

HEARING THE MOTET

Essays on the Motet of the
Middle Ages and Renaissance



EDITED BY

DOLORES PESCE

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To my husband, Bill

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HEARING THE MOTET

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Introduction

This collection of essays about the motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance grew out of a conference, "Hearing the Motet," held at Washington University in February 1994. This gathering offered scholars and performers working in one or both of these periods the opportunity to share their ideas about this repertory and to discover where their findings intersected and diverged. The conference generated a lively interchange that I hope will continue through the availability of these papers in print. The volume additionally includes a few chapters by scholars who did not participate in the conference, but whose work illustrates a vital approach to the motet today.

The title *Hearing the Motet* reflects an increasing concern among scholars and performers with bringing to light the diverse ways in which these works may have been heard in their own time. This quest involves investigations of different sorts: examining the social-historical situation that may have prompted the creation of a motet, whether a patron's commission or an ideological response on the composer's part; discovering the performance context and function of a motet, particularly with respect to the liturgy; reading the texts to uncover dual meanings possibly shared only by the composer and a select audience; reading the music to discover the attractiveness and innovative spirit it offered in its own time; and reading text and music together to uncover the ways in which composers made them serve one another to yield what can rightfully be called "music-poetic" creations.

In carrying out these investigations, the authors in many cases expand on traditional musicological methods. For instance, several essays present style analysis in the service of chronological dating of a piece, but supplement it with newly uncovered critical data on the composer or text under consideration. Several authors explore the significance of a chant used in a motet; they proceed beyond the most obvious liturgical connection, searching out more precise answers in relevant local liturgies and supplementary iconographic evi-

dence. One author, prompted by her new understanding of an upper-voice text, examines a fourteenth-century motet and uncovers multiple layers of structure in addition to the expected isorhythmic skeleton. In a majority of cases, these expansions upon tried and true musicological methods involve increased focus on the texts.

The volume's chapters also offer a number of newer approaches akin to recent work in literary criticism. One chapter presents a feminist rereading of a fifteenth-century motet based on the Song of Songs. Various authors ask us to consider the new historicists' view that a given symbol can have multiple meanings and that meaning is construed in different ways by different people.¹ For the motet, the symbols can be musical and/or textual. A number of authors use this concept of shifting, unstable meanings to assist the modern hearer in finding a historical, liturgical, and conceptual framework outside his/her own and closer to the interpretive community of the time in which the motet was written. Furthermore, the authors suggest that diverse contemporary audiences could have responded differently to a given motet, that multiple interpretations were possible. They reread, and might even have misread, a given motet. Accordingly, some of the essays provide multiple readings of the motet in lieu of a "definitive" one.

Sometimes the various methodologies are juxtaposed in different chapters, at other times intermingled in one. The volume is organized chronologically, beginning with two chapters on the thirteenth-century motet and concluding with two chapters on the late sixteenth-century works of William Byrd. In between appear fresh investigations into the music of Philippe de Vitry, Du Fay, Busnoys, Obrecht, Josquin des Prez, Willaert, Lasso, and Palestrina.

IN HIS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, first presented at the conference, James Haar outlines the difficulties in defining the motet, given that it is not limited "by period, genre, form, style, textual language, or performance medium." Haar provocatively raises issues that are addressed later in the volume: How often in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did patrons provide not only the general subject, but also the specific idea or *invenzione* for a motet? Can we assume that composers alone knew the secrets of their art, that they did not intend to share the "meaning" of a motet with others?

The chapter by Rebecca Baltzer and my own focus on thirteenth-century motets, for Baltzer one of the largest complexes of motets built on a single clausula, and for me a single motet characterized by its borrowing of preexisting materials. Baltzer examines the *Et gaudebit* motets to explain how the earliest form was changed numerous times, through the addition of new music and new texts. Despite the liturgical designation of *Et gaudebit* for the Ascension, many of the texts attached to the motet treat the Virgin. Whereas in the past she and others have theorized that thirteenth-century motets with text not associated with feasts were performed outside of the liturgy, Baltzer newly asserts that these Marian motet versions were in fact performed in connection with the Ascension at Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. She first reviews evidence linking the *Et gaudebit* clausula and its early motet versions to Paris.

Her interpretation is further grounded in evidence that the clergy at Notre Dame cathedral in Paris viewed the Virgin as having an essential role in salvation that could be revealed within their cathedral.

The importance of the Virgin also surfaces in the portion of my chapter dealing with the texts of *Mout me fu grief/Robin m'aime/Portare*. Its upper-voice texts present courtly and pastoral love poetry in which a woman plays a central role. Though the tenor melody *Portare* is found most often in connection with feasts of the Holy Cross, I note its appearance with a Marian text in some chant sources, and provide evidence, both liturgical and iconographic, that the concepts of Christ on the Cross and Mary with Child were linked in late thirteenth-century France. From this vantage point, I argue that the motet's composer may have intended the tenor *Portare* to carry both Christological and Marian resonances that would have in different ways played off the sentiments of human love described in the upper voices.

I also ask for a reconsideration of how preexisting materials function in this late thirteenth-century motet, which uses a rondeau from Adam de la Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* as its middle voice and snippets from another motet in its top voice, as well as the chant segment *Portare* in its tenor. I argue that the motet's composer achieved a calculated tonal design directed not by the tenor, as we tend to expect, but instead by the borrowed rondeau melody, which brings about changes in the other two voices. I liken the process of modifying the inherited chant to what happened in medieval textual practice—a creative rewriting of authority. This theme of a composer's willingness to alter a chant or even to select it in response to other materials resurfaces in Margaret Bent's study of a Fauvel motet and in Richard Sherr's essay on Josquin des Prez.

Anne Robertson takes a new approach to support the attribution to Philippe de Vitry of a motet in the *Roman de Fauvel*, *Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es*. She argues that a trained medieval musician would likely have used a chant version indigenous to the locales where he lived and worked. Accordingly, she compares the *Alleluia Benedictus es* as it appears in *Firmissime fidem* to some 70 versions found in Paris and northern France, concluding that the motet version originated in Arras. Robertson then adds significantly to our biography of Vitry by demonstrating the likelihood that he originated from Vitry-en-Artois, near Arras. As to *Firmissime fidem's* connections with the *Roman de Fauvel*, Robertson suggests how the motet's non-Parisian tenor would have fit into the *Roman's* plan in which earthly and heavenly characters receive different music. She thus claims that by "hearing" a motet tenor in this new, intense way, we learn something about its own origin, the motet composer's life, and the motet's function within a larger artistic creation.

Robertson also devotes a portion of her study to unveiling the thoroughgoing numerical construction of this motet, musically and textually, a plan that emanates from the chant's "Trinitarian" allusion. This very aspect of the Fauvel motets—musical symbolism—returns as a focus of Margaret Bent's article.

Bent discusses the Fauvel motet *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* as an example of how a fourteenth-century work could offer a rich sampling of “semantic, structural, and sonic counterpoint” of both texts and music. Having identified an Ovidian letter as the source for a couplet within its duplum text, Bent illustrates how this quotation infiltrates both upper-voice texts, including verbal repetitions and the way in which the Golden Section is realized. Given the couplet’s importance, she concludes that the composer may have chosen it at least as early as, or before, the Genesis source of the motet tenor. Bent also uncovers in the work a large-scale structure in addition to its isorhythmic pattern; it involves the number three that is so essential to the texts and to the music on a micro-level. Finally, she reveals in *Tribum/Quoniam* the quotation of the beginning of another Fauvel motet, *Garrit Gallus/In nova fert*, which itself contains a quotation of another Ovidian line. In view of this network of allusions and some historical data, Bent speculates on further meanings of *Tribum/Quoniam*.

Robert Nosow’s study of Du Fay offers an analysis of two motets written during the composer’s employment in the Papal Chapel in Florence during the 1420s and 1430s, *Mirandas parit* and *Gaude virgo mater Christi*. Nosow’s analyses support his contention that Du Fay applied different musical styles to texts of a different sort: *Mirandas parit*, constructed in quantitative meter with classical vocabulary and allusions, and *Gaude virgo*, composed in accentual verse as an address to the Virgin, but without specific liturgical associations. The broader-reaching implication is that Du Fay was responding to different segments of Florentine society in both the choice of texts and the accompanying styles—in the first case, to the wave of secular humanism associated with the Medici and, in the second, to the lay piety that gave rise to confraternities, construction of family chapels, and possession of prayer books. Nosow argues that the two motets would thus have been heard in very different ways and contexts by their respective audiences.

The broad issue of an interpretive community provides the backdrop for Rob C. Wegman’s study of Busnoys’s *Anthoni usque limina* and its “hearing” by a medieval audience and one today. Wegman suggests that we should consider an array of possible meanings related to liturgical function, general medieval religious beliefs, and the circumstances of Busnoys’s life in the 1460s and 1470s. He argues that the work is understandable as a personal votive offering by Busnoys to his name saint, Anthony, possibly related to a dire situation in Busnoys’s own life, yet simultaneously as expressing a communal sensibility about disease, death, and dying. With respect to the latter, the issue of confraternities raised by Robert Nosow surfaces again.

Paula Higgins addresses another Busnoys motet, *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*, in a reading that links it to dramatic historical events in the French royal court in 1445–46, a revision of the previously considered compositional date of 1468. After establishing Busnoys’s use in *Anima mea* of a segment from the Song of Songs that many consider “an erotic dream sequence,” Higgins draws attention to the life of Marguerite d’Ecosse, wife of Louis XI, who died at the age of 21 after she had been defamed by insinuations of infidelity by Louis’s

courtier, Jamet de Tillay. In suggesting that Busnoys may have had this event in mind when he composed the motet, Higgins draws on internal evidence from another Busnoys work, the song *Bel acueil*, and previous connections she has made between Busnoys and Marguerite's literary circle. Higgins thus offers a new feminist reading of *Anima mea/Stirps Jesse*.

While Robert Nosow asks us to consider Du Fay as a composer who responded to a new Renaissance cultural view, Jennifer Bloxam invites us to view a composer of a slightly later generation, Obrecht, as someone who based his Christmas motet *Factor orbis* on the model of a medieval sermon. Scholars and performers have long puzzled over Obrecht's intent in this monumental five-part motet for the vigil of Christmas, characterized by its profusion of texts and melodies. In her new approach, Bloxam examines the methods, structures, and goals of medieval preaching in the late fifteenth century when Obrecht lived, which she then offers as a compelling analytic context for hearing *Factor orbis*. Bloxam begins by outlining the exposure Obrecht likely had to the type of sermon that dominated the pulpit from the thirteenth into the early sixteenth centuries, the university or thematic sermon. In her analogies between the structure and methods of the sermon and the motet, Bloxam compares such features as Obrecht's inclusion of a text anticipating the Final Judgment with a device common to Advent sermons, in which the First Coming serves as an allegory for the Second Coming; and the joyful vernacular exclamations within the motet are likened to an audience's vernacular response to the Latin sermon. Bloxam's analysis brings us once again to the Virgin, who becomes the focus at the end of the motet, justified by the fact that the Gospel reading on the vigil of Christmas dwelt on the Virgin birth of Christ. Her hearing of this motet in relationship to medieval preaching offers a valuable new methodology to scholars studying the continuation of medieval ways of doing things in later times.

Richard Sherr's chapter on Josquin's *O admirabile commercium* motet cycle serves as a pivotal point in the volume since many of the issues previously raised coalesce here. Whereas Baltzer concluded that the thirteenth-century *Et gaudebit* motets were performed at the Ascension despite their Marian upper-voice texts, Sherr argues that the *O admirabile commercium* motets based on antiphons for the Feast of the Circumcision would have been heard in multiple venues, specifically the liturgy for the Circumcision and a Commemorative Office of the Virgin. The central point of Sherr's study is that the antiphon texts harbor ambiguities and multiple meanings that shift the attention between the Incarnation of Christ and Mary. Thus the possibility for Christological/Marian interpretations mentioned earlier in my essay reappears. Furthermore, Josquin played the part of musical exegete by using transpositions of the chant, text underlay, and word repetition to enhance the shifting textual subject. Whereas Bloxam concludes that Obrecht, in modeling his motet on a sermon, followed an expected path of textual elaboration, Sherr suggests that Josquin may have played the part of radical exegete who "misread" his texts for dramatic effect.

Patrick Macey's chapter directs us to another Josquin work, the motet *O*

bone et dulcissime Jesu, and offers varied evidence to support a revised dating and historical circumstance for its creation. By studying the provenance of its text, Macey concludes that Josquin may have written *O bone et dulcissime Jesu* for René d'Anjou, known as Good King René, sometime between 1477 and the king's death in 1480. Macey bolsters his argument by noting stylistic similarities between *O bone* and *Misericordias domini*, the latter probably also commissioned by a royal patron, Louis XI of France, sometime between 1480 and 1483. To James Haar's opening question, "Did patrons provide more than the general subject of a motet?", Macey responds that these two works, and a third, *Miserere mei, deus*, are Josquin's musical testaments which "aptly express the sentiments of three of [his] patrons as they approached the end of their days."

Joshua Rifkin turns in his chapter to a topic that he has addressed elsewhere, motivicity, a compositional phenomenon that becomes increasingly prominent in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. After defining what motivicity is and is not, and alluding to its use by Josquin, Mouton, and others, Rifkin settles into a discussion of how Adrian Willaert carries this approach to new lengths in his motet *Videns Dominus*. Rifkin goes so far as to describe what Willaert achieves as "a shaking up [of] an entire texture" through details of motivicity—varied repetition, irregular transpositions, and obscured articulations. Then, just as Robert Nosow viewed Du Fay as responding to the new Renaissance cultures in fifteenth-century Florence, Rifkin suggests that Willaert's musical art might find an analog in the mannerism of Italian visual arts around 1530. In both arts, he claims, one finds a self-conscious attempt to distort the classical features of inherited models.

James Haar offers quite a different view of Orlando di Lasso and his relationship to earlier music. Working from Jessie Ann Owens's concept of short-term historical awareness, Haar suggests that composers active in the middle third of the sixteenth century engaged in a practice genuinely historicist in intent—the use of cantus firmi within their motets in the manner of Willaert and Rore preceding them. Of Lasso's 15 motets using separately texted cantus firmi, Haar distinguishes instances where the composer seemed faithful to the old tradition, but more often used it as an appendage to his own style. He notes that these motets, in addition to illustrating Lasso's historicist intent, reveal a particular textual feature: a number of the cantus firmi texts are epigrammatic, some used historically as mottos. In one case we know the recipients of the motet and the nature of the commission under which Lasso composed it. This combined evidence leads Haar to speculate upon the likelihood that Lasso wrote these motets for specific patrons, offering a complementary view to Patrick Macey's study of Josquin.

David Crook takes a different approach to Lasso's music. Beginning with the observation that Lasso turned from early chromatic experiments to a tamer tonal language, Crook systematically outlines what he calls the "normative tonal compass" used in Lasso's motets. He shows that Lasso breached his own norm in only limited cases, and then always to mirror or highlight the sense of the text being set—instances that his listeners would have heard as meaningful tonal excursions. Crook's distinctive approach to tonal organization will offer a useful tool to scholars of sixteenth-century music. Another valuable aspect of

Crook's chapter is the complementary view it presents to James Haar's assessment of Lasso as historicist. Crook explains the limited tonal compass of Lasso's motets as a "neo-Guidonian diatonic," and speculates that Lasso may have sought his tonal guidelines in an earlier repertory as a response to the humanist-inspired historicism of sixteenth-century thought.

With Jessie Ann Owens's chapter on Palestrina and his motet settings of the Song of Songs, we encounter again the issue of composer as exegete. Owens first puts into perspective Palestrina's turn to this rich love poetry by documenting the widespread contemporary exegesis on this book of the Bible, refuting along the way the claim of some scholars that Palestrina was in fact composing "madrigals" acceptable to the Church. She then offers a rationale for the composer's choice of texts from within the Song of Songs, as well as an analysis of his text-setting in one motet, *Quam pulchra es*. Whereas Sherr suggests that Josquin played significantly on the ambiguities of the texts he set, Owens argues that Palestrina mildly "reread" the Song of Songs' syntactic structure to bring out meanings of his choosing. Finally, she speculates on what Palestrina meant in his dedication to the Song of Songs settings when he spoke of a "music somewhat livelier than I have been accustomed to use in ecclesiastical melodies."

The volume includes a revised version of Joseph Kerman's 1963 analysis of William Byrd's *Emendemus in melius*. Because this article has long offered students one model of how to approach a Renaissance motet, I have considered it appropriate to include it in this volume of current methodologies. Kerman analyzes aspects of *Emendemus in melius*'s texture, melody, harmony, rhythm, and dissonance (with a revised view of its tonality), and he then deftly reveals Byrd's reading of the text served by these musical elements. His chapter concludes with a historical reckoning of when and why Byrd turned to Lenten texts such as "Emendemus in melius" and suggests a musical model for this specific work. Through his discussion of musical modeling and influences Kerman focuses our attention on one more way in which an audience may have "heard" a motet.

Finally, in his study of the "political" vocabulary of William Byrd's motets from the *Gradualia* and *Cantiones sacrae*, Craig Monson revisits Byrd's connections with Catholic sympathizers in the 1580s and the composer's use of specific rhetoric to reflect the plight of persecuted Catholics. Examining the language of books and pamphlets published from the 1570s through the early 1600s, chiefly as part of the Jesuit "mission," Monson explores the extent to which the composer and Jesuit missionaries shared a common rhetoric. Perhaps even more striking, Monson suggests that certain of Byrd's motets, which have never been singled out as political, may also have served the Catholic cause. We gain a portrait of a composer offering his art to foster a larger communal spirit, and, more significantly, evidence that it was heard in that way by some of its listeners.

AS A WHOLE, the volume revises our view of the medieval and Renaissance motet in several ways. Many of the chapters contribute to a more balanced understanding of the motet as a "music-poetic" creation. These essays testify

that motet texts from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries abound in rich verbal meanings, explicit or implied, and that the composers, through their musical settings, “read” their texts and brought them to life in a new and creative way. We see a varied music-textual interaction, whether reacting to classical meter or numerical allusions, writing an analog to a medieval sermon, or highlighting “gallows texts.” On the other hand, in at least two chapters it is argued that composers did concern themselves with aspects of the music viewed largely apart from the text. The composer of *Mout me fu grief/Robin m’aime/Portare* realized a cohesive tonal design directed by a borrowed rondeau melody; Willaert in *Videns Dominus* carried to a “distorting” extreme the very compositional techniques that served unifying functions in other contexts.

A number of the chapters offer concrete evidence or speculations on the specific make-up of the audiences for their respective motets. Some of the *Et gaudebit* motets described by Rebecca Baltzer were heard by those attending Notre Dame cathedral; Robert Nosow speculates that Du Fay wrote *Mirandas parit* and *Gaude virgo* for a Florentine audience of secular humanists and lay pietists, respectively; Craig Monson suggests that Byrd’s motets spoke especially to Jesuits and their supporters in late sixteenth-century England. Nosow and Monson in particular imply that the respective audiences for their motets would have been acutely tuned in to the verbal rhetoric contained within them. Would the audiences for other repertoires represented in the volume have been so primed?

Here we return to James Haar’s introductory query on whether we can continue to believe that a composer may have written complicated meanings into a motet without intending to share them. Robertson, Sherr, and I all argue that the motets we discuss carried either veiled or dual meanings tied to their respective chants. Robertson believes that a trained musician would have recognized the version of *Alleluia Benedictus es* in Vitry’s *Firmissime fidem* as non-Parisian and accordingly would have understood its symbolic role in the *Roman de Fauvel*. I suggest that certain listeners to the motet *Mout me fu grief* may have interpreted it in relationship to a Christological and/or Marian association of the chant segment *Portare*. In a similar vein, Sherr argues that the dual Christological/Marian meanings of the *O admirabile commercium* chant texts were exploited by Josquin in his motet settings, and that contemporary audiences would have recognized his masterful handling of the shifting subject.

What these three and other essays in the volume suggest is that there was no secret art—that the most complicated of messages was to be shared, even if with only a select audience. As remarked earlier, a motet may well have communicated different messages to different audiences. Not incidentally, James Haar reminds us that some of the manuscripts in which motets appear were intended for repeated reading and study, making a “close” reading possible in their own time, just as it is possible for us today.² Margaret Bent readily agrees that intelligent contemporary appreciation of the complexities of music-textual interaction she has uncovered in the Fauvel motet *Tribum/Quoniam* must have depended upon some reflection outside of the performance.

Some of the essays offer new details within certain composers' biographies, specifically Vitry, Busnoys, Josquin, and Byrd. As importantly, the combined essays provide an emerging profile of the motet composer himself as a "reader" in the broadest sense of the culture around him—of someone who knew liturgical practice, sometimes in more than one locale, who knew biblical literature and its exegetical traditions, who moved in social contexts such as humanist gatherings or political-religious dissenters, who understood numerical symbolism and classical allusions, who wrote subtle *memorie* for patrons, and who found musical models (real and theoretical) to emulate or "distort." Whereas some of these tendencies are more apparent in the Middle Ages and some more so in the Renaissance, the essays suggest a continuity of concerns, that composers within this four-century span faced similar challenges in creating the motet repertory.

This volume of essays invites the reader to experience anew some motets that are well known from performances and recordings, and some lesser-known examples for the first time. In a few cases, the authors' readings offer performers a specific guide to new interpretations of the repertory; in others, they may engender a new approach, whether intended or not. For performers and listeners alike, we offer these essays as stimuli for continued fruitful "hearing of the motet."

NOTES

1. Robert Darnton provides a lucid illustration of how this ethnographic approach to symbols can benefit historians' understanding of a given historical event. See "The Symbolic Element in History," *Journal of Modern History* 58/1–2 (1986): 218–34.

2. In the last ten years in particular, studies in literary history and in language development have suggested the importance of author and reader relationships. Particularly cogent is the monograph by Martin Nystrand, *The Structure of Written Communication: Studies in Reciprocity between Writers and Readers* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1986). He claims that "texts are explicit not just because of what they say but also because of a range of devices . . . which accompany the text and cue readers as to its interpretation" and that "in fact, almost all writers in actual rhetorical situations address very particular readers about whom they know something" (104–5). In an overview of studies on orality and reading, D. H. Green suggests that we have missed a mode of reception, namely the private reader. Referring to the work of Günter Scholz on the reading reception of vernacular literature, Green says: "Scholz is guilty of ignoring what I should term the intermediate mode of reception, widespread in the Middle Ages, in which a work was composed with an eye to public recital from a written text, but also for the occasional private reader. One of the pointers to this intermediate mode is the formula 'to hear or to read,' originally at home in classical Latin literature, but also to be found in medieval Latin literature, in legal practice, and in the various vernaculars." See D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65/2 (1990): 277. Other writers who offer useful viewpoints on author/reader relationships are Walter J. Ong, Paul Zumthor, and Eric A. Havelock. See their contributions in *New Literary History* 14/1 (autumn 1984).

Conference Introductory Remarks

The motet has an immensely long history, extending from the early thirteenth century to the present. We are met here to take up problems connected with the first half of this eight-century span. The unifying thread in the conference is that we will all be talking about motets; so it would be natural for me to begin by offering a definition, an answer to the question “Motetus quid est?” Natural, perhaps; but not prudent. A word that does not limit the subject by period, genre, form, style, textual language, or performance medium is resistant to precise definition.¹ In place of hazarding anything of my own, I will offer the well-known words of Johannes de Grocheio on the subject: “The motet is music made for several voices, having multiple texts or a varied arrangement of syllables, harmoniously consonant in all respects.”²

This is true, if not particularly helpful, for the whole period under discussion here. Grocheio does not go much further, though he does distinguish motet from organum and hocket. Moreover:

This music should not be performed in the presence of ordinary people, for they will not pay heed to its subtleties nor be delighted by its sound, but should be [heard] in the presence of the educated and of those who seek out the subtleties of art. Thus it is to be sung at festive gatherings of the latter, whereas the song called *rotundellus* is meant for festivals of ordinary laymen.³

Elitist art, then; I give you fair warning.⁴

In its long history, the motet touches on nearly every aspect of sacred and secular musical culture. It is at first linked with Mass and Office polyphony through its troping of discant clausulae and its subsequent use of chant tenors. Quite early on it has connections with secular song, both monophonic and polyphonic. It is not, in its early history, intended for liturgical use but rather for the *feſta* mentioned by Grocheio, probably and in many cases certainly not

religious in character; but it may also be linked, text permitting, with extraliterary devotional practices. By the early fourteenth century the motet is touching the “outside world” in works of formal ceremonial intent, built on texts containing political or moralizing messages, even doctrinal commentary. In the fourteenth and for much of the fifteenth century the motet exemplifies what might be called quadrivial culture, using arithmetic and the ancient science of harmonics in textual-musical schemes of a complexity of design and depth of allegorical reference we are only now beginning to sort out. At the same time we see, with particular clarity in the motets of Machaut, evidence of what might be called proto-humanist culture in manipulations of textual form and layering of classical reference.

In these linkages the motet, in origin a parasitic genre, is often the borrower of textual and musical features. It can be the lender as well: there are motet-chansons as well as chanson motets in the fifteenth century; the organizing principles we know under the rather inadequate label of isorhythm are surely important in the development of the cyclic Mass; chanson, madrigal, and motet have important reciprocal relationships in the sixteenth century. At times, in the period from ca. 1270 to ca. 1430 and again in the later sixteenth century, the motet is of prime importance to the contemporaries and descendants of Grocheio’s *litterati*. Sometimes, as in its beginnings and again in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it plays a more secondary role; but throughout the period to be considered here and for more than a century after it, the motet is something to be reckoned with.

Earlier study of the motet concentrated on features of musical style. There is still much to do here, as several papers—those of Dolores Pesce, Anne Walters Robertson, Joshua Rifkin, and Robert Nosow in particular—will show. To say that the music is only half of a motet is to put simply the fact that serious study of the text is of enormous importance. Recent work on fourteenth-century motet texts, by David Howlett, Kevin Brownlee, and others, has shown us new ways of approaching Grocheio’s “multiple texts” (*plura dictamina*); Wulf Arlt and Margaret Bent join these with exciting musical analyses that give the texts and the “varied arrangement of syllables” (*multimodam discretionem syllabarum*) their proper role in the structure and allegorical significance of compositions now seen to have far more delicately contrived character than was once thought.⁵ And Andrew Wathey’s new study of the circulation in non-musical sources of Philippe de Vitry’s motet texts shows us that these, like much fourteenth-century chanson and madrigal poetry, were considered important in their own right.⁶ It will thus come as no surprise that all the authors not thus far mentioned are here concerned in serious ways with motet texts—their choice, their “reading” by the composer, their effect and affect on the listener.

The new importance accorded the words in recent work on the motet is changing our view of the composer, now seen as a much more active reader, rereader, or “misreader” of the texts chosen, even if not, as in the cases of Vitry and Machaut, their author. We are now all agreed that if the cyclic Mass can be studied primarily for its music, its unchanging text more often than not set

in response to generally observed conventions, the motet simply must be approached as an amalgam of text and music. There are of course special problems here, notably in cases of contrafact texts. As we make studies of this kind, old generalizations begin to wither; for example, the notion that the tenor cantus firmus was seldom related in meaning to the texts of the upper voices is now being refuted, as is the idea that text in pre-sixteenth-century motets was casually if not haphazardly sprinkled over the notes.

In connection with composition, choice, and disposition of texts I think it should be kept in mind that highly educated and sophisticated motet composers such as Machaut and Philippe de Vitry must have been in the minority even in the fourteenth century. In the next century composition became more and more the province of church musicians who may have had less expert knowledge of and experience with verbal rhetoric, and who did not usually write their own texts. I hope my voice will not be drowned in a chorus of no's if I say that Dufay might be the last composer who could work easily in the old quadrivial-rhetorical mode, and even he abandoned it in part in his later career. We should remember that much music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was written on commission, just as most paintings were done to order. In the visual arts the patron, or a person of learning associated with her/him, supplied not only the general subject but the *invenzione* or iconographic program for the work; the painter or sculptor might and doubtless often did modify this program as it was carried out, but did not normally initiate it. Should we allow for this in music, even at the risk of taking away a little of the glory we are now giving altogether to composers?

The title of this conference is "Hearing the Motet." To hear in the fullest sense is to understand, and that we are certainly trying to do. The kind of study we are about to share in the results of can only be achieved through close reading of verbal and musical texts. We are prepared to do just this; were the contemporary "hearers" (in the full sense) of the motet so prepared and so motivated?

We know from the recently published correspondence of Spataro and other musician-theorists that, in the early sixteenth century at any rate, details of musical structure if not meaning could be very closely scrutinized.⁷ Some sources, such as the Paris Fauvel manuscript and the Machaut manuscripts, were surely intended for repeated reading and study as well as for performance.⁸ In the fifteenth century musical manuscripts intended for reading like books tended to be chansonniers; but in the sixteenth century there were motet collections of works by Rore and Lasso that are not only sumptuous but were intended for study, and were even provided with textual commentary.⁹ I think we can no longer be content with the view that composers of religious music were satisfied if God knew the secrets of their art and cared not whether men perceived them. We need to study the motet's sources, textual and musical, not just the convenient modern editions, to see whether they could have offered and can still offer clues to some of the kinds of meaning we will shortly be instructed about. Let us then begin to "hear" the motet.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the motet, including considerations of etymology, see Rolf Dammann, "Geschichte der Begriffsbestimmung Motette," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959): 337–77.

2. Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*, Media latinitas 2 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), 144. The Latin text is "Motetus vero est cantus ex pluribus compositus, habens plura dictamina vel multimodam discretionem syllabarum, utrobique harmonialiter consonans."

3. Ibid. The Latin is "Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari, eo quod eius subtilitatem non [anim]advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur, sed coram litteratis et illis, qui subtilitates artium sunt quaerentes. Et solet in eorum festis decantari ad eorum decorationem, quemadmodum cantilena, quae dicitur rotundellus, in festis vulgarium laicorum."

4. "Elitist" is perhaps too easy a word; it stands here for "those with appropriate educational background," meaning chiefly clerics, and perhaps university students. For a challenging discussion of Grocheio's remarks, and of medieval "audiences" in general, see Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio, the *Litterati* and Verbal *Subtilitas* in the *Ars Antiqua Motet*," chap. 3 in *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

5. See Margaret Bent and David Howlett, "Subtiliter alternare: The Yoxford Motet *O amicus/Precursoris*," in *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup, = *Current Musicology* 45–47 (1990): 43–84; Wulf Arlt, "Triginta denariis: Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes*," in *Pax et sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences, in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia latina (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1986), 97–113; Kevin Brownlee, "Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus samblant m'a deceü/Vidi Dominum*," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 1–14; Margaret Bent, "Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 15–27. For cogent analytical discussion of fourteenth-century compositional practice, see the work of Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, particularly his *Compositional Procedure in the Four-part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and His Contemporaries*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989).

6. Andrew Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *Early Music History* 12 (1993): 119–50.

7. *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

8. The *Roman de Fauvel* survives in a number of manuscripts without music. For the one containing the music, see *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chailou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale fonds français* 146, with an introduction by Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990). Machaut is known to have collected and in part at least supervised the copying of his music; for the central manuscripts, see "Sources," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 17:661–63.

9. For manuscripts of motets by Rore and Lasso, two magnificently decorated col-

lections each containing a volume of music and one of commentary, see *Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen*, ed. Bayerische Staatliche Bibliotheken, 5/1: *Katalog der Musikhandschriften. Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbüchartiger Notierung*, ed. Martin Bente, Marie Louise Göllner, Helmut Hell, and Bettina Wackernagel (Munich: G. Henle, 1989), 54–58.

The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*

Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet

When seeking a useful way to begin at the beginning, so to speak, in our consideration of the motet in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, I decided to choose a clausula-based motet complex that exemplified as many different types of thirteenth-century motets as possible. The motet complex whose various texts are numbered 315–21 in Ludwig and Gennrich's catalogues, all built on a single *Et gaudebit* clausula from the Ascension *Alleluia Non vos relinquam* (M24), is perhaps the most widely traveled in the thirteenth century.¹ The verse of the *Alleluia*, which comes from John 14:18, is a statement made by Christ to his disciples: "Non vos relinquam orphanos, vado et venio ad vos *et gaudebit* cor vestrum" (I will not leave you orphans; I go away, and I come to you, and your heart shall rejoice).

The source clausula, *Et gaudebit* no. 2, appears in two manuscripts, the Florence and St. Victor manuscripts. In F it is the first of several *Et gaudebit* settings in the collection of separate clausulae in fascicle 5, beginning on system 5 of fol. 161^v and continuing on 162^r.² It is no. 15 among the StV clausulae, found on folios 289^v–290^r, with the incipit of the vernacular text *Al cor ai une alegiance* written in the margin beside the music.³ In motet form the music appears in 10 manuscripts: Ch, F, Ma, W2 three times, ArsB, LoC, Hu, Cl, Mo, and Ba (see the list of manuscripts and their sigla in Table 1.1).⁴ With a total of six Latin and two vernacular texts for upper voices, it exemplifies nearly all the types of motets composed in the *Ars Antiqua*: a Latin three-voice conductus motet (in Châlons), an early Latin double motet (in F), a reduced Latin two-voice motet (in ArsB, LoC, and Hu), two additional two-voice Latin contrafacts (in W2), an additional Latin double motet (in Ma and Ba, but, as is usually the case, with the tenor omitted in Madrid), a vernacular double motet (in W2), a bilingual double motet (in Mo 3), and a bilingual triple motet (in Cl); all are itemized in Table 1.2. The only significant type not represented in this complex is the two-voice French motet.

TABLE 1.1 Manuscripts and their sigla

ArsB	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3517–3518 (Gautier de Coincy)
Ba	Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit.115 (olim Ed.IV.6)
Bes	Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS I, 716 (index of a lost collection)
Ch	Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives Départementales, MS 3.J.250
Cl	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (La Clayette)
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Pluteus 29.1
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, MS without shelf number
LoC	London, British Library, Add. MS 30091
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486 (olim Hh 167)
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H.196
PaXV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 2193 (Gautier de Coincy)
StV	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 15139 (St. Victor)
W2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, codex guelf. 1099 Helmstad. (Heinemann no. 1206)

Of the eight texts for this motet complex listed in Table 1.2C, five belong to the motetus. It has four different Latin texts, nos. 315, 317, 320, and 321 (two of them Marian), and one vernacular text, no. 319. The main triplum melody which first appears in the Latin double motet in the Florence manuscript has one Latin text, no. 316, and one French text, no. 318. The latter is a pastourelle that appears first in the double motet in W2; I should add that this genre of text looms much larger in the motet than it does in the trouvère repertory—the idea of the narrator riding out into the countryside and encountering a rustic maiden seems to have seized the fancy (or rather, the fantasy) of clerical composers of polyphony much more than it did the trouvères themselves, who probably had better romantic adventures about which to write poetry.

A unique melody for the triplum, sung with the same Marian text *O quam sancta* (no. 317) as its motetus, appears in the fragmentary conductus motet found in the Châlons-sur-Marne manuscript. And lastly, a unique triplum melody and text (*O Maria, mater pia*, no. 317a) are included in the four-voice bilingual motet that occurs in the La Clayette manuscript, with the French pastourelle triplum (no. 318) here moved up to the quadruplum part. In sum, the two triplum texts, *Ypocrite pseudopontifices* (no. 316) and *El mois d'avril* (no. 318), each appear in three motets, and text 317, *O quam sancta*, appears in six of the ten motets on this *Et gaudebit* clausula. The text of *O quam sancta* is found without music in a Gautier de Coincy manuscript, Paris, B.N. français 2193; and there was at least one more motet copy in the thirteenth century, because *O quam sancta* is the ninth motet listed in the Besançon index to a lost motet collection; we do not know what triplum went with it. *O quam sancta* is also cited by the theorists Lambertus and Anonymous VII, so

TABLE 1.2 Motets on *Et gaudebit* no. 2

A. Clausula Sources		
2v clausula in F, 161 ^v –162 ^r		
2v clausula in StV, 289 ^v –290 ^r , with incipit of 319 in margin		
B. Motet Types and Locations		
The 2v Latin motet: W2, 187 ^v –188 ^v		
Mot	Virgo virginum regina (321)	(= unicum text)
The 2v Latin motet: W2, 188 ^v –189 ^r		
Mot	Memor tui creatoris (320)	(= unicum text)
The 2v Latin motet: ArsB, 117 ^r –117 ^v ; LoC, 3 ^v –4 ^v ; Hu, 94 ^v		
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
The 3v conductus motet: Ch, 6 ^r –6 ^v (beginning and end missing)		
Tr	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	(= unicum music)
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
The Latin double motet: F, 411 ^v –413 ^r		
Tr	Ypocrite pseudopontifices (316)	
Mot	Velut stelle firmamente (315)	(= unicum text)
The Latin double motet (with tenor omitted): Ma, 132 ^r –133 ^r		
Tr	Ypocrite pseudopontifices (316)	
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
The Latin double motet: Ba, 47 ^r –48 ^v		
Tr	Ypocrite pseudopontifices (316)	
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
The vernacular double motet: W2, 195 ^r –197 ^r		
Tr	El mois d'avril qu'ivers va departant (318)	
Mot	Al cor ai une alegrance (319)	(= unicum text [but see StV])
The 3v bilingual motet: Mo 3, 63 ^v –66 ^r		
Tr	El mois d'avril qu'iver va departant (318)	
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
The 4v bilingual motet: Cl, 380 ^v –381 ^v		
Qu	El mois d'avril qu'ivers va departant (318)	
Tr	O Maria, mater pia, vite via (317a)	(= unicum music and text)
Mot	O quam sancta, quam benigna (317)	
C. Motet Texts and Subjects		
315	<i>Velut stelle firmamente</i>	On good priests
316	<i>Ypocrite pseudopontifices</i>	On bad priests
317	<i>O quam sancta, quam benigna</i>	Marian
317a	<i>O Maria, mater pia, vite via</i>	Marian
318	<i>El mois d'avril qu'iver va departant</i>	Pastourelle
319	<i>Al cor ai une alegrance</i>	Secular love
320	<i>Memor tui creatoris</i>	Admonitio
321	<i>Virgo virginum regina</i>	Marian

it clearly figured as part of the most widely known version of this motet.⁵ It deserves to be quoted in full:

O quam sancta, quam benigna / fulget mater salvatoris, / laude plena, virgo digna, / archa Noe, Iacob scala, vasculum pudoris, / aula redemptoris, / tocius fons dulcoris, / angelorum gaudium, / lactans Dei filium, / regem omnium. / Audi, salus gentium, / preces supplicantium! / Ave, virgo, lesse virga nobilis, / super omnes venerabilis! / Spes unica, succurre miseris! / Inebrians animas fons es admirabilis, / que tuos numquam mori deseris; / O anima, ex sordibus vilis / hanc Mariam virginem expostula, / ut sit pro te sedula / exorare filium / propiciam, / una spes fidelium. / O genitrix, *gaude* in filio! *Gaudens* ego *gaudebo* in Domino.⁶

(O how holy, O how kind, shines the mother of the Savior, a worthy maiden, full of praise, Noah's Ark, Jacob's ladder, vessel of modesty, the palace of the Redeemer, the font of all sweetness, the joy of the angels, who gave suck to the Son of God, the King of All. Hear, salvation of the peoples, the prayers of your suppliants! Hail, Virgin, noble rod of Jesse, venerable beyond all others! Our one hope, aid us wretched ones! You are the awesome font which fills souls to overflowing, you who never abandon your people to die. O my soul, despicable in your filth, call on this Virgin Mary, that on your behalf she plead constantly with her Son to be kind, she who is the one hope of the faithful. O mother, rejoice in your Son! Rejoicing, I shall rejoice in the Lord.)

There are other indications than the number of copies that this motet complex was held in unusually high esteem in the thirteenth century. First, it includes one of only three double motets to appear in the Florence manuscript, and it has the only double motet (even without its tenor) found in the Madrid manuscript. In the third motet fascicle in W2, which consists primarily of French double motets *not* in liturgical order, this motet is the second one in the fascicle, and just like the first one two folios earlier, it begins with an illuminated initial, not just a flourished one. Last, the three-voice bilingual motet version was chosen to begin fascicle 3 in the Montpellier manuscript, where the double-page opening is decorated with historiated initials and bas-de-page scenes. Clearly this motet was given unusual prominence, evident not only by the number of extant copies but also by where they are placed. What factors prompted such treatment?

The clausula—the only one found in both the Florence and the St. Victor manuscripts—is in the classic style of Perotin, with a fifth-mode tenor and a first-mode duplum that extend to 140 ternary longs, the equivalent of seventy 6/8 measures in transcription. Thus it is one of the longest clausulae in the repertory, and it swings along through two tenor statements with the duplum phrases sometimes coordinated and other times sharply overlapped with those of the tenor. Ernest Sanders did not hesitate to attribute this clausula to Perotin, and I see no reason to disagree with that attribution.⁷

A second factor in the prominence of this motet complex is that one and possibly two of the texts may be the work of Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236). Peter Dronke suggested a decade ago that the triplum text *Ypocrite pseudopon-*

tifices (no. 316), which first appears in the F double motet, could well be a work of Philip the Chancellor.⁸ Its harsh tone of moral outrage at the corruption of bishops (and possibly popes, since *pontifex* can mean both), is, in both sentiment and wording, characteristic of a number of Philip's securely attributed poems. In a recent dissertation on Philip and his role in the music of the Notre-Dame school, Thomas Payne also nominated the Latin motetus text *Velut stelle firmamente*, which appears only in F, for inclusion in Philip's oeuvre.⁹ The motet as a whole seems to contrast good prelates—those in the trenches, so to speak—with their superiors, who are full of greed and hypocrisy.¹⁰ It is unusual as early as the Florence manuscript to find a double motet with a sixth-mode triplum that in effect stratifies the rhythms of the voices in the threefold manner we associate more with the later thirteenth century.¹¹ This triplum melody, which evidently replaced the unique triplum of the conductus motet in the Châlons-sur-Marne manuscript, appears in all subsequent three- and four-voice versions of this motet; once created, it had significant staying power.

Three manuscript copies drop the triplum part entirely and include the Marian motetus text that first appeared in Châlons, *O quam sancta*: the two-voice motets in ArsB, LoC, and Las Huelgas. But two more versions without a triplum and with contrafact Latin texts are in W2. One (*Memor tui creatoris*) is an "exhortation to cleanse the mind by good works," in Gordon Anderson's words.¹² Immediately prior to this motet in W2 is a Marian contrafact version, *Virgo, virginum regina*—one Marian motetus (*O quam sancta*) was evidently not enough. *Virgo* is a text of praise and petition to the Virgin, one that sounds all the usual themes about Mary's role in history and in salvation.

We might speculate that several manuscripts dropped the triplum of this motet because their editor/scribes did not want the harsh polemic in the Latin text of Philip the Chancellor. Yet at least two manuscripts offer a Latin double motet version that retains the original motetus text, the Marian *O quam sancta*, and pairs it with Philip's virulent attack on the clerical hierarchy. In this texting it appears in the rather early Madrid manuscript (though minus its tenor), and once again in a later but somewhat conservative manuscript, the Bamberg codex.

But there is possibly one way in which these seemingly unrelated texts do connect. One of the roles of the Virgin in the Christian scheme of things is her function as a type of the Church.¹³ This is explicitly acknowledged in the text of *O quam sancta* when it speaks of Mary as the "palace of the Redeemer," *aula redemptoris* (in l. 5). Just as Mary is both the palace of the Redeemer, in that she bore Christ, and, through her intercession, the sinner's best hope of salvation, the Church is the house of God and the gate of Heaven—the "domus dei et porta celi." And when the house of God was defiled by a clerical hierarchy who were hypocritical, deceitful, and false, so was the Virgin herself defiled, a situation in which a polemical attack upon corruption as a call for remedy is justifiable.

The last three motets in Table 1.2B have vernacular texts. The early double motet in W2 has the French pastourelle text *El mois d'avril* in the triplum

EXAMPLE 1.1 The four-voice bilingual motet in La Clayette (mm. 1–12)

Qu. *f. 380^v*
El mois El mois d'a-vril qu'i-vers va de-par-tant, Que cil oi-sel re-cou-

Tr. *f. 381^r*
O Ma - O Ma - ri - a, Ma - ter pi - a, Vi - te

Mot. *f. 381^v*
O quam O quam san - cta, quam be - ni - gna

T. *f. 381^v*
Et Et gaudebit.

- men-cent leur [chant], Par un ma - tin lez un bois che - vau - chant m'en a -

vi - a, Mi - se - re - re!

Ful - get Ma - ter sal - va - to - ris,

- lai; En u - ne sen - te pen - sant m'en en - trai, Quant vers a -

Tem - plum De - i Dul - cor spe - i,

Lau - de ple - na, Vir - go di - gna,

EXAMPLE 1.1 (continued)

10

- mours a - voi - e tel pen - sé, Lors ne sai quel part

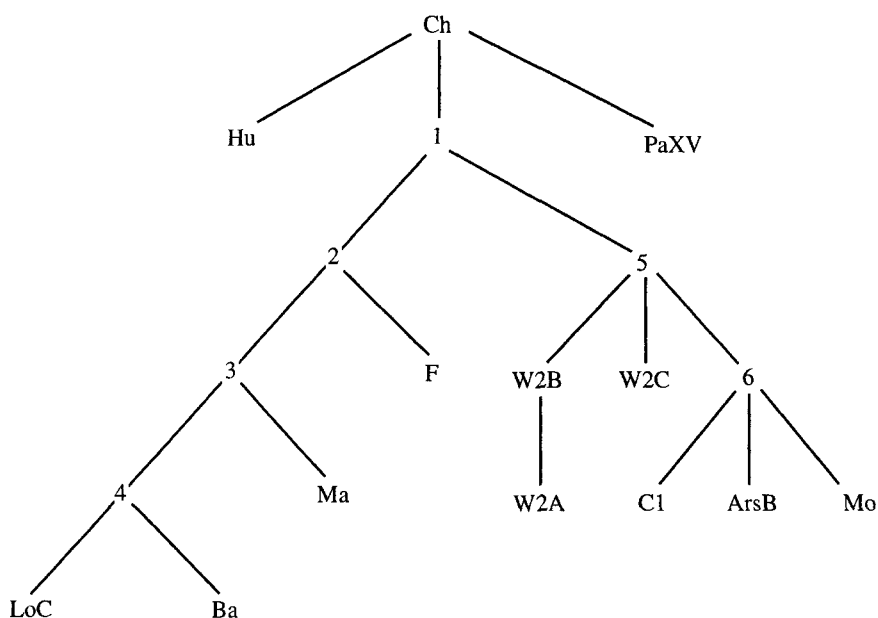
Sa - lus re - i, Me - mor me - i, Cle - mens me tu -

Ar - cha No - e, Ia - cob sca - la, Vas - cu - lum pu -

and a Frenchified Provençal text (*Al cor ai une alegrance*), also dealing with secular love, in the motetus. The latter text appears only in W2, though its textual incipit is written in the margin by the clausula in the St. Victor manuscript. The three-voice bilingual motet that begins fascicle 3 of the Montpellier manuscript has the French pastourelle text *El mois d'avril* in the triplum over the Latin Marian text *O quam sancta* in the motetus. When a cleric's mind wandered from contemplation of the Virgin, did it stray to imagine himself in a pastoral encounter?

The final motet is the four-voice example in La Clayette, with a newly added Marian triplum, *O Maria, mater pia*, that is unique to this copy. The text begins with praise to the Virgin, *in medias res* addresses the listener and urges repentance and devotion to the Virgin, and petitions her help to achieve salvation. When we look at the music given as Example 1.1, we find that the newly composed voice begins by largely doubling the quadruplum; in the fourth measure it doubles the motetus. In measure 5 there are direct clashes with the quadruplum, but by measure 7 it is essentially doubling the quadruplum again. After this somewhat rocky beginning, it finds a suitable niche between the motetus and quadruplum, and works very well with the motetus voice for the rest of the piece. For these reasons and because of the congruity of subject matter between the triplum and the motetus, one could well omit the French quadruplum voice and leave standing a Latin double Marian motet.

James H. Cook has provided a useful stemma for the transmission of these *Et gaudebit* motets that is included as Figure 1.1.¹⁴ The conductus motet in Châlons-sur-Marne, which in the extant portion is not proved terminal¹⁵ in any of its variants, is a possible archetype, that is to say, the first motet version to follow the clausula. Its text, *O quam sancta*, is the most widespread one.

FIGURE 1.1 Stemma for *Et gaudebit* motets

Similarly, there are no variants to prevent the Las Huelgas two-voice motet and the *O quam sancta* text in PaXV from being directly derived from the archetype, so that is how they are represented. It would then have been a decision of the Huelgas scribe to omit the triplum.

Hypothetical intermediary 1 would have contained the first double motet version, which was then copied by hypothetical manuscripts 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The first double motet at hypothetical manuscript 1 was very likely the Latin double motet in F attributed to Philip the Chancellor, the texts contrasting good and bad priests. If this be so, then hypothetical manuscript 5 contained the first copy of the French text. If instead the vernacular motet was the first double motet (which I think is far less likely), hypothetical intermediary 2 contained the first copy of the Latin text. Regardless of whether the Latin or the French came first, the Latin motets in F, Madrid, Bamberg, and LoC form a family derived from hypothetical MS 2. LoC is a sibling of Ba that simply omitted the triplum. The motets that branch from hypothetical manuscript 5 are the principal French sources—W2C (the vernacular double motet, which is terminal because of its unique motetus text), Montpellier, and Clayette. These three all share the French pastourelle text, but their differing other texts make each of them terminal. Clayette, ArsB, and Montpellier all have the Marian motetus *O quam sancta*, but ArsB independently omitted the triplum and Clayette independently added a fourth part. Musical variants in the two-

voice W2B and W2A indicate that both are reduced Latin contrafacts of the *O quam sancta* motetus in hypothetical manuscript 5. W2B is the result of independent action in this regard, but the variants in W2A, the Marian contrafact, indicate that it is derived from W2B, the hortatory two-voice motet. This is the only spot in the stemma in which one extant copy seems directly derived from another extant copy. This stemma is of course a hypothetical construct, but it is the simplest one that takes all the variants and their nature into account.¹⁶

There is, however, one striking group characteristic about all of these motet texts: None of them—not a single one—has anything directly to do with the idea of Ascension, either as a feast day in the church or as an event in the life of Christ. The text most frequently used, *O quam sancta, quam benigna*, does conclude with tropic references to the idea of rejoicing in the Lord, which reminds us that the tenor is *Et gaudebit*. But this in and of itself would not make clear that the Ascension is what is being celebrated. In point of fact, these motet texts simply ignore the Ascension.

If Perotin and Philip the Chancellor are jointly responsible for the Latin double motet *Ypocrite/Vellut stelle firmamente/Et gaudebit*, then that tells us one important thing about this motet complex: its avoidance of explicit mention of the feast at hand was sanctioned by the highest levels of authority at Notre-Dame. Furthermore, if the first text to be added to the clausula is indeed *O quam sancta, quam benigna*, then this motet was, from the beginning, a Marian motet on a non-Marian tenor. But whether it came first or not, this Marian text is undeniably the favorite text, both early and late, for this particular motetus voice.

In a paper given in May 1993 at the Kalamazoo medieval conference,¹⁷ I asked the questions “Why were there Marian motets on non-Marian tenors in the early motet repertory? What function did they serve?” *O quam sancta*, a Marian motet on an Ascension chant, is in the company of some fifteen other motets in this special class, and one of the earliest is another one for Ascension, *Salve, mater, fons ortorum* (309) on the tenor *Captivitatem*, from the M23 *Alleluia Ascendens Christus*. I noted that in thirteenth-century iconography the Virgin is represented as being present with the Apostles at the Ascension as Christ’s feet disappear into the clouds. That, however, is insufficient justification for performing a motet praising the Virgin as part of a liturgical organum whose text relates to the Ascension.

Ten years ago, when I first segregated this group of unusual Marian motets from the rest of the early sacred motets, I would have argued against the idea that they were ever incorporated into their parent organum composition and performed at its proper place in the liturgy. But today I do not hesitate to claim that these Marian motets were indeed intended for performance as part of non-Marian organa, for the following reason: a great deal of evidence indicates that the clergy of Notre-Dame viewed their role in life as making clear, as often as they could, with whatever means they could, the essential role of the Virgin Mary in salvation, and that there was no better place to encounter both the Virgin and salvation than in her cathedral church in Paris. The clergy asserted this primacy of the Virgin’s role and the connection of their cathedral with the

Virgin in every way open to them.¹⁸ One such way was the provision of Marian motets for important feasts between Christmas and the end of June, when Marian occasions in the calendar were few and far between. By assiduously asserting the role of the Virgin, the clerics who staffed the cathedral not incidentally asserted their own.

In the case of *O quam sancta/Et gaudebit*, we must admit that such an approach succeeded admirably. *Et gaudebit* began its career as a Perotinian clausula. Its first motet text was a Marian one that appears in eight different musical manuscripts, in the index of another manuscript no longer extant, as a text only in yet another source, and in citations by two theorists. This is surely a record among thirteenth-century motets. It is, in fact, part of a flood tide of Marian motets that surged ever higher in the later thirteenth century. Given the nearly ubiquitous presence of the polyphonic progeny of this clausula throughout the thirteenth century, perhaps it is not too far-fetched to say that the heart of *Et gaudebit* no. 2 would have rejoiced, also, to know how far and wide its offspring carried on.

NOTES

1. Friedrich Ludwig established the numbering for motets as well as the M (for Mass) and O (for Office) numbers for organa in his *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910; reprinted as Musicological Studies 7, Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964). The numbering system is continued in Friedrich Cennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, Summa musicae medii aevi 2 (Darmstadt: Author, 1958), a bibliographic catalogue of the thirteenth-century motet repertory in numerical order. More up-to-date in terms of recent manuscript discoveries is Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester: Author, 1989); for the *Et gaudebit* complex, see p. 49.

2. Of the clausulae in this fascicle, it is no. 130 in Ludwig's count (*Repertorium*, 1/1:82); for a critical edition of the piece, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, ed., *The Two-Voice Clausulae in Fascicle 5 of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1*, vol. 5 of *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Edward H. Roesner (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1995), where it is no. 129. The manuscript facsimile is by Luther Dittmer, *Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29, 1*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10–11 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966–67).

3. Facsimile in *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris lat. 15139*, Introduction and Facsimiles by Ethel Thurston, Studies and Texts 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959). A transcription according to this source is in Jürg Stenzl, *Die vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 15139*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie II, vol. 22 (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1970), 199–200.

4. Published facsimiles and modern editions/transcriptions are cited as part of the list of manuscripts in Van der Werf, *Integrated Directory*, 147–58. The manuscripts ArsB, Bes, Ch, and PaXV have not been published in facsimile.

5. For quotation and translation of the two passages from treatises, see Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame*

Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206) (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972), pt. 1, pp. 354–55.

6. Text and the following translation are from *The Montpellier Codex, Part IV: Texts and Translations*, by Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 8 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1985), 13.

7. Ernest H. Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1967), 241–49, esp. 247.

8. This attribution was first presented at the April 1985 Wolfenbüttel conference, "Das Ereignis 'Notre Dame'," and subsequently published in Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 27/2 (1987): 563–92; see 586–87 and 592 on this text. The Latin text with English translation can be found in Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, 1:346–48, and in *Medieval Music*, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco and Nicholas Sandon, Oxford Anthology of Music (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 96–99.

9. Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 2:342 ff.; edition, 4:919 ff.

10. This Latin double motet from the Florence manuscript is the only version to have been commercially recorded; it uses the edition in the Oxford Anthology mentioned in n. 8 above. The LP recording is *Medieval Music: Ars Antiqua Polyphony*, by the Pro Cantione Antiqua, Edgar Fleet, director (Peters International/Oxford University Press, PLE 115, 1978).

11. The sixth-mode triplum, first-mode motetus, and fifth-mode tenor are clearly differentiated by the amount of rhythmic activity in each voice; thus the triplum text is considerably longer than that of the motetus. See Ernest Sanders' comments about this motet in "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 524, and in "Polyphony and Secular Monophony: Ninth Century—c. 1300," in *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld (New York: Praeger, 1973), 121–24 (with partial transcription and translation).

12. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, 1:345.

13. On Mary typifying the Church in medieval exegesis, see Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), 59–61, and Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 330–33.

14. Taken with permission from James H. Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 1:212.

15. That is, at the end of a line of development or branch on the stemma, with no offshoots.

16. Cook's discussion of this stemma, to which I am indebted, is in "Manuscript Transmission," 1:208–17; the variants leading to the stemma are collated in 2:703–26. This dissertation provides similar treatment for each motet in the La Clayette manuscript that contains one or more Latin texts.

17. Baltzer, "Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer" (publication forthcoming).

18. Other ways in which this idea was manifest at Notre-Dame together represent a phenomenon too large to cover in the context of this chapter. I shall have considerably more to say about it elsewhere.