuscript, which replicates the ordering in Attaignant, leave no doubt that these Magnificats were copied from the *Treize livres* for the use of the chapel.

All the evidence noted above suggests the *Treize livres* were intended primarily to serve as a source of music for religious functions. Its liturgical and para-liturgical contents, large size, international distribution and possession by chapel-supporting institutions all confirm this. Martin Picker comes to identical conclusions regarding the function of the motet prints of Andrea Antico, which comprise a similar repertory setting psalms, biblical narratives, antiphons, responsories, hymns, sequences, non-liturgical prayers, and religious poetry. Picker concludes that these works were compiled for the professional choirs of establishments such as those of the Pope, the French King, courts like Ferrara, and for cathedrals and some collegiate churches in important cities.⁷⁴ This must be taken also as the main function intended for the *Treize livres*.

There are many indications that the large variety of liturgical and para-liturgical music in the *Treize livres* represents the repertory of the French royal chapel of the early sixteenth century. The number of pieces by French composers active in the royal court at that time, the amount of locally relevant liturgical music which appears in no other sources, and

⁷⁴ Martin Picker, ed., introduction to *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico* vol 8 of *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13.

Attaingnant's role, as *imprimeur du roi*, in the collection, printing, and dissemination of this repertory, all strongly suggest that this set derives from the holdings of the royal chapel. In later examinations of the anonymous works in the *Treize livres*, the use and provenance of this music will assist in determining possible periods and times of composition for the unattributed pieces. In the following chapter, organizational aspects of this and other collections of the early sixteenth century will be examined for potential connections between anonymity and organization.

CHAPTER THREE: ORGANIZATION IN THE *TREIZE LIVRES*

A main concern of this study of the anonymous motets in the *Treize livres* is to point out organizational aspects of the collection, and to determine if any role is played by the anonymous works in this organization. As we saw in Attaingnant's chanson collections, older anonymous pieces appear to have been used as 'filler' until more modern chansons became available for publication. This use of anonymous pieces appears to be solely to provide bulk, to pad out the collection. In the case of the *Treize livres*, Attaingnant obviously had many motets, both earlier and more modern, from which to choose for printing. From the point of view of sheer numbers of pieces, it is thus unlikely that the anonymous motets in this series were used as mere 'filler.' However, if Attaingnant was organizing any or all volumes according to some kind of principle, he would have had to limit his sources according to the boundaries imposed by his organization. For example, a modally organized collection requires not just motets, but a certain number of motets representing various modes. In such instances, Attaingnant may have turned to anonymous works to fill in gaps left by the lack of attributed sources.

There are various criteria by which a collection of motets and liturgical works such as are found in the *Treize livres* might have been organized, such as modality, text, composers, and number of voices.

Modal Organization

Modal organization is one area that is perhaps more complex in the early sixteenth century than later on. The imperfect transmission of modal theory from what Bernhard Meier calls the "Western Ecclesiastical" tradition, with the later borrowings of modal and ethos theory as described

in the writings of the ancient Greeks, has made the true function and extent of mode in Western polyphonic music difficult to discern. The application of modal theory to polyphonic music was made by Pietro Aaron in his *Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni di canto figurato* in 1525, where he discusses current polyphonic pieces found in the publications of Petrucci and Antico, and attempts to fit each of them into a mode according to the eight church modes of Gregorian chant theory.¹

At this period in the 1520s the assignation of pieces to modal categories appears to be a theoretical judgement. There is no strong evidence until later in the sixteenth century that composers themselves took an interest in the question of modality in polyphonic music.² Modal ordering as a means of organizing a repertory or collection of musical works became more common in the second half of the sixteenth century, and can be seen in various collections such as Lasso's Penitential Psalm settings (Munich, 1584) and his *Lagrimae di San Pietro* (Munich, 1595), and Palestrina's *Vergine* cycle (Rome, 1581). These later repertories show that by this time the use of mode was frequently a conscious compositional choice.³ The earliest modally organized collection is traditionally held to be RISM 1544⁶, Rore's first book of five-voice madrigals⁴ (Venice, 1544),

¹ Harold Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 433.

² Ibid., 435.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Cipriani Musici Excellentissimi cum quibusdam allis doctis Authoribus Motectorum nunc primum maxima diligentia in lucem exeunteium Liber Primus quinque vocum. Venetiis apud Antonium Gardane. DMXXXVIII, Gardane, 1544.*

which Claude Palisca maintains were intentionally composed and organized according to mode by Rore himself.⁵

Most earlier collections not only give no indication of having been *composed* according to mode, but also no indication of *arrangement* by mode, such as Petrucci's printed anthologies of chansons and motets which show no sign of organization on a musical basis.⁶ Some early collections, however, do show attempts at ordering according to final, such as *Bologna Q.20*, from around the 1520s or 1530s. Numbers seven to fourteen all end on F, and numbers fifteen to twenty-two all end on G.⁷ Evidence indicates that the early attempts at modal ordering were made by editors and arrangers, who fitted works into theoretical categories of mode in much the same way as Pietro Aaron, in his treatise of 1525, classified existing works under modal categories. Thus, in the earlier collections, the ordering of pieces according to mode appears generally to have been a post-compositional decision taken by editors or arrangers.

One modally ordered collection of the early sixteenth century is particularly relevant to this study. Howard Brown has shown an instance of modal organization in Attaingnant's chansonnier volumes published from

⁵ Claude Palisca, "Mode Ethos in the Renaissance," in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (American Musicological Society, 1990), 133.

⁶ Powers, "Tonal Types," 436.

⁷ Richard Sherr, introduction to *Sixteenth Century Motet: Previously unpublished full scores of major works from the Renaissance in Thirty volumes: Vol. 8. Selections from Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 20* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), xiv.

1536 to 1550.⁸ The appearance of a modally organized collection not much more than ten years after Aaron's treatise, and in a different country, indicates that there were probably local and varying traditions of classifying polyphonic pieces according to the modal system. This collection offers insight into Attaignant's own process of assigning musical pieces to certain modes, information which will be helpful when examining his *Treize livres* for modal organization.

The other above-mentioned methods of ordering a collection also appear to have been undertaken as scribal/editorial decisions. These include ordering pieces by text or topic, by composers, or by number of voices. The use of these organizational techniques implies a certain amount of concern on the part of the arranger or scribe for the user of the music, since a service designed to facilitate the use of the manuscript or print is being provided. Among these methods, ordering by text is perhaps the most common, particularly with liturgical pieces where the use of the music is determined largely by the text it set.

Textual Organization

Various manuscripts and prints can be found where some noticeable organization according to text has been undertaken. For example, many later prints are devoted only to a specific text or set of texts, such as the above-mentioned Penitential Psalms by Lasso. In sources containing a variety of different text settings, pieces with the same texts are frequently collated, such as the motets to the text *Ave regina celorum* and *Regina celi*

⁸ Howard Mayer Brown, "Theory and Practice in the Sixteenth Century: Preliminary Notes on Attaignant's Modally Ordered Chansonnières," in *Essays in Musicology*, 97.

letari which are grouped together in *Rome 46*. In *Modena IX* a group of seven Lamentation settings are placed together towards the end of the manuscript, and in *Padua D.27* four Magnificat settings are grouped at the end.⁹

It frequently occurs that a few pieces with common texts are arranged in "clusters." The majority of same-texted pieces appear together, but isolated settings may be found in other locations in the same source, separate from the main grouping. This may possibly be due to a lack of concern for thoroughness in the organization of a collection, which implies that any organization at all was an optional, arbitrary decision. In manuscript sources clustering may also be accounted for by the addition of more pieces after a main section of the source has already been organized and copied.

A looser type of ordering by text is organization by general topic or function. Typically, small groupings according to function appear in manuscripts, such as those found in *Chicago 1578.M91* where motets 7-10 from series I are for the last three days of Holy Week and Easter Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. The motets of Petrucci's *Motetti de passione de cruce de sacramento de beata virgine et huiusmodi B* (Venice, 1503) are also arranged according to use. Again this ordering is not strict, and as such it is typical of textual organization in collections of this period. For example, numbers 2, 3, and 5 are Passion pieces, and numbers 4, 8 to 10,

⁹ Lewis Lockwood notes that many manuscripts from the Cappella Sistina ca. 1520-40 and from Treviso in the mid-sixteenth century contain motets ordered according to the church year. See Lewis Lockwood, "A View of the Early Sixteenth-Century Parody Mass," *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962)*, ed. Albert Mell (New York: Queens College Press, 1964), 53-77.

and 12 are penitential pieces. Numbers 25–32 are for feasts of the Blessed Virgin.

Collections with more orderly and thorough organization according to text can be found. These are generally printed collections, such as those publications of Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau. The first large collection from his presses, *Selectae harmoniae de Passione Domini*, appeared in 1538 and was quickly followed by a succession of other volumes. Both the rapid output and the carefully ordered repertory are significant. In the words of Wolfgang Reich, they indicate ". . . that the publication of the first groups of works must have been preceeded by a lengthy period of collection, sifting and classification in accordance with an overall plan."¹⁰ This particular collection features a noteworthy change of classification scheme; Rhau opened the *De tempore* sequence of his *Officia* with the Holy Week as opposed to the Advent season, thus reflecting Luther's emphasis on the Passion of Christ as the basis for all faith.¹¹ This print is an interesting example of the potential rhetorical command that a music printer possessed by virtue of his power of selection, arrangement, and distribution.

Organization by Composer

Organization of contents by composers can be general, such as the selection of composers of a common nationality, period, or both. Such an instance is evident in *Petrucchi 1502*¹ the *Motetti A*, where the small number of composers represented are almost all Netherlanders active in Italy

¹⁰ Reich, foreword to *Georg Rhau, X: Selectae harmoniae*, xii.

¹¹ Ibid.

during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹² Manuscripts and prints containing works by various composers are rarely, if ever, organized by composers' names. More detailed organization according to composer often takes the extreme form of devoting an entire print to the works of one musician. Examples of whole prints devoted to composers are numerous, from Rore and Willaert, among the earliest to be so honoured, to Manchicourt and Lasso. Collections organized by genre often give the appearance of a repertory organized by composer nationalities, as is the case with the manuscript *Florence 164-167*, which is divided roughly into three sections. The first part is devoted to Italian secular music, the second to French chansons, and the final one to motets.¹³

The organizational procedures I have discussed are fairly obvious and widespread. More elaborate arrangements can also be found, such as the *Musica Nova* of 1559, which comprises the motets and madrigals of Willaert only. The devotion of a single publication to the works of one composer in conjunction with the deliberate combination of genres renders this print unique in the history of Renaissance music. In addition, the domination of the madrigal section by one poetic form, the sonnet, and the use of only one poet, Petrarch (with a single exception) indicates a high

¹² George Warren James Drake, "The First Printed Books of Motets, Petrucci's *Motetti a numero trentatre A* (Venice, 1502) and *Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi B* (Venice, 1503), A Critical Study and Complete Edition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1972), 38.

¹³ Howard Mayer Brown, introduction to *Renaissance Music in Facsimile: Sources Central to the Music of the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: vol 5, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MSS Magl. XIX, 164-167* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), vii.

degree of selectivity on the part of composer and publisher.

The organization of this print is very tight compared with contemporary publications. The entire collection is divided into two roughly equal sections, comprising the madrigals and motets respectively. Both the long madrigal texts and the long motet texts are themselves divided into two *partes*. The most noticeable organizing factor is by number of voices, as both sections move from fewer to more voice parts, from four to seven. In addition, all the bi-partite madrigals occur at the beginning of the madrigal section, comprising numbers one to twenty-one, and the final four madrigals are all for seven voices, in keeping with the practice of madrigal books of the time.¹⁴

There seems to be some further indication of organization in the opening of each section, which features a steady alternation of cleffing arrangements, between very high and very low voice settings. For example, the four pieces in both the motet and madrigal sections open with a low-voice setting in G Dorian, followed by a high-voice setting in the Ionian mode, followed by a low-voice Mixolydian setting, followed by another low-voice work in the Phrygian mode.

Organization in the *Treize Livres*

With the above examples of organization in mind, the *Treize livres* themselves can now be subjected to scrutiny for indications of organization. A number of the books are organized by text or function, as is indicated on their title pages. These include books 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 12.

¹⁴ See the introduction to *Adriani Willaert, Opera Omnia, vol. XIII, Musica nova 1559: Madrigalia* ed. Walter Gerstenberg and Hermann Zenck. *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), III.

The contents of all the volumes are given in Table 3 with the descriptive terms used by Attaingnant set in italics.

Table 3

Contents of the *Treize Livres* Volumes

<u>Vol</u>	<u>Contents</u>
1	25 4-voice <i>motets</i> .
2	25 4-voice <i>motets</i> .
3	20 <i>motets</i> for 5, 6 or 8 voices.
4	29 <i>moduli</i> for 4 or 5 voices.
5	12 <i>Magnificats</i> on the first three tones.
6	13 <i>Magnificats</i> on the last five tones.
7	24 <i>moduli</i> for 3, 4, 5 or 6 voices. For the Advent and Nativity of the Lord, and the activities of the Saints during that time. And because <i>O Sapientia</i> and the other antiphons of this type lack their own Magnificat, you will have recourse to the fifth book of <i>motets</i> in which you will find four Magnificats of the second tone which are to be sung by you as you please.
8	20 <i>motets</i> for 4, 5 or 6 voices.
9	18 <i>psalms</i> of David.
10	<i>Passiones</i> for Palm Sunday and Holy Friday and also lessons for the fifth, sixth and seventh ferial days of Holy Week: and many others compatible with Quadragesima.
11	26 <i>moduli</i> for 4 and 5 voices.
12	17 musical <i>salutations</i> to the Virgin.
13	18 <i>moduli</i> for 4, 5 or 6 voices. The work should really be called the flower of all harmony

Volume seven offers pieces for Advent and the Nativity, and it was published in November of 1534, which suggests it was perhaps timed to appear in the relevant season. This volume features one of the only selections of polyphonic settings of the great *O* antiphons from this period. Attaingnant's insertion of nine of the settings corresponds to the liturgical use of Paris,¹⁵ which prescribes these antiphons for the Magnificat in the

¹⁵ Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 6, n. 8.

Vespers services leading up to Christmas Eve. The *O* antiphons are unified in their address of Christ by different titles and their imploration to him to come.

Richard Sherr notes that while the present-day liturgy contains seven antiphons, during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the number of *O* antiphons was sometimes as high as twelve. The central seven are *O Sapientia*, *O adonai*, *O radix Jesse*, *O clavis David*, *O oriens*, *O Rex gentium*, *O Emmanuel*. Other possible texts were *O virgo virginum*, *O Gabriel*, *O Thomas Didyme*, *O Rex pacifice*, and *O Hierusalem*.¹⁶ Attaignant includes here not only the main seven, but two of the others, *O Thoma Didyme* and *O virgo virginum*, reflecting the liturgical customs of the French royal chapel during the early sixteenth century. *O Thoma Didyma* comes between *O oriens* and *O rex gentium*, and *O virgo virginum* is placed at the end of the set.

The works in volume nine are referred to in the title page as musical settings of the psalms of David. Not surprisingly, there is a cluster of works by Claudin, who favoured psalm texts. Attaignant's ninth book is the first volume ever to be so devoted to an entire collection of psalm motets,¹⁷ which may possibly be explained by the apparent identification of the French kings with David. This historical trend is seen from the title of 'novus David' awarded to Pepin by the Pope in the eighth century, all the way to the illustration in a Book of Hours from the French royal house,

¹⁶ Richard Sherr, "O Antiphons," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol 13, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), 459.

¹⁷ Nowacki, "The Latin Psalm Motet," 159-84.

which shows Francis I holding a harp.¹⁸ The persistence of this imagery perhaps explains why Claudin, mainstay of the royal chapel, favoured the psalm text for musical settings.

Volume ten presents music for Holy Week, for which the February publication date is also timely. In this book, pieces are further grouped according to text. The three Lamentation settings open the collection, followed by the *Kyrie eleison*--*Parce famulis*, which was also probably used in the *Tenebrae* services of the *Triduum sacrum*.¹⁹ The two Passions are placed together, as are the two settings of *Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis*, and the two settings of the Lenten responsory and verse *In pace in idipsum/Si dederò*.

Volume twelve contains "salutations to the Virgin," and consists only of settings of three of the four major Marian antiphons, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Regina caeli*, and *Salve regina*. These are also arranged textually, in the order given above. The only discrepancy is the appearance of a single *Salve Regina* setting between the other two sections.

Volumes five and six of the *Treize livres* are devoted exclusively to Magnificat settings, and again, are among the earliest sets to be so designated.²⁰ All eight Magnificat tones are represented, and are arranged in order from one to eight as is typical of later such collections. The relation of tone to mode is slightly ambiguous, as the traditional Magnificat tones differ in some ways from the modes to which they are related.

¹⁸ Patrick Macey, "Josquin's *Misericordias Domini* and Louis XII," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 175-76.

¹⁹ Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 8.

²⁰ Winfried Kirsch, "Magnificat II," in *The New Grove*, vol 11, 495.

However, the majority of these Magnificats, in common with many others written in the first part of the sixteenth century, utilize the Magnificat intonation mainly at the beginning as a subject for imitative entries, and at the end.

Volume five comprises Magnificat settings on tones I to III, and volume six completes the set with tones IV to VIII. Table 4 shows the Magnificats as they are grouped in the prints, with their finals. The presence of a flat in the key signature is indicated after the final.

Table 4

Tonal Ordering in the Magnificat Volumes

Vol 5: Tone I	Tone II	Tone III	Vol 6: Tone IV
1. D	7. A	11. A	1. E
2. D	8. G (B ^b)	12. A	2. E
3. D	9. G (B ^b)	13. E*	3. E
4. D	10. A		4. A
5. D			
6. D			
Tone V	Tone VI	Tone VII	Tone VIII
5. F (B ^b)	7. C	8. D	9. G
6. A			10. G
			11. G
			12. G
			13. G* (B ^b)

The arrangement is straightforward, in order of tone, with the exception of the thirteenth piece in each volume. The thirteenth Magnificat of volume five is a set of three trios ascribed to Claudin, and its tone is not identified in the index. The thirteenth piece in volume six is a Magnificat setting designated as first tone, although only the faintest traces of the first tone intonation can be found in it. Attaingnant actually

indicated the end of the fifth volume after the twelfth piece, with the words *Finis huius libri*. Then the three trios by Claudin are printed, and after them he repeats *Finis*. This suggests Attaingnant found, and decided to use, extra space at the end of the volume after he had already printed the last piece. Without seeing the original prints, however, it is not possible to know for certain. The misplaced thirteenth Magnificat in volume six may also have been appended after volume five had already been printed. Despite the apparent accidents in arrangement, it is notable that both these "misplacements" are symmetrical, being the thirteenth pieces in two books of otherwise orderly material.

Some discrepancies occur between traditional Magnificat tone endings and the finals featured here. The trios at the end of the fifth volume do not end on the conventional Magnificat final for tone three. However, their incompleteness makes it impossible to be certain of their true finals. And tone seven traditionally should end on an A as opposed to the D indicated in the one representative of that tone here.²¹ Apart from these discrepancies with final, the opening entries of these polyphonic Magnificats all conform to the standard opening for each tone. The intonation, rather than final, was most likely the deciding factor in their grouping.

There are no overt indications of textual/functional organization in the other volumes in the *Treize livres*, which include books one, two, three, four, eight, eleven, and thirteen. These remaining prints feature a wide

²¹ Traditional Magnificat finals are derived from Gustave Reese, "The Polyphonic Magnificat of the Renaissance as a Design in Tonal Centers," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 75.

variety of works, including antiphons, political pieces, and scriptural settings. Throughout the whole collection, the mixture of rigidly organized liturgical and para-liturgical volumes with volumes containing a variety of texts is reminiscent of *Cappella Sistina* 15.²² The contents of this manuscript are described by Jeremy Noble as being clearly articulated, including a section of Vesper hymns, then a section of Magnificats, and finally a motet section. While the first two sections are carefully arranged by liturgical sequence and tone respectively, the final one, with the exception of some clustering according to text, appears quite haphazard. Noble takes this as indicative of the motet's loose relationship to the liturgy, compared to the hymns and Magnificats. This is a concept that can easily apply in Attaignant's *Treize livres*.

There are indications of clustering according to function, however, similar to the clustering according to text that was discussed in connection with other motet sources above. In volume two, for example, two Nativity texts are set together, following a piece for Epiphany. Volume four features two clusters of motets for the Blessed Virgin Mary, one of them containing three pieces, and the other comprising seven works. On the whole, however, texts for all liturgical occasions of the year are set randomly throughout the remaining volumes.

Although there are no expressed organizational intentions in these remaining motet books, however, certain trends are evident in several of them. Volumes one and two, for example, are both devoted to four-voice works only, and they contain exactly twenty-five of them each. Thereafter,

²² Noble, "The Function," 14-15.

the other miscellaneous motet volumes contain settings for various numbers of voices. Volume three is the first volume to include canonic pieces, and the title page rubrics tell the reader how to interpret the canon directions. Although canonic works are included in other volumes after the third, out of a total of twenty-one motets, seven in this book are canons. That is almost twice as many as the next nearest number in any other volume.

Modal Organization in the *Treize Livres*

Whereas the ordering by canticle tone is made very obvious, none of the title pages of any *Treize livres* volume indicates the presence of modal organization. Although collections modally organized by editor are by no means numerous in the early part of the sixteenth century, the discovery by Howard Brown of modal organization in Attaingnant's above-mentioned chanson publications offers some reasonable expectation of modal organization in the *Treize livres* also.

As mentioned above, the existence of a modally ordered collection from Attaingnant's presses is also useful in helping determine what musical characteristics represented which mode for Attaingnant. Editorial decisions as to which pieces belong to which mode are likely to differ from place to place and period to period. Many modally ordered collections date from the second half of the sixteenth century and have their provenance in Italy and the Low Countries. This makes their relevance to French publications of the earlier sixteenth century slight. Determining which musical characteristics are to be taken as representative of which modes is thus difficult. An example is given by Harold Powers of a Franco-Flemish tradition of using high clefs with no key signature and a C final to represent mode VI, whereas an Italian theoretical tradition, starting with

Aaron, claims this combination for mode VII.²³ It seems reasonable to assume that Attaingnant or the arranger working under him would have responded to the customs of mode classification typical of Paris at that time. As no French theorist of the time wrote about the applications of modal theory to polyphony,²⁴ a brief look at the chansonnier organization will assist in ascertaining which musical characteristics Attaingnant himself believed were traits of the various modes.

In his study of Attaingnant's chanson collections, Brown utilizes a modified version of the "tonal types" of Siegfried Hermelink and Harold Powers as a basis for isolating the salient musical features that determine for the editor the mode of the piece. These features, as expounded by Harold Powers in his discussion of tonal types and modal categories, include the final, the system, and the ambitus. In examining the systems (the presence or lack of a flat), *ambiti* (the use of high or low clefs to indicate range) and finals of given works, one can find a great deal of variety under traditional modal headings. For example, Powers lists several quite different "tonal types" which have been used in modally ordered collections from the second half of the sixteenth century to represent mode I (Dorian): these include the use of the *mollis* system with high clefs and a G final; the use of the *durus* system with low clefs and D final; and the use of the *durus* system with high clefs and an A final.

Brown's study of the chansons concludes that ambitus was irrelevant to Attaingnant in determining modal category, and that therefore

²³ Powers, "Tonal Types," 456.

²⁴ Brown, "Theory and Practice," 78.

Attaingnant did not distinguish between authentic and plagal versions of the mode. As this is the case, Attaingnant's chansons are ordered according to whether they fall into the protus (first and second), deuterus (third and fourth), tritus (fifth and sixth) and tetrardus (seventh and eighth) modes. It is also evident from the ordering of the chansons that in addition to the regular modal finals, compositions ending in A were regularly considered deuterus modes, and those ending in C tetrardus modes.²⁵ This same approach will be used in discussing and distinguishing mode in Attaingnant's motets.

Turning now to the volumes of the *Treize livres* itself, even in disregarding ambitus there is little evidence of modal ordering in any of the motet volumes of the set. Volume one, shown in Table 5, gives a picture of the typically random character of the series.

Table 5

Modal Ordering in Volume One

<u>Numbers</u>	<u>System</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
21	<i>h</i> ²⁶	D	Protus
3, 9-11, 17, 20	<i>b</i>	G	Protus
14-15, 19	<i>h</i>	E	Deuterus
4, 12, 16, 22-3	<i>h</i>	A	Deuterus
2, 6-7, 13, 18, 25	<i>b</i>	F	Tritus
1, 5, 8, 24	<i>h</i>	G	Tetrardus

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ An *h* indicates the *durus* system, with no flat, and a *b* indicates the presence of a flat in the key signature.

Only two volumes give any evidence of modal ordering. Volume eight contains twenty motets, of which the first three fall into the protus mode, numbers four and five into the deuterus modes, the sixth into the tritus modes, and numbers nine to ten into the tetrardus modes. Thus, the entire first half of the volume appears in modal order, but this rapidly breaks down in the second half. The other modally organized volume is number twelve. Table 6 provides a summary.

Table 6

Modal Ordering in Volume Twelve

<u>Numbers</u>	<u>System</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
1-2	<i>h</i>	C	Tetrardus
3*	<i>b</i>	G	Protus
4-11	<i>b</i>	F	Tritus
12-17	<i>b(h)</i>	G(D)	Protus

The order, with the exception of number three which is out of place, is interestingly enough the reverse of the usual ordering, beginning with the tetrardus modes and ending with the protus.

An explanation for the modal order of volume twelve becomes clear if we recall the Marian texts set in that volume. The *Ave regina caelorum* is in a tetrardus mode, the *Regina caeli laetare* in a tritus mode, and the *Salve Regina misericordiae* in a protus mode. All the antiphons are grouped together by text, except for number three which, as was indicated, is a *Salve Regina* placed between the first two groups of antiphons. With this explained, the only true incidence of modal ordering remains in the first half of volume eight. This volume has not been found to be organized by

any other criterion, and it is moreover one of the volumes with a significant number of anonymous works. This gives it the impression of being a catch-all collection, intended to provide a home for motets which otherwise would not fit into any other set. Attaignant may have initiated arrangement by mode as a means of giving it some kind of organization, but then given up on the idea half way through, for reasons which we cannot know.

The very limited amount of modal organization in the *Treize livres* as compared with textual organization indicates that function was by far the more popular method of arranging the motets, particularly the more liturgically oriented pieces. Modal ordering may have been instituted by Attaignant with the chansons because their texts were not so amenable to organization as those of the motets, which often have distinct external functions and cover a wide variety of topics.

The Anonymous Works in the Organization of the *Treize Livres*

The anonymous works within the *Treize livres* fall noticeably into certain volumes. Table 7 shows the placement of all the anonymous motets, including works that have since been attributed. Composers of these latter works are given in square brackets, and an asterix is used to indicate volumes overtly devoted to particular liturgical or para-liturgical works. It is interesting to note that anonymous works are scarce in the volumes which are overtly organized around some functional principle. There are no anonymous works in the Magnificat volumes, or among the Psalm settings of volume nine, or in the Marian antiphons of volume twelve. There is only one anonymous work in the volume devoted to Advent and Nativity motets, and there are three in volume ten for Holy Week, one of which has

been since attributed to Claudin. This would suggest that when organizing motets in a print according to function, Attaingnant tried to use known composers, and only resorted to anonymous works when he needed to fill

Table 7

Placement of the Anonymous Works

<u>Volume</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	
1	14	<i>Salve mater, Salvatoris,</i>	
1	15	<i>Lamentabatur Jacob</i>	
1	22	<i>Miseremini mei, saltem vos</i>	[Mouton]
3	7	<i>Hi sancti quorum hodie</i>	[Courtois]
3	14	<i>Pater noster, qui es</i>	[Richafort]
3	19	<i>Salve mater pietatis</i>	
4	2	<i>Clare sanctorum senatus</i>	
4	3	<i>Veniat dilectus meus</i>	
4	9	<i>Nesciens mater virgo virum</i>	
4	10	<i>Sancti Spiritus adsit</i>	
4	13	<i>Christum regem regum</i>	[Mouton]
4	14	<i>Contremuerunt omnia membra</i>	
4	16	<i>Ave mater matris Dei</i>	
4	27	<i>Inviolata, integra et casta</i>	[Courtois]
7*	10	<i>O Sapientia</i>	
8	15	<i>Benedictus es, Domine Deus</i>	
8	16	<i>Cede fragor strepitusque</i>	
8	17	<i>Descendi in hortum meum</i>	[Jacquet]
10*	2	<i>Cui comparabo te</i> (Lamentations)	
10*	4	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	[Claudin]
10*	6	<i>Passio Domini secundum Johannem</i>	
13	18	<i>Sancta Maria, mater Dei</i>	[Claudin]

out a series, as, for example, *O Sapientia* fills in the ordered set of the great "O" antiphons leading up to Christmas Eve, and in the way in which the anonymous Lamentations fills out the set required for the service of

Tenebrae, as does the St. John Passion, which follows on Claudin's setting of the Matthew Passion.

It is possible that Attaingnant had a house composer to set texts lacking in a particular set, such as the Holy Week collection. Heartz speculates that Attaingnant may have used the services of an arranger (apparently not an overly competent one) for the setting of the trios in *Trente et une chansons musicales à troys parties avec quinze duo* in 1535.²⁷ In another context, Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau used Johann Stahel, and to a lesser extent Georg Forster, as his house composers for antiphons and all other settings not already available.²⁸ In some cases, the works of these composers are anonymous in Rhau's prints. However, there are significant differences between Rhau's and Attaingnant's operations. If it is indeed true that Attaingnant derived most of his sacred repertory from the French royal chapel, there would have undoubtedly been a sufficient supply of liturgical music for all occasions. A house composer would have been unnecessary. Rhau, setting ordered liturgical music, but not having such access to the resources of a performing organization, would have much more need of "made-to-order" compositions.

The organization of pieces by text which we have seen in the *Treize livres* could reflect the ordering of the pieces as they were kept in the royal court repertory, which offers further confirmation of Attaingnant's

²⁷ Daniel Heartz, "Au pres de vous - Claudin's Chanson and the Commerce of Publisher's Arrangements," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971): 209.

²⁸ Hans Joachim Moser, introduction to *Georg Rhau Musikdrücke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545 in praktischer Neuausgabe Vol IV Vesperarum Precum Officia* (Wittenberg, 1540) ed. Hans Joachim Moser (Basel, London, New York: Bärenreiter Kassel, 1960), XV.

access to and drawing from that corpus of music. It may also reflect the organizational inclination of Attaingnant himself, who used the perhaps separately obtained anonymous works to fill in gaps in his publications.

Concordances with the *Treize Livres*

Turning to the *Treize livres* collection as a whole, many concordances have been found both in manuscript and printed sources of the sixteenth century. The search for concordant sources has been necessarily restrained by the limited nature of this study. The contents of Italian sixteenth-century manuscript sources were relatively accessible through the recent RISM publication *Manuscripts de Musique Polyphonique XV^e et XVI^e siècles: Italie*. Others, particularly German sources, were not available to the author. The case was similar for the printed sources. Table 8 provides a list of concordant sources found so far.

Given Attaingnant's early rise on the music printing scene, it is natural that most of the print concordances occur with works printed later than the *Treize livres*, such as publications by Gardane, Phalèse, Georg Rhau, Johann Berg, and Johann Petreius. A notable exception is Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona* of 1514. This volume holds a special place in the history of Italian music printing, for with its preponderance of music by French composers, it reveals much about Italian musical taste in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Whereas Petrucci's earlier motet prints of 1502-5 transmit a repertory of more internationally renowned Franco-Flemish as well as Italian composers, it has been noted that the 1514 print shows much more French influence. This is apparent both in the selection of composers known to have been associated with the French court, (Divitis, Févin, Longueval,

Table 8

Sources Containing Works Found in the *Treize Livres*PRINTED SOURCES

<i>Antico</i> 1520 ²	<i>Moderne</i> 1532 ⁹
<i>Antico</i> 1521 ⁵	<i>Moderne</i> 1532 ¹⁰
<i>Attaignant</i> 1531 ⁵	<i>Moderne</i> 1538 ²
<i>Berg</i> 1558 ⁴	<i>Moderne</i> 1539 ⁵
<i>Chemin</i> 1553 ²	<i>Moderne</i> 1539 ¹⁰
<i>Gardane</i> 1539 ³	<i>Petrucchi</i> 1514 ¹
<i>Gardane</i> 1539 ⁶	<i>Phalèse</i> 1547 ²⁴
<i>Gardane</i> 1539 ¹²	<i>Phalèse</i> 1552 ²⁹
<i>Gardane</i> 1539 ¹³	<i>Phalèse</i> 1553 ³³
<i>Gardane</i> G2979-1541	<i>Phalèse</i> 1574 ¹²
<i>Gardane</i> W1112-1542 ¹⁰	<i>Rhau</i> 1538 ⁸
<i>Gardane</i> W1107-1545	<i>Rhau</i> 1542 ⁸
<i>Gardane</i> W1109-1545	<i>Le Roy</i> J678-1555
<i>Gardane</i> 1545 ⁴	<i>Le Roy</i> C13-1555
<i>Gardane</i> 1549 ²	<i>Le Roy</i> M4012-1555
<i>Gardane</i> 1549 ⁸	<i>Le Roy</i> R1300-1556
<i>Gardane</i> 1549 ¹⁰	<i>Le Roy</i> 1562 ²⁸
<i>Gardane</i> 1549 ¹²	<i>Le Roy</i> 1564 ³
<i>Gintzler</i> 1547 ²²	<i>Le Roy</i> 1564 ²²
	<i>Le Roy</i> 1565 ²

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

<i>Bologna</i> A.45	<i>Modena</i> a.N.1.2
<i>Bologna</i> Q.19	<i>Modena</i> III
<i>Bologna</i> Q.20	<i>Modena</i> IV
<i>Bologna</i> Q.27	<i>Modena</i> IX
<i>Cambridge</i> 1760	<i>Padua</i> A.17
<i>Cas Mon</i> D(F)	<i>Padua</i> D.27
<i>Cas Mon</i> N(H)	<i>Regen</i> 940/41.
<i>Cas Mon</i> P(E)	<i>Regen</i> 211-215.
<i>Chicago</i> 1578.M91	<i>Rome</i> 1976-79
<i>Civi del Friu</i> 59	<i>Rome</i> 1980-81
<i>Edin</i> 64 D.6.1.7	<i>Rome</i> VI/C6/23-24
<i>Florence</i> 19 117	<i>Rome</i> S1 35-40
<i>Florence</i> 19 125bis	<i>Rome</i> 16
<i>Florence</i> 11	<i>Rome</i> 24
<i>Florence</i> 666	<i>Rome</i> 26
<i>Florence</i> II.I 232	<i>Rome</i> 42
<i>London</i> 8 G.vii	<i>Rome</i> 46
<i>London</i> 1070	<i>Rome</i> XII,4
<i>London Add</i> 19583	<i>Rome</i> 571
<i>Lucca</i> 775	<i>Stuttgart</i> I.26
<i>Modena</i> c.314	<i>Stuttgart</i> I.34
<i>Modena</i> a.F.2.29	<i>Stuttgart</i> I.36

Table 8 Continued

<i>Stuttgart I.41</i>	<i>Verona 218</i>
<i>Stuttgart I.42</i>	<i>Verona DCCLX</i>
<i>Treviso 29 (destroyed)</i>	

Mouton, Thérache) and in the use of texts which refer specifically to events of the French court, such as *Gaude Francorum* and *Celeste Beneficium*.²⁹ The appearance of a crown on the title page also suggests the French royal court, possibly an acknowledgement of the ultimate source of the repertory.³⁰ The choice of repertory and the fact that the print was published in the Papal States under the patronage of Pope Leo X suggests that Petrucci was reflecting the taste of this particular Francophile Pope.

Three motets in this print are concordant with *Treize livres* compositions, the afore-mentioned *Gaude Francorum regia*, *Christum regem regum*, and the anonymous *Contremuerunt omnia*. The self-consciously French character of the *Motetti de la corona*, and the selection of texts relating to events at the French court implies a French court origin for these pieces. Most likely they were in the repertory of the French royal chapel from at least 1514 if not earlier. Since one of the anonymous motets is found in this print, we can safely say that *Contremuerunt omnia* was written by 1514 at the latest. It is also very possible that it originated in

²⁹ Richard Sherr, introduction to *Sixteenth-Century Motet: Previously unpublished full scores of major works from the Renaissance in Thirty Volumes Vol. 4 Selections from Motetti de la corona [Libro Primo] (Fossombrone, 1514)* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991), xiii - xv.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xiv.

the French court under Louis XII.

The three concordant motets in the *Motetti de la corona* come one after the other (they are the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth pieces respectively in the print). Only two of them, however, appear in the same volume of the *Treize livres*. These are *Christum regem regum* and *Contremuerunt omnia*, which appear as numbers 13 and 14 of volume four. This suggests that either these two pieces appeared together in a source (perhaps a royal chapel source) which both Petrucci and Attaingnant had access to, or that Attaingnant took these selections from Petrucci's print. Sherr points out that the French and papal courts were linked in the early sixteenth century by the person of Elzéar Genet (Carpentras). He had been a member of the papal choir since about 1507, left in 1512 to join the chapel of Louis XII, and was back in the papal chapel by November 1513. His return was soon followed by Petrucci's publication of the *Motetti de la corona*, so it is possible Carpentras himself brought a variety of French music back to Rome.

Italian manuscript sources provide many concordances with the *Treize livres* series. The majority of these Italian sources date from the first three decades of the sixteenth century, and come from Northern Italian centers such as Ferrara, Padua, Bologna, and from Rome. The Roman connection is also seen in the number of concordances between the *Treize livres* and Antico's third and fourth motet books. The connection with Northern Italian centers makes sense in light of the above-mentioned military and diplomatic connections which France kept with Italy during the

late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³¹

Composers in the *Treize livres* whose pieces appear concordant in Italian sources tend to be mostly Franco-Flemish musicians of some renown, such as Lupus, Willlaert, Richafort, Jacquet of Mantua, Mouton, and Gombert, and major French figures such as Gascongne, and Sermisy. The minor French composers represented in the *Treize livres* with only one or two compositions, such as Du Hamel, Du Lot, Joris, Matthias, Penet, de Billon, Briant, and Cybot are not found in any of the sources checked thus far, reflecting their lesser status as composers and their limited output.

As would be expected, all manuscript sources from the first two decades of the sixteenth century contain concordances with the works of earlier Franco-Flemish composers such as Josquin, Mouton, and Févin. These sources include *Bologna Q.19*, *Cambridge 1760*, *Florence 666*, *Florence 19 117*, *Florence II.I.232*, *Rome 1980-81*, *Rome 16*, *Rome 26*, *Rome 42*, and *Rome 46*.

Manuscript and print sources of the 1520s and 1530s which have concordant works with the *Treize livres* offer a greater variety of composers. There is representation from well-known French musicians, such as Sermisy, Hesdin, and Gascongne, which shows the spread of their influence. Other French composers, such as Longueval, Jacotin, Pieton, and La Fage are represented with fewer works. French composers active in Italy such as Conseil, L'héritier, and Jacquet of Mantua are naturally well represented in these sources. Newer Franco-Flemish composers such as

³¹ For detailed information on musical connections between France and Italy, 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.

Lupus, Richafort, and Willaert are also featured. Concordant prints from this time include *Antico 1520*² and *Antico 1521*⁵, *Moderne 1532*⁹, *1532*¹⁰, *1538*², *1539*¹⁰, and *Rhau 1538*⁸. Manuscripts of this period include *Bologna A.45*, *Bologna Q.20*, *Cas Mon D(F)* *Cas Mon N(H)*, *Cas Mon P(E)*, *Chicago 1578.M.91*, *Civi del Friu 59*, *Florence 19 125bis*, *Modena a.F.2.29*, *Modena III*, *Modena IX*, *Modena a.N.1.2*, *Padua A.17*, *Rome 1976-79*, *Rome VI/C6/23-24*, *Rome S1 35-40*, *Rome 24*, *Rome XII, 4*, *Rome 571*, *Stuttgart I.26*, *Verona 218*, and *Verona DCCLX*.

Later concordant sources, both manuscripts and prints, focus on works by the newer Franco-Flemish composers such as Lupus, Willaert, Jacquet of Mantua (who remains a popular choice right through to the late sixteenth century), Gombert, and Verdelot. There is also more variety in French composers, although these are generally represented by far fewer works. Cadéac, Penet, Hotinet Barra, Hesdin, and Vermont primus are some of the French musicians who appear in later sources. The later concordances are made up mostly of prints, and include the publications of Nicolas du Chemin, Gardane, Berg & Neuber, Phalèse, Rhau, and Le Roy & Ballard. Some of the manuscript sources from this time are *Bologna Q.27*, *Edin D.6.1.7*, *Lucca 775*, *Padua D.27*, *Stuttgart I.34*, *Stuttgart I.36*, *Stuttgart I.41*, *Stuttgart I.42*, and *Treviso 29*.

There is little in the ordering of concordant pieces in manuscripts prior to the *Treize livres* to suggest that Attaingnant may have derived any of his repertory from these sources. Concordant pieces from many *Treize livres* volumes appear in a wide variety of manuscripts, but they rarely appear in an order suggestive of their ordering in Attaingnant's set.

There is in fact evidence that Attaingnant derived his music from sources other than the manuscripts listed here. For example, two works which appear frequently in the same manuscript sources are Jacquet's *Surge Petre et indue te* and his *Descendi in hortum meum*. These motets appear together in such sources as *Florence 19 125bis*, in *Rome VI/C6/23-4*, and in *Rome S1 35-40*, sources which predate the *Treize livres* by about two to five years. The two Jacquet pieces also appear in Gardane 1539³. Gardane's placement of the two in the same volume suggests he had access to Italian manuscripts, which transmitted the two works together. Attaingnant's use of the works in separate volumes suggests he found them separately in different sources.

One source earlier than Attaingnant in which many *Treize livres* compositions are found grouped closely together is *Chicago 1578.M91*, the Newberry Partbooks. There are ten concordant pieces in both volumes of the partbooks. Four are by Verdelot, three by Willaert, two by Claudin, and one is by L'héritier. The first volume contains seven pieces from volumes eleven, two, and nine of Attaingnant's *Treize livres*. Furthermore, these pieces are ranged right at the beginning of the book, as selections 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9. In addition, numbers 4, 7, 8, and 9 are all found in Attaingnant's volume two. The second book has three pieces from the *Treize livres*, numbers 3, 7 and 8.

The Newberry Books appear to be of Florentine origin, from between about 1524-1529.³² In their dates and Italian origin, the partbooks are

³² For full information on the provenance and dating of the books, see H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 Vols (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 16-37.

similar to the other Italian manuscript sources. However, the coincidences of placement are far more compelling in this source. They suggest that Attaingnant derived some of his material from the Newberry collection, or that the two utilized a common source. The composers of the concordant works are of the later generation of French and Franco-Flemish musicians represented in Attaingnant's *Treize livres*, as opposed to the earlier composers seen in *Petrucchi 1514*¹. This fits in with the later dating of the Newberry Books, and also confirms a later date for a common source, if indeed there was one. I believe that such was the case, as the presence of Claudin's works makes it very likely that these pieces were in the French royal chapel for Attaingnant to copy.

Sources which contain concordances with anonymous works³³ in the *Treize livres* can be seen in Table 9. Only two of the remaining anonymous works are found in any of the sources examined thus far, *Contremuerunt omnia*, and *Ave Mater matris Dei*. It is sometimes possible to suggest a composer for an anonymous work, based on works which surround it in the source. For example, Richafort's *Pater noster*, which is anonymous in the *Treize livres*, follows another Richafort motet, *Cognoscimus Domine*, in *Antico 1520*². In *Modena a.F.2.29*, *Pater noster* is followed by another Richafort piece, *Veni sponsa Christi*. Mouton's *Christum regem regum*, anonymous in *Florence II.I.232*, follows two other works attributed also to Mouton.

In the case of the two remaining anonymous works, *Contremuerunt omnia* is surrounded by anonymous pieces in *Padua A.17*, the one before

³³ Included here are works which Attaingnant left unattributed but for which composers have since been found.

Table 9

Sources Containing Anonymous Works of the *Treize Livres*

<i>Miseremini mei</i>	[Mouton]	<i>Antico</i> 1520 ² <i>Rome</i> 1976-79 <i>Rome</i> 1980-81
<i>Pater noster</i>	[Richafort]	<i>Antico</i> 1520 ² <i>Modena a.F.2.29</i> <i>London Add</i> 19583
<i>Descendi in hortum meum</i>	[Jacquet]	<i>Edin D.6.1.7</i> <i>Florence</i> 19 125 bis <i>Gardane</i> 1539 ³ <i>Gardane</i> 1549 ² <i>Gintzler</i> 1547 ²² <i>London</i> 8G.vii <i>Modena</i> C.314 <i>Rome</i> VI/C6/23-24 <i>Rome</i> S1 35-40 <i>Stuttgart</i> I.36 <i>Treviso</i> 29
<i>Christum regem regum</i>	[Mouton]	<i>Florence</i> II.I.232 <i>Petrucchi</i> 1514 ¹ <i>Padua</i> A.17
<i>Inviolata, integra et casta</i>	[Courtois]	<i>Moderne</i> 1532 ¹⁰
<i>Hi sancti quorum hodie</i>	[Courtois]	<i>Moderne</i> 1532 ⁹
<i>Contremuerunt omnia</i>		<i>Padua</i> A.17 <i>Petrucchi</i> 1514 ¹
<i>Ave Mater matris Dei</i>		<i>Rome</i> 1976-79

it having been later ascribed to both Mouton and Gascongne. In *Petrucchi* 1514¹, it follows Mouton's *Christum regem regum*, and is itself followed by a piece ascribed to Hylaire, possibly Hilaire Penet.³⁴ *Ave mater Matris Dei* is also surrounded by anonymous works, of which the piece following has

³⁴ Richard Sherr discusses the possible identities for "Hylaire" in the introduction to *Selections from Motetti de la corona [Libro Primo]* (Fossombrone, 1514), xiii-xiv.

since been ascribed to both Mouton and Févin. This is scant evidence, but the appearance of Mouton near both these pieces, particularly *Contremuerunt omnia*, is something to be kept in mind in the next chapter, when the pieces will be examined stylistically.

From what has been studied of the *Treize livres* organization in this chapter, Attaingnant appears to have used at least minimal selectivity in most of the volumes of this collection. His criteria range from number of voices only, as in volumes one and two, to the tonally ordered Magnificats, to the liturgically oriented Holy Week settings in volume ten. The anonymous motets appear to have been kept mostly for either unorganized books, or books organized by criteria other than liturgical use. In the few instances where anonymous works *do* appear in a liturgically ordered milieu, they fill in a missing text setting.

The large number of concordances between early sixteenth-century Italian manuscript sources and the *Treize livres* offers the possibility that some of these works came from Italy, and reached Attaingnant at a later date, either directly or through the holdings of the French royal chapel. This may particularly be true of manuscripts that transmit works of internationally known Franco-Flemish composers. However, sources containing works by composers with long association at the French court, such as Mouton and Claudin, are more likely to have been copied from royal chapel holdings and then spread through Italy. There is no relation between the chronology of the works and Attaingnant's ordering of them in his series, which implies that the sources were all in one location for him to access at will. A case in point is his book of motets for organ dated

1531.³⁵ This print contains intabulations of three motets which appear later in 1535 in volume eleven of the *Treize livres*. The evidence garnered thus far confirms that Attaingnant had leisurely access to an already well-established large music holding, which was most likely the French royal chapel. The next chapter will examine the anonymous motets stylistically, for evidence which may support or refute suggestions which have so far been made about their dates and provenance.

³⁵ *Attaingnant 1531*⁵. One of the pieces, Claudin's *Si bona suscepimus*, appears for the first time ever in this volume. See Yvonne Rokseth, ed., *Treze motets et un prélude pour orgue parus en 1531 chez Pierre Attaingnant* (Paris: Heugel et C^{ie}, 1968).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ANONYMOUS MOTETS

The motets in the *Treize livres* which are still unattributed will be examined stylistically in this final chapter, for evidence which may allow them to be assigned to a school of composition. In Table 10, four general stylistic categories have been distilled from the variety of works in the series, and these will be used for comparison with the anonymous motets.

Table 10

Stylistic Categories of Motets in the *Treize Livres*

The Earlier Franco-Flemish Style of Josquin:

- Traditional polyphonic techniques such as *cantus firmus*, canon, paraphrase
- Clarity of texture and formal design
- Mixture of imitation and homophony
- Structural use of alternating imitative duets
- Long smooth melodic lines
- Some inaccurate text accentuation
- Melismatic text setting

The Later Franco-Flemish Style of Gombert's period:

- Fewer scaffolding techniques
- Denser texture with overlapping phrases
- More harmonic bass line
- Shifting combinations of voices
- Syllabic text setting with end melismas
- Musical form follows text form
- Use of pedal points
- Better text accentuation

The Provincial French Style:¹

¹ In his study of melodic structure in the Parisian chanson, Lawrence Bernstein notes similar traits among composers located in the capital, in comparison with a more idiosyncratic application of French stylistic traits by French composers in the provincial centers. See "Melodic Structure in the Parisian Chanson: A Preliminary Study in the Transmission of a Musical Style" in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan La Rue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 1990), 121-190. There

Table 10 Continued

Duets in thirds and sixths
 Syllabic text setting
 Clear structural articulation of phrases
 Contrast of chordal sections with simple imitation
 Clear harmonic structure
 Strong rhythmic pulse
 Some structural use of repetition
 Chansonesque rhythms
 Balance of homophonic and imitative writing

The Paris-Centered Style of Claudin and Certon:

Shorter phrases
 Chansonesque rhythms
 Syllabic declamation
 Some homorhythmic passages
 Some use of pre-existing material
 Light imitative polyphony
 Clear harmonic structure

Table 11 lists the fourteen remaining unattributed motets in the *Treize livres* and their location in the set. Table 12 lists the composers represented in the collection, under headings according to either location of activity or, in the case of the Franco-Flemish composers, generation.

Table 11

The Unattributed Motets in the *Treize Livres*

<u>Volume</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Title</u>
I	<i>Salve mater salvatoris</i>	IV	<i>Contremuerunt omnia</i>
I	<i>Lamentabatur Jacob</i>	IV	<i>Ave Mater matris Dei</i>
III	<i>Salve mater pietatis</i>	VII	<i>O Sapientia</i>
IV	<i>Clare sanctorum</i>	VIII	<i>Benedictus es</i>
IV	<i>Veniat dilectus meus</i>	VIII	<i>Cede fragor</i>
IV	<i>Nesciens mater virgo</i>		
IV	<i>Sancti Spiritus adsit</i>	X	<i>Lamentations</i>
		X	<i>Passio Johannem</i>

appear to be similar trends in the French motet of the same period.

Table 12

Composers Represented in the *Treize Livres*²Older Franco-Flemish

Antonius Divitis
 Antoine de Févin
 Josquin des Prés
 Jean Mouton

Franco-Flemish After 1525

François Bourguignon
 Jean Courtois
 Nicolas Gombert
 Johannes Lupi
 Lupus Hellinck
 Mathieu Gascongne
 Pierre de Manchicourt
 Rogier Pathie
 Jhan de Billon
 Loyset Piéton
 Jean Richafort

Active in Italy

Verdelot
 Jacquet of Mantua
 Adrien Willaert
 Jean Conseil
 Jo. de Ferrare
 Hilaire Penet
 Andreas de Silva
 L'héritier

Active in French Royal Service

L'Enfant
 Jacotin Lebel
 Jean Le Brun
 Antoine de Longueval
 Pierre Moulu?
 Jean Rousée
 Claudin de Sermisy
 Mathieu Gascongne
 Maistre Gosse?

Hotinet Barra
 Pierre Certon
 Noel Cybot
 Du Hamel
 Antoine Mornable
 Vermont primus
 Richafort?
 Jean Mouton
 Antoine de Févin

Active in the Capital

Jodon
 Mathieu Sohier

Active in Other French Centers

Pierre Cadéac
 L'héritier
 Hesdin
 Le Bouteiller
 Jean Guyon
 Mathieu Lasso
 Mathieu Sohier
 Guillaume Le Roy
 François Du Lot
 Guillaume Le Heurteur

Residence Unknown

Jean de La Fage (Paris?)
 Corneille Joris
 Matthias
 Denis Briant
 Couillart
 Mauricius Georget
 Jarsin
 G. Louvet
 Colin Margot
 Pierre Passereau
 Loyset Piéton (Italy/Lyons?)
 Villain

² Names with a question mark belong to composers for whom there is reason, but no archival evidence, to believe were associated with a particular locale. Much of the information in this table is found in Hertz, *Attaignant*, 96-100.

The texts of the anonymous motets are set out below, with their sources, and translations where necessary.

The Texts of the Anonymous Motets

Ave mater matris Dei

Ave mater matris Dei,
Per quem salvi fiunt rei,
Ave proles foecundata,
Anna, Deo dedicata,
Pro fideli plebe tota,
Apud Christum sis devota,
Amen.

Hail Mother of the Mother of God,
Through whom all things are
saved,
Hail offspring,
Anna, dedicated to God,
Before all the faithful people,
May you be consecrated in the
abode of Christ, Amen.

Ave mater matris Dei is a salutation to Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin. The text is apparently not prescribed for liturgical use, but may have been used in the pre-Trent liturgy.³ Other settings in this period are not common, but L'Héritier composed a setting, which is found in *Bologna Q.20*, and Jachet Berchem also wrote one which is found in *Bologna Q.19*, the *Rusconi Codex*.

Benedictus es

Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum
nostrorum.
Et laudabilis et gloriosus in
saecula.
Et benedictum nomen gloriae tuae,
quod est sanctum.
Et laudabilis etc
Benedictus es in templo sancto
gloriae tuae.
Et laudabilis etc
Benedictus es super sceptrum
divinitatis tuae.
Et laudabilis etc
Bendicant te omnes angeli et
sancti tui.

Blessed are you Lord God of our
fathers.
And praiseworthy and glorius on
earth.
And blessed is the name of your
glory, which is holy.
And praiseworthy etc
Blessed are you in the holy temple
of your glory,
And praiseworthy etc
Blessed are you above the
kingdom of your divinity.
and praiseworthy etc
Let all angels and your holy ones
praise you.

³ Leeman Perkins suggests this in the introduction to *Johannis Lheritier Opera Omnia Part I*, ed. Leeman Perkins, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* (American Institute of Musicology: 1969), xxiv.

At laudabilis etc . . . Amen.

And praiseworthy etc . . . Amen.

This text is the canticle of the Three Young Men (from the *Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Young Men*, 29-68). This piece is somewhat unusual in that the Latin texts of these canticles were rarely set polyphonically.⁴ It is used flexibly in the Latin rites: a second section, *Benedicite omnia opera*, not set here, appears as a canticle at Lauds on Sundays, and in the *Antiphonale romanum*, the first part of this canticle (verses 29-35) is given as an alternative for use in Lent.⁵ This hymn is found in modern sources for the fourth Saturday in Advent (Saturday in the Ember Week of Advent).

Cede fragor strepitusque

Cede fragor strepitusque omnis;
terrenae sileant murmura cuncta
 plagae, christicolae.
Erectos ad sidera tollite vultus,
caelestes avida combibite aure
 trophos.

Ecce velut fumi consurgens
 virgula odori
scandit ad aethereum sponsa
 pudica thronum.
Angelicos inter modulos sit dulcis
 Jesus
totaque siderei turba canora chori.
Mater ave germana veni, Patris
 unica summi.
Suscipe virginea regia sceptrum
 manu.

Tenor:
(Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic

Give way all crashing and
 rumbling;
Let all the murmers of the earthly
 region be silent, O Christian
 worshippers.
Turn your uplifted faces to the
 stars,
Drink in with avid ear the
 heavenly music.

Behold, rising like a stream of
 incense
the chaste (virgin) bride mounts
 to the heavenly throne.
May sweet Jesus be among the
 angelic strains,
and the whole sweet-voiced throng
 of the starry choir.
Hail mother and sister (true
 mother of the flesh), come, only
 mother of the highest Father.

⁴ John Caldwell, "Benedictus (ii)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Vol 2*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), 479.

⁵ Ibid.

amica mea inter filias.)

Take in your maidenly hand the
regal sceptres.

Tenor:

(As the lily among the thorns, so
is my beloved among the
daughters.)

Cede fragor is a newly composed text in two parts around a clearly distinguished cantus firmus in the tenor. The tenor utilizes both the melody and text of the antiphon *Sicut lilium inter spinas*, making this motet the only polytextual piece in the anonymous group.

Clare sanctorum senatus Apostolorum

Clare sanctorum senatus
Apostolorum,
principis orbis terrarum rectorque
regnorum,
ecclesiarum mores et vitam
moderare,
quae per doctrinam tuam fideles
sunt ubique.
Antiochus et Remus concedunt tibi
Petre, regni solium,
tyrannidem tu Paule Alexandrinam
invasisti Graeciam.
Aethiopes horridos Mathaeae agnelli
vellere
qui maculas nesciens aliquas
vestisti candido.

Thoma, Bartholomaeae, Johannes,
Philippe, Simon,
Jacobique pariles, Andraea,
Thaddaeae, Dei bellatores inclyti.
Et vos, Oriens et Occidens, imo
teres mundi circulus se patres
habere gaudent, et exspectant
judices
et idcirco mundus omnis laudes
vobis
et honorem sanctis debitum
supplex impendit. Amen.

Illustrious assembly of the Holy
Apostles,
ruler of the globe and director of
kingdoms,
to moderate the character and life
of the churches,
which, through your teaching, are
faithful and everywhere.
Antioch and Remus yield to you,
Peter, the throne of the
kingdom.
You, Paul, entered the Alexandrian
Grecian tyranny.
Matthew, you dressed the rough
Ethiopians with the snowy
fleece of the little lamb,
may he know no stain.

Thomas, Bartholomew, John, Phillip,
Simon, and James equals,
Andrew, Thaddaeus, renowned
warriors of God,
And you, Orient and Occident,
nay, rather, the round orb of the
world, rejoices to have fathers,
and awaits judges,
And on account of this, the whole
world, suppliant, gives out
praises to you and pays you
the honour due to saints.
Amen.

Clare sanctorum senatus is the second setting of this same text found in the *Treize livres*. The text is a hymn for the Holy Apostles, in sequence form.

Contremuerunt omnia membra mea

Contremuerunt omnia membra mea, dum nuntiaretur mihi partus, alleluia.	All my limbs trembled, while the birth was being announced to me, alleluia.
Et ingredientem in me Spiritum Dei, (alleluia) Angelo nuntiante, concupi ut parerem Filium Dei, alleluia.	And I conceived the Spirit of God entering into me, (alleluia) while the angel announced it, so that I would bear the son of God, alleluia.

The source of the text *Contremuerunt omnia* is unknown, but it clearly refers to the Annunciation to the Virgin.

Lamentabatur Jacob

Lamentabatur Jacob, de duobus filiis suis: heu me, dolens sum de Joseph perdito, et tristis nimis de Benjamin ducto pro alimoniis, precor caelestem regem, ut me dolentem nimium faciat eos cernere.	Jacob wept, for his two sons: Alas, I grieve for Joseph who is lost, and I am exceedingly sad for Benjamin who was taken for surety, I beseech the heavenly king, that he make me, grieving so, see them again.
--	---

Lamentabatur Jacob's non-rhyming text is based on the biblical account of Jacob's lament for his two lost sons, Joseph and Benjamin. While not a commonly set text at this time, it has a liturgical function as a responsory for the Ninth Lection of Matins.⁶ Cummings, in commenting on

⁶ Hermann-Walther Frey, *Die Gesänge der sixtinischen Kapelle an den Sonntagen und hohen Kirchenfesten des Jahres 1616*, "Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, 7 vols, studi e testi, 236 (Vatican City, 1964), 408; quoted in Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 48, n. 18. Carl Marbach indicates it is performed for the third Sunday of Quadragesima in *Carmina Scripturarum* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963), 15.

the flexibility of the motet within liturgical service, notes that a setting of this text by Morales was performed for the Offertory on the Third Sunday of Lent by the Cappella Sistina in 1616.⁷

Lamentations⁸

Lectio I.

- 2:13 Mem Cui comparabo te, vel cui assimilabo te, filia Jerusalem?
Cui exaequabo te, et consolabor te, filia Sion?
Magna est enim velut mare contritio tua; quis medebitur tui?
- 2:14 Nun Prophetæ tui viderunt tibi falsa et stulta;
Nec aperiebant iniquitatem tuam, ut te ad poenitentiam
provocarent;
viderunt autem tibi adumptions falsas, et ejectiones.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

Lectio II.

- 2:15 Samech Plausuerunt super te manibus omnes transeuntes per viam;
sibilaverunt et moverunt capita sua super te, filia Jerusalem:
Haecine est urbs, dicentes, perfecti decoris, gaudium
universae terrae?
- 2:16 Ain⁹ Aperuerunt super te os suum omnes inimici tui;
sibilaverunt et fremuerunt dentibus, et dixerunt:
Devorabimus eum;
en ista est dies quam expectabamus; invenimus, vidimus.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

Lectio III.

- 2:17 Phe¹⁰ Fecit Dominus quae cogitavit; complevit sermonem suum,
quem praeceperat a diebus antiquis; destruxit et non pepercit,
et laetificavit super te inimicum, et exaltavit cornu hostium
tuorum.
- 2:18 Sade Planxit cor eorum, ad Dominum super muros filiae Sion:
Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas per diem et per noctem.
Non des requiem tibi, neque teceat pupilla oculi tui.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

⁷ Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation," 48.

⁸ For a translation of the Lamentations, please refer to the chapters of the book of Jeremiah which are indicated along the margin.

⁹ In the *Vulgate* this verse begins with the letter *Fe*.

¹⁰ In the *Vulgate* this letter is *Ain*.

The Lamentations are the Old Testament verses of mourning of the prophet Jeremiah. Portions of these are sung for the office of Tenebrae, which is the combined office of Matins and Lauds during the *sacrum triduum* of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.¹¹ The musical setting of Hebrew letters at the beginning of each verse derives from the alphabetical acrostic which is formed by the beginning of each verse in the original Hebrew.¹² Until the reforms of the Council of Trent, the number and selection of Lamentation verses used in the office of Tenebrae varied considerably, and this is reflected in the variety of settings by different composers.

Nesciens mater

Nesciens mater virgo virum,	The virgin mother, not knowing a
peperit sine dolore Salvatorem	man,
saeculorum,	painlessly bore the Saviour of the
ipsum regem angelorum,	world,
sola virgo lactabat ubera de caelo	the very King of angels,
plena.	The maiden alone lured him from
	heaven with her full breast.

Nesciens mater is the first part of the responsory after lesson eight, third Nocturn, for the Circumcision of the Lord, January 1.

O Sapientia

O Sapientia quae ex ore Altissimi	O Wisdom which came from the
prodisti,	mouth of the Highest,
attingens a fine usque ad finem,	reaching from end to end,
fortiter, suaviter, disponensque	stronger, gentler, and arranging

¹¹ More detailed information on the ritual of the office of Tenebrae and the role of the Lamentations within it can be found in David Timothy Flanagan, "Polyphonic settings of the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' by sixteenth-century English composers" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1990).

¹² Günther Massenkeil, "Lamentations," in *The New Grove Dictionary* vol 10, 410-412.

omnia:
Veni ad docendum nos viam
prudentiae.

all things:
Come to teach us the way of
prudence.

O Sapientia is one of the *O* antiphons to the Magnificat, used in the days leading up to Christmas Eve. In modern practice this antiphon occurs on December 17. The textless section labelled *Neuma* at the end of the piece is traditional. From the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries these were often appended to the end of Gregorian antiphons during the most important feast days. The *Neumae* of Attaingnant's seventh-volume antiphons appear to be unique polyphonic examples of this practice in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹³

Passio Domini secundum Johannem

The Passion sets portions of the *turba* and several characters from the account of the Passion according to St. John. The text can be found in the Vulgate, *Secundum Iohannem*, 18:1-23.

Salve mater pietatis

Salve mater pietatis
ac totius Trinitatis,
nobile triclinium.
Verbi tamen incarnati
speciale majestati
praeparans hospitium.

Hail Mother of mercy
and of the whole Trinity
noble dining hall.
Yet with the special majesty of
the incarnate word,
preparing the guest chamber.

The rhyming *Salve mater pietatis* appears to be a centonate of various hymns for the Blessed Virgin.

Salve mater Salvatoris

Salve mater Salvatoris, mater
salutifera,
spes Maria, peccatoris, virgo et
puerpera.
Salve rosa sine spina, Salve Jesse

Hail mother of the Saviour, health-
bringing mother,
Maria, hope of sinners, virgin and
child-bearer.
Hail rose without thorns, Hail rod

¹³ Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 6.

virgula,
cujus fructus nostri luctus,
relaxavit crimina.

Virga rubi appellaris, flos
fenestra, janua,
mater Dei, lux solaris, Jesse stirps
Davidica,
digna nobis interpella pro
indignis, Maria,
prece tua ad sua nos ducat
palatia.

of Jesse,
whose sorrowing fruit eased our
crimes.

You are called branch of the
blackberry, flower, window,
door,
mother of God, light of the sun,
tree of the Davidic stock of
Jesse,
Worthy Maria, intercede for us,
the unworthy ones,
May your prayer lead us to his
palace.

This text of *Salve mater Salvatoris* is a rhyming hymn for the
Blessed Virgin, found in the *Analecta Hymnica* 8:61.

Sancti Spiritus adsit

Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia,
alleluia.
Repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto
et ceperunt loqui magnalia Dei,
alleluia.

May the grace of the Holy Spirit
be with us, alleluia.
Everyone is filled with the Holy
Spirit and they have begun to
speak high words of God,
alleluia.

Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia appears to be a centonate text. The
first line of the text is from a sequence for the Holy Spirit, (*Analecta
Hymnica* 42:42), and the last phrase is from the second respond at Matins
on Whit Sunday.

Veniat dilectus meus

Veniat dilectus meus in hortum
meum [*sic*],
ut comedat fructum pomorum
suorum.
Veni in hortum meum, soror mea
sponsa,
messui myrrham cum aromatibus
meis,
comedi favum cum lacte [*sic*] meo,
et bibi vinum cum melle [*sic*] meo.
Comedite, amici et bibite vinum,
et inebriamini, carissimi,

Let my beloved come into my
garden,
so that he may eat the fruit of
his apple trees.
I have come into my garden,
sister, my wife,
I have gathered myrrh with my
spices,
I have eaten honeycomb with my
milk,
And I have drunk wine with my
honey.

et Dominus erit vobiscum. Amen.

Eat, friends and drink wine,
And drink plenty, beloved ones,
And the Lord will be with you.
Amen.

The text is from Canticles, 5:1-6, with slight alterations. An antiphon based on this text is found in the *antiphonaire monastique* of the thirteenth century, where it is prescribed for feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Significant Texts

Some of the texts of the anonymous works seem to refer to historical events, which may help in fixing an approximate date of composition. One of these is *Lamentabatur Jacob*. The appearance of this setting within a French anthology of this time brings to mind Francis's own loss of his two eldest sons as hostages to the Emperor Charles V in return for his own return to France, a connection that has also been noted by John Brobeck.

That this motet appeared in a collection associated with the French royal chapel less than ten years after the hostage exchange is probably not coincidental. It may well have been written for the occasion of the actual exchange of hostages between France and the Empire, which took place on 15 March 1526. The text certainly captures the poignant despair and frustration which must have been felt by the King as the boat bearing his two sons, the eight-year old Dauphin and the seven-year old Duc d'Orleans, passed him in the middle of the river Bidassoa.

Francis's opinions on the duties of the royal family to the French kingdom had been plainly set out in a lengthy letter from his prison in Spain, in which he attempted to abdicate and have the Dauphin crowned king. Stating his intention to languish in prison rather than give up any

of his kingdom or betray his subjects, he states that he would rather give up his earthly body, as well as those of his children, "... qui sont nez non pour nous, mais pour ledict bien et conservation de nostredict royaume, et vrays enfans de la chose publique de France . . .".¹⁴ However, that his anguish over the arrangement must have been great is suggested by the words of his fiancée, Eleanor of Portugal, to Montmorency, on April 28 of the same year: "Je suis joyeuse . . . aussi qu'avez en voz mains toutes choses nectes pour la delivrance de messieurs les dauphin et duc d'Orleans, que je desire de tout mon cueur pour le contantement du Roy monseigneur;"¹⁵ Sending his two eldest sons to be brought up among foreigners and enemies can have been no joyous prospect for the King.

John Brobeck has suggested that this motet may have been written upon the release of Francis's sons in 1530. However, other texts written to celebrate that event, such as that of the anonymous four-voice motet *Letare et exultare*¹⁶ in *Moderne 1532*¹⁰, reflect much more joyful sentiments, as befits the occasion. The mournful text of *Lamentabatur Jacob* seems more appropriate to the time of Francis's own release, a bittersweet moment of long-awaited personal freedom weighed against family loss. The delicacy of the subject matter may also account for the anonymity of the work.

¹⁴ M. Aimé Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du Roi François I^{er}* *Collections de Documents inédits sur l'histoire du France publiés par ordre du roi et par les soins du ministre de l'instruction publique: première série, histoire politique* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1847), 419.

¹⁵ Ibid., 528.

¹⁶ This motet appears in Moderne's *Motetti del Fiore primus* for four voices, in 1532.

If we accept that this motet was written for the occasion of Francis's release and return to France, we can assume a date of composition between 1526, the time of the exchange, and 1534, when the motet appeared in Attaignant's first volume. The date can be further narrowed down to the time around March 15, 1526, the actual date of Francis's release. It appears that musicians responded quickly to political events, as Heartz indicates for Jannequin's musical greeting for the return of the royal princes.¹⁷ It is most logical that a member of the French royal chapel would have undertaken to write this work for his returning employer on or very near the date in question.

The second piece with a potentially revealing text is *Cede fragor*. The text of *Cede fragor* and the fact that it is based on a *cantus firmus* strongly suggest it was composed specifically for a political or ceremonial purpose. It refers to the death of a female personage, who from the words used, was little more than a young girl at the time. The ironic pairing of *sponsa pudica*, "chaste bride" or "virgin bride," strongly suggests a young girl who was perhaps betrothed but whose marriage had not been consummated. The adjective *virginea* "virginal," reinforces this idea. This text could refer to the deaths of either of Francis's eldest daughters, Louise at the age of only three in 1518, or Charlotte at the age of eight in 1524. While Charlotte might seem the more likely candidate because of her longer life, in fact it is Louise who was betrothed, while a mere baby, to the Emperor Charles in 1516 as part of the terms of the treaty of

¹⁷ Heartz, *Attaignant*, 103.

Noyon.¹⁸ While it is possible that this piece may have been written to lament a death in another illustrious family, or in the French royal family from another period, the stylistic characteristics of the music which will be highlighted below suggest French sources from about the reign of Francis I, which fits with the date of Louise's death.

Text-Setting in the Anonymous Motets

A number of the anonymous motets are suggestive of French origin in their approach to text-setting. *Veniat dilectus* is a particularly striking example, with its alternation of homophonic declamatory settings and closely staggered points of imitation, and use of duets in thirds and sixths. All the homophonic passages, and most of the imitative lines, are set syllabically. The ends of phrases are clearly delineated, often with all voices ending at the same time, but there is only one full break in all the voices, preceeding the homophonically set words *cum aromatibus meis*.

Concern for articulation of the text is most apparent in the use of both textural and musical changes to emphasize new phrases. Scansion is generally good, although occasionally an unaccented syllable is set to a long note or syncopation, throwing off the natural word stress. This happens only in the imitative passages, for example, *meo* in the *superius* at m. 49. The homophonic phrases display good text accentuation.

Other motets whose text-setting gives evidence of French traits are *Cede fragor*, *Ave mater matris Dei*, and *Contremuerunt omnia*. These pieces are based on imitative textures which are varied to set off new phrases of text, including short alternating duets, in which there is the typical

¹⁸ Francis Hackett, *Francis the First* (New York: Country Life Press, 1935), 175.

movement in thirds and sixths prevalent in French pieces of this time. In the case of *Cede fragor*, trios are also used. *Ave mater* further features a number of declamatory chordal sections. In all these motets the ends of full phrases are distinguished by strong cadential bass movement (V-I or IV-I), while incomplete phrases generally receive the less definite motion of the 6th opening to an octave. *Cede fragor* and *Contremuerunt omnia* also include some rather lengthy rests between voice entries. In *Cede fragor* and *Ave mater* chansonsque motives, such as the three anacrusic minims and the dactylic phrase openings, are prevalent, as can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Cede fragor* mm. 11-16.

The musical score for 'Cede fragor' mm. 11-16 is presented on six staves. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the staves, with syllables aligned with the notes. A measure number '15' is indicated above the top staff. The lyrics are: 'ce - de fra - gor stre - pi - tus - que' (top staff), 'gor stre - pi - tus - que o - -' (second staff), 'Ce - - de, ce - de fra - gor stre - pi - tus -' (third staff), '- - - gor stre - - - pi - tus,' (fourth staff), and 'ce - de fra - gor stre - pi - tus - que' (bottom two staves).

Sancti Spiritus, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, and the two liturgical pieces for Holy Week, the Passion and the Lamentations, also display many French characteristics. The relatively short phrases, syllabic setting, and

chansonesque rhythms seen in *Cede fragor* are also found in *Sancti Spiritus* and *Salve mater*. Both also make use of duets, and the kind of homorhythmic writing found in many of Claudin's pieces. In *Salve mater Salvatoris*, cadential movement emphasizes the text. The first and last phrases of the *prima pars* feature strong bass movement from V-I and IV-I respectively, while the inner two phrases use 6th to octave motion.

Sancti Spiritus also responds to text with textural changes, ranging from duets in parallel thirds and sixths, to trios, to full four-part writing. This motet uses textural changes not only to highlight new phrases, but new text sections, thus breaking down the textual phrase into smaller units. For example, the first phrase, *Sancti Spiritus*, is sung twice in alternating duets, followed by *adsit nobis* which is similarly treated. This is then followed by another two varying pair combinations treating the *alleluia*. Although the motives for each of these three sections are different, they bear enough similarity to one another to maintain a sense of unity throughout the presentation of the whole phrase. Homorhythmic writing is found towards the end, in the triple-time *alleluia* section, which also features strong repeated V-I cadences. This piece is stylistically closer to the "Parisian" motet of Claudin than is a piece like *Veniat dilectus*, which has more of the characteristics of the French provincial composers.

The two liturgical pieces from volume ten, the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the Passion according to John, are both relatively syllabic and declamatory, particularly the Passion. Clear breaks delineate the different sections, such as the Hebrew letters and Jerusalem refrain in the Lamentations, and the different characters of the Passion setting. Both pieces feature declamatory homophony, and the Lamentations articulate

phrases with textural changes. Two other Lamentation settings are found in the same volume, by Claudin and Févin. The anonymous Lamentations have much more in common with Claudin's setting than with those of the earlier Févin. Févin's version features the lengthy melodic lines, melismatic text-setting, and long duets typical of the Josquin Netherlandish style, while Claudin's setting features the shorter phrases, syllabic setting, and homorhythmic settings of the later French style.

The anonymous Passion setting represents the account of St. John, while Claudin's setting is that of Matthew. These are the two most commonly set versions at this time. Both the Passion settings in Attaignant's volume ten are responsorial: they set only the verses that were sung by soloists during the celebration of the Mass. Clerics would chant the words of the narrator and Jesus, and the chapel musicians would sing the remainder of the Passion account.¹⁹ This Passion and the other Passion setting by Claudin appear to be the only two responsorial Passions written in France in the sixteenth century, a fact which has been loosely explained by strong Calvinist influences in France during this period.²⁰

The anonymous Passion is also similar to that of Claudin, in its extreme tonal and harmonic simplicity. The setting is very dramatic, and the musical style changes greatly according to the characters represented. The *turba* lines are often set for four very declamatory, simple voice parts. Solo parts are set with more contrapuntally complex music, often in duets

¹⁹ Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 7.

²⁰ Kurt von Fischer, "The Passion from Its Beginnings until the 16th Century," *Kurt von Fischer Essays in Musicology* trans. Carl Skoggard, ed. Tamara S. Evans (New York: the Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1989), 53.

and trios, as well as all four voices. Pilate's words are set differently in response to his audience: when he speaks to Jesus, fewer voices are used, and more contrapuntally complex imitation is employed. When he speaks to the crowd the voicing is fuller and more homorhythmic. Stylistically, both the liturgical pieces seem to belong to the later school of French composers, such as Claudin and Certon.

Pieces which suggest composition by earlier Franco-Flemish composers are *Salve mater pietatis*, *Nesciens mater*, *Lamentabatur Jacob*, and *Benedictus es*, as well as the afore-mentioned *Ave mater*. These motets are characterized by their longer melodic lines, more melismatic setting, less careful text accentuation, and overlapping cadences.

Both *Ave mater* and *Lamentabatur Jacob* evince some traits of the earlier Netherlandish school. A more dramatic approach to text-setting, characteristic of the Josquin generation, is seen in the frequent use of clear breaks and declamatory homophony to set off certain words. In *Lamentabatur Jacob*, the two main homophonic sections isolated in this way are settings of the words *de duobus filiis suis*, and *faciat eos cernere*. This emphasis placed on the two sons, and Jacob's desire to see them again, further reinforces the suggestion that this piece was written on the occasion of the hostage exchange, rather than on the release of the children. In *Ave mater* the name and description of the saint, *Anna, Deo dedicata*, is similarly highlighted. The repetition of the name *Anna* at mm. 41-42 is further emphasized through a modal irregularity. The previous chord on F shifts down by whole tone to an E-flat major triad, before resolving once again to an F chord. This modal shift, combined with the declamatory homorhythmic setting, and the use of strong V-I cadential

motion in the bass serves to markedly highlight the saint's name within the rest of the text.

The combination of imitative and homophonic writing typical of Josquin and Mouton is found in both these pieces, as are longer imitative lines. Although new phrases are emphasized through new points of imitation, clear cadences, and rests, text scansion is not as good as in the later French and Flemish settings. In *Ave mater*, even the homophonic settings contain accentuation errors, which is not the case in most motets. The incorrect stress of a weak vowel through the use of a longer note can be seen on the *o* of *Deo*, at m. 44, and on the *li* of *profideli* at m. 52.

Salve Mater Pietatis and *Nesciens mater* use straightforward imitative polyphony unrelieved by homophony or full rests. Cadences overlap, but textural changes again delineate the phrases. Both works suffer from some rather awkward melodic intervals, which suggest a less skillful composer. In both *Nesciens mater* and *Benedictus es*, cadences clearly articulate the phrase endings, with a mixture of V-I and 6th to octave motion in the *bassus*. There is, however, no consistency between the use of stronger cadences and the ends of full phrases. V-I and IV-I cadences are used in the middle of a line, while the weaker 6th to octave motion is found at the ends of phrases.

Benedictus es is based on an imitative polyphonic web, with overlapping cadences, melismatic text-setting, and no full breaks or homophony. Both *Nesciens mater* and *Benedictus es* utilize older-style whole-note settings of the chant tune in certain sections. *Benedictus es* uses this technique in the fifth verse (fourth musically), but in *Nesciens mater* only one word, *Salvatorem*, is enhanced by being set in the two

lower voices to the exact notes of the chant in full breves.

The two remaining pieces, *Clare sanctorum* and *O Sapientia*, have both later French and later Flemish elements in their text-setting. Both are based on pervading imitation with overlapping cadences, and no use of homophony or declamation, which is typical of later Flemish works. However, chansonsque figures are found in both, as well as the shorter phrases, syllabic setting, and homorhythmic sound typical of Claudin's pieces. A setting of *Clare sanctorum* by Claudin, also in the *Treize livres*, offers some contrast with the anonymous setting, however. Claudin's piece uses fewer melismatic flourishes, being more syllabically set throughout. The overlapping of musical lines is less dense, and the text is divided into shorter phrases with more frequent rests in each voice part. While there is still almost no chordal writing in Claudin's version, there are more homophonic sounding passages. Later examinations of form and mode may help in distinguishing these pieces further.

Musical Form in the Anonymous Motets

A variety of formal techniques are employed in the anonymous works, ranging from canon and *cantus firmus* to free form. *Salve Mater Pietetis* is probably the strictest in form, a derived canon, of which there are a number in the *Treize livres*.

Given the very French qualities of *Veniat dilectus meus*, its lack of any pre-existing material comes as no surprise. The structure of this through-composed piece is remarkably lucid. A very striking and lengthy duet in thirds between the *superius* and *bassus* sets off the opening line, and each successive phrase of the text is articulated with a new point of imitation. The smooth integration of homophonic and imitative writing, and

the use of thirds and sixths in the duets, is seen in the works of French composers from provincial centers. One such is Lasson's *Anthoni pater inclyti*, seen in figure 2.

Figure 2. *Anthoni pater inclyti* mm. 1-14.

SUPERIUS.
An-tho-ni pa-ter An - tho-ni, pa - ter in -

CONTRATENOR.
An-thoni pa-ter An - tho-ni, pa - ter in -

TENOR.
An-thoni pa-ter An - tho-ni, pa - ter in -

BASSUS
An-tho-ni pa-ter An - tho-ni, pa - ter in -

5
cly - te, qui Pa - du - a - nus di - ce -

8
cly - - te, qui Pa - du -

8
cly - - te,

8
cly - - te,

10
ris, di - - ce - ris,

8
a - nus di -

8
qui

qui Pa -

Repetition of text and music at the end of the piece is another typically French characteristic. In *Veniat dilectus*, the final phrase, *et inebriamini, carissimi, et Dominus erit vobiscum*, is divided into two sections, each

section being set twice, using alternate pairs of voices which are then followed by a repetition of the same text in declamatory homorhythm. The symmetry of this last section is unbalanced slightly by the move to triple meter just at the beginning of the first of the homorhythmic sections. It moves back to duple only for the final *Amen. Veniat dilectus* bears a strong resemblance to works in the *Treize livres* by Hesdin, a provincial French composer whose music began to circulate in the 1520s. The texture of his pieces is imitative, with lightly overlapping cadences, but frequently relieved by duets, trios, and declamatory homorhythmic passages which delineate new phrases of text. The opening duet in thirds seen in *Veniat dilectus meus* (see figure 3) is similar to one in the opening of the second part of Hesdin's attributed *Ave Maria . . . toties enim oscularis* (see figure 4) in the *Treize livres*. The triple-time change in *Veniat dilectus* is also seen in many of Hesdin's pieces in the *Treize livres*. In all these pieces the tempo change is consistently set off with either a clear break or a non-overlapping cadence, and the triple time section is set in declamatory homophony.

Structural repetition before the final cadence is also seen in *Cede fragor*. The conclusion of the piece receives formal emphasis by the repetition in mm. 145-160 of musical material from mm. 122-137, which takes the piece right up to the extended pedal at the end of the motet (mm. 161-63). Apart from this structural device, *Cede fragor* is built around a *cantus firmus* tenor, which follows the chant associated with the tenor text in long notes. The tenor does not actually enter the piece until the thirtieth measure of the first part, and there are breaks of a few breves inbetween its phrases. It is set once in each section.

Figure 3. *Veniat dilectus meus* mm. 1-9.

SUPERIUS. Ve-ni-at di - lec - tus

CONTRATENOR. Ut come - dat

TENOR. Ut come - dat

BASSUS. Ve-ni-at di - lec - tus

Ve - ni - at di - lec -

Figure 4. *Ave Maria . . . toties enim* mm. 43-47.

Gau - de, vir - go gra - ti - o - sa, Ver - bo Ver-

Ver - bo Ver-

Ver - bo Ver-

Gau - de, vir - go gra - ti - o - sa, .

Several of the anonymous works are paraphrases of chant, a technique common in the earlier Franco-Flemish school of Josquin, but still carried on by the French composers even when the later Flemish musicians tended to eschew the practice. A version of the chant *Nesciens Mater* found

in the *Processionale Monasticum* shows notable resemblances to the melodic material of this antiphon, suggesting its paraphrase use in the motet. All voices make free use of chant material. The antiphon *O Sapientia*, is traditionally, along with all the other *O* antiphons, sung to the same mode II melody, with an intonation for the first invocation. This version of *O Sapientia* utilizes a densely polyphonic series of points of imitation, each of which paraphrases a portion of the original antiphon.²¹ The paraphrased chant is generally most noticeable in the tenor.

Benedictus es paraphrases verses 1, 2, 3, 5, and 8 of the canticle, which is a strophic hymn, but the music does not match the refrains or verses with exact musical repetition. Instead, they are paraphrased differently each time. The most striking aspect of this work is the variety with which each verse and refrain is set, while still retaining the recognizable outlines of the original chant. *Clare sanctorum* is also a chant-paraphrasing piece. The music follows the pattern of the sequence clearly in the first part, giving the musical form ABBCCDD to match the stanzas of text. This pattern breaks down slightly in the second section where the musical form is not as closely allied to the verses, giving the form EEFGC²H. Although the chant associated with this text has not yet been found, melodic similarities between this piece and other settings by Claudin and Thérache suggest that the original chant was used as the basis for this paraphrase setting.

As with most Lamentation settings of the early sixteenth-century, the anonymous Lamentations adhere quite closely to the Lamentation chant tone,

²¹ Thomas Brobeck, "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 12.

and thus to the Lydian mode. The chant tone appears most noticeably in the tenor and less often in the *superius*, and prevents the carrying voice from participating fully in the simple imitative writing. The same Jerusalem refrain is sung after the first two readings, but the refrain following the third reading is longer and musically different.

A number of pieces are free in form. *Salve mater Salvatoris* makes use of long imitative duets as structural devices. The structural use of duets is also seen in *Lamentabatur Jacob*. Formally, this piece can be outlined as ABB'C, where the music of the lengthy duet *precor caelestem regem, ut me dolentem nimium* is repeated nearly exactly before the twice-stated final homorhythmic *faciat eos cernere*. The duets in this motet do not run in parallel thirds like those in *Veniat dilectus meus*, but feature more contrary motion and rhythmic mixture. Also unlike *Veniat dilectus meus* are the voice pairings, which are always upper voices against lower voices. In the former piece variation of the pairings was made with almost self-conscious regularity and thoroughness.

Many characteristics of the early sixteenth century French motet are seen in *Lamentabatur Jacob* in particular. It bears strong similarities to motets by Mouton, in its use of frequently pervasive imitation, the long opening duet, and the mixture of texturally clear phrase endings with overlapped cadences. Texture is often varied to distinguish the phrases of text, and the striking repetition of the lengthy duet in *Lamentabatur Jacob* (figure 5) is found in Mouton's *Homo quidam fecit coenam magnam*, which can be seen in figure 6. The occasional passages of declamatory homorhythmic writing seen in *Lamentabatur Jacob* also appear in Mouton's works.

Figure 5. *Lamentabatur Jacob* mm. 79-104.

80

cæ - le - stem re - - - - - gem, ut

cæ - le - stem re - - - - - gem, ut

85

me do - len - tem ni - - - - - mi -

me dolen - - tem ni - - - - - mi -

90

um, ni - - - - - mi - um

um, ni - - - - - mi - um

pre - - cor cæ -

pre - - cor

95

le - stem re - - - - - gem, ut

cæ - le - - - - - stem re - - - - - gem, ut me

Figure 5 Continued

100

me do, - len - tem ni - - - - mi -

do - len - - - - - tem ni - mi -

Figure 6. *Homo quidan fecit* mm. 45-54.

45

ni - a, al - le - - - - lu - - - - ia,

ni - a, al - le - - - - lu - - - - ia,

qui - a pa - ra - ta sunt

50

qui - a pa - ra - ta sunt om - ni - a, al - le - - - -

om - ni - a, om - - - - ni - a, al - le - - - -

This is not to suggest that Mouton himself was the composer of this work. In his study of the "Parisian" motet at the court of Francis I, John Brobeck concludes that musical features present in works composed at the

royal court in the early part of the sixteenth century influenced later composers such as Claudin in the development of the distinct French style. Such features are found in works of Mouton and Févin, who were employed at the court under Louis XII. *Lamentabatur Jacob* may have been composed by a slightly younger contemporary of Mouton and Févin from the French royal chapel.

Ave mater matris Dei utilizes sectional repetition as a structural device throughout the last half of the motet. Each phrase from the line *Anna, Deo dedicata* to the end is repeated with the same music, and the last line receives further emphasis and varied treatment by being split in half. The first part, *Apud Christum*, is repeated imitatively, while the last part, *sis devota*, is set homophonically in antiphonal pairs of voices.

Mode in the Anonymous Motets

The motet *Veniat dilectus meus* stood out in the previous sections because of its formal clarity and articulate text-setting. Now again, in terms of mode, it shows itself to be an unusual piece. The work begins and ends in the Dorian mode, but it has a strong tonal sound. This may be partly explained by the move towards major and minor sounding modes made throughout the motet, as the piece moves in a clear manner through various modes. The second and third phrases cadence on F, and the third line contains four signed B flats. These can be accounted for by the desire to avoid vertical and linear tritones, and they have the aural effect of changing the mode to F Ionian. The next cadence is on G, which, with the B flats, gives the sound of transposed Dorian, and then a quick move is made to C. Beginning with the end of the fifth line the majority of cadences are on A, the dominant, but raised leading tones give an Aeolian

sound. The clarity of modal presentation is typical of later French and Flemish pieces, although the range of movement is rather unusual.

Of the other pieces which thus far have shown French stylistic traits, the use of clear and relatively simple modal structures confirms French origin. *Cede fragor* is another such motet. The original chant is Dorian, and the motet itself is transposed to G Dorian. The mode is clearly distinguished throughout the piece by strong cadences on the regular tones, and there is no use of accidentals which would confound the impression of mode. *Ave mater* is also modally straightforward and rather modern sounding because of the Lydian mode, a preferred mode of the later French composers.

The two Holy Week liturgical settings are also very harmonically clear. The Lamentations are based on the Lydian chant tone, and remain solidly in that mode throughout. Strong cadences with V-I and IV-I bass motion mark the ends of major phrases, and give a tonal sound to the piece. Although the mode of the Passion is Mixolydian, a similar major-mode sounding tonality is generated through the decisive bass movement in strong V-I and IV-I cadences on G and C throughout, and through the use of imitation at the third as well as fourth and fifth. The harmonic clarity and tonal sound of both these pieces complements this above-mentioned formal and textual clarity, and strongly suggests works composed by French musicians of Claudin's generation.

The mode of *Salve mater Salvatoris* is Phrygian, and it is reinforced by the main cadences on E, C, or A, by the long pedal point on E at the end of the *prima pars*, and by the lack of accidentals. In addition, some of the imitative answers are tonal instead of real, a characteristic of later

French and Franco-Flemish writing. *Sancti Spiritus* is also set in the Mixolydian mode, which is clearly articulated throughout the work by cadences which fall on G. However, the concise, decisive bass movement of later French pieces is lacking in this work. Almost all of the cadential movement is from the 6th to the octave, until the final alleluias. Only one interior cadence on D moves from V-I in the bass.

Some of the pieces which gave evidence of early sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish style are also modally straightforward. *Lamentabatur Jacob* is solidly in the Phrygian mode, and its phrases cadence consistently on the typical Phrygian tones A, E and occasionally on C. *Nesciens Mater* uses the original Hypolydian chant pitches in the *altus* and *bassus*, which suggests transposition in the motet to the Lydian mode. *Benedictus es* also transposes the original Mixolydian of the chant to Hypomixolydian. There are a few occurrences of modal inflection occur in both works. In *Benedictus es*, B flats are used to correct vertical tritones, and in *Nesciens mater*, a vertical tritone is avoided at the final cadence by the use of E flats in the tenor and *bassus*. It creates a rather unusual although not completely unpleasant effect, but I would venture that this is not a solution a more skilled composer would have used in such a situation.

Likewise, the many added E flats in the G Dorian setting of *O Sapientia* appear to be for the sake of avoiding melodic and vertical tritones. They have the effect of taking the piece into what often sounds very much like B flat major for a good deal of the motet, thus undermining the modal integrity of the work. Such a large amount of compensation seems excessive, particularly in light of the six-voice *Cede fragor* which clarifies the same mode with far fewer requirements for accidental

inflection.

The motet *Clare sanctorum* is in the Mixolydian mode, but moves into the Phrygian mode with a cadence on E at the end of the *prima pars*. The Phrygian mode continues in the beginning of the *secunda pars*, with cadences alternating between the Mixolydian V-I on G, and the Phrygian opening from the 6th to the octave on E, until the return to Mixolydian proper near the end of the motet. The move to the Phrygian mode just as the apostles are being named and called "warriors of God" appears to be a colourful use of modal inflection for the purposes of text expression.

The anonymous setting of *Clare sanctorum* differs quite markedly in its treatment of mode from the settings by French composers Claudin and Thérache. The French versions are clearly in Mixolydian mode throughout, with strong, simple bass movement delineating the major cadences. Furthermore, in the anonymous setting both parts conclude with pedals and plagal extensions, devices typical of the later Franco-Flemish composers.

Conclusion

Of the four general categories outlined at the beginning of this chapter, the French provincial style, the early Franco-Flemish style, and the later French style of Claudin appear to be well-represented among the anonymous motets. The lack of pieces characteristic of the later Franco-Flemish style may be explained by the fact that most of the composers who were to make this tradition distinctive would not yet have been into the mature stages of their careers when Attaignant's *Treize livres* was published.

The only piece which shows a number of later Franco-Flemish characteristics is *Clare sanctorum*, with its pedal points over plagal

extensions, texture of pervading imitation with fairly syllabic text-setting, overlapping cadences, and reflection of textual form in the musical structure. Pieces in the earlier Franco-Flemish style are more common, including *Lamentabatur Jacob*, *Nesciens mater*, *Salve mater pietatis*, and *Benedictus es*. These pieces are characterized by imitative textures, overlapping cadences, fairly melismatic text-setting, inaccurate scansion, and the use of textural rather than cadential means to articulate phrases of text. The paraphrase of chant and its incorporation in held notes through certain parts of the work, as was seen in *Nesciens mater* and *Benedictus es* is also compatible with the stylistic characteristics of this period. *Lamentabatur Jacob*'s use of the technique of alternating duets and full chordal passages to delineate text is similar to the earlier Franco-Flemish motets of Josquin's generation, but it is also, as we have seen, a style that was taken over by several of the French provincial composers. Stylistically, *Lamentabatur Jacob* is perhaps just on the edge of old-fashioned for the French court in the mid-1520s, which was a possible date of composition suggested by its text. It may have been composed by a slightly younger contemporary of Févin and Mouton.

The Lamentations and the Passion both resemble settings by Claudin. There are other factors which suggest they were composed at the French court in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The above-mentioned division of the chapel singers into polyphonists and *chantres* by 1526 has given a possible time frame for the composition of both these liturgical pieces. Brobeck has speculated that this reorganization of the chapel into two specialized groups for the singing of polyphony and chant respectively, the *chapelle de musique* and the *chapelle de plainchant*, may

have stimulated the composition of such *alternatim* pieces as the Lamentations and the Passion settings.²² He also notes that although only about half of the pieces in the *Treize livres* appear to have been composed by musicians associated with the French royal court or the Sainte-Chappelle, at least thirty-six of the forty-seven overtly liturgical works in the series, such as Magnificats and the Holy Week settings, can be attributed to musicians employed by the royal court.²³

In addition, Attaignant has specified the days for which each of the three settings of the Lamentations he provides are to be performed. Févin's setting is for Maundy Thursday, the anonymous setting is for Good Friday, and Claudin's setting is for Holy Saturday. Although the Lamentation verses used in the office of Tenebrae varied greatly from place to place, from the fact that the two named composers are known to have been at the French royal court, Attaignant's specifications can probably be taken to reflect the way the Lamentations were used in the French royal chapel's Tenebrae office. Brobeck notes the close correspondence between the settings found in Attaignant and the prescribed usage in a surviving ordinal of the royal chapel, *L'Office de la Semaine Sainte, à l'usage de la maison du Roy*, from Paris, 1732. All six of Févin's settings appear for the Maundy Thursday lessons in that ordinal, half of the anonymous settings, and half of Claudin's.²⁴ All the above indications give good reason to suppose that the anonymous Lamentations

²² John Brobeck suggests this view in his unpublished paper "Some 'Liturgical Motets'," 18.

²³ *Ibid.*, 15 n. 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-8 n.13.

and the Passion setting were composed by musicians at the French court around the middle of the 1520s.

Five pieces show varying degrees of French character. These are *Sancti Spiritus*, *Ave mater*, *Cede fragor*, *Veniat dilectus*, *Contremuerunt omnia*, and *Salve mater Salvatoris*. These for the most part use relatively short phrases, syllabic text-setting, and chansonsque rhythms. *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Ave mater*, and *Veniat dilectus* all flexibly integrate duets in thirds and sixths with homophonic passages. In all the above pieces, textural changes are important in highlighting text phrases, and strong bass movement clarifies the mode. The combination of such French qualities of style with the integration of homophonic and imitative passages seems particularly representative of many French provincial composers. Many of Claudin's motets have homophonic-sounding passages due to the use of syllabically-set text, but true declamatory homophonic settings are less common, as are substantial duet settings. These are still seen, however, in pieces by composers such as Hesdin and Lasson, who worked in centers outside of Paris.

Cede fragor's French characteristics support the suggestion raised by its text that it was commissioned from a member of the French royal chapel to mark the death of a young woman, perhaps Francis's daughter Louise, in 1518. With its clear modal structure, text-sensitive textural changes, interpolated duets of thirds and sixths, and concise phrases, it bears resemblances to both Claudin's style, and to the style of the provincial French composers such as Hesdin, who must have been active at this time.

In addition to the French stylistic characteristics noted in the

antiphon *O Sapientia*, there are additional factors which suggest authorship by a French royal chapel musician. John Brobeck has noted that, apart from the antiphons in book seven, only two additional settings of the *O* antiphons from this period are known, and neither uses a chant incipit or ends with a polyphonic *neuma*.²⁵ Brobeck also notes that royal court musicians are responsible for the majority of the attributed liturgical polyphony in the *Treize livres*.²⁶ This, combined with the stylistic features noted above, strongly suggests a member of the royal chapel as composer.

On the other hand, the pervasive imitation of *O Sapientia*, as well as its full texture and vigorous rhythms, suggests Franco-Flemish influence. Some features of this work can be seen in compositions of Manchicourt, such as the consistent close entry of three voices set slightly apart from the remaining pair, as is found in Manchicourt's *O Thoma Didyme*, in the same volume. A Franco-Flemish composer trained or working at the French court might be sought as a possible author of this particular piece.

In sum, the anonymous motets represent as wide a range of pieces stylistically as do the attributed works in the *Treize livres*. Canons, pieces paraphrasing chant, freely composed motets, liturgical settings, political motets, French and Flemish styles are all found among the anonymous pieces. What is interesting to note is the assimilation of distinct French qualities to the Franco-Flemish styles in this early part of the century. Seen particularly in the works of the French provincial composers, the

²⁵ Ibid., 16. The two additional antiphon settings are *O Thoma didime* by Clemens non Papa, and *O virgo virginum* by Josquin.

²⁶ Ibid., 15.

newer French influences of shorter phrases, homophony alternating with duets in thirds and sixths, modal simplicity, and light imitation appear to be incorporated into the older Franco-Flemish tradition of Josquin, Mouton and Févin, especially in their use of imitative duets alternating with declamatory homophony. The resulting pieces give the appearance of interesting and sometimes very beautiful hybrids, such as *Veniat dilectus*.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

What do the anonymous motets in Attaingnant's *Treize livres de motets* tell us? One of the most striking observations to be noted is their relative scarcity in volumes of the set which are organized by function, such as the Magnificat settings and the settings of the great Marian antiphons. In these volumes, anonymous works are included only to fill in for required works in a series, such as the Lamentations and Passion in the Holy Week music of volume ten, and *O Sapientia* in volume seven. It is difficult to interpret this tendency. Attaingnant's marked avoidance of unattributed works in his liturgically organized volumes may represent nothing more than the fact that most of the liturgical music he printed was composed by members of the French royal institutions, whose names were most likely to appear in the music holdings of the court. It has been remarked that the majority of the liturgical works present in the *Treize livres* were composed by French musicians.

It is also possible that with the increased commercialization of music which Attaingnant's new printing process made possible, anonymous pieces were beginning to be viewed as undesirable in music collections. The idea of the Renaissance artist as an individual working not only for the glory of church or court but also for his own fame has historically been held an important aspect of this period. This idea was first persuasively propounded by Burkhardt in his studies of the Renaissance in Italy, where man's recognition of himself as a spiritual individual was isolated as one of the key differences between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. This view has been subject to great modification and review in recent times, but there is no denying the Renaissance interest in individual style, or the

proliferation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of personal diaries (autobiographies), self-portraits, and conduct books, elements which suggest a sense of self-consciousness and emphasize the individual experience.¹ Noted Renaissance historian Peter Burke offers in addition the related ideas of self-assertion and competition as important distinguishing features of Renaissance Italy.²

The increasing tendency for musical works to receive attributions throughout the late Medieval and Renaissance periods in many ways parallels this growth of self-awareness. Medieval works were frequently set down and transmitted without a composer's name, and even in fifteenth-century sources, scribal laxity regarding attributions is notorious.³ With the advent of music printing at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and particularly the large-scale operations of later printers like Attaingnant, the production and distribution of music becomes a profitable livelihood, and the names of individual composers quickly begin to assume commercial value. The increase in the value of attributed works is seen particularly in instrumental music. Both Attaingnant's and Gardane's early sixteenth-century publications of keyboard dances list none of the arrangers of the intabulations, even though those represented in the Attaingnant prints were most likely famed keyboard virtuosi of the French court. Later in Attaingnant's career, the names of intabulators appear

¹ Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, 195.

² Ibid., 194-5.

³ Hewitt, *Petrucchi*, 59.

regularly in his prints.⁴

In vocal music, the growing number of prints from the middle and late sixteenth century devoted to the works of one particular composer must have appealed to an increasingly aware music-buying public. The influence of a composer's name becomes even more apparent when one reflects on the prints that claim to be devoted to works of a particular composer, only, in fact, to be liberally "watered down" with works by usually lesser-known musicians. An example is the fourth book of five-voice madrigals of Cipriano de Rore, published by Gardane in 1557. Out of a total of twenty-one pieces, ten are by other composers. Of course, it could be said that the buyer was getting eleven works by Rore, with ten extra pieces thrown in *gratis*, and this is a valid argument. The main point to be taken here is that only Rore's name was thought worth advertising on the title page.

Heartz suggests that Attaingnant had similar motives in assigning Claudin's name to some of the trios in *Trente et une chansons musicales à troys parties avec quinze duo*, from April, 1535, even though only Claudin's original *superius* was used in their arrangements.⁵ And Gardane's ascription of thirty similar arrangements to Janequin has been described by François Lesure as "un procédé commercial frauduleux qui consiste à attirer la clientèle à l'aide d'un nom fameux."⁶ Whatever we may

⁴ Heartz, *Keyboard Dances*, vii.

⁵ Heartz, "Au pres de vous," 209.

⁶ François Lesure, "Les Chansons à trois voix de Clément Janequin," *Revue de Musicologie* 44 (1959): 193-98, quoted in Heartz, "Au pres de vous," 209.

make of the ethics of these and similar practices, they show the close connections between the recent commercialization of music and the exploitation of famous names in the early days of music printing.

Of course these kinds of changes do not happen overnight, and the early sixteenth century seems to form a transition period, featuring both a decrease in the publication of unattributed works and an increase in the output of works devoted to a single composer. The exact attitude of sixteenth-century publishers and audiences toward anonymous works is difficult to discern. Although on the one hand the quick move to attributing all musical works in prints would seem to indicate that leaving music anonymous was no longer acceptable as a standard practice, it does not tell us if anonymous works were viewed as being in any way "inferior" to named pieces. Certainly there are some very fine pieces among the anonymous motets of the *Treize livres*, such as *Veniat dilectus* and *Cede fragor*. However, Attaingnant may have felt it more advantageous to emphasize attributed works as much as possible in the functional volumes, perhaps consciously catering to the choosiness of institutional choirs. Zarlino writes of Willaert's visit to the papal chapel, during the pontificate of Leo X, while the singers were performing his motet *Verbum bonum et suave*, thinking it to be by Josquin. Upon learning of its true authorship, the singers no longer wished to perform it.⁷ It is not possible to completely ascertain the truth of this story, but it does reflect the value attached to named composers (at least certain ones). Attaingnant may have thought that attributed liturgical and para-liturgical works would be more

⁷ Lewis Lockwood and Jessie Ann Owens, "Adrian Willaert," in *The New Grove Dictionary* vol 20, 421.

likely to attract buyers for institutional choirs.

Another feature which the anonymous works also highlight is the earliness of the *Treize livres* repertory as a whole. Almost all the anonymous works in this set appear to date from a period at least ten years before the publication of the set in 1534-35, and stylistically, many of the works show the characteristics of early Franco-Flemish or French composers. All the pieces whose texts or compositional form offer the possibility of more precise dates (such as *Lamentabatur Jacob*, which may have been composed for the return of Francis I in 1526, *Cede fragor*, which might have commemorated the death of Louise in 1518, and the *alternatim* liturgical works such as the Passion, Lamentations, and even *O Sapientia*, which may all have been composed to take advantage of the splitting of the chapel into two groups by 1526) also suggest that these motets came from the mid-twenties or earlier.

Contremuerunt omnia also must have been an early work, on account of its appearance in *Petrucchi 1514*¹. *Ave mater* and *Contremuerunt omnia* are the only two still-unattributed motets to appear in concordant sources so far. Although they have many French characteristics, the fact that they are located in sources containing mostly pieces written in the earlier Franco-Flemish style of Mouton and Févin offers the possibility that they were composed by French musicians during the reign of Louis XII.

Many of the sources where concordances were found also date from the early part of the sixteenth century. All this evidence of a large body of music available in the decade before publication of the series lends much weight to the theory that Attaingnant derived his music from the French royal chapel, as do these following points: his title *imprimeur du*

roi would have formalized any court connections he may have already possessed; there is a possibility he was working with court scribe Pierre Blondeau; Attaingnant had access to motets which he did not print right away, such as *Si bona suscepimus*, which appeared intabulated for keyboard four years before its appearance in his motet collections; he requested as far back as 1531 a printing privilege to cover books to be printed, including motets; Attaingnant was one of the first printers to compile volumes devoted exclusively to Magnificats and psalms, which again implies that he was able to take advantage of a large and varied available repertory.

If many of the motets do indeed date from the first two decades of the sixteenth century, as is largely indicated by their style, sources, and function, then it is understandable that names might be missing, particularly if a composer was no longer at the royal chapel to claim the work. In addition, the writing of functional liturgical polyphony in particular was perhaps more a routine job than a creative art form for many of the chapel musicians, and may not have inspired a desire for recognition. For the most part Attaingnant appears to have done as much to facilitate the use of his collection as possible, as is seen from his functional organization of the pieces, and provision of instructional rubrics for their use. Supplying composer names would be one more aspect of meeting the requirements of his potential market, so it seems likely that if Attaingnant himself knew the composer, he would have placed the name alongside the work, unlike Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau, for example, who apparently was not as stringent in this regard.

A final point brought to light by the analytic study of the

anonymous motets is the apparent distinctiveness of style in works composed by musicians working in the French provinces, as opposed to the capital itself. In attempting to place the anonymous works within a stylistic category, two distinct French styles seem to co-exist in the first part of the sixteenth century. The so-called "Parisian" style of Claudin, a term often criticized because of its implication of geographic exclusivity, is perhaps not so misnamed after all. The distinct French compositional characteristics which garnered the term "Parisian" seem to derive from the earlier Franco-Flemish compositional style of imitative duets juxtaposed with sections in declamatory homophony. However, the application of this influence seems to have been made differently in the capital (perhaps even at the court itself) than in more isolated centers. The style of royal court composers such as Claudin and Thérache features a mixture of duets and homophony, but set within a mostly imitative texture of short phrases with lightly overlapping cadences. Close points of imitation, syllabic text-setting and supple chanesque motives give these pieces their characteristic impression of elegance and quickness. From what has been seen of such provincial composers such as Hesdin and Mathieu Lasson, however, the combination of duets (usually in sixths and thirds) with chordal sections is more significant structurally in their motets. The transposition from one texture to another is often made subtly, with overlapping textures and imitation, as well as abruptly, with full breaks between phrases. Syllabic text setting is still common, but rather lengthy melismas on penultimate syllables are also featured.

The variation noted thus far between French motet styles in the sixteenth century encourages further research along the lines of

Bernstein's examination of melodic structure in the French chanson of this period. A detailed study and comparison of the motets of Parisian and provincial composers from the reign of Francis I might well yield useful information on the topic of musical influences in general in this period, as well as on the genesis and evolution of the "Parisian" motet itself.

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