Cover 12-11-2003 13:03 Pagina 1

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

ALAMIRE

Alamire Foundation

THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT COMPLEX OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS (1500-1535) AND THE WORKSHOP OF PETRUS ALAMIRE

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT COMPLEX OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS (1500-1535) AND THE WORKSHOP OF PETRUS ALAMIRE

The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire

ALAMIRE

Alamire Foundation

5
2003

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 1

THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT COMPLEX OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS (1500–1535) AND THE WORKSHOP OF PETRUS ALAMIRE

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 2

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 3

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

5

THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT COMPLEX OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS (1500–1535) AND THE WORKSHOP OF PETRUS ALAMIRE

COLLOQUIUM PROCEEDINGS

LEUVEN, 25–28 NOVEMBER 1999

General Editors: Bruno Bouckaert, Eugeen Schreurs

Leuven – Neerpelt
2003

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 4

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

5

THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT COMPLEX OF MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS (1500–1535)
AND THE WORKSHOP OF PETRUS ALAMIRE
Colloquium Proceedings Leuven, 25–28 November 1999

Editorial board: Bonnie J. Blackburn, Ignace Bossuyt, Bruno Bouckaert, David Bryant, Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans, David Crawford, Frank Dobbins, David Fallows, Barbara Haggh, Herbert Kellman, Honey Meconi, Volker Schier, Katelijne Schiltz, Eugeen Schreurs, Jaap van Benthem, Henri Vanhulst, Andrew Wathey, Saskia Willaert

Final editors: Ivan Asselman, Bruno Bouckaert, Patrick Lenaers

Production editor: Karolien Selhorst

Lay-out by Friedemann Vervoort, Hasselt (Belgium)
Printed by Dukkerij Paesen, Opglabbeek (Belgium)

This publication was made possible by grants from:

Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium)

Alamire Foundation,
International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries
(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Musicology Section)

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Faculty of Arts

D 2003/4169/2
ISBN 90 6853 156 5

© 2003 Copyright by
Alamire Music Publishers, Provinciaal Domein Dommelhof, Toekomstlaan 5B, B-3910 Neerpelt – www.alamire.com &
Alamire Foundation, International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries, Parijsstraat 72B, B-3000 Leuven – www.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/alamire
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or other means without written permission from the publisher.

Cover illustration:
Front: Initial K, from the manuscript 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 72B, fol. 1v.
Back: Signature of Petrus Alamire, from the manuscript 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Accounts 1496/1497, 5 bis fol. 64r.

Every effort has been made to contact copyright-holders of illustrations. Any copyright-holders whom we have been unable to reach or to whom inaccurate acknowledgement has been made are invited to contact the publisher.

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 5

CONTENTS

PREFACE 7
Bruno Bouckaert & Eugeen Schreurs

OPENINGS: THE ALAMIRE MANUSCRIPTS AFTER FIVE HUNDRED YEARS 11
Keynote Address Delivered at the Alamire Conference in Leuven, 25 November 1999
Herbert Kellman

ALAMIRE UND DIE SKRIPTORIUMS-TRADITION 31
Martin Staehelin

TEXTUNTERLEGUNG IN DEN ALAMIRE-HANDSCHRIFTEN 37
Thomas Schmidt-Beste

DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, MS. 11883 UND VATIKAN, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS. CHIGI C VIII 234 ALS VORLAGEN AM BURGUNDISCH-HABSBURGISCHEN HOF 59
Michael Friebel

TERMINUS POST ALAMIRE? ON SOME LATER SCRIBES 97
Jacobijn Kiel

THE PURPOSE OF THE GIFT: FOR DISPLAY OR FOR PERFORMANCE? 107
Stanley Boorman

THE FUNCTION OF THE HABSBURG-BURGUNDIAN COURT MANUSCRIPTS 117
Honey Meconi

THE DECORATION OF THE ALAMIRE MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS: FUNCTION AND MEANING 125
Brigitte Dekeyzer

INITIALEN UND BORDÜREN IN DEN MUSIKHANDSCHRIFTEN DES BURGUNDISCH-HABSBURGISCHEN HOFES 149
Dagmar Thoss

MESSAGES IN MINIATURE: PICTORIAL PROGRAMME AND THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE ALAMIRE CHOIRBOOKS 161
Bonnie J. Blackburn

CHARLES DE CLERC, SEIGNEUR DE BOUVEKERCKE, AND TWO MANUSCRIPTS: BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS 215–16, AND NAPLES, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE, MS VI E 40 185
Barbara Haggh

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 6

THE ALAMIRE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ILLUSTRE LIEVE VROUWE BROEDERSCHAP* IN 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH: NEW FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS 203
Véronique Roelvink

NETHERLANDS MANUSCRIPTS AT A SAXON COURT 215
Kathryn Pohlmann Duffy

ALAMIRE-HANDSCHRIFTEN IN MITTELDEUTSCHLAND 225
Jürgen Heidrich

FORBIDDEN INTERVALS IN JOSQUIN: EVIDENCE FROM THE ALAMIRE SOURCES 233
Peter Urquhart

ALAMIRE AS A COMPOSER 247
David Fallows

THE DUTCH SONG *MIJN HERT ALTIJT HEEFT VERLANGHEN* AS A MODEL 259
Eugeen Schreurs & Bruno Bouckaert

THE ALAMIRE SCRIPTORIUM AND THE DISSEMINATION OF THE 'NEW' FRANCO-FLEMISH CHANSON IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY 285
Martin Picker

ALAMIRE VERSUS AGRICOLA: THE LIE OF THE SOURCES 299
Fabrice Fitch

PETRUS ALAMIRE UND DIE *MISSA FORS SEULEMENT* VON MATTHAEUS PIPELARE 309
Vincenzo Borghetti

THE MASSES OF JOSQUIN IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT: A PRELIMINARY REPORT 325
Willem Elders

DAS *SALVE-REGINA*-REPERTOIRE VON PIERRE DE LA RUE IN DEN HANDSCHRIFTEN BRÜSSEL, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS. 9126 UND MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, MUSIKSAMMLUNG, MUSICA MS. 34 337
Martin Just

THE SACRED MUSIC OF MATHURIN FORESTIER 349
Thomas G. MacCracken

INDEX OF CITED MANUSCRIPTS AND MUSIC PRINTS 363

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 7

PREFACE

In 1999 the Alamire Foundation assembled for the first time the most important manuscripts of the court scribe Petrus Alamire in a unique exhibition *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd (1500–1535) / Alamire's Treasury. Music and Miniatures from Charles V's Time (1500–1535)*, Leuven, Predikherenkerk, 25 September – 5 December 1999. At the same time a new standard work was published with a number of scholarly papers and a detailed catalogue of all known Alamire manuscripts (H. Kellman ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999), as well as an exhibition catalogue in Dutch (E. Schreurs ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit keizer Karels tijd*, Leuven, 1999). In addition, the Alamire Foundation in the same year brought together all the researchers working on these manuscripts in an international colloquium on *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500–1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire*, Leuven, Faculty of Arts, 25–28 November 1999 (scientific committee: Ignace Bossuyt, David Fallows, Eric Jas, Herbert Kellman and Eugeen Schreurs). This fifth *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* now presents the results of this gathering, taking another step forward in the research on Alamire.

The articles are grouped thematically. The *keynote address* given by Prof. Herbert Kellman at the opening of the Alamire conference in November 1999 is followed by a number of contributions which focus on the workshop itself and its scribes (Martin Staehelin, Thomas Schmidt-Beste, Michael Friebel, Jacobijn Kiel). The next group of papers is concerned with the use and the function of the manuscripts (Stanley Boorman, Honey Meconi), their decoration and illumination (Brigitte Dekeyzer, Dagmar Thoss, Bonnie J. Blackburn), and the persons and institutions that possessed these often magnificent manuscripts or ordered their manufacture (Barbara Haggh, Véronique Roelvink, Kathryn Pohlmann Duffy, Jürgen Heidrich). The final grouping deals with compositional aspects and the works of composers represented in the Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex, among them Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, Matthaeus Pipelare, Alexander Agricola, Mathurin Forestier, and Petrus Alamire himself (Peter Urquhart, David Fallows, Martin Picker, Fabrice Fitch, Vincenzo Borghetti, Willem Elders, Martin Just, Thomas G. MacCracken, and the undersigned).

Since all the papers in this fifth *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* are devoted to the same theme and deal primarily with a single corpus of music manuscripts, we decided to add an *Index of Cited Manuscripts and Music Prints*. The individual articles themselves employ, as much as possible, the manuscript sigla already used in Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, and C. Hamm & H. Kellman eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550* (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988. Expansion of the manuscript, *BrownI* and *RISM* sigla used can also be found in the Index.

Voorwoord 12-11-2003 13:20 Pagina 8

In conclusion, a cordial and sincere word of thanks must be said to various persons and institutions that contributed to the realization of this extensive monograph. First and foremost we are grateful to the authors of the papers, and to the members of the international editorial board for their critical comments on the articles submitted. Collaborators of the Alamire Foundation were actively involved in the editorial process: Mariet Vriens, Patrick Lenaers, and especially Ivan Asselman, who as final editor shouldered more than his share of the work. The *Renaissance Archives* of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Prof. Herbert Kellman) provided digital photos for a number of illustrations. Thanks are also due to our privileged partner Alamire Music Publishers (Martine Sanders, Karolien Selhorst) both for their technical assistance and for distributing this book.

This publication was realized with the support of the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium).

Bruno Bouckaert & Eugeen Schreurs
Alamire Foundation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Musicology Section)

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 11

OPENINGS:
THE ALAMIRE MANUSCRIPTS AFTER FIVE HUNDRED YEARS

Keynote Address Delivered at the Alamire Conference in Leuven, 25 November 1999

Herbert Kellman
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Please allow me to preface these remarks with a personal note. It was exactly forty years ago that I came to Belgium for the first time to begin research on the Alamire manuscripts. I lived in Brussels for two years, a period that remains one of the most memorable of my life. Since then I have come back to Belgium regularly, not only to continue research, but because of the many ties of friendship that draw me here. But from those long-gone days, among the many persons I encountered as I began to work on those manuscripts, certain individuals remain particularly prominent in my memory: they welcomed me, helped me, and gave me hospitality and encouragement. They are all gone now, but I would like here to record my lasting gratitude to Professor Charles van den Borren, Professor Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune of Liège (my advisor pro tem), Professor René Lenaerts of Leuven, Dr. Albert Van der Linden of the Royal Conservatory, and Dr. François Masai of the Royal Library. I have thought of them often in the last years, as the extraordinary events conceived by the Alamire Foundation unfolded – the most extraordinary being the assembly of the Alamire manuscripts in Leuven, of course – and as they rekindled the excitement I experienced in those first years of discovery. And it occurred to me that those individuals, and many others from that time, all representatives of Belgium's great tradition of humane scholarship, would be astonished, and then delighted and proud, to see that tradition upheld in this way, grandly and imaginatively, with resources and technologies and networks they never knew about, and with distinguished scholars and devoted students from far and wide, brought together to study this rich remnant of their patrimony – a treasury for our exploration.

***

What I take to be the proper function of this address is that it should attempt to indicate where we now stand in regard to the central questions posed by the sixty-one extant Burgundian-Habsburg manuscripts,[1] indicate, in other words, from the vantage point of what we have learned in recent years, the possibilities, the opportunities, the 'openings', that now appear to present fruitful avenues for further inquiry. It is in this sense that my title refers to openings, though clearly all of us frequently look at openings of another kind in these manuscripts. The ambiguity is not altogether unintentional. I have isolated twenty such openings. There are many others, of course, but these in my opinion pertain to some of the most pressing questions, and are quite likely to lead us to new insights.

[1] These sources are usually divided into two groups: the B group of seven manuscripts copied in the period 1498–1508 by a scribe known as 'B', whose identity is uncertain, and his helpers (see footnote 16); and the A group of fifty-four manuscripts and fragments, copied in the period 1508–1535 in the workshop of Petrus Alamire. However, the title 'the Alamire manuscripts' is nowadays often applied to the whole complex of sixty-one books. The best overview of these sources is the publication: H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999. It was published on the occasion of the exhibition *Alamire's Treasury: Music and Miniatures from Charles V's Days (1500–1535)*, Leuven, Predikherenkerk, 25 September – 5 December 1999, and includes nine essays on various aspects of the manuscripts, a descriptive catalogue, with color illustrations, an index of composers and works, and a full retrospective bibliography.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 12

They fall into four broad categories: production, repertory, imagery, and distribution; and it is under these headings that I will address them. Some of my observations, I should add, are indebted to astute comments by the six students in my seminar on the Alamire manuscripts at the University of Illinois.[2]

PRODUCTION

Among the many problems in this category, questions concerning the size of the court's cadre of copyists and the manner of its employment are central. Here, the farthest-reaching work of the last twenty years – indeed a real breakthrough – has clearly been Flynn Warmington's ongoing effort to distinguish the scribes who collaborated in copying the manuscripts of the period 1508–1534, the period of Petrus Alamire's activity at the Burgundian-Habsburg court.[3] The palaeographic schema she has offered, differentiating over twenty music hands and seventeen text hands – the result of dedicated work and great patience, not to mention a very fine eye – potentially transforms our view of several aspects of the complex, and creates particularly important openings.[4] Before discussing these, however, I would like, in a helpful spirit, to voice a caution. Over the years, Flynn Warmington has revised and refined a number of her scribal identifications and attributions. This is understandable, and indeed inevitable where fine palaeographic distinctions depend on the acuity of the eye, which, as we know, sharpens with experience. We should thank her for her willingness to change her mind. But to enable us fully to accept all these findings, and build on them, a temporary moratorium on the observation of ever-finer distinctions, in favor of an initiative to present the palaeographic evidence for each current identification,[5] secure or provisional, would seem to me a most helpful step. Such evidence should include, first, specification for each manuscript of the folios and staves on which a particular music or text hand appears, and secondly, the most explicit descriptions possible of the characteristics distinguishing each hand from all other hands, and, above all, from those closest to that hand. Warmington has also posited long-term changes in particular traits and forms in certain scribes' hands as the basis of her dating of some manuscripts: the hand of her scribe X falls into this category, and she has deduced the dates of several manuscripts from the 'chronology' of this hand. The method may well be sound, but, here too, the evidence needs to be presented explicitly and in detail before the conclusions can receive full acceptance. All this is obviously a large task, and I would not presume to suggest that it must be on Flynn Warmington's shoulders alone to accomplish it. I wish to say only that in my opinion it is an urgent task, one in which others might want to join her. The new technologies of optical scanning and analysis, powerful tools for the systematic differentiation of handwritten characters and signs, could be of great value in this process.[6]

[2] Eric Fenger, Stacey Jocoy, Jesse Krusemark, Sarah Long, Jill McAllister, and Trudie Ranson, all of whom participated in the conference.

[3] For Flynn Warmington's previous contributions, see the bibliography in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 179.

[4] See J. KIEL and F. WARMINGTON, *Overview of the Scribes*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 52, Table 1, for an overview of Warmington's results for fifty-one of the fifty-four manuscripts of this period. AntP B948IV (cat. no. 52.1), AntP R43.13 (cat. no. 52.4), and UtreC 47/1 and 2 (cat. no. 52.10) are not included.

[5] In KIEL & WARMINGTON, *Overview of the Scribes*, for instance.

[6] Some sense of the potential for musicology of the widespread experimentation in this area can be obtained from perusal of recent volumes of such journals as *Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers* [IEEE] *Transactions on Pattern Analysis and Machine Intelligence*; *Computer Vision and Image Understanding*; *International Journal of Computer Vision*; and *Optical Engineering*. It is interesting to note that in 1999 the National

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 13

With these provisos, we can consider the openings that Flynn Warmington's scribal analyses offer.

[1] The first concerns the size of the workshop, and the implications of those dimensions for its procedures. Warmington's results require us to postulate a scribal workshop with a considerable division of labor. In order to hypothesize the procedures under which the scribes performed their particular roles in each of the manuscripts in the complex, we need to give priority to the question of exactly how many music and text hands were active at any given moment. Warmington has already approached the issue in broad terms, dividing the activity into two periods, one before, the other after 1520.[7] With a more precise view, we might be able to construct scenarios that account for some of the anomalies in the manuscripts, such as the frequent and sometimes very brief changes of hand that occur in many manuscripts, or inconsistent gathering structures, or different readings of the music or text of a piece in related manuscripts. To take one case: if a hand is interrupted by a new hand for merely one stave in a mass movement – copying that might take five to eight minutes – we might consider the possibility that the new scribe was assigned (or took on) this task because the book needed to be finished quickly, and even a short interruption of work had to be avoided. Conversely, we might suppose that there was no hurry to complete the book, and copying was done sporadically and continued by anyone who had time, for whatever length of time was available. And there are of course many other possible hypotheses, each of which might cast the source in a new light.

[2] However many scribes were employed at various times, we need to consider whether they might have worked as an independent group of copyists – a commercial scriptorium, perhaps – or were simply court employees. With no hint of an independent establishment in any document referring to Alamire, the former seems unlikely. On the other hand, Alamire's apparent fulfillment of private commissions, or his sales of already completed books, and the presence of several hands in manuscripts that were probably transmitted through such transactions – the Fugger books, for example – leave open the possibility that a number of his associate scribes, perhaps living in Mechelen, were not affiliated with the court. But if the scribes were, in fact, members of the court personnel, as is more likely, we should ask whether they were from the ranks of the musicians. Since it is also likely that only persons with training in music could transcribe into fine calligraphy what must often have been cryptic notation in the models – notation as in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 11883 (VienNB 11883),[8] for instance – the probability that they were chapel musicians is very high. It is true that all the payments for the copying

Institute of Justice gave a large grant for the development of a computer-assisted handwriting-analysis tool for forensic applications, in response to a 1993 court decision making expert testimony on handwriting analysis inadmissible, and urging establishment of a 'scientific basis' for such analysis, through research and peer-review. See *IEEE Intelligent Systems and Their Applications*, 14/4 (1999), p. 8.

[7] Following the present author's chronological division: see H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 181–216; and H. KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism of the Manuscripts – A Synopsis*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 11. Warmington concludes that in the period before 1520 three main scribes of music and text were active, assisted by two music scribes and four text scribes; and after 1520 there were four or five main music scribes, three of whom also copied text, assisted by two further text scribes: see KIEL & WARMINGTON, *Overview of the Scribes*, p. 43. Table 1 (ibidem, p. 52) lists a number of other music and text scribes, presumably sporadic helpers.

[8] See M. FRIEBEL, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 11883 (VienNB 11883)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 44, pp. 150–151.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 14

of music books found in the court records so far were to Alamire, but payments to other musician-copyists might not have been necessary, since their copying work could well have been one of the duties of their chapel employment. In fact, all of Alamire's extant payments are for only eight different instances of his providing music books to the court,[9] which could be more readily explained if copying was a routine task of members of the chapel. Those would perhaps have been lower-ranked musicians, but we should not ignore the possibility that one of the hands found in sources dating from before 1516–1518 could be that of Pierre de la Rue.

[3] Of course, the real role of Alamire in the creation of the court manuscripts represents another opening to be pursued. To touch first on his personality, which can be more easily assessed now that we have Eugeen Schreurs's skillfully assembled biography,[10] one can see that he was a relatively well-educated but not notably cultivated man, who was above all an entrepreneur, in fact, a familiar type: one who makes himself useful to men of power, is able to procure desirable things for them – instruments, music, paintings, illuminated books, not to mention information both political and private – and displays a slightly deprecating, perhaps ingratiating sense of humor. Erasmus is clearly condescending towards him,[11] and, between the lines, appears to see him as a high-strung but obliging man, unreliable but witty. In that light, it is easy to imagine him as the venturesome head of a private manuscript-producing establishment, expediently soliciting orders for manuscripts in the course of his travels and encounters. But here too, the links between the Burgundian-Habsburg court and all the recipients of group A manuscripts – except the confraternity at 's-Hertogenbosch, Alamire's first and continuing employer – point to the court as Alamire's base of operations, and point to Alamire as probably the main collector of the court's new music.[12] And his central role in the creation of the court manuscripts was surely not as a scribe – here, the title *escripvain de libres de musicke* consistently applied to him in court documents has misled us – but, more importantly, as the manager and supervisor of the books' production.[13] The evidence of his proofreading, the seemingly rare appearance of his formal music hand – as far as it can be identified at the moment[14] – and the frequency with which he is paid for having 'made' (*d'avoir fait*) books all seem to suggest this, and, indeed, one payment to him is explicitly a "reimbursement for having written and made two large parchment books filled with masses in music ... and for the parchment and ink and other expenses he had in regard to these books".[15] He probably acted also as a contractor who hired the binders and illuminators, and perhaps also paid them, much as Martin Bourgeois had done before him.[16] In short, we have new premises from which further inquiries into this essential issue might now be profitably launched. One test of whether his managerial role in the production of the manuscripts might have been unique, would be to find out more about the production of court manuscripts after his death.[17] One such book that is particularly intriguing is Toledo, Catedral, Obra y

[9] E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 23–25, nos. 3, 5, 6, 14, 15–17 [same commission], 18–19 [same commission], 22, 23. Note that all the books are for family members: Philip, Maximilian, Margaret, Charles V, and Mary of Hungary; no disbursement has been found for any of the many books made for other recipients.

[10] SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, pp. 15–27.

[11] Letter from Erasmus to Spalatin, Antwerp, 7 August 1519. See SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, p. 21.

[12] For a discussion of the court's acquisition of new music see KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism*, pp. 11–12.

[13] This conclusion is voiced by several authors. See especially the following three essays: F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 44–45; SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, p. 22; and KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism*, p.11.

[14] See WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, pp. 44–45.

[15] See SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, p. 23, no. 5.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 15

Fabrica, MS Reservado 23 (ToleF 23; see Figure 1). This very large, parchment choirbook has become quite widely known in recent years for its contents of masses, Magnificats, a Passion, and motets, by Bauldeweyn, Courtois, Févin, Gascongne, Josquin, L'héritier, Longueval, Mouton, Richafort, Therache, and Adrien Thiebault *dit* Picard. This repertory, except for the inclusion of Longueval and Adrien Thiebault, corresponds exactly to that of the later group of scribe A manuscripts. The Toledo manuscript is also striking in its fine calligraphic music and text hands, bearing at least a family resemblance to hands in the large scribe A manuscripts. Above all, the manuscript's overall appearance, its layout, and Ghent-Bruges miniatures, borders, and illuminated initials, make it almost a duplicate of the decorated scribe A books, though miniatures in it are even more profuse. Robert Snow, who published the most recent and most insightful study of the manuscript, dated it between 1520 and 1535.[18] I would place it at the later end of that period and perhaps even beyond. Nor was Snow entirely convinced that it was produced in the Low Countries. I believe its physical characteristics suggest it was. A thorough codicological examination of the book would undoubtedly resolve these questions,[19] and if it is indeed related to the court manuscripts, a larger inquiry concerning its place 'post Alamire', to borrow Jacobijn Kiel's apt phrase, is surely warranted.

[4] Returning to the group A manuscripts themselves, we might observe two openings that emerge from their chronology. I have referred to Flynn Warmington's proposed dating of a number of manuscripts copied in part by her scribe X, based on changes in his hand. She has distinguished his hand in twenty-one of the manuscripts she has analyzed,[20] and because of particular features in the hand, has concluded that these were copied between 1515 and 1518. If that conclusion is confirmed, there would appear to have been an astonishing flurry of production in just three years of the workshop's twenty-seven years of activity, with a full forty percent of its total surviving output falling in those three years. To observe this sequentially, we may note that only four of the fifty-four Alamire books that have come down to us can be assigned to the five years from the beginning of Alamire's court activity until 1513.[21] No manuscript can be securely assigned to the years 1514/1515. Then a stream

[16] Martin Bourgeois, an earlier scribe at the court, clearly functioned in this capacity. In 1502 he was paid "for the writing, noting, and vellum of a splendid book of polyphony ... and for several richly historiated initials, seven hundred large gold letters, binding, stamping, and gilding of said book" (Lille, Archives du Nord, B 2177, fol. 139r–139v); see E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle: documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 7, Brussels, 1886, p. 151. Until recent years, Bourgeois was thought to have been the main scribe of the seven earliest manuscripts in the complex, copied between 1495 and 1508. Closer scrutiny has left the identification in doubt, however, and that scribe is now generally referred to as 'scribe B'. See J. KIEL, *An Introduction to the Scribes and Their Methods*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 39; and KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism*, p.11.

[17] See Jacobijn Kiel's essay in this volume.

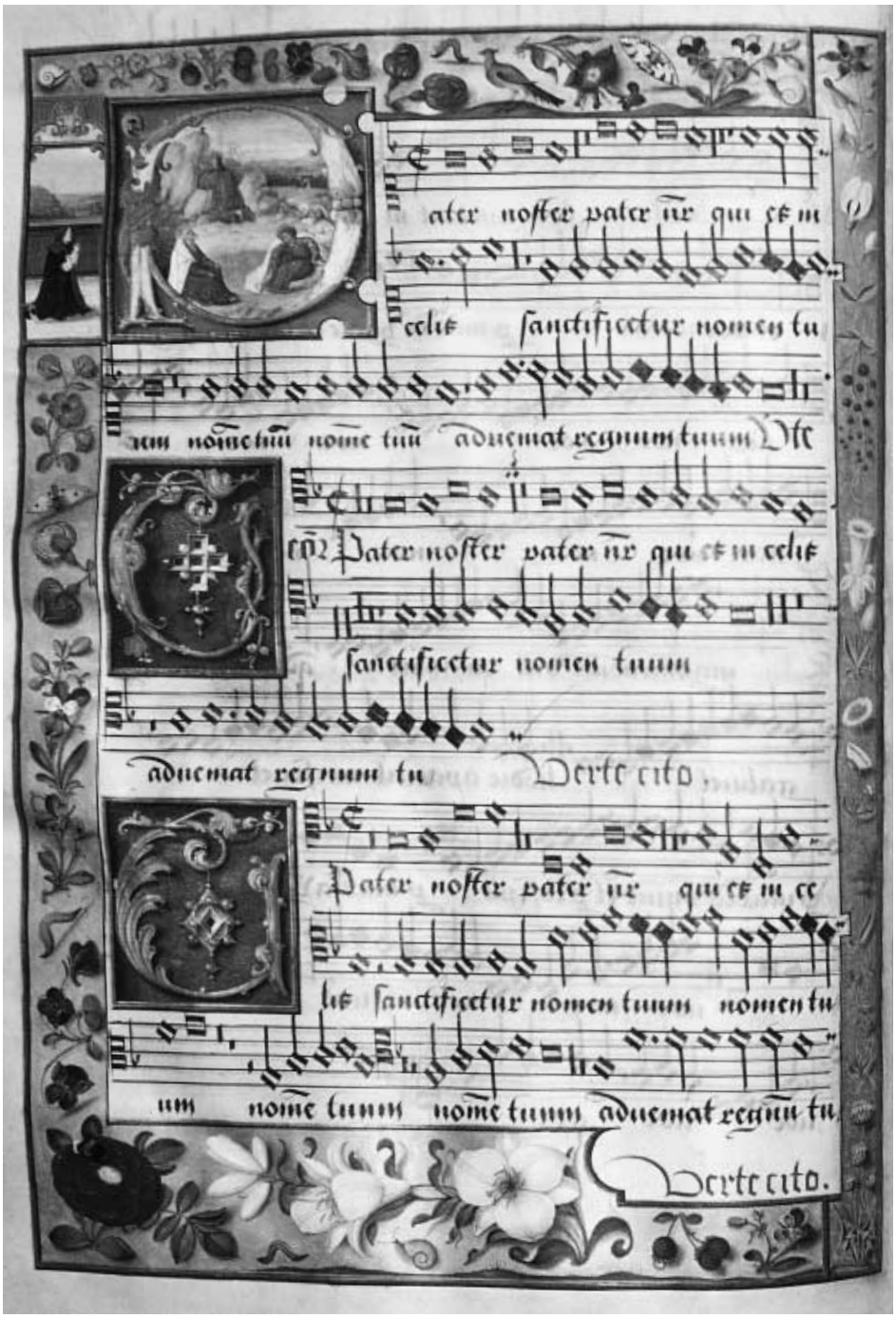
[18] R. SNOW, *Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered*, in *The Journal of Musicology*, 2 (1983), pp. 246–277.

[19] Snow, too, called for such an examination; SNOW, *Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23*, p. 274, footnote 14.

[20] BrusBR 215–16, BrusBR 228, BrusBR IV.922 (cat. nos. 1, 2, 6); JenaU 2, JenaU 4, JenaU 7, JenaU 8, JenaU 9 (cat. nos. 11, 13, 15, 16, 17); OxfBLL a.8 (cat. no. 31); MechAS s.s. (cat. no. 23); MontsM 773 (cat. no. 25); MunBS 7 (cat. no. 27); VatS 34, VatS 36, VatS 160 (cat. nos. 35, 36, 37); VienNB Mus. 15496, VienNB Mus. 15497 (cat. nos. 46, 47); and four fragments: AntP B948IV and AntP M18.13/1 (cat. nos. 52.1 and 52.2); BrugRA Aanw. 756 (cat. no. 52.5); TongerenSA 183 (cat. no. 52.9). Jacobijn Kiel has tentatively identified his text hand in another fragment, UtreC 47/1 and 2 (cat. no. 52.10).

[21] Only VienNB Mus. 15495 (cat. no. 45) is unquestionably from that period. In 1511 Alamire was commissioned to produce two books, and it is possible that BrusBR 6428 and BrusBR 15075 (cat. nos. 3 and 5) are these. LonBLR 8 G.vii (cat. no. 22) might have been made around 1513, as Honey Meconi has suggested, though I am inclined to believe it was produced some years later.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 16



hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 17

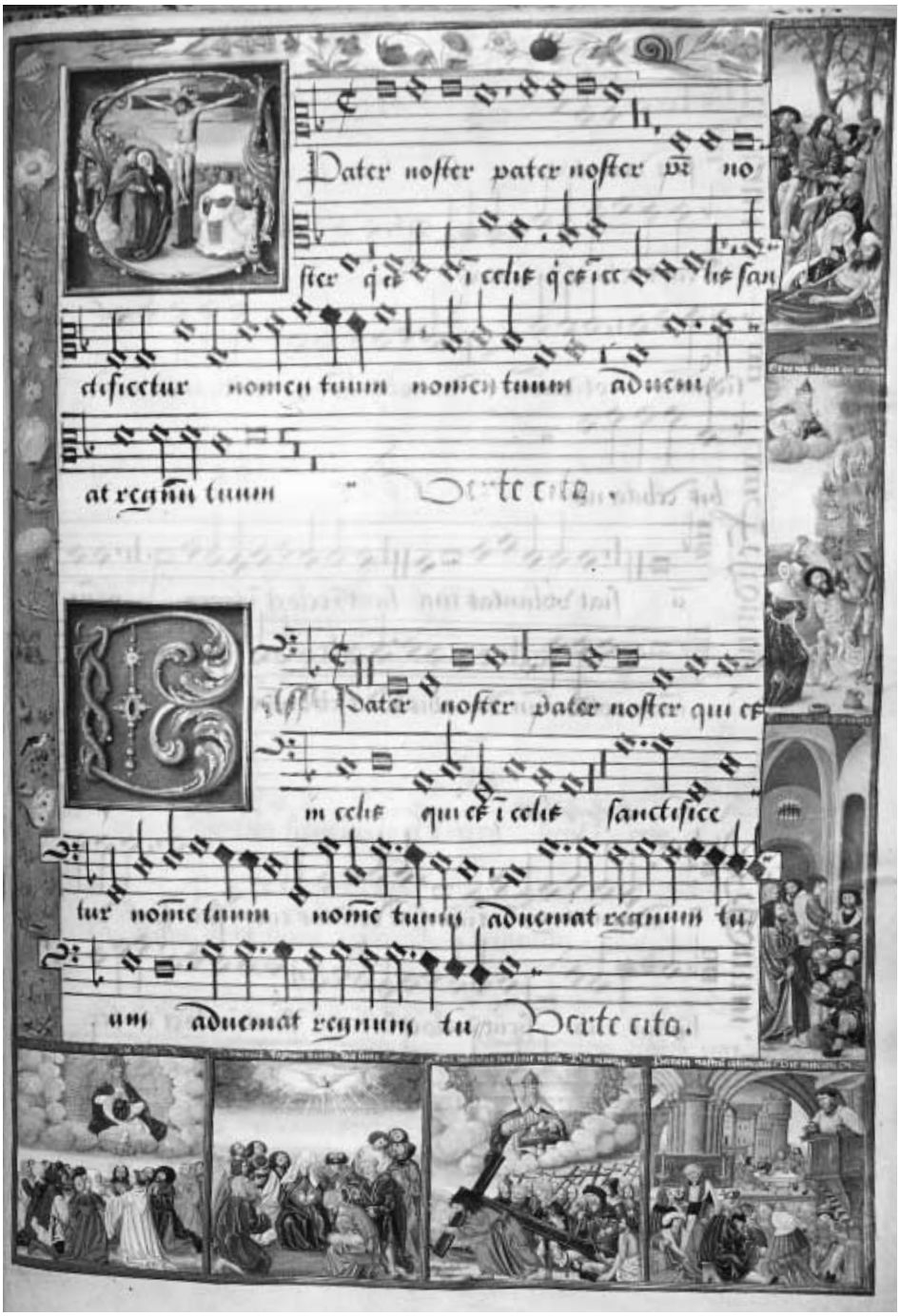


Figure 1. ToleF 23, fol. 99v–100.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 18

of twenty-one or twenty-two scribe X manuscripts was apparently completed in three years, together with three or four other books not containing that hand.[22] After that, production appears to have become sparse again. Probably only two of the extant books were completed between 1518 and 1520.[23] The remaining twenty-two manuscripts date from the next sixteen years, preceding Alamire's death in 1536.[24] While the workshop probably did not produce manuscripts at a steady rate, the disparity between an average of seven books per year in 1515–1518, and little more than one book per year in the other periods of its activity, is too great to be attributed entirely to the loss of manuscripts of the latter periods, and deserves to be examined further. The first step, as suggested earlier, would be a demonstration of the process of change in the music and text hands of scribe X that led to this putative dating of his books. It should also be remembered that it was just in these years that Alamire worked as an agent for Henry VIII and is recorded as traveling widely in Europe. Furthermore, as Warmington has also noted,[25] these same years saw the coming of age of Archduke Charles, his departure for Spain, and the death of La Rue. Whether these events are clues to an explanation for the changes in the pace of production remains to be seen.

[5] Another aspect of dating, an opening that could, perhaps, give us new insights concerning transmission, are the indications in the manuscripts – a cross, or the words *pie memorie* – that a composer is deceased. Such indications are attached to the names of six composers: Antoine Févin, so indicated nine times, Josquin and Pipelare, three times each, and Robert Févin, Compère, and Divitis, once each. Probably on the assumption that it was the workshop's custom to mark an esteemed composer's death in this manner, a custom the scribes could be expected to follow in La Rue's case as well, it has sometimes been asked why such an indication is entirely absent from the manuscripts copied after La Rue's death in 1518. Some authors, begging the question, have actually concluded that because of this absence a manuscript was copied before 1518.[26] However, the six composers whose deaths are noted in this fashion were never active at the Burgundian-Habsburg court, or another Habsburg court, and only Pipelare worked in the Low Countries. In contrast, the death of Agricola in 1506, of Isaac in 1517, and of Weerbeke in 1517, like La Rue's, were all left unmarked in manuscripts copied after their deaths.[27] The explanation for this, I would venture, is that it was probably *not* this workshop's custom to indicate the deaths of composers in the Burgundian-Habsburg court orbit. Antoine and Robert Févin, Compère, and Divitis all worked in the French court orbit; as I have often pointed out, Josquin's music entered the Alamire repertoire almost always alongside that of the French court; Pipelare was active in Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch, but no present information links him to the Burgundian-Habsburg court. These six composers, then, had never worked in Brussels or Mechelen and had died at some distance from that center, and the

[22] JenaU 5 (cat. no. 14), JenaU 20 (cat. no. 19), MunBS 6 (cat. no. 26), and perhaps MunBS F (cat. no. 29).

[23] JenaU 3 and JenaU 12 (cat. nos. 12 and 18).

[24] 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B, 's HerAB 72C (cat. nos. 8, 9, 10); JenaU 21 (cat. no. 20); MontsM 766 (cat. no. 24); MunBS 34 (cat. no. 28); SubA 248 (cat. no. 32); VatP 1976–79 (cat. no. 34); VienNB 4809, VienNB 4810, VienNB 9814, VienNB 11778, VienNB 11883 (cat. nos. 40–44); VienNB Mus. 15941, VienNB Mus. 18746, VienNB Mus. 18825, VienNB Mus. 18832 (cat. nos. 48–51); and fragments AntP M18.13/2 and AntP R43.13 (cat. nos. 52.3 and 52.4), BrusSG 9423 and BrusSG 9424 (cat. nos. 52.6 and 52.7), GhentR D3360b (cat. no. 52.8).

[25] WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, p. 43.

[26] See, for example, J. ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts im Zeichen der Verehrung unserer Lieben Frau der Sieben Schmerzen*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 44 (1960), p. 43; and WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, p. 46, endnote 38.

[27] FlorC 2439 (cat. no. 7); BrusBR IV.922 (cat. no. 6); JenaU 21 (cat. no. 20), respectively. FlorC 2439 was probably but not certainly copied after Agricola's death.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 19

process of transmission of their pieces to the court may well have played a role in the presence of the indications of their deaths. How this may have worked is suggested by the nine copies of works of Antoine Févin, or rather ten, since the attribution of his *Requiem* to Divitis *pie memorie* in the Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922), is most likely a scribal misreading.[28] Because of concordances, those ten copies reduce to six works. I would suggest that when these left the French court, in whatever form, and perhaps in one batch, they bore indications, entered by the French scribes or the transmitting agent, that they were the works of a composer who was no longer alive. Those indications were then faithfully repeated every time the work was copied. The process would have been the same for the others, including Pipelare. I offer this hypothesis for further tests.

Still under the rubric of production, and proceeding still from the recent recognition of the large number of scribes associated with the court workshop, I would like very briefly to mention three more apparent openings.

[6] Texting in the court manuscripts was examined some years ago by Howard Brown, who traced the underlay in sections of two La Rue masses through multiple concordances within the scribe A group.[29] Brown assumed, however, that he was dealing only with the habits of Petrus Alamire. Though he did not find – and did not expect to find – a great deal of variation, that should not deter us from a more systematic and discriminating comparative test of text underlay in all the scribes that can now be distinctly identified, asking at the same time whether and how chronology might be related to changing practices.[30]

[7] Similarly, the use of accidentals by the various scribes could now be probed. The identification of scribal habits or idiosyncrasies might well help us to recognize practical norms that take us beyond theory, and might even provide some evidence for differences in modal usage.[31]

[8] Finally, we have seen in the work of Fabrice Fitch[32] the utility of careful study of the gathering structure of a manuscript as a tool toward better understanding of the manuscript's assembly and content. The clarification of anomalies in some manuscripts by particular aspects of the gathering structures can also be seen in a number of the catalogue entries in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire.* The structure of almost every manuscript is now given in that catalogue, and this information could lead to useful new insights.

[28] F. WARMINGTON, *Occo Codex*, in *Notes*, 2 (1981), pp. 406–409.

[29] H.M. BROWN, *In Alamire's Workshop: Notes on Scribal Practice in the Early Sixteenth Century*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 2; *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 26), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 15–63.

[30] Thomas Schmidt-Beste addresses some of these issues in his essay in this volume.

[31] See Peter Urquhart's essay on this subject in this volume.

[32] See his discussion of the Chigi Codex (VatC 234) in F. FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, (*Collection Ricercar*, 2), Paris, 1997, pp. 11–40.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 20

REPERTORY

[9] In this category, I would like first to return to the matter of the presence in the Alamire manuscripts of a large component of music by French court composers, with whom works by Josquin are often coupled. I first drew attention to this matter years ago,[33] and now Josquin's biography, with evidence for his association with the French court in the 1470s, helps to make even more sense of that link.[34] But this is also an opening, one that invites us to explain why the court scribes, or the chapel, would in the years after 1512 import sizeable quantities of music by Févin, Mouton, Compère, Brumel, Prioris, Gascongne, Divitis, Moulu, and Richafort, as well as Josquin. Did they wish to fill their anthologies with the music of highly ranked composers? And was La Rue the only domestic composer to have such a rank? Did they then think not only of Josquin but also of these French court composers as the most worthy writers of polyphony besides La Rue? And if so, were these composers so worthy purely because of their skills, or also because they worked for the king and queen of France? Or, viewing the issue from a different angle, we could ask whether these French works were imported simply because they were easier than others to obtain: through Alamire's travels, through personal links among musicians, through the occasional meetings of the two chapels. And, finally, we must more thoroughly examine the role of Petrucci's publications, particularly the motet anthologies, in the formation of the post-1512 repertory. I believe these are important questions for our understanding of how aesthetic, or political, or practical factors helped to shape the contents of the Alamire manuscripts.

[10] Another opening, also related to the French works in the court manuscripts is best approached by way of a state motet of Mathieu Gascongne. The work is a setting of the acclamations, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, the so-called *laudes regiae* that were part of the coronation service for the Holy Roman Emperors beginning around the time of Charlemagne. First set in chant, the text was eventually set in polyphony, and by the Renaissance was retained mainly in the coronations of the kings of France.[35] *Christus vincit* was composed by Gascongne for the coronation of Francis I in 1516.[36] However, in the Vatican manuscript Palatini Latini 1976–79,[37] by omission of the name Franciscus, it has been adapted to celebrate the 1528/1529 coronations of Charles V's brother, Ferdinand, as king of Hungary and of Bohemia. As pointed out long ago,[38] it is accompanied in this source by several other French state motets, written originally for Louis XII and Anne of Brittany: Agricola's *Transit Anna timor*, offering the queen's thanks for the king's recovery from illness, Antoine Févin's *Adiutorium nostrum*, a prayer to Saint René of Angers for the birth of a son to the royal couple, Mouton's *Non nobis Domine*, celebrating the birth of their daughter Renée, and others. In the Vatican manuscript, however, Louis's name, *Ludovicus*, has been changed to *Ferdinandus*, while Anne's name, *Anna*, has been retained, so that these motets would now apply to similar situations in the lives of Ferdinand and his queen, whose name was also Anne. But these

[33] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 200–201.

[34] See J. NOBLE and P. MACEY, art. *Josquin des Prez*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001.

[35] See E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, (*University of California Publications in History*, 33), Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1946, pp. 65–111.

[36] The work was performed at this point by *Choragós*, a six-voice ensemble from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, under the direction of Fred Stoltzfus. The group takes its repertory mainly from the Alamire manuscripts. During the conference it also offered a selection of works from these sources in a public concert at Saint Quentin's church in Leuven.

[37] VatP 1976–79 (cat. no. 34).

[38] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 200–201.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 21

are not the only instances of the adaptation of French state motets to the needs of the Habsburgs: *Adiutorium nostrum* was also adapted for Margaret of Austria, and, in a Burgundian-Habsburg court manuscript,[39] for Henry VIII of England and his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Costanzo Festa's *Quis dabit oculis nostris*, mourning the death of Anne of Brittany, was adapted for the funeral of Emperor Maximilian, and another motet by Festa, *Ecce advenit dominator*, most likely written for the coronation of Pope Clement VII, has recently surfaced in a version marking the coronation of Emperor Charles V.[40] The transformation of the title of Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae* into both *Missa Philippus rex Castiliae* and *Missa Fridericus dux Saxsoniae*,[41] though not precisely of the type exemplified by the altered motets, nevertheless creates two more examples in the broad category of borrowed state music. While we do have some works written specifically for Burgundian-Habsburg rulers,[42] the large (and still growing) number of second-hand state compositions used by these is striking, and still awaits a satisfactory explanation.

[11] David Fallow's catalogue entries in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire* for the two Bodleian Library manuscripts offer examples of another opening that could now be fruitfully pursued.[43] The readings of certain pieces are evaluated by a comparison of all their appearances within the complex, as well as in other sources. In short, the results of recension are used to assess the character of the reading of a particular work, and ultimately the character of the whole source. Of course, this methodology has been in use for a long time in investigations of single pieces, and is the norm in the best critical editions; its application to works in the court manuscripts can be seen in the currently appearing critical editions of Pierre de la Rue and Josquin.[44] But the evaluation of entire manuscripts might throw into relief internal characteristics of their repertories that have so far been obscured.

[12] Other possibilities are suggested by the carefully compiled, enormously useful index of composers and works, offered by Eric Jas in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*.[45] That the repertory of the complex as a whole provides many openings in regard to insufficiently studied composers, and various homogeneous groups of works, is obvious from even a quick perusal of the index. But particularly rich for further study is the body of anonymous works. Out of some six hundred compositions in the complex, 142 – almost twenty-five percent – are anonymous, that is, compositions for which no attribution has so far been found in any source. A few of these works will eventually be identified, of course, and composers of others have been proposed, but the majority will probably remain as anonymous to us as they probably were to the scribes. Nevertheless, these works merit careful examination and objective assessment of their style and quality, in comparison with the style and quality of works by known composers. We tend to disregard anonymous works and

[39] LonBLR 8 G.vii (cat. no. 22).

[40] The adaptation of *Adiutorium nostrum* for Margaret is in OxfBLL a.8 (cat. no. 31), that for Henry and Catherine in LonBLR 8 G.vii (cat. no. 22). For the adaptation of Festa's *Quis dabit oculis*, see A. MAIN, *Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet*, in *Musical Quarterly*, 40 (1962), pp. 173–189.

[41] *Missa Philippus rex Castilie* is in BrusBR 9126 (cat. no. 4); *Missa Fridericus dux Saxsoniae* is in JenaU 3 (cat. no. 12).

[42] See E. JAS, *The Repertory of the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 31.

[43] D. FALLOWS, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 831, fols. 260–61 (OxfBA 831)*; and *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Latin liturgies a.8, fols. 2–3v (OxfBLL a.8)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 122–123 (cat. nos. 30 and 31).

[44] N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1989– ; W. ELDERS et al. eds., *New Josquin Edition*, Utrecht, 1989–.

[45] E. JAS, *Index of Composers and Compositions*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 168–174.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 22

perhaps even undervalue them, but I believe it behooves us to give more attention to these pieces, since they were integral to the court's music even while devoid of the identities of their creators. At the very least, we might discover some attractive works. As an example of one such discovery, I can mention the anonymous setting of Dido's lament, *Dulces exuviae*, found in London, British Library, Royal MS 8 G.vii (LonBLR 8 G.vii), which turns out to be a skillful and expressive work – a worthy rival of Mouton's, if perhaps not Josquin's setting.[46]

DECORATION

Dagmar Thoss has now identified specific artists and workshops participating in the illumination of the Burgundian-Habsburg choirbooks.[47] In her discussion she demonstrates, with instructive illustrations, how the book-painters of the Ghent-Bruges school decorated the choirbooks, copying into them subjects in particular configurations and styles otherwise found in much smaller devotional books, such as books of hours – configurations and styles that were themselves sometimes derived from panel paintings. She would agree, I believe, that our present knowledge of the school – made up of workshops in various towns in the Low Countries – presents a number of openings of potential significance, for her field as well as ours.

[13] It would be particularly desirable, for instance, to identify more of the precise models for the miniatures in the choirbooks than the few that have been identified so far. Where models are found in books whose recipients are known, it could also be profitable to examine the links of those recipients to the Burgundian-Habsburg court, and to recipients of the choirbooks.

[14] Another urgent task is to classify into narrower categories the many types of initials that appear in the choirbooks, from inked calligraphic initials to the various painted types, including certain motifs that are used repeatedly, such as the humorous locked mouth. The widespread appearance of many of these types in other manuscripts of the period, and the origins of those types, need also to be traced.[48]

[15] If it is not improper to propose a subject for study to scholars in another discipline, we might ask art historians again to address the organization and procedures of the Ghent-Bruges workshops of illumination. Those workshops flourished for half a century, and surely left more traces of their structure and trade than have been uncovered so far. But it is my impression that since the publications of William Henry James Weale in the 1860s and 70s,[49] few intensive archival searches for new information have been undertaken. Such information would not only expand the framework for analysis of the scores of manuscripts painted by that school, including the music manuscripts under discussion here, it could well provide a model to help us understand the Alamire scriptorium.[50]

[46] At this point the work was performed by *Choragós*, from an edition prepared by Richard Sherr; see footnote 36.

[47] D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Alamire Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 53–62.

[48] Dagmar Thoss deals with this matter in her essay in this volume.

[49] W.H.J. WEALE, *Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges*, in *Le Beffroi*, 2 (1864/1865), pp. 298–319; and 4 (1872), pp. 111–119 and 238–337. For a very good overview of the state of research concerning this aspect of book painting, see J.J.G. ALEXANDER, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven – London, 1992, especially chapter 1.

[50] It is true that illuminators (and text scribes) were usually members of a guild, and as far as we know music scribes were not; but in many respects their methods of work seem similar.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:02 Pagina 23

[16] One aspect of the choirbooks' illumination into which music and art historians might inquire jointly is the imagery's theological, social, and literary background. In this area, music historians have tended to work alone. Long ago, I explicated the biblical text underlying the Visitation miniature in Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 3 (JenaU 3), and its connection to the mass which the miniature accompanies, Josquin's *Missa Faisant regretz*.[51] More recently, Bonnie Blackburn has focused on images associated with the Immaculate Conception, their use in the court manuscripts, and their musical counterparts; her inquiry has traced the theological changes underlying the growth of the cult from its origins to its local practice in the sixteenth century.[52] Barbara Haggh has focused on the social significance of another cult reflected in works in the court manuscripts, that of the Seven Sorrows of Mary.[53] My own work has shown that behind some of the illuminations in the Chigi Codex (VatC 234) lie literary sources. The source for the facing miniatures of young couples making music, for example (see Figures 2 and 3), appears to be the *Roman de la Rose*. This is not surprising, since the verses in the *Roman* describing the Lover's entry into the Orchard and Rose Garden, escorted by Idleness,[54] refer again and again to *bouton* (rosebud), which is of course the name of the manuscript's recipient, Philippe Bouton. The Chigi miniaturist, whose musicians closely resemble those in a late fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Roman* (see Figure 4),[55] shows us in a tiny detail at the extreme right of the recto side (Figure 3), the figures of Idleness and the Lover approaching the Garden. Reiterating the likelihood that illustrations of the allegory were indeed the source here, we are given a rose (a *bouton*) right next to the little scene. Other miniatures have their sources in social practices, for instance in the games of children (see Figure 5), or the burning of witches (see Figure 6). In the latter, however, there is also a more personal reference to Philippe Bouton: his father, a Burgundian high magistrate, had, indeed, condemned a woman to death for witchcraft.[56]

The source of the miniatures on the folios displayed in the exhibition (see Figures 7 and 8), is more elusive. On the verso side (Figure 7), a woman, her maid, and a man who might be the woman's husband, hold objects related to spinning and weaving, though in her right hand the woman has what appears to be a club. The two women seem to be attacking the man, who on the recto side (Figure 8) is forced to look in through a window, while the woman enjoys a meal with a youth, perhaps her lover. A passage in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, found recently by my student, Stacey Jocoy, may well provide a clue. In the *Prologue to the Monk's Tale* the host tells the assembled pilgrims that he wishes his wife Godelief could have heard the preceding tale, the story of Melibeus and his charitable wife Prudence. Godelief, in contrast, wants him to be pugnacious on her behalf, and when she is angry with him for not being so, she threatens to make him use her spinning tools, and herself to use his cudgel to beat him. It is quite possible that an illustration of some version of this tale, if not Chaucer's own, was the model for the Chigi illuminator. The unraveling of the sources of the miniatures in the choirbooks needs to continue.

[51] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, p. 198.

[52] That work is expanded in her essay in this volume.

[53] See her essay in this volume. The portrayal in a Jena manuscript of this subject in a special configuration – the sorrowing Virgin surrounded by the seven scenes of her sorrow – has been discussed by Dagmar Thoss in D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 57–58.

[54] Lines 1637–1667.

[55] By Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, as illuminated in a late fifteenth-century copy, London, British Library, Harley MS 4425, by the so-called Master of the Prayer Books of circa 1500. See T. KREN ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, New York, 1983, pp. 49–58.

[56] D. DES SALLES, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1729, p. 281 – citing *Compte d'Arnoulet Machecot, Receveur du Bailliage de Dijon pour l'année 1470*, fol. 130.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:03 Pagina 24

Figure 2. VatC 234, fol. 3v.

Figure 4. The Garden of Love, London, British Library, Harley MS 4425, fol. 12v.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:03 Pagina 25

Figure 3. VatC 234, fol. 4r.

Figure 5. VatC 234, fol. 199v.

Figure 6. VatC 234, fol. 174r.

Figure 7. VatC 234, fol. 60v.

Figure 8. VatC 234, fol. 61r.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:04 Pagina 26

Two final aspects of imagery in the choirbooks, both easily described but potentially far-reaching, deserve brief consideration as possible openings.

[17] The first concerns the initials *HH*, or *HHH*, that are found as pistils, usually of carnations, in border decoration in nine manuscripts (see Figure 9).[57] It is an intriguing possibility that these initials may stand for *Hieronymus (Gerard) Horenbout*, a matter of consequence because Horenbout had a workshop in Ghent from around 1498 to 1522, received orders for illuminated books from Margaret of Austria, and was appointed her court painter (resident in Ghent) in 1515.[58] A positive identification would confirm the Horenbout attributions already suggested by Dagmar Thoss,[59] and provide a firmer basis for recognition of his style in other manuscripts, with or without music.

Figure 9. MechAS s.s., fol. 17r.

[57] BrusBR 6428 (cat. no. 3); JenaU 3 and JenaU 4 (cat. nos. 12 and 13); LonBLR 8 G.vii (cat. no. 22); MechAS s.s. (cat. no. 23); OxfBA 831 (cat. no. 30); VatS 160 (cat. no. 37); VienNB Mus. 15495 and VienNB Mus. 15497 (cat. nos. 45 and 47).

[58] B. BRINKMANN, art. *Horenbout: (1) Gerard Horenbout*, in J. TURNER ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 14, New York, 1996, p. 759.

[59] D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, pp. 53–62, especially p. 54.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:04 Pagina 27

[18] The other concerns the models for the layout of the choirbooks. Whereas we have so far looked at small books of hours as models for the decoration of the large choirbooks, we should now perhaps examine the large service books, with or without chant, illuminated by the Ghent-Bruges workshops – graduals, antiphoners, missals, and the like – as the possible prototypes (see Figures 10 and 11). These are far closer in appearance to the choirbooks than other types of illuminated books, and must have provided the workshops with the needed techniques and formats for decorating the books of music sent to them by the court. So far not even a survey of such manuscripts exists, and to make one might be a profitable first step.

Figure 10. Antiphoner, Bruges, ca. 1510; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS Melleau 57, fol. 48r.

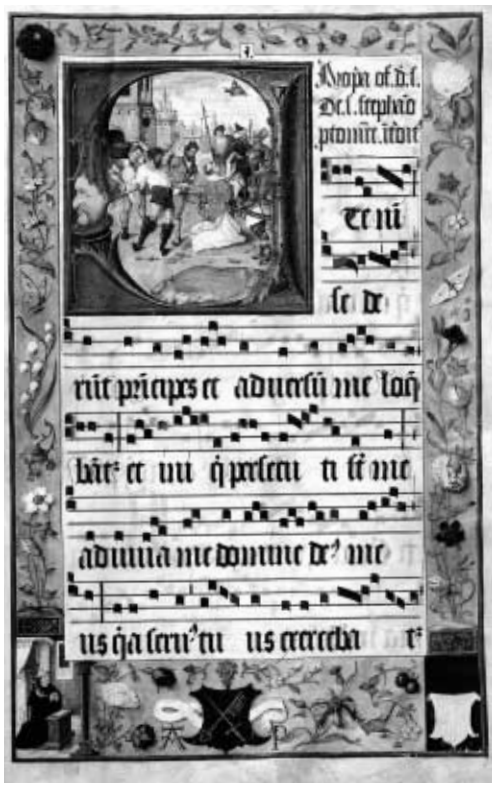


Figure 11. Gradual, South Netherlands, ca. 1530; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 5641, fol. 1r.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:04 Pagina 28

DISTRIBUTION

In this last category, which concerns the radiation of the Burgundian-Habsburg manuscripts from the cities of Brussels and Mechelen to recipients throughout Europe, there are a great many openings for further research, but, in bringing these remarks to a close, I will confine myself to only two, albeit of large scope.

[19] The first concerns the courtly and social conventions underlying the creation and transmission of choirbooks, beyond the mere wish to gather and present music to be sung – that almost all the Alamire manuscripts were *meant* to be used is surely not in doubt, since there is evidence of corrections and proofreading in many of them, and since a chapel existed at virtually all the destinations that have been identified. However, the question of the larger purposes of the books' creation and transmission, is usually answered only in general terms: we say that they may have been politically motivated gifts, New Year's gifts, commemorative volumes, or simply responses to commissions, without a strong sense of how the conventions of gift-giving, commemoration, or commissioning functioned at that moment. But greater understanding of the contextual norms explaining the books' creation and transmission may be within reach. It lies, perhaps, in a twofold approach: on the one hand, to examine in each case, far more minutely and painstakingly than in the past, and at both the supplying and receiving ends, the entire array of events and circumstances that might have given rise to the transmission of a manuscript in the assumed years; and on the other, to examine the social, commercial, and familial practices and conventions of the period far more systematically than our synoptic and fundamentally simple view of Renaissance society has allowed us to do so far. Perhaps we need to adopt the eyes of anthropologists: we might see patterns we have never noticed, and find explanations we never anticipated.

[20] The other opening, related to the previous one, rests on the assumption that the manuscripts were used, and concerns the musical establishments to which they came.

The revealing work of Jürgen Heidrich and Kathryn Duffy on the German manuscripts of Frederick the Wise of Saxony, for instance,[60] invites further scrutiny of musical practices at that court, and of how those practices might have accommodated works in the Alamire manuscripts acquired by Frederick.[61] We have barely begun to examine musical practices at the court of William IV of Bavaria, and the same is true of the Portuguese royal chapel. Surely searches of the respective archives could still shed some light on these. Progress has already begun to be made for 's-Hertogenbosch, but we have surely not exhausted what can be known of that center.[62] Though Martin Picker long ago gave us a magnificent start for understanding Margaret of Austria's role in Burgundian-Habsburg music, Margaret's court, and even more so the court of Charles V, bear further research. There are several thousand letters to and from Margaret in the Lille archives, the vast majority of which have not yet been published nor, as far as I know, scanned for musical infor-

[60] J. HEIDRICH, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen: ein Beitrag zur mitteldeutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500*, (*Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, 84), Baden-Baden, 1993; K. DUFFY, *The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittenberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995.

[61] See the essays of both in this volume.

[62] See the essay by Véronique Roelvink in this volume, as well as her publication: V. ROELVINK, *Gegeven den sangeren. Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2002.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:04 Pagina 29

mation. What I am suggesting, in short, is intensification of our research on the musical and devotional practices, and, just as importantly, on the activities in the realms of art, literature, and even theater, that were favored in the various centers with which the Burgundian-Habsburg court, or Alamire himself for that matter, had contact. If this requires a new wave of archival research one must trust that there will be brave souls to carry it out.

With these last two views of the road ahead, as it appears to one observer at least, we have come back to the larger objective of which this conference is the climax: to fix our focus on the culture of Europe in the first thirty-five years of the sixteenth century, and on that culture's significance, in its particulars and conventions, as the matrix of learning, and art, and music, including, not least, the products of Alamire's workshop; or, as Wim Blockmans has put it: "this larger backdrop of prosperity, and vital new social and intellectual currents", against which "the Low Countries witnessed the production and distribution of [these] extraordinary music manuscripts".[63]

Five hundred years later the Alamire manuscripts are alive and well. Indeed some of them appear to be as fresh now as they were when they came out of the workshop. Yet they continue to offer musical, visual and intellectual challenges, and we must seize the opportunity to confront them. At the same time, we can take great pleasure in having assembled in this city, at this time, a few kilometers from where these sources were created, and virtually next door to where, for a short time, they have come home.

[63] W. BLOCKMANS, *Prosperous Times*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 8.

hfst Kellman 12-11-2003 14:04 Pagina 30

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 31

ALAMIRE UND DIE SKRIPTORIUMS-TRADITION*

Martin Staehelin
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

[1] Die Notenschreiber-Werkstatt, die wir mit dem Namen des Pierre Alamire zu verbinden pflegen, ist, soweit bisher erkennbar, die zeitlich erste Einrichtung dieser Art, die wir aus der Musikgeschichte kennen. Niemand, der historisch denkt und arbeitet, wird diesen Befund einfach hinnehmen; er wird vielmehr gerade deshalb fragen wollen, ob das Atelier von Alamire, wenn schon nicht in einer musikgeschichtlichen, so wenigstens in einer nicht-musikalischen Tradition stehe. Ich will dem in der folgenden, nur andeutenden Skizze – und mehr als eine solche kann mein Beitrag nicht sein, einmal wegen der großen Wissenslücken, die noch bestehen, zum andern wegen des beschränkten Umfangs dieses Beitrages – nachzugehen versuchen.

[2] Wenn denn ein erster allgemeiner und wesentlicher Begriff existiert, der beim Versuch wichtig wäre, die Alamire-Werkstatt in eine ältere Tradition einzuordnen, dann ist es zweifellos derjenige des mittelalterlichen sogenannten Skriptoriums. Dieses Skriptorium, also die Schreiber-Werkstatt, ist zunächst und in alter Zeit eine klösterliche Einrichtung: seit karolingischer Zeit fehlt "in keinem gut eingerichteten Kloster die Schreibstube",[1] und dies um so weniger, als manche monastische Regel das wissenschaftliche Arbeiten ausdrücklich fordert und dieses folglich auf die entsprechenden Texthandschriften für Lektüre, Studium und Unterricht angewiesen ist. Die Grundlage des mittelalterlichen klösterlichen Skriptoriumsbetriebes ist somit und in erster Linie die Niederschrift der hierzu benötigten Texte, und zwar in der Regel für den eigenen Gebrauch des betreffenden Klosters; die besondere Gewichtung des Textes, die ja auch im Begriff des Skriptoriums durchklingt und uns im Folgenden wichtig bleiben wird, gilt grundsätzlich auch dann, wenn die geschriebene Handschrift anschließend noch jene oft wunderbaren Illuminationen bekommt, die das Interesse des heutigen Betrachters oft noch mehr anziehen als der geschriebene Text. Ich füge hier gleich an, daß ich im Blick auf die Hauptbedeutung des kopierten Textes die buchmalerischen Skriptoriumsverhältnisse im Folgenden übergehe; ich besitze auch die hierfür nötige Übersicht und Kenntnis nicht.[2]

Wenn ich recht sehe, erfolgt der für uns wichtige und weiterführende Schritt innerhalb der Skriptoriums-Tradition von ebenda ausgehend, aber erst in etwas späterer Zeit, wenn es auch schon vorher vielerorts in diese neue Form hineinführende und vermittelnde Einzelphänomene und -bestrebungen gegeben haben dürfte. Dieser Schritt ist wesentlich dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß das bisherige, auf Eigenbedarf angelegte Skriptorium nun auch für Drittbedarf tätig wird oder doch werden kann. Ein früher, verhältnismäßig gut bekannter Beleg ist derjenige der "Brüder vom gemein-

* Der vorliegende Text wurde an der Alamire-Konferenz, Leuven, 25.–28. November 1999, als Referat vorgetragen. Für seine Veröffentlichung habe ich ihm Form und Charakter des Referats weitgehend belassen und nur in den Fußnoten die nötigsten Belege ergänzt. Herrn Kollegen Fidel Rädle, Göttingen, danke ich auch hier sehr angelegentlich für die kritische Durchsicht des Textes.

[1] W. WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1896, 3. verm. Aufl., S. 430.

[2] Herbert Kellman wies in der diesem Referat folgenden Diskussion dankenswerterweise auf die 'Skriptoriums'-Produktion jener buchmalenden 'Gent-Brügge-Schule' hin, der offenbar manche Alamire-Musikmanuskripte und zweifellos noch mehr reine Texthandschriften ihre Illuminationen verdanken. Soweit Kellman ergänzte und ich selbst noch habe herausfinden und auch von kunsthistorischer Seite habe mitgeteilt bekommen können, ist über diese 'Schule' bzw. ihre Maler-Werkstatt (-Werkstätten?) noch kaum gearbeitet.

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 32

samen Leben":[3] im Skriptorium dieser Bruderschaft in Deventer werden im späteren vierzehnten Jahrhundert Handschriften auch gewerbsmäßig angefertigt, Stücke, die an externe Käufer gehen und der Bruderschaft damit auch gewisse Einnahmen bescheren; daß dieser Betrieb freilich nicht eine oder gar die direkte Vorform für das spätere Atelier von Alamire gewesen sein kann, ergibt sich schon aus der Tatsache, daß diese Manuskripte aus Deventer betont karge und anspruchslose Handschriften sein sollten. Aber er dokumentiert das Aufkommen von auch oder überhaupt kaufmännisch, also auf die Gesetze von Angebot und Nachfrage ausgerichteten Schreiber-Werkstätten, die nun, und ganz konsequent, auch personell vergrößert werden und sich stärker ebenfalls ins außerkirchliche Leben hinein entfalten;[4] sie treten mithin neben die manchen Kleriker, neben die als Lohnschreiber oder zu privatem Nutzen schreibenden Weltgeistlichen, Schulmeister, Studenten und Schüler, die damals – außerhalb der in den konventionellen Klosterskriptorien wirkenden monastischen Schreiber – ebenfalls als Textkopisten wirken. Diese ganze Entwicklung hängt natürlich mit der nun auch nördlich der Alpen aufblühenden Stadtkultur und der sich hier gleichzeitig ausbildenden Schriftlichkeit zusammen.

[3] Bevor ich die aufgenommene Spur dieser neuen Skriptoriumsform ins fünfzehnte Jahrhundert hinein verfolge, richte ich den Blick in einem kurzen Exkurs auf die Schreiberverhältnisse bei musikalischen Handschriften bis vor Alamire. Wer sind denn bisher eigentlich die Kopisten von – und das muß uns ja besonders interessieren – Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik? Hat es benennbare Gründe, daß uns Einsichten in und zu entsprechenden Skriptorien bislang fehlen? Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit sind umfangreiche Manuskripte dieser Art meist von schreibgeeigneten Sängern aus kirchlichen und höfischen Kapellen hergestellt worden; die Nachrichten aus Dufays Cambrai,[5] über Sänger-Kopisten wie dann im sechzehnten Jahrhundert einen Johannes Parvus in der päpstlichen Cappella Sistina[6] oder einen Lukas Wagenrieder in der habsburgischen, später der bayerischen Hofkapelle des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts[7] legen das nahe – ich nenne diese nur deshalb, weil sie uns in beiden Funktionen und auch namentlich bekannt sind. Sie schreiben wohl, nach altem Brauch, in der Regel für die eigene Institution, vielleicht gelegentlich auch für Dritte. Ausgesprochene Privathandschriften wie etwa das verbrannte Manuskript StrasBM 222,[8] wie wohl einige Orgeltabulaturen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts[9] oder weitgehend auch die Trienter Codices[10] sind wahr-

[3] Dazu und im Folgenden: WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen*, besonders S. 453–455, und B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1986, 2. überarb. Aufl., S. 65 f.

[4] Zum Folgenden WATTENBACH, *Das Schriftwesen*, bes. Kap. V, passim. Das Pecia-System der Pariser und in verwandter Gestalt auch der einen oder andern sonstigen mittelalterlichen Universität bezeugt diese Tendenz zur kommerziell hergestellten Abschrift natürlich ebenfalls, ist aber, weil in ihrer Textgestalt approbierte Vorlagenmanuskripte durch einen privaten Schreiber jeweils in einer einzigen Abschrift für einen Dritten kopiert wurden, kein klarer Beleg für ein förmliches Skriptorium.

[5] C. WRIGHT, *Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), S. 175–229, bes. S. 197–199, 202 f., 225 f.

[6] M.P. BRAUNER, *The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535–80*, Phil. Diss., Brandeis University, 1982, passim.

[7] M. BENTE, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters*, Wiesbaden, 1968, S. 291–348 und passim.

[8] M. STAEHELIN, *Bemerkungen zum verbrannten Manuskript Straßburg M. 222 C. 22*, in *Die Musikforschung*, 42 (1989), S. 2–20, besonders S. 18 f.

[9] Ihr privater Charakter ergibt sich nicht nur aus dem meist wenig repräsentativen äußeren Erscheinungsbild, sondern auch aus dem häufigen Einschluß eines "fundamentum organisandi"; dazu W. APEL ed., *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, in *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music*, 1, s.l., 1963, passim.

[10] M. STAEHELIN, *Trienter Codices und Humanismus*, in N. PIRROTTA und D. CURTI edd., *I Codici musicali Trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta*, Trento, 1986, S. 158–169.

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 33

scheinlich bewußt für eine spätere eigene Nutzung durch den Kopisten, in diesen Fällen wohl häufig einen Kleriker, intendiert gewesen; ich rufe den anonym gebliebenen Schreiber der Straßburger Handschrift[11] und die Namen von Johannes Lupi oder Johannes Wiser[12] in Erinnerung – sie sind wohl alle Geistliche gewesen. Allerdings mag man hier von einer an ein förmliches Skriptorium gebundenen Herstellung der Manuskripte nicht reden: sie sind weitgehend Leistungen allein einzelner Schreiber gewesen. Spuren von merkantil-kaufmännischer Produktion von Musikhandschriften können wir im Gebiet des Reichs schon gar nicht erkennen, schon deshalb nicht, weil die Pflege und Komposition mehrstimmiger Musik im deutschsprachigen Gebiet des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts überhaupt erst ihre beginnende Entfaltung erlebt und die Zahl der damals geschriebenen Musikhandschriften somit geringer gewesen sein muß als in Frankreich oder Italien; es gilt um so weniger, als man auch für dieses Gebiet massive Quellenverluste veranschlagen muß. Aber auch außerhalb des Reichsgebietes sind ausgesprochene Berufsskriptorien für Musikmanuskripte nicht erkennbar: selbst den Komplex der französischen Machaut-Handschriften, den wir doch, wenn überhaupt einen solchen, aufgrund des vergleichbaren Inhaltes und desselben Autors zunächst für skriptoriums-verdächtig halten könnten, wird man nicht auf eine solche Werkstätte zurückführen können, nicht wegen der unterschiedlichen Schreiberhände, sondern vielmehr der zum Teil entschieden differierenden Fassungen und einzelnen Lesarten der Stücke wegen.[13]

Das führt uns nun direkt zur Frage, unter welchen Herstellungs- und Gestaltbedingungen dieses modernere Skriptorium grundsätzlich arbeitet und als solches für uns auch erkennbar wird. Da es, sukzessive oder gleichzeitig, mehrere Kopisten beschäftigt, muß man von vornherein auch mit verschiedenen Schreiberhänden rechnen, sogar innerhalb des gleichen Manuskriptes, wobei diese Schreiberhände, wegen der lagenweisen Kopierbeauftragung eines Schreibers innerhalb des Skriptoriums, nun auch lagenweise differieren können. Gemeinsamkeiten des Schriftduktus darf man also nicht in einer einzigen Einheitshand erwarten, sondern höchstens in individuellen, freilich derselben 'Schreibschule' zugehörigen Schriftformen. Auf ein Skriptorium weist ebenfalls die wiederholte Kopie eines gleichen Kernbestandes von Werken hin, wohl auch, da Abschrift nach einer Art 'Mutter'-Vorlage wahrscheinlich ist, eine erkennbare, vielleicht mitunter gar weitgehende Übereinstimmung der Parallelkopien in Einzelheiten wie Überschriften, Verfasserzuweisungen, Seiten-Layout, Zeilenfall und dergleichen.

[4] Diese Vorbedingungen für eine grundsätzliche Erkennbarkeit eines solchen Skriptoriums mögen meinen kleinen Exkurs beschließen, und ich kehre wieder zu den nicht-musikalischen Skriptorien zurück, die ich mit den "Brüdern vom gemeinsamen Leben" verlassen habe. Es ist von ihnen her zeitlich kein großer Schritt in die Jahre von etwa 1420–1470, während deren ein in der Jahrhundertmitte auch archivalisch bezeugter Schreibmeister Diebold Lauber im elsässischen Hagenau ein Text-Skriptorium von erheblicher Produktionskraft leitet; seine Institution und seine Produktion sollen in der Folge beispielhaft beleuchtet werden, damit mögliche Übereinstimmungen mit den Verhältnissen bei Alamire deutlich werden können.[14] Ursprünglich vielleicht noch mit einer

[11] STAEHELIN, *Bemerkungen*, S. 6 f. und 19.

[12] Zuletzt R. STROHM, *Zur Enstehung der Trienter Codices: Philologie und Kulturgeschichte*, in M. STAEHELIN ed., *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1998, S. 11–20 (mit weiterführender Literatur).

[13] Dazu auch B.J. HARDEN, *Sharps, Flats, and Scribes: 'musica ficta' in the Machaut Manuscripts*, Phil. Diss., Cornell University, 1983, bes. Kap. 3 (*The Machaut Manuscripts as a Group*), passim.

[14] Über Lauber grundlegend R. KAUTZSCH, *Diebolt Lauber und seine Werkstatt in Hagenau*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 12 (1895), S. 1–32, 57–113; R. KAUTZSCH, *Diebolt Lauber und seine Werkstatt. Eine Nachlese*, in *Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik*, 63 (1926), S. 42–45.

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 34

namentlich nicht benennbaren "Elsässischen Werkstatt von 1418" verbunden oder gar aus ihr hervorgegangen,[15] beschäftigt Lauber nach neuesten Forschungen[16] insgesamt neunzehn Schreiber; seine Produktion, weitgehend mit illustrierenden Bildern ausgestattet und damit zweifellos von Anfang an auf ein höheres und repräsentativeres Niveau gehoben als mit bloßen Textmanuskripten, ist ausgesprochen breit: Sie umfaßt (wenn man die sicheren Verluste einmal ignoriert) insgesamt zumindest zweiundsechzig erhaltene Handschriften mit epischen Dichtungen mehrerer Jahrhunderte – so *Parzival*, *Tristan*, manches von Rudolf von Ems, sodann von Konrad von Würzburg oder Ulrich von Etzebach, auch historische Werke, so die Chroniken des Martin von Troppau oder des Jakob Twinger von Königshofen, sodann didaktische und juristische Literatur, zum Beispiel einen *Schwabenspiegel*, ferner astronomische und medizinische Werke, schließlich religiöses Schrifttum im weiteren Sinne, also Bibel, Historienbibel, *Marienleben*, *Dreikönigs-* und *Margaretenlegende*, die *Vierundzwanzig Alten* von Otto von Passau, den *Belial* des Jacopo Paladini, den *Bellifortis* und dergleichen.[17] Wichtig ist, daß diese Texte zu einem erheblichen Teil in mehrfacher Kopie vorliegen, die Historienbibel sogar insgesamt siebzehn Mal. In unserem Zusammenhang braucht uns nun nicht alles zu interessieren, was die Forschung zu diesen Lauber-Handschriften bereits erkannt hat; aber wenigstens genannt werden soll "die große Einheitlichkeit und Kontinuität" der Lauberschen Manuskripte,[18] die sich bei der Niederschrift in zwei schmalen Textspalten pro Seite zwar nicht in durchgehalten gleichem Zeilenfall manifestieren kann, aber durch übereinstimmende Werkankündigung, Gliederung durch Illustrationen, Kapitelüberschriften und -zählung, Absatz- und Satzgliederung und anderes noch immer deutlich genug erkennbar wird. Die neueste Arbeit über Laubers zahlreiche Kopien von Bruder Philipps *Marienleben* rechnet denn auch fest mit einem "Werkstattexemplar", das allen Abschriften dieses Textes als Vorlage gedient habe.[19] Und im Blick auf das Alamire-Skriptorium erscheint nun ebenfalls wichtig, daß Lauber offenbar gute Beziehungen zu jenem Landvogt hatte, der auf der Burg Hagenau, also in unmittelbarer Nähe der Werkstatt Laubers residierte, auch daß er in einem einzigen erhaltenen Brief an einen Junker, wohl den Unterlandvogt Peter von Talheim, den Besteller von sieben seiner Handschriften Herzog Ruprecht von Pfalz-Simmern, und einen anderen hochgestellten Kunden, Burkhard von Müllenheim, den Abt des Klosters Sankt Waldburg, nennt.[20] Die Nähe zu solchen Käufern von adeligem Stand bestätigt sich überwältigend dadurch, daß die erhaltenen Lauber-Manuskripte sich häufig auch durch Namens- und Wappeneintragungen weitgehend als früher Besitz vornehmer Familien erweisen: Es finden sich Markgrafen-, Grafen, Ritternamen, die, wenn sie auch nicht immer als die Erstkäufer der Manuskripte gesichert sind, so doch einige schichtenspezifische Verbindlichkeit für den frühen Lauberschen Kundenkreis besitzen dürften. Ob diese Kunden die Handschriften gelesen haben, ja haben lesen können, wissen wir in manchen Fällen natürlich nicht; mit Sicherheit haben die Manu-

[15] H. WEGENER, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der deutschen Bilderhandschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek*, Leipzig, 1927, S. 11 ff.

[16] A. RAPP, *bücher gar húbsch gemolt. Studien zur Werkstatt Diebold Laubers am Beispiel der Prosabearbeitung von Bruder Philipps "Marienleben" in den Historienbibeln IIa und Ib*, (*Vestigia bibliae: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg*, 18), Bern, 1998, S. 147–150.

[17] RAPP, *bücher*, S. 147–149.

[18] RAPP, *bücher*, S. 183.

[19] RAPP, *bücher*, S. 183–185.

[20] W. FECHTER, *Der Kundenkreis des Diebold Lauber*, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 55 (1938), S. 121–146; W. FECHTER, *Noch einmal Diebold Lauber*, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 55 (1938), S. 650–653.

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 35

skripte aber auch als repräsentative Stücke einer Adels- oder sonst vornehmen Familienbibliothek dienen können.

[5] Im Blick auf das Alamire-Atelier läßt sich erkennen, daß es, mutatis mutandis, verschiedene offenkundige Übereinstimmungen mit dieser beispielhaft herangezogenen Werkstatt des Diebold Lauber gibt. So ist zunächst auf eine Manuskript-Produktion hinzuweisen, die offenbar auch betont für auswärtige Adressaten unternommen worden ist.[21] Und damit hängt zusammen, daß in beiden Fällen eine gewisse, zumindest räumliche Anlehnung des Skriptoriums an eine nicht allzu weit gelegene kleinere oder größere Hofhaltung stattgefunden hat, bei Lauber an diejenige des örtlichen Landvogts, bei Alamire an den burgundischen Hof Philipps des Schönen und dann vor allem der Margarethe von Österreich; hier ist diese Anlehnung durch die starke Vertretung von Werken von Sängern der Hofkapelle, etwa Alexander Agricola oder Pierre de la Rue,[22] in den Manuskripten zweifellos noch klarer als bei Lauber – diese Werke kann man, den Verhältnissen bei Lauber entsprechend, gleichsam als einen Kernbestand der Alamire-Überlieferung ansprechen. Grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung ergibt sich auch in der sozialen Schicht der Adressaten und/oder Auftraggeber der Handschriften, gewiß auch in der akzentuiert repräsentativen Funktion, welche den Manuskripten und ihren Illustrationen beziehungsweise Illuminationen zugekommen ist; bei Alamire zeigt sie sich noch deutlicher in der Bevorzugung des großen Chorbuch-Typus, der visuelle Präsentation und Repräsentation noch besser ermöglicht hat als kleinere Chansonniers. Daß in beiden Fällen nicht ein einziger, sondern mehrere Schreiber tätig gewesen sind, daß es, wenn nicht in allen Einzelheiten, so doch grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung im Prozeß der Herstellung von Wort- und Notentext der Manuskripte gegeben hat, ja gegeben haben muß, will ich hier nur andeuten, aber nicht weiter ausführen; hierzu Details auf der Alamire-Seite zu erkunden, ist ja ein Hauptzweck dieser Tagung.

Bei allen Ungewißheiten, die noch immer bestehen, möchte ich, vor allem am Vergleich mit dem Skriptorienbeispiel des Diebold Lauber deutlich machen, daß die Alamire-Werkstatt von ihrem Typus her nichts völlig Neues gewesen ist, sondern sich in eine in wohl vielfältiger Weise ausgestaltete Skriptorientradition eingefügt hat, so neu sie in ihrer Zeit als Produktionsstätte allein von prachtvollen Musikalien auch gewesen sein muß.[23]

[21] Zum Folgenden grundsätzlich H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999.

[22] Dazu M. PICKER, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria. MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1965, bes. S. 36–42.

[23] Es mag freilich erlaubt sein, hier noch einen Gedanken festzuhalten, der unser Bild von den Musikhandschriften der Alamire-Werkstatt vielleicht etwas umgewichten könnte. Gewiß sind diese Handschriften künstlerisch insgesamt aufwendig aufgemacht, aber es gibt immerhin eine einzige Ausnahme, das verhältnismäßig kleine Chorbuch SubA 248: dieses Manuskript besitzt keinerlei künstlerischen Schmuck und wirkt überhaupt sehr bescheiden; vgl. H. KELLMAN, *Subiaco, Abbazia di Santa Scolastica, Biblioteca Statale, MS 248 (SubA 248)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 32, S. 124. Daß zumindest ein solches nichtrepräsentatives Alamire-Manuskript existiert, könnte zur Frage führen, ob die Alamire-Werkstatt vielleicht nicht nur aufwendige, sondern auch bescheiden aufgemachte Musikmanuskripte produziert habe, diese aber – und gerade deshalb – weitgehend verloren gegangen seien. Wer etwas breitere Recherchen zu älteren Manuskripten mit mehrstimmiger Musik treibt, kann deutlich erkennen, daß künstlerisch anspruchsvoll gestaltete Manuskripte in der Regel mehr Überlebens-Chancen gehabt haben als bescheidene, künstlerisch nicht bereicherte Handschriften. Es mag sich lohnen, diese Frage bei der weiteren Alamire-Forschung vor Augen zu behalten.

hfst Staehelin 12-11-2003 14:25 Pagina 36

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 37

TEXTUNTERLEGUNG IN DEN ALAMIRE-HANDSCHRIFTEN

Thomas Schmidt-Beste
Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften

Die Handschriften des sogenannten 'burgundisch-habsburgischen Komplexes', meist etwas unscharf als 'Alamire-Handschriften' bezeichnet, obgleich mittlerweile festzustehen scheint, daß der aus Nürnberg stammende Kopist, Musiker und Spion Petrus van den Hove alias Alamire die wenigsten der fraglichen Codices selber abschrieb und primär wohl mehr als eine Art Aufseher und Vermittler fungierte,[1] ziehen schon seit langem das Interesse der Musikforschung auf sich. Dies liegt – einmal ganz abgesehen von der kalligraphischen und buchmalerischen Pracht, die in den polyphonen Musikhandschriften der Epoche seinesgleichen sucht – nicht nur daran, daß sie ein umfangreiches Repertoire überliefern, das die musikalischen Vorlieben einer der bedeutendsten Hofhaltungen der Renaissance wiederspiegelt und das historisch wie auch musikalisch von höchster Bedeutung ist, in dem zahlreiche Werke (vor allem die des Hofkapellmeisters Pierre de la Rue) überhaupt als 'Unika' überliefert sind. Es liegt vor allem daran, daß hier in vergleichsweise kurzer Zeit eine große Anzahl von Handschriften zwar nicht alle vom selben Schreiber, aber immerhin im selben Skriptorium kopiert wurden. Die Bestimmung vieler dieser Handschriften als Präsente für europäische Potentaten (etwa LonBLR 8 G.vii für den englischen Hof oder eine Reihe der heute in Jena liegenden Handschriften für den sächsischen Kurfürsten Friedrich den Weisen) oder auch die Produktion auf Bestellung brachte es dabei mit sich, daß zahlreiche Stücke in mehrfachen Kopien aus dem selben Skriptorium vorliegen, teils vom selben Schreiber, teils auch von zwei oder mehreren verschiedenen Schreibern. Eine vergleichbare Situation ist für die Quellenforschung vor der Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts in diesem Umfang an anderer Stelle kaum gegeben. Hohe Quellenverluste – offenbar vor allem im franko-flämischen Raum – führen dazu, daß von den Handschriften anderer musikalischer Institutionen nur noch Reste erhalten sind. Die einzige Institution mit einer vergleichbar üppigen erhaltenen Überlieferung – die päpstliche Kapelle – stellt sich insofern anders dar, als hier in der Tat fast ausschließlich für den eigenen Gebrauch produziert wurde, mit einem oder maximal zwei für das Kopieren mehrstimmiger Musik fest verpflichteten Schreiber beziehungsweise Schreibern.[2] Die Handschriften präsentieren sich daher sehr einheitlich; Mehrfachüberlieferungen ein und desselben Stückes sind eher selten, in der Regel als Abschrift eines noch im Gebrauch befindlichen Stückes aus einer älteren Handschrift in eine neue, selten im Abstand von weniger als vierzig bis fünfzig Jahren.[3]

[1] E. SCHREURS, Art. *Alamire*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2., neubearb. Ausg., Personenteil, 1, Kassel – Basel, 1999, S. 297–300; E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999, S. 15–27.

[2] Zur Geschichte der Schreiber und der Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik an der päpstlichen Kapelle siehe R. SHERR, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492–1513 and its Polyphonic Sources*, Phil. Diss., Princeton University, 1975; R. SHERR, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 5), Neuhausen, 1996; J.J. DEAN, *The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–1527*, Phil. Diss., University of Chicago, 1984; M.P. BRAUNER, *The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535 to 1580*, Phil. Diss., Brandeis University, 1982.

[3] So wurde beispielsweise ein Teil der Hymnen und Magnificats von Costanzo Festa aus Codices der späten 1530er Jahren (VatS 18 und VatS 20) in einen Codex der 1570er Jahre (VatS 21) übertragen; im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert wurden die am häufigsten gesungenen Messen und Motetten Palestrinas immer wieder in immer neue Handschriften übertragen.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 38

Die Alamire-Handschriften bieten im Gegensatz dazu geradezu die ideale Grundlage für vergleichende Quellenstudien im Hinblick auf Repertoireauswahl, Kompilation, Varianten und Schreibergewohnheiten: Die Frage, die sich hier wie nirgendwo sonst stellen läßt, ist die nach dem Spielraum, den sich ein Schreiber im Rahmen einer gewissen anzunehmenden Standardisierung innerhalb des Skriptoriums für diese verschiedenen Parameter nehmen konnte. Einige dieser Aspekte haben die Aufmerksamkeit der Musikwissenschaft in hohem Maße gefunden; die Untersuchung von Varianten im musikalischen Text hat sich in zahlreichen Einzelstudien niedergeschlagen, eine ganze Reihe davon auch wieder im vorliegenden Sammelband;[4] vergleichende Studien zum Schriftbild sind vor allem das Werk von Flynn Warmington, die ihre Ergebnisse im Katalog zur Leuvener Alamire-Ausstellung erfreulicherweise zum ersten Mal in zusammenfassender und leicht zugänglicher Form dargestellt hat.[5] Die Untersuchung der Textierungspraktiken hat – hier wie in der Renaissancemusikforschung überhaupt – dagegen vergleichsweise wenig Aufmerksamkeit erfahren; nur zwei Ausnahmen sind zu nennen. In einem 1980 in Wolfenbüttel gehaltenen und 1983 publizierten Vortrag hat Howard Mayer Brown – gewohnt gründlich und scharfsinnig – anhand der *Missa de septem doloribus* von Pierre de la Rue die Varianten der Aufzeichnung in den insgesamt fünf Quellen analysiert, die dieses Werk überliefern.[6] Brown räumt der Untersuchung der Textierung in seinem Aufsatz sehr viel Platz ein,[7] und seine Ergebnisse lassen sich etwa wie folgt zusammenfassen: (1) Je melismatischer eine Phrase oder ein Phrasenteil ist, desto ungenauer wird die Textierung und desto schwieriger die Festlegung auf eine Lösung durch den modernen Editor/Sänger. (2) Die Textierungspraktiken der einzelnen Handschriften divergieren in unterschiedlichem Maße. In vier der fünf Quellen wird immer dieselbe Menge Text an gleicher oder ähnlicher Stelle den selben Phrasen oder Phrasenabschnitten unterlegt; nur in der jüngsten der Quellen (BrusBR 15075) sind fast alle Textwiederholungen getilgt und auch sonst vieles verändert (wobei die prinzipielle Korrespondenz Textphrase – Musikphrase allerdings auch hier erhalten bleibt). Da Brown noch von der Hypothese eines einzigen Schreibers (Petrus Alamire) ausgeht, erklärt er dies mit veränderten Schreibergewohnheiten; die sich seither durchsetzende Tendenz, eine wachsende Anzahl von Schreibern innerhalb des Korpus zu unterscheiden, legt indes nahe, für BrusBR 15075 tatsächlich einen anderen Textschreiber anzunehmen.[8] (3) Zeilenumbrüche werden bei der Textierung immer gesondert berücksichtigt, das heißt der Schreiber beginnt die Textierung einer neuen Zeile immer mit der Silbe, die auch zu der Note beziehungsweise den Noten des Zeilenanfangs gehören. Er bricht dafür auch Worte in Silben auf, eine in den fraglichen Quellen sonst vergleichsweise selten anzutreffende Vorgehensweise. Brown weist dies für syllabisch textierte Passagen lückenlos nach, so daß der Analogieschluß für melismatische Passagen zulässig scheint.

[4] Vgl. die Aufsätze von Thomas MacCracken, Willem Elders, Fabrice Fitch und Vincenzo Borghetti in diesem Band.

[5] F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 41–52.

[6] H.M. BROWN, *In Alamire's Workshop. Notes on Scribal Practice in the Early Sixteenth Century, in Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, S. 15–63.

[7] BROWN, *In Alamire's Workshop*, S. 22–28.

[8] Flynn Warmington hat diesen Schreiber ebenfalls isoliert und als 'Z' etikettiert (vgl. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, S. 52).

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 39

Die zweite Studie zur Textierungspraxis ist Warwick Edwards' Aufsatz über die Handschrift BrusBR 228, einer der beiden Chansonniers für Margarethe von Österreich.[9] Edwards' Untersuchung der Unterlegung in diesem auch für die Verhältnisse des Alamire-Skriptoriums außergewöhnlich sorgfältig textierten Codex ergibt ein in vieler Hinsicht ähnliches Ergebnis wie das Browns: Der Schreiber unterscheidet erkennbar zwischen syllabischen und melismatischen Passagen (korrespondierend zur typischen Phrasierung in der Chanson des späten fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, die den Vers mit syllabischer Deklamation eröffnet und in ein oft längeres Melisma mündet). Auch Edwards konstatiert ferner die enge Übereinstimmung von Vers/Textphrase mit musikalischer Phrase, die selbst in weniger sorgfältig textierten Passagen nie aufgegeben wird.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung setzt in gewisser Weise dort an, wo Brown und Edwards aufhören; die Übersicht über verschiedene Stadien des Skriptoriums beziehungsweise verschiedene Schreiber, vorgenommen anhand des Vergleichs von Mehrfachüberlieferungen, soll zumindest ansatzweise kombiniert werden mit der spezifischen Beschreibung des Usus eines bestimmten Schreibers beziehungsweise in einer bestimmten Handschrift. Im Rahmen eines Aufsatzes muß sich die Untersuchung dabei auf eine vergleichsweise allgemeine Übersicht und nur einige wenige detaillierte Stichproben beschränken; eine detaillierte, vergleichende Beschreibung und Analyse aller Handschriften ist ferne Zukunftsmusik. Zunächst soll aus zwei Gründen eine inhaltliche Beschränkung auf das Repertoire der Motetten erfolgen. Erstens soll damit gewissermaßen eine Vervollständigung der untersuchten Gattungen erreicht werden, komplementär zu Brown (Messen) und Edwards (Chansons). Zweitens aber umspannen die Motetten das größtmögliche Spektrum an Texten und auch an Textierung. Die Vorlagen reichen von Psalmen bis zu humanistischen 'Oden', die Schriftbilder reichen von eleganten und kalligraphisch anspruchsvollen Bastarda-Skripten (wie sie auch in der großen Mehrzahl der Messenhandschriften anzutreffen sind) bis zu den weniger formellen Kurrent- und Antiquaschriften; das Format der Codices reicht von den Großfolio-Chorbüchern (z.B. 's HerAB 72C, ca. 56 x 38,5 cm) bis zu Stimmbüchern im Taschenformat (z.B. VienNB Mus. 18825, ca. 14,5 x 20,5 cm). Eine Untersuchung des Spielraums, den das Skriptorium seinen Schreibern einräumte, läßt sich in dieser Vielfalt daher wohl am besten ermessen.

Wie bereits von Brown und Edwards bemerkt und wie für eigentlich alle mehrstimmigen Handschriften der Zeit üblich, handelt es sich hier in der Tat um eine Studie zur 'Textunterlegung' und nicht zur 'Notenüberlegung': Anders als in den Quellen des vierzehnten und frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts wurden hier offensichtlich zunächst die Noten aufgezeichnet, die dementsprechend gleichmäßig und ästhetisch ansprechend auf der Seite beziehungsweise auf den Systemen angeordnet sind. Der Text wurde in einem zweiten Arbeitsschritt ergänzt; der Textschreiber – ganz gleich ob mit dem Notenschreiber identisch oder nicht – mußte sich daher mit dem ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Platz arrangieren und den Text verteilen, so gut es eben möglich war. Je nachdem wie großzügig die Noten disponiert waren, konnte dies zu mehr oder weniger unlösbaren Problemen führen, da in den meisten Fällen eine einzelne Textsilbe schlicht mehr Platz beansprucht als eine einzelne Note. Jede Untersuchung der Textierung in Handschriften zwischen dem zweiten Drittel des fünfzehnten und dem Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts ist letztlich eine Untersuchung der

[9] W. EDWARDS, *Text Underlay in Marguerite of Austria's Chanson Album Brussel 228*, in *Muziek aan het hof van Margaretha van Oostenrijk*, (*Jaarboek van het Vlaamse centrum voor oude muziek*, 3), Peer, 1987, S. 33–47.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 40

Frage, wie die Textschreiber mit diesem Problem umgingen;[10] wie zu sehen sein wird, divergieren die Lösungen oder Vorgehensweisen der Schreiber selbst innerhalb des Alamire-Korpus in dieser Hinsicht ganz erheblich.

Zunächst gilt es, eine – wenn auch nur grobe – Übersicht über die Motettenhandschriften des Alamire-Korpus zu gewinnen, so weit es ihre Textierung betrifft. Tabelle 1 listet alle Codices, in denen zwei oder mehr Motetten enthalten sind, in ungefähr chronologischer Reihenfolge auf. Der angegebene Schrifttyp ist jeweils der weitaus überwiegende in der entsprechenden Quelle, stark abweichende Typen (soweit nicht vereinzelt oder durch spätere Ergänzungen auftretend) sind gegebenfalls vermerkt. Die Terminologie ist die von Gerard Isaac Lieftinck.[11] Die Unterscheidung zwischen 'Phrasenunterlegung', Wortunterlegung' und 'Silbenunterlegung' erklärt sich weitgehend von selbst; mit Phrasenunterlegung ist die ebenso weitverbreitete wie für den modernen Benutzer irritierende Tendenz, eine Textphrase oder einen Teil derselben zwar unter der ersten zugehörigen Silbe zu notieren (das heißt in der Regel der ersten Note der musikalischen Phrase), danach aber Wort- oder Silbengrenzen nicht mehr zu kennzeichnen, was die genaue Zuordnung von Silben zu Noten erschwert oder ganz unmöglich erscheinen läßt. Wie die Tabelle zeigt, ist eine reine Phrasenunterlegung im Korpus allerdings eher selten; am häufigsten ist eine Mischung aus Phrasen- und Wortunterlegung. In der letzteren markieren deutliche Abstände zwischen den einzelnen Worten und die optisch meist klare Korrelation der ersten Wortsilbe mit einer bestimmten Note zumindest punktuell die intendierte Textierung. Ebenso selten wie reine Phrasenunterlegung ist jedoch – auch dies ist in der Tabelle deutlich zu sehen – eine Aufspaltung der Textworte in Einzelsilben und damit eine vollständig eindeutige Unterlegung. Während bei Zeilenumbrüchen diejenigen Silben, die – nach Meinung des Schreibers – zum Notentext der darauffolgenden Zeile gehören, nahezu immer abgetrennt sind, findet eine solche Trennung abgesehen von Einzelfällen (vor allem der Abtrennung von Schlußsilben nach langen Pänultima-Melismen in einer Phrase) systematisch nur in einer einzigen Handschrift statt, dem bereits von Edwards in dieser Hinsicht hervorgehobenen Chansonnier BrusBR 228; hiervon wird noch ausführlicher die Rede sein. Auch die Klarheit, mit der Phrasen oder Worte einer Notengruppe zugeordnet werden beziehungsweise der Wort-/Phrasenbeginn einer bestimmten Note, variiert von einer Handschrift zur nächsten zum Teil ganz beträchtlich.

In chronologischer Reihenfolge soll zunächst die früheste, in vieler Hinsicht getrennt existierende Untergruppe innerhalb des Komplexes zur Sprache kommen, sozusagen die 'Prä-Alamire-Handschriften' des burgundischen Hofes aus den Jahren vor und um 1500, deren Kopist, in der Vergangenheit oft mit dem Kaplan der burgundischen Hofkapelle Martin Bourgeois identifiziert, im allgemeinen als 'Schreiber B' etikettiert wird.[12] Der erste Eindruck, den die Handschriften dieser Gruppe hinterlassen, vor allem die beiden großen Meß- und Motettencodices VatC 234 und BrusBR

[10] Für einen Überblick über Textierungspraktiken und Textierungsprobleme in den Handschriften der Renaissance vgl. T. SCHMIDT-BESTE, Art. *Textunterlegung*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2., neubearb. Ausg., Sachteil, 9, Kassel – Basel, 1998, S. 478–493.

[11] G.I. LIEFTINCK, *Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite Gothique*, in B. BISCHOFF, G.I. LIEFTINCK und G. BATTELLI edd., *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle*, (*Colloques internationales du C.N.R.S., Sciences humaines*, 4), Paris, 1954, S. 15–34.

[12] Die Identifizierung des Schreibers B mit Martin Bourgeois, von Herbert Kellman vorgeschlagen und zuletzt noch im Artikel *Alamire* des alten *New Grove* vertreten (H. KELLMAN, Art. *Alamire, Pierre*, in S. SADIE ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1, London – New York, 1980, S. 192), ist wiederholt angezweifelt und in jüngster Zeit von Kellman selbst zurückgezogen worden (H. KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution and Symbolism of the Manuscripts – A Synopsis*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 10–14, hier S. 11).

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 41

PU = Phrasenunterlegung, *WU* = Wortunterlegung, *SU* = Silbenunterlegung

HANDSCHRIFT	HAUPTSCHRIFTTYP UND KALLIGRAPHISCHES NIVEAU	ART DER TEXTUNTERLEGUNG	KLARHEIT DER ZUORDNUNG	SILBENABTRENNUNG
A. Schreiber 'B'				
VatC 234	*bastarda*, sehr hoch	WU	sehr gut	nur am Zeilenumbruch
BrusBR 9126	*bastarda*, sehr hoch	WU	sehr gut	nur am Zeilenumbruch
FlorC 2439	*cursiva textualis*, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen sehr niedrig	PU, selten WU	sehr schlecht	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
B. 'Alamire-Skriptorium'				
BrusBR 215–16	*cursiva textualis*, relativ hoch	PU, selten WU	mittel	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
OxfBLL a.8	*bastarda*, hoch; einige Abschnitte *cursiva textualis*, hoch	WU oder PU mehr WU	gut bis sehr gut	gelegentlich
BrusBR 228	*cursiva textualis* (z.T. *bastarda*), variabel	WU oder SU	hervorragend	durchgängig
LonBLR 8 G.vii	*cursiva textualis* (z.T. *bastarda* und *antiqua*), relativ hoch bis hoch	WU oder PU, mehr PU	mittel bis gut	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
VienNB 9814	*cursiva textualis*, relativ hoch	PU, teilweise WU	gut	nur am Zeilenumbruch
VienNB Mus. 18825	*cursiva textualis*, relativ hoch	WU oder PU	mittel bis gut	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
VienNB Mus. 15941	*cursiva textualis*, variabel	WU, teilweise PU	mittel bis gut	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
MunBS 34	*cursiva textualis*, relativ hoch	WU, teilweise PU	gut	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
VatP 1976–79	*cursiva textualis*, variabel	WU, teilweise PU	mittel bis gut	fast nur am Zeilenumbruch
BrusBR IV.922	*bastarda currens*, sehr hoch	WU, teilweise PU	mittel bis gut	nur am Zeilenumbruch
's HerAB 72C	*bastarda*, hoch	WU	sehr gut	nur am Zeilenumbruch

Tabelle 1. Handschriften des 'burgundisch-habsburgischen Komplexes' mit zwei oder mehr Motetten, in chronologischer Reihenfolge.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 42

9126, ist der eines außerordentlich hohen Niveaus in der Herstellung, nicht nur hinsichtlich der zu Recht berühmten buchmalerischen Ausstattung, sondern auch in der Beschriftung: Der kalligraphische Standard der Noten- und Textschrift sowie deren Anordnung auf der Seite wird im Grunde von keiner der späteren Alamire-Handschriften mehr erreicht. Die Noten sind in wohlproportionierter, schlanker Rhombenform; der Text ist eine ebenfalls sehr elegante und sehr gleichmäßige Bastarda. Für die Frage der Textierung von hoher Bedeutung ist dabei die Tatsache, daß die Proportionen der gleichfalls recht schmalen Schrift und die der Noten so aufeinander abgestimmt sind, daß der Schreiber nur sehr selten in die Verlegenheit kommt, den Text nicht genau dorthin plazieren zu können, wo er es für richtig hält. Ein Beispiel, an dem sich dies auch im Vergleich gut demonstrieren läßt, ist die berühmte Sequenz-Tenormotette *Stabat mater – Comme femme* von Josquin Desprez, die nicht nur – als Stück, das eine gehörige Menge Text zu vertonen hat – vergleichsweise dicht textiert ist, wo demnach die Gefahr von Platzmangel und Dispositionsproblemen im Text besonders hoch scheinen könnte; sie ist zudem als einzige Motette sowohl in VatC 234 als auch in BrusBR 9126 überliefert, und dazu noch in einem späteren Alamire-Codex, der Handschrift BrusBR 215–16, wodurch auch ein Vergleich der früheren mit der späteren Gruppe möglich wird (Abbildung 1 zeigt den Superius des ersten Lesefeldes aus allen drei genannten Handschriften).[13]

Ein Blick auf die Abschriften des Stückes in Chigi (VatC 234) und BrusBR 9126 zeigt – wie ein Vergleich der beiden Handschriften überhaupt – frappierende Ähnlichkeiten. Zunächst zeigt

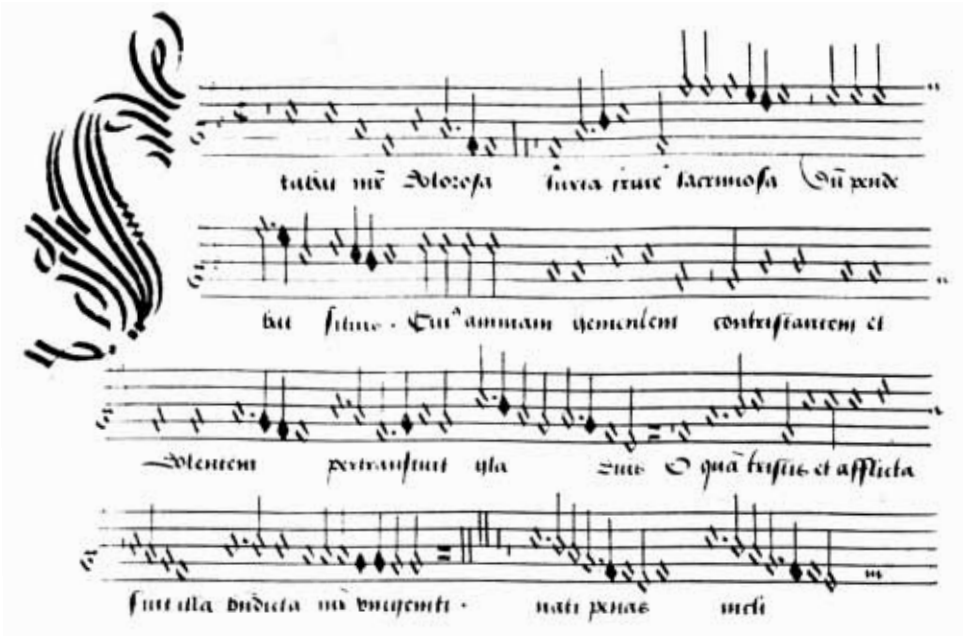


Abbildung 1a. Josquin Desprez, *Stabat mater,* Superius, VatC 234, fol. 241v.

[13] Eine Ausgabe des Stückes ist in A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés, Motetten*, 2, Amsterdam, 1950, S. 51–57; eine diplomatische Transkription der Version in Chigi und eine kritische Kollation aller Quellen ist in H.-J. WINKLER, *Die Tenormotetten von Johannes Regis in der Überlieferung des Chigi-Kodex*, (*Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta*, 5), 2 Bde., Vatikan, 1999, 2, S. 9–22 (Edition), und 1, S. 121–152 (kritischer Bericht).

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 43

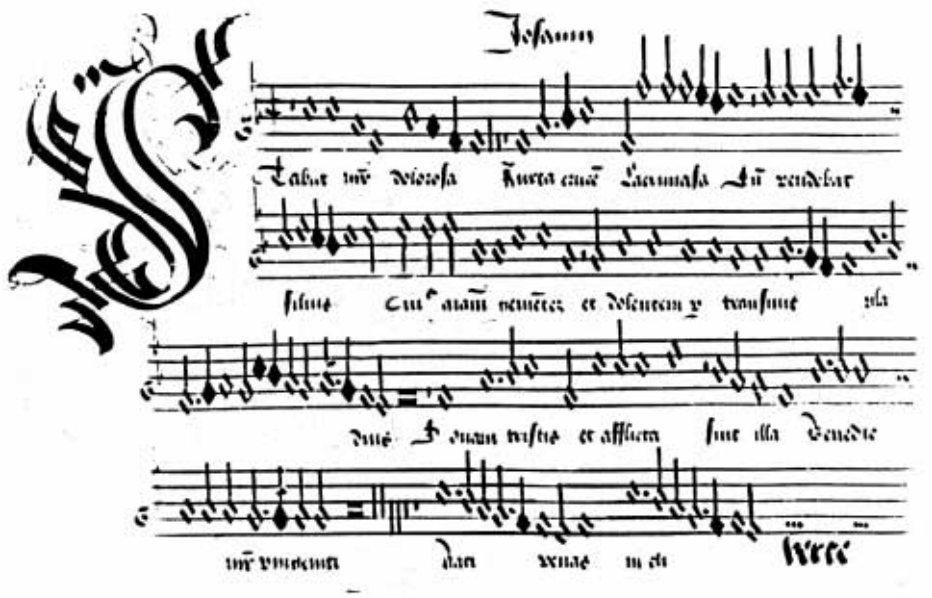


Abbildung 1b. Josquin Desprez, *Stabat mater,* Superius, BrusBR 9126, fol. 160v.

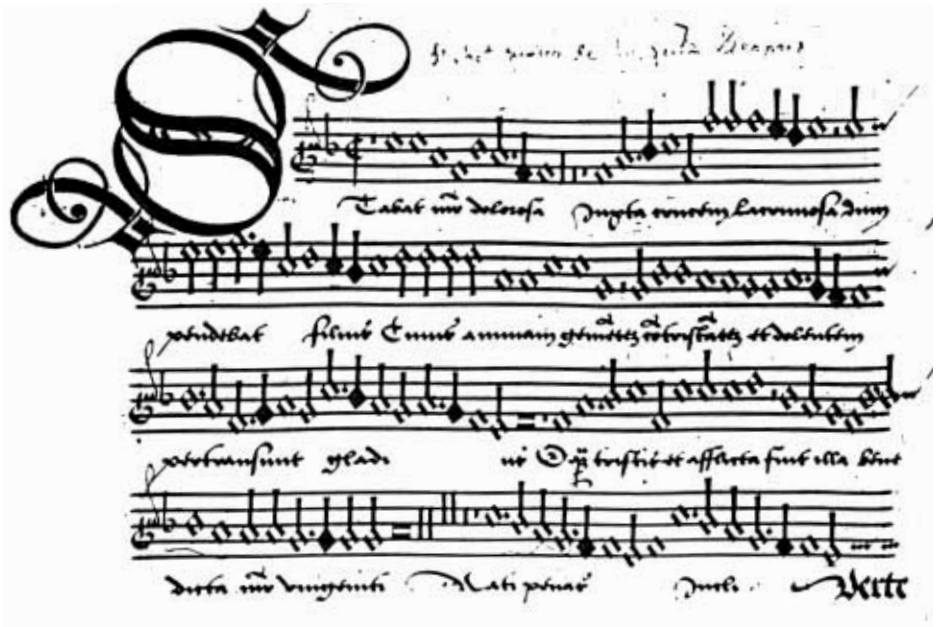


Abbildung 1c. Josquin Desprez, *Stabat mater,* Superius, BrusBR 215–16, fol. 39v.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 44

sich eine weitgehende bis vollständige Identität im Noten- und Schriftbild, im Seiten- und weitgehend sogar im Zeilenumbruch. Diese Identität erstreckt sich aber auch auf die Textunterlegung: Die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden frühen Quellen sind absolut minimal, die Worte stehen fast immer präzise an der selben Stelle unter den Noten. Nur an einer Stelle weicht die spätere der beiden Handschriften, BrusBR 9126, erkennbar ab: Hier fehlt das Wort *contristantem* im zweiten Vers der zweiten Strophe im Superius. Diese Variante, bei der es sich offensichtlich um ein Versehen des Schreibers handelt, führt natürlich dazu, daß die Versstruktur und damit auch die Textierung zeitweise aus dem Gleichgewicht geraten; erst am Ende der Strophe wird durch ein längeres Melisma wieder die Parallelität mit der Version des Chigi-Codex erreicht. Die ansonsten vorherrschende, an Identität grenzende Ähnlichkeit in der Textierung ist aber selbst bei Quellen, die in enger zeitlicher und örtlicher Nachbarschaft entstanden, außerordentlich selten. Browns Untersuchung der Messe Pierre de la Rues hatte, wie erwähnt, in den vier früheren (und ebenfalls chronologisch dicht beieinanderliegenden) Quellen zwar keine gravierenden, aber doch viele kleine Unterschiede festgestellt, von denen er auf einen gewissen phraseninternen Spielraum des Schreibers geschlossen hatte; der Schreiber des Chigi-Codex und BrusBR 9126 konnte oder wollte sich einen vergleichbaren Spielraum offenbar nicht nehmen.

In jedem Fall rückt dieser Befund die beiden Quellen noch enger zusammen als dies ohnehin der Forschung gängige Meinung ist; sie stammen entweder vom selben Schreiber oder von zwei Schreibern, die so eng zusammenarbeiteten beziehungsweise einer so restriktiven Praxis unterworfen waren (wie man es aus den professionellen Textskriptorien der Zeit kennt, in denen eine ganze Reihe von Schreibern nahezu identisch aussehende Handschriften produzierten),[14] daß das Ergebnis wie das Werk ein und derselben Person aussieht und auch aussehen sollte.[15] Verlockend und die einfachste Erklärung für die enge Verwandtschaft wäre natürlich die Annahme, die Version von BrusBR 9126 wäre direkt aus Chigi abgeschrieben; dagegen spricht wiederum eine Reihe zwar nicht gravierender, aber doch bei einer direkten Abhängigkeit schwer erklärbarer Varianten,[16] wie etwa die Bezeichnung der zweituntersten Stimme als *Vacans* im Chigi-Codex und als *Tenor* in BrusBR 9216 oder die Schlüsselung des Bassus (in beiden Quellen frei wechselnd C3 oder C4, aber nicht nach demselben Schema). Eng verwandt sind die beiden Versionen allemal.

Beide Schreiber (oder derselbe Schreiber in beiden Quellen) verwenden dezidiert die Technik der Wortunterlegung; einzelne Silben sind so gut wie nie abgetrennt, aber die unregelmäßigen Abstände zwischen den einzelnen Wörtern und die in der Regel recht genaue Positionierung des Wortes in der Weise, daß der Vokal der ersten Silbe unter die korrespondierende Note fällt, machen die Sorgfalt deutlich, mit der hier auf Wortebene verfahren wurde. Fast wäre man versucht zu sagen, daß der Schreiber sich hier unnötige Mühe macht, da in Josquins Werk wesentliche Teile von Phrasen oder sogar komplette Phrasen rein syllabisch textiert sind, so daß Mißverständnisse auch bei etwas nachlässigerer Unterlegung kaum möglich wären. Aus Gründen, denen noch nachzugehen sein wird, ist aber die Sorgfalt in den syllabisch oder annähernd syllabisch textierten Passagen allem Anschein nach sogar größer als in den melismatischen; durch die Wortunterlegung sind aber auch diese klar markiert und weitgehend problemlos umzusetzen.

[14] Vgl. den Aufsatz von Martin Staehelin in diesem Band.

[15] In jüngster Zeit hat Heinz-Jürgen Winkler aufgrund der zwar leichten, aber doch erkennbaren Unterschiede im Schriftbild die Ansicht vertreten, daß in der Tat zwei Schreiber am Werk gewesen sein könnten; vgl. H.-J. WINKLER, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C VIII 234*, in M. STAEHELIN ed., *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 3), Wiesbaden 1998, S. 65–74, hier S. 70.

[16] Für eine genaue Aufstellung vgl. WINKLER, *Die Tenormotetten*, 2, S. 127 f.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 45

Noch eine weitere Besonderheit der Notierung im Chigi-Codex und in BrusBR 9126 ist nicht ohne Konsequenzen für die Textierung. Eine klare Korrelation des Textes zu den Noten ist, wie erwähnt, in beiden Handschriften aufgrund der schmalen Schrift und der recht großzügigen Disposition der Noten auf der Zeile ohnehin vergleichsweise mühelos zu bewerkstelligen. Die Art aber, wie die Noten im Einzelnen angeordnet werden, ist ihrerseits bemerkenswert; es könnte sich sogar um einen der am Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts eher seltenen Fälle handeln, in dem die Abschrift der Noten bereits im Hinblick auf die spätere Textierung vorgenommen wurde. Sowohl in Chigi als auch in BrusBR 9126 sind nämlich in denjenigen Passagen, die vorwiegend aus Breven und Semibreven bestehen, die Abstände zwischen den Noten bedeutend größer als in solchen, die in kleineren Werten rhythmisiert sind. Diese Art der Disposition hat offenbar vor allem ordnende Funktion: Die Zwischenräume sind dort am größten, wo eine Mensur, das heißt ein Brevis-'Takt', aufhört und wo die nächste beginnt. In den hier sehr zahlreich vorhandenen Semibrevenketten sind erkennbar nicht nur die Noten überhaupt in deutlich weiterem Abstand notiert, sie zerfallen auch erkennbar in Gruppen von je zwei Noten, die eben eine Brevis-Mensur ergeben. Auch Gruppen von vier Minimen oder andere Kombinationen, die sich zusammengenommen zu einer vollen Brevis summieren, werden oft in ähnlicher Weise abgesetzt, allerdings hier enger zusammen notiert.[17] Melismen in Minimen und Semiminimen sind dagegen immer dicht und ohne die besagten Mensur-Abstände aufgezeichnet.

Diese 'taktweise' ordnende Funktion beinhaltet zweifellos auch ein ästhetisches Moment, da sie gleichzeitig für Ordnung wie für Abwechslung im Schriftraum sorgt. Ein weiterer – sicherlich nicht unbeabsichtigter – Effekt dieser ungleichen Abstände ist aber der, daß dem Textschreiber genau dort, wo er für den Text am meisten Platz benötigt, dieser Platz auch zur Verfügung steht: Auch für den Fall, daß der Textschreiber mit dem Notenschreiber nicht identisch war, mußte dem letzteren – aus musikalischen und stilistischen Gründen – klar sein, daß die ausgedehnten Semibrevenketten syllabisch zu textieren sein würden und der Text an dieser Stelle daher wesentlich mehr Raum einnehmen würde als in den rasch bewegten Melismen. Bei Minimenketten – auch solchen mit zahlreichen Tonwiederholungen, die ebenfalls in jedem Fall syllabisch zu textieren sind – nimmt der Notenschreiber diese Rücksicht allerdings nicht, und gelegentlich ergeben sich bei der Textierung in der Tat leichte Platznöte; insgesamt wird aber immer dafür gesorgt, daß dort, man ihn braucht, auch genügend Platz vorhanden ist. Der optische Gesamteindruck der Noten in Relation zum Text erinnert so noch sehr stark (stärker auch als in vielen zeitgenössischen Handschriften und allemal als in denen der Jahrzehnte danach) an die Handschriften des früheren fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, in denen die Noten nach dem Text oder abwechselnd mit diesem aufgezeichnet wurden; auch dort unterscheidet das Auge unmittelbar die weit auseinander gezogenen Noten der textierten Teile von den meist sehr gedrängt aufgezeichneten Melismen.[18]

Daß allerdings auch der Schreiber des Chigi-Codex nur so präzise sein konnte, wie seine Vorlage oder aber sein Verständnis der Musik es zuließen, zeigt ein Blick auf das dort in einer Gruppe von Unikaten überlieferte Korpus der Motetten von Johannes Regis. Deren Entstehung lag zum Zeitpunkt der Kompilation der Handschriften vermutlich bis zu zwanzig Jahren oder noch länger zurück, und der Überlieferungszustand der Texte – meist neuverfaßte Gedichte in 'humanistischen', das heißt quantitierenden Metren – ist oft mehr als fragwürdig. Der Kopist arbeitete hier ganz offen-

[17] Ich danke Flynn Warmington (Somerville, Massachusetts) für den freundlichen Hinweis auf diese 'taktgebundene' Notierung in Chigi und BrusBR 9126.

[18] Diese Art der Notenverteilung ist beschrieben in L. EARP, *Texting in 15th-Century French Chansons: A Look Ahead from the 14th Century*, in *Early Music*, 19 (1991), S. 195–210.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 46

sichtlich entweder mit einer bereits stark korrupten Vorlage oder hatte selber nicht das nötige Verständnis, um die Texte korrekt zu übertragen. In jedem Fall ist die resultierende Textierung der Regis-Motetten – ganz im Gegensatz zu den jüngeren Kompositionen, neben der Josquin-Motette auch Stücke von Weerbeke und Compère – durchweg unvollständig, metrisch inkorrekt und vermittelt generell den Eindruck von Ratlosigkeit. Dies ist vor allem dort der Fall, wo rhythmisch unregelmäßige Figuren eine bestimmte Deklamation nicht von vornherein nahelegen, aber oft selbst dort, wo Tonwiederholungen, Semibrevenketten und andere Gesten eine syllabische Textierung nahezulegen scheinen. Hier scheitert der Schreiber in der Regel an der Unvollständigkeit des Textes, denn bei Vervollständigung stellt sich heraus, daß der Regissche Stil über weite Strecken durchaus deklamatorisch ist. Dem Kopisten fehlt hier offensichtlich über weite Strecken jegliche Vorstellung davon, wie Text und Musik zusammenklingen – eine Vorstellung, die er, wenn er sie hatte, ja durchaus klar und sichtbar umzusetzen verstand.

Doch zurück zu Josquins *Stabat mater*. Ein Blick auf die dritte konkordante Überlieferung im Alamire-Korpus, diejenige in BrusBR 215–16, ergibt ein ganz anderes Bild als das der beiden Handschriften von Schreiber 'B'. Hier sind die Noten – schon an sich deutlich breiter und gedrungener als die im Chigi-Codex und in BrusBR 9126 – ohne Zwischenräume und optische Differenzierungen unmittelbar und recht dicht aneinander notiert, also in der eigentlich typischen Manier der Jahrzehnte um 1500. Auch der Duktus der Textschrift ist entschieden breiter; es handelt sich um eine ausladende *cursiva textualis* anstelle der schlanken *bastarda*, auch die Federstrichstärke ist deutlich größer als die in den früheren Quellen. Dem Schreiber bleibt hier bei der Textierung überhaupt keine andere Wahl als die Phrasenunterlegung, die kaum an den Phrasengrenzen kurz absetzt; nur durch eine ebenfalls durchgehende Notierung des Textes sind die Worte unter den gegebenen Umständen überhaupt auf der Zeile unterzubringen. Nur bei ausgedehnteren melismatischen Passagen – etwa auf *gladius* in der dritten Zeile des Superius – ist eine einigermaßen differenzierte Unterlegung möglich und wird dort vom Schreiber offensichtlich auch angestrebt. Über weite Strecken jedoch sind Text und Musik leicht gegeneinander verschoben, so daß Sänger oder Editoren im Detail auf ihr eigenes Urteilsvermögen angewiesen sind. Nur im Bassus ist etwas mehr Platz, da dieser nicht wie die anderen Stimmen über vier, sondern über fünf Systeme notiert ist und zudem weniger Melismen in kurzen Werten und damit insgesamt weniger Noten umfaßt.

Es besteht kein Anlaß, die Handschriften der späteren, das heißt der eigentlichen Alamire-Phase gegenüber denen der B-Gruppe als 'nachlässiger' textiert abzuqualifizieren – zumal angesichts der Tatsache, daß der einzige Chansonnier der B-Gruppe, FlorC 2439, die bei weitem unpräziseste und unvollständigste Textierung des gesamten Korpus repräsentiert. Gleichwohl zeigt ein Blick auf Tabelle 1, daß die Bandbreite vor allem in den späteren Alamire-Handschriften enorm groß ist, was Schriftbild, Präzision der Textierung und allgemeines Erscheinungsbild betrifft. Zur Demonstration dieser Bandbreite sollen erneut einige Stücke dienen, die in mehrfachen Versionen innerhalb des Korpus überliefert sind. Das erste dieser Beispiele ist Antoine de Févins *Adiutorium nostrum*, das in drei Quellen überliefert ist:[19] Zwei davon – LonBLR 8 G.vii und das Fragment OxfBLL a.8 –

[19] *Adiutorium nostrum* ist in der Pepys-Handschrift CambriP 1760 Févin zugeschrieben und gilt allgemein als sein Werk; in Petruccis *Motetti de la corona* (*RISM* B/1514[1]) ist das Stück allerdings als *secunda pars* von Moutons Motette *Caeleste beneficium* abgedruckt (auf die es auch in LonBLR 8 G.vii folgt); die modernen Editionen führen es ebenfalls unter Moutons Namen: H. EXPERT, J. DE VALOIS und A. AGNEL edd., *J. Mouton, Motets à 4 et 5 voix*, (*Maîtres anciens de la musique française*, 5), Paris, 1971, S. 6–9; dass. in R. SHERR ed., *Selections from Motetti de la corona [Libro Primo] (Fossombrone 1514)*, (*Sixteenth-Century Motet*, 4), New York – London, 1991, S. 118–123.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 47

wurden vermutlich im zweiten Jahrzehnt des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts kompiliert; die dritte, VatP 1976–79 stammt wohl aus den späten 1520er oder frühen 1530er Jahren.[20] Das äußere Erscheinungsbild der drei Versionen könnte in vieler Hinsicht nicht unterschiedlicher ausfallen. Abbildung 2 zeigt den Anfang des Bassus in allen drei Fassungen.

Die Oxforder Quelle (OxfBLL a.8) trägt die Züge des 'klassischen' Alamire-Stils, wie er sich sonst vor allem in den Messencodices manifestiert: großes Chorbuchformat, schlanke, rhombenförmige Notenköpfe, und eine elegante Bastarda-Schrift, relativ hoch und von mittlerer Breite.[21] In der Version der Londoner Handschrift (LonBLR 8 G.vii) sind zwei verschiedene Schriftbilder zu unterscheiden, auf der Verso-Seite des ersten Lesefeldes ebenfalls eine Bastarda-Schrift, etwas ungleichmäßiger als die im Oxforder Fragment, auf der Recto-Seite (vergleiche Abbildung 2) und den folgenden Lesefeldern eine eher schlichte Antiqua mit leichten Kurrent- und Bastarda-Elementen, ebenfalls kein Musterbeispiel kalligraphischer Kunst und in Höhe wie Weite deutlich schwankend. Die Schrift in den Stimmbüchern VatP 1976–79 ist hingegen eine grundlegend andere, eine *cursiva textualis*, das heißt eine Kurrentschrift mit Elementen der Buchschrift; es handelt sich somit eigentlich um eine Schrift geringeren kalligraphischen Ranges als die Bastarda- und Antiqua-Buchschriften, aber in diesem Fall ausgesprochen gleichmäßig, elegant und mit weitgeschwungenen Unter- und Oberstrichen.

Die beiden früheren Quellen – im Chorbuchformat – sind unter einigen Aspekten einander sehr ähnlich, in anderen unterscheiden sie sich auch deutlich. In beiden ist zunächst die erwähnte Tendenz zur Phrasenunterlegung festzustellen; nicht selten trennt der Schreiber allerdings auch ein Wort oder einen Teil einer Phrase ab, um – aus welchen Gründen auch immer – an dieser Stelle seine Vorstellung der 'korrekten' Textierung zumindest annähernd zu präzisieren. Die Stimmbücher aus der Biblioteca Vaticana stellen sich dagegen auf den ersten Blick radikal anders dar, was wiederum primär mit dem Format der Quelle zu tun hat. Im Gegensatz etwa zum Chorbuch BrusBR 215–16, wo der dem Text zur Verfügung stehende Platz nur mit knapper Not überhaupt ausreichte, ist in den Stimmbüchern (wie generell in den Stimmbüchern aus dem Alamire-Skriptorium) umgekehrt geradezu Platz im Übermaß vorhanden: Rastralhöhe, Notengröße und auch Schriftgröße sind deutlich kleiner als in den Chorbüchern, und die Noten selbst stehen relativ zu ihrer Größe erkennbar weiter auseinander. Die kleinere Schrift tut ein übriges, um dem Textschreiber alle erdenklichen Möglichkeiten der Disposition ohne jegliche Raumprobleme zu lassen. Die resultierende Vorgehensweise ist dementsprechend weitgehend die der Wortunterlegung. Diese wird allerdings allem Anschein nach oft nach ästhetischen Gesichtspunkten realisiert, mit dem Ziel, den weit auseinandergezogenen Text zumindest einigermaßen gleichmäßig auf der Seite verteilen zu können. Für den modernen Benutzer ist auch dies ein eher unerfreulicher Aspekt, da er gelegentlich dazu führt, daß Worte abgetrennt und offenbar ohne Berücksichtigung der Korrelation von Text und Musik an eine optisch ansprechende Stelle in der Mitte der Phrase gesetzt werden.

Ein Beispiel hierfür ist in *Adiutorium nostrum* das Wort *clementiam* in der siebten Zeile des Bassus: Musikalisch am naheliegendsten und in den anderen Stimmen der vatikanischen Stimmbüchern beziehungsweise in den Konkordanzquellen auch so angezeigt wäre ein Beginn des Wortes gleich im Anschluß an *per tuam* auf den Tönen b-f-g-f etcetera; der Schreiber jedoch stellt das Wort weit nach rechts, um das Zeilenende nicht vollständig ohne Text zu lassen. Das Problem der Zuordnung von Silben zu Noten im Detail ist in jedem Fall das umgekehrte wie im Fall der Chorbücher

[20] Alle Datierungen stützen sich auf die jeweiligen Beschreibungen der Handschriften in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, passim.

[21] Flynn Warmington hat diese Textschrift als 'X' etikettiert; vgl. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 48

des Typs von BrusBR 215–16: Die einzelne Wortsilbe nimmt hier entschieden weniger Platz ein als eine einzelne Note, und somit endet die Aufzeichnung eines Wortes früher als die zugehörigen Noten – ein Sachverhalt, der sich noch verschärft, wenn (was auch nicht eben selten ist) zwei oder mehr Worte als geschlossene Phrase eingetragen sind. Die Entscheidung liegt erneut beim Sänger/Editor.

Insgesamt ist die Textierung der Quellen jedoch klar genug und die Musik selbst durch zahlreiche offensichtlich syllabische oder annähernd syllabische Passagen hinreichend suggestiv, um

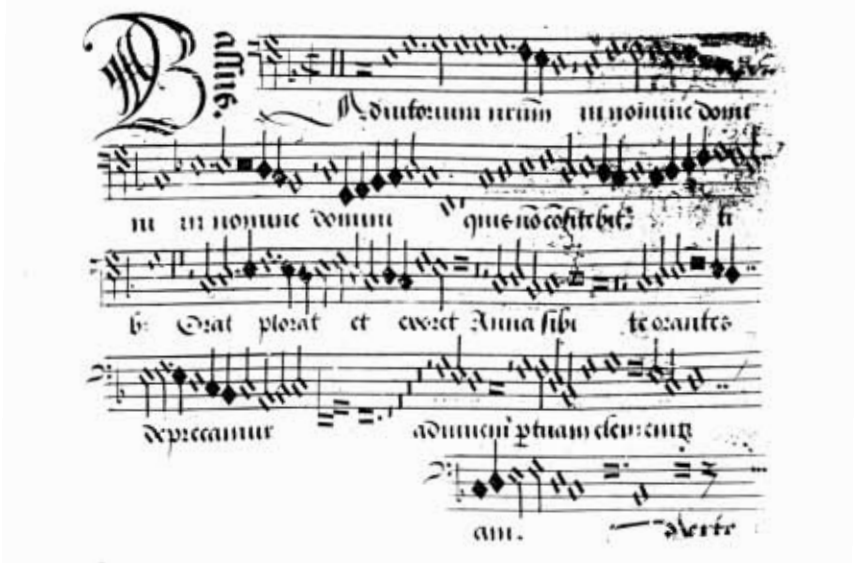


Abbildung 2a. Antoine de Févin, *Adiutorium nostrum*, Bassus, OxfBLL a.8.

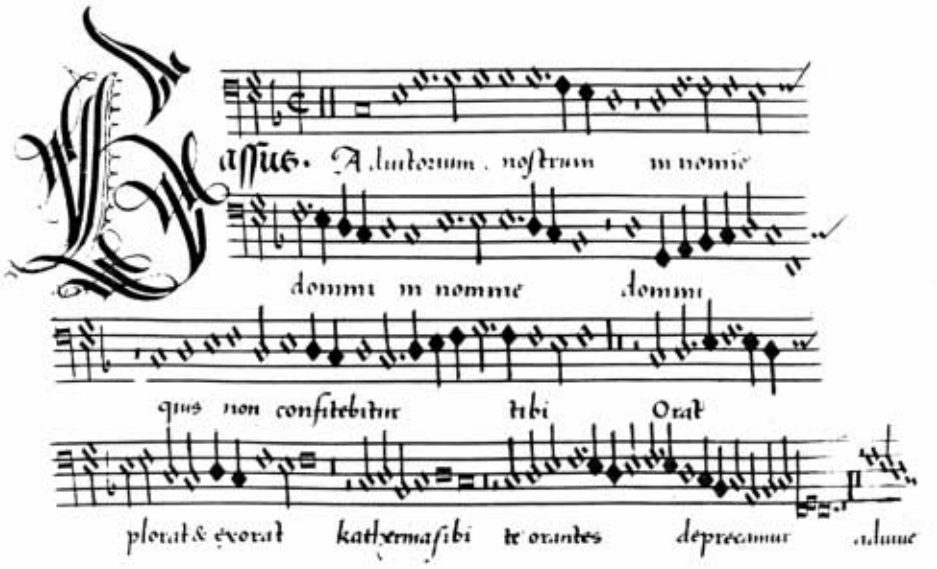


Abbildung 2b. Antoine de Févin, *Adiutorium nostrum*, Bassus, LonBLR 8 G.vii, fol. 5r.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 49

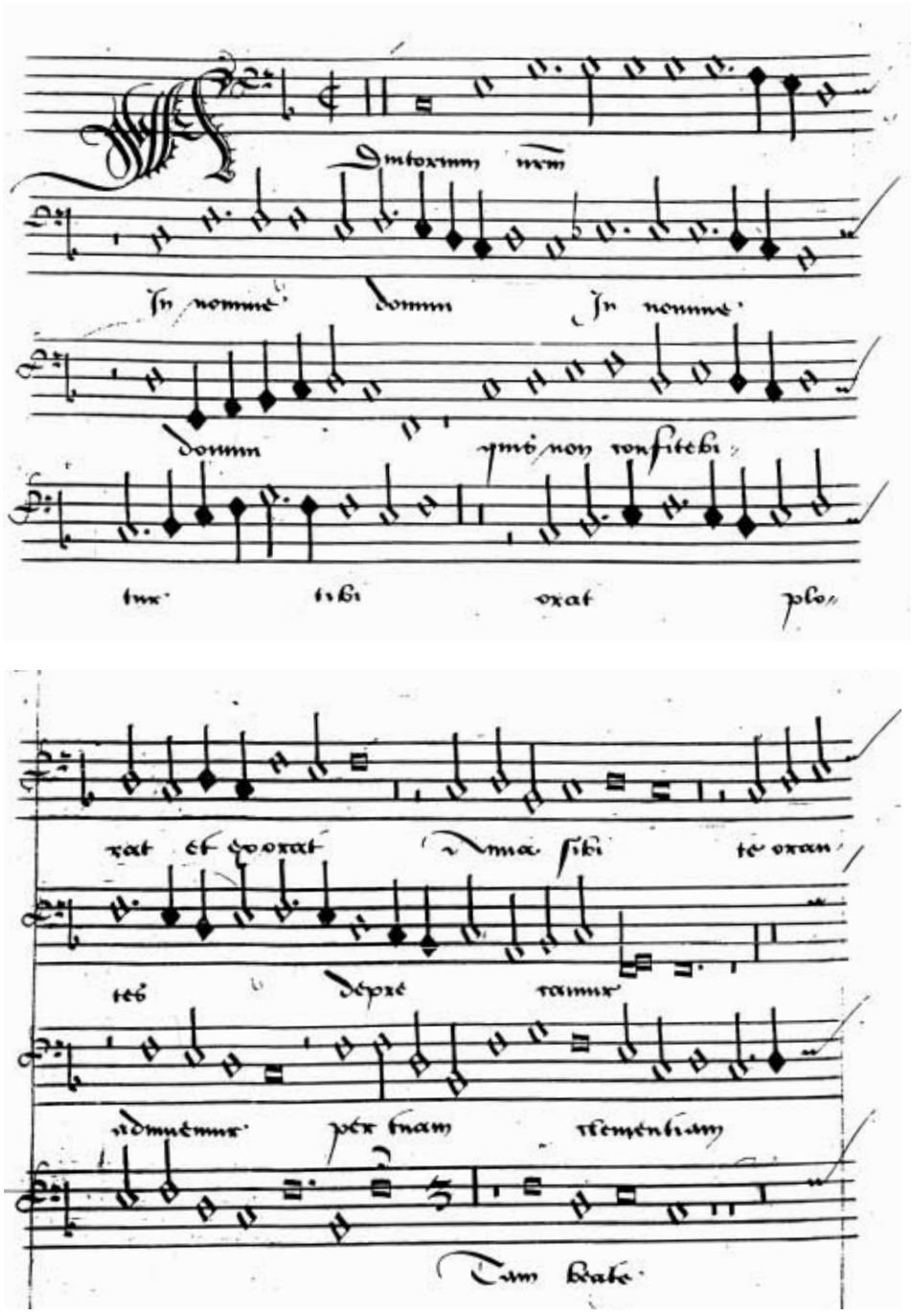


Abbildung 2c. Antoine de Févin, *Adiutorium nostrum*, Bassus, VatP 1976–79, Nr. 34.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 50

weitgehend eindeutige Lösungen zu ermöglichen. Die Textunterlegung der einzelnen Quellen an sich, so unterschiedlich sie auch auf der Seite aussehen mag, divergiert auch bei näherem Hinsehen über weite Strecken nur minimal; die Korrelation von Textphrase zu musikalischer Phrase ist ohnehin immer identisch; auch die relativ wenigen Textwiederholungen sind in allen drei Quellen gleich überliefert. Erneut jedoch sind es genau diejenigen Passagen, in denen ein Klärungsbedarf am nötigsten schiene, bei denen die Textierung der Quellen die meisten Fragen offen läßt, bei denen sie selber ungenau wird, die Worte scheinbar wahllos oder in geschlossenen Phrasen notiert. Es wirkt beinahe so, als ob der Schreiber in diesen melismatischen Abschnitten sich selbst seiner Sache nicht sicher gewesen sei.

Ein Blick auf die Baßstimme der drei Versionen läßt dies recht deutlich erkennen. Die ersten drei Phrasen – bis zum zweiten *In nomine domini* – beginnen weitgehend syllabisch und jeweils mit einer charakteristischen punktierten Semibrevis-Minima-Figur, die offensichtlich den Worten *adiutórium* und *in nómine* entspricht. Am Schluß jeder Phrase steht ein kurzes oder auch etwas längeres Melisma; in zwei Fällen muß das Melisma auf die Schlußsilbe fallen, da die vorhergehenden Tonwiederholungen eine andere Textierung verhindern (*nostram* in Zeile 1 und das zweite *nomine* in Zeile 2). Bei dem Wort *domini*, das aufgrund der Wiederholung des Textauschnittes *in nomine domini* je zweimal gesungen wird, ist nicht auf den ersten Blick festzustellen, auf welche Silbe die Melismen zu singen sind, da keine der drei Handschriften die Abtrennung von einzelnen Silben vornimmt; die Punktierung auf der jeweils betonten Silbe (nach den grammatischen Regeln des Latein) am Phrasenanfang legt aber nahe, daß auch am Phrasenende die grammatisch betonte Silbe – im Fall von *dómini* also die drittletzte – durch ein Melisma gelängt wird. Selbst wenn die Betonungspraxis des Lateinischen am burgundischen Hof eine andere gewesen sein sollte, somit also unter Umständen andere Silben durch Längung hervorgehoben wurden als die regulär betonten, kann man aber in jedem Fall davon ausgehen, daß ein tradierter und mehr oder weniger automatischer Konsens über die Ausführung solcher Pänultima- oder Antepänultimamelismen herrschte; fast jede Phrase der Musik um 1500, weltlich oder geistlich, endet mit einem solchen Melisma, und nur sehr selten ist eine bestimmte Ausführung in den Quellen angezeigt.

Beginnend mit *quis non confitebitur tibi* wird die Linie jedoch insgesamt melismatischer, und die Varianten nehmen zu. Ein Beispiel dafür ist das Wort *tibi*, dessen erste Silbe *ti* in allen drei Quellen vom Schreiber sehr klar plaziert wird. In der Oxforder Quelle (OxfBLL a.8) beginnt das Wort auf einer Semibrevis g, die von zwei Minimen f und e gefolgt wird. Eben diese Semibrevis wird in LonBLR 8 G.vii und VatP 1976–79 in eine punktierte Minima g und eine Seminimima f aufgespalten. Da somit nach dieser Überlieferung hier zwei Töne f aufeinander treffen und da Tonwiederholungen in Melismen zu dieser Zeit offenbar bereits vermieden werden, ist die Silbe *ti* folgerichtig erst auf dem zweiten f, das heißt der Semibrevis, zu singen und wird von den Schreibern auch dort gesetzt. In diesem Fall könnte man noch argumentieren, daß die Variante primär eine musikalische sei und daß daher die unterschiedliche Textierung nur eine Konsequenz des unterschiedlichen musikalischen Textes sei; in der darauffolgenden Phrase greift eine solche Begründung jedoch nicht, da der Notentext hier identisch ist. In der Oxforder Quelle sind die vier Einzelwörter *orat plorat et exorat* alle einzeln und mit deutlichen, aber unregelmäßigen Zwischenräumen aufgezeichnet, offensichtlich also mit der Absicht, jedem der Wörter eine spezifische Note als Beginn zuzuordnen. In LonBLR 8 G.vii und VatP 1976–79 ist dagegen nur *orat* abgetrennt, während *plorat et exorat* in deutlichem Abstand darauffolgend als geschlossene Phrase notiert sind und keine weiteren Anhaltspunkte zur Verdeutlichung der Unterlegung bieten. Und auch im weiteren Verlauf des Stückes – ebenso wie in den übrigen Stimmen – ist es immer der Schreiber des Oxforder Fragments (OxfBLL a.8), der sich ein wenig mehr Mühe gibt, Noten und Text mehr als nur phrasenweise ein-

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 51

ander zuzuordnen und so einem ratlosen Sänger auszuhelfen, während ein solches Bemühen in den beiden anderen Quellen nicht zu spüren ist. Deren Unterlegung ist zwar auch nahezu identisch, aber im Detail eher kursorisch.

Alle drei Quellen eint aber die bereits in den Quellen von Schreiber B festgestellte und im Grunde allen Quellen der Zeit gemeinsame Tendenz, die Textierung immer dort am präzisesten zu gestalten, wo sie – aus der Sicht des modernen Benutzers – am wenigsten nötig erscheint, das heißt in solchen Passagen, in denen syllabische Deklamation, klare Phrasierung und die eindeutige Korrelation von Textrhythmus und musikalischem Rhythmus ohnehin wenige oder gar keine Fragen offen lassen. Es scheint, als ob sich die Schreiber nur dort zu einer präzisen Zuordnung des Textes zu den Noten angehalten fühlten, wo der Textrhythmus und der musikalische Rhythmus in einem 'sinnvollen', das heißt auch zumindest annähernd genau definierbaren Verhältnis zueinander stehen, wo es also in der Tat 'fehlerhaft' wäre, dieses Verhältnis abzuändern oder zu verschleiern. In den stärker melismatischen Passagen wurde die Bindung des Textes an die Musik dagegen offenbar nicht als vergleichbar eng empfunden, so daß es wenig ausmachte, wenn sowohl die Textierung als auch die Ausführung von Quelle zu Quelle beziehungsweise von Umsetzung zu Umsetzung um ein paar Noten in die eine oder andere Richtung variierte. Févins *Adiutorium nostrum* ist hierfür zwar ein gutes, aber dennoch nur ein Beispiel unter unzähligen; in den essentiellen Passagen stimmt die Unterlegung in allen drei Quellen weitgehend überein, selbst innerhalb von Phrasen an solchen Stellen, wo Text und Musik temporär 'zueinander finden' (etwa in der zweiten Phrase, am Beginn der Wiederholung von *in nomine*). Die Präzisierung der Textunterlegung in nichtessentiellen, melismatischen Situationen stellt damit gewissermaßen eine 'Zugabe' des Schreibers dar, mit der er eine ihm sinnvoll erscheinende Lösung vorschlägt. Man sollte eine solche Lösung daher sicher nicht als zwingend ansehen, denn auch sie ist örtlich, zeitlich und individuell geprägt.[22] Sie stellt dennoch immerhin eine zeitgenössische Interpretation dar, die sich eine moderne Textierung oder Aufführung durchaus zum Vorbild oder zumindest Ausgangspunkt nehmen kann; es scheint wenig glaubhaft, daß ein moderner Bearbeiter besser mit den Konventionen der Musik um 1500 vertraut sein sollte als ein Kopist (in der Regel selbst Sänger) der unmittelbar auf die Entstehung folgenden Zeit.

Ein Schreiber des Alamire-Skriptoriums sticht dabei ganz besonders durch sein Bestreben hervor, Klarheit auch im 'nichtessentiellen' Detail zu schaffen; es ist der Kopist des Chansonniers von Margarethe von Österreich, BrusBR 228. Schon Warwick Edwards in seinem erwähnten Aufsatz[23] und Martin Picker in seiner Studie zu den beiden Chansonniers BrusBR 228 und BrusBR 11239[24] haben die Textierung dieser Handschrift zu Recht als außerordentlich sorgfältig hervorgehoben. In der Tat sind in BrusBR 228 Textierungspraktiken vorzufinden, die nicht nur im Alamire-Korpus, sondern in den Handschriften der Zeit überhaupt sehr ungewöhnlich sind. In übriger Hinsicht unterscheidet sich der Codex nur gering von den anderen des Korpus: Der Text ist überwiegend in einer sauberen, recht stark verzierten, aber nicht überaus regelmäßigen *cursiva textualis* gehalten, die

[22] Daß regionale Präferenzen hier eine Rolle spielen, zeigen vor allem die deutschen Drucke der 1530er und 1540er Jahre, in denen die Textunterlegung der Motetten der Josquin-Generation zum Teil ganz massiv nach humanistischen und im modernen Sinne 'korrekten' Kriterien der Textdeklamation (das heißt nach dem grammatischen Wortakzent des Lateinischen) überarbeitet wird, nicht nur durch Modifikation und Präzisierung der Unterlegung, sondern unter anderem auch durch Textwiederholungen und durch Veränderung der rhythmischen Gestalt der Musik selbst.

[23] EDWARDS, *Text underlay*, S. 34.

[24] M. PICKER, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria. MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1965, S. 3.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 52

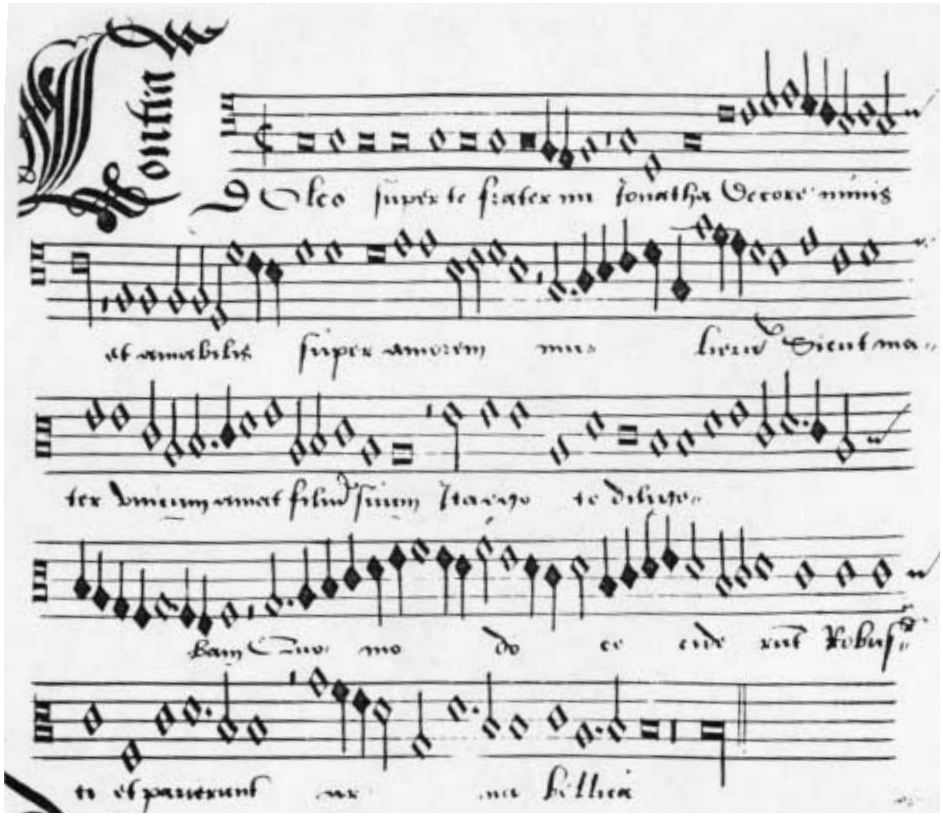


Abbildung 3a. Pierre de la Rue, *Doleo super te*, Contratenor, BrusBR 228, fol. 40r.

nicht von den anderen vergleichbaren Schrifttypen absticht; im Gegenteil sind die *cursiva textualis*-Hände etwa in der untersuchten Handschrift VatP 1976–79 oder auch in den entsprechenden Passagen von LonBLR 8 G.vii (siehe unten) entschieden gleichmäßiger und kalligraphisch hochwertiger als die im Brüsseler Codex. Die Noten sind wie üblich weitgehend durchgängig aufgezeichnet, allerdings streckenweise in der an die Quellen der B-Gruppe erinnernden Art, Semibreven und Breven in etwas weiterem Abstand zu notieren als die kleineren Werte und gegebenenfalls sogar erneut Semibrevenpaare als 'Taktgruppen' abzusetzen (siehe Abbildung 3a).

Erneut soll ein Vergleich zur Demonstration dienen: Die von Pierre de la Rue stammende Motette *Doleo super te*[25] ist sowohl in BrusBR 228 als auch in LonBLR 8 G.vii überliefert, die nach gängiger Meinung etwa im selben Zeitraum (ca. 1516–1520) entstanden.[26] Der Contratenor

[25] *Doleo super te* ist die *quarta pars* der Motette *Considera Israel*, in LonBLR 8 G.vii und in BrusBR 228 allerdings als Einzelstück überliefert; Editionen sind in N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER und T.H. KEAHEY edd., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/9), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1996, S. 22–25; PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, S. 327–329.

[26] Die Motette ist – als vierter Teil des hier vollständigen Zyklus – innerhalb des Alamire-Korpus auch noch in VatP 1976–79 überliefert (Superius fol. 51v). Diese Fassung – die die beschriebenen Grundcharakteristika der betreffenden Handschrift aufweist – soll hier allerdings nicht weiter berücksichtigt werden.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 53

beider Versionen ist in Abbildung 3 zu sehen, und in der Tat wird auch hier deutlich, daß die Londoner Quelle zwar das etwas weniger verzierte, aber insgesamt ebenmäßigere Schriftbild zeigt. Die hier vorliegende Textierung ist der schon in Févins *Adiutorium nostrum* beobachteten trotz des anderen Schrifttyps sehr ähnlich: Generell werden Worte oder Phrasenteile, seltener sogar ganze Phrasen als geschlossene Einheiten notiert; nur an Zeilenumbrüchen werden bei Bedarf Silben abgetrennt; in den recht zahlreichen und teilweise auch recht ausgedehnten melismatischen Passagen fehlen Ansätze einer Spezifizierung weitgehend. Eine generelle Besonderheit des Londoner Schreibers ist dagegen, daß er – mehr als andere Schreiber des Alamire-Skriptoriums – dazu neigt, einzelne Wörte zu wiederholen, wenn er auf eine Stelle stößt, wo ihm die Musik dies zu erfordern scheint. Ganz anders in BrusBR 228: Hier wird zwar kein Text wiederholt, aber der Schreiber unternimmt den ungewöhnlichen Versuch, Noten und Text immer und absolut unmißverständlich einander zuzuordnen. Platzprobleme sind aufgrund der relativ weiten Notation vergleichsweise selten; in den deklamatorischen Passagen wird in bekannter Weise Wort für Wort so aufgezeichnet, daß jeweils die Anfangssilbe klar zugeordnet wird, und der Rest ergibt sich aus dem rhythmischen Kontext; in den Melismen aber werden oft auch die Worte noch in einzelne, durch kleine Doppelbindestriche verbundene Silben aufgetrennt, so daß auch hier wenig bis kein Ermessensspielraum bleibt.

Die Contratenores der beiden Versionen beginnen dabei erneut recht ähnlich – die erste Phrase ist ohnehin praktisch rein syllabisch, und am Schluß auf *decore nimis* (M. 10–14) ist in beiden

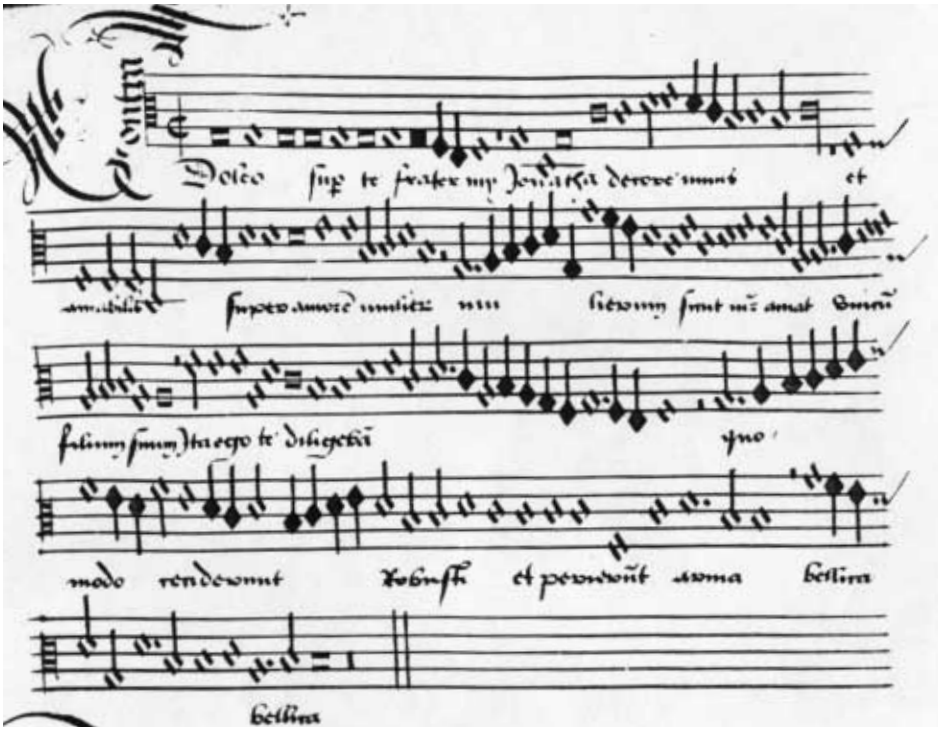


Abbildung 3b. Pierre de la Rue, *Doleo super te*, Contratenor, LonBLR 8 G.vii, fol. 18r.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 54

Quellen aus Platzgründen zwar unklar, wo genau das Melisma zu beginnen hat, aber am nächstliegenden und auch deklamatorisch befriedigendsten scheint in jedem Fall die einfachste Lösung, eine syllabische Textierung von *decore* und ein längeres Pänultima-Melisma auf *ni*. In der Folge verdeutlicht der Schreiber von BrusBR 228 konsequent, auf welche Silbe jeweils das Melisma zu singen ist, in der direkt darauffolgenden Phrase etwa direkt auf die erste Silbe *mu* von *mulierum* (dieser Typus eines Initialmelisma ist allerdings hinreichend ungewöhnlich, daß sich sogar der Schreiber von LonBLR 8 G.vii bemüßigt fühlt, hier die erste Silbe abzutrennen). Am deutlichsten wird die Sonderstellung von BrusBR 228 aber in Mensur 42–47, *quomodo ceciderunt robusti*: Hier ist in einer rhythmisch kleinteiligen Phrase, die von sich aus keinerlei deklamatorische Anhaltspunkte gibt, fast jede Silbe getrennt notiert und einer spezifischen Note zugeordnet, in einer Art und Weise, die sogar durchaus den 'Regeln' des späteren sechzehnten Jahrhunderts entspricht (*mo* steht zwar mitten in einer Semiminimenkette, aber auf dem Anfang einer Brevis-*perfectio*, *do* auf einer Semibrevis, nachdem die vorhergehende Minima das Melisma abgeschlossen hat, *ce* am Anfang einer Semiminimenkette, *ci-de* auf zwei darauffolgenden Minimen, mit denen wieder die klar deklamatorischen Folgen von Minimen und Semibreven beginnen, die streng syllabisch unterlegt sind). Der Benutzer der Londoner Quelle ist dagegen – nach einem als solches gekennzeichneten längeren Melisma auf der ersten Silbe *quo* – erneut weitgehend auf sich gestellt, was die Textierung betrifft; erst bei den Worten *et perierunt* der darauffolgenden Phrase wird sie wieder syllabisch und damit eindeutig.

Das eher unentschlossene Textierungsverhalten der Londoner Quelle (LonBLR 8 G.vii) führt zudem an essentiellen Punkten bisweilen zu in hohem Maße fragwürdiger Unterlegung. Ein solcher Fall liegt in Mensur 15–25 der Baßstimme vor, *et amabilis super amorem mulierum*. Der Schreiber von BrusBR 228 teilt die Phrase in zwei Teilphrasen *et amabilis*/*super amorem mulierum* auf und läßt die erste Teilphrase auf der Brevis g enden, mit einem Melisma von drei Minimen gleich auf der zweiten Silbe (das *a* von *amabilis* ist hierfür abgetrennt); die zweite Hälfte der Phrase ist rein syllabisch, wie es das gleichförmige Fortschreiten in Semibreven auch nahezulegen, wenn nicht gar zu erfordern scheint. In der Londoner Handschrift dagegen ist *et amabilis* geschlossen notiert und *super* mit nur geringem Abstand danach. Die rein syllabische Textierung, die sich hieraus ergäbe, würde *super* der ersten Phrasenhälfte mit Ende auf der Brevis g zuteilen; für die zweite Phrasenhälfte bliebe nur der Text *amorem mulierum* und damit eigentlich nicht genügend Silben für die Anzahl der syllabisch-deklamatorischen Semibreven.

Auch der Schreiber von BrusBR 228 ist natürlich nicht unfehlbar; die Sorgfalt im Detail geht bei ihm dann und wann sogar einher mit offensichtlichen Fehlentscheidungen in essentiellen Fragen, das heißt welcher Text überhaupt welcher Phrase zuzuordnen ist. Seine Unterlegungsvorschläge sind in solchen Fällen kaum oder überhaupt nicht umzusetzen oder erscheinen zumindest wenig plausibel.[27] In *Doleo super te* etwa verschiebt sich bei ihm die Textierung des Superius durch die Entscheidung, den Worten *frater mi Jonatha* mehr Platz einzuräumen, ab der zweiten Zeile so stark, daß im Vergleich zu den übrigen Quellen die Textphrasen immer um eine musikalische Phrase nach hinten verschoben erscheinen. Die Unterlegung im einzelnen ist dann wieder durchaus sorgfältig und durchaus nicht unattraktiv, aber am Ende geht schlicht der Platz aus, und die letzte Textzeile mit zehn Silben ist unter nur sieben Noten aufgezeichnet. Auch im Contratenor in Mensur 19–26 (*super amorem mulierum*, zweite Zeile in den Quellen) scheint die Version der Londoner Quelle

[27] PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, S. 136, bezeichnet die Textierung von BrusBR 228 insgesamt als "unsatisfactory", was sich offenbar auf diese grundsätzlichen Probleme bezieht, denn dort, wo derartige Abweichungen nicht vorliegen, folgt Picker der Brüsseler Quelle im Detail durchaus.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 55

(LonBLR 8 G.vii), die das Wort *mulierum* direkt im Anschluß an *amorem* noch vor der Minima-Pause vortragen läßt und auf dem folgenden Melisma wiederholt, dankbarer als die Lösung in BrusBR 228: Hier wird wie üblich auf Textwiederholung verzichtet, was in einem längeren Melisma auf der Schlußsilbe von *amorem* resultiert, auf eine Notenfolge, die eine Textierung nach dem gesamten deklamatorischen Gestus des Stückes eigentlich zu fordern scheint. Diese Forderung scheint noch dazu mit dem Wort *mulierum* bestens erfüllt, das so auch an dieser Stelle mit der Textierung der übrigen Stimmen übereinstimmen würde.[28] Die Genauigkeit der Unterlegung durch den Schreiber der Brüsseler Handschrift im Einzelnen geht also offenbar nicht Hand in Hand mit einem insgesamt größeren musikalischen Verständnis oder einer größeren Nähe zu den Intentionen des Komponisten, soweit diese aus der Musik zu rekonstruieren sind; es handelt sich um ein rein individuelles Bestreben nach Genauigkeit, das eventuelle Fehlentscheidungen nur um so deutlicher hervortreten lässt. Während demnach der Rang von BrusBR 228 als Quelle nicht automatisch höher zu bewerten ist, bloß weil der Text präziser unterlegt ist, können die hier präsentierten Lösungen dennoch erneut als Ausgangspunkt für die allgemeine Textierungspraxis der Zeit dienen.

Auch die ungewöhnlichen Bemühungen des Schreibers von BrusBR 228 können jedoch nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß die Textierungspraktiken des Alamire-Korpus sich zwar leicht von denen zeitgenössischer Quellen abheben, insgesamt aber eher die Regel als die Ausnahme für ihre Zeit darstellen. Zweifellos handelt es sich um Handschriften, die mit großer Sorgfalt und Sinn für Ästhetik hergestellt wurden, und diese Sorgfalt schlägt auch auf den Text durch, der ein überdurchschnittliches kalligraphisches Niveau mit einer insgesamt recht zielgerichteten Unterlegung verbindet (wobei, wie gesehen, die Kriterien variieren und die Unterlegung auch nach primär ästhetischen Gesichtspunkten erfolgen kann). Der Anteil von Wort- und Silbenunterlegung gegenüber der reinen Phrasenunterlegung ist im Durchschnitt nicht viel, aber doch erkennbar höher als in anderen Handschriften der Zeit.

Andererseits ist die Bandbreite der unterschiedlichen Praktiken so groß, daß ein einheitliches Bild kaum entsteht; wie gezeigt wurde, kommen zu den individuellen Präferenzen des Schreibers noch eine ganze Reihe anderer, äußerer Faktoren hinzu, die Einfluß auf die Textierung nehmen, wie Format, räumliche Disposition und Dimensionen der Noten wie der Systeme, Schrifttyp, Schriftduktus etcetera. Auch in Handschriften, die offenbar zu annähernd der selben Zeit und mit Sicherheit am selben Ort entstanden, offenbar sogar in Handschriften desselben Schreibers (soweit eine solche Aussage überhaupt mit einiger Sicherheit getroffen werden kann) können somit erhebliche Divergenzen auftreten, die eine Gruppierung der Quellen, ganz zu schweigen von einer Zuordnung zu bestimmten Schreibern oder gar von Datierungen, anhand der Textunterlegung als außerordentlich schwieriges Unterfangen erscheinen lassen. Als zusätzlicher Parameter, anhand dessen bestehende Hypothesen überprüft und gegebenfalls bekräftigt oder in Zweifel gezogen werden können, ist die Textierung gleichwohl von Nutzen. Durch sie rücken beispielsweise VatC 234 und BrusBR 9126 noch enger zusammen. Durch sie läßt sich (entgegen der Entstehungschronologie) OxfBLL a.8 einerseits von LonBLR 8 G.vii und VatP 1976–79 andererseits abgrenzen. Durch sie entsteht – trotz eines fast vollständig übereinstimmenden Notentextes und trotz zeitlicher Nähe – eine breite Kluft zwischen BrusBR 228 und LonBLR 8 G.vii, die es angesichts der starken Abweichungen in essen-

[28] Die Handschrift FlorBN II.I.232 hat an dieser Stelle den Text *et amabilis* valde *super amorem* etc. (entsprechend auch die La Rue-Gesamtausgabe), ein Wort, das aber deklamatorisch hier nur mit größter Mühe unterzubringen ist und auch in der biblischen Vorlage fehlt. Es ist letztlich nicht zu klären, mit welchem Text der Komponist arbeitete; da aber die Schreiber des Alamire-Skriptoriums allesamt ohne das zusätzliche Wort operieren, soll es hier außer Acht bleiben.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 56

tiellen Textierungsfragen als extrem unwahrscheinlich erscheinen läßt, daß eine direkte Abhängigkeit besteht oder sogar, daß eine dritte, nicht überlieferte Version beiden als direktes Vorbild diente. Die Beispiele ließen sich fortsetzen; bereits Howard Mayer Brown hatte ja anhand der *Missa de septem doloribus* Pierre de la Rues Ähnliches festgestellt und die Praxis in BrusBR 15075 von der der früheren Quellen isoliert. Auch wenn eine hieb- und stichfeste Beweisführung hier natürlich nicht angetreten werden kann, ist es offenbar der Mühe wert, in dieser Richtung weiterzuarbeiten.

Neben dieser Möglichkeit der internen Differenzierung gibt die Untersuchung eines so umfangreichen Korpus von Handschriften auch Anlaß zu einigen allgemeineren Beobachtungen und Schlußfolgerungen zum Usus der Textierung mehrstimmiger Musik um 1500. Es stellt sich nämlich heraus, daß die Schreiber des Alamire-Korpus (wie die Schreiber der Zeit überhaupt) im Grunde wie die Kopisten des vierzehnten und frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts trotz veränderter Kopierreihenfolge und stark gewandeltem Repertoire nach wie vor deutlich zwischen essentiell textierten (das heißt ganz oder annähernd syllabischen) und essentiell untextierten (das heißt melismatischen) Passagen unterscheiden. Diese Unterscheidung schlägt sich oft in der Disposition der Noten (in der Regel etwas weiter auseinander notiert) und so gut wie immer in der Unterlegung nieder. ‘Essentiell textiert’ und damit präzise zu kennzeichnen sind neben Phrasenbeginn und -ende vor allem solche Passagen, die man als ‘deklamatorisch’ bezeichnen könnte, in denen das Verhältnis von Musik und Text durch Syllabik, durch rhythmisch-metrische Korrespondenzen von Text und Musik sowie grundsätzliche Konventionen der Phrasierung (zum Beispiel die Tatsache, daß in der geistlichen Musik der Zeit Semiminimen und noch kleinere Werte grundsätzlich nicht einzeln syllabisch textiert werden) für Schreiber und Sänger klar nachzuvollziehen ist. In solchen Passagen ist das von Jonathan King so genannte *sound image* des Schreibers (der ja in der Regel gleichzeitig ausübender Sänger war),[29] das heißt seine Vorstellung, wie das von ihm kopierte Musikstück in praktischer Ausführung zu klingen habe, abgesehen von offenkundigen Fehlleistungen weitgehend invariant, und die Textierung der Handschriften ist im Detail ausgesprochen deutlich, oft deutlicher sogar, als dies aufgrund der eben sehr klaren musikalischen Sachverhalte eigentlich nötig wäre.

Andererseits macht aber die Bandbreite der Textierungspraktiken im Alamire-Skriptorium im nicht essentiellen Bereich, das heißt in phraseninternen Passagen, die nicht im dargelegten Sinne ‘deklamatorisch’ sind, in außerordentlich plastischer Weise deutlich, wie sogar zwei Schreiber, die zur selben Zeit im selben Raum arbeiteten, oder auch ein und derselbe Schreiber in zwei verschiedenen Handschriften, für dasselbe Musikstück zwei sehr unterschiedliche Textierungslösungen anbieten konnten (oder aber auf das Anbieten einer Lösung überhaupt verzichten konnten), ohne daß dies in irgendeiner Form als ‘falsch’ oder auch nur ungewöhnlich angesehen worden wäre. Dies kann selbst innerhalb des Alamire-Skriptoriums so weit gehen, daß ein Schreiber, der offenbar eine Abneigung gegen lange Melismen hegt, ständig Textwiederholungen einsetzt (vor allem der Kopist von LonBLR 8 G.vii zeigt diese Tendenz streckenweise sehr deutlich) und ein anderer ganze Phrasen untextiert läßt. Individuelle, zum Teil sehr spezifische Lösungen wie die in BrusBR 228 oder in etwas geringerem Ausmaß in OxfBLL a.8 vorgefundenen können hier Ausgangspunkt und Anhaltspunkt sein, da sie zumindest eine spezifische Version eines zeitgenössischen *sound image* darstellen. Insgesamt war dieses *sound image* in melismatischen Passagen aber ganz offensichtlich sehr variabel, was gar nicht so sehr überraschend sein sollte: In einem Melisma, das nicht selten

[29] J. KING, *Texting in Early Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony*, Phil. Diss., University of Oxford, 1996, S. 43–49; eine Zusammenfassung dieser Dissertation ist J. KING, *Texting Practices in Manuscript Sources of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphony*, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), S. 1–25.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 57

aus zwanzig oder mehr Noten besteht, bei der Unterlegung von zwei oder drei Silben zwischen ‘richtig’ und ‘falsch’ unterscheiden zu wollen, wenn es um die Setzung einer Silbe einige Noten weiter vorne oder weiter hinten geht, ist weder erfolgversprechend noch eigentlich sachdienlich, egal ob man zeitgenössische oder moderne Kriterien anlegt.

hfst Schmidt-Beste 12-11-2003 14:29 Pagina 58

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 59

Die Handschriften Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 11883 und Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi C VIII 234 als Vorlagen am burgundisch-habsburgischen Hof

Michael Friebel
Universität Salzburg

Nur ganz selten kann im Bereich der älteren Musik nachgewiesen werden, daß zwei erhaltene Handschriften zueinander in einem direkten Verhältnis von Vorlage und Abschrift stehen. Oft läßt sich – im Gegenteil – sogar zeigen, daß unter mehreren konkordanten Quellen keine von einer der anderen abstammen kann, daß jede einzelne also im Stemma den Endpunkt eines Zweiges darstellt. Wenn eine von ihnen auch möglicherweise als Vorlage für andere (nicht erhaltene) Abschriften gedient hat, ist dies kaum jemals nachzuweisen. Und umgekehrt kann meist auch nur wenig über die Vorlagen der erhaltenen Handschriften gesagt werden, über deren Vorbereitung und die Vorgangsweise beim Kopieren.

Versetzt man sich in die Lage eines Kopisten – und sieht man erst einmal von der Möglichkeit von Eingriffen in Verzierungen, Notationsweise, Textunterlegung etc. ab –, ergibt sich als erstes das Problem der Aufteilung einer Komposition auf die Seiten der Abschrift: Alle Stimmen eines mehrstimmigen Stücks müssen – zumindest in einem Chorbuch – an derselben Stelle der Komposition ihren Seitenumbruch haben.

Dieses Problem ist nicht zu unterschätzen, denn es muß der Schreiber entweder das Stück sehr gut kennen, um eine geeignete Stelle für das Umblättern zu finden, oder er muß für sich zuvor den betreffenden Satz im Zusammenhang der Stimmen durchgedacht haben: Wo ihm in einer Stimme die Trennung geeignet erscheint, wird er die korrespondierende Stelle der übrigen Stimmen suchen müssen, sich dabei an Kadenzen orientieren oder, was bei anspruchsvoller Musik kaum zu vermeiden sein wird, die Mensuren in allen Stimmen auszählen – eine äußerst zeitraubende Arbeit: Man darf annehmen, daß die Kopisten einer professionellen Werkstatt – auch schon vor fünfhundert Jahren – daran interessiert waren, unnötigen Zeitaufwand möglichst gering zu halten.

Die Handschriften vom burgundisch-habsburgischen Hof sind das größte erhaltene Korpus an Quellen mehrstimmiger Musik der Renaissance. Wir haben es dabei – in Zeiten des beginnenden Notendrucks – mit einer wahren Handschriften-Industrie zu tun, die zwar versuchte, die Individualität jeder einzelnen Abschrift zu wahren (immerhin haben sich keine zwei 'gleichen' Handschriften erhalten), die aber doch auf allen Ebenen, von der Auswahl der Kompositionen bis zu den Motiven der Buchmalerei, mit – mehr oder weniger – genormten Bausteinen operiert. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es dafür entsprechende Vorlagen gegeben hat, und es ist auch anzunehmen, daß diese Vorlagen so eingerichtet waren, daß eine Abschrift ohne lange weitere Vorbereitung möglich war.

Barton Hudson hat – einer Anregung von Jeremy Noble folgend – die These aufgestellt, mit VienNB 11883 habe sich eine Sammlung solcher Vorlagen erhalten.[1] In dem vorliegenden Beitrag

[1] B. HUDSON, *A Glimpse into a Scribal Workshop, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 11883*, in A. CLEMENT und E. JAS edd., *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: donum natalicium Willem Elders*, (*Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1994, S. 179–214.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 60

soll versucht werden, weitere Überlegungen in diese Richtung anzustellen und zu zeigen, daß eine zweite Handschrift auf professioneller Ebene für denselben Zweck verwendet und eingerichtet wurde: der Chigi-Codex (VatC 234).

Es wird nicht nötig sein, an dieser Stelle nochmals eine allgemeine Beschreibung der Chigi-Handschrift zu geben.[2] Nur soviel: Wir kennen zwar mit einiger Sicherheit den Beginn ihrer Geschichte als Repräsentationshandschrift für Philippe Bouton. Wir wissen auch, daß sie sich recht bald in Spanien wiederfindet. Was dazwischen liegt, ist jedoch unklar. Vor allem auf Grund von Textnachträgen, die eine tatsächliche Verwendung für musikalische Aufführungen nahelegen, wurde vermutet, daß Philippe Bouton professionelle Musiker zur Verfügung hatte, die aus dem Codex singen konnten, daß eventuell auch die höfische Cappella mitunter eine Möglichkeit des Zugriffs hatte.[3] Aber es bleiben doch einige Jahre am Beginn des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts als mehr oder weniger weiße Flecken bestehen. Diese Lücke gilt es zu schließen.

Weniger bekannt ist die Wiener Vorlagensammlung VienNB 11883, deren Literatur sich im Moment – neben Besprechungen und Editionen einzelner Werke – praktisch auf Barton Hudsons Artikel (Fußnote 1) und einen kurzen Eintrag im Katalog der Alamire-Handschriften[4] beschränkt.

WIEN, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, HANDSCHRIFTENSAMMLUNG, MS. 11883

Der Wiener Codex 11883 (VienNB 11883) besteht aus siebenundzwanzig unabhängigen Faszikeln kleineren Formats, die später ohne erkennbares Ordnungsprinzip zusammengebunden wurden. Die meisten von ihnen verzichten auf jede kalligraphische Sorgfalt und überliefern nur jeweils eine einzige Messe. Barton Hudson hat sie deshalb mit jener Art der *fascicle-manuscripts* in Zusammenhang gebracht, die Charles Hamm als einzig mögliche Erklärung für die Struktur der erhaltenen Handschriften postuliert hatte.[5] Es wäre damit also eine Sammlung jener Quellen erhalten, die zur Verbreitung der Kompositionen von Hand zu Hand weitergegeben wurden und untereinander in keiner besonderen Nahebeziehung stehen mußten. Die weite Streuung der Wasserzeichen scheint dies zu bestätigen:[6] 'Some may have originated in northern France, while others could have come from the Netherlands, Belgium, or Germany.'

Gerade die Wasserzeichen sind es aber, die einen gemeinsamen Ursprung für alle Faszikel nahelegen: Am häufigsten erscheint das Motiv einer Vase[7] (mit einem Henkel, Krone und vierblättriger Blume) und der Buchstabe P [8] (mit vierblättriger Blume). Im letzten Faszikel kommen beide Papiersorten vor, sie müssen also aus der gleichen Umgebung stammen. Rechnet man dazu die

[2] Einen guten Überblick über bisherige Forschung und Literatur bietet H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999, S. 125 ff.

[3] Vgl. das Vorwort zur Faksimile-Ausgabe H. KELLMAN ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, (*Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 22), New York – London, 1987, S. xi (Fußnote 9).

[4] E. JAS und M. FRIEBEL, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 11883 (VienNB 11883)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 44, S. 150 f.

[5] C. HAMM, *Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 34 (1962), S. 166–184. Obwohl dieser Artikel sich vor allem auf die Zeit des frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts bezieht, sind die Ergebnisse großteils auch auf spätere Handschriften übertragbar.

[6] HUDSON, *A Glimpse into a Scribal Workshop*, S. 183.

[7] Hudsons WM 2 [WM = Wasserzeichen] (in neun verschiedenen Faszikeln einschließlich der beiden Isaac-Messen und Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat*).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 61

Abschnitte mit ganz ähnlichen Wasserzeichen[9] und jene Motive, die mit diesen in derselben Lage erscheinen, ergibt sich zwischen fast allen Faszikeln ein Zusammenhang:[10] Mehrfaches Auftreten der gleichen (oder ganz ähnlicher) Wasserzeichen in verschiedenen Lagen und die Kombination mehrerer Zeichen innerhalb desselben Faszikels ergeben ein Geflecht von wechselseitigen Bezügen, welche nur in gemeinsamer Provenienz eine befriedigende Erklärung finden.[11]

Es läßt sich auch zeigen, daß einige Lagen aus der unmittelbaren Umgebung des Alamire-Skriptoriums stammen müssen, denn gerade die häufigsten Wasserzeichen sind auch aus anderen Quellen derselben Werkstatt bekannt.[12] Außerdem erscheinen zumindest in zwei Messen[13] die Hände von Petrus Alamire[14] (fol. 42v–44r, 145v–148r) und dessen Schreiber K oder F[15] (fol. 44v–51r, 148v–163r – vgl. Abbildung 1). Ob die übrigen Schreiber Kopisten der burgundisch-habsburgischen Werkstatt oder Musiker aus der Umgebung des Hofes waren, muß – zumindest im Moment – offen bleiben.

[8] Hudsons WM 5 (in sechs verschiedenen Faszikeln, einschließlich Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa*; als durchstrichenes P mit vierblättriger Blume außerdem in Obrechts *Missa Lomme arme*).

[9] Vase mit zwei Henkeln, ohne Krone oder ohne Blume in verschiedenen Kombinationen. Ganz allgemein muß gesagt werden, daß Wasserzeichen, die hier (und bei Hudson) als gleiche Motive in verschiedenen Faszikeln genannt werden, selten ganz identisch sind.

[10] Die einzige Ausnahme ist Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum* (fol. 208–221). Sie hängt zwar über das Wasserzeichen ihres mittleren Doppelblatts (Buchstabe P ohne Blume) mit der anonymen *Missa Ma bouche rit* (fol. 285–294) zusammen und – von der fehlenden Blume abgesehen – mit den Faszikeln aus Fußnote 8. Dieses mittlere Doppelblatt stammt aber von einem anderen Schreiber, und da sich nur ein einzelner Bogen durch den gleichzeitigen Wechsel von Schreiberhand und Wasserzeichen von seiner Umgebung abhebt, kann es sich dabei nur um ein verlorenes und später ersetztes Doppelblatt handeln, das über die Provenienz der übrigen Blätter nichts auszusagen braucht. Deren Wasserzeichen, ein Wappen mit Lilie und Kreuz mit drei Nägeln, erscheint sonst nicht in VienNB 11883.

[11] Hudsons Untersuchung der Wasserzeichen scheint dem zu widersprechen, da zumindest ein Zeichen, das er bei Briquet wiedergefunden hat, aus Frankreich stammen soll: WM 7 "Paddle-wheel = BriquetF 13564 (central France; 1484–1514)". Aber gerade dieses Zeichen erscheint nur ein einziges Mal (fol. 98) in Amanus Fabers *Missa De puis q'une josne fille*, wo sonst nur das P mit vierblättriger Blume vorkommt.

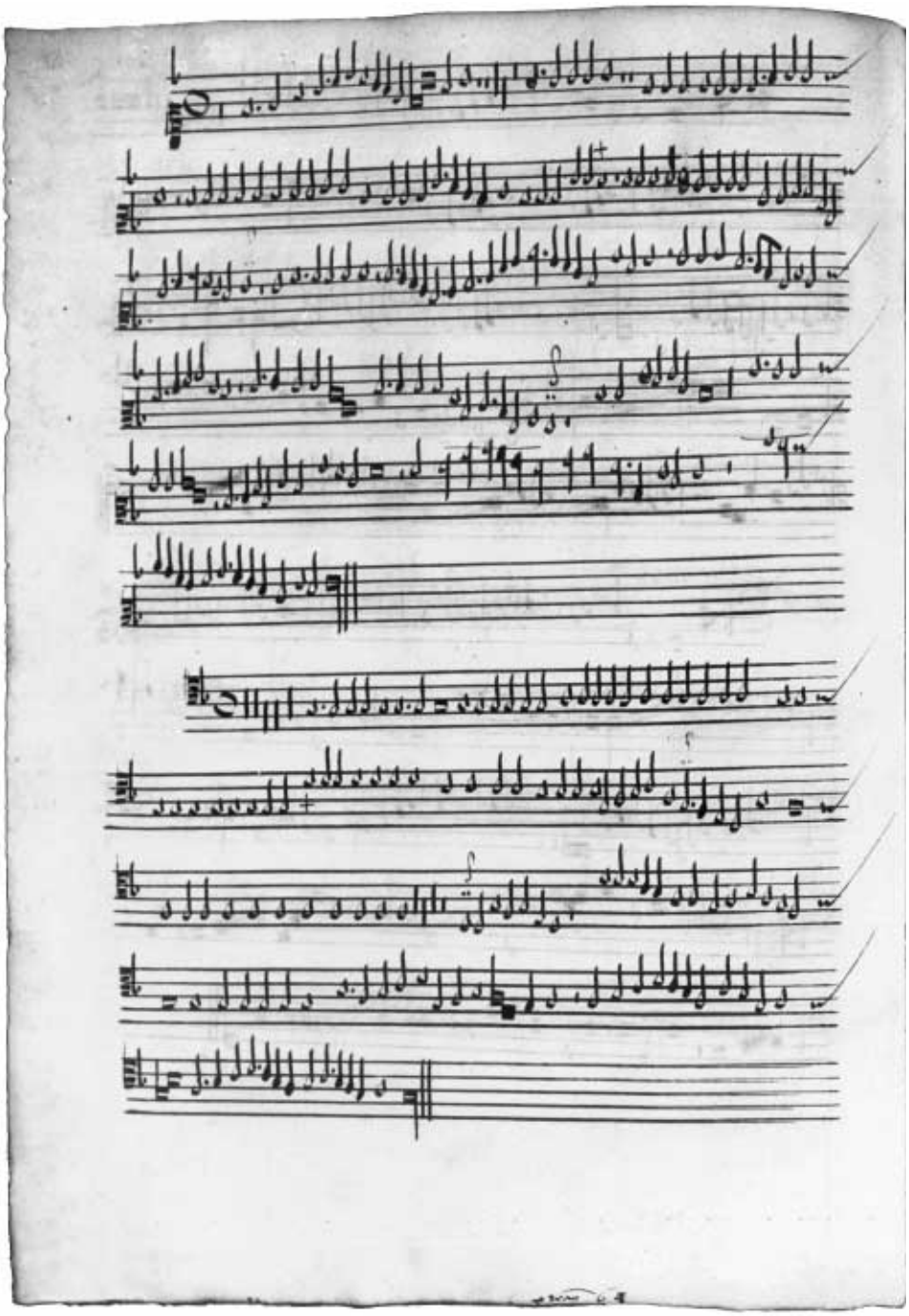
[12] Buchstabe P mit Blume in VienNB 4809, VienNB 4810 und VienNB 11778 (?), VienNB Mus. 18746 und MunBS 6; Vase mit Blume in VienNB 9814 und MunBS 7; beide Wasserzeichen gemeinsam in VienNB Mus. 15941, VienNB Mus. 18825 und VienNB Mus. 18832. Vgl. C. HAMM und H. KELLMAN edd., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988, und KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*. Natürlich wurde für die großformatigen Handschriften wie VienNB 4809 etc. ganz anderes, dickeres Papier verwendet.

[13] Isaacs Messen *Quant j'ay au cueur* (fol. 42–51) und *Misericordias domini* (fol. 145–163).

[14] Ob es sich wirklich um Petrus Alamire selbst handelt, konnte bisher nicht mit letzter Sicherheit festgestellt werden. Die Überlegungen in diese Richtung sind aber durchaus plausibel. Vgl. dazu vor allem F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 44 f.

[15] Ob es sich um Schreiber F oder K handelt, möchte ich vorläufig gerne offenlassen. Die informelle Schrift in VienNB 11883 macht es schwer, die Unterscheidungskriterien der großen Handschriften anzuwenden. Flynn Warmington hat diese Schrift *scribe K* zugeordnet (KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus* Alamire, S. 52 und 150), und es wäre zu wünschen, daß die Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten der beiden Kopisten – wenn es sich wirklich um zwei verschiedene Personen handelt – deutlicher herausgearbeitet würden, etwa die asymmetrische Form der Notenköpfe, die geschlungenen F-Schlüssel, die besondere Placierung und Form der Mensurzeichen etc. – vgl. Abbildung 1 und die Abbildungen in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 75, 80 (Schreiber F) und S. 81, 83 (Schreiber K) sowie V. ROELVINK, *Gegeven den Sangeren. Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2002, S. 96 unten, 116 f. (Schreiber F) und S. 92, 96 oben, 109, 118f., 124–126 (Schreiber K) sowie die Tabelle der Eigenheiten beider Schreiber S. 112 (*scrib. I* = F, *scrib. II* = K).
Ich möchte nicht versäumen, an dieser Stelle meinen Dank an David Fallows auszusprechen. Mit ihm gemeinsam in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek durch ein Dutzend Alamire-Handschriften zu gehen und – noch vor Veröffentlichung des *Treasury* – die offenen Fragen zu diskutieren, stellte einen unbeschreiblichen Gewinn dar, ohne den der vorliegende Beitrag wahrscheinlich nie zustande gekommen wäre.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 62



hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 63

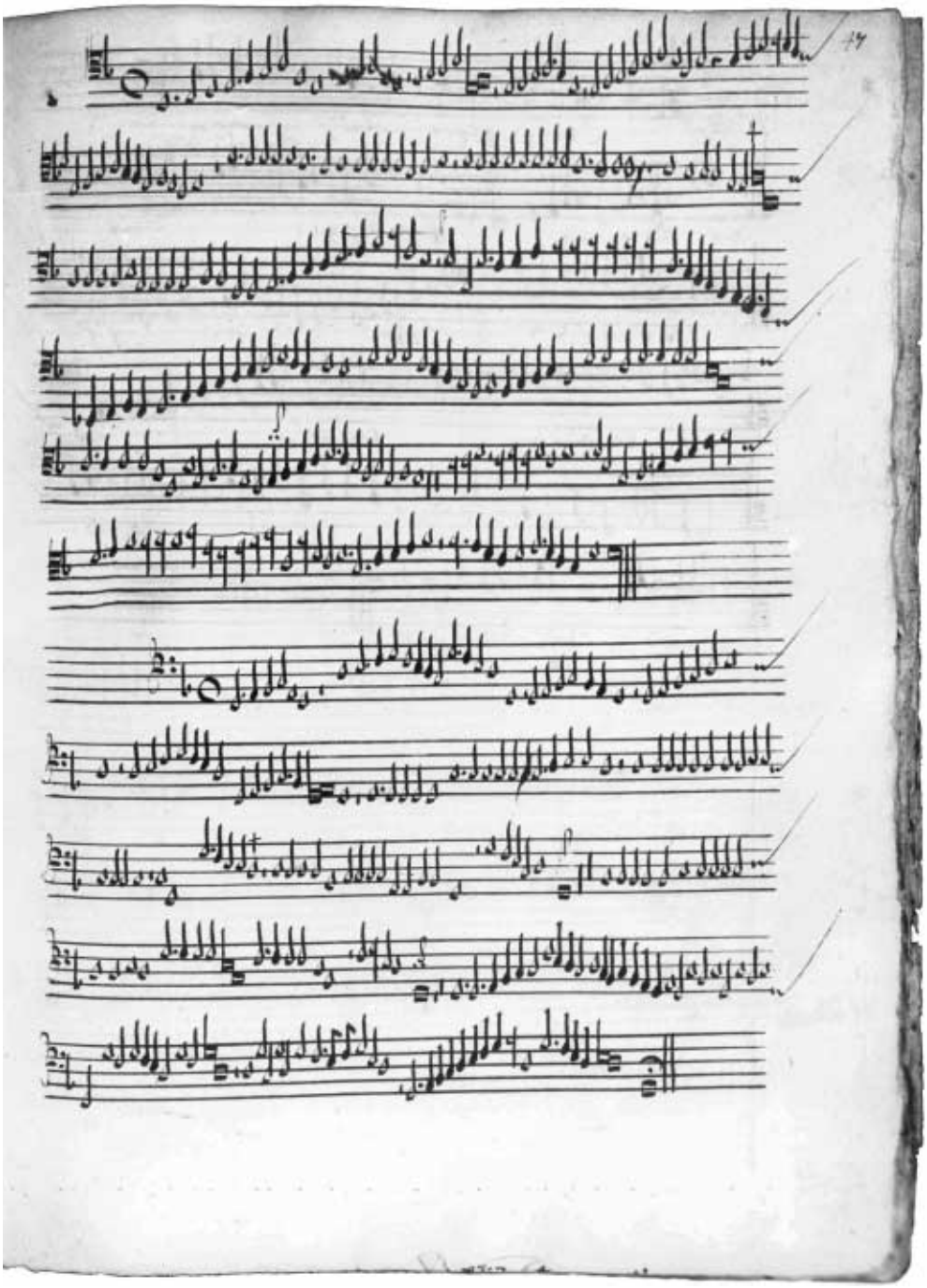


Abbildung 1. Heinrich Isaac, *Missa Quant j'ay au cueur*, *Patrem omnipotentem*, VienNB 11883, fol. 46v–47r.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 64

Über die weitere Geschichte der Handschrift ist wenig bekannt.[16] Barton Hudson konnte zeigen, daß am Hof der Maria von Ungarn um 1540 der siebente Faszikel mit Hieronimus Winters *Missa La plus gorgiase* als Vorlage für MontsM 771 verwendet wurde:[17]

> The readings are identical, except that in the Montserrat manuscript occasional substitutions of clef signs have been made; anticipation figures have been eliminated; a few notes were divided, mostly at line ends; and one unnecessary flat and all *signa congruentiae* have been deleted: exactly the kind of alterations scribes are known to have made routinely on their own initiative. No uncorrected errors were noted in either source. Most revealing, however, is that wherever MontsM 771 has a page turn where there is none in VienNB 11883, someone, probably not the main scribe, has drawn a stroke across the staves in each voice or, in one case, a *signum congruentiae* appears in each voice. It is difficult to imagine what purpose these marks could have had other than to indicate to the copyist where to make page breaks, just as they appear in the later manuscript.

Das Zusammentreffen bestimmter Zeichen in VienNB 11883 mit dem Seitenumbruch einer anderen Handschrift ist jedoch kein Einzelfall: Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat*, die in VienNB 11883 auf nur 9½ Doppelseiten Platz findet (ohne *Agnus* 2 und 3: fol. 2r–11r), sodaß jede neue Seite mit dem Beginn eines neuen Satzes[18] anfängt, brauchte in VienNB 4809 ganze 23½ Doppelseiten (fol. 66v–89v). Dabei mußte neunmal in der Mitte eines Satzes umgeblättert werden,[19] und jedes Mal steht genau an der Stelle des Seitenumbruchs von VienNB 4809 ein *signum congruentiae* in VienNB 11883[20] (vergleiche das *Et in terra*, Abbildung 2–3).

[16] Barton Hudsons These einer frühen Ankunft in Wien steht und fällt mit seiner Beobachtung, folio 305r hätte der Schreiber des letzten Faszikels eine Notiz auf Papier mit österreichischem Wasserzeichen hinterlassen. Folio 305 bildet jedoch ein Doppelblatt mit Folio 325 (nicht mit Folio 326, wie Hudson irrtümlich annimmt), und dort findet sich nicht WM 1, sondern WM 5: Buchstabe P mit vierblättriger Blume. (WM 1 wurde in der ganzen Handschrift nur für das – spätere – Register verwendet, und eine Ähnlichkeit mit BriquetF 6152, welche die Grundlage für Hudsons frühen Österreich-Bezug darstellt, ist nur entfernt vorhanden.) Vgl. HUDSON, *A Glimpse into a Scribal Workshop*, S. 192.
Leopold Nowaks Annahme, VienNB 11883 müsse wie mehrere andere Handschriften der Alamire-Werkstatt durch den Ankauf der Fugger-Bibliothek nach Wien gelangt sein und finde sich in dem von Matthäus Mauchter 1655 angelegten Inventar der Fugger-Bestände als *Cantionale missarum divers: Authorum 4. 5. et 6 vocum* wieder, ist zwar plausibel aber nicht zwingend. Vgl. L. NOWAK, *Die Musikhandschriften aus Fuggerschem Besitz in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, in J. STUMMVOLL ed., *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, (*Festschrift Josef Bick*), in Zusammenarbeit mit Otto Brechler u.a., Wien, 1948, S. 506 f.
In A. NOE, *Die Präsenz der romanischen Literaturen in der 1655 nach Wien verkauften Fuggerbibliothek*, 3, *Die Texte der "Musicales"*, (*Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft*, 21), Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1997, wurden die Handschriften mit lateinischer geistlicher Musik vollständig ausgeklammert (vgl. dort S. 8).

[17] HUDSON, *A Glimpse into a Scribal Workshop*, S. 197 f. – vgl. jedoch unten Fußnote 116.

[18] Mit 'Satz' ist hier jeder Abschnitt eines Meßteils gemeint – das Gloria z.B. besteht meist aus zwei 'Sätzen': *Et in terra* und *Qui tollis*.

[19] *Et in terra*, *Qui tollis*, *Patrem omnipotentem*, *Et incarnatus*, *Et in spiritum*, *Sanctus*, *Osanna*, *Agnus* 1 und *Agnus* 3.

[20] Es fehlen nur die *signa* für das *Agnus* 3, weil die Komposition in VienNB 11883 nach dem *Agnus* 1 abbricht. Eine Ungenauigkeit im Tenor des *Osanna* (Tenor nach der Anordnung in VienNB 11883 = Contratenor von VienNB 4809) ist nicht von besonderer Bedeutung: Das *signum* erscheint in dieser einen Stimme um eine Brevis zu spät.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 65

Man könnte auch hier den naheliegenden Schluß ziehen, die Messe in VienNB 4809 sei direkt von VienNB 11883 abgeschrieben. Allerdings widerspricht dem ganz entschieden der quellenkritische Befund: Die Divergenzen sind insgesamt zu groß, und jede der beiden Handschriften hat ganz charakteristische Lesarten, die in keiner anderen Quelle vorkommen: Es ist daher ausgeschlossen, daß eine der beiden eine direkte Abschrift der anderen wäre.[21] Die Messe ist außerdem in VienNB 11883 unvollständig, sodaß eine Verwendung als alleinige Vorlage schon deshalb nicht in Frage kommt. Es ließe sich aber denken, daß zumindest bei einem Teil des Arbeitsprozesses VienNB 11883 als Vorlage gedient hat, und wenn dies offensichtlich nicht für das Abschreiben der musikalischen Notation gilt, so bleibt nur die Unterlegung des Textes:[22] Tatsächlich weisen die beiden Handschriften hier ungewöhnliche Gemeinsamkeiten auf. Daß die Textunterlegung in VienNB 4809 grundsätzlich vollständiger ist, braucht nicht zu irritieren, denn natürlich hat ein Kopist stets versucht, den Text einer unvollständigen Vorlage zu ergänzen. Interessant ist daher nicht, wo vollständige Textunterlegung einer unvollständigen gegenübersteht, sondern wo der unvollständige Text übernommen wurde oder zu anderen Problemen geführt hat.

Das scheint im Tenor des *Et in terra* der Fall gewesen zu sein (vergleiche Abbildung 2–3), denn beide Handschriften brechen nach *Gratias agimus tibi* an derselben Stelle mit der Textunterlegung ab.[23] Zuvor schon macht sich eine Unsicherheit in der Verteilung des *Glorificamus te* bemerkbar, das in VienNB 4809 durch das Ausschreiben der Wiederholung allzuweit ausgedehnt werden mußte. Auch die erste Phrase ist problematisch, denn der Textschreiber war vor das Problem gestellt, die ersten zehn Noten mit *laud be* (also *Laudamus te Benedicimus te*) zu unterlegen. Daß dafür zu

[21] Dies war wohl auch der Grund für Barton Hudsons eher geringes Interesse an dieser Beobachtung in B. HUDSON ed., *Masses Based on Secular Polyphonic Songs*, 3, *Critical Commentary*, (*New Josquin Edition*, 9), Utrecht, 1995, S. 24: "It is of interest that at several points Vi² [i.e. VienNB 11883] has *signa congruentiae* simultaneously in all parts (except for one instance where the sign was misplaced). These do not, as is usually the case, indicate the entrance of a part after a long rest or the beginning of a canonic voice. Rather, they coincide with page turns in Je [JenaU 3 – gemeint ist VienNB 4809, siehe unten]. Since both manuscripts have significant unique variants, neither could have been copied from the other. It would appear that both descended from the same exemplar; the scribe Je respected the page breaks of his original, while that for Vi² indicated them by *signa*. The only explanation for his doing so which presents itself is that he wished to have a record of alternate possibilities for page divisions when making future copies."
JenaU 3 kann hier nicht gemeint sein, denn die Messe braucht dort nur vierzehn Doppelseiten (fol. 59v–73r): Nur *Osanna* und *Agnus* 1 haben einen Seitenumbruch inmitten des Satzes, aber beide an einer anderen Stelle als VienNB 4809, also ohne Zusammenhang mit den *signa* in VienNB 11883. Auch die Überlegung zur Übernahme der *signa* aus der Vorlage kann nicht stimmen, weil diese mit anderer, leicht grünlicher Tinte später nachgetragen wurden und die unterschiedlichen Lesarten der beiden Handschriften eine so nahe Beziehung unwahrscheinlich machen.

[22] Text und Musik dieser Messe stammen in VienNB 4809 von zwei verschiedenen Schreibern – Musik: H3 und Text: F (vgl. Flynn Warmington in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 52 und 143).

[23] Die Textierung der letzten Phrase *filius patris* in VienNB 4809 hat dabei keine besondere Bedeutung. Sie verstärkt eher den Eindruck, daß für den Kopisten bis dorthin unklar war, wie der Text verteilt werden sollte. Es ist aber vielleicht in diesem Zusammenhang von Interesse, daß der letzte Satz des Credo (*Et in spiritum*), dessen Text in VienNB 11883 durch mehrere Ausbesserungen ziemlich unübersichtlich (und als Vorlage damit ungeeignet) geworden war, in VienNB 4809 ganz ohne Text geblieben ist. Dies mag auch damit zusammenhängen, daß es sich um den allerletzten textreichen Satz jener vier Messen (Nr. 1–4 von VienNB 4809) handelt, die (nach Warmington in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 52) von Musikschreiber H3 geschrieben wurden. Die restlichen drei Messen (Nr. 5–7) und der Text der ganzen Handschrift stammen von *scribe F*, der wohl vor allem mit seinen 'eigenen' drei Messen beschäftigt war und den Text der vier Faszikel seines Kollegen H3 zwischendurch oder auch ganz zum Schluß fertigstellte. Daß gerade der Abschluß dieser 'Nebenbeschäftigung' unvollständig blieb (das folgende Sanctus und Agnus konnte sicher eher irgendwo eingeschoben werden) läßt vermuten, daß die Arbeit einfach nicht fertig wurde und möglicherweise auch der Text des Tenor von *Et in terra* später hätte vervollständigt werden sollen.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:45 Pagina 66

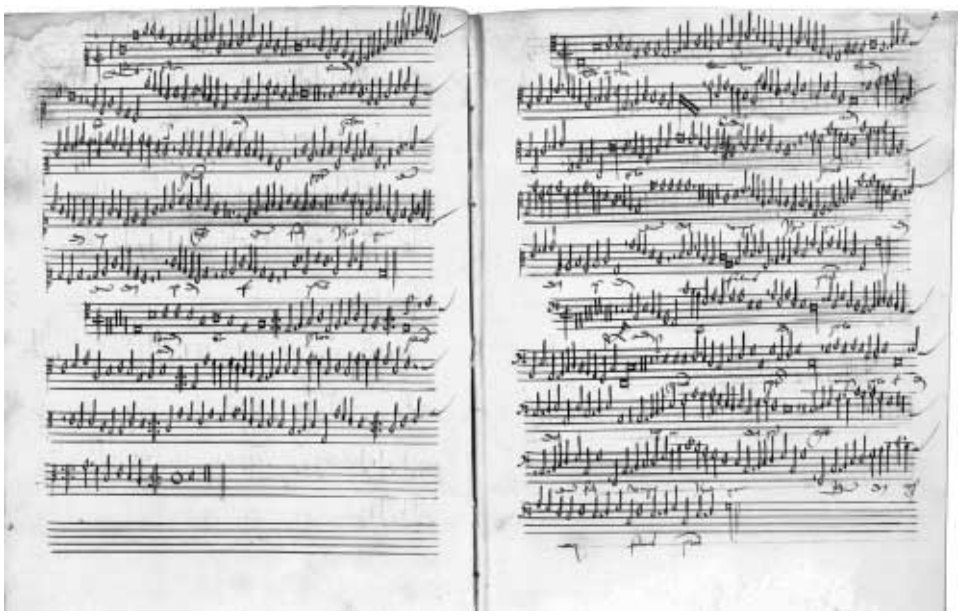


Abbildung 2. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Malheur me bat*, *Et in terra*, VienNB 11883, fol. 3v–4r.

wenig Platz vorhanden war, hat er zu spät bemerkt, und das führte zu einer Kürzung auf *Laudamus te be.te*. Welche Vorlage auch immer hier verwendet wurde: Sie muß ausgesehen haben wie VienNB 11883, und die dortigen *signa* machen es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß sie es selbst war.

Der Tenor von JenaU 3 (fol. 62v), der einzigen Parallelquelle aus dem Alamire-Skriptorium, hat beinahe den vollständigen Text, der auch weitgehend mit Petrucci übereinstimmt. Das soll nicht heißen, daß der Text dort von Petrucci abgeschrieben wurde, sondern daß die Textunterlegung in den verschiedenen Quellen der Messe insgesamt recht gut übereinstimmt. Die wenigen Abweichungen sind daher um so aussagekräftiger. Daß sich etwa im Contratenor VienNB 4809 *Benedicamus te* irrtümlich gleich an *Laudamus te* anschließt und wenig später wiederholt wird – diesmal in Übereinstimmung mit VienNB 11883 und anderen Quellen (etwa auch mit Petrucci) –, kann als weiterer Anhaltspunkt dafür gelten, daß der Schreiber darauf eingestellt war, Text zu ergänzen (auch einmal zuviel Text zu ergänzen), weil er eine unvollständige Vorlage ins reine bringen wollte. Umgekehrt scheint er sich ziemlich genau an die Vorlage gehalten zu haben, wenn dort der Text vorhanden war: Das Wort *Glorificamus* (im Contratenor) beginnt in beiden Wiener Handschriften genau unter derselben Note, obwohl die vorausgehende Longa in VienNB 4809 auf drei Noten gespalten wurde, die offensichtlich einer anderen Textunterlegung dienen sollten. Wenige Mensuren später hat der Schreiber beim Ergänzen der Textmarke *Gratias* übersehen, daß die Worte *Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam* vor dem rezitierenden hohen g' zu Ende sein müßten. Das vorgesehene *domine deus* wurde – wahrscheinlich noch in demselben Arbeitsgang – dort nachgetragen.[24]

[24] Gegen die Annahme einer späteren Ergänzung sprechen die vielen Fälle mangelhafter Textunterlegung, die mit weniger Aufwand – und unauffälliger – hätten bereinigt werden können. Aber hier ging schon aus der Vorlage VienNB 11883 klar hervor, daß die Worte *domine deus* dort stehen mußten, wo irrtümlich schon *tuam* geschrieben war.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 67

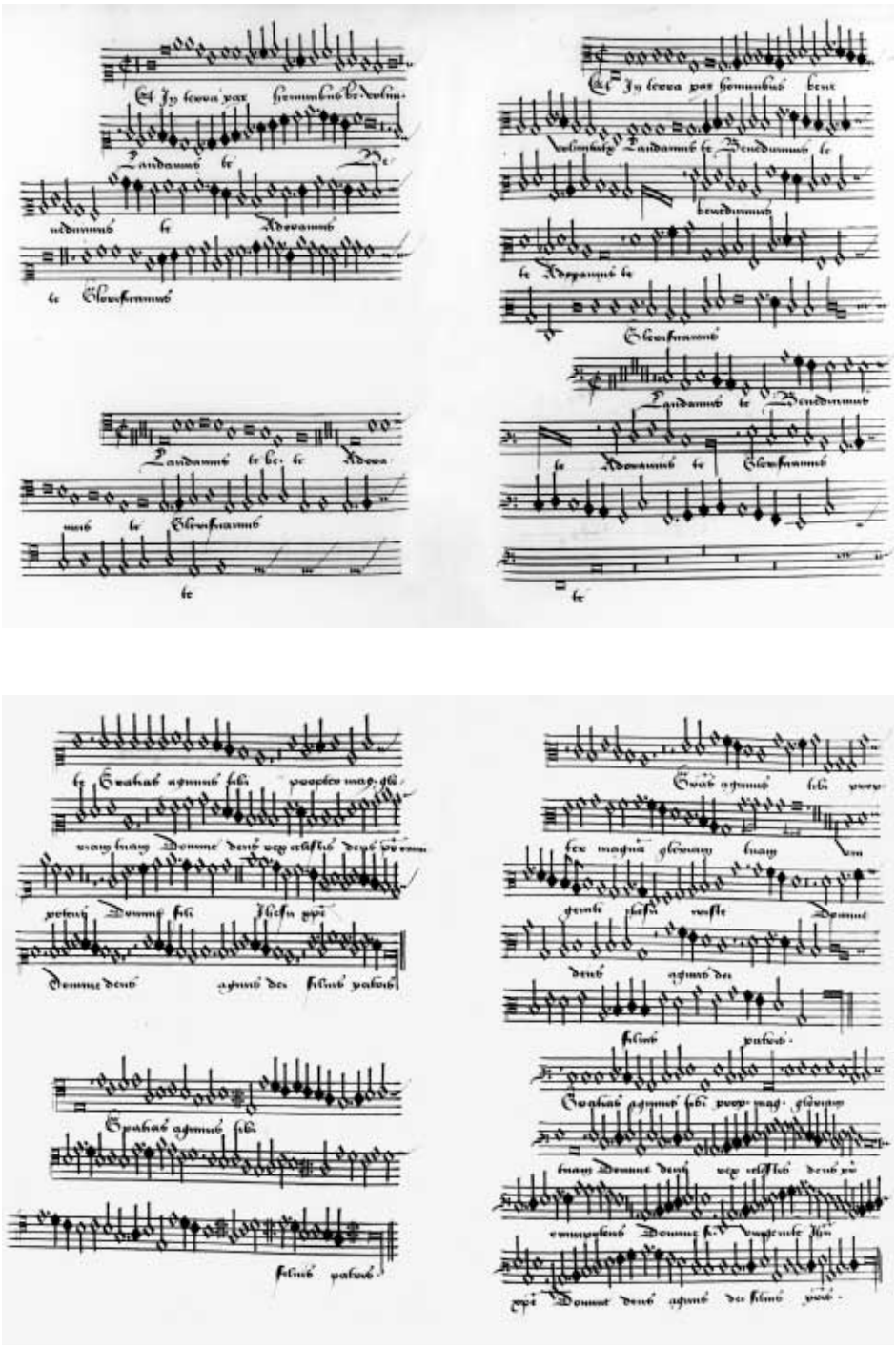


Abbildung 3. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Malheur me bat*, *Et in terra*, VienNB 4809, fol. 69v–71r.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 68

Dies sind nur einige Beispiele des *Et in terra*. In den übrigen Sätzen des Gloria und Credo[25] finden sich ähnliche Anhaltspunkte, und kein einziges Mal läuft die Textunterlegung im Vergleich der beiden Handschriften ganz auseinander: Alle Unterschiede – durchwegs kleinräumige Korrekturen und Ergänzungen – lassen sich als spontane Eingriffe des Schreibers erklären, sodaß man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen darf, daß VienNB 11883 dem Textschreiber von VienNB 4809 wirklich als Vorlage gedient hat.

Die *signa congruentiae* für den Seitenumbruch waren dann also nötig, um sich bei dieser Arbeit leichter zu orientieren. Natürlich konnte man dieselbe Vorlage ein anderes Mal auch zum Abschreiben der Musik gebrauchen und die *signa* dann wiederverwenden, was zu identischem Seitenumbruch verschiedener Handschriften führen mußte, selbst dann, wenn sie ganz offensichtlich nicht von derselben Vorlage stammten.

Ein weiterer Faszikel der Handschrift, der nur sehr eingeschränkt als Vorlage verwendbar war, ist Isaacs *Missa Quant j'ay au cueur* (Abbildung 1). Hier fehlt fast die ganze Textunterlegung. Trotzdem konnte die Notation zum Kopieren der Musik gebraucht werden, wenn nur der Textschreiber eine eigene Vorlage zur Verfügung hatte (oder er konnte den Text auch ohne Vorlage sinngemäß ersetzen). Die mehrfachen Systeme verschiedener *signa* zeigen, daß die Handschrift zumindest zweimal für eine Abschrift neu eingerichtet wurde: Die erste Serie hat man später wieder ausradiert, aber so wenig sorgfältig, daß die Zeichen selbst in der Abbildung noch sehr gut zu sehen sind. Vielleicht wollte man sich die Möglichkeit offenlassen, sie irgendwann doch wieder zu verwenden.

Die beiden späteren *signa*-Serien auf dieser Doppelseite benutzen zur besseren Unterscheidung verschiedene Zeichen: Ein normales *signum* und ein Kreuz. Daß die Messe ganz offensichtlich mehrfach abgeschrieben wurde, ist nicht sehr überraschend. Isaac ist im Repertoire der Werkstatt mit etwa zehn Messen relativ gut vertreten. Wenn auch die *Missa Quant j'ay au cueur* darin nur dieses eine Mal vorkommt, ist aufgrund der mehrfachen *signa* doch damit zu rechnen, daß sie in den verlorenen Handschriften mehrmals kopiert wurde.

Eine zweite offensichtlich sehr beliebte Messe war Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa* (Abbildung 4 und 5). Auch hier überlagern einander zwei Systeme von *signa congruentiae*: ein jüngeres, klar sichtbares und ein älteres, teilweise später ausradiertes. Tatsächlich fällt der Seitenumbruch der einzigen Parallelquelle, VienNB 1783, zweimal mit den – zum Teil ausradierten, also älteren – Zeichen von VienNB 11883 zusammen (vergleiche Tabelle 1).[26] Und VienNB 1783 ist als Vertreterin der Bourgeois-Gruppe wirklich eine der frühesten Handschriften der Werkstatt. Die Ähnlichkeit der Lesarten in allen Bereichen – sogar der Textunterlegung – ist dabei so auffällig, daß man über die Möglichkeit einer direkten Abschrift nachdenken sollte (vergleiche Abbildung 4 und 5):

[25] Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus und Agnus lassen keine nähere Beziehung zwischen den beiden Handschriften erkennen: VienNB 11883 hat nur Textmarken am Beginn jedes Satzes und VienNB 4809 ergänzt die übrigen Worte sinngemäß. Dazu brauchte der Schreiber sicher keine Vorlage, und es konnte ihm deshalb auch egal sein, daß *Agnus* 2 und 3 in VienNB 11883 fehlten.

[26] Mensur-Angaben wie z.B. 'M. 31' beziehen sich hier und in der Folge stets auf den ersten Schlag der betreffenden Brevis-Mensur (immer gezählt vom Beginn des Satzes). 'M. 17½' meint die Mitte von Mensur 17 (auf halbem Weg zu Mensur 18). Nachgestellte Mensurangaben in Klammern beziehen sich auf die Zählung der jeweiligen Gesamtausgabe des Komponisten. Mit den Mensurangaben ist stets jene Stelle der Komposition gemeint, an der ein bestimmtes *signum congruentiae* steht, jene Note die unmittelbar auf einen Trennstrich folgt oder mit der eine neue Seite nach dem Umbruch beginnt.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 69

	VIENNB 11883	**VIENNB 1783**
Kyrie 1	133v–134r	17v–18r
Christe		18v–19r
Kyrie 2		
Et in terra (vgl. Abb. 4–5)	134v–135r	19v–20r
M. 17½	*signa**	
M. 31	*signa*	
M. 34	*signa***	
M. 38	*signa* (ausradiert)***	20v–21r
* Nur im Discantus und Bassus.		
** Bassus ausradiert; Contratenor fehlt; Discantus und Tenor eine Minima zu spät.		
*** Discantus, Contratenor und Tenor ausradiert; Bassus nicht ausradiert.		
Qui tollis (=M. 66)	135v–136r	21v–22r
M. 43 (=87)	CT: ausradierter Trennstrich	
M. 47 (=89)	D: ausradierter Trennstrich	
M. 63 (=97)	*signa*	
M. 82 (=106½)	136v–137r	22v–23r
Cum sancto spiritu		
Patrem omnipotentem	137v–138r	23v–24r
M. 18	*signa* (CT ausradiert)	
M. 32	*signa*	
M. 38		24v–25r
Qui propter nos	138v–139r	
Et incarnatus (=M. 69)		25v–26r
M. 43 (=90)	139v–140r	
M. 63 (=100)	*signa*	26v–27r
M. 104 (=120½)	geritzte Linien + *signa*	
Et unam sanctam	140v–141r	27v–28r
Et exspecto		28v–29r
Sanctus	141v–142r	29v–30r
Pleni sunt celi		30v–31r
Osanna	142v–143r*	
Benedictus (=M. 68)		31v–32r
M. 77 (=106)	geritzt (D, CT, T) + *signa*	
* *Osanna* und *Benedictus* in VienNB 11883 vertauscht.		
Agnus 1 (…*miserere nobis*)	143v–144r	32v–33r
Agnus 2 (…*miserere nobis*)		
Agnus 3	fehlt	fehlt

Tabelle 1. Jacobus Barbireau, *Missa Faulx perversa*: Seitenumbruch und Umbruch-Marken (vgl. Fußnote 26).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 70

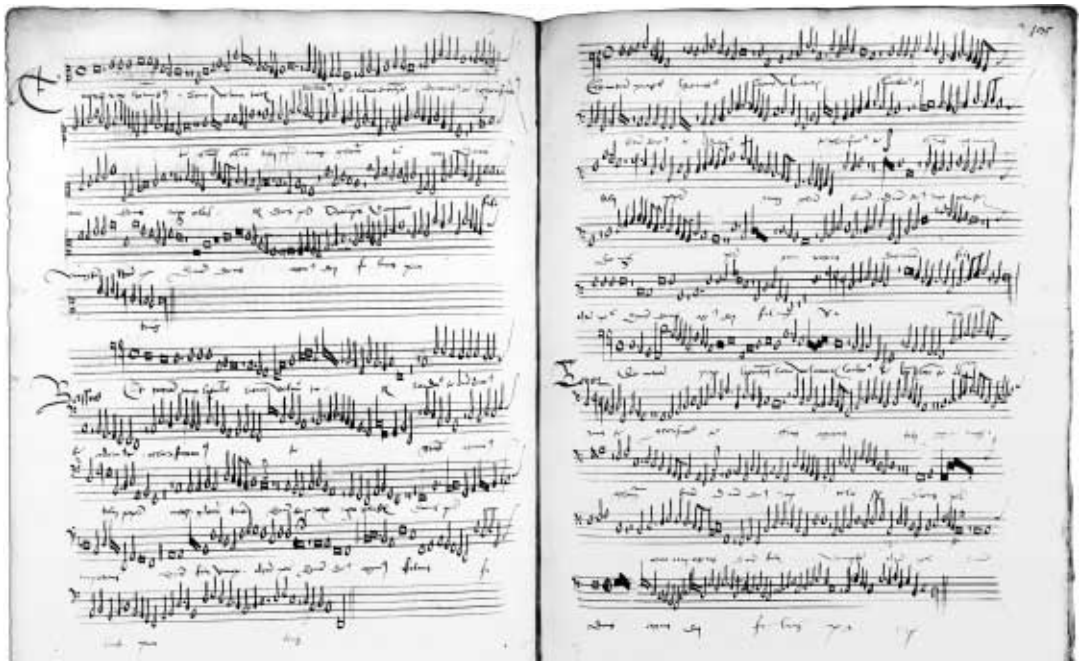


Abbildung 4. Jacobus Barbireau, *Missa Faulx perversa*, *Et in terra*, VienNB 11883, fol. 134v–135r.

Beiden Handschriften gemeinsam ist die ungewöhnliche Schreibweise von Akzidentien unter der Note (etwa erste Zeile Discantus oder bei der Fermate im Tenor). Einige fehlerhafte oder zumindest fragwürdige Lesarten wurden übernommen: Ein Punkt nach der dritten Note am Beginn des Bassus (dafür kein Punkt nach der sechsten), die beiden Semibrevispausen auf der zweiten Linie (im Contratenor, gleich nach dem Seitenumbruch in VienNB 1783) würden besser auf der vierten Linie stehen, weil sie mit der nachfolgenden Semibrevis eine Perfektion bilden – die vorausgehende Brevis ist perfekt. Und mehrere Ausbesserungen der Vorlage (VienNB 11883, letzte Zeile Tenor) wurden genau so in die Abschrift übernommen. Unterschiede beschränken sich dagegen auf reine Schreiber-Varianten. Natürlich kann man nie ganz sicher sein, daß nicht zwischen zwei Handschriften eine dritte, vermittelnde Kopie gestanden ist oder beide von derselben Vorlage stammen, und gerade im Fall von nur zwei erhaltenen Quellen ist eine Entscheidung darüber besonders schwer. Schließlich ist jede Variante hier singulär.

Gegen eine direkte Abschrift spricht hier jedoch auch der Seitenumbruch des *Patrem omnipotentem* in VienNB 1783, der in den *signa* von VienNB 11883 keine Entsprechung findet.[27] Es könnte sich also bei diesem Faszikel um eine 'zweite' Vorlage der Messe gehandelt haben (wie bei Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat*, siehe oben), in die man der leichteren Koordination willen die *signa* des anderen Exemplars übertragen hat. Eine besondere Nahebeziehung der beiden Wiener Quellen ergibt sich jedoch schon aus der Ähnlichkeit der Notation.

[27] Natürlich kann auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß ein Kopist *ad hoc* die Stelle des Seitenumbruchs verschob, wenn er in allen vier Stimmen noch genügend Platz hatte.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 71

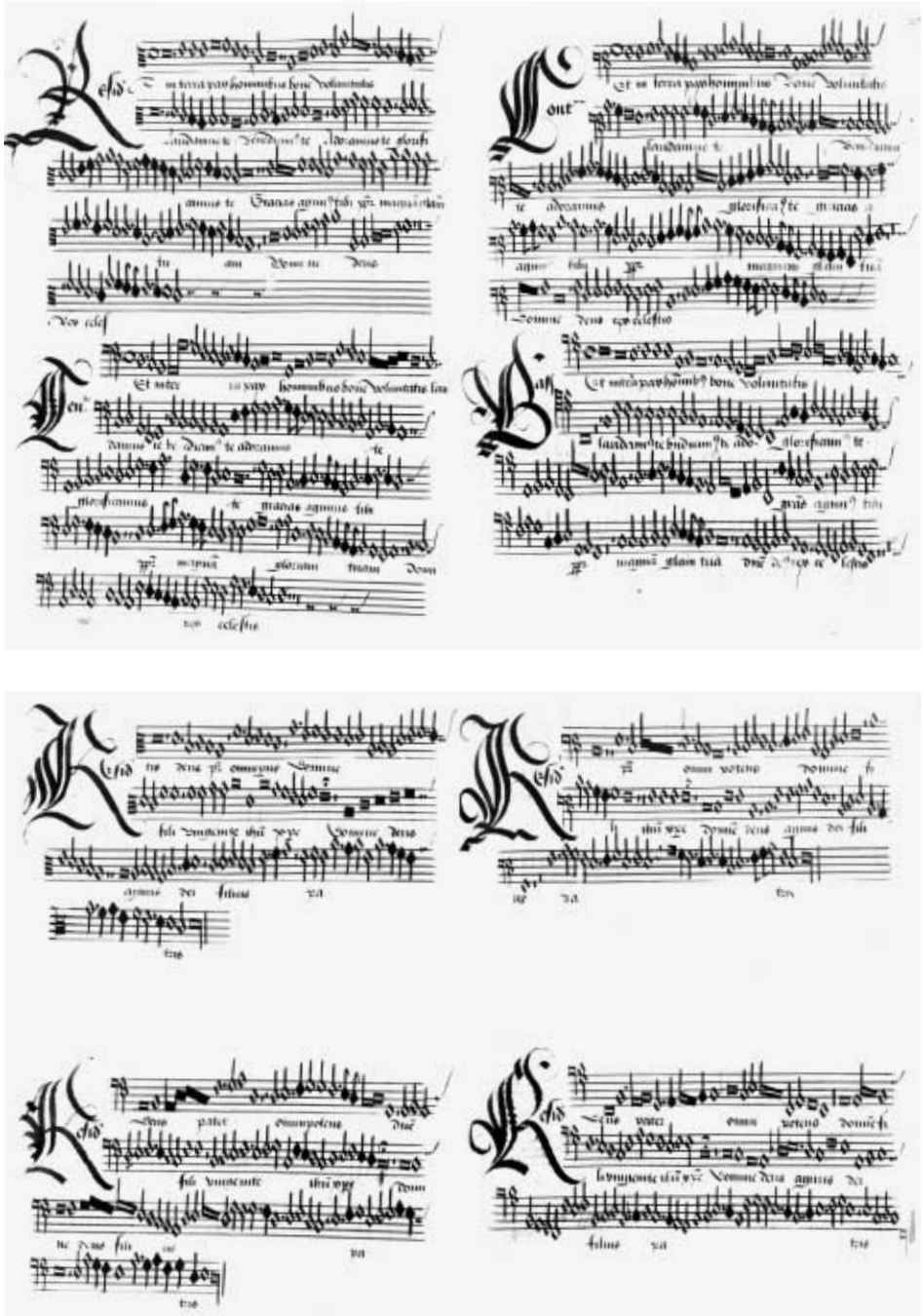


Abbildung 5. Jacobus Barbireau, *Missa Faulx perversa*, *Et in terra*, VienNB 1783, fol. 19v–21r.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 72

			UMBRUCH-MARKEN	ANDERE BURGUNDISCH-HABSBURGISCHE MSS.	KORRESPONDIERENDE QUELLEN (EVTL. DIREKTE ABSCHRIFTEN)
1.	Josquin	*Missa Malheur* [K-G-C-S-AI]	•	3	VienNB 4809 (Text)
2.	Verbonet	*Missa Ghi syt* [K-G-C]			
3.	*anonymus*	*Missa*	(•)		
4.	*anonymus*	*Missa Crux fidelis*	•		
5.	Isaac	*Missa Quant j'ay* [K-G-C-S]	•		
6.	Obrecht	*Missa Lomme arme*	•		
7.	Winters	*Missa La plus gorgiase*	•	1	MontsM 771
8.	*anonymus*	*Missa*	•		
9.	Faber	*Missa Depuis q'une josne fille*	•		
10.	Prioris	*Missa de angelis*	•	1	
11.	Severdonck	*Missa Waer ist die alder liefste*			
12.	Obrecht	*Missa De tous biens plaine* a3	•		
13.	Barbireau	*Missa Faulx perversa*	•	1	VienNB 1783
14.	Isaac	*Missa Misericordias domini*			
15.	Pipelare	*Missa Dicit dominus*			
16.	Carlir	*Missa Salve sancta parens*	•		
17.	Notens/Compère	*Missa De tous biens* [K-G-C-S]			
	Notens/*anon.*?	*Quia quem meruisti* a8			
	Josquin	*Missa La sol fa re mi* [K-GI]		1	
	Notens/*anon.*?	*Missa Pour quoy alles vous*			
18.	*anonymus*	*Agnus dei*			
19.	Ockeghem	*Missa Prolationum*		1	
20.	Lupus	*Missa Quam pulcra es* [K-G-C-A]	•		
21.	*anonymus*	*Missa L'amour de moy*			
22.	*anonymus*	*Missa Noch weth ic ein so scoen*	•		
23.	Sticheler	*Missa Se j'avoye porpoin* a6	•		
24.	*anonymus*	*Missa Adiutorium nostrum*	•	1	
25.	*anonymus*	*Missa Ma bouche rit*	•		
26.	Pipelare	*Missa Johannes christe care*	•		
27.	Pipelare	*Missa Floruit egregius infans*			
	Pipelare	*Missa*			

Tabelle 2. Umbruch-Marken in VienNB 11883.

So spiegeln einzelne Faszikel von VienNB 11883 in gewisser Weise die Arbeit von VienNB 1783 bis MontsM 771 wider, also die Zeit von Beginn bis fast zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts und damit von Beginn bis Ende der burgundisch-habsburgischen Hofwerkstatt.

Neben Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa*, Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat* und Hieronimus Winters *Missa La plus gorgiase*, deren *signa congruentiae* (beziehungsweise ausradierte *signa* oder senkrechte Trennstriche) jeweils mit dem Seitenumbruch einer anderen Handschrift korrespondieren, gibt es in VienNB 11883 noch vier Messen mit Konkordanzen innerhalb desselben Handschriftenkomplexes: die *Missa de angelis* von Johannes Prioris (fol. 101–110), eine anonyme *Missa Adiutorium nostrum* (fol. 277–284), Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum* (fol. 208–221) und Josquins *Missa La sol fa re mi*-Fragment (fol. 194v–195r). Davon wurden offensichtlich die beiden ersten für eine Abschrift eingerichtet:[28] *Signa congruentiae* erscheinen auch hier inmitten all jener – längerer – Sätze, die für eine Aufteilung auf zwei Doppelseiten in Frage kommen.

Beide Parallelquellen mußten einzelne Sätze unterteilen, aber die Umbruch-Stellen stimmen selten mit den *signa* überein: In der anonymen *Missa Adiutorium nostrum* (MunBS F, fol. 72v–85r)

[28] Die beiden übrigen Messen, Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum* (in einer Art *resolutio*) und Josquins *Missa La sol fa re mi* (nur Kyrie und der erste Gloria-Satz) haben in VienNB 11883 keine *signa congruentiae*.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 73

sind nur zwei Sätze geteilt, von denen der Umbruch in einem Fall mit den *signa* von VienNB 11883 zusammenfällt:[29] Die Stelle bietet sich aber (als vierstimmige quasi-Kadenz genau in der Satzmitte vor einem kurzen *duo*) geradezu an und kann ohne weiteres zweimal unabhängig gewählt worden sein. In Prioris' *Missa de angelis* (VienNB Mus. 15497) verfehlen zwei von drei Umbrüchen die *signa* von VienNB 11883. Der dritte erscheint auch dort als Seitenumbruch (nicht als *signum*), sodaß man annehmen darf, daß die beiden Wiener Handschriften – mehr oder weniger direkt – auf eine gemeinsame Vorlage zurückgehen, in der eine Trennung an dieser einen Stelle vorgesehen war, daß die übrigen Umbruch-Stellen aber unabhängig voneinander gewählt wurden.

Dies ist kein Widerspruch zur Annahme, daß die entsprechenden Faszikel von VienNB 11883 als Vorlagen der Werkstatt verwendet wurden: Die erhaltenen Handschriften sind wahrscheinlich keine direkten Abschriften, aber es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß der Umbruch einer dritten – nicht erhaltenen – Quelle genau den *signa* von VienNB 11883 entsprochen hat.

Das gleiche gilt auch für den Rest der Handschrift, denn etwa zwei Drittel der Faszikel sind mit derartigen Zeichen versehen. Sie erscheinen vor allem in den Gloria- und Credo-Sätzen, jeweils im Verlauf des musikalischen Satzes an derselben Stelle in allen Stimmen und kaum jemals so, daß sie sich als Zeichen für den Einsatz einer anderen Stimme oder in irgendeiner anderen musikalisch sinnvollen Bedeutung interpretieren ließen – vergleiche Tabelle 2.

Daß die wenigen mit VienNB 11883 erhaltenen Beispiele nur einen winzigen Bruchteil des Gesamtbestandes an Vorlagen darstellen, versteht sich von selbst. Um so erfreulicher ist es, eine zweite Quelle zu finden, die wie diese als Vorlage für die Handschriftenproduktion der Werkstatt eingerichtet wurde: der Chigi-Codex, zweifellos die bekannteste der burgundisch-habsburgischen Handschriften.

VATIKAN, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, MS. CHIGI C VIII 234[30]

Mehr als die Hälfte der Messen und eine Motette zeigen hier die Spuren einer entsprechenden Vorbereitung: Um die prächtige Repräsentationshandschrift nicht allzusehr in Mitleidenschaft zu ziehen, hat man auf die Eintragung von *signa congruentiae* verzichtet und den vorgesehenen Seitenumbruch stattdessen mit ganz kurzen Tintenstrichen oder längeren, ausradierbaren Trennstrichen markiert (vergleiche die Liste der Umbruch-Marken Tabelle 4).

Besonders deutlich wird dies in Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* (VatC 234, fol. 143v–153r), in deren Verlauf sich fünfmal kurze, schräge Striche finden, die (wie zuvor die *signa*) in allen fünf Stimmen an derselben Stelle und jeweils ziemlich genau in der Mitte der längeren Sätze erscheinen. Zweimal entsprechen diese Markierungen dem Seitenumbruch in VienNB 1783, zweimal jenem in MontsM 766 (vergleiche Tabelle 3). Eine vierte Handschrift (VatS 160) hatte mehr Platz pro Seite und mußte daher nur einmal einen Satz auf zwei Doppelseiten verteilen. Die entsprechende Stelle ist in Chigi nicht markiert. Neben diesen – offensichtlich später eingetragenen – Trennstrichen erscheinen in drei Sätzen *signa congruentiae*, jedoch diesmal nicht in allen Stimmen:

[29] *Patrem omnipotentem*, M. 39: VienNB 11883, fol. 279v–280r und MunBS F, fol. 76v–77r / 77v–78r.

[30] Die Handschrift ist sehr leicht als Faksimile zugänglich: KELLMAN, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*. Die meisten der im folgenden erwähnten Eintragungen sind dort sichtbar, und ich gehe davon aus, daß zur Lektüre dieses Artikels das Faksimile stets zur Hand ist: Auf Abbildungen wurde daher verzichtet, die, wenn sie von Nutzen sein sollten, ohnehin den Rahmen des Jahrbuchs gesprengt hätten.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 74

Im Tenor und Contratenor des *Patrem omnipotentem* (fol. 147v–148r), im Tenor des *Et incarnatus* (fol. 148v) sowie im Tenor 2 des *Et in spiritum* (fol. 150r). Daß *signa* in nur einer oder zwei Stimmen vorkommen, ist – vor allem auch in dieser Handschrift – nichts besonderes. Sie stehen fast immer dort, wo eine der anderen Stimmen ihren allerersten Einsatz hat, manchmal in nur einer der übrigen Stimmen, manchmal auch in zweien oder – als wirkliches Zeichen der Kongruenz – in der gerade einsetzenden und einer (oder zwei) der übrigen. Der pausierende Sänger kann so den Verlauf der Komposition bis zu seinem Einsatz in Ruhe verfolgen, ohne die verstrichenen Mensuren zählen zu müssen.

In diesem Sinn kann man auch die beiden Zeichen im Tenor und Contratenor des *Patrem omnipotentem* von Barbireaus Messe verstehen (VatC 234, fol. 147v–148r): Sie verbinden den ersten Einsatz des Tenors mit der korrespondierenden Stelle des Contratenors.[31] Daß dies mit den – späteren – Trennstrichen in Chigi und mit dem Seitenumbruch von VienNB 1783 zusammenfällt (vergleiche Tabelle 3), mag noch Zufall sein. Das nächste *signum* aber, im Tenor des *Et incarnatus* (fol. 148v) steht auf dem Schlußton der ersten Tenor-Phrase, markiert zwar – wenn man so will – den Einsatz des Discantus (nach ganzen zwei Mensuren Pause), kann aber als Zeichen für den Einsatz nicht besonders wichtig gewesen sein, denn allein im Discantus kommen sechs derartige Neueinsätze vor, die für den Sänger zum Teil nicht so leicht zu treffen sind wie hier der Grundton des Zielklangs einer problemlosen Kadenz (im Discantus: Quartsprung aufwärts nach zwei Mensuren Pause).

Das letzte *signum* (Tenor 2, *Et in spiritum*, fol. 150r) wiederum könnte dem zweiten (diesmal nicht dem ersten) Einsatz des Tenors gegolten haben, aber auch hier ist keine besondere Notwendigkeit zu erkennen, denn mit schlafwandlerischer Sicherheit konnte jeder Sänger an dieser Stelle (wieder: dem Ziel einer Kadenz) zu c, c', g' und c" ein weiteres c' hinzufügen. Und warum sollte ausgerechnet der zweite Tenor-Einsatz angezeigt werden, wenn nicht einmal der erste markiert wurde: Als Einsatz-Marken ergeben diese Zeichen keinen Sinn.

Alle *signa congruentiae* der Messe[32] aber fallen mit dem Seitenumbruch in VienNB 1783 zusammen, und umgekehrt finden sich von den vier Wiener Umbruch-Stellen drei als *signa* in Chigi wieder. Hier muß irgendein Zusammenhang bestehen: Daß Chigi als Vorlage für VienNB 1783 verwendet wurde, kann man daraus nicht ableiten, denn ein einzelnes Zeichen in nur einer Stimme hilft dem Kopisten so gut wie gar nichts. Es ist aber sehr gut möglich, daß der Schreiber von Chigi eine Vorlage hatte, in der die Markierungen vollständig – das heißt: in allen Stimmen – gestanden sind, wie wir es bereits von VienNB 11883 kennen.

Wenn man annimmt, daß alle vier Umbruch-Stellen von VienNB 1783 in dieser Vorlage markiert waren (also insgesamt zwanzig *signa*) und davon bei der Abschrift aus Unachtsamkeit etwa 20 Prozent mit übertragen wurden, ist das eine recht gute Erklärung für die tatsächliche Verteilung in Chigi. Der Schreiber könnte die *signa* aber auch für Einsatz-Marken gehalten und deshalb mit in den Notentext übernommen haben (womit er ja zumindest im ersten Fall, den beiden Zeichen des *Patrem omnipotentem*, auch recht hatte).

[31] Obwohl der eigentliche Sinn dieser Zeichen, dem Sänger des Tenors das Zählen der Pausen zu ersparen, viel besser hätte verwirklicht werden können, wenn das korrespondierende *signum* im Discantus oder im zweiten Tenor gesetzt worden wäre, nicht im Contratenor, der unmittelbar vor dem Einsatz selbst vier Mensuren Pause hat.

[32] Von den beiden *signa* des *Pleni sunt celi* abgesehen, die Einsatz und Schluß einer kanonischen Stimme markieren.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 75

Wenn diese Überlegungen richtig sind und in der Vorlage von Chigi der Seitenumbruch von VienNB 1783 eingezeichnet war, hatten beide Handschriften wahrscheinlich eine gemeinsame Vorlage. Zumindest stammen sie aus einer einheitlichen Werkstatt-Tradition, und jedenfals wissen wir damit, daß die Praxis, *signa congruentiae* als Zeichen für den Seitenumbruch zu verwenden, vor der Abschrift von Chigi begonnen hat.

Für die beiden übrigen – späteren – Quellen von Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* ist schwerer zu sagen, welcher Zusammenhang zu den frühen Abschriften besteht: Der Seitenumbruch von MontsM 766 fällt, wie bereits erwähnt, zweimal mit einem Trennstrich in Chigi zusammen (vergleiche Tabelle 3), von denen der zweite (*Et in spiritum sanctum*, VatC 234, fol. 149v–150r) sich als Stelle zum Umblättern ganz besonders anbietet. Daß mit Trennstrich und Umbruch hier auch noch eines der *signa* und der Seitenwechsel von VienNB 1783 zusammenfallen, braucht deshalb nicht unbedingt zu bedeuten, daß sie alle in einer direkten Beziehung stehen. Für die erste der beiden Stellen (*Et incarnatus*, VatC 234, fol. 148v–149r) ist es nicht ganz so wahrscheinlich, daß sie zweimal unabhängig gewählt wurde, aber es ist immer noch sehr gut möglich.

Zu diesen – mehr oder weniger aussagekräftigen – Anhaltspunkten kommt ein weiterer. Alle Fehler rund um Seitenwechsel und deren Markierungen scheinen sich im *Et in terra* zu konzentrieren: In Chigi (fol. 145v–146r) stehen die fünf Trennstriche nicht an derselben Stelle (vergleiche Tabelle 3, Anmerkung *), und in MontsM 766 ist der Seitenumbruch falsch (vergleiche Tabelle 3, Anmerkung **): Eine Pause von sechs Breven Länge wurde in 4 + 2 statt 5 + 1 Brevispausen geteilt. Außerdem hat der Schreiber im Tenor 2 die ersten beiden Noten der neuen Seite vergessen. Eine einzelne Note, die stattdessen später eingefügt wurde, paßt zwar an dieser Stelle sehr gut in den musikalischen Zusammenhang, aber sie wurde offensichtlich nur sinngemäß ergänzt, ohne zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch auf eine andere Quelle zurückgreifen zu können. All das deutet auf eine unübersichtliche und/oder fehlerhafte Vorlage hin, und daß all diese Probleme innerhalb eines Satzes vorkommen, kann als weiteres Indiz einer gemeinsamen oder nahe verwandten Vorlage für Chigi, VienNB 1783 und MontsM 766 gelten.

Die vierte Handschrift (VatS 160) ist von all dem nicht betroffen: Weder stimmt irgendein Umbruch mit einer der anderen Handschriften oder einem dortigen Zeichen überein, noch gibt es Anhaltspunkte für eine schlechte Vorlage des *Et in terra*. Trotzdem muß VatS 160 mit Chigi nahe verwandt sein: Das erkennt man am besten an der Ausrichtung des Notentextes (im *Sanctus*, *Osanna* und *Benedictus*), bestimmten größeren Zwischenräumen, die in beiden Handschriften sehr gut übereinstimmen.[33]

Konkordanzen zu Chigi finden sich innerhalb des burgundisch-habsburgischen Handschriftenkomplexes noch für sechs weitere Kompositionen:[34] Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* (BrusBR 9126), de la Rues *Missa Almana* (BrusBR 9126, JenaU 22, VienNB 1783) und dessen *Credo sex vocum* (VatS 36), Josquins *Missa Lomme arme sexti toni* (VienNB 11778) und *Stabat mater* (BrusBR 9126, BrusBR 215–16) sowie Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum* (VienNB 11883).

Chigi und BrusBR 9126 sind seit langem als ‘Zwillinge’ bekannt, und Herbert Kellman hat schon in den fünfziger Jahren vermutet, daß eine von beiden Handschriften die Vorlage der anderen war:[35]

[33] Vgl. dazu auch den Beitrag von Thomas Schmidt-Beste im vorliegenden Jahrbuch.

[34] Konkordante Fragmente (BrusSG 9423, TongerenSA 183 und die *bicinia* in VienNB Mus. 18832) sowie spätere Nachträge in Chigi (Févins *Sancta trinitas*) wurden dabei nicht berücksichtigt.

[35] H. KELLMAN, *The Origins of the Chigi Codex: The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C. VIII. 234*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), S. 11.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 76

> Not only is there evidence that Chigi and Brussels 9126 were copied by the same scribe (whether or not it was Bourgeois), but it can be shown that the three pieces occurring in both MSS were copied from one into the other. The three concordances in the MSS are: De la Rue, *Missa Almana*; Agricola, *Missa In myne zyn*; Josquin, *Stabat Mater*. All three works have the same layout in both MSS, *i.e.*, the breaks in the parts from one page to another occur in the same places. Furthermore, the spacing of each voice and its distribution on the staves is in most cases exactly the same in the two MSS. [...] It is clear, I think, that one MS was a model for the other.

Zweifellos bestätigen diese Beobachtungen eine enge Verwandtschaft der beiden Handschriften. Würde jedoch eine dritte ganz ähnliche Quelle vorliegen, könnte man mit gleichem Recht schließen, daß beliebige zwei der drei Handschriften im Verhältnis von Vorlage und Abschrift stehen, und das würde dann gewiß nicht stimmen: Während Vorlage und Abschrift keineswegs in allen Details der Seiteneinteilung übereinstimmen müssen, kann man dies doch erwarten, wenn derselbe Schreiber zweimal dasselbe Stück von derselben Quelle abschreibt, und es ist daher viel wahrscheinlicher, daß für Chigi und BrusBR 9126 bloß die gleiche Vorlage verwendet wurde.[36] Gemeinsamer Seitenumbruch ist dann sehr leicht durch vorbereitete Umbruch-Marken zu erklären: *signa congruentiae* wie wir sie kennengelernt haben.

Ein oder zwei dieser *signa* wurden jedoch beim Abschreiben von de la Rues *Missa Almana* in Chigi nicht für den Umbruch verwendet, sondern irrtümlich – wie in Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* – in den Notentext aufgenommen (vergleiche eine Liste solcher versprengter *signa* in Chigi: Tabelle 5): Das erste Zeichen, im Baß des *Qui tollis* (VatC 234, fol. 177r), könnte auch als Marke für den Einsatz von Discantus und Tenor verstanden werden, die dort nach neun Mensuren Pause wieder einsetzen.[37] Aber das zweite *signum*, im Baß des *Patrem omnipotentem* (VatC 234, fol. 178r, M. 59), ist ganz eindeutig der Rest einer Umbruch-Marke: kein Einsatz in einer der vier Stimmen, stattdessen an derselben Stelle sowohl in BrusBR 9126 als auch in VienNB 1783 der einzige Seitenumbruch der Messe, der in diesen beiden Handschriften nicht mit Chigi übereinstimmt.[38]

Außerdem erscheint an derselben Stelle in allen vier Stimmen der Chigi-Handschrift ein schwacher Trennstrich, diesmal nicht mit Tinte, sondern mit Rötel, der sich gut radieren läßt. Die Linien konnten deshalb quer durch die Notenzeile (beziehungsweise im Bassus schräg als Trennung der beiden Breven der Ligatur) eingetragen werden, ohne die wertvolle Handschrift allzusehr zu beschädigen.

Obwohl das Zusammentreffen der Kopistenmarken in einer Handschrift mit dem Seitenumbruch der beiden anderen hier nochmals für ein besonderes Naheverhältnis der drei Quellen spricht, ist es doch unwahrscheinlich, daß die Linien in Chigi wirklich eingetragen wurden, um direkt die Abschrift von BrusBR 9126 oder VienNB 1783 vorzubereiten: Beide Handschriften haben im Tenor

[36] Zu diesem Ergebnis kommt auch F. FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Models*, (*Collection Ricercar*, 2), Paris, 1997, S. 31.

[37] Als Abschluß von neun Mensuren *duo* treffen sich auf dem ersten Schlag von Mensur 47 (=131) Contratenor und Bassus in einer Kadenz (und dort steht auch das *signum congruentiae*). Eine Minima später setzt der Discantus und weitere zwei Minimen später der Tenor wieder ein.

[38] Dementsprechend fehlt in beiden Handschriften auch das *signum congruentiae* im Baß des *Patrem omnipotentem*, das ja nun tatsächlich für den Seitenumbruch verwendet wurde. Das Zeichen im Baß des *Qui tollis* jedoch haben die Schreiber beide Male mit dem Notentext in die Abschrift übertragen.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 77

	VATC 234		VIENNB 1783	MONTSM 766	VATS 160
Kyrie 1	fol. 143v–144r		fol. 1v–2r	fol. 78v–79r	fol. 1v–2r
Christe	fol. 144v–145r		fol. 2v–3r		
Kyrie 2			fol. 3v–4r	fol. 79v–80r	fol. 2v–3r
Et in terra	fol. 145v–146r		fol. 4v–5r	fol. 80v–81r	
M. 23					fol. 3v–4r
M. $34^1/_3/34^2/_3$		Striche*			
M. 35			fol. 5v–6r		
M. 40				fol. 81v–82r**	
Qui tollis (=M. 57)	fol. 146v–147r		fol. 6v–7r	fol. 82v–83r	fol. 4v–5r
M. 38 (=$75^1/_2$)				fol. 83v–84r	
M. $43^1/_2$ (=$78^1/_4$)		Striche			
Patrem omnipotentem	fol. 147v–148r		fol. 7v–8r	fol. 84v–85r	fol. 5v–6r
M. 29	*signa*: T, CT	Striche	fol. 8v–9r		
M. 31				fol. 85v–86r	
Et incarnatus (=M. 50)	fol. 148v–149r		fol. 9v–10r	fol. 86v–87r	fol. 6v–7r
M. 46 (=$72^1/_2$)		Striche*		fol. 87v–88r	
M. 49 (=74)	*signum*: Tenor		fol. 10v–11r		
Et in spiritum (=M. 101)	fol. 149v–150r		fol. 11v–12r	fol. 88v–89r	fol. 7v–8r
M. 29 (=129)	*signum*: Tenor 2	Striche	fol. 12v–13r	fol. 89v–90r	
Sanctus	fol. 150v–151r		fol. 13v–14r	fol. 90v–91r	fol. 8v–9r
Pleni sunt celi					
Osanna	fol. 151v–152r		fol. 14v–15r	fol. 91v–92r	fol. 9v–10r
Benedictus	fol. 152v–153r		fol. 15v–16r	fol. 92v–93r	fol. 10v–11r
Agnus 1 (*…miserere nobis*)	fehlt		fol. 16v–17r	fol. 93v–94r	fol. 11v–12r
Agnus 2* und *3	fehlt		fehlt	fehlt	fehlt

* Discantus: M. $34^2/_3$ (ausradiert) und M. $34^1/_3$ (nicht ausradiert); Contratenor: M. $34^2/_3$; Bassus und Tenor 2: M. $34^1/_3$; Tenor (ganz falsch): M. 31.

** Seitenumbruch im Tenor falsch: M. 39. – Außerdem fehlten nach dem Seitenumbruch in MontsM 766 ursprünglich die beiden ersten Noten des zweiten Tenors ($M. 40_{1-2}$: punktierte Minima *d'*, Semiminima *c'*), an deren Stelle später – deutlich als Nachtrag zu erkennen – eine Semibrevis *d'* eingefügt wurde.

* Außerdem ein ausradierter Trennstrich im zweiten Tenor M. 47 (=73).

Tabelle 3. Jacobus Barbireau, *Missa Virgo parens Christi*: Seitenumbruch und Umbruch-Marken (vgl. Fußnote 26).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 78

Ockeghem	*Missa Ecce ancilla*	*Et in terra*	fol. 22v–23r	M. 42⅔
		Patrem	fol. 26v–27r	M. 34
			fol. 27v–28r	M. 66
		Et resurrexit	fol. 28v–29r	M. 67 (=160)
			fol. 29v–30r	M. 100 (=193)
Ockeghem	*Missa Lomme arme*	*Qui tollis*	fol. 37v–38r	M. 71 (=116)
		Patrem	fol. 38v–39r	M. 37
		Et unam	fol. 40v–41r	M. 24 (Plam. =158 / v. Benthem =125)
Ockeghem	*Missa Fors seullement*	*Et in terra*	fol. 47v–48r	M. 27
		Qui tollis	fol. 48v–49r	M. 51 (=106)
Ockeghem	*Missa* a5	*Factorem*	fol. 58v–59r	M. 32
		Et iterum	fol. 59v–60r	M. 27 (=95)
Ockeghem	*Missa Ma maistresse*	*Qui tollis*	fol. 62v–63r	M. 18 (=75)
Ockeghem	*Missa De plus en plus*	*Et in terra*	fol. 76v–77r	M. 36 (Plamenac 36 / v. Benthem 37)
		Qui tollis	fol. 77v–78r	M. 75 (=147/=148) – fehlt im Tenor
		Et incarnatus	fol. 80v–81r	M. 74 (=158/=159)
Ockeghem	*Missa Au travel suy*	*Patrem*	fol. 92v–93r	M. 48
		Et resurrexit	fol. 93v–94r	M. 82½ (=171½)
Barbireau	*Missa Virgo parens*	*Et in terra*	fol. 145v–146r	M. 34⅓/34⅔ – fehlerhaft
		Qui tollis	fol. 146v–147r	M. 43½ (=78¼)
		Patrem	fol. 147v–148r	M. 29
		Et incarnatus	fol. 148v–149r	M. 46 (=72½)
		Et in spiritum	fol. 149v–150r	M. 29 (=129)
Agricola	*Missa In myne synn*	*Et in terra*	fol. 153v–154r	M. 31⅓
		Qui tollis	fol. 156v–157r	M. 62½ (=135¾)
		Patrem	fol. 158v–159r	M. 53 (=27)
			fol. 159v–160r	M. 122 (=61½)
		Et resurrexit	fol. 161v–162r	M. 63 (=142)
			fol. 162v–163r	M. 109½ (=165¼)
		Pleni sunt celi	fol. 164v–165r	M. 52 (=68½)
		Benedictus	fol. 166v–167r	M. 51 (=128)
			fol. 167v–168r	M. 97 (=151)
		Agnus 3	fol. 171v–172r	M. 51 (=116)
La Rue	*Missa Almana*	*Et in terra*	fol. 175v–176r	M. 68
		Qui tollis	fol. 176v–177r	M. 37 (=121)
		Patrem	fol. 177v–178r	M. 59
Josquin	*Missa Lomme arme*	*Et in terra*	fol. 193v–194r	M. 30
		Qui tollis	fol. 194v–195r	M. 69 (=122)
Busnoys	*Missa Lomme arme*	*Et in terra*	fol. 214v–215r	M. 35
		Qui tollis	fol. 215v–216r	M. 52
		Patrem	fol. 217v–218r	M. 38
		Et incarnatus	fol. 218v–219r	M. 52 – Tenor ungenau
Compère	*Missa Lomme arme*	*Qui tollis*	fol. 230v–231r	M. 22 (=67½)
Ockeghem	*Intemerata dei mater*	*prima pars*	fol. 276v–277r	M. 27 – Tenor M. 28
		tertia pars	fol. 278v–279r	M. 20 (=118)

Tabelle 4. Umbruch-Marken im Chigi-Codex, VatC 234 (vgl. Fußnote 26).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 79

Ockeghem	*Missa Au travel suy*	*Patrem*	fol. 92v–93r	M. 59½	Discantus
Barbireau	*Missa Virgo parens*	*Patrem*	fol. 147v–148r	M. 29	Tenor, Contratenor
		Et incarnatus	fol. 148v–149r	M. 49 (=74)	Tenor
		Et in spiritum	fol. 149v–150r	M. 29 (=129)	Tenor 2
La Rue	*Missa Almana*	*Qui tollis*	fol. 176v–177r	M. 47 (=131)	Bassus
		Patrem	fol. 177v–178r	M. 59	Bassus
Brumel	*Missa Lomme arme*	*Et in terra*	fol. 201v–202r	M. 35	Contratenor

Tabelle 5. Einzelne *signa congruentiae* in VatC 234 (Chigi-Codex), irrtümlich übernommene Umbruch-Marken der Vorlage.

abschnittsweise (jedoch nicht genau an den gleichen Stellen) eine abweichende Mensuration.[39] Und senkrechte Rötel-Trennstriche unterteilen – wieder in allen vier Stimmen gleichzeitig – zwei weitere Sätze derselben Messe in Chigi: *Et in terra* und *Qui tollis* (vergleiche Tabelle 4).[40] Die Einrichtung des Seitenumbruchs mit ihrer Unterteilung in kleinste Portionen (kleiner als in BrusBR 9126 und VienNB 1783) muß also der Vorbereitung einer anderen Handschrift gegolten haben, die deutlich weniger Notentext auf einer Seite unterbringen konnte.[41]

Damit erschöpfen sich jene Beispiele, in denen es mir bisher gelungen ist, eine konkrete Beziehung zwischen einem *signum congruentiae* (oder einer Trennlinie) in Chigi und dem Seitenumbruch einer anderen Handschrift festzustellen.[42] Wir wissen aber nun, was derartige Zeichen zu bedeuten haben, auch wenn keine weitere Abschrift derselben Komposition erhalten ist. Mehr als die Hälfte der Messen in Chigi und VienNB 11883 sind mit verschiedenen Arten solcher Markierungen ausgestattet (vergleiche Tabelle 2 und 4).

[39] Das alleine würde noch nicht ausreichen, um eine direkte Abschrift auszuschließen: Flynn Warmington hat beschrieben, wie bestimmte Stimmen zuerst ausgelassen und später von einem anderen Kopisten (dem "*editor*") nachgetragen wurden (vgl. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, S. 41, Absatz (2) sowie die Fußnoten 7 und 9 auf S. 45). Mit Blick auf das Thema dieses Beitrags müßte das übrigens heißen, daß es eigene Vorlagen für solche überarbeitete Einzelstimmen gegeben haben könnte. Sollten sich zwei solcher Beispiele als Einlegeblätter in VienNB 11778 erhalten haben? Auf zwei gesonderten Blättern stehen dort *resolutiones* einzelner Stimmen von Josquins *Missa Fortuna desperata* (wahrscheinlich eine Abschrift aus Petruccis Druck, vgl. die Abbildung in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 38) und *Missa Lomme arme super voces musicales* (ohne Entsprechung bei Petrucci). Nichts deutet darauf hin, daß sie ursprünglich zu dieser Handschrift gehört hätten. Wenn sie aber als lose Blätter in derselben Bibliothek aufbewahrt wurden – und vielleicht sogar zum Bestand der später erst zusammengebundenen Handschrift VienNB 11883 und/oder der Stimmblätter VienNB 9814 gehörten –, war nichts naheliegender, als sie sinngemäß dem entsprechenden Chorbuch VienNB 11778 mit Josquins Messen zuzuordnen und dort einzulegen.

[40] Damit sind in Chigi alle vier längeren Sätze zweigeteilt: Das *Crucifixus* mit zwei Doppelseiten in Chigi brauchte nicht nochmals unterteilt zu werden.

[41] Daß es sich dabei auch nicht um JenaU 22 mit nur je zwei Doppelseiten für Gloria und Credo (also ohne Unterteilung der vier einzelnen Sätze) gehandelt hat, ergibt sich schon aus den wenigen Angaben in K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses*, 3), Jena, 1935, Notenverzeichnis S. 44ˣ.

[42] Die übrigen Konkordanzen ergeben keine weitere Übereinstimmung: Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* hat identischen Seitenumbruch in Chigi und BrusBR 9126, die zahlreichen Umbruch-Marken in Chigi stammen also von der Vorbereitung einer nicht erhaltenen Abschrift. Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum*, de la Rues sechsstimmiges *Credo* und Josquins *Stabat mater* haben in Chigi keine Umbruch-Marken, weder Trennstriche noch *signa*. (Daß alle drei Abschriften des *Stabat mater* wahrscheinlich von derselben Vorlage stammen, zeigt Thomas Schmidt-Beste in seinem Beitrag für das vorliegende Jahrbuch.) Der Seitenumbruch von Josquins *Missa Lomme arme sexti toni* in VienNB 11778 stimmt nicht mit den Strichen in Chigi überein, aber es wäre

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 80

DAS EINRICHTEN DER VORLAGE

Daß die *signa* und sonstigen Zeichen einem anderen Zweck als der Vorbereitung des Seitenumbruchs gedient hätten – man könnte an 'Probenmarken' denken –, ist unwahrscheinlich. Nicht nur, daß wir genügend Beispiele haben, in denen die *signa* tatsächlich als Stellen zum Umblättern gewählt wurden; die Grundsätze dieser Auswahl lassen sich an den Umbruch-Stellen jeder beliebigen Handschrift ablesen: Sehr gerne wurde bei Kadenzen geblättert, und zwar immer so, daß die *paenultima* gerade noch auf die alte Seite fällt, die Auflösung dagegen schon auf den Beginn der neuen. Das mag mehrere Vorteile gehabt haben: Beim Proben konnte man am Anfang einer aufgeschlagenen Doppelseite von einem leicht erfaßbaren Akkord – im Idealfall einem Quint-Oktav-Klang – ausgehen. Die Auflösung einer Kadenz ist auch meist sehr gut vorhersehbar, sodaß selbst bei einer Aufführung 'vom Blatt' schon vorher klar war, wohin welche Stimme am Beginn der nächsten Seite fortschreiten würde. (Der *custos* war darin eine zusätzliche Hilfe.) Zu spätes Blättern konnte auf diese Weise kaum Schaden anrichten, und selbst wenn die Sänger auf der *paenultima* ein wenig länger warteten, machte das einen ausgezeichneten musikalischen Eindruck. Verlor gar einer von ihnen den Zusammenhang, konnte er nirgends so gut wieder zusteigen, wie bei einer Kadenz. Und nicht zuletzt verbindet sich auf diese Weise der optische Eindruck des Umblätterns mit dem akustischen einer 'Wende' zur *finalis*.

Die Zielakkorde einer Kadenz bestehen häufig aus längeren Noten, sodaß die Sänger dort ein wenig Zeit hatten, sich mit dem neuen Schriftbild zurechtzufinden, und oft folgt darauf eine kurze – manchmal auch eine längere – Pause. Selbst wenn das Umblättern nicht mit einer wirklichen Kadenz oder Kadenz-ähnlichen Wendung einhergeht, steht meist am Beginn der neuen Seite – zumindest in einer der Stimmen – eine einzelne Note mit nachfolgender Pause: All dies trifft nicht nur für die wirklichen Umbruch-Stellen zu, sondern auch für die eingetragenen Marken in Chigi und VienNB 11883.

Wir dürfen also annehmen, daß all jene Kompositionen, in denen man die charakteristischen Trennstriche oder *signa congruentiae* findet, tatsächlich als Vorlage verwendet wurden.[43] Ob die übrigen Faszikel demselben Zweck dienten, ist schwerer zu beurteilen. In manchen Fällen wäre es durchaus möglich.

Die Einrichtung von Ockeghems *Missa Mi mi* zum Beispiel (VatC 234, fol. 3v–18r) erlaubt, die ganze Komposition abzuschreiben, ohne daß eigene Umbruch-Marken dafür notwendig wären: Kurze Sätze stehen zu zweit oder zu dritt auf einer Doppelseite,[44] sodaß eine Unterteilung – wenn nötig – auch möglich war, ohne einen zusätzlichen Umbruch einzutragen, während fast alle längeren Sätze schon in Chigi zwei Doppelseiten beanspruchten (und deshalb auch nicht besonders eng geschrieben waren).[45] Eine Abschrift, die pro Seite ein bißchen weniger Notentext als Chigi unter-

möglich, daß im Baß des *Et in terra* (VienNB 11778, fol. 28r, M. 29) jene Brevis, die dort als erste Note nach dem Seitenumbruch irrtümlich statt einer Longa geschrieben wurde, in irgendeinem Zusammenhang mit der Umbruch-Marke von Chigi steht (fol. 194r), die gerade für diese Longa (M. 29–30) eine Teilung in zwei Breven (vor und nach dem Seitenumbruch) vorsieht.

[43] Natürlich ist es auch möglich, daß auf die Einrichtung der Vorlage mitunter keine Abschrift folgte, aber es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß die Kopisten so viel Zeit hatten, um auf Vorrat arbeiten zu können. Allenfalls wurde die Arbeit vorzeitig abgebrochen, z.B. in der anonymen *Missa* VienNB 11883, fol. 20v–29r, wo der Kopist nur zu den beiden ersten *signa* im Discantus und Tenor des *Et in terra* (fol. 21v) gekommen ist. (Die Bestätigung der *signa* in Tabelle 2 ist daher in Klammern gesetzt.)

[44] Fol. 3v–4r: *Kyrie* 1, *Christe*, *Kyrie* 2; 10v–11r: *Et incarnatus*, *Crucifixus* (*duo*); 13v–14r: *Sanctus*, *Pleni sunt celi*; 14v–15r: *Osanna*, *Benedictus* und *Qui venit*.

[45] Fol. 4v–6r: *Et in terra*; fol. 6v–8r: *Qui tollis*; fol. 8v–10r: *Patrem omnipotentem*; 11v–13r: *Et resurrexit*.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 81

bringen konnte, war mit dieser Vorlage kein Problem, denn es genügte, die Schrift ein wenig zusammenzudrängen. (Die einzigen Sätze der Messe, die genau eine Doppelseite in Anspruch nehmen, sind die drei Teile des Agnus Dei, aber auch hier hatte man noch genug Freiraum, sodaß bestimmt keine Notwendigkeit für weitere Unterteilungen bestand, wenn Chigi als Vorlage für eine andere Handschrift verwendet wurde.)

Die ganze Messe braucht hier – einschließlich der freien Flächen auf dem Pergament – ganze fünfzehn Doppelseiten, genau zwei Quaternionen: Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die Handschriften der Werkstatt zu einem großen Teil aus Quaternionen zusammengesetzt waren und die Messen bevorzugt am Anfang einer neuen Lage beginnen sollten, erscheint dies wie eine standardisierte Einrichtung der Messe. Sie konnte sehr gut ihrerseits aus einer – vielleicht etwas kleineren – Vorlage übernommen worden sein, und bei eventuellen weiteren Abschriften hat man sie sicher beibehalten.

Ockeghems *Missa Ecce ancilla domini* würde grundsätzlich auch in jene Gruppe von Kompositionen fallen, die in Chigi nicht besonders platzsparend notiert waren. Wieder umfaßt die Messe genau fünfzehn Doppelseiten (genau zwei Quaternionen mit unbeschriebener erster und letzter Seite). Allerdings hat hier ein späterer Kopist weitere Umbruch-Marken hinterlassen (vergleiche Tabelle 4): *Patrem omnipotentem* und *Et resurrexit* (beide zweiteilig in Chigi) wurden von ihm in je drei Teile gespalten: ein deutliches Zeichen, daß die Abschrift besonders kleines Format (oder große Schrift) haben sollte. Unter dieser Voraussetzung sind die Einzeichnungen auch sehr gut verständlich: Die drei Abschnitte des Kyrie fanden gerade noch auf je einer Doppelseite Platz. *Et in terra* mit recht ungleicher Aufteilung in eine lange erste und kurze zweite Hälfte mußte neu eingerichtet werden: mit einer Trennung ziemlich genau in der Mitte. Die Unterteilung des *Qui tollis* konnte man behalten, während jeder der beiden – etwas längeren – Credo-Sätze in der Kopie drei Doppelseiten beanspruchte. (Sanctus, Benedictus und Agnus machten keine weiteren Probleme.)

Die folgenden Messen haben im Vergleich zu den beiden ersten eher kürzere Sätze. Zusätzliche Umbruch-Marken stehen grundsätzlich dort, wo ein Satz gerade eine Doppelseite voll ausfüllt: Ockeghems *Missa Lomme arme*, die in Chigi zehn Doppelseiten einnimmt, wurde mit drei zusätzlichen Umbrüchen (vergleiche Tabelle 4) und wahrscheinlich veränderter Verteilung der Kyrie- und Sanctus-Abschnitte für eine Aufteilung auf fünfzehn oder sechzehn Doppelseiten – also wieder genau zwei Quaternionen – eingerichtet.[46]

Auch die drei folgenden – unvollständigen – Messen, Ockeghems fünfstimmige Fragmente und sein Kyrie und Gloria über *Ma maistresse*, dienten als Vorlage, wie die Umbruch-Marken bestätigen.[47] Um so überraschender ist, daß Ockeghems *Missa Caput* keine Kopistenmarken enthält. Hätte man sie eingerichtet wie alle bisherigen Kompositionen – einschließlich der drei Meß-Fragmente –, wäre zumindest für *Et in terra* (VatC 234, fol. 65v–66r) und *Et incarnatus* (fol. 69v–70r) eine Unterteilung vorgesehen worden. Dies spricht zwar prinzipiell nicht gegen die Möglichkeit

[46] Oft wurde die letzte Seite einer Messe auf die – sonst leer gebliebene – erste der folgenden Lage kopiert, womit die 32 Seiten von zwei Quaternionen voll ausgenützt waren.

[47] Wir haben bereits bei Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat* (VienNB 11883 und VienNB 4809) gesehen, daß mitunter mehrere Vorlagen gemeinsam für eine Abschrift eingesetzt wurden. Wenn von Ockeghems fünfstimmigen Messen – neben dem Kyrie – wenigstens Gloria und Credo ganz vorlagen, war das zumindest eine vollwertige Vorlage für die Textunterlegung. Aber es gibt auch Beispiele bestimmter Messen, die in mehreren Handschriften immer wieder unvollständig erscheinen, zum Teil vervollständigt durch einzelne Sätze anderer Kompositionen oder gar anderer Komponisten (vgl. etwa die verschiedenen Zusammenstellungen von Agricolas *Missa Pascale* und Brumels *Missa de virginibus* mit dem Credo aus Isaacs *Missa Tmeiskin was jonck* in JenaU 22, VerBC 756 und VienNB 1783). Man wußte sich also zu helfen, wenn die Vorlagen zu wünschen übrig ließen, und wenn eine Komposition interessant genug erschien, kopierte man sie auch als Torso (etwa Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* in BrusBR 9126 und Chigi).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 82

einer großformatigen Abschrift, könnte aber auch bedeuten, daß Ockeghems *Missa Caput* am Beginn des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts einfach schon als zu altmodisch angesehen wurde.

Mit schöner Regelmäßigkeit setzt sich in der Folge fort, was wir in den ersten Beispielen gesehen haben: Ockeghems Messen *De plus en plus* und *Au travel suy* unterteilen stets jene Sätze, die eine Doppelseite in Chigi voll ausfüllen. Seine *Missa Cuiusvis toni* hatte noch genügend Freiraum,[48] sodaß Trennstriche nicht notwendig waren, ebenso das *Requiem* und seine *Missa Prolationum* (deren kanonische Anlage auch eine Unterteilung wesentlich erschwert hätte),[49] während Ockeghems dreistimmige *Missa Quinti toni* nach diesen Kriterien den einen oder anderen Trennstrich hätte vertragen können. Aber vielleicht war auch sie – als dreistimmige Messe – nicht mehr so beliebt.

Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* und de la Rues *Missa Almana* haben wir bereits besprochen; Alexander Agricolas *Missa In myne synn*, die – ohne Kyrie – bereits in Chigi neunzehn Doppelseiten beanspruchte, wurde für eine Aufteilung auf sechsundzwanzig Doppelseiten eingerichtet, und la Rues sechsstimmiges Credo brauchte keine weiteren Seitenwechsel, weil es als sechsstimmiges Werk wahrscheinlich vor allem in großformatige Handschriften kopiert wurde.

Die *Lomme arme*-Messen folgen wieder – mit Ausnahme von Brumel – dem bekannten Prinzip, wobei die Einrichtung der Busnoys-Messe einer besonders kleinformatigen Abschrift entspricht. Daß schließlich unter den Motetten nur eine einzige – Ockeghems *Intemerata dei mater* – Spuren einer Abschrift zeigt, liegt wahrscheinlich daran, daß die meisten Sätze ohnedies schon in Chigi vier Seiten beanspruchten.[50]

Einige fehlerhafte oder überzählige Umbruch-Marken lassen Rückschlüsse auf die Arbeitsweise beim Einrichten der Vorlage zu, zum Beispiel auf der ersten Doppelseite des *Et resurrexit* in Ockeghems *Missa Ecce ancilla domini* (VatC 234, fol. 28v–29r): Ganz klar sichtbar ist hier in allen Stimmen ein Trennstrich bei Mensur 67 (=160).[51] In Verbindung mit einer zweiten Marke Mensur 100 (=193) auf der nächsten Doppelseite (fol. 29v–30r) unterteilt er den Satz in drei Teile (im Gegensatz zu Chigi mit zwei Teilen). Außerdem sind Folio 28v–29r mehrere zusätzliche Kopistenmarken zu erkennen:

Der Satz beginnt mit einem *duo* zwischen Discantus und Contratenor. Dem Einsatz des Bassus in Mensur 25 (=118) entspricht ein *signum congruentiae* im Contratenor.[52] An der gleichen Stelle – Mensur 25 (=118) – ist auch ein feiner Trennstrich im Discantus und Bassus zu erkennen, ebenso bei Mensur 37 (=130) und Mensur 45 (=138) im Contratenor, Mensur 57 (=150) im Discantus, Tenor und Bassus sowie Mensur 61 (=154) im Bassus. Möglicherweise sind dazu eine schräge Linie Discantus Mensur 82 (=175) und ein ganz schwacher Strich im Bassus Mensur 47 (=140) zu zählen, der wieder mit einem *signum* für den Einsatz des Tenors zusammenfällt.

[48] Der längste Satz *Et iterum venturus* brauchte bereits in Chigi zwei Doppelseiten (VatC 234, fol. 101v–103r).

[49] Der Sänger der imitierenden Stimme mußte sich beim Umblättern innerhalb eines Kanons meist die letzten Noten der vorigen Seite merken. (Wenn er Glück – oder die Arbeit eines aufmerksamen Schreibers in Händen – hatte, stand dort eine Pause.) Doch gerade in Alamires Werkstatt gab es auch Beispiele kanonischer Messen mit sauber ausgearbeitetem Seitenumbruch, etwa in 's HerAB 72A, wo die Noten der imitierenden Stimme am Beginn der neuen Seite stets noch einmal ausgeschrieben wurden. Vgl. V. ROELVINK, *'s-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 72C ('s HerAB 72C)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 10, S. 82 und ROELVINK, *Gegeven den Sangeren*, S. 116 ff., insbesondere *Afbeelding* 37.

[50] Ausnahmen, also einzelne Sätze, die auf einer Doppelseite Platz finden, gibt es nur in den letzten fünf Motetten, von denen eben eine auch mit Umbruch-Strichen versehen wurde.

[51] Siehe Fußnote 26.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 83

Es ist unklar, ob all diese Rötel-Markierungen eine Bedeutung haben. Um solche Spuren zu hinterlassen, genügt es, mit dem Stift auf eine bestimmte Stelle zu zeigen, ihn unachtsam dort liegen zu lassen etc. Man sollte sich also vor einer überzogenen Interpretation in acht nehmen. Aber es ist schon auffällig, daß all diese Markierungen genau auf den Beginn einer Mensur fallen. Wenn außerdem Mensur 57 (=150) in drei der vier Stimmen markiert wurde, darf man ganz sicher mit einer bestimmten Absicht rechnen: Im Bassus sieht diese Stelle mit ihrem Abstieg von G zu einer Brevis F und nachfolgender Pause wie eine Kadenz aus. Es wäre also für den Kopisten naheliegend, hier einen Seitenumbruch vorzusehen. Auch der Tenor geht nach f, was das Bild einer Kadenz im Prinzip zu bestätigen scheint. Der Discantus mit einem Schritt von g' nach a' paßt nicht ganz zu diesem Eindruck, noch weniger der Contratenor (Sprung von Semibrevis b auf Minima d', gefolgt von weiteren Minimen c', a und c').

Wenn beim Einrichten des Seitenumbruchs tatsächlich so oder ähnlich vorgegangen wurde, wenn der Anschein einer Kadenz Anlaß war, hier einen Umbruch vorzusehen, wäre es nur logisch, daß an dieser Stelle Bassus, Tenor und Discantus kleine Markierungen erhalten haben, jedoch nicht der Contratenor: Nachdem der Schreiber sich erst einmal entschieden hatte, die Baß-Wendung für einen Seitenumbruch zu nutzen und dann die entsprechenden Stellen der übrigen Stimmen suchte, mußte ihm spätestens beim Auszählen des Contratenors klar werden, daß er es gar nicht mit einer Kadenz (oder Kadenz-ähnlichen Wendung) zu tun hatte.

Wie auch immer: Die zusätzlichen Kopistenmarken scheinen bis zu einem gewissen Grad Sinn zu ergeben. Eine Erklärung, die alle Striche mit einbeziehen würde, kann ich jedoch nicht finden. Jedenfalls wird dadurch klar, daß der Schreiber sich die vorliegende Komposition erst mühsam vergegenwärtigen mußte, daß er alles andere als zielsicher auf die letztlich ausgewählte und deutlicher markierte Umbruch-Stelle bei Mensur 67 (=160) zusteuerte.[53]

Wenn derartige Unsicherheiten sonst nicht in dieser Dichte zu beobachten sind, mag das zwei Gründe haben: Entweder es war hier ein ungeübter Schreiber am Werk, oder es wurden solche vorläufigen Markierungen sonst immer ausradiert. Versetzt man sich in die Lage des Kopisten, scheint die zweite Erklärung besonders wahrscheinlich: Hatte er einen Satz nach längerem Auszählen und vorläufigem Markieren endlich mit passenden Umbruch-Marken versehen und wollte er gerade zum nächsten Satz übergehen, sah er vor sich all die ungültigen Eintragungen. Nichts war naheliegender, als die aufgeschlagene Doppelseite erst noch zu reinigen, das heißt alle überzähligen Trennstriche wieder auszuradieren. Wenn sich jedoch – wie in diesem Fall – ein Satz über zwei Doppelseiten erstreckte, lag am Schluß der Einrichtung vor ihm nur die zweite Hälfte (hier fol. 29v–30r), die er uns sauber hinterlassen hat. Wenn er zuletzt vergaß nochmals zurückzublättern, bedeutete dies für die ungültigen Zeichen Folio 28v–29r weiter stehen zu blieben.

Etwas ähnliches könnte im *Patrem omnipotentem* derselben Messe (VatC 234, fol. 26v–27r) passiert sein, wo alle Stimmen bei Mensur 34 einen Trennstrich haben. Wir wissen natürlich nicht genau, wie der Schreiber diese Stelle in vierfacher Übereinstimmung gefunden hat. Wenn er die Komposition nicht sehr gut kannte, mußte er vom Beginn des Satzes die Mensuren auszählen, und es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß er sich dabei mitunter verzählt hat. Wollte er wissen, ob die Markierungen auch alle übereinstimmen, konnte er kontrollieren, ob der musikalische Satz an dieser Stelle einen Sinn ergibt. Unter Umständen mußte er die Zählung wiederholen, und dann war es

[52] Das *signum* steht auf der ersten Semibrevis von M. 25 (=118), kurz vor dem Baßeinsatz (zweite Semibrevis).
[53] Vgl. auch die unvollständigen *signa*-Serien im *Et in terra* von Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa* (VienNB 11883, fol. 134v–135r). Vgl. Abbildung 4 und Tabelle 1 (unvollständige Serien in kleinerem Druck).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 84

natürlich günstig, wenn er beim ersten Mal das Ergebnis nur ganz vorsichtig angezeichnet hatte. Die angedeuteten Striche konnten später – je nach dem – nachgezogen oder ausradiert werden.

Folio 27r sind nun im Contratenor zwei Markierungen unmittelbar vor dem eigentlichen Trennstrich (M. 34) stehen geblieben: Bei Mensur 33 (also drei Semibreven zu früh) und nochmals eine Semibrevis später. Daß diese Zeichen nicht ausradiert wurden, verdanken wir möglicherweise wieder der Nachlässigkeit des Schreibers, der in demselben Satz noch einen zweiten Trennstrich auf der nächsten Doppelseite einzuzeichnen hatte und – wieder wie oben – vergaß, zur vorigen Seite nochmals zurückzublättern.[54]

Die doppelten Markierungen im Tenor und Bassus des *Et in terra* von Ockeghems fünfstimmiger *Missa Fors seullement* (VatC 234, fol. 47v) jedoch sind dadurch nur unbefriedigend zu erklären: Ein stärkerer Strich steht in allen fünf Stimmen an der richtigen Stelle, ein schwächerer (oder zum Teil ausradierter) im Tenor und Bassus genau eine Semibrevis davor. Wahrscheinlich war auch im Discantus eine zweite, besser ausradierte, Trennlinie im selben Abstand (ein leichter Schatten ist jedenfalls dort zu sehen), sodaß alle drei Stimmen auf der linken Seite des aufgeschlagenen Chorbuchs (Discantus, Tenor und Bassus) jeweils zwei Marken, nämlich eine ausradierte bei Mensur 26$^{2}/_{3}$ und eine gültige bei Mensur 27 haben. Auf der rechten Seite (Contratenor und Vagans) stehen nur die endgültigen Markierungen (M. 27).

Es ist zwar nicht im Detail nachvollziehbar, aber es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Unsicherheit mit einem Fehler im Discantus zusammenhängt: Die Brevis M. 23 muß perfekt sein, wie ein Vergleich mit den anderen Stimmen zeigt. Um nicht von der nachfolgenden Semibrevis imperfiziert zu werden, müßte sie einen Punkt haben, der in Chigi fehlt.[55] Zählt man im Discantus die Mensuren, ohne dabei die Möglichkeit eines ständigen Vergleichs mit den anderen Stimmen zu haben, verschieben sich alle nachfolgenden Noten um genau diese eine Semibrevis, was in mehreren Durchgängen von auszählen und überprüfen des mehrstimmigen Satzes an der gewählten Umbruch-Stelle sehr gut zu den beschriebenen doppelten Markierungen in genau diesem Abstand führen konnte.

Die einzige Serie von Trennstrichen, die trotz erkennbarer Korrektur fehlerhaft geblieben ist,[56] findet man im *Et in terra* von Barbireaus fünfstimmiger *Missa Virgo parens Christi* (VatC 234, fol. 145v–146r): Kurze Tintenstriche stehen hier Mensur 31 im Tenor, Mensur 34$^{1}/_{3}$ (also bei der zweiten Semibrevis von Mensur 34) im Discantus, Tenor 2 und Bassus sowie Mensur 34$^{2}/_{3}$ im Contratenor.

[54] Ähnliche Korrekturen findet man zweimal in Ockeghems fünfstimmiger *Missa sine nomine* (beide im Faksimile gut sichtbar): Im Bassus des *Factorem celi et terre* (VatC 234, fol. 59r), wo einer falschen Marke mit blasser hellbrauner Tinte (M. 31) eine richtige, kräftig dunkelgraue zur Seite gestellt wurde (M. 32), und im rezitierenden Tenor des *Et iterum venturus* (fol. 60r), wo im Abstand einer Semibrevis mit gleicher hellbrauner Tinte bei M. 27 (=95) der richtige und dann bei M. 27$^{1}/_{2}$ (=95$^{1}/_{2}$) der falsche, kaum merklich durchstrichene Trennstrich erscheint. Daß die falsch ausgezählten Marken hier stehengeblieben sind, erklärt sich ganz einfach daraus, daß kurze Tintenstriche verwendet wurden, die nicht so leicht wie Rötel radiert werden konnten.
Wenn auch in Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* ein solcher Fehler unterlaufen ist, haben wir das wohl der aberwitzigen Rhythmik dieser Messe zu verdanken: Im Discantus des *Et in terra* (VatC 234, fol. 153v – leider im Faksimile nicht sichtbar) stehen neben der gültigen Linie (M. 31$^{1}/_{3}$) die Reste einer ausradierten (M. 31$^{2}/_{3}$).

[55] So in der Gesamtausgabe von Plamenac. Van Benthem hat in der neuen Gesamtausgabe eine zusätzliche Semibrevis eingefügt, die ihm wohl für die Textunterlegung vorteilhaft erschien. Eine dritte Möglichkeit wäre, die nachfolgenden Semibreven in Ligatur zu schreiben und so – mit Hilfe einer 'inoffiziellen', jedoch sehr gebräuchlichen Notationsregel – die Perfektion der vorausgehenden Brevis anzudeuten. Wenn die Notwendigkeit der Ligatur, die – zugegeben – die Textunterlegung erschwert, bei der Abschrift übersehen wurde, könnte sich daraus sehr leicht die fehlerhafte Notation ergeben haben.

[56] Eine von nur vier fehlerhaften Markierungen der ganzen Handschrift (siehe unten).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 85

Eine weitere Marke im Discantus Mensur 34 2/3 ist ausradiert. Ziemlich sicher hat die Kadenzwendung im Discantus (mit nachfolgender Pause) den Schreiber zu einer Trennung bei Mensur 34 2/3 veranlaßt. Das bedeutet, daß er die Trennung nur im Discantus und Contratenor richtig markiert hatte. Im Bassus und Tenor 2 kam er beim Auszählen um eine Semibrevis zu früh an, im Tenor verfehlte er das Ziel noch deutlicher. (Daß auch die Vorlage für diesen Satz, die möglicherweise bei der Einrichtung des Seitenumbruchs in Chigi noch immer zur Verfügung stand und dabei vielleicht zu Rate gezogen wurde, ein bißchen chaotisch ausgesehen haben muß, wurde bereits erwähnt – vergleiche dazu auch Tabelle 3.) Als der Kopist den Irrtum bemerkte, korrigierte er nur den Discantus, und zwar so, daß er zu Bassus und Tenor 2 paßte. Im zerteilen der Semibrevis, mitten in einer Kadenzwendung, sah er offensichtlich kein Problem.[57]

Diese Unachtsamkeit ist jedoch wirklich ein Einzelfall. Mit ungewöhnlicher Sorgfalt, wurden sonst die Trennstriche eingezeichnet und ausgebessert. Wären sie nur probentechnische Kongruenz-Marken gewesen, hätte man ihnen bestimmt nicht diese Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt: Viele der bloßen Einsatz-Zeichen sind ja ungenau oder falsch, und es gibt dabei keinen Ansatz zu irgendeiner Art der Vollständigkeit, wie wir ihn bei den Umbruch-Marken beobachten. Die Handschriften der sogenannten Bourgeois-Gruppe sind auch sonst in jeder Hinsicht inkonsequent: Unvollständige Messen, ungenaue *signa*, falsche Stimmbezeichnungen[58] etc. sind an der Tagesordnung. Ganz anders bei den Umbruch-Marken.

Zwar sind darunter zahlreiche Korrekturen – wie wir gesehen haben –, aber nur drei Serien von Trennstrichen sind wirklich fehlerhaft geblieben: Im *Et in terra* von Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* (siehe oben), im ersten Abschnitt von Ockeghems *Intemerata dei mater*[59] und im *Et incarnatus* von Busnoys *Missa Lommme arme*.[60] Ein einziger Trennstrich wurde außerdem vergessen: Im Tenor des *Qui tollis* in Ockeghems *Missa De plus en plus* (VatC 234, fol. 77v), innerhalb einer den Satz abschließenden, jedoch in ihrer Anzahl ohnehin fehlerhaften Pausengruppe.

[57] Eine zweite Korrektur erfolgte in dieser Messe im *Et incarnatus* (fol. 149r), hier aber völlig richtig: Bei M. 47 (=73), also eine Brevis nach dem gültigen Trennstrich, sieht man eine ausradierte Marke im Tenor 2.

[58] Vgl. dazu die Tabelle in FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Models*, S. 33.

[59] Im Tenor (VatC 234, fol. 277r – leider nicht im Faksimile zu sehen) steht der Trennstrich eine Mensur zu spät (M. 28 statt 27). Anzeichen einer Korrektur sind nicht zu erkennen.

[60] Der Trennstrich im Tenor (VatC 234, fol. 218v) teilt – auch im Faksimile gut sichtbar – eine Pause von zwei Longen genau in der Mitte. Dabei entspricht die Minima des Tenors (in *prolatio maior*) einer imperfekten Brevis der übrigen Stimmen (unter O2), und da der Trennstrich in den anderen Stimmen bei M. 52 steht, müßte er im Tenor die beiden Brevispausen (M. 49–60) im Verhältnis 1:3 (Semibrevis + 1 1/2 Breven) spalten, nicht im Verhältnis 1:1.

Eine zweite – ganz ähnliche – Umbruch-Marke scheint auf den ersten Blick ebenso fehlerhaft zu sein, doch bei näherer Betrachtung erkennt man darin eher eine eigenwillige Art der Darstellung (oder eine besondere Art der Korrektur): Drei Brevispausen im tiefen Baß des *Qui tollis* in Ockeghems *Missa Fors seullement* (VatC 234, fol. 48v, mensuriert unter C) sollten in 2 1/2 + 1/2 Brevispausen gespalten werden – entsprechend der Umbruch-Stelle der vier übrigen Stimmen bei M. 51 (=106). Die senkrechte Trennlinie steht aber ganz deutlich erst nach der dritten Pause. Um dies auszugleichen, wurde links und rechts der ganzen Pausengruppe je eine Semibrevispause mit jenem Rötelstift ergänzt, mit dem auch die Trennlinie gezogen wurde, und es ist ganz offensichtlich, daß damit eine Teilung der letzten Brevispause in je eine Hälfte vor und nach dem Seitenumbruch gemeint war.

Vgl. die Faksimile-Ausgabe (fol. 48v, letzte Zeile): Unmittelbar nach den beiden Minimen, die der Pausengruppe vorangehen, ist im dritten Zwischenraum die erste Semibrevispause (Rötel) zu sehen, dann die drei regulären Brevispausen (Tinte) und die Trennlinie (Rötel). Direkt über der nachfolgenden punktierten Semibrevis eine weitere Semibrevispause im vierten Zwischenraum (Rötel) und auf halbem Weg zum Notenhals der ersten Semiminima wieder im vierten Zwischenraum eine 'Brevispause' ohne Bedeutung, die bloß von der Rückseite durchscheint.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 86

In der ganzen Handschrift also sind bei insgesamt fast zweihundert Umbruch-Marken nur drei Fehler stehen geblieben, ein Trennstrich wurde vergessen, und wenn man beim Einrichten der Vorlage schon alleine für das Korrigieren des vorgesehenen Seitenumbruchs so viel Sorgfalt aufgebracht hat, wurde sicher auch der Notentext einer eingehenden Kontrolle unterzogen. Wir wissen natürlich nicht, wann die zahllosen musikalischen Korrekturen in Chigi vorgenommen wurden. Einige von ihnen stammen sicher von jenem spanischen Schreiber, der auch für die Nachträge verantwortlich ist (vergleiche etwa den *custos* der ersten Zeile des Contratenors Folio 9r mit jenen der Nachträge!). Man muß jedoch auch damit rechnen, daß vieles davon überarbeitet wurde, als man die Handschrift für den Gebrauch als Vorlage eingerichtet hat. Dazu gehören wahrscheinlich die Text-Nachträge in Ockeghems *Missa Ma maistresse* genauso wie die – geradezu notorischen – Veränderungen der Akzidentien.

Ein ähnliches Bild bietet die Wiener Handschrift VienNB 11883. Es würde jedoch den Umfang dieses Beitrags sprengen, wollte ich die dortigen Kopistenmarken ebenso ausführlich besprechen wie jene in Chigi.[61] Obwohl die beiden Handschriften in ihrer ganzen Anlage so verschieden sind, wie Handschriften nur sein können, war die Vorgangsweise beim Einrichten doch ganz ähnlich und unterschied sich vor allem durch die besondere Wertschätzung, die man einer reich illuminierten Handschrift wie Chigi entgegenbrachte. Prächtige Chorbücher verwendete man wahrscheinlich nur selten als Vorlagen. Sie wurden stets mit großer Sorgfalt behandelt, und man überlegte sich jede Eintragung sehr genau, verwendete Rötel,[62] Blei[63] oder ganz kurze Tintenstriche[64] für die Umbruch-Marken, weil man immer die Möglichkeit haben wollte, sie später wieder auszuradieren. Ganz anders in VienNB 11883: Rötel als Schreibmaterial kommt hier nicht vor. Man findet entweder *signa congruentiae* (Tinte) oder auch hier senkrechte Striche, mit Tinte oder auch nur eingeritzt. Oft sind Korrekturen zu erkennen, und es ist nicht selten, daß vorläufige Trennlinien eingeritzt, endgültige dann später mit Tinte nachgezogen wurden. Manche Messen haben auch nur die eingeritzten Markierungen, die etwa auf dem Mikrofilm gar nicht zu sehen sind.[65]

[61] Es hätte wenig Sinn, all diese Zeichen hier aufzulisten, weil von den Kompositionen ein großer Teil nicht publiziert ist und kein Faksimile der Handschrift vorliegt. Auch ist in Chigi immer klar zu sehen, welche Marken gültig und welche ungültig (ausradiert oder durch andere ersetzt) sind, während man in VienNB 11883 viel eher mit mehrfacher Einrichtung desselben Stücks, Resten früherer Zeichen und vorläufigen Marken konfrontiert ist.

[62] Verschieden gut gespitzte Stifte lassen dabei verschiedene Schreiber oder verschiedene Arbeitszyklen der Einrichtung erkennen: Schlecht gespitzter Rötel-Stift in Ockeghems *Missa Ecce ancilla domini*, *Missa Lomme arme* (gemischt mit blaß-brauner Tinte und eventuell Kreide), *Missa Fors seullement* und *Ma maistresse*, in Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* (alle Sätze außer *Benedictus*), de la Rues *Missa Almana* und Compères *Missa Lomme arme*; besser gespitzt in Ockeghems *Missa De plus en plus*, Busnoys *Missa Lomme arme* und dem *Benedictus* von Agricolas *Missa In myne synn* (hier vermischt mit blassen silbrig-braunen Federstrichen). Rötel muß im Skriptorium stets zur Hand gewesen sein: Man verwendete ihn gerne – auch in Chigi – um die Grundlinien für die Textunterlegung vorzuzeichnen oder die vorgesehenen Buchstaben für die Initialen vorzuschreiben.

[63] Ich meine hier wirklich Blei: Der moderne Graphit-Stift war noch nicht erfunden. In zwei Stücken findet man die silbrig glänzenden Linien: Ockeghems *Missa Au travel suy* und sein *Intemerata dei mater*.

[64] In Ockeghems fünfstimmiger *Missa sine nomine*, Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* und – mit winzigen Tintenstrichen – in Josquins *Missa Lomme arme sexti toni* (im Faksimile nur zum Teil sichtbar: vgl. fol. 193v–194r im Tenor unter der Longa am Schluß der ersten Zeile und im Bassus unter der aufwärts caudierten Longa gegen Ende der zweiten Zeile).

[65] Obrechts *Missa Lomme arme* (VienNB 11883, fol. 52–63) und die anonyme *Missa Ma bouche rit* (fol. 285–294).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 87

Fast alle *signa* sind spätere Nachträge mit anderer Tinte als der Notentext,[66] und typische Fehler beim Auszählen der Mensuren sind – wie in Chigi – auch hier mitunter zu beobachten. Man muß also annehmen, daß die *signa* meistens erst im Hinblick auf eine konkrete Abschrift eingetragen wurden. Manche von ihnen könnten trotzdem aus einer anderen Handschrift übernommen sein: Wir haben gesehen, daß manchmal mit mehreren Vorlagen an derselben Kopie gearbeitet wurde,[67] sodaß man die Stellen für den Seitenumbruch nicht jedesmal neu auszählen mußte, sondern von einer Vorlage-Handschrift in die andere übernehmen konnte. Gegen die Annahme, man hätte mitunter auch die *signa* gleich mit dem Notentext aus dessen Vorlage übertragen, spricht jedoch, daß die Farbe der *signa* sich fast immer von jener der Noten abhebt: Wenn schon die Einrichtung des Seitenumbruchs aus der Vorlage mit übernommen wurde, scheinen die Kopisten sie nicht als *signa*, sondern gleich als wirkliche Seitenumbrüche in die neue Handschrift übertragen zu haben. Dabei konnte es sich auch ergeben, daß über weite Strecken mehr als die Hälfte des Papiers unbeschrieben blieb.[68] Weitere *signa* darf man dann natürlich nicht erwarten,[69] sodaß auch in VienNB 11883 fast alle Faszikel als vollwertige Vorlagen zu betrachten sind.[70]

Bei all dem unterschied man sehr genau zwischen Kopistenmarken und formellen Zeichen im Sinn einer musikalischen 'Schrift'.[71] Daß man die *signa congruentiae* eher als Teil einer Handwerkstradition betrachtete, mag auch der Grund sein, daß sie in musiktheoretischen Traktaten kaum erwähnt wurden. Sie kamen zwar dort ganz selbstverständlich in den Beispielen vor, genau wie sonst als Markierungen (etwa für den Kanoneinsatz). Als Gegenstand der Erörterung habe ich sie jedoch nur in wenigen Schriften gefunden.

SIGNA CONGRUENTIAE / CONVENIENTIAE UND VERWANDTE ZEICHEN

Coussemakers Anonymus XII bespricht in einer Aufzählung verschiedener *signa* neben einigen Arten der Mensurzeichen, neben Wiederholungszeichen (*signum reinceptionis*), Kreuz: # (*signum aspirationis*) und Fermate (*signum concordationis* oder *cardinalis*) als zehntes der Liste das *signum congruentiae*:[72] *Decimo: aliquod signum dicitur signum congruentie, scilicet ubi cantus universi congruunt:* *in quo signo ponuntur tria puncta triangulariter.*

[66] Ein einzeln versprengtes *signum* (offensichtlich ohne jede musikalische Bedeutung), das wahrscheinlich wieder irrtümlich aus der Vorlage übernommen wurde, stimmt ausnahmsweise farblich mit der Umgebung überein: Im *Patrem omnipotentem* der *Missa Pourquoy alles vous seullette* von Johannes Notens (?), an einer Stelle, die als Umbruch durchaus plausibel wäre (VienNB 11883, fol. 196v).

[67] Vgl. oben Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat*.

[68] Vor allem in der anonymen *Missa L'amour de moy* (fol. 230–251), in Isaacs *Missa misericordias domini* (fol. 145–163) und bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch in Ockeghems *Missa Prolationum* (fol. 208–221).

[69] Vgl. oben die Überlegungen zu Ockeghems *Missa Mi mi*.

[70] Als Ausnahmen bleiben die Messen von Verbonnet (nur Kyrie, Gloria und Credo: fol. 12–19) und Severdonck (fol. 111–120), Pipelares *Missa Dicit dominus* (fol. 164–175) und seine beiden Messen in der letzten Lage (fol. 305–325), die vier Kompositionen des chaotischen Johannes Notens-Faszikels (fol. 190–203) und die anonyme Messe fol. 20–29, bei der die Einrichtung des Seitenumbruchs nach den ersten beiden *signa congruentiae* abgebrochen wurde. Aber auch in diesen Fällen kann natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß sie für Abschriften verwendet wurden, deren Format keinen weiteren Seitenumbruch erforderlich machte.

[71] Musikalische Schriftzeichen waren zwar auch einer steten Überarbeitung durch die Kopisten unterworfen, aber sie wurden niemals wie die Umbruch-Marken automatisch bei der Abschrift ausgeschieden.

[72] J. PALMER ed., *Anonymus, Tractatus et compendium cantus figurati*, (*Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 35), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1990, S. 64.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 88

Es ist nicht wirklich nachvollziehbar, auf welchem Weg der Ausdruck *signum congruentiae* Eingang in die moderne musikalische Terminologie gefunden hat. Da der Traktat seit 1869 in Coussemakers Edition vorliegt,[73] ist es gar nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Bezeichnung von hier stammt. Ob aber um 1500 das allgegenwärtige Zeichen so genannt wurde oder ob es sich dabei nur um die private Terminologie eines einzelnen Autors oder Kopisten gehandelt hat, wissen wir nicht: Von dem Traktat gibt es zwei Quellen, und der Ausdruck *signum congruentie* steht nur in einer (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 34200). In der anderen (Regensburg, Proskesche Musikbibliothek, Ms. 98 th. 4°) liest man *signum convenientie* und entsprechend auch *ubi cantus universi conveniunt ut hic* .

Die Bezeichnung *signum congruentiae* kommt – wie es scheint: bis ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert – nur in dieser einen Londoner Handschrift vor. Als *signum convenientiae* dagegen findet man dasselbe Zeichen in einigen anderen – vor allem späteren – Traktaten, entweder im Zusammenhang mit Kanons,[74] Einsätzen nach Pausen,[75] allgemein: wo Stimmen miteinander zusammenkommen[76] oder ganz ohne nähere Erklärung.[77]

Für unser Thema jedoch ist vor allem die Definition des Anonymus XII interessant, nach der ein *signum congruentiae* (oder *convenientiae*) dort erscheint, 'wo alle Gesänge übereinstimmen' (oder 'zusammenkommen'). Damit ist nur ein relativ geringer Teil der unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen abgedeckt: Kanon- und verspätete Stimmeinsätze, die fast nie in allen Stimmen markiert wurden, sind nicht sehr treffend beschrieben, ebenso die Marken für die Formabschnitte einer *chanson*, wo die *signa* zwar in allen Stimmen erscheinen, deren Übereinstimmung jedoch eher nebensächlich bleibt.

Von all den Möglichkeiten ist die Verwendung als Umbruch-Marke die einzige, der die Beschreibung des Anonymus XII in ihrem Anspruch einer universalen Entsprechung der Stimmen wirklich gerecht wird. Wir wissen natürlich nicht, ob diese Praxis eine Besonderheit der burgundisch-habsburgischen Werkstatt darstellte, oder ob sie um 1500 als Charakteristikum der späten *fascicle-manuscripts* allgemeine Verbreitung fand. Wenn Anonymus XII auch wahrscheinlich nicht direkt an Umbruch-Marken dachte, scheint er doch ein Bedeutungsfeld vor Augen gehabt zu haben, das dem Thema des vorliegenden Beitrags recht nahe kommt.[78]

Wir müssen auch damit rechnen, daß das Zeichensystem der Gebrauchshandschriften über die abgegrenzten Möglichkeiten der formalen Notenschrift weit hinausging. *Signa congruentiae* wurden mitunter synonym mit anderen Zeichen verwendet, etwa mit jener frühen Form des durchstrichenen *tempus perfectum* Ø, das zu diesem Zeitpunkt wohl noch nicht als beschleunigend ver-

[73] E. DE COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi: novam seriem a Gerbertina Alteram*, 3, Paris, 1869, S. 475 ff.

[74] H. FINCK, *Practica musica*, Wittenberg, 1556, fol. liiijv.

[75] In einem *Tractatus de musica compendium cantus figurati* aus einer Handschrift der Erzabtei St. Peter in Salzburg – vgl. J. PALMER, *A Late Fifteenth-Century Anonymous Mensuration Treatise*, in *Musica disciplina*, 39 (1985), S. 96.

[76] R. FEDERHOFER-KÖNIGS ed., *Johannes Vogelsang und sein Musiktraktat (1542)*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 49 (1965), S. 109.

[77] J. COCHLAEUS, *Tetrachordum Musices*, Nürnberg, 1512, fol. E iiir; F. BEURHUSIUS, *Erotematum musicae libri duo*, Nürnberg, 1580, S. 68; H. RIEMANN ed., *Anonymi Introductorium musicae (c. 1500)*, in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 30 (1898), S. 5 und R. FEDERHOFER-KÖNIGS, *Die Musica plana atque mensurabilis von Heinrich Saess*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 48 (1964), S. 88.

[78] Diesen musiktheoretischen Exkurs verdanke ich der Anregung von Michel Huglo, der im Anschluß an meinen Vortrag (Arbeitstitel: *Die* signa congruentiae *der Handschrift VienNB 11883*) mit seiner Frage nach der Herkunft dieses Ausdrucks in ein wahres Wespennest gestochen hat, wie man hier sehen kann.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 89

standen wurde.[79] Während Ø stets eine Fortsetzung, einen zweiten Abschnitt oder einen Schalter zwischen zwei Gegensätzen bezeichnet,[80] hat das *signum congruentiae* – wenn wir diesen gebräuchlichen Ausdruck beibehalten wollen – immer eine hinweisende Funktion, und wenn die beiden Bedeutungsfelder – das 'andere' (Ø) und das 'hier' ( ) – einander überlagern, konnte mitunter an derselben Stelle in einer Handschrift Ø, in der anderen ein *signum congruentiae* stehen.[81]

Faßt man schließlich die Definition der *signa congruentiae* ein wenig weiter, fallen darunter beinahe alle Arten hinweisender Zeichen wie zum Beispiel die drei (oder vier) großen Punkte (oder Rauten), die bei Platzmangel den Schluß einer Stimme auf die gegenüberliegende Seite des Chorbuchs verweisen,[82] bekräftigende Zeichen in Verbindung mit Alamires Unterschrift[83] und jene der *finalis* in Ockeghems *Missa Cuiusvis toni* (VatC 234, fol. 96v–106r), deren Darstellung von einem *f*-Kürzel über einen Kreis mit Fragezeichen (*cum virgula interrogatoria*, wie es bei Glarean heißt),[84] von einem gewöhnlichen *custos* bis zu unserem *signum congruentiae* reicht. Daß *custos* und *signum* bei manchen Schreibern fast gleich aussehen, ist bestimmt kein Zufall (vergleiche etwa oben Abbildung 4).

Umgekehrt verwendete man für die Einrichtung des Seitenumbruchs verschiedenste graphische Symbole synonym: Von der eingeritzten Linie bis zum klar geschriebenem *signum*, deren Bedeutung grundsätzlich offen war und sich nur aus dem Zusammenhang erschließen ließ.

Ob diese Praxis eine Besonderheit der burgundisch-habsburgischen Werkstatt war, ist zur Zeit noch ganz unklar: Es fehlen außerhalb dieses Bereichs die Belege einer systematischen Vorgangsweise, aber es fehlen auch ganz allgemein jene Handschriften, die in professionellen Skriptorien als Vorlagen zur Verfügung standen.

Man stößt zwar in mehreren anderen Quellen auf vergleichbare *signa*, innerhalb der burgundisch-habsburgischen Werkstatt etwa im Basevi-Codex (FlorC 2439), doch die Zeichen scheinen hier eher einem anderen Zweck gedient zu haben: Die senkrechten Trennstriche im *Kyrie* 2 aus Obrechts *Missa Fortuna desperata* (fol. 33v–34r) ähneln zwar dem äußeren Erscheinungsbild nach den Markierungen in Chigi,[85] aber sie stehen nicht vor, sondern nach dem Zielton einer Kadenz

[79] Vgl. M. BENT, *The Early Use of the Sign Ø*, in *Early Music*, 24 (1996), S. 199–225. Mein herzlichster Dank gilt Margaret Bent für ihre diesbezüglichen Hinweise und die Diskussion des heiklen Problemfeldes.

[80] Auch die beschleunigenden Zeichen kann man von ihrer Bedeutung her als Gegensatz, als 'andere' Rhythmisierung betrachten, da sie – wie Margaret Bent gezeigt hat – in dieser frühen Phase nur dann so zu verstehen sind, wenn schnellere und langsamere Version gleichzeitig in einer Komposition auftreten.

[81] Vgl. BENT, *The Early Use*, Ex. 8–9 (S. 211 f.) und S. 210–213. Die langen schrägen Striche durch die Mensurzeichen in Trient 92 (TrentC 92), fol. 88r (BENT, *The Early Use*, Ex. 8) erscheinen in ihrer trennenden Funktion schon rein optisch fast wie die Umbruch-Marken in Chigi. Margaret Bent hat – aus anderen Gründen – erwogen, schon das allererste Aufkommen durchstrichener Mensurzeichen mit der Notwendigkeit zusätzlicher Seitenwechsel in Verbindung zu bringen. Vgl. dazu M. BENT, *The Use of Cut Signatures in Sacred Music by Ockeghem and His Contemporaries*, in P. VENDRIX ed., *Johannes Ockeghem, Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes*, (*Epitome musical*, 1), Paris, 1998, S. 667 ff.

[82] Vgl. dazu etwa die mustergültige Großform der *tria puncta* in VienNB Mus. 15497 (fol. 1v – Abbildung in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 156), VatS 34 (fol. 9v – Abbildung in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 133) oder Chigi fol. 118r–117v.

[83] Vgl. London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Galba B IV, fol. 249 (Abbildung im Ausstellungskatalog E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd*, Leuven, 1999, S. 93).

[84] H. GLAREANUS, *ΔΩΔΕΚΑΧΟΡΔΟΝ [= Dodecachordon]*, Basel, 1547, S. 454 bzw. H. GLAREAN, *Dodecachordon*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 6), transl., transcr. and commentary by C.A. MILLER, s.l., 1965, Bd. 2, S. 277.

[85] Und beide Handschriften werden ja auch demselben Schreiber (*scribe B*) zugeordnet.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 90

und sind außerdem fehlerhaft.[86] Zwei weitere Serien von Trennstrichen am Beginn von Agricolas *Tout a par moy* (fol. 5v–6r)[87] und ein einzelnes Zeichen im Discantus von Pipelares *Fors seullement* (fol. 21v)[88] verstärken diesen Eindruck.

Viel besser entsprechen den Anforderungen als Kopistenmarken die verstreuten *signa congruentiae* in UppsU 76b (fol. 18v–19r, 122v–123r und 125v–126r)[89] sowie die *signa* (Kreuze) eines – gelegentlich Guillaume Dufay zugeschriebenen – *Salve Regina* in der letzten Lage des Mailänder Librone 1 (MilD 1, fol. 184v–185r).[90]

Mitunter finden sich auch in der Sekundärliteratur Hinweise auf ähnliche Zeichen: Schon August Wilhelm Ambros berichtet,[91] in der "königl[ichen] Hofbibliothek in München" hätte sich ein Druck von Ockeghems *Missa Cuiusvis toni* erhalten,[92] in welchen "die Sänger der alten berühmten herzoglichen Capelle gelegentlich zwischen die Noten Rendezvousstriche eingezeichnet [...] haben". Ulrich Siegele[93] und Andrea Lindmayr[94] belegen mit ähnlichen Beobachtungen die direkte Abschrift zweier Stücke einer Heilbronner Handschrift[95] aus dem dortigen Exemplar eines Musikdrucks:[96] Bestimmte handschriftliche Merkzeichen in der gedruckten Fassung entsprechen dabei genau dem Zeilenfall der Abschrift.[97]

[86] Ein deutlich sichtbarer Strich steht im Diskantus M. 42, in den anderen drei Stimmen M. 41. Mehrere schwache, wahrscheinlich ausradierte Linien innerhalb derselben Doppelseite sind im Faksimile nur zum Teil erkennbar.

[87] In allen Stimmen M. 7 und M. 13 (im *tempus imperfectum diminutum*) bzw. entsprechend M. 3 und 5 im Tenor (in augmentierendem *tempus perfectum*). So weit am Anfang des Satzes würden die Marken für den Seitenumbruch keinen Sinn ergeben. Sie sehen eher aus, als hätte sich jemand am Beginn der Komposition die Entsprechung der verschiedenen Mensuren vergegenwärtigt.

[88] Hier könnte es sich um eine Verdeutlichung des Mensurbeginns innerhalb einer mehrfach verschachtelten synkopierenden und daher verwirrenden Phrase handeln, bei der möglicherweise nicht erwartet wurde, daß die auf den Trennstrich folgende Mensur direkt mit zwei Minimen (und ohne Punktierung der vorausgehenden Semibrevis) beginnt.

[89] Der Schriftduktus dieser Handschrift (Musik, Text und *signa congruentiae*) erinnert vielfach an VienNB 11883, und das Repertoire entspricht in auffälliger Weise jenem der drei Alamire-Handschriften in's-Hertogenbosch: Von den neun Messen in UppsU 76b erscheint je eine in 's HerAB 72A und 's HerAB 72B, zwei weitere in 's HerAB 72C. Dazu kommen mehrere Konkordanzen mit Alamire-Handschriften in Jena, Wien, Rom und Brüssel. Es muß also beim Austausch der Vorlagen irgendein – möglicherweise über den französischen Hof vermitteltes – Naheverhältnis zwischen dem Schreiber von UppsU 76b und dem Alamire-Skriptorium bestanden haben, insbesondere zu den Schreibern der Handschriften für 's-Hertogenbosch, also *scribe* F und K, von denen mindestens einer an den Isaac-Faszikeln von VienNB 11883 mitarbeitete und den dortigen Josquin-Faszikel wahrscheinlich als Vorlage für die Textabschrift in VienNB 4809 benutzte.

[90] Auch sie scheinen auf den ersten Blick fehlerhaft, doch die einzige Ungenauigkeit besteht darin, daß das *signum* manchmal die letzte Note vor dem Seitenumbruch statt der ersten danach kennzeichnet. Einen aufmerksamen Schreiber, der die Musik während des Schreibens mitdenkt, konnte das kaum aus dem Konzept bringen. Trotzdem bemühte man sich – wie wir gesehen haben – in einem großen Skriptorium wie jenem am burgundisch-habsburgischen Hof um mehr Genauigkeit.

[91] A.W. AMBROS, *Geschichte der Musik*, 3, Breslau, 1868, zitiert nach der von Otto Kade verbesserten und mit Nachträgen versehenen dritten Auflage, Leipzig, 1891, S. 178.

[92] Damit muß das Exemplar des *Liber quindecim missarum* (Petreius, Nürnberg, *RISM* B/1539[1]) in der – heutigen – Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek gemeint sein. Leider hatte ich noch keine Gelegenheit, den Druck zu sehen.

[93] U. SIEGELE, *Die Musiksammlung der Stadt Heilbronn*, Heilbronn, 1967, S. 38.

[94] A. LINDMAYR, *Quellenstudien zu den Motetten von Johannes Ockeghem*, (*Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 16), Laaber, 1990, S. 59.

[95] Heilbronn, Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung, Mss. IV–V/2 (HeilbS IV/2), zwei sechsstimmige Stücke von Jacobus Meilandus: *Gaudete filiae Jerusalem* und *Non auferetur sceptrum*.

[96] *Cantiones sacrae quinque et sex vocum* (Ulrich Neuber, Nürnberg, 1569, *RISM* A/I/M 2174).

[97] Allerdings sehe ich nicht, welchen Vorteil die Markierung des Zeilenumbruchs bei der Abschrift gebracht haben sollte.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 91

Ob all diese Zeichen als Kopistenmarken zu verstehen sind, müßte in jedem Einzelfall geprüft werden. Ambros dachte – was zunächst viel naheliegender war – an probentechnische Eintragungen, und es wäre zu überprüfen, ob die gewählten Stellen als Zeichen für den Seitenumbruch überhaupt sinnvoll sind, ob man so die *signa* der burgundisch-habsburgischen Tradition mit anderen Werkstätten in Zusammenhang bringen kann. Bedenkt man jedoch, wie unscheinbar manche Markierungen sind – etwa die winzigen Tintenstriche im Gloria von Josquins *Missa Lomme arme* (VatC 234, fol. 193v–195r) oder die häufigen eingeritzten Linien in VienNB 11883 –, wird man in Zukunft auf manch weiteren Fund hoffen dürfen.

Dazu kommen Gemeinsamkeiten im Umbruch verschiedener Handschriften, die Rückschlüsse auf gemeinsame Vorlagen zulassen, was bisher viel zu wenig beachtet, meist nicht einmal im kritischen Bericht der Editionen berücksichtigt wurde.

DIE BURGUNDISCH-HABSBURGISCHE WERKSTATT

Innerhalb des burgundisch-habsburgischen Handschriftenkomplexes zeichnet sich anhand der beiden beschriebenen Vorlagen (beziehungsweise Vorlage und Vorlagen-Sammlung) VatC 234 und VienNB 11883 ab, daß die Werkstatt-Tradition der Einrichtung einer Vorlage zumindest von etwa 1500 bis 1540 mehr oder weniger konstant geblieben ist: Erste *signa congruentiae* konnten wir in diesem Zusammenhang für die Vorlage von Chigi nachweisen (vergleiche Tabelle 5), wobei die Markierungen sich nicht auf den Seitenumbruch von Chigi, sondern einer noch früheren – nicht erhaltenen – Handschrift beziehen. Das letzte Beispiel ist Hieronimus Winters *Missa La plus gorgiase* in MontsM 771, die – wie es scheint – um 1540 am Hof der Maria von Ungarn aus dem entsprechenden Faszikel von VienNB 11883 abgeschrieben wurde. Dazwischen konnten besonders enge Beziehungen zwischen Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa* in VienNB 11883 und VienNB 1783 sowie zwischen Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat* in VienNB 11883 und VienNB 4809 festgestellt werden, etwas entferntere Zusammenhänge – jedenfalls keine direkte Abschrift – zwischen Chigi und VienNB 1783 bei de la Rues *Missa Almana* und Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi*.[98]

Besonders oft kommen in dieser Aufzählung die Handschrift VienNB 1783 und der Komponist Jacques Barbireau vor, und offensichtlich ergibt sich diese ungewöhnliche Konzentration nicht aus einer einseitigen Auswahl der Beispiele, sondern wirklich aus dem Zusammenhang der erhaltenen Handschriften: Schließlich haben wir innerhalb des gesamten Handschriftenkomplexes alle Konkordanzen zu VienNB 11883 und Chigi geprüft.

Die besondere Stellung von VienNB 1783 könnte mit einer gewissen Mittler-Rolle zwischen der frühen Werkstatt ('Bourgeois') und der späteren (Alamire) zusammenhängen: Das Repertoire beider Skriptorien ist so verschieden, daß bereits an einer direkten Beziehung gezweifelt wurde.[99] Folgende Messen[100] erscheinen sowohl in Alamire-Handschriften (ohne VienNB 11883), als auch in einem der fünf Meßbücher der 'Bourgeois'-Gruppe:[101] Obrechts *Missa Sicut spina rosam*, Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* und *Kyrie Pascale*, de la Rues Messen *Almana*, *Sub tuum pre-*

[98] Auch der bekannte Zusammenhang zwischen Chigi und BrusBR 9126 sei an dieser Stelle nochmals erwähnt.

[99] Vgl. den Beitrag von Fabrice Fitch in diesem Jahrbuch: Seine Idee einer weitgehenden Trennung der Skriptorien hat mich dazu veranlaßt, diesen Fragenkomplex hier genauer zu besprechen.

[100] Chansons und Motetten sind wegen ihrer flexibleren Verbreitungsmöglichkeit hier ausgeklammert, ebenso die *bicinia* von VienNB Mus. 18832; Fragmente wurden jedoch berücksichtigt. Bei Erweiterung der Liste um die Motetten kämen dazu noch Josquins *Stabat mater* und *Missus est Gabriel*.

[101] Chigi, BrusBR 9126, VerBC 756, VienNB 1783 und JenaU 22.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 92

sidium, *De beata virgine*, *Cum iocunditate*, *Assumpta est Maria*, *Puer natus est*, das *Magnificat sexti toni* und sein *Credo sex vocum* sowie Josquins Messen *Lomme arme sexti toni*, *Ave maris stella*, *Hercules dux Ferrarie* und *Malheur me bat*.

Von diesen Kompositionen steht mehr als die Hälfte in VienNB 1783: Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* und *Kyrie Pascale*, de la Rues Messen *Almana*, *De beata virgine*, *Cum iocunditate*, *Assumpta est maria* und *Puer natus est* sowie Josquins *Missa Ave maris stella*. De la Rues *Credo sex vocum* war in VienNB 1783 wahrscheinlich für Folio 60v–64r vorgesehen, wo bereits die Notenlinien für eine sechsstimmige Komposition im – genau passenden – Umfang von vier Doppelseiten gezogen waren. Obrechts *Missa Sicut spina rosam* steht in JenaU 22 (neben VienNB 1783 die einzige erhaltene Quelle von Schreiber B').

Wenn man hier einen Zusammenhang sehen will und in Schreiber B' eine Art Vermittler zwischen B und Alamire sieht, muß man sich auch die Gegenbeispiele ansehen, jene Kompositionen, die bei B und Alamire vorkommen, aber nicht bei B': Josquins Messen gehörten nicht unbedingt zum Standard-Repertoire der Alamire-Werkstatt, sie waren aber so verbreitet, daß sie in diesem Zusammenhang nicht herangezogen werden sollten: Wenn die Messen *Hercules dux Ferrarie* und *Malheur me bat* in VienNB 4809 und JenaU 3 aufgenommen wurden, kann das ganz unabhängig von BrusBR 9126 geschehen sein. Das gleiche gilt für seine *Missa Lomme arme sexti toni* in VienNB 11778 und Chigi. Man sollte auch nicht vergessen, daß die zwei Bände VienNB 11778 und VienNB 4809 als 'Josquin-Gesamtausgabe' anderen Gesetzmäßigkeiten gehorchen als die übrigen Handschriften. Ähnliches gilt wohl auch für de la Rues *Magnificat sexti toni*, das im gesamten Korpus neben BrusBR 9126 nur noch in Alamires Magnificat-Sammlung JenaU 20 erscheint. Und wenn zuletzt de la Rues *Missa Sub tuum presidium* als einziges ernsthaftes Bindeglied zwischen B und Alamire übrigbleibt, das ohne 'Vermittlung' von Schreiber B' dorthin gelangte, ist das kein starkes Gegenargument: Von allen Kompositionen der 'Bourgeois'-Gruppe (Schreiber B und B'), erscheinen vor allem jene bei Alamire, die auch bei B' (VienNB 1783 und JenaU 22)[102] vorkommen.[103]

Das kann natürlich verschiedene Gründe haben: Manche Kompositionen waren sicher im Lauf der Zeit unmodern geworden. Wenn B, B' und Alamire (in dieser Reihenfolge) verschiedene Stufen der Entwicklung darstellten,[104] wäre es allein aus der Veränderung des Zeitgeschmacks erklärbar, daß manche Kompositionen für B und B', andere für B' und Alamire oder für alle drei interessant erschienen, kaum jedoch nur für B und Alamire (ohne B').

Eine andere Erklärung wäre die Quellendistribution: Wenn nur ein Teil der Vorlagen des Schreibers B auch für B' erreichbar war und nur diese Quellen später in die Alamire-Werkstatt übergingen,[105] würde sich daraus dieselbe 'Vermittler'-Rolle für B' ergeben. Die beiden Erklärungen

[102] JenaU 22 ist dabei so etwas wie eine Auswahl aus den Stücken von VienNB 1783: Nur vier der fünfzehn Kompositionen fehlen in der Wiener Handschrift: De la Rues *Missa Nunca fue*, die beiden Obrecht-Messen und Pipelares *Missa Lomme arme*. (Wie man die deutlich bessere Qualität der Lesarten von JenaU 22 erklären will, wäre in diesem Zusammenhang zu überlegen.)

[103] Eine 'Wasserscheide' bestand jedoch zwischen VerBC 756 und Alamire, wobei die Stücke von VerBC 756 im Gesamtkorpus entweder Unika darstellen (Isaacs Messen *Ein frölich wesen*, *Una musque de biscaya* und *Salva nos domine*, die anonyme *Missa Alles regretz* und die fünf Messen von Ghiselin-Verbonnet) oder in beiden Handschriften des Schreibers B' vorkommen (Agricolas *Missa Pascale*, Isaacs *Credo Tmeiskin was jonck* und – auch in BrusBR 9126 – de la Rues *Missa O sacer Anthoni*).

[104] Daß B und B' wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig aktiv waren, braucht dabei kein Hindernis zu sein.

[105] Eine Abzweigung müßte man freilich für die Stücke von VerBC 756 einrechnen, die Alamires Werkstatt nicht erreichten (vgl. Fußnote 103).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 93

lassen sich wahrscheinlich gar nicht so streng trennen, denn wenn sich der Zeitgeschmack ändert, wird sich das im Vorlagen-Bestand widerspiegeln, und wenn an einem bestimmten Kompositionsstil großes Interesse besteht, werden sich die nötigen Vorlagen finden lassen.

Daß die eigenartige Verteilung etwas mit der Quellendistribution zu tun hat, scheint jedoch aus den Konkordanzen der 'alten' Stücke in den Handschriften der Alamire-Werkstatt hervorzugehen: Obwohl mehrere Bände mit Messen von de la Rue erhalten sind, findet man jene aus VienNB 1783 vor allem wieder in SubA 248[106] und in den Fragmenten des Antwerpener Museum Plantin-Moretus (AntP B948IV und AntP M18.13/1).[107] Beide stammen zwar aus verschiedenen Epochen – die Antwerpener Fragmente aus der Zeit des Schreibers C2 (ca. 1516),[108] SubA 248 von Schreiber F (aus den 1520er oder frühen 1530er Jahren)[109] –, sie haben aber fast denselben Inhalt.[110]

Um zum Stein des Anstoßes zurückzukehren: Daß VienNB 11883 gerade mit VienNB 1783 in direktem Zusammenhang steht, wird plausibel, wenn man annimmt, daß der erste Grundstock an Vorlagen der Alamire-Werkstatt durch die Hände von Schreiber B' gegangen ist. Daß von ihm dieselben Vorlagen wie von Schreiber B verwendet wurden, ist nicht weiter überraschend, und wenn man eine gewisse Verzweigung der 'Quellenströme' in Rechnung stellt, sind zwei Anknüpfungspunkte zwischen Chigi und VienNB 1783 (Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi*, de la Rues *Missa Almana*) und einer zwischen VienNB 11883 und VienNB 1783 (Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perversa*) nicht zuviel.

Daß gerade Jacobus Barbireau dabei so prominent vertreten ist, hängt wohl mit seiner großen Beliebtheit am Beginn des Jahrhunderts zusammen. Aber es ist auffällig, daß seine Kompositionen nach der Mitte des zweiten Jahrzehnts praktisch nicht mehr kopiert wurden.[111] Wenn eine seiner Messen in VienNB 11883 gemeinsam mit Faszikeln aus den 1520er Jahren[112] erscheint, bedeutet dies nicht mehr und nicht weniger als, daß die beiden Lagen irgendwann auf denselben Notenstapel gelangt und von da an gemeinsam weitergegeben wurden.

Das muß jedoch zu einer Zeit geschehen sein, als Barbireau nicht mehr modern war, und wir dürfen auch nicht annehmen, daß VienNB 11883 den eigentlichen 'Nachlaß' von Petrus Alamire darstellt: viel eher seinen 'Papierkorb', denn nicht nur Barbireau war im Lauf der beiden ersten Jahrzehnte nach 1500 unmodern geworden. Orientiert man sich an den erhaltenen Handschriften, gilt das gleiche für Agricola, Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Obrecht und Ockeghem, von denen fast alle in VienNB 11883 vertreten sind. Die übrigen Komponisten der Handschrift dagegen sind großteils ganz unbekannt: Amanus Faber, Henricus Severdonck, Nicolaus Carlir, Johannes Notens, Johannes Sticheler und verschienene *anonymi*. Obwohl auch deren Messen zum Teil mit Umbruch-Marken

[106] Es fehlt von jenen de la Rue-Messen aus VienNB 1783, die überhaupt noch bei Alamire vorkommen, in SubA 248 nur die *Missa Almana*. Hinzu kommen dort die Messen *Ave Maria*, *O gloriosa domina* und *Tous les regretz*.

[107] Natürlich läßt sich nicht sagen, welche Messen dort in Verlust geraten sind. Erhalten sind jedenfalls Teile von de la Rues 'alten' Messen *De beata virgine*, *Assumpta est* und *Puer natus*.

[108] Vgl. Flynn Warmington in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 43, 52 und 166.

[109] KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 43, 52 und 124.

[110] Das gleiche Phänomen ist auch zwischen JenaU 3 und VienNB 4809 mit fünf gemeinsamen Josquin-Messen zu beobachten.

[111] Einzige erhaltene Ausnahme ist die *Missa Virgo parens Christi* in MontsM 766, einer Handschrift mit fünfstimmigen Messen verschiedener Komponisten, die auch mit älteren – fünfstimmigen – Werken aufgefüllt wurde.

[112] Alamires Schreiber F und K, von denen einer in beiden Isaac-Messen von VienNB 11883 vorkommt, waren in dieser Zeit tätig, und die Querverbindungen zu anderen Handschriften, die sich aus den verwendeten Wasserzeichen ergeben, weisen in dieselbe Richtung (vgl. Fußnote 12).

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 94

versehen wurden – man darf also annehmen, daß Abschriften davon hergestellt wurden – gehörten sie neben den 'altmodischen' Werken sicher zu den ersten, die in der Werkstatt nicht mehr gebraucht wurden. (Vielleicht waren es auch Vorlagen, die vom Auftraggeber zur Verfügung gestellt und danach nicht mehr zurückverlangt wurden.)

Von der Vorlage zu Isaacs *Missa Misericordias domini* könnte sich die Werkstatt getrennt haben, weil im Credo ein Teil der Altstimme,[113] das ganze *Agnus* 3 und die gesamte Textunterlegung fehlten.[114] Ähnliches gilt für den Faszikel mit Josquins *Missa La sol fa re mi*-Fragment und – bis zu einem gewissen Grad – auch für seine *Missa Malheur me bat*, die in VienNB 11883 nach dem ersten *Agnus* abbricht, von der aber spätestens bei der Abschrift von VienNB 4809 eine vollständige Vorlage in nächster Nähe zur Verfügung stand.[115] Daß von Pierre de la Rues Messen keine einzige in VienNB 11883 erscheint, wäre – nach dieser Interpretation – damit zu erklären, daß la Rue noch einige Jahre nach seinem Tod im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit stand und seine Werke deshalb noch nicht aus dem Vorlagenbestand ausgeschieden wurden: Wenn die Messensammlung VienNB 11883 wirklich über die Fugger-Bibliothek nach Wien gelangte, muß sie die Werkstatt mit den Lieferungen an Raimund Fugger verlassen haben, also am ehesten in den früheren 1520er Jahren.[116]

Die Handschrift Chigi war zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon in Spanien. Wie sie dahin gelangte, ist noch immer nicht geklärt. Philippe Boutons Sohn Claude könnte sie dorthin gebracht haben oder ihr späterer Besitzer, ein Mitglied der Cardona-Familie.[117]

Bei dieser Interpretation bleibt jedoch kein Raum für eine Verwendung als Vorlage im Skriptorium. Wir haben gesehen, daß die ganze Handschrift überzogen ist mit Kopisten-Marken für Abschriften unterschiedlichsten Formats: Rötel, Tinte und Blei wurden dafür verwendet. Wäre Chigi nur gelegentlich als Vorlage ausgeborgt worden, hätten die Kopisten nicht so viele – und so viele verschiedene – Spuren ihrer Arbeit hinterlassen können.

Wenn die Handschrift jedoch im Besitz des Skriptoriums war, könnte sie ohne weiteres mit Philipp dem Schönen, seiner Cappella und Teilen der Werkstatt nach Spanien gelangt sein: Nichts weist darauf hin, daß sie lange bei Philippe Bouton war. Eigentlich deutet – außer der Tatsache, daß sie für ihn vorbereitet wurde – überhaupt nichts darauf hin, daß er sie jemals besessen hat: Ob sie nun von ihm – warum auch immer – den Schreibern zurückgegeben wurde oder die Werkstatt gar nicht erst verlassen hat, wird man nicht sicher bestimmen können: Der vorgesehene Inhalt ist jedenfalls nie fertig geworden, und wenn es stimmt, daß die Handschrift wenige Jahre nach dem Tod von Ockeghem und Regis dem Gedächtnis beider Meister gewidmet war,[118] wäre es merkwürdig, sie dem Besteller zu liefern, ohne zuvor wenigstens Ockeghems Requiem vervollständigt

[113] Vgl. F. FELDMANN, *Divergierende Überlieferungen in Isaacs "Petrucci-Messen"*, in *Collectanea Historiae Musicae*, 2, Florenz, 1957, S. 211 (Fußnote 36): "Auf fol. 157v–158r (Takt 119 ff.) ist an der Alt-Stelle des Originals die Tenorstimme ein zweites Mal notiert, ohne dass dieser Irrtum durch irgend eine Notiz berichtigt wäre."

[114] Vgl. auch den fehlenden Text in Isaacs *Missa Quant j'ay au cueur* (siehe oben).

[115] Siehe oben, wo gezeigt wurde, daß Noten und Text von zwei verschiedenen Vorlagen abgeschrieben wurden.

[116] Das würde bedeuten, daß Hieronimus Winters *Missa La plus gorgiase* von einer anderen Vorlage abgeschrieben wurde, die – ähnlich wie bei Josquins *Missa Malheur me bat* (siehe oben) – mit dem erhaltenen Faszikel gemeinsam als Vorlage verwendet werden konnte und ebenso eingerichtet war. Wenn man dem nicht zustimmen will, bedeutet das, daß VienNB 11883 jedenfalls nicht über Raimund Fugger den Älteren (1489–1535) nach Wien gelangte.

[117] Vgl. Herbert Kellman im Vorwort zur Faksimile-Ausgabe: KELLMAN, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, S. ix.

[118] Vgl. dazu etwa Herbert Kellman in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 125.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 95

zu haben.[119] Wie auch immer: Auf unfertige Handschriften stößt man sehr oft, das ist nichts ungewöhnliches. Und Chigi befand sich irgendwann am Beginn des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts als Vorlage wieder in der Schreibwerkstatt.

Wenn der Weg nach Spanien Philipps Kopisten zu verdanken ist, wurden die Vorlagen wohl auch dort weiter verwendet, und man gelangt dadurch zu einem hypothetischen dritten Skriptorium neben 'Bourgeois' und Alamire, in dem die Werkstatt-Tradition noch kurze Zeit – wahrscheinlich bis zum Tod Philipps des Schönen (25. September 1506) – fortgesetzt wurde. Dabei denkt man zunächst vielleicht an den Schreiber der spanischen Nachträge in Chigi, dessen Schriftbild zwar mit B und B' keine Ähnlichkeit aufweist, der aber die Methoden der Vorbereitung einer Handschrift übernommen haben könnte.

Dem ist entgegenzuhalten, daß unter den spanischen Nachträgen Moutons Motette *Quis dabit oculis nostris* auf den Tod der Königin Anna von Bretagne (1514) erscheint, daß diese Nachträge keine Umbruch-Marken aufweisen, und daß Ockeghems *Missa Mi mi* schon die Handschrift eröffnete, als der Spanier daran arbeitete (woran Index und Foliierung von seiner Hand keinen Zweifel lassen): Sicher stand am Beginn ursprünglich das reich illuminierte erste Kyrie von Ockeghems *Missa Ecce ancilla domini*, und die Reihenfolge kann erst geändert worden sein, als man die Handschrift für die Repräsentation der neuen Besitzer einrichtete und deshalb alle Hinweise auf Philippe Bouton, dessen Wappen zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht übermalt war, vom Beginn der Handschrift verbannen mußte.

Ein zweiter Zusammenhang drängt sich jedoch auf: In den Inventar-Listen der Bibliothek Philipps II von 1602 und 1620 erscheinen zwei Bände mit Messen von Ockeghem, die offensichtlich nicht erhalten sind:[120] (1) *Otro libro, como el suso dicho, en pergamino todo, en que ay siete o ocho misas de Oreguen, ylluminado al principio*, und (2) *Yten, otro libro grande, cubierto de colorado, en que ay once misas de Oreguen, y otros autores antiguos* – das heißt: im ersten der beiden Bände 'sieben oder acht Messen von Ockeghem', im zweiten 'elf Messen von Ockeghem und anderen alten Autoren'. Insgesamt würde das ziemlich genau dem Inhalt des Messen-Teils von Chigi entsprechen.[121] Und Chigi könnte die Vorlage gewesen sein.

Von den übrigen Handschriften der umfangreichen Hof-Bibliothek Philipps II. haben sich einige in Montserrat (und eine in Madrid) erhalten,[122] darunter zwei aus der Werkstatt des Petrus Alamire (MontsM 766 und MontsM 773) und fünf jüngere vom Brüsseler Hof der Maria von Ungarn, Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (MontsM 765, MontsM 768, MontsM 769, MontsM 771 und MontsM 776). Davon war uns MontsM 766 schon in enger Beziehung mit Chigi (Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi*) und MontsM 771 in noch engerer mit VienNB 11883 (Winters *Missa La plus gorgiase*) aufgefallen. Die Komponisten der anderen fünf Handschriften sind vor allem Appenzeller, Manchicourt, Clemens non Papa, Hellinck und – wenigstens mit einer ihm gewidmeten Handschrift – Pierre de la Rue. Unter den verlorenen Quellen dagegen waren zahlreiche

[119] Vgl. FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Models*, S. 26 ff., wo überzeugend dargelegt ist, daß die Abschrift des *Requiem* nicht fertiggestellt wurde, obwohl schon die spezifische Rastrierung für die abschließenden Sätze vorbereitet war.

[120] E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle: documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 7, Bruxelles, 1885, S. 481 und 480 (auch 490 und 489). Vgl. auch FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Models*, S. 7.

[121] Unsicherheiten in der Anzahl der Kompositionen sind in dieser Liste ganz ungewöhnlich und könnten auf unvollständige Messen hinweisen, bei denen man nicht wußte, ob man sie mitzählen sollte.

[122] Vgl. HAMM, *Census-Catalogue*, 2, S. 134 und 177–183.

hfst Friebel 12-11-2003 13:46 Pagina 96

Bände mit Werken von Josquin und – vor allem – de la Rue, die sehr gut in das Bild der 'Bourgeois'-, Alamire- oder einer hypothetischen spanischen Hof-Werkstatt passen würden:[123] Eine Abschrift von Chigi wäre also dort in bester Gesellschaft.

Wenn hier zuletzt versucht wurde, verlorenen Handschriften anhand ihrer Vorlagen oder Abschriften nachzugehen, mußten manche Ergebnisse natürlich hypothetisch bleiben. Schließlich konnte es nicht Aufgabe dieses Beitrags sein, all die offenen Fragen, die sich im Zusammenhang mit diesem gigantischen Quellenkomplex stellen, aus dem Blickwinkel der wenigen erhaltenen Vorlagen zu lösen. Es sollte jedoch versucht werden zu zeigen, welch weitreichende Konsequenzen sich mitunter daraus ergeben könnten.

Wenn von den vorliegenden Handschriften nur wenige als Abschriften erhaltener Vorlagen in Frage kommen und umgekehrt nur wenige der als Vorlagen eingerichteten Kompositionen überhaupt Konkordanzen innerhalb des burgundisch-habsburgischen Komplexes haben, erhält man ansatzweise eine Vorstellung vom Gesamtumfang der Handschriftenproduktion, deren kleinerer Teil – von Chigi bis zu den *post*-Alamire-Quellen – sich in 47 Chor- und 18 Stimmbüchern, einigen Fragmenten, Stimmblättern und zusammengebundenen Faszikeln erhalten hat.

Daß Chigi auch gar nicht den einsamen Beginn einer neuen Tradition darstellt, konnten wir an jenen *signa congruentiae* zeigen, die dort irrtümlich in den Notentext kopiert wurden (vergleiche Tabelle 5), jedoch als Umbruch-Marken für eine noch frühere – nicht erhaltene – Abschrift vorgesehen waren: Umbruch-Marken, wie wir sie von VienNB 11883 kennen, ohne irgendwelche Anzeichen erster Gehversuche.

Daß auch davon vor allem wieder Barbireaus *Missa Virgo parens Christi* und de la Rues *Missa Almana* betroffen sind – mit jeweils drei Konkordanzen innerhalb der burgundisch-habsburgischen Handschriften die am weitesten verbreiteten Chigi-Messen und gerade auch wieder jene mit Konkordanzen in VienNB 1783 –, zeigt, daß jene Messen, die – wenn unsere Interpretation richtig ist – in gewisser Weise über den Schreiber B' an Alamire vermittelt und zum Teil bis in die 1520er Jahre weiter abgeschrieben wurden, schon vor der Abschrift von Chigi zum Kern des Quellenbestands zählten.

Die Methoden der Einrichtung, die Verwendung der *signa congruentiae* und die Vorgangsweise bei der Abschrift blieben von dieser frühen Zeit bis zum Ausscheiden der in VienNB 11883 erhaltenen Vorlagen praktisch immer die gleichen.

[123] Wenn es diese dritte Werkstatt tatsächlich gegeben hat: Gehörten ihr dann die Schreiber B und B' an? Was geschah mit ihnen nach dem überraschenden Tod Philipps des Schönen (1506)? Und welcher Art war die Beziehung des Schreibers B nach Italien? (Vgl. dazu die Fußnoten 103 und 105 oben sowie Honey Meconi und Herbert Kellman in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 79 und 137.)

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:00 Pagina 97

TERMINUS POST ALAMIRE? ON SOME LATER SCRIBES

Jacobijn Kiel
Utrecht

The manuscripts of the 'Alamire workshop' included the work of many scribes who are not identifiable with Petrus Alamire himself. So it is perfectly possible that the workshop and the scribes continued to be active after the death of Petrus Alamire. My aim here is to investigate a group of manuscripts that are thought to have been copied in the years around 1540, but on closer inspection show the work of at least one of the scribes associated with the Alamire workshop, namely the scribe identified as 'K' in the catalogue of the 1999 Alamire exhibition in Leuven.[1] Scribe K appears in the following six manuscripts from the Alamire complex: VienNB 11883,[2] VienNB 9814, VienNB Mus. 18832, MontsM 766, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C.[3] None of these manuscripts has an exact dating; only the two choirbooks in 's-Hertogenbosch could be the manuscripts for which Alamire was paid by the *Illustre Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* (Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady) in 1530/1531.

Figures 1a and 1b show the most important characteristics of scribe K as found in 's HerAB 72C. These are a large G clef and a long bass clef with a sharp point upwards. The C clef has a visible vertical line left of the clef, and a double line when there is an indentation of the staff. The number *3* has a descending upper edge and ends at the bottom with a loop. Flags on upward stems sometimes have a visible angle, while the flag on downward stems has a small curl. The noteshapes are the most remarkable feature: the minima, semiminima and fusa all have stems that are wider at the notehead; the stem upwards slopes to the right and starts more to the right of the notehead. The stem downwards slopes to the left, the breve is straight without serifs, and the larger initials have shadow lines.

But it has apparently been overlooked that scribe K also appears in several later choirbooks that have never been associated with the Alamire workshop and even seem to have been copied only after Alamire's death. This is the case with four manuscripts of the Benedictine Abbey at Montserrat: MontsM 765, MontsM 769, MontsM 771 and MontsM 776. Palaeographical and codicological aspects of these choirbooks were investigated during the 1980s by Glenda Goss Thompson. In her article on these manuscripts she introduced one scribe, whom she gave the name 'Mary's scribe', referring to the patronage of Mary of Hungary.[4] Mary's scribe is responsible for parts of MontsM 765 and MontsM 776, and for the complete choirbooks MontsM 769 and MontsM 771. This scribe happens to be the same as the scribe we call 'K'.

[1] H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999.

[2] In VienNB 11883, scribe K appears in gatherings 5 and 14 on fol. 44v–51r and 148r–163r.

[3] J. KIEL and F. WARMINGTON, *Overview of the Scribes*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 47–52.

[4] G. GOSS THOMPSON, *Spanish-Netherlandish Musical Relationships in the Sixteenth Century: Mary of Hungary's Music Manuscripts at Montserrat*, in P. BECQUART and H. VANHULST eds., *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens: Musique espagnole ancienne (ca. 1450 – ca. 1650): Actes du colloque musicologique international (Bruxelles, 28–29 octobre 1985)*, (*Colloquia Europalia*, 3), Leuven, 1988, pp. 69–113.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 98

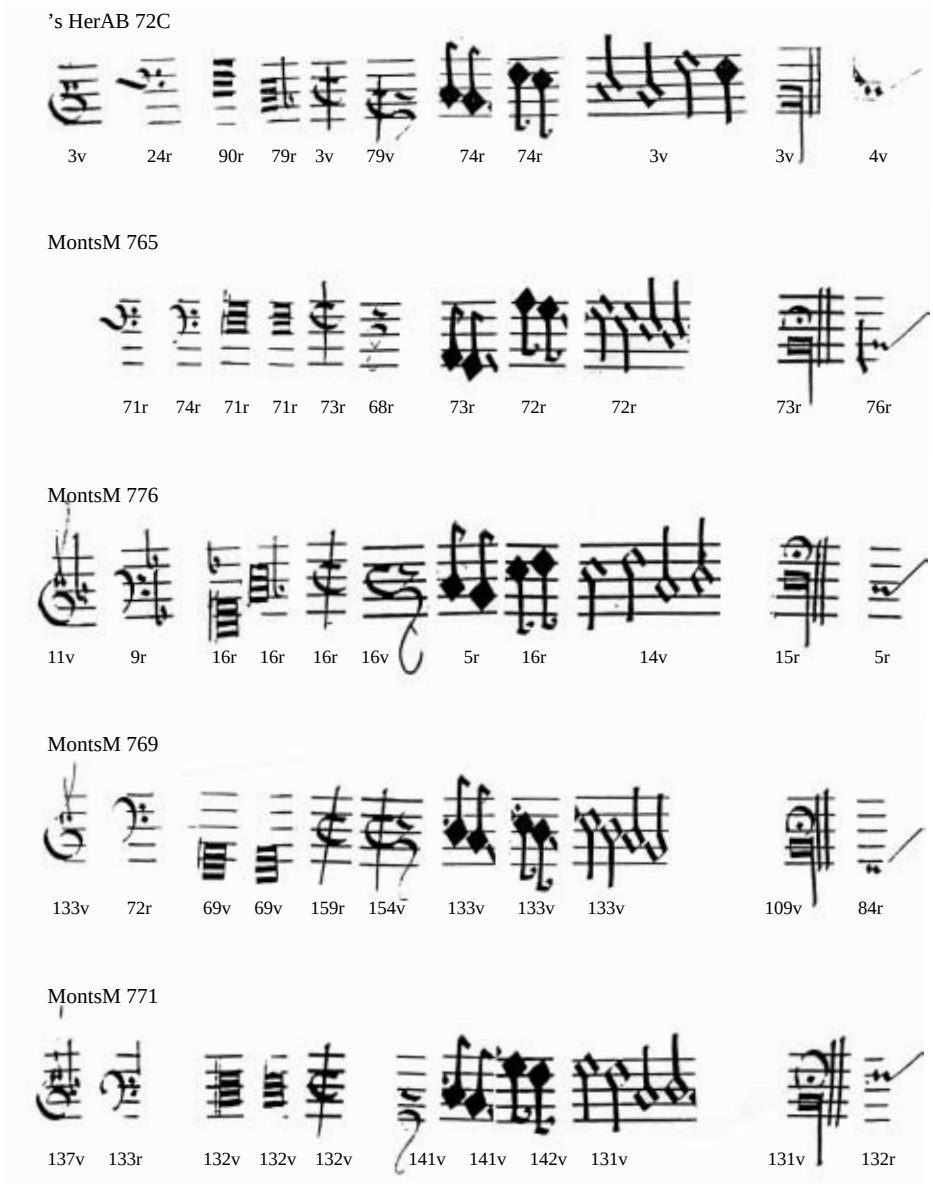


Figure 1a. Characteristics of scribe K in the manuscripts 's HerAB 72C, MontsM 765, MontsM 776, MontsM 769 and MontsM 771.

When Margaret of Austria died on 1 December 1530, Charles V wanted a successor for her, in order to protect the interests of the empire in the Low Countries. His sister Mary, widow of Louis II of Hungary, was in his view the person to contribute as a regent to the maintaining of the Habsburg Empire. Mary took up residence in Brussels in 1531. Like her predecessor, Mary of Hungary employed musicians and singers. As payments show, Petrus Alamire too continued his career at Mary's court.[5] After Alamire's retirement in 1534, it seems that the production and distribution of

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 99

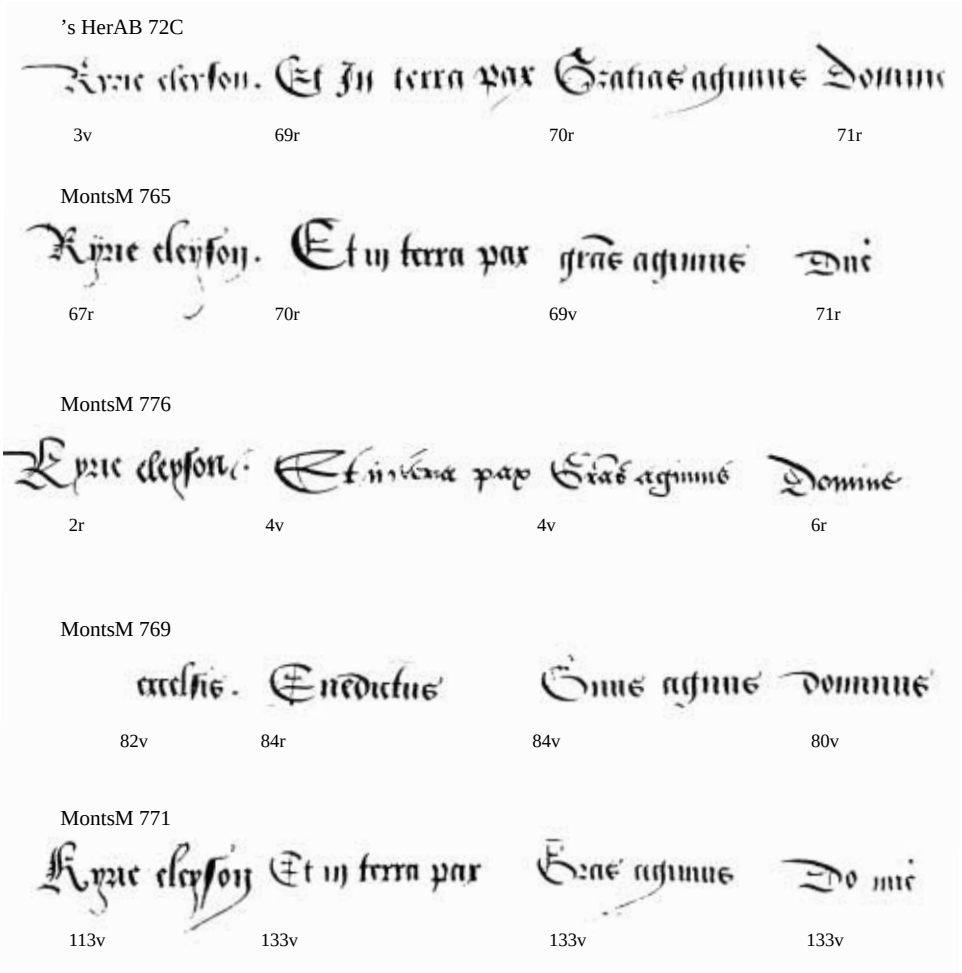


Figure 1b. Characteristics of scribe K in the manuscripts 's HerAB 72C, MontsM 765, MontsM 776, MontsM 769 and MontsM 771.

music manuscripts decreases. Among the manuscripts that survived, only the four now at Montserrat could have been made at Mary's court in Brussels. Apart from those, no music manuscripts are known in Europe that stem from Brussels in that period.[6] In 1556, after Mary's retirement, they were taken to Valladolid; later they were in the possession of Philip II, and via Madrid they ended up in Montserrat.[7]

[5] G. GOSS THOMPSON, *Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 34/2 (1984), pp. 142–143.

[6] Possible causes might be changes in the political situation during the regency of Mary of Hungary, the retirement of Alamire and the enormous increase of music print.

[7] Two other music manuscripts in Montserrat, MontsM 766 and MontsM 773, are part of the Alamire complex. See H. KELLMAN, *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 766 (MontsM 766)*; *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 773 (MontsM 773)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. nos. 24–25, pp. 114–115.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 100

Abbreviations: *@* = attributed to; *M* = music; *T* = text

	MONTSM 765			MONTSM 769	MONTSM 771	MONTSM 776	
FOLIOS	143 parchment folios			165 + ii paper folios	158 paper folios	186 paper folios	
SIZE	505 x 360 mm			595 x 420 mm	550 x 385 mm	550 x 390 mm	
REPERTOIRE	5 masses 2 Magnificat fragments 7 motets (of which:) 4 motets *@ Benedictus* 2 masses *@ Benedictus*			25 Magnificats: 11 *@ Benedictus Appenzeller* 7 *@ Clemens non Papa* 1 *@ Jacotin* 1 *@ Mouton*	8 masses: 1 *@ Jo. Lupi* 2 *@ Benedictus* 1 *@ Matheus Gascongne* 1 *@ Petrus Molu* 1 *@ Theo. Verelst* 1 *@ Hesdyn*	8 masses: 2 *@ Lupus* 6 *@ Lupus Hellinck*	
SCRIBES	fol. 1r–48r fol. 48v–62r fol. 62v–66r fol. 66v–90r fol. 91v–143r	M scribe *S* M scribe III M scribe III M scribe *K* M scribe *S*	T scribe *S* T scribe *K* large-letters T scribe T scribe *K* T scribe *S*	M and T scribe *K*	M and T scribe *K*	fol. 1–143r fol. 143v–186	M and T scribe *K* M scribe II T scribe *K*

Table 1. Repertoire and scribes in the manuscripts MontsM 765, MontsM 769, MontsM 771 and MontsM 776.

The manuscript MontsM 765 contains six works attributed to Benedictus Appenzeller; MontsM 776 contains masses attributed to Lupus Hellinck; MontsM 769 contains twenty-five Magnificats, of which eleven are attributed to Appenzeller and seven to Clemens non Papa; MontsM 771, finally, is a collection of masses by composers such as Benedictus, Molu, Gascongne and Hesdyn (see Table 1). The manuscripts are dated circa 1540 in the *Census-Catalogue*.[8] According to Glenda Goss Thompson, the two manuscripts MontsM 765 and MontsM 769 must date no earlier than 1537, since they feature works of the chapelmaster appointed in that year.[9] This chapelmaster, Benedictus Appenzeller, became a singer in the chapel of Mary of Hungary in 1536. A year later he was appointed *maître des enffans de cueur*. However, it should be remembered that works by him had already been published in print before he entered the service of Mary in 1536. Attaingnant printed seven chansons by Appenzeller between 1528 and 1535, and one motet was printed by Moderne in 1532. The first evidence of the composer is a three-voice chanson in LonBL 35087, the famous Chansonnier of Hieronymus Lauweryn van Watervliet, normally dated 1505/1506 – some thirty years before Appenzeller joined the court chapel.[10] Here his name is clearly given as *benedictus Appescelders*, leaving no room for confusion. The repertoire of the other composers makes it impossible to give a more exact dating of these manuscripts.

If considerations of repertory make it hard to feel confident about such a late date for these choirbooks, there is more support to be gained from the examination of the script of scribe K and its likely evolution. Within the hand of scribe K in the manuscripts, some differences can be observed that could be possible stages of the hand of scribe K (see Figures 1a and 1b). When we compare the hand of K in 's HerAB 72C to that in MontsM 776, we can see that the bass clef changed from a small curved shape into a more vertical shape.[11] In MontsM 765 both shapes of the bass clef are used.

[8] There is no explanation for this dating in the *Census-Catalogue*: C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), 5 vols., Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988.

[9] GOSS THOMPSON, *Spanish-Netherlandish Musical Relationships*, p. 76.

[10] HAMM & KELLMAN, *Census-Catalogue*, 2, pp. 72–73.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 101

The only differences in music within the Montserrat choirbooks can be seen in MontsM 771. Here the bass clef has a rounder shape than in the other examples. Also the noteshape is slightly different, with less curving stems.

The text hand of MontsM 776 is a secretary hand. The bastarda hand in MontsM 771 is not as wide as the other bastarda hands of K, and in this manuscript there are no initials. In MontsM 765 we find not only scribe K, but also two other scribes. One of these two scribes made a considerable part of this manuscript. This scribe, whom I will call scribe S, has the following characteristics (see Figures 2a and 2b): the G clef has two small kinks and curves from right to left upwards in a loop. The bass clef is longer at the bottom, sometimes with a light bow. The C clef is open and has always got just one line on the left side. The ¢ mensuration sign has a small flag on top and is sometimes oblique. The number *3* has a sharp angle downwards and ends with a curl swinging to the right. Flags on upward stems have a small angle at the top and a wave downwards. Flags on downward stems start with a sharp angle and bow to the stem. All the notes have long stems and a flattening of lozenge-shaped noteheads. The breve shows serifs, especially on the left upper corner. Downward ligatures are curved. The text slopes a little to the right, the *s* has a straight top with a small hook on the right side, and there are small round loops on *l*, *b* and *h*. The tail of the *y* slopes sharply to the left. The capitals *F* and *S* often have a double line in the middle, and the capital *P* has small thorns on the left. An odd spelling of this scribe is *Kyrye* instead of *Kyrie*. On folio 19v the word *poncio* (in *pontio pilato*) is three times spelled with a *c*, but on folio 20r and in the rest of the manuscript it is normally spelled *pontio*. The word *tertia* (in *Et resurrexi tertia die*) is always written as *tercia*. All miniatures in this manuscript have been cut out. They must have been small in size, since the cut out spaces are rather small.[12]

The manuscript MontsM 765 is not in its original state. It is not clear what the exact original order of the pieces was. Maybe the last part written by scribe S was originally the first part of the manuscript, preceding what is now the first part. Despite the blank folios 90v and 91r, it is not likely that the mass on folio 91v was the first piece of the manuscript: one would expect more than one miniature and larger initials at the opening of a manuscript.

Apart from the Alamire complex manuscripts, scribe S also appears in CoimU 2, a choirbook with masses by Moulu, La Rue, Mouton, Willaert and Bauldeweyn, among others. Of the 205 folios in CoimU 2, 199 have been written by scribe S; both music and text are of his hand. All characteristics of scribe S in MontsM 765, also for example the spellings *Kyrye* and *tercia*, are found in CoimU 2. It is remarkable that in this manuscript, aside from a few cantus firmus texts, the words *et homo factus est, ihesu crist*e and *ihesum cristum* are written with a different pen in almost every mass, possibly in red. In the *Census-Catalogue*, this manuscript is dated after 1530, based on the inscription *Noel Balduwin pie memorie* on folio 157v.

Owen Rees has made a description of CoimU 2 in his dissertation *Polyphony in Portugal*. Based on the similarities in layout, the readings of the compositions and similar watermarks, Rees writes that the scribe of this manuscript is to be identified as Philippus de Spina.[13] Philippus de

[11] In the Alamire manuscripts too, differences can be observed within the hand of K: the flags in 's HerAB 72C are smaller than in 's HerAB 72B. Also the capital *G* in 's HerAB 72C is different: it has rather the shape of a G clef. In MontsM 766 we find two different stages of the script of scribe K.

[12] The smaller miniatures in this manuscript could very well be painted initials in frames: miniatures with coats of arms, historical or biblical scenes are not likely to be that small.

[13] O. REES, *Polyphony in Portugal c. 1530 – c. 1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra*, (*Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities*), New York – London, 1995, pp. 137–141.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 102

Spina worked for the Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch and was the scribe of choirbooks like 's HerAB 73 and 's HerAB 75.[14] As shown in Figures 2a and 2b, there are so many differences to observe when we compare De Spina's hand to the hand of scribe S, that Rees' statement is impossible to uphold. The typical features of scribe S are not found in De Spina's hand: the noteshape, clefs and text hand are different.[15] Both scribes however use the flag on the ¢ mensuration sign, but this flag is no exception in this period; it is also used in CambraiBM 125–28.[16]

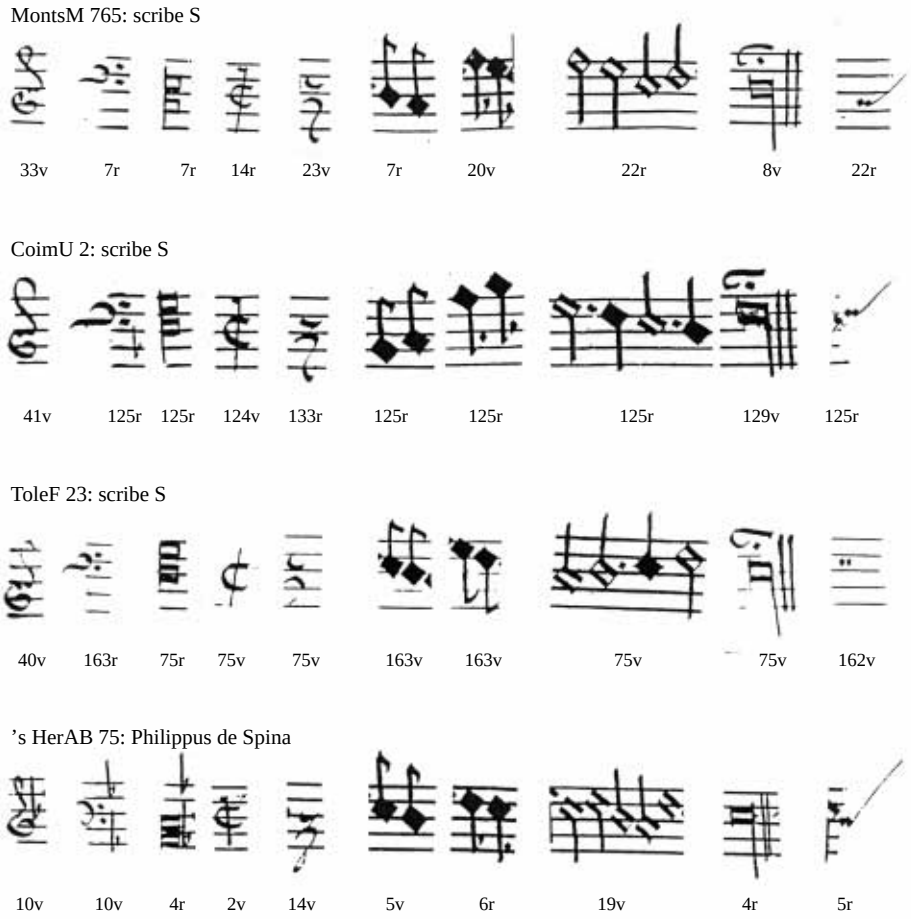


Figure 2a. Characteristics of scribe S in the manuscripts MontsM 765, CoimU 2 and ToleF 23, and of Philippus de Spina in 's HerAB 75.

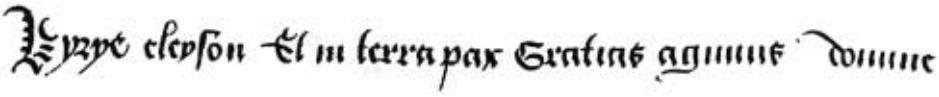
[14] See C. MAAS, *Determinering van Codex 73 uit de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 21/1 (1968), p. 42.

[15] Although there were many contacts between 's-Hertogenbosch, Antwerp and Brussels during this period, no accounts with payments or other documents connecting De Spina with the court in Brussels are known.

[16] CambraiBM 125–28 are four partbooks originally owned by Zeghere van Male (1504–1601); the title page of each book contains the date 1542.

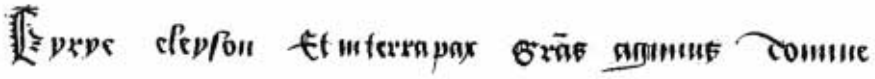
hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 103

MontsM 765: scribe S



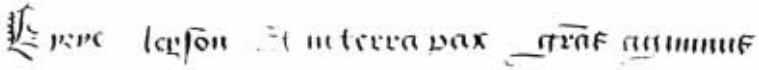
1v 3v 5v 7r 7v

CoimU 2: scribe S



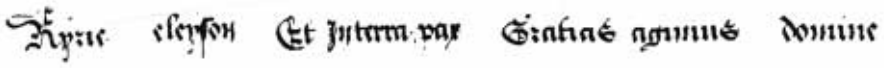
124v 124v 125v 125v 126v

ToleF 23: scribe S



25r 25r 203r 203r

's HerAB 75: Philippus de Spina



3v 3v 5r 5r 6v

Figure 2b. Characteristics of scribe S in the manuscripts MontsM 765, CoimU 2 and ToleF 23, and of Philippus de Spina in 's HerAB 75.

In her article on the Montserrat manuscripts Glenda Goss Thompson makes a few suggestions for a possible connection between the four Montserrat manuscripts (MontsM 765, MontsM 769, MontsM 771 and MontsM 776) and manuscripts like BrusC 27089, the Leiden choirbooks (LeidGA 1438, LeidGA 1439, LeidGA 1441, LeidGA 1442, LeidGA 1443 and LeidSM 1440) and ToleF 23. Although the Brussels manuscript and the Leiden choirbooks show stylistic features that are typical for choirbooks from the first half of the sixteenth century, the hands of the aforementioned manuscripts do not correspond with any of the hands in the Montserrat choirbooks.

ToleF 23 however, a beautifully decorated choirbook, which in the twentieth century has long been unfindable, also appears to have been written mainly by scribe S.[17] Here too we find the same noteshapes and G clefs, the *Kyrye* spelling, and the typical shape of the *s* and *d*. Similarly as in CoimU 2, many words, like *ihesu crist*e and *ave maria*, are written in red. The painted initials

[17] Robert Snow, who rediscovered the choirbook in the 1970s, wrote an extensive article about this manuscript: R. SNOW, *Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered*, in *The Journal of Musicology*, 2 (1983), pp. 246–277.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 104

within a frame, miniatures and decorations on the other hand, are not found in the Montserrat choirbooks. MontsM 765, a parchment choirbook, presumably also had these painted initials originally, as all initials are now cut out. ToleF 23 contains many works of Josquin, but also motets of composers of the later generation, like Richafort.

In his article on the Toledo manuscript Robert Snow proposed a dating between circa 1515 and 1538, based on the repertoire and its reading.[18] On the other hand he did observe that, if this manuscript was compiled around 1535, one would expect to find a larger amount of works by composers of the post-Josquin generation in this manuscript, as found in other manuscripts from the 1530s. Although scribe S appears together with scribe K in MontsM 765, and also as the main scribe of CoimU 2, it is not possible to give a more exact dating of ToleF 23, since we do not know anything about the period in which scribe K and S were active. However, the stage of scribe K in MontsM 765, with a closer resemblance to the script in 's HerAB 72C in the early 1530s, suggests that this manuscript could have been made earlier than the other Montserrat manuscripts and thus could be dated a few years earlier than the dating of circa 1540 in the *Census-Catalogue*.

There are still some other scribes in the choirbooks of Montserrat that need to be discussed: next to the scribes K and S, there is a third music scribe in MontsM 765 on folios 48v–66r (see Figure 3). An odd appearance in this part of the manuscript is the notation of the text of the motet *Mater digna dei venie via* on folios 62v–66r: here we find a completely different text script. Here also the music is written slightly differently: the bass clef has a different shape. Until now it has not proved possible to find this scribe in any other manuscript.

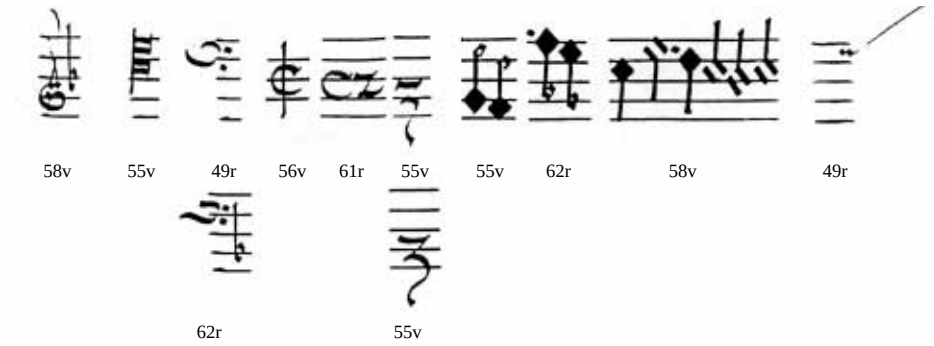


Figure 3. Characteristics of the third music scribe in MontsM 765.

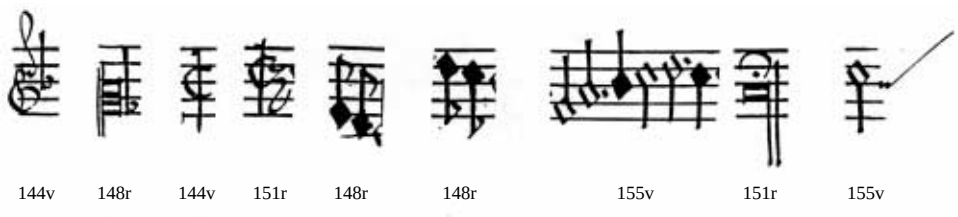


Figure 4. Characteristics of the second music scribe in MontsM 776.

[18] SNOW, *Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23,* pp. 246–277.
[19] The term *notiste* is not a common term in this period.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 105

In MontsM 776 we find another music scribe, apart from scribe K, from folio 143v to the end of the manuscript (see Figure 4). However, scribe K also wrote the text of this part. We know nothing about the identity of the scribes in the Montserrat manuscripts. Glenda Goss Thompson offers the following suggestion: among the names of the singers in the chapel of Mary of Hungary in 1536 is the name of Vincent Rigler, *notiste de la Royne*. Could he be one of the scribes of these choirbooks, or does the term *notiste* indicate an administrative function?[19] Other singers employed during this period at the court of Mary of Hungary, like Richafort, might be candidates.

Two main conclusions seem to be possible. The first would be that, after Alamire's death, scribe K moved elsewhere and continued his activity, perhaps in Habsburg Spain. The second would be that the workshop continued to function under the sustained patronage of Mary of Hungary. In either case, it would be pertinent to ask how we define the Alamire workshop: whether in terms of its presumed location in Mechelen – for which definitive proof continues to be distressingly thin – or in terms of Petrus Alamire's presence, presumably as manager, or in terms of scribal techniques and of the predominantly Habsburg-Burgundian repertoire they contain. I suggest that locality – even if we could determine it – is irrelevant and that these manuscripts are best understood as a continuation of the Alamire workshop.

hfst Kiel 12-11-2003 14:01 Pagina 106

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 107

THE PURPOSE OF THE GIFT: FOR DISPLAY OR FOR PERFORMANCE?

Stanley Boorman
New York University

This article starts from three observations that I find curious: none is new, for all three have been noticed before. It is the conjunction that is curious. The first concerns the occasional evidence that the intended recipient of a manuscript from the Alamire scriptorium was changed, before it was sent. This seems to imply that much of a manuscript could be copied in preparation for a gift, without the recipient being of any relevance to the copyists. All they needed to know was the repertoire to be included, the level of quality – in materials and decoration – and the physical size and format of the manuscript to be prepared. Indeed, there are several cases where the first piece or group of pieces stands on a self-contained separately prepared gathering. This is certainly true for BrusBR 228, as Martin Picker has observed,[1] and probably also for the London manuscript LonBLR 8 G.vii.[2] In other cases, such as the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439), it seems that the dedicatory piece was added later, on an opening that had been left for it and its decoration.[3] These examples should support an opinion that the scriptorium had a basic procedure for producing what we could call a 'presentation-level' music manuscript, even when no such thing was currently on order.

The Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922) may be an example of a manuscript made up of gatherings prepared in this way. Each of the eight masses occupies a self-contained fascicle, opening on a new gathering with a blank recto: four of the eight end with a gathering of irregular length, and another with a ruled but unused opening.[4] The presence of fragments in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp (AntP B948IV, AntP M18.13/1, AntP M18.13/2, and AntP R43.13) may also argue for

[1] See his introduction to the facsimile: M. PICKER ed., *Album de Marguerite d'Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS. 228*, Peer, 1986, pp. v–viii.

[2] While Kellman has clarified the situation over the erasures in the third (originally the second) piece in this manuscript (Févin's *Adiutorium nostrum*), in his introduction to the facsimile, H. KELLMAN ed., *London, British Library, MS Royal 8 G.vii*, (*Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 9), New York – London, 1987, p. vi, he has not really answered all the questions about the timing of the changes, or the decisions that led to including this pair of pieces at the front of the manuscript. It seems to me difficult to argue that the scribes copied both as if for Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, and only realised half-way through the second that they were copying the wrong names. This is especially true given the retention of the uncorrected name of Anna in the first piece – Mouton's *Celeste beneficium*. I find it more likely that the decision to send this gathering (at least) to Henry VIII, as the opening of a manuscript, was made 'during' the copying process. Kellman's comments make clear how much the contents of the second gathering, and later compositions, seem to relate more to Margaret and her tastes than to the repertoire appearing in many of her presentation manuscripts: there is, for example, very little from La Rue.

[3] See the facsimile of this source, with an introduction by H. Meconi: H. MECONI ed., *Basevi Codex. Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS 2439*, Peer, 1990.

[4] This is not an unusual manner of presenting masses of course. It appears in a number of other sources, and sometimes (as with Vatican manuscripts) is an indication that each fascicle was copied independently, and only meant to carry the one work. The practice even survives in some printed sources: see for example a number of the editions of masses published by Girolamo Scotto during the early 1540s and described in J. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)*, New York, 1998. For the Occo Codex, see B. HUYS ed., *Occo Codex, (Brussels, Royal Library Albert I, MS. IV.922)*, (*Facsimilia Musica Neerlandica*, 1), Buren, 1979.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 108

this practice: unlike the Oxford gathering, they could have come from manuscript fascicles that were copied, never sent elsewhere, and eventually used for some other purpose.

The strongest argument against such a hypothesis lies in the different sizes of the extant manuscripts. Nonetheless, the Occo Codex is of about the same size as AntP M18.13/2, and as JenaU 5 and JenaU 8, copied some years earlier. The other Plantin fragment (AntP M18.13/1) compares in size with BrusBR 15075, JenaU 12, MunBS 6 and MunBS 7, MontsM 773, VienNB Mus. 15495, and the 's Hertogenbosch books ('s HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C).[5] All these were sent elsewhere. The alternative hypothesis would be that the Plantin fragments were part of commissions from the scriptorium, ordered by someone outside the court circle; this is certainly plausible, and is confirmed by the existence of other manuscripts, the Chigi Codex (VatC 234), the Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922), one for Ulrich Pfinzing (VienNB Mus. 15497, now in Vienna), and perhaps those sent to the Fugger (VienNB 4809, VienNB 4810, VienNB 9814, VienNB 11778, VienNB 11883, VienNB Mus. 15941, VienNB Mus. 18746, VienNB Mus. 18825, and VienNB Mus. 18832).

As a second observation, I point to the obvious and significant pattern of recipients of these manuscripts. It is surely curious that some received so many manuscripts: the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, apparently eventually received at least ten manuscripts, now preserved in Jena.[6] The Fuggers likewise collected a number of manuscripts made in the scriptorium, and several were planned for Henry VIII or sent to Bavaria or Rome. The two manuscripts now at Montserrat (MontsM 766 and MontsM 773) presumably also had the same original destination. It seems to me unlikely, to put it mildly, that Margaret or her relatives would feel the need to make so many donations of musical manuscripts to the same persons, when Philip the Fair of Spain or the Kings of Portugal may each have received only one – at least, only one is extant, in each case. I doubt that a recipient can have seen the third, fourth or fifth musical manuscript from the same donor as a lavish and unique gift, politically significant, and specifically representing the donor's interests as well as those of the new owner. The inference, it seems to me, is that the manuscripts were intended, not primarily as diplomatic gifts, but specifically as gifts of repertoire for use in the recipients' performing institutions. Indeed, the pattern, found in the larger sets of manuscripts, of covering different parts of the repertoire reinforces this argument. Supporting it, perhaps, is the survival of sets of partbooks given to the Fuggers (VienNB Mus. 18832), and to Anne of Hungary. I find it hard, again, to believe that partbooks represented a prestigious gift, when compared with a well-illuminated and large-folio choirbook, or a lavish edition of a classical author. Certainly I doubt that Anne of Hungary will have thought so. The Fuggers even received manuscripts written on paper, rather than the parchment that was exclusively used for luxury gifts.[7]

Finally, as a third point, we have the evidence that the notational apparatus in these manuscripts is far from consistent. By that, I mean that different copies of the same work carry different

[5] I am following here the information supplied in C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), 5 vols., Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988.

[6] I know that some of these are thought to have been originally prepared for other recipients: but that, while potentially supporting my first observation, does not lessen the total impact of their receipt by Frederick.

[7] The use of paper surely suggests that these manuscripts were commissioned by the Fuggers themselves, rather than by the employers of the scriptorium. That raises completely different issues, which I will merely touch on in this article, among them the question of how far a courtly scriptorium could take commissions from outside (an issue also raised by the Occo Codex): this must then raise the more complex question of whether some of the gifts were in fact commissioned by rulers and courts that were less well endowed, to be given to one of the more famous musical centres.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 109

versions of the music – not, I hasten to add, different in terms of the actual pitches and durations, although there are minor variations there. Instead, I am referring to the frequent divergences in patterns of text setting, of ligatures, of accidentals, and of other notational details which seem to bear particular significance for performance practice, or which facilitate use. Surely, if the scriptorium had master copies of the repertoire, especially of music by La Rue, and copied new sources from those master copies, we should normally expect a relatively small divergence between sources.[8] Certainly, I admit, the scribes were graphic artists, concerned as much with the appearance of the book as with its contents: that, after all, was how they maintained their positions. Certainly, too, their work manifests a high degree of artistic sensitivity. Both factors will have allowed them to introduce considerable differences in appearance, in the elegance of note-tails, the extent of coloration, or the arrangement of rests on the page, for example.[9] Some of these changes will have resulted from artistic decisions made on the spur of the moment, at the whim of the artist, as it were. Others will have been responses to the different sizes of different books, balancing the visual weight of different elements of the page. But these decisions were of course subordinate to the need to present the music correctly, the need to make all voice-parts in a choirbook reach a page-turn at the same moment, the need to present the text as attractively as the music, and to a greater or lesser extent – as I argue – to provide some guidance for performance. Of course, one scribe might prefer to use ligatures on a regular basis, simply because they looked elegant on the page; the same one, or another, might like to use *minor color*, for a similar reason. But, in that case, we should expect to find similar patterns across a number of different sources: all the sources copied by that scribe would show a relative excess of ligatures, which, although they might not all be in the same place, would tend to overwhelm statistically the numbers found in other scribes' work. But this does not seem to happen.

These three phenomena – the apparently late determination of a destination for some manuscripts, the pattern of donation that suggests that some manuscripts were not intended as unique gifts, and the range and patterns of variation in notation – all argue, fairly strongly, that some of the manuscripts should present repertoires as they were to be performed, and as a result show levels of accuracy, and perhaps carry particular details of their readings, specifically intended for performance. This will contrast with other sources, where such concerns – and even guidance – were lacking, and where the visual impact predominated over practical considerations.

The question I ask, then, is whether, in practice, we can distinguish copying for performance from copying for show. In theory, of course, there is a real distinction: copies made for performance are less concerned with display, they are more careful about readings, they often arrange the

[8] There will have been three places in a court such as Margaret's that might have retained a manuscript carrying any work by La Rue. One will of course be with other performing copies used by the chapel; one may have been where Margaret herself kept her own library of elegant volumes – and I assume that La Rue's music would have been welcome there; and the third may have been a working copy in the scriptorium, which need not have been a composer's autograph, though it will have represented the music as the chapel first received it. I see no reason to assume that all three places necessarily had copies of any specific piece: but I find it unlikely that there could have been only one copy at the court. This affects our view of the stemmatic relationship of the sources copied there. By and large, the editors of La Rue's complete works tend to assume the existence of only one exemplar, from which all the extant copies derive. I think that, once allowance is made for the high level of accuracy maintained by court scribes, there is some evidence pointing away from that hypothesis.

[9] There is an elegant example of this last possibility, in HUYS, *Occo Codex*, p. xxv, comparing that manuscript with 's HerAB 72C.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 110

contents differently. But this is all theoretical, and is most clearly reflected in truly working manuscripts, where there is no interest at all in elegance and visual style: this is where the court complex presents particular problems, for almost all preserve a high minimal level of presentation, and they tend to offer few significant variants. And yet, as I suggest, they seem to present a spectrum wherein we should expect to find manuscripts that were, from the beginning, intended for performance, even given the lavish use of space and level of decoration. My intention is to question two simplistic assumptions: first, that manuscripts for show were always more likely to have errors than those clearly destined for performance (that is, that we can tell the destination from the quality of the readings); and secondly, that we can never tell whether a manuscript given as a de luxe gift (say, to a music-lover such as Henry VIII) might not also have been used in performance. I wish to suggest that we can distinguish between those luxurious manuscripts where the donor saw the probability of them being used in performance, and those where the prime motivation was decorative.

I want to discuss the kinds of evidence that might be significative, that might tell us that one manuscript – or one fascicle – was intended for performance, while another, superficially similar, was expected to serve as a diplomatic gift, with no thought of reaching a chapel of singers. I should stress that I am not concerned here with whether the manuscripts were actually used: I am not looking for later corrections and annotations, for thumb-prints on the corners of folios, or for candle-wax and wine stains. I want to try to find out what the scribes thought they were doing, and which manuscripts reflect the various possible approaches to copying a manuscript. In this article, I do not propose to offer many solutions, or a list of those sources for which I believe performance, rather than diplomatic honour, was the motive. For one thing, I have seen few of these sources in person, and can not speak to erasures and corrections, to details of changing patterns from a first gathering to later ones, and so on. In addition, the implications of some of the phenomena that interest me here are critically dependent on analysis of relationships between hands and gathering structures, both again needing direct contact with the manuscripts. Therefore, I propose presenting a number of observations and interpretations about types of evidence. In so doing I will use these manuscripts, and the works of Pierre de la Rue, as examples, and show that the patterns do tend to align themselves with specific manuscripts, even though I am not asserting any conclusions about specific sources.

For my purposes, the variants between sources can be classified in two groups: (1) those which affect the performance itself – these obviously include errors and variants in copying, significant changes in accidentals or mensuration signs, different patterns of care with the underlay, and the treatment of cadential ornament; (2) those which assist the reading of the notation at speed – these include care over page-turns and line-ends, the use of *minor color* and ligatures, and added redundant accidentals. In one case, the treatment of line-ends, slight differences in the actual notation can result.

The first group of indicators, the more significant ones, are also the easier to spot: they tend to be items that editors and scholars have already deemed to be important, even though their interpretation may be difficult to determine. Most of the indicators in this first group imply some level of editorial activity on the part of the scribe. This is obviously true for extra care taken with underlay, or with the details of specifying accidentals, and for any changes in mensuration or proportion signs. I have demonstrated elsewhere that it is also true for patterns of ligatures and coloration, including *minor color* – that, at least in a great many instances, the use of these signs shows a consistent pattern of concern on the part of the scribe for indicating not only underlay, but also other features of

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 111

the music.[10] I shall not take much time on most of these: after all, the evidence of care over texting is usually obvious. At this time, it rarely concerns splitting words into their constituent syllables, even in melismatic mass movements, but it does involve spacing whole words much more carefully. It also incidentally implies what I think is normally true for these manuscripts, that the text was copied after the music.

The differences are often rather slight, and they may really only be evident when comparing the same composition in different sources. Thus, for example, the editors of the La Rue *Opera omnia* prefer JenaU 22 over VienNB 1783 when they carry the same works, maintaining that the "text underlay of J22 is slightly more helpful".[11] At that point, they are discussing La Rue's *Missa Cum iocunditate*, but they say the same things when turning to the *Missa de beata virgine*.[12] The source that would become a gift to Manuel I of Portugal was apparently prepared with less concern for specifying text placing than was that to be sent to Frederick the Wise. It is worth adding that the Jena manuscript may have been the first of the series sent to Saxony, and therefore even more clearly significant. I happen to dislike some of the underlay in the modern edition, and I tend to think that the recommendations on text-setting preserved at Jena can well be followed. They correspond to many of the proposals made by Howard Mayer Brown in his discussion of FlorC 2442, although of course that is not a Habsburg manuscript. Indeed, Brown himself applied those patterns to his own edition of the Gloria in La Rue's *Missa de septem doloribus*, with excellent results.[13]

Pitch variants are, of course, central to my argument. Did the scribes feel the need to correct errors that might damage a performance, or did they recognise that even serious changes – when they could be detected in a single voice-part – did not matter, if the manuscript was not intended for performance? It is difficult for me to comment on erasures and corrections, when I have seen so little of these manuscripts in person; most of the time, therefore, I am left with negative evidence – errors that were not corrected. There are surprisingly few of these: clearly the court scribes were as professional in copying the details as they were in the manner of presentation. The editors of the collected edition list only six in the *Missa Conceptio tua*, for example, and only three in the *Missa de feria*. Similarly, Brown's edition of the Gloria of the *Missa de septem doloribus*, already mentioned, finds few uncorrected notational errors: three in BrusBR 15075 and one in JenaU 4, both sources that were intended for foreigners, perhaps John IV of Portugal and Henry VIII of England – and probably not for performing situations. He also quotes a different variant in one of the house

[10] See S. BOORMAN, *Notational Spelling and Scribal Habit*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 2; *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 26), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 65–109. It is perhaps also worth considering here the question of how far a scribe considered following the indications of the composer, and how far a composer was able to enforce some musical decision, so that scribe and composer would be compelled to follow that decision. I have discussed this a little with the treatment of musica ficta at the approach to a cadence, and the use of false relations, arguing that there were situations in which scribe and performer were compelled to produce a solution which involved something unexpected, a false relation between different vocal parts. See S. BOORMAN, *False Relations and the Cadence*, in R. CHARTERIS ed., *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, Sydney, 1990, pp. 221–264. (The issue was raised more recently by Peter Urquhart, in a paper read at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society in 1998.) This is a very specific instance of a more general situation, and unfortunately probably one of very few where we can demonstrate anything about composer's, as opposed to scribe's, intentions.

[11] N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/2), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1992, p. xxvii.

[12] DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM*, 97/2), p. liii.

[13] See H.M. BROWN, *In Alamire's Workshop: Notes on Scribal Practice in the Early Sixteenth Century*, in FINSCHER, *Datierung und Filiation*, pp. 15–63.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 112

manuscripts, BrusBR 6428, uncorrected and not affecting a succesful performance. Since that manuscript probably stayed at Margaret's court, this variant may suggest that the scriptorium had a file copy of this mass – used for the other sources – with a slightly different reading from that preserved in institutional performing copies.

A similar situation prevails with La Rue's *Missa de sancta cruce*. Here there are only seven significant 'errors' in the whole mass, among seven sources; some are shared by all or most sources. One, at least, is merely a slip in one source, intended for Saxony. Two are shared by four sources – MechAS s.s., BrusBR 6428, MontsM 766 and BrusBR 15075: this group covers the whole timespan, and brackets three other sources without these errors. Again, this seems to suggest more than one exemplar. Another variant in the same mass, early in the Credo (m. 5 in the contra), is also revealing. A 'correct' reading is preserved in three of the same manuscripts – MechAS s.s., MontsM 766 and BrusBR 15075, with the addition of MontsM 773;[14] two others have an error at this point. However, and significantly, there is an alternative 'correct' reading, this again preserved in BrusBR 6428. My interpretation is, once again, that BrusBR 6428 was copied from a different exemplar. Only rarely do the editors of the *Opera omnia* see the potential for a pair of exemplars available to the scriptorium. One case is that of the *Missa de septem doloribus*,[15] where they separate BrusBR 6428 and BrusBR 15075 from the other three sources, also copied in the scriptorium.

This suggestion, of more than one house manuscript for individual pieces, can be confirmed by the evidence of another series of variants, ones which are generally disregarded today – the ornamented approaches to cadences. It is well known that some sources tend towards a simple form of the suspension prior to the cadence resolution, while others add dotted rhythms or figuration involving a pitch a third below the final. Sources from this scriptorium are not consistent, and this is true even when they were copied by the same scribe. This seems to me to be crucial – we have in the past assumed that a scribe working from one exemplar would reflect his own and his institution's preferences when making such permissible changes to the new copy.[16] If there is a pattern of differences between sources, it should carry some significance. Again, I use La Rue's *Missa de sancta cruce*, and again, I think the pattern is significant. In this mass, three sources seem to follow very similar patterns of simplifying many cadences. They are BrusBR 15075, VienNB Mus. 15496, and MontsM 773 – all destined for other centres, apparently as political donations. They were intended perhaps for John IV of Portugal, Charles of Austria. The other source now at Montserrat (MontsM 766) uses many fewer simplifications. On the other hand, JenaU 12 – destined for Saxony – and BrusBR 6428 – again – follow a different pattern. Both simplify cadences, but at significantly different points, throughout the mass. Finally, MechAS s.s. leaves most cadences in an ornamented form. It seems to me likely that these latter three, all copied by Alamire, are more indicative of how the music was actually performed, while the simpler version of the other sources, all intended as political gifts, merely eased the copyist's task.

[14] MontsM 773 raises some problems in a number of areas here: for example, in the *Missa de feria* and the *Missa de Sancto Job*, both by La Rue, it seems to lie apart from all other sources in its handling of most of these minor details.

[15] Mass no. 14 in their edition.

[16] I have myself advanced that argument more than once, using it both for manuscript and printed sources. Although typesetters can hardly have known the preferences of all their potential purchasers, they did apparently work in a similar manner, reflecting their own training and experience.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 113

A similar situation seems to prevail for the *Missa Conceptio tua*, also by La Rue. In the Kyrie and Gloria, BrusBR 6428 simplifies cadences fourteen times: no other source does so more than half as often. Although these others tend to do it in the same places, none follows a similar pattern. None of the others, with the possible exception of MechAS s.s., were expected to stay within the performing orbit of Margaret's court, and none (with the exception of JenaU 5) would have been planned for a performing institution, rather than for an institution's patron – Leo X, John IV of Portugal, or Henry VIII. MechAS s.s., again, and also JenaU 5 leave most cadences in an ornamented form – again, perhaps, providing additional information. The presumption must be that the exemplar for all these sources carried a number of cadence ornaments that were not present in that for BrusBR 6428; secondly that JenaU 5 and MechAS s.s. were prepared under a slightly different understanding, in which they presented more detailed versions of cadential preparation.

My second group of signals is harder to demonstrate; it comprises features that would assist in reading at speed, but that would not be particularly significant for the copying of a presentation manuscript. These include patterns of ligatures and *minor color*, as well as zeal in entering cautionary accidentals, and slight changes in rhythm to facilitate the text-setting. It also includes the pattern of arranging line-ends, and of changes in the music to facilitate reading at the line-ends. There was a tendency, in both manuscripts and printed sources, to ensure that line-ends coincided with the end of a breve, or sometimes of a full semibreve, especially in perfect time. This tendency is marked in a number of manuscripts in the Alamire complex. It is notable, in particular, because it often results in an uneven right margin to the page: an additional note or two will be squeezed in at the end of one stave, or another line will end a little early, so that a complete tactus is included, and a new one held over to the next stave. Several clear examples can be found in the Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922), in which the divisions between these lines of different lengths fall at the end of a semibreve. Other sources seem to disregard the problem: in these, where I assume performance considerations did not concern the scribe, line-ends will occur solely in response to a desire to present an even and elegant right margin.

But there are other cases where appearance was important, while accessibility to the music was apparently also significant: in these, the notation itself was changed. Dotted notes, such as semibreves, that cross a tactus-division are split into two notes, a single semibreve before the end of the line, and a minim on the new line. This achieves both desirable objectives: the line-end does agree with the completion of a tactus, and at the same time it is more consistently aligned with others on the page. But it is particularly significant here, for it requires that the scribe had reasons for making deliberate changes to the actual notation. The only possible reasons can have been related to the needs of the user, that is, a performer.

Not surprisingly, I find these patterns correspond with those I find in the treatment of cadential ornamentation, or the pattern of variant readings. In La Rue's *Missa de sancta cruce*, there are more such changes in BrusBR 6428 than in any other source; in his *Missa Conceptio tua*, both BrusBR 6428 and JenaU 4 have a relatively large number of such changes, while VatS 34 has none. In the *Missa de feria*, there are several such changes in JenaU 5, and virtually none anywhere else.

These are also the manuscripts where we find more changes in rhythm, apparently designed to facilitate text setting: things such as the different division of a dotted breve into two notes, or reversing the values of two adjacent notes, seem to be used to assist in the accentuation of the text. In the *Missa de sancta cruce*, such changes are rare in the manuscripts destined for John of Portugal or for Charles V; they appear more frequently in the manuscripts destined for Jena and in BrusBR 6428.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 114

I do not propose to spend time discussing the patterns of ligatures, of the use of unnecessary coloration – including *minor color* – or of the treatment of accidentals. All three fall within an area that I have discussed in other papers, arguing for a range of interpretations – all involved with aspects of performance practice and with communication between singers, and between scribe and singer.[17] The interpretation of individual cases depends on detailed presentations of the evidence for complete works and complete scribal repertoires. I will merely say that the evidence presented by Howard Mayer Brown, in his paper on La Rue's *Missa de septem doloribus*, demonstrating differences between the sources, tends to support my argument.

If I were to suggest conclusions, based on this sort and range of evidence, I would start by asserting that the patterns are themselves evidently significant. The most obvious follow-up would be that BrusBR 6428 does consistently stand apart from the others, and that this seems to imply the presence of two exemplars in the house. Secondly, some others do appear to have been written with additional information intended for a performance: these probably include MechAS s.s., and several from Jena, and perhaps the Occo Codex. I am sure that further study could add more sources to the list.

I have hardly mentioned the partbooks. It seems to me that they are, prima facie, more clearly intended for performance than for display. This must be true for the Fugger sources, written on paper, and without much ornament. With the inclusion of a set of bicinia – in VienNB Mus. 18832 – the Fuggers show an intention of having a complete and varied set of repertoires for their own use. It seems likely that they commissioned the books themselves. This implies that the Alamire scriptorium was able to take on outside commissions. Certainly Maximilian was apparently able to order a manuscript that he would be able to give to another potentate. But the Fuggers, for all their wealth and status, were of a different order of patron altogether.

Other manuscripts seem to imply a private commission. The Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922) is one example, with its lack of a special introductory composition, and a different level of ornamentation. I have already suggested that it may have been made up of separate fascicles of varying lengths, previously copied. I presume that some of the private commissions, such as the Chigi Codex (VatC 234), were seen as luxury manuscripts, but I don't think that can be said of the Occo Codex, of the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439) – despite the few decorated initials – or of the Fugger manuscripts. I believe that these must have been intended for performance.

It might be thought that manuscripts sent to performers would need less guidance, rather than more, on the presumption that professional singers would be competent to make many of the decisions indicated in their sources. But this is, I think, based on a misapprehension about the nature of the sources sent out from Margaret's court. These manuscripts, especially the sets of manuscripts for Jena or for the Fuggers, were intended to carry her repertoire, certainly; but more significantly, they were carrying the representation of her 'music', as it was performed and sounded. It is only thus that we can explain the additional care and attention lavished on the details, care taken by scribes who were skilled in presenting on the page the elegance of musical notation, but were also being asked to present the elegance of the sounding music itself. I assert, therefore, that a number of presentation manuscripts were intended primarily to carry the music, so that Margaret's sounding music itself was a major part of the gift. While these manuscripts also had to be elegant and pres-

[17] In addition to HUYS, *Occo Codex*, see S. BOORMAN, *Two Aspects of Performance Practice in the Sistine Chapel of the Early Sixteenth Century*, in B. JANZ ed., *Collectanea II: Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle: Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1989*, (*Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta*, 4), Vatican City, 1994, pp. 575–609.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 115

tigious in themselves, they were (unlike others) also representations of the sounds created in her chapel.

A question which arises immediately is this: whether any of the readings, so carefully transmitted in sources for sending away, could represent the wishes of the composer, rather than some specific tradition encouraged in Margaret's chapel. Almost ten years ago, I argued that certain decorative notations, and some related *musica ficta* indications and implications, do directly stem from the composer, and that we cannot avoid the implications of false relations that the readings were meant to impose on the performer.[18] Peter Urquhart has recently proposed the same thing, and some recordings have followed suit. But this situation is very different from the cases I have been discussing here, and it is different in a particular respect. While it did, like some of the present cases, involve pitches and rhythms, it was not concerned with patterns of decoration, as found in the approaches to cadences – and other figures – covered in the present article. Nor was it concerned at all with scribal behaviour. Instead, it involved actual melodic contours, and – in particular – contours that seemed to work against the singers' natural expectations. It was from that specific point that I derived the argument that the notation represented a composer's wishes, and that the performance practice was therefore also expected by him, and therefore effectively obligatory.

In the present cases, all the changes I have mentioned could well have arisen as a result of either the scribe's professional expertise in assisting the reader of the manuscript, or patterns of performing practice that the scribe had come to associate with the music. There is, therefore, no implicit requirement in my argument that the versions sent abroad should carry the composer's wishes for performance – insofar as any composer of the time had such wishes. However, I have deliberately chosen for discussion masses composed by Pierre de la Rue, court musician in the institution where these scribes worked. On one hand, it may be hard to believe that La Rue required specific text-setting, or expected certain patterns of ligatures in his sources; on the other, it is equally hard to believe that he composed these works without detailed awareness of the performing tradition of the institution for which he was writing.

I wish to end, therefore, by suggesting that we should assume that readings which, as I argue, were deliberately copied into some of the manuscripts intended for foreign consumption and performance, actually do represent the performing practice of the institution where La Rue worked, and that they therefore probably represent, more closely than do in-house manuscripts, how he would have expected, for example, the words to fit to his music. The implications for the modern performer are that the most authentic sources, in terms of actual pitches and durations, may still be those copied for home consumption, but that the best guidance for many of the interpretative decisions may well lie in other sources. In reconstructing performance practice, we may have to take seriously the details presented in sources, such as Jena or the Fugger manuscripts, that we would otherwise consider inferior to those that remained in the court circle, and a preliminary stage lies in determining just which were those sources, thought by scribes and performers to convey additional performing information.

[18] See BOORMAN, *False Relations*.

hfst Boorman 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 116

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 117

THE FUNCTION OF THE HABSBURG-BURGUNDIAN COURT MANUSCRIPTS

Honey Meconi
Rice University, Houston

What is the function of any early music manuscript? Musicians can perform directly from them or use them as master copies from which to generate smaller, plainer, and more convenient performing fascicles. In the case of chansons, and possibly larger pieces as well, manuscripts could serve as reference points from which performers could memorize pieces for later renditions. Manuscripts could be retrospective, existing as archives to preserve fading or passé repertoires. They could function as symbolic entities, linking text, music, and visual arts to tell a story or embody a specific idea or theme. Or they could act as ostentatious displays of wealth and power, visual icons in which the music is just another element contributing to a fanciful interplay of patterns and designs.

The 'Alamire' and 'scribe B' manuscripts associated with the Habsburg-Burgundian court[1] arguably filled several of these functions simultaneously, although such functions have been relatively little explored. The following essay will examine some concerns about performance and then move on to questions of how the collections fit in or 'functioned' in broader contexts.

Were the court manuscripts used for making music? The basic questions here are first, whether the recipients had the requisite performing forces, second, whether the books themselves were adequate from which to perform (legible? accurate in readings?), and third, do they show actual evidence of performance (signs of wear and tear? corrections or other things to facilitate performance?).

We don't always know the answer to the first question. Certainly major secular and ecclesiastical institutions had significant ensembles: the Cappella Sistina, the Confraternity at 's-Hertogenbosch, the courts of Philip the Fair and his relatives, Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, Henry VIII, the successive rulers of Portugal, Frederick the Wise. The problems arise with individuals such as Philippe Bouton, Ulrich Pfinzing, and Charles de Clerc who obtained manuscripts of sacred music.[2] Did De Clerc, for example, have sufficient forces for the seven-voice polyphony that Pipelare's *Memorare mater Christi* in BrusBR 215–16 requires? Pompeius Occo made his collection available to an ecclesiastical institution; did others as well?

If we assume for the sake of argument that performing forces were at hand, the issue of practicality arises. Performance from these books was at least theoretically possible on the most basic level; all manuscripts are sufficiently large to be read from; in some cases they are enormous. They conform to standard manuscript layouts. Page turns occur at the expected places, carefully coordinated among all voice parts. Certain manuscripts also contain instructions, sometimes snide ones, for the users to turn the page.

[1] The manuscripts are listed and described in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999; see the bibliography cited for each manuscript for additional information. The precise relationship between the court, its composers, and the manuscripts' scribes remains incompletely defined, but the manuscripts will be referred to herein, as they commonly are, as 'court' manuscripts.

[2] Owners of secular manuscripts such as the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439) didn't need a retinue of professional musicians to enjoy or perform their repertoire.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 118

The problem arises in the accuracy of the musical readings. First we should note that the scribes of these manuscripts sometimes had multiple exemplars for works, which themselves generated different readings of compositions.[3] The impetus behind these multiple readings is by no means clear,[4] but occasionally the versions they present are just plain wrong. For example, in the case of Pierre de la Rue, the composer active at the Habsburg-Burgundian court for more than twenty-three years whose music was featured most often in court manuscripts,[5] serious errors occur in compositions in at least sixteen of these sources.[6] This is a substantial number from the one place we would expect to get it right.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude therefore that these manuscripts were exclusively for display. The fact that Alamire and his helpers proofread the manuscripts (even if not always thoroughly)[7] argues for a desire to present workable readings. A volume intended purely for show needs no such proofreading. The realization of canons and the writing of tenor parts *ad longum*[8] also indicates a willingness on the part of Alamire's scribes to ease performance anxieties. It was apparently also fairly routine, or at least not surprising, for recipients to go over a volume and make necessary corrections,[9] and we see evidence of recipient/performer-generated corrections in several of the flawed La Rue masses.[10] In these works we also see changes to facilitate or alter performance, such as redoing underlay,[11] raising the final third,[12] revising rhythms to make things easier,[13] or numbering colored breves and longs so that the performers will not make mistakes.[14]

[3] Clear proof of this is found, for example, in the two appearances of Pierre de la Rue's five-voice *Fors seulement* in VienNB Mus. 18746; see H. MECONI, *Style and Authenticity in the Secular Music of Pierre de la Rue*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986, pp. 134–136. Most, though not all, information given below on the recension and readings of La Rue's music derives from N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97), 9 vols. to date, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1989–.

[4] For a list of possible reasons see H. MECONI, *Review of Pierre de la Rue, Opera Omnia, Vols. 1–3*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48 (1995), p. 292.

[5] Manuscripts featuring La Rue's music include BrusBR 15075, JenaU 12, MontsM 773, SubA 248, and VienNB Mus. 15496 (all La Rue); and BrusBR 6428, JenaU 5, MechAS s.s., VatS 34, and VatS 36 (all La Rue but one work). He is an important presence in other manuscripts, including BrusBR 228, FlorC 2439, JenaU 4, and JenaU 22. Most of the manuscript fragments that survive contain La Rue's music exclusively: AntP B948IV, AntP M18.13/1, BrugRA Aanw. 756, BrusSG 9423, BrusSG 9424, GhentR D3360b, TongerenSA 183, and UtreC 47/1. On La Rue's time at court, see H. MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford, 2003, ch. 1, pp. 19–44 and passim.

[6] FlorC 2439, VatC 234, BrusBR 9126, VienNB 1783, VerBC 756, JenaU 5, JenaU 7, MontsM 773, VienNB Mus. 15496, MechAS s.s., JenaU 4, VatS 36, JenaU 12, MontsM 766, SubA 248, and BrusBR 15075. This is out of 36 manuscripts that contain his music (not including fragments).

[7] On proofreading of the manuscripts see especially F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 41–52. It is possible the scribes were working from faulty exemplars.

[8] WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, pp. 41–52.

[9] As in the cases of JenaU 4 (corrected by Frederick's court composer, Adam Rener), a 's-Hertogenbosch choirbook corrected by choirmaster Sebastiaen de Porta and others, and an Antwerp choirbook corrected by Noel Grant (or Brant) and others; see, respectively, the following essays in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*: H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2 (JenaU 2)*, cat. no. 11, p. 85; E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, pp. 22 and 17. The last book was not initially copied by La Rue, as sometimes suggested; see MECONI, *Style and Authenticity*, pp. 18–20.

[10] For example, later hands, presumably those of performers, correct the Credo of the *Missa Alleluia* in VienNB Mus. 15496, the Agnus of *Missa Conceptio tua* in VatS 34, portions of the *Missa Assumpta est Maria* in SubA 248, and other errors.

[11] In, for example, *Missa Assumpta est Maria* and *Missa L'homme armé* in JenaU 22, *Missa Tous les regrets* in VienNB Mus. 15497, *Credo L'amour du moy* in JenaU 8, and other places.

[12] As in the last note of *Credo de villagiis* in VatS 160.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 119

Further evidence that it was music that counted, rather than appearance, comes in MontsM 766. This manuscript is striking in containing, as originally compiled, a single parchment fascicle surrounded by paper fascicles.[15] The parchment fascicle, comprising folios 6r–18v, contains Forestier's *Missa Baisez moy* on folios 6v–18r. Folio 18v is blank, and folio 6r contains the contratenor and bassus parts for the Agnus 3 of La Rue's *Missa de feria*.[16] Clearly, Charles V – the probable recipient of the manuscript – wanted the Forestier mass and wanted it fast; the scribes dismantled another collection in which La Rue's mass immediately preceded it and stuck the relevant fascicle in the new compilation. That what was left of La Rue's mass was completely useless as well as aesthetically annoying in its ravaged form, apparently failed to concern either compiler or recipient.

It is certainly possible, as suggested above, that the surviving manuscripts generated separate copies, now lost, that were the ones used for performance, possibly in corrected forms. But it is also possible, indeed likely, that we seriously underestimate the ability of contemporary performers to carry on in the face of less-than-flawless readings. At least for La Rue's compositions in these manuscripts, most pieces work most of the time. Since the performers were professional singers, typically with decades of experience, surely they would have soldiered on – or dropped out if things got too bad in an individual passage – when confronted with something that didn't seem to be working.[17] Anyone involved in the performance of church music knows that not every service unfolds perfectly but the service still continues. In the worst cases the singers could substitute the appropriate chant for the offending mass section.

It seems safe to assume, then, that the court manuscripts were prepared with performance as at least a potential goal. How then did they fit into their new homes? For most of the recipients, the manuscripts from the court are the only collections of polyphonic music that still survive, or sometimes the earliest remaining compilations.[18] But the Jena manuscripts owned by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony,[19] the Vatican group received by Pope Leo X,[20] and the Munich manuscripts of Wilhelm IV of Bavaria[21] all went to places with other still extant manuscripts, and the following briefly surveys their positions contextually.

Only eight duplicates occur among the ninety-nine pieces that Frederick the Wise received, seven of which resulted from the deflection of JenaU 4 from whoever its original recipient was intended to be.[22] With very few exceptions all pieces receive attributions, so that Frederick knew what he got. And he certainly received a rich repertoire. All but two of La Rue's thirty-two surviving masses are present, with only his *Missa de virginibus* and his canonic *Missa O salutaris hostia* missing. In addition to four *L'homme armé* masses (two by La Rue; others ascribed to Pipelare

[13] As in the changes made in *Missa Sub tuum presidium* in VienNB Mus. 15496.
[14] In the *Missa Cum iocunditate* in SubA 248.
[15] See the description in H. KELLMAN, *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 773 (MontsM 773)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 25, p. 115.
[16] Listed as anonymous in H. KELLMAN, *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 766 (MontsM 766)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 24, p. 114, but identified by Flynn Warmington.
[17] That occurs today (albeit rarely) in professional early music concerts.
[18] As is the case with 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B, and 's HerAB 72C.
[19] JenaU 2, JenaU 3, JenaU 4, JenaU 5, JenaU 7, JenaU 8, JenaU 9, JenaU 12, JenaU 20, JenaU 21, and JenaU 22.
[20] VatS 34, VatS 36, and VatS 160.
[21] MunBS 6, MunBS 7, MunBS 34, and MunBS F.
[22] Duplicates are Févin's *Missa de feria*, Mouton's *Missa Loserai-je dire*, La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*, *Missa Conceptio tua*, *Missa Incessament*, *Missa Ista est speciosa*, and *Missa paschale*. The one duplication that seems to be a genuine mistake is Bauldeweyn's *Missa Inviolata*, in both JenaU 2 and JenaU 8.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 120

and Mouton),[23] Frederick also enjoyed a series of masses built on some of the most popular pieces of the day: Agricola's *Missa Le serviteur*, masses on *Allez regretz* ascribed to Compère and Josquin, Pipelare's *Missa Fors seulement*, the *Missa Si dedero* of Divitis, the *Missae Ave Maria* and *Mente tota* of Févin, Forestier's *Missa Baisez moy*, Gascongne's *Missa Mijn hert*, Josquin's *Missa Malheur me bat*, La Rue's *Missae Incessament*, *Nuncqua fué pena maior*, *Tandernaken*, and *Tous les regretz*, and more. Nor was the more overtly functional aspect of the sacred repertoire neglected: the collection included masses and mass movements for Easter by Agricola, Barbireau, and La Rue, ferial works by Févin, Pipelare, and La Rue, Requiem masses by Févin and La Rue, a Christmas mass by La Rue, and masses for almost all major Marian feasts, courtesy of La Rue, as well as numerous other more generic Marian masses and of course the nineteen Magnificats in JenaU 20. Such a rich and varied collection surely came about by design rather than by accident. In this respect it is striking that the 'other' Jena manuscripts,[24] the much less elaborate JenaU 30 through 36,[25] contain many of the same composers featured in the court manuscripts,[26] but have only two works – Credo movements – that overlap with these manuscripts.[27]

Given the overwhelming emphasis on La Rue's music in the Jena manuscripts (as in most of the court manuscripts), one may well ask whether La Rue was the only good composer the court had. Obviously not, for Weerbeke, Agricola, Braconnier, De Orto, Divitis, and Champion were his colleagues at various times.[28] But La Rue was the only prolific composer at the court, especially when it came to masses, the bread-and-butter repertoire of the court choirbooks. A more puzzling question is why we are missing the one piece we would expect to find in Frederick's collection, Champion's *Missa ducis Saxsoniae*, which is found instead in MunBS 6 and 's HerAB 72A.

Similar repertorial concerns on a much smaller scale appear with the manuscripts sent to Pope Leo X.[29] These duplicate no repertoire among themselves[30] and again emphasize La Rue, with two manuscripts devoted almost exclusively to his output. The Habsburg-Burgundian scribes were apparently very much aware that these manuscripts were going to the leader of Western Christendom. Leo's own scribes larded his collections with such secular-sounding masses as Févin's *Missa Dictez moy toutes voz pensees*, Misonne's *Missa Que n'ay je Marion* and De Silva's *Missa Adieu mes amours*,[31] but the court scriptorium prissily shied away from such worldly epics and concentrated instead on works with sacred foundations, the only exceptions being *L'homme armé* masses – themselves having christological overtones – and La Rue's *Credo L'amour du moy*. Works chosen for Leo were also liturgically significant, with music provided for daily services, memorial services,

[23] The 'Mouton' mass is really by Forestier, to whom it is correctly attributed in BrusBR IV.922 and MontsM 766.

[24] For a brief overview of some of the problems surrounding the use of these manuscripts, see KELLMAN, *JenaU 2*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 11, p. 85.

[25] WeimB A also belongs in this group.

[26] Agricola, Compère, Isaac, Josquin, Mouton, Obrecht, Pipelare, and Weerbeke.

[27] JenaU 36 has the Credo from Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine* (attributed); the whole mass appears in JenaU 7, also attributed; JenaU 31 has Isaac's *Missa Tmeiskin was jonck* (anonymously); its Credo appears anonymously within Agricola's *Missa paschalis* in JenaU 22.

[28] For information on these as well as other composers at the court, see MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, pp. 64–78; on La Rue's special position at court, see pp. 83–92.

[29] Manuscripts compiled at the Vatican itself during Leo's papacy are VatS 16, VatS 26, and VatS 45.

[30] Though they do duplicate two works in VatS 45: La Rue's *Credo de villagiis* and Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine*. The La Rue *Credo* appears in Obrecht's *Missa Sicut spina rosam* in VatS 160, which is also the manuscript with the Josquin mass. All receive attributions except the mass in VatS 160, whose attribution page is missing.

[31] In VatS 16, VatS 26, and VatS 45 respectively.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 121

Marian worship, Easter, and feasts of the Holy Trinity, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint John the Evangelist.[32]

The repertoire chosen for Leo's manuscripts is also striking given the probable timing of these volumes. Possibly sent as a gesture of thanks to the pope for his bestowing the Golden Rose on Charles,[33] they come at a time when Leo was getting cozy with the French, meeting with Francis I and granting principle French court composer Jean Mouton the title of apostolic notary. It is striking, and surely significant, that the three volumes sent from the court contain very little music by French composers, and none by Mouton, despite the fact that Leo X was a noted francophile and the court had an extensive French repertoire at its disposal. Instead, the emphasis is heavily on works of local favorite Pierre de la Rue, as if to keep Leo's attention focused on the empire.

A third and very different set of manuscripts are those that ended up at the Bavarian ducal court of Wilhelm IV. The only internal overlap among this Alamire group occurs with Gascongne's *Missa Mijn hert*, which appears in both MunBS 7 and MunBS F, the latter not originally intended for Bavaria. As far as overlap with other Bavarian manuscripts of Wilhelm's time goes – and there are close to thirty of these surviving – almost all of them arrived at the Bavarian court or originated after the Habsburg-Burgundian collections appeared.[34] In other words, the Alamire manuscripts were among the earliest to become part of the Bavarian permanent collection. Were they purposely seen as collection builders? The repertoire of the three choirbooks originally intended for Wilhelm is impressively varied: four-voice masses in MunBS 7, masses for five or more voices in MunBS 6, and twenty-nine *Salve regina* settings in MunBS 34. Certainly the music was used and valued: extra text was added to masses in MunBS 6,[35] and three of its masses later reappear in MunBS 5 (not an Alamire manuscript).[36]

One manuscript originating at the Bavarian court is potentially very significant in relation to the Habsburg-Burgundian court. This is WolfA A, an enormous, extravagantly decorated codex containing the arms of various Bavarian cities as well as portraits of Dukes Albrecht IV and Wilhelm IV, Maximilian, and Charles.[37] Securely dated from 1519/1520, the manuscript surely documents a very positive and close relationship between the two courts at this time. Was it intended as a gift from Wilhelm for Charles on his election as Holy Roman Emperor, containing as it does a portrait of his predecessor in that position, his grandfather Maximilian (with the ancestor/ruler theme continued in the portraits of Wilhelm and his deceased father Albrecht)? Maximilian's sister was Wilhelm's mother, Wilhelm was a guest at the double wedding of Maximilian's grandchildren Maria

[32] The canonic resolutions that conclude VatS 160, written by later hands, are additional confirmation that these books were used for performance.

[33] See F. WARMINGTON, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 160 (VatS 160)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 37, p. 136.

[34] See the list given in C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), 5, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1988, p. 355. Some of these manuscripts were presumably brought to Wilhelm's court by Senfl, who apparently acquired them on the disbanding by Charles V of Maximilian's former chapel. That the choirbooks went to Senfl is an interesting commentary on who 'owned' music at the time, but it is true that none of the books in question was decorated in any but the most straightforward manner.

[35] Despite the assertion that "none of these choirbooks shows any sign of having been used", in E. JAS, *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 34 (MunBS 34)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 118, p. 118.

[36] The Bavarian court evidently readily recopied individual pieces if not entire manuscripts; MunBS 33 is a recopying of MunBS 26, itself a recopying of MunBS 39, while La Rue's *Requiem* moved from MunBS 65 to WolfA A to MunBS 47.

[37] A doctoral dissertation by Ursula Becker is currently in progress on this manuscript.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 122

and Ferdinand in Vienna in 1515,[38] and he accompanied the emperor on a trip to the Low Countries in 1517; some sort of gift from Wilhelm to Charles on the latter's elevation in 1519 was surely expected.[39]

Both MunBS 7 and MunBS 6 could come from this high tide of good will between the courts, with MunBS 34 from the period immediately after the production of WolfA A. Although 1530 is the date sometimes suggested for the Munich Alamire manuscripts, these earlier dates are likelier both for the good will evinced by WolfA A as well as the fact that relationships between the two courts deteriorated badly in 1526 over the question of who should rule Hungary and Bohemia.[40]

These three collections of Alamire manuscripts, then – those for Frederick, Leo, and Wilhelm – make sense both on their own and in the context of the larger collections of which they ultimately formed part. Their emphasis on masses, mass movements, Magnificats, and *Salve regina* settings makes them stand a bit distant from the other manuscripts of these owners, which, though containing most of these same kinds of pieces, also include motets, mass proper settings, and other very functional genres.[41] The Alamire manuscripts also stand out physically, at least in comparison with other polyphonic collections. In general, they are parchment as opposed to paper, larger than average, and more highly decorated, often including coats of arms.[42] In short, they typically occupied a somewhat special position in their new homes; they were not simply additional manuscripts indistinguishable from previous acquisitions.

One question recurs in connection with all the court manuscripts: why is there such a heavy concentration on mass collections,[43] with few books interspersing masses and motets,[44] few devoted to motets,[45] and even fewer chansonniers?[46] Why was the function of these manuscripts overwhelmingly sacred and specifically liturgical?

A glance through the *Census-Catalogue* shows that this heavy imbalance towards sacred music is the norm throughout the Renaissance. The number of predominantly secular collections is dwarfed by the number of sacred ones.[47] Alamire and his cohorts were doing nothing untoward in generating

[38] Was this where Wilhelm first encountered La Rue's music? The composer's *Missa Cum iocunditate* and *Requiem* show up not long afterwards in MunBS 65, one of the earliest surviving manuscripts from Wilhelm's court.

[39] See JAS, *MunBS 34*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 118, p. 118, for the connections between Wilhelm and the Habsburg-Burgundian court.

[40] For details see H. MECONI, *Foundation for an Empire: The Musical Inheritance of Charles V*, in F. MAES ed., *The Empire Resounds: Music in the Days of Charles V*, Leuven, 1999, pp. 32–33.

[41] For example motets in VatS 16, mass proper sections in JenaU 30 and MunBS 25.

[42] There are exceptions to this general rule. Leo's Alamire manuscripts are narrower (though still taller) than his others. JenaU 21 (the last of the group) is paper; along with JenaU 20 and JenaU 22 it is smaller than the non-Alamire Jena manuscripts. MunBS 6, MunBS 7, and MunBS 34 are all paper; they are smaller than MunBS 1, MunBS 25, and also WolfA A, which is much more elaborately decorated than the Munich Alamire collections.

[43] See the discussion in two essays by Eric Jas: E. JAS, *The Repertory of the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 28–29; and E. JAS, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 15941 (VienNB Mus. 15941)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 48, p. 159. I divide the manuscripts somewhat differently than Jas does. Thirty-two complete manuscripts are exclusively or almost exclusively masses and mass movements.

[44] BrusBR 215–16, BrusBR 9126, BrusBR IV.922, 's HerAB 72C, JenaU 9, and VatC 234.

[45] LonBLR 8 G.vii, MunBS 34, VatP 1976–79, VienNB 9814, VienNB Mus. 15941, and VienNB Mus. 18825 are all predominantly or exclusively motet books. There is also a collection of Magnificats, JenaU 20.

[46] BrusBR 228, FlorC 2439, and VienNB Mus. 18746. Each of these includes a few motets, as was normal for chansonniers. As a textless collection of bicinia VienNB Mus. 18832 was surely used in a secular setting as well.

[47] I would estimate that the ratio is roughly ten sacred manuscripts for every secular one.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 123

mostly sacred manuscripts, which, aside from being easier to put together, as Eric Jas has pointed out,[48] made far safer gifts and ran less risk of offending their recipients, to say nothing of being utilitarian both in choice of contents and in using the universal language Latin rather than French or Flemish. Given that contemporary taste in secular music must have been extremely personal, it comes as no surprise that of the three chansonniers from the court that survive intact, two were obviously commissions[49] and one was for Margaret of Austria herself.[50]

Though not quite as personal as secular music, motets were still less overtly useful than masses. All chapels celebrated mass, but motets played less fixed roles for institutions and individuals. The scribes were therefore fairly careful to whom they sent motets. Of the complete motet manuscripts, VienNB Mus. 18825 was meticulously organized for Easter and Paschaltide, VienNB Mus. 15941 was clearly a commission,[51] LonBLR 8 G.vii was evidently compiled to resonate with the lives of its recipients, Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, MunBS 34 obviously met a very special need for multiple versions of *Salve regina*, and VatP 1976–79 was for Charles's brother and sister-in-law, whose tastes and musical practices were surely known at court. In addition, the collection of performing parts, VienNB 9814, either originated as a commission or as material for the court's own use.

Nor were motets coupled with masses haphazardly. The motets in both BrusBR 215–16 and BrusBR IV.922 fit in perfectly with the themes of the collections, the motet in JenaU 9 is a perfect complement to the mass included there, the single motet in VatS 36 is intended as an 'in loco' mass movement, VatC 234 was prepared on commission, and BrusBR 9126 was for Philip and thus reflected repertoire already present at court. In the case of 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C the former was presumably commissioned and the latter would surely reflect Alamire's knowledge of what would be pleasing to the Confraternity for whom he had worked and to which he belonged. In other words, with motets, as with chansons, each collection was carefully tailored to individual needs; scribes took no chances in their choice of works.

Further, if one purpose of the manuscripts were to impress the recipients, sacred composition – especially in the conservative form of masses – surely trumps secular music as being serious and weighty, and implying that the earthly power that generated the book is backed by an otherworldly one. God is on our side, a sacred manuscript subtly proclaims – no small matter as religious differences begin to dominate European politics. In this respect it doesn't matter whether these manuscripts are accurate or not; the impression of power becomes their most important attribute. The Habsburg-Burgundian court achieved a kind of cultural dominance via these manuscripts that no other institution could equal; no one else produced manuscripts for export on this scale. This form of illuminated bribery worked whether the books went out as gifts or commissions, for even the most austerely designed production[52] could not fail to remind its owner of the source of the musical wealth that filled their books.

The brief survey of three collections made earlier in this essay shows that the manuscripts were normally physically and repertorially distinct from other polyphonic music books in their possessors' libraries, and the new owners of these choirbooks knew that they had arrived either as a gift from Habsburg-Burgundy, possibly marking a memorable occasion, or as a commission from the scribal impresario at the court. As Brigitte Dekeyzer has shown,[53] these books were more heavily

[48] JAS, *The Repertory of the Manuscripts*, pp. 28–29.
[49] VienNB Mus. 18746 and FlorC 2439.
[50] BrusBR 228.
[51] It contains the Fugger coat of arms, but is far too modest to have been a gift.
[52] For example those for the Fuggers.
[53] In her essay in this volume, *The Decoration of the Alamire Music Manuscripts: Function and Meaning*.

hfst Meconi 12-11-2003 13:58 Pagina 124

personalized than the usual fancy manuscript, making them even more appealing to their owners. And let us not forget that many – perhaps most – of the manuscripts' recipients had actually heard the Habsburg-Burgundian choir in all its glory, possibly performing the very pieces that were now contained in their new manuscripts. Performances by their own chapels – even if less spectacular – would surely remind them of one of the top musical institutions in Western Europe, as well as its governing court.

We have the wrong idea of these Renaissance musical manuscripts. We are annoyed when the musical readings are flawed, the underlay is sloppy, the ceremonial motets are second-hand, the heraldry doesn't match that of the manuscript's owner, the show-off scribe signs his name at random. But it is unlikely that sixteenth-century owners were bothered by any of this. They surely saw a collection of music as a living entity, to be altered as desired: different underlay, musical corrections, new pieces added, arms overpainted or ignored. We assume that our expectations of these manuscripts were shared by the first owners, but they must have taken a much more practical view of what they received; unlike ours, theirs was not a disposable culture. If something was less than perfect, so be it. Sing through errors, close the eyes to visual inconsistencies – enjoy the stunning aural and visual beauty that remained. There was certainly no shortage of new takers once an original owner had died;[54] some of these manuscripts became a kind of collector's item, especially as printing superseded manuscript culture. These amazingly intricate creations were valued – and functioned – on many different levels, and that is how we should see them today.

[54] See for example the case of VatC 234.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 125

THE DECORATION OF THE ALAMIRE MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS: FUNCTION AND MEANING*

Brigitte Dekeyzer
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Relatively little research has been done on the meaning and function of decoration in manuscripts. Most often we are referred to authors of the Early and High Middle Ages,[1] but for later periods in which the profile of both the reader and the owner of manuscripts profoundly changed, little is known. In his survey of the art of Flemish Manuscripts, Maurits Smeyers recognises five essential functions.[2] In addition to the aesthetic dimension, the illuminations also have structural, instructional, meditative, and social aims.[3]

The obvious aesthetic function of decoration in manuscripts confers upon the hand-written text a beautiful, sometimes even dazzling appearance. However the tasteful decoration (the *ornatus*) is not a goal in itself. It is accompanied by several other aims.

At the most basic level, the decoration helps structure the text. To indicate to the reader where a new chapter or a new thought begins, the illuminators decorate the page. The general layout of a page, the colour, placement, size and form of initials, border decorations and miniatures elucidate the structure and accentuate the hierarchy between the different parts. In that way the decoration is the visual translation of the various articulations of the text.

Beside the formal functions (the *utilitas*), the decorations have an instructional value. The representations show, synthesise or point out the central idea of a text and evoke not only literal, but also typological, allegorical, tropological (moral) and anagogic (eschatological) meanings. Sometimes the illuminators visualise the text not in a literal way, but introduce *exempla* to connote the meaning. Schedules and schemes (like a wheel or a tree) facilitate memorisation and give concrete form to abstract ideas. Moreover, the decorations update the events that took place long ago or in a remote region. By choosing certain themes (for example, Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, the Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua, the Institution of the Eucharist) disputed theological tenets are promoted (like the Immaculate Conception or the Transubstantiation). Thus clandestinely, these images serve to propagandise the view of the church.

* With thanks to Prof. Dr. Karel Hellemans for the translation and to Prof. Dr. Bert Cardon for the critical reading of the text.

[1] B. DEKEYZER, *Word and Image: Foundations of the Medieval Manuscript*, in *Medieval Mastery. Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold, 800–1475*, exh. cat., Leuven, 2002, pp. 25–33.

[2] M. SMEYERS, *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw. De middeleeuwse wereld op perkament*, Leuven, 1998, pp. 15–16.

[3] In his publication on Cistercian art, Georges Duby distinguishes four essential functions of works of art (especially of religious works of art, since the profane art of the twelfth century is almost entirely lost): the aesthetic function; the sacrificial function or the dedication of a part of the riches (Duby sees a relationship with the existing production system) with a double goal, the glorification of God and the request for new grace (i.e. *captatio benevolentiae)*; and finally the initiation (the instructional function for Smeyers) and the symbolic function. See G. DUBY, *Bernard van Clairvaux en de cisterciënzerkunst*, trans. from the French by R. DE ROO-RAYMAKERS, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 15–19. The sacrificial function, not mentioned by Smeyers, is one of the essential functions of polyphonic manuscripts (cf. infra, paragraph on *Portraits…*).

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 126

Thirdly, the images in religious manuscripts invite meditation and prayer. They stimulate the reader/viewer to forget his worldly worries, to make time and to seek silence in order to penetrate into the deeper meaning of the text. Moreover, the images can evoke strong feelings. Christ with his body dripping with blood, the Virgin with seven swords through her heart, scenes of horrible torture inflame the emotions and the imagination of the reader/viewer and force him to understand, evaluate and transcend the event.

Finally the decoration of a manuscript has an important social function. Lavishly illuminated works proclaim the status and the social position of the owner. They are signs of prestige and unsurpassed wealth. In this sense the written content of certain manuscripts is not necessarily primary. Very valuable texts may be decorated modestly, whereas simple prayer books or books of hours are usually decorated lavishly. In those cases, the *ornatus* takes precedence over the other functions. With the introduction of portraits, coats of arms and mottoes the social position of the patrons and owners is especially accentuated.

This article focuses on the polyphonic manuscripts produced in Alamire's workshop and investigates the extent to which the different functions of illumination can be discerned in that group. In the early sixteenth century, the illumination of polyphonic manuscripts was a relatively new phenomenon. Liturgical manuscripts, prayer books, books of hours, psalters, breviaries, as well as theological, philosophical and ascetic treatises had received artistic illumination for many centuries. Literary, classical and historical works also had specific programs of illumination, but such a deep-seated tradition did not exist for music manuscripts of the works of the Flemish polyphonists. Mostly very large, these manuscripts required an appropriate decorative system. Illuminators chose recognisable motifs and depicted them in a naturalistic way: in the margins acanthus leaves, flowers, plants, insects, peacock feathers, seashells, gemstones, pilgrims' emblems, pottery, letters or expensive fabrics throw their shadows on coloured backgrounds. Individualised persons animate the scenes, evoke emotions and move freely through understandable, well-defined space. Landscapes with remarkably subtle shades of light and colour often form the natural backdrop for these figures. In short, the illuminators chose the very fashionable Ghent-Bruges style.[4] The main question is whether the meaning of the illustrations in the polyphonic manuscripts of the Alamire group can be compared with contemporaneous manuscripts and whether the different content of the music manuscripts bears any consequences.[5]

[4] For an introduction to the Ghent-Bruges style, see M. SMEYERS, *Late-Gothic Miniature Art in Flanders 1475–1550*, in M. SMEYERS and J. VAN DER STOCK eds., *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475–1550*, exh. cat., Ghent – New York, 1996, pp. 7–47; T. KREN and S. McKENDRICK, *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, 2003.

[5] No research has been conducted on the meaning of the illustrations of the Alamire group of manuscripts. The few existing publications attempt to identify the illuminators who collaborated on the decoration of the manuscripts: M. KAPP, *Musikalische Handschriften des burgundischen Hofes in Mecheln und Brüssel ca. 1495–1530. Studien zur Entwicklung Gerard Horenbouts und seiner Werkstatt*, Inaugural-Diss., Julius-Maximilians-Universitat Würzburg, Darmstadt, 1987; D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Alamire Manuscripts*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, pp. 53–62. A general survey of the illustrations in the Alamire manuscripts can be found in B. BOUCKAERT, B. DEKEYZER, K. PROESMANS and E. SCHREURS, *Polyfone schatten uit Alamire's scriptorium*, in *Musica antiqua*, 16 (1999), pp. 109–119; and in B. DEKEYZER et al., *Scribenten en verluchters*, in E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit keizer Karels tijd (1500–1535)*, Leuven, 1999, pp. 124–145.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 127

THE STRUCTURAL IMPORTANCE OF THE DECORATION

In the polyphonic Alamire manuscripts of the sixteenth century, decoration has primarily a structural function. To clearly discern the various but equivalent voices – in most cases the manuscripts consist of masses for four voices – the illuminators use a uniform and recognisable system: the soprano is found at the top of the left page, with the tenor below on the same folio, while the contratenor and the bass stand at the top and bottom of the right-hand page, respectively. The beginning of each voice is clearly indicated by a large, finely decorated initial (Figure 1), while – on the following pages – the start of the new staff opens with a simple black or red initial. This is how the illuminators create a hierarchical system whereby the beginning of a mass, a motet or a chanson is indicated, creating a continuous dialogue between the graphic sign and the meaning. Roger Dragonetti writes:

> Elle [i.e., the decorated initial] implique une dialectique lecture – écriture, c'est à dire un jeu de liaisons visant, consciemment ou inconsciemment, à nouer sans cesse, dans le tissu anagrammatique du langage, des rapports de similitude entre les signes graphiques des mots et leur sens, à percevoir par conséquent le semblable dans les différences, l'un à travers la multiplicité et l'indétermination, le même à travers l'autre, en direction d'une synthèse dont la force, qui la meut tout entière, est le mode analogique de circularité.[6]

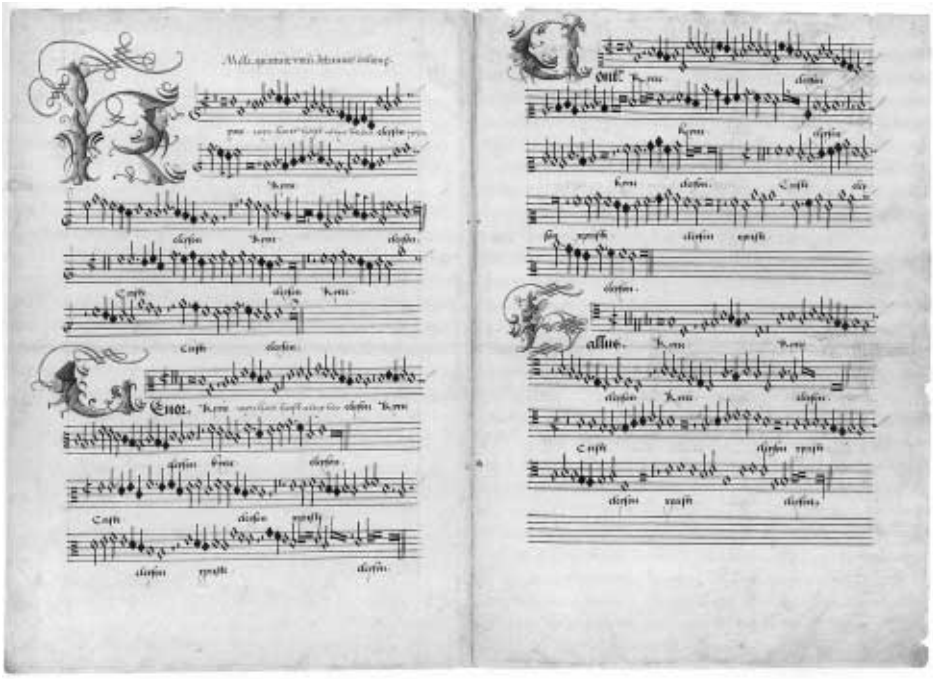


Figure 1. Opening page of Gascongne's *Missa Myn herte altyt heeft verlanghen* with clearly indicated voices, MunBS 7, fol. 2v–3r.

[6] See R. DRAGONETTI, *La vie de la lettre au Moyen Age. Le conte du Graal*, Paris, 1980, pp. 66–67.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 128

This evident structuring, based on the enlargement of the initials of the different voices, is a characteristic of the Ghent-Bruges polyphonic manuscripts in the Southern Netherlands. Although already applied in manuscripts from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the system is more systematic and more transparent in the Alamire workshop. For example, in a manuscript dating from 1430–1440, made for the cathedral of Cambrai, the three voices of Dufay's *Kyrie* are indicated by a larger initial, but are not clearly separated. The contratenor immediately follows the tenor and receives no new staff (CambraiBM 11, fol. 2r). In the only known version of a motet by Antoine Busnoys from about 1470 (BrusBR 5557, fol. 48v) we find under the three voices written in a normal notation – though not clearly separated – a fourth voice, noted in the form of a bell, that must now and then sound its only note *d*. Such notation is inconceivable in the Alamire workshop. At first glance it is obvious where a mass, a motet or a chanson starts and where the different voices begin.[7]

Even taking into account the removed folios, the border decoration is relatively scarce in the Alamire manuscripts. Most of the masses, motets and chansons are not surrounded by colourful margins with subjects inspired by nature. Wherever a border is present, this ornamentation only appears on the opening page of a new mass, motet or chanson. Decoration for decoration's sake is never found and a program such as in the *Spinola Book of Hours* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 18) where every page has received a non-functional decorative border, is absent.[8] Moreover, in the Alamire manuscripts the border decoration often only covers part of the page (Figure 2). It is thus quite clear that marginal decoration in these music manuscripts is not considered necessary for the clarity of structure. The border decoration never encumbers the staves and the music remains the most important element.[9]

Closely following the Ghent-Bruges style, the marginal decoration is limited to its essence: acanthus leaves, recognisable flowers and plants, insects and birds against a coloured background (Figure 3).[10] Rather exceptional are the borders decorated with gemstones, three-dimensional letters and scrolls. Coats of arms, mottoes and chains of the Golden Fleece, on the other hand, figure more commonly than in other manuscripts (cf. infra, paragraph on *Portraits…*). Other elements, also typical of this style, such as illusionistic borders with peacock feathers, seashells, pilgrims' emblems, pottery, expensive fabrics, church interiors, public buildings or landscapes do not figure in the Alamire manuscripts. Historiated borders are also lacking. The illuminators were not eager to expand the repertory. That modesty is surely not due to a scarcity of money because, like the

[7] This clear structure is also present in precursors of the Alamire-workshop; see for example the Chigi Codex (VatC 234). On the other hand, in manuscripts from the later sixteenth century, when the polyphonic system is fully developed, the beginning of a voice is not always indicated by a larger initial. Sometimes, historiated border decorations have that function. See for example the polyphonic manuscript for Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, illuminated by his court painter Hans Mielich (MunBS A/1).

[8] A. VON EUW and J. PLOTZEK, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 2, Cologne, 1982, pp. 256–285.

[9] In some polyphonic manuscripts from the second half of the sixteenth century a dazzling but not always functional decoration takes precedence; see for example the polyphonic manuscript of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, footnote 7.

[10] A separate type of border decoration remarkable for their frequency often present in the Alamire manuscripts – from a total of circa one thousand manuscripts in the Ghent-Bruges style, there are about thirty of them, two of which are from the Alamire workshop – are the strewn borders, where naturalistic motifs seem to be spread out on the parchment itself. Notwithstanding their name the subjects are not loosely drawn, but are divided systematically over the parchment (see for example JenaU 4, fol. 15v–16r, 29v; LonBLR 8 G.vii, fol. 2v–3r). In the manuscript VatC 234, a precursor of the Alamire-group from the workshop of Martin Bourgeois, we also find these scattered motifs. See A.-M. W. AS-VIJVERS, *Randversiering in Gents-Brugse manuscripten. De Meester van de Davidscènes en andere verluchters als specialisten in margedecoraties*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 129

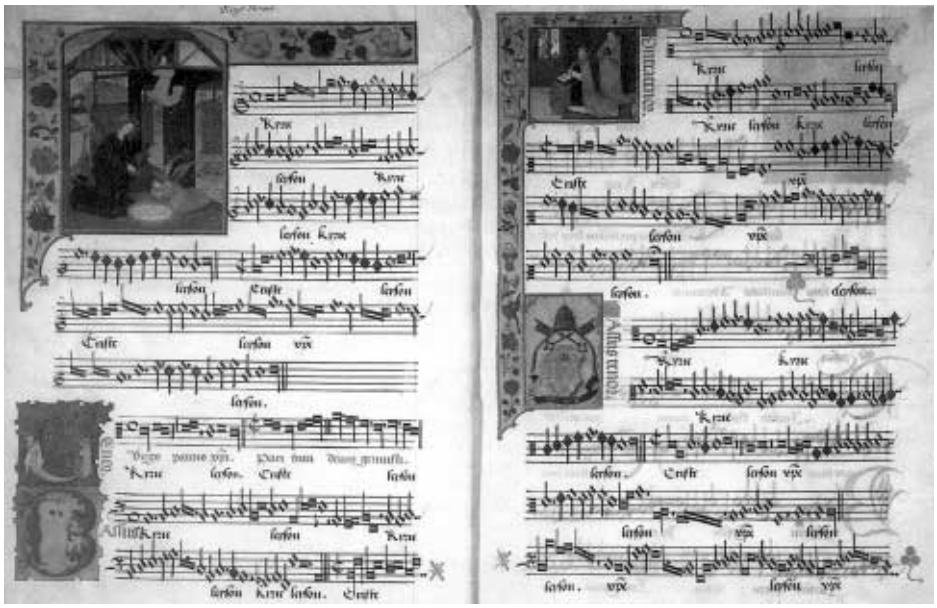


Figure 2. Opening page of Barbireau's *Missa Virgo parens Christi* with marginal decoration, VatS 160, fol. 1v–2r.

most lavishly illuminated contemporaneous books, these polyphonic manuscripts were destined for the wealthy and the famous of the realm.

In her dissertation on the music manuscripts at the courts of Mechelen and Brussels in the period 1495–1530 Maria Kapp distinguishes three circuits in which the manuscripts function: manuscripts commissioned by members of the Burgundian-Habsburg court, destined as representative gifts for other European dynasties; manuscripts commissioned by courtiers and destined to be used by their chapel choirs; and a third group combining a courtly with a private character, where the patrons belonged to the court and the polyphonic manuscripts were made for their own private use. According to Maria Kapp Alamire's workshop seems to have been involved with the first and the third categories.[11]

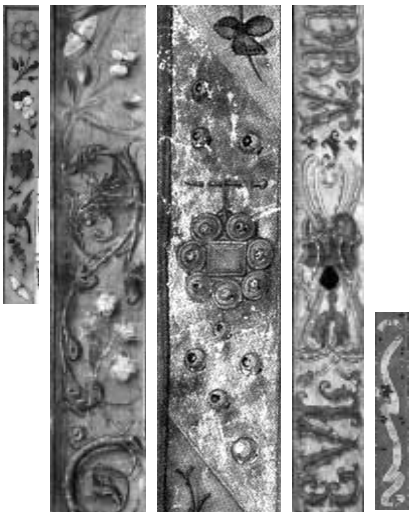


Figure 3. Different types of marginal decoration in the Alamire corpus.

Equally, relatively few miniatures occur in the Alamire manuscripts. In several codices not a single miniature is found, with only a few in some of the others.[12] A glance at the six manuscripts commissioned by Frederick the Wise, Duke Elector of Saxony (JenaU 2, JenaU 3, JenaU 5, JenaU 8, JenaU 12 and JenaU 20), shows that only three of them

[11] See KAPP, *Musikalische Handschriften des burgundischen Hofes*, pp. 27–29.
[12] For a survey of the decorations, see KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 130

have miniatures (JenaU 3, JenaU 5 and JenaU 12) and of those which came into his possession (JenaU 4, JenaU 7, JenaU 9, JenaU 21 and JenaU 22), only two are illuminated (JenaU 4 and JenaU 22). Moreover, the number of miniatures in these manuscripts is relatively small. JenaU 3, one of the most lavishly decorated works, has three miniatures – the Visitation (fol. 1v), the Virgin and Child venerated by angels and adored by Frederick the Wise (fol. 29v–30r; Figure 4) and finally the Assumption of the Virgin (fol. 43 v) – and eight masses. JenaU 4 (conceived as a present from Maximilian of Austria to the King of England, Henry VIII, but through political complications included in the collection of Frederick the Wise) has four devotional images for nine masses, one Kyrie and two Credos: the Virgin of the Apocalypse (fol. 8v), the Resurrection (fol. 15v), the Tree of Hosts (fol. 29v) and the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows (fol. 42v). These images do not stand on their own, but are accompanied by portraits of members of the Burgundian–Habsburg dynasty and the English Court (cf. infra, paragraph on *Portraits…*).

There is clearly no consistent system in the Alamire corpus with one miniature heading up every mass, motet or chanson. Even the most luxurious manuscripts, destined to be offered as representative gifts to other European dynasties, do not have a systematic decoration program. The reason for this is difficult to find. It may reflect a desire to keep the attention focused on the sophisticated decoration of the initials. In several manuscripts it is striking to see that the first masses open with a miniature, while the later ones start with a decorated initial as large as the miniatures (see for example MechAS s.s.).[13]

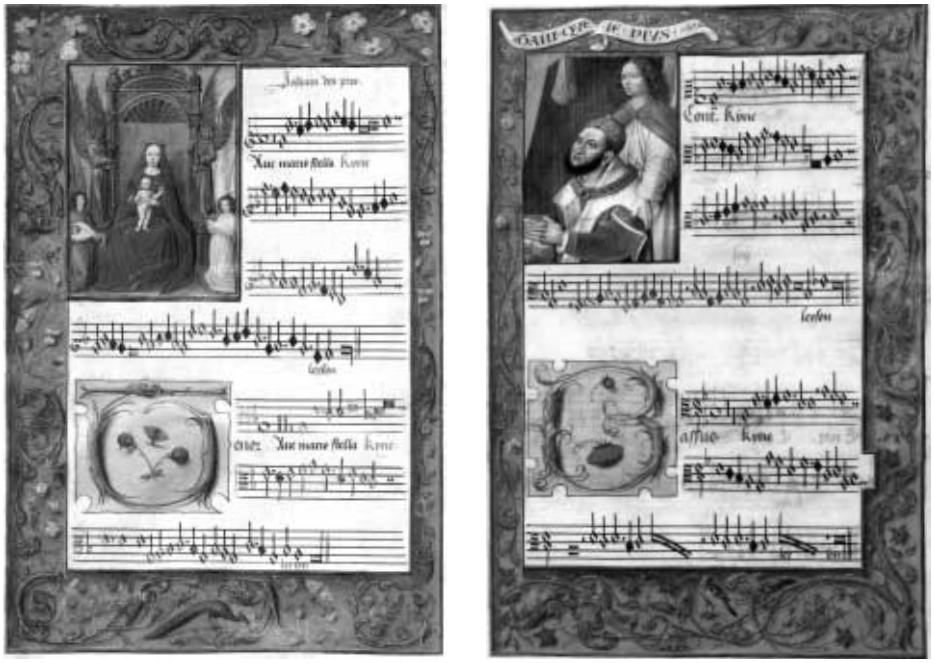


Figure 4. Virgin and Child surrounded by angels and adored by Frederick the Wise, JenaU 3, fol. 29v–30r.

[13] Only in exceptional cases is there a miniature at the beginning of each mass, motet or chanson; see for example BrusBR 6428. Unfortunately, we do not know the contents of these decorations, as all the images of the manuscript have been cut out.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 131

This contrasts sharply with contemporary luxury works such as liturgical texts, breviaries, books of hours and prayer books where, at the beginning of every text and often even at the beginning of each part of a text, a colourful miniature is found. In the *Mayer van den Bergh Breviary* (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. no. 946), roughly eighty miniatures are introduced.[14] They vary in size and importance, but they always attempt to visualise the written word with a certain amount of magnificence, perhaps first of all to hold the attention of the wealthy owner and to emphasise the beginning of the different parts of the text. The miniatures from the temporale represent the major events of the liturgical year: the Birth of Christ (fol. 158v–159r), the Circumcision (fol. 182v), the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 189r), the Resurrection (fol. 284v–285r), the Ascension (fol. 309v), Pentecost (fol. 318v), the Holy Trinity (fol. 326v), Corpus Christi (fol. 331v). The images form a cycle in which not a single essential moment is missing.

In some manuscripts, the miniatures are even so impressive that they obscure the text or make it superfluous. The illuminators often create diptychs where only a few lines of text remain (see for example the *Spinola Book of Hours*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 18, fol. 21v–22r: Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man; Figure 5). Sometimes, they illustrate the characteristic medieval typological way of thinking, accompanying a scene from the Old Testament by its New Testament counterpart where the Old Testament is the prefiguration that finds its accomplishment in the New Testament.[15] For example in the *Grimani Breviary* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. I, 99 [= 2138]), the Adoration of the Magi – on the left folio (the first while reading) – is prefigured by the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, depicted on the right hand page.[16] Sometimes the Old Testament depiction includes a few lines of text, whereas the scene of the New Testament usually receives a full page.

Analogous with this fully developed diptych-system, the Alamire illuminators create 'diptychs from a distance': on the left folio a religious image adorns the soprano part, while the contratenor on the right folio is given a portrait of the patron or the owner (Figures 2, 4, 19). In this way, the portrayed person seems to adore the religious scene. This system can be compared to the diptychs developed by Rogier van der Weyden, where a patron, for example, *Laurent Froimont* (Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique; Figure 7) adores the *Virgin and Child* (Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Figure 6). In the polyphonic manuscripts of the Alamire workshop the two

[14] C. GASPAR, *Le Bréviaire du Musée Mayer van den Bergh à Anvers. Etude du texte et des miniatures*, Brussels – New York, 1932 (with illustrations of all the miniatures; see also H. NIEUWDORP and B. DEKEYZER, *Breviarium Mayer van den Bergh. Alle miniaturen*, Ghent, 1997); B. DEKEYZER, *The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary. A Triumph of Flemish Miniature Art*, in SMEYERS & VAN DER STOCK, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 49–113; B. DEKEYZER, *Vorstelijke luxe en devotie. Het Breviarium Mayer van den Bergh (Gent/Brugge; ca 1500) in artistiek, religieus en historisch perspectief*, Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2002.

[15] On the function and meaning of typological thinking, see B. CARDON, *Manuscripts of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis in the Southern Netherlands (ca. 1410 – ca. 1470). A Contribution to the Study of the 15th Century Book Illumination and of the Function and Meaning of Historical Symbolism*, in M. SMEYERS ed., *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 9, (*Low Countries Series*, 6), Leuven, 1996. On typological thinking in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, see B. CARDON, *Typologische beeldvoorstellingen in de late 15de en 16de eeuw*, in M. SMEYERS ed., *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410–1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*, exh. cat., Leuven, 1998, pp. 97–107. On typological images in Ghent-Bruges manuscripts and more specifically in the *Spinola Book of Hours*, see C. DAEMS, *Het Spinola-getijdenboek (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 18). Een Gent-Brugs Handschrift van omstreeks 1510–1520*, licentiate thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1999, pp. 150–171.

[16] For illustrations, see M. SALMI and G.L. MELLINI, *The Grimani Breviary. Reproduced from the Illuminated Manuscript Belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice*, London, 1972, figs. 32–33.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 132

scenes are separated.[17] Even in that iconographically rich system the music still takes precedence and the words do not disappear. Text and image are at least equivalent and the layout of the folio reflects this perfectly.

Figure 5. Lazarus and the Rich Man, Spinola Book of Hours, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 18, fol. 21v–22r.

Figure 6. Virgin and Child, oil on panel, Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Figure 7. Laurent Froimont, oil on panel, Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

[17] Alamire continues a system developed by Martin Bourgeois, where the religious scene appears on the left folio and the portrait on the right folio; see for example the choirbook for Philip the Fair (BrusBR 9126).

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 133

RELIGIOUS MINIATURES ENHANCE THE INSTRUCTIONAL AND MEDITATIVE FUNCTIONS

Although the flowers and the plants represented in the borders presumably have a meaning, the instructional and meditative functions of the images can only be understood from the miniatures themselves. The impact of these functions is significantly smaller than in contemporaneous liturgical manuscripts, breviaries, books of hours and prayer books. One indication is the limited number of illustrations. In no single manuscript does a cycle of images visualise the different masses, motets or chansons systematically. Moreover the iconography is very limited. Almost only scenes with the Virgin or Christ are represented: the Annunciation accompanies the *Missa Ave Maria,* the Visitation is represented with the *Missa Elizabeth Faisant regretz,* the Nativity with the *Missa Virgo parens Christi* or the *Missa Salve diva parens,* the Assumption of the Virgin with the *Missa Mente tota,* the Virgin and Child enthroned with the *Missa Ave maris stella* and the *Missa Sine nomine II,* the Virgin of the Apocalypse with the *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria,* the Virgin of the Rosary with the *Missa Sicut spina rosam,* the Virgin of Mercy with the *Missa Sub tuum praesidium,* the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows with the *Missa de septem doloribus* or the *Memorare mater Christi* (*Nunquam fuit pena maior*) and the *Missa Conceptio tua* is illustrated with the *Tota pulchra* representation, the Tree of Hosts or Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child; the Crucifixion accompanies the *Missa de sancta cruce*, the Resurrection a *Missa Resurrexi* (*Missa Alleluia*) and a funeral service with a catafalque in the middle the *Missa pro fidelibus defunctis* (see Table 1).

To illustrate the texts the illuminators drew upon an available stock of representations, creating no new images and few alternatives. From the Alamire manuscripts only the *Missa Conceptio tua* has been illustrated in three different ways: the *Tota pulchra* representation with the *hortus conclusus* as the main theme, the Tree of Hosts and Saint Anne with the Virgin in her Womb. The illuminators preferred a close relationship between the text and the images: the miniatures illustrate the words in a very literal way, synthesising the texts and serving instructional and meditative functions. Thus the *Ave* in the *Missa Ave Maria* refers explicitly to the *Ave* of the angel Gabriel during the Annunciation (MechAS s.s., fol. 49v) and the image of the Virgin surrounded by the seven sorrows (JenaU 4, fol. 42v; Figure 8) corresponds to the text of the *Missa de septem doloribus beatae Mariae virginis*. The attention is drawn first of all to the mourning Virgin in the centre of the image and then to the seven sorrows which surround her as an open wound: Simeon's prophecy during the Dedication in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the loss of the twelve-year-old Christ in the Temple, the meeting with Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross and the Entombment. These are touching images which were common in popular devotion (see for example the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, London, Sam Fogg; Figure 9). They are drawn from the Gospel of Luke, where, during the Dedication, Simeon tells Mary: 'Behold, this child is destined to the fall or resurrection of many in Israel. He will be a sign of contradiction, so that the disposition of many hearts will become public ... and your own soul will be pierced by a sword' (Luke, 2:34–35). The sword that pierces Mary's heart is the subject of many sixteenth-century illustrations. Often it is multiplied to seven swords, one for each sorrow.[18] Consequently, the eight parts of the image summon (instructional function) the believer to commemorate Mary's pains (meditative function) and to sympathise with her grief. In the miniature of the manuscript JenaU 4, the sword is

[18] E. KIRSCHBAUM ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, Rome – Freiburg, 1994 (re-edition), col. 197. Several examples and a list of the literature can be found in M.P.J. MARTENS ed., *Brugge en de Renaissance. Van Memling tot Pourbus*, exh. cat., Ghent, 1998, 2, pp. 68–71 (n. 40), pp. 99–100 (n. 69), p. 107 (n. 77). See also M. SMEYERS, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-zeven-weeën,* in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer,* pp. 132–133.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 134

Figure 8.
Virgin of the Seven Sorrows,
JenaU 4, fol. 42v (detail).

Figure 9.
Virgin of the Seven Sorrows,
loose miniature,
London, Sam Fogg.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 135

REPRESENTATION	ACCOMPANYING MASS	MS SIGLUM AND FOLIO
Annunciation	*Missa Ave Maria*	MechAS s.s., fol. 49v
Visitation	*Missa [Elizabeth] Faisant regretz*	JenaU 3, fol. 1v
Nativity	*Missa Virgo parens Christi*	VatS 160, fol. 2v
	Missa Salve diva parens	VienNB Mus. 15495, fol. 1v
Assumption of the Virgin	*Missa Mente tota*	JenaU 3, fol. 43v
Virgin and Child enthroned	*Missa Ave maris stella*	BrusBR 9126, fol. 1v
		JenaU 3, fol. 29v
	Missa Sine nomine II	JenaU 12, fol. 50v
Virgin of the Apocalypse	*Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*	BrusBR 228, fol. 1v
		JenaU 4, fol. 8v
		JenaU 5, fol. 1v
Virgin of Mercy	*Missa Sub tuum praesidium*	JenaU 12, fol. 33v
Virgin of the Rosary	*Missa Sicut spina rosam*	JenaU 22, fol. 102v
Virgin of the Seven Sorrows	*Memorare mater Christi*	BrusBR 215–16, fol. 33v
	Missa de septem doloribus	JenaU 4, fol. 42v
Tota pulchra	*Missa Conceptio tua*	BrusBR 15075, fol. 1v
Tree of Hosts		JenaU 4, fol. 29v
Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child		MechAS s.s., fol. 34v
Crucifixion	*Missa de sancta cruce*	BrusBR 15075, fol. 94v
Resurrection	*Missa Resurrexi*	JenaU 4, fol. 15v
		MechAS s.s., fol. 16v
		VienNB Mus. 15496, fol. 1v
Funeral	*Missa pro fidelibus defunctis*	JenaU 12, fol. 111v

Table 1. Religious miniatures in the Alamire group of manuscripts.

absent,[19] but the Virgin's position and the composition incite both 'audiences' – the singers of the music and the faithful portrayed in the images – to devotion. Also the Virgin of Mercy[20] and the miniature of the Resurrection synthesise the essence of the *Missa Sub tuum praesidium* and the *Missa Pascale*. Generally, the illustrators of Alamire's workshop do not go any further than that simple and obvious relationship between text and image.

The image of the Visitation illustrating the *Missa Faisant regretz* (already changed to *Missa Elizabeth Faisant regretz*; JenaU 3, fol. 1v) is an exception, as it refers to Saint Elizabeth, patron of Thuringia, where Frederick the Wise, who commissioned the manuscript, was Duke Elector. Elizabeth is also the name of Frederick's mother.[21] In this case, there is thus no relationship between the miniature and the mass. The Visitation of Mary to her cousin Elizabeth deals fundamentally with the election of the Virgin as mother of Christ and with the recognition of that motherhood by Elizabeth, while the mass speaks of guilt and penance. This opening miniature has been chosen explicitly in function of the patron of the luxurious polyphonic manuscript.

[19] In BrusBR 215–16, fol. 33v the seven sorrows are not represented, but the Virgin is surrounded by seven swords.
[20] KIRSCHBAUM, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, cols. 128–133.
[21] K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses*, 3), Jena, 1935 (repr. Hildesheim 1985, 2 vols. in 1), 1, p. 39; H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 198–199; E. JAS, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 3 (JenaU 3)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 12, p. 87.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 136

The different variants for the *Missa Conceptio tua* may also be explained in a similar way. Since 1453, a great interest in the doctrine of the *Immaculata Conceptio* had existed in Burgundian-Habsburg circles.[22] The symbol of the golden fleece was no longer exclusively related to Jason's mythological fleece, but also to Gideon's fleece (Judges, 6:34–40). At the basis of this idea lay the texts of Jean Germain and Guillaume Fillastre, both chancellors of the Order of the Golden Fleece and as such closely related to the Burgundian court.[23] Following this broadening of the meaning, a new iconography developed and Saint Anne became one of the most important saints in art of this period. She was presented as the immaculate mother of the Virgin (Anne and her third husband Joachim kiss each other at the golden gate representing the conception of the Virgin) and guaranteed the indisputable virginity and purity of her daughter.[24] In the Mechelen choirbook (MechAS s.s., fol. 34v–35r) where the miniature accompanies the *Missa Conceptio tua*, six popes with scrolls in their hands confirm the theory.[25] Also in the Jena manuscript (JenaU 4), the Franciscan monk Johannes Duns Scotus and popes with scrolls confirm the disputed tenet.[26] The accompanying miniature (Figure 10) stresses the purity of the Virgin (she is not burdened with original sin) and depicts two trees: on the left the true vine of life and on the right the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Under the vine stands the Virgin trampling the dragon, symbol of evil, while the Child holds up a twig of the vine, as if to say: 'I am the true vine'. The fruits of the vine are also present: grapes and hosts (image of Christ offering his body and blood for the purification of the world). They contrast with the skulls hanging on the tree of good and evil. A serpent, also a symbol of

Figure 10. Tree of Hosts, JenaU 4, fol. 29v.

[22] The feast of the Immaculate Conception existed as early as the eleventh/twelfth century, but was attacked by the mendicant monks in the thirteenth century. Even in the fifteenth century the debate had not been resolved. Although the Council of Basel (1439) ruled in favour of the theory, the Dominicans still opposed it. The Council of Trent (1546) confirmed the theory. Only in 1854 was the *Immaculata Conceptio* recognised as a dogma. See KIRSCHBAUM, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2, cols. 338–344; see also M. SMEYERS, *De Tota pulchra-voorstelling*, in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, pp. 144–145.

[23] K.D. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek aan het Bourgondisch-Habsburgse hof als spiegel van het laat-middeleeuwse wereldbeeld*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998, pp. 121–122.

[24] E. DHANENS, *Actum Gandavi. Zeven bijdragen in verband met Oude Kunst te Gent, VII: Een maagschap van de H. Anna in het derde kwart van de 15de eeuw*, in *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 48 (1987), pp. 113–121; T. BRANDENBARG ed., *Heilige Anna, grote moeder: de cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie*, exh. cat., Nijmegen, 1992.

[25] F. WARMINGTON, *Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, MS s.s. (MechAS s.s.)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 23, pp. 112–113.

[26] E. JAS and H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 4 (JenaU 4)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 13, pp. 90–91.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 137

Figure 11. Tree of Hosts, Missal of Bernhard von Rohr, Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 15710, fol. 60v.

evil, coils itself around the tree, while Eve stands under the macabre foliage. This scene is a variant of the so-called Tree of Hosts, an allegorical tree of good and evil bearing apples and hosts (compare with Figure 11). At the feet of Mary and Eve kneel Maximilian of Austria and his father Frederick III.[27] Differing from most of the Alamire manuscripts, the patrons do not appear here at the contratenor or bass parts but are integrated into the miniature. Thus the usually strict separation between the worldly persons normally shown at the contratenor or bass parts and the religious image at the soprano part is superseded as the patrons and the content are intertwined visually. Notwithstanding the deep theological content, the image does not really correspond to the content of the mass. The Virgin is the new Eve in the first place and she also symbolises the Church.

[27] B. BAERT, *Eenduidig dogma, veelzijdig beeld. Omtrent de mystieke wijnpers*, in SMEYERS, *Dirk Bouts*, pp. 121–122; VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek*, p. 121; M. SMEYERS, *De hostieboom*, in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, pp. 134–135.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 138

The *Tota pulchra* representation from the Brussels choirbook (BrusBR 15075, fol. 1v; Figure 12) where the Virgin appears in the firmament and is surrounded by images that accentuate her perfect beauty, is also broader.[28] Some elements, like the *hortus conclusus* (secluded garden), are linked closely to the concept of her virginity and refer directly to the Immaculate Conception. Still others (*Stella Maris, Civitas Dei*) are not directly related to that idea. The image of Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, as found in the Mechelen choirbook (MechAS s.s., fol. 34v; Figure 13), is more appropriate as an illustration for a *Missa Conceptio tua* and refers clearly to Mary's pure origin. Notwithstanding the shades of meaning and the expansion of the sense, the relationship between image and text remains close in these miniatures.

Figure 12. *Tota pulchra*, BrusBR 15075, fol. 1v (detail).

For the motets and the chansons, the Alamire manuscripts very seldom feature illustrations. The subjects of these texts are mostly new and require an appropriate iconography. The illuminators did not take pains to find suitable images. The less frequent masses were also given no decoration. The illuminators derived their inspiration from a standing supply of religious images and used models found in many of the best contemporary religious manuscripts. By using existing models the illuminators no doubt could save time and money, perhaps at the patrons' explicit request. The playful and original decoration of the initials however, counterbalances the lack of images. It also creates a suitable background for the polyphonic music.

Figure 13. Saint Anne, MechAS s.s., fol. 34v (detail).

[28] WARMINGTON, *MechAS s.s.*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 23, pp. 112–113; SMEYERS, *De Tota pulchra-voorstelling*, pp. 144–145.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 139

PORTRAITS EMPHASISE THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE PATRON

Coats of arms, mottoes, chains of the Order of the Golden Fleece, banners and portraits are prevalent in the group of Alamire manuscripts.[29] In the six manuscripts made for Frederick the Wise, the coat of arms and the motto of the Duke Elector appear in various places.[30] His portrait appears twice (in a total of nine miniatures) and at least one miniature is directly related to the patron. All of the other images are of the Virgin, except one (a funeral service in JenaU 12, fol. 111v; cf. supra). Even the manuscripts that came into his possession show the same pattern and reinforce the picture. The codex JenaU 4, mentioned above, contains sixteen miniatures, eight of which are related to the patron (Maximilian of Austria) or the owner (King Henry VIII).[31] Various other coats of arms and mottoes are included.

Compared to the other Ghent-Bruges manuscripts – liturgical manuscripts, breviaries, books of hours and prayer books destined for the highest ranks of the population – these polyphonic manuscripts contain fewer religious images and more signs of ownership (coats of arms, mottoes, portraits). Many of the world-famous Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, sometimes with more than a hundred miniatures, have no indication of ownership. That is the case for the *Mayer van den Bergh Breviary* (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. no. 946), the *Spinola Book of Hours* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 18), the *Book of Hours* kept in London (Soane Museum, MS 4), the *Croy Book of Prayers* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1858) and the *Grimani Breviary* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. I, 99 [= 2138]). If a sign of ownership is present, it is often small and of minor importance. The emphasis is on the visualisation of the text and not – or at least to a much smaller extent – on the social status of the owner.

In the *Breviary of Isabel the Catholic* (London, British Library, Add. MS 18851; Figure 14), for example, the divided coat of arms of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon appears (fol. 436v). Below, the coats of arms of their son, John of Castile, and their daughter-in-law, Margaret of Austria, and the arms of their own daughter, Joanna the Mad, and her husband, Philip the Fair are represented. The manuscript was probably presented to Isabel on the occasion of the wedding of two of her children (1497). Texts from the psalms are inscribed on the scrolls. The opposite page shows the Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 437r). It illustrates the Latin verse, *Tota pulchra es, amica mea* ('You are completely beautiful, my friend') written underneath. This representation may be understood as a compliment to Isabel, the most famous Catholic Queen. In a subtle way, the double page suggests a relationship between Isabel, the earthly Queen, and Mary, Queen of Heaven. At the bottom of the page appear the coat of arms of Francisco de Rojas, the patron of the manuscript, and a dedication text.[32] Except for this inserted double page, no other signs of ownership appear in this richly adorned manuscript with more than one hundred miniatures.

[29] This is also true for the polyphonic manuscripts of Martin Bourgeois' workshop.

[30] JenaU 2: coat of arms and motto (fol. 2r); JenaU 3: coat of arms (fol. 15v) and motto (fol. 30r); JenaU 5: coat of arms and motto (fol. 2r).

[31] Fol. 9r: Maximilian of Austria; fol. 16r: Archduke Charles (later Charles V); fol. 29v: Frederick the Wise and Maximilian of Austria (inserted into a religious miniature); fol. 30r: Henry VIII, King of England and Catherine of Aragon; fol. 43r: Ferdinand of Austria and his sisters Eleanor, Isabel, Mary and Catherine. See JAS & KELLMAN, *JenaU 4*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 13, pp. 90–91.

[32] T. KREN, *Flemish Manuscript Illumination 1475–1550*, in T. KREN ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, exh. cat., New York, 1983, pp. 40–48; BACKHOUSE, *The Isabella Breviary*, pp. 17–28 (mentioning the most important literature); KREN & McKENDRICK, *Illuminating the Renaissance*.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 140

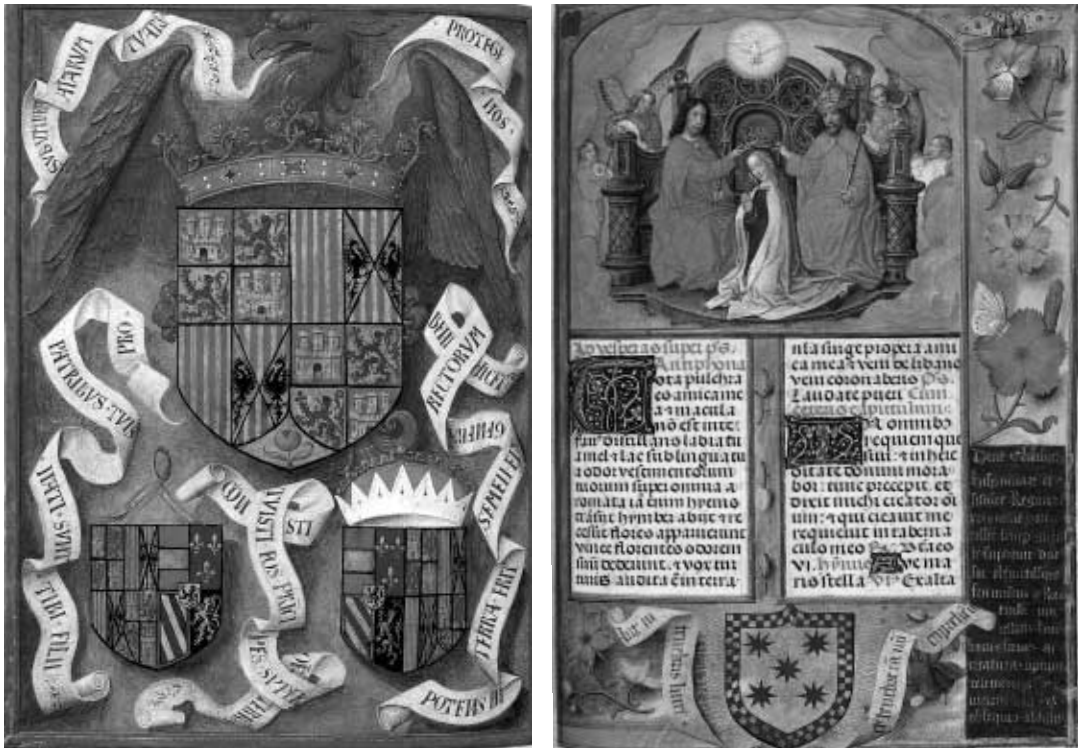


Figure 14. Signs of ownership, Breviary of Isabel the Catholic, London, British Library, Add. MS 18851, fol. 436v–437r.

The *Book of Hours of Joanna the Mad* (London, British Library, Add. MS 18852) also contains two portraits of the patron: in one, Joanna the Mad appears in the company of John the Baptist and an angel (fol. 26r) venerating Saint Michael (fol. 25v), in the other she is shown in adoration of the Madonna and Child, in the presence of John the Evangelist (fol. 287v–288).[33] In spite of the double presence of Joanna in the manuscript, the signs of ownership are very limited compared with the polyphonic manuscripts of the Alamire group. The other miniatures, with the exception of the calendar pictures, are all religious images, corresponding perfectly to the text of the prayers.

In terms of form, the miniatures with portraits could be compared to the 'diptychs from a distance'. The variant, with its introduction of the patrons and/or owners in the religious miniature (see JenaU 4, fol. 29v) is also found regularly in contemporaneous prayer books: in the so-called *Older Prayer Book of Maximilian of Austria* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1907, fol. 61v), the king kneels in front of his patron saint, while in the *Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 52, fol. 1v), the queen beholds, during her prayers, how the Virgin and Child appear on the altar.[34]

[33] KREN, *Flemish Manuscript Illumination 1475–1550*, pp. 59–62 (with mention of the most important literature). For an illustration, see BACKHOUSE, *The Isabella Breviary*, p. 9, and P. DE WINTER, *A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica*, in *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, 67/10 (1981), p. 345.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 141

The six manuscripts conserved in the Hofbibliothek of Aschaffenburg and made for Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, confirm these findings. In all of these manuscripts, the coat of arms of the cardinal (once divided in several parts in the border decoration) appears on the first text page (sometimes it is accompanied by a second coat of arms or by mottoes).[35] Consequently, in contrast with many other liturgical manuscripts, prayer books and books of hours from the same period, there is no doubt regarding the manuscripts' patron. However, there remains a major difference with the Alamire manuscripts: besides the coats of arms and the mottoes we often find portraits of patrons or owners in the Alamire group, whereas there is only one portrait of the cardinal in the six manuscripts mentioned above (Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, MS 9, fol. 1r; Figure 15).[36] Moreover, the coats of arms, the mottoes and the portrait form only a small part of the decoration. In the famous *Missale Hallense* (Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, MS 10) although there are twenty-four full-page miniatures, ninety-three historiated initials, many historiated and decorated borders, a figural portrait of the prelate is lacking.[37] He appears only in a concealed form, without coat of arms or mottoes, in some of the miniatures and historiated initials: as a man in a cope kneeling before God the Father (fol. 8r and 226r), as consecrator of a church (fol. 162v), as bearer of the monstrance during a procession of the Holy Sacrament (fol. 193v; Figure 16) or as a priest during the Liturgy of the Eucharist (fol. 430v).[38] In these scenes there is no distinction between the patron and the protagonists. Such a form of illustration is never found in the group of Alamire manuscripts. There, the difference between the heavenly and the worldly persons remains clear, even when the patron or the owner is a member of the clergy (see for example VatS 160, most likely a gift to Pope Leo X).

The explicit social positioning may be explained in different ways. First of all, decorating polyphonic manuscripts was a relatively new phenomenon in the early sixteenth century.[39] The market was small and the craftsmen, such as Petrus Alamire, did not take any risks. Manuscripts were only produced when especially commissioned by a patron. This method contrasts sharply with that of contemporary religious manuscripts. For several centuries these had been best-sellers, with an enormous demand and the guarantee of sales. The manufacturers did not wait for com-

[34] For illustrations, see DE WINTER, *A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica*, pp. 345–346.

[35] Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, MS 1: pontifical-antiphonary (fol. 3r: coat of arms in fifteen parts of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg); MS 8: prayer book (fol. 1v: coat of arms in 15 parts of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg); MS 9: book of hours (fol. 1v: coat of arms in fifteen parts of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg); MS 10: missal (fol. 1v: coat of arms in nine parts of the Cardinal; fol. 25r, 27r, 28v, 29v, 33r, 117r, 137r, 154r, 163r, 176r, 183r, 192r, 194r, 348r, 362r, 366r, 368r, 369r, 369v, 371r, 371v, 373r, 386r, 400r, 408r, 419r, 429r, 431r, 438r, 453r, 512r: twenty-eight arms of rulership of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg decorated with scrolls in the border; fol. 193v: coats of arms of three dioceses); MS 126: missal (fol. 1v: coat of arms in fifteen parts of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg with motto *vivit post funera virtus*); MS 127: passionale (fol. 1v, 14v, 25v, 46v: divided coat of arms of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, dispersed over the border decorations). For the descriptions of the manuscripts see J. HOFMANN and H. THURN, *Die Handschriften der Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg*, (*Veröffentlichungen des Geschichts- und Kunstvereins Aschaffenburg e.V.*, 15), Aschaffenburg, 1978; H. REBER ed., *Zum 500. Geburtstag eines deutschen Renaissancefürsten Albrecht von Brandenburg 1490–1545*, exh. cat., Mainz, 1990.

[36] The Cardinal poses as a self-conscious individual with characteristic features. There is no devout kneeling in front of a religious scene. This is a humanistic portrait of an art-loving prelate.

[37] HOFMANN & THURN, *Die Handschriften der Bibliothek Aschaffenburg*, p. 234.

[38] For more illustrations, see HOFMANN & THURN, *Die Handschriften der Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg*, figs. 18–19.

[39] Since ancient times songs have been found in missals and other liturgical manuscripts, but separate manuscripts with an adequate system of decoration did not exist. A specific mode of illustration for polyphonic manuscripts developed gradually.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 142

Figure 15. Portrait of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Albrecht of Brandenburg Hours, Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, MS 9, fol. 1r.

missions but also worked for the free market. In the workshops, they developed techniques for smooth and efficient production. They made use of uniform texts and loose miniatures subsequently pasted into the quires.[40] In the Alamire group, such systems are lacking. Yet, the illuminators did draw heavily upon models and did not often develop a new, more appropriate iconography. This

[40] M. SMEYERS & B. CARDON, *Merktekens in de Brugse miniatuurkunst*, in C. VAN VLIERDEN & M. SMEYERS ed., *Merken opmerken. Merk- en meestertekens op kunstwerken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en in het Prinsbisdom Luik. Typologie en methode*, Leuven, 1990, pp. 45–63; J.D. FARQUHAR, *The Manuscript as a Book*, in S. HINDMAN and J.D. FARQUHAR eds., *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, exh. cat., Maryland, 1997, pp. 27–29.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 143

explains why only the most popular masses are illustrated. By selecting their examples, they established a direct relationship between the image and the text.

Only in painting portraits are the illuminators truly creative. Sometimes these figures may be identified not only by their coat of arms or their motto, but also by their physical characteristics. Frederick the Wise, for example, is characterised by a flat face, a high forehead, deep-set eyes, a pronounced nose and deep wrinkles on his forehead and around his mouth (JenaU 3, fol. 30 (Figure 4) and JenaU 5, fol. 2). Very specific for the polyphonic manuscript is the 'diptych from a distance', whereby the worldly persons, alone or accompanied by their patron-saint, kneel and direct their prayers to the Virgin or to Christ on the opposite page.

Figure 16. Procession of the Holy Sacrament with the portrait of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Missale Hallense, Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, MS 10, 193v.

A second explanation for the many portraits could be the altered function of the decoration. Whereas the religious manuscripts are intended for the private devotion of their owners, these polyphonic manuscripts were used in court chapels where the voices of both choirboys and adult singers mingled. They stood together around a lectionary and directed their songs towards their patron. Their attention to the inhabitants of heaven for whose glory the masses and motets were composed and the illuminations were painted, is only secondary. With their songs they glorified Christ and his mother and they ask for purification and protection (the so-called *captatio benevolentiae*) not only for themselves but especially for their patrons. The many portraits and signs of ownership remind them of their duty. In the words of Georges Duby: "... the work of art was an offering. It was an offer with a double aim. On the one hand glorification: by the work of art, by the collection of rare materials with which it was constituted, by the prolonged work that was spent on it to make it purer, more real and better, and by the beauty that everyone could see as the very obvious result of this improvement, the Creator was glorified ... By giving thanks, the work of art could appeal for new graces, similar to the practice in the society of that time, where a countergift stood against a gift." [41]

[41] See DUBY, *Bernard van Clairvaux*, p. 18. Concerning the role of Mary as mediator, see E. PANOFSKY, *Imago Pietatis. Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte der "Maria Mediatrix"*, in *Festschrift für Max Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 261–308; and J. DELUMEAU, *Rassurer et protéger. Le sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois*, Saint Amand-Montrond, 1989, pp. 261–289.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 144

This is how we could compare the large polyphonic manuscripts containing painted polyptychs with a funereal function.[42] On the outside panels of the *Adoration of the Lamb* by Jan Van Eyck (Ghent, Saint Bavo cathedral; Figure 17), Joos Vijd and his wife Isabella Borluut kneel, hoping to be accepted one day into the heavenly kingdom. On the one hand, the portraits express the religious expectations and the concern for their souls' salvation – the patrons want to assure their souls' repose. On the other, the works of art are symbols of status and commemorative representations with which the worldly persons wish to preserve themselves for posterity. They try to keep their memory alive by way of their portraits in the most magnificent works of art. In function of this double vanity, the patrons hung the works of art in their private chapels and masses were dedicated.

Figure 17. Van Eyck, Portrait of Joos Vijd (detail of the Adoration of the Lamb), oil on panel, Ghent, Saint Bavo cathedral.

A good example of this plurality of aims is offered by the Canon Van der Paele (Figure 18). In 1434 he established a first chaplainship at the altar of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in the south aisle of the Saint Donatus church in Bruges. The foundation comprises three weekly masses, the sprinkling of the patron's tombstone and the reading of the *Miserere mei* or *De profundis* after each mass. In 1440 he added a budget for the yearly celebration of a funeral mass and three years later he established a second chaplainship for four extra masses. Moreover he gave numerous precious decorations for the celebration of these masses. Canon Van der Paele thus ensured that a mass would be offered for the salvation of his soul and that his tombstone would be sprinkled every day. The crowning of all these foundations was the commission of Van Eyck's *Madonna with Canon Van der Paele* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum). He confirms himself as a pious and generous patron for posterity as well.[43] A similar ambition appears in the foundation act of Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment* (Beaune, Hôtel-Dieu) where the patron, Chancellor Rolin, explicitly indicates that he is

Figure 18. Jan van Eyck, Portrait of the Canon Van der Paele (detail of the Madonna with Canon Van der Paele), oil on panel, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

[42] For Georges Duby this is the initiation and the symbolic function of the work of art: "For even if the work of art was representation and offering – and as such in the same time glorification and *captatio benevolentiae* – eventually it was a symbol ... What was rendered in ritual gestures in a single moment and what the mysterious story had fixed in words was taught continuously by the work of art through the fitting complexity of visible signs." See DUBY, *Bernard van Clairvaux*, p. 19.

[43] "All this indicates that this foundation can be considered as a well-considered and rationally planned investment," writes Maximiliaan Martens, in M.P.J. MARTENS, *Het onderzoek naar de opdrachtgevers*, in B. RIDDERBOS and H. VAN VEEN eds., *Om iets te weten van oude meesters, De Vlaamse Primitieven – herontdekking, waardering en onderzoek*, Heerlen, 1995, p. 381.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 145

acting in the interest of his soul's salvation "wishing by a felicitous commerce to change the worldly goods that he received thanks to God's goodness into heavenly goods and to change them from perishable into permanent".[44] Johan Huizinga is therefore on the mark when he states that "the altar piece has a double destination: it is used as a solemn show at high feasts to vivify the pious imagination of the multitude and it keeps the memory of the devout founders, whose prayer continuously rises from their kneeling images. It is known that the Adoration of the Lamb by Hubert and Jan van Eyck was very seldom opened."[45]

Of course the polyphonic manuscripts cannot be presented in the same way. Ultimately, only the heirs and the performers of the music will have been confronted with the portraits, but basically the same idea lies at the origin of many of these images. Most explicit is the decoration of the *Missa Resurrexi* in the manuscripts kept in Jena and Mechelen (JenaU 4, fol. 15v and 16r; and MechAS s.s., fol. 16v and 17r; Figure 19). In the Mechelen choirbook, Maximilian of Austria is kneeling on a prie-dieu; the Jena manuscript shows his grandson Charles. They direct their prayers to Christ, rising from the grave on the opposite page. Immediately two obvious functions of the funereal images are clear. Maximilian and Charles hope to be accepted into God's realm and ask the singers and posterity to remember them in their prayers. Yet the representations are even more complex, showing the vanity of both monarchs. They suggest that, following the example of Christ, they will rise from the dead. In that way, Maximilian and Charles propagate their divine status and profile themselves as God's substitute on earth. For the exercise of their power they owe justification only to God. The miniature at the beginning of the Mechelen choirbook stresses this idea. The future emperor sits on his throne amid various ranks of society (religious and secular). He is chosen to be the centre of attention of the miniature, like Christ on the altar.[46]

Finally, the presence of portraits can also be explained by the owners. Many manuscripts were conceived as gifts to sovereigns. The inclusion of a portrait of the person receiving the gift would have been not only a flattering gesture, but would have a positive influence on future decisions in favour of the donor.[47]

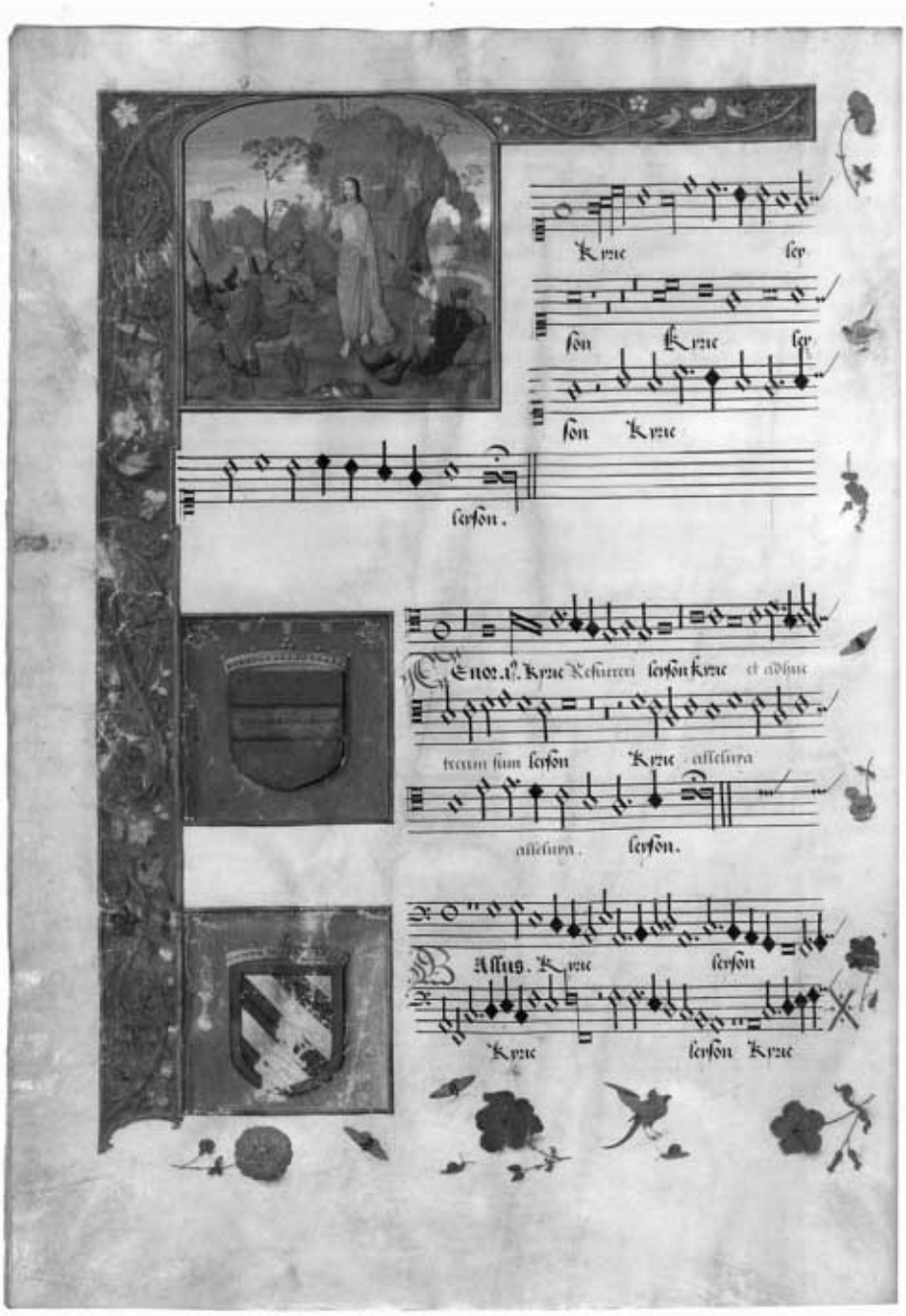
[44] See S.N. BLUM, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study on Patronage*, Berkeley (Los Angeles), 1969, p. 136); see also P. ARIES, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris, 1977, pp. 271–275.

[45] See J. HUIZINGA, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, Groningen, 1984, pp. 255–256 (there are several other editions).

[46] On the interpretation of the Mechelen dedication miniature, see E. SCHREURS, *Liber Missarum*, in SMEYERS & VAN DER STOCK, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 124–125 (with mention of the most important literature); WARMINGTON, *MechAS s.s.*, p. 71. If Flynn Warmington is correct, the dedication miniature of the Mechelen choirbook presents a kind of genealogy along the paternal line of the Habsburg realm (from Maximilian of Austria to Charles V).

[47] This explanation is not typical for polyphonic manuscripts. Many other contemporaneous manuscripts were meant as gifts and include portraits of the people for whom they were made.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 146



hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 147

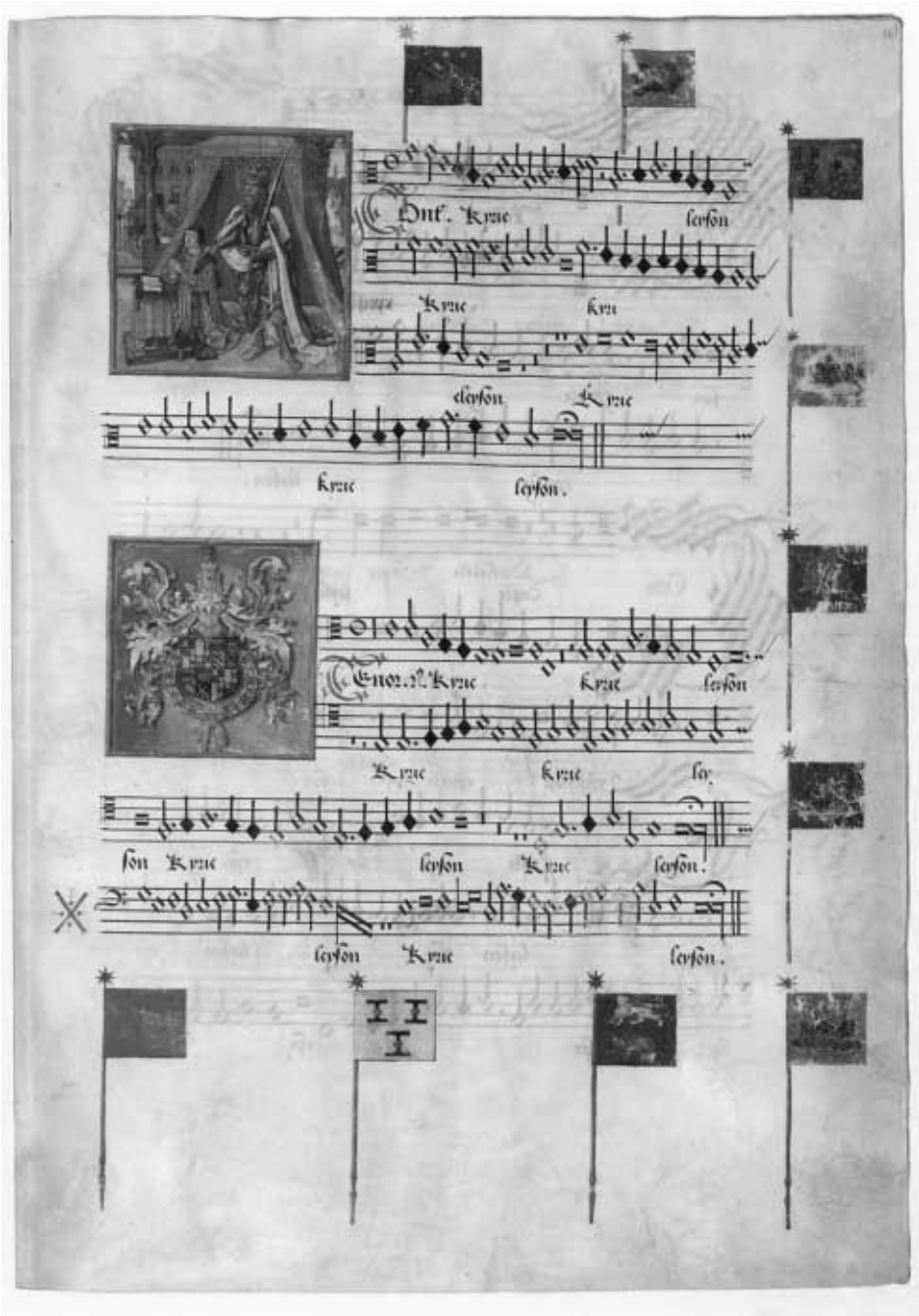


Figure 19. Portrait of Archduke Charles (later Charles V) before the Resurrection, JenaU 4, fol. 15v–16r.

hfst Dekeyzer 12-11-2003 13:24 Pagina 148

CONCLUSION: THE PRIORITY OF THE STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

In contrast to the contemporaneous liturgical manuscripts, breviaries, books of hours and prayer books, the decorations in the polyphonic manuscripts from Petrus Alamire's workshop are chiefly structural and social. He explicitly follows the example set by his great predecessor, Martin Bourgeois. Sophisticated initials accentuate the beginning of the different voices and guarantee a clear reading of the texts. Border decorations and miniatures are not systematically integrated and do not reveal the structure. Compared to other manuscripts, the limited presence of religious miniatures results in a less pronounced role of the instructional and meditative functions; however, the relation between images and texts is very close. On the other hand, it is remarkable that there are so many portraits and signs of ownership in this group of manuscripts. They show the patrons and the owners of the manuscripts, emphasise their social status, and function as a means of propaganda for the powerful. In full robes, they kneel at their prie-dieu and pray to God, Christ or the Virgin. They seem to partake in the heavenly world and, like their colleagues on painted canvas, they diminish the distance between the divine and the earthly world.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 149

INITIALEN UND BORDÜREN IN DEN MUSIKHANDSCHRIFTEN DES BURGUNDISCH-HABSBURGISCHEN HOFES

Dagmar Thoss
Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien

Schon beim ersten Durchblättern dieser Handschriften fällt auf, daß uns hier die drei klassischen Ausstattungselemente illuminierter Codices – Miniaturen, Bordüren, Initialen – in einer völlig anderen Gewichtung begegnen, als wir es gewohnt sind: Miniaturen finden sich in diesen Chorbüchern in vergleichsweise geringer Anzahl, oft überhaupt nur auf den Frontispiz-Seiten; dasselbe gilt (mit Ausnahme des noch zu besprechenden Chigi-Codex, VatC 234) von den Bordüren. Initialen hingegen sind nicht nur ungewöhnlich zahlreich, sie sind auch von ungewöhnlich großem Format und vor allem sehr häufig von außergewöhnlicher Originalität. Mit einem Wort, das eigentlich Spezifische in der künstlerischen Ausgestaltung dieser Handschriften sind die Initialen, was, natürlich, im Spezifischen des Buchtypus begründet ist: Kein anderer Buchtypus benötigt derart großformatige Initialen (bedingt durch das Verhältnis zu den Notenzeilen), kein anderer benötigt sie in dieser Menge (bedingt durch die Parallelführung der verschiedenen Stimmen).

Zur Bewältigung der neuen Aufgabe haben sich die Buchkünstler Anregungen und Formenvokabular aus unterschiedlichsten Bereichen geholt. Zunächst, wie es für die große Anzahl der nur partiell mittels zarter Abschattierungen farbig gestalteten Initialen naheliegend ist, aus der Schreiber- und Kalligraphentradition, die eine nachgerade unerschöpfliche Quelle bot mit ihren Cadeaux, Cadeluren, in feinster Haarstrichtechnik ausgeführten Blattwerkverzierungen, menschlichen Profilen, Tier- oder Vogelköpfen und so weiter. Für die Vollfarben-Initiale wiederum bot sich das Motivrepertoire der zeitgenössischen gemalten Initialen (und Bordüren) an, mit ihrem vielfältigen naturalistischen Formenschatz und ihren raffinierten koloristischen Techniken, wie sie in den Prachtcodices der Gent-Brügger Schule seit dem ausgehenden fünfzehnten Jahrhundert in immer reicheren Ausformungen entwickelt wurden. In zunehmendem Maß finden auch italienische Renaissancemotive wie Festongebinde, Grotesken und Kandelaberaufbauten Verwendung. Schließlich wird ausgiebig von Droleriemotiven Gebrauch gemacht, also Dekorelementen, die zwar schon seit Jahrhunderten zum festen Bestand der Buchdekoration gehörten, bis dahin aber vorwiegend in den Bordüren anzutreffen waren. Das Ganze wird in einer nie dagewesenen Üppigkeit variiert und mit formalen wie inhaltlichen Neuerfindungen angereichert.

Bevor wir uns den angedeuteten Gestaltungskomponenten im Einzelnen zuwenden noch eine Vorbemerkung: Eine gewichtige Gruppe von Initialen und Bordüren wird im vorliegenden Beitrag nicht behandelt, nämlich alle jene, die reine Paraphrasen der in der Gent-Brügger Schule gängigen Typen darstellen und daher für unsere Untersuchung uninteressant sind, wie reich ihre Ausführung und wie prominent ihre Stellung im Codex (fast durchwegs auf den Incipitseiten) auch sein mag. Beispiele für diese traditionelle Initialen- und Bordürengestaltung in den Musikhandschriften des burgundisch-habsburgischen Hofes finden sich unter anderem im Chorbuch JenaU 3, fol. 29v–30r, oder, zu Beginn von VienNB Mus. 15497,[1] wohingegen in den Eröffnungsseiten des Chorbuchs JenaU 21 ein anschauliches Exempel für die erwähnten originellen Neuschöpfungen vorliegt.[2]

[1] Siehe die Farbtafeln im Katalog der Petrus-Alamire-Ausstellung (Leuven, Predikherenkerk, 25. September – 5. Dezember 1999): H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999, S. 88–89 bzw. 156–157.

[2] Siehe die Farbtafeln in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 104–105.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 150

Da dieser Beitrag aus einem dem vorliegenden Publikationsorgan fremden Fachbereich kommt, scheinen mir einige Erläuterungen zum Terminus Gent-Brügger Schule am Platz, der uns schon zweimal begegnet ist und dem Musikwissenschaftler wohl eher fremd sein dürfte, für die Buchmalerei aber eine zentrale Rolle spielt: Man bezeichnet damit den Großteil der zwischen ca. 1490 und 1540 in den südlichen Niederlanden entstandenen Buchmalereiproduktion, und damit eine letzte Spätblüte der Buchmalerei an sich, die – nach tausendjähriger Geschichte – in allen traditionellen Buchmalereinationen ihrem Ende entgegenging. Nur eben nicht in Flandern, im Gegenteil. Während überall sonst in Europa gegen Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts der Siegeszug der neuen Techniken – Buchdruck und Druckgraphik – nahezu abgeschlossen war, setzte die flämische Buchmalerei zu einer neuen Blüte an. Sie spezialisierte sich auf reich ausgestattete Gebetbücher, die bald europaweit begehrt waren. Englische Lords und deutsche Fürsten, deutsche und italienische Kardinäle, Jakob IV. von Schottland, Königin Isabella von Kastilien oder Maximilian von Österreich, alle wünschten offenbar ihre täglichen Gebetsübungen mit einem dieser prachtvoll geschmückten Stundenbücher zu verrichten. Die Situation erinnert an diejenige der Musikhandschriften: Auch sie waren europaweit begehrt und auch sie wurden an fremde Fürstenhöfe versandt; mit einem Unterschied: Mit ihnen wurde nicht ein wie die Buchmalerei selbst aussterbender Texttypus exportiert, sondern etwas ganz Modernes und Zukunftsweisendes, die neue niederländische Polyphonie. In beiden Handschriftengruppen waren dieselben Buchmaler am Werk: Die beiden führenden, Gerard Horenbout und Simon Bening samt ihren Ateliers, nach deren Lokalisierung in Gent beziehungsweise Brügge die ganze Stilphase benannt wurde, sodann – als einer der hervorragenden anonymen Meister – der Meister der Davidsszenen des *Breviarium Grimani* (Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 [= 2138]), schließlich der Meister der Gebetbücher um 1500. Die kunsthistorische Forschung hat die Illustrationen der Musikhandschriften recht stiefmütterlich behandelt und es vorgezogen, sich mit den überreichen Bilderzyklen der Gebetbücher zu befassen.[3] Noch viel weniger hat sie sich für die spezifische Ausformung des Initialdekors interessiert, der, wie bereits hervorgehoben, das eigentlich Originelle in der künstlerischen Ausstattung der Musikhandschriften repräsentiert, und in welchem sich mehrere Komponenten verschiedenster Herkunft zusammenfinden.

Eine der wichtigsten und gleichzeitig die am weitesten in die Tradition zurückreichende dieser Komponenten ist die kalligraphische. Zu allen Zeiten haben sich Schreiber immer wieder veranlaßt gesehen, ihre Arbeit über ein tadellos sauberes Schriftbild hinaus mit Verzierungen anzureichern, und so hat es in der Geschichte des handgeschriebenen Buches auch periodisch Blütezeiten der Kalligraphie und einzelne überragende Kalligraphen gegeben. Die Epoche der Gent-Brügger Buchmalerei gehört nicht dazu. Aber wenige Jahrzehnte vorher hat in Flandern ein solch hervorragender Kalligraph existiert: Nicolaes Spierinck, der vor allem für Herzog Karl den Kühnen von Burgund tätig war und dem wir eine ganze Reihe von Handschriften verdanken, die Seite für Seite

[3] Vgl. D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Alamire Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 53–62. Ich möchte die Gelegenheit benutzen, eine kunsthistorische Einordnung nachzutragen, zu welcher ich damals noch nicht in der Lage war. Ich hatte in meinem Beitrag S. 54 vermerkt, daß ich die qualitativ sehr hochstehende Mondsichelmadonna in JenaU 22, fol. 102v (Nr. 21 im erwähnten Katalog) keinem bestimmten Meister zuschreiben kann noch in der Lage bin, wenigstens das Vorbild zu benennen, das meiner Überzeugung nach hinter dieser sehr spezifischen Darstellung stehen mußte. Inzwischen habe ich dieses Vorbild gefunden, es ist eine Madonna mit Kind des sogenannten Dresdner Meisters, der eine hervorragende Rolle in der Gent-Brügger Schule spielt. Die Miniatur ist abgebildet in B. BRINKMANN, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs. Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit*, Turnhout, 1997, Tafelband, Abb. 36.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 151

kalligraphische Schmuckstücke sind. Wir werden Nicolaes Spierinck in den folgenden Vergleichsbeispielen gleich begegnen.

Die Schreiberverzierung kennt grundsätzlich zwei Techniken. Erstens die sogenannten Cadeaux, bei denen der Buchstabenkörper aus vorwiegend mit breiter Feder ausgeführtem Flechtwerk gebildet wird, das sich manchmal zu regelrechten Zierkompositionen entfaltet, die weit über den eigentlichen Buchstaben hinausgreifen. Zweitens die Haarstrichtechnik, bei welcher an die Ober- oder Unterlängen der Buchstaben in den jeweils ersten beziehungsweise letzten Zeilen einer Seite mit feinsten, manchmal geradezu hauchzarten Linien die verschiedensten Ziermotive – Blattwerk, Blüten, Masken, Vogelköpfe u.a. – angefügt werden; häufig erfolgt eine nachträgliche Lavierung in zarten Farbtönen, gerne werden einzelne Motive auch spielerisch miteinander in Beziehung gesetzt, indem etwa ein Raubvogelkopf agressiv auf einen menschlichen Profilkopf zufährt.

Zunächst ein Vorläuferbeispiel für eine relativ einfache solcher Schreiberinitialen, bei der aber schon beide Elemente – die Cadeaux-Struktur wie das in Haarstrichtechnik angefügte Zierelement – vorhanden sind. Es handelt sich um die Titelrubrik-Initiale eines in Wien befindlichen Alexanderromans, datiert zwischen 1468 und 1481 (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2566; siehe Abbildung 1). An den Cadeaux-Initialschaft ist in Haarstrichtechnik ein Profilkopf mit einer Art Zipfelmütze angefügt, in den leicht geschwungenen breiten Federstrich, der die Mütze nach hinten begrenzt, schmiegt sich der – wiederum in zarterer Federtechnik gehaltene – Kopf eines Tieres, aus dessen langgezogener Schnauze die Cadeaux-Komposition fortgesetzt wird. Etwa drei Jahrzehnte später finden wir eine ganz ähnliche Initiale in einem der Wiener Chorbücher (VienNB 1783; siehe Abbildung 2). Der Profilkopf ist hier an die Innenseite des Buchstabenschaftes gewandert, um eine konstruktive Funktion zu übernehmen, da so aus seinem Mund der aus zwei Cadeauxstrichen und Blattwerk gebildete Mittelbalken des Buchstabens, eines E, herauswachsen kann; von rechts stößt ein Vogelkopf auf den Mittelbalken der Initiale zu. Dieser sehr charakteristische Vogelkopf stammt letztlich aus dem mehrere Jahrzehnte vor dem Wiener Chorbuch geschaffenen kalligraphischen Werk des bereits erwähnten Nicolaes Spierinck (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vit. 24–10 IV; siehe Abbildung 3). Hier wie dort wird ein betont vorgewölbter Oberkopf mit einem zarten Haarstrich angedeutet, das mit zwei Strichen hinskizzierte Auge sitzt eng über dem halbgeöffneten, storchenähnlichen Schnabel. Einige Schreiberinitialen der Musikhandschriften lassen sich wiederum mit dem ebenfalls um Jahrzehnte früher entstandenen sogenannten *Alphabet der Maria von Burgund* (Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 845) in Verbindung bringen. Der Buchstabe *P* etwa (Abbildung 4) zeigt zwar dieselbe Grundstruktur wie das *E* aus dem Wiener Chorbuch in Abbildung 2 (VienNB 1783) – Cadeaux-Buchstabe, Blattwerk, Profilmaske, agressiver Vogelkopf – aber hier ist die Konfrontation agressiver, direkter, der Vogelkopf gleicht mehr dem eines Adlers. Genau das trifft auch auf eine der Initialen im Chorbuch JenaU 3 zu (Abbildung 5), wobei der Vogelkopf noch dramatischer gestaltet ist und geradzu plastisch durchgestaltet wirkt, immer jedoch mit dem Mittel der Schreibfeder. Eine letzte Vergleichsgruppe von Schreiberinitialen soll den Abschnitt über Traditionslinien und Arbeitsmethoden im Bereich der Kalligraphie abschließen. Eine der Initialen des Chorbuchs JenaU 22 (Abbildung 6) zeigt im oberen Feld das sehr ungewöhnliche Motiv einer frontalen Maske, im unteren eine Blütenrosette. Die einzige mir bislang bekannte frontale Maske findet sich im schon erwähnten *Alphabet der Maria von Burgund* (Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 845; siehe Abbildung 7). Die Blütenrosette taucht nahezu identisch im Chorbuch VienNB 1783 auf (Abbildung 8), beide haben ihren gemeinsamen Vorläufer bei Nicolas Spierinck (siehe Abbildung 9 b), denn es ist eine ganz spezifisch strukturierte Rose oder Rosette: Exakt von oben gesehen, breitet sie ihre Blütenblätter in einem doppelten Kranz

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 152

1

2

3

4

5

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 153

6

7

8

9a

9b

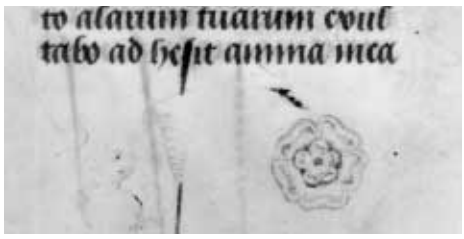


Abbildung 1. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2566, fol. 16v.
Abbildung 2. VienNB 1783, fol. 11v.
Abbildung 3. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vit. 24–10 IV, ohne Folio.
Abbildung 4. Alphabet der Maria von Burgund, Buchstabe *P*,
Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 845.
Abbildung 5. JenaU 3, fol. 60r.
Abbildung 6. JenaU 22, fol. 19r.
Abbildung 7. Alphabet der Maria von Burgund, Buchstabe *M*,
Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 845.
Abbildung 8. VienNB 1783, fol. 111v.
Abbildung 9a/b. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 215, fol. 81v.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 154

10

11

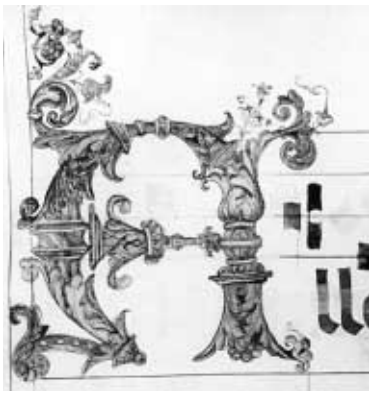
12

13

14

15

16

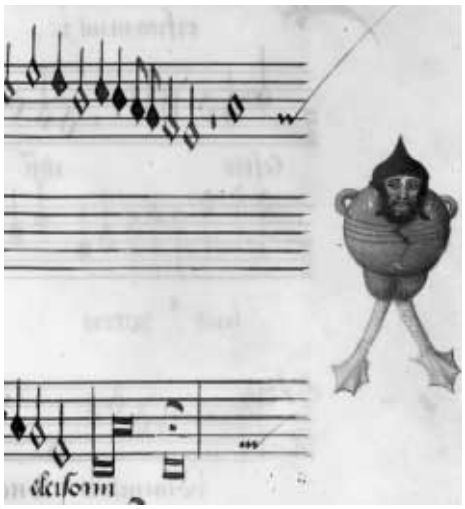


17

18

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 155

19


20

21

22

Abbildung 10. 's HerAB 72A, fol. 1v.
Abbildung 11. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 42130, fol. 185v.
Abbildung 12. Genua, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Ms. s.s., fol. 170r.
Abbildung 13. Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Ms. 3, fol. 1r.
Abbildung 14. JenaU 4, fol. 77v.
Abbildung 15. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. V.G.II, fol. 452r.
Abbildung 16. BrusBR 15075, fol. 114v.
Abbildung 17. Ms. im Kunsthandel (© Photo Courtauld Institute).
Abbildung 18. VienNB Mus. 15497, fol. 83v.
Abbildung 19. VatC 234, fol. 65r.
Abbildung 20. VatC 234, fol. 90r.
Abbildung 21. Hieronymus Bosch, Triptychon des Jüngsten Gerichts, Detail aus der Mitteltafel (Wien, Akademie der bildenden Künste).
Abbildung 22. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 42130, fol. 182v.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 156

23

24

25

26

27

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 157

28

29

30

Abbildung 23. VatC 234, fol. 200r.
Abbildung 24. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897, fol. 190r.
Abbildung 25. VatC 234, fol. 3v.
Abbildung 26. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897, fol. 56v.
Abbildung 27. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. 28345, fol. 5v.
Abbildung 28. VatC 234, fol. 4r.
Abbildung 29. VatC 234, fol. 61r.
Abbildung 30. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1887, fol. 1v.

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 158

aus, wobei der Rand jedes einzelnen Blütenblattes sich räumlich aufwölbt sodaß die Außenkontur etwas eingeschwungen wirkt. Auf derselben Seite hat Spierinck wie üblich auch oberhalb der Textzeilen seine Verzierungen angebracht (Abbildung 9a): Ein weit ausfahrender Oberlängen-Bogen umschließt eine Art Eichenblatt, seitlich sind zwei in entgegengesetzte Richtung blickende Profilköpfe angefügt, über dem rechten ist ein Vogelkopf zu sehen, dem wir ähnlich schon einmal bei Spierinck begegnet sind (Abbildung 3) und der sich auch im Codex VienNB 1783 findet (Abbildung 2), demselben der die Spierinck-Rosette verwendet (Abbildung 8).

Der zweite Initialtypus, dem die Gruppe der Musikhandschriften ihre Sonderstellung innerhalb der zeitgenössischen Buchdekoration verdankt, sind die in Deckfarben gemalten kompositen Prachtinitialen, die in der Regel den Superius einbegleiten – während den anderen Stimmen vorwiegend die besprochenen (häufig mit einzelnen farbigen Motiven angereicherten) kalligraphischen Initialkompositionen zugewiesen waren. Ich bezeichne diesen Initialtypus als komposit, weil in ihm Elemente unterschiedlichster Herkunft zu einem neuen Ganzen verschmolzen sind, das sich in dieser Ausprägung sonst nirgends findet. Es sind im Wesentlichen vier Komponenten: Einzelelemente aus dem Gent-Brügger Initial- und Bordürenrepertoire, derb-komische Männerköpfe, Drolerien und schließlich italienische Renaissance-Motive. Gent-Brügger Reminiszenzen sind unter anderem die in viele Initialen eingefügten naturalistischen Vögel, monochrome Akanthusranken sowie, am auffälligsten, knorrige Aststücke, von denen sich die Rinde abzuschälen scheint. Den überdimensionierten derben Männerköpfen begegnet man in dieser Form ausschließlich in unseren Musikhandschriften. Vielleicht handelt es sich um die Umsetzung der grotesken Männerprofile aus den Schreiberverzierungen in farbige dreidimensionale Köpfe, wobei die Fratzenhaftigkeit der Gesichter wie die Absurdität der Kopfbedeckungen noch gesteigert und weitere humoristische Züge hinzugefügt wurden, etwa die Vorhängeschlösser an den Mündern oder die Zwicker auf den Nasen.

Für die dritte der erwähnten Komponenten, die Drolerie, mag ein Beispiel genügen, um das Gemeinte zu veranschaulichen. Eine der Initialen in 's HerAB 72A zeigt einen Dudelsack spielenden Mann, dessen Unterkörper aus einer Kugel besteht, die halb von einem Blattröckchen verdeckt wird (Abbildung 10). Dudelsack in Kombination mit verkümmerten oder abstrus gestalteten menschlichen Figuren waren ein überaus beliebtes Droleriemotiv. So sieht man auf einer viel früher entstandenen verwandten Darstellung (Abbildung 11) den menschlichen Oberkörper samt seinem Dudelsack auf einem Tierleib aufsitzen. Zum Teil gehört auch die im Beispiel aus 's-Hertogenbosch den oberen Initialbogen bildende Figur dieser Drolerietradition an: Haare, Bart und Arme bestehen aus Blattwerk, den Unterkörper bildet ein langgezogener, mit stacheligen Flossen besetzter Fischleib. Gleichzeitig hat dieses Motiv aber eine zweite Wurzel, denn es ist auch der Renaissance-Groteske verwandt, der wir in zeitgenössischen italienischen Handschriften begegnen (Genua, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Ms. s.s.; siehe Abbildung 12), wobei hier die Modellierung des Körpers glatter, gefälliger, das ganze Arrangement betont symmetrisch ist.

Damit sind wir bei der letzten Komponente unserer kompositen Prachtinitialen angelangt, dem Einfluß der italienischen Renaissance. Die üppigen Festongebinde aus Blattwerk und Früchten etwa, die durch Bänder, Metallreifen oder reich geschmückte Trichterformen zusammengehalten werden (Abbildung 14) haben dort ihren Ursprung (Abbildung 13). Dasselbe gilt für die massiven kandelaberartigen Aufbauten, die des öftern als Buchstabenschäfte fungieren, wie zum Beispiel in einer der Kyrie-Initialen von BrusBR 15075 (Abbildung 16), deren Nähe zu Struktur und Motivik der italienischen Initiale in Abbildung 17 unübersehbar ist. Im Schaft der Brüsseler Initiale versteckt sich aber noch ein weiteres italianisierendes Motiv: Die auf dem untersten Podest in symmetrischer Anordnung plazierten Phantasietiere mit volutenartig eingerolltem Schwanz. In den

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 159

Randleisten italienischer Renaissancehandschriften finden sich solche kleinen Groteskenpaare in unzähligen Abwandlungen, das Beispiel in Abbildung 15 zeigt gleich zwei übereinander.

Anhand einer letzten Komposit-Initiale (Abbildung 18) möchte ich die konstituierenden Elemente nochmals rekapitulieren. Ihr Vertikalschaft wird durch einen italianisierenden Kandelaberaufbau gebildet, an dessen Fuß zwei spiegelbildlich angebrachte Fabelwesen zu sehen sind, weiter oben, ebenfalls spiegelbildlich, zwei Profilköpfe des bekannten derb-grotesken Typus; die beiden anderen Köpfe dieses Typus tragen abstruse Kopfbedeckungen, ihr Körper besteht aus trichterförmig zusammenlaufenden Narrenkragen, die in Ranken endigen (Drolerie-Prinzip). Um das obere Schaftende sind Gent-Brügger Ziermotive einkomponiert: ein Aststück mit sich abschälender Rinde, sodann ein Schmetterling, eine Schnecke und ein Vogel, schließlich ein monochromer Akanthuszweig. Zu guter Letzt fährt von oben rechts der bekannte Spierinck-Vogelkopf herab (vergleiche Abbildung 2 und 3), nur ist er hier in kräftigem Farbton gemalt statt in hauchzarten Federstrichen gezeichnet.

Damit können wir uns jetzt den Randverzierungen im Chigi-Codex zuwenden, der diesbezüglich, wie eingangs erwähnt, als einziger besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Sein für eine Musikhandschrift ungewöhnlich reicher Bordürenschmuck besteht zum einen Teil aus frei auf den Pergamentrand gesetzten Einzelmotiven, zum anderen aus szenischen Darstellungen in gerahmten Bildfeldern als Bas-de-page.

Die Einzelmotive lassen sich bis zu einem gewissen Grad mit bestimmten Drolerietraditionen in Verbindung bringen. Die beiden merkwürdigen Topfwesen auf Folio 65r und 90r zum Beispiel (Abbildung 19 und 20) haben ihren frühesten Vorläufer in einem englischen Psalter von ca. 1340 (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 42130; siehe Abbildung 22), wo ebenfalls ein menschlicher Kopf aus einem bauchigen Tongefäß herausschaut, das offenbar seinen Körper beherbergt, aber nicht immer Platz für die Füße bietet, die dann unterhalb des Topfes hervorragen; natürlich sind es keine normalen Menschenfüße, das wäre einer Drolerie nicht angemessen, sondern einer anderen Spezies entlehnte. Im Luttrell-Psalter wie im zweiten Beispiel aus dem Chigi-Codex sind es die Füße eines Schwimmtieres. Der Topfmensch von Folio 65r hat seitlich und am Kopf flache, mit einem langen spitzen Dorn besetzte Scheiben angebracht, die seine Situation noch beengter wirken lassen. Dieses Motiv findet sich auch in einem Tafelbild des Hieronymus Bosch (Abbildung 21), der ja das Prinzip der Drolerie als abstruser Konstruktion für seine alptraumhaften Höllendarstellungen zur Perfektion gebracht hat.

Für die Darstellungen in den Bas-de-page Vignetten finden sich bei einigen Themen Parallelen in den Randminiaturen der Gent-Brügger Stundenbücher. Die beiden Kreisel spielenden Kinder auf Folio 200r des Chigi-Codex zum Beispiel (Abbildung 23) kommen dort mindestens ein halbes Dutzend Mal vor, mit Varianten von Ambiente oder Position der Kinder zueinander. Im Vergleichsbeispiel (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897; siehe Abbildung 24) befinden sich die beiden Jungen auf dem Vorplatz einer Kirche statt vor einem Wohnhaus wie im Chigi-Codex und drehen einander den Rücken zu statt aufeinander zuzuspielen. Vornehm gekleidete musizierende Paare, die sich im Freien gelagert haben, sind in den Gent-Brügger Stundenbüchern überaus häufig anzutreffen. Ursprünglich in den Kalenderzyklen beheimatet, wo solche und ähnliche Sujets in den Monatsdarstellungen zum April oder Mai die Freuden des erwachenden Frühlings illustrieren (Abbildung 27), erfreuen sie sich auch außerhalb dieses thematischen Konnexes größter Beliebtheit. Eine solche Szene findet sich zum Beispiel auch im *Stundenbuch Jakobs IV. von Schottland* in Wien (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897; siehe Abbildung 26), das ich deshalb anführe, weil es den musizierenden Paaren im Chigi-Codex stilistisch und kompositionell besonders nahe

hfst Thoss 12-11-2003 14:21 Pagina 160

kommt. Auf Folio 4r des Chigi-Codex (Abbildung 28) vergnügt sich ebenfalls eine Gesellschaft im Freien, und man wäre auf den ersten Blick geneigt, die Darstellung als weitere Variante des bekannten Themas einzuordnen. Sie enthält aber zwei ungewöhnliche Elemente, die stutzig machen: Eine hohe Mauer hinterfängt die Szene, und im Durchblick rechts ist in winzigem Format eine sich entfernende weibliche Figur zu sehen. Herbert Kellman hat vorgeschlagen, hier eine Reminiszenz an den Rosenroman zu sehen, sozusagen eine bildmäßige Ergänzung zur Rosenemblematik, mit der die Ränder des Codex übersät sind.[4] Ganz ähnlich ergeht es einem bei der Darstellung eines tafelnden Paares auf Folio 61r (Abbildung 29). Auch hier scheint zunächst alles klar, es ist eine Variante des zeitgenössischen Kalenderbildes zum Monat Jänner mit all seinen klassischen Elementen, dem bürgerlichen Interieur mit Anrichte, Kamin und anderem Mobiliar und einer Magd, die die Speisen aufträgt (Abbildung 30). Von links aber blickt ein Mann durch ein Fenster herein, ein unikales Motiv in diesem Kontext, das einer Erklärung bedarf. Der einzig mögliche Weg, die Inhalte solcher Darstellungen zu klären oder ihnen wenigstens näher zu kommen, dürfte die Suche in literarischen Quellen sein. Für eine der zahlreichen burlesken Randdarstellungen im Chigi-Codex hat eine Studentin von Herbert Kellman die treffende Idee gehabt, es könnte sich um eine bestimmte Szene aus den Canterbury Tales handeln. Zunächst bietet sich dieselbe Situation wie bei den zuletzt besprochenen Vignetten mit der höfischen Gesellschaft im Garten beziehungsweise dem tafelnden Paar: Auf den ersten Blick vermeint man, Bekanntes zu sehen, auf den zweiten ist man irritiert und kann sich die Darstellung nicht befriedigend erklären. Die ihren Mann mit dem Spinnrocken verprügelnde Frau zum Beispiel ist ein geläufiges burleskes Motiv. Die thematisch verwandte Szene auf Folio 60v des Chigi-Codex weicht aber vom Bekannten und Üblichen beträchtlich ab, und vor allem wird man den Eindruck nicht los, daß hier eine ganz präzise, spezifische Szene spielt, die wir nur nicht verstehen, weil wir eben den Text nicht kennen. In der Tat ist genau der Moment in *The Monk's Prologue* geschildert, in welchem die Frau, ihren Mann eine Memme schimpfend, wütend auf Ihn losgeht und verlangt, er möge ihr doch sein Messer geben und statt dessen ihren Spinnrocken nehmen und spinnen.[5] Es wird zweifellos noch viel Arbeitsaufwand nötig sein, um die Texte zu den Randillustrationen des Chigi-Codex wenigstens teilweise aufzuspüren. Für etliche wird es unmöglich sein, da sich die Quellen wohl kaum durchgehend in der 'hohen' Literatur finden werden lassen, sondern irgendwo versteckt, verstreut, vielleicht auch nur mündlich überliefert, und die Lösung somit Zufall und Glückssache bleibt, wie für die Randmotive anderer Handschriften auch.[6]

Dagegen wird es relativ einfach sein, die Kenntnis der Besonderheiten des Initialdekors unserer Musikhandschriften, für die im vorliegenden Beitrag ja nur ein Anfang gemacht werden konnte, zu vertiefen.

[4] Rosen und vor allem *boutons de rose* (Rosenknospen) – in Anspielung auf den Auftraggeber Claude Bouton.

[5] G. CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, *The Monk's Prologue*, V. 16–19. Die Idee, diese Randminiatur mit dem Text Chaucers in Verbindung zu bringen stammt von einer Schülerin Herbert Kellmans, Stacey Jocoy.

[6] Im *Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgun*d (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1857) ist auf dem unteren Pergamentrand von Folio 85v ein Mann dargestellt, der aus einem Korb Rosen vor ein Schwein streut. Die Darstellung wäre völlig unverständlich, wenn nicht immer noch die Redewendung *jeter des roses aux pourceaux* ('Rosen vor die Schweine streuen') verwendet würde um auszudrücken, daß jemand etwas völlig Sinnloses tut – die Entsprechung im Deutschen ist 'Perlen vor die Säue'. In einem anderen Wiener Codex (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Ser. n. 2619) gibt es eine ganze Reihe von Illustrationen, die über ihre Funktion als scherzhafter spielerischer Randdekor hinaus offensichtlich solche Sprichwörter oder Redewendungen verbildlichen, die wir nur einfach nicht mehr verstehen, weil sie nicht mehr in Gebrauch sind. Ihren Sinn aufzuspüren ist schwierig und zeitaufwendig, teilweise vielleicht auch aussichtslos. Die Situation erinnert an die Randillustrationen im Chigi-Codex.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 161

MESSAGES IN MINIATURE: PICTORIAL PROGRAMME AND THEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE ALAMIRE CHOIRBOOKS*

Bonnie J. Blackburn
University of Oxford

Many of the choirbooks of the 'Netherlands court complex' are provided with miniatures, some only at the opening, but others illustrating particularly important compositions. It is these miniatures, rather than the musical notes, that would have caught the eye of the beholder and gratified the recipient of the manuscript. Such miniatures would have been familiar from books of hours, but here they are writ large – and sometimes very large – in what must have seemed like a musical book of hours, but one meant for public display and use, not private devotion.

The likeness between the Alamire codices and books of hours strikes one immediately because these manuscripts have been illuminated in the style of the so-called Ghent-Bruges school, which produced some of the most famous and beautiful books of hours that have come down to us.[1] Little is known specifically about the miniatures in the Alamire codices; they are usually referred to collectively as belonging to the 'Ghent-Bruges school' and, at most, briefly described.[2] Modern editions of the works contained in these manuscripts often take no note of them at all. Scholars who work from microfilm can barely fathom the beauty and importance of these illustrations, set in jewel-like borders enframing the musical works. Until recently, except in so far as the manuscripts were included in exhibitions, art historians have not taken them into account. All that changed suddenly for those who were fortunate to see the splendid exhibition of over forty manuscripts from Alamire's workship organized by the Alamire Foundation at the Predikherenkerk in Leuven, 25 September – 5 December 1999. For those who could not, the generous illustrations in the two catalogues, one edited by Herbert Kellman, and the other by Eugeen Schreurs, bring these miniatures to life on the printed page.[3]

* The present study combines two papers, the first delivered at the Alamire conference in Leuven, 26 November 1999, the second given at the session devoted to 'The Alamire Manuscripts and Beyond' at the Seventeenth International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 5 August 2002. The article has benefitted from discussions with Herbert Kellman, Flynn Warmington, Honey Meconi, Véronique Roelvink, Christa Gardner, and above all Anne Margreet As-Vijvers. I also wish to thank Klaas van der Heide for kindly sharing his unpublished article with me; although we treat the same material, his allegorical readings and identifications of persons illustrated diverge considerably from mine. To Leofranc Holford-Strevens I am indebted for tracing some of the Latin inscriptions and translating all of them.

1 As Herbert Kellman pointed out at the session on the Alamire manuscripts at the Seventeenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 5 August 2002, a closer analogy would be the illuminated liturgical manuscripts, which are of comparable size. Unfortunately, the manuscripts contemporary with the Alamire choirbooks have not been studied as a group, and so far there is no finding list for them. A number are illustrated in M. SMEYERS and J. VAN DER STOCK eds., *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475–1550*, exh. cat., Ghent – New York, 1996.

2 The only study so far of the miniatures in the music manuscripts remains M. KAPP, *Musikalische Handschriften des burgundischen Hofes in Mecheln und Brüssel ca. 1495–1530: Studien zur Entwicklung Gerard Horenbouts und seiner Werkstatt*, Inaugural-Diss., Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Darmstadt, 1987.

3 H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999; E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire: muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd (1500–1535)*, Leuven, 1999. Without these catalogues, particularly *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, I should not have been able to undertake the investigation on which the present article is based.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 162

Our manuscripts come rather late in the vogue that produced these books. Some of the miniaturists associated with the Ghent-Bruges school, however, were very long-lived, and must have continued to be much in demand for special projects. Gerard Horenbout, for example, who has been proposed as the painter of the Nativity scene in VienNB Mus. 15495 in Obrecht's *Missa Salve diva parens*,[4] was born in 1465 and died in 1540. Horenbout became a court painter and illuminator of Margaret of Austria in 1515, though residing in Ghent, and may have been called upon to assist in the choice of illustrations and supervision of their painting by others, though he had left for England by the early 1520s. Dagmar Thoss has attributed a number of miniatures to followers of Horenbout, and others to followers of Simon Bening, who died in 1561 at the age of eighty. She also discerned the hands of the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. I, 99 [= 2138]), the Master of the Prayerbook of 1500, the Master of Charles V, and the Master of James IV of Scots.[5]

The miniaturists of the Alamire codices would have been quite familiar with the illustrations needed for books of hours, of which there were standard selections, but many variations. Faced with the Hours of the Virgin, for example, the illustrator could have chosen a cycle based on the life of the Virgin (the favoured choice of the Ghent-Bruges school);[6] but he might also have chosen a cycle based on the passion of Christ.[7] The first cycle parallels the Joys of Mary, the second cycle the Sorrows of the Virgin. This second cycle could also be used for the Hours of the Cross, though the Ghent-Bruges school prefers the Crucifixion. When the miniaturist came to the seven Penitential Psalms he traditionally portrayed David in prayer, his harp lying on the ground, though other scenes from David's life can be found. The Office of the Dead commonly shows a funeral service, though here too variations are possible; miniaturists of the Ghent-Bruges school often show the raising of Lazarus. The two Marian prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* also parallel the Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin, the first normally being illustrated with a Madonna and Child, the second with the Pietà. Where the miniaturist had the most leeway in illustrating scenes (though the figures are standard) was in the suffrages, the prayers to various saints. But these are illustrated only in the most luxurious of manuscripts, and rarely with full-page miniatures.

In books of hours the miniatures are always attached to particular hours of the Divine Office or to texts; where the painter was allowed to exercise his imagination, within bounds, was in the margins. In the Alamire codices too it can be shown that the miniatures were chosen with an eye to the texts, but that eye needed to be combined with an ear familiar with the music, because the source of the cantus firmus in masses is not always stated. I suspect that the illuminator was given precise instructions on what painting to provide, but the choices were not always straightforward, and the masses on secular cantus firmi posed particular problems.

The artistic decoration of the Alamire choirbooks ranges from simple calligraphic initials to inhabited calligraphic initials, generic illuminated borders, illuminated borders incorporating secular scenes (such as in the Chigi Codex), historiated initials, and, in the grandest manuscripts, a large miniature taking the place of the superius initial, often accompanied on the facing page by

[4] See D. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Alamire Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 54; see also the illustration in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 45, p. 153.

[5] THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, pp. 53–62.

[6] Most commonly: Annunciation; Visitation; Nativity; Annunciation to the Shepherds; Adoration of the Magi; Presentation in the Temple; Flight into Egypt; Coronation (or Assumption, or Death of the Virgin). See R.S. WIECK, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, New York, 1988, ch. 6.

[7] The standard cycle is: Agony in the garden; Betrayal; Christ before Pilate; Flagellation; Christ carrying the Cross; Crucifixion; Deposition; Entombment.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 163

representations of the intended recipient or recipients with the relevant coat of arms. Such miniatures mark the manuscript as a gift, and conflicting representations (as, for example, of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon as well as members of the Habsburg family in JenaU 4) may tell us something about changes made in the course of preparing the manuscript, most likely related to changing political conditions and alliances.

It is not these dedications, discernible through contemporary figures clearly identified by their arms and patron saints, that interest me here, but the large illustrations that head the major works in some choirbooks.[8] These are almost always connected with the subject of the composition to which they are attached, and particularly the masses, which are so prominent in this repertory. In many cases the miniature seems the obvious choice: for example, the seven sorrows of Mary accompanying Pierre de la Rue's *Missa de septem doloribus* in JenaU 4.[9] Since there are many masses dedicated to the Virgin in this complex, illuminations of Mary, often holding the Child, are very frequent. They may seem to be simply a generic Virgin and Child portrait, the subject of countless devotional paintings of the time. Close attention to the details of the iconography, however, has revealed that many of the miniatures are much more closely related to the subject or text of the composition than has been realized. For example, the Virgin holding the Child at the beginning of BrusBR 228[10] does not simply illustrate a composition on the Virgin Mary (in this case a motet, *Ave sanctissima Maria*): it is a specific image of the Immaculate Conception, drawing on the iconography prescribed by Sixtus IV, the putative author of the prayer text of the motet (discussed below). The triptych with a monstrance as centrepiece illustrating Hottinet Barra's *Missa Ecce panis angelorum* on folio 12v of the Occo Codex[11] may be a representation of the main altar in the Chapel of the Miracle-Working Host in Amsterdam, commemorating the miracle of 1345.[12] Unfortunately, a number of the manuscripts are now missing their miniatures. Disregarding the fragmentary sources, thirteen of the Alamire manuscripts have been vandalized.[13] All the miniatures have been cut out of BrusBR 6428 and MontsM 773, and all but one of the miniatures in the three Cappella Sistina manuscripts (VatS 34, VatS 36 and VatS 160), and often the borders and initials have been snipped out as well.[14] I count forty-one missing illuminations, twenty-eight of them in masses by Pierre de la Rue, who often takes pride of place in these manuscripts (see Table 1). We can guess at the subject of many of these missing miniatures on the basis of the masses they illustrate, but it would be difficult to be sure what the subject was in five masses, especially La Rue's *Missa L'homme armé* in VatS 34, because here it is the Gloria that is missing its initial, not the Kyrie as in the other

[8] Partbooks are a different case, since the miniatures are not hierarchically distributed between them. Coats of arms of the recipient are the only miniatures.

[9] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 13, p. 91; SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 133.

[10] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 2, p. 70.

[11] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 109.

[12] This cannot, however, be verified, as the chapel was long since destroyed, and only a few of its contents have survived. The manuscript was made for the Amsterdam merchant Pompeius Occo, warden of the chapel from 1513 to 1518. See the facsimile edition B. HUYS ed., *Occo Codex (Brussels, Royal Library Albert I, MS. IV.922)*, (*Facsimilia musica Neerlandica*, 1), Buren, 1979, with reference to F. WARMINGTON, review of HUYS, *Occo Codex*, in *Notes*, 38 (1981), pp. 406–409, and B. HUYS, *An Unknown Alamire-Choirbook ("Occo Codex") Recently Acquired by the Royal Library of Belgium: A New Source for the History of Music in Amsterdam*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, 24 (1974), pp. 1–19.

[13] Two calligraphic initials have survived in UtreC 47; see E. JAS, *Choirbook Fragments*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 52.10, p. 167. Undoubtedly more are to be found in libraries, museums, and private collections.

[14] A detail from BrusBR 6428 (KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 3, p. 71) shows the damage.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 164

masses. But we cannot be sure whether all these missing miniatures were actually pictures; they may have been very elaborate initials without an enclosed scene.

Nearly half the surviving miniatures in the Alamire complex illustrate scenes from the life of Mary (see Table 2). It was customary to open a manuscript with a mass or motet dedicated to the Virgin, and this is true also of Margaret's chansonnier, BrusBR 228. Of the complete manuscripts in the complex, thirteen begin with masses to the Virgin and three with motets to her.[15] Most of the Marian masses have miniatures. To take the scenes in the chronological order of her life, there are seven Conceptions (on these masses see below), two Annunciations, one Visitation, three Nativity scenes, one Assumption, and three scenes of the Virgin in majesty. There are also two miniatures depicting the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows (one of the Virgin alone pierced by seven swords, the other with separate scenes for each sorrow), one representation of the Virgin of the Rosary, and a Madonna of Mercy. In the choirbooks missing their miniatures (see Table 1), the masses for the Virgin include five on the Conception, four on the Annunciation, one on the Assumption and two on the Seven Sorrows; the remaining eight will have been illustrated with some version of the Virgin with Child.[16]

All the miniatures of the Virgin are attached to Marian masses, with one exception: the anonymous *Missa Sine nomine* in JenaU 12, a mass that has been attributed to La Rue, since all the other masses in the manuscript are by him.[17] Why did the illuminator think this *Sine nomine* mass was a Marian mass and illustrate it with a Virgin and Child?[18] The miniature may thus be a clue to identifying the underlying material of the mass, as may also be the fact that Mary is a Virgo lactans, nursing the Christ Child. Quite possibly it was based on a painting. Uncharacteristically, the scribe left out all the text on the first opening, so this is a *Missa Sine nomine* only by default. (The only other concordance, in FrankSU 2, is fragmentary, lacking the first verso.) However, whoever was responsible for organizing the programme of miniatures must have given instructions to paint an image of Mary. The Heidelberg court chapel inventory includes a *Missa Mediatrix nostra* attributed to La Rue that has not so far been found in any extant source.[19] At first I thought this might be

[15] That is, the first complete mass; some manuscripts begin with single mass movements, which are not illuminated.

[16] It is unfortunate that all miniatures illustrating the three appearances of La Rue's *Missa Ista est speciosa* are missing, for it is not clear what would have been appropriate to accompany this antiphon, the text of which, as given in the Antiphonale Pataviense of 1519 (fol. 273) is: *Ista est speciosa inter filias Jerusalem: viderunt eam filiae Sion: et beatissimam praedicaverunt: et reginae faciem eius laudaverunt*. Part of the text derives from Song of Songs 6:8: *Viderunt eam filiae et beatissimam praedicaverunt, reginae et concubinae et laudaverunt eam*. The text and melody are included in the critical notes to the edition of this mass by J.E. Kreider in N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/4), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1996, p. xl. C. MARBACH, *Carmina scripturarum*, Strasbourg, 1907 (repr. Hildesheim 1963), p. 277, remarks that *Ista est speciosa* is a responsory *in Ordine ad recipiendam processionaliter Imperatricem vel Reginam*. I do not know whether it had that function in the sixteenth century.

[17] It was edited by Nigel Davison in DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/7), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 81–108. While Davison judges the evidence of the two sources to be persuasive for the attribution (the other is FrankSU 2), the stylistic profile of the mass is less compelling and casts "a significant element of doubt on the authenticity of this Mass"; see his discussion on pp. xxxvii–xxxix. It is evidently a paraphrase mass.

[18] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 18, p. 101.

[19] It was in a choirbook that also included La Rue's *Missa Nunca fue pena mayor* (with the Latin title *Nunquam fierit* [*sic*]), De Orto's *Missa J'ay pris amours*, Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* ('8. toni'), and Obrecht's *Missa Grecorum*. See J. LAMBRECHT, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar' von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318)*, Heidelberg, 1987, 1, p. 215. The source was first brought to my attention by Honey Meconi, who lists it in H. MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford, 2003.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 165

MINIATURE		COMPOSER AND TITLE	MS SIGLUM
Virgin (20)	*Conception* (5)	La Rue, *Missa Ave sanctissima*	BrusBR 6428 VatS 36
		La Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*	BrusBR 6428 JenaU 5 VatS 34
	Annunciation (4)	Févin, *Missa Ave Maria*	JenaU 7
		La Rue, *Missa Ave Maria*	JenaU 12 MontsM 773
		Moulu, *Missa Missus est Gabriel*	MunBS F
	Assumption (1)	Isaac, *Missa Virgo prudentissima* (*'de Assumptione beate Marie virginis'*)	BrusBR 6428
	Seven Sorrows (2)	La Rue, *Missa de septem doloribus*	BrusBR 6428 VatS 36
	General (8)	Obrecht, *Missa Ave regina celorum*	VatS 160
		La Rue, *Missa Cum iocunditate*	SubA 248
		Josquin, *Missa de beata virgine*	VatS 160
		La Rue, *Missa Inviolata*	MontsM 773
		La Rue, *Missa Ista est speciosa*	BrusBR 6428 VatS 34 VienNB Mus. 15497
		Obrecht, *Missa Sicut spina rosam*	VatS 160
Holy Cross or **Crucifixion** (3)		La Rue, *Missa de sancta cruce*	BrusBR 6428 JenaU 12 MontsM 773
Resurrection (4)		La Rue, *Missa Alleluia*	MontsM 773
		La Rue, *Missa Paschale*	BrusBR 6428 JenaU 5 VatS 34
Holy Sacrament or **Corpus Christi** (3)		Barbireau, *Missa de venerabili sacramento* (= *Missa Virgo parens Christi*)	MontsM 766
		Prioris, *Missa de venerabili sacramento*	JenaU 7
		La Rue, *Missa O salutaris hostia*	MontsM 773
Trinity (1)		Févin, *Missa Sancta trinitas*	VatS 160
Saints (5)		La Rue, *Missa de Sancta Anna*	JenaU 7 MontsM 773
		La Rue, *Missa de Sancto Job*	MontsM 773
		Anon., *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista*	VatS 160
		La Rue, *Missa O gloriosa Margareta* [= *O gloriosa domina*]	MontsM 773
Not known (5)		Forestier, *Missa Baise moy*	MontsM 766
		La Rue, *Missa de feria*	MontsM 773
		La Rue, *Missa L'homme armé*, Gloria	VatS 34
		Mouton, *Missa L'oseraige dire*	's HerAB 72C
		Mouton, *Missa Tua est potentia*	's HerAB 72C

Table 1. Missing miniatures in the Alamire codices.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 166

it: the miniature also includes God the Father and the Holy Spirit, which is suggestive of Mary's role as intercessor. There is a mass by Bruhier on the title *Mediatrix nostra* in another Alamire manuscript, VienNB Mus. 15495; however, the cantus firmus does not match the melodic material of the *Missa Sine nomine*.[20] Thus this mysterious mass still remains to be identified.

Only two of the Marian illustrations have rather unexpected connections with their masses. A scene of the Assumption illustrates Févin's *Missa Mente tota* in JenaU 3,[21] but the text is a general prayer to the Virgin; on the other hand, La Rue's *Missa Assumpta est Maria*, which appears in three manuscripts and one fragment, was never illustrated. It has long been a puzzle why a scene of the Visitation accompanies Josquin's *Missa Faisant regretz* at the opening of JenaU 3.[22] The secular cantus firmus, in fact, is not identified in the tenor part. Instead the scribe has written the word *Elizabeth* in red ink.[23] As Herbert Kellman has suggested, Elizabeth's seclusion before the Visitation can be related to the cantus firmus of the mass, taken from Frye's *Tout a par moy*.[24] The words *Faisant regretz* do appear, however, in the bass part, where the same *re fa mi re* motif is quoted. The decision to present this mass as a *Missa Elizabeth* is one solution to the problem of how to illustrate masses based on secular material. The word *Elizabeth* allowed the miniaturist to use the illumination that it most immediately suggested – the Visitation, for Lauds in the Hours of the Virgin.[25] Otherwise there is no other mass in the complex that would have been appropriate for the feast of the Visitation. A similar change of title probably led to a different illustration in La Rue's *Missa O gloriosa domina*, based on a hymn to the Virgin; in MontsM 773 the title is *O gloriosa Margareta*, and the text calls on Saint Margaret to intercede with Christ;[26] its missing miniature therefore was surely of Saint Margaret rather than of the Virgin.

Apart from Saint Anne, who illustrates masses on the Conception, only one other mass dedicated to a saint has a miniature (others are missing; see Table 1). La Rue's *Missa de Sancto Antonio* appears in VerBC 756, from the workshop of scribe B, as a *Missa Agnosce o Vincenti*, with a miniature of Saint Vincent of Saragossa (d. ca. 304), the patron saint of viticulture, holding a tiny grill, the symbol of his martyrdom.[27] Otherwise La Rue's *Missa de Sancto Antonio* was never illustrated. Vincent is probably the first name of the owner of the manuscript, whose so far unidentified coat of arms appears in the tenor initial, and also in the initial of Agricola's *Missa Paschale*. Since scribe B

[20] *Mediatrix nostra* is verse 9b of the sequence *Aurea virga prime matris Eve*. This is not a common sequence, and I suspect Bruhier got it from Obrecht's *Missa Sub tuum presidium*, where the chant is used in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei (see T. NOBLITT ed., *New Obrecht Edition*, 12, Utrecht, 1992, p. xli). Bruhier, however, does not use Obrecht's rhythmization.

[21] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 12, p. 86.

[22] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 131.

[23] It is thought that Elizabeth was intended as a compliment to Frederick the Wise, whose mother was named Elizabeth; at the same time it recalls Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, patron saint of Thuringia; see E. JAS, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 3 (JenaU 3)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 12, p. 87.

[24] See H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 181–216, at pp. 198–199.

[25] A very similar illustration also appears in the Grimani Breviary, fol. 610v.

[26] The same title and prayer appear in VatS 36, fol. 50v–65, but here without a miniature, though Margaret's coat of arms is in the contratenor initial on folio 51. In JenaU 5 the title is *Missa O gloriosa domina*, and in SubA 248 *Missa O gloriosa domina super excelsa sidera*. The hymn melody is paraphrased rather loosely.

[27] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 38, p. 138.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 167

also prepared FlorC 2439, destined for a member of the Agostini Ciardi family of Siena, should we be looking for an Italian merchant with ties to the North, perhaps Bruges?[28]

Only six masses with large illuminations are based on secular themes. This practice is so rare in the Alamire complex that it invites particular consideration. The special case of Josquin's *Missa [Elizabeth] Faisant regretz* has been discussed above. Two other examples occur in VienNB 1783, an early manuscript and, like VerBC 756, copied in the workshop of scribe B. The manuscript opens, as is frequent, with a Marian mass, in this case Barbireau's *Missa Virgo parens Christi*, with the Virgin and Child enthroned. The next mass is Barbireau's *Missa Faulx perverse*, based on an unknown chanson, followed by Weerbeke's *Missa Princesse damorette*. The illuminator was evidently told to paint something appropriate into the large initial *K* of these two masses. But what? This time the texts of the cantus firmi have not been altered, and the illuminator must have been taken aback to be faced with 'False, perverse' and 'Princess of love'. His solution was to paint the arms of Portugal that he had used for the tenor initial of the first mass, and into the tenor initial he put the arms of Portugal and Spain. This was quite appropriate, since the manuscript was prepared as a gift to Manuel I of Portugal and María of Spain. But if illuminations signal messages, what sort of a message is 'False, perverse' supposed to convey to King Manuel I? There were plenty of other masses on sacred subjects that could have followed the first mass, and only the first four masses are illuminated. In this case the choice of composer might have taken precedence and it was thought important to put the two Barbireau masses first – three of his four surviving sacred works are found in this manuscript. Or perhaps it is merely another example of the playfulness of the illustrations in manuscripts copied in the workshop of scribe B: for example, the domestic scenes in the lower margins of the Chigi Codex and the monkeys in three initials of the other masses in VerBC 756, which are all attached to masses on secular cantus firmi.[29] The rule of thumb for illustrators seems to be: when in doubt, use a coat of arms or a monkey.

A coat of arms of Frederick the Wise illustrates the superius initial of Josquin's *Missa Fridericus dux Saxonie*, as it is called in JenaU 3. That perhaps would have been easy to predict, though in other manuscripts Josquin's mass was not illustrated. Frederick's arms may have been painted later, in Germany: the tiny Dutch instruction *Waapen* is still visible above the lower frame.[30] Coats of arms were used in the superius initial of several other compositions, notably in the two manuscripts made for Henry VIII, LonBLR 8 G.vii and JenaU 9, but otherwise they usually accompany a smaller miniature on the recto page of the person for whom the manuscript was intended, for example Frederick the Wise in JenaU 5.[31]

All these coats of arms and the small kneeling figures of their owners, often presented by their patron saint, put a large burden on the person or persons who devised the programme of miniatures. The coats of arms, devices, and mottos needed to be correct, and if possible the figure should be a portrait of the recipient. Only in the case of Frederick the Wise in the Jena manuscripts and perhaps

[28] On the Florentine manuscript FlorC 2439 see H. MECONI, *Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439 ("Basevi Codex")(FlorC 2439)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 7, pp. 78–79; and on VerBC 756 see H. KELLMAN, *Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 756 (VerBC 756)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 38, p. 137.

[29] In Ghiselin's *Missa La belle se siedt* and *Missa Gratieuse plaisant*, and the anonymous three-voice *Missa Alles regretz*.

[30] For this suggestion, see JAS, *JenaU 3*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 12, p. 87.

[31] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 129.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 168

MINIATURE		DESCRIPTION	COMPOSER AND TITLE	MS SIGLUM
Virgin (24)	*Conception*	Virgin of the Immaculate Conception ('Hortus conclusus')	La Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*	BrusBR 15075
		Mary and Eve, with the vine of life and tree of knowledge	La Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*	JenaU 4
		Saint Anne with tiny Virgin in womb, enthroned between David and Solomon	La Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*	MechAS s.s.
		Virgin and Child in large K	La Rue, *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*	BrusBR 15075
		Virgin and Child *in sole* standing on crescent moon, with four angels, two of whom hold a crown over her head	La Rue, *Ave sanctissima Maria*	BrusBR 228
		Virgin and Child *in sole*, standing on crescent moon, with two musician angels and two angels holding sceptre and crown above her head	La Rue, *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*	JenaU 5
		Virgin and Child *in sole*, standing on crescent moon, crowned by two angels	La Rue, *Missa de beata virgine* [= *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*]	JenaU 4
	Annunciation		La Rue, *Missa Ave Maria*	MechAS s.s.
			Ockeghem, *Missa Ecce ancilla domini*	VatC 234
	Visitation		Josquin, *Missa Elizabeth Faisant regretz*	JenaU 3
	Nativity		Barbireau, *Missa Virgo parens Christi*	VatS 160
			La Rue, *Missa Salve sancta parens*	VienNB 1783
			Obrecht, *Missa Salve diva parens*	VienNB Mus. 15495
	Assumption		Févin, *Missa Mente tota*	JenaU 3
	Seven Sorrows	Half-length figure of Mary, pierced by seven swords	Pipelare, *Memorare mater Christi / Nunquam fuit pena maior*	BrusBR 215–16
		Virgin in a glory surrounded with seven scenes	La Rue, *Missa de septem doloribus*	JenaU 4
	Virgin of the Rosary	Virgin and Child on crescent moon, surrounded by rosary of white and red roses	Obrecht, *Missa Sicut spina rosam*	JenaU 22
	Madonna of Mercy	Virgin with Child sheltering humanity beneath her cloak	La Rue, *Missa Sub tuum presidium*	JenaU 12
	other	Virgin and Child enthroned, with inscription *Salve regina*	Josquin, *Missa Ave maris stella*	BrusBR 9126
		Virgin and Child enthroned, with musician angels	Josquin, *Missa Ave maris stella*	JenaU 3
			Barbireau, *Missa Virgo parens Christi*	VienNB 1783
		Virgin and Child enthroned, with Holy Ghost, God the Father, and angels above throne, two musician angels flanking throne	anon. [La Rue?], *Missa Sine nomine II*	JenaU 12
Holy Cross or **Crucifixion** (1)		Mary and John at foot of Cross in large K	La Rue, *Missa de sancta cruce*	BrusBR 15075

Table 2. Large miniatures in the superius in the Alamire choirbooks.

Resurrection (2)			Barbireau, *Kyrie Paschale*	VienNB Mus. 15497
			La Rue, *Missa Resurrexi* [= *Missa Paschale*]	JenaU 4
Saints (1)	*Saint Anne*	See above under *Conception*.		
	Saint Vincent		La Rue, *Missa Agnosce o Vincenti* [= *Missa de Sancto Antonio*]	VerBC 756
Other (19)	*contemporary scene*	Charles as Archduke, enthroned, with Ferdinand and his four sisters and representatives of the clergy and laity	Pipelare, *Missa Fors seullement*	MechAS s.s.
	coats of arms	arms of Portugal with royal crown	Barbireau, *Missa Faulx perverse*	VienNB 1783
			Weerbeke, *Missa Princesse damorette*	VienNB 1783
		arms of Frederick the Wise	Josquin, *Missa Fridericus dux Saxonie*	JenaU 3
			La Rue, *Magnificat primi toni*	JenaU 20
		arms of Henry VIII	Fayrfax, *Missa O bone Jesu*	JenaU 9
			Mouton, *Celeste beneficium*	LonBLR 8 G.vii
		arms of Agostini Ciardi family	Ninot le Petit, *Mon seul plaisir*	FlorC 2439
			Compère, *Plaine d'ennuy / Anima mea*	FlorC 2439
		arms of Philippe Bouton, overpainted with arms of Luis Fernández de Córdoba and motto *Infrangibile*	Ockeghem, *Missa Mi mi*	VatC 234
		unidentified	Agricola, *Missa Paschale*	VerBC 756
	monstrances	monstrance with Host on altar, flanked by candles, with triptych of the Crucifixion, and two angels in foreground swinging censers in fanciful gold K	Hottinet Barra, *Missa Ecce panis angelorum*	BrusBR IV.922
		paten with Host and monstrance within fanciful initial K with grotesque faces	Josquin, *Missa Pange lingua*	BrusBR IV.922
		angel holding monstrance within fanciful initial K with grotesque faces	Josquin, *Missa Pange lingua*	JenaU 21
		altar with monstrance and two candlesticks within fanciful initial K with grotesque heads	Josquin, *Missa Pange lingua*	VienNB 4809
	catafalques	catafalque covered by a cloth, flanked by candles in candleholders, in initial R	Févin, *Missa pro fidelibus defunctis*	JenaU 5
		catafalque, covered by pink cloth, flanked by two large candles in candleholders, in initial K	La Rue, *Missa pro fidelibus defunctis*	VatS 36
		interior of church with black-draped catafalque and candelabra, two ecclesiastics in white, four mourners, altar with prayerbook and candles	La Rue, *Missa pro fidelibus defunctis*	JenaU 12
	not clear	woman in a marsh looking at an object in the sky; she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus in foreground	Ghiselin, *Een vrouwelic wesen*	FlorC 2439

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 170

Margaret of Austria in BrusBR 228 is the portrait actually a likeness.[32] Here is where the analogy of the Alamire codices and books of hours breaks down: only exceptionally do books of hours include coats of arms and even more so donor figures, and when they appear they are usually inconspicuous.[33]

On two occasions the main illumination presents something entirely unexpected: portraits of living people. One is the extremely elaborate illustration of La Rue's *Missa Conceptio tua* in JenaU 4 of Mary and Eve with the vine of life and tree of knowledge, which includes two donor figures, the emperor and the archduke (the question of the identification of these figures and the iconography of the illustration are discussed below). The other miniature is even more unusual since it is not a religious scene at all but completely secular: the homage to Archduke Charles, probably on the occasion of his becoming ruler of the Low Countries in January 1515, when he reached the age of fifteen,[34] which opens the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.). To the left the clergy are represented by the pope, a cardinal, and a bishop; the pope, naturally, does not swear allegiance. To the right the representatives of the nobility, the military, and the peasantry give their assent. In between sit Charles's five siblings. What mass does this illustrate? As we might expect, not one on a sacred subject. It is Pipelare's *Missa Fors seulement*, which appears in three Alamire manuscripts, though only here with an illumination. Pipelare is thought to have died around 1515, and the choice of his mass might be a homage to him as well; all the rest of the masses are by La Rue. One might also speculate that it was a favourite of Charles's, but there is no way of knowing that. The text of the cantus firmus is given in red as *Fors seullement lattente que je demeure*, which conflates the original two chanson lines (*Fors seulement l'attente que je meure / En mon las cueur nul espoire ne demeure*), replacing 'that I die' with 'that I remain', and thereby points to a more fortunate outcome. I take this change to be deliberate, because the text of the cantus firmus, normally given in red ink in the Alamire choirbooks, is meant to be read with the illustration. The words 'that I die' would not send the proper message. In this case it is likely that the plan to begin the manuscript with this miniature came first, before the music was chosen. Thus a mass on a secular theme was called for; the miniature could not have illustrated a mass on any sacred theme.

[32] It is possible that Frederick's portraits were painted in Germany (see JAS, *JenaU 3*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 12, p. 87), perhaps in some cases possibly overpainting a previous figure, since not all the Jena manuscripts were intended for Frederick in the first place. In his unpublished article (see note *) Klaas van der Heide identifies the woman sheltered by the Madonna of Mercy in JenaU 12 (SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 136) as Margaret. Identification by facial characteristics is difficult; the robe she wears, however, is not of the same noble quality as that in the portrait of Margaret in BrusBR 228 (SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 66), which suggests to me that the illuminator has used a model in which a husband and wife are prominent figures in the foreground. The woman wears a rosary.

[33] A coat of arms is mainly a feature of the luxury manuscripts, and normally appears on the first page of the main mass or with the patron saint. The famous miniature of Mary of Burgundy (or Margaret of York) reading her book of hours beside a window into a church is quite exceptional.

[34] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 23, p. 113; cover and p. 69 of SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*. In earlier literature, the figure on the throne was thought to be the emperor Maximilian and the two figures in front of him his daughter Margaret and grandson Charles. In SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, pp. 70–71 (and also in his unpublished article), Klaas van der Heide accepts this identification and interprets the miniature allegorically, with Maximilian as spiritual leader or pope. Flynn Warmington has argued – convincingly, to my mind – that the enthroned figure, a young man who does not wear the imperial crown, is Charles, with his five siblings; see F. WARMINGTON, *Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, MS s.s. (MechAS s.s.)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 23, pp. 112–113.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 171

In the whole Alamire complex by far the largest number of Marian miniatures are dedicated to the feast of the Conception of the Virgin. They illustrate two well-known masses by Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*, on the Magnificat antiphon that now serves for the Nativity of the Virgin, with the text beginning *Nativitas tua* (*LU* 1627),[35] and *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*, on a non-liturgical prayer. It is also possible to include within this category the two missing miniatures accompanying his *Missa de Sancta Anna*,[36] based on an unknown chant beginning *Felix Anna*, because the *Missa Conceptio tua* in the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.) is illustrated with Saint Anne, flanked by David and Solomon, with a tiny Virgin in her womb[37] and this is one of the possible iconographies of the Immaculate Conception (discussed below).

In recent years I have been investigating musical settings of the text *Ave sanctissima Maria*, identified by Robert Snow as a prayer by Pope Sixtus IV. As I was able to demonstrate, the prayer is specifically on the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine with a long and controversial history.[38] The belief that Mary was not subject to Original Sin has no biblical basis, and did not become the prevailing Church doctrine until the late fifteenth century; it was declared dogma only in 1854. However, it has early roots in popular belief and theological pronouncements. Augustine, notably, excepted Mary from actual sin but did not pronounce on the circumstances of her conception. The feast of the Conception was imported from the East and was celebrated in pre-Conquest England, suppressed, and then revived in the twelfth century, especially since it was thought, though mistakenly, that Anselm had supported the doctrine. The subject became controversial later, once the Dominicans and the Franciscans developed opposing viewpoints. The Franciscans championed Mary's Immaculate Conception, but the Dominicans, following Saint Thomas Aquinas, held to the belief that no person was exempt from Original Sin, and that Mary therefore had been sanctified in the womb. Thus the Dominicans for many centuries referred to the feast of 8 December as the Sanctification of the Virgin. The question of Mary's Immaculate Conception was debated at length during the Council of Basle but by the time the feast was approved the Council had become schismatic. It was Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan, who promoted the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, officially approving the feast in February 1477 and sanctioning the use of a new office, by Leonardo Nogarola. Although he attempted to reconcile the two positions by calling the feast the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin, the controversy did not die down, and he had to issue bulls forbidding the Dominicans to call the doctrine heretical. At that time, therefore, any setting of a text concerning the 'Conception' was almost certainly viewed as a text on the Immaculate Conception.

While it has not been proved that Sixtus himself wrote the prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria*, it is consistent with his thought and devotion to the Virgin. The rubrics that typically accompany this prayer in books of hours state that it is to be recited in front of a particular image. In one late fifteenth-century book of hours, the prayer is illustrated with Pope Sixtus IV himself, kneeling on a prie-dieu before an image of the Virgin, with what is undoubtedly the prayer itself written under-

[35] Before the Conception office of Leonardo Nogarola authorized by Sixtus IV in 1477, the feast used the texts of the office of the Nativity of the Virgin, changing *Nativitas* to *Conceptio*; it reverted to this form with the publication of the Tridentine breviary in 1568.

[36] On the missing folio before the first folio in JenaU 7 and MontsM 773.

[37] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 137.

[38] See B.J. BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV,* in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124 (1999), pp. 157–195. The following briefly summarizes the discussion on pp. 175–189.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 172

neath it. The rubric states: 'Pope Sixtus conceded to everyone saying this prayer before the image of the Virgin Mary in the sun eleven thousand years of indulgence.' The prayer itself follows.[39]

An image of the Virgin 'in the sun' was initially puzzling, but once the image was found, everything fell into place. The prescribed representation of Mary appears in the opening motet of BrusBR 228.[40] She is 'in the sun', that is, portrayed against an aureole or mandorla of rays of the sun. This imagery ultimately derives from the vision of Saint John in Revelation, chapter 12: 'And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.' Indeed, in the miniature Mary is standing on the upturned crescent moon. Two angels hold a crown over her head, but not one of stars. Thus it might appear that the scene is actually a coronation of Mary rather than an Immaculate Conception. But God the Father and Christ do not appear here, and Mary is looking down rather than up. The presence of the Child in a representation of the Immaculate Conception might seem rather surprising, but in fact this is not unusual in contemporary paintings illustrating the theme.

The Apocalyptic Woman, who travailed and gave birth, was at first identified allegorically with the Church; later, with the increasing importance of the Virgin in the Middle Ages, she came to be associated with Mary. By the seventeenth century, the standard iconography of the Immaculate Conception (particularly in Spain) was that of the Woman of the Apocalypse, portrayed standing on the crescent moon, often treading on the head of the dragon, and wearing a crown or halo of twelve stars. It took some time for the iconography to be fixed: up to the late fifteenth century, the more usual representation of the Virgin's conception was the embrace of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate. How to portray such a mystical idea must at first have perplexed painters, and therefore it is not surprising that there was not one standard representation, as there was, say, for the Annunciation.[41] Miniaturists were rarely called upon to provide images of the Immaculate Conception because the Office of the Virgin, by long tradition, usually began Matins with an illustration of the Annunciation. The Office and Mass of the Conception are found in some fifteenth-century manuscripts (particularly French ones), but they rarely are illustrated.

The miniature of the Virgin and Child in BrusBR 228 accompanies the anonymous six-part canonic motet on *Ave sanctissima Maria* that was printed under Verdelot's name, probably by confusion with another setting of his, but is generally agreed to be by Pierre de la Rue. There could be no more appropriate opening for this manuscript of chansons made for Margaret of Austria, and indeed she herself is portrayed on the opposite folio, kneeling at a prie-dieu and praying to the Virgin across the page with the words *Memento mei*.[42]

La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*, based on his canonic motet, was one of the most frequently copied masses in the Netherlands court complex. It appears in seven sources, of which two unfortunately are fragmentary.[43] The miniature is missing in two of these sources (BrusBR 6428 and VatS 36), but in JenaU 4 we find the same iconography of the Virgin and Child in the sun, standing on the crescent moon; here she is crowned by two angels. JenaU 5 has a similar repre-

[39] The manuscript is London, British Library, Add. MS 35313; the image is on folio 237. See BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*, pp. 180–181, 184–185 and fig. 1. For the prayer see p. 158.

[40] See KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 10, p. 70; SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 124.

[41] On the iconography of the Immaculate Conception, see the important book by M. LEVI D'ANCONA, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, New York, 1957. She traced no fewer than eighteen iconographic themes.

[42] For a detail, see SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 66.

[43] The complete sources are BrusBR 6428, BrusBR 15075, JenaU 4 and JenaU 5, and VatS 36. Fragments are in the Rijksarchief in Ghent and the Rijksarchief in Bruges.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 173

sentation, with the addition of two musician angels (see Figure 1).[44] In the latter manuscript a large part of the text of the prayer is written in red ink in the superius in the Kyrie. Anyone standing before La Rue's mass in these two manuscripts, and the motet in BrusBR 228, could sing or recite the prayer and receive the indulgence promised by Sixtus IV.[45]

La Rue's other mass on the Conception, *Missa Conceptio tua*, survives in six complete sources and one fragmentary source. All received miniatures, but so desirable were they that three have been removed: BrusBR 6428, VatS 34, and JenaU 5. The remaining three are quite different from each other. The miniature in the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.), mentioned earlier, shows Saint Anne, enthroned, against a simple cloth of honour, with a tiny naked child in her lap, representing the Virgin in her womb.[46] God the Father looks down with a blessing gesture from a corner of the sky.[47] Around the edge of the baldachin is inscribed *SANCTA ANNA ORA PRO [NOBIS]*. Flanking Anne, but standing behind a parapet, are two figures that look rather like peasants but are dressed regally: the figure on the left carries a sceptre and wears an ermine cape similar to that worn by Charles in this manuscript; the figure on the right is dressed in a green fur-trimmed cloak, and also holds a sceptre. These figures are David and Solomon and testify to Mary's lineage.[48] Although in both Saint Matthew's and Saint Luke's genealogy Christ is descended from King David through Joseph, later writers, insisting on the Virgin Birth, made Mary too a descendant of David through his son Nathan; this genealogy was incorporated in the Golden Legend.[49] This image might well have illustrated La Rue's masses on Saint Anne in JenaU 7 and MontsM 773; both miniatures are now missing.

The main illumination of the *Missa Conceptio tua* in BrusBR 15075 draws on another iconography of the Immaculate Conception, the *Tota pulchra es* representation: here the Virgin, floating in the sky in a glory, is surrounded by images of her epithets, many from the Song of Songs, each with a banderole.[50] Reading clockwise from her left, they read: *Pulchra ut luna, Stella maris, Civitas Dei, Exaltata cedrus, Virga Iesse floruit, Fons ortorum, Puteus aquarum viventium, Sicut lilium inter spinas, Speculum sine macula, Plantacio rose, Ortus conclusus, Oliva speciosa, Porta celi, Turris David, Electa ut sol, Tota pulchra es amica mea*. This last inscription, which appears directly

[44] See also in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 14, p. 94.

[45] The Virgin and Child in an initial *K* illustrate this mass in BrusBR 15075, fol. 84v. On singing indulgenced prayers see B.J. BLACKBURN, *For Whom Do the Singers Sing?*, in *Early Music*, 25 (1997), pp. 593–609.

[46] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 137.

[47] This component of the iconography suggests a Dominican interpretation: God sanctifying Mary in the womb. However, as will be demonstrated, the rest of the illumination is incontrovertibly Franciscan. A very similar miniature appears in the Grimani Breviary (fol. 478v); here it accompanies Nogarola's office of the Immaculate Conception.

[48] David and Solomon appear in some paintings of the Immaculate Conception. In Vincenzo di Antonio Frediani's painting in Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi, David holds a psaltery and a scroll reading *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum* (Ps. 18:6), Solomon a banderole reading *Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te* (Song of Songs 4:7). See G. CONCIONI, C. FERRI, and G. GHILARDUCCI, *I pittori rinascimentali a Lucca*, Lucca, 1988, p. 99. Francesco Francia's very similar painting, in the church of San Frediano in Lucca, is probably modelled on Frediani's. See E. NEGRO and N. RIOI, *Francesco Francia e la sua scuola*, Modena, 1998, pp. 199–201. I am grateful to Christa Gardner for drawing my attention to these paintings.

[49] G.P. MAGGIONI ed., *Jacopo da Varazze, Legenda aurea*, Florence, 1998, 2, p. 900 (on the Nativity of the Virgin). The line was said to pass through Panthera and his son Bar Panthera; this sanitized the Jewish claim that Jesus' true father was a Roman soldier called Panthera. See ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum* 1.32, with Henry Chadwick's note, in *Origen: Contra Celsum*, rev. ed., Cambridge, 1980, p. 31, n. 3. (My thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for contributing this note.)

[50] Illustrated in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 144, with a description by Maurits Smeyers.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 174

above the figure of the Virgin, is the most important; since the verse from the Song of Songs (4:7) continues *et macula non est in te*, it was often used as one of the biblical prophecies of Mary's immaculate conception.[51] The miniatures in this manuscript are relatively late, compared with the other manuscripts of the complex: John III of Portugal and Catherine of Austria, Charles' youngest sister, were married in 1524. The miniature indeed is very busy, as Herbert Kellman has remarked:[52] the figure of the Virgin, always the main focus of the early manuscripts, now seems to fade inconspicuously into the sky, and considerably more prominence is given to the symbols, themselves placed in a landscape receding into the distance. There are paintings on this theme, but I have not seen it in books of hours (there is a representation in the Grimani Breviary); indeed it would take a large manuscript such as BrusBR 15075 to be able to cram all these symbols and epithets into one miniature.

La Rue's *Missa Conceptio tua* in VatS 34, whose main miniature has been cut out, also includes inscriptions, some in banderoles, some written in red ink above the music. On folio 36r a small figure of King David holding a harp and emerging from a red rose has a banderole with the text *Queretur peccatum illius et non invenietur* (His sin shall be sought, and shall not be found; Ps. 9:36; Hebrew original 10:15). On folio 36v *Ego mater pulchre dilectionis et timoris et agnitionis et sancte spei* (I am the mother of fair love, and of fear, and of knowledge, and of holy hope; Ecclus. 24:24) is written in red ink above the superius. On folio 37r a small crowned figure in a white rose is accompanied by a banderole reading *Nichil coinquinatum in ea* (Nothing defiled in her; Wisdom 7:25: *Nihil inquinatum in eam incurrit*, the beginning of an antiphon, gradual, and responsory; cf. Rev. 21:27: *Non intrabit in eam aliquod coinquinatum*). On folio 38r, written above the superius in red, is the responsory text *Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria et omni laude dignissima. Quia ex te orta est sol iusticie Christus deus noster* (this also appears in MechAS s.s.; see below).

JenaU 4 has the most interesting and unusual illustration of the Immaculate Conception, which similarly would be difficult to fit into a small book of hours (see Figure 2).[53] This illumination is the largest miniature in the manuscript, which itself is the largest in the complex. The complicated iconography here does not merely allude to the Immaculate Conception, as do the miniatures discussed earlier:[54] it directly reflects contemporary theological arguments concerning the doctrine. Four banderoles wind around the border of the page, declaiming:

[51] In Leonardo Nogarola's office of the Conception and the modern antiphon text the wording is *et macula originalis non est in te*.

[52] See H. KELLMAN, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15075 (BrusBR 15075)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 5, p. 74.

[53] In colour in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 135, together with a description by Maurits Smeyers on p. 134. A similar 'Tree of Life and Death' appears as a whole-page illustration in a missal (375 x 270 mm) completed in 1481 by Berthold Furtmayr, an illuminator with a workshop in Regensburg, for the archbishop of Salzburg. It is on folio 60v of the manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15710. For an illustration in colour, see colour plate 12 of J. CAMPBELL, with B. MOYERS, B.S. FLOWERS, eds., *The Power of Myth*, New York, 1989. Here the tree is hung with Hosts and apples, intermixed, but it is dark on Eve's side, and with a large skull, but light on Mary's side, with a crucifix. Eve accepts an apple from the serpent with one hand and with the other hands an apple to a group of people under the aegis of Death; Mary plucks a Host from the tree with one hand and with the other offers a Host to a group of people under the protection of an angel. Various figures hold scrolls, but these concern good and evil, not the Immaculate Conception. I wish to thank Flynn Warmington for bringing this interesting parallel to my attention. In SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 134, Maurits Smeyers mentions other examples, especially in Germany.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 175

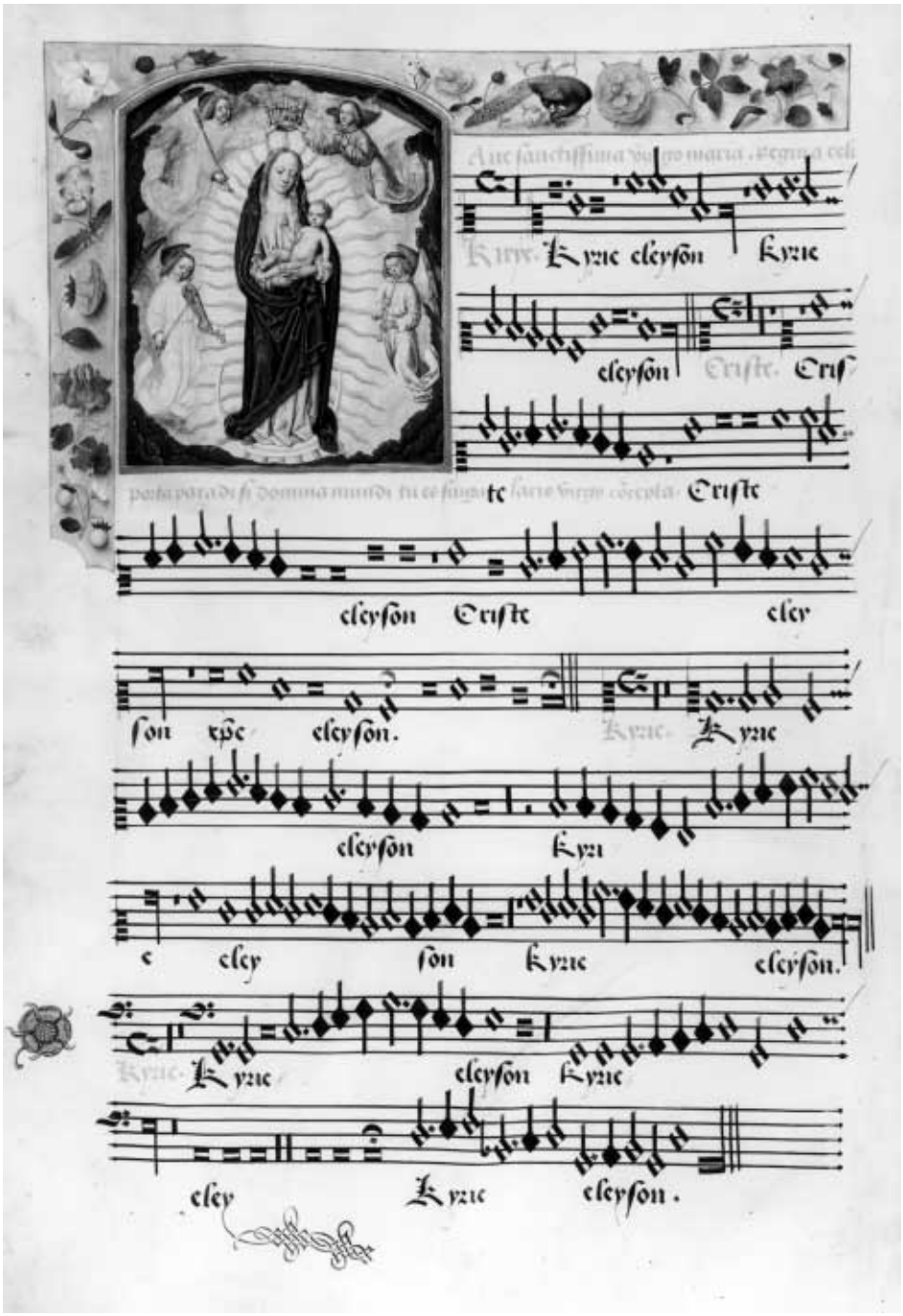


Figure 1. The Virgin and Child *in sole* with four angels,
in Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria*, JenaU 5, fol. 1v.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 176

INSPICE LECTOR QUIA NON SIM FACTA TENEBRIS ET | PARIAM VIRGO MUNDAQUE CONCIPIOR. QUI ELUCIDANT ME VI[TAM] | HABEBUNT. AB ORIGINALI PECCATO VIRGINE[M] MARIA[M] PRESERVAVI QUIA | NEC DUM ERANT ABISSI ET EGO IAM CONCEPTA ERAM. PROVERBIORUM ULTIMO.[55]

Look and see, reader, that I am not made in darkness, and I give birth as a virgin and am conceived pure. They who explain me shall have life everlasting. I have preserved the Virgin Mary from Original Sin because the depths were not as yet and I was already conceived. Last chapter of Proverbs.

The banderoles are surely meant to be read in this order, beginning with the direct address to the reader, *Inspice lector*; however, combining the texts, especially in the last phrase, creates some ambiguity (the first 'I' is God, the second Wisdom).

On the right side of the miniature Eve stands under the Tree of Knowledge, hung with tiny skulls, with a rather anthropomorphic serpent wound around it. The banderoles read:

EVA SIQUIDEM TAMQUAM ARBOR LETIFERA (FERT) FRUCTUS MALOS CONCUPISCENTIAM SECUNDUM CARNIS ORIGINALE PECCATUM

NOBIS EVA FUIT FERA / SED TU MATER MITIS ES / AVE AVE MATER VERA / AVE PLUS QUAM CENTIES.

For Eve, like a deadly tree, (bears) evil fruits: concupiscence according to the original sin of the flesh.

Eve was cruel to us, but thou art a gentle mother. Hail, hail true mother, hail more than a hundred times.

To the left, under the overhanging branches of the tree, hung with Hosts on this side – for this is the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil – grows the vine of life. The Holy Ghost in the form

[54] This page (fol. 29v) is also reproduced in W. ELDERS, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, Leiden, 1994, p. 184, in the chapter on *Music and Number in Token of the Holy Virgin*, specifically on the symbolic use of the numbers seven and twelve. He discerns a symbolic use in the number of chant statements used in La Rue's masses *Assumpta est, Ista est speciosa*, and *Conceptio tua* (twelve or its multiple). I believe that Elders is mistaken in seeing the iconography of La Rue's *Ave sanctissima Maria* in BrusBR 228, his *Missa Ave sanctissima Maria* in JenaU 4, and the *Missa Conceptio tua* in BrusBR 15075 as representing the Assumption because Mary is crowned (ELDERS, *Symbolic Scores*, pp. 172–173). In German woodcuts especially, the Virgin often wears a crown, even when she carries the Christ Child in her arms. Rather than representing the Coronation, which took place in heaven after the Assumption, the crown is an attribute of Mary as a timeless Regina caelorum. Thus it is irrelevant to the iconography, unless it is a representation of the twelve stars of the Apocalypse (as it is in the Master of Moulins's triptych of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, in Elders's figure 20, although only the inscription on the banderole makes this clear). It is in fact often difficult to distinguish between representations of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. In Assumption paintings, particularly from the sixteenth century on, the Virgin is alone, without the Child, and her vision is turned upward; sometimes her hands are upraised, and often one sees the Apostles below (for example, Titian's altarpiece in the Frari) and God the Father holding a crown above her (cf. THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, p. 60, figs. 15 and 16, from books of hours). Once the iconography of the Immaculate Conception had been fixed, the Virgin is portrayed as a very young woman, with her hands clasped in prayer, and her vision directed downwards (see Francisco Pacheco's prescription, discussed in BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*, p. 185, n. 53; cf. also the Virgin in the *Tota pulchra es* iconography of BrusBR 15075); she is not crowned but the twelve stars are arranged as a halo.

[55] Punctuation added. The order of the banderoles on the page, from bottom left to top right, is: 4, 1, 2, 3. Since it is difficult to make out the inscriptions on the photograph, I have taken them from K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses*, 3), text volume, Jena, 1935, pp. 43–44. *Qui elucidant me vitam habebunt* comes from Ecclus. 24:31. The reference at the end is not to the last chapter of Proverbs (where the *mulier fortis* occurs), but ch. 8:24 : *Nondum erant abyssi, et ego iam*

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 177

of a dove sits on a branch directly above Mary's head. She stands crowned, with the Child in her arms. She treads on the head of the serpent that winds down the vine of life. With his left hand the Child breaks a bunch of grapes from the vine, and in his right he holds a branch; this is a reference to Jesus' parable of the vine, John 15:1–17: *Ego sum vitis vera*, 'I am the true vine'. The banderoles around Virgin and Child read:

> *EGO QUASI VITIS FRUCTIFICAVI SUAVITATEM ODORIS ET FLORES MEI FRUCTUS HONORIS ET GRATIE*
> *EVA SEVA NOS RE VERA / FACIT MISERABILES / TU ES NOBIS DULCIS HERA / NOS CONFORTA FLEBILES.*[56]
>
> As the vine I have brought forth a pleasant odour: and my flowers are the fruit of honour and grace. [Ecclus. 24:23]
> Cruel Eve truly makes us wretched. Thou art a sweet mistress for us. Comfort us who are lamentable creatures.

The kneeling figure on the left, in front of Mary, is identified in the catalogue, following Roediger, as the emperor Frederick III, and the figure on the right, in front of Eve, as Maximilian as archduke. This seems problematic, since Maximilian was emperor and Charles archduke when the manuscript was prepared.[57] Flynn Warmington has plausibly suggested that it is Maximilian and Charles, pointing out that the Burgundy-Habsburg arms next to the archduke exactly match those of Charles in the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.).[58] It is the unique case in the Alamire complex where donor figures are put directly into the main illumination; normally such donor figures would have appeared on the recto, but in this case they are Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, for whom the manuscript may originally have been intended (see Figure 3).[59] Could it be that the destination of this manuscript was altered during the course of illuminating the choirbook? It is the only example where the donor figures conflict. The miniature is a very fine and extraordinarily complex illustration. One might have expected it to be a panel painting rather than a miniature; indeed, the model might well have been a panel painting (possibly with Frederick and Maximilian), and the illuminator neglected to remove the figures when he copied it into the choirbook.[60]

The miniature illustrates the common identification of Mary as the new Eve, who reversed Eve's fall; the motif is echoed in the literal reversal of the serpent figures. Medieval exegesis was fond of explaining 'Ave' as the reversal of 'Eva' (cf. the second strophe of *Ave maris stella*: *Sumens illud Ave Gabrielis ore, Funda nos in pace, Mutans Hevae nomen*). Eve's transgression was the Original Sin. Mary, according to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, was conceived without sin.

concepta eram. There are other sources, however, that make the same mistake in calling this verse 'last of Proverbs', for example fragments from a Dutch book of hours in London, British Library, Add. MS 41338; on fol. 5 (orig. xcviij) is a drawing of the Virgin and Child *in sole* surrounded by a rosary, with imagery of the Apocalyptic Woman and four inscriptions; the one on the left reads *Necdum erant abissi et ego iam concepta eram: proverbiorum ultimo*.

[56] ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften*, p. 108, has identified the eight rhythmic lines as the third strophe of the hymn *Ave virgo gratiosa*; see F.J. MONE, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 2, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1854, p. 284.

[57] Estimates of its date range from 1513 to 1519.

[58] See WARMINGTON, *MechAS s.s.*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 23, p. 113. Klaas van der Heide identifies both figures as Maximilian; see above, n. 34.

[59] Strictly speaking, they should not be considered donor figures, since the manuscript was originally intended as a gift for them, but the illuminator has presented them the way donor figures appear in paintings.

[60] Frederick and Maximilian appear together in armour, with banners, on the title page of a Psalter of the Virgin written by Frederick's chaplain, Hermann Nitzschewitz, *Novum beate Marie virginis psalterium de dulcissimis nove legis mirabilibus divini amoris refertis*, s.l., [1497]. This is a rosary in the form of 150 meditations on the Virgin, a devotion especially promoted by the Dominicans. The Virgin stands on a downturned crescent, not

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 178

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is directly invoked in two of the banderoles quoted above. But this did not seem sufficient to the person who devised the programme for the illumination of this mass, which is extraordinarily detailed, especially for a musical manuscript. There are five other miniatures accompanied by extended quotations. Directly under the main miniature is a Franciscan friar in a landscape, kneeling and looking upwards;[61] the inscription not only identifies him but quotes his words, with a nicety of bibliographical detail:

> *Ego johannes Scotus dico in III. sentenciarum dis. iii. q. 1. Potuit deus facere quod virgo maria numquam fuit in peccato originali. Quod quia auctoritati ecclesie (et) scripture non repugnat probabile est Marie attribuere quae omni laude est dignissima.*
>
> I, John [Duns] Scotus [d. 1308], say on the third of the *Sentences*, third distinction, on the question 'Could God bring it about that the Virgin Mary was never subject to Original Sin?' Which since it is not repugnant to the authority of the Church and Scripture it is approvable to attribute to Mary, who is most worthy of all praise.[62]

Next to the tenor part is the figure of a pope, holding an open book, whose banderole reads:

> *Ego iheronimus Esculanus pontifex maximus dictus Nicolaus IIII. virginem asseruimus Mariam sine originali crimine fuisse conceptam.*
>
> I, Jerome of Ascoli, Pope, called Nicholas IV, assert that the Virgin Mary was conceived without Original Sin.

Girolamo Masci, born near Ascoli Piceno, was the first Franciscan to become pope, reigning from 1288 to 1292. He is not normally cited in connection with the Immaculate Conception, and perhaps appears here more for his importance to the Franciscans.

Three more popes appear across the top of the opposite folio, folio 30r (see Figure 3).[63] The left miniature reads:

> *Ego Petrus Cretensis dictus Alexander V. in tercio sentenciarum fateor quod illa sanctissima mater dei super omnes angelos exaltata aliena fuit a sorde originalis peccati.*
>
> I, Peter of Candia [= Crete], called Alexander V, acknowledge on the third of the *Sentences* that that most holy Mother of God, exalted above all angels, was free of the stain of Original Sin.

He too was a Franciscan, conciliar pope from June 1409 to May 1410, and wrote a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, from which this quotation comes. The centre miniature portrays

in sole, but surrounded by a garland of roses (cf. the illumination in Obrecht's *Missa Sicut spina rosam* in JenaU 22, fol. 102v; KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 21, p. 106). The book was published four years after Frederick's death, which offers a precedent for 'out of date' illuminations; this may explain the appearance of Maximilian as archduke on folio 9r of JenaU 4, certainly copied while Maximilian was emperor.

[61] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 135.

[62] He was somewhat more circumspect than the text indicates, considering three possibilities plausible. In the absence of a critical edition, I quote the Antwerp 1620 edition, *In tertium et quartum sententiarum quaestiones*, III, Dist. 3, q. 1, resp.: *Ad quaestionem dico, quod Deus potuit facere, quod ipsa nunquam fuisset in peccato originali; potuit etiam fecisse, ut tantum in uno instanti esset in peccato, potuit etiam facere, ut per tempus aliquod esset in peccato, et in ultimo instanti illius temporis purgaretur . . . quod autem horum trium quae ostensa sunt esse possibilia, factum sit, Deus novit, si auctoritati Ecclesiae vel auctoritati scripturae non repugnet, videtur probabile, quod excellentius est, attribuere Mariae*. I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for tracking down and translating these quotations.

[63] See also in SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 91.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 179

Innocent V (r. January–June 1276), lone Dominican among these Franciscans (and the first Dominican to become pope), and quotes his commentary on the *Sentences*:

> *Nos Innocentius V. ordinis predicatorum in III. sententiarum fatemur quanto quis magis accedit ad sanctum sanctorum tanto maioris habere debet sanctificationis gradum.*
>
> We, Innocent V, of the Order of Preachers, on the third of the *Sentences* acknowledge that the closer one approaches the Holy of Holies, the greater the degree of sanctification one should have.

This is rather indirect support, and he does not depart from Dominican theology because he uses the word 'sanctification'; his inclusion is a sleight of hand, familiar from recent politics, to give a false impression of consensus. The last miniature is the pope one expects in this context, Sixtus IV:

> *Ego Franciscus de Savona sive Sixtus IIII. pontifex in bulla approbata officii conceptionis dico: Mater dei virgo gloriosa Maria a peccato originali semper fuit immunis.*
>
> I, Francis of Savona or Pope Sixtus IV, in the Bull approving the office of the Conception, say 'the Mother of God, the glorious Virgin Mary, was always immune from Original Sin'.[64]

Three more miniatures complete the decoration of this folio: Henry VIII, presented by Saint George; Catherine of Aragon, presented by Saint Catherine of Alexandria; and the arms of England. The manuscript is thought to have been originally intended for Henry and Catherine, and copied ca. 1513,[65] but Flynn Warmington, based on the activities of scribes D and X, has suggested that 1516–1518 is more likely.[66] This may explain why the manuscript was diverted from London to Wittenberg, since in 1519 Henry VIII had competed against Charles for the imperial crown. All the other miniatures in the manuscript are accompanied by members of the Habsburg family: Maximilian, the future Charles V, his brother Ferdinand I, and his four sisters. And whatever the original intention, the manuscript ended up in the chapel of Frederick the Wise.

La Rue's *Missa Conceptio tua* in the Mechelen choirbook (MechAS s.s.), with a main illumination of Saint Anne, discussed above, is accompanied by similar miniatures of the popes, this time omitting Duns Scotus and substituting two more popes, Leo the Great and Gregory the Great: folio 34v shows Popes Leo I, Alexander V, and Sixtus IV,[67] folio 35r Popes Gregory, Innocent V, and Nicholas IV.[68] Unlike in the Jena manuscript, the pronouncements here are all displayed on scrolls made to look like bulls, each delightfully authenticated with a seal. Leo's 'bull' reads:

[64] In neither Constitution approving two new offices for the feast does Sixtus use these words (nor does he ever use the expression 'immaculate conception'); in approving Leonardo Nogarola's office in 1477 he says merely *de ipsius immaculate virginis conceptione*, and he refers to Bernardino de' Busti's office of 1480 as *officium conceptionis beate virginis Marie*. For discussion of Sixtus and these offices, see BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*, pp. 178–182.

[65] See H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 4 (JenaU 4)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 13, p. 90; Herbert Kellman here suggests that it was being prepared at the time when Charles was betrothed to Henry's sister Mary (1513), following the Holy Alliance. Catherine of Aragon was aunt to Charles and his siblings. But in 1514 Henry renewed relations with France and Mary Tudor married Louis XII.

[66] See F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 43.

[67] See SCHREURS, *De schatkamer*, p. 137.

[68] There are a few slight differences in wording between these citations and those of JenaU 4. *Ego* or *Nos* is lacking in all. Nicholas IV's assertion reads *asserimus* for *asseruimus*; Innocent V's inscription lacks the word *fateor*; Sixtus IV has *approbante officium*.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 180

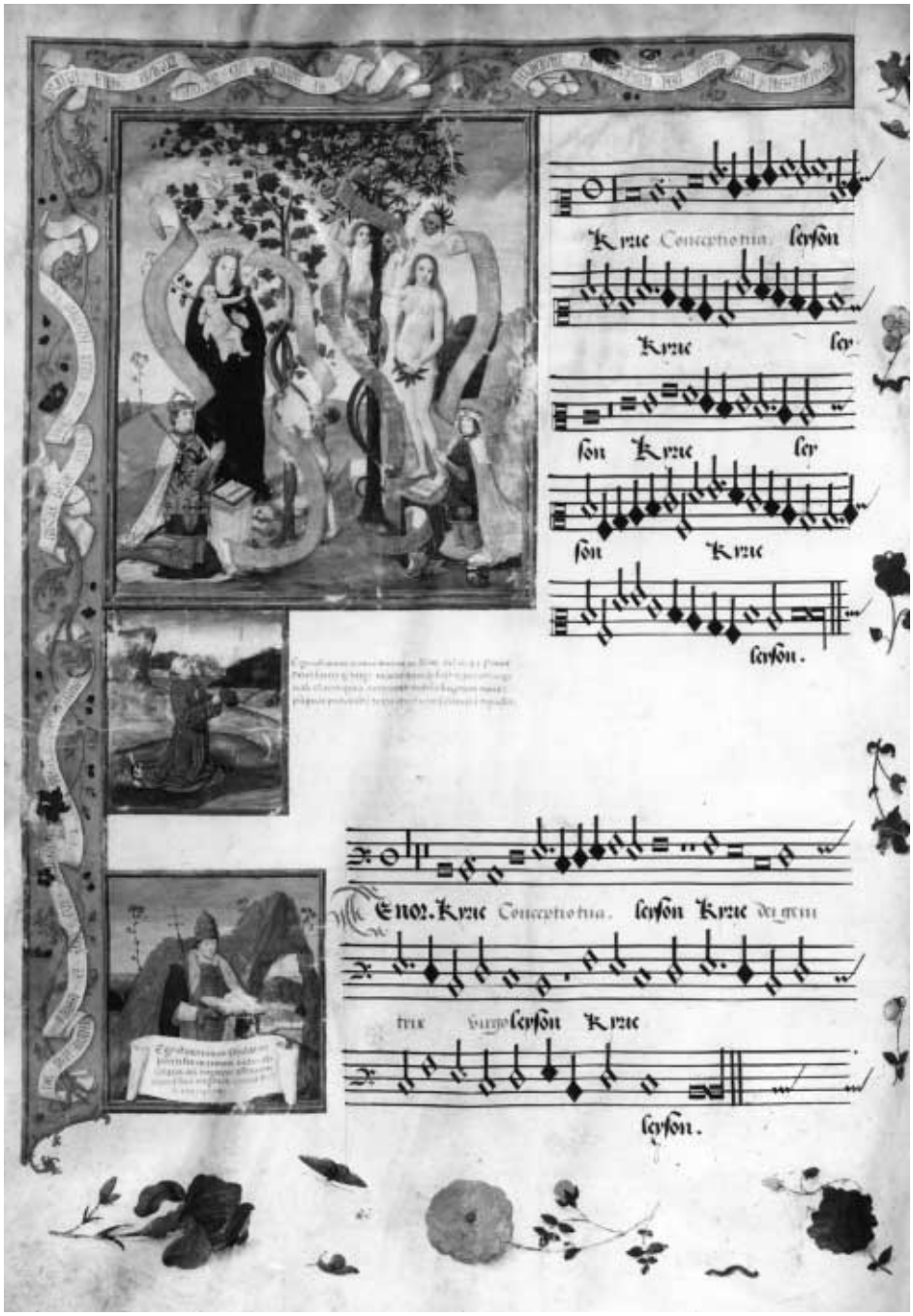


Figure 2. Mary as the new Eve, with witnesses on the Immaculate Conception, in Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*, JenaU 4, fol. 29v.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 181

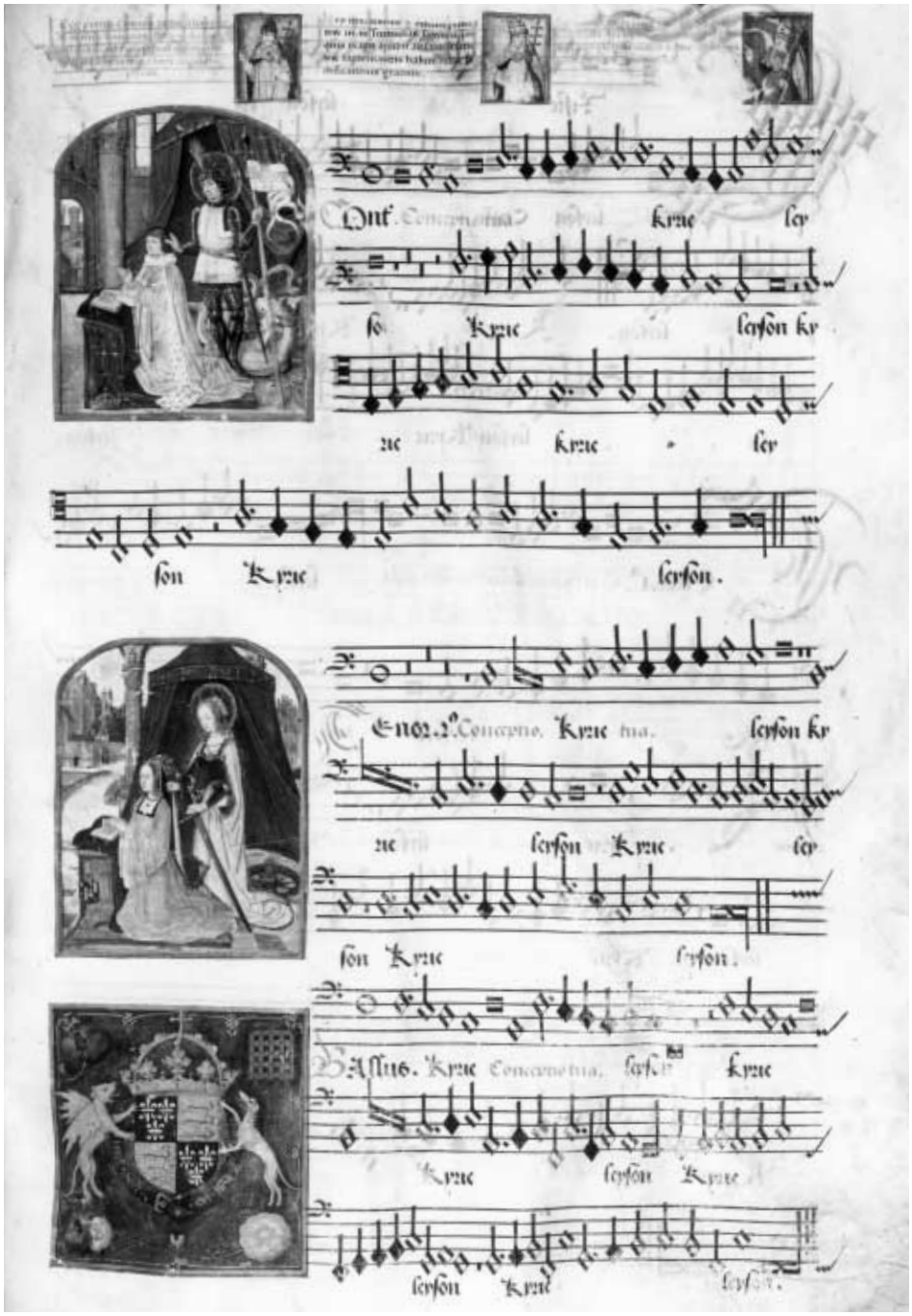


Figure 3. Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon venerating the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, with witnesses on the doctrine, in Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Conceptio tua*, JenaU 4, fol. 30r.

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 182

> *S. Leo papa que hic scilicet In Maria est verecundie lesio ubi inijt deitas cum amica sibi semper integritate consortium.*
>
> What injury is there here, sc. in Mary, where the Godhead has entered into partnership with the flawlessness that is dear to it?

Seal or no, the quotation is not from Pope Leo but from the ninth-century Carolingian theologian Paschasius Radbertus, in *De partu Virginis*, who in turn cites a sermon of Peter Chrysologus.[69] Gregory the Great, not surprisingly, quotes a well-known Marian responsory:

> *S. Gregorius pontifex maximus. Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria et omni laude dignissima.*
>
> Happy are you indeed, holy Virgin Mary, and most worthy of all praise.

Since the popes appear in place of initials on the recto, not in small miniatures across the top as in JenaU 4, there is no room for donor figures. Only members of the Habsburg family appear in this manuscript.

The elaborate exegetic illumination of La Rue's mass on the Conception in JenaU 4 and the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.) sends a very strong message indeed. This is more than illustration: it is propaganda. It seems to me highly unlikely that the programme of miniatures was chosen at random in the workshop, and I have seen nothing like them in hundreds of books of hours that I have looked at.[70] The advice of a theologian was needed, not only to choose the appropriate proponents of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but also to find apposite statements, tacitly adjusting them when necessary. That theologian could only have been a Franciscan, who must have been called in as a consultant. But by whom? My suggestion adds another layer of complexity to the uncertain chain of transmission in the commissioning of these manuscripts. We know of a fair number of payments to scribes of the chapels in Brussels and Mechelen, and especially to Alamire. We do not know of any payments made directly to illuminators of music books, whose work was surely costly, and bookbinders. Were they paid separately, or are the payments in the

[69] The treatise by Paschasius has been edited by Ann Matter in E.A. MATTER and A. RIPBERGER eds., *Paschasii Radberti De partu Virginis; De assumptione Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 56C), Turnhout, 1985; see book 2, p. 79, ll. 273–275: *Quae hic, inquit, verecundiae laesio, ubi iniit deitas cum amica sibi integritate consortium?* ('What injury to chastity is there here, says he, where the Godhead has entered into partnership with the flawlessness that is dear to it?'). *Inquit* indicates that he is quoting; the source is *Petrus Ravennatis*, i.e. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 148, sect. 3, ll. 46–50 in the edition: A.M. OLIVAR ed., *Petrus Chrysologus, Collectio Sermonum,* (*Corpus Christianorum Series latina,* 24B), Turnhout, 1982, p. 920: *Aut quae tibi verecundiae laesio, ubi init* . . . Once again, my warmest thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, who discovered the true source of 'Leo's' dictum.

[70] However, there are paintings in which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is made explicit through such figures and inscriptions on banderoles. An anonymous Flemish artist produced an altarpiece showing scenes from the life of Saint Anne for the Carmelite church in Frankfurt in 1495. In one painting Anne, enthroned, with a tiny image of the Virgin in her womb, is flanked by David and Solomon, each with a banderole; above her God the Father looks down, with a banderole above him reading *Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te*. In the foreground we see three Carmelites, two bishops, a cardinal, a pope, and a layman, with two banderoles. See the Introduction to K. ASHLEY and P. SHEINGORN eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, Athens, Ga. – London, 1990, pp. 27–43 and fig. 18. This and two other representations are discussed in A. GALIZZI KROEGEL, *Una sant'Anna problematica: l'invenzione immacolista per la pala del Pordenone a Cortemaggiore*, in M. ROSSI and A. ROVETTA eds., *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer*, Milan, 1999, pp. 223–232 and figs. 197–199. She also includes a Dominican representation of the sanctification, with a ray of light descending from the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove into the full-term baby in Anne's womb, from Alberto da Castello's *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, Venice, 1522 (fig. 110).

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 183

account books intended to be for the finished product, with the head of the workshop securing the assistance of the illuminators and binders? This seems to be the case for the scribes working under Alamire.

Whatever the chain of transmission, it seems clear that the repertory and illustration of each manuscript made as a state gift was chosen with care. La Rue's mass on the Conception in JenaU 4, intended for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, was most appropriate, for Catherine, married since 1509, failed to produce a living heir until 1516; she was singularly unfortunate in her pregnancies. A devout Catholic, she surely spent long hours praying to the Virgin, and the Virgin of the Conception must have had special relevance for her;[71] indeed, there is an anonymous setting of the prayer *Ave sanctissima Maria* in another manuscript of the Netherlands court complex made for her and Henry, LonBLR 8 G.vii, which opens with three motets concerned with the hope for an heir. When Catherine finally gave birth to a child who lived, the name Mary was bestowed on her.

But the Mechelen manuscript (MechAS s.s.) seems destined as a court manuscript, not a gift. It is the only manuscript of the complex that remained in its place of origin. Can we see the hand of Margaret behind it? My suspicion that Franciscan influence was strong at her court turned out to be true. The sole non-musical manuscript that Dagmar Thoss was able to link with the Master of the Mechelen Choirbook, as we might call him, is a devotional treatise made for Margaret that is now in Arras (Bibliothèque municipale, MS 894).[72] Folio 2v shows a sainted nun kneeling at a prie-dieu with an open book on which stands a small crucifix.[73] The prie-dieu is placed directly in front of an altar in which the central panel of the triptych is a Virgin and Child *in sole*. The nun is presented by a Franciscan, probably Saint Francis.[74] At the bottom of the miniature is Margaret's coat of arms surmounted by an archducal crown and the somewhat garbled motto *Fortune in for* [crown] *tune fortune* (correctly *Fortune infortune fort une*). The colophon is dated 18 April 1510.

An extremely elaborate triptych (the central panel of which is lost) by Jean Bellegambe made in 1526 for the chapel of the Immaculation Conception in the Récollets-Wallons in Douai includes not only the customary Latin doctors but also Greek doctors, the Faculty of Theology of Paris, Duns Scotus representing the Franciscans, Thomas Aquinas representing the Dominicans, and Peter Lombard, Saint Bonaventure, and Saint Bernard. See C. DEHAISNES, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Jean Bellegambe*, Lille, 1890, pp. 127–141. See also n. 49 above.

[71] As it did for her family. The first order devoted to the Immaculate Conception was founded by a Portuguese nun, Beatriz da Silva, under the aegis of Catherine's mother, Isabella of Castile, who deeded Beatriz and her twelve followers their convent in Toledo in 1484; the order was sanctioned by Innocent VIII in a Bull of 1489. See N. MAYBERRY, *The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in Medieval and Renaissance Art, Literature, and Society*, in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 21 (1991), pp. 207–224 at p. 219. Spain and Portugal have long been known for their fervent devotion to the doctrine; as noted in BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*, p. 178, n. 28, it was a Spaniard, Juan de Segovia, who successfully persuaded the Council of Basle to adopt the feast. Six of the settings of *Ave sanctissima Maria* and a lost seventh one by Morales are found in Spanish or Portuguese manuscripts, and the musical devotion was carried to the New World in the anonymous Spanish setting in GuatC 4. (For these settings, see BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*.)
A beautiful book of hours made for Catherine's sister Joan (Juana la Loca, mother of Charles V), now in London (British Library, Add. MS 18852) includes *Ave sanctissima Maria* in two different places, one the northern variant of the text (fol. 292v), the other the southern one (fol. 322v). (On the textual variants, see BLACKBURN, *The Virgin in the Sun*, pp. 168–173.)

[72] Described in H. MICHELANT, *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Boulogne-sur-Mer*, (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, 4), Paris, 1872, p. 356.

[73] See THOSS, *Flemish Miniature Painting*, p. 61, fig. 18.

[74] Margaret owned a *petit tableau de Sainct Francoys au bout duquel il y a escript: Sancte Francisce ora pro nobis*, as listed in the inventory of her possessions dated 9 July 1523. See L. DE LABORDE, *Inventaire des tableaux, livres, joyaux et meubles de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, 1850, p. 24. She also owned a painting of the Virgin *in sole*: *Ung aultre petit tableau de Nostre Dame, pourtant une couronne sur son chief, assise sur un croissant, le fond du tableau doré* (p. 29).

hfst Blackburn 12-11-2003 13:28 Pagina 184

The treatise is an abridged life of Saint Colette, the French Franciscan tertiary who reformed the nuns of the Poor Clares and died in Ghent in 1447. The dukes of Burgundy protected Colette and actively campaigned for her canonization. Margaret herself solicited Bernardin du Pré, Minister General of the Franciscan Order, in 1508,[75] and Leo X in 1514.[76] She supported convents of the Poor Clares in Bourg-en-Bresse, Saint-Omer, Bruges, and Mechelen, and founded the convent of the Annonciades in Bruges in 1516, where she had wished to be buried.[77] Margaret, who took vigorous action against the spreading of Lutheranism in the Low Countries, especially favoured the Friars Minim, the Observant branch of the Franciscan Order. In a letter to Maximilian of 1512 she urged her father to use his influence to support their cause with Pope Julius II, *pour le grant désir et affection que j'ay au susdit ordre et afin d'estre obvyé aux désordres et grandes perturbacions qui sont en voye de régner en ceulx dudit ordre*.[78]

In the light of Margaret's attachment to the Observant Franciscans, we may perhaps be justified in seeing her hand, aided by a theological adviser, behind the large number of masses on the Immaculate Conception copied into the choirbooks of this complex. With further study we may be able to find out who that adviser was. But for the present let us recognize that there is more to these miniatures than meets the eye and more to the music than meets the ear: if we read music, text, and illuminations carefully we may find the message behind them.

[75] The letter is reprinted in M. BRUCHET, *Marguerite d'Autriche duchesse de Savoie*, Lille, 1927, *Preuve XXVI*, pp. 353–354. In it she reminds him of the letters written by the dukes of Burgundy to Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI. See also Preuve LXVI, pp. 392–393, a letter from the Poor Clares of Chambéry to Margaret on the same matter.

[76] G. DE BOOM, *Marguerite d'Autriche-Savoie et la Pré-Renaissance*, Paris – Brussels, 1935, p. 114. The halo in the manuscript indicates sanctity; Colette was not formally canonized until 1807.

[77] DE BOOM, *Marguerite d'Autriche-Savoie*, p. 113.

[78] Quoted in DE BOOM, *Marguerite d'Autriche-Savoie*, p. 94, n. 5 after A. LE GLAY, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, 1839, 2, p. 108.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 185

CHARLES DE CLERC, SEIGNEUR DE BOUVEKERCKE, AND TWO MANUSCRIPTS: BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS 215–16, AND NAPLES, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE, MS VI E 40

Barbara Haggh
University of Maryland, College Park

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 215–16 (BrusBR 215–16) is a large, but slender choirbook of only forty-nine parchment folios, and contains two masses, two motets, and a plainchant office with material for two vespers and a mass in honor of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary.[1] Described in Table 1 below, it was correctly associated by Jozef Robijns, in the only longer study of the manuscript, with Charles de Clerc (d. 1533), Seigneur de Bouvekercke, a distinguished nobleman employed by the Burgundian-Habsburg court, whose coat of arms appears on folio 2r in the manuscript's first opening.[2]

The reason why De Clerc should have wanted such a music manuscript has remained obscure. Robijns pointed to the phrase *O mater dei, memento mei*, which is added to the tenor text of the Osanna 2 of Pierre de la Rue's *Missa de septem doloribus*, the first mass in BrusBR 215–16, and he observed that the same phrase was painted in a portrait of Emperor Charles V commissioned by the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows at the collegiate church of Saint Salvator in Bruges.[3] But Robijns was not aware that this phrase is found in other music and paintings,[4] nor did he notice that BrusBR 215–16 came to the Bibliothèque royale, not from Bruges, but from the Jesuit College in

[1] I am grateful to the University of North Texas for supporting my travel to the Alamire conference (Leuven, 25–28 November 1999), and to Herbert Kellman for sending photocopies at short notice without which this paper could not have been completed. The manuscript is described in H. KELLMAN, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 215–16 (BrusBR 215–16)*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, cat. no. 1, pp. 66–67 (and passim in the same catalogue), and in C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988, 1, p. 91. Also see the discussion and bibliography on the manuscript in Klaas van der Heide's dissertation: K.D. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek aan het Bourgondisch-Habsburgse hof als spiegel van het laat-middeleeuwse wereldbeeld*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998. The binding of pigskin on cardboard is modern, with white paper backing and flyleaves. The polyphony in the manuscript includes parts designated *Baricanor* (fol. 2r), *Barricanor* (fol. 5r, 21r, 23r, 24r), and *Bariton* (fol. 4r, 9r, 40r). The *Bariton* part on fol. 4r ends with an octave, indicating that at least two singers sang that part. Cf. the designation *Barripsaltes* in Busnoys's motet *Anthoni usque limina* in BrusBR 5557, fol. 48v, copied after 1468 – see R. WEGMAN ed., *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS. 5557*, facsimile, Peer, 1989, p. 8. The chant is notated with incises and custodes, but there are no liquescences or plicas. The texts of the office are mostly in prose, and no consistently valid rhythmic interpretation of the square black chant notation with stems can be discerned. The seven sorrows at this time were Simeon's prophecy that a sword would pierce Mary's soul, the flight into Egypt, the loss of Jesus in the Temple, Christ's carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, Christ's burial, and Mary's departure from Christ's sepulcher.

[2] J. ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts im Zeichen der Verehrung unserer Lieben Frau der Sieben Schmerzen (Brüssel, Kgl. Bibliothek, Hs. 215–216)*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 44 (1960), pp. 28–43, especially p. 37 for De Clerc's biography.

[3] ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 40.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 186

Brussels, as a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century *ex libris* indicates,[5] and that it bears a modern stamp, *Collection de Bourgogne*, the designation for manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque royale from the library of the Burgundian-Habsburg court.[6] All writers on BrusBR 215–16 agree that its music was written in Mechelen or Brussels in the court workshop of Petrus Alamire, not in Bruges.[7] Here, a closer analysis of the manuscript, its contents, and historical evidence, allows us to place the manuscript and its recipient, Charles de Clerc, within a restricted circle of influential individuals, and within the history of Marian devotion in prominent chambers of rhetoric as well as at the Burgundian-Habsburg court. The new evidence also suggests why and how works by Josquin des Prez appear in the Alamire codices, and points to Charles de Clerc or to one of his relatives as a possible owner of the manuscript Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40 (NapBN 40), with the well-known cycle of six masses on the tune *l'homme armé*.[8] Our inquiry begins in the court environment and then moves to the two cities of Brussels and Mechelen, where the court household and administration resided.

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS 215–16

The musical repertory of BrusBR 215–16 is Franco-Flemish, but its association with the Burgundian-Habsburg court requires some explanation. Pierre de la Rue is the only court composer among those represented. Pipelare (d. circa 1515), whose biography is highly incomplete, is not named in any court records even though his music is found in eleven other Alamire manuscripts.[9] Like La Rue (d. 1518), but a decade later, he was a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady at the church of Saint John's in 's-Hertogenbosch.[10] Josquin, here represented by an anonymous *Stabat mater*, also never served the court, but over fifty compositions attributed to him are spread through half of the Alamire manuscripts.[11]

[4] For example, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 2631, from the first half of the sixteenth century and from the Clarisses or Franciscan tertiaries of Dordrecht, contains, on fol. 62v, polyphony to the text *O mater dei, memento mei* – see K. VON FISCHER and M. LÜTOLF, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts, mehrstimmige Stücke in Handschriften aller Länder aus der Zeit um 1400–1425/30, organale Sätze im älteren Stil und mehrstimmige Stücke in Choralhandschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, B/IV/3), München, 1972, pp. 115–116. This phrase is also copied above the contra and bassus parts of Obrecht's *Missa Salve diva parens prolis* in the upper margin of folio 2r in VienNB Mus. 15495; see H. KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism of the Manuscripts – A Synopsis*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 13, fig. 2.

[5] BrusBR 215–16, folio 2r: *Collegij Societ Jesu Brux NB N*.

[6] The stamp is also visible on folio 2r in the upper right margin.

[7] See note 1.

[8] HAMM & KELLMAN, *Census-Catalogue*, 2, pp. 247–248.

[9] The indication *pie memorie +* after Pipelare's name on folio 20v is the only indication we have of his death. Alamire manuscripts including works by Pipelare are listed in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 173.

[10] La Rue was in 's-Hertogenbosch from 1489 to 1493; Pipelare, from 1498 to 1500 – before that, he was active in Antwerp. See R. CROSS, art. *Pipelare, Matthaeus*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 19, pp. 771–772; and H. MECONI, art. *La Rue, Pierre de*, in SADIE & TYRRELL, *The New Grove*, 14, pp. 282–289; and H. MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford, 2003, chapter 1.

[11] Listed in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 171.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 187

The music in BrusBR 215–16 can nevertheless be associated with the court by its subject matter, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, a devotion represented most vividly by Pipelare's seven-voice motet with its miniature depicting the Virgin encircled with seven daggers.[12] Devotion to the *mater dolorosa* can be traced back as far as the thirteenth century in Germany, but an important impetus was provided in Cologne in 1423, when a synod of that province established the first indulgenced feast of the anguish and sorrows of the Virgin. The cult reached the Low Countries in the 1480s by the initiatives of Jean de Coudenberg, priest at three secular churches in Abbenbroeck, Reimerswaal, and Bruges, and also secretary to Philip the Fair and Charles V.[13] The death of Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and the disastrous famine, disease, war, and inflation of the next decade inspired De Coudenberg to establish a confraternity honoring the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in his three churches around 1490.[14] Almost immediately, Duke Philip the Fair favored the initiative and actively promoted the cult by patronizing printed devotional texts, new confraternities, dramatic representations, and other public displays of devotion.[15]

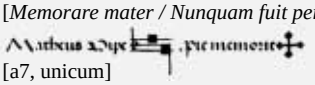
FOLIO	CONTENTS
1v–20r	*Missa quinque vocum de septem doloribus beatissime Marie virginis Petrus de 'la' rue* [in three other manuscripts]
20v–33r	*Missa de septem doloribus dulcissime Marie* [a4, anon., unicum]
33v–38r	[*Memorare mater / Nunquam fuit pena*]  [a7, unicum]
38v	blank and unruled
39r	blank and ruled with space for initial in upper and lower voice
39v–43r	[*Stabat mater dolorosa*, a5, Josquin]
43v	blank staves
44r–49v	*De beate Marie virginis doloribus* [office with first vespers, mass, second vespers, texts by De Manso, plainchant perhaps by Petrus Duwez, no identical concordance is known]
collation	215: 8 + 8 + 6 + 8 + 8, then 216: 7 [= 8 with leaf 4 cut to stub] + 4 S [= leaves 5–8]

Table 1. Inventory of BrusBR 215–16.

[12] BrusBR 215–16, fol. 33v. This image reflects the text of the first antiphon of first vespers of the office: *Tuam ipsius animam ait Symeon ad Mariam pertransibit gladius ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes* (Luke 2:35: "Symeon said to Mary, And a sword will pierce through your own soul also, that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed"). Cf. H. DELEHAYE, *La vierge aux sept glaives*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 12 (1893), pp. 333–352. Pipelare's rhymed, devotional text is not cited in U. CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols., Leuven – Brussels, 1892–1920, or in C. BLUME and G. DREVES eds., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55 vols., Leipzig, 1887–1922.

[13] See ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 29; and M. LEPICIER, *Mater dolorosa: Notes d'histoire, de liturgie et d'iconographie sur le culte de Notre-Dame des Douleurs*, Spa, 1947, p. 44. The miracles associated with the new devotion at Abbenbrouck are cited in: Société des Bollandistes ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Brussels, 1898/1899, repr. 1992, at no. 5377.

[14] ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 28–29.

[15] See LEPICIER, *Mater dolorosa*, pp. 44–52, 100–103, 236–245.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 188

A COMPETITION

Philip the Fair's most interesting initiative for our understanding of music in this time was the competition he sponsored in order to find appropriate texts and music for the new celebration. It is known that many offices were written after De Coudenberg established his confraternity, even though they have never been repertoried.[16] To reduce the confusion, at Philip the Fair's wish, those submitted were judged, and the office by Petrus Verhoeven alias De Manso (d. 1523), a rector and pastor of women's communities in Mechelen, was approved as the most suitable.[17] De Manso's office was then given to several composers who set it to chant, and around 1495, a jury judged the plainchant settings.[18] The jury included leading religious men in the Low Countries, such as François Busleyden (d. 1502), provost of Saint Donatian, the leading collegiate church in Bruges and known for its thriving music, also the principal teacher and counselor of Philip the Fair during his minority.[19] Also important was the Dominican Michel François, confessor of Philip the Fair, and as such heading the list of singers of the Burgundian-Habsburg chapel in all pay records.[20] Between August 1494 and October 1495, just before the contest for the best music, François, also a professor of theology in Cologne, had published the De Manso office texts as an appendix to his own writings on the Seven Sorrows devotion in the *Quodlibetica decisio*, printed in Antwerp. This work, in the form of a scholastic quodlibet defended the new devotion, justified the creation of a new Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, explored the number and meaning of Mary's Sorrows, and described the early history of the new cult.[21] Busleyden and François selected the plainchant composed by Petrus Duwez, a longtime singer in the Burgundian-Habsburg court chapel, but soon to be provost of the Church of Our Lady in Condé. Josquin des Prez followed Duwez in this post.[22] Duwez may have played a part in the genesis of BrusBR 215–16.

[16] One should begin by searching the many catalogues of manuscript collections. For example, *Hore de compassione beate Marie* appear in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1507, written at the end of the fifteenth century in western Germany for Augustinian use, probably in or near Trier; see N. KER, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 1, Oxford, 1969, p. 104. Also see A. WILMART, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age Latin*, Paris, 1932, repr. 1971, pp. 505–536.

[17] ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 29–30; also E. VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers te Mechelen (1400–1600)*, Ghent, 1962, p. 151. De Manso was rector of the convent of Thabor in Mechelen from 1480 to 1504, then curate of the *begijnhof* in Mechelen from 1504 to 1524, when he died.

[18] LÉPICIER, *Mater dolorosa*, p. 239.

[19] On François Busleyden, see B. HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500*, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1988, pp. 563–564; and ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 30. Busleyden was a major canon at Saint Gudila by 1492 and treasurer by 1497. He was also canon of Cambrai Cathedral, provost of Saint Donatian in Bruges, Dean of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Antwerp, archbishop of Besançon in 1498, then bishop of Cordoba. He served on Philip the Fair's Great Council and died in Toledo in 1502 in the entourage of Philip the Fair. His obit was celebrated at Saint Gudila in Brussels. On Saint Donatian in Bruges, see R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1985, chapter 2.

[20] These lists are transcribed in G. VAN DOORSLAER, *La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau*, in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 4 (1934), pp. 21–57, 139–165; and in B. HAGGH, *The Status of the Musician at the Burgundian-Habsburg Courts, 1467–1506*, MA thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1980, pp. 144–176.

[21] The full title is *Quodlibetica decisio perpulchra et devota de septem doloribus christifere virginis marie ac communi et saluberrima confraternitate desuper instituta*. Below this, the Virgin, on a background of stars, is depicted with tears coming from both eyes and with an upraised right hand and seven swords in her right chest. The edition (impression) I consulted was printed in Antwerp in 1496 (London, British Library, Printed Books, 1 A 50017). On the *Quodlibetica*, see ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*,

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 189

THE *OFFICIUM DE SEPTEM DOLORIBUS*

Robijns recognized the plainchant office in BrusBR 215–16 as the only known musical setting of Petrus de Manso's prizewinning Seven Sorrows office (see Table 2).[23] This office by De Manso was surely known at the Burgundian-Habsburg court, not only because Michel François was Philip the Fair's confessor and served at mass with the chapel singers, but also since François de Busleyden was Philip the Fair's principal tutor and as such would have instructed him in his functions at religious services. Moreover, Pierre Duwez had served in the court *chapelle* for nearly thirty years in 1492, first as *sommelier* from 1466 until 1470, then as clerc until 1477, and finally as chaplain after Charles the Bold's death. Indeed, Duwez was listed first after the *premier chapelain* in the first pay list of Philip the Fair in 1492, the list where Pierre de la Rue's name first appears. Duwez's name then disappears from the lists.[24] Therefore, François, Busleyden and Duwez certainly knew each other personally when the contest took place, and all three knew the singers of the *chapelle*.

It might seem safe to assume that the court *chapelle* knew the office of the Seven Sorrows with the plainchant by Duwez and likely that Alamire would have had no difficulty obtaining it from court singers in the following decades. However, the variants indicated in Table 2, particularly the different organization of the two vespers, confirm that the BrusBR 215–16 office was not copied directly from the Antwerp *Quodlibetica*, even though Alamire, who resided in Antwerp from 1499 until 1516, might have found that model convenient.[25] Moreover, the office in BrusBR 215–16 is probably not a court office, because it lacks matins. Following Charles the Bold's ordinance of 1467, all major feasts at court, including especially the feasts of the Virgin, were to include matins.[26] In other words, even though the office of BrusBR 215–16 is undeniably that by De Manso, its presentation suggests that it was copied from a different source than the *Quodlibetica* – a source not destined for court use.

p. 29. Authors cited by François include Saint Ambrose, Pseudo Anselm, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Saint Bernard, Saint Bonaventure, Cicero, the Council of Basel, Saint Jerome, Origen, Richard of Saint Victor, Thomas of Aquinas, and Saint Vincent Ferrer. Michel François identifies himself as a pupil of Alanus de Rupe, as professor of theology in Cologne, and as confessor of Philip the Fair.

[22] On Petrus Duwez, see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, p. 582; HAGGH, *The Status of the Musician*, p. 161. Duwez received the sixth canonicate at Saint Gudila on 10 May 1494 and left the court soon thereafter. See note 24 below. Josquin was provost of Condé by 1508, but may have been in Condé as early as 1504. See H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 181–216.

[23] ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 38.

[24] See note 22 above and the lists published in J. MARIX, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1457)*, Strasbourg, 1939, repr. Baden-Baden, 1974, for Duwez's early career at the court. He is last named in pay records of the court as chaplain immediately after Nicole Mayoul, *premier chapelain*, in a list dated 17 November 1492 to 30 September 1495, in the midst of mostly new names, including La Rue who is seventeenth; the list is published in E. VANDER STRAETEN, *Histoire de la musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle: documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 3, Brussels, 1875, pp. 213–214.

[25] On Alamire at the court and in Antwerp from 1499 to 1520, see E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd (1500–1535)*, Leuven, 1999, pp. 45–78; also E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 16.

[26] D. FALLOWS, *Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474*, in S. BOORMAN ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 147–148.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 190

Abbreviations: *A* = antiphon *Rv* = responsory verse
R = responsory *A Mag* = Magnificat antiphon

RUBRIC IN *QUODLIBETICA*:	**RUBRIC IN BRUSBR 215–16:**
Sequitur officium de doloribus seu compassione beatissime virginis marie cuius festum celebrabitur sabbato ante dominicam palmarum nisi festum annuntiationis dominice illo die vel feria sexta precedente occurrerit quia tunc anticipabitur vel post dominicam quasimodo [= octave of Easter] *tenebitur.*	*De beate marie virginis doloribus*

FIRST VESPERS

Same in *Quodlibetica* and in BrusBR 215–16

A1	*Tuam ipsius animam*	mode 1	Luke 2:35
A2	*Egressus est*	mode 2	new text
A3	*Nolite me considerare*	mode 3	Song of Songs 1:5
A4	*Fasciculus mirre*	mode 4	Song of Songs 1:12
A5	*Fulcite me floribus*	mode 5	Song of Songs 2:5
chapter	*Cum esset rex*		

In *Quodlibetica*		**In BrusBR 215–16**	
[no versicle]		versicle	*Gratias*
[no R]		R	*O quam sero* (7 pp + 7 pp + 6 pp + 7 pp, mode 1)
[no Rv]		Rv	*A planta pedis* (prose, new melody)
hymn	*Ave maris stella*	hymn	*Ave maris stella*

Same in *Quodlibetica* and in BrusBR 215–16

versicle	*Pone me*	(no music)	Song of Songs 8:6
A Mag	*Adiuro vos*	mode 1	Song of Songs 5:8

MASS

Introit	*Veni in altitudinem maris*	mode 2	Psalm 68:3
Gradual	*Plorans ploravit in nocte*	mode 1	unknown text
Verse	*Non est qui consoletur*		
Alleluia	*Vox turturis*	mode 1	Song of Songs 2:12–13
Verse			
Tract	*Defecit in dolore*	mode 8	Psalm 30:11

(rubric: *tempore clauso tractus*)

In *Quodlibetica*		**In BrusBR 215–16**	
Prosa	Stabat mater	*Astat virgo virginum*	mode 7, unknown text

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 191

Same in *Quodlibetica* and in BrusBR 215–16			
Offertory	*Doleo super te*	mode 4	II Kings 1:26
Communion	*Epulari et gaudere*	mode 7	adaptation of Luke 15:32

SECOND VESPERS			
In *Quodlibetica*		**In BrusBR 215–16**	
antiphons of Lauds		no indication: antiphons of first Vespers?	
Same in *Quodlibetica* and in BrusBR 215–16			
R	*Eya mater*	mode 7	verse 9 of *Stabat mater* with collect like continuation
V	*Et sicut filius*		new verse melody
A Mag	*Aspexit Maria*	mode 7	cf. Genesis 37:33

Table 2. Content of the *Officium de septem doloribus beate marie virginis* in the *Quodlibetica decisio* and in BrusBR 215–16.

That source was probably not kept at the court, either, as codicological and historical evidence suggests. Although this is not acknowledged in published descriptions, BrusBR 215–16 is comprised of two fascicles, as its shelf numbers indicate.[27] The first fascicle has five gatherings which are filled to the last recto with two masses and the Pipelare motet; the first mass and the first motet each begin with miniatures. At an undetermined time later, a second fascicle was added to the first, with calligraphed letters, but no illuminations.

DUWEZ AND JOSQUIN

The collation of the second fascicle differs from published descriptions, and that is crucial to this argument. The fascicle consists of a quaternion with the fourth leaf cut to a stub, to which the last four folios of a second quaternion were added. It is interesting that the plainchant office fills the last six folios, thus covering both quaternions, indicating that the office and the anonymous *Stabat mater* in fact by Josquin were intended to be copied together and that their exemplars were at some point kept in the very same place. That the polyphonic *Stabat mater* precedes and does not follow the office, accords well with the function of the second fascicle as a complement to the first. Had the second fascicle been intended to serve as an independent gathering, the *Stabat mater* would have followed the *officium*.

By the time BrusBR 215–16 was copied, Petrus Duwez had relinquished his post in Condé, which was then held by Josquin, meaning that the two men surely knew each other.[28] Since 1494, Duwez had served as major canon at the collegiate church of Saint Gudila in Brussels, and by 1500

[27] Klaas van der Heide (letter, fall 2001) writes: *Mijn vermoeden is dat de beide gedeelten van hs. 215–216 pas bijeen zijn gevoegd nádat ze in het bezit van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek dan wel haar voorganger, de Bibliothèque Bourgogne, gekomen waren.* He states that an old catalogue lists the two entities separately. I would argue that the two parts did belong together in the sixteenth century – even if they were separated later and then rebound – because MS 216 contains first the sequence in polyphony and then the office, an order atypical of that in known manuscripts, but one which makes sense if a gathering of complete polyphonic masses precedes.

[28] See KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 207–208.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 192

he had moved to Brussels, where he remained until his death in 1506.[29] At this time, François de Busleyden, who judged the Seven Sorrows plainchant contest, was treasurer of Saint Gudila, that is, a leading dignitary of the collegiate church.[30] It is important to remember how closely the musicians and canons of the collegiate church of Saint Gudila in Brussels were associated with the Burgundian-Habsburg court and with leading secular churches in northern France, such as Notre Dame of Condé. Philippe Caron, not the composer Tinctoris cites but the son of Philip the Good's longtime sommelier, Jean Caron, was at Saint Gudila as *magister cantus* from 1489 until his death in Brussels in 1509, having come from Cambrai Cathedral, where he had sung in the 1470s and 1480s.[31] His predecessor at Saint Gudila as *magister cantus* was the composer Jean du Sart from Valenciennes and Cambrai (d. 1485), who was a contemporary of Saint Gudila's tenor singer, Abertijne Malcourt. Malcourt composed a chanson, *Malheur me bat*, which expresses emotions compatible with the devotion to the Seven Sorrows and was used as a cantus firmus in masses by Josquin, Agricola, and Obrecht.[32] A Jacob Obrecht has an obit registered in a 1507 obituary of Saint Gudila.[33]

Contemporary to Du Sart at Saint Gudila was Walter Henrici, scholaster of the collegiate church from at least 1465 until 1479, then canon until his death in 1494, having served previously as a choirboy in Cambrai and chaplain at the court.[34] Henrici made more than a dozen foundations for Du Fay's chant for the Marian feast of the *Recollectio* throughout the Low Countries between 1474 and 1494.[35]

Finally, Petrus Duwez's will and inventory of possessions were made in Brussels in 1506, evidence that it had become his new home at the end of his life. Those documents show that he had his own oratory at home with an altar and liturgical garments, but his personal library included no *Quodlibetica decisio* or any other books relating to the Seven Sorrows.[36] The point here is that just as Henrici, Du Sart, and Philippe Caron were conduits for music from Cambrai to the court and to Saint Gudila, so might Duwez have served as a conduit for Josquin's music from Condé to Saint Gudila, especially once Josquin had replaced Duwez in Condé. It is not insignificant that the only known portrait of Josquin hung in the church of Saint Gudila until it was destroyed by iconoclasts.[37]

[29] The Duwez of Saint Gudila is surely the Burgundian chaplain, because the charter documenting his admission to the chapter reads: *Admissus est Dominus Petrus Duwez cap. domesticus regi...* – see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, p. 582).

[30] On the duties of the treasurer at Saint Gudila, see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 22–23.

[31] B. HAGGH, *Busnoys and 'Caron' in Documents from Brussels*, in P. HIGGINS ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 295–315.

[32] On these composers, see D. FALLOWS and B. HAGGH, art. *Du Sart*, in SADIE & TYRRELL, *The New Grove*, 7, pp. 758–759; and B. HAGGH, *Crispijne and Abertijne: Two Tenors at the Church of St Niklaas in Brussels*, in *Music and Letters*, 76 (1995), pp. 325–344. On *Malheur me bat*, see D. FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 270–271.

[33] R.C. WEGMAN, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford, 1994, p. 351.

[34] On Henrici, see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 605–607; and M. SOENEN, *Un amateur de musique à Bruxelles à la fin du XVe siècle: Gautier Henri, chanoine et écolâtre de Sainte-Gudule*, in H. COPPEJANS ed., *Album Carlos Wyffels*, Brussels, 1987, pp. 423–436.

[35] B. HAGGH, *The Celebration of the "Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis", 1457–1987*, in A. POMPILIO et al. eds., *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, 3, Turin, 1990, pp. 559–571. In 1457, Guillaume Du Fay and Gilles Carlier composed the *Recollectio*, which includes an antiphon alluding directly to the Marian Office of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The principal benefactor of the *Recollectio*, Walter Henrici, was also chaplain at the court, scholaster in Brussels, and founded a Charterhouse convent in Leuven, where he also donated to the University.

[36] See notes 22 and 24 above. The documents of decease are in Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Sint-Goedele, MS 268, fol. 337r ff.

[37] B. HAGGH, *Josquin's Portrait: New Evidence*, in W. ELDERS and E. JAS eds., *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicium*, (*Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1994, pp. 91–110.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 193

One might even go further. Little is known about the genesis of the *Stabat mater* sequence or about the date of Josquin's polyphonic setting,[38] the earliest of its kind, but given the longstanding association of this sequence with the liturgy of the Seven Sorrows, one could imagine Josquin composing the sequence to accompany Duwez's plainchant *officium*, and both works as part of Duwez's personal chapel library, the exemplars for BrusBR 215–16.[39] The Josquin attribution would be missing in BrusBR 215–16, because to Duwez it would not have been necessary. From Duwez, Josquin's music and the plainchant office would have easily reached the court in Mechelen. Moreover, Josquin's music though not his name is present elsewhere in BrusBR 215–16. La Rue interpolates into his Osanna 2 Josquin's superius melody setting the text *O mater dei, memento mei* in his famous *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*.[40] Moreover, since Duwez won the 1492 contest to set the De Manso office to chant, and BrusBR 215–16 was copied much later, one might assume that chant by composers other than Duwez would have fallen out of use, especially at the court that had sponsored the contest. Thus, there is every reason to believe that the office in BrusBR 215–16 is by Petrus Duwez and that the polyphonic sequence by Josquin belongs with the office and was not added haphazardly.

Nevertheless, the existence of plainchant propers for a mass for the Seven Sorrows, with the same introit, gradual, offertory, and communion as that in BrusBR 215–16, but in a late fifteenth-century gradual for high feasts only from a Benedictine abbey, perhaps Mondsee in the archdiocese of Salzburg, gives us pause for reflection. In this gradual, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 3787, the melody to the Alleluia verse *Vox turturis*, on folio R VIv, differs, and the sequence of the mass is the *Stabat mater* rather than *Astat virgo virginum* as in BrusBR 215–16; the rubric in the Vienna manuscript is *De compassione Marie*. This is proof that De Manso's texts were already circulating widely not long after their creation.[41] Could the Austrian chant be the chant by Duwez, or have we here a new melody composed to a text that had arrived without music? Even more manuscripts may survive with the De Manso office, and they would permit us to trace the history of the musical settings, and also that of the Seven Sorrows devotion.[42] Unfortunately, since the office in the *Quodlibetica* is not rhymed, it is also not edited, so we have no list of sources.

[38] Its earliest source is the Chigi Codex (VatC 234).

[39] The *Stabat mater* is edited in BLUME & DREVES, *Analecta hymnica*, 54, pp. 312–318, where it has the rubric *De Compassione Beate M.V.*.

[40] See T.E. CASON, *The Dating of Munich 3154 Revisited*, paper presented at the Josquin Symposium, Duke University, 19–20 February 1999. Cason claims that *Ave Maria* was first written into MunBS 3154 in 1484.

[41] On this melody, see K. SCHLAGER ed., *Alleluia-Melodien II ab 1100*, (*Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 8), Kassel, 1987, pp. 574 (chant transcribed from the Vienna manuscript), 907, 834–835. I am grateful to Alexander Rausch, who saw the manuscript and noted the following incipits: fol. 184r: *De compassione Marie. Officium. Introitus. Veni in altitudinem maris. V. Salvum me fac. Grad. Plorans ploravit in nocte. V. Non est qui consoletur*; fol. 184v: *Alleluia. Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus. Alleluia. Vox turturis audita est. Prosa. Stabat mater dolorosa* [without notation, but with cross reference to fol. H 10 = 95v]. Offertory. *Doleo super te Ihesu fili mi*; fol. 185r : Communion. *Attendite obsecro universi populi et videte dolorem meum*.

[42] Klaas van der Heide has shared with me an excerpt written by Georgius Colvener (published in a 1622 edition of Jan van Coudenberghe's description of the Seven Sorrows devotion). Colvener signals a mass for the Seven Sorrows in manuscript at Saint Pierre in Douai [where Duwez was provost] that was published by Sixtus IV according to a note in the manuscript [this seems unlikely]. There is mention of [the same?] mass printed by François in 1507, by Jacques Marschal in 1511, in a Parisian missal of Thérouanne in 1518, and in a Roman mass book printed by Jacques Kerver in 1565. Another mass was printed in Strasbourg by Renatus Beck in 1520, in a Parisian missal of 1505 by Kerver, and in a missal of Cluny printed in Paris in 1523.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 194

THE SEVEN SORROWS AND THE DOMINICAN ORDER

Michel François, author of the *Quodlibetica*, and Charles de Clerc were both known in Burgundian-Habsburg court circles, and this explains why Charles de Clerc may have wanted an *officium* for the Seven Sorrows. Michel François was a native of Lille, where De Clerc would serve the new emperor Charles V as chief officer of the *Chambre des Comptes* beginning in 1516.[43] François was a Dominican, and in his *Quodlibetica*, he describes with fervor a devotion to a particular Virgin of Piety at the Dominican convent in Valenciennes, indicating awareness of this house that was known to the court for other reasons.[44] The convent in Valenciennes was the only Dominican house ever visited by the Order of the Golden Fleece, the chivalric order of the Burgundian court, which had held a formal meeting there in 1473. It was also the location where the Marian Office of the Order of the Golden Fleece was written before 1458 under the supervision of Guillaume Fillastre, later second chancellor of the Order.[45] The Dominican influence on the Marian office, which I recovered in 1994, is unmistakable, for it mirrors throughout the Dominican Office for Corpus Christi by Hervé de Nédellec.[46] The Dominican contribution to Marian devotion at the Burgundian court can thus be traced back at least to the mid-fifteenth century, and François was surely aware of that history. It is also worth mentioning that the Dominican convent in Brussels was founded in 1457 by Isabella of Portugal, Philip the Good of Burgundy's third wife. Thus, De Clerc, as chief accounting officer at court and one knighted by Maximilian though never a member of the Order, must have recognized the importance of the Dominicans to the court and the Order of the Golden Fleece. The office furthered by Michel François from Lille was a similar creation expressing Dominican and court devotion.

DEVOTIONAL CONTEXTS

The plainchant office as presented in BrusBR 215–16 is not compatible with the prescriptions in Charles the Bold's ordinance of 1467, as was described above. It also does not correspond to the uses of collegiate churches or cathedrals in the Low Countries at this time. By circa 1500, most major cathedrals and collegiate churches in northern Europe had established *zeven getijden* colleges to ensure that the full round of services – with matins, lauds, and the lesser hours – would be sung at least on Sundays and major feasts, if not daily.[47] This may explain why the office appears neither in the breviary of Saint Gudila printed in 1516 nor in several other printed books of secular churches from the early sixteenth century.[48]

[43] On De Clerc, see VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, p. 178.

[44] *Quodlibetica decisio*, fol. 29r.

[45] B. HAGGH, *The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music*, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120 (1995), pp. 1–43.

[46] The office of Corpus Christi by Nédellec is edited in *Analecta hymnica*, 5, no. 5. I am grateful to Michel Huglo for recognizing the similarity.

[47] See E. JAS, *De koorboeken van de Pieterskerk te Leiden*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1997; HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 105–110; B. HAGGH, *Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music*, in *Acta musicologica*, 58 (1996), pp. 87–128; J. VANDEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters van de Antwerpse O.-L.-Vrouwekerk tijdens de 15de eeuw*, in *Gouden jubileum gedenkboek van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht knapenkoor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekatedraal te Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1978, pp. 29–72.

[48] The Seven Sorrows are not represented in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, L.P. 629 (missal of Tournai, 1527, printed by Christopher Ruremund in Antwerp); L.P. II 33208 (breviary of Utrecht, 1551, printed by Joannes Ruremund in Antwerp); L.P. B 525 (missal of Tournai, late fifteenth-century incunabulum).

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 195

The chant and polyphony in BrusBR 215–16 instead fits exactly known descriptions of chapel and confraternity devotions, which included masses and sometimes vespers, but never the other hours of the office. With two masses, two motets, and chant for two vespers and the mass, but not for lauds, matins, or the lesser hours, BrusBR 215–16 contains all of the necessary music for chapel or confraternity services, with no superfluous compositions. Separate *libelli* for chapel services are known from the thirteenth century onwards, and hundreds of missals prepared especially for chapels survive from the later Middle Ages, but here it is appropriate to point to the carefully prepared choirbooks of the Marian Confraternity of *Sint Jan* in 's-Hertogenbosch from the 1530s and 1540s, which, like BrusBR 215–16, include both chant and polyphony in single books.[49]

The texts and music of the Seven Sorrows office in BrusBR 215–16 have many hallmarks of fifteenth-century devotions: most texts are biblical and many are from the Song of Songs; and the music follows tonal prescriptions, even *clichés*. The texts for first vespers begin with the prophecy of Simeon that a sword will pierce the soul of Mary (Luke 2:35) and continue with a newly composed text and three texts from the Song of Songs. The rhymed responsory is borrowed from matins of De Manso's office, where it serves as the ninth and final responsory. Also borrowed is the chapter *Cum esset rex*, which would have been familiar from its use as an antiphon text for Mary's Nativity or Assumption.[50] The selection of antiphons for second vespers is not indicated at all in BrusBR 215–16 – which is unusual, because normally they were borrowed from lauds. BrusBR 215–16 lacks lauds, so presumably the antiphons for first vespers were to be used again. The responsory for second vespers is also a rhymed text from the De Manso office. There it is the ninth and final responsory of matins, but to be used only *in tempore paschali*. The Magnificat antiphon to second vespers cites the *fera pessima* or 'evil beast' we know from Joseph's dream in Genesis 37:33; Machaut's motet cycle inspired by the Dominican, Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*;[51] and also, except for one word, the passage on which Loyset Compère constructs a canon in his motet of 1507, *Sola caret monstris*.[52]

MUSIC AND TEXTS

The antiphons of first vespers, ordered in modes one through five, use intonations and *differentiae* appropriate, even common for their modes, with the exception of antiphon four, which has a less usual intonation. The omnipresence of wide intervals and scalar descents are characteristic of late chant, as are the cadences from the subtonium to the final in antiphons three and four. The respon-

[49] Described in HAMM & KELLMAN, *Census-Catalogue*, 1, pp. 268–271; other manuscripts with chant and polyphony are kept in the same library. Cf. K. FORNEY, *Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp. 1–57. Archives of confraternities throughout the Low Countries invariably describe masses on selected days and their octaves, with vespers and motets, but never matins. See P. TRIO and B. HAGGH, *The Archives of Confraternities in Ghent and Music*, in B. HAGGH, F. DAELEMANS and A. VANRIE eds., *Musicology and Archival Research*, (*Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België*, extra-nummer 46), Brussels, 1994, pp. 44–90.

[50] *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, no. 2450.

[51] See A. ROBERTSON, *Machaut's Early Motets and the Medieval Mystical Tradition*, in J. HILL ed., *American Musicological Society, Annual Meeting, Abstracts, Boston: October 29 – November 1, 1998*, Philadelphia, 1998, p. 64. Suso, like Michel François, taught theology at the University of Cologne.

[52] Compère's canon in two of the five voices sets the phrase, *Fera pessima devoravit filium meum Joseph*. See J. DEAN, *The Occasion of Compère's 'Sola caret monstris': A Case Study in Historical Interpretation*, in *Musica disciplina*, 40 (1986), pp. 99–133, especially pp. 100, 103, 117–126, 129. The motet is in VatS 42, fol. 78v–80r (facsimile pp. 101–102; manuscript dated 1501–1512). Dunning dates the motet circa 1507.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 196

sory verse is, predictably, a new composition, but the Magnificat antiphon recalls a widely used melody for the hymn assigned to Mary's Assumption around this time, *O quam glorifica luce*. There is no evidence of word painting in the antiphons of first vespers, as in Du Fay's *Recollectio*, but, as in Du Fay's chant, repetition is deliberately avoided to provide a setting sensitive to the syntax and accentuation of the prose texts. Responsory melismas are intentionally placed on accented syllables or at cadences. Nevertheless, we find no humanistic word-setting tendencies. The only word painting is the spectacular melisma on *fructum* in the responsory for second vespers, emphasizing the fruit we receive from Christ's passion, that is, grace. The Magnificat antiphon for second vespers lacks its mode seven *differentia*, a scribe's oversight.

The mass texts except for the gradual and prosa are from the Bible. The mass begins with its only allusion to other chant. The introit in mode two has a melody resembling the Marian votive introit *Salve sancta parens*.[53] The gradual resembles no identifiable model, and the Alleluia and verse are also new. The solo intonation of the Alleluia is repeated at the end of the verse, but curiously the scribe misplaced the rubric for the verse, moving it back to the beginning of the melisma for the choir. The verse does have a surprising octave leap at *terra nosTRA*, an interval which never occurs in earlier plainchant and is even exceedingly rare in the Victorine sequence. The tract, in mode eight like the oldest examples of the genre, is also a new composition, its verses lacking any of the formulaic repetition characteristic of Gregorian tracts. The prosa, with new texts and music, is found in no other known source, and its texts and poetic scheme are unlike that of the *Stabat mater*. It is in mode seven and differs from the Victorine sequences in beginning with a descent.[54] *Astat* exhibits no musical relationship with the Alleluia or verse.[55] The offertory in mode four and the communion in mode seven are also new.

It is worth noticing that the plainchant office does not include any chants used as cantus firmi in the polyphony of BrusBR 215–16, nor are any trope texts taken from the De Manso *officium*. The trope texts are written in red above the mass texts in black, only in the tenor part, except in the Agnus Dei on folio 31v, where the trope appears in the bassus part as well. Cantus firmi include the invitatory for matins of the Seven Sorrows printed in the *Quodlibetica*, *Dolores gloriose* (quoted in La Rue's Kyrie 1 and Christe), and a sequence, *Salve virgo generosa*,[56] a parody of the *Stabat mater* that adds other Sorrows to the single Sorrow of the Cross in the latter (quoted in La Rue's Kyrie 2 and throughout the mass until its end; anonymous mass, with a different melody that is like a *rhythmus* and unlike a hymn or sequence), also given in the *Quodlibetica*. The songs cited in the polyphony are all well known.[57]

[53] *Salve sancta parens* (*Liber usualis*, p. 1263) is itself modelled on the introit *Ecce advenit Dominator* for Epiphany (*LU*, p. 459).

[54] Cf. CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, no. 1373: *Astat mater migranti Filio, Simeonis consumpta gladio*, for the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.

[55] But notice the phrase *proch dolor* in the text of *Astat*, which reoccurs in the motet *Proch dolor / Pie Jesu* for seven voices and anonymous, in BrusBR 228. It seems very likely that other polyphonic works in the Alamire manuscripts represent the devotion to the Seven Sorrows.

[56] This text appears in the register of the confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of Saint Géry in Brussels. See LÉPICIER, *Mater dolorosa*, pp. 240–241, and note 65 below. See the edition in BLUME & DREVES, *Analecta hymnica*, 8, p. 54, and in ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 39.

[57] On the three songs, see FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, pp. 116–117 (*Comme femme*); pp. 129–130 (*De tous biens plaine*); pp. 624–625 (*Nunca fue*).

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 197

THE SEVEN SORROWS AND CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC

Did Charles de Clerc belong to a confraternity where such an office could have been used? There is no evidence whatever that he had any association to the Seven Sorrows confraternities established by Jean de Coudenberg or Philip the Fair. Yet he was a sovereign patron of a chamber of rhetoric in Mechelen, which might have played a part in the history of BrusBR 215–16. The guild book of the leading chamber of rhetoric in Mechelen, *De Peoene*, depicts De Clerc's coat of arms on folio 10r, followed by a list of names dated circa 1510.[58] The first records of *De Peoene* come from 1472,[59] and Van Autenboer deduced that these rhetoricians were already organizing the dramatic entertainments at Mechelen's *Ommegang*, the civic procession which was held on the Wednesday after Easter Sunday.[60] Part of that entertainment was the performance of a Marian play, but on different subjects. In 1493, *De Peoene* performed a play of the Seven Sorrows of Mary before Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria in Mechelen, this time on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation.[61]

One cannot ignore the many jesters' faces in BrusBR 215–16, which bring rhetoricians to mind, and *De Peoene* did count musicians among its members, but also noticeable on many folios are the arrows and birds.[62] The most important event during the *Ommegangen* in the Low Countries was not necessarily the Marian play, but the contest held after it between the best archers to pierce with their arrow a fake bird perched on a church spire. The winner of this contest, which remained popular into the eighteenth century, would be named King, and a festive meal always followed in his honor.[63] It may be significant that Charles de Clerc became King of *De Peoene* in 1514.[64] Since the court was usually present on such occasions, one could imagine the manuscript serving as a gift prepared for Charles de Clerc on this occasion.

Evidence that the manuscript was prepared quickly is not hard to find. Many incomplete parts are finished on alternate pages, and the cursive script also reflects a certain haste. The scribe seems inexperienced or hasty however, since numerous *renvoies* show that he had trouble fitting the music on the page.[65] The office, in a different hand, appears to be carefully copied, but one *differentia* was omitted, the Alleluia verse rubric was misplaced, and the rubrics are minimal. Presumably the manuscript was destined for someone who already had the necessary accompanying breviary or texts. The manuscript was used, since the corners of its folios are brownish and dirty.

The known devotions established by *De Peoene* do not correspond to the contents of the manuscript, however. On 5 April 1496, the chapter of the collegiate church of Saint Rombaut in Mechelen gave the guild permission to hold services at the altar of Saint Anne in the church, which would

[58] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, pp. 165, 178, 180. The motto of *De Peoene* was *In principio erat verbum*, and this phrase is prominent in some Alamire manuscripts. Jan de Couwenberghe (p. 180) was a painter, and was also too young to be the initiator of the Seven Sorrows devotion.

[59] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, p. 109. The chamber of rhetoric is cited in the accounts of the city of Mechelen.

[60] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, pp. 110, 244.

[61] The play was by Hendrik Maes, a member of *De Peoene*, and a canon at Saint Rombaut in Mechelen. See VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, pp. 111, 126, 150–153.

[62] See especially the openings on folio 1v–2r and 20v–21r.

[63] Cf. HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 434–442, especially pp. 441–442 on the parrot and king.

[64] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, p. 178.

[65] The scribe copied the full text even where it was not convenient, as at the bottom of folio 94.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 198

include a weekly mass on Sundays by a chaplain and solemn masses on 6 May, 27 December, and 26 July, the feast of Saint Anne.[66] Other solemnities took place in the chapel of the rhetoric chamber as well:

> *So eest gewoenlyc dat dit bruederscap oft gulden vander pyonen jaerlycx pleghen te kyesen eenen conynck omtrent vastelavont ende eer hy dan syn feeste hout, soe doet hy een missen singen oec solemnelyc*. [. . .]
>
> So it was customary that this confraternity or guild of the *Peoene* sought yearly to choose a King around the eve of Ash Wednesday and before he then held his feast, he had a mass sung, even solemnly.
>
> *Noch eest ghewoenlyc in andere steden alle brabant ende vlaenderen dueren, so wanneer de rethorycke in eenige stad versaminge heeft ende als daer beroepen wort om prys te winnen dat de gulde binnen der selver stadt daert ghebuert alle andere gulden doet commen tot eender ghesonghender misse*.[67]
>
> It was also customary in other cities throughout Brabant and Flanders, whenever the chambers of rhetoric in a city had a reunion and when a call was made for prizes to be won, that the guild within the same city where that happened would have all other guilds come to a sung mass.

Although these documents mention a sung mass on the day when the King changed, they nowhere indicate a mass specifically for the Seven Sorrows that could be held both during Lent and after Easter, as we find in BrusBR 215–16. Collation of the *Quodlibetica decisio* with BrusBR 215–16 confirms the recommended dates for the celebration of the feast of the Seven Sorrows: either on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, or, if the Annunciation of Mary interfered, either the preceding Friday or after Quasimodo Sunday, that is, after the octave of Easter. That the dates in the *Quodlibetica* were the dates intended for the BrusBR 215–16 office is evident because both offices provide an Alleluia and verse and a tract.

When the chambers of rhetoric were disbanded in the wake of the Counterreformation, their activities and sometimes archives passed to the Jesuit schools. Perhaps on his death in Mechelen Charles de Clerc donated his manuscript to *De Peoene* and it eventually came to Brussels, but most of the archives of *De Peoene* remained in Mechelen.[68] Therefore, the provenance of BrusBR 215–16 does encourage study of the most famous Seven Sorrows confraternity in Brussels, one also associated with the court and with an altar in the collegiate church of Saint Géry, a church as old as Saint Gudila. Here the confraternity foundations do correspond to the prescribed date and contents of BrusBR 215–16, but Charles de Clerc is nowhere to be found.

In 1493, a representative of the city council of Brussels permitted the rhetoric guilds of the Lily and the Violet to be joined and to form a new rhetoric guild of the Seven Sorrows, which was

[66] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, pp. 115–118. Charles de Clerc's third and last wife was named Anne Annoke.
[67] VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, p. 116.
[68] See VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, pp. 104–105, and the list of primary sources at the beginning of the book.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 199

patronized by Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria and had influential clergymen as members.[69] This is another example of an association between the Seven Sorrows devotion and the rhetoricians. The dean and chapter of Saint Gudila had given permission for a procession of this confraternity to take place every year on the Sunday before Ascension or five Sundays after Easter; the procession was now moved to the fourth Sunday after Easter so as not to conflict with the *Ommegang*, the main outdoor procession in Brussels. The procession of the Seven Sorrows confraternity accompanied the Marian statute of the Seven Sorrows kept at the church of Saint Géry and high mass was chanted on that day. The statutes of the confraternity were copied after the foundation documents. Members could be clergy or lay of both sexes of the Christian faith; one member would be expected to read the seven Sunday orations and seven salutations for the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin beginning on the week of the feast of the Seven Sorrows; and the office of the Seven Sorrows should be done solemnly the night of the day before Palm Sunday or after Easter when appropriate. These dates of the celebration of the Seven Sorrows office correspond exactly to those described in the *Quodlibetica decisio*. Unfortunately, there is no trace of Charles de Clerc in these confraternity documents, but I have not studied any other archives.

CHARLES DE CLERC: OWNER OF THE NAPLES MANUSCRIPT?

Before drawing final conclusions, we wish to examine Charles de Clerc's coat of arms in BrusBR 215–16 once again.[70] Charles de Clerc, born in the year of Charles the Bold's death and knighted by Maximilian, became master and president of the accounting office in Lille in 1516, just after Charles V's accession. Charles V then appointed De Clerc as *controlleur général de tous les officiers de sa majesté en son royaume de Naples*, and, it was written, *en laquelle charge il s'acquitta à son grand honneur*. That De Clerc was responsible for the court presence in Naples is extremely interesting, because his family's coat of arms corresponds very closely to a coat of arms added – after the main content of the manuscript was written – to the last verso of NapBN 40, with six anonymous masses on the cantus firmus *l'homme armé*.[71] Indeed, a case can be made that the arms at the end of the manuscript indicate ownership, and that Charles de Clerc or a member of his family was an owner of the manuscript.

The coat of arms on folio 2r in BrusBR 215–16 represents Charles de Clerc's marriage to his third wife, Anne Annoke, with the De Clerc arms (on the left) impaling the Annoke arms (on the right). As Robijns described, the left impalement is quartered and the upper left and lower right

[69] Musician members of the Lily in Brussels in 1498/1499 were Willem Bouwens, Anthonis de Vos, Aert Volkaert, and two organists, Gielis and Claes Brugman; see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, p. 439. Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria were present for the establishment of the Seven Sorrows Confraternity at Saint Géry in Brussels in 1498 (Brussels, Archives de la Ville, MS 3413, fol. 17v, 27r–28r, 23 September 1508). The statutes of the confraternity were confirmed by Pope Sixtus IV on 13 February 1496, but the confraternity was only established in 1498. On the confraternity, see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 108–109.

[70] The following discussion draws upon the most thorough study of the heraldry of the De Clerc family: A. VAN LANGENHOVE DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc, seigneurs de Bouvekercke*, in *Recueil de l'office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique*, 6, Brussels, 1957, pp. 69–96. I am very grateful to Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens of the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, who was able to obtain a copy of this article for me on short notice. The views expressed here are my own, except where indicated otherwise.

[71] On the Naples manuscript, written circa 1477–1480 in the Low Countries for Beatrice of Aragon, see HAMM & KELLMAN, *Census-Catalogue*, 2, pp. 247–248.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 200

quarters contain the arms of Charles de Clerc's father, Jean de Clerc (d. 1516), alderman (member of the city council) of Arras.[72] The arms of Jean de Clerc have an undivided field of blue tincture with a gold fess and three silver mullets, two above the fess and one below.

Several De Clerc sons took the arms of Jean. Charles de Clerc was Jean's eldest son and did take his father's arms, as we can see from a triptych depicting him with his wife before Maximilian, who holds a sword in his right hand and a miniature of the Cathedral of Aachen (which also resembles the *Sainte-Chapelle*), in his left hand.[73] The arms of Charles appear again at the bottom of the painting *La vie et les miracles de Saint Rombaut* in that church, here with four quarters, the upper left and lower right containing Jean de Clerc's arms.[74] Jean de Clerc's arms were also taken by Charles's younger brother, Robert, abbot of the abbey of Dunes near Bruges (d. 1557),[75] and youngest brother, Hugues de Clerc, born 30 September 1493. Hugues was appointed *Gouverneur & Capitaine du Duché de Sore, au Royaume de Naples* by Philippe de Croy, after he had served Maximilian in Milan in 1516. When he went to Naples after that, he met his brother, Charles, who was there in his new capacity as *Commissaire Général pour l'Empereur au dit royaume*.[76] The duchy of Sore belonged to Charles V, who gave it to Philippe de Croy, prince of Chimay, the latter who instituted Hugues de Clerc as *gouverneur* of the duchy of Sore until 1532, when the duchy was returned to the duke of Urbino. At this time, Hugues de Clerc retired to Flanders and lived in Nieuwpoort where he died in 1562. Hugues, like Charles, was knighted by Maximilian I.[77] Finally, Guillaume de Clerc, Seigneur de Bouvekercke (d. 1597), who was knighted by Charles V in Namur in 1544, also took the family arms. Along the left side of his funeral monument are a series of family arms, beginning with those of Jean de Clerc.[78] Also worth mentioning is the first son of Charles de Clerc and Anne Annoke, Jean de Clerc, canon of Cambrai, in 1520 bishop of Oristan, then archbishop of Oristan, and also *abbé commandataire* of Saint Juste in Sardinia (d. 1563).[79]

It is remarkable that very similar arms to those of Jean de Clerc appear in the blazons of the Mechelen rhetoric guild of *De Peoene* and in NapBN 40.[80] The arms on the last verso in the Naples manuscript, like Jean de Clerc's arms, have a field of dark blue tincture. The Naples arms are very worn, but an oxidized fess and three besants can be distinguished: two above the fess and two

[72] ROBIJNS, *Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 32 (facsimile) and p. 37 (discussion).

[73] DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, facsimile after p. 80, where several items are misidentified. The left panel of the triptych shows Saint Philippe, with Philippe Annoke and his wife Marie Colisson; the right volet shows Maximilian, holy Roman emperor, with, on the left, Charles de Clerc (with his father's coat of arms and a helm looking to the left, as in the Naples manuscript arms) and on the right, Anne Annoke (with arms above divided into two halves – the left half the arms of the De Clerc family). Unfortunately, the present location of the triptych is not known. But an important discussion of the figure of Maximilian is on p. 77, note 16, and also see the discussion pp. 78 and 91.

[74] See DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, facsimile after p. 96, and, on Charles de Clerc, pp. 75–79.

[75] Robert de Clerc was born in 1489 and became abbot in 1519. See DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, p. 72 (biography) and the facsimiles after pp. 71 and 72 (coat of arms, with arms of his father in the upper left and lower right quarters) and the discussion on pp. 73–74.

[76] On Hugues de Clerc, see DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, pp. 74–75. Hugues arrived in Naples ... *ou estoit son frère Messire Charles de Clercq – président à Lille, Commissaire-Général pour l'Empereur au dit royaume*.

[77] DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, pp. 74–75.

[78] On Guillaume, see DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, pp. 79–81.

[79] DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, p. 79.

[80] In the coats of arms of chambers of rhetoric, the arms on the left side are always those of the King: see P. COCKSHAW ed., *Uyt Ionsten Versaemt: Het Landjuweel van 1561 te Antwerpen*, Brussels, 1994, pp. 146, 152, 158.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 201

below. These are comparable to the gold fess and three silver mullets of De Clerc. The motto *Que par dieu soit* in the Naples manuscript is not in the literature on the De Clerc family or in any book of mottos known to me, but a similar thought is expressed in the motto of Anne Annoke, *Solum deum*, which appears in a manuscript obituary of Charles de Clerc. It is found in a large parchment book, just after the obituary notice, with the motto of Charles de Clerc, also the motto of his family in the following centuries, *Sperans timeo*.[81]

The two blazons of *De Peoene* of 1561 have a coat of arms identical to Jean de Clerc's, but with an upturned crescent below the fess instead of a mullet: in the first blazon, this coat of arms is to the left where the arms of the King of the chamber of rhetoric customarily appear (Charles de Clerc was King decades earlier); in the second, it is at the bottom.[82] The mullet and crescent may be cadency marks, but their precise meaning remains to be determined.

Charles de Clerc remains the most interesting candidate as former owner of the Naples manuscript, however, because the coat of arms is in a style common around 1500, according to Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens, that is, dating from his lifetime. His ties to southern Italy were already well established by then. De Clerc was born in 1477, the year of Charles the Bold's death, the *Carolus princeps* who once enjoyed the Naples masses. De Clerc's godfather was the duke of Calabria, at this time none other than Alfonso, the eldest son of King Ferrante II, later King Alfonso II. De Clerc was knighted by Maximilian I, sent on numerous missions by Charles V, and was considered the most illustrious of his family. It is important that his tombstone mentions his post in Naples.[83]

Klaas van der Heide observed that Ferrante II was in Naples in the summer of 1475, when Beatrice of Aragon, the presumed dedicatee of NapBN 40, visited to prepare her wedding with Matthias Corvinus. In April 1475, Ferrante II had received the statutes and insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Yet his son, the duke of Calabria, was even more actively engaged in the fight against the Turks: he was commander-in-chief of the combined Neapolitan and papal armies that expelled the Turks from Italy at the battle of Otranto in September 1481.[84]

Despite its dedication to Beatrice, the Naples manuscript seems to have remained in Naples. Perhaps the masses became the property of Charles de Clerc in 1495, when Alfonso II, then King, was forced to abdicate the throne in favor of his son.[85] Further research into the contacts between De Clerc and his family and the rulers of Naples would surely prove interesting, but would require thorough searches not only in Naples, but also in the archives of *De Peoene* and the Burgundian-Habsburg court.

[81] Full transcription in DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, p. 90.

[82] See VAN AUTENBOER, *Volksfeesten en rederijkers*, p. 81 (Fig. 3), and p. 129 (Fig. 5).

[83] According to DE BOUVEKERCKE, *Les De Clerc*, pp. 75–78, the duke of Calabria in question was a certain Anthoine de Poix (Poix is a small village south of Amiens), but I cannot reconcile this information with the overwhelming evidence for Alfonso, Duke of Calabria.

[84] Private communication, fall 2000. Also see R. WOODLEY, *Tinctoris's Translation of the Golden Fleece Statutes: A Text and a (Possible) Context*, in *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), pp. 173–244; and A. ATLAS, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge, 1985, which includes, on p. 22, a photograph of the bust of the duke of Calabria.

[85] Cf. ATLAS, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, p. 5.

hfst Haggh 12-11-2003 13:44 Pagina 202

CONCLUSIONS

As for BrusBR 215–16, our study leads us to conclude that the manuscript was prepared for Charles de Clerc either after his 1514 appointment as King of *De Peoene* or, more likely, on his appointment in 1516 as chief officer of the *Chambre des Comptes* in Lille. The scribe Alamire moved to Mechelen from Antwerp in 1516, all the more reason to prefer that date. In Mechelen at court, Alamire could have easily received the exemplar with the Josquin *Stabat mater* and De Manso office, even from De Manso himself, then living in Mechelen.

BrusBR 215–16 was intended for De Clerc's private use, however, not for use by a confraternity. Although the content of the manuscript suggests that is was destined for use on a specific feast of the Seven Sorrows, the plainchant could have served as a votive office and mass, since it includes the Alleluia verse and tract. Singers were certainly available in Lille where De Clerc resided. BrusBR 215–16 thereby provides us with a unique example of the elegant devotional books that must have been produced for members of the court in greater numbers than survive. It reflects Dominican interests in the Virgin Mary, court patronage, and polyphony as rich in symbolism as any altarpiece. Finally it poses important questions about Josquin and the circle of his acquaintances, which must have included Duwez, and about the Naples masses and the noble knight who once owned these exceptional compositions.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 203

THE ALAMIRE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ILLUSTRE LIEVE VROUWE BROEDERSCHAP* IN 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH: NEW FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS*

Véronique Roelvink
Universiteit Utrecht

The three manuscripts 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C, choirbooks attributed to Petrus Alamire, have received but little scholarly attention in the past few decades. The first description of these polyphonic books, by Albert Smijers, dates from 1946 and has hardly been revised since.[1] However, a close analysis of the manuscripts, which are kept in the archives of the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* (Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady) in 's-Hertogenbosch, has given much on which to reflect.[2] The purpose of this article, then, is to shed a new light on these interesting choirbooks, by offering new facts and considerations.

The *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* in 's-Hertogenbosch was founded in 1318 in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[3] Alongside many thousands of so-called *buitenleden*, literally 'external members', who had nothing to do with the daily management of the Confraternity, there were a few dozen sworn brethren. These sworn brethren were highly placed men, most of whom worked and lived in 's-Hertogenbosch or its direct surroundings, but some of whom were based further afield. The sworn brethren gathered every Tuesday in their own chapel in the *Sint-Janskerk* (Saint

* I owe many thanks to L.C.J.M. Rouppe van der Voort, archivist of the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* in 's-Hertogenbosch, for welcoming me in the archives of the Confraternity in the *Zwanenbroedershuis*, just before almost the entire archives were given to the *Rijksarchief in Noord-Brabant*, also in 's-Hertogenbosch. To me, the days I spent in the Hinthamerstraat will always be memorable as a unique experience, also because of the hospitality of Mrs. I. de Bresser, manager of the *Zwanenbroedershuis*. I also want to thank Dr. Jan Sanders and Monique Brummans for making it possible for me to continue my investigations in the *Rijksarchief*. I am very grateful to Jaap van Benthem and Dr. Eric Jas for their constructive suggestions to this article. I would also like to thank Penny Turner and Marianne Roobol for their kind help in translating the text. The results of this and further research have been published in V. ROELVINK, *Gegeven den sangeren. Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2002.

[1] A. SMIJERS, *Meerstemmige muziek van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 16 (1946), pp. 1–30; R. DE BEER, *Petrus Alamire, drie koorboeken*, in A.M. KOLDEWEIJ ed., *In Buscoducis. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch. De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance, Bijdragen*, exh. cat., 's-Gravenhage, 1990, pp. 228–230; R. DE BEER, *Petrus Alamire, muziekschrijver en calligraaf*, in KOLDEWEIJ, *In Buscoducis*, pp. 505–512; M.J. BLOXAM, *A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460–1520*, Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987, pp. 179–195; C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Sources*, 1), 5 vols., Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988, 1, pp. 268–269; and 4, p. 401.

[2] The seven manuscripts containing polyphony from the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* in 's-Hertogenbosch (Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady, abbreviated in this article as *ILVB*) are still in the *Zwanenbroedershuis*, the house of this Confraternity in the same city: 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B, 's HerAB 72C, 's HerAB 73, 's HerAB 74, 's HerAB 75, and 's HerAB Codex Smijers. The accounts of the Confraternity are in the *Rijksarchief in Noord-Brabant* in 's-Hertogenbosch (abbreviated in this article as *RANB*), which keeps most of the collection of the Confraternity.

[3] Concerning the history of the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, see G.C.M. VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten, Geschiedenis van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318–1973*, Tilburg, 1973.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 204

John's church) to attend first vespers. On Wednesdays they attended mass in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary.[4] Other religious feasts were also celebrated by means of vespers and/or mass.[5] From the fourteenth century on, music was a part of the ceremonies in the Confraternity's chapel of the *Sint-Janskerk*. To this purpose, the Confraternity regularly ordered new music, and Petrus Alamire was one of the copyists from whom the Confraternity ordered music.

Already in 1946 Albert Smijers was able to connect 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C with Petrus Alamire, mainly on the basis of their general appearance and by using information from the accounts of the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*.[6] These financial records show that formal assignments for three choirbooks were given to Alamire in the years 1530/1531. A fourth choirbook was delivered by Alamire on his own account in January 1531.[7] In July 1530, Alamire was paid in advance for the first assignment: 'twelve guilders given to a master from Mechelen, to write two books containing a total of sixteen masses in *discant*'. We may assume that Alamire received the payment in person, and that he arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch most likely between 9 and 22 July. One of the sworn brethren of the Confraternity, a certain *meester* (master) *Merten die Graeff*, stood surety for this payment. The assignment was detailed in a contract, which, unfortunately, has not been preserved.[8] According to the accounts, the sixteen masses had been selected by the singers of the Confraternity, probably from their own repertoire: 'twelve stivers beer money given to the singers, because they have selected sixteen masses to be copied by an excellent master in Mechelen',[9] and 'fourteen stivers given to Jannen Brandt on 26 July because he and his colleagues have selected sixteen masses to be written into two books by a master from Mechelen, according to the written contract'.[10] The books were delivered on 28 January 1531.[11] At the end of September or the beginning of October of that same year, a wooden board was made for the two books: 'one and a half

[4] VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 21–22.

[5] Among others the seven Marian feasts (Visitation, Assumption, Nativity, Presentation, Conception, Purification and Annunciation), the feasts of Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint Anne and Saint John the Evangelist. Each year four general memorial services were celebrated. See also VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, p. 248 ff.

[6] A. SMIJERS, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. Archivalia bijeengebracht door dr. A. Smijers*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 16 (1946), pp. 63–106.

[7] The first assignments of the Confraternity to Alamire in 1496/1497 will not be discussed here. Concerning these assignments, see, among others, E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, p. 15.

[8] *Gegeven eenen meester wonende tot Mechelen om te scriven twee boecken van sestien missen van discant als in die cele vanden verdinge begrepen staet op rekeninge daer meester Merten die Graeff boirge voir staet 12 Rijns gulden* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1530/1531, *Uutgeven der proesten voirgenoempt bynnen den tyde deser rekeninge, Alaerts Henrix van Bree ende Jans vanden Wiel beginnende des saterdaigs voir sint Jans baptisten dach anno 1530 tot 31*, fol. 402r, between 9 and 22 July).

[9] *Gegeven den sangers want zy sestien missen geordineert hebben om te laten scriven tot Mechelen van eenen excelenten meester tot drinck gelt 12 stuvers* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1530/1531, *Uutgeven der proesten...*, fol. 402r).

[10] *Item Jannen Brandt den 26-sten july om dat hy met zynen medegesellen sestien missen geordineert hebben die ons een meester van Mechelen in twee boecken scriven sall, nae inhaudt der cedullen daer aff gemaict alzoe gegeven 14 stuvers* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1530/1531, *Uutgeven der proesten...*, fol. 403v).

[11] *Gegeven eenen meester van Mechelen genoempt Alemiere den 28-sten january om dat hy een sangboeck gelevert hadde ende twee boecken aen hem verdingt was ende dat tselver boeck beter was dant verdinght was met hem overcomen ende hem noch moeten geven boven die twelf gulden die hy ontfangen hadde 9 Rijns gulden* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1530/1531, *Uutgeven der proesten...*, fol. 413v–414r).

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 205

stivers given to the joiner for making the wooden board to contain the sixteen masses in *musuick* that we can sing every week from our two new books'.[12]

In the meantime, sworn members of the Confraternity must have given Alamire eight new masses to copy into a choirbook, because the accounts mention a payment of eighteen guilders to Alamire in person on 22 July 1531, for a new book containing eight masses, which meant another visit to 's-Hertogenbosch: 'eighteen guilders given to *Peteren Allemire* from Mechelen for a choirbook containing *musuyck*, ordered by some of our sworn brethren who selected eight masses that he took away with him to copy into *musick*, and delivered according to our contract 22 July'.[13] Perhaps Alamire's work on the first two books had not completely satisfied the Confraternity, since this book was only paid on delivery, and even inspected by the singers, but finally it was 'thank God' accepted: 'ten stivers given to Sebastiaen, our *sangmester*, and his colleagues to check the book and see if it is justly and correctly written according to the contract, and thank God it is'.[14] Judging from the high price the Confraternity had to pay for the book,[15] and from the fact that the book contained 'only' eight masses, it may have been a very luxurious manuscript.

On 28 January 1531, together with the two books ordered in July 1530, Alamire delivered a third manuscript, which had not been ordered. This last book, for which Alamire received nine guilders, is said explicitly to have been better than the two books that were ordered: 'In addition to the twelve guilders already given him, an extra nine guilders given on 28 January to a master from Mechelen, named *Alemiere*, because he has delivered a choirbook together with two books we had ordered from him, this book being better than the two ordered books'.[16] The meaning of the word 'better' remains unclear. It could mean more compositions, more luxurious, or of a better quality in some other undefined way. It also remains unclear who gave the book the qualification 'better'. Was it Alamire himself, one of the singers or one of the sworn brethren?

[12] *Gegeven den screynmaker van dat bartken te maken daer in gescreven staen die 16 missen van ons twe neij boeken om te syngen alle veken die en nae den anderen int musuick gegeven 1½ stuver* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1531/1532, *Wuytgheven der proesten Jans vanden Wyel ende Jorijs Sampsson bijnnen den tyde deser rekenynghe beghijnnende des saterdaechs voer sunt Jan baptisten dach anno 31 jaer van alderhande saken ten iersten*, no foliation, between 20 September and 9 October). The meaning of the word *bartken* remains unclear. It could mean a wooden board on which the titles of the masses were written, although this would be unusual. Jaap van Benthem suggested to me that *bartken* refers to the wooden boards, or covers, of the books. Although this seems the best explanation, it would mean that the books were bound eight or nine months after they had been delivered.

[13] *Gegeven Peteren Allemire van Mechelen van een musuyck sangboeck dat met sommeghe van onsen gezvoren mebroers aen hem verdinck vas te maken van acht myssen die hem mede gegeven varen om inder musick te stellen ende also volbracht heft nae inhout onser vorvarden daer af gemackt vas ende gelevert den 22 july daer af betaelt 18 gulden* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1531/1532, *Uutgheven der proesten vanden pennijghen by hem als voer ontfangen ende vederom bekert ende beleet hebben soe in pachten zchijnssen renten ende chieraet ofte reperatie van onsser liever wrouven capelle ofte anders gelick hier volght. Uutgeven*, no foliation).

[14] *Gegeven onsen Sebastiaen sangmester metter anderen gesellen om dit vorscreven boeck te visenteren ende om te besien oft gerecht ende lofbaer gemackt vas nae inhoudt onsser voervarden ende also bevonden Godt danck hier af gesconcken 10 stuvers* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1531/1532, *Uutgheven der proesten...*, no foliation).

[15] I thank Dr. Eric Jas for suggesting that the high price was the reason for the Confraternity to have the book inspected.

[16] *Gegeven eenen meester van Mechelen genoempt Alemiere den 28-sten january om dat hy een sangboeck gelevert hadde ende twee boecken aen hem verdingt was ende dat tselver boeck beter was dant verdinght was met hem overcomen ende hem noch moeten geven boven die twelf gulden die hy ontfangen hadde 9 Rijns gulden* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1530/1531, *Uutgeven der proesten...*, fol. 413v–414r).

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 206

Until now, scholars have assumed that the three choirbooks 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C were to be identified as three of the four books that were bought from Alamire in the years 1530/1531. However, none of the choirbooks, in their present state, wholly complies with the descriptions given in the accounts: 's HerAB 72A contains seven masses and one textless composition, 's HerAB 72B contains eight masses and one motet, and 's HerAB 72C contains eight masses and eight motets.

The manuscript 's HerAB 72B most closely fits the descriptions in the accounts of 1530/1531, as the text of the motet *Que celi pandis hostium [O Salutaris hostia]*, which is placed neatly between two groups of four masses, is written in a different hand.[17] The text is undoubtedly a later addition.[18] Moreover, it is the only composition without voice indications and initials. Assuming that the sixteen selected masses were written in two books of eight masses, and assuming that the motet was not originally meant to be written in the manuscript, it is my opinion that 's HerAB 72B could be one of the two manuscripts ordered in July 1530.

There is another interesting feature of 's Her AB 72B. It still has two of the painted initials of the first mass, the *Missa Cum jocunditate* by La Rue. The initials picture a knight and a lady. In 1987 Maria Kapp suggested that the knight could represent Maximilian I and the woman his daughter, Margaret of Austria.[19] Although Kapp notes that the woman is accompanied by a dragon, the symbol of Margaret,[20] to me it seems that the dragon-like figure is merely coincidental. If the knight and the lady could represent Maximilian and Margaret, it is my opinion that they could also be Charles V and Mary of Hungary. Maximilian had already been dead for more than ten years. The years 1530 and 1531 were important years for the Burgundian-Habsburg court. Margaret of Austria died in December 1530 and Mary of Hungary was appointed governor of the Low Countries by her brother Charles shortly after the death of their aunt. The sworn brethren of the Confraternity belonged to the top layer of society, and some of them even worked at the Burgundian court.[21] There is no doubt they were well informed on court matters.

[17] The music in 's HerAB 72B has been written in one hand (Flynn Warmington's scribe K). The same scribe also wrote the music of 's HerAB 72C, though using different flags on the fusae. The text of the masses has been written in one script, related to 's HerAB 72A and to the first script of 's HerAB 72C up to folio 92r inclusive, plus folios 111v–112r, 131v–132r and 152v–153r (all motets), with minor differences. The text of the motet *Que celi pandis hostium [O salutaris hostia]* (fol. 87v–88r) is written in the same script as the text of the motet *O Salutaris hostia* in 's HerAB 72C (fol. 171v–172r).

[18] The pages on which the motet is written were probably originally meant to remain blank. Although we don't know how the gatherings were originally put together, each gathering probably contained one mass (folios 1r, 19v–20r, 39v–40r, 62v–63r, 110v–111r, 133v–134r, 153v–154r, 169v–170 are blank; always the beginning or end of a composition). Since the music is in the same script as the rest of the manuscript, it must have been added before the book was delivered, which makes it all the more curious.

[19] M. KAPP, *Musikalische Handschriften des burgundischen Hofes in Mecheln und Brüssel ca. 1495–1530. Studien zur Entwicklung Gerard Horenbouts und seiner Werkstatt*, Inaugural-Diss., Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Darmstadt, 1987, pp. 171–172.

[20] A dragon is indeed the symbol of Saint Margaret of Antioch. See art. *Margaretha van Antiochië*, in *Grote Winkler Prins Encyclopedie in 26 delen*, 15, Amsterdam – Antwerpen, 1992, p. 331; and art. *Margaret of Antioch, Saint*, in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 7, Chicago, 1990, p. 835.

[21] Johannis Bax, for example, *procureur en rentmeester* (procurator and treasurer) of the Confraternity, became high treasurer to the emperor Charles V in 1528/1529: *Johannis Bacx want hy syner staet vermeerdert heeft ende gewoirden is hoich rendtmeester des keysers* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1528/1529, *Ontfanck Inden iersten van alderhande saken*, fol. 240r). Obviously it was impossible to combine this function with that of *procureur en rentmeester* of the Confraternity, as his son Simon became *procureur en rentmeester* the following year.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 207

However, if the knight and the lady were meant to refer to real persons, there is another possibility. Some of the sworn members of the Confraternity were knights. One of them, Jan Back, *heer tot Asten* (Lord of Asten),[22] had given the Confraternity large amounts of money several times. After his death on 11 February 1509[23] – he was buried just in front of the altar, the most honourable place in the chapel[24] – his widow, Adriana van Wylick, continued this charitable tradition.[25] She died in April 1532.[26] Given the noble circles Jan Back and his spouse belonged to, it is not unthinkable that they also knew members of the Burgundian court. Margaret of Austria visited 's-Hertogenbosch several times.[27]

[22] Concerning his descent, see T.A. BOEREE, *De kroniek van het geslacht Backx (Bax, Bacx, Bakx en Baks)*, Wageningen, 1943.

[23] Several dates of death have been suggested in literature: 10 or 11 February 1508, and 10 or 11 February 1509. The year 1508 is definitely wrong, because Jan Back's memorial service as a sworn brother was held on 12 March 1509: *Item ter exequie heer Jan Backx xij*[s] *marcy gedaen als gewoendelyck is beliep xxv st oert ende hebben die vrynde betaelt xxv* [1]/[2] *st ergo nyet* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 8, account 1508/1509, *Ander uuytgeven van alrehande saken binnen den tyde deser rekeninge*, fol. 112v). The memorial services for the sworn brethren were always celebrated shortly after their deaths, otherwise a reason for postponing the service would have been mentioned. In the accounts of the ILVB there is confusion as to whether the date of death was 10 or 11 February 1509. This confusion stems from the establishment in 1510 of the foundation for Jan Back's repose by his widow Adriana van Wylick (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 8, account 1509/1510, *Ander ontfanck byden voirscreven proesten ten tyde deser rekeninge ontfangen gecoemen van alder alderhande zaken in manieren hier nae volgende*, fol. 172v). The text of the foundation mentions his date of death as 10 February, whereas the service itself was always celebrated on 11 February. His death duties were paid after his death by his family (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 8, account 1508/1509, *Ander ontfanck van doetsculden der bruderen ende susteren die in tyde deser rekeninge gestorven syn daer af die vrynden die die doetschulde betaelt hebben gelyck hier nae volgt*, fol. 97v).

[24] VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 430, 458, and 466. His widow was buried close to him, as mentioned in the account of 1532/1533: ... *de sepultuer van mi vrou Baecxs velcke sepultuer staet recht tegen onsser liever vrouwen altaer oever beneven heere Jan Back riddere saligher memorie* ... (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1532/1533, *Uuijtgheven der proisten Everaerts vanden Water ende Ghysbrecht Pels bynnen den tyde deeser rekenynghe, beghynnende des saterdaechs voir Sunt Jan baptysten dach anno xxxij eyndende des saterdaechs voer sunt Jan baptisten dach anno drie ende dartich Van alder hande saicken*, no foliation, between 29 March and 5 April).

[25] See, among others, VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 162, 165, 281. Adriana van Wylick was one of the donors of six candleholders for the chapel (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 9, account 1520/1521, *Ontfanck tegen die metaellen armen*, fol. 120r).

[26] *Want vrouwe Adriana van Wijlijck wedue saliger heren Jans Back ridder heeft gefundeert een jaergetyde jaerlicx op den dinsdach na Sunte Peters dach ad vincula in augusto alsoe lange als zy leefden Ende na haerder doot, op haer jaergetijde alsoe over mits dat sy aflivich geworden is anno xxxij in aprilli den* [blank space, no day mentioned] *dach, welcken dach op summige jaren niet wel dienen en soude overmits dat den paeschen hooch ende lech compt Soe is by den vrienden ende proesten geordineert datmen dit jaergetyde altyt hauden sal des dinsdachs na beloken paesschen…* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1533/1534, *Uuijtgeven der proesten voergenoempt binnen den tyde deß rekeningen. Ierst van alderhande saken*, no foliation, between 13 and 25 April). Van Dijck mentions that she died in 1530 or 1531 (VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 281 and 466), which is incorrect. Adriana van Wylack paid her death duties when she was still alive in 1529/1530 (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, *Ontfanck van dootsculden van bruederen ende susteren die haer dootsculden in haer leven betaelt hebben bynnen den tyde deeser rekenynghe*, fol. 312r). The amount of three guilders was the amount for sworn members, which she, as a woman, was not entitled to be. She established the foundation for her own repose in 1523/1524 (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 9, account 1523/1524, *Ontfanck Ierst van alderhande saeken*, fol. 241v–242r) to be celebrated on the Tuesday before or after Saint Peter ad Vincula in August. She determined that after her death it was to be celebrated on the anniversary of her death. In 1534 the date of celebration for the foundation was changed to the Tuesday after Low Sunday (see the beginning of this note), because the anniversary of her death could have interfered with the Easter festivities.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 208

In my opinion it is more likely that the Confraternity ordered a manuscript with 'portraits'[28] of the knight Jan Back and his spouse Adriana van Wylick than with 'portraits' of members of the Burgundian court. It is of course very unfortunate that the opposite folio is missing, because the coats of arms of the knight and his lady could have been added to it. A nice incidental circumstance is the title of the *Missa Cum jocunditate*, meaning 'with joy',[29] which may be taken to refer to the knight and the lady as patrons. The initials certainly look joyful, and the knight and lady were certainly remembered 'with joy'. The words c*um iucunditate*, when used of persons, mean 'with amiability, kindness'. Indeed, considering the generosity of Jan Back and Adriana van Wylick to the Confraternity, and their burial in the most honourable place in the chapel, one must conclude that the Confraternity loved them very dearly.

The manuscript 's HerAB 72A contains seven masses and one page of a textless composition, which has always been taken to contain three voices of a mass. This, however, is incorrect, because there are only two voices of a composition – not necessarily a mass – to be found.[30] The second voice continues after its duet with the first voice has come to an end. Since all gatherings have been rebound during the restoration of the three manuscripts, it is impossible to see whether this page originally belonged to the book,[31] or whether a gathering is missing that could have contained (the beginning of) an eighth mass.[32] The watermark of the page concerned looks the same as the watermark in the rest of the manuscript.

The music of the entire manuscript, including the textless composition, has been written in one hand – Flynn Warmington's scribe F – which differs from that of 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C. The text script is also in one hand, which is related to that of 's HerAB 72B and of the first

[27] A.M. Koldeweij, in his article *Bourgondiërs in de hertogstad* (see KOLDEWEIJ, *In Buscoducis*, p. 371), claims that Margaret of Austria even stays at the house of Jan Back in 1515. He got this information from: A.F.O. VAN SASSE VAN YSSELT, *De voorname huizen en gebouwen van 's-Hertogenbosch, alsmede hunne eigenaars of bewoners in vroegere eeuwen. Aanteekeningen uit de Bossche schepenprotocollen loopende van 1500–1810*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2, 1911–1914, p. 26. There the author describes the house of refuge of *Tongerloo* abbey, which then belonged to the knight Jan van Baexen; see VAN SASSE VAN YSSELT, *De voorname huizen en gebouwen van 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1, p. 391. Van Sasse van Ysselt is confusing the knight Jan Back with the knight Jan van Baexen, a common error in the literature. Margaret of Austria probably stayed in the house of the knight Jan van Baexen and not in the house of the late knight Jan Back. Concerning the confusion of the names, see also M. VEEKENS, *Jan van Baexen*, in *Rosmalla*, 7 (1997, vol. 1), pp. 15–18.

[28] The initials do not resemble the kind of painted portraits we know from the other Alamire manuscripts. Flynn Warmington brought it to my attention that JenaU 9 contains a similar 'portrait' in the initial of the first tenor on folio 1v, probably King Henry VIII.

[29] I am very grateful to Dr. Leofranc Holford-Strevens for this translation, and to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for bringing it to my attention that this mass is based on the beginning of the fifth antiphon for second vespers at the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin on 8 September; see also N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/2), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1992, p. xxiv.

[30] I thank Jaap van Benthem for suggesting to me that the composition could also be a hymn or chanson.

[31] I thank Dr. Eric Jas for suggesting that the page is a defective sheet, used to complete the last fascicle.

[32] Blank folios in this manuscript always mark the beginning or the end of a composition (fol. 1r, 19r, 38v–39r, 61v–62r, 82v–83r, 101v–102r, 126v–127r, 150v, 152; folio 151r contains empty staves). The restoration report from 1985 of the *Norbertinessenklooster Sint-Catharinadal* in Oosterhout mentions fifteen gatherings, of which the last one was bound by sheet 53, to which sheet 54 was glued. Since Smijers does not mention that the gatherings are not bound in the right order – see SMIJERS, *Meerstemmige muziek*, pp. 16–17 – it follows that 'sheets 53 and 54' are probably folios 153 and 154. In that case, the last folio probably did not originally belong to the manuscript. Unfortunately Sister Dorothea Herwegh – who was involved in the restoration – could not give further information concerning the gatherings.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 209

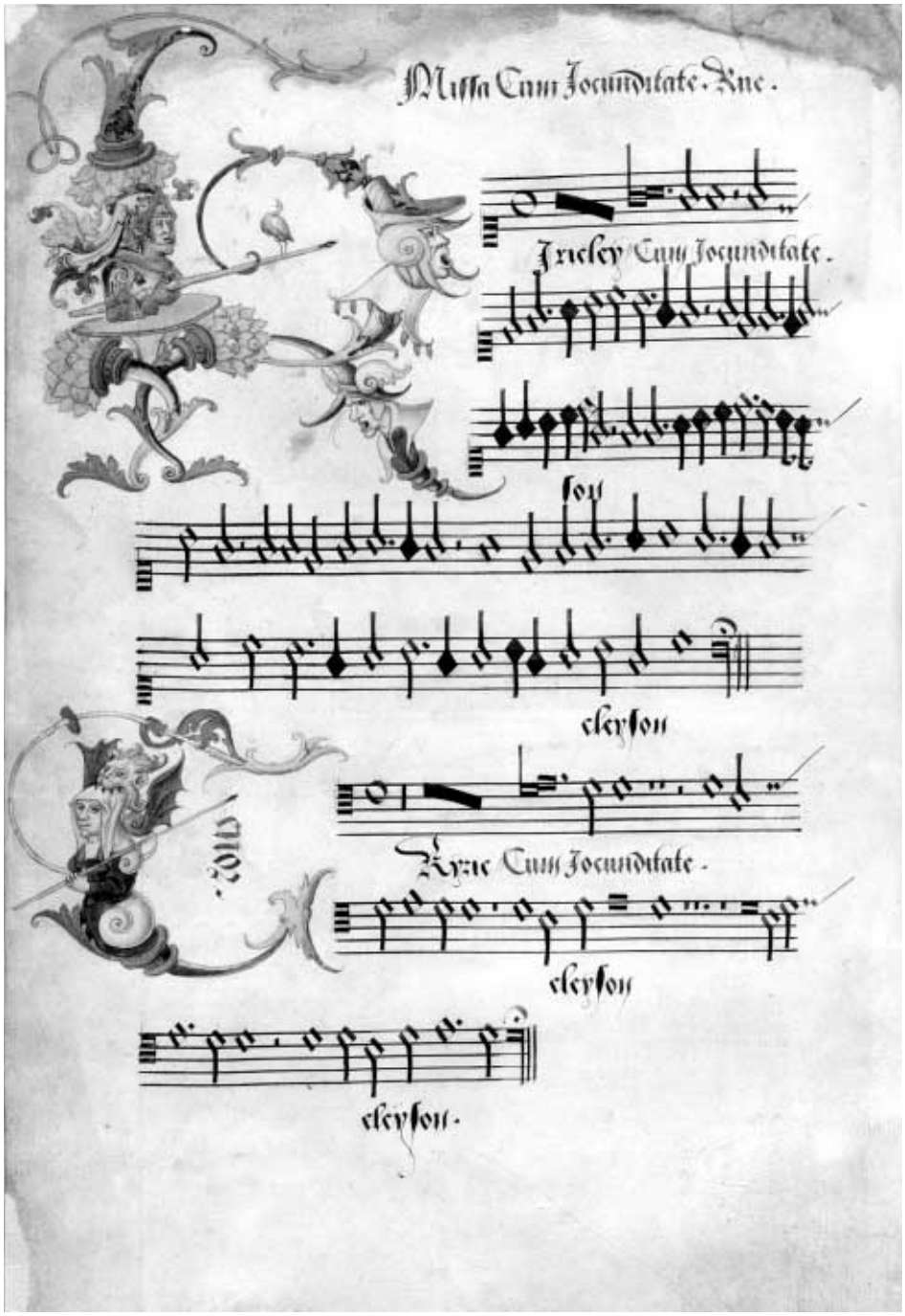


Figure 1. Pierre de la Rue, *Missa Cum jocunditate*, Kyrie, superius and tenor, 's HerAB 72B, fol. 1v.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 210

script in 's HerAB 72C. It remains unclear whether 's HerAB 72A is complete.[33] If it is not complete, it could be one of the two manuscripts ordered in July 1530, or the third, 'better' manuscript that was delivered in January 1531 by Alamire on his own account. In this last case, more than one mass must be missing, which we cannot prove. It cannot possibly be the luxurious manuscript with eight masses bought in July 1531 from Alamire.

The manuscript 's HerAB 72C attracts attention mainly because of the large number of compositions by Jean Mouton, who died in 1522. None of the manuscripts remaining in the archives of the Confraternity today contains many compositions by one composer; at the very most there may be three such works per manuscript. Besides that, the manuscript 's HerAB 72C also contains a composition that was probably added later, namely the last motet, *O Salutaris hostia*, on folio 171v–172r. This motet has been written by a different copyist after the only two blank pages in the manuscript (folio 170v–171r). It is probably the same copyist who added the text of the motet in 's HerAB 72B. The music of the rest of the manuscript is written in one hand, the text in two.[34] The manuscript starts with a mass, then a motet, then a mass again, and so on. The text of the motets has been written by the same hand. From folio 92v onwards the initials are different, the voice indications are written in red ink and the text of the masses is written in a second hand.

The only reason why this manuscript could be the 'better' manuscript from January 1531, is the larger number of compositions. The manuscript cannot be said to be more beautiful than the other two; on the contrary, it is very clear that more people worked on it, and it seems that the writers were short of space on several occasions. Therefore, it could very well be possible that the manuscript ended up in the archives of the Confraternity in some other way. This could have happened through one of the sworn brethren. We know that Alamire visited 's-Hertogenbosch for the first time in 1496, the date of his first assignment.[35] He was an 'external member' of the Confraternity.[36] Since Alamire worked in the higher circles of society, it is very possible that he had personal contacts among the highly placed sworn members of the Confraternity. Unfortunately there is no evidence, but it does not seem at all unthinkable that rich sworn members of the Confraternity personally ordered music from Alamire, or bought work from his workshop during

[33] I thank Dr. Thomas Schmidt-Beste for suggesting that it was perhaps this manuscript that should have contained eight masses – one of the books ordered in July 1530 – but never had more than seven masses. For that reason the Confraternity was not completely satisfied with Alamire's work on the first two books, ordered in July 1530, and therefore had the third book, that was delivered in July 1531, inspected by the singers (see note 13). Although very tempting, the problem with this suggestion is, however, that the Confraternity would then have paid for two books containing sixteen masses in total, while they received only two books containing fifteen masses. The sworn brethren probably would not have accepted this. Neither a refund nor an explanation for the missing mass is to be found in the financial records of the Confraternity.

[34] First script: up to folio 92r inclusive plus folios 111v–112r; 131v–132r; 152v–153r (all motets). Second script: from folio 92v up to folio 170r inclusive (with exception of the motets).

[35] RANB, ILVB Accounts, account 1496/1497, *Wtgeven Ierst van alrehande zaiken wtgegeven byden proesten binnen den jaeren ende tyden van deß rekeningen*, fol. 88r.

[36] His wife became an external member of the Confraternity in 1537/1538, the year that she died (*Mechelen, Joncvrauwe Katherina Alamire, vij st*. RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1537/1538, *Ontfanck gec[omen van inscryven van die] gheene die geworden [syn bruederen en susteren ten] tyde deser rekeninge*, fol. 69r). Her death duties were paid in the same year (*Mechelen, Joncfrauwe Katherina Alamire baghyn*. RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1537/1538, *Ontfanck van dootschulden van bruederen ende susteren in deser bruederscappe by tyden deser rekeninge gestorven ende haer dootschult nae haer. doot betaelt hebbende*, fol. 77v). It is not strange that she became an external member of the Confraternity after her husband's death, since she obviously became a beguine and many beguines from Mechelen became members every year. Concerning that subject, see also VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 213–214.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 211

one of his visits to 's-Hertogenbosch.[37] The fact that the Confraternity does not seem to have bought any music from Alamire between 1496 and 1530, does not mean that Alamire did not visit 's-Hertogenbosch. Moreover, it appears from the accounts of the Confraternity that highly placed sworn brethren had contacts, for example, in Mechelen and Brussels, so that they themselves could have come directly into possession of music from the Alamire workshop.[38]

It was not just the sworn members that could have had manuscripts from the Alamire workshop among their personal possessions; the singers of the Confraternity too could have owned music from Alamire. We know that at least two singers in the first half of the sixteenth century wrote music for the Confraternity, and possibly also for the collegiate church of *Sint-Jan*. The first singer is the priest '*heer* Eustaes', from whose heritage the Confraternity bought two choirbooks at the end of June 1528.[39] These two books were probably written by Eustaes himself, but he may also have had works by other scribes, for example Petrus Alamire, in his collection. Another singer who might have had contacts with Alamire or his workshop is Philippus de Spina. On 16 August 1531, shortly after payment of the last manuscript from the Alamire workshop in 1531, he was paid as *intoneerder* for the first time.[40] Perhaps the two men met in 's-Hertogenbosch, or arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch together, when Alamire delivered the last manuscript. De Spina probably began his career in 's-Hertogenbosch, because, when he was discharged in 1566/1567 for sympathy with the new religion, he had served the Confraternity for more than thirty-five years.[41] Alongside his job as a singer, De Spina was also a scribe, and he fulfilled an assignment for the Confraternity several times. For his first assignment, he was paid in April 1534: 'twelve stivers paid to Mr. Philips vanden Doren for his service to the Confraternity in writing several times in several choirbooks'.[42] This assignment could refer to the two added motets in 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C.

Two of the manuscripts today in the archives of the Confraternity, 's HerAB 73 and 's HerAB 75, were written by Philippus de Spina,[43] and it is my opinion that 's HerAB 74 could also be from his hand.[44] The appearance of these manuscripts immediately reminds us of the Alamire manu-

[37] The fact that some sworn brethren selected masses for a new choirbook (see note 12) indicates that at least a few of them had an interest in music, either for personal use or for use in the chapel.

[38] It sometimes even includes musical contacts, like for example in 1527, when the organ builder from Mechelen came to repair the organ of the Confraternity (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1526/1527, *Uuytgeven der proesten voergen. bynnen den tyde deser rekeninge Ierst van alderhande saken*, fol. 161r).

[39] *Want met consente vanden gemeynen broederen gecoft syn teghen die executueren ende erffghenamen heere Eustaes twee gescrevene boeken in musike ende discant die der selver broederscap oirbaerlick syn. Alsoe dair voir gegheven ende betaelt 6 gulden* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1528/1529, fol. 260v). Not noticed by Smijers, Van Dijck and Vente.

[40] RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1531/1532, no foliation. Philippus de Spina (also: Philippus van Doorn) came from Oirschot. He could have been the guest who wanted the position of *intoneerder* on 19 July (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1531/1532, *Uuytghen [sic] van sangheren loen bijnnen den tyde van deser rekenijnghe vanden jare xxxj*, no foliation, no. 0, between nos. 5 and 6).

[41] VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche Optimaten*, p. 311.

[42] *Heer Philips vanden Doren want hy zekere diensten der bruederscappen gedaen heeft met scryven in diverse sangboecken tot versceyden tyden, alsoe den selven gegeven op rekeninge facit 12 st* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 11, account 1533/1534, *Uuijtgeven der proesten voergenoempt binnen tyde deß rekeningen Ierst van alderhande* saken, no foliation). See also SMIJERS, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch*, p. 99.

[43] Convincingly proved in C. MAAS, *Determinering van Codex 73 uit de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 21 (1968), pp. 37–45. See also C. MAAS ed., *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap 's-Hertogenbosch, Codex 73*, (*Monumenta Musica Neerlandica, VIII/1–3*), Amsterdam 1970. See also SMIJERS, *Meerstemmige muziek*, pp. 1–30.

[44] Based on a comparison of the scripts; this could mean that the date of 1549 is incorrect; see SMIJERS, *Meerstemmige muziek*, p. 22.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 212

scripts, except that the initials, so characteristic of Alamire, are missing. It is obvious, however, that there is an influence from the Alamire workshop. Perhaps we can even say that De Spina worked together with or for the Alamire workshop, although there is no direct evidence to prove it.

The watermark in the De Spina choirbooks 's HerAB 73 and 's HerAB 75 looks similar to the watermark in 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C, but its shape is a little different.[45] The watermark is not found in 's HerAB 74, nor in the accounts from the Confraternity between 1519 and 1550. Smijers suggested that the paper for the choirbooks ordered in 1530 from Alamire, had been delivered by the Confraternity, on the basis that there is a payment record in the account of 1529/1530, saying that four paper *dobbelboeken*, literally 'double books', had been bought for the purpose of writing polyphony. The paper was to be bound in one or two books.[46] Smijers' reasoning could explain why the watermark in 's HerAB 73 and 's HerAB 75 is so similar. There are, however, three important reasons, why it is highly unlikely that this paper had been bought to be given to Alamire for the purpose of writing music on it. First, it does not seem logical that a professional workshop like Alamire's used paper from a patron. Second, the accounts do not mention the fact that paper was given to Alamire, while they do mention that the masses that were to be copied were given to him. Third, the account item mentions one or two choirbooks that had to be made out of four paper *dobbelboeken*. That amount of paper would never have been enough to make the three big choirbooks 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C, which all have the same kind of watermark.

Many questions in relation to these three choirbooks remain unanswered. There is not enough certainty to assume that they are indeed the choirbooks bought by the Confraternity from Alamire in 1530 and 1531, especially since the content of the books does not correspond to the content of the books mentioned in the accounts. Neither do the contents themselves help us. Works by all composers represented in the manuscripts are available in manuscripts and prints before 1530/1531, as well as after these years. There are no instructions relating to the names of the composers either, such as, for example, a cross meaning that the composer had died, or a description like '*sangmeester* in Antwerpen'.

[45] Similar to Briquet # 9835, but here surmounted by a four-petalled flower. According to the Leuven Alamire exhibition catalogue, the same kind of watermark is also found in the Alamire manuscripts MontsM 766, SubA 248, VienNB 4809, VienNB 11778 and VienNB Mus. 18825; see the corresponding articles in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*: H. KELLMAN, *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 766 (MontsM 766)*, cat. no. 24, p. 114; H. KELLMAN, *Subiaco, Abbazia di Santa Scolastica, Biblioteca Statale, MS 248 (SubA 248)*, cat. no. 32, p. 124; E. JAS, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 4809 (VienNB 4809)*, cat. no. 40, p. 143; E. JAS, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 11778 (VienNB 11778)*, cat. no. 43, p. 147; K. DALTON and H. KELLMAN, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18825 (VienNB Mus. 18825)*, cat. no. 50, p. 163. A similar watermark occurs in MS 1443 of the *Pieterskerk* in Leiden; see E. JAS, *De koorboeken van de Pieterskerk te Leiden. Het zestiende-eeuwse muzikale erfgoed van een Hollands getijdencollege*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1997, pp. 195 and 208.

[46] *Noch ghecoft vier dobbel boecken pappiers omme een sangboeck ofte twe te maken omme al daer discant in te scriven het boeck 4 st, 16 st* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1529/1530, *Uuijtgheven der proisten vanden penninghen by hem als voir ontfanghen ende weeder omme bekeert hebben ende beleet soe in pachten, synsen renten, ende ciraet oft reparatie van onser liever vrouwen capelle ofte ander syns, als hier nae volcht*, fol. 357r). *Ghegheven omme de vier boecken pappiers voerscreven te planeren ende linieren omme discant daer op te scriven 11 st* (RANB, ILVB Accounts, vol. 10, account 1529/1530, *Uuijtgheven der proisten vanden penninghen by hem als voir ontfanghen ende weeder omme bekeert hebben ende beleet soe in pachten, synsen renten, ende ciraet oft reparatie van onser liever vrouwen capelle ofte ander syns, als hier nae volcht*, fol. 357v).

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 213

However, one thing is certain: Alamire did not write these three choirbooks personally, for there are too many different hands in the books.[47] The watermarks in the three manuscripts look the same. It is very unlikely that the paper of the manuscripts was provided by the Confraternity. The manuscript 's HerAB 72B is the only one of which we can say fairly surely that it was ordered by the Confraternity from the Alamire workshop in July 1530. If the lady and the knight in this manuscript are meant to represent real persons, they are probably not members of the Burgundian-Habsburg court, but could be the knight Jan Back and his spouse Adriana van Wylick. The manuscript 's HerAB 72A could be the second book ordered in July 1530. It is probably not the 'better' book delivered in January 1531, and certainly not the luxurious manuscript bought in July 1531. Whether 's HerAB 72C is the 'better' manuscript delivered by Alamire on his own account, remains unproven. It is more likely that this manuscript reached the archives of the Confraternity in another way, for example through Philippus de Spina, on whose scribal activities the Alamire workshop had an important influence, or through one of the highly placed sworn brethren. Considering the fact that this book was written by the same scribes as 's HerAB 72B, it must be from the same period. All three books must have been written after 1520, because none of the scribes was active before this date.[48] The repertoire of the books corresponds to that of the later Alamire books. Although there is no conclusive evidence, with this contribution I hope to have shed some new light on the facts concerning the manuscripts 's HerAB 72A, 's HerAB 72B and 's HerAB 72C from the archives of the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* in 's-Hertogenbosch.

[47] My suspicion that the canon indication on folio 13v in 's HerAB 72B is by Alamire himself, is confirmed by Flynn Warmington.

[48] F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 43.

hfst Roelvink 12-11-2003 14:30 Pagina 214

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 215

NETHERLANDS MANUSCRIPTS AT A SAXON COURT

Kathryn Pohlmann Duffy
Grand View College, Des Moines

The extant manuscripts prepared at the scribal workshop at the court of Margaret of Austria number fifty-one volumes.[1] Eleven of them came into the possession of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. In other words, more than one-fifth of the entire surviving output from this scriptorium was either ordered by, or given to, the elector. By any other measure this is already a remarkable percentage, but given the wide dissemination of the volumes, it becomes an especially noteworthy figure.

The Burgundian sources from the elector's collection now form part of the manuscript collection of the Jena University Library: JenaU 2, JenaU 3, JenaU 4, JenaU 5, JenaU 7, JenaU 8, JenaU 9, JenaU 12, JenaU 20, JenaU 21, and JenaU 22. Only the National Library of Austria in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) contains more music manuscripts from Margaret's workshop (13) than does the Jena library (11). Unlike these Jena manuscripts, however, which all belonged to a single patron – although not all of them had been intended for him originally – the Viennese ones represent a variety of recipients. Of the Alamire manuscripts now in the Viennese library, three appear to have been intended for various members of the Habsburg royal family, another was dedicated to Ulrich Pfinzing, Maximilian's court treasurer, and the remaining nine belonged to the Fugger family, whose library was purchased by the Nationalbibliothek in 1656.[2]

The important role played by the Fugger family is well known. This banking firm helped to finance, among other ventures, the purchase of the office of the archbishop of Mainz for Albrecht of Brandenburg and the Habsburg efforts in the election of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor. Herbert Kellman has placed most of these Fugger manuscripts among the later works created at the Burgundian court[3] and has suggested that an opportunity for ordering the first of Raimund Fugger's manuscripts might have occurred in 1519, with Petrus Alamire's visit to Augsburg in connection with Charles's election campaign.[4] By contrast, the manuscripts from the Burgundian workshop present in the Jena collection date from as early as 1500 and continue to within a few years of Frederick's death in 1525.[5] This span of years demonstrates a long and continuing relationship between Frederick and the Burgundian court.

The evidence of the manuscripts suggests, in short, the wisdom of examining the role of Frederick the Wise as a patron of music. One sees in him a high-ranking political figure who was also a major patron of the arts. Therefore, if we are to examine the question of patronage in connection with the Netherlands court manuscripts, we must certainly carefully consider the role of Frederick the Wise (1463–1525).

[1] H. KELLMAN, *Production, Distribution, and Symbolism of the Manuscripts – A Synopsis*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, p. 10.

[2] H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 181–216.

[3] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 210–216.

[4] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, p. 202.

[5] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 210–216.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 216

Throughout his life Frederick was closely linked with the house of Habsburg. His earliest connection to the imperial house was familial: his paternal grandmother, Margaret, was a sister to Maximilian's father, the emperor Frederick III. Maximilian and Frederick were, therefore, cousins. Maximilian often acknowledged his kinship with Frederick in referring to him as *Oheim*. Frederick's first official business in the empire came when he was twenty-three. He and his brother, with whom he would later rule for thirty-nine years, accompanied their father to Frankfurt for the 1486 *Reichstag*.[6] At this Diet the emperor's son, Maximilian, was elected King of the Romans. Such an election – while the current emperor was still living – violated rules established in the Golden Bull of 1356. It is interesting that the election of the imperial successor should mark Frederick's first *Reichstag*. Years later, a similar attempt to elect the Emperor Maximilian's successor during his own lifetime was to become a point of contention between the two statesmen. Indeed the dispute may have had an effect on the history of some of the Burgundian court manuscripts.

Frederick's mother had died in 1484. When his father died suddenly in 1486, Frederick inherited the office of elector of Saxony. Upon his accession Frederick assumed a number of responsibilities which were to keep him in close contact with the imperial court, including its music and its musicians. He served for a time as imperial advisor and also accompanied Maximilian to Innsbruck when the latter assumed the responsibility of governing the Tyrol in 1490.[7] In 1493 Frederick made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Prior to embarking he took leave of the emperor Frederick III, who was to die while the younger Frederick was away.

Upon his return, Frederick resumed his duties in the empire, although now under its new head, Maximilian I. Among his first acts was a trip to the Low Countries in 1494, to participate in the celebrations marking the presentation of Philip the Fair. Georg Spalatin, Frederick's secretary and librarian, wrote a biography of the elector. That work provides an account of Frederick's journey to the Netherlands to attend these festivities. Among the stories of banquets, dancing, jousting, and hunting is the statement that 'the elector and all the other princes went with the emperor to church in Mechelen where they heard a beautiful mass sung by the emperor's *oberländischen* and *französischen* singers'.[8] The account begins with Frederick reaching Frankfurt on 21 July – the Monday before Saint Mary Magdalene's day – and reaching Maastricht on 29 July – the Tuesday after Saint James's day. Spalatin's description concludes on the Tuesday after the feast of Saint Gall (16 October) with the elector still in the Low Countries. One can only wish for as much detail regarding the music as is provided regarding the pairings and outcomes of the jousts and the seating arrangement of the guests at dinner. Unfortunately, the above statement is the only specific mention of music. One can surely assume, however, that with all the festivities during these many months, the Saxon elector would have become well-acquainted with Burgundian court life and its cultural offerings.

The next years of Frederick's life certainly presented many occasions at which he could have heard the Netherlandish chapel, including subsequent *Reichstage*, state weddings, and other occasions. We know that there was a certain amount of exchange of musicians between courts. Frederick appears to have been particularly interested in the music of one of Maximilian's organists, Paul Hofhaimer, for at the 1495 Diet of Worms Frederick gave the organist a handsome monetary gift and extended an invitation to him to visit the Saxon court in Torgau. Hofhaimer did so later that same year.[9] The relationship between elector and organist was apparently long and cordial, for

[6] I. LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise – Kurfürst von Sachsen (1463–1525)*, Göttingen, 1984, p. 137.
[7] LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 143.
[8] C.G. NEUDECKER and L. PRELLER eds., *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte von Georg Spalatin*, (*Georg Spalatins historischer Nachlaß und Briefe*, 1), Jena, 1851, p. 228.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 217

Hofhaimer visited several times and also accepted some Saxon boys as organ students upon Frederick's recommendation.[10] Further, Frederick benefitted from the addition of Heinrich Isaac to Maximilian's chapel. Although Isaac did not visit the Saxon court, Frederick became acquainted with his work through visits to the imperial court, and many of Isaac's compositions were included in the musical repertory of the electoral sources.

It was perhaps not long afterward that the earliest of the Burgundian court manuscripts belonging to Frederick's collection was created. That manuscript, JenaU 22, is closely related to VienNB 1783.[11] In view of their common origin from a single scribal hand and other shared traits, JenaU 22 must date from approximately the same time as VienNB 1783. Kellman has placed this somewhere between 1500 and 1505. VienNB 1783 bears the coat of arms of King Manuel I of Portugal and Marie of Spain along with mottos of Philip the Fair.[12] JenaU 22, by comparison, contains no such dedicatory coat of arms. An examination of the contents of the two manuscripts, given as Table 1, further bears out the relationship between them. Eleven of the thirteen masses and two mass movements appearing in JenaU 22 also appear in VienNB 1783. Of the four masses that do not appear in VienNB 1783, the following three are unique, among all the Netherlands court manuscripts, to JenaU 22: La Rue's *Missa Nunca fué pena mayor*, Obrecht's *Missa O quam suavis est*, and Pipelare's *Missa L'homme armé*. The fourth mass, Obrecht's *Missa Sicut spina rosam*, can also be found only in the manuscript VatS 160.

Frederick's Burgundian court manuscripts are among the earliest group of works belonging to the Jena University Library. These splendid volumes, however, are not the only music manuscripts included in that original group: there are eight additional volumes of music – JenaU 30, JenaU 31, JenaU 32, JenaU 33, JenaU 34, JenaU 35, JenaU 36, and WeimB A – often grouped with the Burgundian manuscripts to form a collection referred to collectively as the 'Jena choirbooks'. These additional eight, however, are markedly different in appearance from the Burgundian manuscripts. Of all the volumes from Alamire's workshop to arrive at the Saxon court, only one, JenaU 21, was copied on paper rather than on parchment. The additional eight, by contrast, were all copied on paper, with the exception of one parchment volume. For the sake of simplicity, the manuscripts not originating at the Netherlands court will be referred to here simply as the 'paper manuscripts'. From an artistic point of view, these paper manuscripts are relatively plain. In the entire eight-volume set one finds only two miniatures: one of Saint Andrew with his cross, at the opening of JenaU 30, and one of Mary, at the opening of JenaU 33. The paper volumes represent the work of many different scribes – as many as seventeen different hands.[13] They also contain different types of pieces. While Frederick's Burgundian manuscripts contain exclusively mass ordinaries and Magnificats, the paper manuscripts include mass ordinaries, propers for the mass, Magnificats, and other music for vespers, including psalms and hymns as well.

[9] A. ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik unter den Wettinern und wettinischen Ernestinern von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Weimarer Hofkapelle 1662*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musikgeschichte deutscher Landschaften und Städte*, 1), Bückeburg – Leipzig, 1921, p. 70.

[10] LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 348.

[11] C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), 1, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979, pp. 294–295; and H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 22 (JenaU 22)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 21, pp. 107–108.

[12] KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, p. 210.

[13] K. DUFFY, *The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittenberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995, pp. 185–242.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 218

Symbols: + = masses in common between JenaU 22 and VienNB 1783

JENAU 22		**VIENNB 1783**	
La Rue	*Missa O sacer Antoni+*	Barbireau	*Missa Virgo parens Christi*
La Rue	*Missa de beata virgine+*	Barbireau	*Missa Faulx perversa*
La Rue	*Missa L'homme armé+*	Weerbeke	*Missa Princesse damorette*
La Rue	*Missa Puer natus est+*	[La Rue]	*Missa de beata virgine+*
La Rue	*Missa Nunca fué pena mayor*	Agricola	*Missa Malheur me bat*
La Rue	*Missa Assumpta est Maria+*	Agricola	*Missa pascale+*
Agricola [Ghiselin]	*Missa In die pasce+*	La Rue [Josquin]	*Missa Cum jocunditate+*
[Isaac]	*Credo* from *Missa Tmeiskin was jonck+*	Agricola	*Missa Le serviteur+*
Obrecht	*Missa O quam suavis est*	La Rue	*Missa Almana+*
Obrecht	*Missa Sicut spina rosam*	De Orto	*Missa Petite camusette*
Barbireau	*Kyrie* from *Missa Paschale+*	De Orto	*Missa La belle se siedt*
Pipelare	*Missa L'Homme armé*	Josquin	*Missa Ave maris stella*
Agricola	*Missa Le serviteur+*	Barbireau	*Kyrie Paschale+*
La Rue [Josquin]	*Missa Cum jocunditate+*	Verbonnet	*Missa Je n'ay de deuil*
		Brumel	*Missa de virginibus*
La Rue	*Missa Almana+*	Isaac	*Credo* from *Tmeiskin was jonck+*
		De Orto	*Credo* from *Missa Le serviteur*
		La Rue	*Missa O sacer Anthoni+*
		La Rue	*Missa Assumpta est Maria+*
		La Rue	*Missa L'homme armé+*
		La Rue	*Missa Puer natus est+*

Table 1. Comparison of the contents of JenaU 22 and VienNB 1783.

These two groups of manuscripts are very different indeed, but they have been closely connected. A brief look at their history can help explain why. In 1531 several German princes at the forefront of the Reformation movement had formed a military alliance, known as the Schmalkaldic League, to protect themselves from threats by the emperor, Charles V. The then elector of Saxony, Frederick's brother John the Constant – who had succeeded him in 1525 – was acknowledged as one of the leaders in this organization. After John's death in 1532, his son John Frederick succeeded him, in office and in the leadership of the Schmalkaldic League. But in 1547 the league was defeated in battle by the imperial forces and their allies, among them Moritz, Duke of Saxony from the Albertine Saxon line. As part of the Wittenberg Capitulation, the settlement that ended the Schmalkaldic War, John Frederick was permitted to keep only a part of his hereditary lands, namely Thuringia, including the towns of Eisenach, Weimar, Coburg, Gotha, and Jena, among others. But the lands to which the electorate of Saxony had historically been attached, that is, the area around Wittenberg and Torgau, as well as the title of Elector of Saxony, were stripped from John Frederick and given to Moritz, who thereafter governed from his residence in Dresden. In addition to retaining the territory of Thuringia, constituting but a small portion of his former territory, John Frederick was also allowed to keep the Electoral Library, consisting of some three thousand volumes.[14] This banishment from

[14] K. MARWINSKI, *425 Jahre Universitätsbibliothek Jena, 1558–1983: kurzgefaßte Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Jena, 1983, p. 11.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 219

Electoral Saxony meant the loss of Frederick's beloved University of Wittenberg, which had benefitted from the use of the Electoral Library, once housed in the castle there. Frederick had built the University of Wittenberg in 1502 to replace the University of Leipzig, lost in the Leipzig Partition of 1485. To make up for the loss of the university, John Frederick founded a new university in Jena. The former Electoral Library became the foundation of the new university's library. Because both Frederick's Burgundian manuscripts and the more modest paper volumes are among the materials that form the original holdings of the University of Jena's library, it is clear that at one time they had all been part of the holdings of the Electoral Library. The next question becomes, what happened to the choirbooks before their transfer to Thuringia?

Though all the Jena choirbooks belonged to the Electoral Library, they did not share an identical history. The paper volumes have been shown, with reasonable certainty, to have been in use at Frederick's Castle Church in Wittenberg.[15] Frederick had begun building this church in 1496. The elector richly furnished the church, created a chapter of more than eighty persons, made a series of endowments for various liturgical services, and gave the church to the university for its use. He also worked tirelessly to amass relics for the Castle Church, whose collection neared nineteen thousand pieces by 1520.[16] Further, he strove to acquire privileges for granting indulgences, the most famous of which was a plenary indulgence known as the 'Portiuncula Indulgence', which forgave the penalty and guilt for all one's sins.[17] Indeed it was to protest this indulgence practice that Martin Luther, a professor at Frederick's university, composed his 'Ninety-Five Theses', and it was on the north door of the Castle Church that the theses were posted. The personnel of the chapter were not unaffected by the Reformation. Some members of the chapter left, some became ardent followers of Luther, others became his bitter opponents, and still others became even more zealous proponents of reform. In the last years of his reign Frederick authorized many changes to the liturgical practices at the Castle Church. He must have done so with something of a heavy heart, for throughout the remainder of his life Frederick maintained the equivocal position of, on the one hand, protecting Luther and the reform movement and, on the other, never officially breaking with Rome. In the end it was still in the Castle Church that his funeral service took place, with Luther preaching, and here that the elector was buried before the high altar.

In his important study of the Jena choirbooks, Karl Erich Roediger treats the entire complex as belonging to the Castle Church. The very different nature of the two groups of manuscripts, however, requires us to look beyond the Castle Church for other possible explanations of their primary use. In this context we may turn to Frederick the Wise's other musical establishment, his *Hofkapelle*. Spalatin records that 'hardly a day went by that Frederick did not hear mass'.[18] But, Frederick was often not in residence in Wittenberg. While he took pride in the work he had done in building his castle, church, and university there, he was later also very careful to maintain a discrete distance from the work of Luther. The two never communicated directly, but Luther and Spalatin carried on

[15] For information on the 'paper manuscripts', see K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses*, 3), 2 vols., Jena, 1935; DUFFY, *The Jena Choirbooks*; and J. HEIDRICH, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen: ein Beitrag zur mitteldeutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500*, (*Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, 84), Baden-Baden, 1993.

[16] F. BÜNGER and G. WENTZ, *Das Bistum Brandenburg*, (*Germania Sacra*, *1. Abteilung: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg*, 3), Berlin, 1941, p. 105.

[17] P. KALKOFF, *Ablaß und Reliquienverehrung an der Schloßkirche zu Wittenberg unter Friedrich dem Weisen*, Gotha, 1907, p. 7.

[18] NEUDECKER & PRELLER, *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte*, p. 28.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 220

a lively correspondence. Clearly then, if Frederick was not hearing daily mass in Wittenberg he must have been hearing it elsewhere – probably at court. While not all of Frederick's Burgundian manuscripts bear coats of arms linking them to him, many do. These personal identifiers – personal coats of arms, mottos, illuminations depicting the patron rather than the primary subject matter – would seem to connect the manuscripts with the person of Frederick the Wise rather than with an institution, unlike the manuscripts for the Castle Church, which bear no such personal identifiers. The contents of the paper choirbooks bear striking similarities to the list of primary feasts celebrated throughout the year in Wittenberg, thus making them particularly suitable for use by the musicians of the Castle Church. By contrast, the contents of Frederick's Burgundian manuscripts, containing exclusively mass ordinaries and Magnificats, show an orientation to very few feasts in the liturgical calendar. Unfortunately, little is known yet about the day-to-day schedules and responsibilities of the elector's court musicians. The musicians accompanied the elector on at least some of his journeys. Spalatin indicates that Frederick attended at least thirty *Reichstage* in his thirty-nine-year reign.[19] Spalatin relates that the elector took his *Hofkapelle* along with him to these *Reichstage*.[20] Frederick's court also moved within his own territory. Torgau served as the seat of government in Saxony, and Frederick spent most of his time there. He also had other residences that Spalatin identifies: Eilenburg, Lochau, Liebenwerda, Coburg, Grimma, Weimar, Colditz, Altenburg, Belzig, and Herzberg.[21] It may also be possible that Frederick took his *Hofkapelle* along on these travels. If that were the case then he may not only have 'heard mass' but could have heard it sung in polyphony even during his travels. Although there is much that is not known about the *Hofkapelle*, we do know something of its personnel.

Beginning as early as 1482 Frederick's father had employed a group of instrumentalists consisting of six trumpeters, one drummer, and two apprentices.[22] Frederick retained these musicians in his *Hofkapelle*. Singers were added somewhat later. Frederick's court musicians are listed in Table 2.[23] The vocal chapel, or *Cantorei*, was first established in 1491 or 1492 with the presence of two adult singers, a certain Adam and Cuntz, along with choirboys.[24] This Adam is generally assumed to be Adam of Fulda. Perhaps he had actually begun his service to Frederick slightly earlier, for he signs his treatise *De musica*, completed 5 November 1490, as *musicus ducalis*. Earlier Adam had been at the Benedictine monastery of Vormbach in the vicinity of Passau, but he had to leave the monastery after he married. Could it be that Adam then entered the service of the elector already in 1490, and that it was he who brought Cuntz and the choirboys into the elector's service as the foundation of the *Hofkapelle*? Two more trumpeters and a lutenist were added in 1491.

[19] NEUDECKER & PRELLER, *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte*, p. 39.
[20] NEUDECKER & PRELLER, *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte*, p. 53.
[21] NEUDECKER & PRELLER, *Friedrichs des Weisen Leben und Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 41–42.
[22] ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik*, p. 54.
[23] Most of the names of the musicians listed here are drawn from ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik*, pp. 54–55, 65–66.
[24] ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik*, p. 65.

Table 2. Members of Frederick the Wise's *Hofkapelle.*

INSTRUMENTALISTS

1482	1491	1492/1493	1494	1495	1503	1504	1505	1514	1517	1523	1525
6 trumpeters *Ott* *Wahl* *Motzel* *Hannss* *Michel Fröhlich* *Risenbusch*	8 trumpeters *Ott* *Wahl* *Hanns* *Michel Fröhlich* *Risenbusch* *Veyt* *Wilhelm* *Simon*			trumpeters *Ott* *Wahl* *Michel Fröhlich* *Risenbusch* *Wilhelm* *Simon* *Reisenbusch*	8 trumpeters *Otl* *Michel* *Simon* *Schrann* *Balthasar* *Hanns* *Petz* *Hans Pewelin*			6 trumpeters *Wolff Fröhlich* *Simon Hildebrant* *Pewirlein* *Hans Dithmar* *Hans Vogell* *Hans Stoer*	6 trumpeters *Wolff Fröhlich* *Simon Hildebrant* *Pewirlein* *Hans Dithmar* *Hans Vogell* *Hans Stoer*	6 trumpeters *Wolff Fröhlich* *Simon Hildebrant* *Pewirlein* *Hans Vogell* *Philipp* *Hans Paetz*	
2 trumpet apprentices				2 apprentices				apprentice *Vogell*	apprentice *Vogell*	apprentice *Vogell*	
1 drummer	1 drummer			1 drummer	1 drummer *Kayser* 1 drum apprentice			drummer *Herttel*	drummer *Herttel*	drummer *Herttel*	
	lutenist *Martin*			2 lutenists *Martin* *Jakob*	lutenist *Martin*						
				1 piper *Caspar*	2 pipers *Peter* *Mathes*			pipers: *Peter* *Mathes* *Maulhans*	pipers: *Peter* *Mathes died* *Maulhans*	pipers: *Peter* *Maulhans*	
					Zink *Hans*			Zink *Hans*	Zink *Hans*	Zink *Hans*	

SINGERS

1481	1491/1492	1492/1493	1494	1495	1503	1504	1505	1514	1517	1523	1525
	choirboys *Adam* *Cuntz*	3 choirboys *Adam* *Cuntz* *Erhart*	3 choirboys *Adam* *Cuntz* *Erhart* *Jacoff* *Jurgen*	8 choirboys *Adam* *Cuntz* *Erhart* *Jacob* *Jurgen*	choirboys + teacher *Cuntz* *Erhart* *Jorg Schweitzer* *Linhart* *Hanns* *Wetzsteyn* *Paul Knod* *Peter*	choirboys + teacher *Erhart* *Jorg Schweitzer* *Linhart* *Hanns* *Wetzsteyn* *Paul Knod* *Peter* *Johannes Brettin* *Conradt* *Steffan*	choirboys + teacher *Erhart* *Jorg Schweitzer* *Hanns* *Paul Knodt* *Peter* *Johannes Brettin* *Conradt* *Steffann* *Wattl Cubneck*				10 choirboys + teacher *Paul Knod(Knotte)* *Conrad Rupsch* *Steffan* *Georg Lange* *Benedick* *Walter [Johann Walter]* *Leodegarius [Adam Rener]* *Christianus*

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 222

In the following year Erhart was added to the *Hofkapelle* and the number of choirboys is listed as three. At this point we can perhaps assume that if the members of the chapel sang polyphony, the choirboys would have sung the soprano part and the three adult members the lower three parts. Of course, Frederick's lutenist could have helped to cover some parts as well. In 1493 Frederick made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and in the following year traveled to the Low Countries for Philip's installation. In that same year, 1494, the number of singers in Frederick's *Hofkapelle* was increased to five with the addition of singers named *Jacoff* and *Jurgen*. One cannot help but wonder if the music that Frederick heard during his trip to the Low Countries inspired him to expand his own chapel.

In 1495 Frederick sent Erhart out to recruit additional choirboys, with the result that the number of choirboys in his *Hofkapelle* increased from three to eight, making thirteen singers in all.[25] That same year Frederick also increased the number of instrumentalists with the addition of a piper and another lutenist, also named Jacob.[26]

Frederick's extensive building campaign in Wittenberg began in 1496 with the reconstruction of the Castle Church. The next expansion of the *Hofkapelle* did not take place until 1503. The intervening years saw the creation of Frederick's pride, the University of Wittenberg. The next available record shows a slight change in the instrumentalists: the number of trumpeters remained constant at eight, a *Zink* player had been added, two pipers were now present, and there was still one drummer. The list of singers, on the other hand, had changed considerably. Cuntz and Erhart remained. To these two were added Linhart, Hanns, Wetzsteyn, Paul Knod, Peter, and a Jorg Schweitzer, possibly the same person as the Jurgen previously included. The number of choirboys is not specified, but there is now a teacher for them. Missing from the list is Adam. While no longer a member of the *Hofkapelle*, Adam still worked for the elector. In 1502 he received an appointment to the new University of Wittenberg[27] and in 1505 he died there of the plague. The list of singers from 1504 shows an even larger ensemble with ten adult singers plus the choirboys. The *Conradt* in this list is apparently Conrad Rupsch, who served as Frederick's *Kapellmeister*. The list from 1505 names nine adult singers. Subsequently this number must have remained fairly constant at ten or eleven, for even in 1525, at Frederick's death and by which time the chapter of the Castle Church had been decimated, the adult singers in the *Hofkapelle* remained relatively stable. The number of choirboys is also given as ten. It is possible to infer, then, that for most of the years when Frederick was acquiring the Burgundian manuscripts, he had a choir of approximately eighteen or nineteen singers.

Very important to Frederick's court chapel, particularly regarding its relationship to the complex of the Jena choirbooks, is Adam Rener. Rener is the only member of Frederick's court chapel to have been named as a composer in either group of the Jena choirbooks, where his name appears on several pieces in the paper manuscripts. At least one of his works also made its way into the repertoire available to the scribes at Alamire's workshop, for a *Salve regina* bearing his name appears in the manuscript MunBS 34. Rener was born in Liège circa 1485.[28] In 1498 he was a choirboy in the imperial chapel. After a period of study in Burgundy he was again in the emperor's

[25] ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik*, pp. 65–66.
[26] ABER, *Die Pflege der Musik*, p. 65.
[27] J. HEIDRICH, art. *Adam von Fulda*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd rev. ed., *Personenteil*, 1, Kassel – Basel, 1999, p. 112.
[28] See M. STAEHELIN and C. GOTTWALD, art. *Rener, Adam*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 21, p. 742; and R.L. PARKER ed., *Gesamtausgabe der Werke von Adam Rener: Oeuvres complètes*, New York, 1976, p. i.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 223

service as a composer by 1503. From there he moved to Frederick's service in 1507. He appears in the 1525 list as *Leodegarius*.

The 1525 list contains the name of *Walter*. This is Johann Walter, arguably the singer from Frederick's court chapel most well-known to modern musicians. This is the same Johann Walter who helped establish the position of music in the fledgling Lutheran movement. In 1524 Walter issued his *Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn* (*RISM* A/I/W 167), published in Wittenberg and consisting of thirty-eight chorale motets. In 1525 Walter and Conrad Rupsch spent several weeks in Wittenberg with Martin Luther working out new music and adaptations of pre-existing melodies for use in Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, published in 1526.

After Frederick died from kidney stones on 5 May 1525, his brother disbanded both the chapter of the Castle Church in Wittenberg and the singers of the *Hofkapelle*. The forces of the Castle Church were already considerably depleted, as many members had requested to be released from their responsibilities. Some had become Lutheran parish pastors. Others requested to be released because their consciences would no longer allow them to celebrate private masses, memorial masses, and other observances which were not in keeping with the new Lutheran understanding of worship. Some members remained, but John, the new elector, openly embraced Lutheranism. He disbanded the chapter because the Castle Church had been fundamentally a private chapel without a regular worshipping community. With the end of these organizations, so dear to Frederick, the primary forces for performing the music in the Jena choirbooks, both paper and parchment, disappeared. The volumes were retired to the Electoral Library, where this important treasury of work associated with Petrus Alamire has been preserved.

hfst Pohlmann-Duffy 12-11-2003 14:31 Pagina 224

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 225

ALAMIRE-HANDSCHRIFTEN IN MITTELDEUTSCHLAND

Jürgen Heidrich
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Unter den insgesamt achtzehn Chorbüchern der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena befindet sich auch jene Gruppe von elf Alamire-Codices, denen in der Folge unser Interesse gelten soll. Die Manuskripte stammen sämtlich aus dem Besitz des sächsischen Kurfürsten Friedrichs des Dritten, des Weisen (1463–1525), und sind erst als Folge der Niederlage des Schmalkaldischen Bundes in der Schlacht bei Mühlberg (1547) nach Jena gelangt; dort bildeten sie, zusammen mit weiteren Beständen der ehemals kurfürstlichen Bibliothek, den Grundstock für die neue Jenaer Universitätsbibliothek.[1]

Die folgenden Überlegungen wollen die Wirkungs- und Bedeutungsgeschichte der kursächsischen Alamire-Quellen in das Zentrum rücken und zunächst nach der Bedeutung dieser Quellen in vorreformatorischer Zeit fragen. In einer anschließenden Gegenüberstellung ist zu prüfen, ob unter den gewandelten sozialen, theologischen und institutionellen Bedingungen ein Weiterleben der Chorbücher und ihres musikalischen Repertoires im veränderten Kontext der frühen Reformation greifbar sei.

Um eine Vorstellung davon zu bekommen, in welche geistige Welt die Chorbücher im Umfeld Friedrichs des Weisen gestellt waren, mit welchen religiösen Begriffen und Erscheinungsformen sich ihre Existenz im vorreformatorischen Kursachsen verband, erscheint notwendig, zunächst in einer knappen Skizze die spezifische Frömmigkeit ihres vormaligen kurfürstlichen Besitzers zu umreißen.[2]

Friedrich der Weise hatte sein Leben konsequent unter den "Primat des Religiösen" (Ludolphy) gestellt, wobei eine besonders ernste, offenbar franziskanisch geprägte Spiritualität eine Rolle spielte.[3] Regelmäßig nahm er an der Messe teil, beharrlich verfolgte er die innere Ausgestaltung der in seiner Umgebung abgehaltenen Gottesdienste, etwa durch zahlreiche Stiftungen und sonstige Aufwendungen. Friedrichs Frömmigkeit manifestierte sich indes nicht so sehr in der inneren Einkehr und der kargen kontemplativen Versenkung im Sinne eines spirituellen 'Reservata'-Gedankens, sondern das Spezifische der Religiosität des Kurfürsten war die starke Neigung zur repräsentativen symbolhaften Veräußerlichung und Ausgestaltung dessen, was er als seine wesentlichen Glaubensinhalte ansah. Im Sinne der sogenannten 'Guten Werke' und natürlich in der Absicht, dadurch zum eigenen Seelenheil beizutragen, wurden ungeheure Summen für aufwendige Meßgewänder, Altarbekleidung und -geräte, Andachtsgegenstände, Liturgica und sonstige Gebetsbücher ausgegeben. Auch der Neubau der Wittenberger Allerheiligenkirche 1496/1497 ist im weiteren Sinne hier zu nennen: Mit der Anfertigung sakraler Ausstattung und Bildwerke beauftragte Friedrich in der Folge

[1] Siehe zum gesamten Handschriftenkomplex: K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses*, 3), Jena, 1935; J. HEIDRICH, *Die deutschen Chorbücher aus der Hofkapelle Friedrichs des Weisen. Ein Beitrag zur mitteldeutschen geistlichen Musikpraxis um 1500*, (*Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, 84), Baden-Baden, 1993; K. DUFFY, *The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittenberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony*, Phil. Diss., University of Chicago, 1995.

[2] Zu Leben und Wirken des Kurfürsten vgl. I. LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise – Kurfürst von Sachsen (1463-1525)*, Göttingen, 1984.

[3] LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise*, S. 337 ff. bes. 366 ff.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 226

Künstler wie Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach oder Michael Wolgemut.[4] Besonders eindrucksvoll kulminierten Frömmigkeit und religiöses Repräsentationsbedürfnis in der gewaltigen, schließlich mehr als neunzehntausend Stücke umfassenden Reliquiensammlung:[5] Die kunsthandwerklich reich gearbeiteten und kostbaren Reliquiare wurden einmal im Jahr der Öffentlichkeit vorgeführt;[6] wer daran teilnahm, erwirkte einen entsprechenden Ablaß, konnte also auch für das eigene Seelenheil tätig werden. Eine zentrale Kategorie der Religiosität Friedrichs ist danach zweifellos, daß seine innere Glaubenshaltung der angemessenen äußeren, im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes 'begreifbaren' und anschaulichen Reflexion durch kostbar ausgestattete Bildwerke und Devotionalien bedurfte.

Diesen Bedingungen waren auch die Alamire-Handschriften mit ihrer überwältigenden, ebenfalls auf einen geistigen Kern ausgerichteten Prachtentfaltung unterworfen. Die heilsbezogene Präsentation religiöser Gehalte vollzog sich dabei auf zwei Ebenen. Die Chorbücher waren in einer ersten Eigenschaft natürlich Überlieferungträgerinnen musikalischer Kunstwerke und bewahrten demzufolge ein bestimmtes geistliches musikalisches Repertoire, dessen eigentliche Intention – klingendes Gotteslob – erst in der konkreten Aufführungssituation zur Wirkung gelangte.[7] In einer zweiten, darauf sei hier aufmerksam gemacht, mindestens genauso wichtigen Eigenschaft waren die Chorbücher mit ihren aufwendig gearbeiteten Illuminationen und aufgrund ihrer konkreten Bildprogramme Medium der geistlichen Erbauung per se, wie etwa auch Andachtsbilder, Kirchenfenster, illuminierte Bibeln oder Gebetbücher. Sie waren somit Gegenstände spätmittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit, deren heilsbringende geistige Dimension sich, wie man glaubte, dem Betrachter bereits in der Anschauung, vielleicht sogar schon im bloßen Besitz eröffnete, und nicht erst in der musikalischen Exekution des darin enthaltenen Materials. So wie Erwerb, Besitz, private Zurschaustellung und schließlich Betrachtung eines beliebigen Tafelbildes – etwa mit der symbolhaften *Immaculata conceptio* im Sinne einer besonders demutsvollen Marienverehrung – als vorteilhaft für den persönlichen Heilsweg angesehen wurde, so galt dies in gleicher Weise, um ein beliebiges Beispiel aus unserem Untersuchungsfeld zu nennen, für die Betrachtung jener im Chorbuch JenaU 4 enthaltenen, buchmalerisch aufwendigen und programmatisch beziehungsreichen Abbildung mit der Jungfrau Maria im Lebensbaum. Die zugehörige *Missa Conceptio tua* von Pierre de la Rue war nach diesem Verständnis akzidentielle Zugabe, für die individuelle heilsbezügliche Wirksamkeit aber nicht zwingend erforderlich. Mit einem Wort: Uns liegt das Nebeneinander von Bildverkündigung und modifizierter Textverkündigung (in der musikalischen Komposition) vor, damit eine Parallelität zweier unterschiedlicher, unter Umständen sogar unabhängiger geistiger Zugänge.[8] Das Rezeptionspotential der Jenaer Alamire-Handschriften in vorreformatorischer Zeit erstreckte sich folglich auf zwei verschiedene religiöse Bedeutungsebenen.

[4] S. HARKSEN, *Die Gemäldeausstattung des Wittenberger Schlosses beim Einzug Lucas Cranachs*, in *Lucas Cranach. Künstler und Gesellschaft. Referate des Colloquiums mit internationaler Beteiligung zum 500. Geburtstag Lucas Cranach d.Ä., Staatliche Lutherhalle Wittenberg*, Wittenberg, 1973, S. 111–114; zusammenfassend LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise*, S. 101 ff.

[5] LUDOLPHY, *Friedrich der Weise*, S. 355.

[6] Anschauung geben etwa die Abbildungen im sogenannten *Wittemberger Heiligthumsbuch* (illustriert von Lucas Cranach d.Ä.) von 1509: *Dye zaigung des hochlobwirdigen Heiligthums der Stifftkirchen aller hailigen zu wittenburg*; ediert in L. CRANACH, d.Ä., *Wittemberger Heiligthumsbuch*, (*Liebhaber-Bibliothek alter Illustratoren in Facsimile-Reproduction*, 6), München, 1883.

[7] Das zeitgenössische Gedicht *Silvula in Albiorim illustratam* des Georg Sibutus vermittelt einen lebendigen Eindruck von der geistigen Dimension einer solchen Vortragssituation in der Wittenberger Schloßkirche; vgl. den fraglichen Auszug in W. GURLITT, *Johannes Walter und die Musik der Reformationszeit*, in *Lutherjahrbuch, Jahrgang 15*, München, 1933, S. 8.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 227

Der mit der Reformation einher gehende musikalische, religiöse, soziale und institutionelle Wandel war tiefgreifend, im Blick auf die zuvor angesprochenen Phänomene geradezu radikal. Es mag an dieser Stelle genügen, mit einigen Schlagworten und Gegensatzpaaren diesen Prozeß zu illustrieren:[9] (1) An die Stelle der alten Hofkapelle trat das bürgerlich-reformatorische Kantoreiwesen: Beide Institutionen unterschieden sich in ihren Motiven und Zielen wesentlich. Unmittelbar mit dem Kantoreiwesen organisatorisch verknüpft waren die für die Ausbreitung der Reformation zentralen Lateinschulen, in denen eine Verbindung von Musikpflege und lutherisch-konfessionell geprägtem Unterricht ihren Platz hatte. (2) Demzufolge wurden andere musikalische Gattungen gepflegt. Nicht komplexe artifizielle musikalische Strukturen bestimmten die kirchenmusikalische Praxis der evangelischen Kirche in ihren Anfangsjahren, sondern zunächst beherrschend war schlichtes, um nicht zu sagen: musikalisch rückständiges Material, etwa im Stile der Liedsätze Johann Walters. (3) Nicht prachtvolle repräsentative Codices, sondern einfache Gebrauchshandschriften prägten das Bild der musikalischen Überlieferung. (4) Ohne daß das Neuartige der lutherischen Lehre hier im einzelnen dargestellt werden müßte, sei immerhin auf den Kern des neuen Religions- und Gottesdienstverständnisses verwiesen, das nicht 'Gute Werke' sondern, im Sinne der Rechtfertigungslehre, die Heilsgewißheit *sola fide* propagierte, womit dem spätmittelalterlichen Bilder- und Ablaßwesen von vornherein die dogmatische Berechtigung entzogen und deren heilsgeschichtliche Relevanz bestritten wurde. Eine Folge dieser Entwicklung war, daß man nicht das aufwendige religiöse Bildwerk mit allen seinen frömmigkeitsbezogenen Kategorien als der neuen Lehre angemessen ansah, sondern die einfache schriftgemäße evangelische Vermittlung *sola scriptura*.

Für Erscheinungen wie die Alamire-Codices mit ihren mehrschichtig komplexen heilsgeschichtlichen Bedeutungsträgern in ihrer Gesamtheit war in diesem Umfeld der frühen Reformation gewiß kein Platz, ja, es ist vielleicht ein Zufall der Überlieferung, daß die Manuskripte die teilweise radikal gewalttätigen reformatorischen Auseinandersetzungen überdauerten, daß die wertvollen Handschriften in der vor allem auch in Wittenberg tobenden Bilderstürmerei durch das Eintreten besonnener Köpfe vor der Zerstörung bewahrt wurden.[10] Ihre Funktion auch als Medium der Bildbetrachtung hatten sie unter den gewandelten dogmatischen Bedingungen jedenfalls verloren, doch wird bei einer genaueren Prüfung deutlich, daß immerhin das in ihnen enthaltene Repertoire für den Aufbau der reformatorischen Kirchenmusik eine gewisse, wenn auch keine herausragende Rolle spielte.

Ruft man sich vor diesem Hintergrund die organisatorischen und institutionellen Anfänge der jungen evangelischen Kirchenmusik und ihre Bemühungen um die Konstituierung eines eigenen Repertoires ins Gedächtnis, so liegt es nahe, zwei Entwicklungs- und Überlieferungsstränge besonders ins Blickfeld zu nehmen: Einmal den Komplex der seit Carl Gerhardt sogenannten Walter-Handschriften,[11] zum anderen das Corpus der Drucke aus der Offizin des Wittenberger Verlegers Georg Rhaw.[12] Dieser verfolgte, wie die vielfältigen sich auf alle Bereiche der reformatorischen Kirchenmusik erstreckenden Editionen belegen, mit großer Vision den Aufbau und die publizisti-

[8] L. SCHREYER, *Die Botschaft der Buchmalerei*, Hamburg, 1956, S. 46 ff.

[9] J. HEIDRICH, *Bausteine zu einer mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in J. HEIDRICH und U. KONRAD edd., *Traditionen in der mitteldeutschen Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Symposiumsbericht Göttingen 1997*, Göttingen, 1999, S. 1–18.

[10] Man vergleiche dazu etwa Karlstadts Kampfschrift *Von Abtuhung der Bilder* aus dem Jahre 1522; siehe ferner: H. Frhr. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 68 (1957), S. 96–128. Ergänzend: H. BARGE, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1905.

[11] C. GERHARDT, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften*, Kassel, 1949.

[12] V.H. MATTFELD, *Georg Rhaw's Publications for Vespers*, (*Musicological Studies*, 11), New York, 1966.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 228

sche Verbreitung eines neuen Repertoires.[13] Nachdrücklich wird diese Absicht durch die Vorworte der Rhawschen Druckwerke unterstrichen, wobei häufig deren Bestimmung für den Gebrauch in den Lateinschulen betont wird.[14] Erschienen sind vor allem zahlreiche Beiträge zur musikalischen Ausgestaltung der sonn- und werktäglichen Vesper, also Antiphonen, Hymnen, Responsorien und Magnificat, daneben auch Meßproprien für die Oster- und Passionszeit, schließlich, eher am Rande, auch Meßordinarien. Johann Walter hingegen war etwa gleichzeitig als Komponist und Kompilator an der eigentlichen Herstellung der Musik beteiligt, dabei in, wie neuere Untersuchungen gezeigt haben, unbeirrbarer und durchaus auch streitbarer Weise auf die kompromißlose Realisierung der lutherischen Lehre bedacht.[15] In beiden Repertoiresträngen, den Walter-Handschriften wie den Rhaw-Drucken, sind Spuren des in den Alamire-Codices bewahrten Repertoires nachweisbar (siehe Tabelle 1).

In insgesamt fünf der Drucke Georg Rhaws findet sich Material, das auch in den Jenaer Chorbüchern enthalten ist. Dabei handelt es sich um die *Missa de feria* von Matthaeus Pipelare im *Opus decem missarum*, vorhanden in JenaU 21, sodann um vier Magnificat-Vertonungen verschiedener Komponisten im *Postremum vespertini officii opus* enthalten in JenaU 20, schließlich und vor allem um zahlreiche Kontrafakturen zwei- und dreistimmiger Messensätze in den Bicinien- und Tricinien-Sammlungen von 1542 und 1545, ebenfalls von verschiedenen Meistern. Die Walter-Handschriften überliefern nochmals fünf Magnificat sowie zwei Meßordinarien (siehe Tabelle 2). Der Vergleich der Lesarten und Varianten erweist, zum Teil aufgrund signifikanter Bindefehler, die Bedeutung insbesondere von JenaU 20 und JenaU 21 als Vorlage für die Walter-Handschriften und die Rhaw-Drucke.[16]

Ungeachtet einmal des Umstandes, daß aufgrund ihrer hermetischen Aufbewahrung vermutlich längst nicht alle Alamire-Handschriften ohne weiteres zugänglich waren,[17] ist aber doch bezeichnend, in welcher Weise mit dem vorreformatorischen Repertoire verfahren wurde: Die Auswahl geschah nicht, jedenfalls nicht vorrangig, mit Blick auf Bedeutung und Wertschätzung des musikalischen Kunstwerks, sondern ganz selektiv, im Sinne einer regelrechten funktionsbezogenen Materialbeschaffung für die Belange der frühreformatorischen Kirche. Unter diesen Bedingungen ist Walters wie Rhaws ausgesprochen auffälliges Interesse an Magnificatkompositionen leicht zu erklären: Tatsächlich ist in der Behandlung dieser Sätze am ehesten ein Moment der Kontinuität zwischen vor- und nachreformatorischer Musikpflege zu sehen: Die Vesper, in der ja das Magnificat seinen Platz hat, wurde durchaus flexibel gehandhabt und unterschied sich im lutherischen Verständnis kaum von der vorreformatorischen Praxis.[18] Keinesfalls war die Vesperliturgie einem vergleichbar gravierenden dogmatischen Bedeutungswandel unterworfen, wie die Meßfeier. Diese Einsicht läßt sich sogar an den Quellen selbst demonstrieren: Chorbuch JenaU 20, als reine Magnificat-

[13] HEIDRICH, *Bausteine*, S. 9 ff.

[14] Die Vorworte sind leicht zugänglich in der Gesamtausgabe der Rhaw-Drucke: H. ALBRECHT ed., *Georg Rhau: Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545 in praktischer Neuausgabe*, Kassel, 1955–.

[15] A. BRINZING, *Ein neues Dokument zur theologischen Position des späten Johann Walter*, in F. BRUSNIAK ed., *Johann-Walter-Studien*, Tutzing, 1998, S. 73–112.

[16] Vgl. dazu die Kritischen Berichte in ALBRECHT, *Georg Rhau*, bzw. in GERHARDT, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften*, passim.

[17] Vgl. etwa den bekannten Brief Johann Walters von 1556; Abdruck in GURLITT, *Johannes Walter*, S. 71; siehe auch nachfolgend.

[18] J. HEIDRICH, *"deütsch oder lateinisch nach bequemigkeit"? Zur Bedeutung der Volkssprache für die protestantische Vesperpraxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 82 (1998), S. 7–20; C. MEYER, *Vesperarum precum officia. L'office des vêpres à l'époque de la réforme*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 70 (1990), S. 433–448.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 229

RISM B/1541[1] = *Opus decem missarum quatuor vocum*
RISM B/1542[8] = *Tricinia* [...] *latina, germanica, brabantia et gallica*
RISM B/1544[4] = *Postremum vespertini officii opus* [...] *Magnificat octo tonorum seu tonorum numero XXV*
RISM B/1545[6] = *Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica* [...] *tomus primus*
RISM B/1545[7] = *Secundus tomus biciniorum quae et ipsa sunt gallica, latina, germanica*

ALAMIRE-HS.	TITEL	KOMPONIST	QUELLE (*RISM* B)
JenaU 2	*Duo rogavi te (Pleni* aus *Missa de feria)*	Févin	1545[6]
	Qui fodit foveam (Agnus 2 aus *Missa de feria)*	Févin	1545[6]
JenaU 3	*Agnus 2 (*aus *Missa Ex mente tota)*	Févin	1545[6]
	Beatus homo (Pleni aus *Missa Ex mente tota)*	Févin	1545[7]
	*Benedictus (*aus *Missa Ex mente tota)*	Févin	1545[6]
	Diligam te Domine (Agnus 2 aus *Missa Ave maris stella)*	Josquin	1545[7]
	Nunquid iustificavi (Pleni aus *Missa Fridericus dux)*	Josquin	1545[6]
	Nunquid oblivisci (Pleni aus *Missa Ave maris stella)*	Josquin	1545[6]
JenaU 4	*Benedictus* [nur Textmarke] *(Pleni* aus *Missa sine nomine)*	Josquin	1545[7]
	Deus meus eripe me (Pleni aus *Missa de beata virgine)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
	Duo rogavi te (Pleni aus *Missa de feria)*	Févin	1545[6]
	Non salvatur Rex (Pleni aus *Missa Incessament)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
	Qui fodit foveam (Agnus 2 aus *Missa de feria)*	Févin	1545[6]
JenaU 5	*Deus meus eripe me (Pleni* aus *Missa de beata virgine)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
	Ne temere quid loquaris (Agnus 2 aus *Missa quinque vocum)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
JenaU 7	*Ne tardes converti ad Dominum (Pleni* aus *Missa Ave maria)*	Févin	1545[6]
	Omnes peccaverunt (Benedictus aus *Missa Inviolata)*	de la Rue	1542[8]
	Quis est homo (Agnus 2 aus *Missa Ave Maria)*	Févin	1545[6]
JenaU 8	*Nolite confidere in principibus (Agnus 2* aus *Missa Tua est)*	Mouton	1545[6]
	Non salvatur Rex (Pleni aus *Missa Incessament)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
	Qui diligitis Dominum (Benedictus aus *Missa En douleur)*	Bauldeweyn	1542[8]
	Si vos manseritis (Et ascendit aus *Missa En douleur en tristesse)*	Bauldeweyn	1545[7]
JenaU 20	*Magnificat secundi toni*	Divitis	1544[4]
	Magnificat tertii toni	Pipelare	1544[4]
	Magnificat tertii toni	Févin	1544[4]
	Magnificat quarti toni	Févin	1544[4]
JenaU 21	*Amicus fidelis (Benedictus* aus *Missa Tandernaken)*	de la Rue	1545[7]
	Exaudi Domine vocem (Agnus 2 aus *Missa Pange lingua)*	Josquin	1545[6]
	Frange esurienti panem (Agnus 2 aus *Missa Tandernaken)*	de la Rue	1545[7]
	Miserere mei Deus (Pleni aus *Missa Sancti Dei genitrix)*	de la Rue	1545[6]
	Quis separabit nos a caritate (Pleni aus *Missa Pange lingua)*	Josquin	1545[6]
	Sensus carnis mors est (Agnus aus *Missa Mi mi)*	Pipelare	1542[8]
	Missa de feria	Pipelare	1541[1]
JenaU 22	*Quaerite Dominum Deum (Pleni* aus *Missa L'homme armé)*	de la Rue	1545[7]
	Si esurierit inimicus (Benedictus aus *Missa Cum iocunditate)*	de la Rue	1542[8]

Tabelle 1. Alamire-Repertoire in Drucken Georg Rhaws.

Handschrift ohnehin ein Spezialfall innerhalb des gesamten Alamire-Corpus, befand sich offenbar bis in die fünfziger Jahre des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Obhut Johann Walters und wurde von diesem auch im Gottesdienst eingesetzt, wie ein Brief vom 1. Januar 1556 nahelegt. In diesem Dokument erinnert Walter daran, daß er schon im Jahre 1553 *etliche Pergament Gesangbücher und auch sonst eines, so in der Schloßkirchen zu Torgau gebraucht worden* nach Jena überstellt habe. Über vermeintliche Gebrauchsspuren und handschriftliche Einträge in den Jenaer Chorbüchern ins-

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 230

ALAMIRE-HS.	TITEL	KOMPONIST	QUELLE
JenaU 4	*Missa Incessament*	de la Rue	NurGN 83795
JenaU 8	*Missa Incessament*	de la Rue	NurGN 83795
	Missa Maria Magdalena	Champion	NurGN 83795
JenaU 20	*Magnificat secundi toni*	de la Rue	NurGN 83795 BerlPS 40013
	Magnificat tertii toni	Févin	NurGN 83795 BerlPS 40013
	Magnificat quinti toni	Prioris	NurGN 83795 BerlPS 40013
	Magnificat sexti toni	de la Rue	NurGN 83795 BerlPS 40013
	Magnificat octavi toni	Prioris	NurGN 83795 BerlPS 40013 WeimB B

Tabelle 2. Alamire-Repertoire in den 'Walter-Handschriften'.

gesamt hat schon Carl Gerhardt berichtet, wenn auch nicht immer zutreffend. Im Blick auf JenaU 20 bestehen indes keine Zweifel, und deshalb erscheint plausibel, daß in dem Brief unter anderem dieses Chorbuch angesprochen ist.

Im Abschnitt *Sicut locutus est* des *Magnificat octavi toni* von Johannes Prioris (Abbildung 1) wurde unter die Tenorstimme nachträglich ein Blatt eingenäht (!), das zweifellos von der Hand Johann Walters stammt, wie der Schriftvergleich mit bekannten und sicher identifizierten Dokumenten zeigt:[19] Darauf notiert ist eine vereinfachende Umschrift der offenbar um die Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nicht mehr allgemein verstandenen *prolatio perfecta*. Evident ist, daß sich genau diese Manipulation Walters in sämtlichen Abschriften der Walter-Codices wiederfindet.[20]

Wir kehren zu unserer Repertoireübersicht zurück. Aufschlußreich in Tabelle 1 sind vor allem die zahlreichen Kontrafakturen geringstimmiger Messensätze, insbesondere des Benedictus und des Agnus 2 in Rhaws Bicinien- und Tricinien-Sammlungen. Deren didaktisch-pädagogische Anlage ist unzweideutig und wird auch im Vorwort betont, wonach die Sätze *pro pueris in schola*, also für die Lateinschüler kompiliert seien. Mit neuer, natürlich dem protestantischen Kultus angemessener Textierung – ausnahmslos Bibelverse – sind die vormaligen Messensatzteile nicht nur aus ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang gelöst, sondern in ihnen sind zudem zwei völlig uncharakteristische Momente des 'klassischen' franko-flämischen Ordinariumszyklus exponiert: die Zwei- und Dreistimmigkeit, sowie die hier zumeist vorlagenfreie Satzanlage; beide Momente lassen sich als Tendenz zur Vereinfachung beschreiben. Und überhaupt nur drittrangig erscheinen in dieser Repertoireauswahl Rhaws und Walters die eigentlichen vollständigen Meßordinarien, damit jene Kunstform in denen sich der künstlerische Anspruch der franko-flämischen Musik vor allem manifestierte und die als Gattung in den Alamire-Handschriften dominiert. Damit ist nochmals ein grundsätzliches Phänomen der frühreformatorischen Musikpraxis angesprochen, die in der Haupttendenz

[19] Zum Schriftvergleich siehe etwa: J. HEIDRICH, *Ein unbeachtetes Schriftstück von der Hand Johann Walters: Bemerkungen zur Entstehung des Codex Gotha "Chart. A 98" und zu den Stimmbüchern "Berlin 40043"*, in M. STAEHELIN ed., *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 3), Wiesbaden, 1998, S. 195–203.

[20] GERHARDT, *Die Torgauer Walter-Handschriften*, S. 87.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 231

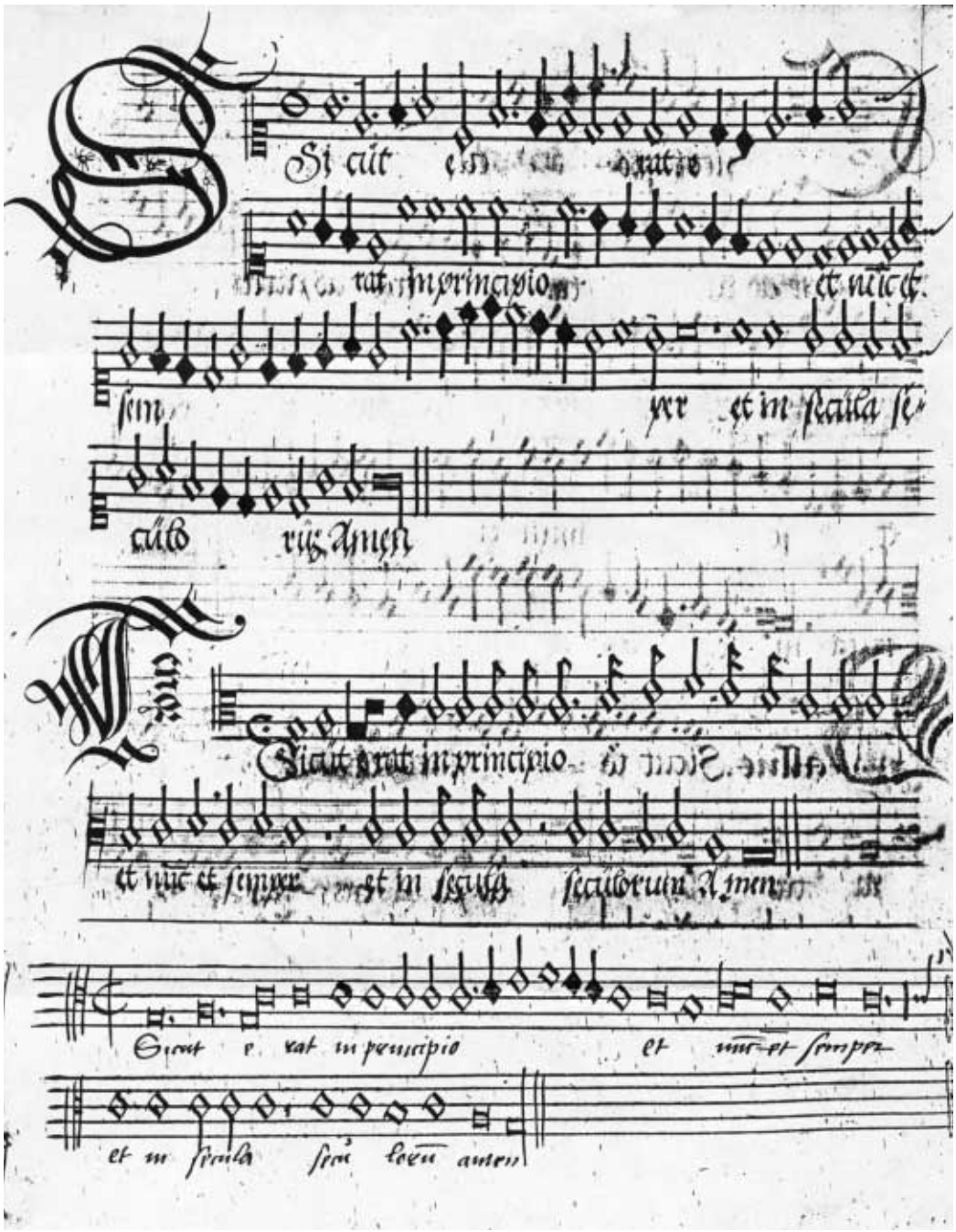


Abbildung 1. Johannes Prioris, *Magnificat octavi toni, Sicut erat in principio,* Superius und Tenor, JenaU 20, fol. 103v.

hfst Heidrich 12-11-2003 13:43 Pagina 232

nicht so sehr die zyklische Meßkomposition als musikalische Kunstgattung profilierte, sondern stattdessen kleinformatige Sätze wie eben Proprien, Vespergesänge und Liedformen stärker berücksichtigte.[21] Nur drei Ordinariumszyklen erscheinen in dem hier untersuchten Bestand, die *Missa Incessament* von Pierre de la Rue, die *Missa Maria Magdalena* von Nicholas Champion sowie Matthaeus Pipelares *Missa de feria*. Die Messen von de la Rue und Champion kopierte Johann Walter mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus JenaU 8, einer Handschrift, die schon Carl Gerhardt ebenfalls unter jenen in Torgau verwahrten und dann von Walter selbst nach Jena verbrachten Codices wähnte.[22]

Ein Schlußwort kann sich kurzfassen: Die kursächsischen Alamire-Handschriften verlieren nach der Reformation ihre Eigenschaft als mehrschichtige Bedeutungsträger jener spätmittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit, wie sie im Umfeld Friedrichs des Weisen in mannigfacher Ausprägung wirksam war. In denjenigen Fällen, in denen sich überhaupt Spuren ihres Weiterwirkens nachweisen lassen, ist eine Verengung und Umdeutung auf solche Sinnbezüge feststellbar, die sich in den reformatorischen Musikbegriff einbinden lassen: Das in den Jenaer Chorbüchern enthaltene religiöse und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Potential wurde einseitig ausgebeutet. Nicht dem musikalischen Kunstwerk galt primär das Interesse, sondern der reformatorisch-gottesdienstlichen Verwendbarkeit: An die Stelle der heilsbezogenen Bildbetrachtung trat die protestantisch-didaktische Anleitung. Vor dem Hintergrund des so skizzierten funktionalen Wandels trugen einzelne Repertoireteile aus den Alamire-Chorbüchern zum Aufbau eines umfassenden, nicht bloß begrenzt kirchenmusikalischen lutherischen Bildungsprogramms bei.

[21] HEIDRICH, *Bausteine*, S. 3 ff.
[22] GURLITT, *Johannes Walter*, S. 71.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 233

FORBIDDEN INTERVALS IN JOSQUIN: EVIDENCE FROM THE ALAMIRE SOURCES

Peter Urquhart
University of New Hampshire

Over the past ten years, I have been interested in contrapuntal passages in music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that point to the use of forbidden intervals such as augmented unisons, diminished octaves and fifths. My purpose has been to suggest that these intervals are forbidden primarily by our preconceptions of how this music should sound, and secondarily by the application of a rule of counterpoint, *mi contra fa*, which is widely thought to be a performer's rule, that is, a 'rule of *musica ficta*'. My reasons for doubting that *mi contra fa* should be applied before the other rules we describe as 'rules of *musica ficta*' have been published elsewhere.[1] In this article, I am interested in a complementary but more restricted topic – evidence that such forbidden intervals were actually heard during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, specifically in the music of Josquin Desprez.[2]

While the situations that call for forbidden intervals are common, concrete evidence in the form of self-evident interpretations with unambiguously indicated accidentals is hard to come by. In addition, our conventional understanding of these 'rules of *musica ficta*' tends to overrule any interpretation of the notated evidence that would suggest forbidden intervals. The circularity of this situation should raise our suspicions.

In their simplest possible form, these 'rules' generally include the following three directives: (1) melodic false intervals of the augmented fourth, diminished fifth, or imperfect octave should be corrected to their perfect forms; also related is the rule known as *una nota super la, semper est canendum fa*; (2) the same false intervals presented harmonically between lines should be corrected; *mi contra fa*; (3) cadences should receive inflection when they need it; the 'rule of closest approach'.

Lists of '*musica ficta* rules' are found in numerous modern articles on the topic.[3] While these authors generally base their rules on medieval and Renaissance theoretical sources, there is no single source that presents us with the 'rules of *musica ficta*' in a manner comparable to the modern presentation sketched above. Nonetheless, these three editorial conventions are generally thought

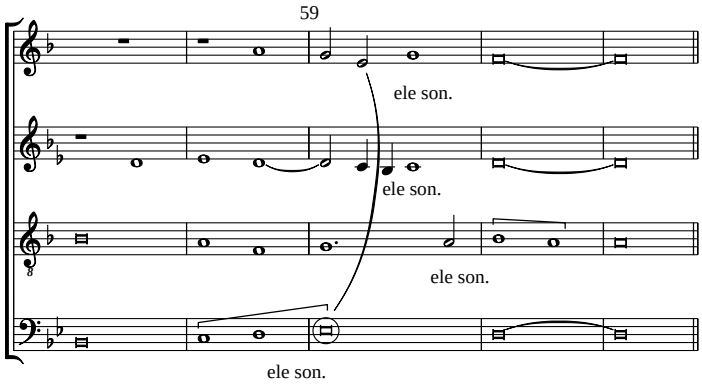
[1] See P. URQUHART, art. *Musica ficta (15. und 16. Jahrhundert)*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd rev. ed., *Sachteil*, 6, Kassel – Basel, 1997, cols. 673–682; and P. URQUHART, *False Concords in Busnoys*, in P. HIGGINS ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 361–387.

[2] Composers other than Josquin could have served the purpose of this paper as readily, for the contrapuntal problems they pose are often comparable. See T. NOBLITT, *Chromatic Cross-Relations and Editorial Musica Ficta in the Masses of Obrecht*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 32 (1982), pp. 30–44; and P. URQUHART, *Cross-Relations by Franco-Flemish Composers after Josquin*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 43 (1993), pp. 3–41.

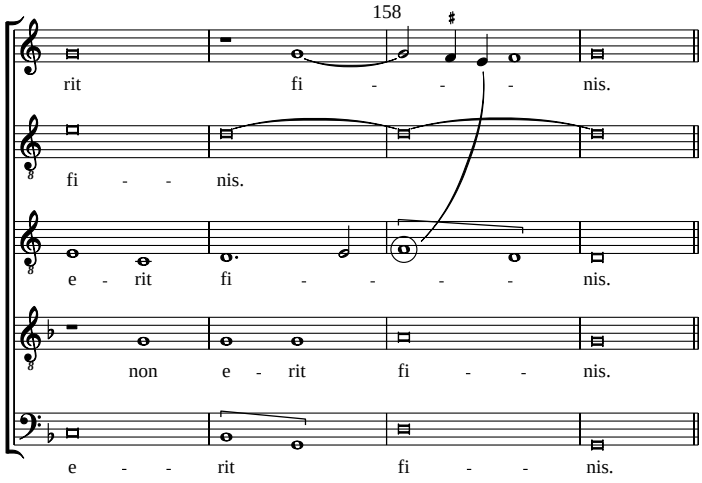
[3] One of the most widely used discussions during the 1960s to 80s – a period during which the greater part of the repertoire was published in score – was the *Foreword* by E.E. LOWINSKY to H.C. SLIM ed., *Musica Nova*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 1), Chicago, 1964, pp. viii-xxi. More recent and well-documented is the book by Karol Berger, whose chapters Four to Six provide a vast expansion and clarification of Lowinsky's rules: K. BERGER, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*, Cambridge, 1987.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 234

to model the practices of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century singers, even though difficult passages, such as those quoted in Example 1, force two of the three rules into conflict with each other. Most often, rule 2 interferes with either rule 1 or 3. In Example 1a the melodic and the harmonic rule are in conflict, whereas in Example 1b the cadential and the harmonic rule are in conflict.



Example 1a. From Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine*, following the source VienNB 4809: Christe – melodic versus harmonic.



Example 1b. From Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine*, following the source VienNB 4809: Credo – cadential versus harmonic.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 235

If we follow the melodic or cadential rules and perform these passages as notated here, conflicts will arise with the harmonic rule. This rule, unlike the other two, relies solely on the performer *hearing* the problem. For that reason, it is the most difficult rule of the three for us to imagine operating in practice, while reading from their notation. Yet, modern editorial practice generally favors the harmonic rule over the others.[4] Theorists' statements have been enlisted in support of this assumption, but theory can also support precisely the opposite viewpoint.[5] The difference arises when we do not distinguish between prescriptive and descriptive statements by the theorist. For instance, we know from theorists' accounts of the rules of counterpoint that octaves, fourths and fifths should always be perfect. But if a certain interval is not perfect, should it have been altered, and if so, by whom? Was it the singer's responsibility, or the composer's? When Tinctoris gives a chapter in Book II of his counterpoint treatise the following title, 'Discords which they call false concords must be completely avoided', the question arises: avoided by whom? Tinctoris then tells us the answer in the following famous passage:

> Nevertheless, I have discovered the opposite most frequently among many, many composers, even the most famous ... And, indeed, when I see such evident errors committed by so many composers, I think that these men can be excused in absolutely no other way than by this statement of Horace, 'When the good Homer nods', that is, as Acro explains, when the good poet erred; hence, it is not to be wondered that a good musician also errs sometimes.[6]

Tinctoris criticizes such sonorities in Busnoys and others, and so prescribes that they not be used by composers. However, the fact that he *describes* them at all suggests that such sonorities would indeed be sung if the notation were placed before singers. If such sonorities were normally adjusted automatically by singers, Tinctoris would have had little to complain about. There would have been no possibility of committing an 'error'.

A similar situation is found in some partbooks housed at the University Library in Munich. Heinrich Glarean made certain additions to and comments on the partbooks of a 1539 mass print.[7] In two passages of the Credo of Josquin's *Missa Fortuna desperata*, the theorist placed the words *fa contra mi in Basi* in the tenor part, and *mi contra fa in Tenore* in the bass, with *signa congruentiae* to indicate the precise false concord he was referring to (see Example 2).[8]

[4] For example, see M. BENT, L. LOCKWOOD et al., art. *Musica ficta*, in S. SADIE ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 12, London, 1980, p. 806: "when vertical tritone problems clash with linear tritones the former should take precedence"; similarly, BERGER, *Musica ficta*, p. 119: "when one must choose between two non-harmonic relations, one melodic and the other vertical, one should correct the latter".

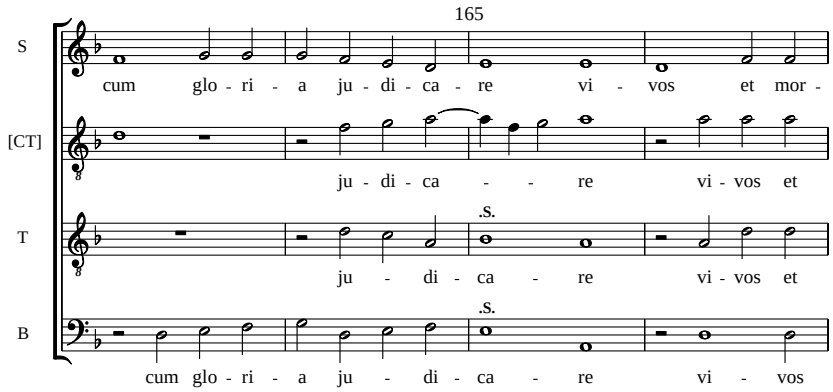
[5] See URQUHART, *False Concords in Busnoys* for an example of one passage by Tinctoris being used to support two mutually incompatible perspectives, especially pp. 381–382.

[6] J. TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 5), trans. A. SEAY, s.l., 1961, pp. 130–131.

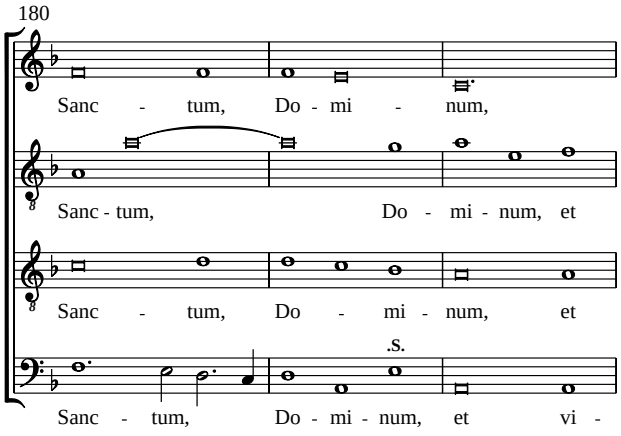
[7] Petreius' *Liber quindecim missarum* (*RISM* B/1539[1]); only the superius, tenor, and bass are extant in this exemplar: Munich, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 4° Liturg. 448 (= Cim. 44n). Glarean's ownership of the book and authorship of the annotations are reviewed by I. FENLON, *Heinrich Glarean's Books*, in J. KMETZ ed., *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 74–102.

[8] The *signa congruentiae* appear in what are printed as measures 165 and 181 in the measure numbering of the *New Josquin Edition*; in Smijers' *Werken* edition, the measure numbers are 166 and 184. B. HUDSON ed., *The Collected Works of Josquin Des Prez*, 8, Utrecht, 1995, pp. 51–52; A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés, Missen*, 1, Amsterdam, 1929, pp. 92–93.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 236



T book: *fa contra mi in Basi*
B book: *mi contra fa in Tenore*



B book: *mi contra fa in Tenore*

Example 2. Credo from Josquin's *Missa Fortuna desperata*, following Petreius' *Liber quindecim missarum* (*RISM* B/1539[1]) with Glarean's markings.

One senses again a certain disapproval from the theorist in making these observations about Josquin's work. He does not mark any other fifths in the mass other than these two that occur between E and B♭, nor is he telling us what to do about the dissonance, whether singers should correct the diminished fifth with an E♭ in the bass, or with a B♮ in the tenor. The latter correction was chosen for both passages, for obvious reasons, by Albert Smijers in his *Werken* edition. However, Glarean's descriptive comment stands without prescription, and it should make us reconsider the assumption that Smijers' editorial 'ficta' implies: that singers would automatically correct such passages. If this were true, Glarean would have had little reason to point out such events in the partbooks.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 237

These two instances of direct comments by theorists on false concords in actual examples of music are rather unusual. Only in those cases where the theorist is *criticizing* practice do we get a sense that such a practice did indeed ever occur. In order to criticize the practice, the theorist must describe it; more often theorists are in a prescriptive mode, and no theorist from this time prescribes that composers *should* write such sonorities.

Another larger body of evidence to consider in our search for the use of forbidden intervals are the explicit accidentals added to musical sources. We cannot always know who might have added a particular accidental; it may have been the composer, or a score-conscious editor, a performer, or scribe. Stemmatics may sometimes allow us to assert that the accidental was placed by the composer. However, explicit accidental signs are not always transmitted as faithfully as other notational information between sources. They are frequently lost, added, or altered. In the sources we can see erasures, additional signs squeezed in or written in a different ink; the celebrated dispute described by Ghiselin Danckerts over the right of a bass singer to add a signature flat to his part confirms that such additions would be made by singers.[9]

Even when we have such signs, they may not tell us very much. If we fully believe in the 'rules of *musica ficta*', then most explicit accidentals are simply redundant – helpful but not strictly necessary. This is certainly true about those accidentals placed in observance of rules 1 and 3, the melodic and cadential directives. Cadential accidentals are rare around 1500, but they do often occur at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and were phased out, presumably, as the linear indications of cadential inflections became increasingly stereotyped; they became redundant. Also redundant are those accidentals placed in order to correct linear tritones. Tinctoris found such accidentals so superfluous that he called them asses' marks.[10] We presume that such accidentals would normally be added by performers even if the signs were not present. Their addition often doesn't tell us anything. It is striking how often one finds such redundant and unnecessary signs in proximity to lines or passages where help from explicit accidentals would have been much appreciated (see Examples 3a, 3b). The flat in the bass of Josquin's *Hercules* mass is nice to have, but it is hardly the most pressing question.

Signs that are placed for unconventional reasons, to use Karol Berger's phrase, are less common than signs placed for linear or harmonic, thus conventional, reasons.[11] When accidentals foil our conventional expectations, they are often suppressed in modern editions with little or no comment. The sharp that occurs in BrusBR 9126 in the Example 3a above is a case in point. It has a conventional explanation, to create a picardy third for the final sonority of the passage, but it seems to cause more trouble harmonically than it is worth.[12] BrusBR 9126 transmits a similar sharp in the Kyrie of

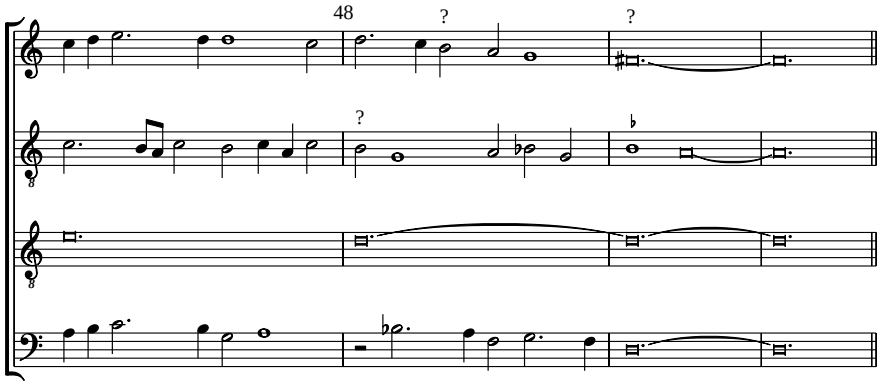
[9] Lewis Lockwood wrote about this incident in L. LOCKWOOD, *A Dispute on Accidentals in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, in *Analecta musicologica*, 2 (1965), pp. 24–40.

[10] See Tinctoris' discussion of the sixth mode in his *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, in A. SEAY ed., *Opera Theoretica*, (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 22), 1, s.l., 1975, pp. 73–75.

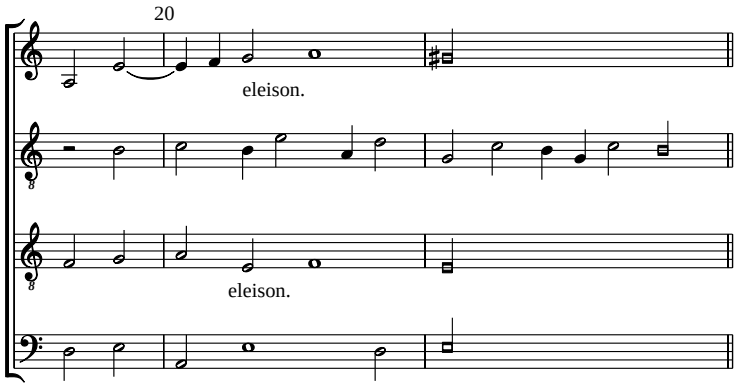
[11] BERGER, *Musica ficta*, pp. 173 ff.

[12] Pietro Aaron, in the twentieth chapter of his *Toscanello*, Book 2, discusses the use of explicit sharp or *diesis* signs to color longer sonorities: "especially in breves, semibreves, and fermatas ...". He also references the practice of performing such inflections without explicit signs. Thus, the addition of picardy thirds is often appended to the three conventional 'rules of *musica ficta*' discussed above. However, the adjustment of the quality of final thirds seems to be a later convention than the other three rules, and may be of questionable relevance to Franco-Flemish composers of Josquin's time and before. See P. AARON, *Toscanello in Music*, 2, trans. P. BERGQUIST, Colorado Springs, 1970.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 238



Example 3a. Conventional signs in BrusBR 9126:
Credo from Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*.



Example 3b. Unconventional sign in BrusBR 9126:
Kyrie from Josquin's *Missa Malheur me bat*.

the *Missa Malheur me bat* that causes even more trouble (see Example 3b). In this case JenaU 3 carries the same sharp, but no editor is likely to add this sharp to a score, given the harmonic context.

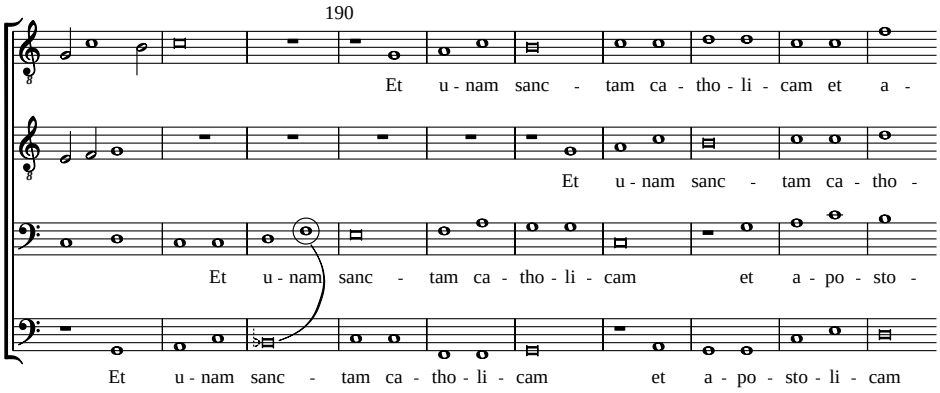
Indeed, a strong interpretation of the 'rules of *musica ficta*' potentially overrides any information about forbidden intervals provided by explicit accidentals. Ignoring accidentals because 'we know better' is only one form the strong interpretation takes. The addition of enough editorial accidentals to render a troublesome accidental 'harmonically conventional' is the other. Thus, the cyclic editorial accidentals patterns found in Edward Lowinsky's *Secret Chromatic Art*, or Margaret Bent's *Diatonic Ficta* rely essentially on a strong interpretation of the three rules.[13] Under a strong interpretation, if we desire an accidental, we can get it; if we are troubled by an explicit accidental, we can remove it, or render it harmonically benign, if linearly devastating. A strong interpretation of the harmonic 'rule of *musica ficta*' can make it impossible for us to see forbidden intervals.

[13] E.E. LOWINSKY, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, (*Columbia University Studies in Musicology*, 6), New York, 1946; M. BENT, *Diatonic Ficta*, in *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), pp. 1–48.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 239

For that reason, accidentals that have been *erased* are far more informative than explicit accidental additions. Erasures of accidentals tell us a performer reacted negatively to what he was being asked to sing by the notation, and therefore he countermanded the instruction. The original presence of the accidental provides a secure statement of inflection against which the erasure occurs. If a sign says to sing a note as *fa*, we presume that it was indeed sung as *fa*; if the singer went to the trouble of erasing the sign, we can assume that he found the sounding of the *fa* to be a problem. Once again, as with the theorists discussed above, the *description* provided by disapproval – an erasure – provides for us something more specific than the *prescription* given by a 'rule of *musica ficta*', or even the explicit sign itself.

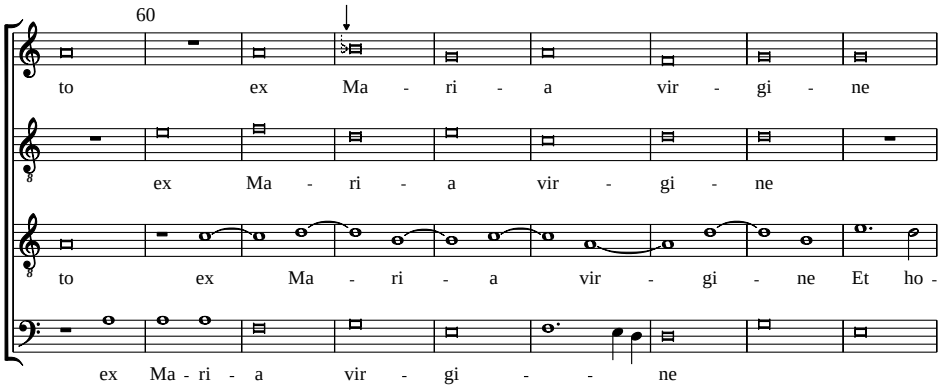
Thus, in Ockeghem's *Missa Mi mi*, we understand both why a flat was added in the Chigi Codex (VatC 234) and why it was later erased, in the striking imitative passage at the text *et unam sanctam catholicam*. The F in the tenor would create a diminished fifth with the bass B, which stimulated someone to add a flat to the bass (see Example 4). One might normally assume that such flat signs are an explicit expression of what does not need to be notated, the correction of *mi contra fa* between two voices; the absence of the sign in the other sources, for instance, is not a strong argument against the use of B♭ in measure 189. However, in this case, the decision of the Chigi Codex editor to erase the flat suggests that the intent was to allow the B to be sung as B♮. Furthermore, we welcome the use of B♮ here, for the use of B♭ would mar the imitation with the following voices. Such clearly sustained imitation is only sparingly employed in this mass, and therefore this passage is highlighted by its use, and by the suddenly thinner texture at measure 189. The use of B♮ and the diminished fifth is preferable because it allows for the more important linear coherence in this passage, the imitative link between the bass, superius, altus, and then tenor, a clear reference to the meaning of the text, 'in one holy, catholic and apostolic church'. It is helpful to have this erasure to confirm that the B is not flat, for without the erasure, we might have let the rule of *mi contra fa* overrule these linear/imitative considerations.[14]



Example 4. An erased flat in Ockeghem's *Missa Mi mi*, from the Chigi Codex (VatC 234).

[14] Dragan Plamenac suppressed the flat in his edition of Ockeghem's *Collected Works*, but referenced the erasure in his notes. Jaap van Benthem indicated the flat within the staff in his edition, but within parentheses. D. PLAMENAC ed., *Johannes Ockeghem Collected Works*, 2, [New York], 1966, pp. xviii and 12; J. VAN BENTHEM, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections*, 3, Utrecht, 1998, p. 17. For another example of a revision caused by the occurrence of a diminished fifth, see P. URQUHART, *Three Sample Problems of Editorial*

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 240



Example 5. An erased flat in the *Et incarnatus* of Josquin's *Missa Sine nomine*, Credo, mm. 59–67.

An example of an imperfect octave caused by an explicit accidental is found in the middle of the Credo of Josquin's *Missa Sine nomine*.[15] A flat occurs in all seven sources of the passage, but was erased in two of them (indicated by the arrow in Example 5).[16] The reason for the erasure of the flat in measure 62 of the superius in these two sources is obvious upon considering a score, which of course was probably not how musicians of the time experienced the problem.

Smijers, in his score of the mass for the *Werken*, followed sixteenth-century precedent and chose to suppress the flat.[17] One could also decide to keep the flat and follow modern '*musica ficta*' norms by flatting the tenor in measure 62, which in turn would perhaps cause one to flat both the bass and the altus in the next measure; a recent performing edition of the mass follows this procedure.[18] On the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence in the sources, in the form of added accidentals, that such flat inflections were sung in the lower voices. I doubt that such processes ever occurred in this work or in any other work, unless guided by explicit signs, and have therefore argued that the clash should stand as notated above in performance. This is not the place to elaborate on that argument; for this paper it is important simply to note that this flat caused trouble in at least two performances of the passage in the sixteenth century, and that trouble was quite probably the sounding of the diminished octave.

Accidentals in Chansons by Busnoys and Ockeghem, in J.A. OWENS and A.M. CUMMINGS eds., *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology*; *Studies in Music*, 18), Warren, Michigan, 1997, pp. 472–476. Here, the revision to Busnoys' work does not consist of an erasure, but the rewriting of the entire polyphonic texture in order to avoid the repeated use of diminished fifths in the chanson *Je ne puis vivre*. The affected bars, measures 5–11 and 18–21, correspond with the two passages in which Busnoys employs a diminished fifth harmony as an essential motive of the piece.

[15] P. URQUHART, *An Accidental Flat in Josquin's Sine nomine Mass*, in A. CLEMENT and E. JAS eds., *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, *(Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 125–144.

[16] The sources that contain the flat include the Alamire sources VienNB 4809 and JenaU 3, but the flat was quite thoroughly erased from JenaU 3. The outline of its presence is still clearly visible in the erased staff lines. The other source from which the flat was erased is ToleBC 9, in which the original flat is more clearly visible.

[17] A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, *Missen*, 3, Amsterdam, 1952, p. 167.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 241

Explicit indications that performers erased accidentals, such as those of the previous examples, are not very common. More often we are simply left with sources that differ in their accidental indications; stemmatics sometimes help us to reconstruct what an original probably looked like, which thus allows us to postulate that erasures happened in response to a particular harmonic event in the music. An example of postulated erasure occurs in the chanson *Nimphes, nappés*, known for its *Circumdederunt* canonic scaffolding.[19] A flat in the leader of this canon (marked *dux* in Example 6) in measures 49 and 57 appears in the prints by Susato (*RISM* B/1545[15]) and Attaingnant (1550; *RISM* A/I/J 681). Although Smijers used Susato's print as his primary exemplar, he suppressed both of these flats, probably because of the cross-relation that they cause with the soprano in measure 49, and with the tenor below in measure 57.[20]

There are a number of other sources of the piece that also lack these accidentals, but Smijers did not cite them in his notes for the edition because these sources carry the piece with a different text, *Haec dicit Dominus*. We may be fairly certain that these sources lack the two accidentals because of sixteenth-century editorial revision, for the earliest source of this contrafactum, and the probable source of the entire *Haec dicit* branch, is the print *RISM* B/1537[1], which retains the first of these two accidentals at measure 49 (Table 1 presents a tentative stemma). It is likely that the E♭s were lost in the sixteenth century for same reasons that they were ignored by Smijers: because they create a striking cross-relation.

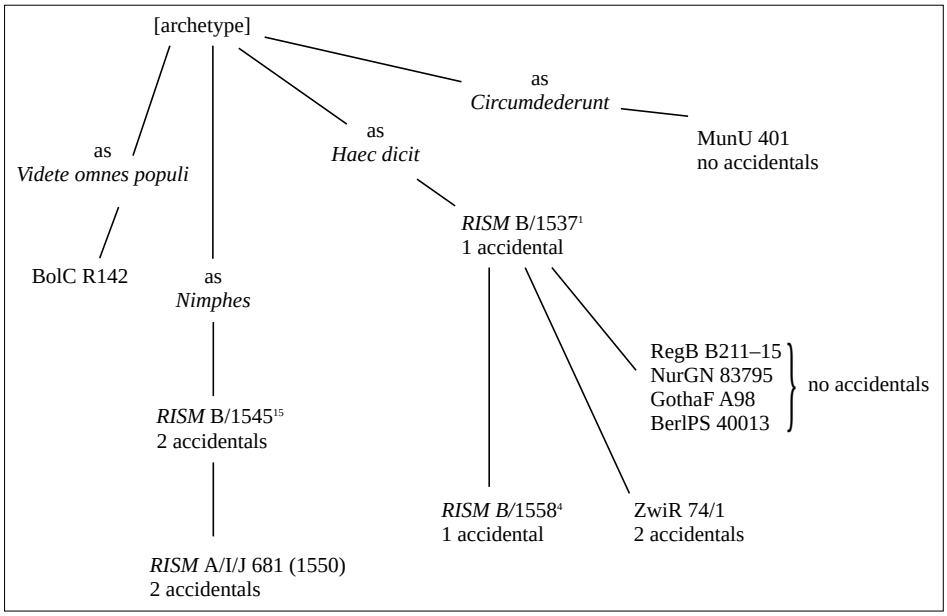
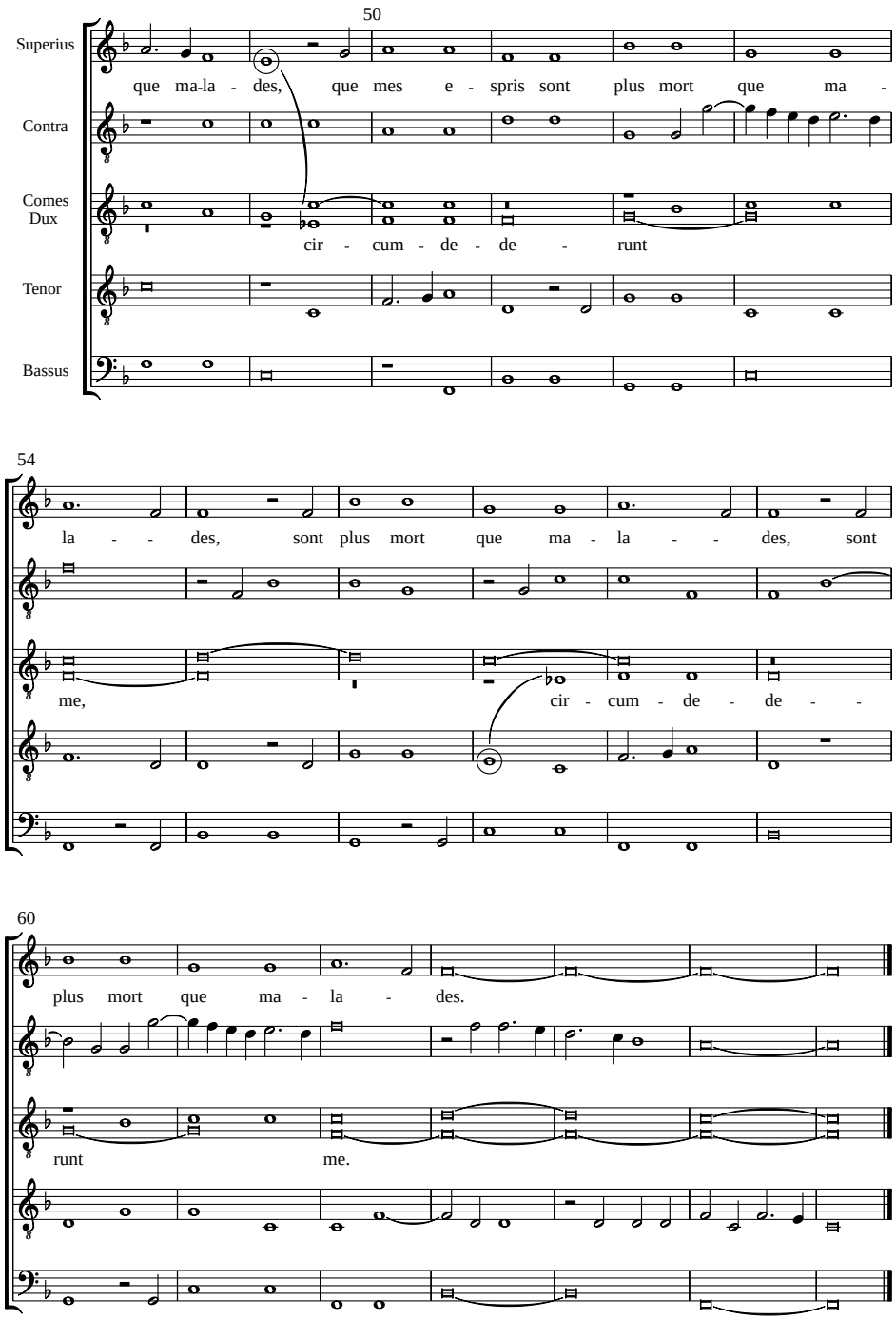


Table 1. Tentative stemma of Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés*.

[18] N. DAVISON ed., *Josquin des Prez: Missa Sine nomine*, Devon, England, 1991.

[19] John Milsom untangled the relationships among the *Circumdederunt* works: *Christus mortuus est, Sic Deus dilexit*, and *Nimphes, nappés*; see J. MILSOM, *Circumdederunt: 'A Favourite Cantus Firmus of Josquin's'?* in *Soundings*, 9 (1982), pp. 2–10.

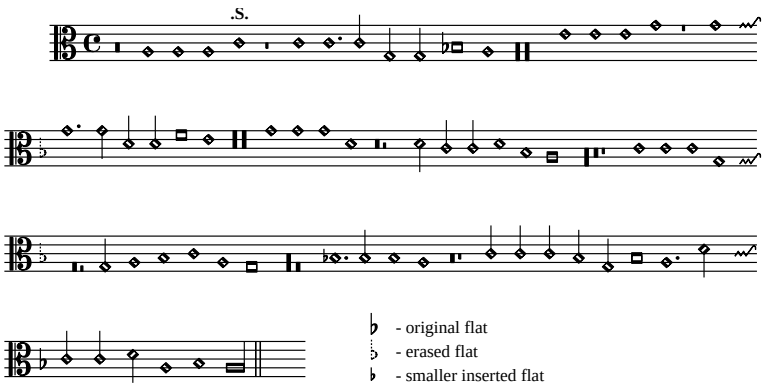
hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 242



Example 6. Cross-relations in Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés.*

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 243

Erasures of flats from the beginning of the staff, the position of the 'key signature', are more commonly encountered than erasures of specified accidentals. Josquin's chanson *Plaine de dueil* provides an example. As it is presented in both Smijers' and Martin Picker's edition, the latter from the manuscript BrusBR 228, the piece has no signature flats in any voice.[21] But a look at the Brussels manuscript (the one relevant page appears as plate 9 in Picker's edition; see facsimile in Example 7) reveals erasure of signature flats in two voices, and inclusion of a flat that appears to have been added after the notes were entered, squeezed into the *dux* of the two-voice canonic scaffolding.



Example 7. *Dux* of Josquin's *Plaine de dueil*, from BrusBR 228, fol. 48v.

There is no particular clash that we can point to in this piece that would have caused the scribe or performer to make these erasures. Instead, the incentive appears to have been simply graphic or systematic. Scribes did not want to transmit partial signatures in general during this period. Partial signatures tend to become regularized in transmission, so that all lines end up carrying the same signatures. Aaron tells us that the practice of partial signatures had fallen out of favor by the 1520s, at least with North Italian theorists:

> ... they inconsiderately use the signature of b molle in one part only of their song, especially in the low part. I say that such a practice is denied and not allowed, nor to be considered by a true musician.[22]

In certain other compositions this signature appears only in the contrabassus, in others only in the tenor; such an arrangement is in our opinion neither permissible nor suitable in a harmony or composition unless it is used deliberately and introduced with art.[23]

Of course, this typical Franco-Flemish practice of writing partial signatures continued with

[20] A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés, Wereldlijke Werken*, 1, Amsterdam, 1923, p. 54.
[21] SMIJERS, *Werken van Josquin des Prés, Wereldlijke Werken*, 1, p. 7; M. PICKER, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria*, Berkeley, 1965, p. 362.
[22] The passage is found in the 1529 *Aggiunta* to *Toscanello*; the translation here is by P. Bergquist; see AARON, *Toscanello in Music*, [3], p. 23.
[23] P. AARON, *Trattato della natura e cognizione di tutti gli toni di canto figurato* (1525), trans. O. STRUNK, in *Source Readings in Music History*, New York, 1950, p. 211.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 244

composers such as Gombert, Clemens, Manchicourt and even Willaert into the 1540s. In the second quotation, which preceded the first by a few years, Aaron's softer stance is made necessary by such works as the Credo of Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine*, which he explicitly references with a footnote: 'As by the excellent Josquin in the Patrem of his Mass of Our Lady...'. In this Credo the scribal tendency to regularize partial signatures caused considerable divergence in the signature flats in the many sources, and a feast of erasures and additions resulted, presumably by singers and scribes attempting to make sense of the work (see Table 2). Many of the Italian sources, including the prints by Petrucci and Antico, ended up with no-flat signatures in all voices, whereas JenaU 36 moved towards the opposite extreme with signature flats in all voices except the tenor, following its exemplar JenaU 7 where someone had squeezed in the signature flats after the copying of the rest of the page.

♯♭ = both symbols are placed on B

{♭} = squeezed-in flat

	MODE N.1.2	CAMBRAIBM 4	VIENNB 4809	JENAU 7	JENAU 36
S	-	-	-	{♭}	♭
dux	-	-	♯♭	-	-
A	-	-	-	{♭}	♭
B	-	♭	♭	♭	♭

Table 2. Signatures in Josquin's *Missa de beata virgine*, Credo.

In all probability, the archetype that began all this confusion in the sources was more complex than either of the two resulting extremes on the right or the left of Table 2. Josquin's original version may have presented a combination of intermittent signature flats and explicit accidentals as required by the counterpoint of the piece. In the process of transmission, this information was lost, as the regularization of the signatures proceeded in opposite directions in different sources.

Why should the composer have wanted such a peculiar combination of signature and explicit accidentals? The answer lies in the canon at the fifth that forms the scaffolding of the Credo. Josquin's canons tend to be intervallically exact, which automatically causes partial signatures and B♭s pitted against B♮s. In fact, all of the last four examples share this feature: an exact canon is the reason for the partial signatures of *Plaine de dueil*, for the cross-relations of *Nimphes, nappés*, and for the simultaneous clash in the *Et incarnatus* of the *Missa Sine nomine*. Canonic qualities are easily lost in transmission, for they rely on partial signatures, unusual accidentals, and *comes* lines that are not written out. More examples of such signature corruption exist in Josquin's works, in the *Missa Ad fugam* and the motet *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*, for instance, both of which involve partial signatures because of their canons at the fifth.[24]

There are also a number of non-canonic works in which partial signatures became corrupted in transmission. The two sources of Josquin's Credo *De tous biens playne* differ in the presence of

[24] Discussions of the canonic treatment in *Inviolata* and *Missa Ad fugam* are found in my dissertation: P. URQUHART, *Canon, Partial Signatures, and "Musica Ficta" in Works by Josquin DesPrez and his Contemporaries*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1988, pp. 207–212 and 218–237.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 245

a crucial signature in the contratenor voice; the lack of this signature in the source VatS 41 nearly destroys the point of the composition, which is the presentation of two cantus firmi at the same time with their intersecting modes. Even in the case of the *Fortuna* mass that we considered before (see Example 2), the problems pointed out by Glarean turn out to be scribal rather than compositional in origin. The flat signatures in the Petreius print (*RISM* B/1539[1]) were not present in the earliest manuscript sources. In MunBS 3154 the flat signatures were clearly added after the piece was entered into the manuscript, whereas certain Italian sources lack signatures completely. On the basis of this information the editor of the *Fortuna* mass for the New Josquin Edition, Barton Hudson, has similarly dispensed with flat signatures, a bold move that raises as many questions as it solves for this F-mode piece.[25] But it does suggest that *mi contra fa* problems pointed out by Glarean were not part of the composer's original conception.

With these few examples, we have just begun to uncover evidence that forbidden intervals were heard and even savored during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The evidence relies upon the disapproval of theorists, and erasures by singers or scribes; the evidence is found paradoxically in the negative response such forbidden intervals inspired. But, at the very least, these examples should suggest that automatically correcting such sonorities while sightreading was not the performance norm that we have been led to believe it was, by what I would claim is our modern doctrine of *musica ficta*, not theirs.

[25] HUDSON, *The Collected Works of Josquin Des Prez*, 8.

hfst Urquhart 12-11-2003 14:20 Pagina 246

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 247

ALAMIRE AS A COMPOSER

David Fallows
University of Manchester

Petrus Alamire is named as the composer of a work in the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18810 (VienNB Mus. 18810) – not an Alamire manuscript but one of the group of sources from the 1520s associated with Lucas Wagenrieder. It is a four-voice setting of the Low-Dutch song *T'Andernaken op den Rijn*, with the borrowed melody in the tenor. That melody is known from many other tenor settings, most of them in three voices.[1]

In 1978 both Henrik Glahn and Warwick Edwards were the first, independently, to publish the information that this is the piece that appears in the manuscript Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gamle kongelige Samling 1872, 4° (CopKB 1872), with an added fifth voice and with the word *Krumbhörner* above the original bassus where one would normally find an ascription.[2] In 1987, Matthias Schneider pointed out that the tenor line also appears in the manuscript Wittenberg, Staatliche Lutherhalle, S 403/1048 (WittenL 1048).[3] Apparently no one has yet identified two further sources for the piece, in Hans Gerle's *Tabulatur auff die Laudten* (*BrownI* 1533$_{1}$), no. 30, and in Hans Newsidler's *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch* (*BrownI* 1536$_{6}$), no. 51.[4]

And it is worth just pausing there to register the work's range of sources: all seem to date from around 1530, apart from the Copenhagen partbooks of the early 1540s (CopKB 1872). Whatever this piece is, it was fairly widely distributed in the last years of Petrus Alamire's life.

Example 1 is a short score of the work, with the added fifth voice from Copenhagen on an extra stave in smaller notes. The fifth voice is plainly a later addition. That should be obvious even without a knowledge of the three sources that have no trace of the voice,[5] not so much because the piece can stand without it (which is true of many perfectly credible lines of those years), but because of the aimless way in which the extra voice wanders around filling gaps, completely loses its way

[1] Many of these are printed in R. TARUSKIN ed., *T'Andernaken: Ten Settings in Three, Four and Five Parts*, (*Ogni Sorte Editions*, 7), Coconut Grove, 1981. In the following list I give only the earliest known source. The three-voice settings are: Tyling (TrentC 87), anon. in BrusBR II.270, Obrecht (*RISM* B/1501), Lapicida (*RISM* B/1504^{3}), Agricola (*RISM* B/1504^{3}), Henry VIII (LonBL 31922), Brumel (MunU 328–31), Hofhaimer (SGallS 530 etc., in one source with a fourth voice). The four-voice settings are those of Senfl (*RISM* B/1544^{20} only), Alamire (with an added fifth voice in CopKB 1872) and the mass of Pierre de la Rue (JenaU 21). In five voices is only Senfl (*RISM* B/1534^{17}). In addition there is an isolated tenor line in Maastricht (MaastR s.s.). A two-voice lute setting appears in the *Marsh Lutebook* (Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.2.13). The mass entitled *Tandernaken* in ErlU 473/4 is Brumel's mass *Bon temps*.

[2] H. GLAHN ed., *Musik fra Christian IIIs tid: Udvalgte satser fra det danske hofkapels stemmebøger (1541)*, (*Dania Sonans*, 4), Copenhagen, 1978, p. 36; W.A. EDWARDS, *The Instrumental Music of Henry VIII's Manuscript*, in *The Consort*, 34 (1978), pp. 274–282, at p. 281. A facsimile of the opening of the fifth voice appears in E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire: muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd (1500–1535)*, Leuven, 1999, p. 86. This version was edited, without knowledge of the Vienna concordance and thus of the composer's name, in: B. THOMAS, *London Pro Musica Edition RB1*, London, 1972.

[3] See the introduction to the facsimile: M. SCHNEIDER ed., *Collection of German, French and Instrumental Pieces: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 18 810*, Peer, 1987, p. 10.

[4] Howard Mayer Brown had noted that the two intabulations were of the same piece but had not identified any staff-notation source; see H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, rev. 2nd ed. 1967.

[5] In fact the two lute tablatures are effectively in three voices, as often happens in such arrangements.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 248

in bars 14–18, and often conceals the textural variety that gave life to the original piece: see in particular bars 7, 12 and 22. That is not to say that the voice is illiterate; merely that the music seems better without it.[6]

But it is the nature of the fifth voice that draws attention to the qualities of the original four-voice work. Its main eccentricity is that it has almost no rests: once started, the music moves inexorably for its full four minutes. But within that texture, the work has considerable control and variety. Bars 3–4 show the bass running in tenths with one or other of the upper voices, but the device is used here far more sparingly than in many other works of the time. All the voices flow freely and inventively, with a resourceful range of rhythmic patterns, of melodic individuality and of cadential placement. The two short imitative passages are also well handled: the one at bars 11–14 may seem simple, but it uses its idea imaginatively, has carefully irregular harmonic rhythms and in general provides a welcome variety to the texture; and the one at bars 21–23 shows the same qualities. It would be hard to fault the part-writing of this version.

It seems almost certain that the original four-voice version was actually conceived for crumhorns. No other instrument has quite the range limitations of the crumhorn. All four voices exactly fill a range of a ninth, rising from the low F in the bass, from tenor c in the two middle voices, and from g in the discantus. So they match the pitches and total ranges of the bass, tenor and alto crumhorns as described by Praetorius[7] and by Agricola in 1529.[8] No other piece in the Vienna partbooks (VienNB Mus. 18810) has those range limitations. That can hardly be a coincidence, and the Copenhagen annotation surely reflects that. Certainly the famous intarsia of a set of five crumhorns done by Giovanni da Verona on the door of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican can stand as evidence that crumhorn ensembles were accepted by about 1510.[9] The same could be concluded from the set of four crumhorns presented in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht und auszgezogen* (Basel, 1511), fol. B4.

Beyond that, we have evidence of Alamire's association with the crumhorn in the postscript to the autograph letter he wrote to King Henry VIII in May 1515: the earliest item in the enormous series of references in English documents to Alamire's activities as a spy. Some of it is facsimiled in the Alamire exhibition catalogue,[10] but not the key sentence, given here:[11]

[6] The one place where it seems to have parallel unisons with the original bass (bar 16) is alongside a different reading in the bass in CopKB 1872, which makes sense (d for the B); and there are two further problem notes: a low A at the end of bar 8, which I have emended to d (again, in CopKB 1872 the bassus has d here); and in bar 25 the penultimate note is miswritten as G for A, but that is hardly the composer's fault. I mention those details purely because Richard Taruskin says that the editor of one edition (Bernard Thomas) "was forced to make some drastic changes in the 'vagant' to avoid trouble" (TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4); that seems an overstatement.

[7] See the analysis in K.T. MEYER, *The Crumhorn: Its History, Design, Repertory, and Technique*, (*Studies in Musicology*, 66), Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 119–122.

[8] If Barra Boydell has interpreted him right, see B.R. BOYDELL, *The Crumhorn and other Renaissance Windcap Instruments: A Contribution to Renaissance Organology*, Buren, 1982, p. 35 and pp. 46–48.

[9] For a reproduction, see E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, New Haven – London, 1979, pl. 49a; for authorship and dating, see p. 191. See also, BOYDELL, *The Crumhorn*, frontispiece (reproduction) and pp. 18–19 (discussion); and MEYER, *The Crumhorn*, p. 54 (reproduction) and p. 50 (discussion).

[10] E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, p. 20, fig. 3.

[11] London, Public Record Office, SP 1/10, piece 199v.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 249

Hic ego mitto vestre sacre maiestate unum cantum de musica cum quinque vocum: est optimum et bonum. Ego missi vestre maiestate sex parvos libros, ubi multa bona intra sunt, cum magistro Allexandro Aurifabri, etc.
Ego rogo quod maiestas vestre vult considerare paupertatem meam.
Ego dimisi unum manicordium cum pedale in Grimtwitz. Et misi vestram maiestatem dredecim Cromhornes: pro talia non sum recompensatus, sed spero.

A translation of the relevant bits would read: 'Here I send your majesty a musical piece in five voices: it is excellent and good ... And I have sent your majesty thirteen crumhorns, for which I have not been rewarded, but I hope.' That could just be an elaborate code concealing political information: after all, thirteen is an unusual number to send.[12] But the main body of the letter is already so incriminating that this postscript is unlikely to mean anything other than what it seems to mean. Evidently Alamire was aware of the crumhorn and of ensembles of crumhorns; and this can still offer gentle support to the view that his *T'Andernaken* was composed specifically for crumhorns. So there is something particularly tempting in his reference to an unnamed piece in five voices that he sends with the letter.

It is tempting for several reasons. First, a single piece rather than a larger codex is in itself a slightly unusual gift for the monarch, coming from Alamire of all people. Second, the lack of further information about it in the letter suggests that there was something in the piece that Henry would immediately understand. Since the largest surviving composition of Henry VIII apart from his *Quam pulchra es* is his own setting of *T'Andernaken*, he would surely recognize the intended flattery.[13] It is hard to resist speculating on the possibility that Alamire sent something that would immediately attract Henry's attention among the hundreds of gifts he received each year.

The work's authorship has been doubted in the past.[14] Some of the reasons need exploring. The key point here is that Alamire signed some of the manuscripts he copied; perhaps the Vienna copyist mistook such a signature for an ascription of the music. There are indeed Alamire signatures in his manuscripts, listed by Flynn Warmington in the exhibition catalogue.[15] Two are in VienNB Mus. 18825, but on the outside paper covers of the partbooks, well away from any music. Two

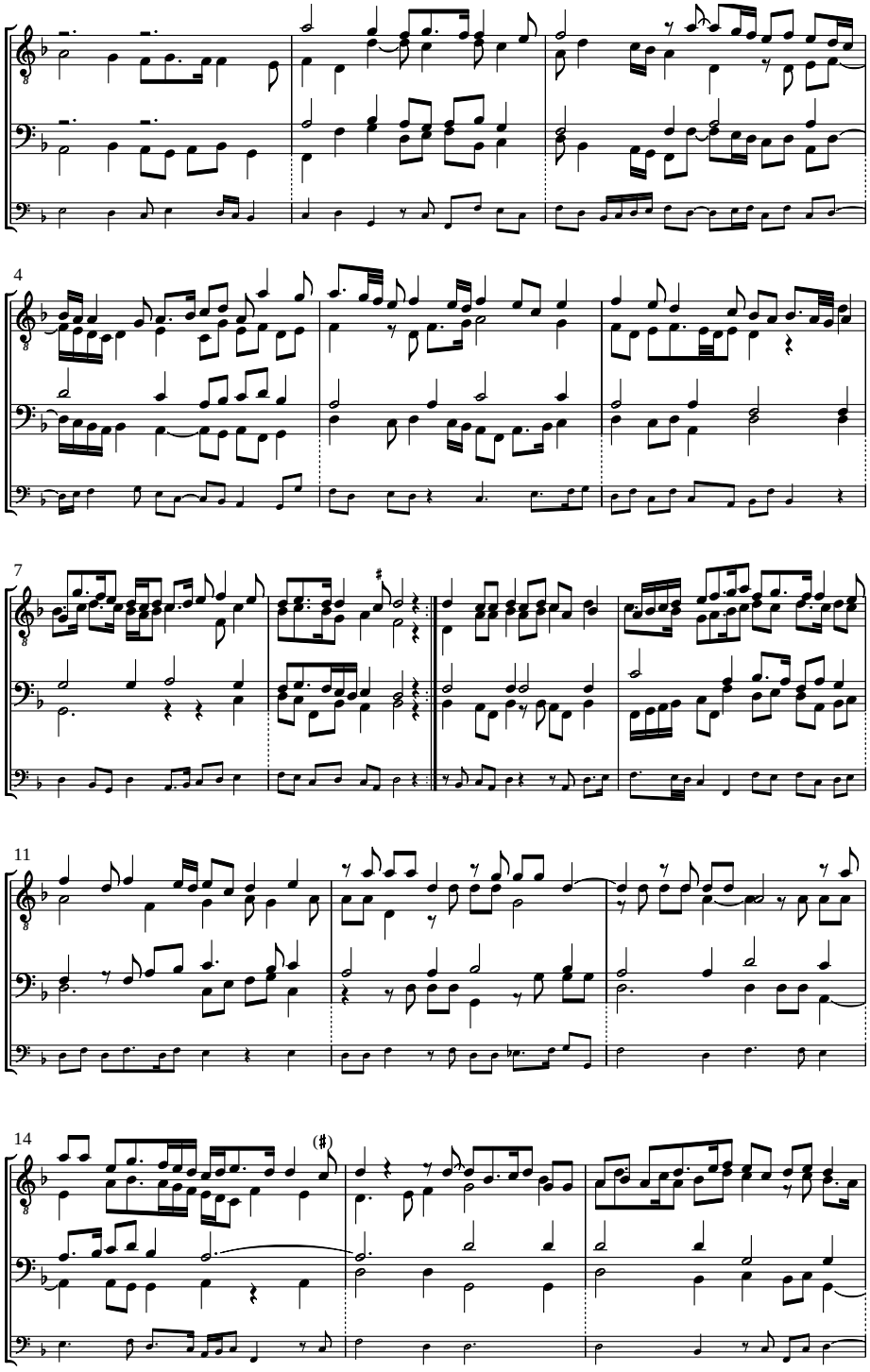
[12] Keith Polk pointed out at the Alamire conference (Leuven, 25–28 November 1999) that crumhorns, then as now, have two characteristics that would make it desirable to have more than the minimum number. First, their very limited range of a ninth means that they were less adaptable than most other instruments. Second, they are unusually temperamental instruments and often malfunction; having several to choose from would be an asset. In the next century Michael Praetorius mentioned in his *Theatrum instrumentorum* (1620) that a complete set of crumhorns should comprise nine instruments; see KENTON, *The Crumhorn*, p. 118.

[13] His *T'Andernaken* setting is printed in J. STEVENS ed., *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*, (*Musica Britannica*, 18), London, 1962, rev. ed. 1969, no. 78. In my view there is no virtue whatsoever in the doubts that have been expressed about whether this is really Henry's work; see D. FALLOWS, *Henry VIII as a Composer*, in C. BANKS, A. SEARLE and M. TURNER eds., *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections Presented to O.W. Neighbour on His 70th Birthday*, London, 1993, pp. 27–39.

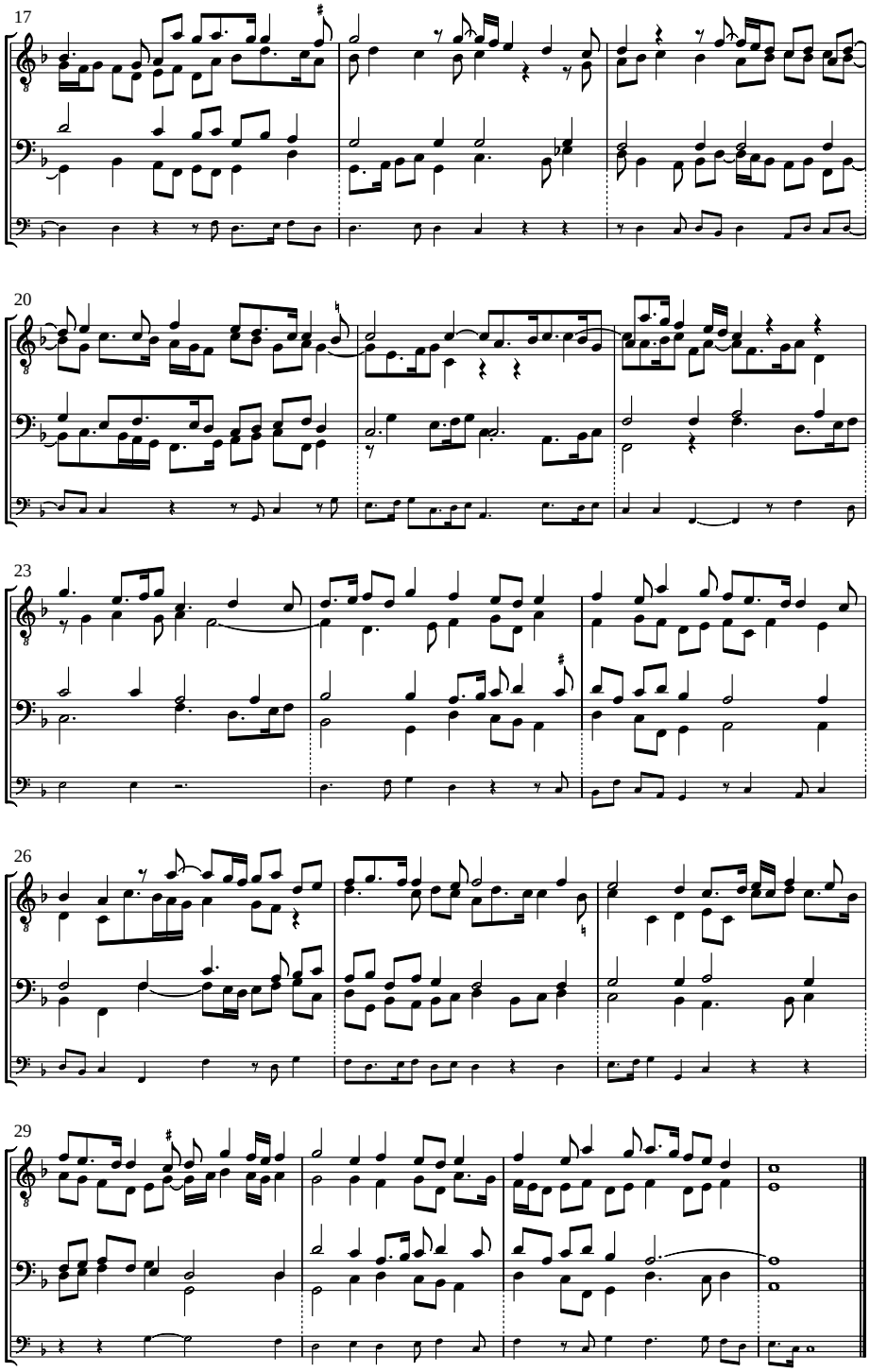
[14] For the record, it should be mentioned that Hans-Joachim Moser suggested that the piece could be by Hans Kugelmann; but he was working only from the Copenhagen partbooks (CopKB 1872) and did not know of the Alamire ascription. See H.-J. MOSER, *Instrumentalismen bei Ludwig Senfl*, in W. LOTT, H. OSTHOFF and W. WOLFFHEIM eds., *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge: Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 123–138, on p. 127. The fullest statement of the case against Alamire's authorship is in TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4; and his views have been accepted in SCHNEIDER, *Collection*, p. 10. In what follows I have not attempted to dismember Taruskin's argument in detail, since it was written twenty years ago and was part of a preface to a performing edition.

[15] F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 44.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 250



hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 251



Example 1. Petrus Alamire, *T'Andernaken op den Rijn*, with added fifth voice from CopKB 1872.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 252

appear at the ends of sections in the secular song partbooks VienNB Mus. 18746, but placed so that there was no possibility of thinking that they were ascriptions; these are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue;[16] and it is hard to see how even the most ignorant copyist would think that these were ascriptions, though I cannot imagine why Alamire signed them. One appears at the bottom of one of the unbound part-sheets in VienNB 9814, for a work firmly and clearly headed with the name of Verbonnet. And the last is at the bottom of the single part-sheet now inserted in VienNB 11778, containing the texted *Patrem* and Agnus 3 of Josquin's *Missa Fortuna desperata*. This last could conceivably be read as an ascription; and it is perfectly possible that there were many similar cases among Alamire sources that have not survived. But the documentation would seem to show that Alamire was internationally known as a copyist, not as a composer. While the Vienna copyist could have made that mistake, it seems far more likely that he would have thought twice before concluding that this was really a composition by the famous copyist. That is, the very fact that Alamire was not famous as a composer adds credibility to the ascription.[17]

Other arguments against the piece include the view that music for a group of crumhorns is mostly likely to be German. Alamire was of course German by birth, but let that pass, since his career was entirely in the Low Countries. But both the Vatican intarsia, mentioned above, and Petrus Alamire's letter to Henry VIII seem clear enough evidence that groups of crumhorns were known elsewhere, so that argument quickly falls.

Another part of the case is that it would be Alamire's only known composition. But there are dozens of composers from the early sixteenth century known from only a single work. Among the compositions printed by Attaingnant in the first eight years of his activity as a music publisher, 1528–1535, there are fifteen composers known from only a single work. That hardly seems in itself grounds for denying them the single work ascribed to them. And, for what it may be worth, another composition of Alamire will be proposed below.

There is no reason why the man who processed more polyphonic music than anybody of his generation should not have composed; in fact one could almost say that it would be slightly odd if he did not.[18] But it remains true that the ascription (like many others at that time) could be based on a misunderstanding. To approach this question we should have a further look at the Vienna partbooks and Taruskin's definitely pertinent remark that "the Vienna manuscript ... has a large number of proven misattributions".[19]

For the eighty-six pieces in VienNB Mus. 18810 there are seventy-two ascriptions, which is a high proportion for sources of that time. Thirteen of these are contested elsewhere. In three cases the Vienna scribe was certainly right.[20] In four other cases it is not possible to take a position on the right composer.[21]

[16] KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 48, p. 160, and cat. no. 49, p. 162.

[17] I thank Joshua Rifkin for that observation, made at the Alamire conference (Leuven, 25–28 November 1999).

[18] At the Alamire conference Keith Polk pointed out that the publisher Tylman Susato was also a prolific composer.

[19] TARUSKIN, *T'Andernaken*, p. 4.

[20] Nobody doubts that he was right (along with many others) in giving the song *Tous les regretz* (no. 63) to Pierre de la Rue, even though there is an ascription elsewhere to Josquin; Edgar Sparks has carefully argued that *Ach got wem soll ichs klagen* (no. 4) is indeed by *Noel Balduin*, as given in Vienna, rather than by Grefinger; and *Die prunlein die da vliessen* (no. 14) must be by Hofhaimer, even though three later prints give it to Isaac, see H.J. MOSER, *Paul Hofhaimer: ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus*, Stuttgart, 1929, p. 121.

[21] No. 11, *Carmen* [*Leal schraij tante*]: *Petri de la rue*, but perhaps by Josquin; no. 19, *Carmen*: *Henricus ysaac*, texted and ascribed to Hofhaimer in *RISM* B/1542[8]; no. 36, *Lombre* [*Il n'est plaisir*]: *Henricus Ysaac*, but elsewhere ascribed to Josquin; no. 59, *Ach hulff mich layd*: *Noel Balduin*, but perhaps by La Rue or Josquin.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 253

But in six cases he was almost certainly wrong, often disastrously so. He credits Pierre de la Rue with *Adieu Florens* of Pietrequin Bonnel (no. 39), *Ain frölich wesen* of Pipelare (no. 41), and bizarrely Sermisy's most famous song, *Jouissance vous donneray* (no. 62), which he presents yet again, this time anonymously. He credits Isaac with the song *Vous marchez du bout du pied* (no. 55), by Busnoys, and found in sources from around the time of Isaac's birth, and *Si dormiero* (no. 57), which is ascribed to La Rue in the highly authoritative FlorC 2439 (though elsewhere to Alexander, Josquin and Heinrich Finck). He also gives Conrad Rupsch the younger as the composer of *Nun bitt wir den hayligen gayst* (no. 81), which Johann Walter had printed as his own in his *Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn* (*RISM* A/I/W 167).

About half of the ascriptions in VienNB Mus. 18810 have no confirmation or contradiction in other sources. Only twenty of the other ascriptions in Vienna are actually confirmed elsewhere. That is actually a fairly high proportion for sources of this kind, but it does endorse Taruskin's point, that ascriptions in this manuscript should be treated with some caution. On the other hand, it is notable that the clear misascriptions in Vienna are all to famous composers of the day. Alamire does not fall into that category.

But one more point about VienNB Mus. 18810 concerns a concordance with an Alamire manuscript, one that seems to have been overlooked. The four-voice song *Plus oultre* is the one that appears, with its complete text, in the set of Alamire part-sheets in VienNB 9814. There are four matters of interest here. First the readings in VienNB Mus. 18810 almost exactly replicate those in the Alamire part-sheets: perhaps they shared a common exemplar, but perhaps VienNB Mus. 18810 was copied from the Alamire part-sheets; after all, its text opening plainly alludes to the motto of the emperor Charles V. And one might suggest, as a rider to that comment, that the Alamire exhibition catalogue shows that there is room for fresh thought on what we should perhaps be calling the 'Wagenrieder workshop'.[22] Second, two of the voices in VienNB 9814 (fol. 144 and fol. 146) have below them the little sign that appears so often at the end of pieces in the Alamire manuscripts, as though to denote that they had been checked by somebody, perhaps Alamire. One could interpret that information in at least two ways for the *T'Andernaken* setting: either that the Vienna scribe saw the sign, recognized it as Alamire's, and entered the presumed ascription over the piece; or that this is a sign of a kind that nobody would confuse with an ascription. Third, the piece is another work with extremely unusual texture, namely four voices in more or less the same range. Fourth, the piece offers very strong indications that the Vienna scribe was aware of Alamire's work as a copyist.

In any case Alamire was in Augsburg in 1519.[23] If it is right that VienNB Mus. 18810 was copied in Augsburg, albeit a few years later, there is every chance that some of it was done on the basis of materials actually provided by Alamire.

We should pass on from there to the *Missa Sancta Dei genitrix* in JenaU 21. In the La Rue edition, Evan Kreider reports that the rubricated ascription originally read *Petrus Alamyre*, and was then adjusted to read *Petrus la Rie* or perhaps *la Vie*. He also argued that the lack of scratching in

[22] Lucas Wagenrieder was first identified as the Vienna copyist by Theodor Kroyer in 1903, and endorsed by all students until Martin Staehelin threw doubt on it, though it was subsequently re-endorsed by Staehelin's student Rainer Birkendorf. It seems easy enough to suggest that several scribes were involved and that the processes of the 'Wagenrieder workshop' are far more closely related to those of the Alamire workshop than has been generally recognized.

[23] See, for example, the remarks and documentation given in SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, p. 20.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 254

this adjustment suggests almost instant correction.[24] If I read his commentary correctly, the three editors of the edition had agreed that this was very much in La Rue's style before they noticed a concordance. The section *Pleni sunt celi* appears in Rhaw's *Bicinia* of 1545 (*RISM* B/1545[6]), firmly ascribed to Petrus de la Rue. Whether Rhaw's view on the matter is more to be trusted than that of the Alamire workshop is another matter. But the elaborate canonic treatment and the obsessive use in all voices of the seven-pitch melody that underlies the mass would seem to endorse their judgment that the mass is indeed by Pierre de la Rue, despite the odd nature of the Jena ascription, even after it had been corrected. But there are three points to be made about this.

First, by an astonishing coincidence, this piece appears immediately after La Rue's *Missa T'Andernaken*. Could the rubricator have had in his mind that Alamire had set this melody and absent-mindedly written his name after Petrus over the next mass? Second, whatever the true authorship of the piece, the rubricator seems to have thought nothing wrong with the idea that Petrus Alamire had composed. This manuscript was prepared in the Alamire workshop.[25] Whoever did the rubrics may just have seen an ascription with a musical rebus for the *la* and momentarily confused Petrus Alamire with Petrus de la Rue. Third, if the JenaU 21 scribe could confuse one Petrus with another, so perhaps could others. Is there just a possibility that the *T'Andernaken* setting ascribed to Petrus Alamire is in fact by Petrus de la Rue?[26]

So if people were desperate not to credit this really rather fine *T'Andernaken* setting to Petrus Alamire, perhaps La Rue would be a possibility. But the catch here comes from the various different versions of the *T'Andernaken* melody used in the fourteen known settings (omitting the Senfl four-voice setting, which is a freer fantasy).

Example 2 shows the melody: the main line is taken from the settings of Brumel and Obrecht, which happen to be the same. Above and below the staves are the variant readings in other settings;

Abbreviations (in Example 2):

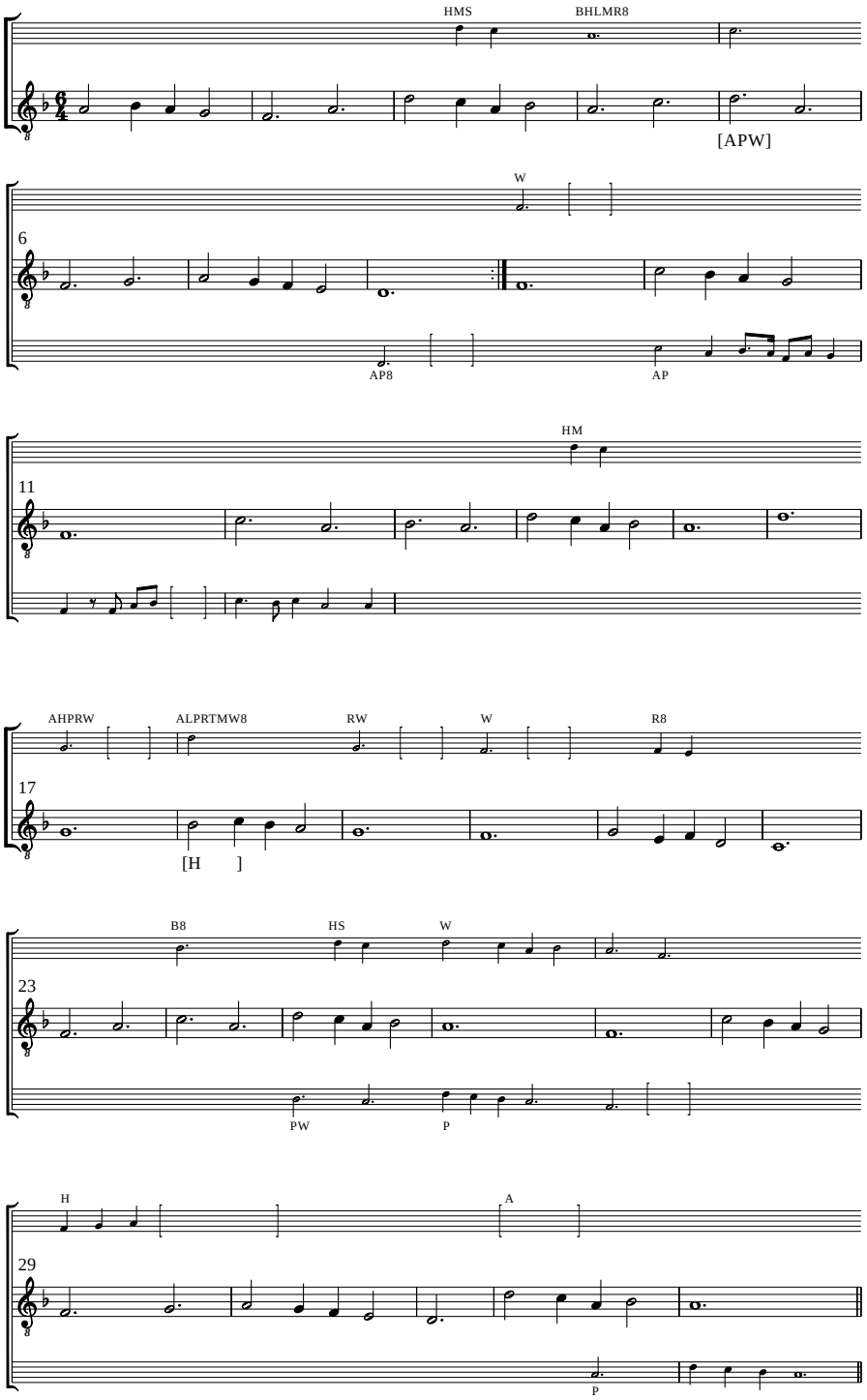
A = Agricola	*RISM* B/1504[3]
B = Brussels	BrusBR II.270
H = Hofhaimer	SGallS 530
L = Lapicida	*RISM* B/1504[3]
M = *Marsh Lutebook*	Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.2.13
P = Petrus Alamire	CopKB 1872
R = Pierre de la Rue	JenaU 21
S = Senfl (five-voice setting)	*RISM* B/1534[17]
T = Tyling	TrentC 87
W = Smits van Waesberghe	MaastR s.s.
8 = Henry VIII	LonBL 31922

[24] N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/6), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1996, pp. xv–xvi. I am grateful to Dr. Nigel Davison for providing, before this edition was published, a similar report of his own reading of the manuscript (letter of 6 February 1986).

[25] See the outline description in E. JAS, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 21 (JenaU 21)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 20, p. 103, though without discussion of the problems involved in this ascription.

[26] Oddly enough, the Vienna scribe always wrote La Rue's name in the genitive, *Petri de la Rue*, though he used the nominative form for *Paulus Hofhaymer*, *Henricus Ysaac*, *Henricus Finck*, *Antonius Prumel*, *Petrus Alamire* and, when he used the Latin form, *Ludovicus Sennfl*. Only La Rue has the genitive *Petri*.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 255



Example 2. Variant readings of the melody *T'Andernaken op den Rijn*.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 256

square brackets mean that a beat is omitted entirely. Except in one case the example omits variants in the Tyling version (T), which is over half a century earlier than any of the others; and it omits most variants from Lapicida (L), which has some very odd differences not found elsewhere. But for the rest all essential variants are there, though with some rhythms a little simplified. And perhaps the first thing to notice is that the melody appears in absolutely regular units of two bars (that is, four breves) except at the end, where all versions agree in having just half a bar at bar 31.

The other variants are mostly small. In bar 3, there is a slight difference in Hofhaimer (H), Senfl's five-voice setting (S) and the late English version found in the *Marsh Lutebook* (M), which may therefore go back to a German source. At bars 4–5 the variant above the stave is from the anonymous setting in Brussels (B), Hofhaimer, Lapicida, Henry VIII (given by '8' to avoid confusion with Hofhaimer), the *Marsh Lutebook* and the mass of Pierre de la Rue (R). That is to say that the main version here is found only in Tyling, Obrecht, Brumel and Senfl.

But the point at issue is that the variant below the stave at that point, the metrically irregular omission of the d', appears only in the settings of Agricola (A), Petrus Alamire (which I give here as 'P' to distinguish it from Agricola), and the isolated tenor voice in Maastricht published by Smits van Waesberghe (hence W);[27] Agricola and Petrus Alamire are synoptic also at bar 8 (though Henry VIII shares their reading), and most particularly at bars 10–12, where again they miss half a bar. Moreover at that point the details of their embellishments are exactly the same.

Those variants would seem to show that the composer of the Petrus Alamire setting had some connection with Agricola, who spent the last six years of his life at the Burgundian court at a time when Alamire was associated with the court as a copyist; and they might even suggest a dating for the Alamire setting rather earlier than its known sources of the years around 1530. The variants also emphatically imply that he was not the same person who composed the mass by Pierre de la Rue.

In fact, at bars 17–18, where things become more complicated, a single reading is shared by Agricola, Petrus Alamire, La Rue and again the Maastricht/Waesberghe fragment. But La Rue does not otherwise reflect the versions of Agricola and Alamire.

The other main conclusion to be drawn from those variants concerns the details that Hofhaimer and Senfl share: they should surprise nobody, but they do suggest that there is a specific German version of the melody, which in its turn gives even less credibility to the notion that the Alamire setting is by an unnamed German composer.

I therefore conclude that, despite a certain unreliability in the ascriptions of the Vienna partbooks, there is every indication that this *T'Andernaken* setting is by Petrus Alamire. Moreover it was composed with crumhorns in mind. Whether the added voice was also Alamire's work and whether this was indeed the piece that he sent to Henry VIII with all those crumhorns, are plainly questions harder to answer.

But the thought needed raising because a similar uncertainty surrounds the last work to be discussed here, the setting of *La Spagna*, also in five voices, ascribed to Josquin. It appears in CopKB 1872 only a few pages after Alamire's *T'Andernaken*;[28] it adapts its famous tenor in exactly the same way, with repeated notes and small embellishments; and it is the one piece in these partbooks that seems similar in texture and rhythmic style to the Alamire *T'Andernaken*. Among the

[27] J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Een 15de eeuws muziekboek van de stadsminstrelen van Maastricht?*, in J. ROBIJNS ed., *Renaissance-muziek 1400–1600: donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, (*Musicologica Lovaniensia*, 1), Leuven, 1969, pp. 247–268, with facsimile (fol. 26v–27) and transcription (p. 264).

[28] As noted by Kenton Meyer; see MEYER, *The Crumhorn*, 1983, p. 130.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 257

thirty-five five-voice works in CopKB 1872, this *La Spagna* setting is the only other piece to fit exactly for an ensemble of five crumhorns – though in this case there is no annotation to say so: I merely conclude from the rarity of that precise range configuration and the similarity of the two pieces that this *La Spagna* setting was also composed with crumhorns in mind.

The *New Josquin Edition* list reports six further sources for this piece, all of Germanic origin and mostly with the text *Propter peccata nostra*, which plainly will not fit.[29] All but two ascribe it to Josquin, as does the Heidelberg court inventory. But although it was published with approval both by Osthoff[30] and the editors of the Josquin *Werken*, nobody today seems to accept his authorship.[31]

All the sources of the piece are to some extent synoptic and contain a number of errors that are not corrected in the modern editions.[32] All are simple and eliminate some very rough counterpoint. But they do not affect the work's thick textures, which remain uncharacteristic of Josquin. Perhaps those textures arose from the genre; and to explore that matter further it would be good to know of any further works in the style of these two.

But it can be said that both pieces contain many cases of the so-called *Satzfehler*, which Edgar H. Sparks used to eliminate several works from the Josquin canon: the sounding of the leading-note suspension simultaneously with its resolution in a cadential progression. Though this is not unknown in even the very best works of Josquin, it never occurs so frequently: I find ten cases of *Satzfehler* in each piece.

We have, then, two pieces of similar length with similar density of texture, similar harmonic and contrapuntal vocabulary, similar ranges apparently intended for a group of crumhorns, with the tenor in the same position, used in a similar manner. But in other ways they are hard to compare, not least in that one is plainly a five-voice piece whereas the other is a four-voice piece with an added voice. *La Spagna* is also a little more florid, and it has nearly twice as many rests. In *La Spagna* imitation is never in more than two voices at a time, whereas the two most prominent imitations in *T'Andernaken* are in three voices.

[29] The *NJE* list is so far circulated informally and primarily to editors of the edition; I am grateful to the editorial board for making it available to me. Manuscripts: CopKB 1872, *Anon.*; CopKB 1873, *Anon., Propter peccata*; DresSL 1/D/6 (bassus voice only), *Josquin, Propter peccata que peccastis*; HradKM 22 (tenor voice only), *Josquin de Pres, Propter peccata quae peccastis*; RokyA 22 (discantus voice only), *Josquin, Propter peccata quae peccastis*. Prints: Formschneider, *RISM* B/1537[1], *Ios., Propter peccata quae peccastis*; Berg & Neuber, *RISM* B/1559[1], *Iosquin de Pres, Propter peccata quae peccastis*. For the Heidelberg inventory, see J. LAMBRECHT, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar' von 1544*, Heidelberg, 1987; it reads on folio 51: *Miserere mei, Propter peccata, Josquin (auch in puchln.A)*.

[30] See H. OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2, Tutzing, 1965, p. 237.

[31] See S.R. CHARLES, *Josquin des Prez: A Guide to Research*, New York – London, 1983, p. 40; and Jeremy Noble's worklist for S. SADIE ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980.

[32] Rather than presenting the work again, I simply refer the reader to two easily available editions: OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2, pp. 397–401; and A. SMIJERS, M. ANTONOWYCZ and W. ELDERS eds., *Josquin des Prés, Werken, Wereldlijke Werken*, 5/54, Amsterdam, 1968, no. 52, pp. 8–13. Suggested emendations (which apply to both editions) include: 6 ii adjust to match 88 ii; 8 v adjust rhythms so that second note is a minim and the following notes follow the rhythmic pattern just heard in ii and iv; 12 i second and third pitches f' and e'; 15 iv last note G; 19 v last note must be deleted; 22 i last three notes a third higher; 24 iv last note G; 35 iv penultimate note a; 50 i–ii and 52 i rhythms adjusted to match 49 i; 53 iv second note d; 54 i pitches g' f' d' c' d'; 69 v adjust rhythm of the first three notes to match what follows in ii; 69 v last note c; 80 i adjust rhythms to match 77 i; 89 ii for c' read d'. Some of these changes (and some different ones) are silently incorporated into the practical edition: D. STEVENS ed., *Josquin des Pres: La Spagna for String Quintet or Consort of Viols*, New York, 1993.

hfst Fallows 12-11-2003 13:51 Pagina 258

On the other hand, if a need arose for five-voice crumhorn music Alamire could have fulfilled it initially by adding a fifth voice to *T'Andernaken* and then gone on to compose *La Spagna* in five voices, using a slightly more assured style seen, for example, in the opening passage, in the fuller use of rests, in the less compulsive use of imitation, and in the slightly wider range of melodic material.

Of course the ascription of anonymous pieces on the basis of style is always dangerous. But at least the genre and style of the five-voice *La Spagna* setting put it in the same category as *T'Andernaken*. I do wish to insist, however, that the ascription of *T'Andernaken* in VienNB Mus. 18810 should be taken seriously: while any unsupported unique ascription must be treated with caution, the handful of bizarre ascriptions in Vienna are more than counterbalanced by Alamire's known association with the crumhorn and by the form of the melody he used, almost exactly that of Agricola. I also wish to suggest that any future study of the 'Wagenrieder workshop' should take serious account of its likely connections with, and perhaps influence from, the workshop of Petrus Alamire.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 259

THE DUTCH SONG *MIJN HERT ALTIJT HEEFT VERLANGHEN* AS A MODEL[*]

Eugeen Schreurs & Bruno Bouckaert [**]
Alamire Foundation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

INTRODUCTION

The Dutch song *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, most probably by Pierre de la Rue, enjoyed great popularity not only in the sixteenth century, but also in more recent times, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present.[1] This is undoubtedly due to the intrinsic quality of the music. In the sixteenth century, the personal fame of the composer – the work was attributed to Pierre de la Rue (FlorC 2439; Petrucci, *Canti C, RISM* B/1504[3]) and to Jacob Obrecht (SGallS 463) – was of less importance in this respect, as in most cases the song has been transmitted anonymously; see Table 6, giving a list of versions of *Mijn hert*. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that fame did play a role: La Rue was 'revealed' as the 'favourite composer' of Margaret of Austria, and Johannes Wolf insisted on including it in his *opera omnia* of Obrecht as well.[2] A measure of romantic (and also linguistic) sensitivity within a larger and growing Flemish movement undoubtedly also contributed to the rediscovery of the song from around the middle of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. In addition, the song achieved considerable popularity because it was 'discovered' that several anonymous versions existed and that a homonymous mass and a *Salve regina* were modeled on it.[3] The renown of the song in literary and musicological circles led to its diffusion in choral societies and also explains the abundance of existing recordings.[4]

[*] Translation: Peter Van Dessel

[**] Eugeen Schreurs and Bruno Bouckaert are both working for the Alamire Foundation, International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven). Bruno Bouckaert is Postdoctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium).

[1] In transcribing the texts I have opted, to remedy the orthographical vagaries of the copyists, for a more modern spelling: thus 'y' is rendered as 'ij'. In the writing of this article I enjoyed the aid of sundry colleagues; I want to thank Honey Meconi in particular for reading it through.

[2] For La Rue, see J. ROBIJNS, *Pierre de la Rue (circa 1460–1518): een bio-bibliographische studie*, (*Koninklijke Belgische Academie. Klasse der Schone Kunsten. Verhandelingen. Verzameling in-8°*, 8/2), Brussels, 1954, *passim*; and especially the recent bibliography in H. MECONI, art. *La Rue, Pierre de*, in L. MACY ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online* (accessed 10 January 2003), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. See also J. WOLF, *Wereldlijke Werken*, (*Werken van Jacob Obrecht*, 21), Amsterdam – Leipzig, 1912, pp. 64–66.

[3] F. VAN DUYSE, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied. Wereldlijke en geestelijke liederen uit vroegeren tijd. Teksten en melodieën*, 1, Den Haag – Antwerpen, 1903, pp. 536 ff. See also *Nederlandse liederenbank. Repertorium van het Nederlandse Lied tot 1600* (CD-ROM), Amsterdam – Ghent, 2001.

[4] For a facsimile, see M. PICKER, *Album de Marguerite d'Autriche, Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228*, Peer, 1986, fol. 16v–17. See below for a selection of modern editions of *Mijn hert*; for a bibliography, see P. NEWTON, *Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Manuscript Basevi 2439. Critical Edition and Commentary*, Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, Denton, 1968, pp. 193–195. Editions: R.-J. VAN MALDEGHEM, *Musique profane 1865–1893*, (*Trésor Musical: collection authentique de musique sacrée et profane des anciens maîtres belges*), 11, 1875, pp. 41–42, no. 14; R.-J. VAN MALDEGHEM, *Trésor Musical. Musique profane*, 21, 1885, p. 21–22, no. 10; WOLF, *Wereldlijke Werken*, pp. 64–66; M. PICKER, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1965, pp. 229–232; J. BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*, Hilversum, 1996, pp. 626–628.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 260

In the present article we will neglect the nineteenth- and twentieth-century interest and focus on the song in its various sixteenth-century forms (see Table 6).[5] The 'original' version, most probably by Pierre de la Rue, appears in eleven sources, most of them anonymous but with two attributions to La Rue and one to Obrecht. Most modern musicologists, however, including Otto Gombosi, Honey Meconi, Martin Picker and Martin Staehelin, ascribe the work to La Rue mainly on the basis of stylistic arguments.[6] Furthermore, three divergent versions appear: (1) one in three parts by Cornelis Rigo with the French incipit *Celle que j'ay longtemps ayme* (= Formschneider, *RISM* B/1538[9], no. 41); and (2) an anonymous three-part version (= Formschneider, *RISM* B/1538[9], no. 42), which in its turn was provided with (3) a fourth *si placet*-voice (contratenor) by Johannes [Van den] Hecke (= CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 23v). Two lute versions are found in five printed lute books, one based on the four-part version of La Rue (Judenkünig, *BrownI* 1523[2] / Newsidler, *BrownI* 1536[7]), the other on the anonymous three-part version (Gerle, *BrownI* 1533[1] / Phalèse, *BrownI* 1545[3] and *BrownI* 1547[7]). Besides that, *Mijn hert* has been used at the beginning of a German *Quodlibet*, in combination with the cantus firmus *Ein frölich wesen* (Rhaw, *RISM* B/1545[7]) – only the initial theme, therefore this work will not be further discussed here – and in a homonymous mass by Gascongne, of which four versions are found in 'Alamire manuscripts' and three in other manuscripts. Finally, it also appears in an anonymous *Salve regina*, in combination with the Gregorian *Salve regina*, in MunBS 34 as a unique source.

This enumeration reveals the relative celebrity and diffusion of the song, particularly in sources from the Low Countries and German-speaking areas, to a lesser extent from Italy, as seen in *Canti C* (*RISM* B/1504[3]) and the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439) – though the latter is an imported source from the Low Countries. This circulation can be explained, as said above, by the quality of the composition, or, in the words of Ambros (*Geschichte der Musik*): *trotz einiger harmonischer Härten, eine Composition vol Safft und Krafft*, although Fétis and after him Van der Straeten held that *chansons* like *Mijn Heer* [sic] '*n'eussent certainement pas éternisé sa mémoire*'.[7] The linguistic kinship between Dutch and German is probably the reason why the song is also often found in a 'germanized' form in German-speaking areas. The mobility of musicians may have played some part as well in the diffusion of the song.

[5] In Herdringen David Fallows found a piece without text entitled *Schanson de Josquin*. According to Jaap van Benthem the music would not be by Josquin, but the text of *Mijn hert* would fit it well. Although the composition cannot be regarded as a new version of *Mijn hert*, the thematic relationship (for example, theme 1 and theme 3) is quite striking. Moreover, the ABA structure, which we also find in *Mijn hert*, is quite characteristic and rather exceptional for the music of this period (see further below). With sincere thanks to Jaap van Benthem and David Fallows for this information.

[6] See discussion most recently by Kessels, in L. KESSELS, *The Brussels/Tournai-Partbooks: Structure, Illumination, and Flemish Repertory*, in *Tijdschrift voor de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 37 (1987), p 97. See also PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, p. 80; M. STAEHELIN, art. *La Rue, Pierre de*, in S. SADIE ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, 10, p. 476.

[7] VAN DUYSE, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, 1, p. 537.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 261

MIJN HERT: LA RUE'S MODEL

From a stylistic point of view, *Mijn hert* can be regarded as a 'classic' composition, an example of La Rue's compositional genius, with conspicuous attention to imitation.[8] The most striking feature of this song, within the tradition of the French chanson as well as that of the Dutch polyphonic song, is its ABA structure (see also below). The four-part version is possibly based on a monodic song of the amorous lament type. That monophonic song, if it indeed existed, has not come down to us.[9] Given the nature of the basic melody – leaps, some rhythmic patterns – it cannot be ruled out that the song was polyphonic from the outset. The main melody is found primarily in the tenor and the superius, but the bass and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the contratenor also share in the imitation. What is remarkable, however, is that this is La Rue's only Flemish song, and indeed the only such song in Margaret's great chansonnier BrusBR 228, a collection permeated by Franco-Burgundian chanson culture. Florimond Van Duyse already noticed this peculiarity.[10] Reacting to the (erroneous) assumption that Margaret herself might have been the author of this Dutch text, he points out that she even frowned upon the use of Dutch:

> *Et par deux fois en ung instant je leur requis parler en françois ... Ils le m'ont refusé, disant l'abbé de Villers, lequel prist la parole bien arrogamment, que a proposicion en thiois cheist reponse en thiois*.[11]
>
> And twice within the same instant I [Margaret] asked them [abbots of Brabant who refused to pay their share of taxes] to speak French ... They refused to do so, the abbot of Villers, who spoke quite arrogantly, saying that a proposition in Dutch needs a reply in Dutch.

Probably Margaret favoured the quality of the music over linguistic preferences.

Although the song may originally have been multistrophic, it survives with only one strophe. Wholly in keeping with the polyphonic style of the new generation of composers, each verse of the poem has a new theme. But the asymmetry between the eight-verse strophe and the ABA structure (often proposed with three themes per part, resulting in nine themes in all) has obliged both musicologists and performers to look for (not always satisfactory) solutions.[12] A possible but not ideal resolution of the discrepancy between the eight verses and the nine themes is provided in BrusBR 228 by repeating verse 2 on themes (2) and (3), and it is in this version that the song is now most familiar. The relationship between themes (4a), (4b), (5a) and (5b) causes some ambiguity in the field of analysis. Therefore the analysis that follows makes use of eight instead of nine themes, thus eliminating the discrepancy between the number of verses and the number of themes. For a brief analysis and a comparison of the three versions, see Table 1 and Example 5.

[8] PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, p. 80.
[9] Consultation of two experts, Gilbert Huybens (printed sources) and Louis Grijp (Meertens-Institute: manuscript sources), yielded no result. I wish to thank both colleagues for their help.
[10] VAN DUYSE, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, 1, pp. 539–540.
[11] VAN DUYSE, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, 1, p. 540.
[12] See BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen*, pp. 612–613. Bonda proposes an analysis based on nine themes (three sections of three musical phrases each).

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 262

VERSE	RHYME	FORM	THEME PICKER	FORM	THEME BONDA	FORM	THEME SCHREURS
1. *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*	A	A	(1)	A	(1)	A	(1)
2. *Naer u die alder lieffste mijn*	B		(2) (3)		(2)		(2)
3. *U liefde heeft mij ontfanghen*	A	B	(4a)		(3)		(3)
4. *U eijghen (vrij) willic(k) zijn*	B		(4b)	B	(4a) (4b) (5a) (5b)	B	(4a)+(4b)
5. *Voor alde weerelt ghemeene*	C		(5a) (CT: *willic*) (5b)	A'	(6)		(5a)+(5b)
6. *So(e) wie dat hoort oft ziet*	D	A'	(6) (T: *Voor alde*)		(7)	A'	(6)
7. *Hebdij mijn herte alleene*	C		(7) (T: *Soe wie*)		(7) (continuation)		(7)
8. *Daerom lief en begheeft mij niet*	D		(8)		(8)		(8)

Table 1. Comparison of the three possible solutions of text underlay: BrusBR 228/Picker, Bonda, and a new version following CambraiBM 125–28/Schreurs.

The problem of the text setting, then, can be partially explained by the (assumed) asymmetry between text and music in the three versions with complete text (BrusBR 228, CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44, TourBV 94 / BrusBR IV.90 and BrusBR IV.1274). The ambiguous transition from part B to part A' also contributes to the confusion – see Example 5, bars 37–38): in the tenor the final theme (5b) of part B continues into the first theme (6) of part A. Also verse 5 is shortened and runs into verse 6. In the bass the repetition of the first theme is heard without the first three notes.

Finally, a certain carelessness in the text setting is also revealed by: (1) the insertion of text after the notation of the melody, which often results in a shortage of space, for example in the bass, line 3: *weerelt ghemeene* (*ghemeene* is inserted); or in the contratenor, at the end of line 3 (see Figure 1); (2) the lack of text segments, for example in the superius, line 1, where the text *Naer u die alder lieffste mijn* is missing (bars 9–15), even though it is not a repeat; or in the bass where the repetition of the text *Soe wie dat hoort oft siet* is not written (bars 41–43; see Figure 2); (3) the appearance of textual variants, for example in the superius, bar 28, where the essential word *vrij* has been omitted, and in the tenor, bars 36–37, where there is obviously insufficient space for the text *oft ziet* (see Figure 6).

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 263

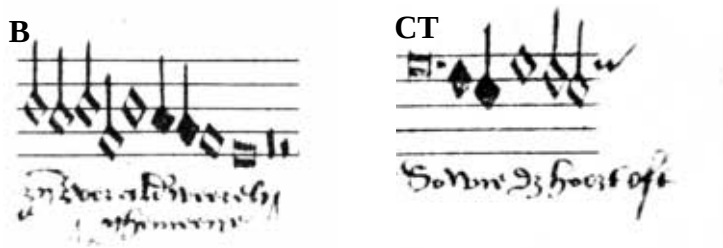


Figure 1. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen,* fragment of bassus and contratenor, BrusBR 228, fol. 17r.

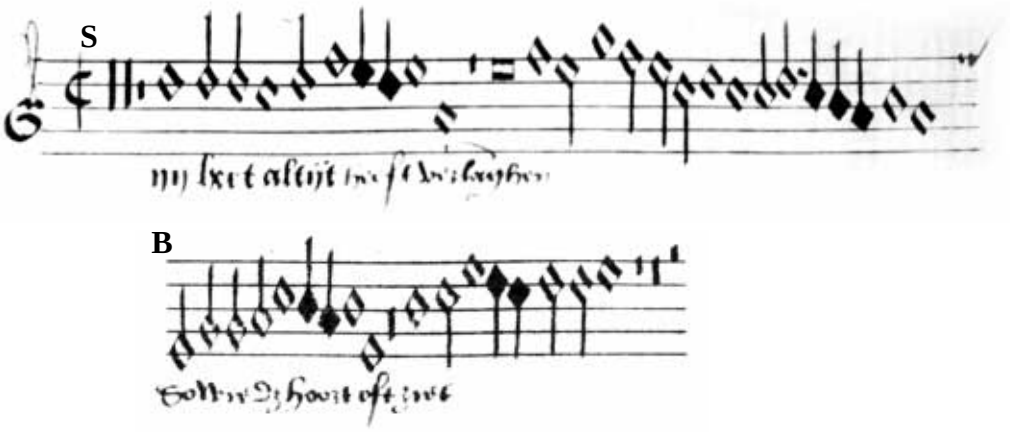


Figure 2. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen,* fragment of superius and bassus, BrusBR 228, fol. 16v–17r.

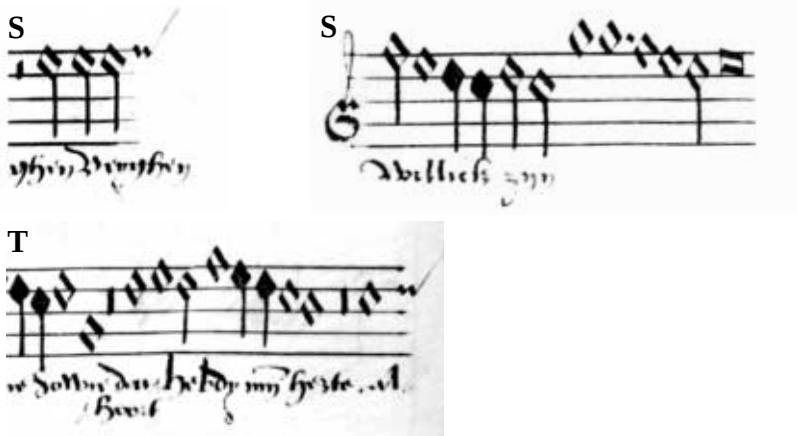


Figure 3. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen,* fragment of superius and tenor, BrusBR 228, fol. 16v.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 264

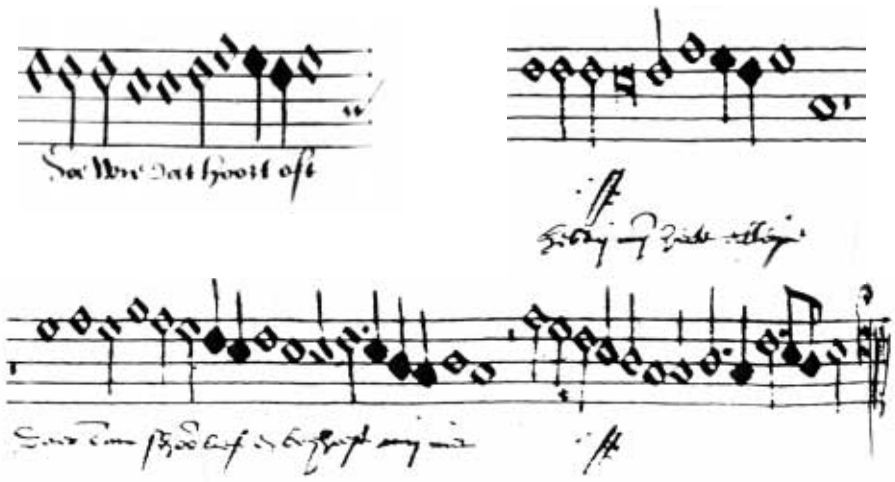


Figure 4. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, fragment of superius (verse 6), BrusBR 228, fol. 16v, compared with CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44v (verses 7 and 8).

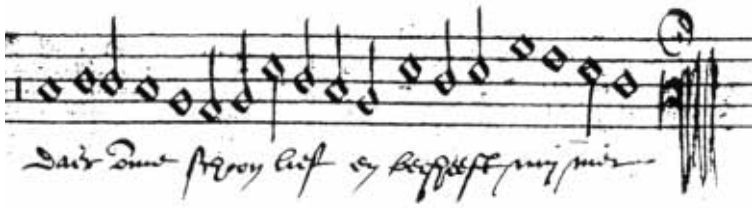


Figure 5. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, fragment of tenor (end), CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44v.

Figure 6. Pierre de la Rue, *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, tenor (verse 6), CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44v.

With regard to the text setting little solace can be found in the two other sources that include the words. The version in the so-called Songbook of Zeghere van Male (CambraiBM 125–28), folio 44, is somewhat divergent and also appears to be rather corrupt. Thus, in the superius, verse 6, *Soe wie dat hoert oft siet...*, is missing and is replaced by verse 7: *Hebdij mijn hert alleijne*; in addition, the text of verse 8, *Daerom schoen lief...*, is repeated (see Figure 4). In the tenor, verse 8, *Daerom schoen lief...*, is spread over themes (7) and (8); see Figure 5. The version of the Tournai songbook

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 265

(TourBV 94) as well as that of Zeghere van Male confirm that the tenor starts part A' with the words *Voor al de weerelt gemeene*, already departing from theme (5b). The problem here is either too little text or an awkward word-tone relationship (see Figure 6). The more corrupt text variant of CambraiBM 125–28, folio 44 (see Table 2), however, does not rule out a better text placement (see below). This problematic transmission of the text has led both modern editors and performing musicians to apply their own ingenuity, but up to now no single version, in my opinion, truly satisfies. The one that in my view comes closest is that by Jan Willem Bonda.[13] The key to the best version is probably to be found in the other four-part version with *si placet*-voice (MHAH 31SI), also included in CambraiBM 125–28, folio 23v (see below).

BrusBR 228, fol. 16v-17:	**Translation:**
Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen	My heart has always longed
Naer u die alder lieffste mijn	For you, my most beloved
U liefde heeft mij ontfanghen	Your love has received me
U eijghen (vrij) willic(k) zijn	To you only I wish to belong
Voor alde weerelt ghemeene	For all the world together
So(e) wie dat hoort oft ziet	Whoever this hears or sees
Hebdij mijn herte alleene	You alone have my heart
Daerom lief en begheeft mij niet.	Therefore love and do not forsake me.

TourBV 94, superius:[1]	**BrusBR IV.1274, contratenor:**	**BrusBR IV.90, tenor:**
Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen		
Naer hu alder lieste mijn	*… hu die alderliefste mijn*	
Hu liefde heeft mij bevangen	*Hu liefde heeft mij bevanghen*	...
Geheel u eijghen zo willic zijn	*… Zo willic zijn*	*Heel u eijghen zo willic zijn*
Voor alde weerelt gemeene	*Voor al werelt* [symbol] *ghemeene*	*Voor al de weerelt ghemeene*
Zo wie dat hoort of ziet	*Zo wie dat hoort ofte ziet*	*Zo wie dat hoort of ziet*
Hebdi mijn hert alleene	*Hebdi mijn hert alleene*	*Hebdij mijn hert* [symbol] *alleene*
Daerom scoon lief en begheeft mij niet.	*Daerom scoon en vergheet mij niet.*	*Daarom scoon lief en begheeft mij niet.*

CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44 (= version La Rue):	**CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 23v (= version Anonymous / [Van den] Hecke):**
Mijn hert heeft altij(t)s verlanghen	*Mijn hertken heeft altijts verlanghen*
Naer (h)u die alderliefste mijn	*Naer hu die alder lieffste mijn*
(H)u liefde (die) heeft mij(n) bevanghen	*Ghij houdt mijn hert(k)e(n) bevanghen*
Gheheel (h)u eijghen (zo) wil ic zijn	*Al hu vrij eijghen (zo) willic(k) zijn*
Voor al die weerelt ghemeene/ghemei(j)ne	*Voor al de weerelt ghemeene*
[deest]	*Zo wie dat hoort of ziet*
Hebdij mijn herte alleene/alleijn(e)	*Hebdij mijn hertken alleene*
Daerom(me) schoon lief en begheeft mij niet.	*Daeromme bidd(e)ic hu lief*
	[A: *Daerom biddic hu schoon lief mijn herte alleene en vergheidt mijn(s) niet.*]

[1] See also KESSELS, *The Brussels/Tournai-Partbooks*, pp. 82-110.

Table 2. The text version of BrusBR 228 compared with the Tournai/Brussels partbooks and the more corrupt variants in CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 44.

[13] For Bonda's version, see BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen*, pp. 626–628.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 266

In view of the problematic text setting in most sources, a certain aversion to the Dutch language on the part of Margaret, the fact that this is the only preserved Dutch song by La Rue – and also the only Dutch song in this patently French-oriented source, BrusBR 228 – and the fact that a (most probably older) version exists with a French incipit – *Celle que j'ay longtemps ayme*, appearing in the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439, fol. 78v–79), which also contains the four-voice version by La Rue – one could perhaps assume that the song was originally a French one.[14] This is difficult to prove, however, since all that survives of the French version is the incipit.[15] For that matter, one could just as well reverse the reasoning and argue that *Celle que j'ay* has a Dutch basis, the more so as the asymmetry of the text setting can be resolved with a reasonably acceptable prosody (see Example 5).[16] This relationship between Dutch polyphonic song and French chanson is not an isolated instance. There are quite a number of Dutch songs that have been translated into French (and even German) and vice versa.[17] And so I cautiously concur with Van Duyse, who flatly denies that this song could have had another – in his case even German – basis, saying:

> *wij houden ze integendeel voor oorspronkelijk Nederlandsch, en blijven in die meening volharden zoolang men geen bewerking aanbrengt ouder dan degene van de la Rue ...*[18]
>
> we hold it to be originally Dutch, and will persist in that opinion until a version is adduced that is older than La Rue's ...

A final aspect concerns the copyist of BrusBR 228. The fact that he plays with text variants (*willic(k)*), that he is familiar with the abbreviations (*o[n]tfanghen*, for example), that he tries to let the text continue onto the correct line (as in the superius, end of line 2, for example) may indicate that he knew the language. That he was in all likelihood bilingual may be deduced from the fact that he mostly copied out French chansons.

[14] The manuscript BrusBR 228 is probably to be dated between 1516 and 1523, the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439) perhaps between 1505 and 1514 (ca. 1508 according to Kellman, 1505–1508 according to Meconi). See H. MECONI, *Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439 (Basevi Codex) (FlorC 2439)*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, cat. no. 7, pp. 78–79. We examine a possible link with Johannes Ghiselin, who was in Maastricht in 1504, or with Obrecht, who shortly before travelled to Italy, possibly via Maastricht. See E. SCHREURS, *Music for Emperors, Dukes and Prince-Bishops in the Collegiate Churches of Maastricht (ca. 1450–1520)*, in *Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 2002*, (*Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 6/7*), Leuven – Neerpelt, forthcoming.

[15] With thanks to Annie Coeurdevey (Tours), who could find no complete version of the song in her database – which is available on the internet at the site of the *Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance* (*CESR*) in Tours, <http://www.cesr.univ-tours.fr/bases>: programme *Ricercar*.

[16] In the edition of the chansonniers of Margaret of Austria, Martin Picker says about this song: "This Flemish tune, mingling ternary and binary patterns within the framework of duple meter, is rhythmically more complex than the French melodies adapted to polyphonic chansons in these manuscripts." See PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, p. 80.

[17] For examples from the period in which *Mijn hert* was popular, see BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen*, pp. 463–518 (selection): *Morir daimer a dame sy jolye = Nae sinte Reijnuut* (Anonymous); *Au fort quant dieu plaira = Aenhoert al mijn geclach* (Hellinck/Anonymous); *Qu'en dites vous = Een vrolijc wesen* (Barbireau); *Pour mieux valoir = Comt hier* (Rubenet/Isaac); *Le second jour davril = In mijne zijn* (Anonymous/Busnoys).

[18] VAN DUYSE, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, 1, p. 540.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 267

DIVERGENT VERSIONS

Besides the version of La Rue there are two other three-part versions in Formschneider (*RISM* B/1538[9]), published by Otto Gombosi in his study of Obrecht.[19] Formschneider, no. 41 (MHAH 32) goes back to an older version in the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439, fol. 78v) where – as already noted – it has a French incipit, *Celle que j'ay longtemps ayme*. The work is attributed there to a certain Cornelis Rigo, who is described further in the manuscript, on folio 98v, as a native of 'Bergen' (*de Bergis*). Presumably Bergen-op-Zoom is meant here, but this has not yet been fully confirmed by archival evidence. Possibly Rigo is to be identified with *Rigo cantore*, active in Ferrara but only mentioned there in 1481 and as a composer known only through two works in the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439), and through one (*Cum audisset Iob*) in the *Heer Liederbuch* (SGallS 462).[20]

The Rigo version (Formschneider, no. 41) focuses especially on the superius, but treats the melody more freely. Most striking is the disappearance of the leap of an ascending fifth of La Rue's version in bar 29. The imitation between the three voices looks much like a more condensed version of La Rue's four-part setting. The same ABA structure with eight melodic themes has been preserved. The final theme, however, is repeated in this version. The concordant version in MunBS 1516, no. 150, from circa 1540, is, just like the two previous versions, textless.

The second version (Formschneider, no. 42, MHAH 31) is anonymous and the superius is more similar to La Rue's. The main structure has also been maintained in this version – ABA, with eight themes – but the other voices are elaborated less imitatively, with the exception of the opening theme, which in its imitation closely resembles La Rue's version, albeit with a different sequence of entry for the three voices. Notable is the Phrygian cadence (bar 25), which is also found in La Rue's version (bar 31), with the typical ritardandi as an expressive climax of the composition. The leap of a fifth – compare this version, bar 23, with La Rue's, bar 29 – is also preserved here. This version is also found in UlmS 237, like Formschneider's edition a source from circa 1538. However, neither of these two versions offers the full text.

The second anonymous version in Formschneider is also found in CambraiBM 125–28 (MHAH 31SI), folio 23v, but with the addition of a *si-placet*-voice (contratenor) by Johannes [Van den] Hecke.[21] The literature usually speaks of *Joest Hectre*, sometimes even of *Hendre*, which is clearly the result of an erroneous reading.[22] Moreover, a Johannes Van (den) Hecke was in 1536 singer/cleric in the church of Saint Donatian,[23] where he was censured for spitting (*vomitum*) in the church choir. In 1546 he is mentioned in connection with a feast on the occasion of the visit of Mary of Hungary to Ghent, where he was then a singer at Saint Michael's church. He possibly remained in the service of the latter church, always as choirmaster, from at least 1551/1552 until his death in 1567/1568. This newly composed contratenor part by Van den Hecke contributes virtually nothing to the imi-

[19] For a modern edition of both versions, see O. GOMBOSI, *Jacob Obrecht. Eine stilkritische Studie*, (*Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen*, 4), Leipzig, 1925, pp. 84–87. See KESSELS, *The Brussels/Tournai-Partbooks*, pp. 97–100.

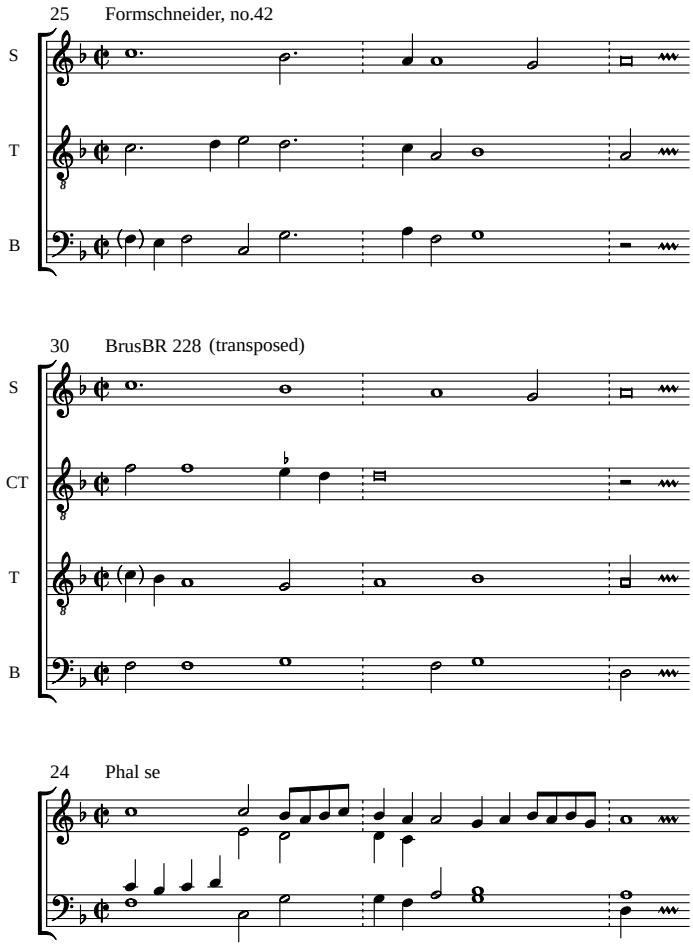
[20] L. LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505. The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1984, p. 322. H. MECONI, art. *Rigo de Bergis, Cornelius*, in MACY, *The New Grove Online* (accessed 12 January 2003); NEWTON, *Florence, …, Basevi 2439*, pp. 223–225, 258–259.

[21] For a modern editon see R. LENAERTS, *Het Nederlands polifonies lied in de zestiende eeuw*, Mechelen – Amsterdam, 1933, pp. 38–40.

[22] See most recently BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen*, p. 577.

[23] With sincere thanks to Martine Monteyne for this information. See also E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle: documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 4, Brussels, 1878, p. 125.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 268



Example 1. *Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*, Formschneider (*RISM* B/1538[9]), no. 42 (bars 25–26) compared with La Rue's version (BrusBR 228, bars 30–31, transposed down a fifth) and Phalèse (*BrownI* 1545[3] / *BrownI* 1547[7], bars 24–25).

tation, except in the opening theme (bars 5–8). The text deviates slightly (see Table 2). This version comes just before the homonymous mass by Gascongne, but apparently did not serve as its model.[24]

The text setting of this song version is interesting and, as already said, may help us with the problematic setting of La Rue. Verse 2, *Naer u die alderliefste*, is not repeated here, so that we have three verses in part A instead of two, which is more logical. As the fourth verse, *U eijghen vrij willic sijn*, which in fact contains the core of the poem, is repeated in part B with the second time the expressive ascending interval of a fifth, and as part A contains the final three verses, the problem of asymmetry is here resolved. In melodic and prosodic respect, too, this version is much better and can serve also as a model for a better text placing in La Rue's version. The fact that in addi-

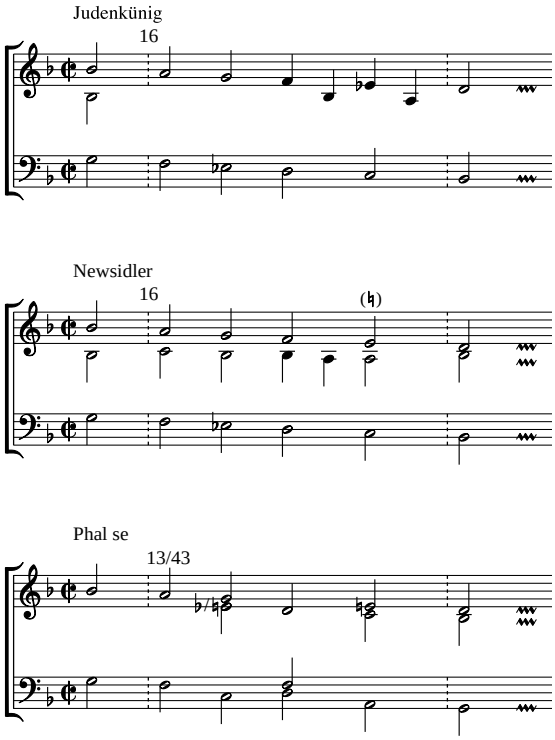
[24] Thus the cadential formula (bars 19–20) has clearly been borrowed from La Rue's version (bars 13–14). See also below.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 269

tion the repeat of the important fourth verse is concluded with the Phrygian cadence, with ritardandi, so typical of this composition, may be regarded as a clear example of 'Renaissance rhetoric'.

INTABULATIONS FOR LUTE

The success enjoyed by both La Rue's version (Judenkünig, *BrownI* 1523[2] / Newsidler, *BrownI* 1536[7]) and the anonymous three-part setting (Gerle, *BrownI* 1533[1] / Phalèse, *BrownI* 1545[3] with reprint *BrownI* 1547[7]) is apparent from the five extant lute intabulations (see Table 6). Compared with Judenkünig the version of Newsidler is clearly more virtuosic, with more numerous and faster ornamental runs. The virtuosic ornamental style could justify the assumption that the tempo of the Newsidler version is (necessarily) slower than that of La Rue's model.[25] In the *musica ficta* sphere a very striking feature of the Newsidler version is particularly the f' sharp (in Example 2 transposed down a whole tone to e' flat, respective e') in bars 16 and 50 (section A') of the superius: this diverges from the model of La Rue as well as from the Judenkünig version (Example 2). Presumably the e' in the Newsidler setting was not taken down to e' flat on account of the tritone which would then result with the a in the middle voice. But this of course leads to a kind of false relation with the second note, e flat, in the bass.[26]



Example 2. *Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*, version of Judenkünig (*BrownI* 1523[2]) transposed a whole tone down and compared with Newsidler (*BrownI* 1536[7], bar 16) and Phalèse (*BrownI* 1545[3] and *BrownI* 1547[7], bars 13/43).

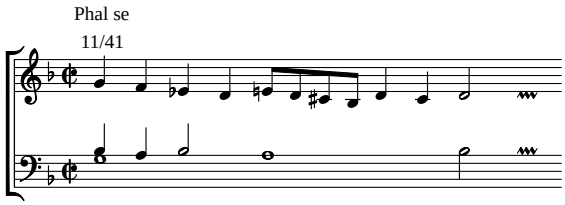
The intabulation of Gerle/Phalèse, which, as noted above, is based on the anonymous version from Formschneider (*RISM* B/1538[9]), no. 42, is in difficulty and ornamentation comparable to that by Judenkünig. In the *musica ficta* domain, however, the Phalèse setting has a few conspicuous passages. In bar 11 – with identical reprise in bar 41 (section A') – the e' flat in the superius in the second half of the bar is suddenly raised to e' to avoid a tritone with the A in the bass (see Example 3). In bar 25 of the version

[25] See, for example, the CD recording *The A-la-mi-re manuscripts*, by the Capilla Flamenca, Naxos, 8.554744, nos. 9 and 10.

[26] For a recording, see *The A-la-mi-re manuscripts*, no. 11.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 270

by Phalèse, the seventh is shifted to a weak beat, so that the Phrygian cadence sounds less sharp . The *ficta* is inconsistent in bars 13 and 43, at the same place where also Newsidler had problems to avoid the tritone and the false relation (see Example 2). The second time (bar 43) the e' is not lowered to e' flat in the second voice, which was done quite logically before to avoid a false relation and the tritone with the bass, just as in the anonymous version in Formschneider, no. 42.



Example 3. *Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*, version of Phalèse (*BrownI* 1545[3] and *BrownI* 1547[7], bar 11/41).

MIJN HERT AS THE MODEL OF A MASS BY GASCONGNE

The popularity and the musical quality of the song are also underscored by the fact that La Rue's four-part version served as the model for a four-part mass by Gascongne. Without doubt the *Missa Mijn hert* is, in terms of diffusion, one of the most popular of the polyphonic masses based on Dutch (polyphonic) songs.[27] Presumably this mass is the work of Mathieu, not Johannes Gascongne, even though it is explicitly attributed to the latter in two sources.[28] For a chronology of the sources containing the *Missa Mijn hert*, see Table 3.[29]

By way of case-study I will concentrate here mainly on the Kyrie; see Example 6 for the music and Table 4 for a brief analysis. The structure of the song (with its eight themes) is retained and the themes are creatively applied. Gascongne's mass focuses primarily on the themes of the tenor (for example in the Kyrie: superius, bars 2–3, tenor melody including the descending fourth; tenor, bars 26–28, identical tenor melody) and of the superius (phrase 2, with exactly the same melody and rhythm in bars 14–16 in the tenor and then imitated in the superius), sporadically of

[27] R. LENAERTS, *Polyfonische missen op Nederlandse Liederen*, in *Organicae Voces. Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe*, Amsterdam, 1963, pp. 101–105, is still the standard publication on this subject. We are preparing an updated survey, on the basis of a lecture presented at the International Symposium *Het Nederlandse Lied tot 1600, University of Utrecht, 1–2 September 2001.*

[28] P. SWING, art. *Gascongne, Mathieu [? Johannes]*, in SADIE, *The New Grove*, 7, p. 172. We have based our analysis on an edition that will appear in the course of 2005, in a collection of masses found in Alamire manuscripts and based on Dutch polyphonic songs, in the series *Monumenta Flandriae Musica*. For a recording, see *The A-la-mi-re manuscripts*, no. 1.

[29] There is some discussion among scholars and musicians, whether or not the text (incipit) of the model is to be sung. The Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922) offers some clarification in this respect: in the bass the incipit appears only over the rests. For a facsimile, see B. HUYS ed., *Occo Codex (Brussels, Royal Library Albert I, MS. IV.922)*, (*Facsimilia musica Neerlandica*, 1), Amsterdam, 1979, fol. 67v–68.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 271

SOURCE	NAME	COMPOSER	DATE	COUNTRY	REMARKS
MunBS F	*Missa Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*	Mathias Gascongne	1509–1525	LC	for Henry VIII / Bavarian Court
JenaU 2	*[Missa] Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*	Johannes Gasscoeing [sic]	1512–1525	LC	for Frederick the Wise
MunBS 7	*[Missa] Mijn herte heeft altijt verlanghen*	Johannes Gascong	1516–1518	LC	acquired by William IV of Bavaria
BrusBR IV.922	*[Missa] Mijn herte altijt heeft verlanghen*	Gascoing	1520–1521	LC	Amsterdam, Pompeius Occo
UppsU 76c	no title	anonymous	1530c	F/LC	only Kyrie/Osanna/Agnus
CambraiBM 4	*Missa Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*	anonymous	1526–1530	LC	Cambrai, Cathedral
CambraiBM 125–28	*Missa Mijn herteken heeft altijts verlanghen*	anonymous	1542!	LC	Bruges, Zeghere van Male

Table 3. Sources for the *Missa Mijn hert* (in chronological order).

the bass (for example in Christe, bars 2–5 in the bass, then in the contratenor; see also bars 6–9).[30] In addition, Gascongne applies the principle of literally copying polyphonic passages (parody in the strict sense of the term), sometimes limited (for example the cadential formula in Kyrie 1, bars 18–20 almost identical with bars 12–14 of the model; Christe, bars 8–9 almost identical with bar 25 of the Dutch song; bar 21 comparable with the Phrygian cadence of bars 31–32 of *Mijn hert*), sometimes more extended (compare, for example, Kyrie 2, bars 16–29 with bars 41–55 of the model). As the mass proceeds, the composer treats the themes more freely. In the second Agnus (a canon), for instance, the melody of *Mijn hert* is almost completely abandoned (bars 49–51); just some snippets of themes can be heard as a fleeting reminiscence.

SECTION	THEME	BORROWED VOICE	BARS
Kyrie 1	(1)	tenor (in S–T–B)	1–16
	(2)	superius (in T–S–B)	14–21
		& parody	18–21
	(3)	superius (in T–B–S); tenor (in CT–T)	21–30
Christe	(4a)	tenor (free)(in T–B–S–T–B–CT)	1–14
		bass (in B–CT)	2–9
		& parody	8–9
	(4b)	superius (S–T)	14–22
		& parody	21–25
Kyrie 2	(5b)	superius (free: S–CT–T–B) (literal: B–S–T)	1–11
	(6)	tenor (B–S–T)	10–18
		& parody	17–18
	(7)	parody	19–24
	(8)	parody	24–29

Table 4. Structure of the Kyrie of the *Missa Mijn hert*.

[30] It is notable that, as in the anonymous *Salve regina* (see below), theme (5a) is not incorporated in the Kyrie of the mass. However, the theme does appear in the Gloria and Credo.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 272

A final remark – just as a parenthesis – concerns the possible explanation of the jester heads, most wearing a fool's cap, so typical of the Alamire manuscripts. They appear at the beginning of this mass in all four Alamire copies, even though there is no intrinsic indication to link such images with precisely this mass or its model. Is this merely a satiric/ironical or moralizing representation of the court jester – called *tambourin* in the pay registers of the court and in fact also a musician who played pipe and tabor? This kind of 'reversed world' representation is not infrequent in the Low Countries – Jeroen Bosch comes readily to mind – and even survives in certain customs to this day: carnival celebrations in the Low Countries still feature these jesters and their attire, as do some historical processions (the procession of the *Ros Beiaard*, in French *Le cheval Bayard*, in Dendermonde, for example); the role is usually played by a member of a family which hands down the traditional fool's melody from generation to generation.[31]

MIJN HERT AS THE MODEL OF AN ANONYMOUS *SALVE REGINA*

Another compositional climax is undoubtedly attained in the combination of *Mijn hert* with the *Salve regina*, which gives the song a sacral dimension.[32] The contents of a Munich manuscript containing only *Salve regina*s (MunBS 34) make it clear that it was by no means exceptional to set this religious text to secular melodies with Dutch (5) or French (3) texts, to wit: *Mijn hert*, *O werde mont* (twice), *Ghij sijt de liefte boven al* [= *Ghij sijt die wertste boven al*] and *Mijns liefkens bruijn ooghen*, and *Adieu mes amours*, *Je n'ay deuil* and *Par le regart*, respectively.[33] These Dutch and French models reveal a marked preference for love songs.

The superius of *Mijn hert* is found virtually unchanged as the superius of the *Salve*, ingeniously combined with the Gregorian *Salve regina* which is paraphrased more freely in the contratenor.[34] Snippets of *Mijn hert* can also be found in the beginning (tenor, bars 1–5), with a limited amount of imitation (for example in the bass and tenor, bars 15–16, and in the bass, bars 28–29, and 103); see Example 4 with the first nineteen bars of the *Salve*. The eight themes of the superius in La Rue's version are distributed over the four sections of the *Salve* as shown in Table 5.[35]
The eight themes twice appear almost complete, but a third series is broken off after theme (2). It should be noted that theme (5a), as in the mass, is omitted and in the case of the *Salve regina* even twice. As already said, the contratenor is based primarily on the chant. Worth mentioning is the replacement, at the end of the *Salve*, of the text and melody of *O pia* by those of *Virgo Maria*.

[31] In connection with the moralizing role of the jester, see K. MOENS, *"Zeer lustich om singen en spelen op alle musicale instrumenten". Iconografische, organologische en muzieksociologische bemerkingen bij het gebruik van muziekinstrumenten ten tijde van Margaretha van Oostenrijk, bijzonder in de Nederlanden*, in *Muziek aan het hof van Margaretha van Oostenrijk, Music at the Court of Marguerite of Austria*, (*Jaarboek van het Vlaamse centrum voor oude muziek*, 3), Peer, 1987, pp. 112–114.

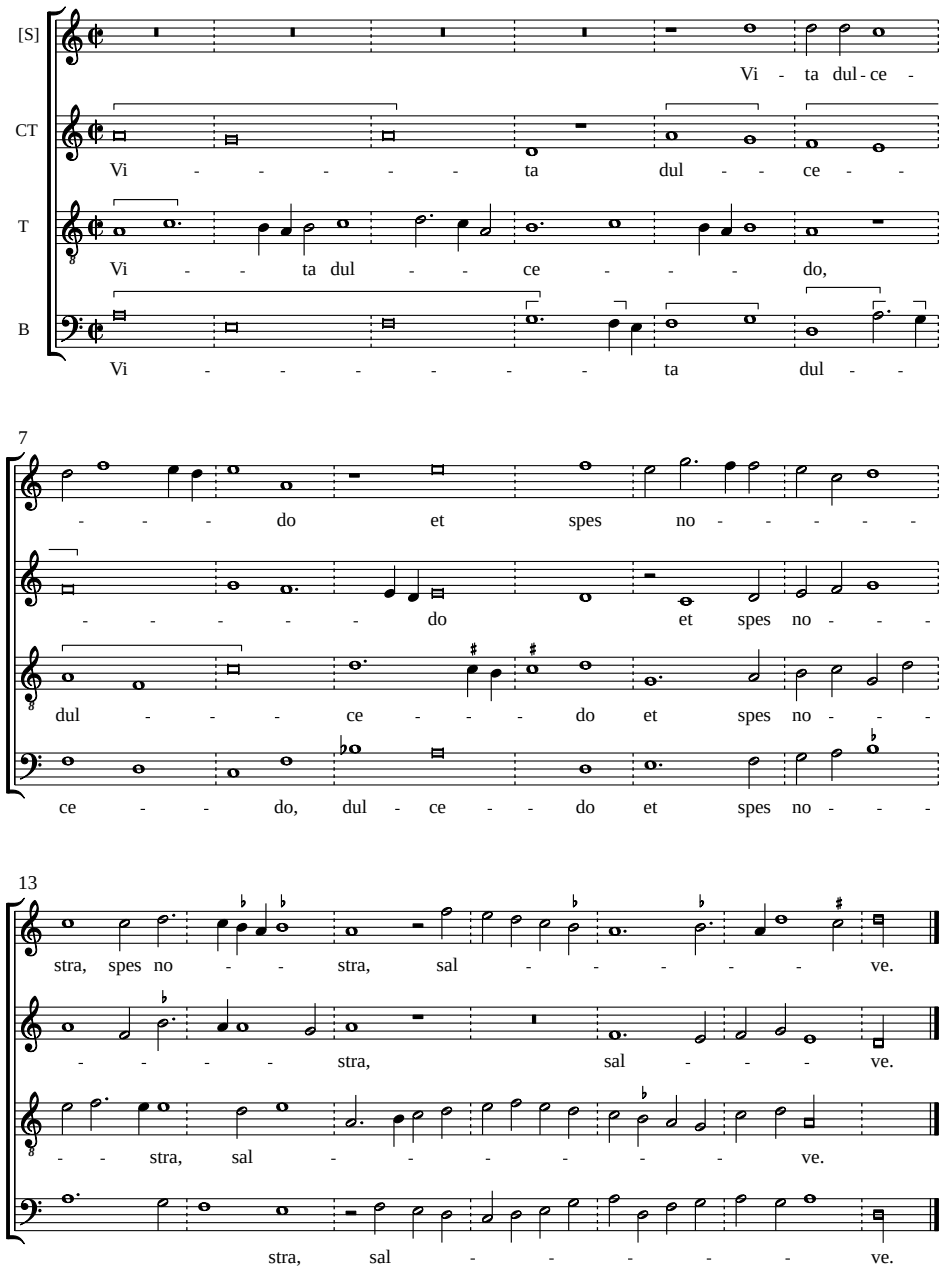
[32] With sincere thanks to Jacobijn Kiel for providing a transcription of the *Salve regina*.

[33] E. JAS, *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 34 (MunBS 34)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 28, p. 118.

[34] The (Gregorian) chant of the Marian antiphon can largely be traced back to the version in a Processional printed in Antwerp by Moretus in 1602 (copy in a private collection), and in a fiteenth-century processional from the Minorite monastery in Tongeren, now preserved in The Hague (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 71A6).

[35] Note that this anonymous *Salve regina* is of the *alternatim*-type, in which only the even verses are sung polyphonically; for a recorded performance, see *The A-la-mi-re Manuscripts*, no. 6.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 273



Example 4. Anonymous, *Salve regina* / *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, MunBS 34, fol. 99v–100 (transcription: Jacobijn Kiel).

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 274

SECTION OF THE *SALVE*		THEME	BARS	TEXT REPETITION
I.	*Vita dulcedo*	(1)	5–8	
	Et spes nostra	(2)	9–15	
	Salve	(3)	15–19	
II.	*Ad te suspiramus*	(4a)	23–26	
	Ad te suspiramus	(4b) & Phrygian cadence	27–32	*
	Gementes et flentes	(5b)	35–38	
	Gementes et flentes	(6)	39–43	*
	In hac lacrimarum valle	(7)	44–49	
	Valle	(8)	49–53	*
III.	*Et Ihesum*	(1)	58–61	
	Benedictum fructum ventris	(2)	62–68	
	Tui	(3)	68–72	
	Nobis post hoc exilium	(4a)	76–79	
	Nobis post hoc exilium	(4b) & Phrygian cadence	80–85	*
	Post hoc exilium	(5b)	87–90	*
	Nobis post hoc exilium	(6)	92–96	*
	Ostende	(7)	97–102	
	Ostende	(8)	102–106	*
IV.	*O pia*	(1)	111–114	
	O pia	(2)	115–121	*

Table 5. Analytic overview on the basis of the superius of the anonymous *Salve regina* / *Mijn hert*.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the song *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen* was chosen as a model for various other settings – instrumental versions, mass, *Salve* – both for its popularity and its intrinsic compositional merits. The asymmetry of the Dutch song can be resolved thanks to the text setting of the variant in CambraiBM 125–28, folio 23v. But a number of questions concerning the song itself still remain partly unproved, such as:[36] (1) Can the song indeed be attributed to Pierre de la Rue on stylistic grounds? (2) Is the song indeed based on a monodic model – which is unlikely – or does the melodic structure point rather to a polyphonic conception, from which the superius was adopted in other versions? (3) Are the two three-part variants based on La Rue's version – which is likely – or vice-versa? (4) What is the relationship between the Dutch version and the one with the French incipit *Celle que j'ay longtemps ayme*: is it a translation from the Dutch or vice-versa? A dearth of evidence makes it difficult to answer these questions. Yet whatever the eventual solutions, it is a fact that the song *Mijn hert* has rightly received, in both the remote and the more recent past, the attention and the dissemination it deserves.

[36] Concerning (1) to (3), see KESSELS, *The Brussels/Tournai-Partbooks*, pp. 97–100. See also H. MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford, 2003.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 275

Table 6. Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen: an overview of the sources (ca. 1504–1547).

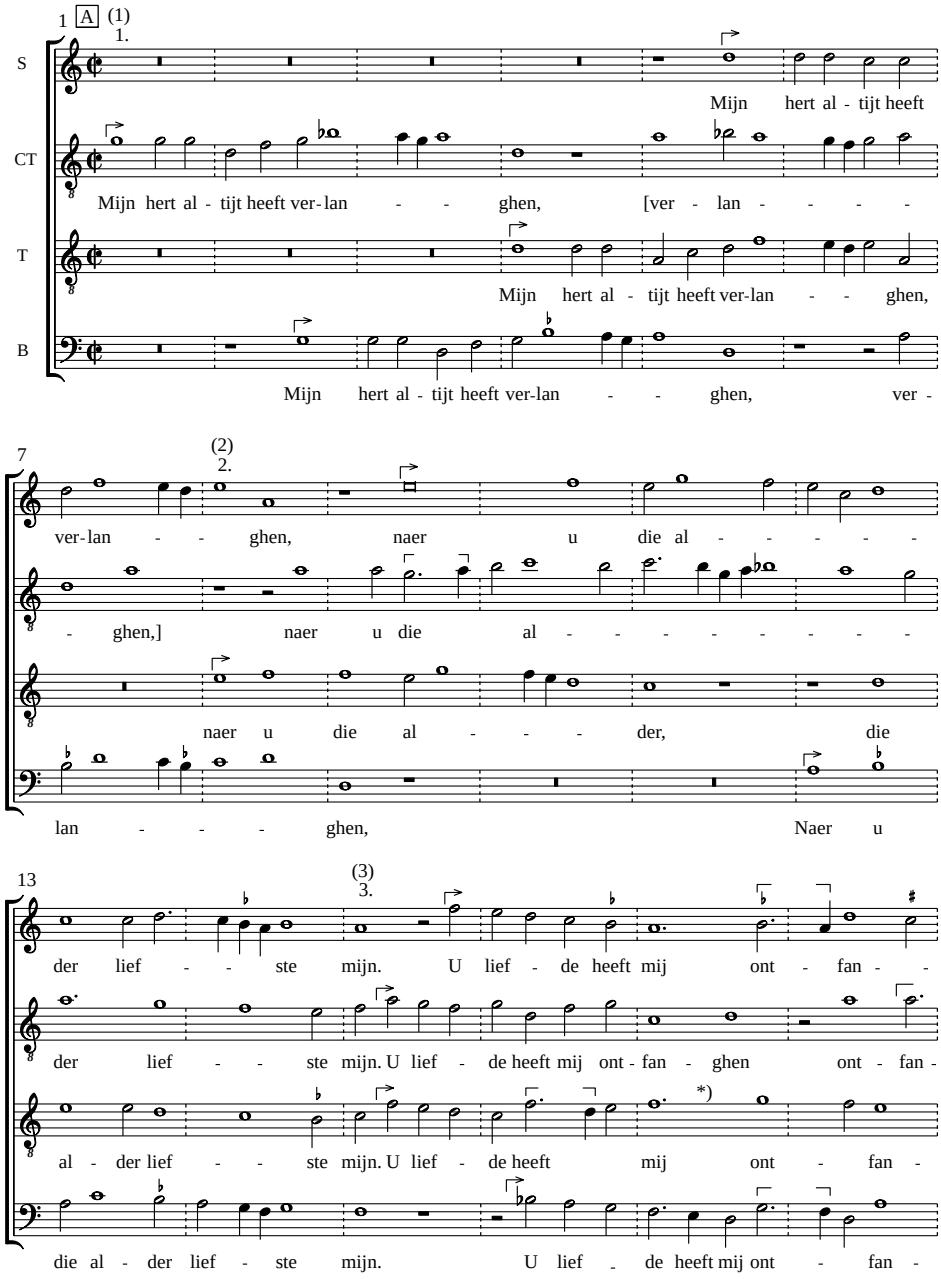
Abbreviations and numbering (e.g. MHAH 41) after BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen*:

Parts: *4/4* = complete, *3/4* = only 3 voices preserved, etc. Country: *I* = Italy, *LC* = Low Countries, *D* = Germany, *F* = France

Text: *0tk* = no text or incipit only, *1tk* = 1 voice texted, etc. Date: *c* = circa; *!* = dated

MS/PRINT SOURCE	FOLIO / SECTION	TITLE	COMPOSER	PARTS	TEXT	COUNTRY	DATE
1. *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen* (original version)		**(MHAH 41)**					
Petrucci (*RISM* B/1504[3])	fol. 15v	*Mijn/min hert*	De la rue	4/4	0tk	I	1504!
FlorC 2439	fol. 14v	*Mijn hertz altijt heeft verlanghen*	[De La] Rue	4/4	0tk	LC	1505–1514
TourBV 94 / BrusBR IV.90 / BrusBR IV.1274	fol. 29v	*Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*	anonymous	3/4 (SAT)	3tk	LC	1511!
BrusBR 228	fol. 16v	*Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*	anonymous	4/4	4tk	LC	1516–1523
VatV 11953	fol. 10	*Mein hertz alzit*	anonymous	1/4 (B)	0tk	D	1515–1530
UlmS 237	fol. 15v, 13v, 16v	*Mijn hertz*	anonymous	4/4	0tk	D	1530–1540
Egenolff (*RISM* B/[c. 1535][14])	no. 2.11	*Mijn hert heft altijt verlangen*	anonymous	1/4 (S)	0tk	D	1535c
Peterszoon (Kamper Liedboek, 1540)	fol. D1	*Mijn hert heeft altijt verlanghen*	anonymous	0/4	0tk	LC	1540c
MunBS 1516	no. 8	*Min hert*	anonymous	4/4	0tk	D	1540c
SGallS 463	no. 73	*Min hertz tut sich altit verlangen*	Obrecht	2/4	0tk	D	1540c
CambraiBM 125–28	fol. 44v	*Mijn hert heeft altijts verlanghen*	anonymous	4/4	4tk	LC	1542!
1bis. Lute intabulations							
Judenkünig (*BrownI* 1523[2])	fol. h4v	*Mein hertz all dit*	anonymous	4/4	0tk	D	1523!
Newsidler (*BrownI* 1536[7])	fol. Ffi	*Mein hertz alzeyt hat gross verlangen*	anonymous	4/4	0tk	D	1536!
2. *Mijn hertz hefft altijt*		**(MHAH 32)**					
FlorC 2439	fol. 78v	*Celle que j'ay long temps ayme*	Cornelius Rigo	3/3	0tk	LC	1505–1514
Formschneider (*RISM* B/1538[9])	no. 41	*[Mijn hert hefft altijt verlanghen]*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	D	1538!
MunBS 1516	no. 150	*Mijn hertz hefft altijt*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	D	1540c
3. *Mijn hertz ijs alle zijt verlangen*		**(MHAH 31)**					
UlmS 237	fol. 16/14/15	*Mijn hertz ijs alle zijt verlangen*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	D	1530–1540
Formschneider (*RISM* B/1538[9])	no. 42	*[Mijn hert heft altijt verlanghen]*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	D	1538!
3bis. Lute intabulations							
Gerle (*BrownI* 1533[1])	fol. 23	*Mein hertz alzeyt hat gross verlangen*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	D	1533!
Phalèse (*BrownI* 1545[3])	p. 38	*Mijn hert heeft altijt verlangen*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	LC	1545!
Phalèse (*BrownI* 1547[7])	fol. E1v	*Miin hert heeft altiit verlangen*	anonymous	3/3	0tk	LC	1547!
3tris. *Mijn hertken heeft altijts verlanghen*		**(MHAH 31SI) (with *si placet*-voice)**					
CambraiBM 125–28	fol. 23v	*Mijn hertken heeft altijts verlanghen*	Johannes [Van den] Hecke	4/4	4tk	LC	1542!
4.Quodlibet *Ein frölich wesen / Mein hertz hat alzeit vorlangen*							
Rhaw (*RISM* B/1545[7])	no. 85	*Ein frölich/Mein hertz* (incipit)	P.R.	2/2	0tk	D	1545!

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 276

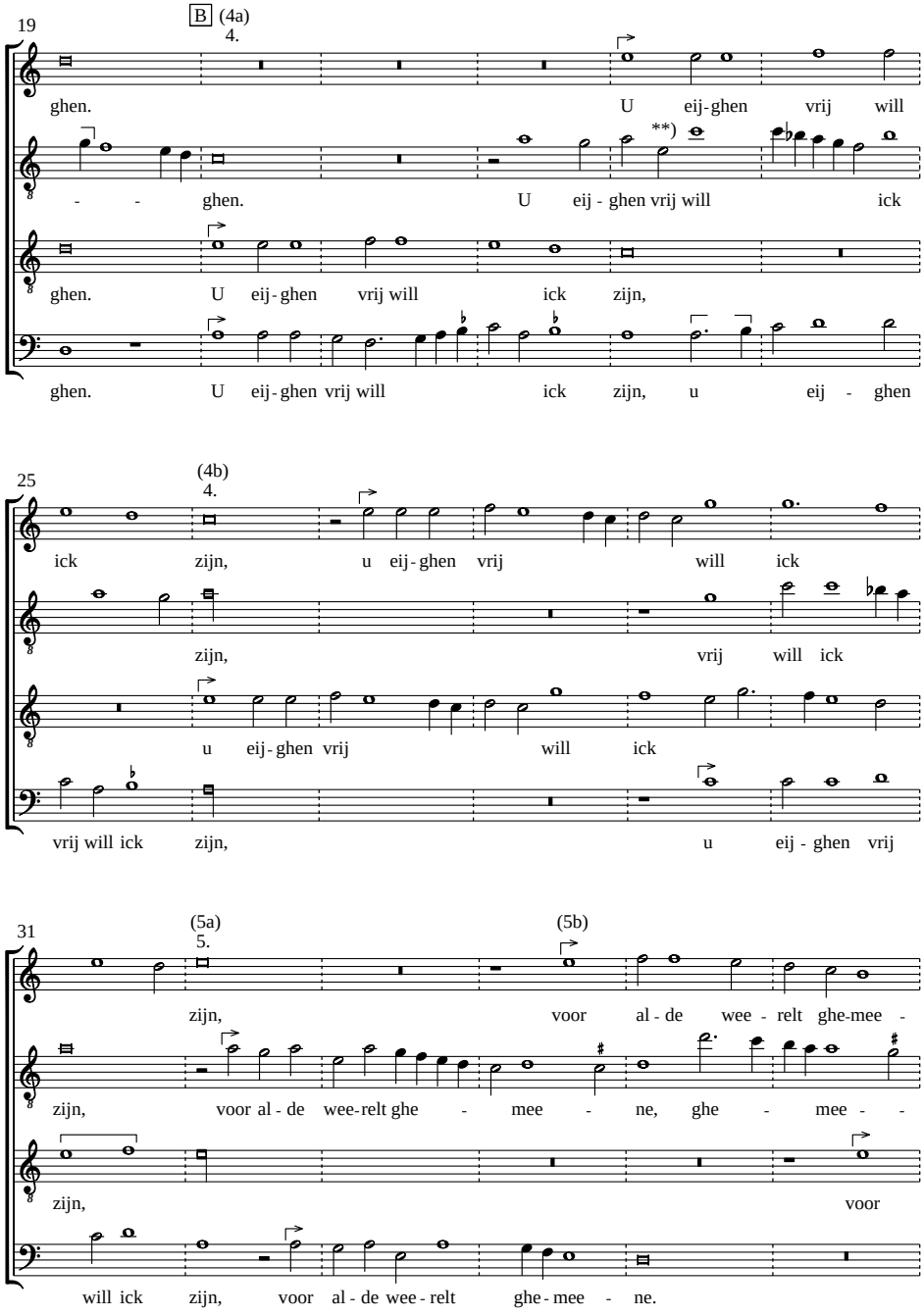


Numbers between brackets indicate the motifs; numbers with a period indicate the verses.

*) minima *e'* in original

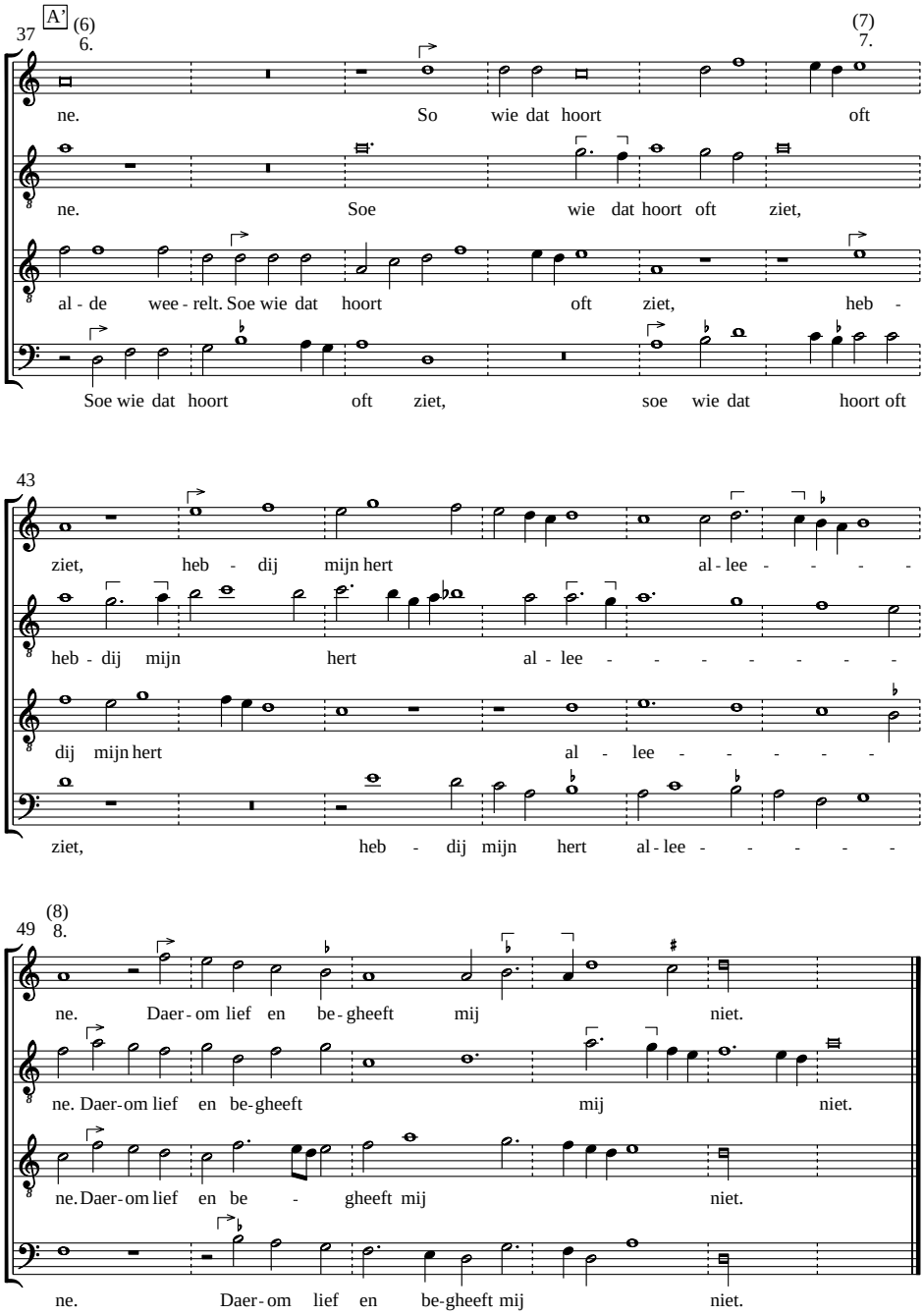
Example 5. Pierre de la Rue / Anonymous, version of *Mijn hert altijt heeft verlanghen*, BrusBR 228, fol. 16v–17, with text underlay after CambraiBM 125–28, fol. 23v.

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 277

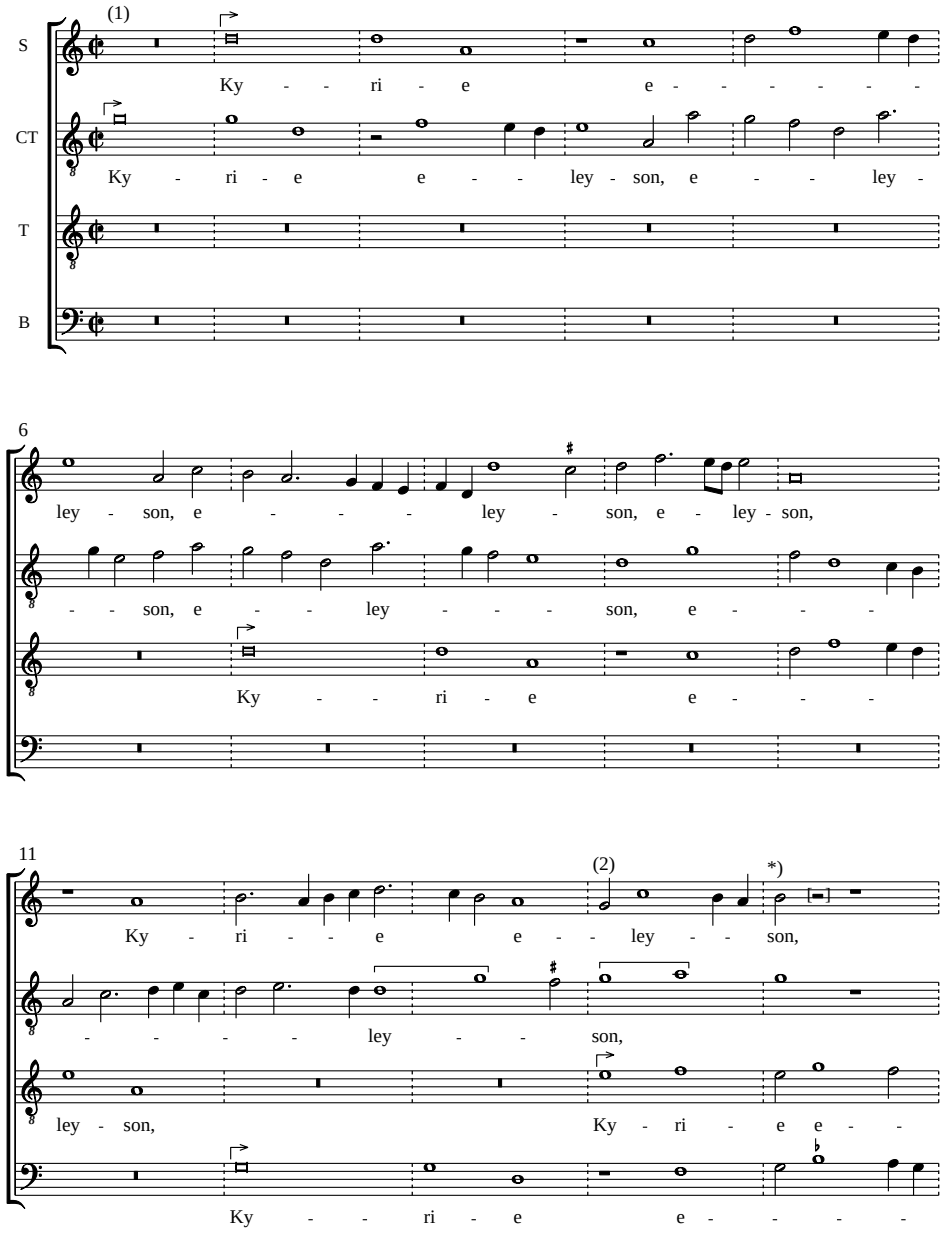


**) *f'* in original

hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 278



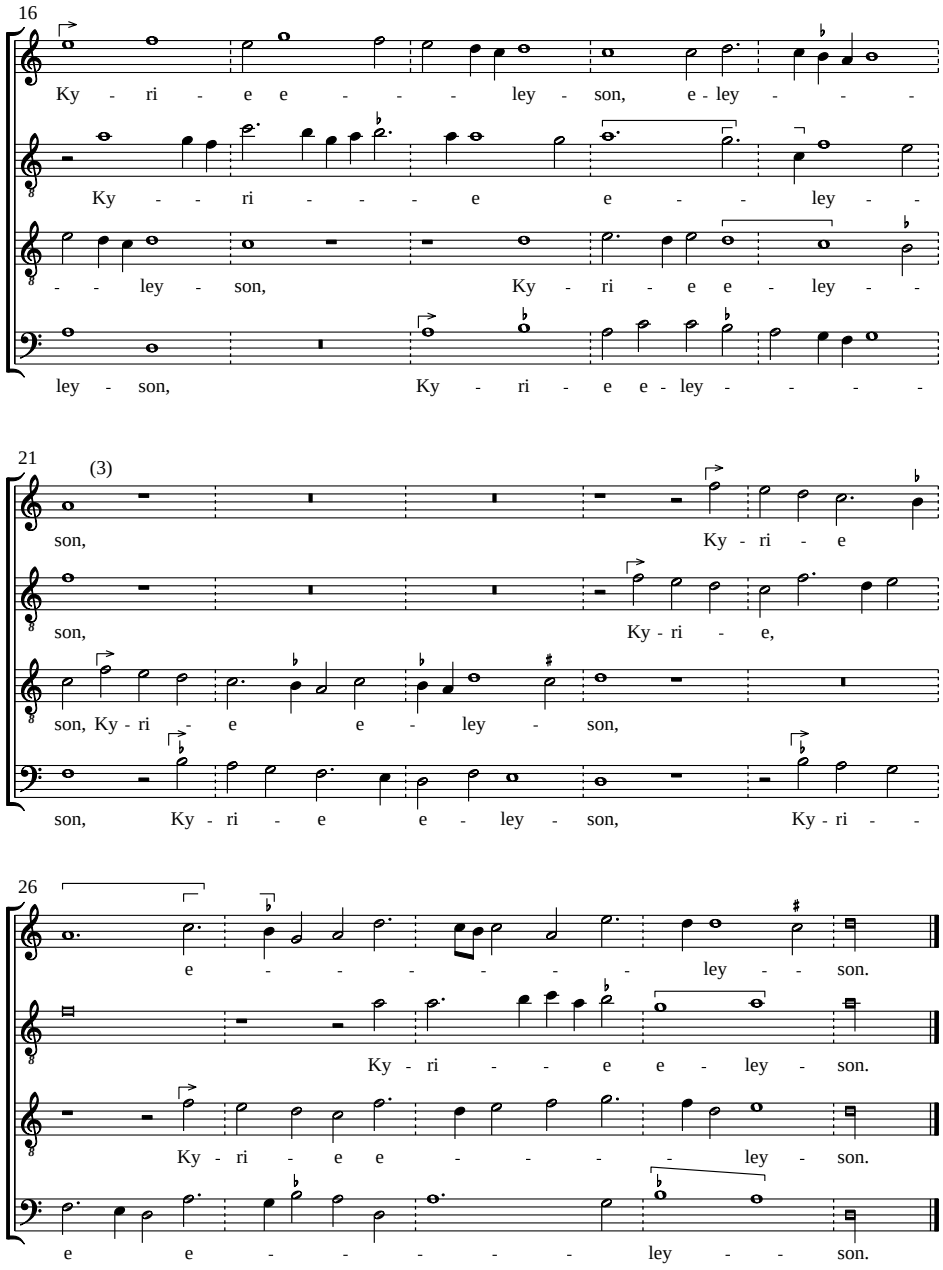
hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 279



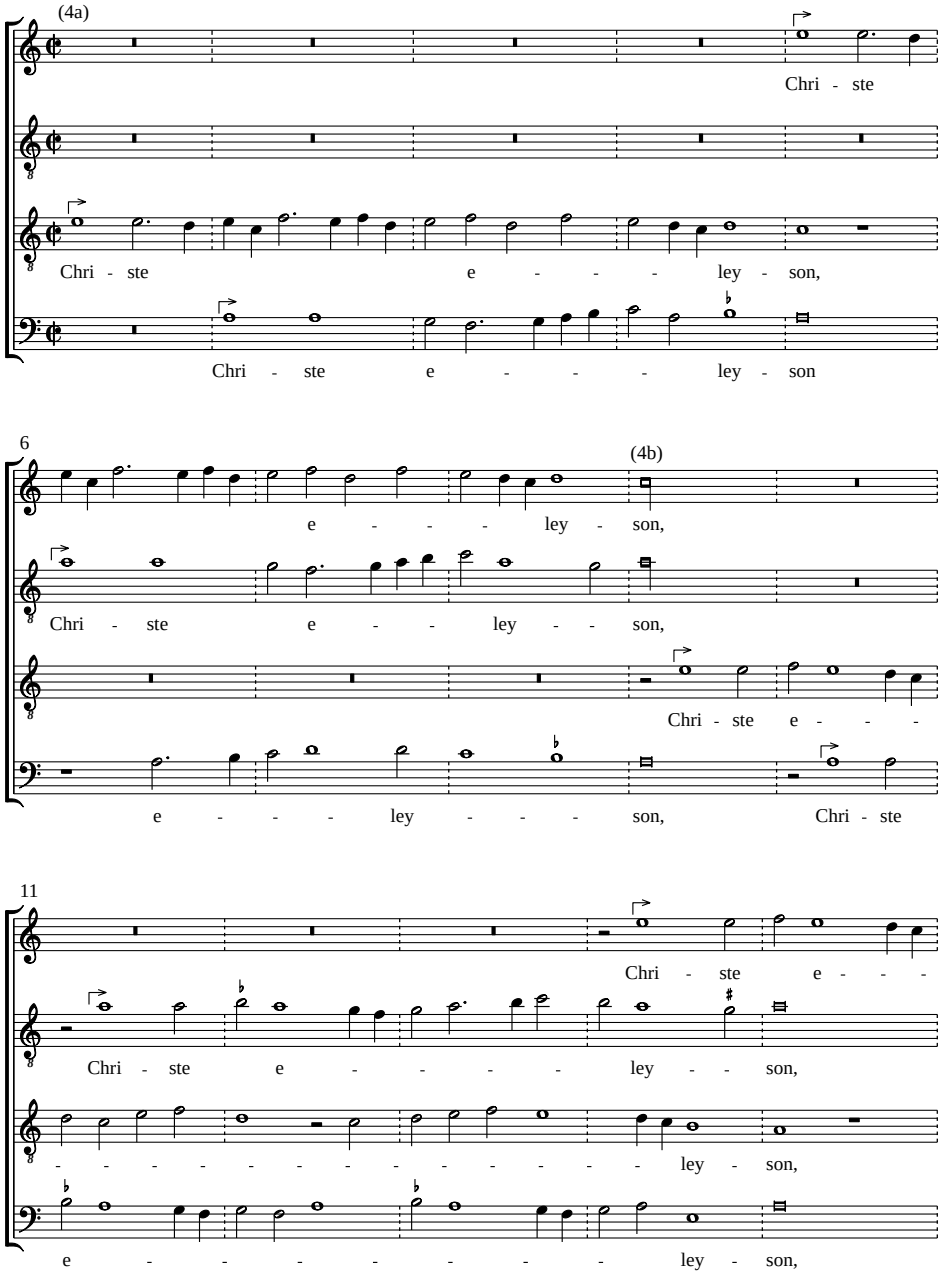
*) 𝅝 (semibrevis) in original

Example 6. Mathieu (Johannes?) Gascongne, Kyrie from the *Missa Mijn hert*, BrusBR IV.922, fol. 67v–69, with text underlay after Dirk Snellings (Capilla Flamenca).

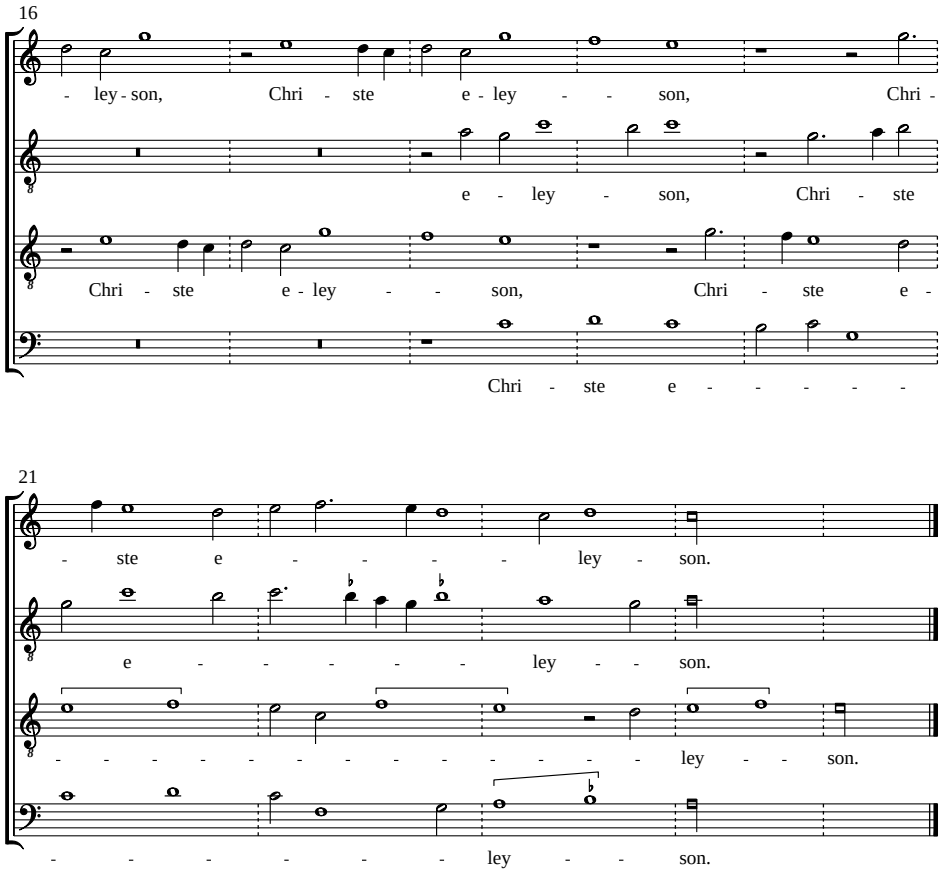
hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 280



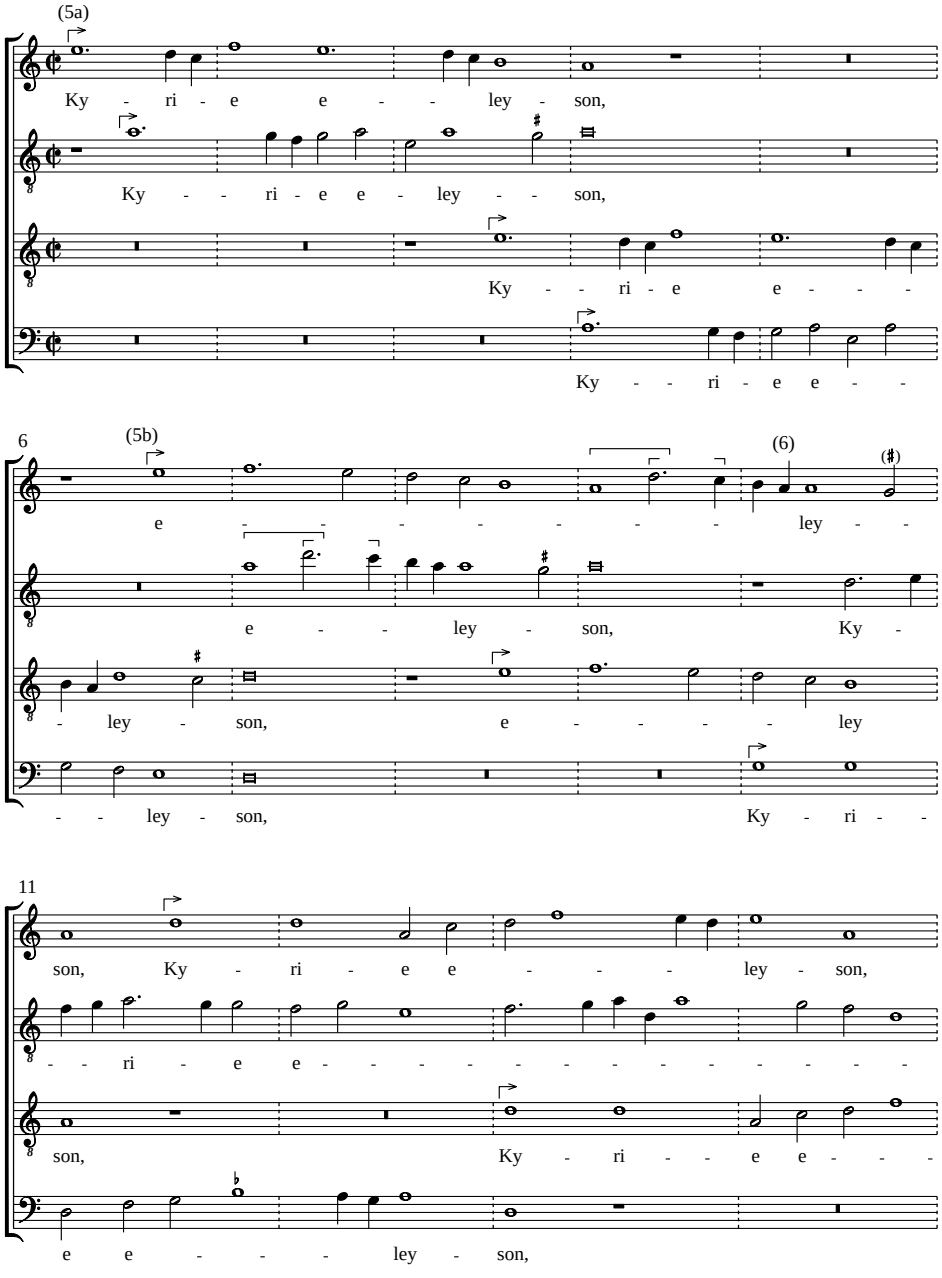
hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 281



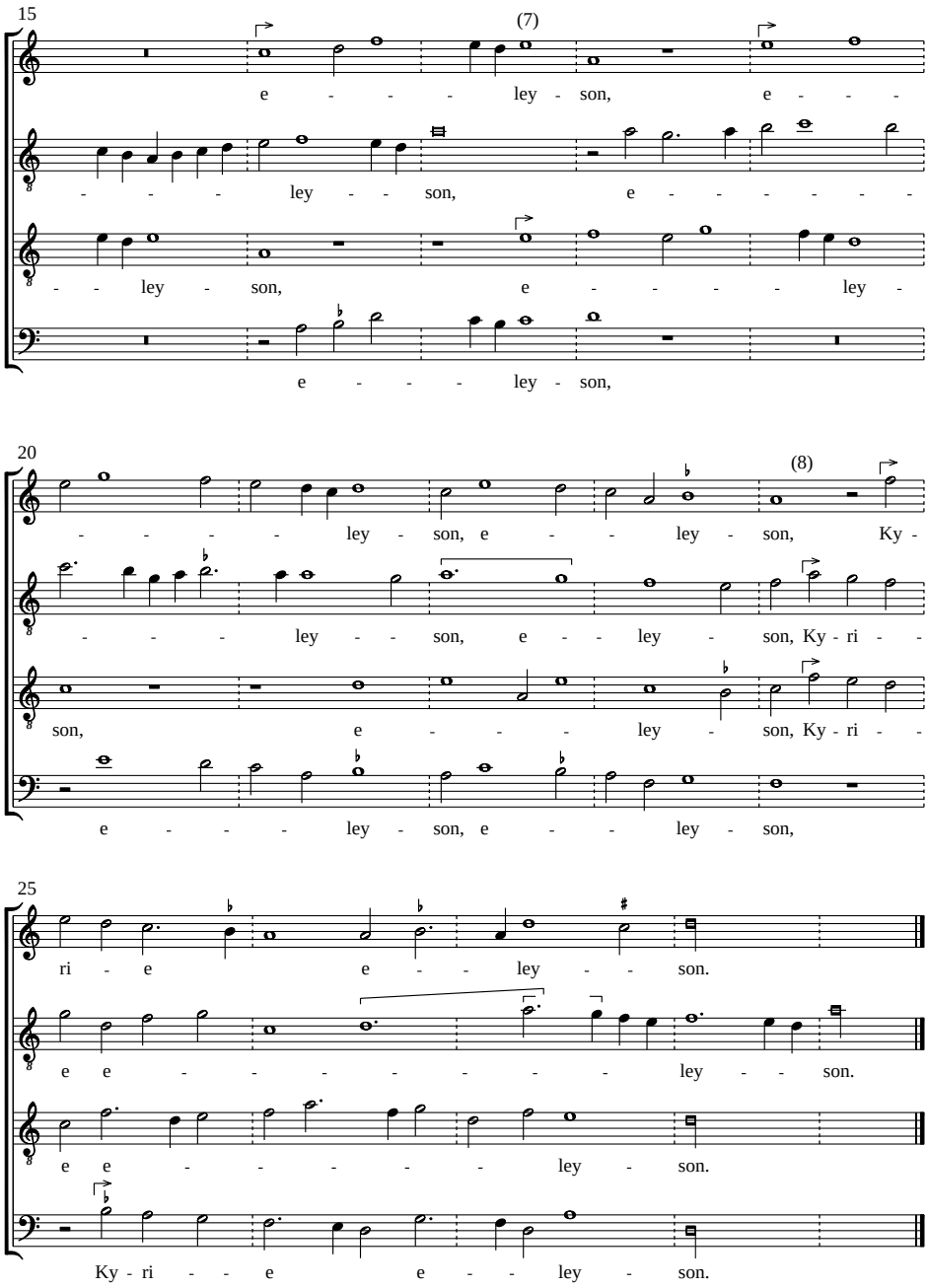
hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 282



hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 283



hfst Schreurs 12-11-2003 14:26 Pagina 284



hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 285

THE ALAMIRE SCRIPTORIUM AND THE DISSEMINATION OF THE 'NEW' FRANCO-FLEMISH CHANSON IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Martin Picker
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick

During the first third of the sixteenth century the scriptorium of the Habsburg-Burgundian court chapel supplied over fifty musical manuscripts to royal courts and wealthy patrons throughout the Habsburg empire and beyond.[1] Most of these manuscripts contain an international repertory of sacred music – primarily masses and motets – suitable for princely chapels. However, a few collections are devoted mainly to secular music, primarily French chansons but with occasional pieces in Latin, Italian, Flemish, Spanish, or without text. Three extensive manuscripts of this type that emanated from the court scriptorium are extant, and two mixed collections and a fragment that suggests that a large amount of material has been lost.

The two mixed collections are London, British Library, Royal MS 8 G.vii (LonBLR 8 G.vii) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 9814 (VienNB 9814), fol. 132–152, the latter one voice part of a miscellany containing five separate manuscripts. Both collections are devoted mainly to works in Latin but each contains one French work. The fragment is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 831, fol. 260–261 (OxfBA 831), a single bifolio from an otherwise lost manuscript, probably a chansonnier, containing two French pieces and one in Spanish. These three sources will not be considered further here. The gradual change that took place in the secular repertory of the Netherlands court during this period can be traced by comparing the contents of the three major manuscripts, each of which dates from a different decade in the early sixteenth century.

The earliest of the three is Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2439 (FlorC 2439).[2] This is a small choirbook copied around 1508 for an Italian patron by a scribe sometimes identified as Martin Bourgeois (active ca. 1495 – ca. 1508), a singer, organist, and music copyist to the court of Philip the Fair.[3] It contains eighty-seven pieces, beginning with a five-voice motet and continuing with works for four and three voices in about equal numbers and

[1] Most of these are described and dated in: H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 209–216. The majority of the manuscripts associated with the court scriptorium are also described, inventoried, and illustrated with updated information in: H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999. See also C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript* Studies, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988, 5, pp. 291, 296, and 327: *General Index*, under *Alamire, Bourgeois*, and *Netherlands court scribe C (– X)*.

[2] H. MECONI ed., *Basevi Codex: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, MS 2439*, facsimile, Peer, 1990.

[3] Three documents of 1500 and 1502 record payment to Bourgeois for copying masses, motets, and 'other things' for the courts of Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria; see E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle: documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 7, Brussels, 1885, pp. 150–151. There is no specific evidence identifying these manuscripts, nor is any other copyist cited in court documents for the period before 1503, when Pierre Alamire is first mentioned as music scribe in the employ of Philip the Fair; see note 5 below.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 286

in separate sections separated from each other by a blank leaf. One five-voice chanson is also included among the four-voice pieces. The works have primarily French texts or incipits, but a few are in Dutch or without text. In addition to the French works, nine have Latin texts and eleven are polytextual, being either all in French or in both French and Latin. Full texts are sparingly provided, suggesting that vocal performance was not the essential purpose of the manuscript.

Almost all the pieces are headed by their composers' names. About half of these are by just two composers, Alexander Agricola (ca. 1446–1506) and Pierre de la Rue (ca. 1460–1518), the leading composers in the Netherlands court chapel during the reign of Philip the Fair (1478–1506). Other Franco-Flemish composers, ones not necessarily associated with the court, are also well represented, among them Compère, Ghiselin, Josquin, Obrecht, Ockeghem, and Prioris. Still others are represented by one or two pieces each. As befits a commissioned manuscript, it is decorated, albeit sparsely, with illuminations that include coats of arms, ornamental initials, and one pictorial illustration.

The second manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 228 (BrusBR 228), a choirbook containing fifty-eight pieces, mostly for three or four voices.[4] Its main corpus was copied around 1516 by the court music copyist Petrus Alamire (ca. 1470–1536), and/or a scribe closely associated with him.[5] The manuscript comprises three discrete sections separated by blank folios; the first two are devoted mainly to four-voice works, the third to works for three voices. There are also four insertions in different hands: one is a six-voice motet before the first section, another a motet for seven voices after that section, and two are a motet for four voices and a chanson for five after the second section. Most of the works carry French texts in all voices; one piece is in Dutch, ten works bear Latin texts, and some are polytextual in French and Latin. A handful of works are for five and six voices. The opening composition, written on a separate folio preceding the first section, is a Marian motet decorated with elaborate miniatures and borders, including the portrait and arms of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), sister of Philip the Fair and regent of the Netherlands after Philip's death in 1506. The manuscript as a whole clearly reflects her personal interests and was written for her.[6]

All but one of the compositions are anonymous in the Brussels manuscript; the single exception is *Plus nulz regretz*, which bears the name *Josquin des Pres* inscribed in the initial letter of the superius voice. Of the remaining works, fifteen are attributed to Pierre de la Rue in concordant sources, a smaller number to Agricola (4), Compère (4), and Josquin (2), and one each to Brumel, Ockeghem, De Orto, Pipelare, Prioris, Weerbeke, and other composers. La Rue, Agricola, De Orto, and Weerbeke were associated with the court of Philip, and La Rue remained the most significant composer at Margaret's court after her brother's early death. About one-quarter of the works are concordant with FlorC 2439, and it is fair to assume that the two manuscripts together are representative of the repertoire of secular music and some of the sacred music performed at the Habsburg-Burgundian court in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

[4] M. PICKER ed., *Album de Marguerite d'Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 228*, facsimile, Peer, 1986; M. PICKER ed., *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels*, Berkeley, 1965.

[5] See E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 15–27.

[6] On the biographical and literary associations of the manuscript with Margaret, see M. PICKER, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 228 (BrusBR 228)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 2, pp. 69–70, and the references cited there.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 287

The third in this group of manuscripts of secular music from the court scriptorium is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS 18746 (VienNB Mus. 18746), consisting of five partbooks dated 1523. Each partbook is divided into two sections separated by blank leaves, and each section is signed in one partbook with the name *P. Alamire*, once at the end of the first section in the tenor 2 partbook (fol. 43r), and again at the end of the second section in the tenor 1 partbook (fol. 53r) above the date according to the liturgical calendar ('for the feast of the Holy Trinity 1523'); see Table 1 and Figure 1 below. The first section, headed *Carmina quinque vocum*, was written by two copyists, one of whom is probably Alamire himself;[7] the hands can be compared in Figures 2 and 3 below, and Figure 2 is probably by Alamire. The second section, which possibly existed at some time as a separate manuscript, bears the signature *Clare van Diest*, who may have been a lady-in-waiting at the court of Margaret of Austria in Mechelen.[8] The entire manuscript contains fifty-six pieces for five voices, almost all with French incipits or titles but without full texts. Only a few composers are named: La Rue twice, Brumel and Lebrun once each. Josquin can be identified from concordances as the composer of seven pieces, one of which – *Plaine de dueil* – is also found in BrusBR 228; see Figures 4 and 5 below. Works are also attributed in concordant sources to Bauldeweyn, Brumel, Descaudain, Mouton, Prioris, Richafort, La Rue, and Stokem; see the inventory in Table 1. In the view of some scholars, a number of the anonymous works are also attributable to La Rue and Josquin on the basis of their style.[9]

This manuscript was once part of a sizeable library owned by Raimund Fugger, a wealthy banker of Augsburg, and at least the first section was probably commissioned by him.[10] Lacking full texts and without decoration, the manuscript VienNB Mus. 18746 was evidently intended for some practical purpose, possibly instrumental performance.[11] Although many of the pieces are texted in other sources and must originally have been vocal, some are clearly instrumental in character, including a group of settings of voices from Ockeghem's rondeau *Fors seulement*, which constitutes the entire second section of the manuscript, as well as a curious piece entitled *La sol mi fa mi, Cantus de anglia*, a title that suggests that the work is of English origin. Many pieces are by composers who were active primarily at the French court, such as Lebrun, Mouton, and Prioris, indicating that the music sung and played at the Habsburg-Burgundian court at Mechelen and Brussels was drawn from an international repertoire and was not necessarily composed there or elsewhere in the Habsburg dominions.

Despite repertorial and scribal relationships among these three manuscripts, their contents reveal a distinct shift in musical style over the three decades they represent. FlorC 2439, from the

[7] HAMM & KELLMAN, *Census-Catalogue*, 4, pp. 107–108. The two hands are similar, but occasionally one can be found to have corrected errors made by the other.

[8] See E. JAS, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18746 (VienNB Mus. 18746)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 49, pp. 161–162.

[9] See J. VAN BENTHEM, *Einige wiedererkannte Josquin-Chansons im Codex 18746 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 22 (1971), pp. 18–42; L.F. BERNSTEIN, *Chansons Attributed to Both Josquin des Prez and Pierre de la Rue*, in W. ELDERS ed., *Proceedings of the International Josquin Symposium, Utrecht 1986*, Utrecht, 1991, pp. 137–143.

[10] L. NOWAK, *Die Musikhandschriften aus Fuggerschem Besitz in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, in J. STUMMVOLL, O. BRECHLER et al. eds., *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Festschrift herausgegeben zum 25 jährigen Dienstjubiläum des Generaldirektors Univ.-Prof. Dr. Josef Bick*, Vienna, 1948, pp. 505–515.

[11] Evidence of vocal intent for some works, even though no text beyond an incipit is present, may be seen in the heading of the altus part (written in the soprano clef) as *Secundus puer* (*Tout a par moy*; see Table 1, no. 24).

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 288

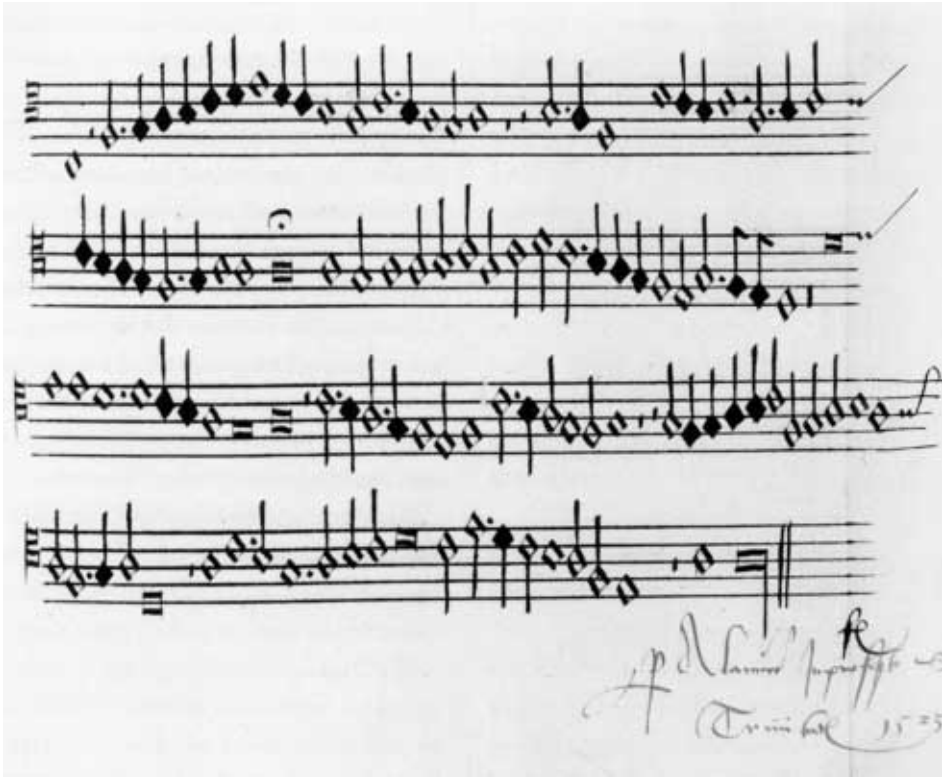


Figure 1. (Pierre de la) Rue, *Fors seullement*, signature of *P. Alamire* and date 1523, VienNB Mus. 18746, tenor 1, fol. 53r.

first decade of the sixteenth century, is equally divided between four- and three-voice pieces, many of which reflect late fifteenth-century taste as represented by works of Busnoys, Ockeghem, Obrecht, and Agricola. Only one of its chansons is for five voices. BrusBR 228, written in the second decade of the sixteenth century, contains almost three times as many four-voice as three-voice works, as well as four five-voice chansons, one for six voices, and single motets for five, six, and seven voices. In comparing these two manuscripts, written little more than a decade apart, a shift away from three-voice texture toward a preference for four or more voices is perceptible. In other respects, though, their contents are similar. Many works in both manuscripts are traditional rondeaux, but an equal proportion are strophic or in free form. Both manuscripts also contain a number of polytextual chansons with their tenor or bassus texted in Latin and usually derived from liturgical chant, or else in French and drawn from other polyphonic songs or the popular repertoire. In addition both manuscripts include a handful of motets and some secular Latin works.

With VienNB Mus. 18746, written in the third decade of the sixteenth century, we enter a different musical world. All works in the manuscript are for five voices, except one canonic chanson that is for six, and the majority appear to be free in form – although the lack of texts in the manuscript prevents a definite determination of which works might be in fixed forms requiring internal repeti-

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 289

tions. The exclusion of three- and four-voice pieces appears to be deliberate, since other contemporary secular sources contain them. Rather, the manuscript seems designed to complement other collections for fewer voices, such as those in FlorC 2439 and BrusBR 228. There are nonetheless striking repertorial relationships with the earlier manuscripts. FlorC 2439 and VienNB Mus. 18746 each contain a block of pieces based on voices from Ockeghem's *Fors seulement l'attente*; one setting for three voices and seven for four are in the Florence manuscript, and seven for five voices are in the Vienna one, with concordances for one of each group in the Brussels source. The settings in the Florence manuscript are by Ockeghem, Brumel, Ghiselin, Obrecht, De Orto, Pipelare, and La Rue. BrusBR 228 repeats the setting of Pipelare and includes an anonymous motet setting using the chanson tenor as its cantus firmus. The Vienna manuscript contains six anonymous settings as well as La Rue's, including a duplicate of the motet in the Brussels manuscript.[12] The court scriptorium thus seems to have possessed a substantial collection of *Fors seulement* pieces that it could draw upon. The last of the settings of *Fors seulement* in the Vienna manuscript bears La Rue's name, but it differs from his four-voice setting in the Florence manuscript; see Figure 1 for the tenor of de la Rue's five-voice setting. It may have been La Rue who formed this *Fors seulement* collection, probably drawing upon a wide range of French and Flemish sources.

The Florence and Brussels manuscripts resemble many chansonniers of the early sixteenth century in emphasizing three- and four-voice works, but the Vienna manuscript stands alone as the earliest dated collection of five-voice chansons extant in manuscript or printed form. Only scattered examples of pieces belonging to this multivoice genre appear in contemporary manuscripts, such as BrusBR 228. Not until 1540 was a collection published containing a substantial number of five-voice chansons, the famous *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones* (*RISM* B/1540[7]) issued at Augsburg by Melchior Kriesstein, containing well over one hundred works in many languages and genres and in textures varying from two to eight voices. Four of its chansons are concordant with VienNB Mus. 18746, suggesting a connection between the Kriesstein publication and its editor Sigmund Salminger, a leading Protestant teacher and reformer who enjoyed the patronage of the Fugger family of Augsburg, and the Vienna manuscript, then in the possession of Raimund Fugger.[13]

Publication of five-voice chansons became more common in the 1540s with a series of anthologies issued by Tylman Susato in Antwerp. The earliest of these is an undated print entitled *Vingt et six chansons musicales & nouvelles a cincq parties* (*RISM* B/[1543][15]).[14] It was quickly followed by the fifth, sixth, and seventh books in Susato's series of chanson collections (*RISM* B/1544[13], *RISM* B/1545[14], and *RISM* B/1545[15]), each of which is devoted to works for five and six voices, the last of these being the famous commemorative volume of works by Josquin des Prez. All four volumes contain concordances with VienNB Mus. 18746: two are in *RISM* B/[1543][15], one is in Susato's fifth book, one in his sixth, and seven are in his Josquin volume.

[12] All the settings except the motet are contained in: M. PICKER ed., *Fors Seulement: Thirty Compositions for Three to Five Voices or Instruments from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 14), Madison, 1981.

[13] The connection could not have been direct, since the Vienna manuscript lacks text, but the publication and manuscript may have had a common source or sources. For a brief summary of Salminger's biography, see M.L. GÖLLNER, art. *Salminger, Sigmund*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 16, pp. 425–426.

[14] See U. MEISSNER, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato*, 2, Berlin, 1967, pp. 17–21.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 290

Five partbooks: (1) *Superius Cantus*; (2) *Contratenor Altus*; (3) *Tenores ad longum*; (4) *Secundus Tenor vel Vagans*; (5) *Bassus*. Signed by P. Alamire (T1, fol. 53; T2, fol. 43) and dated 1523 (T1, fol. 53). Text incipits are regularized and orthographic variants are not listed. Composer attributions from concordant sources are given in parentheses; those in the manuscript as well as significant verbal remarks are given in bold. The order of pieces follows the superius; some pieces are in a different order in other partbooks, as indicated by the folio numbers.

(All partbooks, fol. 7r): **Carmina quinque vocum**

NO.	TEXT INCIPIT	COMPOSER / VERBAL REMARKS	FOLIOS				
			S	A	T1	T2	B
1)	*Cent mille regretz*	(La Rue/Josquin)	7v–8v	7v–8r	7v–8r	7v–8r	7v–8r
2)	*Plusours regretz*	(Josquin)	8v–9r	8v–9r	8v–9r	8v–9r	8v–9r
3)	*Dueil et ennuy*	(La Rue?)	9v–10r	10r–10v	9r–9v	9v–10r	10r–10v
4)	*Je nay regretz*		10v–11r	9v–10r	9v–10r	10r–10v	9v
5)	*On a mal dit de mon amy*		11r–11v	11r–11v	10r–10v	10v–11r	10r–11r
6)	*En doleur en tristesse*	(Bauldeweyn)	11v–12r	11v–12r	10v–11r	11v	11r–11v
7)	*Je mi complain*	(Josquin)	12v	12v–13r	11v	12r–12v	11v–12r
8)	*Jay mis mon c[u]eur*		13r–13v	13v–14r	12r–12v	12v–13r	12v–13r
9)	*Cueur en durchi*		13v–14r	14v–15r	12v–13r	13v–14r	13r–14r
10)	*Sans vous veoir*		14r–15r	15r–15v	13v–14r	14r–14v	14r–14v
11)	*Adieu commant*		15r–15v	15v–16v	14r–14v	14v–15v	14v–15r
12)	*Saillies avant*		15v–17r	16v–18r	14v–15v	15v–17r	15r–16r
13)	*Incessament [mon povre cueur]*	(La Rue/ Josquin)	17r–17v	18r–18v	16r	17v–18r	16v–17r
14)	*Je suis nuyt et jour*		18r	19r	16v	18v–19r	17r–17v
15)	*Sans vous veoir*	(A) **Fuga** (T1) **Canon. Quere in aliis libris**	18v–19r	19v–20r	17r	19r–19v	17v–18r
16)	*Garde le tret*	(T2) **Canon. Au retret**	19r	20r–20v	19r	20r	18r–18v
17)	*Dung aultre aymer /* (A,T1,T2,B) *Celas sans plus*	(S) **Lebrun, Super Cela sans plus.**	19v	20v–21r	18r–18v	20v–21r	18v–19r
18)	*Dung aultre aymer.*	(S) **Rue** (T2) **In dyatesseron descen.**	20r–20v	21v–22r	17v–18r	21r	19v–20r
19)	*Le grant doueil*		20v–21r	22v–23r	19v–20r	21v–22r	20r–20v
20)	*A moy seulle qui tant ayme vous/* (T1) *Comme femme desconforte*		21v–22r	23v–24r	20r	22v	20v–21r
21)	*Consideres mes incessantes plaintes/* (T1) *Fortuna desperata*		22r–22v	24r–24v	20v	23r–23v	21v–22r
22)	*Languentis miseris/* (T1) *Clamor meus ad te veniat*	(AT1) **Lamentacio** (T) **Brumel** (T1) **Finis. Laus deo**	22v–23v	25r–25v	20v–21r 21v	24r–24v	22r–22v
23)	*Entre je suis en grant penser*	(Prioris)	24r–24v	26r–26v	21v	25r	23r–23v
24)	*Tout a par moy/* (B) *Circundederunt me*	(A) **Secundus puer**	24v–25r	26v–27r	22r–22v	25v–26r	23v–24r
25)	*Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*		25v–26r	27v–28r	22v–23r	26r–26v	24r
26)	*Pro chasser fait*		26r–26v	28r–28v	23r–23v	27r	24v
27)	*Brunette mamiette*	(Stokem)	27r–27v	29r–29v	23v	27v	24v–25r
28)	*Qui vult aymera il fault estre joieux*		27v–28r	29v–30r	24r	28r–28v	25v

Table 1. Inventory of the manuscript VienNB Mus. 18746.

29)	*La jonne dame*		28v–29r	30r–31r	24v–25r	28v–29r	26r–26v
30)	*Damour je suis*	(Richafort)	29r–29v	31r–31v	25v–26r	29v	26v–27r
31)	*Du bon du coeur*	(Mouton)	29v–30v	32r–33r	26r–26v	30r–30v	27r–28r
32)	*Voustre beaulte*		30v–31r	33r–34r	27r–27v	30v–31r	28r–28v
33)	*Tout a rebors*		31r–32r	34r–35r	27v–28v	31v–32r	29r–29v
34)	*Ne vous challe*	(Richafort/ Werrecore)	32r–32v	35r–35v	28v–29r	32r–32v	29v–30r
35)	*[C]uidez vous*	(J. Richafort) lacks S	lacking	36r–36v	29v–30r	33r–33v	30r–31r
36)	*Doise espoir*		33r–33v	36v–37v	30r–31r	33v–34r	31r–31v
37)	*Choisisses vrais amoureux*		33v–34v	37v–38v	31r–31v	34r–34v	32r–32v
38)	*Do[u]leur me bat*	(Josquin)	34v–35v	38v–39r	31v–32r	34v–35r	33r–33v
39)	*Mon co[e]ur vit in tristicia*		35v–36v	39v–40r	32v–33r	35v	34r–34v
40)	*Douleur me bat/* (T2) *O vos omnes*	(S,T1) **Super O vos omnes**	36v–37r	40r–40v	33r–34r	36r–36v	34v–35v
41)	*Coeur doloreulx qui vit*		37v	41r–41v	34r–34v	36v–37r	35v–36r
42)	*Dame donner*		38r–38v	41v–42v	35r–35v	37r–38r	36v–37r
43)	*Jay ung regretz*		38v–39r	43r–43v	35v–36r	38r–38v	37r–37v
44)	*Plaine de due[i]l*	(Josquin)	39v	43v–44v	36r	38v–39r	37v–38v
		(B) **Chansons de monsr. Bouton. A moy seulle**					
45)	*Parfons regrets*	(Josquin)	39v–40v	44v–45r	36v	39r–39v	38v–39r
46)	*La sol mi fa mi*	(S) **Cantus de anglia**	40v–41r	45r–46r	37r–37v	40r–40v	39r–39v
47)	*De mien amant*	(Josquin)	41r–42r	46r–47v	38r–38v	41r–41v	40r–40v
48)	*Incessament [livré]*	(Josquin)	42v–43r	47v–48v	38v–39r	41v–42r	40v–41r
49)	*Je my levay ung matin*	(Descaudain/ Verdelot/ Benedictus)	43r–43v	48v–49r	39r–39v	42r–43r	41v–42r
		(T2) **Laus deo. P. Alamire**				43r	
	[blank folios]		44v–51v	49v–57r	47v–48r	43v–52r	42v–51r
		(S) **Clare van diest heft hier gheweest**	52r				
		(SAB) **Fors seullement. Cum quinque.**	52v	57v	47v		51v
		(T1) **Fors seullement. Cum quinque vocum. Alleluya**					
50)	*Maria mater gratie/*		52v–53r	57v–58r	47v–48r	52v–53r	51v–52r
	(T2) *Fors seullement*	(T2) **Canon. In subdyapason**					
51)	*Fors seullement*	(T2) **Canon: Qui plus hault monte qui ne doit**	53r–54r	58v–59r	48v–49r	53v	52v–53r
		De plus hault chet qui ne vouldroit					
52)	*Fors seullement*		54r–54v	59r–60r	49v–50r	54r	53r–53v
53)	*Fors seullement*	(A) **In dyapason ascendendo**	54v–55v	60r–60v	50r–50v	54v–55r	53v–54r
54)	*Fors seullement*		55v–56r	60v–61v	50v–51v	55v	54v–55r
55)	*Fors seullement*		56v–57r	61v–62r	51v–52r	56r	55r
56)	*Fors seullement*	(T1) **Rue** (T1,B) **Finis**	57r–57v	62r–63r	52v–53r	56v–57r	55v–56r
		(T1) **P.Alamire. In pro festo sancte Trinitatis 1523**					
56b)	*Fors seullement* (= 56a)	S,A,B only (B) **Vacat iste vox**	57v–58r	63r–64r			56r–56v

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 292

In particular, the volume dedicated to Josquin exhibits a strong repertorial connection with Alamire's manuscript, suggesting that the Netherlands court repertoire, including works in VienNB Mus. 18746, became available to Susato some time before 1543. This probability reminds us of the laconic report in the account books of the Habsburg court of a payment in 1520 to 'two singers of the city of Condé, one of whom is named *Joskin*, for some new chansons'.[15] Identification of this *Joskin* with Josquin des Prez, favored by Osthoff and formerly questioned by Kellman,[16] may be associated with the transmission of a substantial amount of Josquin's music, including the five-voice chansons in the Vienna manuscript, to the Habsburg court long before they appeared in print. If these were not among the 'new chansons' presented at court by the two itinerant singers from Condé, then they must have arrived there about the same time by other means.[17]

With Kriesstein's and Susato's publications of the 1540s, the five-voice chanson as a genre can be said to have come of age. However, its vigorous adolescence is evidenced by the first real collection of its kind, VienNB Mus. 18746, signed and dated by Pierre Alamire in 1523; an inventory of the manuscript is presented in Table 1.

Alamire's collection of five-voice chansons had little immediate effect to be sure. Only a handful of its contents found their way into the anthologies of Kriesstein and Susato (except for the Josquin works), possibly because of the growth of the repertoire in the two decades following the copying of the Vienna manuscript and the constant consumer demand for new and up-to-date music. The connection between the music of the Vienna manuscript and that published in the period from 1540 to 1572 by such figures as Kriesstein, Susato, and Le Roy & Ballard, is striking not so much because of their limited shared repertoire but for the character of the genre itself, in which styles, textures, and melodic sources remained similar over a fifty-year period.

Two of the many families of chansons based on popular songs that are represented in these manuscripts will serve as illustrations of the continuity of this tradition through most of the sixteenth century. The first of these families is one based on a song variously beginning *Entré je suis*, *Par vous je suis*, or its Dutch/German counterpart *In minen zin*. Its presumed earliest representative is a three-voice chanson by Josquin found in a late fifteenth-century French manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794 (FlorR 2794), in which the source melody is placed in the tenor. This in turn served as the model for a four-voice, freely canonic setting by Josquin found in FlorC 2439 as *Par vous je suis* and in BrusBR 228 as *Entrée suis*, as well as in many other French, Italian, and German sources (in some of the latter as *In mynem sinn*) throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Both of Josquin's settings appear to have served as models for a five-voice setting by Johannes Prioris that appears in both FlorC 2439 (as *Par vous je suis*) and VienNB Mus. 18746 (as *Entré je suis*; see Table 1, no. 23), in which the canon is assigned to tenors 1 and 2. The sources suggest that all three settings originated in France, but also indicate that the source melody and its textual variants were known in the Netherlands and in Germany as well. A Dutch or German variant

[15] H. OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 1, Tutzing, 1962, p. 73.

[16] See KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts*, pp. 186–189. Professor Kellman has informed me that he no longer questions the identification.

[17] There may be some significance to the inscription following the bassus part of Josquin's *Plaine de deul*: *Chansons de monsr Bouton. A moy seulle*. Bouton was the name of a distinguished Burgundian family; one of its members, Claude Bouton, was a notable lover of music and probably commissioned the so-called 'Chigi Codex' (VatC 234), copied by a scribe of the court who may have been Martin Bourgeois, as a gift for his father Philippe Bouton; see Herbert Kellman's introduction to the facsimile edition of the Chigi Codex: H. KELLMAN ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234*, (*Renaissance Music in Facsimile*), 22, New York, 1987, especially note 9. Claude Bouton's possible connection to Josquin and the Vienna manuscript remains unclear.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 293

of the tune was also set by Busnoys, Isaac, Agricola, Greiter, Finck, and others.[18] The Josquin and Prioris settings clearly found a natural home in the manuscripts of the Habsburg-Burgundian court.

Another such family of chansons is one based on the popular chanson *J'ay mis mon cueur*, exemplified by an anonymous setting for three voices in BrusBR 228 and one for five voices in VienNB Mus. 18746; see Table 1, no. 8. Again, the melody was well-known in France and the Netherlands. The tune is found in the monophonic *Manuscrit de Bayeux* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9346) written around 1500, and is used in settings for from three to eight voices by many sixteenth-century composers, among them Clemens non Papa, Gascongne, Layolle, Moulu, and possibly Gombert.[19]

A related genre well represented in the Alamire manuscripts is one in which a composed voice borrowed from another polyphonic work rather than a popular melody drawn from oral tradition serves as model. This type of *cantus firmus* chanson became prominent in the late fifteenth century, along with masses and motets employing a similar technique, and remained a significant chanson genre well into the sixteenth century, to be gradually being supplanted by newer techniques of paraphrase and parody. In many *cantus firmus* chansons the newly composed voices carry texts different than those of the borrowed voices, but in others they sing the same text or are textless, implying instrumental performance. It can be said that the *cantus firmus* chanson became primarily an instrumental genre after around 1500; however, the distinction between vocal and instrumental genres remained unclear until composers began to identify instrumental works by such titles as *fantasia, ricercar*, or *canzona* in the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century.

Two such *cantus firmus* chansons occur successively in the Vienna manuscript. The first bears the title *D'ung aultre aymer super Cela sans plus* in the discantus, and is attributed in the manuscript to the French composer Jean Lebrun; see Table 1, no. 17. It incorporates the discantus of Ockeghem's three-voice rondeau *D'un autre amer* as its discantus, while the other four voices, all bearing the incipit *Cela sans plus*, are based on the opening four notes of that very popular fifteenth-century song. The intricate rhythms and motivic treatment of the voices suggest that this may well be an instrumental work. The work that follows in the Vienna manuscript is also a setting of *D'un autre amer*, this time attributed to La Rue and utilizing the tenor of Ockeghem's rondeau as its tenor 2; see Table 1, no. 18.

Most of the *cantus firmus* chansons in VienNB Mus. 18746 belong to a group of seven works in a separate section at the end of each partbook headed by the title *Fors seullement cum quinque* in the discantus; see Table 1, nos. 50–56. All are based on a voice derived from Ockeghem's rondeau *Fors seulement l'attente*, and may be considered a counterpart to a similar group of three- and four-voice settings in FlorC 2439. The first of these pieces is a motet, *Maria mater gratie*, which also appears fully texted in BrusBR 228. The tenor of Ockeghem's chanson is placed in the tenor 2

[18] See M. PICKER, *Polyphonic Settings circa 1500 of the Flemish Tune In minen sin*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 12 (1959), pp. 94–95; and PICKER, *Newly Discovered Sources for In minen sin*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 17 (1964), pp. 133–143.

[19] See the list in: H.M. BROWN, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400–1550 and Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, p. 233. To this may be added the *secunda pars* of the motet *Lugebat David Absalon* for eight voices attributed to Josquin but probably by Gombert, which appears to be a *contrafactum* of a chanson based on *J'ay mis mon cueur*; see J. MILSOM ed., *Anon. [?Gombert], Lugebat David Absalon*, (*Mapa Mundi*, B/8), London, 1979; M. PICKER, *A Spurious Motet of Josquin, a Chanson by Gombert, and Some Related Works*, in P. NIEDERMÜLLER, C. URCHEUGUÍA and O. WIENER eds., *Quellenstudien und musikalische Analyse: Festschrift Martin Just zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg, 2001, pp. 33–45.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 294

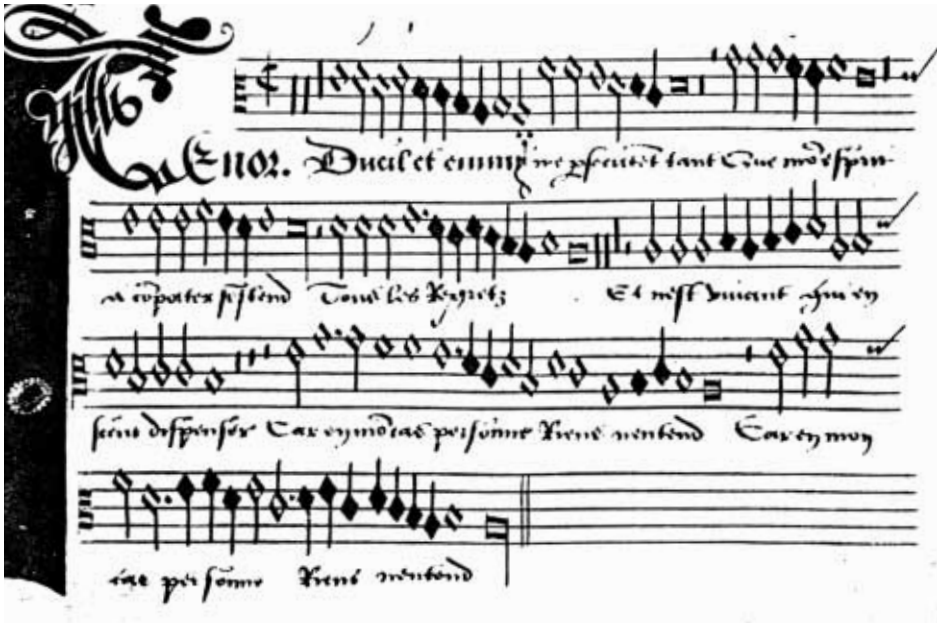


Figure 2. (La Rue?), *Dueil et ennuy*, tenor, BrusBR 228, fol. 7v.

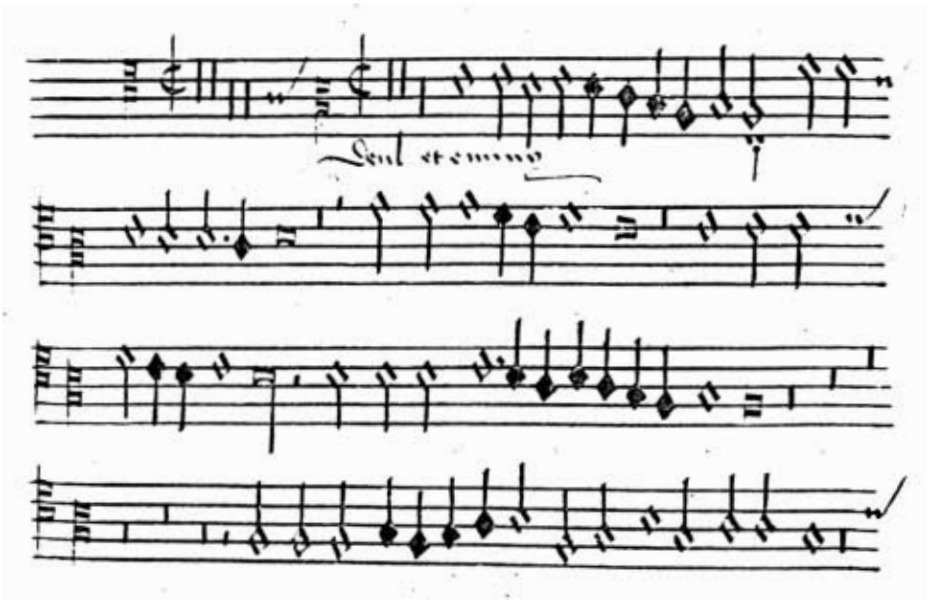


Figure 3. (La Rue?), *Dueil et ennuy*, VienNB Mus. 18746, tenor 2, fol. 9v.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 295

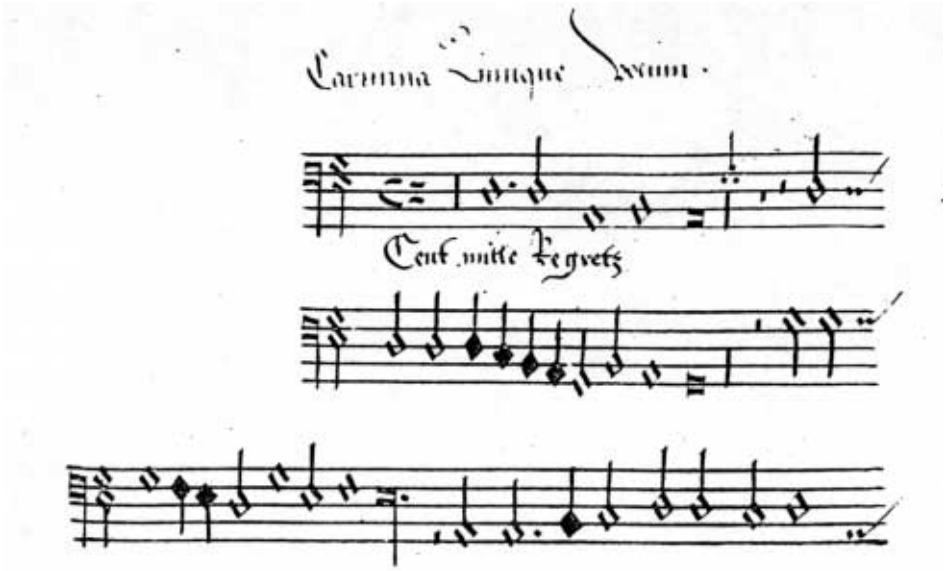


Figure 4. (La Rue), *Cent mille regretz*, VienNB Mus. 18746, bassus, fol. 7v.

of this motet. The last of the seven pieces bears the name *Rue* in tenor 1, and is the only one attributed to a composer.

The majority of the chansons in the Vienna manuscript embody a canon between two of their five voices. The idea of such a canonic structure probably arose from the device of treating the tenor of an ostensibly four-voice work as an unnotated canon indicated only by means of a rubric or symbol. One such example is the anonymous *Deuil et ennuy*, which appears amid four-voice works by La Rue in the Brussels manuscript and is likely to have been composed by him; see Figure 2.[20] The presence of the canon is marked in BrusBR 228 only by a *signum congruentiae* in the tenor at the point at which the canonic voice enters a fifth below. The same work also appears in the Vienna manuscript (see Figure 3, and Table 1, no. 3), but there the canonic voice is fully written out, as are all the canons in the manuscript, although the tenor still has the *signum* and gives clefs for both voices.

Three other works by La Rue in VienNB Mus. 18746 employ the same technique, one of them being his setting of *Fors seulement* at the end of the manuscript, discussed above. The work that opens the manuscript, *Cent mille regretz*, is also such a canonic setting by La Rue (see Figure 4, and Table 1, no. 1), and the third is his *Incessament [mon povre cueur lamente]* (see Figure 5, and Table 1, no. 13). The latter two works were misattributed to Josquin by Attaingnant in his *Trente sixiesme livre contenant xxx chansons... Le tout de la compositions de feu Josquin des Prez* (1549; 1550 new style; *RISM* A/I/J 681), but are reliably attributed to La Rue in concordant sources.[21]

[20] PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, no. 6.

[21] See BERNSTEIN, *Chansons Attributed*, pp. 125–152; see also D. HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Biliographical Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1969, no. 162.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 296

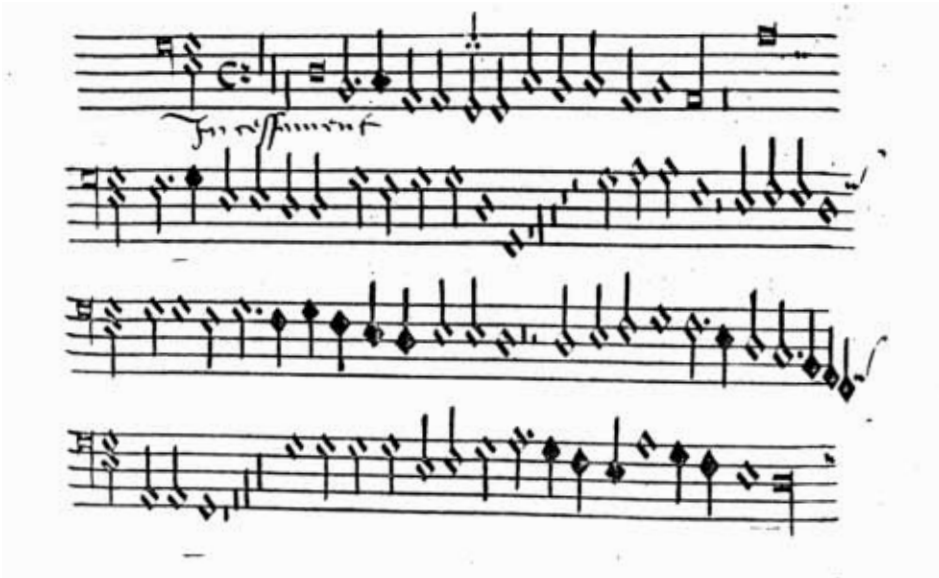


Figure 5. (La Rue), *Incessament [mon povre cueur lamente]*, VienNB Mus. 18746, bassus, fol. 16v.

The texts of many chansons in these manuscripts are typical of the character of the poems favored by Margaret of Austria. La Rue's *Incessament mon povre cueur*, in which the leading voice of the canon is the bassus, followed a fourth higher by the *Quinta Pars*, can serve as an example. The text and a translation are given below:

Incessament mon povre cueur lamente,	Incessantly my poor heart laments,
Sans nul repos souvenir me tourmente.	Without any respite memory torments me.
Ayant ennuy sans aulcun amandement,	Weary and without relief
Bany je suis de tout esbatement,	I am banished from all pleasure,
Et si languis pres de mort vehemente.	And so languish, close to vehement death.

La Rue's beautifully shaped melodies proceed smoothly and uneventfully, letting the words speak for themselves.

All seven of Josquin's works in the Vienna manuscript are canonic chansons of the same type, but are more directly expressive of their poetic content than those of La Rue. They appear in Susato's 1545 book devoted to Josquin (*RISM* B/1545[15]) as well as in Attaingnant's 1550 volume (*RISM* A/I/J 681), the latter probably copied by Attaingnant from Susato with some additions, including the two works of La Rue misattributed by Attaingnant to Josquin and described above.[22]

An illustration of the unique and prophetic character of many of the five-voice chansons in the Vienna manuscript, especially those by Josquin, is that composer's *Plaine de dueil*, present as an anonymous insertion in BrusBR 228 and in the main corpus of VienNB Mus. 18746 (see Table

[22] See the contents of each collection listed in: A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prez, Wereldlijke Werken*, 3/1, Amsterdam, 1923, pp. vi–vii.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 297

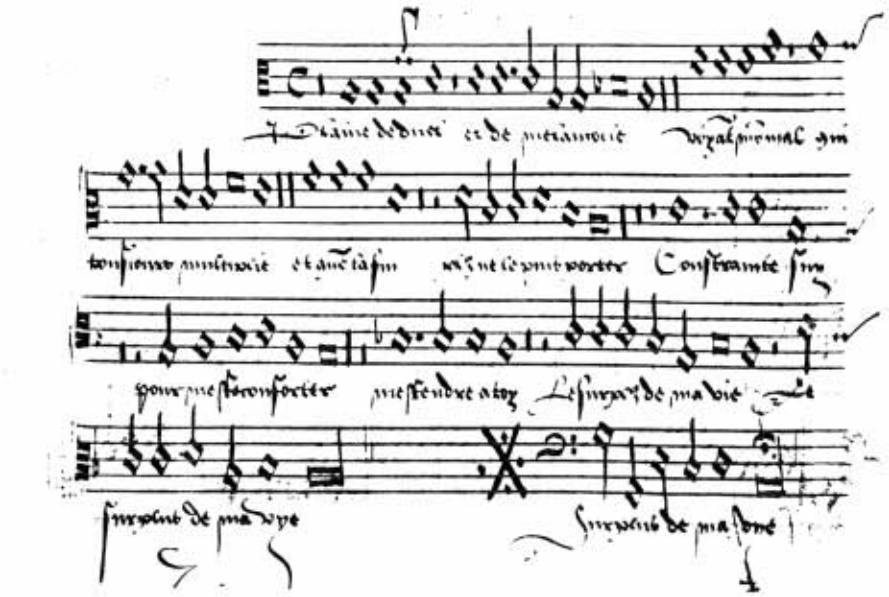


Figure 6. (Josquin), *Plaine de dueil*, tenor, BrusBR 228, fol. 48v.

1, no. 44), and attributed to Josquin in Susato's and Attaingnant's commemorative collections.[23] Simple in form and direct in expression, it is nevertheless a work of high contrapuntal craftsmanship. Its form is strophic and the text-setting in the version of the Brussels manuscript (see Figure 6) is almost completely syllabic, with internal repetitions of phrases that intensify its expressive character. The version of the Vienna manuscript (see Figure 7) lacks text and condenses repeated notes into longer values, an indication that the manuscript was probably intended for instrumental rather than vocal performance. The words, expressing sorrow and submissiveness, are effectively mirrored in the starkly simple, declamatory rhythm. The first stanza reads as follows:

Plaine de dueil, et de melancolie,	Full of sorrow and melancholy,
Voyant mon mal qui tousjours multiplie,	Seeing that my sickness always grows
Et qu'en la fin pluz ne le puis porter,	So that I finally can no longer bear it,
Constrainte suis pour me renconforter	I am constrained, in order to comfort myself,
Me rendre'a toy le surplus de ma vie.	To give to you the remainder of my life.

This poem has been attributed to Margaret of Austria, although there is no evidence for her authorship other than its presence in the Brussels manuscript and its echoing of sentiments found in poems assigned to her in literary sources, particularly a *Complainte* believed to be by her that opens with the same words.[24]

[23] SMIJERS, *Werken van Josquin des Prez*, *Wereldlijke Werken*, 3/1, pp. 7–8; see also PICKER, *The Chanson Albums*, pp. 362–367.

[24] J. STRELKA, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof Margarethes von Österreich und seine literarhistorische Bedeutung*, Vienna, 1957, p. 55.

hfst Picker 12-11-2003 13:57 Pagina 298

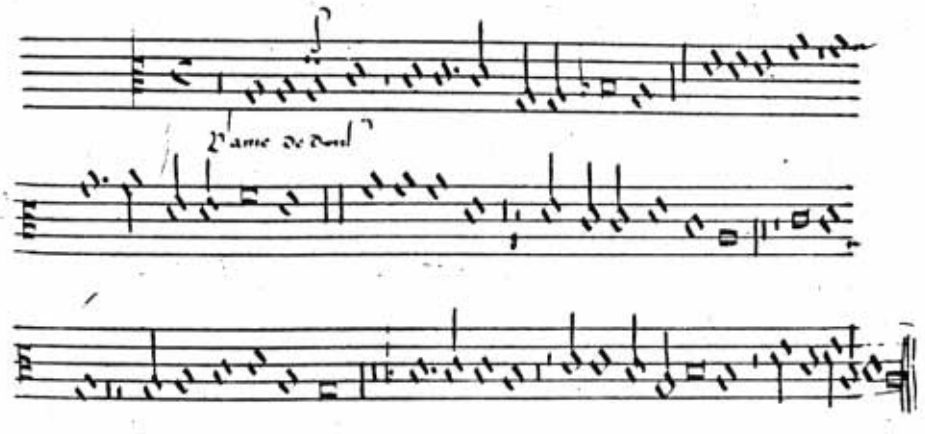


Figure 7. (Josquin), *Plaine de dueil*, VienNB Mus. 18746, tenor 1, fol. 36v.

This extraordinary combination in this piece of sophisticated counterpoint with a simple melody in popular style foreshadows the character of five-voice chansons by Gombert, Crequillon, and Clemens non Papa composed a generation later, although these composers preferred more elaborate melodies and active rhythms than Josquin, closer to those of Pierre de la Rue. The stark simplicity and directness of Josquin is unique to him. No clearer contrast between the styles of La Rue and Josquin can be found than in their five-voice chansons in the Vienna manuscript.

The Vienna manuscript of 1523 (VienNB Mus. 18746), a collection of cantus firmi, canonic, and free chansons for five voices, honors the past and announces the future of the multivoice chanson by uniting traditional contrapuntal structures with the rich and fashionably modern texture of five voices and a new kind of expressive melody and harmony designed to convey the spirit of the text. It documents the emergence of a 'new' Franco-Flemish chanson style modeled in large part on the later works of La Rue and Josquin. It also features updated versions of the lively, bawdy popular songs that had long been typical of Franco-Flemish secular music since the time of Busnoys. First presented on a large scale in VienNB Mus. 18746, this blend of styles continued to dominate Franco-Flemish secular music for at least the next two generations, to be superceded only around the middle of the century by music exhibiting fresh influences of literary humanism and the intense emotionalism of the Italian madrigal.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 299

ALAMIRE VERSUS AGRICOLA: THE LIE OF THE SOURCES*

Fabrice Fitch
University of Durham

The opposition in this paper's title may seem something of a *coq-à-l'âne*, a *non-sequitur.* But from the point of view of the 'Netherlands court complex', Agricola presents us with a paradox. The composer was clearly a capital figure at the Burgundian court chapel.[1] La Rue was regarded as the more prominent in the pecking-order, but it was possibly Agricola who had the greater international reputation, having served with distinction at the court of France, and worked in several Italian centres.[2] Yet the source-distribution within the Netherlands court complex does not quite reflect Agricola's importance. In terms of the number and copies of works he comes not second, but only in fourth place, behind La Rue of course, but also behind Josquin and Mouton.[3] Further, there seems to have been a dramatic falling-off in the copying of his music within a couple of years of his death in 1506. This terminus post quem for Agricola's work corresponds very nearly to that for the last of the so-called 'scribe B' manuscripts, often referred to under the collective name 'Bourgeois': VerBC 756 and FlorC 2439.[4] The figures given in Table 1 are eloquent: barring a mere handful of small-scale motets and songs – *unica* for the most part – and the few mass *bicinia* included in VienNB Mus. 18832, the bulk of Agricola's representation in Netherlands court manuscripts is confined to scribe B sources. Put another way, the three-dozen and more mass choirbooks from the Alamire workshop contain not a note of Agricola. Furthermore, it is worth noting that neither the Alamire *Salve* manuscript MunBS 34, nor the Alamire Magnificat manuscript JenaU 20, contain any settings by Agricola, even though he is known to have composed several. Significantly, the richest source for both these genres is a scribe B source, BrusBR 9126, which devotes self-contained sections to each. At first blush one might seek for the explanation in the composer's death; yet Agricola's name was still being cited by theorists, his music copied and printed well into mid-century. Death doesn't explain everything.

* I thank David Fallows for reading a preliminary draft of this paper; Bonnie J. Blackburn for the loan of microfilms of some of the principal sources under discussion; Lois Fitch for assisting me in the collation of source-variants for Agricola's *Missa Le serviteur*; and Paul Archbold for setting the musical example.

[1] For an overview of the Burgundian court chapel in the period of Agricola's tenure see H. MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 53–92.

[2] For the most detailed account of the composer's biography, see R.C. WEGMAN and F. FITCH, art. *Agricola, Alexander*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 1, pp. 225–229. See MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, pp. 70–71, where Honey Meconi convincingly argues for a more cautious dating for Agricola's death, while conceding that it did occur just after 15 August 1506.

[3] All the data in the ensuing tables and text are taken from E. JAS, *Index of Composers and Compositions*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, pp. 168–174, except that Table 4 omits those masses by La Rue classed as *opera dubia* in N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER and T.H. KEAHEY eds., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1989–. In MECONI, *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Honey Meconi accepts as authentic the *L'homme armé* mass-setting transmitted anonymously in JenaU 2 and VatS 34; if it were so, the presence in an Alamire manuscript of another four-voice mass by La Rue would only strengthen the case put forward below.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 300

DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER	TITLES OF COMPOSITIONS / MS SIGLA	
Undisputed, complete pieces preserved in **scribe B / Alamire sources**	31	See E. JAS, *Index of Composers and Compositions*, in H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, pp. 168–174.	
Works preserved in **scribe B sources only**	25		
Works preserved in **Alamire sources only**	5	*Ave domina sancta Maria*	VatP 1976–79 VienNB 9814
		Je nay deuil	BrusBR 228
		Lheure est venue / Circumdederunt me	BrusBR 228
		Regina celi	VienNB Mus. 18825
		Transit Anna timor	VatP 1976–79
Works **shared between scribe B and Alamire**	1	*Revenez tous regretz*	BrusBR 228 FlorC 2439

In addition, VienNB Mus. 18832 – an Alamire source – includes the *Et resurrexit* from *Missa Malheur me bat*, which is missing from the copies of the work in BrusBR 9126 and VienNB 1783 – scribe B sources.

Table 1. Distribution of Alexander Agricola's works in Netherlands court sources.

For a clearer understanding of this question I will focus on the scribe B sources, in particular their readings of Agricola's masses. In studying the Chigi Codex (VatC 234) I tried to show that the presence of Ockeghem masses there was a special project, and that this explained the rather patchy quality of its readings of these works. I suggested that "the manuscript was ... completed using masses drawn from the current repertory of the Netherlands court chapel".[5] In purely quantitative terms this seemed reasonable. The five Bourgeois mass sources contain a total of nine copies of Agricola's masses and twenty-one of La Rue's, all made during their tenure. But the implication – which certainly I intended – that these copies were likely to be more reliable than those of the Ockeghem section in the Chigi Codex, may have been over-hasty. It is a common assumption – not just in this instance but generally – that the closer the source to the place and date of the composer's activity, the more reliable it may be deemed: a seductive assumption too, and therefore perilous. So far as Agricola is concerned, I now believe I was mistaken.

[4] For the most recent information and bibliography on the 'scribe B' sources, see the relevant entries in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, listed hereafter: H. KELLMAN, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9126 (BrusBR 9126)*, cat. no. 4, pp. 72–73; H. MECONI, *Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini: MS Basevi 2439 ("Basevi Codex")(FlorC 2439)*, cat. no. 7, pp. 78–79; H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 22 (JenaU 22)*, cat. no. 21, pp. 106–109; D. FALLOWS, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 831, fols. 260–61 (OxfBA 831)*, cat. no. 30, p.122; F. FITCH and H. KELLMAN, *Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234 ("Chigi Codex")(VatC 234)*, cat. no. 33, pp. 125–129; H. KELLMAN, *Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 756 (VerBC 756)*, cat. no. 38, pp. 137–139; and H. KELLMAN, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 1783 (VienNB 1783)*, cat. no. 39, pp. 140–141. An overview of the relationship between the five specifically sacred sources is in F. FITCH ed., *Choirbook for Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile, c. 1504–6, Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 9126*, facsimile, Peer, 2000.

[5] F. FITCH, *Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models*, Paris, 1997, p. 32.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 301

In fact, the copies of Agricola's masses preserved in scribe B sources are either incomplete or contain significant lacunae, to recoup which one must have recourse to other sources (see Table 2). These are principally Petrucci's print of 1504 (*RISM* A/I/A 431) and the Roman source VatS 23. Surprisingly, it is the latter that proves the most reliable for the masses it contains. A few examples will bear this out.

MS/PRINT SIGLUM[1]	MASS TITLES
VatS 23 (ca. 1507)	*Le serviteur* *Je ne demande*
RISM A/I/A 431 (print, Petrucci 1504)	*Le serviteur* *Je ne demande* *Malheur me bat* [also *Primi toni*, *Secundi toni*]
LeipU 51 (ca. 1555)	*Je ne demande*
VatC 234 (ca. 1502–1505)	*In myne zyn*
BrusBR 9126 (ca. 1504–1505)	*In myne zyn* *Malheur me bat*
JenaU 22 (ca. 1505)	*Le serviteur* *Paschalis*
VienNB 1783 (ca. 1505)	*Le serviteur* *Paschalis*
VerBC 756 (ca. 1507–1508)	*Paschalis*

[1] For completeness one should mention the fragment of the mass *Je ne demande* in the manuscript fragment 'Mod E' identified in L. LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 213–227.

Table 2. Source distribution of Alexander Agricola's cantus firmus masses.

Missa Paschalis[6] is preserved in three scribe B sources: JenaU 22, VerBC 756 and VienNB 1783. Each of these includes a Credo that is liturgically superfluous in the context of an Easter mass. But whereas the movement transmitted in VienNB 1783 is at least by Agricola – one of his two settings on *Je ne vis oncques* – the other two sources give a setting drawn from Isaac's *Missa Tmeiskin was jonck*. To confuse matters further, VienNB 1783 inserts the *Tmeiskin* Credo amongst the movements of a mass by Brumel. Brumel's mass, significantly, is also based on plainchant; the fact that both Credos are based on secular cantus firmi makes their place in these plainchant masses doubly suspect. To cap it all, VerBC 756 ascribes the Sanctus to Verbonnet – its other ascriptions were probably lost when the manuscript was trimmed for binding. It is curious, to say the least, that three closely related sources should disagree so markedly over a work's ascription and contents. But the implications of this chaotic situation go deeper still: how can such a confused picture emanate from a scriptorium with purportedly close links to the chapel in which Agricola himself worked?

[6] Edition in E.R. LERNER ed., *Alexandri Agricola opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 22), Rome, 1961–1970, 2, pp. ii and 1–22. Further on the different ascriptions, see the corresponding articles in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*: *JenaU 22*, cat. no. 21, pp. 106–109; *VerBC 756*, cat. no. 38, pp. 137–139; and *VienNB 1783*, cat. no. 39, pp. 140–141.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 302

Missa Malheur me bat[7] is transmitted in BrusBR 9126, VienNB 1783, and Petrucci's print (*RISM* A/I/A 431). But as Edward Lerner points out in the commentary of his edition for *CMM*,[8] only Petrucci is a complete copy. The scribe B sources omit both text and music for the phrases *Crucifixus* and *Et resurrexit*, and there can be no question as to the authenticity of the two subsections given in Petrucci. As is mentioned on Table 1, one of the missing sections, the *Et resurrexit*, is transmitted anonymously in the later Alamire source VienNB Mus. 18832. This last detail is suggestive, as will shortly be seen.

But the work that offers the broadest field for source-critical investigation is the *Missa Le serviteur*,[9] preserved not only in the two scribe B manuscripts VienNB 1783 and JenaU 22, but in both Italian sources as well (see Table 3). As regards most details of pitch and duration, each pair of sources is essentially synoptic, although the relationship between Petrucci (*RISM* A/I/A 431) and VatS 23 is somewhat looser. The lie of signature-flats suggests much the same thing: the scribe B sources give a flat in all voices throughout the piece, and for the Kyrie 1, VienNB 1783 adds both a low and a high *e*♭ for the tenor (as will be discussed presently); but the Italian sources have mixed signatures, though they disagree as to their extent. But several other details do not conform to the picture: a second, two-voice canonic Christe is given by two sources on 'different' branches of the stemma: VienNB 1783 has a flat in the signature, and Petrucci does not. In addition, VatS 23 is unique in transmitting a distinct Osanna 2 that fulfils the cursus of the song tenor, in line with the composer's practice in the mass's other movements. The music of this section is identical with that of the second Kyrie, an unusual sectional repeat that finds an echo in several other of Agricola's masses.[10] Thus the prescription of a more usual *Osanna ut supra* in the work's three other sources (including two scribe B manuscripts) is unlikely to be authentic.

VatS 23	**JenaU 22**
♭ signature in some voices, not in others	♭ signature throughout (all voices)
separate Osanna 2 (replicates Kyrie 2)	Osanna *Ut supra*
9 longs rests in tenor, start of *Patrem* (corruption)	9 longs rests in tenor, start of *Patrem* (corruption)
⇑⇑ ↑ **LARGELY SYNOPTIC** ↑ ⇓⇓	⇑⇑ ↑ **LARGELY SYNOPTIC** ↑ ⇓⇓
***RISM* A/I/A 431 (Petrucci 1504)**	**VienNB 1783**
♭ signature in some voices, not in others	♭ signature throughout (all voices) with additional signature flats on *e* and *e'* in tenor, Kyrie 1
alternative canonic Christe (no ♭ signature)	alternative canonic Christe (with ♭ signature)
Osanna *Ut supra*	Osanna *Ut supra*
9 longs rests in tenor, start of *Patrem* (corruption)	9 longs rests in tenor, start of *Patrem* (corruption)

Table 3. Significant variants for Alexander Agricola's *Missa Le serviteur*.

[7] Edition in LERNER, *Alexandri Agricola opera omnia*, 1, pp. 66–104.
[8] Edition in LERNER, *Alexandri Agricola opera omnia*, 1, p. xiv.
[9] Edition in LERNER, *Alexandri Agricola opera omnia*, 1, pp. 1–33.
[10] In the *Missa Je ne demande*, the music of the Agnus Dei 1 is identical with that of the Kyrie 1. His *Missae Primi toni* and *Secundi toni* are both preserved in Petrucci's 1504 print (*RISM* A/I/A 431) with a verbal instruction to sing the text of the threefold Agnus Dei to the music of the entire Kyrie.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 303

On the face of it, these details seem to militate against the notion of two independent branches of a hypothetical stemma; but one final variant reconciles these differences by proving that all four sources are in fact derived from a common ancestor. In the Credo of Agricola's mass, the tenor is notated in O against the 𝔠 of the other voices, implying augmentation of the tenor. In the edition, the tenor enters after thirty-four longs of 𝔠, but all four sources agree in having only nine long rests under O – which yield only twenty-seven longs under 𝔠. The correct notation of those thirty-four bars under O would be eleven long and two semibreve rests – a usage confirmed in other sections of the tenor in this movement. The presence of this common corruption is surprising in itself, but for our purposes it seriously undermines the authority of the scribe B sources, which must lie at one remove at least – and, as I suspect, probably more – from the archetype. What then of the notion that these sources were compiled "under the eyes of the composer" who is "known to have had personal contact" with them – to quote the editors of the Agricola and La Rue *Opera omnia*?[11] The positive identification of these manuscripts with the Netherlands court rests on little more than circumstantial evidence. As the identification of Martin Bourgeois with scribe B is at best unproven,[12] that evidence is limited to the destination of BrusBR 9126 to Philip the Fair.[13] Slim pickings indeed, and further weakened by the sources themselves, whose readings in no way favour the notion that the scriptorium that produced them had close links either with the court or with its musicians.

Before exploring the implications of this last suggestion for the scribe B and Alamire complexes, I would like to examine further the question of signature flats in the *Missa Le serviteur*, with reference to the Kyrie 1 (Example 1). I have already mentioned the conflicting practice of the two recensions, Bourgeois on the one hand and VatS 23 / Petrucci (*RISM* A/I/A 431) on the other. These pose a conundrum with regard to Dufay's song, which appears to have been conceived with a signature of two flats in all three voices. Although there is some disagreement among the song's sources,[14] Johannes Tinctoris tacitly indicates that he accepts the two-flat signature interpretation –

[11] LERNER, *Alexandri Agricola opera omnia*, 4, p. i; and DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, 6, p. xxvi. The last comment is especially interesting, given that in the same breath the editors of La Rue's masses note that "[the reading in BrusBR 9126 for the *Missa Sub tuum presidium*] lacks the reliability one might expect from a source with which La Rue is known to have had personal contact" (loc. cit.).

[12] See most recently H. KELLMAN, art. *Alamire, Pierre*, in SADIE & TYRRELL, *The New Grove*, 1, pp. 273–275, which merely mentions the identification as a possibility. The identification of scribe B with Martin Bourgeois rests on only a few documents which neither allow a positive identification of the books of polyphony mentioned with the scribe B complex, nor specify the precise nature of Bourgeois' involvement in the compilation of these manuscripts, whether as scribe, head of a workshop, or simple go-between. Two of these documents were first published in E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La Musique au Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle, documents inédits et annotés, compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs nationaux, académies; maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc. avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 8 vols., Brussels, 1867–1888 (repr. 8 vols. in 4, with a new introduction by E.E. LOWINSKY, New York, 1969), 7, p. 150. D. FIALA, *Le mécénat musical des ducs de Bourgogne et des princes de la maison de Habsbourg*, Ph.D. diss., Université de Tours, 2002 (forthcoming with Brepols), 1, pp. 124–125, and 2, pp. 320–321, 329–330, 334–337 and 342, gives all the entries relating to Bourgeois – some of them not mentioned by Vander Straeten. I thank Dr. Fiala for furnishing these references and discussing his findings with me.

[13] Although certain manuscript dedicatees, those of VienNB 1783 or JenaU 22 for example, also have royal or noble connections suggestive of exchanges with the Burgundian court, the putative social class of some others – those of the Chigi Codex, VerBC 756 or the Basevi Codex – does not allow so strong an inference. The assumption that these manuscripts were commissioned at or by the court to honour Philip's fellow monarchs or to reward trusted servants is precisely that: an assumption.

[14] The source-distribution is set out in G. THIBAULT and D. FALLOWS eds., *Le Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*, Paris, 1991, pp. cvi–cvii. See also D. FALLOWS, *Le serviteur of Several Masters*, in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, Kassel, 1997, 1, pp. 337–345.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 304

he refers to the song's tenor as being of the irregular (i.e., transposed) first mode.[15] Turning to Agricola's mass, it has already been mentioned that the sources hardly agree as to the number and extent of signature flats.

The most extreme instance of disagreement has already been alluded to: for the tenor of Kyrie 1, VienNB 1783 has not only a *b*♭ signature, but both a low and high *e*♭ as well. This is the only instance of a two-flat signature in any of the sources, for the entire mass – and the discrepancy here between VienNB 1783 and the other scribe B source, JenaU 22, is particularly significant.[16] None of the sources ever has more than one flat in the signature, but they all agree in having written *E*♭s at certain points, most notably when the beginning of phrase 2 of Dufay's tenor is stated – as happens at in the tenor at bar 13 of the Kyrie. Not only is there reason to think that the reading of the signature flats in VienNB 1783 is correct in this instance (witness the resulting avoidance of a tritone clash with the discantus at bar 17), there are also concrete indications that a two-flat signature may have been envisaged for at least some of the other voices (as is proposed in Example 1). The bassus of Kyrie 1 has an ostinato figure which is more easily recognised if an additional signature-flat – on *e* – be placed before it: this figure replicates the first Kyrie of the plainsong mass *Orbis factor*, also a first-mode piece, here twice transposed by Agricola, just as Dufay transposes the Dorian of *Le serviteur*. In bar 13 the *e*♭ is strongly implied by the tenor's notated *e*♭', and by the contra's *b*♭; and elsewhere in the bassus, a reading of the pitch *e* as flat is consistently plausible. At bar 9, it actually prevents a tritone clash with a *b*♭ in the discantus.

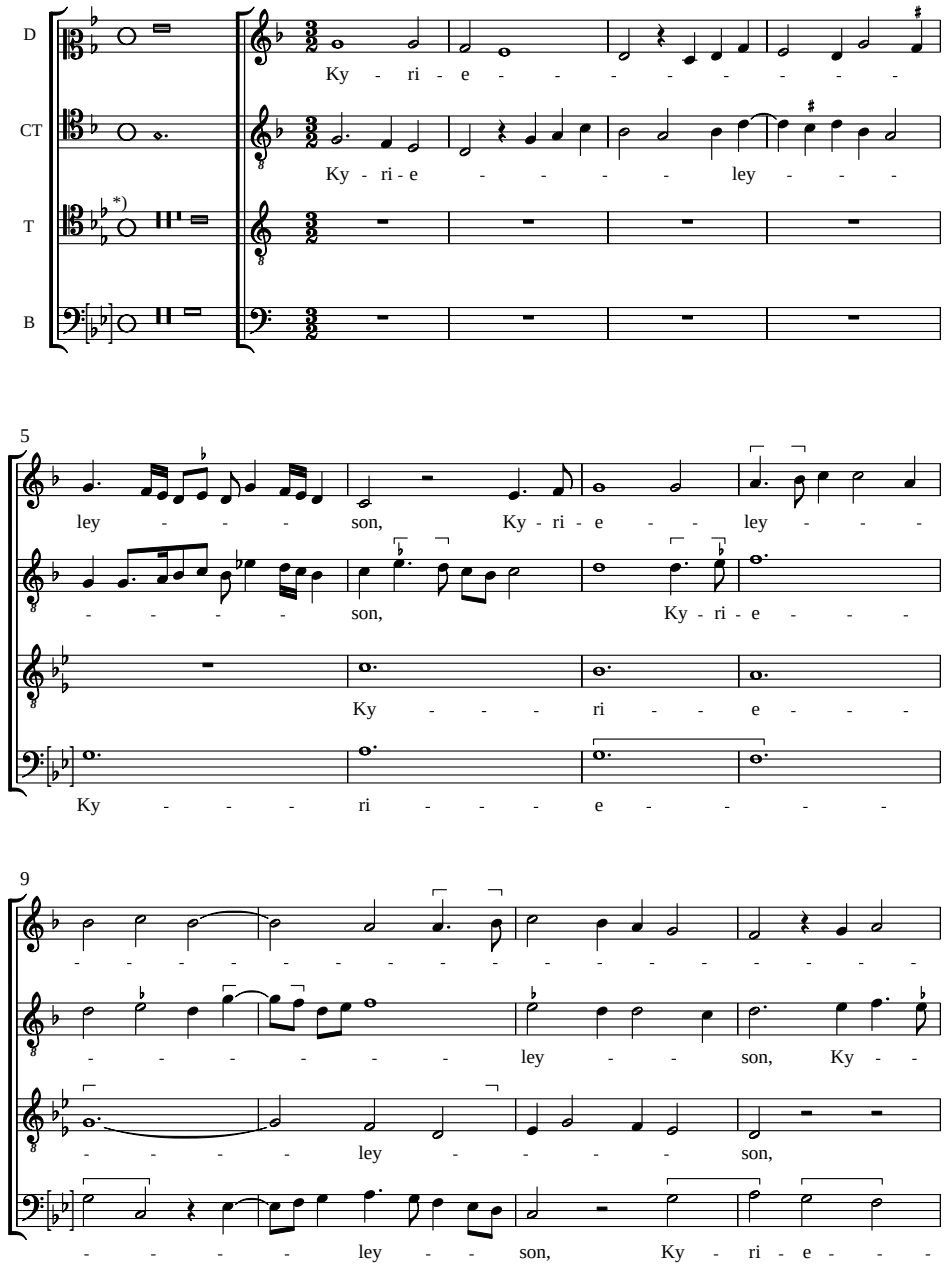
The next question to arise from the identification of the *Orbis factor* quotation is whether one ought to flatten occurrences of the pitch *A* as well, in order to bring the bassus into line with the flat-sign before the original plainsong's second pitch (*B*). Here one runs into difficulties: the contra's notated *e*♭ at bar 5 appears to call forth another in the next bar, which tends to support an interpretation of the bassus's *a* as flat; but the discantus's *e* in bar 6 negates this (and arguably also the flattening of the contra's *e* immediately preceding it), since it is difficult to construe it as anything other than *e*♮. At bar 10 the discantus's *a'* obviously prevents one from flattening the *a* in the bassus, as does the octave *d*/*d'* in bar 12, and the contra's *a*s in bar 14. Just as the contrapuntal details support the interpretation of the bassus's *e*s as flat, so do they consistently negate the interpretation of its pitch-class *A*s as natural.

It appears that Agricola is exploring the implications of Dufay's two-flat signature in this passage. It is striking that the song *Le serviteur* avoids any inclination towards *A*♭s until its very last phrase. In other words, it is cast very nearly in pure Dorian, and one is tempted to regard Agricola's (rather unorthodox) setting of *Orbis factor* as pure Dorian as a commentary on the song's modal situation, perhaps something of an in-joke. Joke or not, it is just the sort of subtlety that one might expect to get lost in the retelling, and it may be that this aspect of the mass had already fallen victim to 'generational loss' (or had at any rate become seriously garbled) by the time the common ancestor of the extant sources came to be copied. What is plain is that the scribe B manuscripts are as inconsistent – both individually and together – as the mass's other sources.

[15] A. SEAY ed., *Johannis Tinctoris opera theoretica*, (*Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 22), Rome, 1975, 1, pp. 85–86.

[16] JenaU 22 has a flat in front of the *e'* at bar 13 of the tenor, but the sign can only apply to that pitch, since no other *e'*s occur in that voice in the Kyrie 1; neither is there is any signed flat in that voice before the several instances of the pitch *e* an octave lower.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 305



*) VienNB 1783 only

Example 1. Alexander Agricola, *Missa Le serviteur*, Kyrie 1.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 306

To return to the main point, the Kyrie 1 of *Le serviteur* reinforces the contention that the scribe B manuscripts can claim no special authority as sources of Agricola's music, despite their proximity to the composer in both time and place. From this one must conclude that scribe B and his associates may not have enjoyed so close an association with the Burgundian court chapel as has traditionally been supposed. I would like to conclude with another suggestion, of which I have so far been dropping broad hints. As we have seen, the source-distribution of Agricola's music heavily favours scribe B over Alamire. Earlier I referred to the suggestion that the absence of any substantial representation of the composer's work after circa 1507–1508 may be simply explained by his death. In favour of this interpretation is the observation that the life span and representation of both Josquin and La Rue – the two composers most strongly featured in the Netherlands court complex – encompasses both the scribe B and the Alamire corpuses. But I do not find this argument entirely convincing. Petrus Alamire is very specifically described as *escripvain de livres de musique* at the Netherlands court as early as 1503, and Flynn Warmington has suggested that the earliest of his scribes, known as C, was active at the court as early as the first decade of the century.[17] So it is at least possible that the activities of the scribe B and Alamire scriptoria overlapped – even though there appear not to be any extant Alamire sources earlier than circa 1510. No, Agricola's death is not the whole answer. The apparent cessation of the activities of scribe B and his associates is susceptible to other interpretations.

It was mentioned earlier in passing that Mouton is more strongly represented than Agricola overall; but remarkably, the pattern of his source-distribution is the mirror-image of Agricola's. It is entirely confined to the Alamire sources; the single motet contained in the Chigi Codex is agreed to have been a later addition.[18] Agricola and scribe B versus Mouton and Alamire: a pattern begins to take shape. A slightly more complex one may be observed in the source-distribution for the masses of La Rue (see Table 4). The scribe B sources transmit a total of nine masses – all of them for four voices – three of which are not found in Alamire sources; and it is easy to agree with Herbert Kellman that these works represent the bulk of La Rue's mass production up to circa 1508.[19] A further twenty-one masses are found only in Alamire sources. But the most intriguing figures of Table 4 concern the six masses common to both groups. The average number of extant copies for those masses exclusive to Alamire – including fragments, of which we can assume that they were once complete – is about four copies per mass; but the average number of Alamire copies of the masses common to scribe B and Alamire is less than two copies per mass. So there is (again) a significant falling-off in the distribution of works from scribe B to Alamire. A few additional figures *not* culled from the law of averages suggest that this falling-off is more drastic than the 4:2 ratio suggests. First, whereas several of the masses exclusive to the Alamire group survive in as many as seven copies, none of those common to scribe B and Alamire is found in more than two Alamire sources. Second, the five scribe B mass volumes between them transmit thirteen copies altogether of the masses common to both groups; by contrast, the more than forty Alamire mass manuscripts transmit only eleven.

[17] F. WARMINGTON, *A Survey of Scribal Hands*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 41–46, esp. p. 43. A facsimile of the entry of 1503 concerning Alamire is published in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, p. 16.

[18] H. KELLMAN, *The Origins of the Chigi-Codex: The Date, Provenance and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiana, C.VIII.234*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 11 (1958), pp. 6–19, esp. 6–7; and H. KELLMAN ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: MS Chigi C VIII 234* (*Renaissance Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 22), 1986, p. ix.

[19] See KELLMAN, *JenaU 22*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 21, p. 107.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 307

Number of undisputed masses (in *CMM* 98): 30
'Average number' of mass copies in scribe B and Alamire corpuses: = $\frac{\text{total number of masses}}{\text{total number of copies}}$

DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER	AVERAGE NUMBER	MASS TITLES
Masses preserved **only in scribe B sources**	3 (of which 8 copies)	2.7	*L'homme armé* (4 vv.) *Nunca fue pena maior* (4 vv.) *O sacer Anthoni* (4 vv.)
Masses preserved **only in Alamire sources**	21 (of which 87 copies)	4.1	*Alleluia* (5 vv.) *Ave Maria* (5 vv.) *Ave sanctissima Maria* (6 vv.) *Conceptio tua* (5 vv.) *De feria* (5 vv.) *De Sancta Anna* (4 vv.) *De sancta cruce* (5 vv.) *De Sancto Job* (4 vv.) *De septem doloribus* (5 vv.) *De virginibus* (4 vv.) *Incessament* (5 vv.) *Inviolata* (4 vv.) *Ista est speciosa* (5 vv.) *O gloriosa Domina* (4 vv.) *O salutaris hostia* (4 vv.) *Pascale* (5 vv.) *Pro fidelibus defunctis* (4 vv.) *Sancta Dei genitrix* (4 vv.) *Sine nomine* (4 vv.) *Tandernaken* (4 vv.) *Tous les regretz* (4 vv.)
Masses **common to scribe B and Alamire**, of which:	6		*Almana* (4 vv.) *Assumpta est Maria* (4 vv.)
Copies in **scribe B** sources	13	2.2	*Cum iocunditate* (4 vv.) *De beata virgine* (4 vv.)
Copies in **Alamire** sources	11	1.8	*Puer natus est* (4 vv.) *Sub tuum presidium* (4 vv.)

Table 4. Distribution of Pierre de la Rue's mass settings in Netherlands court sources.

Here it is worth recalling those two mass sections missing from the scribe B recensions of Agricola's *Missa Malheur me bat*. For although scribe B appears not to have had access to these sections, Alamire was able to include one of them in his collection of *bicinia*, the aforementioned VienNB Mus. 18832.[20] Hence his exemplar for this mass – which may not have included the rest of the work, but could have been drawn from an earlier collection of *bicinia*, no longer extant – must have been different from scribe B's, in that respect at least. What if the two scriptoria whose productions we know as the 'Netherlands court complex' were in reality separate, perhaps quite unconnected institutions, each with its own agendas, possibly drawing upon different sources for their exemplars?

[20] See E. JAS, *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 18832 (VienNB Mus. 18832)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, cat. no. 51, pp. 164–165. The terminal dates for this manuscript are given there as 1515–1534, which places it several years after the cessation of scribe B's activities.

hfst Fitch 12-11-2003 13:49 Pagina 308

In view of the distinctness of their respective repertories, it is surprising that the possibility appears not to have been considered.

To be sure, these data are open to conflicting interpretations. Several suggestions were made in the discussion following the delivery of this paper: first, that Agricola's death (and the cessation of scribe B's activities) coincided with a change in fashion, including an increased preference for masses for five voices or more – hence the absence of Agricola's music from the newer repertory. But I would observe that although the masses by La Rue preserved in scribe B sources are all for four voices, so are the majority of those transmitted in the Alamire sources – seventeen out of twenty-seven, to be precise. Another suggestion was that Agricola's death also coincided with Philip the Fair's own demise, and that in the reorganisation that followed – entailing changes of personnel and, possibly, of repertory – Agricola's music was lost sight of. But one cannot assume that repertorial decisions were taken by anyone but the chapel singers themselves; besides, a change of personnel does not necessarily entail a change in repertory. Finally, this last hypothesis is predicated on the notion that the repertories of the court chapel and scriptorium were closely related; and it has been precisely my point that such an assumption ought not to be taken as Gospel.

The evidence of the lone mass *bicinium* from VienNB Mus. 18832 reinforces once again the notion of scribe B's lack of authority in the matter of Agricola's masses, and prompts us to confront a number of questions. The conflation of Netherlands court, scriptorium and chapel, which has been implicitly accepted by modern scholarship, may not have been so straightforward. What exactly was the relationship between the scribes and the chapel, as distinct, perhaps, from the court in general? How tenable is the notion that Alamire 'succeeded' scribe B at the head of a single, homogeneous institution? Did the scriptorium / scriptoria possess a degree of autonomy in relation to the court? Might not Alamire's privileged access to the Netherlands court – which, unlike scribe B's, is amply documented – have resulted in more reliable readings than scribe B was able to muster?[21] In the absence of clearer documentary evidence, the details of Agricola's source-distribution (*inter alia*) are a stark reminder that these questions must remain open.

[21] These questions are to some extent interrelated. Interestingly, the above-mentioned entry of 1503 concerning Alamire specifies that the manuscript of polyphony (the object of the transaction) was commissioned by the duke specifically for the chapel's use – a marginal note by the first chaplain Nicole Mayoul confirms its receipt into the chapel holdings. This indicates a link between Alamire and the chapel itself. I thank David Fiala for bringing these details to my attention. All the court documents pertaining to Alamire are most recently set out in E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, pp. 15–27.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 309

PETRUS ALAMIRE UND DIE *MISSA FORS SEULEMENT* VON MATTHAEUS PIPELARE*

Vincenzo Borghetti
Università degli Studi di Pavia, Cremona

Die *Missa Fors seulement* von Matthaeus Pipelare kennt man aus neun Handschriften, von denen drei, die aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts stammen, in der Werkstatt des Petrus Alamire kopiert wurden. Die Quellen sind in Tabelle 1 aufgelistet.[1] Die ersten drei wurden im niederländischen Hofskriptorium von Petrus Alamire im Zeitraum zwischen 1515/1516 und 1534 hergestellt. An die bisherigen Hypothesen der Musikwissenschaft zu ihrer Datierung sei hier nur kursorisch erinnert. Für MechAS s.s. hat man eine Zeitspanne zwischen 1508–1519 vermutet. Es ist oft vermutet worden, diese Handschrift dürfte 1511 kopiert worden sein, da es Dokumente gibt, daß Kaiser Maximilian in jenem Jahr Alamire beauftragte, zwei Chorbücher anzufertigen. Diese Tatsache kann kein sicherer Beleg für die Datierung von MechAS s.s. sein: Andere Alamire-Codices als MechAS s.s. können in diesem Dokument gemeint sein.[2] Aufgrund der Miniaturen und der Wappen, die sich im Chorbuch selbst befinden, hat Flynn Warmington die Jahre 1515/1516 als wahrscheinlichere Entstehungszeit der Handschrift angegeben.[3] Die Forschung hat für JenaU 2 das Jahr 1512 als Terminus post quem vorgeschlagen; der Terminus ante quem bleibt aber immer noch offen: 1525[4] oder 1518.[5] Über MontsM 766, vermutlich im Zeitraum zwischen 1516–1534 entstanden, ist man auch nicht besser informiert. Kellman bringt diese Handschrift mit einer Bezahlung

* Eine ausführlichere Behandlung der hier besprochenen Probleme kann man finden in meiner Dissertation *Da Ockeghem a Pipelare: i percorsi del rondeau "Fors seulement"*, Phil. Diss., Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale, Università di Pavia – Cremona, a.a. 1999–2000, und in meinem Aufsatz *Il manoscritto, la messa, il giovane imperatore: la messa Fors seulement di Pipelare e la politica imperiale della Casa D'Austria*, in *Imago Musicae*, 20 (2003), im Druck. An dieser Stelle möchte ich Dr. Michele Calella und Frau Carola Hefele für ihre Hilfe bei der sprachlichen Gestaltung der deutschen Fassung danken.

[1] Wenn nicht anders angegeben, sind alle Informationen über die Handschriften aus C. HAMM und H. KELLMAN edd., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 Bde., (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988. Für die Alamire-Handschriften vgl. H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999.

[2] Das erwähnte Dokument ist die Bezahlung vom Januar 1511, jetzt auch in E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 17. Herbert Kellman hat neulich diese Datierung widerlegt und hat gezeigt wie andere Alamire-Handschriften (z.B. BrusBR 15075 und BrusBR 6428, MontsM 773) die Bedingungen dieses Dokumentes besser als MechAS s.s. erfüllen. Vgl. H. KELLMAN, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 15075 (BrusBR 15075)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 5, S. 74–75.

[3] F. WARMINGTON, *A Master Calligrapher in Alamire's Workshop: A Chronology of His Work*, in *Abstracts of Papers Read in the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society at Ann Arbor 1982*, Philadelphia, 1982, S. 21; F. WARMINGTON, *Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, MS s.s. (MechAS s.s.)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 23, S. 112–113.

[4] K.E. ROEDIGER, *Die geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, (*Claves Jenenses* 3), 2 Bde., Jena, 1935, 1, S. 39–40.

[5] H. KELLMAN, *Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2 (JenaU 2)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 11, S. 84–85. Über die Alamire-Handschriften im Besitz von Friedrich dem Weisen siehe auch J. HEIDRICH, Art. *Jena, Musikhandschriften*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2., neubearb. Ausg., Sachteil, 4, Kassel – Basel, 1996, Sp. 1451–1454.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 310

von Margarete von Österreich an Alamire im Jahre 1524 in Verbindung.[6] Die Quellen präziser zu datieren, scheint eine höchst schwierige Aufgabe zu sein, da Belege fehlen, sich für diese oder jene Möglichkeit eindeutig zu entscheiden. Trotzdem bietet sich die Chance, zumindest die Reihenfolge der Ingrossierung der einzigen *Missa Fors seulement* zu rekonstruieren. Die Frage 'Wo taucht die *Missa Fors seulement* zum ersten Mal auf?' setzt nicht ein steriles Streben nach 'Ursprung' voraus, sondern stellt den Versuch dar, mit einer nahen Betrachtung der Quellen, die *impasse* einer vagen Datierung – wenn auch für ein einziges Stück – zu umgehen. Nach den genannten Jahresangaben könnte die *Missa Fors seulement* sogar fast gleichzeitig in die drei Handschriften kopiert worden sein – die Zeitspanne 1516–1518 ist nämlich allen diesen Vorschlägen gemeinsam. Es soll hier versucht werden, alle erwähnten Hypothesen durch eine quellenkritische Studie entweder zu bestätigen oder zu widerlegen. Ausgangspunkt dieses Versuches ist die Mechelener Handschrift (MechAS s.s.).

Trotz der nicht geringen Anzahl an Wappen und an Illuminationen hat das Mechelener Chorbuch (MechAS s.s.) der Forschung, sowohl in Bezug auf die genaue Bewertung der Wappen als auch auf die Bedeutung seiner Miniaturen, Schwierigkeiten bereitet. So wurde auf eine genauere Datierung und, hauptsächlich, auf eine Interpretation des kulturellen Kontextes, in dem die Handschrift hergestellt wurde, verzichtet. Dank ihrer Position als Eröffnungsstück und auch der Kostbarkeit ihrer Buchmalerei, hat die *Missa Fors seulement* die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf sich gezogen. Ihre ersten zwei Seiten wurden mit einer aufwendigen Dekoration geschmückt, die äußerlich der normalen Praxis der Alamire-Handschriften entspricht: eine größere historisierende Miniatur auf Folio 1v (Cantus) und vier kleinere (die ersten zwei ebenfalls auf Folio 1v, die anderen auf Folio 2r), die, auf die anderen Stimmen verteilt, nur Wappen zeigen: Österreich und Altburgund (Tenor 1 und 2; beide mit einer herzoglichen Krone), Portugal und Ungarn, letzteres mit Habsburg-Burgund geviert (Contra und Bassus; beide mit einer königlichen Krone).[7] Die gemeinten Bezugspersonen, auf die sich die Wappen beziehen, wurden bereits nach unterschiedlichen Kriterien mit jenen Gestalten verbunden, die in der größeren Miniatur dargestellt werden. Dieses Verfahren ist jedoch nicht systematisch angewendet worden, häufig wurden wohl aus Verlegenheit einige bedeutende Details unterschlagen. Deswegen hat sich dieses Bild bis jetzt einer überzeugenden Deutung entzogen, so daß das Problem noch offen bleibt.[8]

[6] H. KELLMAN, *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 766 (MontsM 766)*, und *Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 773 (MontsM 773)*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 24 und 25, S. 114–115. Die Bezahlungen an Alamire finden sich in SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire*, S. 21, 24–25.

[7] Die Deutung des ersten und vierten Viertels des Wappens bei der Bassus-Stimme als Spanien ist in der Beschreibung von Flynn Warmington zu finden; siehe WARMINGTON, *MechAS s.s.*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, Kat. Nr. 23, S. 112. Diese Interpretation ist nicht nachzuvollziehen und die Autorin selbst hat dies im nachhinein bestätigt (freundliche Mitteilung). Sie auch deutet die besagten Teile des Wappens als Ungarn, dessen Farben sich im Laufe der Zeit chemisch verändert haben: Die Farben Silber und Rot haben sich irgendwie in Gold und Schwarz verwandelt. Das wird auch von H. Installe (Leiter des Mechelener Archivs) behauptet (freundliche Mitteilung). Die Interpretierung als Wappen Ungarns war schon in M. DEBAE, *De librije van Margareta van Oostenrijk*, (*Catalogi van tentoonstellingen georganiseerd in de Koninklijke bibliotheek Albert I*, C217, *Europalia 87 Österreich*), übs. A. DEROLEZ, Brüssel, 1987, S. 152. Die Beschreibung der Heraldik in diesem Katalog ist aber nicht immer zuverlässig: Das gleiche Wappen wird innerhalb von wenigen Zeilen in zwei verschiedenen Weisen anders gedeutet. Es bleibt aber immer noch unklar, warum sich die selben Farben in den anderen zwei Vierteln eben dieses Wappens nicht verwandelt haben.

[8] Das ist auch der Fall von den Wappen auf Folio 2r: Warmington berücksichtigt das portugiesische Wappen in ihrer Beschreibung nicht; Van der Heide erwähnt das ungarisch-habsburgische nicht. Eine neulich vorgeschlagene Hypothese zur Interpretation der Miniatur findet man bei K.D. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek aan het Bourgondisch-Habsburgse Hof als spiegel van het laat-middeleeuwse wereldbeeld*,

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 311

ALAMIRE-HANDSCHRIFTEN	
Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. s.s.	MechAS s.s.
Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2	JenaU 2
Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 766	MontsM 766
ANDERE QUELLEN	
Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare, Ms. X (um 1520–1530)[I]	ModD 10
Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Cappella Sistina 16 (um 1512–1517)[II]	VatS 16
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Mus. 40091 (um 1516)[III]	BerlS 40091
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Ms. 510 (1513–1519)[IV]	MunBS 510
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelsammlung, Ms. Mus. C (um 1543–1544)[V]	MunBS C
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog Augustbibliothek, Ms. Guelferbytanus A Augusteus 2° (um 1519–1520)[VI]	WolfA A

[I] D.E. CRAWFORD, *Vespers Polyphony at Modena's Cathedral in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*, Phil. Diss., University of Illinois, 1967, S. 62–63.
[II] Siehe J. DEAN, *The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel 1501–1527*, Phil. Diss., University of Chicago, 1984, S. 226.
[III] Siehe M. STAEHELIN, *Zum Schicksal des alten Musikalien-Fonds von San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom*, in *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 3 (1970), S. 120–127.
[IV] Siehe H. HELL, *Senfls Hand in den Chorbüchern der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, in *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1987), S. 124–129; M. BENTE, M.L. GÖLLNER, H. HELL und B. WACKERNAGEL, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften 1. Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung*, (*Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen*, 5/1), München, 1989, S. 252–253; R. BIRKENDORF, *Der Codex Pernner. Quellenkundliche Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, (*Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Sammlung Proske, Ms. C 120*), (*Collectanea Musicologica*, 6), (Phil. Diss., Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1992), Augsburg, 1994, 1, S. 104–107.
[V] Siehe U. KONRAD, A. ROTH und M. STAEHELIN, *Musikalischer Lustgarten. Kostbare Zeugnisse der Musikgeschichte, Katalog der Ausstellung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 5. Mai bis zum 1. Dezember 1985*, Wolfenbüttel, 1985, S. 62–65.
[VI] Siehe BENTE & GÖLLNER, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, S. 58–59.

Tabelle 1. Die Quellen der *Missa Fors seulement* von Matthaeus Pipelare.

Die Szene auf Folio 1v (siehe Abbildung 1) zeigt einen auf einem Thron sitzenden jungen Mann mit Rüstung, Szepter, Schwert, Hermelinmantel und Ordenskette des Goldenen Vlieses. Am Thronhimmel hängt das österreichisch-burgundische Wappen. An seiner Seite sitzt ein junger Mann (links auf einem kleinen Thron), an der anderen eine junge Frau (rechts auf der Wiese); im Vordergrund sitzen drei Mädchen auf der Wiese. Alle Sitzenden bilden einen Kreis, in dessen Mitte ein Hund liegt. Zwei Gruppen, jeweils von drei stehenden Personen, flankieren die Szene; die erste Figur beider Gruppen hält eine Schriftrolle mit Sprüchen: *Domine refugium factus est nobis a generationem* [sic] *in generatione* und *Domine in servos tuos et in opera tua dirige filios eorum*, beide aus dem 89. Psalm. Über dem Thron sieht man einen Doppeladler, der eine kaiserliche Krone über seine Köpfe hält, das österreichische Wappen auf der Brust, ein Schwert in einer Hand und drei *fleurs-de-lys* in der anderen. Am Thronhimmel hängt auch ein Spruch: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos*, aus dem 16. Psalm.

Phil. Diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998, S. 133–135; mit einigen Veränderungen auch K.D. VAN DER HEIDE, *De symboliek in de handschriften: een dieperliggende betekeniswereld. Het Mechels koorboek als voorbeeld*, in E. SCHREURS ed., *De schatkamer van Alamire. Muziek en miniaturen uit Keizer Karels tijd*, Leuven, 1999, S. 67–71.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 312

Die Unsicherheit der Forschung hinsichtlich der Identität des sitzenden Mannes – Maximilian I. oder sein Enkel Karl – liegt wohl an der allegorischen Geschlossenheit der Szene selbst. Dabei hat die Rolle des Doppeladlers, Symbol des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, stark dazu beigetragen, die Situation unklar zu machen. Die Identifizierung mit Maximilian, die der Adler rechtfertigen könnte, erweist sich als problematisch, weil hier des Kaisers Motto fehlt und weil der Adler nicht im Wappen erscheint, sondern als ein Teil der Szene selbst. Bei der *Missa Pascale* von de la Rue, ebenfalls in der Mechelener Handschrift (MechAS s.s., fol. 17r), ist eine Miniatur zu finden, in der Maximilian eindeutig als Auftraggeber dargestellt ist. Hier erscheint der Doppeladler in seinem Wappen und ferner ist im Pflanzenwerk sein Motto *Halt Mas in allen Dingen* zu lesen. Wie Warmington kürzlich wieder unterstrichen hat, handelt es sich in MechAS s.s., fol. 1v, nicht um Maximilian, sondern eher um Erzherzog Karl, der von seinen Geschwistern umgeben ist:[9] Sein jüngerer Bruder Ferdinand sitzt auf dem kleinen Thron, seine ältere Schwester Eleonore an seiner linken Seite; Maria, Caterina und Anna – ohne genauere Identifikation – im Vordergrund.[10] In der Zeit, als diese Miniatur realisiert wurde, war Karl noch nicht zum Kaiser gewählt, deswegen durfte er den Doppeladler nicht in seinem Wappen tragen. Die von Warmington vorgeschlagene Datierung um 1516 könnte daher sehr plausibel sein. Zu jener Zeit trug Karl alle Titeln, die im Wappen am Thronhimmel geschildert werden, aber seine Erbfolge auf den kaiserlichen Thron war jedoch noch nicht gesichert. Abgesehen von anderen Details – zum Beispiel das die Abwesenheit von Karls Motto *Plus oultre* – ist aber das Jahr 1516 schwierig mit dem portugiesischen Wappen auf Folio 2r zu vereinbaren. Dieses Wappen könnte auf die Trauung von der älteren Karls-Schwester Eleonore mit Emanuel, König von Portugal, zurückgeführt werden, die erst 1519 stattfand, aber bereits im Jahre 1517 beschlossen wurde.[11] Damit könnte noch eine genauere Datierung vorgenommen werden, da diese Illumination die beschlossene Trauung als Terminus post quem voraussetzt.[12]

Schon die Entscheidung, eine Messe über einem weltlichen Tenor mit einer aufwendigen Miniatur zu versehen, erweist sich als höchst bemerkenswert. In den Alamire-Handschriften sind nämlich solche Messen sehr selten mit Illuminationen verziert und wenn ja, dann meistens nur mit Wappen – vergleiche Barbireaus *Missa Faulx perverse* und Weerbekes *Missa Princesse damorette*

[9] Die Identifizierung mit Erzherzog Karl wurde schon vorgeschlagen in M. KAPP, *Musikhandschriften am Hof der Margarete von Österreich. Herstellung, Inhalt und Ausstattung*, in *Muziek aan het Hof van Margareta van Oostenrijk*, (*Jaarboek van het Vlaams Centrum voor oude muziek*, 3), 1987, S. 22. Van der Heide plädiert immer noch für die Identifizierung mit Maximilian und deutet die Miniatur als eine Allegorie von Maximilian als allmächtige Vater; siehe VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek*, S. 133–135, und VAN DER HEIDE, *De symboliek*, S. 67–71.

[10] In dieser Weise wäre der gesamte Nachwuchs der Familie Habsburg in der Szene abgebildet. Wenn auf dem Thron Maximilian sitzen würde, entstünden noch Probleme mit der Identifizierung der Sitzenden. Abgesehen von anderen Schwierigkeiten wäre die Anzahl seiner Enkelkinder immer zu klein und Ferdinand, der zweite Erbe, würde im Gegensatz zu seinen jüngeren Schwestern immer fehlen. Bezüglich der Stehenden ist die Forschung immer einig gewesen: Es handelt sich um die Stände (sowohl die kirchlichen als auch die Laienstände), die dem Herrscher huldigen.

[11] Am 8. September 1517 reiste Karl mit Eleonora nach Portugal und Spanien. Siehe darüber K. BRANDI, *Karl V.*, München, 1932, S. 66–78. Das portugiesische Wappen ist auch nicht mit dem vom Habsburg-Burgund quadriert: Man kann sich die Frage stellen, ob dieses ein Zeichen für eine noch nicht stattgefundene Trauung sein könnte.

[12] Das portugiesische Wappen wird von Van der Heide mit der Mutter von Maximilian – Eleonore von Portugal – in Verbindung gebracht, was hier sehr unwahrscheinlich zu sein scheint, vgl. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek*, S. 135. Das Wappen vom Ungarn-Habsburg ist auf die Wiener Doppelheirat vom 1515 zwischen Habsburgern und Jagellonen zurückzuführen.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 313

Abbildung 1. MechAS s.s., fol. 1v.

in VienNB 1783.[13] Eine zusätzliche Besonderheit dieser Miniatur liegt wohl in ihrem weltlichen Stoff, der weder einen liturgischen noch einen theologischen Gehalt in sich birgt. Nun stellt sich die Frage, wer was beeinflußt hat. Die Tatsache, daß es sich hier um eine Messe über einem weltlichen Tenor handelt, hätte das Bildprogramm beeinflussen können. Ferner ist noch unklar, was eigentlich eine melancholische Chanson wie *Fors seulement* mit einer Miniatur derartigen Charakters zu tun hat. In diesem Fall glaubt der Verfasser nicht, daß die Messe die Miniatur bestimmt hat, sondern umgekehrt. Die bereits vorhandene Messe über die berühmte Chanson wurde für ein politisches Programm umfunktionalisiert, das aus der malerischen Ausstattung zu eruieren ist. Wie

[13] Vgl. Bonnie Blackburns Aufsatz in diesem Jahrbuch. Ich bedanke mich bei der Autorin, die mich anregte, die engen Beziehungen zwischen buchmalerischer Ausstattung und der Messe zu vertiefen und mir auch das Manuskript ihres Beitrages zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 314

schon festgestellt, ist das Mechelener Chorbuch (MechAS s.s.) in den Jahren kurz vor dem Tode Maximilians entstanden, als die Wahl Karls als sein Nachfolger noch nicht gesichert war. Die größte Gefahr stellten die Bestrebungen Franz' I. von Frankreich zum Kaisertum dar, welche die dynastischen Projekte Maximilians zu vereiteln drohten.[14] Die *fleurs-de-lys*, die der Adler in der Hand trägt, könnten eine deutliche Anspielung auf den französischen König sein und das ganze Bild eine Allegorie der Macht des österreichischen Hauses, welches Frankreich – genau wie der Adler die Lilien – in seiner Gewalt hat. Die Botschaft der Miniatur wird von der Rubrik im Tenor 1 entschlüsselt. Vor den Ordinarium-Worten ist das Incipit der ursprünglichen Chanson mit einer kleinen Veränderung eingetragen worden: *Fors seulement l'atente que ie demeure*, 'Vielleicht auch nur die Erwartung, daß ich bleibe', anstatt *Fors seulement l'atente que ie meure*.[15] Gemeint ist hier die Hoffnung, daß die kaiserliche Krone, trotz der Intrigen von Franz I., beim Haus Österreich bleibt.[16] Das österreichische Wappen ist außerdem mit dem Tenor 1 verbunden: Die *fons et origo* des polyphonen Komplexes verkörpert in der Musik das Kernland der Familienmacht. Gemäß der Miniatur hätte die Erbfolge an den kaiserlichen Thron Erfolg gehabt, sowohl mit der Unterstützung der Familie, die Karl mit Treue verbunden war,[17] als auch mit der Zustimmung der kirchlichen und weltlichen Stände – die sechs stehenden Figuren.

Die Stellung dieser Messe und deren politisch-allegorischen Miniaturen am Anfang der Handschrift kann nicht lediglich ein Zufall sein, sondern muß wohl nach einem genauen Wunsch des habsburgischen Hofes – und für denselben Hof – mit diesem Programm hergestellt worden sein. Die ästhetische Perfektion der Alamire-Handschriften bedarf kaum noch einer Unterstreichung. Die Annahme, daß die Schönheit des Buches – als prunkvoller Gegenstand – eine entsprechende Qualität des musikalischen Textes mit sich bringt, erweist sich aber als eine fragwürdige Simplifizierung, deren Voraussetzung zu prekären Ergebnissen führen könnte. Das gilt besonders für die Prachthandschriften, die nicht primär – oder nicht nur – aus musikalischen Gründen entstanden sind. Mit der qualitativen Diskrepanz oder Übereinstimmung zwischen Inhalt und Träger in Bezug auf die *Missa Fors seulement* wird man sich in den nächsten Seiten befassen.

Das Verfahren, mit dem eine Handschrift für die Ingrossierung präpariert wurde, dürfte mehr oder weniger bekannt sein.[18] Im großen und ganzen könnte man nur daran erinnern, daß es sich, vor allem bei Prachtcodices, um eine genau geplante Arbeit handelte, wobei die Lagen für bestimmte Stücke vorbereitet wurden. Bei der *Missa Fors seulement* begegnet man in MechAS s.s. stets ähnlichen Situationen. Für Schmuckinitialen sowie für Cadellen wurde Platz ausgespart. Wer mit dem

[14] Siehe BRANDI, *Karl V.*, S. 82–102; vgl. auch M. RADY, *The Emperor Charles V*, London 1988, S. 25–33.

[15] Die Veränderung im Chanson-Text ist prägnant und gleichzeitig schlicht, und als solche manchmal von der Forschung übersehen worden, wie z.B. bei G. CAMMAERT, *De muziek aan het Hof van Margareta van Ostenrijk*, in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 24 (1980), S. 94, wo die Rubrik 'korrekt' wiedergegeben wird. Van der Heide beschreibt die drei Lilien als einen Olivenzweig (vgl. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek*, S. 133), Symbol der 'Barmherzigkeit und Gerechtigkeit', dann korrekt als drei *fleurs-de-lys*, aber die symbolische Bedeutung bleibt dieselbe (vgl. VAN DER HEIDE, *De symboliek*, S. 70).

[16] Das wird auch vom Spruch am Thronhimmel nochmals unterstrichen: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos*. Die Erwähnung oder die Paraphrase dieser Zeile aus dem 16. Psalm als Allegorie vor allem der kaiserlichen Macht ist im ganzen Mittelalter sehr häufig, wie man aus Dantes *Göttlichen Komödie* (*Paradies*, VII, Vv. 7–9, wo Kaiser Justinian über das Reich spricht) ersehen kann: *... e sotto l'ombra de le sacre penne / governò 'l mondo di lì di mano in mano*.

[17] Der Hund ist ein Symbol der Familientreue. Vgl. darüber P. GERLACH, Art. *Hund*, in E. KIRSCHBAUM ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Rom, 1970, 2, Sp. 333–336.

[18] Vgl. J. KIEL, *An Introduction to the Scribes and Their Methods*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, S. 39–40.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 315

Rastral gearbeitet hatte, wußte, daß es sich bei der *Missa Fors seulement* um einen fünfstimmigen Satz handelt, und hatte die Stimmen wie üblich auf die Seiten verteilt: drei auf das Verso (Superius, Tenor 1 und 2) und zwei auf das Recto (Contratenor und Bassus). Bei dem Agnus 2 ist aber etwas Merkwürdiges passiert (siehe Abbildung 2). MechAS s.s. hat hier einen dreistimmigen Satz, der in dieser Form unvollständig ist. Daß dieses Agnus Dei vierstimmig ist, entnimmt man sowohl dem Vergleich mit anderen Quellen, die dieses Stück überliefern, als auch rein musikalischen Indizien. Eine legitime Frage ist nun, warum in MechAS s.s. die oberste Stimme fehlt. Ein materieller Schaden in der Vorlage ist auszuschließen, ansonsten wären die unmittelbar davor und danach geschriebenen Sätze ebenso lückenhaft eingetragen worden. Der Verfasser glaubt eher, daß derjenige, der für die Rastratur verantwortlich war, hier einen Fehler gemacht hat. Er hat die Seiten für einen vierstimmigen Satz vorbereitet, hat aber keinen Platz an der richtigen Stelle für den ersten Tenor frei gelassen. Selbstverständlich hätte Alamire die fehlende Stimme eintragen können, das aber wäre sozusagen auf Kosten der Reinheit des 'Layouts' geschehen. Nirgendwo in MechAS s.s. schreibt Alamire Cadellen auf das Notenliniensystem, sondern sie sind immer in dem für sie ausgesparten Platz zu finden. Auch der beträchtliche Platz, den die pausierende Stimme in Anspruch nimmt, scheint diesen Verdacht zu bestätigen. In keinem anderen Fall wird ein *tacet* so platzaufwendig geschildert. Die Vermutung, daß man allen anderen Aspekten die ästhetische Schönheit und die äußere Reinheit des Notenbildes sowie des Buches überhaupt hat voranstellen wollen, setzt voraus, daß nicht nur die Qualität, sondern auch die Funktion des musikalischen Textes in Handschriften solcher Art in Frage gestellt werden kann. Noch unklar ist, was in MechAS s.s. betont wird: der Inhalt oder die kunstvolle Ausstattung? Man könnte sich fragen, ob Alamire an einer so exponierten Stelle eine so wich-

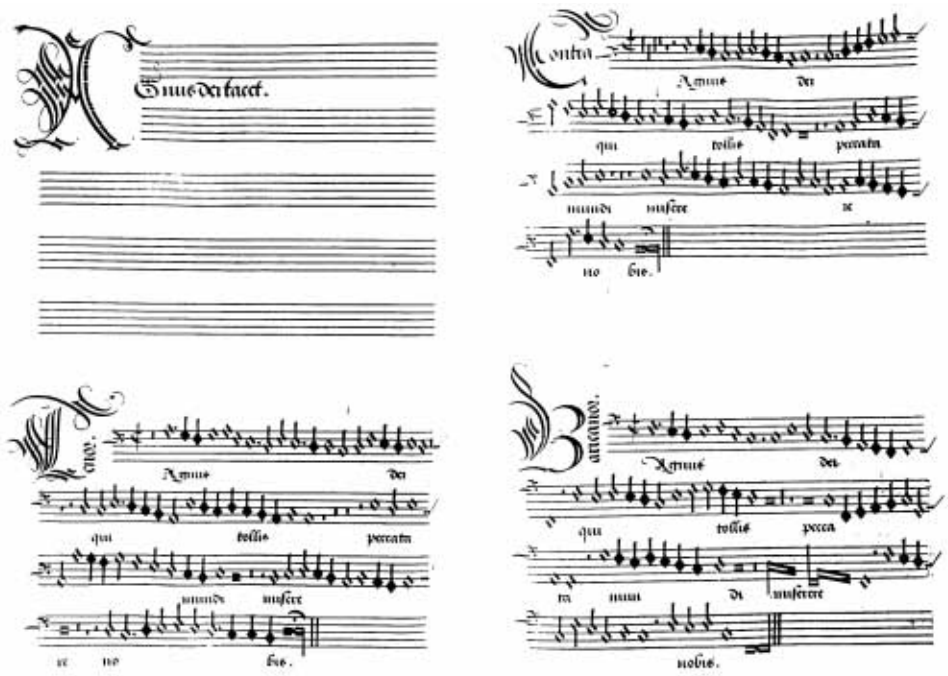


Abbildung 2. Matthaeus Pipelare, *Missa Fors seulement*, Agnus 2, MechAS s.s., fol. 13v–14r.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 316

tige Korrektur vorgenommen hätte. Denn es gibt Stellen in dieser Handschrift, wo der musikalische Text vom Kopisten verbessert wurde. Soweit es noch sichtbar ist, handelt es sich um folgende Einzelheiten: Einmal wurde der Schlüssel verbessert (fol. 3r, Contra), zweimal eine falsche Pause (fol. 8r und 11r, Bassus), und eine falsche Minima wurde in eine Semibrevis umgeändert (fol. 12v, Tenor 2). Es sind immer Kleinigkeiten, die man durch beschränkte Erasuren hätte verbessern können und die tatsächlich verbessert wurden. Sie hätten außerdem selbst einem aufmerksamen Auge nicht leicht auffallen können.

Auch einen Fehler im musikalischen Text hätte ein aufmerksames Auge nicht leicht merken können. Beim Agnus 3, in der Contra-Stimme am Takt 36, hat MechAS s.s. *A G F* statt *F E D*; damit würden zwei Parallelquinten mit dem Bassus entstehen (*D-A/C-G*) und Paralleloktaven mit dem Superius (*F-E/F-E*). Der Text ist offenbar falsch, aber 'offenbar' nur, wenn man seine Überprüfung unternommen hätte: Der ungeschickte Verstoß gegen die Kontrapunktregeln wirkt sich stark auf den musikalischen Komplex aus, nicht im geringsten jedoch auf das 'Layout'.

In Alamires Werkstatt wurde Pipelares *Missa Fors seulement*, soweit man weiß, noch zweimal kopiert: in JenaU 2 und in MontsM 766. Anders als in MechAS s.s. sind hier keine historisierenden Miniaturen zu finden. Zierinitialen mit Grotesken schmücken die ersten zwei Seiten der Messe in JenaU 2, nur Cadellen in MontsM 766. In JenaU 2 sind die Stimmen auch anders verteilt: Der Tenor 1 befindet sich ausnahmsweise auf dem Recto, aber nur für das erste Kyrie. Wenn man alle drei Handschriften vergleicht, fallen einige Details auf: (1) In JenaU 2 ist die Rubrik mit dem Chanson-Incipit 'korrekt' eingetragen worden: *Fors seulement l'atente que je meure*.[19] JenaU 2 wurde für Friedrich den Weisen von Sachsen hergestellt, daher wäre das veränderte Chanson-Incipit in dieser Handschrift ohne den politischen Hintergrund und die allegorische Miniatur sowie mit einem anscheinend neuen Auftraggeber völlig kontextlos gewesen.[20] (2) In JenaU 2 ist das zweite Agnus eliminiert worden. (3) Im Agnus 3 bleibt der Fehler am Takt 36, sowohl in JenaU 2 als auch in MontsM 766, an seiner Stelle.

Die Anwesenheit des Fehlers im Agnus 3 in den drei Alamire-Handschriften bedeutet, daß alle von einem gemeinsamen Exemplar stammen, in dem dieser Fehler schon vorhanden war. Die Tatsache, daß das Agnus 2 in MechAS s.s. unvollständig ist, könnte für eine direktere Verbindung dieser Quelle und JenaU 2 sprechen, weil das Fehlen dieses Satzes in JenaU 2 mit dessen problematischer Überlieferung in MechAS s.s. zusammenhängen könnte. Der Schreiber könnte die Unvollständigkeit der dreistimmigen Fassung in MechAS s.s. erkannt haben und deswegen das Agnus 2 in JenaU 2 einfach nicht eingetragen haben – diese Vermutung wäre durchaus plausibel, da MechAS s.s. allem Anschein nach die älteste aller diesen Handschriften ist.[21] MontsM 766 müßte hingegen direkt auf das gemeinsame Exemplar zurückgreifen, wie das Vorhandensein des vollständigen Agnus 2 – zum einzigen Mal bei den Alamire-Handschriften[22] – vermuten läßt.[23]

[19] In MontsM 766 beschränkt sich die Rubrik auf *Fors seulement*.

[20] Oder hatte Karl den kaiserlichen Thron schon bestiegen. Daher müßte man für die *Missa Fors seulement* in JenaU 2 eine spätere Datierung als 1518 vermuten.

[21] Das Mechelener Chorbuch (MechAS s.s.) ist am selben Orte geblieben, wo es kopiert wurde und war deswegen für Alamire mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit leicht zugänglich.

[22] Das Agnus 2 wird selten überliefert und befindet sich vollständig in MontsM 766, ModD 10 und BerlS 40091.

[23] In Bezug auf andere Messen weisen MechAS s.s. und MontsM 766 ein gemeinsames Antigraph auf, wie zum Beispiel im Fall de la Rues *Missa de sancta cruce*. Vgl. N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER und T.H. KEAHEY edd., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/3), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1992, S. xiv–xvii.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 317

Der Unterschied zwischen JenaU 2 und MontsM 766 ist meiner Meinung nach kein bloßer Zufall in der Überlieferung: Er kann sich hingegen als Folge des unterschiedlichen Status beider Quellen erweisen. Alamire hat anscheinend in JenaU 2 nur vertuscht, was in MechAS s.s. offensichtlich nicht in Ordnung war, wobei das Wort 'offensichtlich' noch eine Erklärung braucht. Anders als das unvollständige Agnus 2 hätte sich der Fehler im Agnus 3 als 'offensichtlich falsch' nur dann entschleiern können, hätte man direkt aus der Handschrift musiziert. Man steht nun wieder den obengestellten Fragen gegenüber: In wiefern stimmt die ästhetische Präzision mit der des musikalischen Inhalts überein und in wiefern ist diese Diskrepanz eine Folge der Funktion, für welche die Handschriften hergestellt wurden? MonstM 766 ist zum größten Teil eine Papierhandschrift und bezüglich der *Missa Fors seulement* ohne jegliche buchmalerische Dekorierung.[24] Ihre kalligraphische Reinheit entspricht nicht derjenigen einer Prachthandschrift und ist deswegen kaum mit der von MechAS s.s. oder JenaU 2 zu vergleichen. Trotzdem ist sie die einzige Alamire-Quelle, die die *Missa Fors seulement* zumindest lückenlos enthält. Könnte also ihre Zweckbestimmung – als Chorbuch im engeren Sinne – die Ursache sowohl für ihre kursorische Ingrossierung als auch für ihr Streben nach Vollständigkeit sein?[25]

Die Eigenschaften der Handschriften des Petrus Alamire können besser begriffen werden, wenn man sie im Rahmen der ganzen Tradierung betrachtet. Wie schon am Anfang angedeutet, ist die *Missa Fors seulement* in neun Handschriften überliefert. Nach einer systematischen Kollationierung ist man in der Lage, anhand der gefundenen Fehler die Quellen zu gruppieren. Die bedeutungsvollsten Fehler sind in Tabelle 2 aufgelistet. Aus dieser partiellen Liste ersieht man, daß einige Fehler nur in den deutschen und römischen Quellen auftauchen. Das kann für eine Gruppierung

SATZ	FEHLER	QUELLEN
Patrem, Contra, T. 14	*E* statt *D*	VatS 16 BerlS 40091
Et resurrexit, Superius, Contra, T. 184–185	*peccatorum* statt des richtigen *et expecto*	MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C VatS 16* BerlS 40091
Agnus 3, Bassus, T. 20	+ semibrevis *A*	BerlS 40091 WolfA A MunBS C
Agnus 3, Contra, T. 36	*A G F* statt *F E D*	MechAS s.s. JenaU 2 MontsM 766

* In VatS 16 wurde das ursprüngliche *et expecto* durchstrichen und der richtige Text oben eingetragen.

Tabelle 2. Leitfehler in der Überlieferung der *Missa Fors seulement* von Matthaeus Pipelare.

[24] MontsM 766 enthält 173 Folios; 13 davon (fol. 6–18, M. Forestier, *Missa Baise moy*) sind aus Pergament, die restlichen aus Papier. Vgl. KELLMAN, *MontsM 766*, und *MontsM 773*, in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus* Alamire, Kat. Nr. 24 und 25, S. 114–115.

[25] Der Text, den der Codex von Montserrat überliefert, ist reich an eigenen zusätzlichen Fehlern, die typisch für ein nicht sorgfältiges Abschreiben sind (Dittographie, Haplographie und Noten, die irrtümlich eine Stufe hoher oder tiefer geschrieben wurden).

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 318

dieser Handschriften in einer eigenen Abzweigung der Tradierung sprechen: Alle diese Handschriften haben einen gemeinsamen Subarchetypus.[26]

Mit den Fehlern kommt man aber nicht weiter voran. Sie waren zwar bei einer Gruppierung behilflich, die nur im großen und ganzen skizziert ist, sie erweisen sich jedoch in diesem konkreten Fall als weniger aufschlußreich. MechAS s.s., JenaU 2 und MontsM 766 bilden eine Abzweigung per se, die römisch-kaiserlichen Quellen eine andere. ModD 10 bleibt immer isoliert. Um die Stellung dieser späten Handschrift in der Tradierung zu verstehen, sind andere Informationen aus der Kollationierung aufschlußreich gewesen. Es handelt sich um die sogenannten 'nicht substantiellen' Varianten – Abweichungen, welche die Struktur nicht antasten, sondern sozusagen auf der 'Oberfläche' wirken. Sie sind vor allem: (1) die Klauselformeln, und (2) die rhythmische Form des Tenors. Es ist ein riskantes Unterfangen, Schlüsse über Merkmale zu ziehen, die einfach dem Geschmack sowie der Gewohnheit der Kopisten zugeschrieben werden können. Ihre absichtliche Unterschätzung könnte aber den Verlust wichtiger Informationen mit sich bringen. Die Anwendung einer Art Klauselformeln, sowie längerer oder kürzerer Notenwerte auf einer gleichen Tonhöhe, könnte die Aufgabe eines Notisten gewesen sein, der für eine bestimmte Institution Musikhandschriften lieferte. Dennoch ist seine modernisierende Einstellung in Bezug auf die 'nicht substantiellen' Aspekte keine Conditio sine qua non des Kopierens und ihre Voraussetzung könnte leicht zu paradoxen Ergebnissen führen.

KLAUSELFORMELN

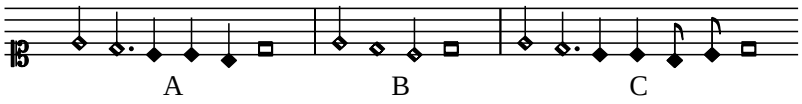
In einem Aufsatz von 1981 machte Winfred Kirsch auf die häufige Uneinigkeit der Quellen in den Klauselformeln aufmerksam und stellte sich die Frage, ob die Ersetzung einer Formel durch eine andere ein Leitfaden für die Textkritik hätte sein können oder ob diese Varianten lediglich quellentypisch seien und daher in dieser Hinsicht weniger nützlich. Im Mittelpunkt seiner Forschungen stand die Unterterzklausel, die sogenannte 'Landino-Klausel'. Diese Kadenzformel galt bereits in den ersten Jahrzehnten des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts als veraltet und wurde oft durch Leittonklauseln oder durch Mischformen ersetzt, welche die Züge der älteren mit jenen der moderneren verbinden.[27] Obwohl die Tendenz, die alte Form durch die neuere zu ersetzen, sich im Laufe des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts immer deutlicher zeigt, ist es höchst problematisch, die An- oder Abwesenheit der Landino-Klauseln als generell geltendes Prinzip für die Quelleneinordnung zu betrachten. Dennoch könnte eine ausgeprägte Vorliebe zur Landino-Klausel in einer späten Handschrift immer noch eine konservative Einstellung des Kopisten seiner Vorlage gegenüber vermuten lassen. Kirsch folgend hat man hier die Kadenzformeln der Messe von Pipelare in Betracht genommen. In Notenbeispiel 1 befinden sich drei Klauselformeln aus der Messe: eine Landino-Klausel (Form A), eine Leittonklausel (Form B), und eine Mischform (Form C).[28]

[26] Damit könnten die engen Beziehungen zwischen der päpstlichen und der kaiserlichen Kapelle in den Jahren 1513–1519 anhand der gleichen Lesarten eine zusätzliche Bestätigung finden. Diese Beziehungen zwischen beiden Institutionen wurden neulich in Bezug auf den 'Pernner Codex' von Rainer Birkendorf unterstrichen, vgl. BIRKENDORF, *Der Codex Pernner*, 1, S. 147–153.

[27] W. KIRSCH, *Unterterz- und Leittonklauseln als quellentypische Varianten*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, (*Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, 1; *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 6), München, 1981, S. 167–179.

[28] Die Form 'C' ist eine Spezialität von ModD 10 und ist immer dort zu finden, wo zumindest eine der Alamire-Handschriften dei Form 'A' aufweist. Nur beim *Christe*, T. 39, stehen ModD 10 und MontsM 766 allein gegen den Rest der Tradierung, es handelt sich dabei (wie am Takt 40) sicher um ein *lapsus calami* – eine Dittographie – der hier nicht diskutiert werden soll.

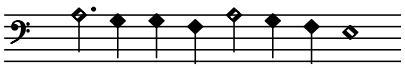
hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 319



Notenbeispiel 1. Landino-, Leitton- und 'Mischform'-Klauseln in Matthaeus Pipelares *Missa Fors seulement.*

Tabelle 3 schematisiert wie die Quellen mit der Landino-Kadenz umgehen. Die Landino-Klauseln sind in den einzelnen Codices so verteilt: 18 in MechAS s.s.; 20 in ModD 10; 12 in JenaU 2; 5 in MontsM 766; 3 in den restlichen. Aus der Tabelle geht deutlich hervor, daß die Landino-Klausel fast nur ausschließlich in den Alamire-Codices und in ModD 10 auftaucht. Die Handschriften aus Deutschland oder aus Rom weisen sie nur drei Mal auf. Der Umgang der Quellen mit der Landino-Klausel ist also nicht inkonsequent: Auf einer Seite gruppieren sich die Codices von Alamire und ModD 10, auf der anderen die römisch-kaiserlichen. Es bleibt aber zu sehen, ob der Anwendung verschiedener Klauselformeln eine musikalische Logik zugrunde liegt oder ob sie eine bloße Alternative sind, deren Einfügung oder Eliminierung dem Geschmack der Kopisten völlig überlassen war.

Das Mechelener Chorbuch (MechAS s.s.) ist nicht nur eine Quelle, die eine große Anzahl von Unterterzklauseln aufweist, sondern eine, die diese Klauseln mit einer einigermaßen erkennbaren Funktion verwendet. In dieser Handschrift tauchen sie an jenen Stellen auf, wo die kontrapunktische Textur weniger dicht wird und wo die Stimmen auf zwei oder drei reduziert werden (siehe Tabelle 3: Nr. 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20). Manchmal ist sie mit einer rhythmisch-melodischen Auszierung gekoppelt (siehe Notenbeispiel 2: Nr. 4, 6, 8, 17), wodurch sich "ihr Einsatz als melodisch und rhythmisch belebende... Figur" erweist.[29]



Notenbeispiel 2. Landino-Klausel gekoppelt mit der charakteristischen Auszierung.

Es ist diesbezüglich sehr bezeichnend, daß im Agnus 3 – wo alle Stimmen rhythmisch sehr lebhaft sind und der Cantus firmus sich mit gleichen Notenwerten wie die anderen Stimmen bewegt – keine Unterterzklausel vorkommt.[30] Wie man aus der Tabelle ersehen kann, sind diese Klauseln unterschiedlich in der Überlieferung verteilt. Die römisch-deutschen Quellen weisen sie drei Mal auf; auch die Alamire-Handschriften sind sich darüber nicht einig. ModD 10 hat davon eine größere Anzahl. Hier kann man darauf hinweisen, daß die Unterterzklausel immer an jenen Stellen vorkommt, wo sie in MechAS s.s. – oder zumindest in einem Chorbuch niederländischer Herkunft

[29] KIRSCH, *Unterterz- und Leittonklauseln*, S. 171.

[30] Es handelt sich nicht um ein systematisches Verfahren. Im Sanctus und *Pleni*, die fast nur aus Bicinien oder Tricinien bestehen, kommt auch keine Landino-Klausel vor.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 320

S = Superius, *C* = Contra, *T* = Tenor, *B* = Bassus

	FORM A: LANDINO-KLAUSEL	**FORM B: LEITTONKLAUSEL**	**FORM C: MISCHFORM**
Kyrie			
(1) *Christe*, 30, B	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s.	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	ModD 10
(2) *Christe*, 39, T2	MontsM 766 ModD 10	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A	
(3) *Christe*, 40, T2	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 ModD 10	MechAS s.s. VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A	
(4) *Christe*, 42, T2	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. MontsM 766 ModD 10 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C		
(5) *Kyrie 2*, 21, S	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. MontsM 766 ModD 10 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C		
Gloria			
(6) *Et in terra*, 16, C	MechAS s.s. ModD 10	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(7) *Et in terra*, 34, S	JenaU 2 ModD 10	MechAS s.s. MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(8) *Et in terra*, 71–72, T2	MechAS s.s. ModD 10	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 321

(9) *Qui tollis*, 7–8, T2	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(10) *Qui tollis*, 36, S	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(11) *Qui tollis*, 66, S	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
Credo			
(12) *Patrem*, 24, T2	MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(13) *Patrem*, 33–34, C	MechAS s.s.	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	ModD 10
(14) *Patrem*, 69, B	MechAS s.s. ModD 10	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(15) *Patrem*, 73, C	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	MontsM 766 ModD 10	
(16) *Patrem*, 94, B	MechAS s.s. MontsM 766 ModD 10	JenaU 2 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(17) *Et resurrexit*, 26, S	MechAS s.s. ModD 10	JenaU 2 MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 322

(18) *Et resurrexit*, 64, S	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
(19) *Et resurrexit*, 78, T2	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
Sanctus			
(20) *Benedictus*, 46, T2	JenaU 2 MechAS s.s. ModD 10	MontsM 766 VatS 16 BerlS 40091 MunBS 510 WolfA A MunBS C	
Agnus Dei			
(21) *Agnus 1*, 30, T2	MechAS s.s. ModD 10 6	MontsM 76 BerlS 40091	

Tabelle 3. Landino-, Leitton- und 'Mischform'-Klauseln in Matthaeus Pipelares *Missa Fors seulement*.

– vorkommt.[31] Ihre Anwesenheit – selbst in den Handschriften, welche die Leittonklausel bevorzugen – ist nicht ein kreativer Eingriff des Kopisten in den musikalischen Text, sondern das Beibehalten von etwas, das in der Tradierung schon vorhanden ist. Daher ist die hohe Anzahl von Landino-Klauseln in ModD 10 nicht eine Folge einer lokalen Praxis, sondern der Vorlage. In dieser Hinsicht hat ModD 10 vieles mit MechAS s.s. gemeinsam, wobei die Treue dem Notat gegenüber nicht einen blinden und sklavischen Respekt vor der Vorlage voraussetzt: Der Kopist des Modenaer Chorbuches (ModD 10) behält mit den Unterterzklauseln die musikalische Logik bei, die ihnen zugrunde liegt. Dieser Schreiber hat nämlich nur sehr selten diese Art Klauseln verwendet: Abgesehen von der Messe Pipelares, sind in der ganzen Handschrift insgesamt fünfzehn solcher zu finden.[32] Der Unterschied ist doch frappierend, wenn man denkt, daß nur die *Missa Fors seulement* im Modenaer Chorbuch zwanzig Landino-Klauseln aufweist. In dieser Quelle sind auch Stücke, in denen keine Unterterzklausel auftaucht: ein sechsstimmiges *Requiem* von Richafort und eine vierstimmige Messe von Appenzeller. Der Schreiber der Modenaer Handschrift ist in der Messe Pipelares in Bezug auf die Klauseln sehr konservativ. Bei den Werken de Silvas in den Modenaer Chorbüchern mußte hingegen Kirsch genau das Gegenteil feststellen.[33] Die Anwesenheit dieser Klausel an jenen Stellen spricht für eine enge Beziehung von ModD 10 mit den Handschriften niederländischer Herkunft.

[31] Abgesehen von den Nummern 2 und 3, die zwei *lapsus calami* sind; siehe Fußnote 28.

[32] Abgesehen von Pipelares *Missa Fors seulement* enthält ModD 10 die folgenden Stücke: eine Messe von Appenzeller, eine von Bauldewyn, ein *Requiem* von Richafort, drei Ordinarium-Sätze von de Silva und ein anonymes *Agnus Dei*. ModD 10 wurde von einem einzigen Schreiber kopiert, dessen Hand sich auch in vielen anderen Chorbüchern des Modenaer Domarchivs findet. Siehe darüber CRAWFORD, *Vespers Polyphony at Modena's Cathedral*, S. 62–63 und *passim*.

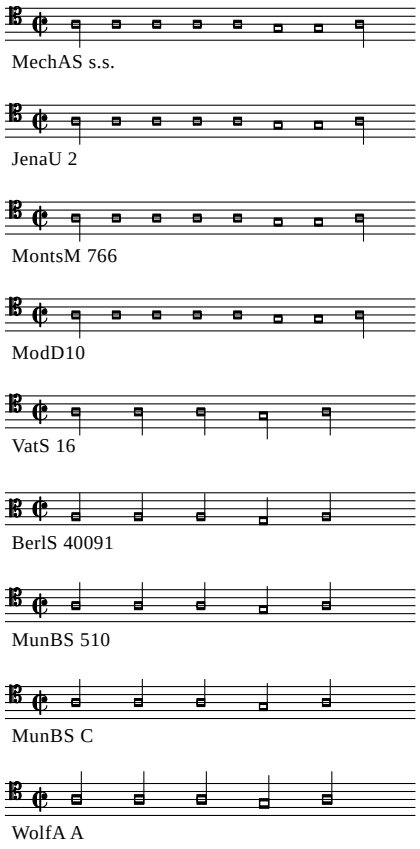
[33] KIRSCH, *Unterterz- und Leittonklauseln*, S. 174–176.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 323

DIE FORM DES TENORS

In der *Missa Fors seulement* wird der Tenor der gleichnamigen Chanson wörtlich zitiert, nur eine Oktave tiefer: Alle Sätze, abgesehen vom *Pleni sunt coeli* und vom Benedictus, wo der Tenor schweigt,[34] zitieren im Tenor 1 den Tenor der Chanson. In Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus und Agnus 1 ist die Melodie mit verdoppelten Notenwerten verwendet. In Osanna, Agnus 2 und Agnus 3 sind die Notenwerte halbiert, wobei nicht immer systematisch. In Notenbeispiel 3 wird das Incipit vom Tenor 1 aus dem Sanctus gezeigt, wie es in den Alamire-Handschriften zu lesen ist (Systeme 1–3). Dann folgen die Fassungen der anderen Quellen.

Schon beim ersten Blick sieht man deutlich eine wesentliche Einheit zwischen Alamire und ModD 10 auf einer Seite und den römischen und deutschen Quellen auf der anderen. Die Form des Tenors in der ersten Gruppe zeigt außerdem eine große Ähnlichkeit mit der ursprünglichen Chanson (wie sie in den niederländischen Quellen überliefert wird), vor allem am Anfang der Sätze sowie der Unterabschnitten. Wo MechAS s.s., JenaU 2, MontsM 766 und ModD 10 den deklamatorischen Verlauf der Chanson beibehalten, weisen die anderen Quellen eine Zusammenfassung in längeren Tönen – Longen statt Breven – auf. Die charakterisierenden Merkmale, die das Modell sowohl für die Augen, als auch für das Ohr erkennbar machten, werden dadurch verschleiert. In der römisch-deutschen Tradierung verliert der Cantus firmus seine typische Züge zugunsten einer uncharakteristischen Tonfolge, die nur eine blasse Spur ihres Ursprungs erkennen läßt. Es ist zu vermuten, daß das Beibehalten der Rhythmik der Chanson lediglich die Folge der Anpassung des Ordinarium-Textes zu den Noten ist. Das könnte für alle anderen frei erfundenen Stimmen durchaus möglich sein, nicht aber für den Tenor, der ein Modell mit einem eigenen rhythmischen Verlauf zitiert. Bei der Überlieferung niederländischer weltlicher Werke im Pernner Codex (RegB C120) hat Birkendorf diese Tendenz der Verschmelzung von aufeinander folgenden Noten auf den gleichen Tonhöhen als typisches Charakteristikum der deutsch-kaiserlichen Quellen gezeigt, die "[ein] weiteres Indiz für die bereits absehebare Verwendung des 'Pernner Codex' durch einen Instrumentalisten" sein könnte.[35] Etwas Derartiges könnte auch für die Tenor 1-Stimme der *Missa Fors seulement* gelten, die für eine auf die Orgel gedachte Ausführung hätte umgeschrieben sein können. Hinter den langen Tönen, die in VatS 16, BerlS 40091, MunBS 510, WolfA A und MunBS C die ursprüngliche Deklamation unmöglich machen, könnte die Praxis der maximilianischen Kapelle stecken, die Vokalpolyphonie mit der Orgel zu kombinieren.[36]



Notenbeispiel 3. Matthaeus Pipelare, *Missa Fors seulement*, Sanctus, Tenor 1, Incipit.

hfst Borghetti 12-11-2003 13:27 Pagina 324

Wie oben gezeigt sind beide 'nicht substantiellen' Aspekte – Klauseln und Spaltung oder Zusammenfassung der Notenwerte –, die die Struktur des Werkes nicht antasten, in der Überlieferung dieser Messe ein deutliches Element, das die Beziehungen zwischen den Quellen besser verstehen läßt und, was hier wichtiger ist, das die enge Verwandtschaft zwischen ModD 10 und Alamire zeigt. Es sei nur kurz daran erinnert, daß im Jahre 1511 das modenesische Lehnsgut von Papst Julius II. dem Kaiser Maximilian zurückgegeben wurde und daß infolgedessen die Stadt vom kaiserlichen Stadthalter Vitfurst bis 1514 regiert wurde.[37] Trotz ihrer Herkunft und Datierung hat die Überlieferung, auf die ModD 10 sich bezieht, mit der Beziehung zwischen kaiserlicher und päpstlicher Kapelle nichts zu tun. Dadurch steigt also die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß in Modena ein sozusagen 'guter Text' von der Messe aus den Niederlanden seit dem zweiten Jahrzehnt des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts hätte vorhanden sein können. Die Handschrift ModD 10 könnte von einer Vorlage abstammen, die auf das Alamire-Skriptorium zurückgreift, oder ihr könnten ganz andere Vorlagen als Alamire gedient haben. Wenn das Modenaer Chorbuch wirklich nichts mit Alamire zu tun hätte, dann wäre diese Handschrift sozusagen eine 'zweite Stimme aus den Niederlanden', und würde sie dadurch die Qualität und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Alamire-Fassung bekräftigen. Auf jeden Fall bleiben die späte Datierung und die periphere Provenienz dieser Handschrift zwei unerhebliche Aspekte.

Die konzeptuelle Gleichung, die oft der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit mit Quellen zugrunde liegt, wird bei der *Missa Fors seulement* widerlegt: Chronologische und kulturgeographische Nähe bedeuten eine wahrscheinlichere Treue dem 'Autorwillen' (samt der Problematik, die dieser Begriff in dieser Epoche mit sich bringt), die sich in gleichen Lesarten in den Quellen niederschlagen. Diese Gleichung zu postulieren, wäre wie das Ziel mit dem Ausgangspunkt zu verwechseln.[38] Wenn man eine Situation, wie in unserem Fall, vier Jahrhunderte später bewertet, besteht immer die Gefahr, daß die Vergangenheit manchmal täuschend undifferenziert oder zu drastisch differenziert erscheint. Man sollte sich fragen, in wiefern die äußere Gleichzeitigkeit die innere voraussetzt, oder umgekehrt, die innere die äußere.

[34] Das Benedictus ist aber eine Parodie der ursprünglichen Chanson.

[35] BIRKENDORF, *Der Codex Pernner*, 1, S. 151.

[36] Vgl. darüber H.J. MOSER, *Paul Hofheimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister der deutschen Humanismus*, Stuttgart – Berlin, 1929 (Neudruck 1966); R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, 1380–1500, Cambridge, 1993, S. 518–524.

[37] T. SANDONINI, *Modena sotto il governo dei papi*, Modena, 1879, S. 17–23.

[38] Ronald Cross hatte ModD 10 ohne weitere Bewertung als späte und periphere Quelle zur Seite geschoben. Siehe R. CROSS ed., *Matthaeus Pipelare. Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 34), Rom, 1966–1967.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 325

THE MASSES OF JOSQUIN IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BURGUNDIAN-HABSBURG COURT: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Willem Elders
Saint-André-d'Olérargues

Among the manuscripts that belong to the so-called Burgundian-Habsburg court complex, twenty contain works ascribed to Josquin in at least one source (see Table 1).[1] For at least two works, the court complex constitutes the unique source.[2] Besides thirteen motets and thirteen secular works, these compositions comprise fifteen masses and two mass movements (see Table 2). Except for *Ad fugam*, *D'ung aultre amer*, *N'auray je jamais* and *Mater patris*, all of Josquin's masses are represented, and for fourteen cycles his authorship can be established with varying degrees of certainty. Of the eight mass movements that in volume 13 of the *New Josquin Edition* (*NJE*)[3] are securely attributed to Josquin, only two are transmitted in the court complex.

Since the greater part of the mass settings appear in at least two sources of the Netherlands court complex, there is in fact a question of thirty-five different transmissions. Nine of these are anonymous, and two are patently incorrect. Though there is no question of a conflicting attribution, the ascription of the *Missa Allez regretz* to Josquin in JenaU 21 has recently been rejected on stylistic grounds.[4] But it is in particular the ascription in VienNB 11778 of the *Missa Gaudeamus* to Ockeghem that may be called surprising.

It should be noted that the misattributions of the *Allez regretz* and *Gaudeamus* masses occur in manuscripts that were produced in the scriptorium of Alamire. This fact, together with the absence of documents that could suggest some sort of contact between Josquin and the Burgundian-Habsburg court, should make us attentive with respect to our evaluation of the importance of Alamire's manuscripts for the transmission of Josquin's music in general.

As is demonstrated in other articles in this volume, the manuscripts of the court complex have formed the subject of a great variety of investigations. However, the reliability of the musical readings in these manuscripts has never been set in relation to that in other sources of polyphonic music from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. As a matter of fact, such an investigation can only be accomplished through team work, that is, at least, as long as there do not exist critical editions of all the compositions that these manuscripts contain.

[1] VienNB 11883, containing the *Missa Malheur me bat* and the Kyrie and beginning of the Gloria of the *Missa La sol fa re mi*, is generally listed as belonging to the Netherlands court complex. Since the two masses by Josquin are found in fascicles of which the origin is unclear but which are certainly not by Alamire, this manuscript is not taken into account. See B. HUDSON, *A Glimpse into a Scribal Workshop. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 11883*, in A. CLEMENT and E. JAS eds., *From Ciconia to Sweelinck. Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, (*Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1994, pp. 179–214.

[2] These are *Ave mundi spes* in VienNB Mus. 15941 and *A la mort* in FlorC 2439.

[3] B. HUDSON ed., *Mass Movements*, (*New Josquin Edition*, 13), 2 vols., Utrecht, 1999. The other *NJE* volumes referred to in this article are: W. ELDERS ed., *Masses Based on Gregorian Chants*, (*NJE*, 3–4), 2 in 4 vols., Utrecht, 2000–2003; T. NOBLITT and B. HUDSON eds., *Masses Based on Secular Polyphonic Songs*, (*NJE*, 7–9), 3 in 6 vols., Utrecht, 1995–1997; L. LOCKWOOD and J. HAAR eds., *Masses Based on Solmisation Themes*, (*NJE*, 11), Utrecht, 2002.

[4] See NOBLITT, *Masses Based on Secular Polyphonic Songs*, (*NJE*, 7), *Critical Commentary*, pp. 2–10. It should be noted, however, that there is no reason to see – as does Noblitt – in Alamire's activity at the Netherlands court a basis for his familiarity with Josquin's music (see below).

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 326

My article shall give a preliminary report of the recension of some of Josquin's masses. I shall first deal with the three masses and two mass movements for which Alamire's *Liber missarum* VienNB 11778 is the only source among the court complex manuscripts. Further, eight of Josquin's masses are preserved in more than one manuscript of the court complex. Of these settings, I have examined the transmission of the *Ave maris stella*, *Faysant regretz*, *Malheur me bat*, and *Pange lingua* masses, which will be dealt with next.

MS SIGLUM	TITLE	COMPOSER
BrusBR 215–16	*Stabat mater*	anonymous
BrusBR 228	*Plus nulz regretz*	Josquin des Pres
	Entrée suis	anonymous
	Plaine de dueil	anonymous
	Ce pauvre mendiant	anonymous
BrusBR 9126	*Missa Ave maris stella*	anonymous
	Missa Philippus rex Castilie	Josquin
	Missa Malheur me bat	Josquini
	Stabat mater	Josquin
	Huc me sydereo	Josquyn
	Missus est Gabriel	Josquyn
	Gaude virgo	Josquin
BrusBR IV.922	*Missa Pange lingua*	Josquin
FlorC 2439	*Entrée suis*	Josquin
	A la mort	Josquin
	Ce pauvre mendiant	Josquin
JenaU 3	*Missa Faysant regretz*	Josquin des Pres
	Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie	Josquin des Pres
	Missa Ave maris stella	Josquin des Pres
	Missa Malheur me bat	Josquin des Pres
	Missa Sine nomine	Josquin des Pres
JenaU 7	*Missa de beata virgine*	Josquin des Pres
JenaU 21	*Missa Pange lingua*	anonymous
	Missa Allez regretz	Io. de Pratis+
LonBLR 8 G.vii	*Descendi in ortum*	anonymous
	Fama malum	anonymous
	Missus est Gabriel	anonymous
	Dulces exuvie	anonymous
	Absalon fili mi	anonymous
MunBS 34	*Salve regina* a5	Josquin des Pres+
VatC 234	*Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*	Josquyn
	Stabat mater	Josquyn

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 327

VatP 1976–79	*Ave caro Christi*	anonymous
	Descendi in ortum	anonymous
VatS 160	*Missa de beata virgine*	anonymous
VienNB 1783	*Missa Ave maris stella*	Josquin
VienNB 4809	*Missa Pange lingua*	Josquin
	Missa de domina [= BMV]	Josquin
	Hercules ducis Ferrarie	anonymous
	Malhuer me bat	Josquin
	Faysant regretz	anonymous
	Missa Sine nomine	Josquin+
	Missa Ave maris stella	Josquin
VienNB 11778	*Missa super Lhomme arme [super voces musicales]*	Jos. Despres
	Missa Lhomme arme [sexti toni]	Josquin
	Missa Gaudeamus	Ockeghem
	Missa Fortuna desperata	Josquin
	Missa La sol fa re my	Josquin
	Missa Lamy baudechon	anonymous
	[Credo Vilayge II]	Josquin des Pres
	[Credo Chascun me crie]	Josquin des Pres
VienNB Mus. 15495	*Missa Faysant regretz*	Josquin des Pretz
	Missa Une mousse de Biscaye	Josquin des Pretz
VienNB Mus. 15941	*In principio erat verbum*	Josquin
	In exitu Israel	Josquin
	Qui habitat in adiutorio	Josquin
	Salve regina a5	Josquin
	Descendi in ortum	Josquin
	Ave mundi spes	Josquin
	Ave Christe immolate	Noel
	De profundis clamavi a4	Champion
VienNB Mus. 18746	*Plusieurs regretz*	anonymous
	Je me complains	anonymous
	Douleur me bat	anonymous
	Plaine de dueil	anonymous
	Parfons regretz	anonymous
	Du mien amant	anonymous
	Incessament livré suis	anonymous
VienNB Mus. 18832	7 bicinia from	
	[Missa Pange lingua]	anonymous
	[Missa La sol fa re mi]	anonymous
	[Missa Gaudeamus]	anonymous

Table 1. List of manuscripts of the Burgundian-Habsburg court complex with works attributed to Josquin in at least one source.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 328

@ = erroneous attribution

MASS OR MASS MOVEMENT	COMPOSER	MS SIGLUM
Allez regretz	Io. de Pratis+ @	JenaU 21
Ave maris stella	anonymous	BrusBR 9126
	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 3
	Josquin	VienNB 1783
	Josquin	VienNB 4809
De beata virgine	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 7
	anonymous	VatS 160
	Josquin	VienNB 4809
Faysant regretz	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 3
	anonymous	VienNB 4809
	Josquin des Pretz	VienNB Mus. 15495
Fortuna desperata	Josquin	VienNB 11778
Gaudeamus	Ockeghem @	VienNB 11778
3 bicinia only	anonymous	VienNB Mus. 18832
Hercules dux Ferrarie	Josquin	BrusBR 9126
	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 3
	anonymous	VienNB 4809
La sol fa re mi	Josquin	VienNB 11778
1 bicinium only	anonymous	VienNB Mus. 18832
L'ami baudichon	anonymous	VienNB 11778
L'homme armé sexti toni	Josquyn	VatC 234
	Josquin	VienNB 11778
L'homme armé super voces musicales	Jos. Despres	VienNB 11778
Malheur me bat	Josquini	BrusBR 9126
	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 3
	Josquin	VienNB 4809
Pange lingua	Josquin	BrusBR IV.922
	anonymous	JenaU 21
	Josquin	VienNB 4809
3 bicinia only	anonymous	VienNB Mus. 18832
Sine nomine	Josquin des Pres	JenaU 3
	Josquin+	VienNB 4809
Une mousse de Biscaye	Josquin des Pretz	VienNB Mus. 15495
Credo Chascun me crie	Josquin des Pres	VienNB 11778
Credo Vilayge II	Josquin des Pres	VienNB 11778

Table 2. List of masses and mass movements attributed to Josquin in at least one source, found in the manuscripts of the Burgundian-Habsburg court complex.

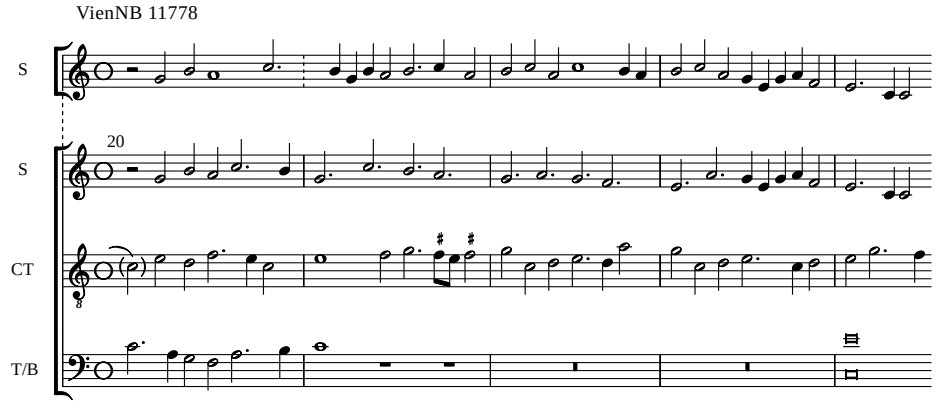
hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 329

THREE MASSES AND TWO MASS MOVEMENTS FROM VIENNB 11778

Of the eleven sources containing the complete text of the *Missa Fortuna desperata* (*NJE*, 8.2), seven are reviewed in the *New Josquin Edition*. One of these is VienNB 11778. Though containing four plain errors, the early VatS 41 has served as the principal source of the edition. The recension shows that, in Alamire's transmission, there are eighteen errors in pitch and rhythm. Only the German manuscript MunBS 3154, with twenty-seven errors, is still more inaccurate. It is interesting that Alamire himself signed a loose page laid into the manuscript, that offers *resolutiones* of the long note values of the cantus firmus for each section of the Credo, with a complete text.

Since VienNB Mus. 18832 contains only three two-part sections of the *Missa Gaudeamus* (*NJE*, 4.2), this source is excluded from my report. The most reliable source for the mass is CambraiBM 18. Probably copied before 1517 for use by the cathedral choir, this choirbook has its origin in a town distant only about twenty miles from Condé-sur-l'Escaut, where Josquin lived at the time it was produced.[5] Its transmission of the *Missa Gaudeamus* shows only two errors.[6] The transmission in VienNB 11778, which may be only ten years younger than CambraiBM 18, contains nineteen errors. Moreover, the mass is here preserved without the second Agnus Dei, erroneously ascribed to Ockeghem, and presents many ornamented cadences and anticipations in a simplified form.

With regard to the court complex manuscripts, the source situation of the *Missa La sol fa re mi* (*NJE*, 11.2) is the same as that of *Gaudeamus*. Recension of VienNB 11778 shows that it transmits the cycle with eight errors, against only one in VatS 41, which is the earliest source. Since the scribe often changes the position of the clef, it even occurs that in the Sanctus, the superius part is notated a third too high for the duration of ten measures (mm. 16–25). Ligatures have for the greater part been omitted. On folio 86, the manuscript also presents a simplified recomposition – by Alamire himself or copied from a lost source – of a passage in the Gloria (superius, mm. 21_1–23_2), followed by the rubric *vel sic* and Josquin's original version, which consists of a succession of dotted minims in playful rhythmic counterpoint to the contratenor, the only other sounding voice (see Example 1).



Example 1. Josquin Desprez, *Missa La sol fa re mi*, fragment from VienNB 11778, fol. 86.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 330

Credo Vilayge II (*NJE*, 13.6) is transmitted in VienNB 11778 with only one error. On the other hand, the reading of *Credo Chiascun me crie* (*NJE*, 13.1) in this same choirbook shows no less than nineteen errors.[7] This number makes the Alamire version inferior to all other transmissions, except that in VatSM 26, where twenty-two errors are found.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *MISSAE AVE MARIS STELLA*, *FAYSANT REGRETZ*, *MALHEUR ME BAT*, AND *PANGE LINGUA*

The *Missa Ave maris stella* (*NJE*, 3.1) is preserved in sixteen sources, four of which belong to the court complex. VienNB 1783 and VienNB 4809 are, with nine and ten errors each, the least reliable. The first of these is believed to have been produced shortly after 1504,[8] the latter circa 1521–1525. BrusBR 9126, dated circa 1505, and JenaU 3, from circa 1518–1520, contain five errors each. The reading of VatS 41, which is error-free, has served as the principal source for the mass in the *New Josquin Edition*.

Eight of the eleven sources containing the complete text of the *Missa Faysant regretz* are reviewed in the *New Josquin Edition* (*NJE*, 8.1), and three of these belong to the court complex. Of those three sources, JenaU 3 and VienNB Mus. 15495 are, with only two errors each, very reliable. In contrast to this, Alamire's manuscript VienNB 4809 has eight errors, but is still outstripped by Petrucci 1514 (*RISM* A/I/J 673) and Johannes Orceau's choirbook VatS 23, which contain nine and eleven errors respectively. The Jena manuscript preserves the mass with an adaptation of its title: *Elizabeth faisant regretz*. *Faysant regretz* is so far Josquin's only mass for which, in the new edition of his works, a manuscript of the court complex serves as the principal source (VienNB Mus. 15495).

All more or less complete sources for the *Missa Malheur me bat* (*NJE*, 9.1) show a rather large number of errors. Petrucci 1505 (*RISM* A/I/J 670), with eight errors, has served as the principal source for the edition. Of the three manuscripts belonging to the court complex, BrusBR 9126 and JenaU 3 lack one or more sections. The recension shows that VienNB 11883, with nine errors, is slightly more accurate than the three manuscripts listed in Table 2. However, though this source is generally considered as belonging to the Netherlands court complex, the two masses by Josquin are found in fascicles of which the origin is unclear (see note 1). JenaU 3 has twelve errors, against sixteen in both BrusBR 9126 and VienNB 4809. Barton Hudson notes that these four manuscripts may have a common intermediate ancestor.

A remarkable simplification of a short passage in different mensuration occurs in JenaU 3. It is the unique source to present three measures in the *Pleni sunt celi* duet (mm. 97–99) as illustrated

[5] Apart from the *Missa Gaudeamus*, the choirbook contains his *Missa de beata virgine* and *Credo Quarti toni*, and the readings of both works are reliable to a high degree; see the *Aantekeningen* in Smijers's edition of the *Missa de beata virgine*: A. SMIJERS ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prez*, 30, *Missen*, 16, Amsterdam, 1952, p. l; and the edition of Hudson: HUDSON, *Mass Movements*, (*NJE*, 13.4), *Critical Commentary*, p. 62.

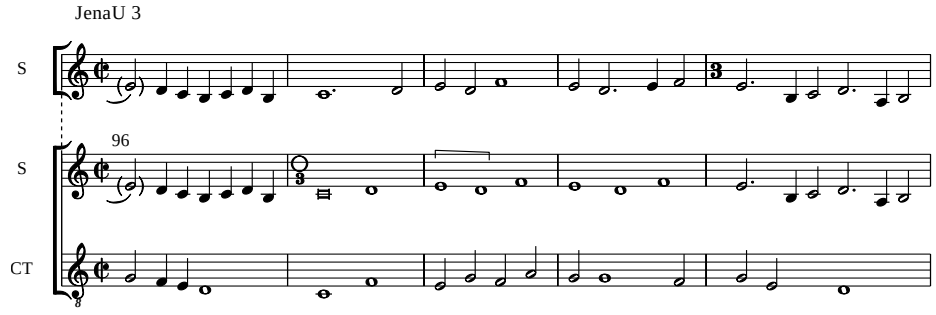
[6] CambraiBM 18 is, except for BasU F.IX.25, moreover the only source to present in the superius voice of the Sanctus three circles for the tempus perfectum. Because of its symbolical implication, this notation goes possibly back to that of the composer himself; see W. ELDERS, *Josquin's Mass for All Saints and the Book of Revelation*, in W. ELDERS, *Symbolic Scores. Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, Leiden – New York, 1994, p. 46.

[7] See HUDSON, *Mass Movements*, pp. 22–23.

[8] See K.D. VAN DER HEIDE, *Polytekstuele religieuze muziek aan het Bourgondisch-Habsburgse hof als spiegel van het laat-middeleeuwse wereldbeeld*, Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998, pp. 98–102.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 331

in Example 2. But also VienNB 4809 appears to have been considerably edited, especially with regard to ornamented cadences and anticipations, which have more often been reduced to their basic notes in this manuscript than in any other source for the mass.



Example 2. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Malheur me bat*, *Pleni sunt celi*, fragment from JenaU 3, fol. 68v-69r.

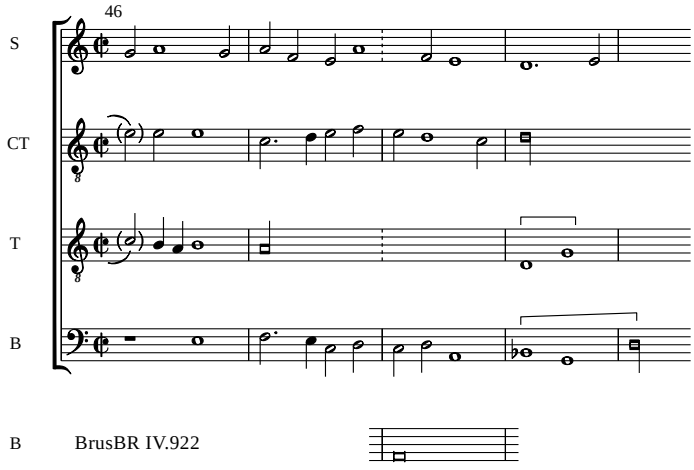
The two earliest sources for the *Missa Pange lingua* (*NJE*, 4.3) are VatS 16 and MunBS 510. The first of these is error-free, the second has one small error. The three choirbooks belonging to the Netherlands court complex are some years later than VatS 16 and MunBS 510.[9] The recensions of the mass in these sources reveal that VienNB 4809 contains three errors, and JenaU 21 only one. The Occo Codex (BrusBR IV.922) is even error-free: an erroneous repeat of eight notes in the Kyrie, after measure 15_2 in the bassus, is corrected with the word *vacat*. In contrast, the *Pleni sunt* and *Benedictus* in this manuscript have been replaced by the corresponding sections from Gascongne's *Missa Es hat ein Sin*, and it also lacks the Agnus Dei 2.

[9] The production of JenaU 21 and VienNB 4809 may have begun shortly before the death of Josquin: in the former manuscript, Josquin's death is indicated by a cross appended to his name at the *Missa Allez regretz* [I] (mass no. 6 in the book), but does not appear at his *Missa Pange lingua*, which is likewise attributed to him and which opens the manuscript. VienNB 4809 may date from the same period: here too, a cross is appended to Josquin's name. But while this *Liber missarum* is entirely devoted to Josquin, the cross appears only at the sixth mass (*Sine nomine*). The production date of BrusBR IV.922, the Occo Codex, is more difficult to determine. It cannot be excluded that some of its fascicles precede JenaU 21 and VienNB 4809. A note at the bottom of folio 4 says that Popius Occo and his heirs lend this book to the *Heilige Stede* (Holy Stead) of Amsterdam, for as long as it will please them. Since Occo was appointed as chapelwarden of the *Ter Heylighen Stede* (Holy Stead) Chapel in 1513 – this chapel had been built in 1345–1347, in commemoration of the Miracle of the Host of Amsterdam – and resigned this function in 1518, it may well have been around that time that this great patron decided to commission a choirbook containing several compositions based on texts related to the Holy Sacrament. The dates circa 1526 (year of the death of Anthonius Divitis, to whose name on folio 134 are appended the words *pie memorie*) and 1534 (the year of retirement of Alamire), provided by C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), 5 vols., Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988, are no longer valid; see H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, pp. 76–77.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 332

VARIANT READINGS

Apart from errors in pitch and rhythm, the court complex manuscripts can also be evaluated on the basis of variant readings. It appears that, in particular, the ornamented cadences and anticipations are often reduced to their basic notes. An examination of this category of variants in the *Pange lingua*, *Malheur me bat*, *Faysant regretz*, and *Ave maris stella* masses, reveals that Alamire's *Liber missarum* VienNB 4809 has been considerably edited. For example, this source not only suppresses all but two of the fifteen under-third cadences found in the reading of the *Missa Pange lingua* in VatS 16, but it has several rhythmic substitutions that negatively affect the underlay of the text – this is also the case in *Credo Vilayge II* – and it presents a number of other unique variants in pitch and rhythm. Where the three court complex sources of the *Missa Pange lingua* disagree with each other, JenaU 3 conforms to the earliest source for the mass in fifty instances, BrusBR IV.922 (Occo Codex) in forty-one instances, and VienNB 4809 in only fifteen instances. The Occo Codex retains ten of the under-third cadences. Yet it is the sole source to present a remarkable but improbable variant in the Kyrie, where, in the bassus, the minims *c* and *d*, and the semibreve *A* are changed to a breve *A* (see Example 3, m. 48).



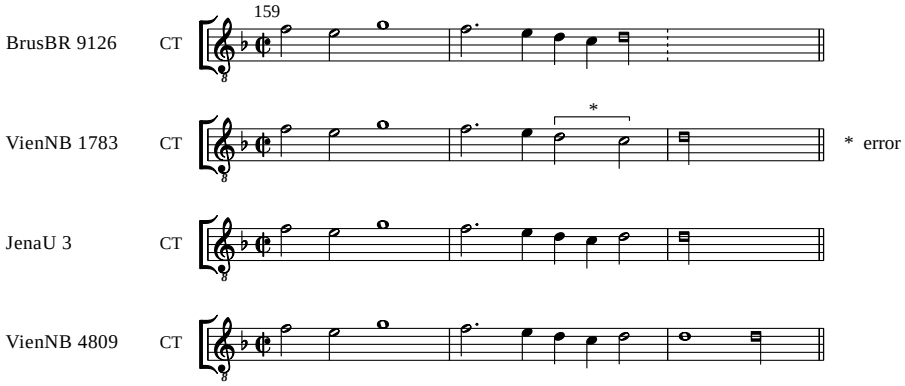
Example 3. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Pange lingua*, fragment from Kyrie, BrusBR IV.922 (Occo Codex), fol. 29v-30r, compared to other sources.

An exceptional situation occurs in the *Missa Ave maris stella*, at the end of the Credo. Each of the four court complex manuscripts offers a different reading of the last three measures in the contratenor (see Example 4a). While VienNB 1783 is evidently erroneous, the three other versions are possible but probably do not present the original reading. One gets the impression that a dot after the semibreve in the pre-penultimate measure was lacking in the model or models from which the court complex manuscripts were copied. Petrucci 1505 (*RISM* A/I/J 670), from which four other sources derive, offers again a different but incorrect reading. VatS 41 is the unique source to present a more logical version (see Example 4b).[10] The minim *e'* in this source however, is a later addition.

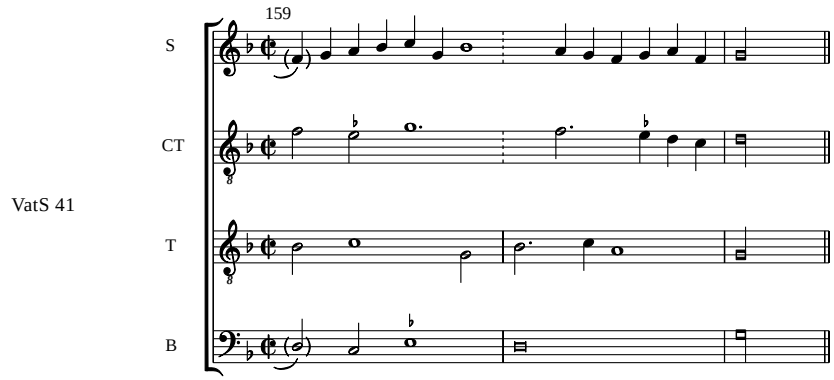
[10] Though basing his edition of the mass on Petrucci 1505 (*RISM* A/I/J 670), Smijers adopts this reading.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 333

Another anomaly in the transmission of this mass may be found in JenaU 3: at the end of the first section of the Sanctus, a perfect long in the bassus is substituted by three breves and three semi-breves. This succession of repeated notes would require the repetition of *Sabaoth*, which is unlikely because of the changing word accent in the last statement (see Example 5).

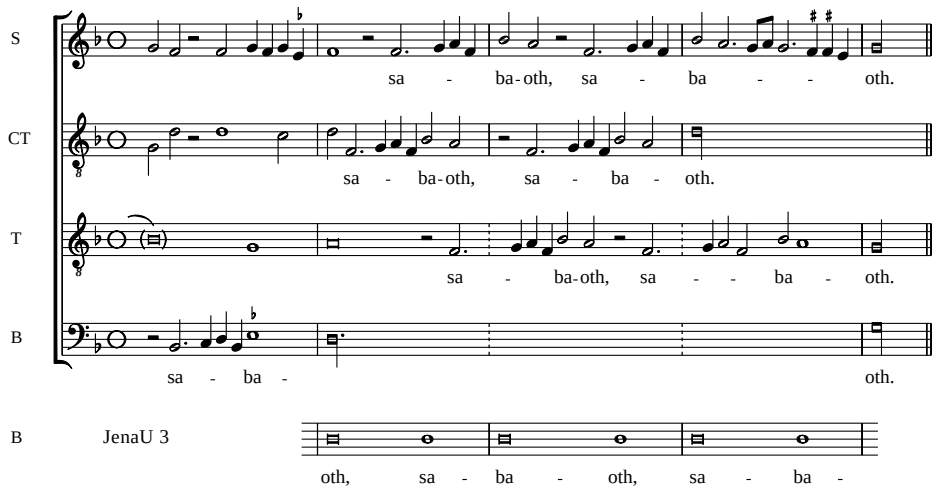


Example 4a. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Ave maris stella*, end of Credo: four variant readings in the contratenor part.



Example 4b. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Ave maris stella*, end of Credo, from VatS 41, fol. 67v-68r.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 334



Example 5. Josquin Desprez, *Missa Ave maris stella*, fragment from Sanctus: JenaU 3, fol. 37v-38r, compared to other sources.

MASS OR MASS MOVEMENT	MS SIGLUM	ERRORS
Ave maris stella	BrusBR 9126	5
	JenaU 3	5
	VienNB 1783	9
	VienNB 4809	10
Faysant regretz	JenaU 3	2
	VienNB 4809	8
	VienNB Mus. 15495	2
Fortuna desperata	VienNB 11778	18
Gaudeamus	VienNB 11778	19
La sol fa re mi	VienNB 11778	8
Malheur me bat	BrusBR 9126	16
	JenaU 3	12
	VienNB 4809	16
Pange lingua	BrusBR IV.922	0
	JenaU 21	1
	VienNB 4809	3
Credo Chascun me crie	VienNB 11778	19
Credo Vilayge II	VienNB 11778	1

Table 3. The number of errors occurring in seven masses and two mass movements by Josquin.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 335

MASS	MS 1	MS 2	MS 3	ERRORS
Ave maris stella	BrusBR 9126	VienNB 1783		4
	BrusBR 9126	VienNB 1783	VienNB 4809	1
	JenaU 3	VienNB 1783		2
Faysant regretz	JenaU 3	VienNB 4809		1
	JenaU 3	VienNB 4809	VienNB Mus. 15495	1
Malheur me bat	BrusBR 9126	JenaU 3	VienNB 4809	7
Pange lingua	BrusBR IV.922	JenaU 21	VienNB 4809	0

Table 4. The number of conjunctive errors occurring in four masses by Josquin.

CONCLUSION

Though one would expect that the manuscripts of the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex show their common origin in a more or less uniform transmission of one and the same composition, this is not the case as far as the masses under review are concerned.[11] Even the three sources for the *Missa Malheur me bat*, which share no less than seven errors (see Table 4), disagree in most of the variants. Also the three sources for the *Missa Pange lingua*, though not having joint errors, transmit the mass rather differently. The circumstance that this cycle was copied rather soon after its composition may explain why the court complex readings are more or less error-free. If the three sources for the *Missa Pange lingua* were all produced in the scriptorium of Alamire, we are perhaps allowed to conclude that this scribe either did not keep the model of the mass after it had been copied, or did not mind to have the same work transcribed with rather arbitrary changes on a later occasion.

The two *Libri missarum* VienNB 4809 and VienNB 11778, likewise produced in the scriptorium of Alamire, are crowded with errors (see Table 3). Only one of the compositions that I have examined was copied carefully. The fact that also the nicely illuminated early manuscripts BrusBR 9126 and VienNB 1783 transmit the masses *Ave maris stella* and *Malheur me bat* with a substantial number of errors, may be surprising. Therefore, in the case of these two masses, their pure musical interest is subordinate to that of other, more modestly produced manuscripts outside the Burgundian-Habsburg territory.

Finally, I think that we should not exclude the possibility that the recension of a large number of compositions in the whole of the complex may help us to distinguish not only patterns of errors and variants, but also differences in the carefulness of the various scribes.

[11] The same has been ascertained regarding the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*; see H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard school at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 203–204.

hfst Elders 12-11-2003 13:23 Pagina 336

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 337

DAS *SALVE-REGINA*-REPERTOIRE VON PIERRE DE LA RUE IN DEN HANDSCHRIFTEN BRÜSSEL, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS. 9126 UND MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, MUSIKSAMMLUNG, MUSICA MS. 34

Martin Just
Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Die burgundisch-habsburgischen Handschriften sind für die Überlieferung der Werke Pierre de la Rues wichtige, nicht selten sogar singuläre Quellen.[1] Von seinen sechs *Salve-regina*-Bearbeitungen überliefert BrusBR 9126 eine und MunBS 34 fünf (siehe Tabelle 1).[2] Die Nummern III bis V kennen wir nur aus der Münchner Handschrift, die Nummern I und VI haben je eine konkordante Quelle – ParisBNF 1591 beziehungsweise RegB C98 – und Nummer II hat zwei Konkordanzen, Petruccis *Motetti libro quarto* von 1505 (*RISM* B/1505[2]) und wiederum RegB C98. Zu den Quellen an dieser Stelle nur ein paar Stichworte:[3] die Pergament-Handschrift BrusBR 9126 von 1505, für Philipp den Schönen und Juana bestimmt, enthält neun Messen, drei Magnificats, acht Motetten, ein *Salve regina* von Agricola und eins von de la Rue. Alle Werkgruppen und einzelne Messen sind durch leere Seiten voneinander getrennt. Die Papierhandschrift MunBS 34, 1521 bis ca. 1530 geschrieben, ist für den bayerischen Herzog Wilhelm IV. (1493–1550) bestimmt und enthält neunundzwanzig *Salve-regina*-Kompositionen.[4] Im Hintergrund einer solchen Sammlung steht der verbreitete Usus der *Salve*-Andachten, wie sie zum Beispiel von des Herzogs Vater, Albrecht IV. (1447–1508), für die Münchner Frauenkirche gestiftet worden war.[5] Auch die Regensburger Handschrift, von süddeutscher oder österreichischer Provenienz aus dem Anfang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, verdankt ihre Entstehung sicherlich diesem Zusammenhang. Sie überliefert achtzehn *Salve-regina*-Kompositionen, daneben dreizehn Motetten. Petruccis Druck gehört in ein anderes Umfeld. Er enthält nur ein *Salve regina*, das genannte von de la Rue, daneben weitere Marienmotetten. ParisBNF 1591 schließlich ist eine Kompilation unabhängiger Teilmanuskripte aus der Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.

[1] H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999.

[2] Publiziert in N.S.J. DAVISON, J.E. KREIDER und T.H. KEAHEY edd., *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia, The Motets*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 97/9), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1996, S. lxxii–lxxxvi und 122–171.

[3] Informationen zu BrusBR 9126 und MunBS 34 in KELLMAN, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*: H. KELLMAN, *Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9126 (BrusBR 9126)*, Kat. Nr. 4, S. 73, und E. JAS, *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 34 (MunBS 34)*, Kat. Nr. 28, S. 118.

[4] Auf Folio 2r findet sich ein "koloriertes bayerisches Wappen", vgl. M. BENTE, M.L. GÖLLNER et al. edd., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, 1, (*Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen*, 5/1), München, 1989, S. 141–145.

[5] J. MAIER, *Studien zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon "Salve Regina"*, Regensburg, 1939, S. 20. Zu ähnlichen Stiftungen in Nürnberg vgl. R. WAGNER, *Wilhelm Breitengraser und die Nürnberger Kirchen- und Schulmusik seiner Zeit*, in *Die Musikforschung*, 2 (1949), S. 153–156, und F. KRAUTWURST, *Zur Musikgeschichte Nürnbergs um 1500*, in *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 8 (1999), S. 93–106.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 338

Die Ordnung der Münchner Handschrift (MunBS 34), nach Stimmenzahl und nach vollständigen (8) oder alternatim-Kompositionen (21), ist zwar nicht strikt eingehalten,[6] läßt jedoch vermuten, dass ein solcher Bestand quasi angefordert und vielleicht aus dem Fundus der burgundischen Hofkapelle zusammengestellt wurde. Dass Beziehungen auch zur Illustren Bruderschaft von 's-Hertogenbosch reichen, ist nicht auszuschließen; das suggerieren Autorennamen wie de la Rue und Pipelare. Die einzelnen Werkgruppen sind zumeist durch leere Doppelseiten voneinander abgesetzt. Dabei fällt dies leere Lesefeld niemals mit einer Lagengrenze zusammen. Auch die einzelnen Kompositionen beginnen nie mit einer neuen Lage, so dass ein fortlaufendes Kopieren anzunehmen ist. Von den fünf Werken de la Rues hat sich *Salve regina* I, ein vierstimmiger Kanon, als Nummer 2 der Quelle unter die erste Gruppe der fünfstimmigen, vollständigen *Salve-regina*-Kompositionen quasi verirrt. Je zwei Werke de la Rues, die Nummern 13 und 14 beziehungsweise die Nummern 17 und 18, eröffnen die Gruppe der vierstimmigen vollständigen und die der vierstimmigen alternatim-Kompositionen. Die acht Kompositionen mit einem zweiten, weltlichen *cantus prius factus* bilden keine eigene Gruppe, sondern sind nach den genannten Kriterien verstreut untergebracht.

Zur Entstehungszeit von *Salve regina* II und VI haben wir den Terminus ante quem, 1505, durch den Petrucci-Druck (*RISM* B/1505[2]) und BrusBR 9126. Davison in *CMM* 97/9 vertritt außerdem die einleuchtende Hypothese, dass *Salve regina* I–V in die 1490er Jahre, *Salve regina* VI, etwas jünger, in die ersten Jahre des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts gehört.[7] Denn obwohl Nummer VI in der

	QUELLE / NUMMER / FOLIO	ZAHL DER MENSUREN	KONKORDANZEN	PARTES	SCHLÜSSEL	MENSUR	STIMMEN-ZAHL	WEITERE CANTUS FIRMI
	MunBS 34							
SR I	Nr. 2	137 M.	ParisBNF 1591	I *Salve*	C134 F4	C2	4	–
	fol. 7v–8			II *Et Jesum*	C134 F4	C2	4	–
SR II	Nr. 13	244 M.	*RISM* B/1505[2]	I *Salve*	C134 F4	¢	4	–
	fol. 58v–64		RegB C98	II *Eia ergo*	C14 F4	¢	3 (-A)	–
				III *Et Jesum*	C134 F4	¢	4	–
SR III	Nr. 14	136 M.	–	I *Salve*	G2 C234	C	4	–
	fol. 64v–68			II *Et Jesum*	G2 C234	¢	4	–
SR IV	Nr. 17	118 M.	–	I *Vita*	G2 C234	O	4	S: *Par le regard*
	fol. 82v–86			II *Ad te suspiramus*	C234	C2	3 (-S)	–
				III *Et Jesum*	G2 C234	O	4	S: *Je ne vis oncques*
				IV *O pia*	G2 C234	O+C2	4	T: *Je ne vis oncques*
SR V	Nr. 18	161 M.	–	I *Vita*	G2 C23 F3	¢	4	–
	fol. 86v–90			II *Ad te suspiramus*	G2 C2 F3	¢	3 (-T)	–
				III *Et Jesum*	G2 C23 F3	¢, A: C2	4	–
				IV *O pia*	G2 C23 F3	¢ 3	4	–
	BrusBR 9126							
SR VI	fol. 136v–138	98 M.	RegB C98	I *Salve*	C134 F4	O	4	–
				II *Et Jesum*	C134 F4	C2	4	–

Tabelle 1. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* I–VI (*CMM* 97/9, S. 122–171).

[6] Die vierstimmigen Nr. 11 und 12, mit einem Satz a5 bzw. a3, bilden eine Gruppe für sich, hätten aber in die Reihe Nr. 17 ff. eingeordnet werden können.

[7] DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/9), S. lxxxv.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 339

ältesten Handschrift überliefert wird, kann es sehr wohl das jüngste der sechs Werke sein. Ob allerdings seine straffere Disposition tatsächlich ihren Grund in einer späteren Entstehungszeit hat oder nicht einfach in einer anderen Konzeption, mag zunächst offen bleiben. Auch ist unklar, warum es nicht ebenfalls in die Münchner Handschrift aufgenommen wurde. Ein Grund dafür könnte gewesen sein, dass – wie in anderen Fällen – das Repertoire, welches Schreiber B für BrusBR 9126 zur Verfügung stand, Alamire und seinen Helfern für MunBS 34 nicht mehr greifbar war. Halten wir aber fest: es erscheint plausibel, dass die sechs *Salve-regina*-Kompositionen zeitlich nicht weit voneinander und zwar relativ früh entstanden sind.

Nummer I bildet einen Sonderfall. Der vierstimmige Satz entspringt aus einer einzigen notierten Stimme und steht damit unter einem so strengen Gesetz, dass sich die Merkmale der übrigen Werke hier kaum entfalten können. Die Prima pars entwickelt sich aus dem notierten Superius als Unterquintkanon nach zwei Tempora. Nach weiteren sechs Tempora folgen eine Oktave tiefer Tenor und Bassus. Die Secunda pars beginnt mit dem Contratenor altus, dem sich nach zwei Tempora der Superius als Quintkanon anschließt. Nach weiteren sieben Tempora folgen wiederum Bassus und Tenor in der tieferen Oktave.[8] Das Resultat dieser beiden Kanons ist in mancher Hinsicht unbefriedigend. Der Anteil der Choralmelodie beschränkt sich auf die charakteristischen Intervalle zu Anfang der Partes bei *Salve* beziehungsweise *Et Jesum* und weitere Andeutungen.[9] Obwohl der Satz immer nur für kurze Strecken vollstimmig ist, gibt es mehrfach kaum verdeckte Oktav-Parallelen und satztechnisch bedenkliche Dissonanzen, wie zum Beispiel Mensur 16–19 oder 50–53.[10] De la Rues *Missa O salutaris hostia* entfaltet sich in vergleichbarer Weise aus einer notierten Stimme zu Unterquintkanons mit verschiedenen Abständen, aber ohne solche Härten des Satzes. Das klangliche Ergebnis entspricht, trotz der strengen Gesetzmäßigkeit, eher dem satztechnischen Niveau de la Rues, so dass *Salve regina* I als ein erster Versuch, als ein frühes Werk gelten kann.[11]

Stilistische Merkmale, die für eine frühe Entstehungszeit auch der übrigen fünf *Salve-regina*-Bearbeitungen sprechen könnten, sind zunächst von jenen Erscheinungen zu unterscheiden, die grundsätzlich bei de la Rue anzutreffen sind und daher für die Chronologie wenig aussagen. In der Edition ist von *fingerprints* die Rede,[12] zu denen Sequenzen, Ostinati, Mikrorhythmen, die sogenannten 'Isaac-Quinten' in der Kadenz und die innerhalb eines Stückes wechselnde Behandlung des *cantus prius factus* gezählt werden. Desweiteren ist auf die relativ häufigen Duos hinzuweisen. Gegen diese zum Teil vage bleibenden Phänomene sind nun Beobachtungen geltend zu machen, die eine frühe Entstehungszeit nahelegen. Dazu ist es nötig, die konkrete Gestalt von Sequenz, Ostinato oder dergleichen ins Auge zu fassen, und zwar unter zwei Aspekten.

[8] Den gleichen Text in allen Stimmen der gleichen Musik zu unterlegen, ist wegen der weit auseinander liegenden Verläufe ungünstig. Stattdessen rücken gegen Ende der Partes Textlücken in den tiefen Stimmen den Vortrag des gleichen Textes zusammen, wenn auch zu unterschiedlicher Musik, vgl. M. 56 ff. *Advocata nostra* – übersprungen ist: *in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo.*

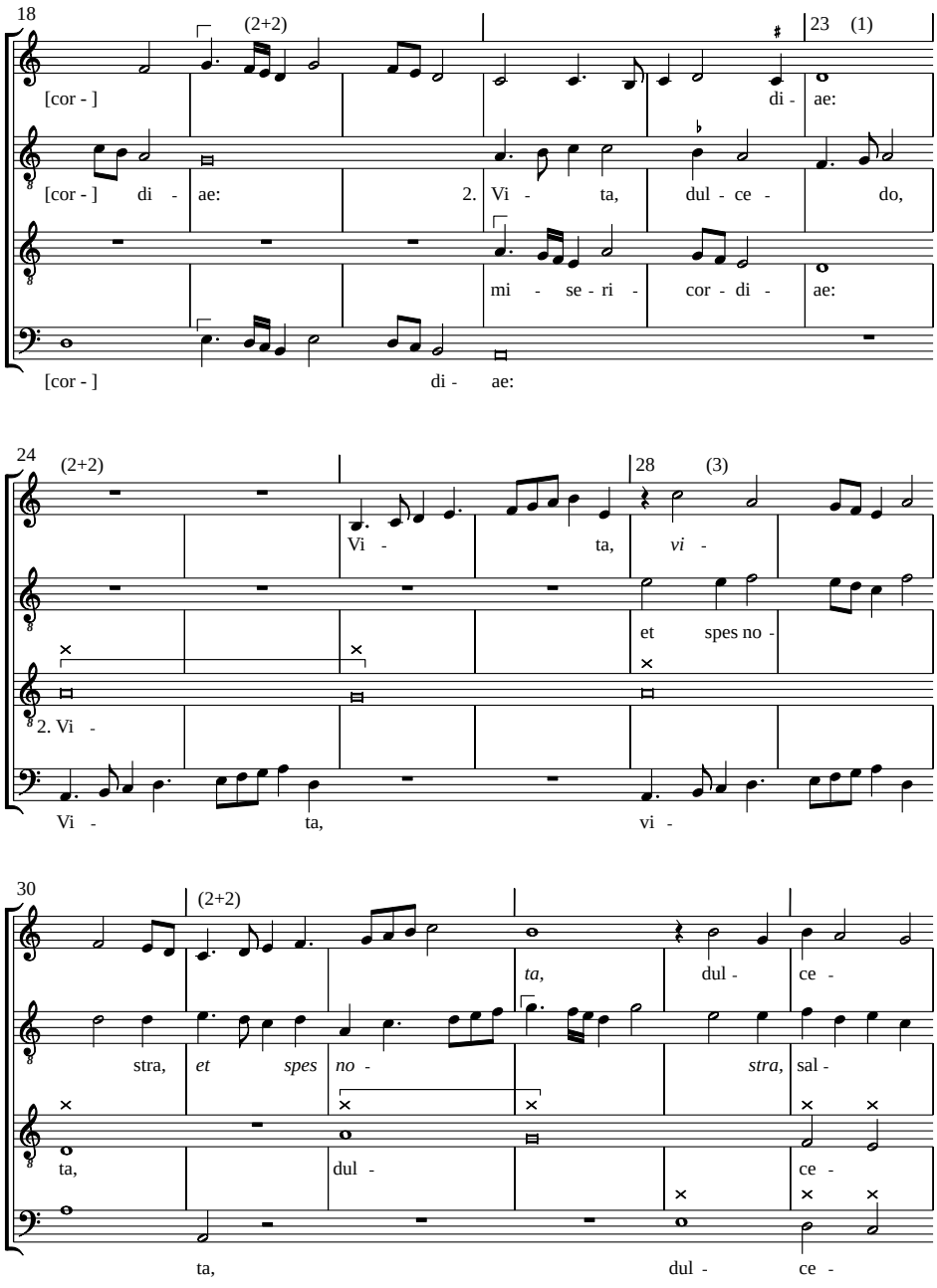
[9] Etwa bei *gementes*, *nobis* oder *exsilium*.

[10] Vgl. auch M. 102 und 116–117. Da nicht alle Beobachtungen durch Notenbeispiele veranschaulicht werden können, empfiehlt es sich, die Edition, *CMM* 97/9, zur Hand zu haben.

[11] Vgl. DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/5), Nr. 22, *Missa O salutaris hostia*, S. xii ff. und S. 29–57.

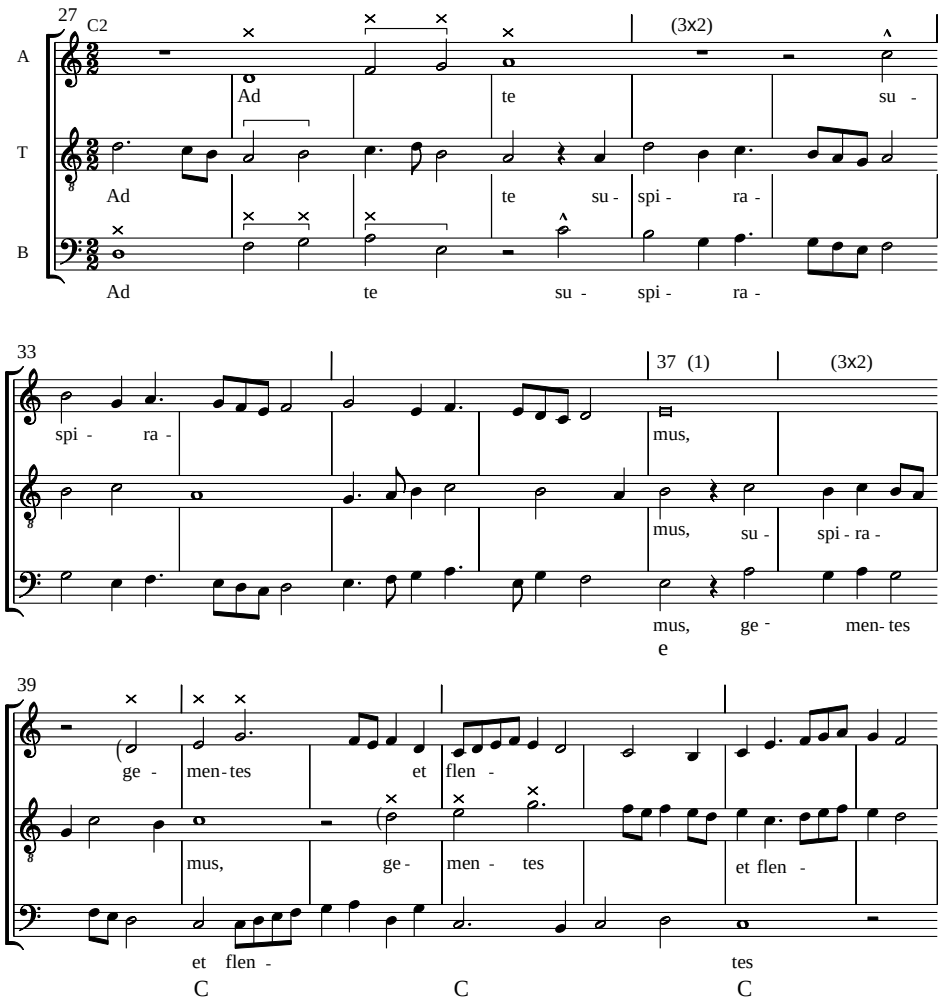
[12] Vgl. DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/9), S. lxxvii.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 340



Notenbeispiel 1. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* II (MunBS 34, Nr. 13), M. 18–35.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 341

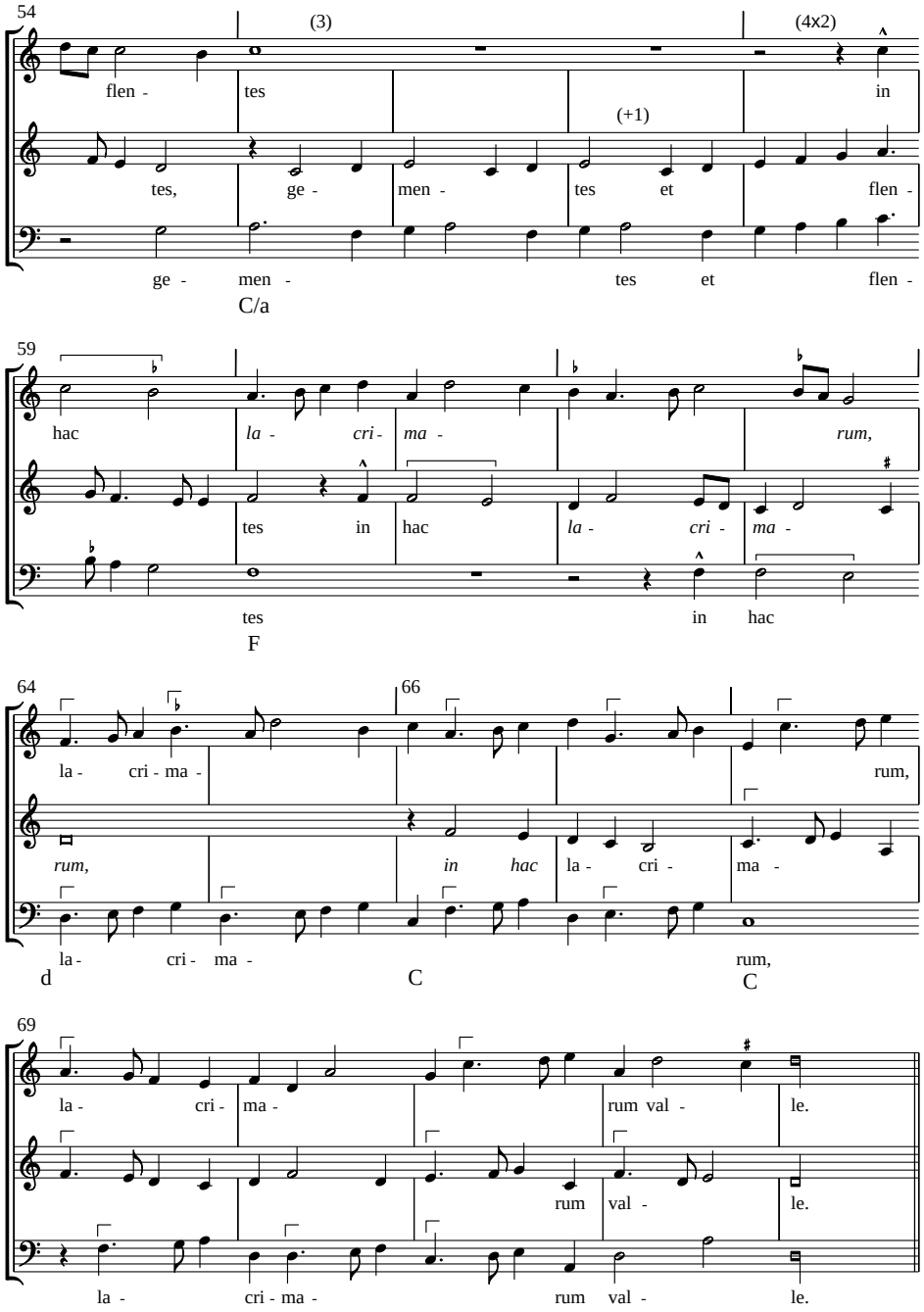


Notenbeispiel 2. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* IV (MunBS 34, Nr. 17), M. 27–45.

Regelmäßige Mensurgruppen gliedern den mehrstimmigen Verlauf, besonders in Verbindung mit Longen des Cantus firmus. Figuren von zwei Mensuren Dauer sind zumeist zum jeweils zweiten Tempus übergebunden und halten auf der letzten Semibrevis an (siehe Notenbeispiel 1, *Salve regina* [= SR] II, M. 19–35, und Notenbeispiel 2, SR IV, M. 31–44).[13] Diese klar definierten gleichen Strecken sind so suggestiv, dass wir zusätzliche Tempora als Haltepunkte (siehe Notenbeispiel 1, SR II, M. 23, und Notenbeispiel 2, SR IV, M. 37)[14] oder als Erweiterungen auf drei Mensuren wahrnehmen können (siehe Notenbeispiel 1, SR II, M. 28–30).[15] Verstärkt werden diese Figuren manchmal durch Terz- oder Dezimenparallelen, wie etwa in SR II, M. 29–30 (siehe Notenbeispiel 1) oder in SR IV, M. 31–34 (siehe Notenbeispiel 2).[16] Eine Variante solcher Mensurgruppen sind die bereits

[13] Ähnlich in SR III, M. 96–103, SR V, M. 1 ff., 42–66, SR VI, M. 52 ff., 69 ff.
[14] Ebenso SR III, M. 57 oder SR V, M. 140.
[15] Siehe auch SR V, M. 50–52.
[16] Vgl. SR II, M. 11–13, 57–58, 115–117.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 342

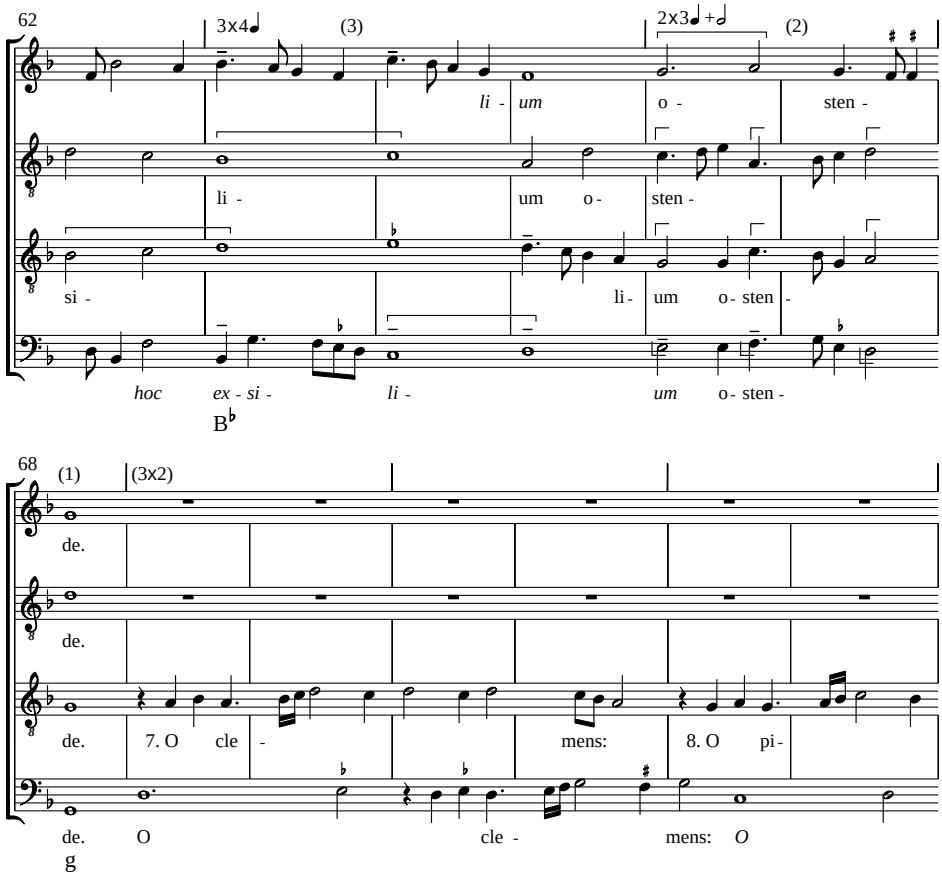


Notenbeispiel 3. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* V (MunBS 34, Nr. 18), M. 54–73.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 343

genannten Mikrorhythmen: Zu Beginn der Secunda pars von *Salve regina* II verläuft gegen die gerade Mensur eine Sequenzfigur von eineinhalb Tempora, die wiederum in zweimal drei Minimen unterteilt ist.[17] Aber auch weniger mechanisch vollziehen sich Wiederholungen und Gruppierungen.[18]

Den zweiten Aspekt könnte man umschreiben: Schlußsteigerung durch Verdichtung, Wiederholung oder Sequenz. Solche Schlüsse wirken vor allem nach regelmäßigen Mensurgruppen als Intensivierung (siehe Notenbeispiel 3, SR V, M. 55–73).[19] Hier läßt sich beobachten, wie durch Verkürzung des Modells von zwei Tempora auf eins (M. 66 ff.) eine Art von Schlußstretta entsteht. Schlüsse werden außerdem durch repetierende Klangwechsel vorbereitet, bei denen einzelne Stimmen einen begrenzten Tonraum immer wieder, zum Teil unregelmäßig, durchlaufen.[20] Solche auf einem Tonraum insistierenden Verläufe treten auch in kürzeren Phasen des Satzes auf, wie etwa



Notenbeispiel 4. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* VI (BrusBR 9126), M. 62–74.

[17] Vgl. SR II, M. 238 ff.: Superius, Tenor und Bassus wiederholen sich nach fünf Minimen.
[18] SR V, M. 31–41: 2 x 2,5 + 1 + 2 x 2 + 1 Tempora. Wiederholungen in einzelnen Stimmen durchsetzen das Stimmengewebe: SR IV, M. 84 ff. in Altus, Superius und Tenor.
[19] Vgl. SR II, M. 37–42 und 79–91.
[20] SR II, nochmals M. 37–42 und 204–206, SR VI, M. 84 ff., und SR III, M. 89 ff., und 127 ff., Altus.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 344

im Superius von SR VI, M. 27–30.[21] All diese Erscheinungen vermitteln den Eindruck eines phantasievollen Kombinierens von deutlich begrenzten Teilen. Selbst längere Melismen lassen sich zumeist in solche Bestandteile zerlegen. Manches ist nicht einmal de la Rue allein zuzurechnen, sondern begegnet ähnlich in Kompositionen des ausgehenden fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, wie sogar in Werken Adams von Fulda und seiner Zeitgenossen.[22] Es fehlt jene melodisch rhythmische Flexibilität, welche der späteren Vokalpolyphonie ihren geschmeidigen Fluß verleiht. Ansätze dazu finden wir im *Salve regina* VI, wo zum Beispiel latente Sekundgänge die Stimmen zielstrebiger machen (siehe Notenbeispiel 4, SR VI, M. 63–68).[23] Zugleich erkennen wir hier wieder jene rhythmische Verkürzung – sogar in zwei Größenordnungen –, die den ganztaktigen Haltepunkt, M. 68, anstrebt: 3 + 2 + 1 Mensuren beziehungsweise 3 x 4 + 2 x 3 Minimen + Semibrevis + Brevis.

Die bisherigen Beobachtungen haben die Hypothese konkretisiert und bekräftigt, für diese Werke eine gemeinsame frühere Enstehungszeit anzunehmen, allenfalls mit einem etwas späteren Datum für *Salve regina* VI. Die stilistischen Übereinstimmungen verdienen aber auch weiterhin unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Denn anders als bei der mehrfachen Komposition des Ordinarium missae, wo unterschiedliche *cantus prius facti* die erwünschte Mannigfaltigkeit fördern, sind bei Bearbeitungen des *Salve regina* nicht nur Text, sondern auch Choralweise vorgegeben und fordern die Phantasie des Bearbeiters heraus, wenn er die Aufgabe mehrfach lösen und individuelle Werke schaffen möchte. Um diese Qualitäten der sechs Bearbeitungen zu erkennen, werden wir die Blickrichtung ändern, nach dem spezifischen Konzept, nach Disposition und Konnex fragen sowie die Darbietung der Textgestalt in die Betrachtung einbeziehen.

Die neun Zeilen der Marienantiphon (siehe Tabelle 2) sind von höchst unterschiedlicher Silbenzahl – zwischen 3 und 24 – und deuten zu Beginn Doppelversikel an, die dazu geführt haben mögen, die Antiphon auch alternatim vorzutragen.[24] Besonders die ersten zwei Zeilen zu je elf Silben, gesungen zur gleichen Tonfolge, könnten den Anstoß dazu gegeben haben. Die Zeilen 3 und 4 beginnen zumindest textlich parallel und musikalisch entsprechend: *Ad te clamamus – Ad te suspiramus*. Nach den beiden längsten Zeilen 5 und 6, *Eia ergo* und *Et Jesum*, folgen drei kurze Anrufungen, die durch Silbenzahl, Reim und melodische Parallele einen fest gefügten Schluß bilden: *O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Maria*. Diese Zeilenstruktur hat bevorzugte Gliederungen hervorgebracht (siehe Tabelle 1).[25] Bei zwei Partes beginnt die zweite mit Zeile 6, *Et Jesum*. Da bei diesen Worten in früherer Zeit die Knie gebeugt wurden,[26] finden wir an dieser Stelle oft eine breitere Bewegung oder gar einen Halt mit Fermate (SR V). Bei drei Partes wird Zeile 5, *Eia ergo*, als Mittelteil für sich genommen. Bei der alternatim-Praxis werden die vier geradzahligen Zeilen mehrstimmig: *Vita, Ad te suspiramus*, *Et Jesum* und *O pia*, die fünf ungeradzahligen choraliter oder von der Orgel ausgeführt.

[21] Außerdem z.B. SR IV, M. 4–11, Tenor, 66–67, 73–74, oder SR VI, M. 8–9, 13–14.

[22] Vgl. M. JUST, *Anschaulichkeit und Ausdruck in der Motette um 1500*, in H. SCHNEIDER und H.-J. WINKLER edd., *Die Motette. Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, (*Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 5), Mainz – London, 1992, S. 75–104.

[23] Ähnlich SR VI, M. 24–26 und 36–39, Bassus.

[24] Die Wörter *mater* in Zeile 1 und *virgo* in Zeile 9 sind erst im ausgehenden sechzehnten Jahrhundert verbindlich geworden und kommen bei de la Rue nicht vor. Vgl. *Antiphonale Romanum*, Paris, 1949, S. 68; und MAIER, *Studien*, S. 27 ff.

[25] Vgl. S.S. INGRAM, *The Polyphonic Salve Regina 1425–1550*, Phil. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973, Kap. 4, S. 91 ff.

[26] MAIER, *Studien*, S. 21.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 345

TEXTSTRUKTUR	SILBENZAHL
1. *Salve regina misericordiae.*	11
2. *Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.*	11
3. *Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.*	13
4. *Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.*	20
5. *Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.*	22
6. *Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.*	24
7. *O clemens,*	3
8. *O pia,*	3
9. *O dulcis Maria.*	6

Tabelle 2. *Salve regina*: Textstruktur und Silbenzahl.

Nehmen wir zu dieser groben Gliederung die Kriterien des Umfangs, der Schlüssel, der Mensur, der Stimmenzahl und eines zusätzlichen *cantus prius factus*, so lassen sich bereits Eigenheiten jeder Bearbeitung erkennen (siehe Tabelle 1). Die Mensurzahlen sind allerdings nur unter Vorbehalt vergleichbar, da vollständige und alternatim-Bearbeitungen natürlich verschiedene Umfänge ergeben und die Tempuswerte der angewandten Mensuren sich unterscheiden. Nach der Schlüsselung haben wir drei Werke in der üblichen Stimmenlage, C1-, C3-, C4- und F4-Schlüssel, in *Salve regina* I, II und VI, und drei Werke in hoher Chiavette, G2-, C2-, C3- und C4- beziehungsweise F3-Schlüssel in *Salve regina* III bis V. Bei den tiefer notierten Werken finden wir den bereits besprochenen Sonderfall des Kanons (SR I), dann die mit 244 Mensuren umfangreichste Bearbeitung (SR II) und die kürzeste mit 98 Mensuren (SR VI). Wenigstens an einem Werk, *Salve regina* II, sollen die individuellen Züge von Konzept und Gestalt demonstriert werden. Bei den übrigen müssen Hinweise genügen.

Salve regina II gewinnt seinen großen Umfang aus der Dehnung der Choraltöne vor allem an den Zeilenanfängen. Diese Komplexe mit ihren regelmäßigen Begleitfiguren bestimmen weite Teile. Es folgen zumeist Phasen mit Choraltönen in Semibreven, die eher imitatorisch verlaufen, während die Teilschlüsse sich zu choralfreiem Stimmengewebe steigern. Entsprechend den Doppelzeilen 1–2 und 3–4 gliedert sich die Prima pars in zwei Abschnitte, die jeweils in einem bewegten Satz enden, wie in dem dichten Schluß des ersten auf *d* mit seinen asymmetrischen Repetitionen (M. 37–42). Der zweite Abschnitt ist klanglich bestimmt (M. 42 ff.). Nach aufgelockertem Anfang mit Choralandeutung in Semibreven in Tenor und Superius, auf *a* bezogen, setzt der Altus vom unvermittelten *F*-Klang aus (M. 49–50) einen nahezu regelmäßigen Quintanstieg in Gang, der mit einem umspielten Choralduo auf *e* endet (M. 67). Die anschließende vierte Zeile ist von den Orgelpunkten auf *A* und *e* geprägt (M. 68 ff. und 79 ff.), deren Mensurgruppen sich verkürzen und in einen sequenzierenden Schluß auf *d* münden.

Einen vergleichbaren Weg legt die Secunda pars zurück: von Haltetönen ausgehend – mit Figuren von eineinhalb, zwei und ein Tempora – über Choral-Semibreven mit beibehaltenem Kontrapunkt (M. 135 ff.) und Breven mit Tempusfiguren (M. 145 ff.) zu einem frei-polyphonen Schluß mit einer Wiederholung des Superius im Tenor (M. 157 ff.). Die Tertia pars beginnt mit vierfachem Choralzitat *Et Jesum* im kompakten Satz. Es folgen wieder Semibreven des Chorals, die sich zu

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 346

kurzen Imitationsfiguren auflösen, und ein längerer Abschnitt (M. 193–206), der in sich-verkürzenden Abständen auf *C* kadenziert, ehe diese sechste Zeile auf *d* endet. Die drei Anrufungen sind in einen entsprechenden Zusammenhang gebunden: Longen mit Repetitionsfiguren, Breven – mit Figuren in Proportio sesquialtera und geradtaktigem Schluß – und ein Tutti mit Wiederholungen im Mikrorhythmus von fünf Minimen.

Aus der kursorischen Beschreibung sollte zumindest deutlich geworden sein, dass in dieser ausgedehnten Bearbeitung vergleichbare Verläufe, welche eine, zwei oder gar drei Zeilen umfassen, nach gleichen Prinzipien angelegt sind: rhythmische Verkürzung, klangliche Momente (Quintanstieg beziehungsweise Ausspielen des *C*-Klanges) und choralfreie, dichte Schlußsteigerungen.

Salve regina VI als die kürzeste Bearbeitung bietet ein anderes Bild. Die beiden Partes folgen einem verbreiteten Motettentyp, Prima pars im Tempus perfectum, Secunda pars im Tempus imperfectum diminutum. Die komprimierte Darstellung der Zeilen lebt von der Konfrontation hoher und tiefer Duos, zum Beispiel: Zeile 1, Superius/Altus; Zeile 2, Tenor/Bassus; Zeile 3, Superius/Altus (zum Teil mit transponierter Wiederholung des vorangehenden Duos) + Tenor/Bassus; Zeile 4, Superius/Altus + Tenor/Bassus + vollstimmiger Schluß (M. 1–27). In der Secunda pars ist dies Prinzip für Zeile 6 (siehe den Schluß, Notenbeispiel 4) weiter zusammengedrängt. Die ersten beiden Anrufungen wiederholen das tiefe Duo in Superius und Altus, ehe das *O dulcis Maria* im vollstimmigen Satz, durchwirkt mit rhythmischen Entsprechungen und Repetitionen, das Werk abschließt.

Von den drei hochgeschlüsselten Bearbeitungen vertont *Salve regina* III die ganze Antiphon, und zwar nach a versetzt. Die beiden Partes stehen im Tempus imperfectum, mit der Tendenz zu kleineren Notenwerten, und im Tempus imperfectum diminutum.[27] Vor allem in der Prima pars zeigt sich die Neigung, die wenigen Choralanklänge in Figuren aufzulösen und die bewegten Stimmen in Terzen, Dezimen oder im Fauxbourdon zu führen. Nach einer kurzen, abgesetzten Cantus-firmus-Phase (*advocata nostra*, M. 48–54) endet die Pars, kontrastierend zu den Figuren und das Modell verkürzend, in einer homorhythmischen Quintfallsequenz, *a* bis *F*, und kadenziert auf *a* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 5). Die Secunda pars verläuft, abgesehen von wenigen Choralbruchstücken – *Et Jesum*, *nobis*, *O pia* – in freier Polyphonie mit angedeuteten Imitationen. Die Anrufungen sind wiederum in hohes und tiefes Duo, mit korrespondierenden Figuren, und Tutti gegliedert. Insgesamt handelt es sich um eine helle, lebhafte Komposition.

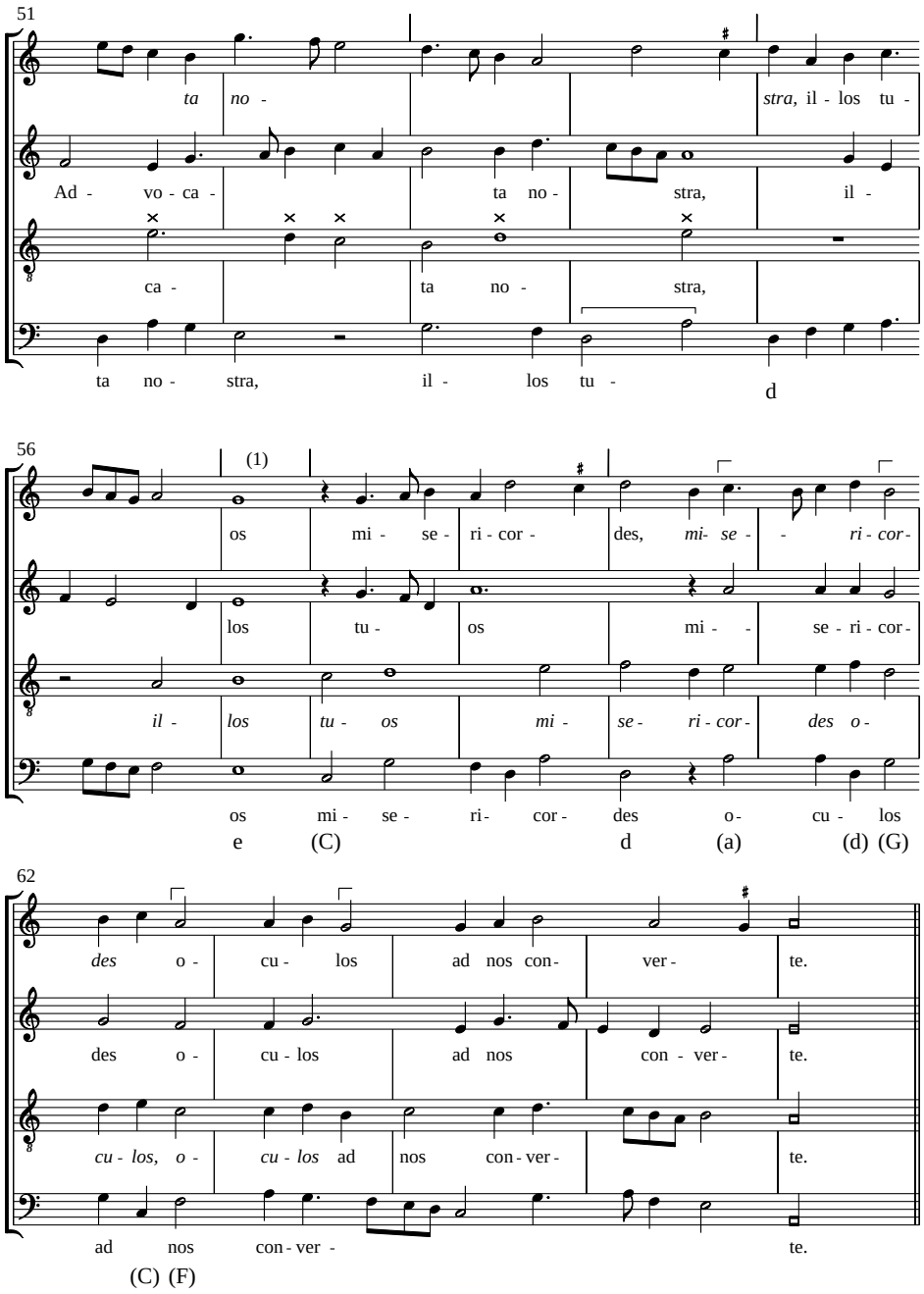
Die beiden alternatim-Bearbeitungen setzen sich allein durch die Zeilenauswahl von den übrigen ab. *Salve regina* IV ist außerdem dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass in seinen vierstimmigen Sätzen weltliche Cantus im Tempus perfectum zitiert werden: Der Superius von Dufays *Par le regard*,[28] der Superius von Dufays oder eher Binchois' *Je ne vis oncques*[29] und – in der Edition nicht bemerkt – aus der gleichen Chanson der Tenor. Der Choral tritt im Trio und im *Et Jesum* deutlicher hervor. Die liedhaften Zeilen der Chansons beherrschen den Verlauf von Prima und Tertia pars. Das Trio ist zunächst von Imitationen und Mensurpaaren bestimmt (siehe Notenbeispiel 2) und geht am Schluß zu einem dreifachen Choralzitat in Bassus, Altus und Tenor über. Das *O pia* ist ein reiner Cantus-firmus-Satz mit frei begleitenden Figuren. Im Vordergrund steht der Wechsel der Satzgestalten, die den Choral- oder Orgel-Vortrag der übrigen Zeilen beleben.

[27] Eine Gegenüberstellung der Notenwerte findet sich in DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/9), S. lxxxi; vgl. die Erörterung dieser Mensurkombination in M. JUST, *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, 1, Tutzing, 1975, S. 147–151.

[28] H. BESSELER ed., *Guillelmi Dufay opera omnia*, (*CMM* 1/6, *Cantiones*), Rom, 1964, Nr. 73, S. 88–89.

[29] BESSELER, *Guillelmi Dufay opera omnia*, (*CMM* 1/6, *Cantiones*), Nr. 91, S. 109.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 347



Notenbeispiel 5. Pierre de la Rue, *Salve regina* III (MunBS 34, Nr. 14), M. 51–66.

hfst Just 12-11-2003 14:08 Pagina 348

Die umfangreichere alternatim-Bearbeitung, *Salve regina* V, deutet den Choral nur sporadisch an; sie geht recht frei mit ihm um, und es ist die Frage, ob der Quartsprung aufwärts, der die Anfangsimitation prägt, wirklich aus dem Quintfall der Antiphon abgeleitet ist.[30] Die vier Partes werden eher von freien Imitationsmotiven geprägt. Die Sätze unterscheiden sich jedoch in ihrem Aufbau so deutlich, daß auch hier die Abwechslung gegenüber den ungeradzahligen Zeilen hervortritt. Die Prima pars ist trotz regelmäßiger Mensurgruppen wenig gegliedert. Im Trio herrscht eine dreitönige, punktierte Minimenfigur, die sich schrittweise bewegt und teils auf der ersten, teils auf der zweiten Zeit einsetzt. Die Kombination beider Formen dient, wie schon gesagt, als rhythmische Schlußsteigerung (siehe Notenbeispiel 3). Die Tertia pars ist vom Wechsel zwischen Tutti und korrespondierenden Duos disponiert, und in der tanzhaften Proportio tripla des Schlußsatzes lösen sich hemiolische Duos ab, die dann in den vollstimmigen Schluß integriert werden.

Trotz satztechnischer und stilistischer Übereinstimmungen, die am plausibelsten mit einer gemeinsamen Entstehungszeit erklärt werden können, unterscheiden sich die *Salve-regina*-Bearbeitungen (siehe Tabelle 1) unter mehreren Aspekten so deutlich, dass sich das Bild eines planvoll differenzierten Bestandes ergibt, in das auch *Salve regina* VI zu integrieren ist, selbst wenn unklar bleibt, warum es nicht in die Münchner Handschrift (MunBS 34) aufgenommen wurde. Wir haben drei tief- und drei hochgeschlüsselte Werke. Die Mensuren der drei zweiteiligen schöpfen die üblichen Zusammenstellungen aus: in Nummer I nur C2, in Nummer III C + ¢ und in Nummer VI O + C2; die dreiteilige Nummer II bleibt bei ¢, und die vierteiligen stimmen nur in den Mensuren der Trios überein (¢ = C2). Die insgesamt drei dreistimmigen Sätze lassen je eine andere Stimme pausieren: in Nummer II den Altus, in Nummer IV den Superius und in Nummer V den Tenor. Die Choralbehandlung in den vollständigen Bearbeitungen (SR I–III und VI) setzt unterschiedliche Akzente: I Kanon – II starke Choralpräsenz – III Choralparaphrase in Figurenwerk – VI Choral komprimiert auf wenige Töne. In den alternatim-Werken ist der Choral in Nummer IV neben den Chansons stärker vertreten – in Nummer V eher reduziert. Selbst die Umfänge lassen sich *cum grano salis* zur Differenzierung heranziehen: extrem unterscheiden sich die Nummern II und VI, weniger deutlich die Nummern IV und V. Die Nummern I und III differieren bei nahezu gleichem Umfang doch als Kanon und figurierte Bearbeitung sowie im Tonraum, *d* beziehungsweise *a*. Weniger mit einem Stichwort wiederzugeben sind die Konzepte von Disposition und Ausarbeitung. Dafür ist an die kurzen Beschreibungen zu erinnern. Soweit bekannt, ist ein solches sechsteiliges Repertoire von *Salve-regina*-Kompositionen eines Autors um 1500 einmalig und nicht zuletzt dank der burgundisch-habsburgischen Schreibwerkstatt uns erhalten geblieben.

[30] Vgl. DAVISON, *Pierre de la Rue: Opera omnia*, (*CMM* 97/9), S. lxxxiii.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 349

THE SACRED MUSIC OF MATHURIN FORESTIER

Thomas G. MacCracken
Oakton, Virginia

Few people today are familiar with the music of Mathurin Forestier, or have even heard of his name. We possess virtually no definite information about his life, and most of his nine compositions – four secular pieces, two motets, and three masses, listed in Table 1 – remained unpublished until seven years ago, when Nors Josephson and I edited them for the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*.[1] Forestier's connection to the scribal workshop of Petrus Alamire is based on the presence of all three of his masses, as well as one of the two motets bearing his name, in manuscripts belonging to the so-called Netherlands (or Burgundian-Habsburg) court complex; full details are given in Table 2. Indeed, the motet *Alma chorus Domini* and two of the masses survive exclusively in this group of sources, with the *Missa L'homme armé* appearing in no fewer than four manuscripts, and the *Missa Baises moy* in two. The *Missa Intemerata virgo* likewise appears in two manuscripts from the Alamire workshop, as well as in two others originating elsewhere.

Although Forestier has remained almost completely unknown in the twentieth century, this was apparently not the case some 475 years ago: because the eight Netherlands court manuscripts which contain his music were sent to destinations both near and far – including Amsterdam and 's-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands, Augsburg and Wittenberg in Germany, plus papal Rome and imperial Spain[2] – it seems clear not only that his music was considered by his contemporaries to be worthy of preservation and dissemination, but also that it was known – or at least available – in a number of important musical centers across Europe.

Another reason for concluding that Forestier was a person of some reputation in his own time is that he is one of the two dozen musicians named in the text of Pierre Moulu's motet *Mater floreat florescat*, found uniquely in the Medici Codex of 1518 – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Acquisti e doni 666 (FlorL 666).[3] As shown in the text and translation of the motet below,[4] Forestier's name appears in the *secunda pars*, together with a dozen other men, fully half of whom are known to have belonged to the French royal chapel under Louis XII (r. 1498–1515),[5] while two more were active elsewhere in Paris or at court during the same period,[6] as was Moulu himself:

[1] N.S. JOSEPHSON and T.G. MacCRACKEN eds., *Mathurini Forestier opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 104), Stuttgart, 1996.
[2] Respectively: BrusBR IV.922, 's HerAB 72B, VienNB 4810 and VienNB Mus. 15941, JenaU 3 and JenaU 4, VatS 160, and MontsM 766.
[3] See E.E. LOWINSKY ed., *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 3–5), Chicago, 1968, 3, pp. 73–75 and 155 (commentary); 4, pp. 125–132 (score); 5, fol. 51v–55 (facsimile).
[4] After LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 3, p. 73.
[5] Longueval, Lourdault, Prioris, Févin, Divitis, and Mouton.
[6] Brumel worked at Notre-Dame from 1498 to 1500; Hilaire probably worked for the royal couple before entering the chapel of the Duke of Ferrara in 1504.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 350

Prima pars:
Mater floreat florescat modulata musicorum melodia. Crescat celebris Dufay cadentia, prosperetur praeclarus Regis; Busnois, Baziron subtiles glorientur. Triumphet Alexander magnificus, congaudeant Obrecht, Compère, Eloy, Hayne, La Rue memorabiles. Josquin incomparabilis bravium accipiat.

Mother music, measured melody, may she flourish and prosper. May the celebrated Dufay's cadence grow and may the famous Regis be made to prosper; glory to the subtle Busnois and Baziron. May the magnificent Alexander triumph and may rejoice with him the memorable Obrecht, Compère, Eloy, Hayne, and La Rue. May the incomparable Josquin receive the prize.

Secunda pars:
Rutilet Delphicus de Longueval tamquam sol inter stellas, Lourdault, Prioris amenus. Nec absint decori fratres de Févin, Hilaire hilaris, Divitis felix. Brumel, Isaac, Nynot, Mathurin Forestier, Bruhier facundi, Mouton cum vellere aureo: date gloriam regi et reginae in cordis et organo.

May the Apollonic Longueval shine like the sun among the stars, Lourdault, the charming Prioris. Nor should we miss the agreeable brothers De Févin, Hilaire, the cheerful, and the happy Divitis. The eloquent Brumel, Isaac, Nynot, Mathurin Forestier, Bruhier, and Mouton with the Golden Fleece: Render glory to the King and the Queen with strings and organ.

It is remarkable that, among this group of illustrious musicians (including three who served as *maître de chapelle* to either Louis XII, his wife Anne of Brittany, or his son-in-law and successor Francis I),[7] Forestier is the only person about whom we seem to know nothing at all biographically – at least under that name. More than thirty years ago, however, in the commentary to his edition of the Medici Codex (FlorL 666), Edward Lowinsky suggested that Forestier might be the same person as a certain *Mathurin Dubuysson*, who is known to have worked as a tenor singer at the Sainte-Chapelle at various times between 1489 and 1513.[8] Apart from the shared and relatively unusual given name, and the rough correspondence of meaning between their two surnames (in English, 'Forester' and something like 'Woodsman' [*buisson* = bush]), the hypothesis that these two people were one and the same is strengthened by the documented use of alternate names or nicknames by several members of the very group of musicians with whom he is associated in the text of Moulu's motet.[9]

If Forestier is indeed another name for Dubuysson, who was a tenor and thus an adult by 1489, then he was probably born not much later than about 1470. And since there are no sources for his sacred music later than the mid-1530s, it seems reasonable to suppose that Forestier may have died some time during that decade (if not the previous one), by which time he would have been in his sixties. These estimates would make him approximately the same age as the other composers whose music appears alongside his in the Netherlands court manuscripts, which seems a sensible assumption quite apart from any other factors. Although it may at first seem odd to suggest that Forestier worked at (or at least in the general milieu of) the French court, when most of his sacred music appears exclusively in manuscripts from the Netherlands court, this situation can be explained easily enough, first by the great scarcity of surviving sources from anywhere in France at this time, and secondly because, as Herbert Kellman has noted, after 1508 "there [was] an influx into the Nether-

[7] Respectively: Prioris (1503), Mouton (1510), and Longueval (1517).
[8] LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex of 1518*, 3, p. 74, n. 34; cf. M. BRENET, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris, 1910, pp. 41–42, 47–48, 61–62, and 64. Forestier also served as one of two *maistres des enffens* in 1503/1504 (S. BONIME, *Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514) and Music: An Archival Study*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975, p. 37), in addition to filling similar positions at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Rouen from 1507 to 1512.
[9] *Longueval* = a la Venture, *Lourdault* = Jean Braconnier, *Divitis* = Le Riche, *Mouton* = Jehan de Holluigue.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 351

SECULAR WORKS		
La haulte d'alemaigne	a3	*RISM* B/1504[3] (Petrucci, *Canti C* [textless])
L'aultre jour en un jardin	a4	*RISM* B/1538[13] (Attaingnant & Jullet, *Quart livre contenant XXVII chansons*)
Frere Bidault	a4	*RISM* B/1541[7] (Moderne, *Le Parangon des chansons, Huytiesme livre*)
O cruaulté qui m'as mis	a4	*RISM* B/1541[7] and MunBS 1508
MOTETS		
Alma chorus Domini	a4	text and cantus firmus: sequence for the octave of Pentecost
Veni Sancte Spiritus	a6	text and cantus firmus: sequence for Pentecost
MASSES		
Missa Intemerata virgo	a4	based on parts 3 and 4 of Josquin's *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*
Missa Baises moy	a5	based on Josquin's chanson *Baises moy ma doulce amye*
Missa L'homme armé	a5	based on the monophonic song *L'homme armé*

Table 1. Compositions by Mathurin Forestier.

COMPOSITION	MS SIGLUM AND FOLIO	ATTRIBUTION
Missa Intemerata virgo	's HerAB 72B, fol. 134v–153	anonymous
	VienNB 4810, fol. 61v–80	Mathurin Forestier
	[pencil: 65v–84]	
	also in:	
	UppsU 76b, fol. 78–86	anonymous [France, c. 1515–1535]
	VatP 1982, fol. 38v–46 (D only)	Furestier [Rome, c. 1513–1523]
Missa Baises moy	JenaU 4, fol. 102v–112	Mathurin Forestier
	MontsM 766, fol. 6v–18	[Ma]thurin Forestier
Missa L'homme armé	BrusBR IV.922, fol. 103v–116v	Mathurin Forestir
	JenaU 3, fol. 91v–104	Johannes Mouton
	MontsM 766, fol. 19v–35v	Mathurini Forestier
	VatS 160, fol. 97v–110	Mathurin Forestyn
Alma chorus Domini	VienNB Mus. 15941, no. 19	index: Mathurin Forestier
	CT fol. 66v–68v;	
	T fol. 66v–68;	
	B fol. 64v–66;	
	D lost	

Table 2. Sacred music by Mathurin Forestier in manuscripts of the Burgundian-Habsburg court complex.

lands repertory of music by composers working at the French court, or elsewhere in France...". In fact, with only the possible exception of JenaU 4, all the Netherlands court manuscripts containing Forestier's music date from after Alamire's two trips to France between 1516 and 1518;[10] these manuscripts are listed in chronological order in Table 3.

[10] H. KELLMAN, *Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B.J. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London – New York, 1976, pp. 181–216, at p. 200, n. 66. JenaU 4 is dated "1512–19, probably ca. 1513" in C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscripts Studies*, 1), 1, Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979, p. 289; but more recently Flynn Warmington has proposed that it, too, was copied no earlier than 1516; see F. WARMINGTON, *A Master Calligrapher in Alamire's Workshop: A Chronology of his Work*, unpublished paper, American Musicological Society, November 5, 1982.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 352

DATE	MS SIGLUM	COMPOSITION	ATTRIBUTION
c. 1513	JenaU 4	*Missa Baises moy*	Mathurin Forestier
c. 1518–1519	VatS 160	*Missa L'homme armé*	Mathurin Forestyn
1518–1520	JenaU 3	*Missa L'homme armé*	Johannes Mouton
c. 1521–1525	VienNB 4810	*Missa Intemerata virgo*	Mathurin Forestier
c. 1521–1531	VienNB Mus. 15941	*Alma chorus Domini*	Mathurin Forestier
c. 1524?	MontsM 766	*Missa Baises moy*	[Ma]thurin Forestier
		Missa L'homme armé	Mathurin Forestier
1526–1534	BrusBR IV.922	*Missa L'homme armé*	Mathurin Forestir
1530–1531	's HerAB 72B	*Missa Intemerata virgo*	–

Table 3. Burgundian-Habsburg court manuscripts containing music by Forestier, by date.

THE THREE MASSES

Stylistically, Forestier's sacred works clearly belong to the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish mainstream. Each composition is based on previously existing material – whether plainchant, a secular song, or a motet – surrounded with newly composed melodic motives, which are sometimes (but not always) treated in a series of points of imitation.[11] In particular, Forestier's music displays certain technical features reminiscent of Josquin and Mouton, both of whom of course also spent time at the French court in the years immediately after 1500. Forestier's three masses are all modeled in one way or another on compositions by Josquin, and two of them conspicuously demonstrate a skill at canonic writing similar to that for which Mouton was well-known to his contemporaries.

Lacking any information on their relative chronology, I will briefly describe the three masses in order of increasing overall compositional complexity, which is also the order in which they are listed in Tables 1 and 2. The *Missa Intemerata virgo,* for four voices, is based on two sections of Josquin's motet cycle *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur,* specifically parts 3 (*Intemerata virgo*) and 4 (*O Maria*). For example, the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo movements all begin with the same ten measures of music in all four voice parts; the openings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are similar but somewhat modified. The first three measures of this head motive are an exact quote from the beginning of Josquin's *Intemerata virgo* motet, heard first in the soprano and alto – as in the original – and then answered identically an octave lower by tenor and bass when Forestier introduces those voices in measures 4–6. In this mass the vocal texture is never expanded beyond four voices, whether through the use of canon or by other means.[12]

The *Missa Baises moy*, for five voices, is based on Josquin's canonic chanson *Baises moy, ma doulce amye*, published in Petrucci's *Canti B* (*RISM* B/1502[2]), which is itself based on a monophonic song of the same name. Forestier quotes all four of Josquin's voice parts note-for-note in

[11] *Alma chorus Domini* and *Missa Intemerata virgo* are largely imitative, the other two masses less so – probably because of their extensive use of canon.

[12] The scoring is, however, reduced in some of the usual places, namely when setting the texts *Et incarnatus* (a3) / *Et resurrexit* (a2) / *Et iterum venturus* (a2), *Pleni sunt coeli* (a3), *Benedictus qui venit* (a2), and *Agnus Dei 2* (a2).

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 353

the opening six measures of his mass before going on to present the original tune in an impressive variety of new combinations with itself, including instances where not merely one but two or even three new voices play follow-the-leader and others where the song melody is presented either as a crab canon (retrograde) or a mirror canon (inversion) – or even both together, as in the final section of the Agnus Dei movement; Table 4 gives a complete list of these canons. The second Agnus Dei is also remarkable for twice progressing around the circle of fifths as far as D flat (see Example 1), while the third Agnus Dei features a triple canon using retrograde inversion.

SECTION	PITCH INTERVAL	TIME INTERVAL	REMARKS*
Kyrie 1	4th above	1 breve	
Christe	4th + 5th above	1 + 2 breves	dux = bassus: sol-la-sol only, in all hexachords
Kyrie 2	4th below	2 breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete
Et in terra	4th above	2 breves	
Qui tollis	4th above	2 breves	
Patrem	4th above	5 breves	in duple augmentation
[*Et incarnatus* a3	–	–	no canon, c.f. tacet, but portions in D + CT]
Et resurrexit	unison	3 breves	retrograde: T1 recte/T2 retro, then each reverses
Confiteor	4th above	1 breve	
Sanctus	unison	4 breves	
[*Pleni* a3	–	–	no canon, c.f. in contratenor, up a 4th]
Hosanna a6	4th + 5th above	1 + 2 breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete
[*Benedictus* a3	–	–	no canon, c.f. tacet]
Agnus 1	unison	3 breves	retrograde: T2 recte, T1 retro
Agnus 2	4th above	1 breve	c.f.: A' is incomplete
Agnus 3 a7	4th above	1 breve	c.f.: A' is incomplete
	8ve above	simultaneous	retrograde inversion
	11th above	1 breve	retrograde inversion

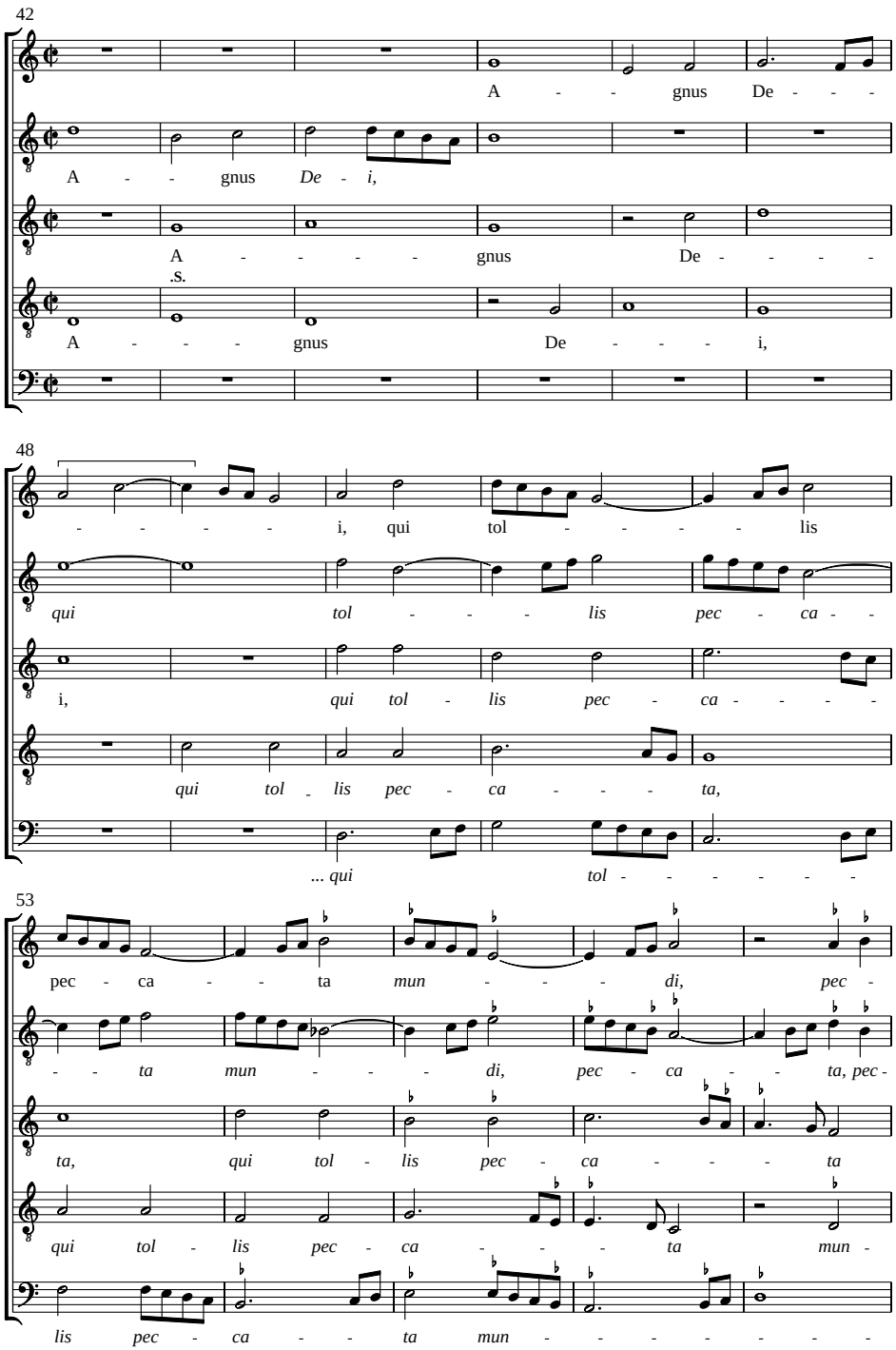
* Unless otherwise noted, the dux is the tenor and presents the complete melody in each section;
A' = the part after the B section.

Table 4. Canons in Forestier's *Missa Baises moy*.

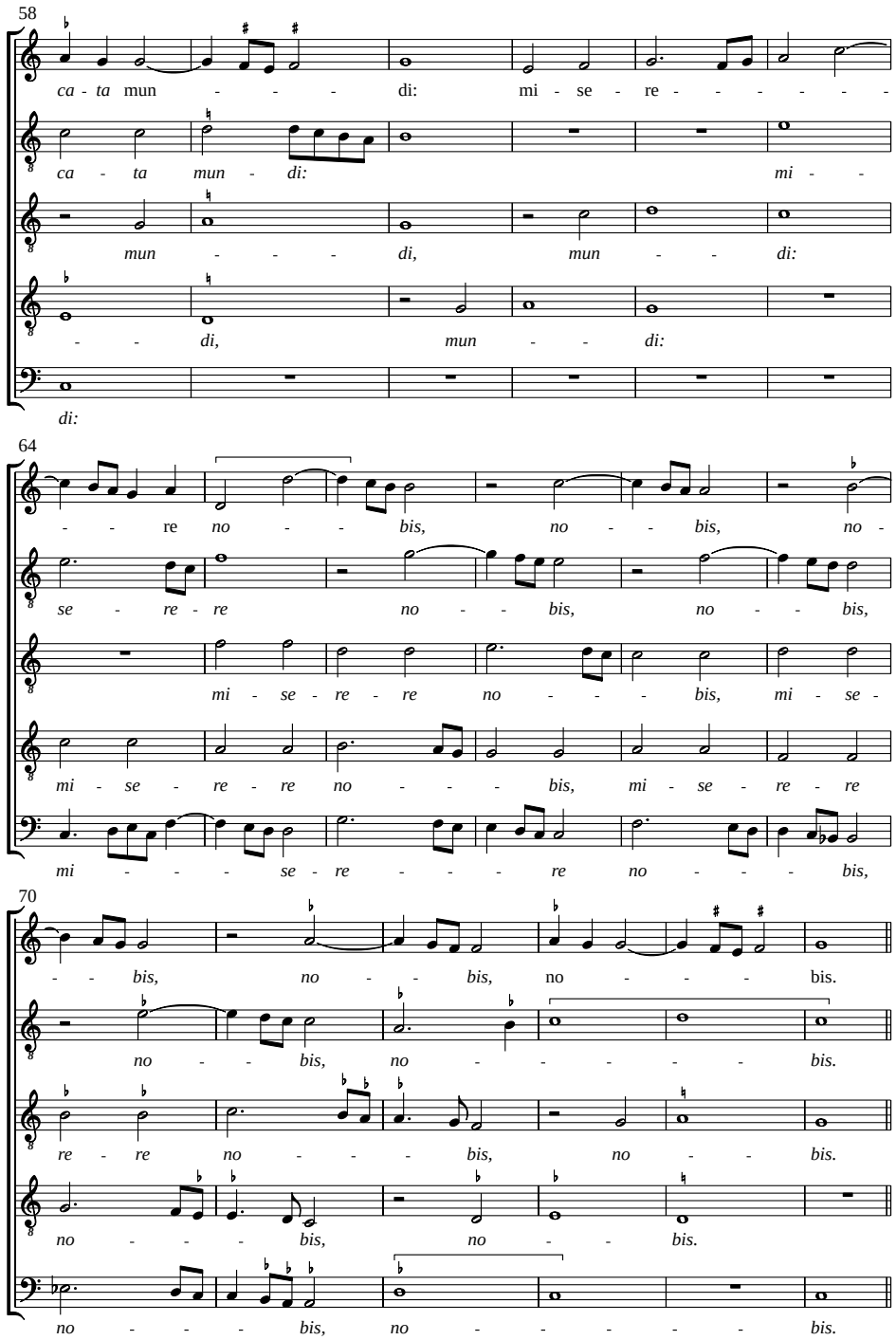
The *Missa L'homme armé* is also scored for five voices and also makes extensive use of canonic writing throughout, as shown in Table 5. While the cantus firmus itself is of course the well-known monophonic tune used by so many Renaissance composers, the connection to Josquin becomes apparent in Forestier's decision to present it 'super voces musicales', much as the older master did in his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, published by Petrucci in 1502 (*RISM* A/I/J 666). Forestier does this by using a different pitch interval for each of the first six canonic statements of the borrowed melody: while the lead voice (dux) always begins on G, in the Kyrie the following voice (comes) is instructed to start a fifth lower on *UT*, in the two sections of the Gloria on *RE* and *MI*, in the first and last sections of the Credo on *FA* and *SOL*, and finally in the Sanctus on *LA*. The remainder of the mass is devoted to a demonstration of the composer's skill in a series of multiple-voiced canons: from the Hosanna onward we find three double canons and one triple, culminating in a remarkable Agnus Dei 3 in which seven voices sing (what is admittedly a modified version of) the A section of the *L'homme armé* tune in canon, with no other, newly composed lines to accompany them (see Example 2).

Our appreciation of the contrapuntal virtuosity found in this mass is, however, at least momentarily disturbed by a question about its authorship, for while in three manuscripts it is unmistakably

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 354



hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 355



Example 1. Mathurin Forestier, *Missa Baises moy*, Agnus Dei, mm. 42–75, after JOSEPHSON & MacCRACKEN, *Mathurini Forestier opera omnia*, pp. 106–108.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 356

credited to Mathurin Forestier (albeit twice with slight misspellings of his last name) in the fourth source, JenaU 3, we find instead *Johannes Mouton* on the opening folio of this work.[13] At one level, this discrepancy can be explained quite simply by observing that each of these four attributions was written by a different person, namely scribe C5 in JenaU 3 (*Mouton*), scribe I in BrusBR IV.922 (*Forestir*), scribe F in MontsM 766 (*Forestier*), and scribe X in VatS 160 (*Forestyn*).[14]

But this information leads us to ask the further question of why scribe C5 wrote Mouton's name rather than Forestier's: was he merely copying what he found in his exemplar? If so, and if we assume that the others did likewise, then it follows that they must have been working from different exemplars. This in turn suggests that the scriptorium did not have a master copy of this work which was kept on file and used to produce further copies whenever desired. Although a collation of variants among the four surviving manuscripts for the *Missa L'homme armé* itself is not very revealing,[15] such a conclusion is strongly supported by Forestier's *Missa Intemerata virgo*, whose two sources prepared in the court workshop ('s HerAB 72B and VienNB 4810) have so many variants in their musical texts as to make it very unlikely that either could have been copied from the other, or both from a common exemplar.[16]

Of course, the most interesting question of all remains: Which of these two conflicting attributions is correct? A convincing case in favor of Forestier's authorship of the *Missa L'homme armé* can be made by considering this work in the context of other masses by each composer.[17] While Mouton was unquestionably a master of canonic writing (as revealed, for example, by his motets *Ave Maria gemma virginum* and *Nesciens mater*, both 8-ex-4), he employed this technique only sparingly in his fifteen masses. Taken as a group they contain only five individual sections involving canon, never more than twice in a given mass and each time with only a single added voice, for a maximum of six-part texture.[18] Indeed, Mouton only twice wrote for as many as six voices anywhere in his masses,[19] and he exceeds this number only in four of his ninety-eight motets.[20] Further-

[13] Mouton's first name is only seldom rendered *Johannes* in sixteenth-century sources, but six out of fifteen such cases are found in Netherlands court complex manuscripts.

[14] I am grateful to Flynn Warmington for providing me with these specific identifications during the Alamire conference in Leuven, 27 November 1999.

[15] Most variants involve matters arguably subject to the initiative of individual scribes, such as cadential ornamentation and the splitting or combining of note values; however, it is clear that VatS 160 – the earliest source – is not closely related to the other three, which frequently agree on a different reading.

[16] See T.G. MacCRACKEN, *The Manuscript Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985, pp. 322–323; the readings in VienNB 4810 (probably the earlier of the two) are better, which is why it was chosen as the primary source for the *Opera omnia*.

[17] Another possibly useful perspective on the disputed authorship of the *Missa L'homme armé* can be gained by examining the context in which it appears in each of its four sources: while neither JenaU 3 nor VatS 160 contains any other compositions by either man, in BrusBR IV.922 this work immediately follows Mouton's *Missa L'oseraije dire* but bears an attribution to Forestier, while in MontsM 766 it follows Forestier's *Missa Baises moy*, with both works being credited to the same composer. Thus, the attributions to Forestier in the latter two manuscripts gain (at least somewhat) in credibility by being in the one case juxtaposed with a contrasting attribution to Mouton, and in the other case paired with a second work by Forestier himself.

[18] Canonic writing is found in the two musically different Hosanna sections of Mouton's *Missa Alleluia*, plus the Hosanna of *Missa Sans cadence* and the Agnus Dei 3 sections of *Missa L'oseraije dire* (a6) and *Missa Tua est potentia*; see A.C. MINOR ed., *Joannis Mouton opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 43), s.l., 1967–1974, vols. 1, 3, and 4.

[19] In the Agnus Dei 3 sections of *Missa L'oseraije dire* (canonic) and *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus* (non-canonic).

[20] In the two 8-ex-4 works just mentioned (both edited in A. SMIJERS, *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1534 et 1535*, 3, Paris, 1938, pp. 173–176 and 43–51 respectively) plus two motets for eight independent voice parts: *Exsultet conjubilando* and *Verbum bonum et soave* (neither one available in a pub-

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 357

more, in his fourteen motets containing canons – only eight of which apply this technique to a cantus firmus[21] – he never has more than one comes for each dux. Thus, Mouton's sacred music offers no precedent either for the double and triple canons found in the *Missa L'homme armé*, or for any kind of seven-part writing, canonic or otherwise. Forestier's *Missa Baises moy*, on the other hand, provides ample evidence that he was both interested in and competent at writing numerous and complex canons in a setting of the mass ordinary, and in fact inclined to employ this technique virtually throughout such a work, with the exception of a few sections scored for only three voices. Specifically, the final Agnus Dei of the *Missa Baises moy* demonstrates both that Forestier was capable of creating a triple canon and that he did not hesitate to expand the texture of his compositions to as many as seven voice parts. Despite the aberrant attribution found in JenaU 3, therefore, there is no real reason to question Forestier's authorship of the *Missa L'homme armé*, since the work's structural profile matches his known inclinations as a composer of masses much more closely than it does Mouton's.[22]

SECTION	PITCH INTERVAL	TIME INTERVAL	REMARKS*
Kyrie/Christe/Kyrie	5th below (*UT*)	1 breve	
Et in terra	4th below (*RE*)	2 breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete
Qui tollis	3rd below (*MI*)	3 breves	'comes' begins, 'dux' follows
Patrem	2nd below (*FA*)	2 breves	
[*Et incarnatus* a3	–	–	no canon, tenor tacet but c.f. in CT, B/D, B]
Et resurrexit	unison (*SOL*)	4 (semi)breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete; in O, vs. others' ¢
Sanctus	2nd above (*LA*)	1 breve	
Pleni	2nd above	1 breve	tenor tacet; c.f. in discantus (BB only)
Hosanna a6	7th below + 5th above	1 + 2 breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete
Benedictus	4th, 7th + 10th above	1, 2 + 3 breves	dux = bassus; c.f.: A' is incomplete
Agnus 1 a6	5th + 4th below	1 + 2 breves	c.f.: A' is incomplete
Agnus 2	7th + 3rd above	2 + 3 breves	dux = contratenor, follows 'comites'; A' incomplete
Agnus 3 a7	4th, 7th + 8ve above	1, 2 + 3 breves	c.f.: A only (modified)
	11th, 14th + 15th above	4, 5 + 6 breves	

* Unless otherwise noted, the dux is the tenor and presents the complete melody in each section; A' = the part after the B section.

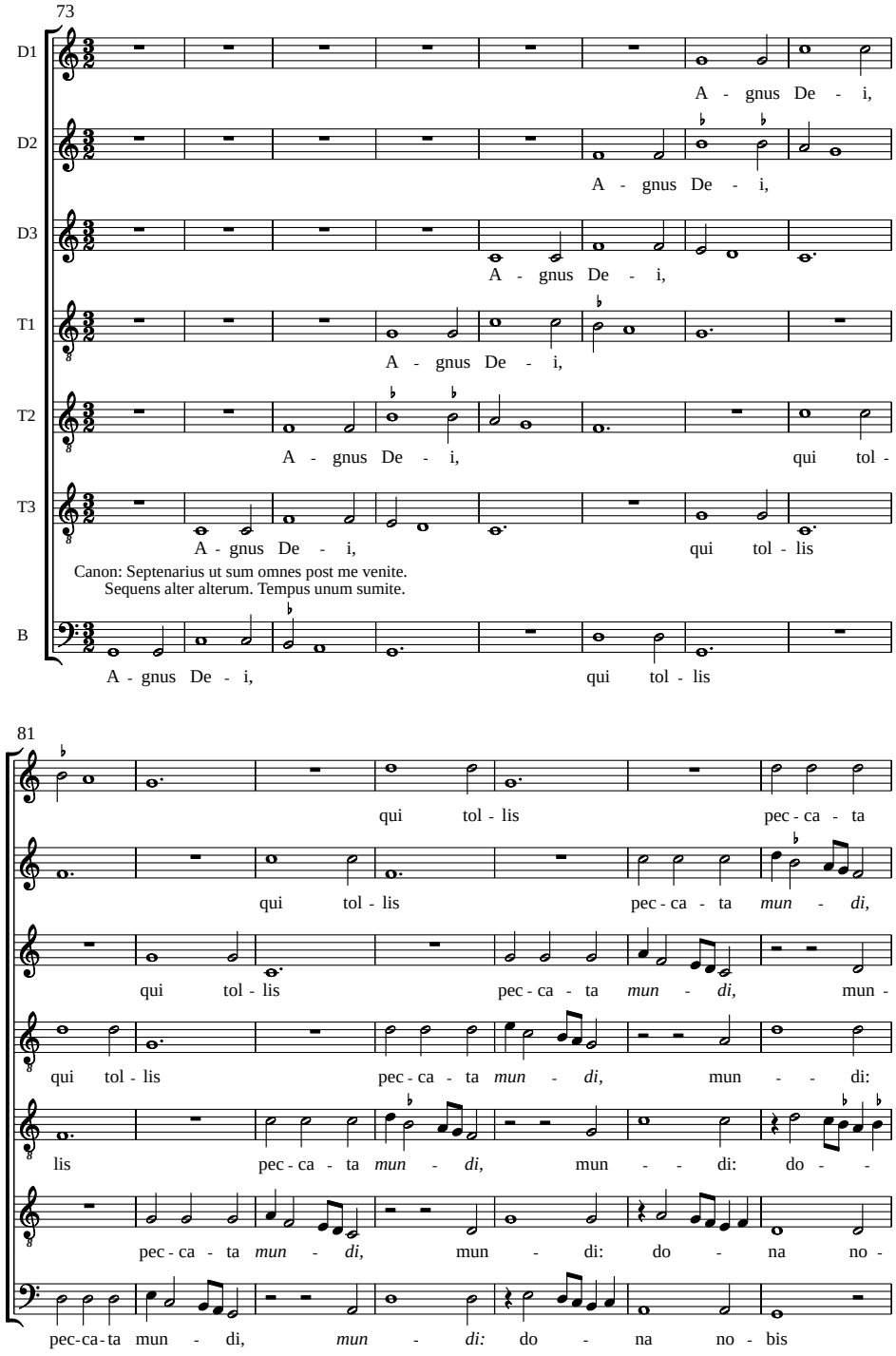
Table 5. Canons in Forestier's *Missa L'homme armé.*

lished modern edition, but see J. SHINE, *The Motets of Jean Mouton*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953, 1, pp. 267–287, and 2, pp. 853–890 respectively).

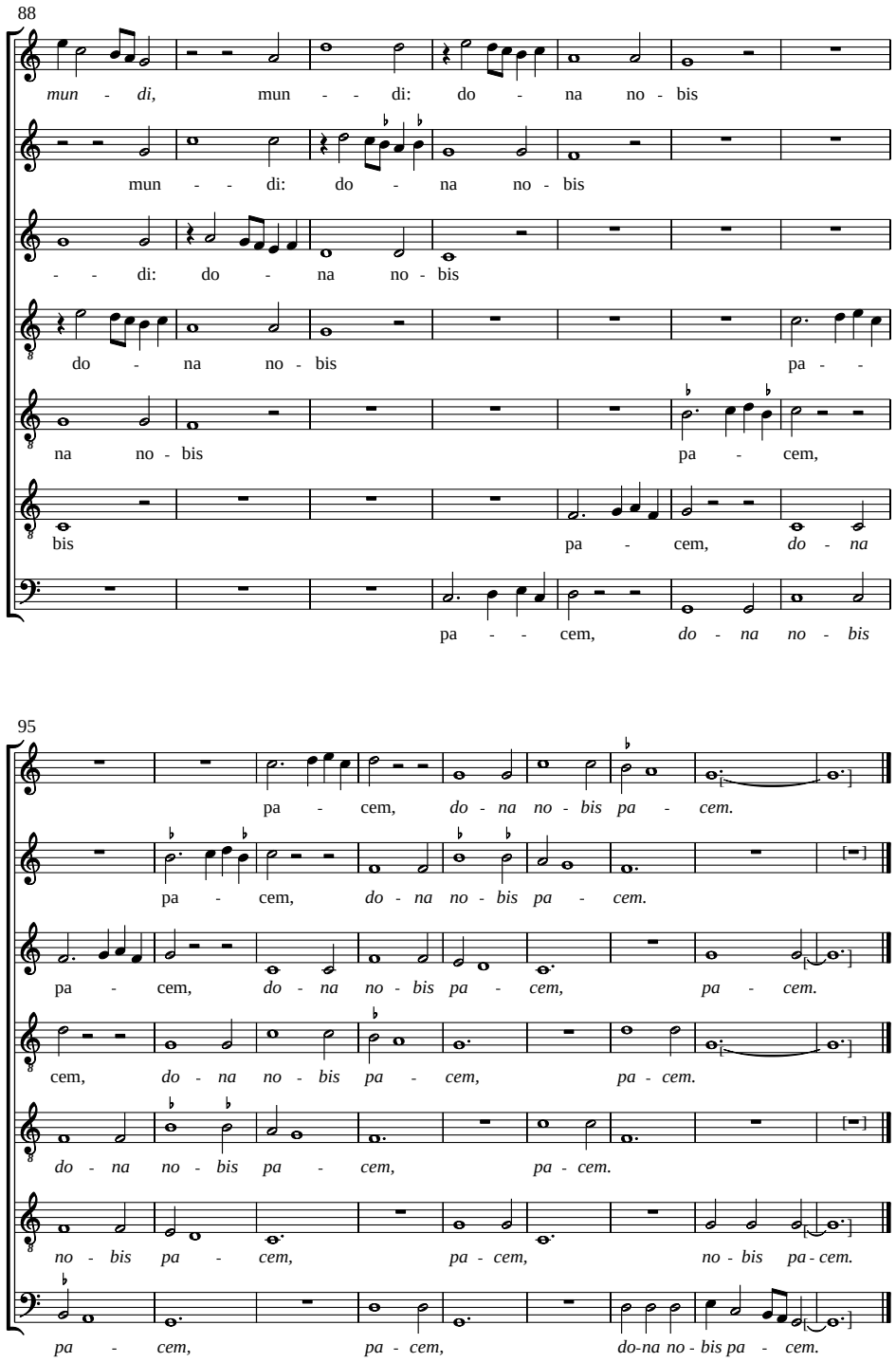
[21] The fourteen motets are (* = canonic cantus firmus): *Ave Maria gemma virginum* and **Nesciens mater*, 8-ex-4; **Benedicam Dominum*, **Confitemini Domino*, **Da pacem Domine*, and **Salva nos Domine*, 6-ex-5; *Peccata mea Domine*, *Peccantem me quotidie*, **Per lignum salvi*, and **Tua est potentia*, 5-ex-4; *Ave Maria... benedicta tu*, **Benedicta es caelorum regina*, and *Salve mater salvatoris*, 4-ex-3 (the first and third of these being mirror canons); and *Ave virgo caeli porta* (also known with the text *Libera animam*), 4-ex-2. Only in the chanson *En venant de Lyon* (4-ex-1) did Mouton ever call for more than one comes from a given canonic dux: for a modern edition of this piece, see F. DOBBINS ed., *The Oxford Book of French Chansons*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 18–19.

[22] Admittedly, the *Missa L'homme armé* is much more sophisticated than either of Forestier's other masses. A logical explanation for this discrepancy would be to assume that it is a later work, and that Forestier, like most composers, grew more and more skillful in the course of his career.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 358



hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 359



Example 2. Mathurin Forestier, *Missa L'homme armé*, Agnus Dei, mm. 73–103, after JOSEPHSON & MacCRACKEN, *Mathurini Forestier opera omnia*, pp. 151–153.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 360

THE TWO MOTETS

Both of Forestier's motets are cantus firmus settings of sequence texts. The four-voice *Alma chorus Domini*, which consists primarily of a list of names and attributes for Christ, survives only in VienNB Mus. 15941, a set of partbooks from which the discantus is unfortunately lost. It is clear, however, that in many places the missing soprano part of *Alma chorus Domini* must have been largely based on the chant melody,[23] a feature which greatly facilitated its editorial reconstruction by Nors Josephson and myself. The work's *prima pars* contrasts duet or trio sections with passages for all four voices, working through the text usually on a line-by-line basis, while the *secunda pars* offers more frequently varied textures, concluding with a triple-meter setting of the prayerful closing words: *Salvificet nos, sit cui saecula per omnia doxa, Amen* ('May he deliver us, to whom be glory forever and ever, Amen'). There is no use of canon.

Finally, we come to the six-voice setting of the Pentecost Sunday sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus.* In contrast to *Alma chorus Domini* and the three masses, this work has long been familiar to modern musicians and scholars as a work by Josquin Desprez. And indeed, as shown in Table 6, eight out of seventeen sources do name him as its composer, while a further eight lack any attribution; Forestier's name appears only in the manuscript Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b (UppsU 76b). Our first question must therefore be: Why should we believe this lone witness, especially since neither it nor any of the other surviving sources comes from the Netherlands court scriptorium, through whose doors all of Forestier's other sacred music is known to have passed?

There are two kinds of reasons for favoring Forestier rather than Josquin as the composer of this motet: source evidence and stylistic analysis of the music itself. In the first place, UppsU 76b is almost surely the earliest source for the piece, probably dating from between 1515 and 1535 and thus conceivably within the lifetimes of one or both composers in question.[24] UppsU 76b is also the earlier of only two French sources containing *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, the other being Le Roy & Ballard's 1555 print ostensibly devoted entirely to motets by Josquin (*RISM* A/I/J 678). However, not only this late print but also all the German sources which assign the work to Josquin can be shown to have derived their musical texts – and thus presumably their attributions as well – from Formschneider's *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (*RISM* B/1537[1]),[25] whose unreliability in such matters can be demonstrated in several other cases;[26] the only non-German source to name Josquin, the manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS R142 (BolC R142), also con-

[23] Either because no other voice has a given phrase of the chant or as a result of the predominantly imitative texture in which all four voices take turns presenting portions of the cantus firmus.

[24] In this respect it is potentially rivaled only by BolC R142, which might have been copied as early as 1523 but more likely dates from the late 1540s, as argued by Bonnie Blackburn, in: B.J. BLACKBURN, *Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1976), pp. 30–76, at p. 52; see also MacCRACKEN, *The Manuscript Uppsala 76b*, pp. 450–451.

[25] *RISM* A/I/J 678 (1555), *RISM* B/1558[4], and StuttL 36 were probably copied directly from this publication, while MunBS 1536 and RegB 878–82 are based on *RISM* B/1558[4] (MacCRACKEN, *The Manuscript Uppsala 76b*, pp. 442–449). Although RosU 42/1 is officially unavailable for examination or microfilming, Nors Josephson was able to see it and list a few variants, which suggest that it, too, is likely to have been copied from *RISM* B/1537[1], either directly or indirectly.

[26] *RISM* B/1537[1] contains three other incorrect Josquin attributions, as noted by Osthoff: *Quam pulchra es... Quam pulchrae sunt* (Mouton), *Tribulatio et angustia* (Verdelot), and *Congratulamini mihi omnes* (Richafort); see H. OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2, Tutzing, 1965, p. 11.

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 361

Abbreviations: *D* = Discantus, *CT* = Contratenor, *T* = Tenor, *B* = Bassus, *QV* = Quinta vox, *SV* = Sexta vox

SOURCE	SECTION / FOLIO	ATTRIBUTION
UppsU 76b	fol. 115v–117	M Forestier
BolC R142	no. 43, fol. 47–49 (T only)	Josquin
MunBS 1536	section 3, no. 95 (CT and QV lost)	Josquinus de Pres
RegB 878–82	no. 10 (QV lost)	Josquin des Prees
RosU 42/1	fol. 189v–199	Josquin Desprez
StuttL 36	fol. 12v–32	Josquin
RISM B/1537[1]	no. 1	Josquin
RISM A/I/J 678	no. 11 (D lost)	Josquini
RISM B/1558[4]	no. 1	Josquin de Prees
BerlPS 40013	fol. 65v–69	anonymous
DresSL Glashütte 5	no. 113 (D and CT only)	anonymous
DresSL Grimma 55	no. 4 (D, T, and B only)	anonymous
DresSL Pirna VIII	fol. 60–66	anonymous
GothaF A98	fol. lv–5	anonymous
HradKM 22	no. Bl, pp. 45–48 (T only)	anonymous
HradKM 29	no. 297, pp. 697–699 (B only)	anonymous
NurGN 83795	no. 21 (T and B only)	anonymous

Table 6. Sources of *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

tains a number of erroneous or questionable attributions involving this composer.[27] A final factor in favor of UppsU 76b is that its unknown compiler evidently drew his repertoire of masses, motets, and chansons from sources connected to French court circles, since among identifiable composers he features almost exclusively works by Mouton, Févin, and Josquin.[28] The manuscript even contains – albeit anonymously – the *Missa Intemerata virgo* by Forestier himself, thus proving that the scribe had some means of access to works by this composer.

In terms of musical style, *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is unusual in having two pairs of canonic voices, one carrying the chant cantus firmus and the other freely composed. To the best of my knowledge, this kind of structure is not found in any other motet by Josquin, and specifically not in any of the eight securely attributed six-voice motets, though five of these do contain a canonic presentation of a cantus firmus.[29] Another remarkable feature of *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is that the entire polyphonic complex repeats literally for each double verse of the sequence text (AA BB CC DD EE). This, too, is unlike Josquin's normal procedure, in which he varies not only the freely composed lines but also the rhythmic profile of the cantus firmus itself for the second statement of each melodic segment.

[27] The problems in BolC R142 include both definite and possible misattributions to Josquin as well as internal inconsistencies between the index and the individual pieces; see MacCRACKEN, *The Manuscript Uppsala 76b*, pp. 453–454.

[28] However, the pieces by Josquin in UppsU 76b are nearly all among his most widely disseminated, such as the *Missa de beata virgine*, *Praeter rerum seriem*, and *Plus nulz regretz*, and thus need not have come from French circles.

[29] These eight motets are (* = canonic cantus firmus): **Absolve quaesumus Domine*, *Ave nobilissima creatura*, **Benedicta es caelorum regina*, *Huc me sydereo*, **O virgo prudentissima*, *O virgo virginum*, **Pater noster/Ave Maria*, and **Praeter rerum seriem.*

hfst MacCracken 12-11-2003 13:59 Pagina 362

Obviously, it would be difficult to claim either of these features as typical of Forestier's style, since we have for comparison only one other motet which, though it coincidentally also sets a sequence text, is written for only four voices, a format which makes double canon relatively unlikely.[30] Even in his two canonic masses, Forestier never introduces a second, newly composed canon to compete with those based on the cantus firmus; but his accomplishments in this area are sufficiently impressive that it is not difficult to believe he could have written a piece structured like *Veni Sancte Spiritus* if he had wanted to. Of course, Josquin could easily have done the same; however, a survey of his much larger body of surviving compositions reveals no evidence that he actually did so, just as Mouton never added more than a single canonically derived line to any of his masses, though he was undoubtedly capable of doing such a thing.

In the end, it is the evidence of the sources that most persuasively favors Forestier's claim to authorship, based as it is on a French manuscript (UppsU 76b) possibly dating from the lifetime of one or even both of these composers, whose scribe demonstrably had access to Forestier's music and was never wrong in any of his other attributions. This is in marked contrast to Josquin's claim, which turns out to rest only on two unreliable and posthumous sources, one German (Formschneider, *RISM* B/1537[1]) and the other Italian (BolC R142). Ultimately, it is far more plausible to imagine a piece of music being mistakenly credited to an internationally renowned composer instead of his lesser-known contemporary than it is to assume the reverse; and certainly Josquin's name appears on many motets which he did not write (as does also Mouton's),[31] whereas Forestier's does not. Therefore, even though *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is conspicuous by its absence from the Burgundian-Habsburg court complex of manuscripts, I believe that we should consider it to be a work by Mathurin Forestier. This brings his total output of sacred music to five compositions – a repertoire which, though small, is of considerable interest and deserves to be better known.

[30] Though it is certainly not impossible, as demonstrated for example by Mouton's *Ave virgo caeli porta*, 4-ex-2.

[31] Out of 126 motets bearing Mouton's name, I consider only ninety-eight to be by him, leaving twenty-eight others wrongly attributed; see my revision of the list of his works in H.M. BROWN and T.G. MacCRACKEN, art. *Jean Mouton*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 2001, 2nd ed., 17, pp. 242–251.

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 363

INDEX OF CITED MANUSCRIPTS AND MUSIC PRINTS

MANUSCRIPTS 366

MUSIC PRINTS

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC PRINTED BEFORE 1600 375
(*BROWN INDEX*)

EINZELDRUCKE VOR 1800 376
(*RISM* A/I)

SAMMELDRUCKE 1500–1700 377
(*RISM* B/I/1)

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 364

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 365

INDEX OF CITED MANUSCRIPTS AND MUSIC PRINTS

The index aims to list all music manuscripts and prints, as well as most other manuscripts mentioned.

Where possible music manuscript sigla are used according to H. KELLMAN ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999, and C. HAMM and H. KELLMAN eds., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 1), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1979–1988.

These polyphonic music manuscript sigla are always listed first beneath the corresponding library headings; they are followed by the other manuscript sigla, which are separated from the first by a small space when appropriate.

Music print sigla and details are listed as in:

* H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965.

** K. SCHLAGER, O.E. ALBRECHTS a.o., eds., *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, A/I), Kassel, 15 vols., 1971–2003.

*** F. LESURE, *Recueils imprimés, XVIe–XVIIe siècles: liste chronologique*, (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, B/I/1), München, 1960.

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 366

MANUSCRIPTS

Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Bibliotheek

AntP B948IV	12, 15, 93, 107, 118
AntP M18.13/1	15, 93, 107, 108, 118
AntP M18.13/2	18, 107, 108
AntP R43.13	12, 18, 107

Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh

inv. no. 946 / *Mayer van den Bergh Breviary*	131, 139

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale

MS 894	183

Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek

MS 1	141
MS 8	141
MS 9 / *Albrecht of Brandenburg Hours*	141, 142
MS 10 / *Missale Hallense*	141, 143
MS 126	141
MS 127	141

Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität

BasU F.IX.25	330

Berlin, Former Preußische Staatsbibliothek

BerlPS 40013	230, 241, 361

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz

BerlS 40091	311, 316, 317, 320–323

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale

BolC R142	241, 360–362

Bruges, Rijksarchief Aanwinsten

BrugRA Aanw. 756	15, 118

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Archives de Sainte-Gudule

BrusSG 9423	18, 75, 118
BrusSG 9424	18, 118

Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royal de musique

BrusC 27089	103

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 367

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

BrusBR 215–16	15, 41–43, 46–48, 75, 117, 122, 123, 135, 168, 185–191, 193–199, 202, 326
BrusBR 228	15, 39, 40, 41, 51–56, 107, 118, 122, 123, 135, 163, 164, 168, 170, 172, 173, 176, 243, 261–266, 268, 275, 276, 286–289, 292–297, 300, 326
BrusBR 5557	128, 185
BrusBR 6428	15, 26, 112–114, 118, 130, 163, 165, 172, 173, 309
BrusBR 9126	21, 40–46, 55, 75, 76, 79, 81, 91, 92, 118, 122, 123, 132, 135, 168, 237, 238, 300, 326, 328, 333, 337–339, 343
BrusBR 11239	51
BrusBR 15075	15, 38, 56, 108, 111, 112, 118, 135, 138, 155, 158, 168, 172–174, 176, 309
BrusBR II.270	247, 254
BrusBR IV.90	262, 265, 275
BrusBR IV.922 / *Occo Codex*	15, 18, 19, 41, 107, 108, 113, 114, 120, 122, 123, 169, 270, 271, 279, 349, 351, 352, 356
BrusBR IV.1274	262, 265, 275
MS 5641	27
MS II 845 / *Alphabet of Mary of Burgundy*	151, 153
MS II 2631	186

Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale

CambraiBM 4	244, 271
CambraiBM 11	128
CambraiBM 18	329, 330
CambraiBM 125–28	102, 260, 262, 264, 265, 267, 271, 274–276

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

MS Melleau 57	27

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library

CambriP 1760	46

Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade

CoimU 2	101, 102, 103, 104

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

CopKB 1872	247–249, 251, 254, 256, 257
CopKB 1873	257

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek

DresSL 1/D/6	257
DresSL Glashütte 5	361
DresSL Grimma 55	361
DresSL Pirna VIII	361

Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library

MS Z.3.2.13 / *Marsh Lutebook*	247, 254

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek

ErlU 473/4	247

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

FlorBN II.I.232	55

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 368

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini

FlorC 2439 / *Basevi Codex*	18, 41, 46, 89, 107, 114, 117, 118, 122, 123, 167, 169, 253, 259, 260, 266, 267, 275, 285–287, 289, 292, 293, 299, 300, 325, 326
FlorC 2442	111

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana

FlorL 666 / *Medici Codex*	349, 350

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana

FlorR 2794	292

Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek

FrankSU 2	164

Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio

MS s.s.	155, 158

Ghent, Rijksarchief fonds Varia

GhentR D3360b	18, 118

Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha

GothaF A98 / *Gothaer Chorbuch*	241, 361

Guatemala City, Catedral, Archivo Capitular

GuatC 4	183

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

MS 71A6	272

Heilbronn, Stadtarchiv

HeilbS IV/2	90

's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap

's HerAB 72A	18, 82, 90, 108, 119, 120, 155, 158, 203, 206, 208, 210, 212, 213
's HerAB 72B	18, 90, 97, 101, 108, 119, 123, 203, 206, 208–213, 349, 351, 352, 356
's HerAB 72C	18, 39, 41, 82, 90, 97–101, 104, 108, 119, 122, 123, 165, 203, 204, 206, 208, 210–213
's HerAB 73	102, 203, 211, 212
's HerAB 74	203, 211, 212
's HerAB 75	102, 103, 203, 211, 212
's HerAB *Codex Smijers*	203

Hradec Králové, Krajské Muzeum, Literární Archiv

HradKM 22	257, 361
HradKM 29	361

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 369

Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek

JenaU 2	15, 118–120, 129, 139, 215, 229, 271, 299, 309, 311, 316–323
JenaU 3	18, 21, 23, 26, 65, 66, 92, 93, 119, 129, 130, 135, 139, 143, 149, 151, 153, 166–170, 215, 229, 238, 240, 326, 328, 330–335, 349, 351, 352, 356, 357
JenaU 4	15, 26, 111, 113, 118, 119, 128, 130, 133–136, 139, 140, 145, 147, 155, 163, 168–170, 172, 174, 176, 178–182, 215, 229, 230, 349, 351, 352
JenaU 5	18, 113, 118, 119, 129, 130, 135, 139, 143, 165, 166–169, 172, 173, 175, 215, 229
JenaU 7	15, 118–120, 130, 165, 171, 173, 215, 229, 244, 326, 328
JenaU 8	15, 108, 118, 119, 129, 215, 229, 230, 232
JenaU 9	15, 119, 122, 123, 130, 167, 169, 208, 215
JenaU 12	18, 108, 112, 118, 119, 129, 130, 135, 139, 164, 165, 168–170, 215
JenaU 20	18, 92, 119, 120, 122, 129, 169, 215, 228–231, 299
JenaU 21	18, 119, 122, 130, 149, 169, 215, 217, 228, 229, 247, 253, 254, 325, 326, 328, 331, 334, 335
JenaU 22	75, 79, 81, 91, 92, 111, 118–120, 122, 130, 135, 150, 151, 153, 168, 178, 215, 217, 218, 229, 230, 301–304, 306
JenaU 30	120, 122, 217
JenaU 31	120, 217
JenaU 32	217
JenaU 33	217
JenaU 34	217
JenaU 35	217
JenaU 36	120, 217, 244

Leiden, Gemeentearchief, Archieven van de Kerken

LeidGA 1438	103
LeidGA 1439	103
LeidGA 1441	103
LeidGA 1442	103
LeidGA 1443	103

Leiden, Stedelijk Museum in de Lakenhal

LeidSM 1440	103

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek

LeipU 51	301

London, British Library
(*R* = Royal)

LonBL 31922 / *Henry VIII Manuscript*	247, 254
LonBL 35087 / *Chansonnier of Hieronymus Lauweryn van Watervliet*	100
LonBLR 8 G.vii	15, 21, 22, 26, 37, 41, 46–48, 50, 52–56, 107, 122, 123, 128, 167, 169, 183, 285, 326
Add. MS 18851 / *Breviary of Isabel the Catholic*	139, 140
Add. MS 18852 / *Hours of Joanna the Mad*	140, 183
Add. MS 34200	88
Add. MS 35313	172
Add. MS 41338	177
Add. MS 42130	155, 159
Cotton MS Galba B IV	89
Harley MS 4425	23, 24

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 370

London, Lambeth Palace Library

MS 1507	188

London, Soane Museum

MS 4	139

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

MS Ludwig IX 18 / *Spinola Hours*	128, 131, 132, 139

Maastricht, Rijksarchief van Limburg

MaastR s.s.	247, 254

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

MS Vit. 24–10 IV	151, 153

Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano

MS 3	155

Mechelen, Archief en Stadsbibliotheek

MechAS s.s.	15, 26, 112–114, 118, 130, 133, 135, 136, 138, 145, 168–171, 173, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 309, 310–323

Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo

MilD 1	90

Modena, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca

Frammenti Musicali (3 folios) / *Mod E*	301

Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria

ModE N.1.2	244
MS V.G.II	155

Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare

ModD 10	311, 316, 318–324

Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir

MontsM 765	95, 97–104
MontsM 766	18, 73, 75, 77, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 108, 112, 118–120, 165, 212, 309–311, 316–323, 349, 351, 352, 356
MontsM 768	95
MontsM 769	95, 97–100, 103
MontsM 771	64, 72, 91, 95, 97–101, 103
MontsM 773	15, 95, 99, 108, 112, 118, 119, 163, 165, 166, 171, 173, 309, 310, 317
MontsM 776	95, 97–101, 103–105

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 371

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

MunBS 1	122
MunBS 5	121
MunBS 6	18, 61, 108, 119–122
MunBS 7	15, 61, 108, 119, 121, 122, 127, 271
MunBS 25	122
MunBS 26	121
MunBS 33	121
MunBS 34	18, 41, 119, 121–123, 222, 260, 272, 273, 299, 326, 337–342, 347, 348
MunBS 39	121
MunBS 47	121
MunBS 65	121, 122
MunBS 510	311, 317, 320–323, 331
MunBS 1508	351
MunBS 1516	267, 275
MunBS 1536	360, 361
MunBS 3154 / *Leopold Chorbuch*	193, 245, 329
MunBS A/1	128
MunBS C	311, 317, 320–323
MunBS F	18, 72, 73, 119, 121, 165, 271
Clm 15710 / *Missal of Bernhard von Rohr*	137, 174
MS lat. 28345	157

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

MunU 328–31	247
MunU 401	241
4° Liturg. 448 (= Cim. 44n)	235

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale

NapBN 40	186, 199–201

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library

MS 52 / *Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal*	140

Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums

NurGN 83795	230, 241, 361

Oxford, Bodleian Library
(*A* = Ashmole, *LL* = Latin liturgies)

OxfBA 831	21, 26, 285, 300
OxfBLL a.8	15, 21, 41, 46–48, 50, 55, 56

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

ParisBNF 1591	337, 338
MS fr. 9346 / *Bayeux Manuscript*	293
MS nouv. acq. lat. 215	153

Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek

RegB 878–82	360, 361
RegB B211–15	241
RegB C98	337, 338
RegB C120 / *Pernner Codex*	323

Regensburg, Proskesche Musikbibliothek

MS 98 th. 4°	88

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 372

Rokycany, Archiv Děkánství v Rokycanech

RokyA 22	257

Rostock, Bibliothek der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität

RosU 42/1	360, 361

Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek

SGallS 462 / *Heer Liederbuch*	267
SGallS 463 / *Tschudi Liederbuch*	259, 275
SGallS 530	247, 254

Strasbourg, Former Bibliothèque municipale

StrasBM 222	32

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek

StuttL 36	360, 361

Subiaco, Abbazia di Santa Scolastica, Biblioteca Statale

SubA 248	18, 35, 93, 118, 119, 165, 166, 212

Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral Metropolitana

ToleBC 9	240

Toledo, Catedral, Obra y Fabrica

ToleF 23	15, 17, 102–104

Tongeren, Stadsarchief, Oud Regime

TongerenSA 183	15, 75, 118

Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville

TourBV 94	262, 265, 275

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio

TrentC 87	247, 254
TrentC 92	89

Ulm, Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung

UlmS 237	267, 275

Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket

UppsU 76b	90, 351, 360–362
UppsU 76c	271

Utrecht, Rijksmuseum, Catherijneconvent

UtreC 47/1–2	12, 15, 118, 163

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 373

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
(*C* = Chigi, *P* = Palatini latini, *S* = Cappella Sistina, *SM* = Santa Maria Maggiore, *V* = Vaticani latini)

VatC 234 / *Chigi Codex*	19, 23–25, 40–42, 55, 60, 73–77, 80–85, 89, 91, 108, 114, 118, 122–124, 128, 149, 155, 157, 168, 169, 193, 239, 292, 300, 301, 326, 328
VatP 1976–79	18, 20, 41, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55, 122, 123, 300, 327
VatP 1982	351
VatS 16	120, 122, 311, 317, 320–323, 331, 332
VatS 18	37
VatS 20	37
VatS 21	37
VatS 23	301–303, 330
VatS 26	120
VatS 34	15, 89, 113, 118, 119, 163, 165, 173, 174, 299
VatS 36	15, 75, 118, 119, 123, 163, 165, 166, 169, 172
VatS 41	245, 329, 330, 332, 333
VatS 42	195
VatS 45	120
VatS 160	15, 26, 73, 75, 77, 118–121, 129, 135, 141, 163, 165, 168, 217, 327, 328, 349, 351, 352, 356
VatSM 26	330
VatV 11953	275

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

MS Lat. I, 99 [= 2138] / *Breviary of Cardinal Domenico Grimani*	131, 139, 150, 162

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare

VerBC 756	81, 91, 92, 118, 166, 167, 169, 299–301, 303

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

VienNB 1783	68, 69, 70–77, 79, 81, 91–93, 96, 111, 118, 151, 153, 158, 167–169, 217, 218, 300–305, 313, 327, 328, 330, 332–335
VienNB 4809	18, 61, 64–68, 72, 81, 90–94, 108, 169, 212, 234, 240, 244, 327, 328, 330–335
VienNB 4810	18, 61, 108, 349, 351, 352, 356
VienNB 9814	18, 41, 61, 79, 97, 108, 122, 123, 252, 253, 285, 300
VienNB 11778	18, 61, 75, 79, 92, 108, 212, 252, 325–330, 334, 335
VienNB 11883	13, 18, 59, 60, 61, 63–66, 68–70, 72–75, 79–81, 83, 86–88, 90, 91, 93–97, 108, 325, 330
VienNB Mus. 15495	15, 26, 108, 135, 162, 166, 168, 186, 327, 328, 330, 334, 335
VienNB Mus. 15496	15, 112, 118, 119, 135
VienNB Mus. 15497	15, 26, 73, 89, 108, 118, 149, 155, 165, 169
VienNB Mus. 15941	18, 41, 61, 108, 122, 123, 325, 327, 349, 351, 352, 360
VienNB Mus. 18746	18, 61, 108, 118, 122, 123, 252, 287–289, 291–296, 298, 327
VienNB Mus. 18810	247, 248, 252, 253, 258
VienNB Mus. 18825	18, 39, 41, 61, 108, 122, 123, 212, 249, 300
VienNB Mus. 18832	18, 61, 75, 91, 97, 108, 114, 122, 299, 300, 302, 307, 308, 327–329

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 374

MS 1857 / *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* 160
MS 1858 / *Croy Book of Prayers* 139
MS 1887 157
MS 1897 / *Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland* 157, 159
MS 1907 / *Older Prayer Book of Maximilian of Austria* 140
MS 2566 151, 153
MS 3787 193

Weimar, Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchengemeinde

WeimB A 120, 217
WeimB B 230

Wittenberg, Staatliche Lutherhalle

WittenL 1048 247

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

WolfA A 121, 122, 311, 317, 320–323

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek

ZwiR 74/1 241

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 375

MUSIC PRINTS

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC PRINTED BEFORE 1600 (*BROWN INDEX*) *

***BrownI* 1523**$_{2}$ 260, 269, 275

Ain schone kunstliche underweisung … auff der Lautten und Geygen …
Wien, Hans Judenkünig

***BrownI* 1533**$_{1}$ 247, 260, 269, 275

Tabulatur auff die Laudten …
Nürnberg, Hans Gerle

***BrownI* 1536**$_{6}$ 247

Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Laudtenbuch …
Nürnberg, Hans Newsidler

***BrownI* 1536**$_{7}$ 260, 269, 275

Der ander theil des Lautenbuchs …
Nürnberg, Hans Newsidler

***BrownI* 1545**$_{3}$ / ***BrownI* 1547**$_{7}$ (2nd rev. ed.) 260, 268–270, 275

Des chansons reductz en Tabulature de Lut à deux, trois, et quatre parties … Livre premier
Louvain, Pierre Phalèse

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 376

EINZELDRUCKE VOR 1800 **(*RISM* A/I) ****

Alexander Agricola

***RISM* A/I/A 431** 301–303

Misse … Le serviteur. Je ne demande. Mal heur me bat. Primi toni. Secundi toni.
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504

Josquin des Prez

***RISM* A/I/J 666** 353

Liber primus missarum Josquin …
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502

***RISM* A/I/J 670** 330, 332

Missarum Josquin liber secundus …
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci, 1505

***RISM* A/I/J 673** 330

Missarum Josquin liber tertius …
Fossombrone, Ottaviano Petrucci, 1514

***RISM* A/I/J 678** 360, 361

Moduli, ex sacris literis dilecti et in 4, 5 et 6 voces distincti, liber primus.
Paris, Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1555

***RISM* A/I/J 681** 241, 295, 296

Trente sixiesme livre contenant XXX. Chansons tres musicales …
Paris, Pierre Attaingnant, 1549 / 1550 (n.st.)

Jakob Meiland

***RISM* A/I/M 2174** 90

Cantiones sacrae quinque et sex vocum …
Nürnberg, Ulrich Neuber, 1569

Johann Walter

***RISM* A/I/W 167** 223, 253

Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn
Wittenberg, s.n., 1524

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 377

SAMMELDRUCKE 1500–1700 (*RISM* B/I/1) ***

[*RISM* B always refers to *RISM* B/I/1]

***RISM* B/1501** 247

Harmonice musices Odhecaton A
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci

***RISM* B/1502**[2] (n. st.) 352

Canti B. numero cinquanta B
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci

***RISM* B/1504**[3] (n. st.) 247, 254, 259, 260, 275, 351

*Canti C. N*º *cento cinquanta*
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci

***RISM* B/1505**[2] 337, 338

Motetti libro quarto
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci

***RISM* B/1514**[1] 46

Motetti de la corona. Libro primo
Venezia, Ottaviano Petrucci

***RISM* B/1534**[17] 247, 254

Der erst Teil. Hundert und ainundzweintzig newe Lieder …
Nürnberg, Hieronymus Formschneider

***RISM* B/[c. 1535]**[14] 275

[*Lieder zu 3 & 4 Stimmen*]
[Frankfurt am Main, Christian Egenolff] (s.d.)

***RISM* B/1537**[1] 241, 257, 360–362

Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum …
Nürnberg, Hieronymus Grapheus (Formschneider)

***RISM* B/1538**[9] 260, 267–269, 275

Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis composita
Nürnberg, Hieronymus Formschneider

***RISM* B/1538**[13] 351

Quart livre contenant XXVII chansons nouvelles a quatre parties …
Paris, Pierre Attaingnant et Herbert Jullet

***RISM* B/1539**[1] 90, 235, 236, 245

Liber quindecim missarum, a praestantissimis musicis compositarum …
Nürnberg, Johann Petreius

[Bonda] 1540* 275

Kamper Liedboek
Kampen, Jan Peterszoon

* See J.W. BONDA, *De meerstemmige Nederlandse liederen van de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw*, Hilversum, 1996, pp. 498–499.

Index 12-11-2003 13:14 Pagina 378

***RISM* B/1540[7]** 289

Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones …
Augsburg, Melchior Kriesstein

***RISM* B/1541[1]** 229

Opus decem missarum quatuor vocum …
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw

***RISM* B/1541[7]** 351

Le Parangon des chansons. Huytiesme livre …
Lyon, Jacques Moderne

***RISM* B/1542[8]** 229, 252

Tricinia … latina, germanica, brabantica et gallica …
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw

***RISM* B/[1543][15]** 289

Vingt et six chansons musicales et nouvelles a cincq parties …
Antwerpen, Tylman Susato

***RISM* B/1544[4]** 229

Postremum Vespertini Officii Opus … Magnificat octo modorum seu tonorum numero XXV …
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw

***RISM* B/1544[13]** 289

Le cincquiesme livre contenant trente et deux chansons a cincq et a six parties …
Antwerpen, Tylman Susato

***RISM* B/1544[20]** 247

Hundert und fünfftzehen guter newer Liedlein, mit vier, fünff, sechs Stimmen …
Nürnberg, Johannes Ott

***RISM* B/1545[6]** 229, 254

Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica … tomus primus
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw

***RISM* B/1545[7]** 229, 260, 275

Secundus tomus biciniorum, quae et ipsa sunt gallica, latina, germanica …
Wittenberg, Georg Rhaw

***RISM* B/1545[14]** 289

Le sixiesme livre contenant trente et une chansons nouvelles a cincq et a six parties …
Antwerpen, Tylman Susato

***RISM* B/1545[15]** 241, 289, 296

[=*RISM* A/I/J 680]
Le septiesme livre contenant vingt et quatre chansons a cincq et a six parties … composées par feu … Josquin des Pres …
Antwerpen, Tylman Susato

***RISM* B/1558[4]** 241, 360, 361

Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum …
Nürnberg, Johann von Berg & Ulrich Neuber

***RISM* B/1559[1]** 257

Secunda pars magni operis musici …
Nürnberg, Johann von Berg & Ulrich Neuber