

Fragments, music and history: epistemological considerations and case studies

Eyolf Østrem: “One Man’s Trash Is Another Man’s Treasure”- Some Historiographical Notes on Fragments

A post-modernish position that all historical understanding is fragmented and that fragments in the physical sense are thus no more than a special case of this, would hardly raise a brow. The aim of this paper is to investigate the opposite option: that historical understanding is in principle NOT fragmented but whole (if not COMPLETE); and that a fragment differs from other kinds of historical sources in one fundamental sense: by being a piece of garbage which the past, for practical or other reasons, has not deemed worthy of preservation, and which we would gladly give up for the “real thing”. What is missing in a fragment, then, is not only physical pieces of the original source, but more importantly a reception history, or at least essential parts of it: the parts that connect it to the present, which is precisely what characterizes a historical piece of evidence. It will nevertheless be argued that frag-mentality is not just a distorted historiography, but that the fragment offers fruitful opportunities to examine how we understand history.

Eduardo Henrik Aubert: 11th-Century Aquitanian Mass Books In Their Fragment(ed) Context

Fragments of chant manuscripts have often not been given the same attention as their better conserved counterparts, especially in contexts for which a number of complete sources have survived. In an attempt to bring these sources into focus, this paper will present fragments from 15 Aquitanian Graduals from the 11th century and relate them to the four exemplars of such books that have been conserved mostly intact. The presentation will briefly sketch the most significant information these sources convey on specific *scriptoria*, book typology, regional liturgical practices and melodic variants, among others, and how this can improve our understanding of the complete books. Much as they improve our knowledge of the written musical culture of 11th century Aquitaine, it will be argued, however, that the major contribution such fragments can make is to remind us, by their obvious incompleteness, of the fragmentary state of our knowledge about the complex unwritten musical context in which all written sources were created. Based on this proposition, the final part of this paper will indicate how, when brought together, the scattered evidence from almost 20 different books from a closely-knit geographical area, can give hints of musical practices which took place beyond the realm of writing and which were often at odds with the specific demands of the written medium. Musical writing is after all just a fragment of any musical culture.

Nils Holger Petersen: Washing the Feet and Singing about it

The so-called Mandatum ceremony on Maundy Thursday, the Washing of the Feet, based on the narrative in the Gospel of John 13: 1-17, was considered by Karl Young to be a liturgical ceremony which ‘could have’ been turned into drama, but was not. In a modern discourse where the notion of ‘liturgical drama’ is no longer generally accepted to refer to a well-defined medieval phenomenon, these ceremonies need to be discussed anew in the liturgical context of Maundy Thursday and concerning their specific representational features. In this paper, I will take my point of departure in a newly discovered ceremony from an eleventh-century Aquitanian fragment, which will be discussed musically as well as in relation to its biblical background, also comparing it with other well-known versions, a.o. from the *Regularis Concordia*. Mandatum ceremonies translate the biblical narrative into an action that explicitly concerns the community in which they are carried out. The participants represent themselves at the same time as they re-enact the biblical narrative. For this reason, the

ceremony can be said to stage a self-understanding of Christian communal ideals which in a monastic context constitutes an important element in the construction of a monastic identity. I shall discuss the role of the songs which form the main link to the biblical background of the ceremony and at the same time also connect the intimate ceremony with the traditional liturgical role of the participants.

German secular music in the sixteenth century

Agnieszka Leszczyńska: Thannenwald – the lost Elbing manuscript partially rediscovered

Thannenwald, the manuscript containing 137 works, was held in the Marian church library in Elbing (today Elbląg in northern Poland). It originated about 1600 and consisted mainly of German and Italian secular pieces, e.g. love songs and drink songs. Among composers there were Demantius, Erbach, Gastoldi, Hausmann, Lemlin, Marenzio, Pittanus, Vecchi, Walliser, Zangius. The manuscript was probably used by the local Convivium musicum. Thannenwald disappeared in 1945. A few years ago one of its five partbooks (quinta vox) has been rediscovered in the University Library in Toruń. Unfortunately this part contains only a half of the repertory and almost all pieces – except Von Venus Licht by Zangius – are without attribution. Gottfried Döring and Herbert Gerigk, who had opportunity to see entire manuscript, didn't describe it in detail, so today it is not possible to reconstruct its full contents. However in the quinta vox one may recognize 37 pieces by Hausmann and Gastoldi copied from prints. The repertory from this partbook will be described. Two anonymous unica from Tannenwald are preserved in later copies: satirical song Echo Jesuitarum (19th c. manuscript in the Klau Library, Cincinnati) and drink song Was wilst du thun (edited by Gerigk 1929). Both pieces will be analysed. Possible functioning of the manuscript in the Elbing society will be described as well.

Sonja Tröster: Love, tragedy and a question of faith – extra-musical components for the success of a song in 16th-century Germany

“Mag ich Unglück nit widerstan”, which bears in several differing text versions the acrostic MARIA, came to be known as the “Song of the Queen of Hungary”. Although Mary of Hungary, the sister and confidant of Charles V, never openly confessed to her sympathy for the Reformation, “Mag ich Unglück” is included in many of the protestant hymnbooks. The facts that Ludwig Senfl's polyphonic setting is the earliest witness of the *Lied* and that Glarean stated in a pamphlet “Welchen thon etwan Ludwig Senffly vor jaren gemacht” could suggest that the melody indeed was his composition. The secular text connected with this setting seems to refer to Queen Mary's fate; she lost her beloved husband Louis II of Hungary at a young age in the disastrous defeat against the Turks in 1526. But Senfl's composition predates Mary's misfortune, as it is already present in Hans Judenkünig's lute tablature of 1523. “Mag ich Unglück” has a rarely known counterpart in Thomas Stoltzer's “König, ein Herr ob alle Reich” which yields the acrostic KÖNIG LUDWIG and the two pieces could have been composed for the wedding of Mary and Louis in 1522, like another acrostic-song by Senfl. The paper sets the composition in relation to other acrostic-songs for members of aristocratic circles and pursues the contexts in which the tune reappears in pamphlets and hymnbooks of the 16th century; they remarkably coincide with major events in the early years of the Reformation in the German-speaking realm.

Barbara Neumeier: The use of wind instruments in the „Kunstmusik“ of the 15th and 16th c. as seen from the manuscript „A.R.775-777“ (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg)

The manuscript „Regensburg“, dated ca. 1580, is one of most interesting musical manuscripts of its time concerning the use of wind instruments. It consists of 124 pieces, 46 of which are given original instrumental specifications, e.g. „2 zingen, 2 pumart, 2 pusaun“. There is no other contemporary source with such an abundance of specifications for wind instruments. Starting from this unedited manuscript, I will raise some general as well as more specific questions about the use of wind instruments in the Renaissance. Renaissance wind instruments, especially loud instruments, were used in a courtly context as part of the court chapels as well as in the towns, played by minstrels. Besides the musical repertory itself, sources for drawing a more detailed picture of wind instruments playing in this period are iconographical, organological, and textual as inventories, soldpapers, and treatises, which may serve as an „initial point“ for understanding the contemporary use of wind instruments. Comparing several musical sources of the 15th and early 16th century, my aim is to find out in which way exactly wind instruments have been playing together, and how pieces without vocal text underlying can be performed in a wind band. Combining all the main aspects and types of sources – a task that in research about most Renaissance wind instruments still lies ahead – will lead to a more thorough description of the use of wind instruments in specific social and musical contexts of the Renaissance, and of their role as part of contemporary public and art life.

Reading Josquin

Jesse Rodin: Josquin’s Pacing in the Sistine Chapel

No fewer than twelve settings of the tract *Domine, non secundum peccata* survive in choirbooks copied for use by the Sistine Chapel choir. As Richard Sherr has shown, these pieces have in common a series of textural and formal procedures designed to assist the pope in coordinating polyphonic performance with a precise sequence of liturgical action. But writers since Glareanus have recognized a special relationship between the settings by Bertrandus Vaqueras and Josquin des Prez: both begin with a pair of unusually lengthy duos scored for stratified voice pairs that closely paraphrase the parent chant. Thanks to the work of Adalbert Roth, Pamela Starr, and Joshua Rifkin, we can say with near certainty that Vaqueras’s setting was composed before Josquin’s. As such the parallels between them are now best interpreted as musical borrowing, contributing to an emerging image of Josquin as a composer highly reactive to the work of his contemporaries. But whereas in other cases we find him elaborating or systematizing his colleagues’ procedures, in *Domine, non secundum peccata* Josquin seems mainly to be “editing” weaknesses he observed in Vaqueras’s handling of pacing. A comparison between the two settings thus stands not only to enrich our view of Josquin as borrower, but to elucidate the priorities late-15th-century composers brought to bear on long-range musical design.

Christian Berger: Josquin's Marian Motets: An Analysis of their Number Structure

It is for a long time that Josquin’s motets have been in a focus of symbolic numbers (see for example van Benthem 2008). Furthermore, since the antiquity, numbers have been a basic structural framework of art in general. On the basis of this structural framework this paper shows in which way the form of Josquin’s Ave Maria and other Marian motets is based on such structural decisions, including all the different parameters, e.g. the number of notes, the numerical spread of pitches, the number of breves and semibreves and the gematric numbers of the text underlay.

Rainer Bayreuther: Josquin's Marian Motets: A Probabilistic Evaluation of their Number Analysis

In my corresponding paper, I present a method to evaluate number analyses of music in terms of mathematical probability. It draws its examples from existing number analyses of Josquin's motets. In a first step, it evaluates which numbers in musical and textual structures a scholar (in this case: van Benthem and Berger) are considered as a significant outcome. In a second step, it tries to find a supposition which other outcomes would have been accepted as a significant outcome by the scholar as well. This setting of possible significant number structures leads in a third step to an analysis by statistical means. The leading question is: What is the exact probability that one of the accepted significant number structures is a random result? (A high random probability does not exclude conscious arrangement by the composer, but it is our only clue in the case when nothing is known of the composer's conscious numerical arrangement.) In the fourth and last step, this paper appraises on the basis of the 5%- resp. 1%-criteria in mathematical statistics whether the number structure can be considered as a conscious arrangement by the composer or not.

The practice and performance of liturgy in the Middle Ages

David Hiley: Liturgical processions and their chants in medieval Regensburg

As in so many large medieval cities, Regensburg on the Danube in Germany was the site of numerous churches, great and small, including the cathedral of St. Peter, collegiate churches such as the Alte Kapelle, several Benedictine monasteries of which the oldest was St. Emmeram's, an Augustinian house, the churches of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and a great number of parish churches. While the greater part of their liturgies would be performed in isolation from each other, the clergy and brethren of at least some of the churches would come into formal contact with each other through liturgical processions. Fortunately, a number of ordinals and books with processional chants have survived, through which the processional liturgy of a few Regensburg churches can be reconstructed. The paper describes briefly what we know of liturgical processions and their chants in medieval Regensburg and suggests some lines of comparison with other medieval centres.

Matthew Ward: The Ordinary Trope Repertoires of St Albans Abbey in the Twelfth Century

By the third quarter of the twelfth century, the English abbey of St Albans stood near the pinnacle of Anglo-Norman monasticism. In the century after the Conquest its Norman abbots built up the prestige of the protomartyr's monastery through the rebuilding of the abbey church, the development of a fine scriptorium and distinctive liturgical practices drawing on varied sources from across the Latin West. From the very height of the abbey's prestige there survive two sources containing tropes and prosulas to the Ordinary of the Mass, date-able to around the middle of the twelfth century. In this paper I propose to examine the Ordinary repertoires of these books, discussing why they were made, in what relation they stand to one another, and what they can tell us about the cultural life of the abbey, in the overlapping and interpenetrating domains of liturgy, music, theology and even politics.

Liturgy, theology and reform in the sixteenth century

Johannes Schwarz: Bernhard Rem's organ books as evidence for liturgy at the Augsburg Carmelite church St. Anne

Bernhard Rem, member of an old suevian merchant family, was organist in the service of

Jakob Fugger at the Augsburg Carmelite monastery St. Anne. He is mainly known as the author of a pamphlet, in which he espouses the Lutheran doctrine. Recently he has been identified as the scribe of several polyphonic manuscripts from the circle of Ludwig Senfl. The objects of comparison for this attribution are four liturgical manuscripts, demonstrably written by Rem during the second decade of the 16th century and connected to his occupation as an organist. They contain plain chant with only little text underlaid, except for the incipits. Furthermore only the parts, that might have been performed by the organ during alternatim practice, are notated. These manuscripts are the oldest among those produced with such a strong reference to the organist practice. They are of great interest as they reveal details of this practice, such as the repertory and disposition of chants and the use of *musica ficta*. The examination of the repertoire shows different connections between the several manuscripts as well as to the rite of the Carmelite order and the Augsburg diocese, and therefore to St. Anne, the place of Bernhard Rems' employment. No other liturgical sources from this monastery seem to have survived - hence Bernhard Rems' organ books are the only evidence for the Augsburg Carmelite liturgy.

Allen Scott: Protestant Sacred Music Culture in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Breslau

This study is an analysis of the performance libraries of Breslau's three principal Lutheran churches. The size and diversity of the collections indicate that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city's sacred music culture was quite cosmopolitan. Much of the inventory consists of single prints by individual composers, primarily Germans and Italians, as well as many of the most popular collections in Europe, such as Lindner's anthologies of masses, motets, and Magnificats, the *Thesaurus musicus* series, and most of the published works of Lassus. In addition to stylistic breadth, the music holdings contain what appears to be a diverse confessional assortment, from Latin masses, motets, litanies, and music for Vespers, to German motets, devotional songs, and occasional works, to Calvinist hymnals. Despite the seeming multi-confessional nature of the collections, the content of the libraries, and thus Breslau's sacred music culture in the most prominent Lutheran parishes, cannot rightly be described as being identifiably Protestant, much less Lutheran. Rather, I hold that Breslau's situation was the same as that in Augsburg, which has been described by Alexander Fisher as one that steered clear of religious friction and that was not restricted to an explicitly "Protestant" musical repertory. Indeed, recent scholarship apparently is heading toward the conclusion that, at least in some areas, Europe's common Christian culture created a common sacred music culture that did not concern itself with confessional identity and in which "new stylistic directions ... were driven more by changes in taste than confessional politics" (A. Fisher).

Grantley McDonald: Erasmus' Comma and Monteverdi's Seraphim

The inclusion of a setting of the non-Marian text *Duo seraphim* in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers of 1610 has been the occasion of a good deal of disagreement between modern commentators. Jeffrey Kurtzman has documented the existence of a large number of settings of this text in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, testifying to a significant bubble of enthusiasm for this text during these years. Roger Bowers has recently pointed out the background of theological disagreement over the canonicity of the *secunda pars* of this text (*Tres sunt qui testimonium dant...*). This verse from the first Letter of St John (known by biblical scholars as the 'Johannine Comma') is the only explicit mention of the doctrine of the Trinity in Scripture, but its authenticity was explicitly challenged by Erasmus in the first published edition of the Greek text of the New Testament (1516). Erasmus' bold editorial decision gave rise to an extended debate in which most scholars, both Catholic and Protestant,

at first concurred with Erasmus' rejection of the verse. Yet with the spread of the dangerously subversive Antitrinitarian theology of Fausto Sozzini in the last third of the sixteenth century, Catholics and Protestants alike began to embrace the Johannine Comma once more as a valuable Scriptural witness to the doctrine of the Trinity, this most central Christian teaching. This paper will examine the progress of this theological debate, focussing on the years around 1600. This background provides a cogent explanation for the sudden popularity of this text as the focus of musical and liturgical elaboration in the context of a Catholic Church struggling to define itself against a variety of heresies on every side.

Parody and reworking in Renaissance masses

David Trendell: Gombert, Rogier and Monteverdi

In 1610 Monteverdi published his *Missa In illo tempore*, a parody of a motet by Nicolas Gombert. The work shows striking similarities to Philippe Rogier's *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, also based on a motet by Gombert and published posthumously in 1598. The most striking of these is the use of a sequence that occurs towards the end of each movement of Rogier's mass and which is even more omnipresent in Monteverdi's work. The sequence is certainly inspired by examples in much of Gombert's work, though curiously in neither of the two motets that the composers parodied. This paper looks at these two musical homages to Gombert as well as exploring the possibility that Monteverdi knew Rogier's work and in some ways modelled his own mass on that as much as on Gombert's motet.

Kimberly Parke: The Battle Mass Tradition and the Limits of Signification

Imitation masses based on Clement Janequin's chanson, "La bataille de Marignan," proliferated throughout the 16th and into the 17th centuries. Unlike the "L'homme armé" cantus firmus masses, these masses have yet to be systematically studied. While Janequin, Guerrero and Victoria's contributions are well known, composers like Esquivel, Garcia, Ximeno, Pantino, Cererols, and Lopez continued the tradition both in Spain and the New World until 1692. After 1608, the battle masses are preserved only in manuscript with the largest collection now held in Bogota, Colombia. Despite the vibrancy of this battle mass tradition, imitation masses did not comprise a large proportion of Spanish sacred music. For this tradition to be viable, both the intrinsic and extrinsic significations of the chanson and its masses had to change. Janequin's chanson explicitly celebrated a (short-lived) French victory, but then it was adopted by France's enemy to become one of the most long-lived and consistent mass traditions. As the battle mass tradition traveled across national boundaries, the battle itself was what had changed, transformed into a battle for souls both on earth and in heaven. The onomatopoeic sounds of battle were to be repurposed in a "rapid-fire" declamation of the "Credo," turning the wordy ordinary text into a nonsensical patter, a "parody" in the modern sense. Decontextualizing and re-signifying the Janequin chanson was required for and necessitated by its move to Spain and her territories.

Michael Alan Anderson: Another John: Reception and Meaning in Obrecht's *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista*

The *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista*, now attributed to Jacob Obrecht, was long considered to be an anonymous mass for the early sixteenth-century papal chapel, owing to its lack of a composer attribution and survival in only one Vatican source (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 160). As is well known, this mass takes Busnoys' *Missa L'Homme armé* as its model, lifting many structural elements of the pre-existent work, though significantly replacing the cantus firmus with eight antiphons from the nativity feast of John the Baptist. While these antiphons heavily project the name "John" in key structural

moments across the work, no patron or dedicatee named John has been definitively connected with this mass. For all of the attention focusing on the origins of Obrecht's mass, little has been said about its reception history, specifically in the context of another "John"—Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici). Drawing on art historical scholarship, the paper demonstrates that this important recipient of the only source of the *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista* was considered a kind of precursor himself. Further, the preservation of two peculiar elements from Busnoys' model—the unusually proportionate section lengths and the descent of the cantus firmus to the bassus in the *Agnus Dei*—reveal subtle ways of reinforcing the figure of John the Baptist in the design of the mass. Only when these elements are viewed through a "Johannine" lens does one witness a heightened level of intertextuality between these two masses.

Music, plague and the individual in the fifteenth century

Christopher Macklin: Charles d'Orléans and the Chapel Royal of Henry V after the Battle of Agincourt: plague, penitence, and the possibilities of performance

In addition to strengthening England's political position on the European mainland, Henry V's triumph at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 marked the beginning of a decades-long captivity in England for a number of high-ranking French noblemen. This paper will examine the social and musical connections between the court of Henry V and two such captives. Charles Duke of Orléans, together with his brother Jean d'Angoulême, spent over twenty-five years on the island and possessed a keen interest in the arts. The contents of Charles' English library, and in particular the concordances between it and music written by members of Henry's Chapel Royal, offer a seldom-used portal into musical politics of the early fifteenth century, here illustrated by tracing the history of the hymn *Stella celi extirpavit*. In this case, the evidence suggests that this plea to the Virgin Mary for deliverance from plague was either composed or encountered by Charles d'Orléans whilst in England and from there inspired versions in important musical collections as the Old Hall Manuscript and the Eton Choirbook. Furthermore, analysis of the hymn indicates strong working connections between the British Agincourt hostages, the Chapel Royal, and more broadly with the artistic and intellectual concerns of the Franciscan order. Such a network of associations, which may have thus enabled otherwise ephemeral music to be preserved as an enduring response to epidemic calamity, also has implications for the interpretation of diffusion of music in both directions across the English Channel in the early fifteenth century.

Remi Chiu: Motets for the Times of Pestilence

Because the pre-modern biological body was inextricably linked to the church body, both were under attack in times of pestilence. Consequently, responses to plague came from many quarters and sought to soothe both bodies. In this paper, I examine two motets to the plague saint Sebastian—*O beate Sebastiane* by Martini and Gaspar—reading the works in relation to medical and religious discourses surrounding the disease. I first investigate music's medical role, examining the habitus that allowed music, alongside such things as treacle and bloodletting, to be an anti-pestilential curative. According to some Renaissance plague tracts, the fear of plague adversely affects the accidents of the soul. The medical joy conferred by music—*gaudium*—counteracts the harmful humoral effects of fear and rebalances the body. The prescription for joyous music, however, was not unequivocal. Some spiritual authorities overturned the categories of fear and joy and looked upon music's role as anti-pestilential remedy with suspicion. For them, it is in the pious preparation for death that one finds a permissible, healing joy; music, in turn, is an excessive, harmful joy. With this, we can see the uneasy (or felicitous) situation of Sebastian motets, which provide both temporal and

spiritual comforts, within medical and spiritual plague discourses. Woven into this discussion of music's utility against plague are my readings of the ways in which Martini's and Gaspar's motets respond to the sometime complimentary and sometime competing demands of prescriptions against pestilence, offering a double dose of medicine that treats both body and soul.

Medieval motets and their tenors

Rachel Davies: "As dew in April": Subtle Symbols of the Annunciation in Montpellier Codex Motets

As the basis for the essential Christian doctrine *homo factus est*, the story of the Annunciation is one of the most theologically significant events in the Bible. In twelfth-century France the Annunciation was a major liturgical feast, and inspired theological writings, and visual, literary and dramatic works of art. However, because the Annunciation is celebrated on March 25th, its liturgy is overshadowed by the even more important events of Lent and Eastertide. Therefore, despite its importance, the Annunciation suffers from a dearth of liturgical polyphony. In most liturgical and non-liturgical medieval music manuscripts, the other, less theologically important, Marian feasts are represented, but the Annunciation seems conspicuous only by its absence. Focussing on examples from the Montpellier Codex, this paper argues that the pervasive theological significance of the Annunciation combined with composers' penchant for creating Marian works means that the Annunciation theme is present in non-liturgical medieval French polyphony to a greater extent than modern audiences recognize it to be. It is represented through subtle symbols and allegory that would have been readily understood in medieval times. This paper explores the ways in which the Annunciation theme is represented through the content and structure of the music and lyrics of several Montpellier Codex motets.

Margaret Dobby: Poétique des Motets: Compositions à deux voix sur la teneur *Flos Filius eius*

Selon les traités du XIII^e siècle, un motet est composé à partir d'une teneur, une mélodie préexistante. Sur cette voix ordonnée de manière rythmique, le compositeur crée une polyphonie musicale et textuelle. L'ensemble des caractéristiques propres au motet entraînent donc un nombre important de contraintes pour la composition de ces pièces. Or, il semble que les compositions conservées dans les recueils mettent en évidence une réalité encore plus complexe. En effet, les traités ne font pas référence aux contrafacta ou encore à un passage par l'écrit dans une quelconque étape de la composition. D'ailleurs, à notre connaissance et malgré les nombreux recueils de motets compilés au XIII^e siècle, aucun de ces manuscrits ne conserve de traces d'usage ou même d'utilisation. Une composition orale des motets était-elle alors possible ? Nous observerons la composition poétique des pièces à deux voix basées sur la teneur *Flos Filius Eius* (O16) pour comprendre les différentes contraintes de la composition de ces motets et mettre ainsi en évidence la richesse de leurs constructions poétiques. Nous tenterons de savoir pourquoi l'ordonnement de la teneur était une étape obligatoire, si la teneur était toujours la première ou encore s'il existait un lien entre le texte et la musique de la voix supérieure.

Anna Zayaruznaya: The Composite Tenor of Vitry's *Cum statua/Hugo*

The color of Philippe de Vitry's *Cum statua Nabugodonasor/Hugo*, Hugo has long been a source of confusion. One of the motet's sources gives the enigmatic tenor incipit "Magister invidiae" (master of envy), but no chant with this text has yet been identified. Alice Clark has shown that the tenor is a partial match with the antiphon *Salve crux pretiosa*, the last nine

notes of which are sung to the words “et magister meus Christus” and correspond to the beginning of the color. She reasonably proposes that the rest of the color is freely composed. In fact the motet’s tenor appears to be a composite quotation from multiple chants. Disjunctions in range and modal orientation divide its melody into three distinct sections, only the first of which quotes from *Salve crux pretiosa*. The remainder of the color is drawn from internal sections of two other chants, both of which set the word “magister.” One of these even elucidates the meaning of the mysterious tenor incipit, since it is drawn from an antiphon whose words include “magister invidiae.” The revelation that these three chants are united only by their use of the word “magister” reminds us that motet composers sometimes selected tenor source material more for local textual content than for semantic or liturgical context. Indeed when viewed together with similar examples, *Cum statua/Hugo* calls for a revised interpretation of the tenor’s role in *Ars nova* motets.

Renovation and reworking in the fifteenth century

Stefano Mengozzi: Facets of Musical Renovatio in the Early 15th Century

According to a well-established music-historiographical model, the idea of a *renovatio* in musical thought dates to the late 15th century, when Gaffurio and Giorgio Valla, among others, rediscovered the musical writings of ancient Greek authors. However, this may have been only the second wave of musical humanism. In my presentation I argue that earlier attempts at a radical renewal within the discipline of music had already gained considerable momentum by the mid 15th century. The first wave of musical renewal developed entirely within the church and had thoroughly practical objectives. The advocates of this reform wished to transform music into a devotional means that could help achieve the larger goal of renewing spiritual and religious life. Scholars such as Johannes Ciconia and Johannes Gallicus selected as their models the musical doctrines and pedagogies of the Carolingians (down to Pseudo-Odo and Guido of Arezzo), and emphasized the affective power of the sacred songs of the *antiqui padres*. Other prominent church figures, such as Jean Gerson, brought into alignment music, mysticism, and affect. In the writings of these and other authors, the emphasis on the emotional power of music went hand in hand with the goal of recuperating the forgotten musical science of Christian (read: Carolingian) antiquity. Viewed together, such trends may appropriately be understood as the manifestations of a strand of musical humanism with a distinctly Christian tinge.

Murray Steib: Caron, Martini, and Missa Clemens et benigna: Thoughts on Editorial Recomposition in the Renaissance

It is widely believed that during the Renaissance, masses were the work of a single composer. In this paper, I will challenge this assumption by examining the sources and variants of Caron’s *Missa Clemens et benigna*. This mass exists in two sources: Trent 89 (dating from 1460–66) and Modena M.1.13 (ModD) (dating from c.1481). The two sources transmit similar versions of the mass with the exception of an added *Et in Spiritum* section in the Credo of ModD. Francesco Rossi argued that ModD does not represent a second version of this mass but rather that Trent 89 is incomplete. However, a careful examination of the music—in particular, the layout of the *cantus firmus* and the style of the new section—suggests that the shorter version in Trent 89 was indeed complete and that the ModD version contains an extra section written later, certainly not by Caron but very likely by Martini. In this paper, I offer the hypothesis that masses were occasionally reworked by later composers either to modernize them or to make them conform to local liturgical practices. Through an examination of the alterations in *Missa Clemens et benigna* as well as a comparison with similar changes in other masses from ModD, I argue that the *Et in Spiritum* was specifically

composed for use in Modena, and that it was composed by Martini, who almost certainly acted as the editor of this manuscript and had a hand in reworking other masses in the manuscript. Martini worked for Ercole I d'Este, a very religious leader with a decidedly hands-on style of patronage, suggesting that the changes reflect Ercole's desire to have the music as liturgically orthodox as possible.

Jessica Chisholm: A Square By Any Other Name: The *Portugaler* / *Or me veult* / Kyrie Melody

The term "square" may refer to a variety of practices, and have a variety of meanings, in fifteenth and early sixteenth century English sacred music. References to sqwar, sqwarenote, and bokys of squaris, appear in period archival records, yet- the only source containing the term in connection with musical notation is the Gyffard part-books (BG-Lbl add. 17802-5) with three Masses designated, "upon the square." Based on this fragmentary evidence, the term is currently defined as a particular melody for tenor voice range that most likely originated as the lowest part of a previously existing three-voice composition and was extracted for use in one or more later compositions. While squares are generally recognized as an English phenomenon, appearing in English sources and involving polyphony ascribed to English composers, there is at least one archivally-attested square that appears in a number of Continental sources, including sacred motets and the secular ballade *Or me veult*. The melody is also found in various English sources plus an archive reference in GB-Cu Add 4405(9) that describes a lost "communion off 4 partis...upon the square off Ormaveute" by William Whitbroke. This particular reference would seem to indicate that the melody originated outside of England, yet there are still clues that might suggest the contrary. In total, there are at least sixteen sources for this melody scattered between England and the Continent. How, then, did it come to be used as a square, and what does it reveal concerning the phenomenon of squares either extending beyond England or imported from foreign sources?

Musical and textual design in the thirteenth-century conductus and motet

Catherine Bradley: Clausula or Motet: Which Came First?

Discussion of the earliest motets has been largely confined to the cataloguing of clausula-motet concordances and to questions of chronological priority. Yet the question as to 'which came first, clausula or motet?' has not been conclusively answered. Indeed, this issue has simply been abandoned in recent scholarship, which has instead focused primarily on the textual interpretation of French and bilingual motets. I wish to readdress the fundamental question of motet and clausula relationships, suggesting that the 'which came first?' approach may be rather a simplistic one. I will show that the relationship between clausulae and motets is not simply linear, but that interactions can be identified in both directions, from clausula to motet and from motet to clausula. Examples of motets which 'text' pre-existing clausulae will allow exploration of the types of alterations made to these clausulae in the process of motet formulation. Going in the opposite direction, clausulae which appear to have been influenced by related motets will also be discussed.

Mark Everist: Transcription and Textuality – Measure and Meter: A New Source for Polyphonic Latin Song c1200

Polyphonic Latin songs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were called *conducti* by contemporaries. They ranged from monodies to works in three and four parts, and from simple syllabic settings to pieces that exploited a variety of musical discourses. By far the largest species consisted of two-part *conductus cum caudis*, compositions that developed

musical meaning from juxtaposing sections in straightforward syllabic style (*cum littera*) against fully-modal melismatic *caudae* (*sine littera*). The disposition of music *cum littera* and *sine littera* created structures that go beyond the text. Taking two works found in a source hitherto unknown in the musicological literature (Münster, Staatsarchiv, Mscr. VII, 6115), 'Dei sapientia' and 'Genitus divinitus', and placing them among previously identified sources, shows that the two *conducti* were copied side by side not only in the Münster source but also contiguously in a manuscript discovered in the 1990s (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117*); details of the two readings of the two *conducti* furthermore suggest that the two works belonged together sufficiently to be copied alongside each other twice. The subject matter of the texts, their structure (both three stanzas of proparoxytonic heptasyllables), the sources in which they are preserved, and the balance of music *cum* and *sine littera* in both, make them an ideal environment in which to examine issues of structure and meaning in the *conductus*. *Caudae* are frequently found at the end of stanzas, and while 'Dei sapientia' and 'Genitus divinitus' show this clearly, they show subtle differences that evoke questions of transcription and their relationship to analysis. Also important is the placement of *caudae* elsewhere in the works, where their inclusion points up linguistic and poetic conceits in the text, but also raises questions of balance and symmetry.

Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne: Monodic conductus and their audience: a few hints at understanding the composer's choices?

The study of Latin monody decreases with the beginning of polyphonic productions of spectacular complexity. Organa, motets and *conductus cum caudae* are more likely to demonstrate the novelty of music in the early 13th century than *conductus simplicis*. However, the sources are clear: monody does not disappear with the emergence of measured polyphony, as is witnessed in the last fascicles of the Florence manuscript. One of the problems of musicological criticism is related to the function of latin monody: neither liturgical nor strictly speaking secular, it gives us no indication as to its functional use. Another obstacle to research is the heterogeneity of the corpus. Its formal diversity both in terms of poetry and music (polyphony, monody, quotes, *contrafacta*), makes it difficult to conceive the *conductus* as a consistent genre. Even, its definition is complex as the criteria that characterize it are scarce and sometimes contradictory between them. Is there a link between the style (text and melody), the purpose of the composer and expectations of the audience? Oratorios *conductus* written in direct speech allow us to start this investigation, because it often happens that the audience is apostrophised. We suggest to isolate in F10 *conductus* which in their meaning or in their oratorical forms lead us to infer what audience they are intended for. Thus, I'll try to figure out if there are processes or recurring elements of language appropriate to a type of audience and if the public can be regarded as a crucial element to determine some of the composer's choices.

Musical education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Ruth DeFord: Two Recently Identified Writings on Musical Practice by Johannes Cochlaeus

The music theorist Johannes Cochlaeus is known to modern scholars for his treatises entitled *Musica*, which appeared in three editions from about 1504 to 1507, and *Tetrachordum musices*, which appeared in seven editions from 1511 to 1526. Two additional writings of his, one on plainchant and one on measured music, have been overlooked in most bibliographies and studies of his works. They are currently bound with three of the surviving copies of his 1507 *Musica*, although they were originally independent works. Each of them

consists of a single gathering of four folios. They were published with the author's name, but with no indication of place, date, or publisher. This paper discusses the content of the newly identified prints in relation to Cochlaeus's *Musica*, their intended function, and their probable place and date of publication. Unlike Cochlaeus's other writings, these small tracts focus on practical rules of thumb for singers and minimize the theoretical explanations underlying them. They also include comments relating to aspects of performance practice that are rarely discussed in more formal treatises, such as pitch level, tone quality, vocal technique, tempo, and affective expression. They provide a glimpse of some vital aspects of musical performance that normally belonged to the oral tradition of music pedagogy, rather than the written tradition of theoretical treatises and textbooks.

Susan Forscher Weiss: Publishing Music Treatises by Students at the University of Cologne in the Early Sixteenth Century

In the sixteenth century, printing firms published treatises written by university students on a variety of humanist subjects, including grammar, geometry, astronomy, and music. In some instances, particularly in Cologne, publishers omitted information about the author, the date, and the place of publication. Among the earliest published music treatises were those attributed to the Lotharingian Nicholas Wollick (aka Nicolas Volcyr de Sérerville), and the Germans Melchior Schanppecher (aka Malcior of WORMATIA) and Johannes Cochlaeus (aka Johannes Wendelstein, Johannes Dobneck), all students at the University of Cologne at approximately the same time during the early years of the sixteenth century. While Wollick was a member of the *bursa laurentiana*, Schanppecher and Cochlaeus were fellow students in the rival *bursa montana*, counting among its members Heinrich Glareanus a few years later. Issues to be addressed include how these students, some called student-teachers at more advanced stages of their education, shared resources and provided materials for their contemporaries. Information about how and where a treatise (including a recently discovered copy of one by Cochlaeus and another by Glareanus, neither listed in RISM) was used and read is revealed by a careful examination of handwriting in some of the surviving sources. Marginalia in copies of published treatises by Wollick and his preceptor and fellow student Schanppecher, by Cochlaeus, and by his well-known student Glareanus whose autograph annotations survive, inform our understanding of how taking notes in books played an important role in learning. Apart from making educational contributions, the students published books may also have been instrumental in advancing some of their careers.

Abigail Ballantyne: *Per soddisfare al desiderio delle Vergini Claustrali: Vernacularizing Anacleto Secchi's De ecclesiastica hymnodia (1629; reprinted 1634)*

Little is known of the musical education of cloistered nuns in early sixteenth-century Milan. As contact with external male teachers was intermittent (for scandals associated with this practice were rife), it was customary for trained nuns inside *clausura* to teach their colleagues to sing and play. Pedagogical music prints, such as Ignazio Donati's two solo motet collections, were evidently produced in order to give much-needed instruction to nuns in written form. In this paper, I will examine how Anacleto Secchi's third edition, *Della hymnodia ecclesiastica* (1643), was employed as a didactic tool in the musical training of nuns; indeed, Secchi intimated how nuns should conceive of hymnody and practice singing the hymns and psalms of the Divine Office. In the second dedication of this long-awaited treatise, the volume's translator, the Barnabite Donato Benzoni, baldly states that the publication was vernacularized 'in order to satisfy the desire of many, and in particular of the cloistered Virgins', that is, the nuns of the Angelic Order at San Paolo Converso in Milan. I will argue that a complex relationship existed not only between the musical ability and literacy of female religious, but also between the usage of Latin and the vernacular in music treatises of the

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early seicento: while on the one hand writing in the demotic idiom implicitly reinforced the assumed inferior status of this print's intended readership, on the other requesting an Italian translation underscored the power of female monastic musicians to fashion their literary identity in bilingual Europe.