

THE MARIAN MOTET CYCLES OF THE GAFFURIUS CODICES:
A MUSICAL AND LITURGICO-DEVOTIONAL STUDY

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A MUSICAL AND LITURGICO-DEVOTIONAL STUDY

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Stanford University, 2001

Abstract

This dissertation aims to elucidate the vibrant historical context of Marian motets in the Renaissance, by exploring the relationship between the veneration of the Virgin Mary and the unique repertory of Marian motet cycles produced in Milan during the age of the Sforza. Milan's position as a leading musical center, coupled with its rich and distinctive religious history, make it an excellent case study of the interaction between sacred music and religious devotion during this period. The investigation centers on the so-called Gaffurius Codices (MILD 1-4), four large choirbooks which reflect the sacred musical repertory of both the Sforza court and the Milanese Cathedral. Primary emphasis is placed on the distinctly Milanese genre of the motet cycle—a group of two to eight motets, unified by musical and textual criteria—the majority of which are Marian. Detailed analysis of these Marian motet cycles is placed within the larger context of Milanese religious life, providing a more comprehensive picture of these works than a strictly musicological study could afford.

The main body of the dissertation is divided into two sections, of two chapters each. The first section provides a preparatory outline of the history of Marian devotion in Milan—from Saint Ambrose to Saint Bernard (Chapter 1); and from the rise of the mendicants to the fall of the Sforza (Chapter 2). The second and principal section takes up the analysis of the fourteen Marian motet cycles (sixty motets) copied into the first three Gaffurius Codices—four Marian *motetti missales* (Mass substitute) cycles (Chapter 3); and ten unspecified motet cycles (Chapter 4). An extended introduction defines the methodology employed, and provides an overview of its principal topoi. The dissertation ends with a brief summary, an epilogue—offering an overview of the musical style of Franchinus Gaffurius—and four appendices: Appendix 1 lists all Marian compositions by major composers of the Josquin era; Appendices 2 and 3 provide texts and translations of the Marian motets discussed in Chapters 3 and 4; and Appendix 4 contains original transcriptions of eighteen previously unpublished Marian motets.

Preface and Acknowledgments

In the spring of 1994, I was preparing for a choral concert of Renaissance motets, one whose centerpiece was a collection of four polyphonic settings of the Marian antiphon, *Ave regina caelorum, ave*—by Guillaume Dufay, Pierre de la Rue, Adrian Willaert, and Orlando de Lassus. Seeking at first only to explain in a simple program note why four composers of four different generations would set the same Marian text, I quickly found myself confronting an enormous topic that refused to end with the concert. Before long this one research task had evolved into a weighty dissertation topic, taking a direction quite distant from the single Marian antiphon that spawned it. The overarching topic—the relationship between sacred music and Marian devotion in the Renaissance—is indeed enormous, and this dissertation is but one take on it. It is one, however, that has brought me keen insight into perhaps the greatest music of the Western canon: the sacred polyphony of the late *quattrocento*.

Along the way, I have benefited from the invaluable assistance and support of a great many people. First is that of my advisor, Professor William Mahrt, who has shown boundless patience and support over these many years; and to my three additional readers, Professors Karol Berger, Albert Cohen, and George Brown, for their great assistance with this manuscript, as well as for the invaluable education I have received from each. Most enriching was the month I spent in Milan, a trip made possible by a generous travel grant from the Stanford Office of the Humanities; everywhere in the glorious city of Milan the presence of the Virgin Mary shines brightly—from the Duomo and countless *vie e chiese Marie* to the ancient Marian statues that grace the city gates and public *piazze*. My visits to several Milanese archives made vital contributions to this dissertation, and I am grateful for the generous assistance of several librarians—most notably Roberto Fighetti of the Fabbrica del Duomo, Giuseppe Fringuelli of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and the entire staff at the Biblioteca Trivulziana. Special appreciation goes to Sister Maria Cecilia Visentin, of the Servite Order, for the delightful time we spent in conversation, for her valuable insights, and for the gift she made me of her recent monograph, *La Pietà Mariana nella Milano del Rinascimento*—a book which confirmed and augmented the work I had already completed in the first two chapters of this dissertation.

Finally, a heartfelt thanks goes to my family—my parents Jack and Marian, brother Howard, Grandma Rose, and Uncle Jerry—for their steadfast belief that I would indeed finish eventually. Most of all, my undying love and gratitude goes to my wife, Lynn, who has ridden with me every wave of joy and challenge over these many years, and to our precious daughter, Camille, who has kept me going with her loving spirit and angelic smile—to you both is this work dedicated.

Nolan Gasser
San Francisco, CA
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Introduction

The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices: A Musical and Liturgico-Devotional Study

A Brief Overview

The present study deals with a very specific repertory of sacred motets—copied into the Gaffurius Codices, grouped into motet cycles, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Sixty motets in all receive detailed musical analyses—found in Chapters 3 and 4—which form the heart and principal contribution of this dissertation. The attributes which define this repertory, however, also expose the need to investigate other, related issues—notably, the identity of the Gaffurius Codices, the definition of a motet cycle, and the place of the Virgin Mary within the milieu that gave rise to these motets. While the first two topics fit squarely into the discipline of musicology, the third enters into more remote territory—theology, liturgy, and devotional history. The question may arise as to the place of devotional history within a dissertation in musicology, but in this case the context of the music itself has made it obvious: the explication of a large body of motets dedicated to the Virgin Mary requires an explanation of its religious and devotional origins.

Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation thus offer an extended summary of Marian devotion, from the early years of the Christian era to the late *quattrocento*—the era of the Gaffurius Codices. Emphasis is placed on the city of Milan, where the motet cycles were composed, copied, and performed. The discipline of Mariology is vast, and in writing these two chapters I have relied on the work of established mariologists, supplemented with minor research of my own in Milanese archives. If these two chapters seem over-extended, those specifically interested in musicological questions may wish to proceed directly to Chapters 3 and 4. And yet, the history of Marian devotion in Milan bears

such intrinsic interest and pertinence to the analyses that follow that it has seemed appropriate to pursue the topic as extensively as I have.

Before directly launching into the main body of the dissertation, a few principal topics warrant an introduction, in order to set properly the context for the discussion ahead—namely, the evolution of Marian devotion in the late Middle Ages, the production of Marian polyphony in the Renaissance, musical life in Renaissance Milan, and the principal manuscripts of this study, the Gaffurius Codices.

Marian Devotion in the Late Middle Ages: A Brief Outline

Three aspects of Marian devotion—liturgy, theology, and non-liturgical devotion—will be examined insofar as they impact upon the production of Marian polyphony in Renaissance Milan. While liturgical connections to sacred polyphony are often made in musicology, the interaction of polyphony with contemporary theology and para-liturgical devotion is less frequently studied.¹ Within Medieval theology, veneration of the Virgin forms a particularly fascinating category, not only for its magnitude (especially in the period outlined here), but also by virtue of its post-biblical origins.²

¹ Two early pleas are found in Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1950), esp. 306ff, with subsequent elaboration along similar lines by John Shepherd, "A Liturgico-Musical Reappraisal: Two Studies," *Current Musicology* xlv (1987), 69-78; and Frank Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), esp. 64-65 and 381-2. A more recent, and rather impassioned exhortation for more work in this direction is found in BrownM—which will be referenced more in the ensuing chapters. A recent dissertation by Todd Michael Borgerding, *The Motet and Spanish Religiosity, 1550-1610* (Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1997) suggests an intensified interest in this direction. Other studies which intersect sacred Renaissance polyphony with religious practice to some degree include Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth Century Italy," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Ian Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 21-36; Jacquelyn Mattfeld, "Some Relationships Between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Prés," *JAMS* 14 (1961), 159-83; and NobleF.

² This is not to say, of course, that Biblical texts played no role in the veneration of Mary. In addition to her presence in the Gospels (esp. Luke), reference to Mary was also seen in books of the Old Testament, most notably the Song of Songs, but also the Books of Wisdom (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiasticus) and any number of Psalms. Finally, the Apocrypha of the New Testament, especially the Gospel of James (the Protevangelion) provided information on Mary's life not present in the canonized gospels. Much more detail is given in Chapters 1 and 2.

How this veneration was expressed in practice constitutes an indispensable foundation for the study of Marian polyphony.

By the mid-fifteenth century, the Western Church had universally established a series of Marian feasts, both narrative and theological in nature. Narrative feasts included the Nativity (September 8), the Annunciation (March 25), the Purification (February 2), and the Assumption (August 15).³ Though not explicitly Marian, the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1), maintained strong associations to her, largely as a vestige of the earliest Marian feast, the Divine Maternity of the Virgin Mary, formerly celebrated on that same day.⁴ This latter feast, established at the Council of Ephesus in 431, was clearly theological in nature, in keeping with the original cult of the *Theotokos*. The only exclusively theological Marian feast of the late Middle Ages, that of the Immaculate Conception (December 8), was finally given universal recognition by Pope Sixtus IV in 1473, thus bringing to culmination the most controversial of Marian debates.⁵ A number of lesser Marian feasts were added to local liturgical calendars from the 14th to 16th centuries. These later liturgical accretions, which include feasts such as the Seven Sorrows, the Espousal of Mary and Joseph, and *Santa Maria ad Nives*, are important indices of Marian piety during the late Middle Ages, since they ultimately arose out of long-standing devotion, of a particular nature, to the Virgin Mary.⁶

³ These represent only the most popular and universal of Marian feasts. Two other major feasts are the Feast of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple (November 21), dating from 1372, and made universal in 1585; and the Feast of the Visitation (July 2), extended to the universal Church in 1389, although the present liturgical texts for this feast date only from early 17th c.

⁴ Two obvious affirmations of this relationship are the use, for the Feast of the Circumcision, of Marian psalms (that is, those used *in festis BMV per annum*, numbers 109, 112, 121, 126, and 147) at First Vespers; and the five psalm-antiphons at Lauds: "*O admirabile commercium*," "*Quando natus es*," "*Rubum quem viderat Moyses*," "*Germinavit radix Jesse*," and "*Ecce Maria genuit*" — all with strong Marian presence.

⁵ Celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in the West dates back to the mid-11th century, specifically in England. From there both the feast and its theological controversy spread to the continent. The favorable solution provided by the Franciscan Duns Scotus (d. 1308) was largely responsible for its eventual universal acceptance. See Chapter 2 for more details.

⁶ The widespread increase in the number of feasts, Marian and otherwise, would subsequently be of great concern to the reforming commissions of the Council of Trent.

The chants proper to the Mass or Office of these feasts were doubtless well-known to composers of polyphony. Motets employing the texts of these chants (with or without the accompanying melody) would then be suitable for performance within the corresponding festal service, or (more likely) within an extra-liturgical celebration of some kind.⁷ Indeed, as will be argued, Marian feasts were not the only destinations of liturgical Marian texts. In particular must be added Marian votive services, as well as Marian processions, and the Offices of Vespers (containing the Magnificat) and Compline (with the four great Marian antiphons). A significant task of this dissertation is the codification of the Marian polyphonic texts with regard to their place (or absence) within the liturgy.⁸ In conjunction with this codification will necessarily be the discussion of the liturgical and para-liturgical services themselves, which in Milan are the subject of considerable distinction (see Chapters 1 and 2). For the most part, Marian scholars have focused largely on early Church history, and thus extracting information pertinent to the period in question has required much patience and research, to be sure.

In Italy, as throughout Europe, each City-State had its own particular liturgical tradition, something which holds true not only for the cathedral churches, but for the aristocratic chapels as well. An obvious example is Rome, where the Papal Mass was by definition a celebration unlike any other.⁹ The Ambrosian liturgy in Milan, on the other hand, supplies us with an entirely individual rite. For this duchy, therefore, the repertory

⁷ See Noble, "The Function" and Anthony Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *JAMS* xxxiv (1981), 43-59. This is a principal topic of Chapters 3 and 4—that is, the musical evaluations.

⁸ As will be seen, the detailed musical and musico-textual discussions in Chapters 3 and 4 focus almost exclusively on motets, specifically on those motets which combine into motet cycles of one kind or another. While this necessarily excludes some types of Marian polyphony—such as Magnificats and troped Marian Masses—the motet cycle will be seen to reveal an especially fertile intersection between Marian devotion and sacred polyphony.

⁹ The unique ceremonial of the Papal Mass makes up the contents of the first *Ordo Romanus* (Andrieu's *Ordo I*). The wearing by the pope of the tiara and the *phrygiam* are among the most well-known of these particularities. See Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, trans. John Halliburton (New York, 1969), 60-61. Details of papal ceremonies during the Renaissance are found, for example, in the writings of papal chroniclers of the period (see below).

of Marian polyphony has been juxtaposed against a unique religious history, practice of religious observation, chant repertory, liturgical calendar, and so forth.¹⁰ By tracing particular musico-liturgical patterns, this study hopes to further enhance an understanding of how the two spheres of music and formal religious observance intertwined during the Renaissance.¹¹

The establishment of an annual cycle of commemoration on behalf of the Virgin Mary reflects, in many ways, the pronouncements of theologians and clerics from throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The tradition of Marian commentary extends back to the Church Fathers—notably St. Ambrose—and rises to near fever pitch in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, largely through the efforts of the newly formed mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans. Through the writings of such figures as St. Bernard, St. Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus, Mary's role in Redemption was increasingly emphasized, along with her capacity as Mediatrix and Intercessor, and her incomparable plenitude of Grace and Mercy. This high tide of Marian doctrinal devotion continued unabated throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as evidenced in the works of St. Bernardine of Siena, St. Antoninus, and Bernardine of Busti (d. 1515)—a native Milanese who preached and published in that city. Many modern writers, such as Laurentin and Graef, emphasize the "exaggeration" and even "decadence" of late medieval Mariology—one which, according to the former, found a necessary "purification" in the efforts of the Protestant Reformers and the Council of Trent.¹² For this dissertation, however, the Mariology of

¹⁰ See Chapters 1 and 2. One notable distinction is the season of Advent: from the earliest Ambrosian sources (e.g. the Evangelarium A. 28 from 9th century) to the present day, Advent has consisted of six Sundays (following the Feast of St. Martin) — compared to the standard four Sundays of the Roman Rite. For the sixth Sunday, two different masses are sung, the second, *ad S. Mariam*, having the theological character of the first Marian feast of the *Theotokos*.

¹¹ The importance of tracing local liturgical traditions as a means of understanding the context for individual works of sacred polyphony was recently demonstrated by M. Jennifer Bloxam, "Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin: Notes on Two Masses by Jacob Obrecht," *Journal of Musicology* xii (1994), 51-75.

¹² Laurentin, 117; see also Graef, 266-67.

the late Middle Ages is in no way seen as a period of "decadence." Rather, it has been approached as a very real climate of profound theological enthusiasm for Mary, Mother of Jesus—yielding in the process an authoritative basis for the rich outpouring of Marian art and music which characterizes the period.¹³

Theological pronouncements, however, are not the only source of Marian veneration during the late Middle Ages. Beginning especially in the twelfth century, popular devotion of vast proportions was bestowed upon Mary, giving rise to what some have called "Mariolatry." The factors behind this devotion are numerous and complex, and have given rise to several distinct theories, ranging from traditional theology to psychology and feminist theory.¹⁴ By the third decade of the sixteenth-century—thinking of Martin Luther's posting at Wittenberg in 1517, prompted largely by his protest against the dispensation of indulgences—the tide of Marian devotion would begin to recede, dramatically in some part of Europe. But prior to the Reformation, and Counter-Reformation, the history of Mariology in the West is basically one of an ever-intensifying devotion, which in turn provides my rationale for tracing in the first two chapters of this dissertation the entire history from Ambrose to the early years of the sixteenth-century. Admittedly, this is no small topic, and yet the task has been made somewhat more feasible by limiting the focus to the city of Milan—though naturally supplemented by overall trends in Mariology. Admittedly, I am not a Mariologist, nor a devotional scholar, and thus I have relied greatly on those who are—with particular reliance on three Ambrosian scholars, Enrico Cattaneo, Pietro Borella, and Angelo Paredi.

¹³ For the record, I would hereby note that, unlike many a modern mariologist, I have no religious or theological agenda in this undertaking. As a practicing Jew, my aim is simply to take objective account of the cultural conditions of the period.

¹⁴ A summary of various interpretations of Marian veneration is provided in Elizabeth Johnson, "Mary and the Female Face of God," *Theological Studies* 1 (1989). Johnson demonstrates how Mary's historical veneration is presently being used within current Catholicism to re-define the image God in a more gender-inclusive manner. By presenting documentation of Mary's musical veneration in the Late Middle Ages, this dissertation may even benefit continuing pursuits within modern Christian theology.

At the same time, as a musicologist I believe that this discussion is of value, in bringing together the various components of this topic that are of specific interest to Musicology, and that are generally scattered about a great number of different sources—namely, combining devotion, theology, liturgy, chant, and polyphony together in a single discussion. Further, the Ambrosian liturgical scholars mentioned above tend to presume historical fluency on the part of the reader; which if you're not an Ambrosian scholar, is not normally the case. The history of Marian devotion in Milan is inextricably bound up in general historical issues, which in turn have necessitated a modicum of general Milanese history as an introduction to each historical period of Marian devotion in Milan.

Marian Polyphony in the Renaissance

The fervid Marian devotion of the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance was echoed in a tremendous outpouring of polyphonic settings of Marian texts. This study has necessarily devised some limitations for in-depth musical analysis—namely, the motets of the Gaffurius Codices which can be seen to group themselves into motet cycles of one kind or another (see Chapters 3 and 4); and yet one can glimpse the significant place of the Virgin Mary in the musical culture of the Renaissance by surveying the sizable output of Marian polyphony from nine leading composers of the Josquin generation—namely, Alexander Agricola, Antoine Brumel, Loyset Compère, Josquin des Prés, Franchinus Gaffurius, Heinrich Isaac, Pierre de la Rue, Jacob Obrecht, and Gaspar van Weerbeke, as seen in Appendix A.¹⁵

The percentage of Marian works within the total output of sacred music by these composers is quite impressive: 18% of Masses, and a considerable 48% of motets (here

¹⁵ The choice of these composers is, admittedly, somewhat arbitrary, including two composers (Pierre de la Rue and Jacob Obrecht) with relatively little association to Italy, and excluding some Northerners (such as Johannes Martini) with definitively stronger associations to the peninsula. For the sake of argument, I have based the appendix on the non-doubtful worklists found in the NG.

including Magnificats). It should be noted that while numerous music scholars have recognized an individual or collective occurrence of Marian polyphony, few studies have addressed the phenomenon head-on.¹⁶ The enumerations in Appendix A are meant not to demonstrate an active worklist for this dissertation, but rather to show the significant place that Marian polyphony held in the overall output of sacred music by nine leading composers. The chapters ahead, however, do hope to grant considerable insight into the phenomenon by focusing on the proliferation of Marian polyphony in the key musical center of Milan. It is interesting, moreover, that the two composers who hold the greatest concentration of Marian motets in Appendix A are Gaffurius (67%) and Weerbecke (64%)—the same two who figure most prominently in this study.

Musical Life in Renaissance Milan

This dissertation does not attempt to substantially detail the history of musical life in Renaissance Milan—that is, the origins and evolution of the ducal and cathedral chapels under the reign of the Sforzas. Fortunately, much of this task has been admirably accomplished in a recent monograph by the team of Paul and Lora Merkley.¹⁷ Through their exhaustive archival efforts, a quite comprehensive picture of the recruitment strategies, payment measures, and membership of the ducal chapels under Galeazzo, Bona of Savoy, and Ludovico Sforza is now available; given the close

¹⁶ A few studies, including three dissertations, have focused in detail on one particular aspect of the musical-Mariological connection: Kuo-Huang Han, *The Use of the Marian Antiphons In Renaissance Motets* (Ph. D. diss., Northwestern University, 1974); Sonja Stafford Ingram, *The Polyphonic 'Salve Regina,' 1425–1550* (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973); and R. Todd Ridder, *Musical and Theological Patterns Involved in the Transmission of Mass Chants of the Five Oldest Marian Feasts* (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1993)—the last of these proved especially useful to this study, particularly in Chapter 1.

¹⁷ MerkMP, with ample documentation. This impressive monograph is the culmination of over five years of intensive archival research by the Merkleys, which has yielded several articles along the way (published under the names Paul Merkley and Lora Matthews; see MerkJD, MerkPC, and MerkRL in the Bibliography). I would like to thank the Merkleys for their assistance and support of the present study, particularly for their referrals of library personnel in Milan. See also PrizerM, and Guglielmo Barblan, "Vita musicale alla corte sforzesca" in TreccSM 9:787-852.

relationship between the ducal and cathedral chapels, moreover—particularly under Galeazzo, who frequently turned to the cathedral singers to staff his private chapel—the work of the Merkleys likewise informs the history of the *cappella del Duomo*, augmenting the earlier work of Claudio Sartori.¹⁸

To briefly summarize, Milan under the Sforza was among the most vibrant musical communities of the Early Renaissance. Within a few years of Galeazzo's initial recruiting missions in 1471, the ducal chapel had become the largest in Europe, numbering forty singers by 1474. Of these, nearly two-thirds were Northerners, many of whom figure as among the most celebrated musicians of their days: Gaspar van Weerbecke, Loyset Compère, Josquin des Prés, Alexander Agricola, Johannes Martini.¹⁹ The period following Galeazzo's assassination (December 26, 1476) saw a waning in the esteem of the court chapel, as most of the ultramontane singers decided not to remain in

¹⁸ See especially Sartori's essay, "La musica del Duomo dalle origini a Franchino Gaffurio" in TreccSM 9:721-85, and SartCM and SartJ—whose conclusions (on Josquin des Prés) are conclusively rejected in MerkMP, esp. 197-215. The question of Josquin's presence in the *cappella del Duomo* became one of the most controversial in Renaissance Musicology, when Sartori's long-standing assertion that the composer served in Milan from 1459 to 1476 began to be questioned in the mid-1990s. Beginning with FallowsJ and later supported by Adalbert Roth, "Jodocus de Kasselia, Joduchus de Pratis, and Johannes de Prato" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Baltimore, Md., November, 1996), concerns began to surface that the archival entries "Iuschino," "Judochu de frantia," "Iodochus de Picardia," etc. might refer to someone other than the famous composer. Initial defenders of Josquin's early presence in Milan included MaceyGM, as well as Merkley and Matthews, esp. MerkJD, pp. 144-53—largely a rebuttal of Fallows, whose arguments were deemed made "ex vacuo." However, archival research uncovered by the Merkleys themselves determined once and for all that, "the conflict of paternity between [Iodochus] de Picardia the son of Jonodius in the Milanese documents and Lebloitte dit Desprez, son of Gossard in the Condé records, indicate two different musicians" (MerkMP, 215, see also pp. 427-28). At the same time, the Merkleys uncovered other documents which establish Josquin's sure connection to Milan from spring, 1484 to winter 1489, first in the service of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, then as a member of Ludovico's chapel—after which point he became associated with the papal chapel (until 1495, though connections to the Sforza family may have endured until the fall of the Sforza in 1499, at which point Josquin entered the service of Louis XII; see MerkMP, 425-56).

¹⁹ See MerkMP, 87-154. Galeazzo's determination to establish a first-rate chapel led him to devise an elaborate network of recruitment, within Italy and beyond (including several missions to England, France, and Flanders); his near-obsessive drive for outstanding singers led Galeazzo even to stage clandestine raids of other Italian musical chapels—particularly that of Naples, but also of Rome and Ferrara, at times fueling political acrimony. In addition, Galeazzo's campaign heightened the general income potential of chapel singers by offering attractive benefices (whereby Galeazzo augmented earlier prerogatives gained by his father, Francesco Sforza) and other types of financial incentives. See MerkPC and MerkMP, 1-86.

the service of his widow, Bona of Savoy—culminating in the departure of the singer Johannes Cordier in February, 1477. Some return to glory came once Ludovico seized ducal control in 1481 (see Chapter 2), including the return of Cordier (1487), Weerbecke (1489), and the partial inclusion of Josquin des Prés (from 1489, thus able to participate in the nuptials of Giangaleazzo Maria Sforza and Isabella d'Aragona).²⁰

The cathedral chapel during the Sforza era has long garnered less interest among music scholars, existing as it did in the shadow of the more illustrious ducal chapels—particularly that of Galeazzo; unlike in the latter, the *biscantori del Duomo* were generally native Italians, under the more provincial sway of the Ambrosian Church (see Chapters 1 and 2). For example, Galeazzo used the *cappella del Duomo* as but a temporary holding post until he could establish his own proper chapel, in late 1471—thus convincing the Fabbrica del Duomo to hire the foreign singers, only to steal them away for his own usage; this exploitive dynamic continued throughout his reign, with the duke “raiding” the Duomo’s limited forces whenever the occasion called for it.²¹ Indeed, the size of the two chapels is indicative of their differing status—throughout the period of Galeazzo’s reign, following the creation of his chapel, the *cappella del Duomo* numbered only eight singers, not including boys.²² After Galeazzo’s death, the size of the *cappella del Duomo*—under *maestro* Johannes de Mollis—rose to ten adults and ten boys,

A new dynamic was created, however, when a young priest from Lodi, Franchinus Gaffurius, became *maestro di cappella del Duomo*, on January 22, 1484. Gaffurius’s arrival in Milan, partly enabled by Ludovico Sforza, ushered in one of the

²⁰ See MerkMP, 370-423. Weerbecke’s relationship with Ludovico became quite strained in the wake of the composer’s sudden departure in late 1495, to be reconciled somewhat after the composer found three new singers for Ludovico’s chapel.

²¹ See TreccSM 9:735-38; the history of the *cappella del Duomo* prior to Galeazzo’s reign is treated on pp. 723-35. Except for brief flowerings under its earliest *maestri di cappella*, Matteo da Perugia (1402-16) and Bertrand Feragut (1425-30), the chapel underwent near constant internal difficulties, culminating in the discipline crises of 1463 (see Chapter 4).

²² Ibid., 737. Apparently, Galeazzo never made use of the Duomo’s boy sopranos in his private chapel, though they sang regularly along with the eight adult polyphonists in the Duomo (see MerkMP, 35).

chapel's most glorious periods—now autonomous from the ducal chapel.²³ For thirty-eight years, until his death in 1522, Gaffurius proved himself an admirable administrator as well as a gifted musical director. His activities at the Duomo were broad, and included teaching and recruiting boys (at the *schola puerorum*), maintaining the music library, and negotiating the conditions of his chapel with the Fabbrica del Duomo. In this last capacity, Gaffurius was especially effective—not only in ensuring discipline (creating a series of fines and regulations), but also in enforcing the identity of the chapel as uniquely Italian—made up predominantly of local ecclesiastics. Gaffurius's rationale here was two-fold: first, it eliminated the natural rivalry that existed between the local and ultramontane singers; and second, it helped to form a balanced, homogeneous vocal sound, distinct from that of the ducal chapel. Ludovico, for his part, seems to have respected this new autonomous cathedral chapel, now augmented to eleven singers, refraining from the "raids" of his older brother. Finally, it is a testament to the tireless energy of Gaffurius, that beyond the great responsibility of running a metropolitan musical chapel, he was able to devote considerable time to his theoretical writings (including numerous polemic correspondences with Spataro, Aaron, Flamino, and others²⁴), as well as to original polyphonic compositions—where he played a pivotal role in integrating local Italian with Franco-Flemish musical praxes, as will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

²³ Ibid, 740-48. The engagement of Gaffurius took on political overtones, given that he had just prior been associated with Prospero Adorno, the doge of Genoa—which had recently betrayed Milan to Naples; thus Ludovico's intervention was required to ensure his acceptance. The relationship between Ludovico and Gaffurius is further established by the fact that the latter taught at the famed Gymnasium—that is, the Milanese campus of the University of Pavia—as a professor of music. See also Pio Bondioli, "Per la biografia di Franchino Gaffuri da Lodi," *Collectanea Hirotiriae Musicae* 1 (1953), 19-24; and Clement A. Miller, "Franchinus Gaffurius," in NG 7:77-79.

²⁴ See Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, ed., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 48, 77, 374-75, 938-39.

The Gaffurius Codices and Marian Polyphony

The most significant and enduring legacy of Gaffurius's tenure at the Duomo is unquestionably the four large choirbooks compiled under his auspices, and thus aptly called the Gaffurius Codices (MilD 1-4). These manuscripts too have received considerable scholarly attention, viewed largely as a chronicle of the musical activities at the court of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, in the mid-1470s.²⁵ The most famous and frequently addressed aspect of this repertory is the Milanese phenomenon of the *motetti missales*, with particular emphasis paid to those of the famed Northern composers—notably Weerbecke and Compère—and their relationship to the ceremonial practices of Galeazzo (see Chapter 3). As a result, works outside of the *motetti missales* repertory, as well as works of local composers—including Gaffurius—have received much less attention. Among the chief tasks of this study, therefore, is to give greater focus to some of these other works, with particular emphasis on the lesser known phenomenon of the "unspecified" motet cycles (see Chapter 4).

The first of the Gaffurius Codices (MilD 1) is the only one with a firmly established date, June 23, 1490, written on the opening folio in Gaffurius's hand—expressly avowing his supervision on behalf (and at the expense) of the Fabbrica del Duomo.²⁶ While not conclusive, this date is generally regarded as signifying the completion of the manuscript, a notion supported by payment records uncovered by Paul and Lora Merkley.²⁷ Such archival discoveries, moreover, have helped to create a revised chronology for the second and third choirbooks (MilD 2 and 3) as well. Specifically, uncovered payments records and other documents have led the Merkleys to suggest that "the first two and probably all of *Libroni* 1, 2, and 3 were completed by

²⁵ Among the principal studies of the Gaffurius Codices and their repertory include JepG, SartCM, 43-53; NoblitMM; FinschLC, esp. 22-26, 89-117; and FlorenSS, 41-82, 226-70.

²⁶ MilD 1, fol. 1r: "Liber capelle ecclesie maioris milani factus opera et solitudine franchini Gaffori laudensis prefate capelle impensa vero venerabilis fabrice dicte ecclesie anno domini MCCCCCLXXX die 23 Junii."

²⁷ MerkMP, 329.

1492."²⁸ Their evidence, though admittedly not as unequivocal as one might hope, goes a long way in dispelling the older belief that MilD 3 was a product of the early sixteenth century—which in turn has considerable ramifications for a number of works copied therein, not only the three Masses of Josquin (*Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, *L'homme armé sexti toni* and *Ave maris stella*), but also several anonymous works, to be discussed in Chapter 4.²⁹ MilD 4 is the most problematic of the choirbooks, given its badly damaged state following a fire in 1906: a notice in the *Annali del Fabbrica del Duomo* led Sartori to assign the date of its completion as June 22, 1527, later rejected by Ward, who reassigned it to c. 1510; the Merkleys for their part play a more conservative role and assume that most if not all of the music would have been copied into the manuscript prior to Gaffurius's death, in 1522.³⁰

In terms of repertory, MilD 1 contain a mixture of Magnificats, motets, and motet cycles—including all but one of the *motetti missales* (see Chapter 3); by contrast, MilD 2 consists almost exclusively of Mass Ordinary cycles and individual Mass movements—significantly including both Roman (with all five movements) and Ambrosian (limited to three, minus the Kyrie and Agnus Dei) Mass cycles, demonstrating the active liturgical roles of both rites in late-fifteenth century Milan, as will be addressed more in the following chapters. MilD 3 and 4 contains an anthology-like mixture of all these forms, with a sizable number of motets—many of which can be seen to form motet cycles outside the strict liturgical demands of the *motetti missales* (see Chapter 4).³¹

Before concluding this precursory glance at the Gaffurius Codices, it is worth exhibiting in more detail the decidedly Marian cast of these choirbooks—the true *causa*

²⁸ Ibid., 322; see *ibid.*, 322–32 for a complete review of their findings.

²⁹ For example, see *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, 5 vols., ed. Herbert Kellman and Charles Hamm (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1979–88), 3:152–53, which dates the second *Librone* c. 1490–1500; and the third *Librone* c. 1500.

³⁰ See AFD, 7:196; SartQ, 28; WardMM, 494; and MerkMP, 322–23.

³¹ Facsimiles of the first three manuscripts are found in BrownRM, 12a–c; a facsimile of the damaged MilD 4 appears as AMMM 16. Transcriptions of much of the music is found in AMMM, 1–15, with an additional eighteen unpublished motets found in Appendix 4. The remaining unpublished motets will appear in GasserAM.

formalis of this dissertation. A few previous writers have remarked on the great abundance of Marian polyphony in these manuscripts; most vocal has been Luciano Migliavacca, who in the introductory remarks to the AMMM edition of Gaffurius's motets states:

And if there is one thing that immediately stands out, it is the abundance of compositions [dedicated] to the Virgin—which in Gaffurius himself, and generally in the repertory of the *Libroni*—occupy a great many folios. But this fact is easily explained, and natural, given that the Duomo of Milano is itself dedicated to the Virgin; and given the singular devotion that, especially in this period, such illustrious nobles as Ludovico il Moro held toward the Virgin.³²

Migliavacca here notes not only the prevalence of Marian works in the Gaffurius Codices—with particular emphasis on Gaffurius himself—but also how this prevalence aligns with the rich tradition of Marian devotion in late-Medieval Milan, noting specifically the dedication of the Duomo and the personal piety of Ludovico Maria Sforza (see Chapter 2). In many ways, this dissertation is an attempt to flesh out Migliavacca's statement, in a manner heretofore unseen.

Table 1 shows is a complete list of the Marian works found in the four Gaffurius Codices, presented in alphabetical order, and divided into four categories: Masses (with

³² AMMM V:iv-v: "E se v'è una cosa che subita risalti, è la frequenza delle composizioni alla Vergine, che in Gaffurio stesso, e generalmente nel repertorio dei Libroni, occupano sì grande numero di fogli. Ma il fatto appare facilmente spiegabile, e naturale, pensando che proprio alla Vergine è dedicato il Duomo di Milano, e riflettendo sulla singolare devozione che, appunto in quel tempo, verso la Vergine avevano anche illustri Signori, quali Ludovico il Moro." See also the brief article by Migliavacca, "La Cappella Musicale del Duomo e il Culto della Vergine," *Diocesi di Milano* 3 (1962), 64-71, which speaks in cursory terms to some of the issues that will be addressed in this dissertation; for example, "Se il Duomo di Milano è dedicato alla Santissima Vergine, la Cappella musicale del Duomo ha come suo compito, non esclusivo ma precipuo, quello di cantare le lodi di Maria; e l'Archivio della Capella [i.e. the Gaffurius Codices], con la sua ricchissima messe di musiche mariane ne è chiara testimonianza." For more on the dedication of the Duomo to the Virgin Mary, see Chapter 2.

an unambiguous dedication to the Virgin), *Motetti missales*, Magnificats, and motets (including all variety of texts—hymns, litanies, antiphons, etc.)³³:

Table 1: Marian Polyphony in the Gaffurius Codices

I. Marian Masses

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Location</u>
Missa Ave maris stella	Josquin	MilD 3, 57v-66r
Missa Ave maris stella	Gaffurius	MilD 4, 1v-10r
Missa Ave regina caelorum	Weerbecke	MilD 2, 160v-176r
Missa Imperatrix gloriosa	Gaffurius	MilD 4, 14v-23r
Missa Montana	Gaffurius	MilD 3, 110v-117r
Missa [Nativitatis Mariae]	Gaffurius	MilD 4, 41v-47r

II. Motetti Missales

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Location</u>
Ave mundi domina	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 126-134r
Ave Virgo gloriosa	Compère	MilD 1, 143v-149r
[Missa] Galeazescha	Compère	MilD 3, 126v-134r
Quam pulchra es	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 134v-143r
Salve mater Salvatoris	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 84v-93r

III. Magnificats

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Location</u>
Esurientes octavi toni (a2)	Anonymous	MilD 1, 2v
Esurientes quarti toni (a2)	Anonymous	MilD 1, 2v
Fecit potentiam (a2)	Anonymous	MilD 1, 3r
Magnificat octavi toni (a3)	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 37v-39r
Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 17v-20r
Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 51v-53r
Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 56v-57r

³³ This list is perhaps most easily referenced against the alphabetical listing of works in the first three Gaffurius Codices found in BrownRM 12a:xvi-xviii, along with the list of the works in MilD 4, found in WardMM, pp. 497-502. The list of motets includes the individual motets from the *motetti missales* cycles. All works are for four voices, unless indicated.

Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 62v-64r
Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 3, 193v-198
Magnificat octavi toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 56v-59r
Magnificat octavi toni	Arnulfus	MilD 1, 20v-21r
Magnificat octavi toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 49v-51r
Magnificat octavi toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 53v-56r
Magnificat octavi toni	Gaffurius	MilD 3, 108v-110r
Magnificat octavi toni	Martini	MilD 1, 27v-30r
Magnificat primi toni (a3)	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 32v-35r
Magnificat primi toni	Compère	MilD 1, 10v-17r
Magnificat primi toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 40v-41r
Magnificat primi toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 41v-43r
Magnificat quarti toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 58v-60r
Magnificat quinti toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 60v-62r
Magnificat secundi toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 57v-58r
Magnificat secundi toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 50v-52r
Magnificat sexti toni a3	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 35v-37r
Magnificat sexti toni	Anonymous	MilD 3, 190v-193
Magnificat sexti toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 52v-55r
Magnificat sexti toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 55v-56r
Magnificat sexti toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 87v-91r
Magnificat sexti toni	Anonymous	MilD 4, 141v-143r
Magnificat sexti toni	Compère	MilD 1, 21v-23r
Magnificat sexti toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 43v-45
Magnificat sexti toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 45v-46r
Magnificat sexti toni	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 46v-49r
Magnificat tertii toni	Anonymous	MilD 1, 23v-27r
Magnificat tertii toni	Anonymous	MilD 3, 173v-176r
Magnificat tertii toni	Dufay	MilD 1, 8v-10r
Quia fecit (a2)	Anonymous	MilD 1, 3r

IV. Motets

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Location</u>
Alma redemptoris mater/ Ave regina caelorum	Josquin	MilD 3, 178v-181r

Alma redemptoris mater	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 135v-136r
Anima mea liquefacta est	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 129v-130r
Assumpta est Maria	[Gaffurius]	MilD 4, 26v-27r
Ave cella novae legis	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 106v-107r
Ave decus virginale	Compère	MilD 3, 127v-128r
Ave Maria gratia plena	Compère	MilD 3, 187v-189r
Ave Maria gratia plena	Josquin	MilD 4, 118v-120r
Ave Maria Spiritus sancti	Anonymous	MilD 4, 127v-128r
Ave Maria stella matutina	Anonymous	MilD 3, 182v-183r
Ave mater gloriosa	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 127v-128r
Ave mundi domina	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 126v-127r
Ave mundi reparatrix	Anonymous	MilD 1, 109v-110r
Ave mundi spes Maria	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 80v-81r
Ave regina caelorum, ave	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 130v-131r MilD 2, 51v-52r
Ave regina caelorum, ave	Anonymous	MilD 1, 150v-151r
Ave regina caelorum, mater	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 138v-140r MilD 2, 49v-51r
Ave regina caelorum, mater	Anonymous	MilD 3, 167v-168r
Ave salus infirmorum (a5)	Compère	MilD 1, 145v-146r MilD 3, 126v-127r
Ave sponsa verbi summi (a5)	Compère	MilD 1, 147v-149r MilD 3, 128v-129r
Ave stella matutina	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 116v-117r
Ave virgo gloriosa	Compère	MilD 1, 149v-150r MilD 2, 36v-37r
Ave virgo gloriosa (a5)	Compère	MilD 1, 143v-144r MilD 3, 125v-126r
Beata Dei genitrix	Compère	MilD 1, 172v-173r MilD 4, 129v-130r
Beata es virgo Maria	Anonymous	MilD 1, 170v-171r
Beata es virgo Maria	Anonymous	MilD 4, 125v-126r
Beata et venerabilis Virgo	Anonymous	MilD 3, 162v-163r MilD 4, 91v-92r
Beata ille venter	Anonymous	MilD 3, 163v-164r
Beata progenies (a3)	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 64v-65r

Beata virgo maria	Compère	MilD 4, 130v-131r
Castra caeli	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 99v-100r
Caeli quondam roraverunt	[Gaffurius]	MilD 3, 205v-206r
		MilD 4, 13v-14r
Christi mater ave	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 114v-115r
Descendi in ortum	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 69v-70r
Diffusa est gratia	Anonymous	MilD 4, 90v-91r
Dum intravit salutavit	Anonymous	MilD 4, 109v-110r
Eya mater summi Dei	Anonymous	MilD 1, 103v-104r
Felix namque	Anonymous	MilD 3, 166v-167r
		MilD 4, 94v-95r
Fit porta Christi pervia	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 133v-134r
Flamen divini obumbrabit	Anonymous	MilD 4, 110v-111r
Flos de spina	Anonymous	MilD 1, 121v-123r
Gaude Maria virgo	Anonymous	MilD 1, 157v-158r
Gaude mater luminis	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 78v-80r
Gaude quae post ipsum	Anonymous	MilD 4, 117v-118r
Gaude quia tui nati	Anonymous	MilD 4, 116v-117r
Gaude quod tria dona magi	Anonymous	MilD 4, 115v-116r
Gaude virgo gloriosa	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 74v-75r
Gaude virgo, mater Christi	Anonymous	MilD 4, 114v-115r
Gaudeamus omnes in Domino	Anonymous	MilD 4, 113v-114r
Germinavit radix Jesse	Anonymous	MilD 3, 170v-171r
Gloriosae virginis Mariae(a3)	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 65v-66r
Gloriosae virginis Mariae	[Gaffurius]	MilD 4, 47v-48r
Hec est sedes	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 111v-112r
Hodie nata est beata virgo	Anonymous	MilD 1, 153v-156r
Hortus conclusus	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 68v-69r
Imperatrix gloriosa	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 90v-93r
Imperatrix gloriosa	[Gaffurius]	MilD 3, 206-207r
		MilD 4, 12v-13r
Imperatrix reginarum	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 101v-102r
Intemerata virgo	Josquin	MilD 4, 104v-105r
Magnificamus te, Dei genitrix	Anonymous	MilD 3, 164v-165r
		MilD 4, 92v-93r
Magnum haereditatis mysterium	Anonymous	MilD 3, 172v-173r

Maria salus virginum	Rupsch	MilD 3, 212v-214r
Mater digna Dei	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 115v-116r
Mater patris filia mulier	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 140v-141r MilD 4, 133v-134r
Memento salutis auctor	Compère	MilD 1, 176v-177r
Mente tota tibi supplicamus	Josquin	MilD 4, 106v-107r
Missus est ab arce patris	Anonymous	MilD 4, 108v-109r
Mysterium ecclesiae	Anonymous	MilD 1, 1v
Nativitas tua Dei genitrix	[Gaffurius]	MilD 4, 40v-41r
Nativitas tua sancta Dei genitrix	Anonymous	MilD 1, 154v-156r
O admirabile commercium	Compère	MilD 1, 151v-152r
O admirabile commercium	Compère	MilD 1, 178v-179r MilD 4, 65v-66r
O admirabile commercium	Anonymous	MilD 1, 123v-124r
O admirabile commercium	Anonymous	MilD 3, 168v-169r
O genitrix gloriosa	Compère	MilD 3, 51v-52r MilD 4, 67v-68r
O Maria in supremo	Compère	MilD 3, 130v-132r
O Maria nullam tam gravem	Josquin	MilD 4, 105v-106r
O miranda creatura	Anonymous	MilD 4, 112v-113r
O post partum munda	Compère	MilD 4, 131v-132r
O pulcherrima mulierum	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 137v-138r MilD 4, 134v-135r
O res laeta	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 100v-101r
O sacra virginitas	Anonymous	MilD 4, 126v-127r
O virginum praeclara	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 132v-133r
Ora pro nobis virgo	Josquin	MilD 4, 103v-104r
Prodiit puer de puella	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 75v-77r
Promissa mundo gaudia	Gaffurius	MilD 1, 107v-108r MilD 2, 7v-8r
Quam pulchra es	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 134v-135r MilD 2, 48v-49r MilD 4, 132v-133r
Quando natus est	Anonymous	MilD 3, 169v-170r
Quem terra pontus	Weerbecke	MilD 1, 131v-132r MilD 2, 52v-53r

Regina caeli laetare	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 81v-82r
Salve decus virginum	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 85v-87r
Salve mater pietatis	Anonymous	MiD 3, 198v-200r
Salve mater Salvatoris	Compère	MiD 3, 132v-133r
Salve mater Salvatoris	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 84v-85r
Salve mater Salvatoris	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 179v-181r
Salve mundi lux et vita	Anonymous	MiD 4, 128v-129r
Salve regina	Anonymous	MiD 1, 117v-118r
Salve regina	Anonymous	MiD 1, 183v-187r
Salve regina (a3)	Anonymous	MiD 1, 187v-188r
Salve regina (a3)	Anonymous	MiD 3, 221v-223r
Salve regina	Anonymous	MiD 4, 79v-82r
Salve sancta facies	Josquin	MiD 3, 208v-210r
Salve verbi sacra parens	[Gaffurius]	MiD 3, 207v-208r
		MiD 4, 23v-24r
Salve virgo salutata	Weerbecke	MiD 1, 136v-137r
Salve virgo virginum	Weerbecke	MiD 1, 128v-129r
Sponsa Dei electa	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 67v-68r
Stabat mater dolorosa	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 181v-183r
		MiD 3, 185v-187r
Stabat mater dolorosa	Anonymous	MiD 3, 223v-227r
Sub tuam protectionem (a3)	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 66v-67r
Tota pulchra es	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 70v-71r
Tota pulchra es	Weerbecke	MiD 1, 141v-143r
Tu thronus es Salamonis	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 87v-90r
Uterus virgineus	Anonymous	MiD 1, 110v-111r
Vidi speciosam	[Gaffurius]	MiD 4, 27v-28r
Virginis Maria laudes	Compère	MiD 3, 133v-135r
Virgo Dei digna	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 96v-97r
Virgo praecellens	Anonymous	MiD 3, 200v-203r
Virgo prudentissima	Gaffurius	MiD 1, 7v-8r
Virgo verbum concepit	Anonymous	MiD 3, 165v-166r,
		MiD 4, 93v-94r

This list confirms the "frequenza delle composizioni alla Vergine" noted by Migliavacca, and serves as a palpable demonstration of the enormous expression of devotion rendered the Virgin by means of choral polyphony in early Renaissance Milan. Again, this inventory is not meant to serve as a worklist for this study—for such would require several dissertations—but rather to itemize this impressive body of Marian works that forcibly dominate the devotional identity of the Gaffurius Codices. In all, 179 of 352 motets (again including Magnificats)—or 51%—set Marian texts, revealing an even higher percentage than observed with the nine composers reviewed in Appendix A.³⁴ The percentages are even higher with regard to that distinctly Milanese form, the motet cycle (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Musicological Expectations of Contingent Results

Finally, there is another question that arises when considering the purpose of this dissertation—namely, can the analysis of Marian motet cycles in this study help facilitate a strict musicological definition of the Marian motet as a bona fide sub-genre of the Renaissance sacred motet? In truth, the answer must be negative; for as Chapters 3 and 4 will show, the sixty motets given detailed analysis display a wide variety of musical styles and procedures, reflective of the musical variety within late-*quattrocento* sacred polyphony as a whole. This, however, does not lessen the musicological importance of these analyses, given the predominant place that Marian motets held within the overall repertory. That is, by sheer numbers alone—not to mention by the potency of their devotional content—the Marian motet provided a fertile forum of experimentation, wherein many of the most favored procedures of the era were introduced or perfected. Pervasive imitation, for example, may not be uniquely associated with the Marian motet, but it is inevitable that much of its development was

³⁴ Interestingly, only 6 of 48, or 12.5% of Masses are unambiguously Marian—6.5% less than among the nine composers of Appendix 1, highlighting the *motetti missales*, Magnificat, and motet as the predominant forums of Marian devotion within the Gaffurius Codices.

undertaken in motets with a Marian text. As such, pervasive imitation—along with alternating duos, sectional repetition, word-painting, and so forth—may well have developed within the Marian motet, only to "rub off" when the text dealt with other devotional subjects.

At the same time, the interest in studying Marian motets need not reside in musical phenomena alone, for its true uniqueness lies in its function—as a musical vehicle of expressing a passionate veneration of the Virgin Mary. In this regard, the Marian motet resembles the political motet (or *Staatsmotette*) as discussed by Albert Dunning, where he likewise defines its originality in its social function. He continues by noting that "[the political motet] established no particular musical formal identity nor exclusive tonal language of its own. Instead it appeared in the guise of the existing musical forms of the times, obtained from them their strengths, in some cases aided in their development, grew with them, and abandoned them after their decline in order to seek a new guise."³⁵ Much of the same can be said of the Marian motet, though its more pervasive role within the musical repertoires of the Renaissance—not least in Milan—gives it a considerably more active role in this dynamic than the political motet. In any event, it is these two *topoi*—social function and musical style—that inform the pages that follow, presented with the hope of elucidating the vital interaction between Marian devotion and sacred polyphony in Renaissance Milan.

³⁵ DunnS, xv-xvi: "[Die Staatsmotette] hat sie sich keine eigene musikalische Formenwelt oder eine ausschliesslich ihr zugehörige Tonsprache geschaffen. Sie ist stets im Gewand der jeweils existierenden Musizierformen aufgetreten, hat aus ihnen ihre Kräfte gewonnen, hat in manchen Fällen ihre Entwicklung mitgefördert, ist mit ihnen mitgewachsen und hat sie nach ihrem Niedergang verlassen, um sich wieder ein neues Gehäuse zu suchen."

Chapter 1

Part I: Marian Devotion in Milan

From Ambrose to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux)

A. Saint Ambrose and the Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary

Historical Background

The city of Milan has known a stormy history, punctuated regularly by foreign invasion and civil unrest, sprinkled irregularly with parentheses of stability and peace. And yet, despite its erratic evolution, Milan has always enjoyed a strong and distinct cultural identity, always evoked a fervent civic pride from its citizens. For these blessings, Milan is greatly indebted to the economic and political prestige which has graced much of its past—a prestige made possible by the city's ideal geographic setting: situated in the heart of the Po Valley, a vast and fertile plain at the foot of the Alps, Milan has served from the start as a natural conduit between Rome and lands beyond the mountains (*oltremontane*), as well as the prevailing political center of what would become Lombardy. Milan's ideal geography no doubt also lay behind the ambitions of its many foreign subjugators, from Scipio to Napoleon.¹

The promise of Milan's regional importance was realized slowly but steadily, following its capture by the Roman consuls Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Marcellus in 222 B.C.² Milan gained an early advantage in the wake of Rome's gradual decline in the third century, and specifically with the reforms of Diocletian, who in 286 designated Mediolanum, as it was called, the new residence of his Western co-Emperor, Maximian.³

¹ The most exhaustive survey of Milanese history from antiquity to present times is found in the seventeen volumes of TreccSM, the first nine of which have been utilized in this study. Other useful historical sources will be referenced in the following footnote. Unfortunately, no substantial history of Milan exists in English—which forms a partial rationale for the historical content of the opening two chapters of this dissertation (see the Introduction, p. 7).

² More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (from its origins to the fourth century AD) can be found in TreccSM, vol. 1, esp. 416-464; VisconSM, 23-101; FavaSM 1:8-45; and BlondSM, 3-9; see also CorioSM 1: 55-73; and MorigHM, 1-13.

³ Various legends surround the origins of the name "Mediolanum"; the most likely explanation is also the most logical: the word combines the Latin "Medio" (middle) and the Celtic "lan(n)"

With the city now the seat of the Imperial court, its political status grew steadily as the fourth century progressed. Although Rome remained nominally the *caput mundi*, Milan was no meager subordinate; the contemporary Latin poet Ausonius, for example, extols the city's many virtues: "And in Milan, everything is marvelous, everything is in abundance... All of its [architectural] works excel in both grandeur and form; nor do they diminish in comparison to those of Rome."⁴

If Milan's political ascendancy in the fourth century helped bolster an emerging civic pride, then the same period also witnessed the origins of the city's unique cultural identity, and in particular the creation of its distinct quality as a center of Christianity. Here the seeds were sown for a long-standing "rivalry" with Rome. When Constantine issued the so-called Edict of Milan (313)—granting religious freedom throughout the Empire—the city was already majority Christian, whereas Rome remained predominantly pagan. As the barbarian threat escalated, Milan—more so than Rome—saw the greatest promise of justice in a power-share between secular (Imperial) and ecclesiastical leadership, such that by the mid-fourth century, the Bishop of Milan possessed a great deal of civic authority.

At the same time, Milan was in the midst of a volatile religious controversy, otherwise rare in the West, between orthodox Catholicism and the Arian heresy.⁵ The situation became particularly grave when a Greek Arian, Auxentius, was named Bishop

(flat land or plain)—that is, the middle of the plain (the Po valley). This, of course, is the source of the Italian, "Milano." See VisconSM, 24-26. The term "Mediolanum" (adj. *mediolanensis*) continues to be used today in official and historical writings, such as in the musical series AMMM.

⁴ Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium* (c. 370), "Mediolanum": "Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum... Omnia quae magnis operum velut aemula formis excellunt, nec iuncta premit vicinia Romae." Cited in CorioSM 1:66.

⁵ Arianism, so-called after its founder, Arius (d. 336), denied the full divinity of Christ. Although Christ was considered distinct from mortals by virtue of His absolute righteousness, he was believed to be a "creature" of God (cf. Col. 1:15: "He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creatures."), and thus not fully divine in His own right. Such divinity was viewed as limited to God the Father, who bestowed upon Christ the dignity of being "created" the Son of God. See V.C. de Clercq, "Arianism" in NCE 1:791-94.

of Milan (355), and subsequently taken under the protection of the Emperor Valentinian I (r. 364–74). Although not an Arian himself, Valentinian was heavily influenced by his wife, the Empress Justina, who in contrast was fiercely Arian. The presence of an Arian court and episcopate in Milan, however, conflicted dramatically with an overwhelmingly Catholic populace. When Auxentius died, in 374, an uproar arose over who would succeed him, driving the city into a near state of chaos. At just this moment, there entered into Milan a man who would forever alter the city's character, Saint Ambrose.

Following an initial career in legal administration, Ambrose (c. 340–97)—born Aurelius Ambrosius—was appointed governor of Aemilia-Liguria (modern Lombardy), in 370.⁶ His initial task in Milan was to uphold public order; though raised in a Christian family, he was not yet baptized. When the controversy over Auxentius's successor threatened to "destroy the city," Ambrose stepped in to mitigate the disputants. Although his sympathies to orthodox Catholicism were well known (his sister, Marcellina, was a consecrated virgin in Rome), his reputation for judicial fairness endeared him to both sides. Still, the forty-year old governor could not have guessed that he himself would be nominated bishop.⁷

Ambrose's acceptance of the episcopate, despite his efforts to decline, can only be explained as arising from a deep and inexorable embrace of orthodox Christian doctrine. Intellectually, Ambrose recognized that Christianity alone could provide stability to a troubled Empire, and that by serving the Church he was also serving the State. And yet, his true genius as bishop lay less in his political acumen than in his

6 For the life of Saint Ambrose, see ParedSA and TreccSM 1: See also Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court of a Christian Capital* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); and Frederick H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935).

7 According to Paulinus (*Vita Ambrosii*, 6), as Ambrose addressed the tense crowd gathered in a church, a young child cried out, "Ambrose is Bishop" ("...subito vox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse Ambrosium episcopum"), followed by general consensus. Cited in ParedSA, 119.

supreme ability to embody and express the deepest spiritual convictions of the Christian faith—not least regarding the Virgin Mary.

As first order of business, Ambrose restored the city to order, assuming the role of judge and public administrator, as well as bishop. He re-organized the clergy, long undisciplined, and weeded out those still loyal to the Arian cause. Ambrose demonstrated remarkable influence over several emperors, most notably Theodosius (r. 379–395), in diminishing tolerance for Arians and pagans alike.⁸ At the same time, Ambrose was steadfast in affirming that the Church remain independent from Imperial control—a resolve put to test in his famous stand-off over control of the Basilica Porziana.⁹ His success as champion of orthodox Catholicism and Church independence, along with his tireless acts of charity (he bequeathed his entire patrimony to the Church for the benefit of the poor), made Ambrose a model for bishops throughout the West, and one of the most influential figures in early Church history.

The greatest recipient of Ambrose's mighty legacy, however, was the city of Milan itself. As preacher, theologian, and subject of countless legends, Ambrose left a permanent impact on the Milanese psyche. Most obviously, his name became synonymous with the very practice of religion in Milan, known even today as the

⁸ Ambrose, for example, played a significant role in persuading Emperors Gratian and Valentinian II (son of Empress Justina) to enforce the removal of the pagan Altar of Victory from the Senate House in Rome. See ParedSA, 234–35

⁹ In the spring of 385, the community of Milanese Arians, under protection of Empress Justina, demanded and officially received the right to possess a basilica of their own. But when the Arians handed Ambrose a proclamation from Valentinian II, the bishop denied them—saying that a priest could not transfer control of a church: "Templum Dei a sacerdote tradi non posse." The Arians then agreed to settle for a church outside the city walls, namely the Basilica Porziana (corresponding to the modern S. Vittore). Fearing continued resistance, however, the Arians tried to take the Basilica by force, whence Ambrose reacted: he took position within the church, surrounded by his flock, while Imperial soldiers took up arms outside; for three days, the faithful celebrated the liturgy and sang hymns. At last Valentinian ordered an end to the siege, and conceded possession of the Basilica to Ambrose. Among the faithful in attendance, apparently, was the young Saint Augustine. The entire episode is amply covered in ParedSA, 244–52.

Ambrosian rite.¹⁰ During his long episcopate (374-397), Ambrose was forced to confront many sensitive issues of dogma, liturgy, and devotion—issues at times made obscure through continued embattlement between orthodox and heretical factions. Given Ambrose's stature, his final declarations were granted considerable authority, especially in Milan. Among the many themes considered by this learned bishop, few if any can compare—in intensity or impact—to those which concern Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother of God.

The Mariology of Saint Ambrose

Ambrose entered the episcopate with relatively little religious training, an untenable condition for a bishop in an age of such theological controversy. He immediately began a vigorous routine of self-study, supported by a continual quest to procure new books. After Scripture, Ambrose's chief source of religious instruction was the works of early Christian writers. Surprisingly, given his Roman heritage, Ambrose devoted himself almost exclusively to Greek authors, particularly the works of Origen, Basil, Athanasius, and the Hellenistic Jew, Philo—from whom he gained a fondness for biblical allegory. Ambrose's uncommonly good knowledge of Greek allowed him to easily incorporate these works into his own sermons and theological writings; and as a consequence, he became a major disseminator of Christian Greek thought into the Latin West.

In his writings concerning the Virgin Mary, Ambrose introduced several themes widely circulated in the East but little known in the West—where Mary generally held a lesser status. Such is the case, for example, with Ambrose's recurring arguments on behalf of Mary's perpetual virginity, for which he relied heavily on Origen and

¹⁰ The term "Ambrosiana ecclesia" was first used in a letter from Pope John VIII to the Milanese Archbishop Ansperto in the year 881 ("... et evidenter comperimus et legationem Ambrosianae ecclesiae catholica fide te, prout vires suppleverunt..."); more official use of the term came in the eleventh, and especially twelfth centuries. See CattTR, 127-145.

Athanasius, particularly the latter's *Letter to Virgins*. Mary's perpetual virginity, especially *post partum*, formed a principal theme in Ambrose's defense against Arianism.¹¹ In his discussions of Mary, however, Ambrose is no mere imitator, and on the whole his Marian writings form a forcefully original body of thought—one whose influence will transcend the centuries. Indeed, Ambrose is often called the first mariologist of the Western Church, as well as the patron of Marian devotion in Latin Christianity.¹²

The principal sources of Ambrose's Mariology are his tracts dealing with virginity—*De virginibus* (377), *De virginitate* (377), *De institutione virginis* (392), *Exhortatio virginitatis* (394)—and his commentary on the Gospel of Luke, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* (390, after homilies from 377–89).¹³ Given the central position of Mary in Ambrose's overall theology, however, passages dealing with the Virgin are found scattered through a good many other writings as well, especially his letters (*Epistolae*) and his commentaries on the Psalms, the *Expositio in Psalmum David* (394–97).¹⁴

11 The precise nature of Mary's virginity was the subject of considerable controversy for the Early Church. To begin, a distinction exists between Mary's virginity *in partu*—that is, through the act of giving birth to Christ; and *post-partum*—that is, following the birth of Christ. Related to these is the notion of Mary's perpetual virginity—that is, before, during, and after the birth of Christ; this latter is embodied in the Greek term "aeiparthenos," of Ever-Virgin, first attributed to Peter of Alexandria in the late third century. The Gospels confirmed only Christ's virginal conception, leaving the other issues to be resolved by later theologians—including Ambrose. See GraefH, 1–100 for the broad outlines of the topic; see also below.

12 See SP, xviii: "La posizione che Ambrogio occupa nella storia della Mariologia è particolarmente importante. La novità, rispetto ai suoi tempi, di dipingere con sorprendente intuizione psicologica il ritratto della persona morale di Maria, gli ha valso il titolo di 'Padre della Mariologia latina' et di 'Patrono della venerazione di Maria.'" Cf. GraefH, 88: "Ambrose may truly be called the father of Western Mariology."

13 Ambrose's tracts on virginity are located in PL 15 and 16; and CCSL 13 and 14. With the exception of the *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, all are likewise found in SP, with Italian translations by Mario Salvati. The citations below are generally derived from PL. An overview of Ambrose's Mariology is found in NeumVM, though limited to Mary's virginity; see also GraefH, 77–89.

14 For the *Epistolae*, see PL 16:851–1286; for the *Expositio in Psalmum*, see PL 15:1197–1526.

The Mariology of Ambrose is inextricably bound to Christological issues, by virtue of the Virgin's crucial role in the mystery of the Incarnation; for though Christ is of divine generation, He was born of Mary's flesh, which she conferred upon Him in birth.¹⁵ As mother of the Redeemer, she thus holds a personal connection to Salvation: "Mary alone has worked the Salvation of the world, and conceived the Redemption of all."¹⁶ Ambrose then clarifies this role by describing Mary's symbolic identity as mother of the Church, and hence of all its members: while Christ is first among men and head of the mystical body, Mary is the model or prototype of the Church, the *Ecclesiae typus*, through whose spirit all may come to rejoice in God—"Sit in singulis spiritus Mariae, ut exsultet in Deo".¹⁷ And just as Christ, upon the Cross, commends his beloved disciple John to his mother's care (John 19:27), so does Ambrose extend his hope to the faithful: "May Christ also say unto you from the gibbet of the Cross, 'Behold thy mother'; and may He say unto the Church, 'Behold thy Son.'"¹⁸

In short, Ambrose perceives the redemptive and protective capacity of the Virgin Mary specifically through her association with Christ, and not as initiated through her own power. Although Mary has a link to individual redemption through her

¹⁵ For example, see *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*, 9:104 (PL 14:843): "Habuit igitur carnem Virgo, quam naturae sollemnis jure transcripsit in fetum. Eadem igitur secundum carnem generantis Mariae, genitique natura..."

¹⁶ *Epistolae* 49, 2 (PL 16:1154): "Sola erat [Maria], et operata est mundi salutem, et concepit redemptionem universorum." It is in this light, moreover, that Ambrose makes the forceful connection between Mary and Eve, as in *Expositio in Psalmum* 118, 2:8 (PL 15:1212)—In an exegesis of *Song of Songs* 1:4 ("Fusca sum et decora, filiae Hierusalem"): "Fusca per vitium: sed decora jam per lavacrum, quod abluit omne delictum. Fusca sum, quia peccavi: decora, quia jam me diligit Christus: quam relegaverat in Eva, recepit ex Virgine, suscepit ex Maria." The popular notion of Mary as the counterpart of Eve did not originate with Ambrose (it first appears in the writings of Justin Martyr in the second century), but gained currency in the West much through his writings. See GraefH, 83; see also n. 45, below.

¹⁷ *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 2:26 (PL 15:1561); see also *ibid.* 2:7 (PL 15:1555): "Bene desponsata, sed virgo; quia est Ecclesiae typus, quae est immaculata, sed nupta." (cf. John 19:27). Ambrose was, in fact, the first Church Father to make this explicit connection between Mary and the Church. For more on the subject, see Josef Huhn, *Das Geheimnis der Jungfrau-Mutter nach dem Kirchenvater Ambrosius* (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1954).

¹⁸ *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 7:5 (PL 15: 1700): "Dicat et tibi de patibulo crucis Christus: 'Ecce mater tua.' Dicat et Ecclesiae: 'Ecce filius tuus.'"

motherhood, she did not actually participate in the Redemption offered by the death and resurrection of Christ: "But if [Mary] was willing to die with her Son, it was because she desired to rise again with Him, well aware of the mystery that would come from His resurrection, and also because she knew that the death of her Son was for the benefit of all; and she expected that her death might also contribute something to the public good. But the Passion of Christ did not need any help..."¹⁹ Ambrose thus refrains from granting Mary the role of "co-redemptrix," as would later generations.²⁰ And yet, just as Mary's significance depends on Christ, the reverse is likewise true; for whether contemplating Christ's divine or human nature, Ambrose rarely did so without also invoking Mary: as a man (*secundum conditionem*), Christ was carried, born, and nursed by a woman; as God (*supra conditionem*), He was conceived by a virgin.²¹

If Ambrose was careful not to grant Mary too much individual redemptive power, he held no bounds in praising her purity of mind and body. Spotless and lifelong purity was a necessary precondition for having been chosen by Christ in the first place: "Indeed, would the Lord Jesus have chosen as His mother one who could defile her heavenly womb with the seed of a man, as if it were impossible for her to maintain her virginity?"²² Mary's physical purity, Ambrose continues, was matched by a peerless moral integrity, evidenced by her singular presence at the Cross following the fearful flight of the Apostles: "His mother stood before the Cross, and while the men fled, she

19 *De institutione virginis*, 7:49 (PL 16:318): "Sin vero ut cum Filio moreretur, cum eodem gestiebat resurgere, non ignara mysterii quod genuisset resurrecturum: simul quae publico usui impendi mortem Filii noverat, praestolabatur si forte etiam sua morte publico muneri aliquid adderetur. Sed Christi passio adiutorio non eguit..."

20 Similarly, Ambrose seems to have refrained from affirming Mary's Immaculate Conception, a status he reserved for Christ alone; see GraeffH, 82-83. Much more on this controversial doctrine will be said in the next chapter.

21 *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*, 6:54 (PL 16:832): "Secundum conditionem etenim corporis in utero fuit, natus est, lactatus est, in praesepio est collocatus, sed supra conditionem Virgo concepit, Virgo generavit."

22 *De institutione virginis*, 6:44 (PL 16:317): "An vero Dominus Iesus eam sibi matrem eligeret, quae virili semine aulam posset incestare coelestem, quasi eam cui impossibile esset virginalis pudoris servare custodiam?"

remained unshaken."²³ Finally, Ambrose suggests that as reward for her sinless life and steadfast loyalty, Christ made Mary the first of the redeemed: "Nor is it surprising if the Lord, in carrying out the Redemption of the world, began his work with Mary, that she, through whom the Salvation of all was prepared, should also be the first to draw the fruit of Salvation from this pledge."²⁴

Ambrose, Mary, and the Cult of Virgins

The emphasis on Mary's sinless life and physical purity, underscores one of the principal motives behind Ambrose's many Marian discourses: her identity as the unsurpassed model of virginity. During Ambrose's lifetime, monasticism was in its infancy, and asceticism was only gradually replacing martyrdom as the ideal Christian virtue. Ambrose played a key role in this development, becoming the "ardent champion of virginity."²⁵ Inspired by the example of his sister Marcellina, and by a desire to improve the moral climate of his diocese, Ambrose preached the virtue of virginity, which transcends earthly nature, and forms a tribute to God and family: "The virgin is a gift of God, a present to her parents, a priestess of chastity."²⁶ In his promotion of virginity, Ambrose identifies the Virgin Mary as supreme example: "Thus let the life of Mary be for us the precise representative of virginity itself, which, like a mirror, reflects the essence of chastity and the model of virtue."²⁷ The impact of Ambrose's campaign

23 Ibid., 7:49 (PL 16:318): "Stabat ante crucem Mater, et fugientibus viris, stabat intrepida." Graef has seen in Ambrose's poignant depiction of Mary's sorrow all the features of the Medieval *Mater dolorosa*. See GraefH, 82; see also Chapter 2.

24 *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 2:17 (PL 15: 1559): "Nec mirum si Dominus redempturus mundum, operationem suam inchoavit a Maria; ut per quam salus omnibus parabatur, eadem prima fructum salutis hauriret ex pignore."

25 Indeed, the four principal tracts on virginity were written explicitly to promote Ambrose's ideals on the subject, with the first two stemming from his initial years as bishop. See ParedSA, 142-53.

26 *De virginibus*, 1:7,32 (PL 16:198): "Virgo Dei donum est, munus parentum, sacerdotium castitatis." Cf. *ibid.*, 1:3, 11 (PL16:173): "Quis autem humano eam [virginitatem] possit ingenio comprehendere, quam nec natura suis inclusit legibus."

27 *De virginibus*, 2:2, 6 (PL 16:208): "Sit igitur novis tanquam in imagine descripta virginitas vita Mariae, de qua velut speculo refulgeat species castitatis et forma virtutis." This extended

on behalf of virginity, and hence his glorification of Mary's purity, was significant —since the sermons from which the tracts were drawn were presented to the entire congregation of faithful, and not merely to a small gathering of would-be initiates.²⁸

Ambrose's Mariology and the Defense Against Arianism

A more celebrated use of Mariology in the writings of Ambrose comes in his defense against Arianism.²⁹ Despite his orthodox leanings, Ambrose exercised caution in the first years of his episcopacy, lest he ignite an already tense rivalry between Catholics and Arians within his flock. When, in 378, he felt confident to address the subject, he pulled no punches: in his *De Fide*, written at the request of the Emperor Gratian upon the subject of the Nicean dogma, he likened the Arians to beasts, even devils, and ascribed to them the possible destruction of the world.³⁰ The remainder of his episcopacy is marked by polemic battles against the Milanese Arians, where Ambrose used his sway with Gratian and Theodosius to limit Arian political and ecclesiastical influence.

Notwithstanding their weakened political standing, the Arians continued to stir up trouble through the proliferation of heretical ideas. Two heresies of the Virgin Mary incurred the wrath of Ambrose in the latter years of his episcopacy, whereby he was able to perfect his Marian doctrine. The first of these arose from the preachings of the "pseudo-monk" Jovinian (d. c. 405), active in Rome, and then Milan, around 390. Jovinian preached several heresies targeted principally at the ascetic communities in Rome and elsewhere: they include the denial of any redemptive distinction between

chapter (ibid., 2: 2, 6-18) is entirely devoted to proposing Mary as the model of virginity, enumerating her many virtues: her purity, humility, self-discipline, asceticism, respect for her parents, love of knowledge, and reverence for frequenting the temple.

28 See ParedSA, 151.

29 An exhaustive study of Ambrose's counter to Marian heresies is found in NeumVM, esp.142-80 (the campaign against Jovinian), and 206-256 (the campaign against Bonosus).

30 See ParedSA, 180-82.

virginity and marriage, and the notion that fasting was of no greater merit than feasting.³¹ As the preeminent defender of virginity, Ambrose took particular offense to the former claim. His rebuttal cut to the chase by citing the most obvious proof of virginity's distinction: the examples of Mary and her Son: "From a woman came love; from a virgin came forth Salvation. Indeed, Christ chose the special gift of virginity for himself, and [continually] displayed the gift of integrity, and represented in Himself that which He elected in His mother."³²

But Jovinian went further, and preached a heresy that challenged the very theological identity of the Virgin Mary: namely, he denied that Mary maintained her virginity *in partu*.³³ To this perversion, Ambrose responded vehemently, calling it "an insanity of destructive barkings" (*dementia funestorum latratuum*). Seen as an affront not only to Mary's virtue, but also to that of her Son, he argued first on a Christological level, noting Christ came into this world in an entirely new fashion ("inuitato... Deus itinere venit in terris")—that is, one immaculate in both conception and birth.³⁴ Mary too was a witness of the virginal birth, so Ambrose explains in an exegesis of the annunciation scene (Luke 1: 34-38): "Mary heard the voice of the angel, and at first she asked, 'How can this be?', then later, not questioning the fidelity of the birth [itself], she responded,

31 Jovinian's writings are lost, and the details of his argument are drawn from the rebuttals of Pope Siricius, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose—particularly the latter's *Epistola* 42. The condemnations by Siricius and Ambrose follow upon the synods of Rome (386) and Milan (393), respectively, and attest to a disciplinary crisis in both cities, marked by an increase in marriage among monks and virgins. See "Jovinian" in OCC, 904.

32 *Epistolae* 42:3 (PL 16:1124): "Per mulierem cura successit, per virginem salus evenit. Deique speciale sibi donum virginitatis Christus elegit, et integritatis munus exhibuit, atque in se representavit quod elegit in matre."

33 See n. 11, above. In so doing, Jovinian perpetuated the heretical ideas of an earlier Arian, Helvidius. Surprisingly, this aspect of Jovinian's heresy is absent in the rebuttals of both Siricius and Jerome, and appears only in Ambrose's synodal letter of 393. Neumann has suggested that Jerome's silence on the issue stems not from ignorance, but rather from his own indecision on the matter during this period—an indecision that would give way to an impassioned advocacy of Mary's *in partu* virginity in his later years. See NeumVM, 146-52.

34 *Epistolae* 42:4 (PL 16:1125): "Ut quemadmodum dixerat: 'Ecce facio omnia nova' (cf. Isaiah 43:19), partu etiam immaculato virginis nasceretur..."

'Behold the maidservant of the Lord, let it be to me according to thy word.'"³⁵ In the wake of Ambrose's campaign, Jovinian was condemned and expelled from Milan; and though some Jovinianist beliefs lingered—for example, those on asceticism—the threat to Mary's *in partu* virginity seems to have been vanquished.

Ambrose had barely ended his assault on Jovinian, when another heretical notion, even more menacing to Mary's image, commanded his attention. The heresy was propagated by Bonosus (d. c. 400), the Arian Bishop of Sardica (modern Sofia, Bulgaria) in the Illyrian province.³⁶ Whereas Jovinian had denied that Mary preserved her virginity during the birth of Christ, Bonosus asserted that Mary (with Joseph) had given birth to other, subsequent children after Jesus, and thus did not maintain *post partum* virginity. Also, while Jovinian was a sort of renegade monk, Bonosus held the bishopric of an important see, and apparently commanded a fair measure of prestige. Most disquieting, Bonosus supported his claim not with moral arguments, as Jovinian had done, but rather with Scripture itself. The potential threat of a pernicious Marian heresy, arising from the lips of a bishop quoting Scripture, was immediately recognized by Ambrose, who nearly single-handedly took up its denunciation.

Before addressing the specific nature of Bonosus's heresy and Ambrose's reply, it will be useful to review briefly the progression of events surrounding the episode—in order to emphasize Ambrose's crucial role in defending the integrity of this Marian doctrine.³⁷ As word of the heresy spread to Milan, Ambrose used his influence with Theodosius to invoke a council, largely to judge the teachings of Bonosus; the Council of

35 Ibid., 42:5 (PL 16:1125): "Audivit Maria vocem angeli et quae ante dixerat: 'Quomodo fiet istud?', non de fide generationis interrogans respondit postea, 'Ecce ancilla Domini, contingat mihi secundum verbum tuum.'"

36 There is some argument that Bonosus was the Bishop of Naïssus, though this is less accepted. In any event, both Naïssus and Sardica were within the Danubian Church, a hotbed of Arianism and other heresies during this period. See NeumVM, 206-9.

37 Bonosus's writings, too, do not survive, and the only concrete evidence of his teachings is provided in the writings of Ambrose—particularly his *Epistola de Causa Bonosi* and *De institutione virginis*. See "Bonosus" in OCC, 225; and NeumVM, 223-35.

Capua (south of Rome) was convened in winter 391–92, and was presided over by Ambrose himself—acting as representative of Pope Siricius. When the council decided to defer the Bonosus case to local (Illyrian) bishops, however, Ambrose felt obliged to acquiesce.

The Illyrian synod at first displayed a certain timidity, and merely denied Bonosus his see, without actually condemning his Marian heresy. Bonosus then appealed to Ambrose on the Illyrian decision, in an apparent effort to capitalize on the ever-present Milan-Rome rivalry.³⁸ The Illyrian synod too appealed to Ambrose for further advice, all of which illustrates his sway in ecclesiastical matters. As is shown in his letter to the synod, the *Epistola de Causa Bonosi*, Ambrose displayed surprising deference to Rome, by declining to intervene; though not without conveying his clear repudiation of Bonosus's heresy: "Rightly we cannot deny that the [matter] concerning the children of Mary was justly rebuked, and was deservedly unfit for your sanctity: that from this same virginal womb, from which Christ was born as flesh, other offspring were brought forth."³⁹ To this point, however, Bonosus's heresy had not been condemned outright in any official manner. That would come only following Ambrose's uncompromised and explicit attack on Bonosus, contained in his *De institutione virginis*, the call that finally moved the Illyrian bishops to concrete action.

As for the heresy itself, Ambrose's *Epistola de Causa Bonosi* established its inherent threat not only to Marian doctrine but also to the fundamental tenet of Christianity: the divinity of Christ. For denying Mary's perpetual virginity was recognized by Ambrose as but a step away from denying the virginal birth of Christ himself: "Certainly those who affirm this are no different from those who affirm the falsehood of the Jews, who say that He [Christ] could not have been born from a virgin.

³⁸ See NeumVM, 227.

³⁹ *Epistola de Causa Bonosi* 3 (PL 16:1173): "Sane non possumus negare de Mariae filiis jure reprehensum meritoque vestram sanctitatem abhorruisse, quod ex eodem utero virginali ex quo secundum carnem Christus natus est, alius partus effusus sit."

Now, if they accept this as a judgment from priests, where Mary is seen as having borne more offspring, they strive to assault the truth of our faith with greater zeal."⁴⁰ In invoking the implied Christological heresy of Bonosus, Ambrose was raising alarm not against Jewish influence, but against several other dangerous Christian heresies, especially Photinianism, which denied Christ's divinity. Ambrose thus hoped to sufficiently alarm the Illyrian bishops by describing a heresy more pervasive in their sphere than in his.

The *Epistola de Causa Bonosi*, although it puts forth the general nature of the heresy, does not provide the specific grounds on which the heretic supported his claim. This is found in Ambrose's lengthy discourse on Mary's *post partum* virginity, located in the *De institutione virginis*.⁴¹ The tract was written for his own congregation, which explains its frank tone in denouncing the heresy; as was the case in his attack on Jovinian, it likewise allowed Ambrose to develop his argument with greater clarity and detail. Ambrose defined the heresy as follows:

Thus is Mary distinguished, she who carries forth the image of sacred virginity, and she who raised to Christ the devout standard of inviolate integrity. And yet, when all are being summoned to the sacred cult of virginity through the example of Mary, there were those who deny that she remained a virgin. We have long preferred to remain silent about this great sacrilege; but because the case has been raised in our midst, such that even a bishop [= Bonosus] is accused of the error, we do not believe that it can be left uncondemned. And most especially [is this argued] because we read (John 2:3-4) that she was also a "woman" (*mulier*), inasmuch as she is the one to whom in Cana of Galilee the Lord spoke, when she said to him, 'They have no wine, my son,' he responded, 'Woman, of what concern is this to me and to you?'"⁴²

40 Ibid., 3 (PL 16:1173c): "Qui enim hoc astruit, nihil aliud nisi perfidiam Judaeorum astruit, qui dicunt eum [Christum] non potuisse nasci ex Virgine. Jam si hanc accipiant a sacerdotibus auctoritatem, ut videatur Maria partus fudisse plurimos, majore studio veritatem fidei expugnare contendent."

41 *De institutione virginis*, 5:35-8:57 (PL 16:314-20).

42 Ibid. 5:35 (PL 16:314): "Egregia igitur Maria, que signum sacrae virginitatis extulit, et intemeratae integritatis pium Christo vexillum erexit. Et tamen cum omnes ad cultum

In the passage, Ambrose first notes how dangerous the heresy has become now that even a bishop has fallen into its error. He then identifies the specific Scriptural passage which animates the "sacrilege"—namely, John 2:3-4, at the wedding at Cana of Galilee, preceding Jesus's first miracle of turning water into wine. To Bonosus, the word *mulier* signified "woman" in opposition to "virgin." The passage is particularly damaging, since the appellation stems from her Son, and not from one of the Apostles or Evangelists, and would thus argue against her having maintained her virginity *post partum*. Bonosus's specific argument is thus distinct from the more familiar objection to Mary's perpetual virginity, stemming from the various biblical references to the "brethren" of Christ.⁴³

Ambrose's response to Bonosus is at once simple and commensurate, inasmuch as he counters Scripture with Scripture:

What should disturb us about the name "woman" (*mulier*)? It refers to sex; for it is not a designation of corruption, but of sex. Popular use should not prejudice [us] to this truth. Indeed, virginity received this name from the start; for when God had removed one of Adam's ribs, and supplied flesh in its place: "[The Lord]," it is said (Gen. 2:22), "formed it into a woman." To be sure, she had not until then known man, and yet she is called "woman." Moreover, Scripture is not silent on the nature of this name, as it states (Gen. 2:23): "Adam said, 'Bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called woman

virginitatis sanctae Mariae advocentur exemplo, fuerunt qui eam negarent virginem perseverasse. Hoc tantum sacrilegium silere iamdudum maluimus: sed quia causa vocavit in medium, ita ut eius prolapsionis etiam episcopus argueretur, indemnatum non putamus relinquendum; et maxime quia et mulierem eam legimus, sicut cui (PL = qui) in Cana Galilaeae ipse Dominus ait dicenti sibi: 'Vinum non habent, fili'; respondit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?'" The slight discrepancy with the Vulgate in the Biblical quotation (i.e., the addition of "fili") arises from Ambrose's use of older Biblical codices for the Gospels of Luke and John, particularly the "Veronensis" and "Vercellensis." See Giovanni Maria Rolando, "Riconstruzione teologico-critica del testo latino del Vangel di S. Luca usato da S. Ambrogio," *Biblica* 26 (1945), 14.

⁴³ Matt. 12.46-49; Mark 3.31-34; Luke 8.19-21; John 2.12; Gal. 1.19. The latter objection had some eight years earlier been articulated by Helvidius and refuted by Jerome—most succinctly with the words, "... de evangelistis, fratres eum dixisse Domini, non filios Mariae" (*De perpetua virginitate Beatae Mariae adversus Helvidium* 17, PL 23:201).

because she was taken out of her man." Because she was taken, it says, from her man, not because she knew man. Thus as long as she was in paradise, she was called "woman," and had not known man (cf. Gen. 3:1-16): [this occurred only] when he was thrown out of paradise, because then we read (Gen. 4:1) that Adam knew Eve, his wife (*mulierem suam*), and she then conceived and bore a son.⁴⁴

In his rebuttal, Ambrose begins with a simple lesson in semantics, that "woman" in itself connotes nothing more than the female sex. He then moves to counter what must have been a contemporary (popular) use of *mulier*—namely, in the "corrupted" sense argued by Bonosus. To this end, he quotes Scripture, and from the initial verses of Genesis—before original sin—when woman first appeared.⁴⁵ His subsequent biblical quotation (Gen. 2:23) would seem to suggest that Ambrose knew Hebrew, where the etymology of "woman" (*ishah*) from "man" (*ish*) is demonstrated; however, by Ambrose's own admission, he was ignorant of Hebrew.⁴⁶ Facing the ambiguity of the Latin, he quickly clarifies his point in the subsequent paraphrase: because she was taken from (*sumpta est*) man... not because she knew (*experta*) man. He concludes by referring

44 *De institutione virginis* 5: 36 (PL 16:315): De mulieris nomine quid moveamur? Ad sexum reulit; non enim corruptelae, sed sexus vocabulum est. Vulgi usus non praeiudicat veritati. Deique virginitas primum hoc nomen accepit; nam cum sumpsisset Deus unam de costis Adae, et supplevisset carnem in locum ipsius: 'Aedificavit,' inquit, 'eam in mulierem.' Utique adhuc virum non cognoverat, et iam mulier vocabatur. Rationem quoque nominis huius Scriptura non tacuit dicens: Quia 'Dixit Adam: Os de ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea. Haec vocabitur mulier, quoniam de viro suo sumpta est.' Quia sumpta est, inquit, de viro suo, non quia virum experta. Itaque quandiu in paradiso fuit, mulier vocata est, et cognita viro non erat: ubi autem eiecta est de paradiso, tunc liegitur quia Adam cognovit Evam mulierem suam, et tunc concepit et peperit filium."

45 These initial verses of Genesis likewise conjure up Ambrose's interest in identifying Mary as the restorer of Eve's original, sinless state. Such, in fact, is addressed just prior to the present discourse, *ibid.*, 5:33 (PL 16:313): "Veni ergo, Eva, iam Maria, quae nobis non solum virginitatis incentivum attulit, sed etiam Deum intulit."

46 Ambrose's ignorance of Hebrew is acknowledged in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 40:36 (PL 14:1084): "Ut asseruerunt qui librum legerunt in Hebraicis litteris scriptum." Quoted in NeumVM, p. 239, n. 2. Jerome, who did know Hebrew, benefited in his (Vulgate) translation of Gen. 2:23: "haec vocabitur virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est."

indirectly to the continued use of *mulier* throughout Genesis 3, until following her expulsion from Eden, she finally "knew" (*cognovit*) Adam and bore Cain.⁴⁷

As he had done in his defense against Jovinian, Ambrose follows his negative counter of Bonosus with positive arguments in defense of Mary's *post partum* virginity. These include arguments already cited: that Christ would only have chosen a mother who could maintain her integrity; that Mary was deigned to be the model of virginity (*exemplo caeterae ad integritatis studium*); that Mary's courage at the Cross demonstrates her strength of will; and that Mary surely maintained her virginity to be entrusted as mother of the disciple John.⁴⁸

Ambrose concludes his defense of Mary's perpetual integrity with an allegorical interpretation of Ezechial 44:2, where the prophet's vision of the outer gate of the New Temple—described as a closed gate (*porta clausa*), not to be entered into by any man, since the Lord has entered—is likened to Mary's womb. In the midst of a long exegesis, Ambrose hits the point directly: "It is written, 'This gate will remain closed, and it is not to be opened.' This good gate is Mary, who remained closed, and will not be opened. Christ passed through her, but did not open her."⁴⁹ Joseph, Ambrose insists, would surely obey the word of God, and respect Mary's holy virginity ("*erit clausa,*" *hoc est, non aperiet eam Joseph*).

Following *De institutione virginis*, Ambrose makes no mention of the Bonosian heresy, and indeed the heretic soon ceased to be a threat.⁵⁰ Thus, in quick succession, Ambrose played a key role in quelling two dangerous heresies that threatened to

47 Given his argument, it is almost surprising that Ambrose chose to designate Eve's post-expulsion standing as "Evam mulierem suam" in his paraphrase of Gen. 4:1, instead of "Evam uxorem suam" (wife), as Jerome did in the Vulgate.

48 See *De institutione virginis* 5:35-7:50 (PL 16:314-19).

49 Ibid., 8:53 (PL 16:320): "'Haec,' inquit, 'porta clausa erit, et non aperietur.' Bona porta Maria, quae clausa erat, et non aperiebatur. Transivit per eam Christus, sed non aperuit."

50 Bonosus was finally condemned by the bishops of Illyria, and later by Pope Siricius; some of his teachings, however, survived into the seventh century, perpetuated by a sect, the Bonosians.

undermine the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Since the Bonosian heresy originally centered in Illyria, a province bridging East and West, Ambrose's forceful condemnation impacted the entire Church, and consequently his voice echoes in all subsequent orthodox Mariology. Thanks largely to Ambrose, the supreme and life-long purity of the Virgin Mary, so often declared in his sermons, moved beyond the pulpit and into official theological doctrine.

Legends of Ambrose and the Virgin Mary

The Mariology of Saint Ambrose is relevant to the present study given the general impact of the saint's theology on the spiritual life of Renaissance Milan. Several printed editions of Ambrose's individual theological writings—including all the "Marian" tracts listed above—were published in the fifteenth century, culminating in a collected edition (in three volumes), printed in Venice in 1485.⁵¹

More to the point, as the city's protector and legendary creator of its unique liturgy, Ambrose became the embodiment of Milanese religiosity well into the Renaissance. Hence, Ambrose's evocation of love for the Virgin became to the Milanese an invitation, if not an exhortation, to follow suit. The many legends depicting Ambrose as "un vescovo di combattimento," successfully combating the Arian heretics, only magnified his association with Mary, since they invariably asserted the Virgin's direct intercession on his behalf. Through such legends, which circulated widely into the Renaissance, the Milanese populace would learn how the ultimate triumph of

⁵¹ This complete edition of Ambrose's writings was preceded by several Milanese prints of individual works, beginning with a 1474 publication of *De officiis*. Paulinus's *Vita Ambrosii* was likewise published in Milan in 1474, and again in 1475; an Italian version of the *Vita* appeared in 1492, carrying the title, "La vita e li miracoli del Beatissimo Ambrosio Patrono de li Milanese." See *Indice generale degli Incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols. (Rome: La libreria dello stato, 1943), 1:56-57; see also Cattaneo, "Lo studio delle opere di S. Ambrogio a Milano nei sec. XV-XVI," in *Studi storici in memoria di Mons. Angelo Mercati* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1956), 145-61; and TreccSM 9:547.

Catholicism over heresy came through a combined effort by their two dearest saints, Mary and Ambrose.

Ambrosian legends, which first appear in the eleventh century and peak in the early sixteenth century, tended to conflate two episodes of religious struggle in Northern Italy: that occurring in the fourth century and the later turbulence of the sixth-seventh centuries, during the Lombard invasions. To the chroniclers of these legends, all took place during Ambrose's lifetime, and witnessed the bishop defeating Arianism less with polemic persuasion than with sword and shield. The impetus for these "leggende antiariane" was likely the real-life struggles of the saint to defend the integrity of his Catholic diocese—notably his encounter with the Empress Justina over control of the Basilica Porziana.⁵² Indeed, this very event was portrayed in military guise in a fresco by Bernardus Trivilianus (1510), once located in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin in the church of San Francesco in Milan. The painting depicts Ambrose and Jerome kneeling in prayer over a fallen victim of war, and was explained with the following inscription:

This chapel is dedicated to the most glorious Virgin, in memory of the marvelous victory achieved by our blessed archbishop, Ambrose, protector of this city [Milan], over the Arian Empress Justina and the heretics protected by her, in the year of our Lord, 387. It is therefore entitled, "Santa Maria Vittoriae."⁵³

Elsewhere, the legends are recounted with considerable detail—often remote from historical events—and describe Ambrose and his "troops" engaged in combat with the Arians over control of Milan itself. One example is the story of *Santa Maria del Monte*

⁵² See n. 9, above.

⁵³ Giovanni Pietro Puricelli, *Dissertatio nazariano* (Milan, 1656): "Questa Cappella è dedicata alla gloriosissima Vergine, in memoria della prodigiosa vittoria, che il S. Arcivescovo Ambrogio, di quest città protettore, ottenne di Giustina Imperatrice Ariana, e delli Heretici, da lei favoriti, l'anno del Signore 387, che però è intitolata Santa Maria della Vittoria." Cited in CattMS, 21.

sopra Varese, quoted here at length from a rendering of the early sixteenth century. After citing several battles waged in Milan, the anonymous author continues:

Scattered and beaten, the Arians fled from Milan, and into a very high mountain [above Varese]... Ambrose, who had just expelled the enemies of Christ from Milan..., [arrived] at the foot of the mountain, knowing that human force [alone] could not defeat them: and thus he prayed to the eternal Lord, on behalf of whose faith he was fighting, that in [this moment] of extreme need, He might demonstrate His power. And while in tearful prayer, there appeared to him a vision of the virgin mother of God, Mary, who said, "My beloved son Ambrose, do not be afraid to fight against the Arians; I here promise you certain victory"...

Reaffirmed by this promise and armed with his company of ardent volunteers, he ascended to the middle of the mountain, where the Arians were positioned in a fortified tower. There began a cruel battle, [wherein] Ambrose in triumph destroyed the tower (whose foundations can still be seen). Defeated, the Arians fled to the summit of the mountain, where they held another tower, much stronger and supplied with everything necessary for its defense, such that it appeared impenetrable to human [attack]. Ambrose approached [the tower] and seeing the difficulty of the [impending] battle, prayed to God that He might aid them: and behold, there appeared again to him the blessed Virgin Mary, saying not to hesitate assailing the enemy, over whom they would have total victory.

At the start of the battle, a very bright light descended upon the defenders of the faith, whereby they were victorious; but upon the opposite [army], thunderbolts and lightening fell from the sky, along with a dark fog that so obscured the infidels that they could see nothing, and killed each other.⁵⁴

54 "Effugati e superati li ariani fugeteno fuora de Milano in uno monte altissimo... Ambrogio poy che ebbe expulsi de Milano li inimici de Christo... fu ad la radice del monte cognobbe non essere possibile per forza humana superare li nimici: et pertanto pregava lo eterno Signore, per la cui fede pugnava, che volesse in questo extremo bisogno dimonstrare la sua potentia. Et essendo luy in oratione cum lachrime: li venne in visione la vergine madre de Dio Maria et disse: 'dilecto figlio mio Ambrosio non habbia timore ad combatre cum li ariani; io ti prometto indubitata vittoria'... Confirmato Ambrosio da tale prommissione et armato cum la sua compagnia de ardentissima caritate ascenseno ad mezzo lo monte dove li ariani erano in una torre fortificati. Quivi cominciata una crudele battaglia S. Ambrosio in triumphatore fece distrugere quella torre: de la quale anchora se vedono li fundamenti. Expugnati li ariani fugeno in la sumitade del monte dove havevano una altra torre molto più forte et fornita da ogni cuosa

In gratitude for this victory, Ambrose dedicated a church, Santa Maria del Monte, at the very spot where the Virgin first appeared. At the consecrating Mass, Ambrose placed a figure of the Virgin upon the altar; and in a display of triumph, he celebrated the Eucharist in the presence of twelve, now-converted Arian bishops.

The veracity of Ambrosian legends such as that of *Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese* was questioned only in the late sixteenth century, and refuted with historical arguments only in the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ To the faithful of early Renaissance Milan, thus, the heroic image of Ambrose the warrior, championed by the Virgin Mary, was a very real part of their history and religious identity.⁵⁶ The Ambrose-Mary partnership survives, for example, as a ubiquitous part of the Ambrosian liturgy: every litany of saints, regardless of the occasion, invariably begins with Mary and ends with Ambrose.⁵⁷ This relationship was then further complemented by a particular Milanese ritual initiated in the fifteenth century: for every major religious occasion, whether joyful

necessaria ad sua defensione in tanto che apparea inexpugnabile ad humano ingenio. Ambrosio ad quella se appropinqua et vedendo la difficultade de la pugna pregava Idio che li fusse in auxilio: et ecco gli apare iterum la vergine sacra Maria dicendo non dubitasse assalire li inimici ad che haberebbe consumata victoria. Principata che fu la bataglia discese sopra li propugnatori de la fede una candidissima luce mediante la qulae funno vincitore, ma per lo oposito venevano fulgori et tonitruui dal ceilo cum caligine tenebrosa la qulae tanto obscurava li infidelli che non vedevano cuosa alchuna et se occidevano luno et laltro." Cited in DelfrSM, 121. The original, likely composed by a nun, and subsequently located in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan), was destroyed in a fire during the second World War. This Ambrosian legend demonstrates the conflation of the two periods of religious struggle mentioned above, inasmuch as the church of Santa Maria del Monte was actually founded in the seventh century.
⁵⁵ The first scholarly attempt to refute the image of Ambrose as warrior was by Puricelli, op. cit.

⁵⁶ The legend of Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese, for example, received official sanction by both Pope Sixtus IV (1474) and Pope Innocent VIII (1491). See DelfrSM, 122-23, where the two letters are cited; the letter of Innocent VIII, which likewise concedes indulgences on behalf of the church, notes: "Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, alias, ut fama est cum B. Ambrosius hereticos arianos, qui in Mediolanensis et aliis partibus Lombardiae quam maxime invaluerunt, prosequendo de quodam Monte in Diacesi Mediolani existente, divino auxilio adiutus expulisset..."

⁵⁷ See, for example, AMM, 599-600 and 633-34. The Gaffurius Codices contain two motets with modified litanies, both of which maintain the sequence of Mary as the first petitioned and Ambrose as the last: Gaffurius, *Salve mater Salvatoris* (MilD 1, 179v-181r—this is an individual, two-part motet, and not the opening motet of the composer's *motetti missales* of the same name) and (Gaffurius), *Solemnitas laudabilis* (MilD 4, 82v-83r).

or penitential, the faithful would process from the Duomo (dedicated to the Virgin) to the Basilica of Saint Ambrose, thus symbolically linking the two saints in a physical act of respect and reverence.⁵⁸ Finally, Ambrose as warrior was among the most popular themes of Ambrosian iconography: often on horseback, Ambrose valiantly yields his scourge (*flagellum*), the symbol of his battle against the Arians.⁵⁹ When Ambrose, so armed, appears upon a book of Marian devotion—as he does in the first printed Ambrosian Office of the Virgin (1536)—the partnership is complete.⁶⁰

The legend of *Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese*, moreover, points out a significant distinction between the Mariology of Ambrose, as seen in his writings, and that of later generations. To Ambrose, Mary's role in the miracle of Salvation arises wholly through her identity as mother of Christ, and despite her exemplary life and perpetual purity, she holds no autonomous redemptive power. She may be the model of virgins and the symbolic prototype of the Church, but there is nothing in the writings of Ambrose—nor of any other early Church Father—to suggest Mary's power to enact the type of intercession accorded her in this legend. Here, by contrast, Mary is fulfilling a role that would later be her most revered, that of Mediatrix—capable of receiving prayers directly, interceding on behalf of a suppliant even with miracles.⁶¹ This

⁵⁸ TreccSM 9:663.

⁵⁹ The Ambrosian *flagellum* carried the image of battle, as opposed to ecclesiastical chastisement, from at least the fourteenth century. The Dominican monk and confessor to Azzone Visconti, Fiammus, wrote in the 1330s: "Beatus ambroxius confortatus propter presentiam theodosii imperatoris viri christianissimi, contra arrianos se erigens cum flagello sive scutica in manu, eos de civitate eiecit. Et currens post eos de ytaliam expulit." Cited in TreccSM 9:544. For further images of Ambrose the warrior (on horseback) see *ibid.*, pp. 544 and 546.

⁶⁰ For a reproduction of the title page of this *Officio de la Beata Vergine Maria secundo l'ordine del patrono nostro Sancto Ambrosio...* (1536), see TreccSM 9:696.

⁶¹ The interceding role of the Virgin is found in the West already in Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600)—whose Marian hymn, *Quem terra, pontus, aethera* will be featured in Weerbecke's *motetti missales, Ave mundi domina* (see Chapter 3)—but the wide-spread acknowledgment of Mary as Mediatrix comes only in the twelfth century.

capacity became a very real part of Mary's identity in the later Middle Ages, by which time even Ambrose can be seen to authenticate it, as he does so clearly in this legend.⁶²

Ambrose's Contribution to Marian Liturgy

As Gregory the Great with the Roman rite, so Ambrose became forever identified with the Milanese rite, enough to inspire legends of direct authorship. The first claim of Ambrose's creation of the Milanese "cursus" came in the eighth century, in the anonymous treatise, *Ratio decursus qui fuerunt ex auctores*, where the author cites Augustine as witness to the bishop's liturgical efforts in fighting the "jumble" of the heretics.⁶³ More specific is Walafrid Strabo (d. 849): "Ambrose, Bishop of the Milanese Church, also arranged (*ordinavit*) the disposition of the Mass and of other offices of his Church, [items also] desired by other [Churches]; which to this day are used in the Milanese Church."⁶⁴

Although this broad claim is now quite rejected—since the first documents evincing a distinct "Ambrosian" liturgy come only in the tenth century, Ambrose did foster liturgical innovations, some of which survive even to our own day. In addressing these, it must be kept in mind that Ambrose's chief preoccupation as bishop was in his ministry. In this capacity, Ambrose desired that his flock not only understand the liturgy, but participate in it as well. To Ambrose, liturgy was prayer, and his genius lay in his ability to bring prayer to people in an accessible and meaningful way.

The chief liturgical innovations generally ascribed to Ambrose are: 1) the re-organization of the hours of the Office, especially the nocturnal office of *Vigilae*; 2) the introduction of antiphonal psalmody in the West; and 3) an unprecedented success in

⁶² For another legend, that of Monte Barro, which depicts Mary as intercessor on Ambrose's behalf, see CattMS, 23.

⁶³ BorelRA, 35-36.

⁶⁴ Strabo, *De observationibus ecclesiasticis*, 22: "Ambrosius quoque Mediolanensis Ecclesiae Episcopus tam Missae quam ceterorum dispositionem officiorum suae Ecclesiae et aliis liturgiis ordinavit; quae et usque hodie in Mediolanense tenentur Ecclesia." Cited in BorelRA, 36.

the composition of hymns. In bringing forth these innovations, Ambrose would have benefited from some knowledge of Eastern liturgical practice, especially given Milan's identity as an Imperial city, and thus a frequent site of East-West ecclesiastical and political convocations.⁶⁵

The argument for Ambrose's involvement in these innovations, as well as their Eastern provenance, rests largely on the testimony of two contemporaries: his biographer Paulinus, and Saint Augustine. Both link the introduction of these institutions to the bishop's stand-off—during Holy Week, 385, at the Basilica Porziana against Empress Justina—as an attempt to maintain morale during the fearful siege by Imperial soldiers. So Augustine: "The devout populace kept watch in the Church, prepared to die with their bishop... It was then instituted that hymns and psalms be sung in the manner of the East, lest the people be consumed by the weariness of the ordeal."⁶⁶ The accuracy and exact meaning of this statement have been much debated—as, for example, whether "psalms... sung in the manner of the East" actually refers to antiphonal psalmody, and if so, in which fashion (alternating choirs, or octave alternation of boys and men).⁶⁷

That Ambrose occupied himself with liturgical practice, particularly of the Office, however, is beyond dispute.⁶⁸ The bishop may have adapted some Eastern

65 As will be discussed below, Ambrose's actual involvement in any specific liturgical innovation is open to question. Some important discussions of the matter include Paredi, "La liturgia di S. Ambrogio," in *Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1940), 71-157; Helmut Leeb, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius* (Vienna: Herder, 1967); CattBA, 17-36; HugloFP, 85-103; and BaileyAP, esp. 94-108.

66 Augustine, *Confessionum*, 9:15 (PL 32:770): "Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia mori parata cum episcopo suo... Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus moeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est."

67 Leeb's study (op. cit., p. 103, 111) first suggested that the psalmody "instituted" by Ambrose was responsorial, not antiphonal; and that, indeed, nowhere in Ambrose's writings antiphonal psalmody ever mentioned: "Eine antiphonale oder alternierende Psalmodie erwänt Ambrosius nicht." BaileyAP, 123 states his conclusions more emphatically: "The only psalmody with refrains known to St Ambrose was responsorial." Bailey argues that antiphonal psalmody, first described by Isidore in the seventh century, likely developed in Frankish territories, and spread to Milan by Benedictine monks in the eighth century (pp. 108-16)—thus along with other liturgical innovations.

68 See CattBA, 19-22, where twenty-one passages drawn from Ambrose's writings are given which deal with the celebration of the Office; more than drawing any concrete conclusions, Cattaneo seems more comfortable granting Ambrose the role of an organizer and preserver

practices favored by the Arians, transforming them to counter their "errors" and to promote his own orthodox agenda. Ambrose's predecessor, Auxentius, was a Greek (from Cappadocia), and during his long episcopacy (17 years), some Eastern practices were undoubtedly introduced.⁶⁹ At the same time, Ambrose displayed striking loyalty to Rome, as seen in his adherence to the Roman Creed—which he used even in his defense against Jovinian—and in his promotion of the Latin Canon.⁷⁰ In sum, Ambrose seems to have shown a willingness to borrow, and if necessary transform, elements from various sources—Eastern or Roman—in order to best serve the needs of his congregation.

The most celebrated of Ambrose's "transformations," and the one least open to question, are his original hymn compositions. They were probably created as a response to Arian hymns, and differ from those of his predecessors, such as Saint Ilarius, which primarily treat doctrinal themes. Ambrose's hymns, on the other hand, center on liturgical matters, closer to the daily life of the people, and benefit from a natural poetic style (in iambic dimeter). Little wonder that the "Ambrosian" practice of hymn composition spread quickly beyond Milan, as attested by Augustine and Paulinus.⁷¹ The presence of seven "Ambrosian" hymns at the beginning of the first Gaffurius

(ibid., p. 36): "Volere precisare l'opera effettiva di S. Ambrogio nell'ordinamento è per lo meno azzardato. Piuttosto il complesso delle notizie... convincono della verità conservata nella tradizione che costantemente a lui affida il titolo di creatore dell'ufficio milanese."

⁶⁹ See BorelRA, 79-83.

⁷⁰ Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* (PL 16:409-62)—whose authorship is generally affirmed—is the earliest source to transmit the Roman Canon in substantially its current form; and thus attests to Roman influence in Milan in the fourth century. It has thus been credited with assisting in the Latinization of the Eucharist liturgy. See JungM, 66-67.

⁷¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, 9:15 (PL 32:770): "Ex illo [practice of hymns] in hodiernum retentum multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus." Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, 13: "... cuius celebritatis devotio usque in hodiernum diem non solum in eadem ecclesia, verum per omnes pene provincias occidentis manet." Following Gneuss, the Milanese repertory of "Ambrosian" hymns became the primary source for the first layer of hymns, the so-called *Altes Hymnar* I (AH I), adapted in the sixth century by St. Benedict for his Divine Office. Much of the Ambrosian repertory survived into the second recension of the Old Hymnary (AH II) from the eighth-ninth centuries; and, to a lesser extent, into the *Neues Hymnar* (NH), dating from second half of the ninth century. Only in the NH are the hymns adorned with musical settings. See Helmut Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnarien im englischen Mittelalter* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1968), 24-25, 60-68; and HileyWP, 140-41. For a specific discussion of the Ambrosian hymn repertory, with emphasis on textual and musical transmission, see HugloFP, 85-103.

Librone—four of which are attributed to Ambrose—demonstrates their continued prominence in Milan itself.⁷²

Augustine attributes four hymns to Ambrose: *Aeterne rerum conditor*, *Deus creator omnium*, *Iam surgit hora tertia*, and *Intende qui regis Israel* (called by its second strophe, *Veni Redemptor gentium*). These are all accepted today as authentic, while as many as fourteen others—which at some point entered into the Ambrosian Office—are contested to some degree.⁷³ Some indication of the original function of these four hymns is discernible from the texts themselves:

<i>Aeterne rerum conditor</i>	"ad galli cantum"
<i>Deus creator omnium</i>	Vespers ("ad horam incensi")
<i>Iam surgit hora tertia</i>	Terce
<i>Intende qui regis Israel</i>	Christmas

Given Ambrose's ministerial priorities, then, it is not surprising to find in two of these hymns verses which concern the Virgin Mary. As such, Ambrose utilized yet another means to promote Marian devotion and emulation within his flock.

From what has been observed about Ambrose's Mariology, it is no surprise that Mary is acknowledged here only in association with her Son. The hymn *Iam surgit hora tertia* addresses the hour of Christ's crucifixion (Mark 15:25), and recalls both His death and the resulting Redemption: "This is the hour which granted the end of the dreadful ancient crime, and which destroyed the reign of death, and which suffered the blame

⁷² These hymn settings—all located in MiD 1, and all anonymous—are *Mysterium ecclesiae* (fols. Iv-1), *Lux alma Christe* (fols. Iv-1), *Intende qui regis* (fols. 1v-2), *Illuminans altissime* (fols. 1v-2), *Hic est dies verus Dei* (fols. 3v-4), *Christe cunctorum* (fols. 3v-4), and *Deus creator omnium* (fols. 4v-5); the texts of the third, fourth, fifth, and seventh settings are attributed securely to Ambrose.

⁷³ See CattBA, 23-25; HugloFP, 98-103. One famous hymn attributed to Ambrose throughout the Middle Ages, but in this century attributed to Nicetas of Remesiana, is *Te Deum laudamus*, which appears in a polyphonic setting in MiD 2, 204v-209, likewise anonymous.

from eternity."⁷⁴ Ambrose then "completes" the significance of the Passion scene, in the next two verses, by introducing Mary:

Celso triumphi vertice	From the lofty summit of His triumph
Matri loquebatur suae:	He spoke to His mother:
"En filius, mater, tuus,"	"Behold, mother, thy son,"
"Apostole, en, mater tua."	"Behold, apostle, thy mother."
Praetenta nuptae foedera	Revealing that the covenant of marriage
Alto docens mysterio,	Was pretended in noble mystery,
Ne Virginis partus sacrum	Lest a birth of the Virgin
Matris pudorem laederet	Damage the sacred propriety of the Mother.

In these two verses, Ambrose manages to address no less than three Marian motifs, already encountered in his theological writings: 1) Mary's brave presence during her Son's final hours; 2) Christ's symbolic offering of Mary's motherhood to John (and hence to the entire Church); and 3) the proof therein that Mary, despite her marriage to Joseph, maintained her purity and perpetual virginity. One has to admire the conciseness with which Ambrose was able to convey the very pillars of his Mariology. The popular language and poetic elegance, moreover, ensured that his message would impact the faithful more directly than his more erudite theological discourses. As such, Ambrose reveals himself a masterful shepherd, presenting the subtleties of orthodox doctrine in a context of communal prayer and popular liturgical observance.

Mary also figures considerably in what is undoubtedly Ambrose's most celebrated poetic work, his Christmas hymn *Intende qui regis Israel (Veni Redemptor gentium)*.⁷⁵ The principal theme of the hymn is the joy surrounding Christ's birth, and

⁷⁴ *Iam surgit hora tertia*, verse 2: "Haec hora, quae finem dedit/Diri veterno criminis/Mortisque regnum diruit/Culpamque ab aevo sustulit." See AH 16:265.

⁷⁵ See HugloFP, 93, 99-100: while *Iam surgit* appears in only two relatively early Ambrosian hymnaries (13th and 14th centuries), *Intende qui regis* is found in several Milanese sources, including the important twelfth-century London manuscript (British Museum, Add. 34209),

yet its strong emphasis on Mary is unmistakable, particularly from the second through the fifth verses:

Veni, Redemptor gentium	Come, O Redeemer of nations
Ostende partum Virginis:	Announce the childbirth of the Virgin:
Miretur omne saeculum	Let all the ages marvel
Talis decet partus Deum.	At this birth befitting God.
Non ex virili semine,	Not from the seed of man,
Sed mystico spiramine,	But from the mystical breath of the Holy Spirit,
Verbum Dei factum est caro	The Word of God was made flesh
Fructusque ventris floruit	And the fruit of [Mary's] womb blossomed
Alvus tumescit Virginis,	The womb of the Virgin swelled.
Clastrum pudoris permanet;	[But] the bounds of her chastity endured;
Vexilla virtutum micant	The banners of her virtues flew
Versatur in Templo Deus	[While] God in her Temple dwelled
Procedit e thalamo suo,	He came forth from her bridal chamber,
Pudoris Aula regia,	A royal palace of chastity,
Geminae gigas substantiae	That He may hasten on His happy journey
Alacris ut currat viam	As a giant of twin substance.

In the second verse, the miracle of Christ's redemption is invoked as inseparable from the miracle of His virgin birth, demonstrating in turn Mary's essential role in bringing forth Salvation. This is augmented in the third verse with a more formal description of the Incarnation (including a paraphrase from the Roman Creed in the third line), one which likewise refers to Mary's direct participation. The subject then shifts principally to Mary in the fourth verse, specifically her ever-enduring chastity and virtue—in what appears largely an echo of Ambrose's anti-Jovinian polemic. The metaphor outlined in

reproduced as PM 6:67; as well as in numerous other Italian and Northern sources, often with a non-Ambrosian melody. For the Ambrosian version, see LVM, 92-3.

this verse also recalls Ambrose's allegory of Ezechial 44:2, where the "gate" of her chastity remained closed (*Clastrum pudoris permanet*), despite God's entrance therein. Finally, in the fifth verse, Mary's role as the mystical bride of Christ, along with another reference to her enduring chastity, form the background to Christ's unique definition: as a "giant" of dual substance, at once divine and human.

Compared to *Iam surgit hora tertia*, Ambrose's Christmas hymn is more demonstrably theological in content, not surprising given the commanding theological importance of the feast itself. In defining the essence of Christ's birth as he did, Ambrose also affected the very nature of the Christmas solemnity within subsequent Milanese liturgy. Indeed, Christmas has been called the first Marian feast in Milan—with a liturgy dating back to the early fifth century—by virtue of its joint-emphasis on Christ's divinity and Mary's Divine Maternity.⁷⁶ Ambrose's role in this development is seen not only in the placement of *Intende qui regis Israel* within the Ambrosian Christmas liturgy (in first Vespers), but also—as Borella has demonstrated—in the co-opting of portions of this hymn within the earliest Preface for this feast.⁷⁷ The Preface, which differs notably from that of the Roman liturgy, is largely an exaltation of the Virgin Mary:

Through Christ our Lord... Whom Blessed Mary conceived, without damage to her virginity, and without the intervention of man, as mother and undefiled virgin. Nor in this honor was she [ever] abolished of integrity, such as to be called the mother of perpetual chastity. O blessed and sacred womb of the Virgin Mary, who alone among women deserved to carry as the fruit of her womb the Lord of the world! For our eternal salvation, too, she brought forth Christ. Thus let the whole world rejoice, because from a virginal body the Lord came forth...⁷⁸

⁷⁶ See BorelAM, 626. This is in contrast to Epiphany, for example, which exclusively celebrates Christ's divinity. A precedent for including a Marian component in Christmas liturgy is found in the East, namely in Cappadocia in the third quarter of the fourth century—as indicated in a homily of Saint Basil. See LaurenCT, 55; and MontLM, 88-93.

⁷⁷ BorelAM, 626.

⁷⁸ SacB, no. 124: "Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Quem beata Maria, sine detrimento virginitatis, et sine virili actione, mater et virgo concepit intacta. Nec in ea honor exterminatus

Through his hymnody, Ambrose bequeathed a specific and enduring legacy of Marian devotion to the people of Milan. The legacy of the bishop's hymns extends further, inasmuch as his poetic exaltations of Mary prepared the way for the Latin Marian hymn proper, as Joseph Szövérfy has observed.⁷⁹ Indeed, one would expect nothing less from a man who has been called simultaneously the Father of Western Mariology and the Father of Latin Hymnody. For their part, the Milanese acknowledged the contributions of their beloved bishop and patron to an unrivaled degree: first by adopting his name for their liturgy, and then by embracing and perpetuating his great devotion for the Blessed Virgin Mary.

B. The Rise of an Ambrosian Marian Liturgy

Historical Background

Even as Ambrose pitched his fiery polemics against the Arian heretics, a dark shadow had begun forming over Northern Italy. With ever-increasing intensity, the Arian Goths threatened to puncture the once impenetrable shell of the Roman Empire. Finally in 401, just four years after the great bishop's death, Alaric and his Visigoths invaded Italy, sparing Milan only through the clever tactics of the Roman general, Stilicho.⁸⁰ For the imperial court, however, the assault proved too much. Milan had grown too vulnerable to barbarian invasion, whence the young emperor Honorius transferred his

est integritatis, ut mater sempiternae diceretur castitatis. O beatum, et sacrosanctum Mariae Virginis uterum, quae sola meruit inter mulieres suis visceribus mundi portare Dominum. Ad nostram quoque salutem aeternam edidit Christum. Gaudeat itaque universus orbis, quia ex membris virginalibus egressus est Deus..." Cf. ParedP, 123.

⁷⁹ Szövérfy, 6-7. In discussing *Intende qui regis Israel*, Szövérfy notes how its Marian verses "schon... die noch fehlende marianische Hymnik einigermaßen vorbereiten."

⁸⁰ More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the fifth to seventh century) can be found in TreccSM 2:3-302 ; VisconSM, 107-20; FavaSM 1:48-58; and BlondSM, 10-13; see also CorioSM 1:73-113; and MorigHM, 13-24.

capital to Ravenna, along the Adriatic coast. Politically, it was a blow from which Milan would recover only centuries later.

The closing years of the Western Empire witnessed a gradual deterioration of public life throughout Italy, aggravated by poor administration and heavy taxation. As political and military institutions disintegrated, civil authority fell increasingly upon the Church, in Milan as elsewhere. When Attila conducted his Huns across the Alps (452), it was the Milanese bishop, Eusebius, who negotiated his departure—following a moderate plunder, compared to the annihilation delivered upon Aquileia. Milan, however, continued to weaken, and by the time that Odoacre deposed the last Western Emperor, Romulus Augustulus (476), it had become just another city of Aemilia-Liguria.

When the Roman Empire fell, a new era of "barbarian" control began in Northern Italy. In its weakened state, Milan offered no resistance to the army of Theodoric the Great who quickly established his own Gothic kingdom in Italy (493). The Milanese, under their bishop Dazius, played a key role in the rebellion against the Gothic king Vitige, which heralded the re-conquest of Italy by the Byzantine general Belisarius (535). During a temporary Gothic restoration a few years later, however, Milan paid dearly for the betrayal—in a massacre which, according to the account of Procopius (undoubtedly exaggerated) killed some 300,000 people. Only when the Emperor Justinian's general Narses defeated the Gothic king Totila (552) could Milan begin to revive.

The promise of this revival was soon thwarted, however, when Alboin, King of the Lombards (or as the Italians prefer *i langobardi*) invaded Northern Italy (568), and after a long siege, established his capital at Pavia (572). Like the Goths, the Lombards were officially Arian, although retaining some pagan rituals, and their encroachment on Milanese religious and political institutions became increasingly unbearable to the local clergy. In protest, the bishop Onoratio conducted his clergy, accompanied by several noble Milanese families, to the city of Genoa, then still under Byzantine control. The "Genoese exile" endured seventy years, during which time the clergy retained its

metropolitan authority, and ended only when the Lombard king Rotari conquered the Italian Riviera, and hence Genoa (643).

Milan's prestige and economic prosperity rose in conjunction with the gradual Catholic conversion of the Lombards—culminating in the reign of Liutprand (712–44), the first Christian Lombard king, and restorer of Roman institutions. Milan, now equipped with improved fortification, was occasionally the residence of the royal court, though its political influence remained subordinate to that of Pavia. The "pax perpetua" declared between the Lombards and Franks (under Pepin the Short), following their mutual defeat of the Arabs (737), was broken when the last Lombard king, Desiderius, threatened Rome (772). In his desperation, Pope Hadrian I (772–95) summoned the help of the young Frankish king, Charlemagne, to stem the tide of Lombard aggression. Charlemagne's arrival in Italy would bring more than Desiderio's defeat; for with him began an entirely new era for Milan and the West.

The Council of Ephesus

Little is known about the evolution of the Ambrosian liturgy during the fifth century. However, the existence of a unique Milanese rite is suggested already in the interdict of Pope Innocent I (402–417) against the non-Roman practices of the North.⁸¹ To this period has been traced the earliest development of the Ambrosian Mass, and the origins of the Milanese Sacramentary—credited by Paredi to the bishop Eusebius (c. 449–62), specifically through his composition of various Mass Prefaces, including some which shed light on the earliest Ambrosian liturgy of the Virgin Mary.⁸²

⁸¹ The letter was sent in 416 from Innocent to his suffragan, Decenzio of Gubbio: "Praesertim cum sit manifestum, in omnem Italiam... nullum instituisse Ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut eius successores constitutuerint sacerdotes." The entire letter (PL 20:469) is cited in Cattaneo, "S. Ambrogio e la costituzione delle province ecclesiastiche nell'Italia settentrionale," reprinted in *La Chiesa di Ambrogio. Studi di storia e di liturgia* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1984), 17.

⁸² Paredi, 117–120. In drawing his conclusion, Paredi follows a statement from the thirteenth-century chronicle of Goffredo da Bussero, the *Liber notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, which writes: "Hic Eusebius composuit multos cantus (= liturgical items) Ecclesiae." Paredi's

Before addressing this liturgy, however, mention should be made of the most important Marian event of the century, the Council of Ephesus (431). Although the setting and principal participants were Eastern, the impact of the Council's proclamations was felt throughout Christendom.⁸³

In sum, a controversy erupted in Constantinople in late 428, when a local preacher, Proculus, delivered a sermon extolling Mary as the *Theotokos*, or Mother of God. In the cathedral sat the Patriarch of the city, Nestorius, a student of the Antiochene school, who immediately expressed his outrage at what he considered a heretical doctrine. Nestorius's opposition arose less from the Mariological implications of the title, and more from the manner in which it defined Christ. For Nestorius and his supporters, Christ was fundamentally divisible into two natures: one human and mortal; the other divine and immortal. While Nestorius readily accepted Mary as the mother of Christ's humanity (*Christotokos*), he could not accept her as Mother of the eternal God.

To a clergy and populace already quite dedicated to Mary as the *Theotokos*, Nestorian's view was blasphemy, and a dispute arose no less political than dogmatic. Opposing Nestorius was the polemicist Saint Cyril of Alexandria, who had among his chief supporters the Roman pontiff, Pope Celestine I (422–32). The authority yielded by Cyril's party at the subsequent Council was enough to ensure the official denouncement of Nestorius and his (effectively) anti-Marian heresy. Within a few years Nestorius's writings were condemned, while he himself was banished to a remote monastery in Upper Egypt.

The Council of Ephesus thus established as official doctrine—throughout the Church both East and West—the Divine and Virginal Maternity of Mary, providing

hypothesis has met with some objections—including that by Heiming — who would see these as later compositions, derived from the seventh-century Leonine Sacramentary. See CattTR, 118-19 for a review of the polemic literature on this matter.

⁸³ See Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents*, Eng. transl., vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883), 1-114; and P.T. Camelot, "Ephesus, Council of" in NCE 5:458-61, for an overview and bibliography. See also GraefH, 101-19.

universal sanction to an ever-intensifying cult of the Virgin. The controversy had been closely followed by Western theologians and ecclesiastics: including Celestine's successor Sixtus III (432–40)—who eternalized the event by dedicating the celebrated basilica upon the Esquiline Hill to *Santa Maria Maioris*—as well as Sixtus's successor Leo the Great (440–61), Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna (d. 450), and Eusebius, future bishop of Milan—likely of Greek origin.⁸⁴

To the West, however, the theological proclamations of the Council were less consequential than in the East, since Mary's Divine and Virginal Maternity was already firmly established there, not least by Ambrose. Indeed, Pope Celestine concluded his condemnation of Nestorius—at the Synod of Rome (August, 430)—by recalling how at Christmas, all people sang in one voice Ambrose's *Veni redemptor gentium*, whose second strophe concludes, "At this birth befitting God." Celestine continues: "Does it say, 'At this birth befitting the human [side of God]?' Therefore, the sense in which our brother Cyril speaks of Mary as the *Theotokos* concords well with [what Ambrose says]."⁸⁵ More than anything, the pronouncements of the Council heightened an already ardent devotion to Mary in the West. Still, some traces of Ephesus's impact on the West can be seen in the increased appearance of Latin equivalents to *Theotokos*, particularly *Genetrix Dei*.⁸⁶ To this period, for example, has been attributed the *Communicantes* of the Canon of the Mass which includes the phrase: "in primis gloriosae semperque Virginis Mariae, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi."⁸⁷

⁸⁴ BorelRA, 334.

⁸⁵ Cited in CattMS, 24.

⁸⁶ The precise Latin translation, *Mater Dei*, was less used—largely to avoid association with the veneration of the pagan goddess, Cybele (usually called *Mater Deum Magna*). See CarrolC, 90–112.

⁸⁷ CattMS, 25. See also JungM, 217–20.

The Earliest Ambrosian Marian Feast—VI Dominica Adventus

While the Council's impact on Marian theology in the West was limited, its effect on Western liturgy was considerably greater. In the wake of Ephesus, various Western liturgies began to introduce a single Marian feast, placed in close proximity to Christmas (January 1 in Rome, January 18 in France, December 18 in Spain). They invariably carried generic titles such as *Festivitas Sanctae Mariae* or *Dies Sanctae Mariae*, illustrating their theological rather than commemorative (episodic) focus.⁸⁸ Milan was perhaps the first Western center to introduce this distinctly Marian feast, though placed not on a fixed day, but rather on the final Sunday of Advent.⁸⁹ The Milanese impetus to expand its Marian liturgy in fact began prior to the Council's final pronouncements, namely by adding two chants to its Christmas Mass—the *Confractorium*, *Magnum ac salutare mysterium* and the *Transitorium*, *Gaude et laetare, exultatio Angelorum*—which, like the Preface and hymn mentioned above, interweave praise of the Incarnation with that of Mary's Divine Maternity.⁹⁰

By the close of the Council of Ephesus, however, a need was felt in Milan to augment the Marian liturgy of Christmas with another feast, one dedicated explicitly to the Virgin.⁹¹ The actual institution of this new feast may have been prompted by another controversy, the so-called Eutychian heresy—which so refuted Nestorianism as

⁸⁸ See Bernard Botte, "La première fête mariale de la liturgie romaine," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933), 425-30; see also RidderMT, 54-57; and LaurenCT, 66.

⁸⁹ The presence of a distinctly Marian feast within the Advent season had precedence in the East—namely, in Cappadocia in the late-fourth century, and in Constantinople in the early fifth century; see LaurenCT, 56.

⁹⁰ AMM, 46-48. Today these chants belong to the third Christmas Mass, which as Borella has noted, was the only one during this period. See BorelFM, 124-5. The text of *Magnum ac salutare mysterium*, moreover, was subsequently incorporated into the Roman Preface for January 1, the ancient Marian feast in that city. As Chevasse points out, its second line, "Quae peperit et mater et virgo est, quem peperit homo et Deus est" derives wholly from a sermon of Augustine—with the exception of "infans" instead of "homo." See Antoine Chevasse, *Le Sacramentaire Gélasien*, Vat. Reg. 316 (Paris: Desclée, 1957), 211-12.

⁹¹ See BorelFM, 127-34, (p. 130): "[L]a memoria della Theotokos isituita a chiusura del Concilio di Efeso fecero sentire il bisogno anche a Milano di esaltare il mistero della divina e verginale maternità di Maria SS., con una festa speciale, che poi si diffuse anche in Occidente..."

to confound the two natures of Christ.⁹² Eutyches's doctrine, which naturally had Marian implications, was condemned at both the Council of Chalcedon (451) and a Provincial Council of Milan (451). The latter was convoked by Bishop Eusebius, who had followed the Nestorian heresy in his youth, and who perhaps saw in it an occasion to institute a new feast—dedicated to the Virgin who had borne, as one unified nature, Man and God. Such anyway is suggested in Paredi's attribution to this bishop of two Prefaces used in the Ambrosian feast of *VI Dominica Adventus*.⁹³

Already the earliest liturgical sources for the sixth Sunday of Advent indicate two separate Masses, one "In Ecclesia," the other "Ad Sanctam Mariam," specified as Santa Maria ad Circulam.⁹⁴ Between the two services an elaborate sung procession led the faithful from the principal cathedral to the stational Marian church, built on the site of an old Roman circus.⁹⁵ The liturgical content of the two Masses has provoked some disagreement regarding the chronology and original function of the two Masses: Cattaneo, by reason of the liturgical repetition from the first to the second Mass, has proposed the first as the original one for *VI Dominica Adventus*, the Marian mass a somewhat later addition; Borella, on the other hand, citing various contemporary sources (including Saint Gregory of Tours), has proposed that "In ecclesia" was originally a Vigil Mass, compiled at a later point to complement the earlier Marian Mass.⁹⁶ Both Masses do indeed share many liturgical items, most of which hold fast to the principal

92 See G. Owens, "Eutychianism" in NCE 5:642-43.

93 As seen in the Gelasian Sacramento (mid-eight century), the Roman rite provided a specific liturgy for the five Sundays preceding Christmas—forming the Advent season. By contrast, the Ambrosian rite provides for six Sundays of Advent, whose liturgy is first made detailed in the Evangelary of Busto Arsizio (early ninth-century). See BorelFM, 131-34; and CattMS, 26-29—where the evolution of the season is related to scriptural verses.

94 Namely, the Evangelary of Busto Arsizio and the Evangelary A. 28 inf. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana—specified in MA 2:42 as *Psallentium ad S. Mariam ad Circulam*; see BorelFM, 131. Exactly when the Marian liturgy of *VI Dominica Adventus* was established is uncertain: Heimig would place it already in the fifth-century; Cattaneo prefers to see it as a product of the sixth or even seventh century. See BorelRA, 335-36.

95 See Cattaneo, "La più antica festa della Madonna e la chiesa di S. Maria al Circo," *Ambrosius* 28 (1952), 123.

96 See BorelFM, 132-34.

theme of Advent—the impending arrival of Christ. The most striking disparity, not surprisingly, is in the Prefaces, whereby the second Mass defines its content.

The two Prefaces for the Mass "ad Sanctam Mariam" specify the occasion as a feast (*solemnitas*) of Mary's Divine and Virginal Maternity. Thus the first:

We [are here] to celebrate the solemnity of the blessed and perpetual Virgin Mary. She who from her small womb carried the Lord and Redeemer of the World; and as the Angel had foretold, begot the Word as our Savior in mortal flesh, whom she conceived through an unblemished womb, [which remained] closed when entering, and [remained] closed when leaving.⁹⁷

The theological content here is very much what appears in the Marian liturgy of Christmas: Mary is celebrated for her perpetual virginity, and for her role as begetter of the Redeemer. An echo of Ezechial 44:2 and the Jovinian heresy appears in the final line, where the womb remained "closed" in conception and birth. What is new comes in response to Advent: Gabriel's announcement to Mary of Christ's coming—which in turn suggests a close connection between the Marian content of *VI Dominica Adventus* and the theme of the Annunciation. This is further demonstrated in Ambrosian liturgical sources: from the earliest manuscripts (e.g., the Evangelary of Busto Arsizio, mid-9th c.), the pericope for the Sixth Sunday of Advent is "Missus est [angelus Gabriel... ad virginem]" (Luke 1: 26); while Beroldus (12th c.) calls the feast "S[anctae] Mariae Annuntiatio."⁹⁸

The second pericope then qualifies the feast as a celebration of the mutual roles of Mary and Christ in history of Redemption:

97 SacB, no. 85: "Nos beatae semperque Virginis Mariae sollemnia celebrare. Quae parvo utero Dominum portavit et Redemptorem mundi; Angelo praenunciante, Verbum carne mortali edidit Salvatorem, quem castis concepit visceribus, clausa ingrediens, et clausa relinquens."

98 BorelFM, pp. 134-138. In this regard the Ambrosian liturgy is similar to that of Ravenna, which called the entire Advent season *de Annuntiatio*. The connection between these two rites would have been greatest during the period of the "Genoese exile."

We thank you, O Lord, omnipotent God, and with invocation of Your virtue, [are here] to celebrate the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. From whose womb flowed the fruit, which replenishes us with the gift of angelic bread. What Eve devoured in crime, Mary restores in health. The works of the serpent and that of the Virgin stand opposite...When her Child was laid to rest, the Creator was resurrected, whereby human nature is no longer captive, but is restored to freedom. What Adam lost from his Father, he received from Christ, His Author.⁹⁹

Both Christ and Mary are seen as carrying out the Redemption made necessary by the errors of Adam and Eve. Mary's redemptive role, however, is still inseparable from her participation in the Incarnation, much as Ambrose would have it. Thus, while the Ambrosian feast of *VI Dominica Adventus* represents a heightening of Marian devotion in Milan, by virtue of being a distinct feast dedicated to her, the theological significance granted to the Virgin remains largely unaltered here—with perhaps a somewhat greater emphasis on her identity as the mother of God, in light of the events of Ephesus.

A few centuries later, the Office for this feast would receive a hymn, *Mysterium ecclesiae*, attributed by Heiming to a certain Massimiano (6th-7th c.).¹⁰⁰ The hymn combines celebration of Christ's arrival and birth—including reference to visits from the Shepherds and Magi—with praise of Mary's grace, her singular place among women, and her Divine and Virginal Maternity. The last verse, in fact, presents this very title:

Rogemus ergo, populi,	Therefore, may we the people entreat
Dei Matrem et Virginem,	The Mother of God and Virgin,
Ut ipsa nobis impetret	That she may procure for us
Pacem et indulgentiam	Both peace and indulgence

⁹⁹ SacB, no. 80: "Nos tibi, Domine, Deus omnipotens gratias agere, et cum tuae invocatione virtutis beatae Mariae Virginis festa celebrare. De cuius ventre fructus effloruit, qui panis angelici munere nos replevit. Quod Eva voravit in crimine, Maria restituit in salute. Distat opus serpentis et Virginis.... Inde partus occubuit, hinc Conditor resurrexit, a quo humana natura, non jam captiva, sed libera restituitur. Quod Adam perdidit in parente, Christo recepit Auctore."

¹⁰⁰ Otto Heiming, "Il lavoro di Maria Laach intorno al Breviario Ambrosiano," in *Problemi di Liturgia Ambrosiana* (Archivio Ambrosiano 1, 1949), 50.

In this last verse, moreover, can be seen an explicit reference to Mary's power of intercession, whereby prayers to her can bring forth not only peace but remission from punishment. Clearly, these powers are inconsistent with those granted to the Virgin in the fourth and fifth centuries and represent a later development of Mariology. This hymn is significant to this study, as it opens the first Gaffurius codex.¹⁰¹ By the fifteenth century, however, *Mysterium ecclesiae* had become the principal hymn for all Marian feasts and the Vespers hymn for the Little Office of the Virgin, and thus had lost any explicit tie to *VI Dominica Adventus*.

The Codification of the Ambrosian Liturgy

Despite the chaos of foreign invasion and crumbling political institutions, the fifth through seventh centuries were years of tremendous development in the liturgy of the Western Church. Under the direction of Popes Leo the Great, Gelasius I (492–96), and Gregory the Great (590–604), the liturgy of Rome evolved to nearly its present state, becoming embodied in the Sacramentaries and other books which bear their names. Similarly in France, such prominent bishops as Saint Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) and Saint Gregory of Tours (d. 594) oversaw key developments in the Gallican Mass and Office—paving the way for the ultimate synthesis of the Gallo-Roman liturgy during the Carolingian era.¹⁰²

Milanese liturgical development during this period, however, is shrouded in mystery and obscurity—with the first telling documents appearing only in the ninth century. The so-called "Genoese exile" (c. 572–643) cut off the Ambrosian high clergy

¹⁰¹ MilD 1, Iv-1; see Chapter 2.

¹⁰² The literature on the early development of the Roman liturgy is extensive. Fundamental studies include Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: Études sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (5th ed., Paris: Fontemoing, 1925); Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, Eng. trans. by F.L. Cross (Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1958); and Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 4 vols. (Milan: Ancora, 1964). See R.X. Redmond, "Liturgy, Historical Development of" in NCE 8:938-39, for further bibliography.

from the principal beneficiary of liturgical development, the people, although a group of letters from Pope Gregory to the clergy-in-exile (593 and 600) suggests at least some contact with Milan. Despite the lack of documents, some scholars (Wilmart, Heimig, Cattaneo) have granted considerable liturgical activity to these years of exile, including the redaction of the first Ambrosian Sacramentary.¹⁰³ Particularly suggestive is the prevalence of Eastern elements in the (extant) Milanese liturgy, including a large number of chants of Eastern origin.¹⁰⁴ Ambrosian scholars have gone to great length to argue the possible sources and chronology of this Eastern propagation, the "Genoese exile" being one—since Genoa was then under Byzantine influence at the metropolitan of Ravenna (called "the Syriac center of the West" by Baumstark).¹⁰⁵ At the same time, influence from Roman (pre-Gregorian) and Gallican books—particularly the various redactions of the Gelasian and Leonine Sacramentaries in the sixth and seventh centuries—is traceable in the Ambrosian liturgy: for example, the breaking of bread (*fractio*) before the *Pater noster*.¹⁰⁶

The Earliest Ambrosian Marian Antiphons

To this period, finally, has been attributed the first flowering of Marian antiphons or "psallendae" which would come to constitute the staples of Marian liturgy in Milan well into the Renaissance.¹⁰⁷ These chants were originally assembled to accompany the long processional (*psallentium*) from cathedral to stationary church for

103 See A. A. Wilmart, "S. Ambroise et la légende dorée," *Ephemerides Liturgique* 50 (1936), 199-202; Heimig, "Das mailändische Präfationale," *Achiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 1 (1950), 128-32; and TreccSM 3:782 (Cattaneo).

104 See HugloFP, 117-23, where several specific examples of direct "adattamenti latini di canti greci" are given.

105 A good overview of the complex, and sometimes hypothetical relations between Eastern and Ambrosian liturgical practices is given in CattMO, esp. 187-92—which also traces the activities of Eastern missionaries in Milan, fleeing the Persian wars and Islamic occupation of their lands.

106 See BorelRA, 71, 74-77.

107 Borella, "Perle orientali nella corona dei canti ambrosiani per la Madre di Dio," *Ambrosius* 30 (1954), 39-45.

the Marian feast of *VI Dominica Adventus*, and later for Purification. The *Manuale Ambrosianum* (11th c.) records over twenty Marian antiphons sung during the "psallentia" of these two feasts, some of which are also placed in the corresponding Offices.¹⁰⁸ The texts of these Marian antiphons, many of which resemble Roman texts to some degree or another, primarily praise Mary's role in the Incarnation and her perpetual virginity. References to her intercession are also present, though in only three chants: two are among the earliest Latin descendants of the fourth century Greek Marian prayer, *Sub tuum praesidium*, the other, *Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix*, is unique to the Ambrosian liturgy.¹⁰⁹ Below are four examples of the Marian antiphons which may well have originated during the Lombard era, all of which will return in the later musical discussions:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Beata progenies
unde Christus natus est:
quam gloriosa est virgo
quae coeli Regem genuit | Blessed lineage
Whence Christ was born:
How glorious is the Virgin
Who bore the King of heaven. |
| 2. Sub tuum misericordiam
confugimus Dei Genitrix,
ut nostram deprecationem
ne inducas in temptationem,
sed de periculo libera nos,
sola casta et benedicta. | Under your mercy
Do we fly, O Mother of God [<i>Theotokos</i>]
As [we offer] our petition
Lead us not into temptation,
But liberate us from danger,
You alone who are chaste and blessed. |
| 3. Virgo verbum concepit,
Virgo permansit.
Virgo genuit Regem omnium regum. | The Virgin has conceived the Word,
And remained a virgin.
The Virgin bore the King of all kings. |

108 MA 2:42-44 (*VI Dominica Adventus*), with Office chants of *Sabbato VI Adventus* on pp. 38-41; and *ibid.*, p. 111 (*Purificatio S. Mariae*), with Office chants on pp. 109-111.

109 The *Sub tuum* prayer, first encountered on a papyrus fragment, is among the earliest Marian texts to reference her powers of intercession—"Mother of God, hear my supplications; suffer us not [to be] in adversity, but deliver us from danger..." (translation after GraeffH, 48).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>4. Magnificamus te Dei Genitrix;
 quia ex te natus est Christus,
 salvans omnes qui te glorificant.
 Sancta Domina, Dei Genitrix
 sanctificationes tuas trans mitte nobis.</p> | <p>We magnify thee, O Mother of God;
 Because of you Christ was born,
 Saving all who glorify you.
 Holy Lady, Mother of God
 Dispatch to us your sanctifications.</p> |
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C. The Carolingian Reforms and the Expansion of the Ambrosian-Marian Liturgy

Historical Background

In the year 774, Charlemagne arrived in Northern Italy, and promptly subdued the Lombard capital of Pavia. The Lombard king, Desiderius, fled to a nearby monastery, whereupon Charlemagne crowned himself King of the Lombards—signaling the end of one foreign domination and the beginning of another, that of the Franks.¹¹⁰ Milan welcomed the new ruler, coming as he did with the sanction of the Pope, and looked confidently to a renewed religious supremacy within Lombardy, even if Pavia remained the political and military capital. In Milan, civil authority continued largely in the hands of the bishop, now archbishop, who worked directly with the Frankish government to bolster the city's economic prosperity—particularly as a trading center between East and West. The authority of the archepiscopacy increased in 844, when Angilberto II (of Frankish origin) gained the title "missus dominicus" (Imperial ambassador), granting him significant juridical power as well. Even more beneficial to the office was the archbishop's essential role in the path leading to the Imperial throne, since he alone could crown the King of Italy.¹¹¹ This prerogative would prove useful

¹¹⁰ More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (from the eighth to tenth centuries) can be found in TreccSM 2:128-286; VisconSM, 129-47; FavaSM 1:58-73; and BlondSM, 13-15; see also CorioSM 1:118-28; and MorigHM, 29-34.

¹¹¹ The customary sequence of Imperial incoronation was as follows: upon being nominated King of Germany, the prospective Emperor received a Silver crown at Aachen; from there he traveled to Lombardy, and following his election as King of Italy by a diet of Italian prelates, he received an Iron crown from the archbishop of Milan; he then passed on to Rome, and there received the Gold crown and Imperial title from the Pope. See FavaSM 1:65.

during the slow and chaotic disintegration of the Frankish empire, largely a result of constant internal faction. Such is seen, for example, in the archepiscopacy of Ansperto da Biassono (868–81), who used his political sway with Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat to defy Pope John VIII (872–82), maintaining in the process the autonomy of the Milanese Church from Rome.

A renewed period of "anarchia italica," following the forced resignation of Charles the Fat (887), saw an overall decline in ecclesiastical discipline and order, although Milan itself recovered some political prestige when Pavia was destroyed by Hungarian mercenaries (924). The anarchy ended with the coronation of Otto I as King of Italy, which according to the chronicler Landolfo Seniore, took place in the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio by the Milanese archbishop Valperto (962). The subsequent coronation of Otto by Pope John XII marks the formal origins of the Holy Roman Empire; but as Otto's power and political ambitions intensified, the Pope grew anxious and tried unsuccessfully to rally support against him—initiating a long-standing enmity between Pope and Emperor. The congenial ties between Otto and Archbishop Valperto, however, ensured the continued prosperity of Milan, paving the way for its eventual hegemony—political as well as religious—within Northern Italy.

Milanese Liturgical Development under the Carolingians

The drive for liturgical uniformity issued by Charlemagne—after his father Pepin's mandate: "Omni clero: ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant..."—had tangible effects on Ambrosian liturgy, as can be traced in Ambrosian sources of the period.¹¹² As part of the Carolingian reforms, new liturgical books—especially the so-called "Gelasian

¹¹² Namely, in the Sacramentaries (Missals) of the ninth century, particularly those of Bergamo and Biasca. See SacBer (Bergamo) and SacBia (Biasca). For a general discussion of the oldest surviving Ambrosian liturgical books, see Paredi, "Messali ambrosiani antichi," *Quaderni di Ambrosius* 4 (1959), 1-25; Robert Amiet, "La tradition manuscrite du Missel Ambrosien," *Scriptorium* 14 (1960), 16-60; and BorelRA, 19-34.

of the eighth century," with its supplement by Alcuin—were carried into Milan where they enriched the older books with new feasts, prayers, and formularies. The process of reform in Milan was enabled by a series of archbishops with close ties to Carolingian monks and religious officials—namely Archbishop Pietro (784–803), a friend of Alcuin; Archbishop Odelperto (803–13), who communicated directly with Charlemagne; and two archbishops named Angilberto, both likely of Frankish origin—thereby also effecting the transmission of some Ambrosian liturgy into Frankish books.¹¹³ Undoubtedly, some Milanese were displeased with this "mandated" influx of Franco-Roman elements into their ancient rite, and some degree of resistance is seen in the complaints of Frankish monks.¹¹⁴

This should not suggest, however, that the Carolingian reforms actually threatened the survival of an independent Milanese rite—as Charlemagne's legendary attempts at suppression would have it.¹¹⁵ Rather, a spirit of reform and revival during

113 The exact historical inter-relationship between Ambrosian and Franco-Roman liturgy is complex and open to dispute. Bourque and Paredi, among others, have shown the precedence of at least some Ambrosian items, although these are clearly exceptions—as will be seen regarding Marian liturgy. See Emmanuel Bourque, *Etude sur les Sacramentaires romaines. II: Les Gélasiens du VIII^e siècle* (Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1948–1958), 223–236; Paredi, "Testi milanesi nel sacramentario leoniano," in *Studi storici in memoria di Mons. Angelo Mercati* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1956), 337–41; and BorelRA, 93–102.

114 BaileyAP, 154–56. In Milan, as elsewhere, the principal task of liturgical reform was entrusted to the Benedictines, who established a monastery beside the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in 784. The monastery enjoyed the generous protection of several archbishops during the eighth and ninth centuries. See Gabriella Rosetti, "Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita," *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel medioevo: Convegno di studi nel XII Centenario, 784–1984: 5–6 novembre, 1984* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1988), 20–42.

115 The most famous legend is that recounted by Landolfo Seniore, *Mediolanensis historiae libri quattuor* (11th c.), in MGH 8:49: Following a Council in Rome, a decree was issued to suppress the Ambrosian rite in favor of the Roman. Charlemagne arrived in Milan, and ordered the destruction of all Ambrosian books. But a certain bishop Eugenius, from beyond the mountains—"a lover and nearly father, indeed protector, of the Ambrosian mysteries, and spiritual father of Charlemagne" ("amator et quasi pater ambrosiani misterii nec non et protector, pater spiritualis Karlonis")—hurried to Rome, and persuaded the officials to place the judgment before God. Two Missals—one Ambrosian, one Roman—were placed, sealed, upon the altar of Saint Peter's, whose doors were then locked. After three days of fasting, the doors of the church miraculously opened, and upon the altar both Missals broke their own seals and with great noise opened simultaneously—demonstrating God's will that both rites be preserved. A recovered Ambrosian Missal was then vigorously copied, whereby the entire rite was preserved. The legendary nature of the account was first shown by SavioVI, 302–06. For a

the eighth and ninth centuries swept the Western Church universally—including the Milanese rite—embellishing religious life with additional feasts, prefaces, prayers, and liturgical chants.¹¹⁶ Carolingian "capitolari" (legislations) concerning the ordering of canonical life, for example, had direct impact on the expansion of the Ambrosian Office (especially the night office), without compromising its distinct qualities.¹¹⁷ Over all, the Milanese appeared receptive to this new spirit, one which had devotional as well as liturgical consequences—not least regarding the Virgin Mary.

The political anarchy of the first half of the tenth century had negative repercussions on religious life, in Milan as elsewhere. Simony and concubinage ran rife among the clergy, and internal disputes over key offices were not uncommon. The political stability revived by Otto I was accompanied by a religious revival, inspired in part by an increased presence of Cluniac monks in Italy through the tenth century. The fervent religiosity of the Cluniacs, with their emphasis on prayer, restored (at least temporarily) ecclesiastical propriety and heightened popular devotion, particularly in the recitation of the Office.

The Expansion of the Ambrosian-Marian Liturgy

The liturgical "revolution" of the Carolingian era had a profound effect on the Marian liturgy of Milan. As seen in Ambrosian liturgical sources compiled in the course of the ninth century, three narrative feasts of the Virgin—Purification (February 2), the Annunciation (March 25), and the Assumption (August 15)—were officially introduced

full citation of Landolfo's legend and discussion of the subsequent Milanese cult of this mysterious bishop, see Enrico Cattaneo, "Sant'Eugenio vescovo e il rito ambrosiano," *Archivio Ambrosiano* 18 (1970), 30-43.

116 For more on the specific effects of Frankish reform on Ambrosian liturgy, see BorellC, esp. 85-94—which includes useful comparative tables for the prayers and Prefaces of various feasts, including Marian (pp. 88-89); and the Introduction to SacB, esp. xvii-xxiii—with a similar comparative table compiled by Giuseppe Fassi.

117 Cf. CattBA, 45: "Milano vide pertanto infiltrazioni romano-gallicane nei suoi libri, quali ancor oggi si possono individuare, ma ritenne al completo l'antica struttura del suo rito."

during this period.¹¹⁸ The remaining principal Marian feast, the Nativity (September 8), entered only later, in the eleventh century.

All four Marian feasts, however, had entered the liturgy of Rome much earlier, during the seventh century, imported gradually from the East by a series of Greek Popes.¹¹⁹ This chronological discrepancy with Rome raises an interesting question: Why, given Milan's role as the forerunner of the earliest Marian liturgy in the West, did it lag so far behind Rome (and elsewhere) in this later stage? The answer does not reside in any waning devotion to the Virgin in Milan. Rather, the initial resistance to these new feasts represents an effort, at least among the high clergy, to conserve in the Ambrosian liturgy the strong Christological focus of Marian worship—as found in the dogmatically inspired Marian liturgies of *VI Dominica Adventus* and Christmas. Even when the new narrative feasts were officially admitted (partly in response to Carolingian mandate), some resistance to overt narrative is evident—namely, in the absence of any (official) incorporation of Franco-Roman tropes or sequences, wherein the details of the narratives were usually defined and clarified.¹²⁰

Annunciation

In the case of the Annunciation, moreover, the delayed entry into the Milanese liturgy was prompted by an additional factor, already cited above: the duplication created with the Marian liturgy of *VI Dominica Adventus*.¹²¹ The intimate link between

118 All three feasts are absent in the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* of Busto Arsizio (early 9th c.); the Purification first appears in the Evangelary A. 28 Inf. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (mid-9th c.); the Annunciation and Assumption first appear in the Sacramentaries of Biasca and Bergamo, compiled later in the century. See BorelFM, 148-166.

119 See FrènC, 157-183; and Antoine Chavasse, "Les Quatre fêtes de la Vierge," in *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316)* (Tournai: Desclée, 1958), 383-93.

120 See RidderMT, 302-323, 422-432.

121 See n. 98, above. Evidence of the homologous nature of the two Ambrosian feasts is demonstrated in the absence of any specific chants cited for the Annunciation in either the *Manuale Ambrosianum* of the 11th c., or the Antiphonary of the same period—signaling that the chant liturgy of *VI Dominica Adventus* would simply be repeated for the feast of the Annunciation. See MA 2:276; and PM 6:35. See also BorelFM, 134-38.

the theological sense of Advent and the Annunciation narrative (Luke 1:26-38) makes distinction between the two feasts one of focus rather than of content: the latter placing Mary in somewhat greater relief. Both, however, are essentially Christological, and venerate Mary for her role in the Incarnation, as well as her perpetual virginity. Their contextual similarity has contributed to scholarly difficulty in identifying exactly when the Marian feast first entered Eastern and Western liturgies.¹²² Regardless, Milan clearly lagged behind other Western Churches, who had adopted a distinct feast of the Annunciation by the end of the eighth century. The Annunciation first appears in the Ambrosian liturgy in the Sacramentaries of Bergamo and Biasca, from the latter ninth century, where its prayers and Preface are borrowed directly from the "Gelasian of the eighth century."¹²³ Once incorporated, however, the feast quickly assumed a civic identity: from the ninth to eleventh centuries, the Milanese civic calendar began not on January 1, but on March 25.¹²⁴

Purification

For the feast of the Purification, too, the initial delay may have resulted from a concern over liturgical redundancy, in this case with the Ambrosian feast of January 1, which itself combined several themes: the Circumcision, the ancient celebration "ad prohibendum ab idolis," and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple. In connection with this last theme, particularly the taking of the infant Jesus into the arms of Simeon (Luke

122 See RidderMT, 52-53, 59. An additional difficulty lies in the variability of dating the Annunciation, for beyond March 25, the feast was also celebrated closer to Christmas (e.g., December 18 in Spain)—partly to avoid conflict with the Lenten season. The Annunciation probably first entered Eastern liturgies in the early sixth century, and Rome around 650. See also MontLM, 114-18.

123 Specifically, all Ambrosian texts can be found, with occasional variants, in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême. For the Ambrosian texts, see SacBer, nos. 886-894; and SacBia, nos. 812-820; for the corresponding Franco-Roman texts, see Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Gélisien d'Angoulême*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 159C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), nos. 880-891.

124 CattMS, 38.

2:25-32), Borella has argued that an element of Marian devotion was placed into the Office of January 1 before becoming part of the liturgy of February 2.¹²⁵ Specifically, he identified the following Responsory—which strongly resembles the antiphon *Virgo verbum concepit* (cited above)—as originally belonging to the Office *Vigilias* of January 1:

Senex puerum portabat	The old man was carrying the Child
puer autem senem regebat;	But the Child was guiding the old man;
quem Virgo concepit,	The Virgin conceived Him,
Virgo peperit,	The Virgin brought Him forth,
Virgo post partum,	She remained a virgin after birth
quem genuit adoravit.	And adored Him whom she bore.

As with the Annunciation and Advent, a close link exists between the gospel account of the Presentation and the theme of Mary's Purification—even more so, since both are articulated in the same biblical verse: "And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were completed, they brought Him to Jerusalem to present Him to the Lord" (Luke 2:22). This explains the strong overlap—pericopes, Prefaces, prayers, chants—of the two themes in all liturgies for the Purification (including Ambrosian), as well as the more recent re-naming (following Vatican II) of February 2 as "In Presentatione Domini." It also explains why the Milanese high clergy would have resisted compromising the Christological essence of both events by introducing a uniquely Marian feast.

The feast of the Purification entered the Roman liturgy around the mid-seventh century, first in the papal then in the presbyteral liturgy. Although it appears in the official Ambrosian liturgy only in the mid-ninth century—in the *Evangelary* A. 28,¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Borella, "La Circoncisione e una antichissima festa della Madonna," *Ambrosius* 9 (1933), 296-98.

¹²⁶ As with the Annunciation, the prayers and Preface for the Ambrosian feast of the Purification are entirely derived, with minor variants, from the "Gelasian of the eighth century." For the Ambrosian texts, see SacBer, nos. 253-258; and SacBia, nos. 231-236; for the corresponding Franco-Roman texts, see Antoine Dumas, ed. *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*

while absent in the *Evangelary of Busto*, compiled a few decades earlier—there is some evidence that it was celebrated much earlier among the lower clergy. Specifically, the *Evangelary C. 39 inf.* of the Ambrosiana—compiled in the seventh-eighth centuries for an unknown Northern Italian church with some connections to the Ambrosian rite—contains a marginal rubric for a feast, labeled *In sce marie in februario: Beatus venter*.¹²⁷ This, along with similar rubrics in other seventh-eighth century sources with possible connections to Milan, seems to confirm Cattaneo's claim that a celebration of the Purification arose in the diocese first among the minor clergy (*decumani*), before being adopted by the Metropolitan high clergy during the Carolingian era.¹²⁸ The minor clergy was naturally in closer contact with the people than the high clergy, and thus able to respond to devotional needs not readily met in the official liturgy.

This hypothesis is further verified by the popularesque ritual which came to accompany the Ambrosian feast of the Purification: the Procession of the *Idea*. This was a candlelit procession, which similarly accompanied Purification celebrations throughout the West—following the institutions of Pope Sergius (687–701)—and hence called *Candlemas*.¹²⁹ In Milan, the procession was unique by virtue of a ritual, described fully by Beroldus (c. 1126):

On the vigil of the Purification of Saint Mary, the archbishop hands out candles in this manner: four to the archpriest, four to the archdeacon, [etc.]... The next day, at the

[Gellone] (c. 790), *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina 159-159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), nos. 241-247.

¹²⁷ BorelRA, 436.

¹²⁸ CattMS, 37-8. By analogy the Ambrosian feast of the Annunciation may well have undergone a similar evolution. For more on the division between a high metropolitan and a minor "decumani" clergy in Milan, formed following the "Genoese exile" of the sixth century, see TreccSM 4:620-22.

¹²⁹ Sergius is credited with instituting a litany and procession for each of the four Marian feasts, such as is noted in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 3 vols., rev. ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955), 1:376: "Constituit [Sergius] ut diebus Annuntiationis Domini, Dormitionis (= Assumption) et Nativitatis Dei Genetricis semperque Virginis Mariae, ac S. Symeonis quod Hypapante Graeci appellant (= Purification), laetania exeat a S. Hadriano ad S. Mariam populus accurrat."

sounded signal, the archbishop and the clergy proceed, without procession, to the church of Saint Mary, which is called Bertrade, and two minor "decumani" priests, who had been baptized on Holy Saturday, carry the "Idea" [an icon of the Virgin and Child] to the aforementioned church upon a litter... After blessing the candles, the archbishop hands many of them to the "primicerio" [= head] of the "decumani," who in turn passes them out to his priests. And the entire clergy [high and low] light the candles. Then the archbishop begins the "psallentium" [= antiphons], saying *Dominus vobiscum*... And the two priests, wearing chasubles, carry the "Idea" past the singers to the Winter Church [Santa Maria Maggiore]...¹³⁰

The ritual is depicted in a bas-relief (11th c.)—with the inscription "Idea" below the icon of the Virgin and Child—once placed upon the façade of Santa Maria Bertrade, now preserved at the Museo Archeologico del castello Sforzesco.¹³¹

A reference by an early seventeenth-century author, Michele Paraino, set off a theory for the derivation of the "Idea," elaborated by Ceruti and De Marchi in the nineteenth century, and perpetuated into the twentieth by authors such as Paredi, Castiglioni, and Calderini: namely that the name "Idea" is a Christian adaptation of the pagan "Mater Deum Magna Idea" or "Mater Idea," the title for the Phrygian/Roman goddess Cybele, the "Mother of the Gods," or "Great Mother"; and that the Christian procession of the "Idea" was a substitution for the pagan procession of the "Mater Idea"—thus replacing the Mother Goddess with the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary.¹³² Dissenting voices to this theory include, above all, Borella, who has outlined the history

130 BeroldO, 81-82: "In vigilia purificationis s. Mariae archiepiscopus hoc modo dat cannellas: archipresbytero quatour, archidiacono quatour, [ecc]... Altero die sonito signo pontifex [= archiepiscopus] cum clero sine processione vadit ad ecclesiam s. Mariae, quae dicitur Bertrade, et duo minores presbyteri decumanorum, qui fecerant baptismum in sabbato sancto, portant ideam ad praedictam ecclesiam cum scala... et benedictis candelis, archiepiscopus dat cannellas quamplures primicerio decumanorum, quas ille iterum dat sacerdotibus suis. Et omnis clerus accedit cannellas. Archiepiscopus vero incipit psallentium [antiphonae] dicendo: *Dominus vobiscum*... Et duo presbyteri, quos praediximus, induti planetis, portant ideam post lectores usque in ecclesiam hyemalem." See also notes (147) and (148), *idem*, 197-98.

131 A photograph of the eleventh-century bas-relief can be found in Borella, "Processioni Mariani nel Duomo di Milano," *Diocesi di Milano* 3 (1962), 42-43.

132 A review of this argument is found in Borella, "La Candelora e la processione dell'Idea a Milano," *Diocesi di Milano* 9 (1968): 80-84.

of the argument in several articles, and Archidale King, for whom the theory is "ingenious, but without an atom of truth."¹³³ Borella admits that some early Christian celebrations may well have been instituted to counter pagan traditions—for example, the establishment of Christmas on December 25, in order to replace the *Natale Solis Invicta* (Mitra, the "unconquered sun") with the *Natale Solis Iusticiae* (Christ, the Sun of Justice); as well as the celebration "ad prohibendum ab idolis," instituted on January 1 to distract from the pagan "orgiastic" rituals of New Year's Day.¹³⁴ He disagrees, however, that the Purification procession is one of these substitutions, citing the lack of concrete documentation either in the liturgy or in Medieval sources.¹³⁵ Suffice it to say that the word "Idea" is Greek for "image," and its usage for the Ambrosian icon of the Virgin and Child may well be limited to this sense.

The ritual continued in great vigor into the Renaissance. The procession from Santa Maria Bertrade to Santa Maria Maggiore (the Duomo) continued to around 1589, when it was replaced by a procession solely around the Duomo; the icon was replaced in the fifteenth century by a two-sided panel, still bearing the name "Idea."¹³⁶ The chants used for the procession—the *Manuale Ambrosianum* of the eleventh century lists eighteen—were taken largely from the procession for *VI Dominica Adventus*, while the chant liturgy of the Purification Mass is much an echo of the Mass for January 1, further evidence of their close connection.¹³⁷ As such, the Ambrosian feast of Purification,

133 Archidale King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees* (London and New York: Longmans, 1957), 51; Borella, "La Candelora," 80-81; and CarrolC, 90-112.

134 Borella, "La Candelora," 81.

135 Ibid., 81. Another valuable discussion on the origins of the Candlemas procession is Donatien de Bruyne, "L'origine des Procession de la Chandeleur et des Rogations a propos d'un Sermon inédit," *Revue Bénédictine* 34 (1922), 12-26. Here the author, through analysis of several Purification sermons, aligns the candle-lit procession with an ancient pagan purification rite—called "amburbale."

136 Pietro Mazzuccheli, *Osservazioni sul rito ambrosiano* (Milan: Tipografia Pogliani, 1824), 164. See also Chapter 4.

137 MA 2:42-44, 111-112. The variations in the Purification Mass naturally accentuate the theme of the pericopes for the Presentation (Luke 2: 22-35)—namely, the Confractorium, *Nunc dimittis*, and the Transitorium, *Puer crescebat*; see AMM, 92-93. The Roman liturgy, too,

though established by Carolingian mandate, took on a uniquely Milanese liturgical and devotional character.

Assumption

The feasts commemorating Mary's Annunciation and Purification arose as extensions of essentially Christological events (Incarnation, Presentation), found unambiguously in the Bible. Hence, the devotion bestowed upon Mary in these feasts exalts her unique Christological privilege, her Divine Maternity, and differs from previous feasts (those associated with Advent) more in focus than in content. A different matter entirely, however, is the third Marian feast added to the Ambrosian liturgy during this period, the Assumption. The Gospels are silent on Mary's death; the initial impulse to commemorate it simply extended the tradition (from the 2nd c.) of marking the anniversary of a martyr's death—as a *dies natalis* (i.e., "birth" into heaven)—to Mary.¹³⁸ The earliest feasts with some connection to Mary's death arose in the East (Antioch, Jerusalem) in the fourth and fifth centuries, and venerated Mary as *Theotokos*. The feasts were celebrated either on January 18 (with ties to Epiphany) or August 15 (perhaps connected to the dedication of a church), until Emperor Maurice (582–603) ordered it celebrated throughout the Empire on the latter date, as the principal Marian feast.¹³⁹

Further development of the feast and the accompanying doctrine arose in conjunction with the dissemination of apocryphal accounts of Mary's death, known generally as the *Transitus* (= "passing")—originating in Syriac in the late fifth century,

preserves a connection between Purification and the feast of the Circumcision—namely in the first Vespers of both feasts, where they share the same set of antiphons.

138 Bernard Capelle, "La Fête de l'Assomption dans l'histoire liturgique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 3 (1926), 33–45; see also Alphonse Raes, "Aux origines de la fête de l'Assomption," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 12 (1946), 262–74. The feast was sometimes called Dormition (*koimeses*, falling asleep), a title which took hold in the East from the eighth century.

139 Raes, "Aux origines," 264–66.

and soon found in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions. The narrative of the *Transitus* legend, often attributed to Saint John the Evangelist, appears roughly as follows: an angel announces Mary's death with the presentation of a palm from the tree of life. In the company of her friends, and later the Apostles, she prepares for her death, receiving a miraculous visit from her Son in the final hours; upon death, her soul is raised to heaven by the archangel Michael. Christ then provides orders to Saint Peter regarding the burial of her body, but during the procession, her tomb is attacked by Jews. At first wounded and blinded, the Jews are quickly converted following their miraculous cure. Mary's body is placed in the tomb; and three days later, her body is raised to heaven by angels (often with Christ), where it is reunited with her soul.¹⁴⁰

This narrative, and especially the subsequent theological commentary which affirmed Mary's corporal Assumption, had tremendous impact on the future complexion of Marian devotion, starting in the East. Several authors—for example, Theoteknos of Livias (fl. c. 600), Germanus of Constantinople (c. 640–733), Andrew of Crete (d. 740), and John of Damascus (d. c. 749)—argued that Mary's bodily presence in heaven is evidenced not only through this account, but also by the theological imperative that she be wholly united—in body and soul—with her Son, reigning beside Him in the heavenly kingdom. Thus was born a new concept, Mary as the Queen of Heaven (*Regina caeli*), able to intercede in the most direct manner with her Son. This near-divine status of heavenly queenship in turn engendered a highly enthusiastic tone of Mariology, as in Germanus: "But you [Mary], having maternal power with God, can obtain abundant forgiveness even for the greatest sinners. For he can never fail to hear you, because God obeys [*peitharchei*] you through and in all things, as his true Mother."¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ There are naturally variants of detail among the differing versions. For a fuller discussion, see Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'Assomption de la sainte Vierge: Etudes historico-doctrinale*, Studi e Testi 114 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944).

¹⁴¹ Cited in GraefH, 146-47.

The doctrine of Mary's corporal Assumption was not universally accepted, even in the East—for example, by John of Thessalonica (fl. c. 630). Resistance was initially strong among theologians in the West, and the apocryphal accounts were generally rejected from consideration, following their censure in the *Decretum Gelasianum*.¹⁴² A feast of the Assumption entered Rome in the mid-seventh century, probably by Pope Theodore I (642–49), but as the earliest liturgy demonstrates, the event was exalted in a more generic manner, without reference to Mary's bodily assumption.¹⁴³ This contrasts, however, with the earliest Gallican liturgy, such as in the *Missale gothicum*, which does contain reference to Mary's corporal assumption, and even shows a direct reliance on the *Transitus* narrative.¹⁴⁴

It is thus not surprising that a "crisis" of sorts developed during the Carolingian reforms concerning both the feast and the doctrine of Mary's Assumption. In the year 809, a *Capitulum* from Aix-la-Chapelle issued a list of obligatory feasts: "festivitates in anno quae per omnia vererari debent." Among Marian feasts, only Purification is included, while the list itself concludes: "De Assumptione sanctae Mariae interrogandum reliquimus" (Concerning the Assumption of Saint Mary, we leave [the matter] to be further examined).¹⁴⁵ The outcome of the examination was evidently positive, inasmuch as the Council of Mayence (813) issued a list of "festos dies in anno celebrare sanximus, hoc est..." which includes "adsumptione sanctae Mariae."¹⁴⁶ At work in the eventual liturgical embrace of the Assumption was a new surge in Western theological writings in

142 Included among the list of disapproved writings is: "Liber qui appellatur Transitus Sanctae Mariae, apocryphus." See Leclercq, *DACL* 6, col. 744 (s.v. "Liber Pontificalis").

143 BorelFM, 157-58.

144 Capelle, "La Messe gallicane de l'Assomption: son rayonnement, ses sources," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honore L. C. Mohlberg* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1947), 2:55-57, which details near exact correspondences between a Latin version of the *Transitus* [published by André Wilmart, *Analecta reginensia: Extraits des Manuscrits latins de la Reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1933), 325-57] and the Preface to the Assumption Mass in the *Missale gothicum*.

145 PL 97:534.

146 PL 95:547. See Capelle, "Assomption de Marie: Le témoignage de la liturgie," *Bulletin de la Société française d'Etudes Mariales* 7 (1949), 56.

favor of Mary's heavenly assumption, spiritually, if not corporally—especially the sermons of Ambrose Autpert (d. 784)¹⁴⁷ and the *Cogitis me* of Pseudo-Jerome (= Paschasius Radbert, d. c. 860).¹⁴⁸

In Milan, the feast of the Assumption is absent in the two Evangelaries of the early ninth century, and like the Annunciation, appears for the first time in the Sacramentaries of Bergamo and Biasca, compiled later in the century.¹⁴⁹ Its official adoption into the Metropolitan liturgy thus appears as a rather conservative compliance to the final dictates of the Carolingian "interrogatio," particularly since the Marian feast is cited as a secondary feast, "eodem die," following the Deposition (*depositio*) of Saint Simplicianus and the Translation of Saints Sisinius, Martyrus, and Alexander.¹⁵⁰ In addition, the actual liturgy is derived almost entirely from Franco-Roman sources: the Preface and prayers are taken from the "Gelasian of the eighth century"; the chants, too, are mostly derived from early Roman Antiphonaries.¹⁵¹

A fascinating aspect of the Roman-Milanese liturgy for Assumption, as Capelle has observed, is its heavy borrowing from the Roman *Commune Virginum*—both for readings and chants.¹⁵² While this may seem to belie a lack of originality, Capelle has

147 As abbot at a monastery in Benevento, Autpert came into direct contact with Greek monks, and as a consequence his Mariology took on an exuberant tone previously unknown in the West. In his sermons on the Assumption, for example, he introduced to the West the concept of Mary as *Regina caeli*, which would come to play a dominant role in Marian devotion. See Jacques Winandy, "L'Oeuvre littéraire d'Ambroise Autpert," *Revue Bénédictine* 60 (1950), 93-119.

148 The doubt expressed in the *Cogitis me* in fact played a significant role in stemming belief in Mary's bodily assumption, particularly since it was believed to be the authoritative voice of Saint Jerome: "Haec idcirco duxerim, quia multi nostrorum dubitant, utrum assumpta fuerit simul cum corpore. Quomodo autem, aut a quibus personis sanctissimum corpus eius, inde ablatum fuerit, vel ubi transpositum, utrumne resurrexerit, nescitur; quamquam nonnulli astruere velint eam jam resuscitatam, et beata cum Christo immortalitate in coelestibus vestiri." (PL 30:127, *Epistolum IX ad Paulam et Eustochium*). A rekindled affirmation of Mary's bodily assumption would come following the dissemination of another apocryphal text, the tract of Pseudo-Augustine from the late eleventh century.

149 SacBer, nos. 1064-1068; SacBia, nos. 998-1002.

150 In both Sacramentaries, the feast is identified as "eodem die, assumptio beatae Mariae."

151 Borella, "La festa dell'Assunta nell'antica liturgia ambrosiana," *La Scuola Cattolica* 7(1951), 94-101. The corresponding Franco-Roman texts (see n. 149, above), with minor variants, are found in *Le Sacramentaire Gélasien d'Angoulême*, nos. 1225-1229.

152 Capelle, "La Fête de l'Assomption," 35-39.

argued that it may in fact reveal a subtle belief in Mary's corporal assumption: whence the physical purity of the *Virgo virginum*, preserved in motherhood, would be maintained even in death.¹⁵³ A few Office chants, not derived from the *Commune Virginum*, address more directly Mary's assumption, at least spiritually; for example:¹⁵⁴

Exalta est sancta Dei genitrix,
super choros angelorum,
ad caelestia regna.

Elevated is the sacred mother of God,
Above the chorus of the Angels,
To her heavenly reign.

Hodie Maria virgo caelos ascendit;
gaudete, quia cum Christo regnans
in aeternum.

Today the virgin Mary ascended to heaven;
Rejoice, because she reigns with Christ
Unto eternity.

Finally, a more direct reference to Mary's bodily assumption appears in the celebrated Office collect, *Veneranda*, likely added to the Roman liturgy of August 15 at the time of Pope Sergius—to be recited at the Cathedral prior to a procession toward a station church.¹⁵⁵ The collect appears in Milanese liturgy, however, only much later: first in the titular liturgy of the Basilica Ambrosiana (*Missale Ambrosianum*, M 17, of the Biblioteca del Capitolo di S. Ambrogio, Milan, from the 11th c.), then in the Metropolitan liturgy (the so-called "Beroldus novus," i.e., the *Manuale Ambrosianum* of the 13th c.).¹⁵⁶ The text reads as follows:

153 Ibid, 38-9. Capelle enhances his argument by noting the more widespread credence in bodily assumption, most notably that of Saint John the Evangelist—dating from the second century. John's bodily assumption would have arisen largely by virtue of his life-long virginity; given the supreme model of virginity found in the Virgin Mary, belief in her bodily assumption may extend even further back, and be the basis for later assertions. See Borella, "La festa dell'Assunta," 99-101.

154 MA 2:339-40, and LVM, 715. See also CAO 3:214, 256.

155 Capelle, "Mort et Assomption de la Vierge, dans l'Oraison *Veneranda*," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 66 (1952), 241-51.

156 BorelFM, 163.

Worthy of our veneration, O Lord, is the feast of this day, in which the sacred mother of God submitted to temporal death; but yet could not held by the bonds of death, she who bore, Incarnate, her Son, our Lord.¹⁵⁷

As strong as the language of this collect is, it still falls short of the fully explicit references to Mary's corporal assumption added to the Roman liturgies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—as tropes and sequences.¹⁵⁸ This more confident embrace of the doctrine follows the "ousting" of the older, more tentative view of Mary's assumption articulated by Pseudo-Jerome, in favor of a more exuberant one, attributed to Saint Augustine (i.e., Pseudo-Augustine, in a tract likely dating from the end of the 11th c.)—which affirms Mary's corporeal assumption in unqualified terms, and was accepted as authority by most later writers.¹⁵⁹ To this may be added Latin translations of earlier Greek advocates for the corporal assumption, including Germanus and Cosmas Vestitor (fl. c. 900), from the tenth century.¹⁶⁰ By this later period, moreover, a new Marian controversy was just starting to be articulated, that of the Immaculate Conception, which ultimately would heighten Marian devotion even further.

The late entrance of the Marian feast of August 15 into the official Ambrosian liturgy, not to mention the delayed incorporation of the *Veneranda* text, would seemingly suggest a timid embrace of the doctrine of Mary's assumption into heaven. Again, these delays may reflect an initial apprehension among the Milanese high clergy to venerate Mary beyond her capacity as mother of the Word Incarnate. It seems probable, however, that the Assumption was commemorated in Milan already in the early ninth century, at

157 MA 2:340, n. 1: "Veneranda nobis, Domine, huius est diei festivitas, in qua sancta Dei genitrix mortem subiit temporalem; nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, quae Filium suum Dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum." In the earlier *Missale Ambrosianum*, M 17, the text, slightly altered at the beginning, is placed as a Preface for the Vigil Mass of the Assumption, and has remained as such for this Mass in subsequent Ambrosian Missals. See BorelFM, 162-64.

158 See, for example the Alleluia sequences, *Alma semper Maria* and *Quo palma acceptaque*, cited in RidderMT, 363-65.

159 GraefH, 222-224.

160 The writings of Germanus were translated already in the ninth century, by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. See P. Devos, "Anastasius the Librarian" in NCE 1:480-81.

least by the lower clergy—much as was seen with Purification (and possibly the Annunciation). Specifically, the Benedictine monk Hildemar, who completed a commentary on the *Rule of Saint Benedict* in Milanese territory (c. 833), noted among the feasts "per totum mundum celebrantur," the feast of "Sanctae Mariae in medio augusto."¹⁶¹ The Benedictines were among the most active in carrying out the new liturgical reforms in Milan, and the city's exemption from "per totum mundum" would seemingly have been noted by this studious monk.

Further, as Cattaneo has suggested, the Assumption of Mary may have been commemorated even earlier—as a popular devotion—by the "decumani" priests in the basilica of San Simpliciano, in conjunction with the feast dedicated to him, also occurring on August 15.¹⁶² This proto-Assumption commemoration would likely have included a processional, perhaps to a stational Marian church, accompanied by the singing of *psallendae*—foreshadowing, to some degree, the commencing ritual of the Assumption feast proper.

If initial acceptance of the feast of the Assumption in Milan was tentative, it eventually took on a quite prominent status in both civic and devotional life. For the Assumption quickly became the chief solemnity associated with the new cathedral, Santa Maria Maggiore. Before addressing this association, some mention should be made about the cathedral itself. The year 836 is the date most commonly associated with the construction (or at least re-construction) of a new Winter Cathedral in honor of Mary, situated not far from the ancient Summer Cathedral of Santa Tecla.¹⁶³ The evidence for

161 P. R. Mittermuller, ed., *Regulae ab Hildemaro tradita et nunc primum typis mandata* (Ratisbonae: F. Pustet, 1880), 300. Hildemar had been called to Milan by the archbishop Angilberto II to help in matters of liturgical reform, and wrote his tract at the monastery of Civate, which followed the Roman rite. See Borella, "La divina e verginale maternità di Maria SS. Dal Natale all'Assunta," *Ambrosius* 37 (1961), 267.

162 CattMS, 39-40.

163 Considerable controversy has surrounded the question of whether Santa Maria Maggiore was a new church, or simply an older church rebuilt. Cf. Giorgio Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia al governo ed alla descrizione della città e della campagna di Milano ne' secoli bassi* (1760-1775), 7 vols., rev. ed. (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1973-1975), 1:174: "La chiesa

this date appears in two statements from a considerably later period: an anonymous chronicle of the thirteenth century; and the chronicle of Goffredo da Bussero, from later in the same century.¹⁶⁴ The year 836 could well indicate the date of dedication, while completion (or near completion) of the cathedral may extend back to the year 823, following a burial epithet for the archbishop Angilberto I: "I was a Bishop in this world; [now] I am buried below the [church] of the Mother of the Creator..." commonly understood as Santa Maria Maggiore.¹⁶⁵ These years, of course, correspond, to the "interrogatio" over the feast of the Assumption, which impacted Milan directly; it is thus not hard to imagine a spiritual association forming between the cathedral under construction, and the feast under review.

Indeed, during this period, many churches were being "dedicated" to the Assumption, though seldom in the explicit way conceived today. Rather, the feast earned a special relationship to a Marian church by virtue of being celebrated with particular solemnity. In Rome, the ancient basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore gained a new

edificata, ossia riedificata in quest'anno [836] fu quella di santa Maria maggiore." A good review of the controversy, including some original hypotheses, is found in BaileyAP, 35-42. Bailey notes, for example, that a divided liturgy with two cathedrals (winter and summer) existed more than a century before 836 (p. 37). A related controversy is whether such a division existed in Ambrose's lifetime, along with the exact meaning of the bishop's various descriptions of Milan's basilicas as "vetus," "novus," "minor," and "maior." Ample discussion of this question is found in Alberto De Capitani d'Arzago, *La Chiesa Maggiore di Milano. Santa Tecla* (Milan: Ceschina, 1952), 12-26—though his hypotheses, too, are inconclusive. For a more recent "resolution"—namely that the "basilica vetus" was the Winter Church, dedicated to the Virgin; and the "basilica novus, et maior [= bigger]" was the Summer Church of Santa Tecla—see BaileyAP, 53-54.

164 The anonymous author, for the year 836, writes, "Aedificata est sancta Maria maioris Mediolani;" Goffredo, in his *Liber notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani*, writes for the same year, "... et hoc anno facta fuit sancta Maria in Compedo Mediolani." Both quoted in BaileyAP, 35-36. According to Savio, "in compedo," was probably a mistake, since no such Milanese church is known. See SavioVI, 867.

165 Following SavioVI, 217: "Praesul in orbe fui, tegor hic sub Matre Creantis..." Though there is no proof that "sub Matre Creantis" is Santa Maria Maggiore, I cannot agree with Bailey's metaphorical interpretation of the phrase as "sheltered by Mother Church" (BaileyAP, 35). A further early reference to the building of a new Marian church is that found in the testament of the archpriest Dateo—who built a famous orphanage ["Ospedale di Dateo"] and a canonical house: "et in luminaribus sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae, quam ego Deo iuvante mihi aedificavero vel conragavero..." See CattMS, 38.

association with the Assumption under Pope Hadrian I (772-95), in just this manner.¹⁶⁶ The pattern was reproduced throughout Italy and the North, sometimes being recorded with specific title, such as Santa Maria de Assumpta.¹⁶⁷

Evidence of the Assumption holding a distinct association with Milan's Santa Maria Maggiore is found in the famous *Ordo* of Beroldus (c. 1126), the first detailed account of rites associated with Metropolitan feasts. As in the ninth-century Sacramentaries of Bergamo and Biasca, Beroldus links observance of the Assumption with that of the older feast of Saint Simplicianus, and yet now grants precedence to the Marian feast—both in the *Ordo* proper and in the Calendar that precedes it.¹⁶⁸ More importantly, Beroldus specifies that the celebration take place in the Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore: "*In Assumptione S[anctae] Mariae*, the observing priest sings Mass in the Winter Church [Santa Maria Maggiore]."¹⁶⁹ At the conclusion of the Mass, the "archbishop with the entire clergy proceeds to the church dedicated to Saint Simplicianus, as is customary," accompanied by the singing of *antiphonae ad psallentium*.¹⁷⁰ Thus, in contrast to the earlier Marian feasts, which are aligned with stational Marian churches—Santa Maria ad Circulam with VI *Dominica Adventus* and Annunciation, Santa Maria Bertrade with Purification—the Assumption came to earn a unique affiliation with the Cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore itself.

166 Capelle, "La Fête de l'Assomption," 34.

167 P. de Puniet, "Dédicace des églises", DACL 4:cols. 399-401.

168 BeroldO, 9 and 125.

169 Ibid., 125. He further provides some detailed information regarding the liturgy (reading, epistle, and Gospel): "Lector legit: *Lectio libri sapientiae. In omnibus requiem. Subdiaconus ebdomadarius epistolam, observator diaconus legit evangelium: Intravit Dominus in quoddam castellum.*"

170 Ibid., 125: "Fino evangelio archiepsiscopus cum toto clero vadit ad ecclesiam s. Simpliciani indutus, sicut legitur." Liturgical detail on the latter ceremony is then provided. The thirteenth-century *Manuale Ambrosianum*, known as "Beroldus novus" (labeled M. by Magistretti), specifies that eighteen antiphons were sung between the churches of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Simpliciano ("post laudes habentur decem et octo antiphonae ad psallentium ab ecclesia hyemali"), augmented from only seven antiphons listed in the *Manuale Ambrosianum* of the eleventh century (MA 2:340); and that in addition to Mass, Vespers and Matins of the Assumption were also performed in the Cathedral. See note (262), p. 227.

The prominence granted the Assumption in Milan continued to grow in succeeding centuries—partly in response to Pseudo-Augustine and the near-universal affirmation of Mary's bodily assumption. By the fourteenth century, the Assumption stood distinctly apart from the other Marian feasts, both in liturgical solemnity and devotional status. During the period of the Visconti Signoria, for example, the tradition of granting clemency to prisoners carrying worthy appeals was specifically limited to three religious seasons: those of Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption.¹⁷¹ By this time, moreover, dedicating a religious house to a particular Marian aspect was more commonplace; and in Milan, the Assumption was the devotional title accorded to several important churches and monasteries—including the famous Certosa of Pavia. The Duomo, too, initially held an understood "dedication" to the Assumption—being but a reconstruction of Santa Maria Maggiore—until for political as well as religious reasons, its devotional focus shifted to *Mariae nascenti* and the feast of the Nativity. These, however, are topics more appropriate for the next chapter.

The Magnificat

Finally, the Carolingian era witnessed the entrance of two pillars of Marian devotion into the Ambrosian liturgy. The first concerns the singing of the Magnificat, the Canticle of Mary (Luke 1:46-55), within the Ambrosian Office of Vespers (*Lucenario*).¹⁷² The Magnificat had been sung in Roman Vespers since at least the sixth century, when it was likely introduced by Saint Benedict (c. 480–550). From a brief passage of Ambrose, some have argued that the Magnificat was sung already in the fourth century.¹⁷³

171 A letter from Luchino Visconti to his officials (1347), for example, orders that "per octo dies ante festum Nativitatis et Resurrectionis et festum B. Virginis, quod celebratur de mense augusti [= Assumption], nomina mittere debeant carceratorum cum causis quibus sunt carcerati, et si habent legitimam cartam pacis ita ut ipse providere possit secundum quod miserationi convenit." Cited in CattMS, 101.

172 CattBA, 236; see also CattMS, 41-2.

173 Ambrose, *In Psalmis*, 118:19, 32 (PL 15:563): "Mane festina, et ad ecclesiam defer primitias pii voti.... quam jucundum inchoare in hymnis et canticis (= Magnificat?) a beatitudinibus, quas

Regardless, its fixed placement in the Ambrosian Vespers was a product of a later period, and quite likely the work of Benedictine monks during the eighth and ninth centuries, when the entire Office (particularly Matins and Vespers) was transformed.

In the Ambrosian rite, as in the Roman, the importance of the Magnificat is expressed by the use of an accompanying antiphon. In time, a large repertory of Magnificat antiphons developed in the Ambrosian liturgy, with particular assignments to individual ferial days, Sundays, and liturgical feasts. Indeed, of the antiphon repertories assigned to fixed items (Psalms and Canticles) for the Ambrosian Office, the greatest number belong to the Magnificat, reflecting the high devotional status granted this Canticle.¹⁷⁴ The texts of these proper antiphons, however, only rarely include distinct expressions of Marian devotion. They generally derive from either the Canticle itself (Class 1), thus considered liturgically neutral; or they stem from a Scriptural source connected to the liturgy of the day—usually the Gospel reading, but also a relevant Psalm verse (Class 2). So, for example, the Magnificat antiphon for *VI Dominica Adventus* is but a mild paraphrase of the words of Elizabeth, just prior to Mary's song (Luke 1:45):

Beata es, Maria, quae credidisti;
perficientur in te,
quae dicta sunt a Domino.

Blessed are you, Mary, who believed;
Those things will be fulfilled in you,
Which were said by the Lord.

in Evangelio legis." See Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storica liturgica*, 4 vols. (Milan: Editrice Ancora, 1950-1956), 2:447.

¹⁷⁴ Bailey AP, 220. The author here breaks down the number of individual chants assigned to thirteen fixed psalms and canticles for Matins (a merging of Gregorian Matins and Lauds) and Vespers (the Magnificat is the only fixed item). Bailey counts between 63 and 98 for the Magnificat—the variable number arises from numerous assigned Magnificat antiphons that are also assigned to other items. The next largest repertory, that assigned to the *Laudate* Psalms (148, 149, 150, and 116) sung during Matins, contains 59 antiphons, followed by the *Benedicte* of Matins, with 39, etc.

The inclusion of brief allusions to Mary within the Magnificat antiphons for the seasons of Christmas through Epiphany served to reinforce the Virgin's role in the Incarnation; as indeed the Canticum itself did so throughout the year.¹⁷⁵ For the commemorative Marian feasts, the Magnificat antiphons generally fall within Class 1 or 2. An exception, not surprisingly, is the Magnificat antiphon for the Assumption, whose text is non-Scriptural (Class 3): *Exalta est Sancta Dei Genitrix*, cited above. Perhaps due to their brevity, the Magnificat antiphons that reference Mary are all but absent in the motets of the Gaffurius Codices.¹⁷⁶ This is in stark contrast to the large number of polyphonic settings of the Canticum itself. The actual Marian significance of these settings, however, is somewhat dubious, by virtue of the essential role the text plays in the context of Vespers.¹⁷⁷

The Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin

The second pillar of Marian devotion to enter Milan during this most active of liturgical periods—one with unambiguous reflection in the Gaffurius Codices—is the Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin. Two successive Milanese archbishops are credited with substantial reform of the Ambrosian Mass liturgy during this period: Pietro and Odelperto. To the latter has been assigned the reform of the ferial Lenten Masses and the Triduan litany,¹⁷⁸ and to both likely belong the earliest redactions of an exposition

175 The Magnificat was not sung, however, on Fridays during Lent—when the exalted nature of the Canticum conflicts with the penitential character of the season in general, and the day (that of the Crucifixion) in particular; nor during Holy Week for the same reason. See BaileyAP, 218.

176 One exception is the Roman antiphon *ad Magnificat* for the Feast of the Nativity, *Gloriosae Virginis Mariae*, set in MiLD 1, 66v-67—which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

177 The Gaffurius Codices contain a total of 37 Magnificat settings: 27 in MiLD 1, 4 in MiLD 3; and 6 in MiLD 4. The greatest number are attributed to Gaffurius (10), with one or two attributed to Compère, Arnulfus, and Martini. In all, 23 are anonymous, though a few of these have been attributed to Gaffurius and to Dufay (namely, MiLD 1, 8v-10). The secure settings by Gaffurius are transcribed in AMMM 4, the anonymous settings (from MiLD 1-3) are transcribed in AMMM 7.

178 That is, the "minor rogations," three days of fasting and prayers. Unlike in the Roman usage, where the "rogations" are assigned to the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before

and commentary on the Ordinary of the Ambrosian Mass, the *Expositio Missae canonicae* (in three parts), intended to provide theological clarification of liturgical catecheses to the lower clergy.¹⁷⁹ Pietro's solo "contribution"—the introduction of the series of seven weekly commemorative, or Votive Masses—is assumed by virtue of his documented friendship with Charlemagne's great liturgical architect, Alcuin (c. 740–804).¹⁸⁰ The friendship is recorded in two letters from Alcuin to Pietro, which speak with such tones of affection as to rule out mere acquaintanceship.¹⁸¹ Alcuin was in Italy twice between 776 and 780, and doubtless passed through Milan on the way to Rome; thus, one may suppose, Alcuin could have delivered to Pietro a copy of his "appendix," containing the seven ferial Masses, during one of these visits.¹⁸²

Alcuin may not have been the most flamboyant advocate of Marian devotion in his generation, but he responded well to the growing cult of the Virgin (especially in

Ascension, in Milan they are observed on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Ascension. From the ninth century, the days were marked by elaborate processions to numerous churches (13 the first day, 10 the second, 12 the third) complete with antiphons and litanies. The principal focus was a plea for mercy by God, and for intercession by saints (beginning, naturally with the Virgin). See Borella, "Le litanie triduane ambrosiane," *Ambrosius* 21 (1945), 40–50.

179 A partial publication of the *Expositio* was produced by Wilmart, "Une exposition de la messe ambrosienne," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1922), 44–67. The complete text, along with ample discussion is found in Franco Brovelli, "La 'Expositio Missae Canonicae': Edizione critica e studio liturgico-teologico," *Archivio Ambrosiano* 35 (1978–79), 5–151. While Wilmart attributed the work almost exclusively to Odelperto, later writers, such as Brovelli, have seen its completion to be the work of Angilberto II, aided by Benedictine monks, especially Hildemar and Leutgar (see Brovelli, "La 'Expositio Missae,'" 148). Noteworthy Marian emphasis is found in the commentary on the Canon proper, namely on the *Communicantes* (idem, 59), where her role in the Incarnation is emphasized; and on the *Libera nos... et intercedente pro nobis beata Maria genitrice Dei ac Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, ecc.* (idem, 76–77), where her power of intercession is emphasized: "Specialiter beata Maria semper virgo intercessione ponitur, quia omnium sanctorum merita precellet, quoniam sola deum et hominem parere meruit."

180 Heiming, "Die mailändischen sieben Votivmessen für die einzelnen Tage der Woche und der Liber Sacramentorum des sel. Alkuin," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honore L. C. Mohlberg* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1947), 2:317–39. The author provides the prayers and readings for all seven Masses, with variants from eleven manuscripts compiled between the ninth and eleventh centuries. See also BorellC, 96–98.

181 BorellC, 97. For the letters between Alcuin and Pietro, see Ernst Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, MGH 4:126, 312–13, 317. See also CattTR, 12–13. In one letter (MGH 4:317), Alcuin begins, "Dulce mihi est saepius tuae scribere reverentiae, pater optime..."

182 BorellC, 97–98.

Gaul) by unequivocally assigning Saturday as the day of her commemoration.¹⁸³ Indeed, for the occasion he composed two Saturday Masses "in commemoratione Sanctae Mariae."¹⁸⁴ The two most common explanations for Mary's connection to Saturday are the mystical link of the Lord's rest on the Sabbath with His repose in her womb; and, especially, the Virgin's solitary faith in her Son on Holy Saturday, though this lacks testimony in any Gospel account.¹⁸⁵ In forming his ferial Masses for each day of the week, Alcuin relied largely on older, mainly Gallican and "mixed" formularies;¹⁸⁶ and yet, by his own admission, he also composed elements of them, most likely the *Secretae* and the opening collects (*super populum*).¹⁸⁷ With regard to these prayers within the Saturday Masses of the Virgin, the most persistent theme is a plea for Mary's intercession—a notion only recently introduced to the West by Paul the Deacon (c. 720–800).¹⁸⁸ As an example, the opening "collect" of the first Mass reads:

Grant us, your servants, we beseech you, O Lord, our God, to rejoice in perpetual prosperity of mind and body, and through the glorious intercession of the

183 GraeffH, 172-74.

184 PL 101:455-456.

185 For these and other explanations, see Louis Gougaud, *Devotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1925), 65-73. The image of Mary's solitary presence before the Cross on Holy Saturday would later inspire, particularly from the thirteenth century, a strong devotion to Mary as the "Mater dolorosa." See WarnerA, 206-223. More on this in Chapter 2.

186 Cabrol, "Les écrits liturgiques d'Alcuin," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 19 (1923), 514.

187 Ibid., 512. The importance of Alcuin's liturgical activities lies generally in his efforts to supplement the Roman Sacramentaries with various prayers, blessings, and feasts in order to satisfy the liturgical needs of the Frankish churches. Alcuin initially suggested that these additions be placed in an appendix; but soon his request was ignored, and the added items were placed in the "appropriate" places in the Sacramentaries themselves. The ferial Votive Masses—which beyond that of the Virgin included Masses "de Sancta Trinitate" (Sunday), "pro peccatis" (Monday), "ad poscenda angelica suffragia" (Tuesday), "de Sapientia" (Wednesday), "pro Caritate" (Thursday), and "Sanctae Crucis" (Friday)—were generally placed after the Common of the Saints. See Heiming, "Die mailändischen sieben," 322-31; and KlausSH, 74-75.

188 Paul introduced to the West the title "Mediatrix" (mediatress) in his Latin translation of the fifth-century Greek legend of Theophilus—who in despair bargains his soul to the devil for worldly gain (hence forming the origin of the Faust legend), but after prayer and repentance receives the intercession of the Virgin Mary, who revokes the contract on his behalf. See GraeffH, 170-71.

Blessed and ever-Virgin Mary, to be free from present sorrow, and to fully enjoy happiness in the future.¹⁸⁹

Every mention of the Virgin in these prayers, in fact, is accompanied by a reference to her power of intercession; with Alcuin, this attribute had become as intimately connected to Mary as her perpetual virginity.¹⁹⁰ Few figures of the Carolingian era approached the level of reputation and influence enjoyed by this English reformer—in matters of education, scholarship, and even theology.¹⁹¹ His supplemental "appendix" to the Gregorian Sacramentary was embraced throughout the West, and contributed in no small way to the flowering of private devotion that would mark the later Middle Ages. By Alcuin's authoritative example, Mary's intercession now gained a legitimate place in the liturgy, while Saturday itself became universally recognized as the *dies Mariae*.

The immediate entrance of the ferial Masses into Milan contrasts with the pattern of delay seen with the Marian feasts. Heiming assigns their official entrance to the beginning of the ninth century, such as to correspond with the archbishopric of Pietro—yet, unlike other writers (Borella, Paredi, Cattaneo), he stops short of crediting him directly, referring rather to an anonymous "karolingische Redaktor des mailändischen Sakramentars."¹⁹² The ferial Masses appear already in the two earliest Ambrosian Sacramentaries and, typically, are placed after the Common of the Saints.¹⁹³

189 PL 101:455 (the prayer has no title): "Concede nobis famulis tuis, quaesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis prosperitate gaudere, et gloriosa beatae Mariae semper virginis intercessione a praesenti liberari tristitia, et futura perfrui laetitia."

190 PL 101:455-456. Mass 1: *Secreta*, "... et beatae Mariae semper virginis intercessione.."; *Super populum*, "... et beata Maria semper virgine intercedente..."; Mass 2: [Collect], "... genitricis Filii tui... intercessione..."; *Secreta*, "... intercedente beata Maria semper virgine...." The earlier, nearly exclusive emphasis on Mary's perpetual virginity is discussed in the opening section of this chapter.

191 Gerald Ellard, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist: A Partner of Our Piety* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), esp. 7-31. See also L. Wallach, "Alcuin" in NCE 1:279-80.

192 Heiming, "Die mailändischen sieben," 336.

193 *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, nos. 1255-1290 ["Missa Sancta Mariae," nos 1286-1290]; *Das Ambrosianische Sakramentar von Biasca*, nos. 1156-1190 ["Missa Sanctae Mariae," nos. 1186-1190].

Their near identical correspondence to the Masses in Alcuin's "appendix" suggests a direct transmission, with relatively few variations or diversions. Among these is an occasional added Preface, including one for the Ambrosian Saturday Mass of the Virgin. The opening of the Preface defines Mary's childbearing as the means by which Man finds absolution from original sin: "You, through the flower [Christ] of your virginal womb, deigned to restore the human race, damned by the transgression of its origins, to absolution..."¹⁹⁴ While Mary's role in human Redemption through the Incarnation is cited already in Ambrose, her individual importance is here stated more emphatically, particularly given the frequent reference to her intercession found throughout this Mass.

In time, the Ambrosian Saturday Mass of the Virgin would be enriched with a fixed set of chants, all borrowed from the liturgy of *VI Dominica Adventus* and Purification: these are, principally, the *Ingressus*, *Ave Maria*, *gratia plena*; the *Offerenda*, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*; the *Confractorium*, *Beatus ille venter*; and the *Transitorium*, *Magnificamus te Dei Genitrix*.¹⁹⁵ The texts of the last three items are set as motets in the third Gaffurius Codex, and form part of a unique five-part motet cycle.¹⁹⁶ The presence of this cycle gives delightful evidence that the Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin continued to hold a primary place in the devotional life of fifteenth-century Milan. And just as the chants themselves help to define a distinctly Ambrosian Votive Mass of the Virgin, so the particular musical character of the cycle helps to define a distinctly Milanese musical style. Much more of this will be said in Chapter 4.

194 *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, no. 1289: "Qui genus humanum, praevaricatione sua in ipsius originis radice damnatum, per florem virginalis uteri reddere dignatus es absolutum..."

195 See, for example, the first printed *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1475) fols. 120r-v (*Missa in honorem Virginis Mariae. Sabb[at]o*). See also AMM, 579-80.

196 MiLD 3, fols. 162v-167r; see GasserB, 227-38.

Conclusion

The Carolingian era brought forth remarkable advances in Marian liturgy and devotion, not least in Milan, as just traced. By the end of the ninth century, Mary was venerated throughout the West as the "all-powerful intercessor" (to quote Hilda Graef)—a veneration that continued to expand, especially among the people, during the rocky decline of the Frankish Empire. The tenth century was void of great theologians, marking a contrast to the enormous flowering of the next three centuries. The spread of the monastic movements, the new drive for ecclesiastical reforms, and the rise of scholasticism would all leave their mark on the next phase of Marian devotion, in Milan as elsewhere.

D. The Age of Ariberto d'Intimiano and the Ambrosian Feast of the Nativity

Historical Background

A spirit of political reform arose in Italy with the coming of the new Millennium—marked by a gradual awakening of the lesser strata of society—which in time would come to topple the older feudal institutions and give rise to a new form of civic government, the Commune. It was, however, a slow and often painful process, with frequent setbacks and diversions. In Milan, the old order enjoyed one final triumph early in the eleventh century, with the flamboyant archepiscopacy of Ariberto d'Intimiano (1018–45).¹⁹⁷ Ariberto, born of a noble Lombard family, early demonstrated his political acumen by garnering support from both the Emperor, Henry II, and the most powerful feudal lords of Milan. His colorful religious spirit and fierce pride in the Ambrosian tradition at first endeared him to the lesser citizens as well—that is, to the

¹⁹⁷ More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the first half of the eleventh century) can be found in TreccSM 3:3-110; VisconSM, 156-71; FavaSM 1:74-81; and BlondSM, 15-19. See also CorioSM 1:130-34; and MorigHM, 35-39.

lower nobles and incipient merchant classes. Ariberto's power culminated in the wake of Henry's death, as the archbishop oversaw the election of his successor, Conrad II; he was then in a perfect position to capitalize on the eventual subjugation of Milan's great rival, Pavia, following its refusal to recognize the new Emperor (1027). Under Ariberto's leadership, Milan thus regained supremacy in Lombardy, to the greatest benefit of the city's elite.

As Ariberto's political power intensified, so too did the voice of resistance coming from Milan's lesser citizenry, many of whom resented his largely autocratic style of governance—unilateral declarations of war, investiture of nobles, etc. The first act of insurrection was at the battle of Campomalo (1036), when the lower nobles (*valvassori*) and minor clergy rebelled against Ariberto and his feudal allies. Peace was restored by Conrad, who had been called to arbitrate by Ariberto himself. The Emperor, however, had his own concerns over the archbishop's growing autonomy, and at the Diet of Pavia (March, 1037) had Ariberto arrested and held captive in Piacenza. But to the Milanese, foreign interference was a fate far worse than internal division; and in a pattern that would often repeat itself, the entire citizenry temporarily forgot their internal differences to unite against an external foe: Ariberto was rescued and Conrad returned to Germany, following an unsuccessful siege of Milan (May, 1037).

No sooner had the threat of Imperial invasion vanished, however, than did the old civic discord return, now more heated than ever. The emerging "bourgeoisie" (merchants, artisans, bankers, judges, etc) recognized their essential contribution to Conrad's capitulation, and demanded greater participation in city management. They found a forceful spokesman in one Lanzzone, a former noble, who led the burghers and *valvassori* in an all-out confrontation with Ariberto and his magnates (1042). A three-year civil war ensued, eventually compelling the leading nobles, and then Ariberto himself, to flee from the city—an event commonly seen as the birth of the Milanese Commune. Once again, a truce was arbitrated by the Emperor, Henry III, leading to the

disarmament of the city, the restoration (albeit weakened) of Ariberto, and soon thereafter the execution of Lanzzone by anxious nobles. Still, a new age had begun: an assurance of at least some public participation in Milanese governance and, with Ariberto's death in 1045, the end of autocratic rule by overly ambitious ecclesiastics.

Ariberto and the Ambrosian Tradition

Whatever Ariberto's political flaws, he cannot be condemned for a lack of religious conviction, nor for any indifference to the distinction of the Ambrosian tradition. Indeed, under his archepiscopacy the Ambrosian Church attained unprecedented splendor, and its solemnities earned the admiration of all who witnessed them. The fierce Ambrosian pride seen in the writings of the two great Milanese chroniclers of the period, Arnulphus and Landolfo Seniore, doubtless owe much to their recollection of Milan under Ariberto's reign;¹⁹⁸ and it was this recollection that would form the backbone of later Milanese resistance to Roman interference. The splendor of Ariberto's archepiscopacy is also reflected in the creation of several beautiful liturgical books, including a Sacramentary—partially ornamented with golden initials and several miniatures, quite rare for the period, and undoubtedly serving his personal use—as well as two Evangelaries.¹⁹⁹ Ariberto is also credited with the invention of the *Carroccio*, or Sacred Car—a carriage used in times of war, bearing in the center a white flag with a red

198 Arnulphus, *Gesta Episcoporum Mediolanensium* (covers 925-1077), MGH 8:2-51; Landolfo Seniore, *Mediolanensis historiae*, MGH 8:21-83. See Capitani, "Storiografia e riforma della Chiesa in Italia (Arnolfo e Landolfo Seniore di Milano)," in *La storiografia altomedievale* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1970), 557-629, 729-41; and CattTA, 19-28.

199 See Paredi, "Il Sacramentario di Ariberto," in *Miscellanea Adriano Bernareggi* (Bergamo: Edizioni Opera B. Barbarigo, 1958), 329-488; and idem, "Le miniature del Sacramentario di Ariberto," *Studi in onore di C. Castiglioni* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1957), 699-717. Most interesting is the illuminated "T" of *Te igitur* (the beginning of the Canon), which is designed as a Cross with Crucifix; this is among the first examples of what would become a standard illumination for the beginning of the Canon—and corresponds to the developing veneration of the Holy Cross from the eleventh century. Soon the illumination would be complemented by the figures of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist under the left and right arms of the Cross, respectively.

cross, along with other religious and civic insignia, becoming in time the emblem of liberty for the emerging Italian Communes.

The Milanese Feast of the Nativity

To the period of Ariberto's archepiscopacy can be credited as well the introduction into Milan of the feast of the Nativity of Mary, on September 8. The Nativity is the only major Marian feast not to have entered the Ambrosian liturgy during the period of the Carolingian reforms, and hence is absent from the "revised" Ambrosian Sacramentaries of the ninth century. The feast of the Nativity is even absent from the Sacramentary of Ariberto, suggesting a resistance to its official adoption even in the eleventh century. It first appears in the Missal of Lodrino (compiled for the Milanese church, San Stefano in Brolio), likely dating from the first half of the eleventh century, or perhaps the late tenth century.²⁰⁰ Either of these datings would point to a pattern witnessed with the earlier three commemorative Marian feasts: namely, to the Nativity's initial celebration by the "decumani" priests in parish churches before being adopted by the high clergy for use in the Cathedral. Again, this may stem from a continued desire among the Milanese high clergy to maintain a conservative approach to Marian worship, one requiring a clear and fundamental association to her Son—in contrast to the voice of popular devotion, anxious to venerate the Virgin Mary in her own right, including her dubiously documented birth.

The source for the Nativity narrative is the apocryphal Book of James ("brother" of Christ, and the first Bishop of Jerusalem), later called the *Protevangelium*, written

200 MS Ambrosiana A 24 inf., fols. 304v-305r. See Gian Pietro Bognetti, "Il Messale e il Manuale Ambrosiano di Lodrino e la loro origine milanese," *Il Bollettino Storico della Svizzera Italiana* 24/1 (1949), 23-66. The feast of the Nativity also appears in the Ambrosian Sacramentary D 3-3 (fols. 306v-307r), compiled for the metropolitan church of San Simpliciano around the same time. See Judith Frei, ed., *Das Ambrosianische Sakramentar D 3-3 aus dem Mailändischen Metropolitankapitel*, Corpus Ambrosiano-Liturgicum, 3 (Münster Westfalen: Abshendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974)—with extensive introduction, pp. 3-161.

probably by a Jewish Christian in the second century.²⁰¹ Relying much on the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke to embellish the story of Christ's birth, the Book of James begins by painting a detailed account of Mary's birth and her childhood in the Temple—it is here, for example, that the names of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anne, appear for the first time. The apocryphal narrative circulated widely—especially in the East—appearing, for example, in Greek, Armenian, and Syriac, as well as in Latin. A feast celebrating Mary's Nativity on September 8 is attested in Jerusalem from at least the mid-sixth century; yet the choice of the festal date remains unexplained. The Nativity was the last of the major Marian feasts to enter the Western liturgy, appearing first in the titular Roman churches (c. 670) before entering the Papal liturgy.²⁰² Its subsequent diffusion, however, appears to have been less universal than the other Marian feasts—Purification, Annunciation, and Assumption. This is demonstrated not only in its late appearance in Milanese sources, but also in the suggestion by Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028) that the feast of the Nativity had been only recently introduced into France.²⁰³

Unlike the Assumption—the other uniquely Marian feast—the apocryphal account of the Nativity carried with it no new theological content. Although the promise of Mary's birth is explicitly announced by an angel of the Lord to both Joachim and Anne, till then barren, her conception is described in only general terms: "Then an angel of the Lord stood by her and said, 'Anne, the Lord hath heard thy prayer; thou shalt conceive and bring forth, and thy progeny shall be spoken of in all the world'" (James, 4:1). Hence, later arguments for Mary's Immaculate Conception would have to make do without help from this text. At the same time, the feast provided an ideal occasion for

201 See J. Keith Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 48–67; and Harm Reindar Smid, *Protevangelium Jacobi: A Commentary* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965).
202 FrénC, 181–3.

203 *Sermo de Nativitate Beatissimae Mariae Virginis* (PL 141:320): "Approbatæ consuetudinis est apud Christianos sanctorum Patrum dies natalitios observare diligenter... Inter omnes sanctos, memoria beatissimæ Virginis eo frequentius agitur atque festivus, quo majorem gratiam apud Dominum creditur invenisse. Unde post alia quaedam ipsius antiquiora solemnia, non fuit contenta devotio fidelium, quin nativitatis [beatae Virginis] solemne superadderet hodiernum."

overall praise of Mary—her Divine Maternity, her perpetual virginity, her powers of intercession, and so forth. Such for example is seen in the sermons on the Nativity by Ambrose Autpert, Fulbert of Chartres, and later Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.

This lack of doctrinal individuality explains why the Nativity liturgy (both Ambrosian and Roman) speaks of Mary in general terms—as the virginal mother of the Redeemer and intercessor for the faithful. In the earliest Ambrosian liturgy of September 8 (the Missal of Lodrino, the Ambrosian-monastic Sacramentary D 3-3), the prayers and Preface derive from the "Gelasian of the eighth century"²⁰⁴—with the exception of the *oratio super Syndonem*, a prayer particular to the Ambrosian Mass. Only two of the four formularies make reference to Mary's birth, with the greatest emphasis placed on her power of intercession, as in the *oratio super oblata*:

Receive, we beseech you, O Lord, our sacrifice of plaction and praise, which we offer to You on behalf of the birth of the blessed and glorious and ever-virgin mother of God, Mary, that through her holy intercessions, we may all obtain peace.²⁰⁵

Similarly, the chant repertory for the Nativity (again, both Roman and Ambrosian) is largely adapted from other Marian feasts.²⁰⁶ In the earliest Ambrosian chant sources for the feast (e.g., the *Manuale* "Beroldus novus" from the thirteenth century),²⁰⁷ every Mass and Office chant is taken from elsewhere in the liturgy

204 For the Ambrosian texts, see *Das Ambrosianische Sakramentar D 3-3*, nos. 1122-1126; for the corresponding Franco-Roman texts, with minor variants, see *Le Sacramentaire Gélisien d'Angoulême*, nos. 1300-1305.

205 *Das Ambrosianische Sakramentar D 3-3*, no. 1124: "Suscipe quaesumum domine hostias plactionis et laudis quas tibi offerimus pro nativitate beatae et gloriosae semperque virginis dei genetricis Mariae, ut sanctis eius intercessionibus cunctis nobis proficiant ad salutem."

206 For the derivative nature of the earliest Roman chant repertory for the feast of the Nativity, see FrénC, 181-82; and RidderMT, 410-21.

207 See MA 2:348, n. 1.

(indicated with incipit only)—with the exception of the Ingressus of the Mass, which defines the particularity of the feast:

Laetemur omnes in Domino,	Let us all rejoice in the Lord,
diem festum celebrantes	Celebrating this festal day
ob honorem Mariae Virginis,	In honor of the Virgin Mary,
de cuius nativitate gaudent angeli	For whose birth the angels rejoice
et collaudant Filium Dei	And praise the Son of God ²⁰⁸

Although the Nativity was the last major Marian feast to enter the Ambrosian liturgy, in time it became the most important—particularly in the age of the Visconti and the new Duomo. Initially, however, it was associated with a small parish church, Santa Maria Fulcorina in Milan—supposedly linked to a nobleman named Fulco, said to have established the Marian church in 1007.²⁰⁹ The link between the feast and the church is noted in the calendar of Beroldus, which reads: *Nativitas s. Mariae Fulcuini*.²¹⁰ Despite its humble beginnings, it wasn't long before the Nativity increased considerably in both solemnity and archiepiscopal status, as suggested by the following description by Vincentus of Prague (c. 1158)—which likewise provides a valuable picture of Ambrosian musical performance in the twelfth-century:

With [the Milanese] Archbishop celebrating, the divine [Office] is prepared on the day of the birth of Blessed Mary, in an unusual (*extraneo*) manner, an

208 For the musical setting, see AMM, 526. The text of this chant is identical, except for the opening word, to the Roman Introit, *Gaudeamus omnes*. In the Ambrosian rite, as in the Roman, this Mass chant is used for a variety of saints feast days (Virgin Mary, Saint Agnes, Saint Anne, All Saints, etc.)—merely adapting the fourth line (after *de cuius*) to suit the occasion. Although the Roman rite initially used the Introit for the Marian feast of the Assumption (from the 10th c.) before also linking it to the Nativity of Mary, the Ambrosian rite did just the opposite, applying it first to the Nativity, while only later replacing the Ingressus for Assumption, *Feci iudicium*, with *Laetemur omnes*. See MA 2:340, 348, n. 1. See also RidderMT, 269-70, 411-12.

209 CattMS, 40 and 57.

210 BeroldO, 10. In his note (46), Magistretti clarifies this title as a "locutio imperfecta, qua designatur festum celebrari in ecclesia a Fulcuino b. Mariae Nascenti dicata." See *ibid.*, 140.

Ambrosian manner, which only the Milanese use, from an ancient apostolic concession. There we saw [the Ambrosian] singers, men of tall stature, singing very old songs [canum vetustissimum], wearing white choral copes made of silk over their shoulders, and bearing a staff [painted] very red with cinnabar; and while they were singing, with wonder we saw them circle all around and leap, the gestures of which were more admired by all than their singing.²¹¹

The tone of wonder and curiosity which marks this foreign observation of Ambrosian musical practice will find a remarkable resonance in the much later comments by Franchinus Gaffurius—on the peculiar Ambrosian practice of parallel dissonance (see Chapter 4). Vincentus's remarks thus demonstrate that from an early date, Ambrosian singers developed an idiosyncratic manner of embellishing their unique rite, and in manners perceived odd (or even offensive) by non-Milanese observers.

E. The Pataria, Peter Damian, and the Ambrosian Little Office of the Virgin

Historical Background: Ecclesiastical Abuse and Reform

The same feudal system that allowed Archbishop Ariberto to gain excessive political control also gave rise to an unprecedented level of abuse and laxity of discipline among the Milanese high clergy, connected by the bonds of vassalage to the archbishop or members of the upper nobility.²¹² The abuses included, above all, simony and concubinage—even marriage—whereby, in a perversion of Charlemagne's practice of extending feudal tenure to the Church, an ecclesiastical benefice could be passed from

211 "Eorum archiepiscopus celebranda divina preparatur in ipso die nativitatis beatae Mariae, modo extraneo, modo Ambrosiano, quo soli ex antiquorum concessione apostolicorum utuntur Mediolanenses. Ubi cantorem eorum, virum statura procerum, canum, vetustissimum, in albis cappam choralem de serico in humero portantem, baculum de aneto (i.e. de alno factum) maximum rubricatum cum minis ferentem, mirabiles in circuitu canetium gyrationes et saltus facere vidimus, cuius gestus plus quam eorum cantus ab omnibus ammirabantur." See MGH 17:675; quoted in CattTR, 25.

212 More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the second half of the eleventh century) can be found in TreccSM 3:111-255; VisconSM, 173-96; FavaSM 1:82-87; and BlondSM, 20-22; see also CorioSM 1: 134-38; and MorigHM, 39-43.

father to son. Quite naturally, the spirit of reform that had earlier redressed political grievances, now turned to matters of the Church, in an attempt to rid it of these abusive lay-feudal practices. In so doing, the "reformers"—consisting of lesser nobles, lower clergy, and other "cives"—looked to Rome for guidance, where such Pontiffs as Clement II (1046–7) and Leo IX (1048–54) were re-vitalizing the Papacy in part by promulgating decrees which enforced celibacy and forbade simony for all clergy.

Armed now with Papal support, the Milanese "reformers" rallied with increasing vigor to purify their own clergy, and in this context was born a somewhat extreme movement, known as the Pataria.²¹³ This group formed the most radical faction in the overall reform movement, and called for a return to some sort of primitive apostolic ideal—along with various theological notions that may have bordered on heresy. Their will to enforce a renewed clerical discipline, however, was at once unwavering and contagious, and under the leadership of Anselmo da Baggio (originally an "ordinario" of Santa Maria Maggiore in Milan, later Pope Alexander II), the deacon Arialdo da Cucciago, and the preacher Landolfo da Cotta, they fired up the multitudes and brought the city into a near state of turmoil. Reaction from the clerical elite was, not surprisingly, defensive: the simoniacal archbishop Guido da Valette (1045–67)—himself a vassal of Henry III—condemned both Arialdo and Landolfo, and tried to scurry Anselmo away on various diplomatic missions.

Guido's simple plan was hardly successful, and the ensuing years witnessed continual friction between the Pataria and the archiepiscopal court. The former continued to rely on Rome for support, yielding two papal legations to Milan, the first of which carried condemnation of abuses against the high clergy. The archbishop and his

²¹³ This is a term of derision—literally it means "rag-pickers"—cast upon them by their more wealthy adversaries. In general, though, the members of the Pataria were from the merchant or artisans class, along with a few "renegade" nobles. See Cinzio Violante, *La Pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica*, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo 11-13 (Rome: n.p., 1955); and H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarnes and the Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1968), 25-48.

supporters were at first quite successful in arousing the people against this outrageous interference from Rome, but once the legation departed, popular sympathy for the Pataria returned. The second legation (1059) came armed with greater force, in the famous person of Peter Damian (1007–72), who addressed a large congregation of clergy and populace in the chapel of the episcopal palace: at first the clergy was ready to mob the altar, particularly when Peter placed Anselmo (then Bishop of Lucca) on his right side, and their own Archbishop Guido on his left. But Peter's verbal eloquence worked magic on clergy and people alike: in asserting both the primacy of the Church of Rome and the necessity of clerical celibacy, Peter called upon the Milanese to study the words of their own "protector" Saint Ambrose—particularly those on virginity—and then to make their own judgment. The response was immediate and favorable, symbolized by Guido's subsequent obedience to Pope Nicholas II (1059–61), from whom he received the symbolic ring of investiture.

Following the second legation, the Ambrosian Church enjoyed—at least temporarily—a renewed discipline among the clergy. More significantly, it had suffered the most forceful usurpation from Rome in its history. It was, in fact, a blow from which the Ambrosian Church would never quite recover, in matters of political and religious autonomy. Writing around mid-century, the chronicler Arnulphus would lament:

O senseless Milanese! Who has persuaded you so?... You may say that Rome is to be venerated in its Apostle. This is true. But nor is Milan to be despised in Ambrose. Surely are such things recorded in the Roman Annals, [and] one will say in the future that Milan is the subject of Rome.²¹⁴

214 Arnulphus, *Gesta Episcoporum* (late 11th c.), MGH 8:21,12-17: "O insensati mediolanenses, quis vos fascinavit?... Forte dicetis: veneranda est Roma in Apostolo. Est utique; sed nec spernendum Mediolanum in Ambrosio. Certe certe non absque re scripta sunt haec in Romanis Annalibus. Dicetur in posterum subjectum Romae Mediolanum."

Such a fate seemed even more likely with Anselmo da Baggio's accession to the papal throne as Alexander II (1061–73), among whose first acts was a Papal Bull declaring the excommunication of Archbishop Guido. The Bull was carried into Milan by the deacon Arialdo—among the most passionate advocates of priestly celibacy;²¹⁵ Guido responded astutely by displaying the Bull to a large crowd at Santa Maria Maggiore, thereby enraging them against this assault from Rome. Arialdo was attacked, and killed quickly thereafter. Arialdo's martyrdom, however, only succeeded in giving renewed energy to the cause of the Pataria.²¹⁶

The newer incarnation of the movement had an even more radical leader, Erlembaldo da Cotta—along with the zealous and legendary priest, Liprando di San Paulo—whose campaign for clerical purity erupted into a near reign of terror, forcing "unworthy" priests from their posts, driving nobles to flight, and bringing chaos to the city. When Guido finally abdicated in 1067, Erlembaldo reigned unchallenged as dictator of Milan—until at last, a once scattered nobility united against the zealot's theocracy, finally defeating and executing him in 1075. By then the Pataria—also known as the *patarini*—had largely diminished, and in time Milan saw the return of a semi-feudal governance of the city. Yet many of the priestly reforms enforced over the preceding decade were maintained, and gradually a semblance of spiritual unity returned to Milan. This restored civic and religious concord was solidified during the archepiscopate of Anselmo da Bovisio, who organized the Milanese contingent of the First Crusade (1095–

215 Arialdo's fervor and Roman allegiance led him to demand numerous reforms upon Milanese worship, such as the prohibition of weddings during the Advent season, even if the vigil of Christmas fell on a Sunday—all of which played no small part in his eventual downfall. See Carlo Castiglioni, *I santi Arialdo ed Erlembaldo e la Pataria* (Milan: Perinetti Casoni, 1944), esp. 36–51.

216 The details of Arialdo's death—which included brutal and sadistic torture—at the instigation of Archbishop Guido, as well as the subsequent retrieval and sanctification of his martyred body by the next generation of the Pataria, were recounted by his biographer, Andrea da Srumi, *Passione del santo martire milanese Arialdo*, ed. Marco Navoni (Milan: Jaca, 1994), 116–128; as well as by Landolfo Seniore (MGH 8:29), though with less sympathy. For a review, with ample quotations from both writers, see Castiglioni, *I santi Arialdo*, 18–52.

1100). Although the Milanese mission was a military failure (Archbishop Anselmo died in Constantinople, and the army fled), the spiritual benefits were profound—reviving in Milan a united civic pride that would serve it well in its next major challenge: the confrontation with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Ecclesiastical Reform and the Virgin Mary

Surviving accounts of the simoniac and nicolatian (i.e. concubinary) practices of Milan's undisciplined clergy are few and relatively untrustworthy, since most are found in the adamantly pro-Milanese (and anti-Roman) chronicles of Arnulphus and Landolfo Seniore. The latter's principal literary aim in writing his *Historia Mediolanensis* was to profess the independence of the Ambrosian Church from Rome, and he was not above merging historical fact with myth and legend to achieve this end.²¹⁷ Landolfo, himself a nicolatian ecclesiastic, seems to dismiss criticism of the Milanese practices—including marriage—by defining them as prerogatives of the Ambrosian clergy, not to be challenged by Rome.²¹⁸ To justify their behavior, the nicolatian Milanese clergy relied heavily on their claim—made through the falsification of texts—that priestly marriage had been sanctioned by Saint Ambrose himself. Exactly how the "reformers" countered this tactic is difficult to ascertain, given the slant of the Milanese chroniclers; likely they would have challenged these forgeries with at least some authentic quotes from the bishop's many writings on virginity,²¹⁹ and in the process come to invoke the image of the Virgin Mary—the undisputed model of human chastity—as a powerful means to recruit new supporters.

217 For example, Landolfo set forth the myth that Saint Barnabus (1st c.) arrived in Milan, to become the city's first bishop. His writings were deemed valid well through the Renaissance (until the 19th c.), and helped foster Milanese (and Ambrosian) pride during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Capitani, "Storiografia e riforma," 729-41; and Catt'IR, 19-28.

218 Catt'IR, 26.

219 See above, section A.

The deacon Arialdo, who more than others appears the embodiment of the Milanese "reform" movement, does provide some clue as to the level of Marian devotion associated with their cause. Arialdo's devotion to the Virgin Mary is suggested first in his zealous commitment to chastity, as reported in a *Vita* written by his disciple, Beato (Blessed) Anselmo.²²⁰ This commitment led him on a kind of liturgical "pilgrimage" to Milanese churches dedicated to saints of chastity—including, naturally, the Virgin Mary. Cattaneo cites an interesting sixteenth-century appendage to the *Vita*, claiming that Arialdo went so far as to choose Mary as his patroness ("Virginem Matrem sibi quoque *tutelarem* adscivit")—a devotional concept more in keeping with the sixteenth than the twelfth century.²²¹ A second and more concrete signal of Arialdo's devotion to Mary is in his selection of a Marian church as the nexus of his reform operations: a church dedicated to Mary (title unknown), located outside the Porta Nuova, was expanded by Arialdo in 1058–59 to include a Canonical House, for those ecclesiastics committed to a life of chastity.

Peter Damian and the Ambrosian Little Office of the Virgin

The principal component of Marian devotion to enter Milan in the period of the *patarini* is the Little Office of the Virgin (*Officium Parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis*)—the practice of which marks a transitional point in the history of Western Mariology. In general terms, the period prior to the eleventh century was one in which devotionality resided most forcefully in the domain of communal liturgy, whereby a new devotional need would be met first and foremost in the creation and dissemination of a new liturgical practice. Beginning in the eleventh century, however, such devotional needs

²²⁰ This is another biography of Arialdo, published by Giovanni Pietro Puricelli, *De S.S. Martiribus Arialdo Alciato et Herlembaldo Cotta* (Milan, 1657). See CattMS, 59–60.

²²¹ CattMS, 59.

were met increasingly through private acts of piety, ancillary to or even distinct from organized liturgy. Naturally the transition was a gradual one and at times a new practice could prove complementary to both forms of devotion, public and private. The Little Office of the Virgin is one such a complementary practice—one, moreover, that would come to dominate Marian veneration in succeeding centuries.²²²

The Little Office of the Virgin (henceforth Little Office) began, in fact, as a private devotion—it is first documented as the daily private recitation of Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg (d. 973), by his biographer Gerhard, Provost of the Augsburg Cathedral. The *Vita* was subsequently taken to Rome, in support of Ulrich's canonization by Pope John XV (993), and it was likely in this manner that the Marian devotion first entered the Roman orbit.²²³ The most important figure in the subsequent development and dissemination of the Little Office—including its move into communal liturgy—is Peter Damian, the ardent champion of ecclesiastical reform in the eleventh century. Peter's dedication to the Virgin was at once theological (Eucharistic) and devotional in nature: Mary's bodily connection to Christ—through the Incarnation—grants her a special connection to the Salvation of the faithful, and "just as the Son of God has deigned to descend to us through [Mary], so we also can attain His company [*consortium*] through

222 For more on the development of private devotion in the Middle Ages, see André Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West. From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Colette Friedlander (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1993), 75-162; Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt et al. (New York: Crossroads, 1987), 75-108; and Benedicta Ward, "Mysticism and Devotion in the Middle Ages," in *Companion Encyclopedia of Theology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 372-415. More on this in Chapter 2.

223 Gerhard's biography of Saint Ulrich is found in Georg Waitz, ed., MGH 4:377-425. The origins and early structure of the Little Office is discussed in two articles by Leclercq, "Formes successive de l'office votif de la Vierge," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 72 (1958), 294-301; and "Formes ancienne de l'office mariale," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 74 (1960), 89-102. A forerunner to the Little Office was the short Marian cursus (sequence of prayers) developed in Benedictine monasteries, particularly at Monte Cassino, from the early tenth century—from whence it traveled, in a more developed state, to the Benedictine monastery of Saint Gall, where Ulrich was trained (Leclercq, "Formes ancienne," 90-93).

[Mary]."²²⁴ Here is a foretaste of the later scholastic reasoning that will impact Mariology (among many other spheres) so dramatically in the next century: an undisputed theological principal (Mary's role in the Incarnation) imparts, by logical argument, a devotional premise—in this case, Mary's essential role as intercessor between man and Christ. This now theologically-based premise of Mary as Mediatrix animates all of Peter's writings on the Virgin Mary, and forms the basis for his intense promotion of the Little Office.

Specifically, the promotion took the form of an exhortation for all clerics to recite daily the hours of the Little Office, as Peter states (and defends) in his tenth *Opusculum*, entitled *De Horis Canonicis* (Chapter 10, entitled "How Effective is [the Recitation] of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin"):

Whenever one finds no hope in his own good deeds, he offers much by immediately asking for the aid of the Blessed ever-Virgin Mary, and takes refuge under her protection with the troubling anxiety of his heart, nearly urging with such words as these: "I am not unaware," he says, "O blessed queen of the world, that I have offended you in many things...and yet, O door of heaven, window of paradise, true Mother of God and man, you are my witness, because seven times a day do I praise you [Ps. 118, 164], and however much I have sinned, however offensive [my sins], still I have not violated obedience to [recite] the Canonical Hours in your praise." Whenever a cleric offers such words, the most pious Mother of God places him at ease, and with soothing consolation, announces the forgiveness [*dimissa*] of his sins out of the abundance of her divine mercy [*divinae misericordiae*]... Therefore, without doubt, we have originated this [practice], because whosoever has been diligent to repeat the daily Offices [of the Virgin] at the previously mentioned hours, acquires, on his day of need, the mother of the Judge Himself as his personal helper and protectress.²²⁵

224 *Sermo XLVI, In Nativitate Sanctae Mariae* (PL 145:761): "Quatinus sicut per te [Mariam] Dei Filius dignatus est ad nostra descendere, ita et nos per te ad eius valeamus consortium pervenire."

225 *Opusculum X, Caput X, "Horarum Beatae Virginis efficacia quanta"* (PL 145:230): "Cumque spem in se nullius boni operis inveniret, totum se protinus ad postulandum Beatae Mariae

Peter's spiritual motivation here is clear: daily recitation of the Little Office provides an assurance of Mary's help and protection, and particularly at the all-important moment of one's Judgment before Christ. For Peter, Mary not only can placate the true Judge, she desires to do so, since she is the mother of mercy, the *Mater misericordiae*—a title that would soon gain a wider usage.²²⁶ To emphasize the power of reciting the Little Office, Peter recounts several miracles stemming from its recitation, as well as an instance of divine retaliation arising from its neglect.²²⁷ Miracles performed by the Virgin Mary were by no means new to the West, and yet Peter's descriptions represent perhaps the first instance of their direct association with the regular practice of a Marian ritual. This is significant, since such direct associations between the practice of a ritual and the receipt of divine aid will increase steadily in succeeding centuries, perhaps culminating in Pope Sixtus IV's liberal grant of an 11,000 year indulgence for the recitation of the Office of the Immaculate Conception, in 1476. The regular recitation of the Little Office held comparable powers in the mind of Peter Damian; it thus seems likely that in his crusade to reform the Church—and to re-establish the spiritual authority of Rome—Peter grasped on to it as a primary instrument of persuasion.

semper virginis auxilium contulit, et sub eius patrocinium importuna cordis anxietate confugit, huiusmodi fere verbis insistens: 'Non ignoro,' inquit, 'o beata regina mundi, quia te in multis offendi... verumtamen, o janua coeli, fenestra paradisi, vera Mater Dei et hominis, ut mihi testis es, quia septies in die laude dixi tibi (Ps. 118, 164), et quamvis peccator, quamvis indignus, omnibus tamen canonicis horis tuae laudis obsequium non fraudavi.' Cumque huiusmodi verba clericus protulisset, decumbenti postmodum piissima Dei Genitrix astitit, et blande consolata, peccata sibimet dimissa ex largitate divinae misericordiae nuntiavit... Hoc tamen procul dubio novimus, quia quisquis quotidiana praedictis horis officia in ejus laudibus frequentare studuerit, adjutricem sibimet, ac patrocinaturam ipsius Judicis matrem in die necessitatis acquirit."

²²⁶ This Marian title first appears in the East from the sixth century, for example in the sermon *de Transitus* of the Syrian poet Jacob of Sarug (c. 451-521). It is used in the West only from the tenth century, namely by Abbot Odo of Cluny (d. 942), who according to his biographer, John, monk of Cluny, received a vision from Mary, saying "Ego sum mater misericordiae." (PL 133:72). Odo's habit of repeating this title soon spread from Cluny to the rest of Europe. See GraeffH, 122, 203; and LaurenCT, 70; see also Chapter 2.

²²⁷ *Epistolae* 6: 29-32 (PL 144:413-432). *Epistola* 29, to Stephen the monk, begins: "Cum in Psalmodiae studiis et divinis laudibus te vigilanter exerceas, hortor, venerande frater, et moneo, ut quotidianum quoque B. Mariae semper virginis officium non omittas."

When he entered Milan in 1059, as part of the second papal legation, Peter carried his message to a highly skeptical crowd, and it is a mark of his great oratorical skills that his words prompted some degree of Roman conformity. Nothing explicitly links the introduction of the Little Office in Milan to Peter's visit, and yet its sudden appearance in Ambrosian manuscripts around this time, as well as documentary evidence of its practice in Milan during the 1080s, would suggest some correspondence.²²⁸ Even if the Little Office was known in Milan during the tenth century, as Borella has maintained (though on rather slim evidence), its diffusion into Ambrosian liturgical practice occurs only in the second half of the eleventh century.²²⁹ Peter had composed his own rendering of the Little Office—a set of six hymns, for all Hours except Matins; three readings for Matins; and four prayers "dicantur per horas diei"—and perhaps brought them to the attention of his Milanese supporters. In these compositions, Peter frequently addresses Mary as the compassionate intercessor, echoing her role as defined in the tenth *Opusculum*. A good example is his third reading for Matins:

O Queen of the world, ladder of heaven, throne of God, door of paradise, hear the prayer of the poor, and do not shun the lamentations of the miserable. May our prayers and sighs be offered before the sight of the Redeemer through you, so that even if our merits be obscured, through you they may find a hearing before the ears of divine

228 MA 1:172-78 [Excerpta ex manuali ambrosiano saec. fere XI: Incipit officium parvum B. Mariae]. A passage from Landolfo Seniore, for the year 1084, provides evidence that the Little Office was already commonplace in Milan: while describing an unusual scene, wherein a certain priest named Anselmo fell into an epileptic seizure while praying upon the altar of Santa Maria al Fonticolo (= Santa Maria alla Rosa)—only to return healthy after receiving a vision of Paradise—Landolfo writes "dum omnium sanctorum collectam, sanctae Mariae vespero [= vespers of the Little Office] finito, ante altare sanctae Mariae ad Fonticulum summa cum riverentia diceret, videntibus clericis tamquam mortuus, vultu tamen coloratus pulsantibusque fibris, cadens eccidit..." Cited in CattMS, 58.

229 Borella, "Il Piccolo Ufficio della ufficio della B.V. Maria nella diocesi di Milano," *Diocesi di Milano* 8 (1967), 274-277. Borella's claim is based on the ancient Milanese metropolitan association with Augsburg, whereby Bishop Ulrich may have helped promote the Little Office in Milan already during his lifetime (p. 274). At the same time, Borella does recognize the likely influence of Peter Damian on the Ambrosian Little Office (p. 275).

compassion. Abolish our sins, soften our misdeeds, drive out our faults, release our shackles. Through you may the buds and brambles of our crimes be cut away, [through you] may the flowers and jewels of our virtues be represented. Placate the Judge with your prayers, He whom you bore, through an unparalleled childbirth, as the Savior; and just as the Partner of our humanity was brought forth through you, so too may He allow us to share of His divinity through you.²³⁰

Here the reasoning encountered in the tenth *Opusculum* is transformed into an impassioned plea for the Virgin's intercession, particularly in mediating man's case favorably before Christ. Together with his defense for the regular recitation of the Little Office, therefore, Peter's original compositions gave the Milanese ample incentive to embrace this new practice into their own official liturgy.

In structure and content, the Ambrosian Little Office is modeled on its Roman counterpart—both being abbreviations of the Divine Office, and thus divided into the traditional seven hours.²³¹ Somewhat surprisingly, most of the readings are taken from the Mass liturgy of Marian feasts—particularly the Annunciation—as well as from the Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin. This is demonstrated most clearly with regard to the prayers (*oratii*), as shown below:²³²

230 *Ad honorem sanctae Mariae virginis. Officium quotidianis deibus, Lectiones ad matutinum. Lectio tertia* (PL 145:935-936): "O Regina mundi, scala coeli, thronus Dei, janua paradisi, audi preces pauperum, ne despicias gemitus miserorum. Inferantur a te vota nostra atque suspiria conspectui Redemptoris, ut quae nostris excluduntur meritis, per te locum apud aures divinae obtineant pietatis. Dele peccata, relaxa facinora, erige lapses, solve compeditos. Per te succidantur vepres et germina vitiorum, praebeantur flores et ornamenta virtutum. Placa precibus Judicem, quem genuisti singulari puerperio Salvatorem, ut qui per te factus est particeps humanitatis nostrae, per te quoque nos consortes efficiat divinitatis suae."

231 Matins of the Little Office contains only one Nocturn, with three Psalms and three Lessons. For two early examples (11th c.) of the Roman Little Office, see Edward S. Dewick, ed., *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine, from English Manuscripts of the Eleventh Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society 21 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902).

232 MA 1:172-78; cf. SacBia ("Alphabetishes Register, Im wesentlichen gleiche Orationen sind zusammengefaßt"), 211-46.

Hour	<i>Oratio, Little Office</i>	Ambrosian Mass
Ad Laudes:	Deus qui salutis aeternae Porrige nobis, Deus	January 1 Annuntiatio B.M.V.
Ad Tertiam:	Protege, quaesemus, Domine	"
Ad Sextam:	Porrige nobis, Deus	"
Ad Nonam:	Beatae et gloriosae semperque	"
Ad Vesperum:	Omnip. sempiternae Deus Concede nobis famulos tuos	Sabbato, Missa B.M.V. "

Only two prayers were newly composed for the Little Office, placed in both the Ambrosian and Roman versions. Their texts and Ambrosian disposition are as follows:

Ad primam: Forgive the transgressions of your servants, we beseech you, O Lord; and since we are not able to please you through our actions, may we be saved through the intercession of the mother of Your Son, our Lord.

Ad vesperum: Grant us, O merciful God, protection from our fragility: so that we who offer this remembrance of Mary, the holy mother of God, may rise again from our sins, with the aid of her intercession.²³³

Here are two explicit assertions that only through Mary's intercession can human sin be absolved, in what appears a direct echo of Peter Damian's defense of the regular recitation of the Little Office. The *oratio ad vesperum*, in particular, clarifies Mary's intercession as granted to one who "offers this remembrance of Mary." The *oratio ad primam* is interesting in its admission that only through Mary can one attain forgiveness of sin, since human actions alone are incapable of pleasing God, similar to the argument found in Peter's reading for Matins. More importantly, these two prayers reveal how

²³³ MA 1:174, 176. Ad primam: "Famulorum tuorum, quaesemus, Domine, delictis ignosce: et qui tibi placere de actibus nostris non valemus, Genitricis Filii tui Domini nostri intercessionem salvemur." Ad vesperum: "Concede, misericors Deus, fragilitati nostrae praesidium: ut qui sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae memoriam agimus, intercessionis eius auxilio a nostris iniquitatibus resurgamus."

well defined the concept of Mary as divine intercessor had become by the eleventh century.

The chants of the Little Office, too, were taken largely from other Marian observances—a task which in turn granted those selected a higher profile within the sphere of Marian devotion. In the Ambrosian rite, the principal borrowed (Marian) chants of the Little Office include the following:²³⁴

<u>Chant</u>	<u>Hour(s)</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Ambrosian</u>
<u>Source</u>			
<i>Mysterium ecclesiae</i>	Matins, Vespers, Lauds (partial)	Hymn	VI Adventus
<i>Beata et venerabilis Virgo</i> V. Caeli terreque	Matins	Responsory	"
<i>Ave Maria</i>	Matins, Lauds, Prime, Vespers	Antiphon	"
<i>Beatus ille venter</i>	Matins	Antiphon	"
<i>Magnificamus te</i>	Matins, Vespers	Antiphon	"
<i>Sancta Dei Genitrix</i>	Matins	Responsory	"
<i>Sub tuam misericordiam</i>	Lauds	Psallenda	"
<i>Maria Virgo semper laetare</i>	None	Epistolella	Dom. p. Nat.
<i>Diffusa est gratia</i>	None, Compline	Capitulam	Assumption
<i>Ecce Ancilla</i>	Vespers	Ant. ad Mag.	VI Adventus
<i>Virgo Verbum Concepit</i>	Vespers	Psallenda	"

Only the earliest liturgical source is indicated for each chant. This in turn demonstrates how the redactors of the Ambrosian Little Office relied principally on the oldest repertory of Marian chants—namely, those composed to highlight the Marian content of *VI Dominica Adventus* and Christmas—with only minor supplementation from more recent compositions (e.g., *Diffusa est gratia*).

234 MA 2:173-78.

One of these "borrowed" chants is worthy of some attention: the famous *Ave Maria*—whose entrance into the Little Office (both Roman and Ambrosian) heralded its usage as an independent devotion of enormous popularity. The principal form of this ancient prayer combines the greeting of Gabriel (Luke 1:28) with that of Elizabeth (Luke 1:42), as follows:

Ave Maria gratia plena,	Hail Mary, full of grace,
Dominus tecum,	The Lord is with you,
benedicta tu in mulieribus,	Blessed are you among women,
et benedictus fructus ventris tuis.	And blessed is the fruit of your womb.

Ave Maria first entered the Western liturgies in the seventh century, in association with both the final weeks of Advent and the Marian feast of the Annunciation.²³⁵ The text gained entrance as both an Office antiphon and a Mass chant—an Offertory in the Roman rite, a Transitorium in the Ambrosian.²³⁶ Minor textual variation marks its history in both rites, and in the Ambrosian, two cases are worth mentioning: 1) as a Transitorium, the third line reads, "benedicta tu inter mulieres"; 2) as an Office antiphon, two different versions appear: a short Vespers antiphon, whose text reads, "Ave Virgo Maria, gratia plena: Dominus tecum;"²³⁷ and an *antiphona dupla* for the Office *ad Vigilias*, which repeats the text of the Transitorium and adds the verset, "Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum."²³⁸ This setting was then later appropriated as an Ingressus chant for the Ambrosian Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin. The

²³⁵ Angelus A. De Marco, "Hail Mary," in NCE 6:898.

²³⁶ See Ruth Steiner, "Ave Maria [antiphon]," in NCE 6:698. In the Ambrosian liturgy, *Ave Maria* appeared originally as the Transitorium for the second Mass of *VI Dominica Adventus* ([Missa] ad Sancta Maria ad Circulum), but later was transferred to the first ("Missa in Ecclesia Hyemali). Further, the Confractorium, *Confirmatum est*, incorporates a slightly truncated version of the Transitorium text, though with a different musical setting. See MA 2:45; and PM 6:49; cf. AMA, 25.

²³⁷ PM 6:36.

²³⁸ PM 6:36-37. The added verset also appears on its own as the Magnificat antiphon of Vespers (PM 6:36).

addition of "Virgo" in the Vespers/Mass antiphon is unique to the Ambrosian rite, and may suggest a continued Milanese emphasis on Mary's virginity, following Ambrose. In any event, the multiple placement of *Ave Maria* in both the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies demonstrates its considerable popularity even prior to the eleventh century.

Its popularity then escalated when, in further promoting daily Marian piety, Peter Damian made special mention of the *Ave Maria*, calling it the "angelic and evangelical versicle."²³⁹ As if in direct recognition, both the Roman and Ambrosian Little Office included multiple placements of *Ave Maria*; in the Ambrosian, both Office versions appear, one or the other in four different hours: Matins, Lauds (feria II only), Prime, and Vespers.²⁴⁰ By the early twelfth century, distinct recitation of the *Ave Maria*, usually accompanied by genuflections, had become widespread throughout the West—finally becoming enjoined upon all faithful, along with the *Pater noster* and the Creed, at the Synod of Paris (1210).²⁴¹

Finally, to the "borrowed" chants of the Little Office were added a few new ones, most notably the hymn *Memento salutis auctor*, sung during Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline. This three-strophe hymn entered both the Ambrosian and Roman versions of the Little Office, and eventually made its way into private Books of Hours—including those owned in the fifteenth century by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, his wife Bona of Savoy, and Ludovico Maria, il Moro. The hymn text, minus the concluding doxology, is as follows:

239 *Opusculum XXXIII*, Caput III (PL 145:564): "... inter hos tamen emortuos inutilis vitae cineres hic perexigui fomitis tenuis vivebat igniculus, ut ante sacrosanctum altare quotidie beatae Dei Genitricis [clericus ineptus] accederet, et reverenter verticem curvans, angelicum hunc atque evangelicum versiculum decantaret: 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus...' Following his own Little Office, moreover, Peter composed an extended "Rhythmus super salutatione angelica" (PL 145:939-940).

240 MA 1:172-77. See also *Breviarium Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1491), fol. 177r.

241 GraeffH, 231.

Memento salutis auctor
Quod nostri quondam corporis
Ex illibata Virgine
Nascendo formam sumpseris

Remember, O Author of Deliverance,
That once you took the form
Of our [human] body, having been born
Out of the inviolate Virgin.

Maria, Mater gratiae,
Mater misericordiae,
Tu nos ab hoste protege
Et mortis hora suscipe

Mary, Mother of Grace,
Mother of Mercy
Protect us from evil,
And receive us at the hour of our death.

This hymn, in the form of a forceful Marian petition, makes direct reference to Mary as the *Mater misericordiae*, perhaps after the example of Peter Damian.²⁴² Indeed, the entire second strophe echoes Peter's assurance to the dutiful observer of the Little Office, that the Virgin Mary will provide aid and protection "on his day of need." The title *Mater misericordiae*, moreover, is preceded by another: Mary as the *Mater gratiae*, the Mother of Grace. This title, too, would gain a wide usage, particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—as Mary's role in the actual dispensation of grace becomes ever more articulated. Given their particular relevance to the Gaffurius Codices, the ensuing chapters will revisit this hymn, its second strophe, and the Marian titles it invokes.

The popularity of the Little Office was tremendous. It was early adopted by the Cistercians and others monastic groups, who assured its wide transmission throughout the West. The secular clergy similarly adopted it, particularly after Pope Urban II (1088–99) officially linked its recitation (on Saturday) to the success of the First Crusade, at the Synod of Clermont (1095). It may be imagined that Archbishop Anselm of Milan echoed Urban's exhortation as he rallied his own citizens to the Holy Land—foreshadowing the explicit decree of Archbishop Piccolpasso in the 1440s (see Chapter 2). From there it was a short step to its adoption by the laity—whose enthusiasm was kindled by the enormous growth, from the early twelfth century, of legends connecting its

²⁴² Though see n. 225, above.

recitation to the advent of Marian miracles.²⁴³ Soon the Little Office left the more cumbersome confines of the Breviary and became appended to the Psalter, until then the only prayer book accessible to the laity. Finally, in the thirteenth century, the Little Office took leave of the Psalter, and became the central body of a new genre of devotional literature, the Book of Hours—frequently an object of great artistic labor. From this time, public and private recitation of the Little Office exist side by side—in the cloister, the church, and the home—symbolic of an age in which the call to personal piety rivaled even the institutions of communal worship, and one in which the Virgin Mary played an ever-more prominent role.

F. The Milanese Commune and the Marian Devotion of Bernard of Clairvaux

Historical Background

The civic reconciliation overseen by Archbishop Anselmo da Bovisio at the start of the twelfth century had political as well as religious consequences.²⁴⁴ The lower classes (*cives*) made clear their opposition to autocratic rule by the nobility, and demanded tangible participation in city governance. At the same time, the older nobility was influenced by a younger, more ambitious group of upper classmen, whose desire for civic autonomy—free from either Papal or Imperial control—made such "democratic" participation indispensable. Soon there formed in Milan a body of collegial magistrates, each bearing the ancient Roman title of Consul, in what constitutes the genuine birth of

²⁴³ In the first collection of Marian legends (late 11th, or early 12th c.), for example, four of seventeen Marian miracles arose in connection with the recitation of the Little Office. See GraefH, 231; cf. Adolfo Mussafia, "Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 113 (1887), 918.

²⁴⁴ More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the twelfth century) can be found in TreccSM 3:256-393, 4:3-112; VisconSM, 199-235; FavaSM 1:88-108; and BlondSM, 22-26; see also CorioSM 1:140-249, 274-93 (in the intervening pages, Corio breaks into a excursion on the Holy Land, its various regions, and the sacred sites and events that pertain to them); and MorighM, 44-67.

the Milanese Commune. Not surprisingly, most of the *consuli* came from the upper classes: in 1130, for example, a twenty-two member assembly consisted of ten grand nobles (*capitanei*), seven minor nobles (*valvassores*), and only five *cives*—a lopsided distribution that foreshadows the eventual breakdown of the Commune itself.

To further mobilize civic unity, and to reinforce the city's drive for political and economic independence, Milan undertook an aggressive military campaign against its neighboring cities, including Como, Cremona, Novara, Pavia, and Lodi—which it destroyed thoroughly in 1111. Milan was here following a pattern repeated throughout Italy during this period: the forceful creation of independent Communes—such as Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, Ferrara, Genoa, and Florence—which in time evolved into the Italian City-States; this trend was enabled largely through the re-ascendance of the Papacy, emboldened by their successful battle over Investiture with several Emperors (1076–1122).²⁴⁵ The success of Milan's military campaign earned it uncontested regional hegemony in Lombardy, not to mention the scorn of its neighbors. At the same time, a series of weak Emperors allowed Milan to all but ignore its legal and financial obligations to the *Regnum Italiae*, a fact astutely exploited by its enraged neighbors upon the ascension in 1152 of Frederick I, called Barbarossa (Emperor 1155–90).

Immediately, the citizens of Lodi protested to Frederick of Milan's aggressive and rebellious activities, leading first to a series of inconsequential diets and futile attempts at a diplomatic solution. Frederick needed little persuasion as to the importance of resolving the Milanese crisis, as his overall objective to restore Imperial loyalty to an increasingly defiant Italy depended on it. His first significant act was a month-long siege of Milan (1158), which ended with an apparent capitulation by the Milanese, who swore fealty to the Emperor and accepted an imperial legate as head magistrate. The

²⁴⁵ The principal dispute concerned the Emperor's right to confer or invest bishops and abbots, i.e. "lay investiture." Papal opposition began with Gregory VII (1075) and intensified greatly with Urban II. See Z. N. Brooke, "Lay Investiture and its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 25 (1939), 217-47.

capitulation proved temporary, however, as no sooner was Frederick back in Germany that Milan resumed its aggressive stance, encouraged by the escalating conflict between the Emperor and Pope Alexander III.²⁴⁶ Three years later Frederick returned to Italy, and this time displayed greater resolve, mounting a brutal, seven-month siege against Milan—which surrendered unconditionally in 1162. The humiliation of surrender was then followed by a merciless assault upon the city, executed less by imperial troops than by the vengeful citizens of neighboring cities.

Milan's pitiful defeat—its walls and towers destroyed, homes burned, relics seized, citizens expelled—only served to alert the many Communes of Northern Italy of the growing threat posed by this foreign interference to their budding freedom. The result was the formation of the Lombard League (1167), made up of no less than twenty-three cities—including Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, and even Lodi—whose first mission was to rebuild Milan. The city quickly rebounded, and with promises of peace towards its neighbors, Milan soon regained its regional dominance. The subsequent defeat of Frederick's army at the famed Battle of Legnano (1176) carried more psychological than military significance, once and for all convincing the Emperor of Milan's inevitable hegemony in Lombardy. The Peace of Constance (1183) granted meaningful privileges of self-government to all Italian Communes, in exchange for a nominal oath of loyalty to the imperial crown. For Milan, more telling of the new balance of power was Frederick's rather humbled appearance at the Basilica of Saint Ambrose, for the wedding of his son Henry VI to Constanza d'Altavilla of Sicily (1186)—symbolically marking a victorious conclusion to the city's twenty-five year struggle for autonomy.

246 Frederick supported the antipope, Victor IV, upon Alexander's election (1159), leading to a bitter seventeen-year schism. It ended only with Frederick's oath of fealty to Alexander in 1177. For his support of the Lombard Communes against the Emperor, a city named Alessandria was founded some forty miles from Milan. See M. W. Baldwin, "Alexander III, Pope," in NCE 1:288-290.

Papal Schism and the Milanese Mission of Bernard of Clairvaux

The political transformation of Italy in the years preceding the ascension of Frederick Barbarossa was further affected by a contentious papal schism between Innocent II (1130–43) and the antipope Anacletus II (1130–38)—each of whom was then championed by an equally embattled contender for the imperial crown, respectively Lothair II (1133–37) and Conrad III (1138–52).²⁴⁷ This fierce, double rivalry of Emperor and Pontiff preoccupied all of Italy, and especially Milan, whose support was hotly desired by both camps. While Milan took advantage of the weakened state of the Empire to expand its political base, the matter of papal endorsement touched directly upon the city's religious and spiritual life. At first, Milanese support was thrown to Anacletus: chiefly by the archbishop Anselmo da Pusterla (1126–35)—in exchange for receipt of the archiepiscopal *pallium*—but also by the nobility and much of the populace. All of this changed, however, when Innocent gained the support of a most famous individual, Bernard of Clairvaux.

Bernard (1090–1158), the influential Cistercian Abbot of Clairvaux, was by the 1130s widely recognized as the embodiment of the ascetic ideal, and a very potent force in the spiritual and intellectual debates of his day.²⁴⁸ By siding with Innocent, Bernard almost single-handedly negated the candidacy of Anacletus, despite the latter's support from the Roman nobility, the Patriarchs of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem,

²⁴⁷ The disputed papal election followed the death of Pope Honorius II in 1130. Conrad, the founder of the Hohenstaufen dynasty was set up as anti-king to Lothair in 1127, yet submitted to him in 1135. Conrad's election as Emperor following Lothair's death intensified friction between the Guelphs and Ghibbelines in Germany; he was never coronated. See Pier Fausto Palumbo, *Lo scisma del 1130. I precedenti, la vicenda romana e le ripercussioni europee della lotta tra Anacleto e Innocenzo II* (Rome: Presso la R. Deputazione alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1942), 62–92.

²⁴⁸ The literature on Saint Bernard is very extensive. See, for example, the works of Leclercq, including *Etudes sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits*, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9, fasc. 1–2 (Rome: Apud Curiam Generalem Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1953); idem, *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, *Storia e Letteratura*, 92, 104, 114, 167, 182 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1962–92); and the biography, *Saint Bernard Mystique* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948); see also G. R. Evans, *The Mind of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); and Pietro Zerbi, "Bernard of Clairvaux, St.," in NCE 2:335–38.

among others. Indeed, Bernard personally effected the conversion of the Milanese to Innocent's side, in what compares remarkably to the missions of Peter Damian a century earlier. Bernard's initial contact with Milan was probably limited to correspondence, expressing to Anselmo and others that by opposing Innocent's candidacy, they were resisting the true successor of Saint Peter, and thereby resisting the Will of God.²⁴⁹ Given their political misgivings about Lothair, however, the Milanese still held out in support of Anacletus. The conflict intensified in the next few years, culminating in the Council of Pisa (1135)—with Bernard in attendance—where Innocent excommunicated Anselmo, and declared Conrad's coronation (as King of Italy) invalid. Innocent forthwith sent Bernard to Milan as head of a legation aimed at obtaining submission from its citizenry.

On June 6, 1135, Bernard arrived in Milan, welcomed by a crowd of more than seven thousand, who escorted him in an elaborate procession to the Basilica of San Lorenzo, at whose presbytery he was housed. The frenzy of reverence and admiration paid to the Abbot is suggested already in the reported attempts to rip off pieces of his habit to use as future relics. All abandoned their activities to hear Bernard speak, and tales of his supposed miracles spread throughout the city. Submission to Innocent and Lothair was easily granted by an overwhelming vote of the parliament—what is more, Bernard convinced the Milanese to release political prisoners, and even to turn to the

249 The details of Bernard's contact with Milan are noted in TreccSM 3:355-66. A more in-depth examination of Bernard's impact on the politico-ecclesiastical transformations in Milan during the 1130s is found in Zerbi, "San Bernardo di Clairvaux e Milano," in *San Bernardo e l'Italia: Atti del Convegno di studi, Milano, 24-26 maggio 1990* (Milan: Scriptorium Claravallense, 1993), 51-58. The author attempts to clarify Bernard's role in the eventual fall of "l'opposizione autonomistica in Milano," by re-examining the often cryptic rendering of Landolfo di San Paulo (i.e. Landolfo Juniore, mid-12th c.)—likewise prone to editorial slant in favor of Ambrosian autonomy—and placing them beside the saint's own letters and other contemporary documents. Zerbi notes, for example, that Bernard's impact was assisted by an already established Cistercian community near Milan some years before his visit, such that the saint could address them in his letters as "fratres de Mediolani" (Zerbi, "San Bernardo," 54).

material excesses of their own churches, by removing unbecoming ornaments of gold and silver.²⁵⁰

Such was the intensity of Milan's admiration for Bernard, that as the Abbot was preparing his leave, a crowd surrounded the presbytery of San Lorenzo, and with chants and prayers begged him to stay as their new archbishop. The Milanese evidently saw in Bernard a reincarnation of their beloved Ambrose—not least in his great love of the Virgin Mary. A curious link between the two is seen in the legendary account of how Bernard made his decision—namely, in the exact way that Ambrose had supposedly done when confronted with the same request.²⁵¹ Anselmo's successor was, of course, not Bernard, but rather Robaldo (former bishop of Alba), who maintained the new will of the people, and swore allegiance to Innocent. For his part, Bernard returned the affection of the Milanese by granting a request to erect an abbey in their midst, modeled after his own at Clairvaux. The abbey, situated some three miles from Milan—and soon christened Chiaravalle—was like its model, originally built upon a fallow and unhealthy terrain, yet artfully transformed into a rich and fertile field by Bernard's Cistercian monks. The Abbey of Chiaravalle soon prospered, and became a model of piety, as well as agricultural ingenuity, throughout Lombardy.

Saint Bernard and the Intercession of the Virgin Mary

The account of Bernard of Clairvaux's visit to Milan is significant to this study, since the extraordinary display of admiration offered the Abbot doubtless extended to his impassioned Mariology—again showing a certain parallel to Peter Damian. However,

²⁵⁰ TreccSM 3:364–65.

²⁵¹ The story is told by Landolfo di San Paulo, *Historia mediolanensis*, MGH 20:42: Bernard replied neither yes nor no, but instead left the judgment to God; he mounted his horse, and if the animal turned away from Milan, it would mean that the request was unrealizable. The *Vita sancti Ambrosii* of Paulinus (III, 8) recounts a very similar story involving the autonomous actions of a horse as among the ways that Ambrose hoped to escape his episcopal election. Obviously, the two horses took heed of opposing divine judgments.

whereas Peter impacted Marian liturgy (the Little Office), Bernard's influence would be "limited" to Marian devotion. Not surprising, since by the 1130s all of the principal liturgical elements of Marian worship—Marian feasts, the Votive Mass of the Virgin, and the Little Office—were in place within the Ambrosian rite. To be precise, a few Marian feasts were still to be added into the Ambrosian calendar, most notably that of the Visitation (late-14th century) and the Immaculate Conception—originally celebrated as a Votive Mass (late-15th century). The observance of the latter is among the most significant Marian developments of the Middle Ages, with Western origins dating to the twelfth century; yet, since the controversy surrounding the Immaculate Conception is more a product of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—including in Milan—its full discussion will appear in the next chapter.

The twelfth century is sometimes labeled in Church history as the Age of Saint Bernard, suggesting the strong impact his life and writings had upon his contemporaries and immediate successors—in political as well as ecclesiastical matters. His influence extends profoundly to his writings on the Virgin Mary as well, despite the fact that the famous Abbot contributed little that was genuinely original. Indeed, compared to many of his contemporaries, Bernard shows himself a conservative theologian, staunchly reliant on Scripture and the Church Fathers, and skeptical of innovations.²⁵²

Bernard's conservatism regarding the Virgin Mary is seen, for example, when compared to the flamboyant Mariology of the Benedictine archbishop, Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109)—whose nascent scholasticism gave rational, as opposed to Scriptural, support to a host of Marian pronouncements hitherto unknown in the West. Most consequential was Anselm's logical arguments regarding the nature of sin and Mary's unique degree of purity—which as developed by his disciple Eadmer (c. 1060–c.

²⁵² Cf. Zerbi, NCE 2:337: "Bernard's theology was not distinguished by the discovery of new modes of thought or the achievement of new conclusions but by its continual permeation with a rich interior experience."

1128), gave rise to the first doctrinal defense of the Immaculate Conception, though this had been denied by Anselm himself.²⁵³ These two writers, in fact, offer a sudden intensification of Marian devotion that will scarcely be exceeded in the next four centuries—the forging of an explicit definition of Mary's critical role in Salvation and her essential advocacy on behalf of man: "Sometimes Salvation is swifter," Eadmer explains, "if we remember [Mary's] name than if we invoke the name of the Lord Jesus, her only Son."²⁵⁴ In such statements, theology has appropriated the convictions of popular Marian piety, though now supported with often elaborate scholastic reasoning. By no means will all subsequent writers embrace the more "extreme" Marian views of these two theologians, though given the influence especially of Anselm, the floodgates of High Mariology were manifestly open.

Saint Bernard, the determined adversary of Peter Abelard and the new scholasticism, was one such voice of moderation in the face of an approaching deification of the Virgin Mary.²⁵⁵ Specifically, Bernard voiced an unambiguous objection to belief in the Immaculate Conception—holding to the traditional, Augustinian view that original sin is transmitted inescapably by concupiscence, and thus applies to the Virgin Mary as well. Bernard's rejection came in response to the recent arrival—from England—of the Feast of Mary's Conception into his native Lyons; and suffice it say here that his objections proved authoritative throughout the twelfth century. His conservatism extended also to the issue of Mary's bodily assumption into heaven, which

253 Joseph Bruder, *The Mariology of Saint Anselm of Canterbury* (Dayton: Mount St. John Press 1939); and A. W. Burridge, "L'Immaculée Conception dans la théologie de l'Angleterre médiévale," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 32 (1936), 570-97. More on Anselm's and Eadmer's connection to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception will appear in Chapter 2.

254 *Liber de Excellentia Virginis Mariae* (PL159:570): "Velociorque est nonnunquam salus memorato nomine ejus quam invocato nomine Domini Jesu unici filii ejus."

255 Cf. LaurenCT, 72: "La théologie mariale de saint Bernard est sobre, profonde, traditionnelle, spirituelle... Il fixa certaines acquisitions en formules éclatantes qui passèrent à la postérité, mais fut, sur d'autres points, un élément-freins..." For a recent bibliography on Bernard's Mariology, see Ferruccio Gastaldelli, ed., *Opere di San Bernardo* (Milan: Scriptorium Claravallense, 1990), 2:41-43.

by then had become almost universally affirmed—following the recent dissemination of Pseudo-Augustine's treatise on the subject, itself reliant on an incipient scholasticism to rationalize a theological "truth" without need of Scriptural confirmation.²⁵⁶ Bernard, in fact, neither confirms nor denies the bodily Assumption of the Virgin, despite having composed four sermons on the feast, obviously unwilling to pass judgment on such matters where Scripture was silent.

The sobriety with which Bernard viewed the Marian innovations of his day, however, sharply contrasts with his exuberant advocacy on behalf of an already well-established Marian attribute: her role as Mediatrix between her Son and the faithful. This study has already traced the devotional origins of Mary as intercessor, dating in the West from the eighth century; and particularly the impact of Peter Damian in clarifying her eschatological mediation—whereby a regular recitation of the Little Office granted assurance of the Virgin's assistance on the Day of Judgment. Bernard facilitated the broadening of this devotion, not through any theological innovation, but rather by virtue of the new eloquence and force of expression which characterize his writings. The unfailing mediation of the Virgin forms the dominant subtext for all of Bernard's Marian sermons—which, beyond those on the Assumption, include three on the Purification, one for the Nativity (the sermon on the "Aqueduct"), a set of four homilies "Super Missus Est" (Annunciation), and the influential "Sermon on the Twelve Stars."²⁵⁷ The beauty and intensity of these sermons appear most remarkable when Bernard addresses the

256 Laurentin, in fact, has proposed situating the tract of Pseudo-Augustine within the milieu of Anselm of Canterbury, particularly given the scholastic, non-biblical argument used there and in the writings of Eadmer—namely, the deductive reasoning proceeding *potuit* (could), *voluit* (would), *fecit* (did). See Laurentin, 57.

257 Bernard's Marian sermons are found in PL 183:55-88 (Homiliae "Super Missus Est"); 383-98 (Sermones in Purificatione B.V. Mariae); 415-30 (Sermones in Annuntiatione B.V. Mariae); 429-38 (Sermo de duodecim praerogativis B.V. Mariae); and 437-48 (Sermo de aquaeductu = Sermo in Nativitate B.V. Mariae). Highly influential, as well, are Bernard's 86 *Sermones in Canticum Canticorum*, which, however, deal with the Virgin Mary in an ancillary manner only; more on their impact will appear in Chapter 3.

faithful directly, imploring them to embrace the sure path to shelter—as he does following a poetic explication of the Virgin's name:

Let us say a few words about this name [Maria], which as interpreted means "Star of the Sea," and which suits so appropriately the Virgin Mother. For she is so aptly likened to a star... whose rays illuminate the whole world, whose splendor shines upon the heavens above, and penetrates into hell—traversing the earth, and while warming our hearts more than our bodies, fosters virtues and drives out vices. She is, I say, that bright and excellent star, sustained by necessity above this great and large sea, twinkling through her merits, shining by her examples. O, whoever you are, you who in the flurry [*profluvio*] of this world feel yourself more driven about by storms and tempests than walking upon solid ground, do not turn your eyes from the splendor of this star, if you do not want to be overwhelmed by these storms! If the winds of temptation arise, if you strike against the rocks of tribulation, look to the star, call upon Mary. If you are thrown about upon the waves of pride, of ambition, of slander, of envy, look to the star, call upon Mary... If you, disturbed by the immensity of your crimes, bewildered by the foulness of your conscience, frightened by the horror of your judgments, begin to be devoured within the pit of sadness, within the abyss of despair, think of Mary. In dangers, in anxiety, in doubt, think of Mary, call upon Mary. Let her not leave your lips nor your heart, and so that you may obtain the intercession of her prayer, do not abandon the example of her conduct. Following her, you will not stray; beseeching her, you will not despair; thinking of her, you will not err.²⁵⁸

258 *Homila secunda "Super Missus Est"* (PL 183:70-71): "Loquamur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum 'Maris stella' dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur, ... cuius radius universum orbem illuminat, cuius splendor et praeifulget in supernis, et inferos penetrat, terras etiam perlustrans, et, calefaciens magis mentes quam corpora, fovet virtutes, excoquit vitia. Ipsa, inquam, est praeclara et eximia stella, super hoc mare magnum et spatiosum necessario sublevata, micans meritis, illustrans exemplis. O quisquis te intelligis in huius saeculi profluvio magis inter procellas et tempestates fluctuare quam per terram ambulare, ne avertas oculos a fulgore huius sideris, si non vis obrui procellis! Si insurgant venti temptationum, si incurras scopulos tribulationum, respice stellam, voca Mariam. Si iactaris superbiae undis, si ambitionis, si detractationis, si aemulationis, respice stellam, voca Mariam... Si criminum immantiate turbatus, conscientiae foeditate confusus, iudicii horrore perterrius, baratro incipias absorberi tristitiae, desperationis abyssu, cogita Mariam. In periculis, in angustiis, in rebus dubiis, Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca. Non recedat ab ore, non recedat a corde, et ut impetres eius orationis suggragium, non deseras conversationis

Bernard is here not exhorting the faithful to fulfill a particular devotional act, such as the recitation of an Office, in order to gain the Virgin's intercession. Rather, he is imploring them simply to keep Mary ever-present in their minds and hearts, to do nothing more than to "call upon Mary"—that alone is sufficient to merit her protection. Nor has Bernard limited this protection to the Day of Judgment, but rather has opened it up to any moment of temptation or weakness in this life: in sadness, despair, anxiety, or doubt, the "stella maris" will not fail you. Bernard's devotion to Mary, aptly described by Steven Botterill as "intense and intensely personal,"²⁵⁹ is centered upon a conviction that without Mary, man faces a desolate existence: "Take away Mary, this star of the sea, of a sea so great and large, what else is left but overwhelming gloom, the shadow of death and densest darkness?"²⁶⁰ To be sure, God begot Christ as the true advocate of man, and yet an intermediary was likewise deemed necessary—an "Aqueduct" through whom the divine water of grace may flow from God to sinner; Mary is that aqueduct, that Mediatrix, who obtains this right through "the vehemence of her desire, the fervor of her devotion, and the purity of her prayer."²⁶¹ The Virgin likewise reverses the path for the faithful, enabling each sinner a direct channel to God: "The Son will certainly hear the Mother, and the Father will hear the Son. My children, this is the ladder of sinners, this is my greatest pledge, this is the whole reason of my hope."²⁶²

exemplum. Ipsam sequens non devias, ipsam rogans non desperas, ipsam cogitans non erras." For more on the image of Mary as the "Star of the Sea," see Chapter 3.

259 Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the "Commedia"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 167.

260 *Sermo de aquaeductu* (PL 183:441): "Tolle Mariam, hanc maris stellam, maris utique magni et spatiosi: quid nisi caligo involvens, et umbra mortis, ac denissimae tenebrae relinquuntur?"

261 Ibid. (PL 183:440): "Sed quomodo noster hic aquaeductus fontem illum attigit tam sublimem? Quomodo putas, nisi vehementia desiderii, nisi fervore devotionis, nisi puritate orationis?"

262 Ibid. (PL 183:441): "Exaudiet utique Matrem Filius, et exaudiet Filium Pater. Filioli, haec peccatorum scala, haec mea maxima fiducia est, haec tota ratio spei meae." The expression "peccatorum scala" is reminiscent of the description of Mary as the "scala coeli," found in Peter Damian's reading for Matins; see n. 230, above.

Yet Bernard goes further, and specifies the essential purpose of having the human-born Mary as intercessor—namely, on account of man's understandable fear of Christ's divinity:

Christ could certainly have been sufficient [for our Salvation], since indeed everything we need comes from Him. But it was not enough for us to have this Good Man alone. It was more fitting that the other sex [also] be present at our restoration, whereby neither corruption [scil., neither that of Adam nor Eve] would be neglected. The trusted and powerful Mediator of God and the Man of men [*homo hominum*] is Jesus Christ, but men are fearful of the divine majesty within Him. Humanity feels as though devoured in His divinity, not because His essence [*substantia*] is altered, but because His relation to us [*affectio*] is deified. We sing not only of his Mercy, but equally of his Judgment... And thus surely will this woman [Mary], blessed among women, not appear idle [to us]: indeed, her place in this reconciliation is to be found. For a mediator is needed with that Mediator, and none other is more beneficial to us than Mary... What could human frailty fear in approaching Mary? There is nothing severe in her, nothing terrible: she is wholly sweet [*tota suavis*], offering milk and fleece to all.²⁶³

The notion that Mary provides tender advocacy in the face of an intimidating Christ was not new with Bernard—it has been seen in Peter Damian's appeal to Mary to "placate the Judge."²⁶⁴ Following Bernard's explications, however, the relationship between Mary and Christ becomes increasingly defined in just these terms: Christ the

²⁶³ *Sermo de duodecim praerogativis B.V. Mariae* (PL 183:429-430): "Et quidem sufficere poterat Christus; siquidem et nunc omnis sufficientia nostra ex eo est; sed nobis bonum non erat esse hominum solum. Congruum magis, ut addresset nostrae reparationi sexus uterque, quorum corruptioni neuter defuisset. Fidelis plane et praepotens mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, sed divinam in eo reverentur homines majestatem. Absorpta videtur in deitatem humanitas, non quod mutata sit substantia, sed affectio deificata. Non sola illi cantatur misericordia, cantatur pariter et iudicium... Jam itaque nec ipsa mulier benedicta in mulieribus videbitur otiosa: invenietur equidem locus ejus in hac reconciliatione. Opus est enim mediatore ad mediatorem istum, nec alter nobis utilior quam Maria... Quid ad Mariam accedere trepidet humana fragilitas? Nihil austerum in ea, nihil terribile: tota suavis est, omnibus offerens lac et lanam"

²⁶⁴ See p. 107, above.

stern Judge, Mary the merciful advocate.²⁶⁵ Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, their respective roles become ever-more polarized, with Mary providing the only sure restraint against the "wrathful" Christ. In the opinion of the present writer, this heavenly dynamic provides perhaps the best explanation for the ultimate hegemony of Marian polyphony during the Early Renaissance—a plenitude of song, praise, and petition offered to the Virgin Mary in exchange for her merciful intercession before a stern and potentially wrathful Judge. This hypothesis finds some support, moreover, in Craig Wright's recent claim that *l'homme armé*—the feared armed man, and subject of numerous Mass cycles composed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—is none other than Christ Himself.²⁶⁶ In this case, the large corpus of Marian motets composed during this period would make for a fitting complement to these cycles, offered in reverence—to quote from the Kyrie trope of the fourth Naples *Missa L'homme armé*—to "Christ: God, Man, and Judge, the Avenger of sins."²⁶⁷

The authority granted St. Bernard's over-all theology was sufficient to authenticate an intensified faith in Mary as man's greatest and most accessible advocate, the Mediatrix whose willing assistance was a mere thought or a plea away.

265 Cf. Elizabeth Johnson, "Mary and the Female Face of God," *Theological Studies* 50 (1989), 509: "While Jesus Christ was acknowledged as the gracious Savior, his function of judging frequently overshadowed the quality of his mercy, which in turn was attributed abundantly to Mary. Innumerable writers followed the line of thinking reflected in an influential 13th-century sermon [on the Assumption, spuriously attributed to Saint Bonaventura] which proclaimed that the kingdom of God was divided into two zones, justice and mercy; Mary had the better part because she was the Queen of Mercy, while her Son was King of Justice, and 'mercy is better than justice.' She was then depicted as restraining Christ's wrath, placing back into its sheath his sword which was raging against sinful humanity." As already observed, the roots of this dynamic clearly extend at least a century earlier—to Bernard, and even to Peter Damian.

266 Wright, "Dufay and the Theology of the 'L'homme armé' Masses," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Baltimore, Md, November, 1996).

267 "Christus, deus homoque iudex, ultor viciorum." See Judith Cohen, ed., *Six anonymous L'homme armé masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 85 (American Institute of Musicology [Neuhausen-Stuttgart]: Hanssler-Verlag, 1981), 144.

While the impact of Bernard's Mariology may be prone to exaggeration,²⁶⁸ the subsequent currency of his Marian vision well into the Renaissance—indeed, to the present day—cannot be denied. An obvious example is Dante's *Paradiso*, especially the "cantos of apotheosis" (XXXI-XXXIII)—deemed by Jaroslav Pelikan "one of the most sublime moments in the history of devotion to Mary."²⁶⁹

Dante (1265–1321) grants prominence to the Virgin Mary already at the beginning of *Inferno*, as the very source that incited Beatrice's journey: "In heaven, there's a gentle lady—one who weeps for the distress toward which I [Beatrice] send you, so that stern judgment up above is shattered."²⁷⁰ This subtle echo of Bernard—Mary's compassionate protection against the "stern judgment up above"—then becomes explicit in *Paradiso*, when Dante reveals Bernard as the "holy elder" and guide through whom his journey finds consummation: "The Queen of Heaven, for whom I am all aflame with love, will grant us every grace: I am her faithful Bernard." It is Bernard who then voices for Dante the ecstatic prayer to the Virgin that opens the final canto—abounding in praise that belies directly the abbot's own Marian creed:

Lady, you are so high, you can so intercede that he who would have grace but does not seek your aid, may long to fly but has no wings. Your loving-kindness does not only answer the one who asks, but is often ready to answer freely long before the asking. In you compassion is, in you is pity, in you is generosity, in you is every goodness found in any creature.²⁷¹

268 See Rachel Lee Fulton, "The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993), 8-10. Three chapters of Fulton's dissertation (nos. 3, 5, and 6) present a review of various Marian sermons of the twelfth and thirteenth century (with particular focus on the Song of Songs), partly with an eye to challenging the common assumption of Bernard's ubiquitous influence on ensuing Mariology.

269 PelikaM, 139. See Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical*; and Alexandre Masseron, *Dante et Saint Bernard* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1953). Both PelikaM and WarnerA have chapters on Dante and his appropriation of Saint Bernard in *Paradiso*.

270 Inf. II, 94-96. In this and the following quotation from Dante's "Commedia", I use the verse translation by Allen Mandelbaum (New York: Knopf, 1995).

271 Par. XXXIII, 16-21. With such direct connections between the "Commedia" and Bernard's Mariology, it is difficult to understand Warner's assertion that, "[Dante] borrows next to nothing from Bernard's writings" (p. 170).

This is the language of the new Mariology—adoring, reverent, courtly, and abundantly trusting in the Virgin's merciful intercession. In Dante, as in countless sermons and theological treatises of the late Middle Ages, Bernard's "intense and intensely personal" devotion to Mary—the *Mediatrix tota suavis*—forms a dominant wellspring for this new type of Marian utterance; which from the pulpit easily descended into the hearts and minds of the faithful.

Doubtless among those faithful were the Milanese citizens who pleaded with Bernard—with chants and prayers—to remain in their midst as archbishop, a most worthy heir to their beloved Saint Ambrose. Indeed, some resemblances between Bernard and Ambrose are evident, particularly with regard to the Virgin Mary: namely, the profound love that each offered the Virgin arose not through any extravagant placement of independent powers upon her, but rather by virtue of her unique relationship with her Son—what for Ambrose originated in Mary's role in the Incarnation, culminated for Bernard in her heavenly mediation, both of which are expressed in manifestly Christological terms. At a time when claims of Mary's independent, divine-like properties were becoming increasingly prevalent, the Milanese may well have embraced Bernard's conservative, though ardent, theology as a return to the lost authority of their patron saint.

The memory of Bernard's exhortation to the faithful to "call upon Mary" in moments of difficulty, may well have animated the remarkable rally of the Milanese citizenry to restore the damaged inflicted upon the *campanile* and church of Santa Maria Maggiore by Frederick Barbarossa. The destruction came following an empty promise by Frederick himself that the Cathedral's *campanile*—"of wondrous beauty, and of such

great height and admirable width, which is [otherwise] never said in Italy"²⁷²—would be spared from the Emperor's more general design to destroy the towers of the city. The attack upon the *campanile*, carried out at the vengeful hands of the Pavians, was delivered with such force that a good portion of the Cathedral was damaged in the process. In its aftermath, the Milanese must have felt "devoured within the abyss of despair," to quote Bernard. That the Milanese fulfilled the Abbot's follow-up prescription to "think of Mary" is attested to by an account of the fourteenth century chronicler Fiamma:

... out of devotion to the blessed Virgin, the noble [Milanese] women, who themselves had [just] returned to their city, had the Major church of the blessed Virgin Mary re-built by selling their rings and jewels.²⁷³

This scenario, of Milanese noblewomen moved to charitable civic action by an intense love for the Virgin, will appear again later in connection with the construction of the new Santa Maria Maggiore, the Duomo (Chapter 2). In the meantime, restoration of the older Cathedral undoubtedly played a role in re-vitalizing the city's spiritual life once the threat of Frederick Barbarossa and his Lombard collaborators subsided into memory.

Liturgical and Musico-Liturgical Codification in the Twelfth Century

Finally, in matters of liturgy, the years preceding Frederick Barbarossa's Italian campaign witnessed a providential codification of the Ambrosian rite in the *Ordo et*

272 "... remansit campanile Ecclesiae Majoris mirae pulchritudinis, maximaeque altitudinis et ammirandae latitudinis, quae numquam fuisse dicitur in Italia." Cited in CattMS, 63, after the contemporary chronicler, Otto Morena.

273 Fiamma, *Chronicon majus*: "...nobiles matronae ex devotione ad beatam Virginem, quae ipsas in suam civitatem reduxerat, ecclesiam beatae Mariae Virginis Majorem venditis annulis et ornamentis reaedificari fecerunt..." Cited in CattMS, 63. The campanile itself took nearly two hundred years to completely restore.

caeremoniae ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis (c. 1126) of Beroldus.²⁷⁴ A custodian and supervisor of candle-lighting (*cicendelarius*) at Santa Maria Maggiore, Beroldus, in his own words, "set out to convey in this book all that I saw and heard, and what I discovered in books."²⁷⁵ At the same time, Beroldus's *Ordo* presents, for the first time, a division of Ambrosian feasts into three categories: solemn (*in dominicis deibus*), simple (*in [festis] sanctorum*), and very simple (*de minoribus festivitibus*).²⁷⁶ His liturgical descriptions and festal divisions would prove authoritative well into the Renaissance—not least the identification of Purification and Annunciation as "feste domeniche."²⁷⁷ The *Ordo*, however, describes only the ceremonies of the principal clergy, and is silent regarding the "decumani" priests—who likely maintained a more direct link with popular piety.²⁷⁸

These years likely saw as well the creation of the first Ambrosian chant Antiphonaries (serving both Mass and Office) with neumatic notation, the most important of which is the London MS Add. 34209, reproduced and transcribed in PM V and VI.²⁷⁹ The late appearance of neumatic notation in Milan—compared to the Gregorian tradition, where neumatic usage dates to the early tenth century—attests to the long survival of a predominantly oral tradition of Ambrosian chant. The decision to adopt neumatic notation here in the twelfth century would seem to reflect the same sudden impulse for codification and stabilization that prompted the creation of Beroldus's *Ordo*—itself a latter-day counterpart to the Roman *Ordines*, dating from the eighth century. The London manuscript displays, moreover, a somewhat conservative

274 BeroldO, with an introduction to Beroldus, the *Ordo*, and other early liturgical books—most significantly the 13th c. *Manuale Ambrosiana* "Beroldus novus," labeled M—on pp. viii-xxi.

275 Ibid., 35: "[E]go Beroldus custos et cicendelarius ejusdem ecclesiae [Mediolanensis], quidquid vidi et audiui et scriptum reperi, huic nostro libello tradere disposui."

276 Ibid., 46-67.

277 See ibid., 228 [note (262)]; and BorelRA, 437-38.

278 TreccSM 3:802.

279 The exact dating and provenance of the London Antiphonary is uncertain, with little help coming from the Sanctorale; in all likelihood the manuscript was compiled for metropolitan use, primarily in the eleventh century, with some additions in the twelfth. See HugloFP, 39-40.

semiography, as for example in the use of several different letter-clefs (D, E, F, g, a, b, c), at a time when most Gregorian manuscripts relied only on C and F, following the innovations of Guido d'Arezzo a century earlier.²⁸⁰

Both the *Ordo* and the new Antiphonaries proved important to the revitalization of religious and ceremonial life following the destructive years of Barbarossa's campaign against Milan. Beyond the physical destruction of homes and towers—including, of course, the *campanile* and part of the sanctuary of Santa Maria Maggiore—the devastation resulted in an extended absence of ecclesiastical authority, as both the archbishop Uberto da Pirovano and the archdeacon Galdino fled to France with Pope Alexander III (1162). Galdino returned five years later as the new archbishop, just in time to initiate Milan's spiritual recovery in the wake of the Lombard League's formation—a recovery doubtless complete by 1186, when the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio sparkled as the now vindicated host to an imperial wedding.

²⁸⁰ HugloFP, 39-47 A comparative graph showing earlier Gregorian chant manuscripts with more than two clefs is given on p. 41.

Chapter 2

Part I: Marian Devotion in Milan

From the Rise of the Mendicants to the Fall of the Sforza

A. The Catharic Heresy and the Mariology of the Mendicant Orders

Historical Background

The euphoria of civic unity following Milan's successful showdown with Frederick was short-lived, for hardly was the emperor out of Lombardy that the old internal struggles resumed.¹ The emerging classes (i.e., the bourgeoisie), still sensing their political vulnerability, organized themselves into a union of sorts, the "Credenza di Sant'Ambrogio"—in direct opposition to "la Motta" (lesser nobles) and the "Società dei Gagliardi" (great nobles). Conflict between factions was fierce enough to warrant the creation, in 1186, of a "podestà," a non-Milanese moderator—whose own political ambitions only served to aggravate the situation. Adding to the sense of chaos and division was a renewed and highly intense struggle with heresy: the Cathars, who by 1200 had made significant inroads into Lombardy. The heretics found some support in the lower strata of society, but earned only the wrath of the archbishop and nobility, who oversaw a cruel and bloody Inquisition against them—aided by the recently formed mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans. More on this below.

As always, temporary reconciliation arose following another external threat: this time from Barbarossa's grandson, Frederick II (emp. 1220–50)—liberated from a long tutelage under Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), and recently returned from the successful recovery of Jerusalem for the West (1228–29).² Frederick now turned his attention to restoring imperial authority over the Communes of Lombardy, prompting the hasty

1 More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (late twelfth and thirteenth centuries) can be found in TreccSM 4:115-367 ; VisconSM, 237-63; FavaSM 1:112-24; and BlondSM, 26-7; see also CorioSM 1:293-564; and MorigHM, 54-94.

2 In the so-called Sixth Crusade, Frederick was able to successfully negotiate the Western recovery of Jerusalem, which endured 1229-44.

restoration of the Lombard League (1236), with Milan at the fore. After an early defeat at Cortenuova (1237), the cause of the League gradually rebounded—aided by Pope Gregory IX (1227–41), who declared a Crusade against Frederick in 1239. A series of battles culminated in the capture of Frederick's son, Erzo (1245), whose release was secured only upon condition that the emperor forever abandon his offensive against Milan. This decisive coup carried weighty repercussions, for upon Frederick's death in 1250, the threat of Imperial control over Italy was largely eradicated—paving the way for a bold new era: that of the princely Italian City-States.

In Milan, the prize of princely control—"la Signoria"—boiled down to a heated contest between two leading noble families, the Della Torre, known as the Torriani, and the Visconti. The conflict between these two families formed the personification of a more general division, forged in Italy over the preceding century, between two groups: the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines. Theoretically, the two groups represented support for the pope on the one side, and the emperor on the other; but in practice the division was much less externally based—if anything the Guelphs represented the cause of the Republic, the Ghibbelines that of aristocratic rule, though even this was open to revision. The people's victory over imperial forces threw an early advantage to the (Guelph) Torriani, starting with Pagano the Good, who earned popular support through his valiant succor of wounded soldiers in the wake of the devastating battle of Cortenuova. Then in 1241, Pagano's nephew Martino was elected "anzione (elder) della credenza di Sant'Ambrogio," formally marking the beginning of the Milanese "Signoria."

Ghibbine opposition to the Torriani was initially led by the Franciscan Archbishop Leone da Perego—himself anxious to reduce the ever-increasing influence of Rome—and achieved a critical victory in the election of Ottone Visconti as archbishop (1262), paradoxically orchestrated by Pope Urban IV, who had now begun to mistrust the Torriani. The latter, though, still dominated Milanese governance: in 1273, Napo della Torre secured the title of Imperial Vicar of Milan from Emperor Rudolph; but the

move backfired and popular support soon shifted to the Visconti. Napo's surprise capture at the hands of Archbishop Ottone at the Battle of Desio (1277) then further signaled the decline of the Torriani. It was, however, the astute diplomacy of Ottone's nephew Matteo that truly paved the road toward Visconti dominance of Milan. Matteo was first elected "capitano del popolo" (1287), then podestà (1288), and eventually Imperial Vicar of Milan and Lombardy (1294)—now without popular resistance.

The Torriani mustered one last return to power around 1307, thanks largely to the reckless military enterprises of Matteo's sons, which undermined public support for the Visconti; all were all forced to abdicate in 1302. Even in exile, though, Matteo displayed his great political acumen: in a clever and well-timed alliance with Emperor Henry VII, he nuanced public sentiment against the growing tyranny of the Torriani—their homes were destroyed (1311), and they soon disappeared altogether from Milanese politics. Finally, in exchange for a timely supply of gold (1312), Henry granted Matteo the imperial vicarate as a hereditary investiture—thereby ensuring the Visconti an undisputed reign over Milan that would endure for more than 130 years.

The Cathars and Their Adversaries

The thirteenth century saw the burgeoning of two contrasting trends in Italy, whose fierce confrontation would yield equally contrasting results: the rise of heresy on the one side, and the Mendicant Orders on the other. The near simultaneity of these two developments was by no means accidental—as seen, for example, in Saint Dominic's early missionary activities against the (Southern French) Albigenses, before founding his own order (c. 1216). More evident, though, is the absolutely dominating role that the Mendicants would play in eradicating the threat of heresy, in Italy generally, and Milan specifically—where the infiltration was especially strong. With calculated severity, the Mendicants either organized or participated in a brutal campaign to maintain

orthodoxy, such that by the end of the century, the force of heresy was all but extinguished.

The heretics of Italy were known by several names, primarily Cathars, but also Manichaenans, Luciferans, Publicans, Albigenses, and so forth. In Lombardy they were frequently labeled the Patareni, a reference back to the revolutionary party of the eleventh century, the Pataria (see Chapter 1). The theological notions of the Catharist heresy date back to the early eleventh century, but the movement solidified only in the mid-twelfth century, particularly in Germany. By 1200, the Cathars had established strongholds in Italy and Southern France, finding support chiefly among the poor. Several contemporary accounts reveal Milan as somewhat of a Catharist center during the first half of the twelfth century: one Lombard, Stefano di Borbone, tallied seventeen separate and divisive heretical sects in the city; while a visiting French preacher, Jacob de Vitry, labeled Milan a "fovea haereticorum" (a pit of heresy).³ Of such concern was the orthodox stability of Milan that Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) felt obliged to forcefully urge its citizens to "become defenders against the peculiar depravity of the heretics."⁴

Catharism was a complex of theological, moral, and speculative beliefs with an inherently antagonistic attitude toward the Catholic Church. Placing great significance on the observation of evil and sin in this world, the Cathars forged a dualistic theology: the Good, upper world of pure spirit, and the Evil, lower world of flesh and material—each ruled by its own deity (scil., God and the devil), and fundamentally opposed to one another. So long as spirit resided in human flesh, it was subject to punitive imprisonment, from which only the most extreme asceticism could grant temporary

3 Jacob, then a bishop in the Holy Land, wrote in a letter of 1216: "Post hoc vero in civitatem quamdam Mediolanensem scilicet quae fovea est hereticorum, ubi per aliquot dies mansi et verbum Domini in aliquibus locis praedicavi." Cited in CattMS, 79; see also *ibid.*, pp. 64–68.

4 Innocent, in a letter of 1212, addressed to the consuls and people of Milan, wrote: "Facti estis haereticae pravitatis praceipui defensores." Cited in CattMS, 66.

redemption—refrain from marriage, abstinence from all meat products, etc. Antagonism to the Church arose principally from the Catharist rejection of Christ's human Incarnation and bodily Resurrection, maintaining that Christ was but an angel with a phantom body, and the New Testament accounts merely allegories intended for teaching the true duality of existence. The flagrant wealth of the Church, moreover, was taken as a symptom of the devil's earthly dominance. Most alarming to the Church was the forceful missionary mandate of the heretics, performed chiefly by the fully observant "perfects" upon a growing number of semi-observant "believers."⁵

Catholic opposition to the threat of Catharism awoke slowly, but once marshaled, erupted into a full-scale assault. The strategical center of the offensive was Rome, initiated by Innocent III—arguably the most powerful of Medieval popes—who first preached a Crusade against the Albigenses in 1208, and then the condemnation of all heresies at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). In short order a two-fold campaign emerged: an Inquisition, supervised by Rome, against the principal propagators of heresy; and counter-missionary work, carried out by the Mendicants, aimed to strengthen the resistance of the orthodoxy. The Inquisitors relied on co-operation from local ecclesiastical and municipal powers, but were ultimately beholden to the Pope alone—an arrangement easily given to factional conflict. Most of the Inquisitors, too, were drawn from the Mendicants (Dominicans and Franciscans), demonstrating just how propitious the "Catharist Crusade" was for the ascendancy of these newly formed orders.

The Dominicans (*Ordo Praedicatorum*) obtained papal recognition as a distinct order by Honorius III (1216–27), and throughout the Middle Ages were frequently employed as papal "agents" in matters ranging from diplomatic missions to the

⁵ For more on the Cathars (Cathari), see Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1989); Malcolm D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (London: E. Arnold, 1977), esp. 1-150; Hans Söderberg, *La religion des Cathares* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1949); and Y. Dossat, "Cathari" in NCE 3:246-47.

collection of levies.⁶ In the General Chapter at Bologna (1220), the Dominicans codified an official dedication to preaching and theological study, which in turn prompted their principal charge from the papacy—the combat of heresy. This was facilitated by the wide dispersion of Dominican preachers throughout Italy—and beyond—in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1219, Saint Dominic (c. 1172–1221) himself visited Milan, and was warmly welcomed by the Augustinian community of San Nazzaro. A Dominican community, under friar Jacopo degli Ariboldi, quickly arose in the city through the generous support of the episcopal office; in October, 1220, Archbishop Enrico da Settala granted them possession of the famous church of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan—to which was soon attached a magnificent convent.⁷ Sant'Eustorgio in fact became the virtual epicenter of the Milanese anti-heresy campaign, culminating in the arrival of friar Peter of Verona (c. 1200–1252) as papal agent, and later Inquisitor, in 1232.

These same years also saw the appearance in Milan of the Franciscans (the Friars Minor). Saint Francis of Assisi (c. 1181–1226) had prepared a simple rule for his followers in 1209, but only with its final revision (the "Regula Bullata") in 1223 did the order receive official papal approval, again by Honorius III.⁸ Like the Dominicans, the Franciscans devoted themselves to preaching, and yet their more severe dedication to poverty brought them in time a greater degree of popular affection. Some traditions

6 For more on the Dominicans, see William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* [from origins to 1500], 2 vols. (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1966-73); B.M. Ashley, *The Dominicans* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990); BonnHD; see also W.A. Hinnebusch, "Dominicans" in NCE 4:974-82; and William R. Bonniwell, "Dominicans (Rite)" in NCE 4:982-83.

7 See TreccSM 4:196-97.

8 For more on the Franciscans, see John R. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order, 1182–1517*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Nowiny, 1944); Paulo Sevesi, *L'ordine dei frati minori: Lezioni storiche* (Milan: Tip. archivescovile S. Giuseppe, 1960); Agostino Gemelli, *Il francescanesimo* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1932); and C.J. Lynch, "Franciscans" in NCE 6:38-46.

attest that Francis himself resided briefly in Milan;⁹ in any event, Archbishop Enrico immediately granted the order possession of the church of San Vittore al Teatro, and later Santa Maria Fulcorina. An initial Franciscan convent outside the Porta Vercellina was replaced shortly in 1233 by one in the city proper—San Francesco Maggiore—beside the Basilica of Saints Nabor and Felix. In 1256, the Paleo-Christian basilica too passed into the possession of the Franciscans, through the efforts of Leone da Perego, who had by then gained the archbishopric—demonstrating just how powerful the Friars Minor had become in twenty years.¹⁰

Together, the Dominicans and Franciscans formed the most visible defense against heresy in Milan, as elsewhere.¹¹ Beyond their fervid orthodox preaching, members of both orders played central roles in the municipal and ecclesiastical committees formed to deal with the growing menace. Rome, however, was unconvinced that the Milanese were doing all they could, and in 1232, Pope Gregory IX dispatched the Dominican Peter of Verona to evaluate the situation. Peter found, indeed, that action was necessary, and with papal sanction formed an association of zealous, even militant Catholic citizens, the *Societas Fidelium*; and the first Confraternity of the Virgin, of which more will be said below. Peter's new authority permitted a more intense assault on the Cathars, leading even to the torture and execution (burning alive) of key members—in effect, granting him the role of Inquisitor, which Innocent IV (1243–54) did formally in July, 1251. Peter's fierce command incited some resistance, including that of Archbishop Leone, who resented the Roman intrusion he represented, as well as the growing hysteria

9 According to tradition, Francis came to Milan—preceded by his disciples—and prayed at the small church of S. Maria degli Angeli; he subsequently took up lodging at the larger S. Maria Fulcorina, which became the principal Franciscan dwelling in Milan. See TreccSM 4:197-98.

10 See Sevesi, "Il B. Leone da Perego dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori arcivescovo di Milano (1190–1257)," *Studi Francescani* (1928), 41-55. See also Maria Pia Alberzoni, *Francescanesimo a Milano nel Duecento* (Milan: Edizione Biblioteca Francescana, 1991), 17-22. Leone held the archepiscopacy from 1244–57.

11 The two orders for example, were given the task of guarding the gates to keep the heretics out of Milan. See Alberzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

he helped stir in the lower classes. In April, 1251, as he was returning to Milan from Como, Peter was assassinated at the hands of the heretics—and henceforth known as Peter Martyr. His death, undoubtedly partisan, deeply moved the Milanese populace, and shortly gave rise to an elaborate annual commemorative feast in the city.¹² More importantly, Peter's death inspired a new fervor in the crusade against the Cathars, in what is strangely reminiscent of the rise and fall a century earlier of the Pataria leader, Erlembaldo da Cotta.

In their anti-heresy efforts, the two principal orders were preceded by another religious movement, of indigenous Lombard origin: the Humiliati. The movement had its foundations as much in mercantile organization—namely, in the production of wool, the chief industry of Milan—as in religious practice, from the early eleventh century.¹³ The Humiliati originally adopted the rule of Saint Benedict, and consisted of a loose mixture of priests, monks, nuns, and lay members. The sometimes radical evangelical activities of the Humiliati eventually brought them into conflict with the papacy, who condemned them for disobedience in 1184. Reconciliation came in 1201, when Pope Innocent III approved the Humiliati as an official order of the Church, to be organized into three "Orders": the first consisting of priests; the second of monks and nuns; and the third of educated lay men and women.

Almost immediately, the Humiliati were charged by Innocent and the Milanese ecclesiastical authority with combating heresy in and around Milan. The same French priest Jacob de Vitry cited above attests (in 1216) to their seemingly lone activities against the "fovea haereticorum": "Hardly can there be found anyone in this entire city

12 For more on Peter Martyr, see Meersseman, "Études sur les anciennes confréries dominicaines, 2. Les confréries de saint Pierre Martyr," *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 51-196. He was canonized on 1253; his feast day (June 4, formerly April 29) is still celebrated in the Dominican rite. See BonnHD, 90.

13 For more on the Humiliati, see Luigi Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia* (1911, reprint, Rome: Multigrafica, 1970); Giovanni Mercati, "Due ricerche per la storia degli Umiliati," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 11 (1957), 167-94; and M.F. Laughlin, "Humiliati" in NCE 7:234.

who resists the heretics, except some saintly men and religious women, who some malicious lay people call 'patareni'; but who by the Supreme Pontiff, from whom they have [been granted] the authority to preach and resist the heretics (and who also confirmed their 'religion') are called Humiliati."¹⁴ De Vitry goes on to number 150 Humiliati congregations in the Milanese archdiocese, some living in convents, and others (of the Third Order) remaining in their own homes. In the course of the thirteenth century, the Humiliati continued to expand, although their role in the fight against heresy lessened with the rise of the Mendicants. The Third Order witnessed particular growth, and in 1272 officially broke off from the other two—by which time it included among its members the famous poet Bonvesin de la Riva, of whom more will be said shortly. The Humiliati dwindled in the course of the fourteenth century, and were finally suppressed by San Carlo Borromeo in 1571, following a failed attempt on his life by some radical members of the Order.

The Virgin Mary and the Combat of Heresy

The allegorical significance with which the Cathars viewed the Gospel accounts of the New Testament, and especially their refusal to accept Christ as the human Incarnation of God, naturally led to some unorthodox interpretations of the Virgin Mary. As Christ was but an angel, or spirit, with the feigned appearance of flesh, so too was Mary in some Cathar interpretations. The Franciscan Jacob of Milan (= Giacomo Capelli, fl. 1240–70), in his *Summa contra haereticos*, for example, explains: "Some of the heretics here profess that God sent to earth three angels. One of these received the form of a woman, and this was the blessed Virgin Mary. The other two angels assumed the form

¹⁴ "Vix autem invenitur in tota civitate, qui resistat hereticis, exceptis quibusdam sanctis hominibus et religiosis mulieribus, qui a maliciosis et secularibus hominibus patroni nuncupantur. A Summo autem Pontifice, a quo habent auctoritatem praedicandi et resistendi hereticis (qui etiam religionem confirmavit) Humiliati vocantur." Cited in "Appunti e notizie," *Archivio storico lombardo* 20 (1893), 551.

of men. One was Christ, the other was John the Baptist..."¹⁵ This is echoed in another account, possibly written by the Dominican Peter Martyr: "With regard to the Virgin Mary, the Patareni (Cathars) lamentably create peril by denying that she was a woman and by consequence minimally recognize her as the Mother of God; for they rave by blaspheming that she was [but] an angel named Marinum."¹⁶

The denial of Mary's corporeal existence naturally conflicted with many fundamental tenets of Catholic worship, not least being her bodily Assumption into heaven, by now universally recognized.¹⁷ Adversaries to Catharism, such as Peter Martyr, adeptly exposed these "blasphemous" assertions to a public fiercely devoted to Mary in order stir popular sentiment against the heretics. The unification of the citizenry against the Cathars had been Peter's original mandate from Pope Gregory IX, and it was undoubtedly to this end that he instituted in Milan the first Confraternity of the Virgin, in 1232.

The Dominican Response and the *Salve Regina*

The principal aim of the Milanese Confraternity of the Virgin was to enliven within the laity an orthodox devotion to the Virgin—as the Mother of the Redeemer—as a means to uphold the correct teaching of Christ.¹⁸ This is seen in a description of the congregation given in 1248 by the Milanese Cardinal legate, Raineri Capocci:

15 "Quidam igitur ex heresiarchis eorum dogmatizant quoniam Deus tres angelos misit in mundum. Unus ex eis formam mulieris accepit, et haec fuit beata Virgo Maria. Alii duo angeli viriles formas sumpserunt. Unus fuit Christus, alius Johannes Evangelista..." Cited in CattMS, 67.

16 De beata Virgine Maria... circa quam periclitabantur Patareni miserabiliter ipsam negantes feminam fuisse et per consequentiam matrem esse Dei minime recognoscunt, delirant namque blasphemantes ipsam esse angelum nomine Marinum." Cited in CattMS, 67.

17 See Chapter 1, pp. 74-83.

18 For more on the confraternity, see Meersseman, "La prédication dominicaine dans les congrégations mariales en Italie au XIII siècle," *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948), 131-61.

"The faithful are assembled in honor of the glorious Virgin, whereby the nourishment of divine words [= sermons] are offered to them, and Masses are celebrated, so that the Mother may be more gloriously praised by the crowd for her faith in her Son; and so that these faithful, by merit of intercession from the vessel of eternal life [= Mary], may receive forgiveness of sins."¹⁹

Here Mary's faith in her Son is evoked as a symbol of the proper devotion due to Christ, suggesting just how far Mariology had evolved since the time of Ambrose, when it was Christ who led the way to the correct veneration of Mary. The meetings of the Confraternity were held in Milan on the first Sunday of each month, and on the four principal Marian feasts—and featured instructive sermons during, and elaborate, musical processions after, the meetings.²⁰ The success of the Milanese Confraternity of the Virgin soon led Peter and his fellow Dominicans to establish similar congregations in other cities throughout Italy—where attendance was motivated in part by the granting of indulgences.²¹

The motivation, of course, was not entirely tactical, for an intense devotion to the Virgin marks the entire history of the Dominicans, who from the earliest years adopted

19 "[F]idelem populum convocantes in honorem gloriosae Virginis, proposito eisdem divini verbi pabulo, missarum solemnita celebretis, ut ex frequentia populi Mater in fide Filii gloriosius praedicetur et plebs fidelis, venae vitae coelestis suffragantibus meritis, veniam accipiat peccatorum." Cited in CattMS, 70.

20 Just as this confraternity differs from earlier Marian congregations, dedicated to works of charity or the repair of Marian church, so too were the sermons delivered there marked by a new thematic style, based on the scholastic principals of *definitio* and *demonstratio*—where the privileges of Mary's divine Maternity were applied practically to the faithful's daily experience. See John O'Malley, "Form, Content, and Influence of Works About Preaching Before Trent: The Franciscan Contribution," in *I Frati Minori tra '400 e '500: Atti del XII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 18-20 ottobre, 1984* (Assisi: Università di Perugia, Centro di studi francescani, 1986), 27-31.

21 See Meersseman, "La prédication dominicaine," pp. 135-36. The author documents the rise of twenty-one Dominican Marian congregations during the thirteenth century in Italy—in such cities as Bologna, Mantua, Faenza, Padua, Cremona, Brescia, Florence, Arezzo, Sienna, and Pisa. Most, he notes, were founded during Peter Martyr's lifetime, or quickly thereafter. The granting of indulgences required some level of participation in the monthly meetings (one Sunday per month)—which usually involved a Mass, a Marian sermon, and public processions.

her as their Patroness.²² The most famous and influential symbol of Dominican devotion to Mary in its earliest years was the establishment of the Marian antiphon, *Salve Regina*, as the concluding prayer of Compline, accompanied by a processional.²³ The authorship of the antiphon (both text and music) likely belongs to Adhémar de Monteil, Bishop of Puy (d. 1098), and it first entered liturgical usage among the Cistercians—possibly at the recommendation of Saint Bernard, in 1218.²⁴ The text is as follows:

Salve regina, mater misericordiae:
 Vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.
 Ad te clamamus, exsules, filii Evae.
 Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes
 In hac lacrimarum valle.
 Eia ergo, Advocata nostra,
 Illos tuos misericordes oculos
 Ad nos converte.
 Et Jesum, benedictum
 Fructum ventris tui,
 Nobis post hoc exilium, ostende.
 O clemens, O pia, O dulcis
 Virgo Maria.

Hail, Queen, mother of mercy:
 Our life, sweetness, and hope, hail.
 To you we cry out, as exiles, sons of Eve.
 To you we sigh, mourning and weeping
 In this vale of tears.
 Come therefore, our advocate,
 Turn those merciful eyes of yours
 To us.
 And after this our exile,
 Make known to us Jesus,
 The blessed fruit of your womb
 O merciful, O pious, O sweet
 Virgin Mary.

This forceful and beautiful petition, addressed to Mary in her capacity as Queen of Heaven and merciful intercessor on behalf of the sorrowful (the exiled "sons of Eve"), echoes Bernard's vision of Mary as the merciful advocate in the face of all human trials.

²² See André Duval, "Le culte marial dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs," in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, 6 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1952), 2:739-745: (p. 739) "Un sentiment fort anime la dévotion mariale des premières générations dominicaines, la conviction d'un lien spirituel spécial entre la Vierge et l'Ordre des Prêcheurs." The earliest Dominican chronicles attest even to the Virgin's intercession as enabling the sheer existence of the Order: "Quod Domina nostra ordinem fatrum predicatorum impetravit a Filio," for example, is the title of the opening chapter of the thirteenth-century *Vitae Fratrum* (*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, I:5; cited in Duval, op cit., 739).

²³ See BonnHD, 148-67.

²⁴ For more on the *Salve regina*, see Julius J. Maier, *Studien zur Geschichte der Marienantiphon*, 'Salve regina' (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1939); and Jeannine S. Ingram, "Salve Regina," in NG 16:435-36.

She is once more invoked as the "Mater misericordiae," through whom the exiled may hope to gain access to her Son. The *Salve Regina* exemplifies the love and confidence granted Mary during the High Middle Ages, and its popularity only increased through the Renaissance, not least among composers.²⁵ The Gaffurius Codices, for example, contain five anonymous settings of the text, the greatest number of settings within these manuscripts of any single motet text, Marian or otherwise.²⁶

The introduction of the *Salve Regina* into the Dominican liturgy is generally ascribed to Jordan of Saxony, who enjoyed the honor of following Saint Dominic as master-general of the Order, in May, 1222. The year prior, Jordan held the post of first provincial for the province of Lombardy, during which time he became aware of an evil spirit tormenting a friar named Bernard, in the city of Bologna. In Jordan's own words: "The savage abuse friar Bernard was receiving was the first occasion which led us at Bologna to decide that the antiphon *Salve Regina* should be sung after Compline. From this monastery, the pious and salutary practice spread over the province of Lombardy and finally throughout the whole Order."²⁷ Indeed, within half a century, the practice of singing the antiphon at the conclusion of Compline had spread well beyond the Dominican Order—not only within other mendicant orders, such as the Franciscans, but also within the Roman and Ambrosian rites.²⁸

The popularity of the *Salve Regina* as a processional chant was especially strong among the laity, as attested by the Dominican chronicler Gerard de Fracheto (mid-13th c.): "How pleasing this procession was to God and His holy Mother was shown by the piety of the people; the way they thronged to our churches; the devotion of the clergy who came to assist at it; the tears and sighs of devotion and the visions seen [during

25 See, especially, Ingram, "The Polyphonic *Salve Regina*, 1425–1550" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1973).

26 Namely, MilD 1, 117v-118, 184v-187, and 187v-188; MilD 3, 221v-223; and MilD 4, 79v-82. The first four are transcribed in AMMM 9:16, 26, 38, and 114.

27 Cited in BonnHD, 149-50.

28 See LU, 276, and LVM, 808; both are sung to the same melody.

it]."²⁹ Given the rapid dissemination of the *Salve Regina* throughout the Order—beginning in Lombardy in 1221—it may be assumed that Peter Martyr was aware of the practice by the time of his arrival in Milan, in 1232. Again, the text explicitly refers to Mary's ability to reveal Christ to the faithful, by virtue of her great mercy; and it thus seems reasonable that Peter would have employed the *Salve Regina* as among the processional chants used to close his gatherings of the Confraternity of the Virgin—as a powerful tool in his efforts to combat heresy, and to maintain a correct Christology among the faithful through Marian devotion.

The Franciscans and the *Mater dolorosa*

The Franciscans, too, held a profound devotion to the Virgin Mary, and doubtless incorporated Marian teachings into their anti-heresy efforts. Their approach, however, was less severe than that of the Dominicans—they took no part in the Inquisition, for example—and direct evidence of their activities is less conspicuous. Friar Leone da Perego, prior to his election as Archbishop, had been assigned the task of combating the Cathars of nearby Monza, and yet his later clash with Peter Martyr was partly a response to the more militant tactics of his Dominican counterpart.³⁰ The Franciscans, in general, appeared more intensely committed to the ideals of poverty, humility, and compassion—following Saint Francis—and thus elected more subtle ways to correct the misguided teachings of the heretics. The humanity and poverty of Christ, so vital to the teachings of Francis, was likewise applied to Mary—yielding among the Franciscans a new emphasis on her humility and her suffering, with profound consequences.

Franciscan Mariology, in general, offers a new tone of humility and tenderness with respect to its subject—ecstatic celebration of Mary's joys, and personal compassion

²⁹ Cited in BonnHD, 153-54. Bonniwell cites two such "visions," by Jordan of Saxony and the sister of Guido Le Gros, later Pope Clement IV; see *ibid.*, p. 154.

³⁰ See CattMS, 75.

for her sufferings.³¹ This tender and personal style of Marian veneration would not only impact subsequent Mariology, but would also leave an indelible mark on Marian art and polyphony. An example of Franciscan Mariology as preached in thirteenth-century Milan is seen in the writings of Jacob of Milan, whose description of the Catharic Marian heresy was given above. Jacob's Mariology, summarized in a short treatise entitled *Stimulus amoris* (Sting, or Torment of Love), is marked by a penitential tone characteristic of the Franciscans:

I shall lie prostrate at the feet of [Christ's] mother, and since the mother of God was made for the sake of sinners, I shall entreat her and pray that she obtain forgiveness for me; and nor shall I suffer a refusal from her, since she is declared by all as the source of mercy. For she is not unaware of the wretched and has never known how not to seek their pardon; nor do I believe that on account of me she would wish to learn a new lesson. Therefore, out of compassion, Mary [shall be] with me before her Son, and if it can be said, she shall appear as wretched [herself], and for the sake of my forgiveness, most swiftly incline the ear of her only Son.³²

The petition offered here is humble and intensely personal. Jacob is first and foremost a sinner, one whose wretchedness would surely be condemned if not for Mary's unfailing mercy. Indeed, such is the personal bond between Mary and sinner, that "out of compassion" she herself will appear as wretched ("misera apparebit") before Christ in order to obtain the forgiveness so desperately sought by the penitent. In her capacity to effect this forgiveness, Mary is appealed to not as the all-powerful Queen of Heaven,

31 For more on Franciscan Mariology, see Jean de Dieu, "Le culte marial chez les fils de Saint François d'Assise," in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, 6 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1952), 2: 785-831. See also WarnerA, 179-84: (p. 180): "*Humilitas*, lowliness in the image of the bare ground's lowliness, was the core of the Franciscan revolution."

32 "Ad matris suae pedes provolutus iacebo et, quod propter peccatores mater Dei facta sit, allegabo et, ut mihi veniam impetret postulabo; nec repulsam ab ea pati potero, quia fons pietatis ab omnibus praedicatur. Ipsa enim non misereri ignorat et miseris non satisfacere numquam scivit; nec credo, quod propter me novam velit addiscere lectionem. Ideoque ex compassione Maria ante suum Filium mecum, si dici potest, misera apparebit et mihi ad indulgendum quam citius suum unicum Filium inclinabit." Cited in CattMS, 73.

but simply as the mother of Christ. It is by virtue of this motherhood, so Jacob explains at the close of his treatise, that Mary is granted her greatest privilege, at once singular, tragic, and enviable—namely, her participation in Christ's Passion under the Cross:

"The mother of Jesus stood beside His Cross" [cf. John 19:25]. O, my lady, where do you stand? Beside the Cross? No, certainly *upon* the Cross with your Son, for there you are crucified with Him. This is clear: what He [felt] in His body, you [felt] in your heart; and the wounds to His body were equally dispersed into your heart. There, my lady, your heart was pierced, there it was nailed, there it was crowned with thorns... O, my lady, why did you go to be sacrificed for us? Wasn't the Passion of the Son sufficient for us, did the mother too have to be crucified? O heart of love, why were you transformed into a sphere of sadness? I behold, my lady, your heart, but now I see not a heart but myrrh, absinthe, and gall ["fel" = the poison offered to Christ on the Cross]... O [one] filled by sadness, what have you done? Why did you turn a vessel of sanctity into a vessel of punishment?... But, I think, you cannot hear this because you are filled with bitterness. All of your heart has turned, my lady toward the Passion of your Son.... But, O wounded lady, let our hearts be wounded, and renew the Passion of your Son into our hearts. Join your wounded heart to our hearts, that with you we may equally be wounded by the wounds of your Son. Why, my lady, do I not possess at least this your heart, so that wherever I may go, I may always see you as transfixed by your Son? O lady, if you do not want to give me your crucified Son nor your wounded heart, at least, I beseech you grant me the wounds of your Son, the injuries, the derisions, the reproaches, and those things of the kind you feel within you. For what mother, if she could, would not gladly remove the Passions from herself and her Son and place them upon her servant?... O how blessed I would have been, if I could have been at least united in wounds to [the two of] you!... Certainly, I know what I shall do: without delay, and with cries and tears for you, I shall pray prostrate at your feet, and I shall be very distressing to you; and either you will grant this to me, or you if will have struck me, so that I may withdraw, I nevertheless shall stand and endure your scourges, until I shall be wounded everywhere, for I seek nothing from you but wounds.³³

33 "Stabat iuxta curcem Jesu mater eius. O domina mea, ubi stas? Numquid iuxta crucem? Immo certe in cruce cum Filio, ibi enim crucifixa es secum. Hoc restat, quod ipse in corpore, tu autem in

This ecstatic utterance, of a kind not seen so far in this discussion, forms a Milanese version of the *Planctus Mariae*—the lament of Mary—a literary genre that was just beginning to spread throughout Christendom, largely through Franciscan influence.³⁴ Mary is here portrayed as the *Mater dolorosa*, the mother transfixed in grief over the crucifixion and death of her only Son. As Jacob explains, Mary too was crucified at that moment, the suffering of His body transferred directly into her own heart—following upon Simeon's prophesy that "a sword shall pierce through your own soul" (Luke 2:35). After contemplating the untold sadness and tragedy of Mary's wounded heart, Jacob moves to the main point of his lament—to seek personal participation in Mary's sorrows, and to be granted himself the wounds incurred by her and her Son. Such a desire clearly echoes the legendary stigmatization of Saint Francis, received while fervently contemplating the suffering of Christ upon Mount Alvernia, on September 24, 1224.³⁵ And Jacob, too, is willing to pray with utmost humility and perseverance in order to gain the only thing he seeks, the wounds which may unite him to Mary and to Christ.

corde; nec non et vulnera per eius corpus dispersa sunt in tuo corde unita. Ibi, domina, lanceatum est cor tuum, ibi clavatum, ibi spinis coronatum... O domina, cur ivisti immolari pro nobis? Numquid non sufficiebat nobis Filii passio, nisi crucifigeretur et mater? O cor amoris, cur conversum es in globum doloris? Aspicio, domina, cor tuum, et iam non cor, sed myrrham, absynthium et fel video... O amaritudine plena, quid fecisti? Cur vas sanctitatis fecisti vas poenalitatis?... Sed, ut puto, hoc audire non potes, quia amaritudine repleta es, totum cor tuum versum erat, domina, circa Filii tui passionem... Sed, o vulnerata domina, vulnera corda nostra et in cordibus nostris tui Filii renova passionem. Cor tuum vulneratum coniunge cordi nostro, ut tecum tui Filii vulneribus pariter vulneremur. Cur hoc cor tuum, domina, saltem non habeo, ut, quicumque pergam, semper tuo Filio videam te confixam? O domina, si mihi non vis dare Filium tuum crucifixum nec cor tuum vulneratum, saltem, quaeso, mihi tribue Filii tui vulnera, contumelias, illusiones, opprobri ac quae in te sentis illa. Quae enim mater, si posset, non libenter auferret a se et a suo Filio passiones et in suo poneret servo?... O quam beatus seessm, si possem vobis saltem in vulneribus sociari!... Certe scio, quid faciam, hoc tibi sine intermissione et cum clamore et lacrymis tuis pedibus provolutus postulabo et tibi ero nimium importunus; aut mihi hoc tribues aut si me percusseris, ut recedam, tamen stabo et tua sustinebo flagella, donec ero undique vulneratus, nec aliud nisi vulnera a te peto." Cited in CattMS, pp. 73-74.

³⁴ For more on the *Planctus Mariae*, see Sandro Sticca, *The "Planctus Mariae" in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, Eng. tr., Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); see also GraefH, 306-08 and PelikaM, 125-36.

³⁵ See WarnerA, 210.

It is not by accident that the theme, structure, and even language employed by Jacob in his lament closely resembles that of the famous Marian poem, *Stabat mater dolorosa*. The poem is undoubtedly of thirteenth-century Franciscan origin, although its presumed authorship by Jacopone da Todi (d. 1306) is now largely refuted.³⁶ The regular, metrical structure of the *Stabat mater* (paired versicles in 8-8-7 trochaic meter, with the rhyme scheme *aab aab*) allowed for its later adoption as a liturgical sequence—namely, in the late-fifteenth century, for the new Mass of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³⁷ This heightened status then prompted a number of polyphonic settings of the text, including two in the Gaffurius Codices—one by Gaffurius himself (in an abridged form), and one anonymous.³⁸ Like Jacob's prose, the poem proceeds from a lamentable description of Mary's suffering, to a penitential desire to share in her wounds, thereby gaining communion with Christ. This is seen in the truncated version (strophes 1-4, 9-12, 17-18) given below:

Stabat mater dolorosa
juxta Crucem lacrimosa,
dum pendebat Filius.

The sorrowful mother stands
Beside the mournful Cross
While her Son hangs.

Cuius animam gementem,
constristatam et dolentem
pertransivit gladius.

She whose paired soul,
Saddened and suffering
The sword has pierced.

36 See L. E. Cuyler, "Stabat mater dolorosa," in NCE 13:625-26; and John Caldwell, "Stabat mater dolorosa: 1" in NG 18:36-37; see also PelikaM, 126-7. Other suggested authors are Innocent III and St. Bonaventura.

37 Caldwell, op. cit., p. 36. The sequence was likewise used within a Votive Mass of the Virgin during the sixteenth-century; see MR 2:281—where it is cited in a Missal of 1558. Although excluded by the Council of Trent, it was restored in the Roman Missal of 1727 as the officially prescribed sequence for the feast of the Seven Dolours of the BVM (September 15), where it remains to this day; see LU, 1634-35.

38 Gaffurius, MilD 1, 181v-183 (repeated MilD 3, 185v-187); and anon, MilD 3, 223v-227. The Gaffurius setting is transcribed in AMMM 5:1-4; the elaborate anonymous setting (which may also be by Gaffurius, see Chapter 4) is transcribed in AMMM 9:120-133.

O quam tristis, et afflicta
fuit illa benedicta
mater Unigeniti!

O how sad and afflicted
Was that blessed woman
The mother of the Only-begotten Son

Quae mearebat et dolebat,
pia mater, dum videbat
nati poenas incliti.

How she mourns and suffers,
That pious mother, while she sees
The celebrated punishment of her Son.

Eia, mater, fons amoris
me sentire vim doloris
fac, ut tecum lugeam.

Behold, mother, fount of love
Grant me to feel the force of sorrow
So that I may mourn with you.

Fac, ut ardeat cor meum
in amando Christum Deum
ut sibi complaceam.

Grant, so that my heart may be bold
In loving the Lord Christ
So that I too may be pleasing to him.

Sancta mater, istud agas,
crucifixi fige plagas
cordi meo valide

Holy mother, do this for me
Fix the wounds of the Crucified One
Deeply within my heart.

Tui Nati vulnerati,
tam dignati pro me pati,
poenas mecum divide.

Share with me the punishment
Of your wounded Son,
He who with such dignity suffered for me.

Fac me plagis vulnerari,
fac me Cruce inebriari,
et cruore Filii.

Grant me to be wounded with His wounds,
Grant me to be intoxicated by the Cross,
And by the blood of your Son.

Flammis ne urar succensus,
per te, Virgo, sim defensus
in die iudicii.

Lest by flames I be burned
Let me be defended by you, O Virgin,
On the day of Judgment.

The elaborated image of Mary as the sorrowful mother, enduring the pains of her Son upon the Cross, was among the most vivid creations of the High Middle Ages. The Franciscans, to be sure, did not originate this Marian theme—references to it are found

already in Saint Ambrose—but they were largely responsible for making it a dominant element of Marian devotion. Franciscan theologians, such as Saint Bonaventura (d. 1274), saw Mary's compassion at the Cross as the principal means by which she offers protection to the faithful, as their Mediatrix—"for when Christ suffered on the Cross in order to pay this price, that He might redeem us, the blessed Virgin was present, accepting and consenting to the Divine Will."³⁹ The connection between Mary's suffering and her mediation is made explicit too in the final strophe of the *Stabat mater* cited above—which also displays reference to Mary's protection against the wrath of Christ's Judgment (see Chapter 1). Few theologians from the late-thirteenth century, Franciscan or otherwise, could discuss Mary's protective powers without also referring to her suffering at the Cross. The theme carried tremendous popular appeal as well, and local preachers such as Jacob of Milan undoubtedly drew upon its emotionally-charged imagery to combat the forces of heresy in their midst.

The Humiliati and the Mariology of Bonvesin de la Riva

The Humiliati, too, cultivated a strong devotion to the Virgin Mary, such that Fra Giovanni di Brera could begin his history of the Order, written in 1421: "Virgin Mary, holy mother, pray for those whom you hold in your bosom, that this Order may be blessed for ever."⁴⁰ Particularly associated with the Virgin was the lay Third Order, who recited daily the Little Office—in contrast to the First (priests) and Second (monks and nuns) Orders, responsible for the entire Divine Office. The greatest testimony of the Third Order's dedication to the Virgin is found within the writings of its most celebrated member, the famed poet and "doctor in grammatica," Bonvesin de la Riva (c. 1240–1315).

³⁹ Cited in GraeffH, 284. For more on Bonaventura's notions of Mary as Mediatrix, see V. Plessner, "Die Lehre des hl. Bonaventura über die Mittlerschaft Mariens," *Franziskanische Studien* 23 (1936), 127-140.

⁴⁰ "Virgo Maria, mater sancta, quem tenes in gremio rogas, ut benedicatur per semper ordo." Cited in CattMS, 78.

Bonvesin—called by Cattaneo "the greatest religious writer in the vernacular of the Italian Duecento"⁴¹—witnessed first hand the tumultuous struggle over the Milanese Signoria; and yet his interests lay less with Milan's dynastic feuds and political institutions than with the daily life of its citizens and especially the richness of its religious life.⁴² As such, Bonvesin was himself a product of the spiritual revival initiated by Archbishop Ottone Visconti during the 1280s—one which saw not only a restoration of clerical discipline, but a renewed exaltation of the Ambrosian tradition.⁴³ Bonvesin most successfully articulated the new religious and civic pride of his generation in his *laus civitatis*, *De Magnalibus Mediolani* (The Marvels of Milan), written in 1288. For Bonvesin, as for many of his fellow citizens, Milan—despite the current "defect" of its "civilis concordiae"—had become a second Rome, indeed more:

It is clear, from what has been said, that our city, all things considered, has no equal; it is clear that it is like another world distinct from the rest; it is clear that it merits not only to be called a second Rome, but if I may be permitted to say what I feel without being accused of presumption, in my opinion, it would seem worthy and just if the Papal Seat and the other dignities belonging to it were transferred wholly to [Milan].⁴⁴

41 CattMS, 79.

42 Information on Bonvesin's career and literary accomplishments can be found in TreccSM 4:416-30.

43 See Cattaneo, "Ottone Visconti Arcivescovo di Milano," reprinted in *La Chiesa di Ambrogio. Studi di storia e di liturgia* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1984), 77-113. The spiritual revival was largely implemented through Visconti's "ottimo consigliere", the archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore, Otrico Scaccabarozzi—who likewise composed a number of liturgical texts and chants for use in Ambrosian parish churches. Bonvesin's enthusiasm, particularly in *De Magnalibus Mediolani* are reflective of this highly charged atmosphere; see *ibid.*, p. 92. See also CattTR, 149-50.

44 Bonvesin, *De Magnalibus*, 8:10: "Patet per iam dicta, quod civitas nostra in mondo, computatis omnibus, parem non habet; patet quod sit quasi alter mundus ab altero condivisus; patet quod non tantum secunda Roma vocari meretur, imo, si mihi liceret quod fari liberet, ut non imputaretur mihi presumptioni; me quasi dignum et iustum videretur iudicio sedem papalem et reliquas dignitates ad eam totaliter huc transferri." This is not to suggest that Bonvesin had antipathy for Rome, or that Milan maintained the old rivalry as in the days of the Patari, such that he could ask: "Ubi legitur aut dicitur tam constantis didelitatis Ecclesiae Romanae civitas altera unquam fuisse?" (*ibid.*, 6:1).

At the root of Bonvesin's civic pride was the glorious preservation of Milan's unique liturgy, as a symbol of its historic privilege—thereby giving rationale for his labeling "Ambrosian" everything from the city's clergy and liturgical chant to its people and army, and even its dogs and mules.⁴⁵ But beyond this, Bonvesin identifies Milan's uniqueness with its exceptional devotion to the Virgin Mary, as most succinctly stated in the passage describing the city's churches:

The shrines of the saints [= churches], worthy of any other city, are, within the walls alone, around 200, with 480 altars. Wherefore, those who desire to know the truth of it... should marvel acutely at [the churches], so many, so great, and of such quality, within and without [the city walls], and they will see the wonders of God, which in another city they will never or very rarely see. And it is wondrous to note how much and to what extent the Virgin Mary is loved by this city. For within the city there are principally dedicated to her reverence 36 churches, and in the surrounding area surely more than 240.⁴⁶

Bonvesin's personal devotion to Mary is revealed to some degree in all his writings, whether in Latin or in the vulgar Milanese dialect of which he was the undisputed master. His didactic Latin poem, *De vita scholastica*, for example—which treats the duties of scholars and teachers—includes a chapter, "De devotione habenda erga Virginem Mariam" (On the devotion to be offered the Virgin Mary), where he invites his colleagues to turn to Mary as their professional guide and personal advocate:

45 See CattTR, 145. Bonvesin's comments on Ambrosian chant likewise testify to a vibrant musical environment (*De Magnalibus*, 3:23): "Quatuordecim sunt doctores in cantus Ambrosiani notitia excelentes, per quod notatur huius civitatis frequentia clericorum."

46 *De Magnalibus*, 2:7-8: "Sanctorum delubra talem et tantam urbem decentia circha.CC. tantum in civitate sunt numero cum altaribus .CCCLXXX. unde qui rei veritatem nosse desiderant... [ecclesias] tot et tantas et tales perspicaciter intus et extra mirentur, et videbunt magnalia Dei, que in alia civitate nunquam vel rarissime spectare valebunt. Et est mirabile notandum qualiter et quantum pro ista civitate virgo Maria teneatur; Quoniam in civitate .XXXVI. ecclesiae; in comitatu eius plures absque dubio .CCXL. sunt in ipsius tantum reverentia principaliter fabricatae."

She is the noble virgin, born of the seed of David,
 Mother, daughter, sister, bearer, and bride of God.
 She is the mistress [rectrix] of teachers, of teaching, and of pupils,
 As proclaimed, she is the learned teacher of our field...
 She is the way of the world, the resting place for the weary,
 The blessed door of paradise, grief for the weeping...
 She receives, aids, and supports sinners
 So long as they quickly flee under her protection.⁴⁷

To ensure such protection, Bonvesin invites his colleagues to offer a series of Marian invocations to be recited at various times of the day, and even during Mass. Here, for example, is his prayer "to be said during the evening":

If you wish the Queen to be summoned through our poetry,
 I wrote the following poem, in hexameter, for you:
 "Hail, Mother of Christ, most holy Virgin Mary,
 You who maintained [virginity] before, during, and after birth,
 You are the virgin who bore Christ, you reared Him with your milk,
 Guide me, save me, protect me, O powerful one,
 I commend myself to you, O virgin, do not abandon me:
 Lest I perish, Mary, place my prayers before Christ.⁴⁸

Bonvesin here evokes the familiar protective powers of Mary, including her ability to place prayers directly before her Son, and yet he places special emphasis on her identity as the virgin mother of God. This is significant, in demonstrating that even in this period of heightened Mariology, the traditional Ambrosian themes of Marian

47 "Haec est virgo decens, David de semine nata/ Mater, nata, soror, baiula, sponsa Dei/ Ista magistrorum, doctrine, disciplinorum/ Est rectrix, calatus, docta magistra via/ ... Mundi, lassorum, paradisi, flebilis orchis/ Haec est via, quies, porta beata, dolor./ Haec peccatores recipit, uivat atque tuetur/ Dum tantum fugiant sub sua tecta citi." Cited in CattMS, 79-80.

48 "Oratio dicenda sero: Si vis reginam per carmina nostra precari/ Hec infra scripsi carmina sena tibi/ 'Mater, ave, Crhisti, sanctissima Virgo Maria/ Partu, psot partum, sicut et ante manens/ Virgo que Christum peperisti, lacte educasti/ Me rege, me salva, me tueare, potens/ Me tibi commendo, me, virgo relinquere noli/ Ne peream, Christo funde, Maria, preces." Cited in CattMS, 80.

devotion—her Divine Maternity and perpetual virginity—continue to receive a certain priority. Moreover, the *Vita scholastica* proved to be Bonvesin's most popular work, being read continuously through the mid-sixteenth century, and thus providing another impetus for the Milanese to maintain their distinct approach to Marian devotion.

As already seen in *De Magnalibus*, Bonvesin's interests were not limited to the aristocracy or to the intelligentsia, but extended also to the common citizenry. And just as his activities as an academic inspired the *Vita scholastica*, so too did his involvement with the lay Third Order of the Humiliati likely motivate his many devotional writings in the vernacular Milanese dialect—most of which deal directly with the Virgin Mary, as the merciful protector of sinners.⁴⁹

Finally, Bonvesin has been credited with the institution of a Marian devotion in Milan, such as is described in the epitaph of his tomb:

Here lies Fra Bonvicinus de Ripa of the Third Order of the Humiliati, Doctor of Grammar, who built the Hospital of Legnano, who composed many vulgar [writings], and who first established the ringing of the bells at the "Ave Maria" in Milan and surrounding areas. Let "Ave Maria" be said for his soul.⁵⁰

This, of course, refers to the *Angelus*, the three-fold ringing of the bells, signaling the public recitation of the "Ave Maria" prayer.⁵¹ Already in 1269, Saint Bonaventura had admonished his Franciscan preachers to institute this practice, in imitation of Saint Francis—and likely Bonvesin, who maintained close ties to the Franciscans, simply expanded the devotion for wider use within Milanese territory. In any event, the reference shows how closely tied was the memory of Bonvesin to an intense devotion to

49 See TreccSM 4:420-30; and CattMS, 81-87.

50 "Hic jacet F. Bonvicinus de Ripa de ordine terio humiliatorum doctor in grammatica qui construxit hospitale de legnaiano qui composuit multa vulgaria qui primo fecit pulsari campanas ad Ave Maria Mediolani et in comitatu. Dicatur Ave Maria pro anima eius." Cited in CattMS, 81.

51 See A.A. de Marco, "Angelus" in NCE 1:521.

the Virgin Mary; and as future generations of Milanese would contemplate their unique historical position—now exalted by the splendor of the Visconti, and later Sforza, Signoria—they would come to invoke the legacy of Bonvesin de la Riva alongside that of Saint Ambrose, both who posited Marian devotion as a principal component of civic identity.

B. The Visconti, the Duomo, and Marian Devotion in Late Medieval Milan

Historical Background

The history of Milan during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is inextricably bound up with the history of the Visconti family, who through a mix of diplomatic skill, tenacity, and good fortune became perhaps the most powerful dynasty of Late Medieval Italy.⁵² Even with the nearly constant internal division that plagued its various branches, as well as the superstition, rage, and jealousy that touched nearly all of them, the Visconti managed to maintain power, and in the process, brought Milan unprecedented wealth, beauty, and political might. In so doing, the Visconti took advantage of a generally unstable political climate in Italy, abetted by the removal of the Pope to Avignon (the "Babylonian Captivity," 1309–77), to gradually diminish the democratic institutions of the Commune and, in the person of Gian Galeazzo, transform Milan into a formidable ducal State.

Matteo Visconti had only recently purchased the Imperial vicarate from Emperor Henry VII (1312), when he found himself beset by conflict from Guelph forces, both

⁵² More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the era of the Visconti) can be found in TreccSM, vols. 5 and 6; VisconSM, 265–356; FavaSM 1:124–67; and BlondSM, 28–37; see also CorioSM 1:564–925, 2:927–1212; and MorigHM, 94–152. The literature on Milan under the Visconti is considerably larger than for previous historical periods. Among general works on the Visconti are CognasV—with substantial bibliography (to 1966), 411–29; David Burni, ed., *Studi viscontiani: Convegno internazionale di studi viscontiani, ottobre, 1994* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997); Luisa C. Mauri, ed., *L'età dei Visconti: il dominio di Milano fra XII e XV secolo* (Milano: La Storia, 1993); and MuirV; see also RondiSS, esp. 39–64.

internal and external—supported chiefly by Robert of Anjou, who himself sought dominion of Northern Italy, and the Avignonese Pope John XXII who, incensed at Matteo's political manipulation of Church interests, issued an excommunication against him and an interdict against Milan. Despite the adversity, Matteo managed to hold at least nominal control of Milan; though with his death in 1322, Viscontean succession was far from assured.

The city was in a state of turmoil when Galeazzo I took power as Matteo's heir: Guelph forces seized nearby Piacenza and Monza, and threatened the city itself, whence the new lord was forced to flee. Assistance was granted by the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria who, partly to counter papal influence, offered troops to Galeazzo, providing for a key victory at Vaprio d'Adda (1324). But when the Visconti began negotiations with the Pope, the Emperor grew suspicious, and shortly after arriving in Milan—to be crowned King of Italy (1327)—had Galeazzo, his son Azzo, and several brothers imprisoned. This, however, only aroused protest from the Milanese, and the Emperor soon reconciled with the Visconti—most significantly through the sale of the Imperial vicarate to Azzo in 1329.

With Azzo's reign, the Visconti Signoria entered a new phase of stability and prosperity, as Milan itself was transformed into a rich capital of an ever-more powerful State. While new territory was acquired beyond the city (e.g., Lodi, Como, and Brescia)—largely through use of foreign mercenaries, thus pacifying somewhat its own citizenry—Azzo initiated a campaign to beautify Milan proper: streets were widened and paved, palaces and churches built or restored, and city walls newly fortified and embellished with the Visconti "viper" in white marble. When Azzo died suddenly (1339), leaving no heirs, control passed to his two uncles, Luchino and Giovanni—the latter, after years as a Cardinal, acquired the archbishopric of Milan in 1342. The two displayed rare unanimity in dividing the temporal and spiritual realms of Milan, creating a prosperous State which held sway as far away as Tuscany and Umbria. Luchino's

death in 1349 then left complete control in the hands of Archbishop Giovanni, who proved himself quite capable of uniting the two offices. Through cunning diplomacy, Giovanni expanded the State to include Bologna and Genoa, while commerce and industry (especially silk, armor, and agriculture), propelled Milan to enviable wealth.

When Giovanni died in 1354, Milanese control was again divided, this time among his three nephews, Matteo, Barnabò, and Galeazzo. The new rulers were immediately challenged with rebellion among their territories, and with aggression by their Guelph adversaries. Bologna and Genoa were lost in 1358, though in 1359 a key victory was won in the annexation of Pavia, which was soon to become the "Versailles of the Visconti." The eldest, Matteo, had died in 1355—likely poisoned by his brothers—and the reign was thus divided among Barnabò and Galeazzo. These two epitomize the darker tendencies of their House, and no account of their reign omits the cruel punishments they devised—most famously Galeazzo's "Quaerisma," or forty days of unspeakable torture. Still, thanks largely to the Visconti's great wealth—and to the heavy taxation imposed on their subjects—the two kept a firm grip on power: Barnabò from Milan, and Galeazzo from Pavia—where he established its famous University in 1361.

Galeazzo died in 1378, whence his portion was inherited by his son Gian Galeazzo, then a young man of 27. At first biding his time with the feigned appearance of passivity, Gian Galeazzo cleverly prepared his dramatic ascent to power: in 1385, he arrested his uncle on trumped-up charges of treason, entered Milan to the great joy of the citizens—who had become exasperated with Barnabò's tyranny—and had himself declared sole lord of the city.

Gian Galeazzo proved himself the most able of the Visconti rulers, and set upon the task of realizing what had been but a faint notion among his predecessors: to unite all Italy under Milanese rule, and to have himself crowned King of Italy. He began a nearly unstoppable campaign of military conquest, acquiring Verona, Padua, Pisa, Siena,

Bologna, and threatening the autonomy of Florence. To symbolize his heightened power, Gian Galeazzo convinced the Emperor Wenceslas to establish Milan as a duchy, and to grant ducal investiture to him and to his male heirs, which was celebrated with great pomp in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio on September 5, 1395. At the same time, Gian Galeazzo was a generous and judicious administrator, refraining from excessive taxation or capricious punishment, and Milan flourished as never before. To his reign, moreover, belongs the initiation of two religious monuments which bespeak the new grandeur of the Milanese State: the Duomo and Certosa of Pavia, about which more will be said below.

Gian Galeazzo seemed poised to realize his vision of an Italy united under his rule—despite the military opposition of Florence, Venice, and the Church—when he succumbed to the plague on September 5, 1402. His death triggered disorder throughout the State, as territories erupted into open rebellion, and the older internal factions resurfaced. Adding to the chaos was the abandonment of many Visconti generals, now laying their own claims upon individual pieces of the crumbling State. Gian Galeazzo's rule was divided between his two sons: the eldest, Giovanni Maria became second duke, under the regency of his mother, Caterina; while the younger, Filippo Maria, became Count of Pavia.⁵³

Giovanni Maria inherited the worst of the Visconti traits, and following the forced exile and death of his mother—likely by his own hand—was unable to control the political intrigues he himself had started: as Milan stood on the brink of ruin, the duke was assassinated by a group of angry nobles (1412). The ducal crown then passed to the more competent Filippo Maria, who through an artful alliance with the famed *condottiero*, Camagnola, steadily restored the Milanese State. Filippo, however, did not possess his father's political skills, nor would Italy tolerate another campaign of Milanese hegemony. Nearly continuous warfare with Venice and Florence eventually

⁵³ Gian Galeazzo likewise had a daughter, Valentina, who married Louis d'Orléans—whereby Louis XII and Francis I would later derive their claim for possession of Milan.

forced Filippo to promise the hand of his only child, Bianca Maria, to a young *condottiero* of humble birth, Francesco Sforza—who alone could save Milan from imminent fall at the hands of the Venetians, in 1447. Filippo's death a few months later, on August 13, 1447, in turn brought the Visconti dynasty to an end—leaving a Milan still wealthy and powerful, but once more teetering on the brink of chaos.

The Visconti and Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century Milan

In their struggle for political domination of Milan, the Visconti lords were not above manipulating ecclesiastical possessions, offices, and benefices for their own purposes. These abuses, coupled with the Visconti's insatiable thirst for territorial expansion, brought them—and Milan itself—into frequent conflict with the Pope. Bulls of excommunication against individual members of the family, as well as broader interdicts against Milan, were issued repeatedly throughout the fourteenth century. Such conflict naturally created spiritual hardship for the citizens of Milan: in 1322, for example, in the wake of John XXII's excommunication of Matteo Visconti—with Milan consequently under Church ban—the entire Easter season was spent without Masses or public liturgy of any kind.⁵⁴ Assistance during these difficult times was provided especially by the religious Orders, exempt from such penalties, who continued to nourish popular devotion—addressed most conspicuously to the Virgin Mary.

The death of John XXII in 1334 brought Milan a hope of reconciliation, and immediately Azzo Visconti sent ambassadors to his successor, Benedict XII, in Avignon. The new Pontiff agreed to rescind the interdict—in a Bull dated May 19, 1335—provided that all conditions were met ("dicti constituentes omnia et singula supradicta acta"), and to ratify the rescission at a solemn public ceremony on the "festum nativitatis

⁵⁴ See TreccSM 4:131-154 for the details of Matteo's heated conflict with Avignon (1320-1322)—which momentarily involved the participation of Dante Alighieri. See also ParedRA, 60 and CattSM 90-91.

beatae Mariae."⁵⁵ The choice of September 8 was not accidental, for Benedict was here following a common Church custom of linking official acts with dates of particular local significance. Azzo, too, responded to the popularity of the feast—and indeed to his own Marian piety—by decreeing that the ratification should take place on the Vigil of the Nativity, in the presence of representatives from Milan's Lombard territories, to be followed by a ceremony of homage to the Virgin at Santa Maria Maggiore on the feast day itself. His decree is described by the fourteenth-century chronicler, Galvano Fiamma:

In that year (1335), Azzo Visconti, the lord of the city, decreed [a celebration] in honor of the kind Virgin on the feast of her Nativity, in the month of September; and he sent out an edict, that all of the cities and boroughs, or noble lands, carry silken cloth [embroidered] with their military insignia, along with the standards of their communities, and display them in the church [Santa Maria Maggiore] of the city of Milan... And there were present 122 silken cloths... Nor was there ever seen in Italy such a grand solemnity, nor such a noble homage.⁵⁶

The account of this elaborate public ceremony on the feast of Mary's Nativity is significant, in that it signals the arrival of this feast as a principal civic as well as religious occasion, with special links to the Visconti. Prior to this time, the feast of the Nativity was associated only with the parish church of Santa Maria Fulcorina (see Chapter 1), and involved only a representation of the metropolitan clergy. Now, the feast is celebrated in the principal cathedral of Milan, with all clergy and political representatives in attendance, and presided over by the lord of the city, Azzo

⁵⁵ CattSM, 91.

⁵⁶ "Isto anno fecit incipi Azo Vicecomes dominus civitatis ad honorem Virginis alme festum Nativitatis eius de mense septembris; et misit edictum, ut omnes civitates et burghi, vel terre nobiles, seu castra insignia portarent pannos de serico cum vexillis communitatum suarum, et in civitate Mediolani in ecclesia offerrent... Et fuerunt panni serici obliati CXXII... Nec unquam in Italia facta fuit tam grandis solempnitas, nec tam noblie homagium." Cited CattSM, 92.

Visconti—in a pattern that will culminate with Gian Galeazzo Visconti and the new Duomo, as will soon be seen.

In general, Azzo Visconti displays the burgeoning of an intense private and public devotion to the Virgin Mary that would mark not only the later members of his family—including the Sforza—but also the civic identity of Milan. His campaign to beautify Milan included, above all, the six principal gates encompassing the city—the Compasina, Vercellina, Romana, Orientale, Nuova, and Ticinese, of which only the latter two survive. Upon each one was placed a tabernacle with a statue of the enthroned Virgin with child, usually accompanied by other saints—including two gates with Saint Ambrose.⁵⁷ With these and other statues of the Madonna within the city, including one at the Loggia degli Ossi, a square where public debates were held, Azzo helped to establish Milan's identity as the "City of Mary."⁵⁸ Citizens and visitors alike were thereby able to recognize Milan's unique relationship to the Virgin Mother of God, as its protectress and ever-present guardian. Milan's new civic association with Mary—along with the equally burgeoning cult of Saint Ambrose during this period⁵⁹—thus earned it a devotional prerogative commensurate with its new political and economic clout.

The Duomo

The Duomo stands unrivaled as the principal icon of Milan's religious and civic identity, while the history of its construction—spanning more than five centuries in all—

⁵⁷ See Ferdinando Reggiori, *La Pusterla di S. Ambrogio* (Milan: [n.p.], 1938); for more on the Marian statues of the period, particularly those attributed to Giovanni di Balduccio da Pisa, see TreccSM 5:758-69.

⁵⁸ CattMS, 93-95. Cf. Galvano Fiamma, *Opusculum de Rebus Gestis ab Azone, Luchino, et Johanne Vicecombitus (1328-1342)*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 12,4:15, which notes also that "[I]ncipit Azo Vicecomes... duo opera magnifica construere; primum id quod respicit cultum divinum, scilicet capellam mirabilem in honorem beate virginis, et pallatia magnifica sue habitationi convenientia. Fiamma then proceeds to describe the chapel (*intra alta menia*) in great detail (no. 143).

⁵⁹ See Cattaneo, "La devozione a Sant'Ambrogio," reprinted in *La Chiesa di Ambrogio. Studi di storia e di liturgia* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1984), esp. 251-62. See also Chapter 1, pp. 43-44.

is inexorably linked to the political, religious, and cultural evolution of the city itself.⁶⁰ The Milanese cathedral, too, lies at the center of this study, since from its magnificent interior arose the *cappella musicale*, and the historic musical repertory preserved in the Gaffurius Codices. Likewise, the Duomo symbolizes the co-pillar of this musico-devotional study, as the most dramatic and monumental gesture of Milan's profound love for the Virgin Mary. From its original conception to its final architectural ornaments—such as the sculptured moldings of Mary's joys and sorrows upon the central gate (1902)—the Duomo has afforded the Milanese their grandest means of expressing a seemingly limitless devotion to the Virgin Mother of God.

The initial call for the new cathedral came from the Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo (1376–1401), in the form of a letter sent out to the faithful ("universitis et singulis Christi fidelibus") on March 12, 1386:

From Antonio de Saluzzo, Archbishop of the Holy Church of Milan, by the grace of God and the Apostolic Seat. So long as [she holds] the highest merits, whereby the queen of heaven, the glorious Virgin mother of God, set upon the throne of the constellations, shines like a morning star, we search [our hearts] in pious deliberation; and so long as she intercedes [for us], we retreat behind the sanctuary of her heart, since she herself is the mother of mercy, the mother of grace, the friend of compassion, the comforter of the human race for the salvation of the faithful—who are weighed down with the burden of their sins, the diligent suppliant, and ever-watchful to God, whom she bore... Thus, since the church of Milan, as experience demonstrates, is weakened and broken, the will of the faithful aspires that in reverence and honor of the Virgin, it be rebuilt anew, from the beginning, in her name...⁶¹

⁶⁰ The literature on the Milanese Duomo is enormous; as an introduction, see *Il Duomo di Milano: Congresso Internazionale (8-12, Settembre, 1968)*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, 2 vols. (Milan: Edizioni La Rete, 1969)—which contains an extensive bibliography, from the sixteenth-century to 1968: Gian Battista Maderna, "Saggio di bibliografia ragionata sul Duomo di Milano," vol. 2, pp. 241-88; BascaD; and TreccSM 6:859-931 (from origins through early-sixteenth century).

⁶¹ "Universitis et singulis Christi fidelibus. Antonius de Salutiis, Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia sanctae Mediolanensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus. Dum praecelsa meritorum insignia, quibus regina coelorum Virgo Dei genitrix gloriosa sedibus prelata sideris, quasi stella matutina

A number of important observations about the origins of the Duomo can be discerned from this letter: first, the initial call to create a new Milanese cathedral comes directly from the Archbishop, as a pastoral articulation of popular desire; second, the call comes in response to the damaged state of the older cathedral, Santa Maria Maggiore—"consuptam et dirupatam"—likely referring to the fall, a few months earlier, of its bell tower, reportedly killing two hundred;⁶² third, the letter makes it clear that the Duomo is to be conceived not as a new construction, but as a re-construction of the older cathedral—"de novo rehedicari facere"; finally, the call is made within an atmosphere of intense Marian devotion, as witnessed by the extended paean to the Virgin with which the Archbishop begins his letter—perhaps stemming from an original sermon. Not only is the new church, like its predecessor, to be dedicated to the Virgin, but the act is to be conceived as a deliberate gesture of reverence to her who reigns over the stars, as the Queen of Heaven, who intercedes with mercy and compassion on behalf of the faithful, by virtue of her great privilege as the mother of Christ. Noteworthy is the Archbishop's use of the expression "mater misericordiae, mater gratiae," derived from the eleventh-century hymn "Memento salutis auctor."

Prior to any implementation, the Archbishop's call required an official confirmation by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, then lord of Milan, who as early as 1381 established that all major ecclesiastical acts—such as the election of church offices or benefices—were subject to his approval. While Gian Galeazzo was careful not to suppress the jurisdictions of the Church, he was able to circumscribe them within well-

praerutilat, devotae considerationis indagine perscrutamur, dum etiam infra pectoris archana revolvimus, quod ipsa utpote mater misericordiae, mater gratiae pietatis amica, humani generis consolatrix pro salute fidelium, qui delictorum onere praegravantur, sedula exortatrix et pervigil ad Deum, quem geuit, intercedit... Cum itaque ecclesiam mediolanensem, sicuti experientia manifestat, consumptam et dirupatam, sub vocabulo, reverentia et honore praefatae virginis a primordio fabricatam de novo rehedicari facere corda fidelium intendant..." Cited in Bascapé, *op cit.*, 107. See also CattAS, 17-26.
62 CattMS, 94.

defined limits, in line with his secular concerns.⁶³ At the same time, Gian Galeazzo was a deeply religious man, and passionately embraced the Archbishop's vision of a new cathedral in honor of the Virgin. In a letter of October 11, 1386, he authorized the collection of alms for the new church, "according to the direction given by the most reverend father and our dearest relative, the lord Archbishop of Milan."⁶⁴ Through their mutual authority, the two men fostered the conditions whereby the initial stages of construction could be accomplished: the Archbishop's granted indulgences for those who contributed to the new Duomo, while Gian Galeazzo's granted a tax exemption to the *Fabbrica del Duomo*—the new cathedral's administrative body—facilitating its buying power.

The real heroes in this monumental labor, however, were the citizens of Milan, drawn from all strata of society, who offered their labors "pro nihil" on behalf of the new Santa Maria Maggiore.⁶⁵ Well-preserved records demonstrate the volunteer activities of every sort of worker—butchers, bakers, cobblers, weavers, doctors, lawyers, even nobles—to carry out the hard labor of excavating the foundation, moving bricks, stone, and marble, and so forth. Equally valuable was the enthusiastic material generosity of the citizenry, who rich and poor donated their possessions to the *Fabbrica*, which then sold them to pay for further materials. Finally, all went willfully to the alms boxes to contribute what money they could, from the most powerful nobles, to the poorest workers (even a certain prostitute, named Raffalda). Beyond the official enticement of

⁶³ See CattAS, 19-25.

⁶⁴ "Ad hoc quod fabrica ecclesiae majoris civitatis nostrae Mediolani, quae jam diu et multis retro temporibus stetit ruynata et cepit refici, debitum et votivum suscipiat incrementem, contenti sumus et placet.... quod juxta ordinem datum per reverendissimum patrem et consanguineum nostrum carissimum dominum archiepiscopum mediolanensem pro implorando subsidium fabricationis et constructionis ecclesiae antedictae, et cujus ordinis tenor sequitur in hac forma..." Cited in AFD, Appx. 1, p. 212-213. Gian Galeazzo's statement here negates the oft-quoted assumption that the duke himself founded the Duomo—an assumption repeated in musicological literature as well, such as in MaceyGM, 156. Rather, he promoted its construction through his civic authority. The two were related by marriage—the Archbishop's grandfather had been married to Matteo II, Gian Galeazzo's uncle.

⁶⁵ CattMS, 98-99.

ecclesiastical indulgences, the Milanese "donors" were further inspired to generosity by on-going devotional exercises—ranging from the processions of wreathed girls singing Marian *laude* through the city streets of Milan, to more elaborate, theatrical productions held at the city gates. Thus, as if with one voice, the Milanese courageously answered Archbishop Saluzzo's call to rebuild the old, decayed cathedral as a fervent testimony of their intense love for the Virgin Mary.

Adding to this sense of devotional intensity was the construction strategy of the Duomo itself: for liturgical reasons, a decision was made not to demolish immediately the old Santa Maria Maggiore, but rather to initiate the principal structures of the new church all around the older cathedral.⁶⁶ Specifically, the Duomo was begun with the apse, the transept, and the two sacristies,⁶⁷ while within the old Santa Maria Maggiore—now occupying the space of the Duomo's future central nave—the liturgy continued to be celebrated. Such an architectural overlap created its share of difficulties, especially for the clergy, as suggested in various provisions recorded in the annals of the Fabbrica del Duomo. All, however, were bolstered with the firm conviction that their efforts carried forth the promise of a truly great homage to the Virgin Mary, as is constantly expressed in these same provisions.⁶⁸

The first decisive moment for the new cathedral took place on October 16, 1418, when Pope Martin V, returning from the Council of Constance—whereby the Great Schism was ended—consecrated its High Altar. Due to expense, however, the deputies of the Fabbrica were obliged to transfer the altar of Santa Maria Maggiore from its presbytery, or sanctuary, to that of the new Duomo—which was situated just behind the still standing apse of the older cathedral. Finally, from around 1437, principal structures

⁶⁶ See CattM, 58; this did not apply, however, to the two baptisteries and canonical houses of the two branches of clergy (Ordinary and "Decumani"), which were immediately destroyed.

⁶⁷ The two sacristies—necessary for the two classes of clergy—were joined by a passageway, or deambulatory; beyond holding the sacred vestments, etc., each sacristy contained an altar, providing the rationale behind their immediate construction. See CattM, 58-59, 71.

⁶⁸ CattM, 58; cf. AFD 1:238.

of the old Santa Maria Maggiore began to be knocked down, starting with the curve of its apse, in order to extend the length of the Duomo's nave. Each succeeding generation carried the project further along, stimulated by the issue of ducal statutes encouraging offerings on its behalf—a practice continued by Francesco Sforza, under whose reign considerable progress was made. Construction on the Duomo continued for centuries: the façade of Santa Maria Maggiore, for example, remained that of the new cathedral until the late-sixteenth century, and received its present form only in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁹

Quite naturally, the Milanese were inspired to ornament the new cathedral with devotional images and objects pertaining to the Virgin Mary—not only to express visually the cathedral's dedication, but also to provide the means whereby the faithful could manifest their intense veneration to her. Marian sculptures, bass reliefs, paintings, tapestries, and stained glass images were from the onset produced in abundance to embellish the interior and exterior of the Duomo.

Among the oldest sculptures, for example, are those placed upon elaborate outer doors of the sacristies, of which the southern is dedicated entirely to the glories of the Virgin. The work—completed by the German artist Hans Fernach between 1393 and 1396—is a triangular tympanum filled with various scenes of the Virgin's life: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Purification, Flight into Egypt, and Pietà. At the crown of the tympanum is a large, upright image of Mary, her mantle held open by two angels, protecting a dozen figures kneeling in prayer on either side of her.⁷⁰ Significantly, this image is that of Mary in her capacity as the Mother of Mercy, or *Mater gratiae*—about which more will be said below.

⁶⁹ See *Il Duomo di Milano: Congresso Internazionale*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 159-67 (Karl Noehles, "I vari atteggiamenti nel confronto del gotico nei disegni per la facciata del Duomo di Milano").

⁷⁰ See TreccSM 6:709; another, larger reproduction of the tympanum is found in FlorenSS, 66.

Another early Marian artwork situated upon the Duomo's exterior is the sculptural design found beneath the large central rose window of the apse. This is an Annunciation scene—likely completed by two otherwise unknown Lombard artists, Isacco da Imbonate and Paolo da Montorfano, around 1402—where Mary and the angel Gabriel stand on opposite sides below the rose, flanked in turn by two canonized Milanese Archbishops, Ambrose and Galdano—both defenders against heresy.⁷¹ The full Mariological significance of the rose-window sculpture is observed, however, only in conjunction with the window itself—completed by the Tuscan artist, Antonio Monaco: in the center of the rose-window is a brilliant sun, symbolizing Christ as the *sol justitiae*. In this way, the Annunciation scene itself is clearly defined within the context of the Incarnation and coming of Christ. Thus, the new Duomo, though unquestionably dedicated to Mary, upholds the traditional Christological basis of Milanese Marian devotion, stemming back to Ambrose—namely, in venerating her not as an independent figure, but rather by virtue of her Divine Maternity.⁷²

Scores of Marian images likewise embellished the interior of the Duomo during the reigns of Gian Galeazzo and his sons, and as with the Annunciation scene sculpted beneath the central apse window, generally celebrate the events of Mary's life not for their own sake, but as part of the larger history of Christ's Salvation—whereby she is glorified for her Divine Maternity. So, for example, the early series of stained glass windows that adorn the interior of the apse—dating from 1416 by both Northern and local artists, such as Stefano di Pandino—portray a number of Old and New Testament scenes, beginning with the Annunciation, in two parts.⁷³ Also portrayed in this series is the Visitation scene—in a stained glass window by the Norman artist Zazino Angui; the

71 See TreccSM 6:711-14.

72 Cf. CattM, 62: "Come appare chiaramente, Maria Santissima è presente, non però come figura dominante, bensì come parte sostanziale dell'*historia salutis*."

73 Marino Ronchi, "La Madonna nelle vetrate," *Diocesi di Milano* 3 (1962), 30-32.

feast of the Visitation had only recently entered the Milanese liturgy (1393), and thus had become a subject of significant devotion.

The greatest object of Marian devotion to enter the new cathedral in these years, however, was also among the earliest to arrive. Some twenty-five years before the Duomo received its temporary High Altar, transferred from the old Santa Maria Maggiore in 1418, the Fabbrica del Duomo wisely met the devotional needs of the faithful through a commission of a painted wooden sculpture of the Madonna and Child, in 1392—likely the work of Bernardo da Venezia—now preserved in the Museo del Duomo.⁷⁴ The statue became the object of tremendous popular devotion, as well as the site of frequent and spontaneous monetary offerings. Once the High Altar was in place, the continued devotion to this statue, as well as the general desire to mark the new cathedral with a uniquely Marian locus, gave rise to the construction of a tabernacle—probably situated directly behind the altar—wherein the statue was placed.⁷⁵ As the tide of Marian veneration in Milan reached its zenith, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the call was advanced for separate altars devoted uniquely to Mary—about which more will be said in the concluding section of this chapter.

The "Dedication" of the Duomo and the Marian Piety of Gian Galeazzo Visconti

In Chapter 1, it was explained how from its original consecration in 836, the Milanese cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore held a special connection to the newly established feast of the Assumption; that is, whereas each of the other Marian feasts were observed in a particular parish church, the Assumption was celebrated with solemnity in the cathedral itself—as Beroldus notes in his *Manuale*.⁷⁶ Today we would

74 For a photograph of the sculpture, see Alberto Vallini, *Le madonne minori*, "Diocesi di Milano" 3 (1962), 78. See also TreccSM 6:704-05.

75 CattMS, 102.

76 See Chapter 1, p. 82.

say that the cathedral was "dedicated" to the Assumption, though such an explicit labeling is a product of a later period. Then, as shown above in Archbishop Saluzzo's letter of 1386—as well as in the rather unorthodox early stages of its construction—the new Duomo was from the onset conceived not as a new building, but rather as a reconstruction of the older Santa Maria Maggiore. This is then reaffirmed in a statement made in 1387 by the newly formed Fabbrica del Duomo to Gian Galeazzo, that: "out of reverence to the Virgin Queen of heaven, under whose name the said church was from the beginning dedicated, is it now [being] so triumphantly re-built anew."⁷⁷ Finally, the continuity between the two is reinforced within the documents of the Fabbrica, in the common use of the title Santa Maria Maggiore for the new cathedral.⁷⁸

Thus was the new Duomo, like the older Santa Maria Maggiore, initially accorded an explicit association with the mystery of Mary's Assumption into heaven, whereby she reigned as its Queen and as the all-powerful intercessor on behalf of the faithful.⁷⁹ This is suggested already in the Archbishop's letter, which begins the call for a new cathedral by defining Mary as "the Queen of heaven, the glorious Virgin mother of God, set upon the throne of the constellations." It is then made nearly incontrovertible in a petition by the deputies of the Fabbrica to Gian Galeazzo on August 6, 1387, regarding the collection of offerings "on the feast of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin Mary, under whose name the said church was founded."⁸⁰ Indeed, the earliest

⁷⁷ "Sperantes et indubie tenentes quod Dominatio vestra, ob reverentiam illius Virginis Reginae celestis, sub cuius vocabulo dicta ecclesia a primordio dedicata fuit, et nunc de novo, tam triumphaliter rehedificatur, cujus semper fidelissimus et devotissimus extitit..." Cited in AFD 1:13. Indeed, the Fabbrica's statement borrows directly from Saluzzo's 1386 letter.

⁷⁸ For example, in a letter by the Fabbrica concerning the purchase of materials for the construction of the Cathedral, on February 20, 1421: "Bayus de Vaprio, pro ejus solutione ruborum 7 et libr. 7 tollarum ferri per ipsum venditi ecclesiae dom. s. Mariae Maioris Mediolani pro stellis feindis in medris necessariis pro labidibus vivis laborandis pro operibus ipsius fabricae..." Cited in AFD, Appx. 2, p. 1.

⁷⁹ See Cattaneo, "La festa dell'Assunta nella liturgia milanese alle origini del Duomo," *Ambrosius* 26 (1950), 95-103.

⁸⁰ "...in festo Assumptionis beatissimae Virginis Mariae sub cuius vocabulo dicta ecclesia fundata est..." Cited in CattM, 72 (n.90); cf. AFD, Appx. 1, p. 2.

indulgences granted to the Milanese by the Archbishop for contributions to the new cathedral were defined specifically for the feast of the Assumption.⁸¹

The Visconti reinforced the civic prominence of the Assumption, in accord with its association with Milan's cathedral: in 1347, Luchino Visconti granted clemency to eligible prisoners only on Easter, Christmas, and the Assumption.⁸² Gian Galeazzo renewed the edict early in his reign, and expressed his own devotion to the Assumption by dedicating to this feast the famous Carthusian church and monastery, the Certosa of Pavia, commissioned by him in 1392.⁸³

And yet, within a short time, the Duomo became chiefly associated with another feast, that of the Nativity of Mary. The civic and religious prominence of the Nativity escalated from the time (1335) when Azzo Visconti established a solemn procession to the cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore on September 8. The tradition was then continued by Azzo's successors, in large part to help motivate the contribution of alms to help maintain the ever-more deteriorating cathedral. With the beginning of the new Duomo, the practice continued initially for these same financial reasons, but quickly took on a more compelling political undertone.

By 1388, Gian Galeazzo had succeeded in amassing a vast territory, with the vision of pan-Italian conquest steadily forming in his mind; and yet, to his great consternation, he was still without a male heir. A truly joyful event, then, was the birth on September 7, 1388, of a son, Giovanni Maria, at Abbiategrasso. The birth was officially announced by the vicar and twelve deputies of the Fabbrica in strictly religious terms:

⁸¹ CattM, 64.

⁸² See Chapter 1, n. 171.

⁸³ The commission of this mausoleum church came at the behest of Gian Galeazzo's wife, Catarina (in January 1390), in support of a small community of twelve Carthusians—a highly ascetic order. Construction began in 1396, under the principal architect, Bernardo da Venezia, who likewise worked at the Duomo. Over time, the Certosa became intimately associated not only with the Visconti, but also with the Sforza as well. See Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, *La Certosa di Pavia* (Milan: Cassa di Risparmio, 1968); and TreccSM 6:622-30.

"This pious and fruitful gift is believed to have come about by virtue of the prayers and merits of the most blessed and glorious Mother of God, and through those of the most blessed precursor, John the Baptist, and those of the most holy confessor and champion of Christ, and distinguished "professor" of the Church of Saint Mary, Ambrose."⁸⁴

A year later, the Fabbrica del Duomo, forged an explicit connection between the Nativity of Mary and the birthdate of the Visconti heir—that is, fortuitously occurring on the vigil of the feast—by decreeing September 7 an official day of rest, to be commemorated with a "solemn offering [= procession] to the principal church of the Virgin."⁸⁵ The following day, September 8, would then be marked by a solemn procession to Abbiategrasso, the site of the "pious and fruitful gift." Subsequent acts of the Fabbrica continued to heighten the profile of the Nativity in relationship to other Marian feasts: although every such feast was defined as a special occasion to promote public offerings on behalf of the Duomo under construction, the Nativity was viewed as the year's culmination, to be accompanied by the most stately and solemn procession, with the participation of the highest religious and civic authorities.⁸⁶

Thus there gradually awoke within the public psyche a fundamental link between the new cathedral and the feast of September 8—enough to forge the belief that the Duomo had been explicitly dedicated to the Nativity. From here it was a short step to the legendary tale that the Duomo was founded specifically by Gian Galeazzo Visconti, either in gratitude for the birth of his son, or as an act of penance for the imprisonment and death of his uncle, Barnabò—vowed, according to one legend, while on a pilgrimage

84 "...et hoc pium ac fructiferum munus processisse creditur precibus ac meritis beatissimae ac gloriosissimae Dei Genitricis, ac beatissimi precursoris ac Baptistae Johannis, ac santissimi Christi confessoris et atletae Ambrosii sanctae matris Ecclesiae eximii professoris." Cited in AFD 1:26

85 "Et quod fiat sollemnis oblatio ad maiorem Ecclesiam Virginis memoratae sitam in civitate praedicta per officiales omnes et collegia offitiorum et artium dictae civitatis ac per magistros et scholares provintiarum scientiarum in eadem civitate degentes." Cited in *ibid.*, 1:26.

86 See CattM, 64 and n. 85, above.

to the church of Santa Maria sopra Varese.⁸⁷ This legendary account of the Duomo's founding by Milan's first duke was eagerly adopted by his heirs—including the Sforza—thereby substantiating a close link between the ruling house and the metropolitan cathedral. The Nativity procession then became increasingly elaborate, and soon proceeded to the Duomo from every gate of the city. By the mid-seventeenth century, public sentiment desired an official rendering of the Duomo's "dedication" to the Nativity, such that in 1645 the Fabbrica, in collaboration with Archbishop Monti Cesare, rendered it official—despite the lack of evidence—giving way to the inscription "Mariae Nascenti" presently found on the cathedral's façade.⁸⁸

While the story of Gian Galeazzo's founding of the Duomo is clearly fictional, as shown above, the birth of his son, Giovanni Maria, did give rise to a "legend" whose validity seems much more assured. It concerns the choice of the middle name "Maria," and the inheritance bequeathed to Gian Galeazzo's descendants, as most famously described by the historian Bernardino Corio:

On the seventh of September, in Abbiategrasso, Giovanni Galeazzo had by Caterina, his wife, a boy, who at baptism was named Giovanni Maria; and on behalf of this most abundant source of grace [= Virgin Mary] was he moved, being able to have a boy, to honor him with her celebrated name, and for this reason was the middle name of Maria given to all of [Gian Galeazzo's] other descendants.⁸⁹

Gian Galeazzo's apparent decree to baptize all of his descendants, male and female, with the middle name Maria was dutifully followed—though for legitimate offspring only—as any reliable genealogical table of the Visconti and the Sforza

⁸⁷ CattMS, 97.

⁸⁸ See Luigi Olgiati, "Mariae Nascenti," *Diocesi di Milano* 3 (1962), 4-5.

⁸⁹ Corio 1:899: "Al septimo di settembre in Abiate Giovanne Galeazo hebbe da Catelina, sua mugliere, uno figliolo a baptesmo nominato Giovanne Maria, a la quale abundantissima fonte di gratia s'era invotato, potendo havere figlioi, insignirli dil suo celebratissimo nome e per questo a gli altri descendenti fu dato il secundo nome di Maria."

dynasties will attest. This is highly significant, for it bequeathed to each member of the ducal families a personal bond between themselves and the Virgin Mary, the "most abundant source of grace," along with a tacit responsibility to foster Marian devotion in their own lives, and in the lives of their subjects—such as is perhaps most amply demonstrated in the reign of Ludovico Maria Sforza. Equally significant for the ruling family was the legacy of intense Marian devotion practiced in so many ways by the father of the Milanese dukedom, Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

On the other hand, the tradition of baptizing children with the middle name Mary was not limited to the ruling family. The practice was likewise extended to the entire Milanese populace, by virtue of a another Marian miracle which supposedly took place in these same years. According to legend, a mysterious malady arose, whereby Milanese mothers were unable to bear sons. After offering prayers and alms to the Virgin, the illness was miraculously conquered, and in gratitude a custom arose that continued on through at least the sixteenth century, as attested to by the historian Paolo Morigia, in 1598:

Now I will say that not only do parents place the name of Mary upon their children, but they also offer them to Mary, the mother of God, so that she may bless them, and thereafter they make an offering to the Madonna through the Fabbrica, and return the children home. This ancient custom unto today is observed by many.⁹⁰

Thus from the late-fourteenth century was the profound devotion held by the Milanese for the Virgin Mary granted a new personalized embodiment, whereby the city could

⁹⁰ "Hor dirò che non solo i Padri ponevano nome Maria alli suoi figliuoli, ma ancora li offerivano alla madre di Dio Maria, accio che gli havesse da benedire, et poscia facevano un'offerta alla Madonna per la fabrica, e riportavano i fanciulli a casa. La quale antica consuetudine ancora fino al giorno d'hoggi è osservata da molti. Cited in CattSM, 97-98; after Morigi's *Il Duomo di Milano* (Milan, 1597), 7.

collectively participate in her divine name, and thus her great privileges— and truly become a "City of Mary."

The Fabbrica del Duomo and the *Mater Gratiae*

Finally, some discussion is warranted on the increased Milanese devotion to the Mother of Mercy, or *Mater gratiae*, which took place at this time. The origins of the expression *Mater gratiae*, and its significance within Milanese liturgy—going back to Peter Damian in the eleventh century—were discussed already in Chapter 1.⁹¹ As seen, the expressions "Mater gratiae, mater misericordiae," are found in the second strophe of the hymn, *Memento salutis auctor*, which itself was placed frequently in the Ambrosian and Roman Little Office of the Virgin—and thus became devotional currency in Milan and elsewhere. Beginning in the late-thirteenth century, the aspect of Mary as the *Mater gratiae* became identified with a particular iconography—where, as in the crown of the tympanum, the Virgin appears with her mantle open, sheltering the suppliants kneeled in prayer below.⁹² The popularity of this image grew considerably in the wake of the Black Plague—which ravaged Western Europe from the late 1340s—becoming especially adopted for private votive exercises, whereby the Virgin might provide merciful protection against the perceived retributions of an angry Christ.⁹³

The image then further penetrated the devotional fabric through its official adoption as the patron symbol for various monastic orders, confraternities, and other

91 See Chapter 1, pp. 111-12.

92 The image has been traced to a vision by the early thirteenth-century Cistercian monk, Heisterbach, as described in his *Dialogus miraculorum* (c. 1220), where the Virgin appeared as sheltering the entire Order under her mantle—itsself a contemporary symbol of protection. See PerdiV, 21-22, which provides the complete passage concerning Heisterbach, torn by spirits (*mente excedens*), who in meditation-like prayer observes the various Orders of the Church triumphant; when he realizes the absence of Cistercians, he inquires with Mary as to why; she replies that they are so dear to her, that she covers them with her arms: "Aperiensque pallium suum quo amicta videbatur, quod mirae erat latitudinis, innumerabilem multitudinem monachorum, conversorum, et sanctimonialium illi ostendit."

93 For more on the plague and its effect on piety, see Rosemary Horrox, ed. *The Black Death* (New York: Martin's Press, 1994).

religious bodies.⁹⁴ One such body was the Milanese Fabbrica del Duomo, which from its origins, in January 1387, adopted this image as its official emblem. The Fabbrica's image, or "stemma" as it is called, like that found on the sacristy door, presents the Virgin upright, with her mantle held open by two angels. Instead of individual petitioners beneath the cloak, however, there stands the façade of the Duomo itself—actually, still that of Santa Maria Maggiore—thus signifying the Fabbrica's desire that the Virgin spread her protective mercy over the entire congregation of the new cathedral. This image, with variations, appears as the seal of the Fabbrica, and upon buildings pertaining to the body, official documents, and so forth. The *Mater gratiae* continues to stand as the "stemma" of the Fabbrica, with recent examples displaying the modern façade of the Duomo.⁹⁵

In selecting the image of the *Mater gratiae* for its "stemma," the Fabbrica may well have been influenced by the personal Mariology of both Archbishop Saluzzo and Gian Galeazzo Visconti. The Fabbrica in its early years was heavily reliant on both men for the exercise of its authority—which included the hiring of engineers and artists, the purchase of materials, and the general supervision of cathedral activity, liturgical and otherwise.⁹⁶ Indeed, documents preserved in the rich Biblioteca della veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo contain frequent requests for the Archbishop's opinion in such matters as the hiring of workers, and even in the architectural details of the new cathedral—such as the height of the church, the length of the nave, and so forth.⁹⁷ As seen in the letter of 1386, Archbishop Saluzzo held a personal devotion to Mary as the *Mater gratiae*, one which he clearly retained throughout his life: in a letter written a year

94 As Perdrizet documents, the image spread from the Cistercian Order to the mendicant Orders — particularly the Dominicans, from the early 13th c., but likewise the Franciscans, Servites, and Augustinians, in various locations —and finally to various Confraternities, dedicated specifically to the *Mater misericordiae*. See PerdiV, 30-102

95 See BascaD, 97-100; and Bascapé, "Lo stemma e il sigillio della Fabbrica del Duomo," *Diocesi di Milano* 3 (1962), 26-28.

96 See RondiSS, 49-64 ["La fabbrica del Duomo come espressione dello spirito religioso e civile della società milanese (Fine sec. XIV-sec. XV)"].

97 CattAS, 25-31.

before his death, in 1401, he granted his consent for an indulgence in favor of the new Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria di Baggio, and included an invocation co-opted from that same 1386 letter:⁹⁸

Mater misericordiae	Mother of mercy
Mater gratiae,	Mother of grace
Pietatis amica,	Friend of piety
Consolatrix humani generis	Consoler of the human race
Pro salute fidelium	For the salvation of the faithful
Sedula exoratrix	Diligent suppliant,
Pervigil intercedit	She intercedes, ever-watchful.

Gian Galeazzo, too, held a particular devotion to the Mother of Mercy, such as is seen in an illumination of a 1380 Book of Hours commissioned by him (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 757): where he and his wife, Caterina, kneel in prayer below the Virgin's open mantle, in the company of ten others.⁹⁹ Eight years later, the Virgin's great mercy would account for the birth of their son, Giovanni Maria—and it seems likely that the Fabbrica chose their "stemma" in part as a tribute to the duke's private devotion to the *Mater gratiae*. Moreover—and this is the main point—such a tribute would find a striking correlation a century later: namely in the intense private devotion to Santa Maria delle Grazie held by Duke Ludovico Sforza, and the selection of the *Mater gratiae* as the only miniature within the Gaffurius Codices.

Fourteenth-Century Accretions to Milanese Marian Liturgy

The reign of Gian Galeazzo Visconti and the archepiscopacy of Antonio da Saluzzo also coincided with the introduction into Milan of two Marian feasts: the

⁹⁸ Cited in CattAS, 38.

⁹⁹ For a reproduction of the illumination (found on fol. 258), see Edith Kirsch. *Five Illuminated Manuscripts of Giangaleazzo Visconti* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 31.

Visitation and the feast of Our Lady of the Snow. The introduction of these feasts, while illustrating the continual intensification of Marian devotion in fourteenth-century Milan, must also be seen within the context of a general burgeoning of the cult of saints during this period, actively endorsed by Archbishop Saluzzo.¹⁰⁰

The Visitation commemorates the meeting between Mary and her cousin Elizabeth just after the Annunciation, as recorded in Luke 1:39-45: Elizabeth, then six months pregnant with John the Baptist, hears Mary's voice as she enters, whereupon the infant John "leaped in her womb"; thus filled with the Holy Spirit, Elizabeth cries out the words that would come to close the "Ave Maria"—"Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb." Mary remained with her cousin for three months, likely until after the birth of John the Baptist, and perhaps until after his circumcision—though Luke separates Mary's departure from John's birth and circumcision. The scene places greatest relief on Mary who—in echo of 2 Samuel 6:12-15—is portrayed as a new ark of the covenant, and the object of her cousin's great awe and admiration.¹⁰¹

The Visitation first became the theme of a feast when Saint Bonaventura introduced it to the Franciscan Order at the General Chapter of 1263. It remained as such until 1389, when pope Urban VI made a futile attempt to end the Great Schism by extending the feast and its octave to the Universal Church.¹⁰² The pontiff died before he could issue any official proclamation, a task carried out by his schismatic successor, Boniface IX, in the bull *Superni benignitas*, where the feast was enriched with indulgences. The feast day of July 2—generally explained as the likely day of Mary's departure from

100 The increase in the number of *festi sanctorum*—likely, too, a result of the Black Plague—is seen in the evolving Milanese calendar: in the twelfth-century (after the Calendar compiled by Beroldus), there were 156 feasts of saints; by the year 1440 (after the Missal of Archbishop Piccolpasso), the number had risen to 214; the number would continue to rise over the next century, to 360 in 1560, before dropping to 196 in the wake of the Council of Trent. See Cattaneo, "L'evoluzione delle feste di precetto a Milano dal secolo XIV al XX: Reflessi religiosi e sociali," in *Studi in memoria di Mons. Cesare Dotta* (Archivio Ambrosiano 9, 1956), esp. 69-93; and TreccSM 9:553-54.

101 See M.E. McIver, "Visitation of Mary" in NCE 14:721.

102 See G. Mollat, "Urban VI, Pope," in NCE 14:480. It was the instability of the papacy, particularly under Urban VI, that enabled Gian Galeazzo to profit so politically.

Elizabeth, following the circumcision of John the Baptist—was only officially proscribed at the Council of Basil in 1441; since Vatican II, the feast of the Visitation is celebrated on May 31.

In 1389, Milan was in the initial stages of construction of the Duomo, and funds were at a premium. The indulgences offered by Archbishop da Saluzzo for contributions to the new cathedral, though helpful, could not hope to bring the type of revenue afforded by a papal-sponsored Jubilee in Milan. Archbishop Saluzzo thus encouraged Gian Galeazzo—who was then in need of improved relations with Rome, given his ducal aspirations—to request from the newly elected Pope Boniface a Jubilee year for Milan, with special papal indulgences for the new Duomo, which was granted for the year 1390.¹⁰³ In obtaining permission for the Milanese Jubilee, Gian Galeazzo undoubtedly embraced Boniface's call to celebrate the feast of the Visitation. Although no official decree survives, the Visitation and its octave immediately appear in the Missal of 1402 (Biblioteca Capitolare, II D 1,2) prepared for the older cathedral of Santa Tecla.¹⁰⁴

The Milanese showed allegiance to Rome in adopting both the feast and octave of the Visitation, and yet the prayers and chants for both Mass and Office were either newly created by the *schola ambrosianum*—including an Office antiphon and responsory setting of Elizabeth's principal statement, "Benedicta tu inter mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui";¹⁰⁵ or were derived from earlier Marian feasts, especially that of *VI Dominica Adventu*—from which it was able to borrow, fortuitously, the Ingressus, "Videsne Elisabeth"¹⁰⁶

Most characteristic is the identification of the Ambrosian feast of the Visitation not within the *Sanctorale*—as it appears in the Roman rite—but rather within the *Proprium de Tempore*, as a "Solemnnitas Domini," whereby the Christological focus is

103 See CattAS, 31-32.

104 Fol. 119 (July 2): "In festo visitationis gloriosae Virginis Mariae, quod celebratur secundo die julii cum septem sequentibus diebus." Cited in CattMS, 144.

105 See LVM, 396-400. For more on the Milanese *schola ambrosianum*, see TreccSM 4:597-98, 609.

106 See AMM, 25-26; cf. MA 2:44.

emphasized. Following its appearance in the 1402 Missal, the feast was consistently incorporated into metropolitan Ambrosian missals, including printed versions, from 1474. Private devotion to the Madonna of the Visitation would likewise develop through the fifteenth century, leading to the construction of a small altar in the apse of the Duomo—beside the door of the southern sacristy, which held the image of the *Mater gratiae*—with a sculpted portrayal of the visit between the two cousins. The altar was especially venerated by Milanese women seeking children, in response to Mary's role in assisting Elizabeth during her pregnancy with John the Baptist.¹⁰⁷

Another feast to enter Milan in this same year of 1389, is that of Santa Maria ad Neves, or Our Lady of the Snow, celebrated on August 5. The feast is proper to the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, and commemorates the legend in which the Virgin Mary left her footprints—in a miraculous August snowfall—upon the Esquiline Hill, signaling to Pope Liberius (d. 366) where he was to establish the famous basilica.¹⁰⁸ The entrance of the feast into Milan at this time, however, did not impact the official Ambrosian liturgy, but rather only the private votive activities of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, a further testament of his intense Marian piety. Specifically, Gian Galeazzo was granted the assistance of the Milanese clergy, at the behest of Archbishop Saluzzo, in order to celebrate the feast in a chapel of Santa Tecla, upon an altar—supposedly the first Marian altar in Italy, brought "across the sea" by Saint Barnabus, Milan's legendary first bishop—containing a marble statue of the Madonna and Child.¹⁰⁹

107 Like the other apsidial altars of the Duomo, the *Madonna della visitazione* was removed by San Carlo Borromeo in the 1560s. See CattMS, 104.

108 See M.S. Conlan, "Our Lady of the Snow" in NCE 10:837.

109 CattMS, 145-46. This is indicated in a statute, written by the Municipal Council of Milan between 1389 and 1396: "Praetera festum B.V. de Nive celebretur eodem die in quodam capella ecclesiae S. Theclae, in qua fertur esse primum altare consecratum in partibus citramarinis per B. Barnabam Apostolum in honorem et reverentiam gloriosae Virginis Mariae." The statute was seen as authenticating the antiquity of Santa Tecla and its baptistery—and thus its precedence over Santa Maria Maggiore. See BaileyAP, 52.

Wider public interest in the feast grew in subsequent years, such that in 1502, Louis XII (then ruler of Milan) instituted the "Schola di Santa Maria della Neve," to oversee the celebration of the feast, now celebrated within the Duomo itself. Printed Ambrosian missals from 1488 list the feast in their calendar, thus suggesting a wider devotional interest from at least that time. As later sources (from 1609) suggest, the Milanese liturgy of Santa Maria ad Neves borrowed from other Marian occasions—especially the Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin and the Little Office of the Virgin.¹¹⁰

The adoption of the feast of Our Lady of the Snow by a lord of Milan—Gian Galeazzo Visconti—as a preliminary step towards a wider Milanese observance is, in fact, preceded by a similar progression with regard to another, more notable Marian observance: the Immaculate Conception. As suggested in Chapter 1, this is the most significant, while also the most contentious, Marian development of the later Middle Ages, dating back to the twelfth century. Although the fourteenth century saw a heightened public profile of the dogma—namely, through the polemics between Franciscan supporters and Dominican detractors—substantive church declarations were made only in the latter fifteenth century; thus, the full argument will be reviewed in the next section of this study.

Here may be mentioned, however, the devotion to the Immaculate Conception fostered early in Milan by lord Azzo Visconti—whose Mariology was traced above. In 1336, a year after establishing the civic observance of the Nativity of Mary, Azzo commissioned a church dedicated to the "Immacolata," later called San Gottardo. The church was entrusted to the Franciscans, who were charged with the daily observance of the Office of the Immaculate Conception—likely in the frequent presence of Azzo himself. According to the Franciscan, Bernardino da Busti, the church "was solemnly consecrated by many bishops under the title of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; and [Azzo] directed throughout his dominion that all observe the feast on the day

¹¹⁰ See, for example, AMM, 509: "ut in Missis votivis die Sabbati."

of [Mary's] conception," namely on December 8.¹¹¹ The next year, in 1337, Azzo had a chapel built dedicated to the "Immaculata" in the basilica of San Francesco Grande.

Following Azzo's death, the Marian chapel of San Francesco became the principal nexus of Milanese devotion to the Immaculate Conception, and continued to receive the patronage of the Signoria, as shall be seen. Gian Galeazzo Visconti likewise held a devotion to the Immaculate Conception, such as can be assumed by two factors: his friendship with the Franciscan Pietro Filargo (Peter of Candia)—author of a treatise on the Immaculate Conception, and later Pope Alexander V (1409–10)—whom he appointed Archbishop of Milan following the death of Antonio da Saluzzo; and the identity of his wife, Catarina, as a member of the lay Third Order of the Franciscans, staunch supporters of the dogma.¹¹²

Archbishop Piccolpasso and the Little Office of the Virgin

In the closing years of the Visconti dynasty, as social and political instability rose, an attempt was made to redress a long-standing decline in ecclesiastical discipline in Milan—itsself the product of years of warfare, papal schism, plague, and paraliturgical expansion. The call of reform was issued by Archbishop Francesco Piccolpasso (or Pizolpasso), who became Archbishop in 1435, during the reign of Filippo Maria

111 ".... quam ecclesiam consecrari fecit solemniter a multis episcopis sub titulo immaculatae conceptionis virginis Mariae: praeceptique ut per totum dominium suum omnes facerent festum in die conceptionis eiusdem." Cited in CattSM, 124. Even today, the apse of S. Gottard contains the inscription, "Alma Virgo Poli devotum suscipe templum."

112 Bernardino da Busto went so far as to credit Gian Galeazzo's political success to his belief in the Immaculate Conception: "Intellixi enim quod primus dux Mediolani tam preclarum consecutus est dominium qui ad exhortatione Magistri Petri de Candia qui postea fuit summus pontifex, devotionem praecipuam semper habuit conceptioni beatae Virginis Matris Dei." Cited in CattMS, 125. Pietro Filargo—then Bishop of Novara—likewise played an active role in Gian Galeazzo's negotiations with Emperor Wenceslas for the ducal crown—see D.M. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351–1402): A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot* (Cambridge: University Press, 1941), 172–73. It may also be mentioned here that Filargo was a life-long patron of the composer Matteo da Perugia, whereby the latter entered into the position as the Duomo's first *maestro di cappella*. See Brad Maini, "Notes on Matteo da Perugia: Adapting the Ambrosian Liturgy in Polyphony for the Pisan Council," *Studi musicali* 23 (1994), 3–28.

Visconti, who was then involved in a political struggle with Francesco Sforza.

Immediately upon his accession, the Archbishop took part in the Council of Basle (1431–39)—convoked largely to clarify and redress the acts of the earlier Council of Constance (1414–18), whereby the Great Schism was ended—and in this spirit of reform, sought to re-establish proper conformity to the Ambrosian rite for all of his flock.¹¹³

Piccolpasso's first act was to write a letter of admonition to the metropolitan clergy, sent from Basle in August, 1437, where he states:

... And truly you give us just cause of distress, and undeservedly so, through your negligence and disorder, observing little or nothing according the proper practice and statutes observed in our presence... Whereby we urge you with all affection, and we admonish, so as to be proper before the Lord, that you personally restore the Church by repeatedly granting a pious and devout exhibition of the Offices and divine services...¹¹⁴

Archbishop Piccolpasso's concerns extended beyond the clergy to the entire faithful, and yet he clearly saw the example set by them as the necessary first step to a more comprehensive spiritual remedy.

Returning to Milan in 1440, the Archbishop published his most important work, a "Constitution... on the Reform of the Office of Our Most Glorious Bishop and Patron Ambrose..¹¹⁵ The "Constitution" was addressed to all clergy, both secular and monastic, and aimed at countering the lack of clerical discipline whereby, "much in the

¹¹³ See CattBA, 54-57.

¹¹⁴ "Et profecto justam turbationis causam et indigne prebetis nobis, per negligentiam inordinationemque vestram, parum aut nihil observantes juxta mores ex ordine observatos ac statutos in nostra presentia... Quare vos exhortamur cum omni caritate atque admonemus in domino quatenus debitum, reddatis ecclesiam personaliter frequentando pia et devota exhibitione offitiorum et cultus divinorum..." Cited in CattBA.

¹¹⁵ The complete title is *Constitutio Archiepiscopalis edita circa reformationem officii gloriosissimi pontificis et patroni nostri Ambrosii ad divini cultus non mediocre incrementum et evidentem animarum salutem et profectum*. The entire document is reproduced in CattBA, 293-97.

passing of time had surrendered to neglect, many things had been omitted, and several things had become altered and transformed."¹¹⁶ He specified several Office items in need of practical reform—including execution of the *Te Deum*, the Epistles, and Biblical readings; and demanded a more universal observance of the liturgical calendar among all clergy in all churches—highlighting the already troubling reality of a multiplicity of devotional, votive, saints, and festal occasions that would later preoccupy the Council of Trent.

Beyond this, the Archbishop devotes a chapter to the Office of the Virgin Mary, and immediately identifies his task not as a correction of past abuses, but as a new call for wider observance—calling it "On the Office of the Blessed Virgin, to be henceforth said generally." He then specifies that:

... within six months of this publication, [all clerics] are obliged to possess, write, or have acquired for themselves the canonical Hours of the glorious Virgin Mary according to the Ambrosian rite. And it will be better if they have them inserted directly into their Breviaries. And those who acquire them sooner will be more worthy of praise, and will obtain greater merit before God through the intercessions of our advocate, the most glorious Virgin Mary, His mother, and the most blessed Ambrose. In the churches wherein the canonical Hours are to be sung, also the Hours of the blessed Virgin are to be sung, in a lesser or softer voice or tone, before the other individual hours, and in their [proper] order. However, when singing the office privately, and without chant, the said hours of the blessed Virgin are to be said privately according to the devotion of each. Through this work, so holy, so meritorious, so laudable, may we thence hope that through the pious intercessions of the most blessed and glorious Virgin, and our patron, Saint Ambrose, the softened [exoratus] Son of God, our Lord, Jesus Christ, will protect our glorious city, the most celebrated in all the world, and defend it from sudden attack by every enemy, from tribulation, and from distress; and grant us true and strong peace through his

116 "... multa secundum temporum curricula neglectui tradita, plurima omissa, nonnulla diversimode edita, et immutata fuisse." Cited *ibid.*, p. 293.

mercy, or that He will deign it worthy to grant us victory and triumph over our adversaries.¹¹⁷

The above passage is valuable not only in providing some detail on how and when the Little Office was to be sung—"in a softer or lesser voice or tone, before the other individual hours"—or spoken, but also in demonstrating the Archbishop's conviction that its regular recitation—"so holy, so meritorious, so laudable"—was the only sure way to gain the protection of her Son. In so doing, Archbishop Piccolpasso is reviving the exhortation made by Peter Damian four centuries earlier (see Chapter 1), and yet he goes further by providing very specific ways in which the Virgin's intercession may help: namely, in persuading Christ to defend Milan—"the greatest city in all the world"—from its [political] rivals, even to grant "victory and triumph" over them. Interesting also is the manner in which the recitation of the Little Office will stimulate the intercession of Saint Ambrose, showing how closely linked the two remained in fifteenth-century Milan.¹¹⁸ Finally, the chapter on the Little Office suggests perhaps the deeper purpose of the "Constitutio"—that in these uncertain times, with Milan ever on the verge of foreign attack, some ecclesiastical house-keeping, accompanied by a redoubled outpouring of Marian devotion, was needed to gain God's protection.

117 "... infra sex menses a publicatione huiusmodi computandos teneantur habere, scribere aut sibi recuperare horas canonicas de gloriosa vergine Maria secundum morem Ambrosianum. Et melius erit si eas in Brevariis suis fecerint inseri. Et qui citius eas recuperaverint maiori laude erunt digni, et maius meritum apud Deum, Advocata nostra gloriosissima virgine Maria matre sua et beatissimo Ambrosio intercedentibus reportabunt. In ecclesiis autem in quibus horae canonicae decantantur etiam horae huiusmodi de beata virgine dicantur in voce seu tono maiori seu remissiori ante alias horas singillatim, et per ordinem suum. Privatim autem officium dicentes, et sine cantu, dictas horas beatae Virginis dicant [sic] privatim secundum devotionem singulorum. Per hoc autem tam sanctum, tam meritorium, tam laudabile opus debemus omnes inde sperare, quod piis intercessionibus beatissimae Virginis gloriosae, et sancti Ambrosii conditoris, exoratus Dei filius dominus noster yhs xps hanc inclitam, et in toto orbe celeberrimam civitatem proteget, et defendet ab omni hostium incursu, a tribulationibus, et angustiis, veramque suam, et firmam pacem, sua misericordia nobis concedet, aut de adversantibus victoriam, et triumphum dignabitur impartiri." Ibid., p. 295.

118 See n. 59, above.

To incite the observance of his reforms and admonitions, the Archbishop granted a daily indulgence of forty days, up to a full year, to all clergy who recited the Offices—and especially the Little Office—according to his direction. He further extended his offer to the entire lay congregation, by granting these indulgences to all "who devoutly say them or hear them."¹¹⁹ Exactly how successful the "Constitutio" was in practice is difficult to say, and there is some speculation that within a short period of time, the document was forgotten.¹²⁰ Even with the Little Office, the Archbishop's directives were not long-lasting since, for example, the *Brevarium Ambrosianum* of 1490 produces the text with the rubric, "For the praise of God, and for the comfort of those who desire to say the daily Office of the blessed Mother of God, Mary, according to the rite of our Father, Ambrose..."¹²¹ At the same time, the call to increase the presence of the Little Office in the lives of the clergy and laity was, in all likelihood, strongly embraced—as all Milanese sought to cope with the uncertainty that accompanied the sudden rise of a new dynasty in their beloved city.

C. The Sforza and the Age of Mariolatry in Renaissance Milan

Historical Background

Upon the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, on August 13, 1447, confusion and disorder once again ruled the day in Milan. The duke had died without a legitimate heir, and a host of contenders—including Francesco Sforza, Charles d'Orleans, Louis of

119 "Tamen ut eo ferventius omnia recipiatis, quo magis vos videritis divino, et spirituali pabulo id est indulgentiis, et remissionibus vestrorum peccaminum confoveri, vobis omnibus, et singulis de clero nostro, qui praemissa omnia devote observabitis, et Horas de Beatissima Virgine Maria specialiter ut praemissum est dicetis, aliisque Christifidelibus laicis qui devote aut eas dixerint aut eas audierint et interfuerint in divinis, pro qualibet die Indulgentiam quadraginta dierum de iniunctis eis poenitentis elargimur misericorditer in Domino, quam usque ad annum dumtaxat durare volumus." Ibid., pp. 296-7.

120 See CattBA, 57.

121 *Brevarium Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1491), fol. 135v: "Ad laudem Dei et solamen volentium dicere officium quotidianum beatae Dei Genitricis Mariae secundum morem P. Ambrosii hic infra ponetur."

Savoy, King Alfonso of Aragon, even Emperor Frederick III—claimed the right of succession, as rebellion sprang up throughout the duchy.¹²² Meanwhile, a group of noble intellectuals rallied the Milanese people to proclaim an end to seigniorial control over their city, and a return to the glory days of the Commune. Thus was born the short-lived "Golden Republic of Saint Ambrose" (*Aurea Repubblica Ambrosiana*), under command of twenty-four "captains and defenders of Milanese liberty"—including Antonio Trivulzio and Giorgio Lampugnano. For the intellectuals, the Republic held promise of a new age of peaceful Christian citizenship, inspired by the idealistic writings of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. For the people, on the other hand, ignorant of such ideology, consent arose simply from the aspiration that the Republic would bring about an end to excessive taxation, and the promise of peace and stability.

These aspirations soon proved themselves naïve, as years of tyranny had stripped the Milanese of their ability to self-govern. Internal chaos was then joined by an external threat from the armies of Venice, whence the captains of the Republic were obliged to call upon the military services of Francesco Sforza. His victory over the Venetians (September, 1448) was again met by the captains with renewed anxiety over Sforza's ducal ambitions. Hostilities become overt, and in response Francesco cleverly aligned himself with Venice, laying siege to Milan. The city fell victim to extreme famine, while a now oppressive Republican leadership pit itself stubbornly against the popular general. When the former, in desperation, tried to align with Venice, the people recoiled: in February, 1450, assembled in the church of Santa Maria della Scala, they proclaimed Francesco Sforza lord of Milan; on February 26, he entered triumphantly into the city, at

122 More detailed information on the period of Milanese history summarized in this section (the era of the Sforza) can be found in TreccSM, vol. 7; VisconSM, 357-446; FavaSM 2: 6-65; and BlondSM, 38-45; see also CorioSM 2:1213-1636 (to 1499); and MorigHM, 152-78. The literature on Milan under the Sforza is, again, quite vast. Among general works on the Sforza are SantorS—with substantial bibliography (to 1968), pp. 427-450; Guido Lopez, et al., *Gli Sforza a Milano* (Milan: Cassa di risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1978); and AdyS; very useful is LubkinR (principally on Galeazzo Maria Sforza)—with a good bibliography (to 1994), pp. 365-73; see also RondiSS, 65-204.

the head of a huge army—symbolically dispensing loaves of bread to the people—and on March 22 was officially crowned duke in the Duomo, amid joyful celebration.

Throughout his sixteen-year reign, Francesco proved himself a superb statesman and administrator, bringing great prosperity to Milan and peace to Italy. As never before, Milan fulfilled its promise as a center of trade and industry, especially wool and armory, while the city entered the Renaissance with a boom in architecture and the fine arts: works begun under Francesco's initiative include the Castello Sforzesca (an extensive reconstruction of the Viscontean castle of Porta Giova, destroyed during the zeal of the Ambrosian Republic), the Ospedale Maggiore, the Corte Ducale (the Corte d'Arengo, situated near the Duomo), and the church of Santa Maria Incoronata. Francesco's court likewise became a hub of cultural and early humanistic activity, marked by the presence of the writer Francesco Filelfo and the Florentine architect, Filarete, designer of the Ospedale. Francesco's astute diplomacy gave impetus to the Peace of Lodi (1454) and the formation of the Italian League (among Milan, Venice, Florence, the Pope, and Naples)—which brought forty years of peace to the peninsula, not to mention official European recognition of the Sforza dynasty.

Francesco Sforza had wholly succeeded in gaining the admiration of the Milanese, when he died of dropsy on March 8, 1466. Immediately, his widow, Bianca Maria Visconti, sent for their twenty-two year old son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, then in France fighting beside Louis XI, to take his place as rightful heir. Francesco had successfully pursued a practical, non-expansionist, foreign policy, and consequently the other leaders of Italy quickly recognized Galeazzo as the new duke of Milan. Further political stability was then gained in 1468 when, following long negotiations, Galeazzo welcomed to Milan his new bride, Bona of Savoy, the niece of King Louis XI.

Galeazzo Maria is one of those marvelous paradoxes of Renaissance Italy—a mighty prince whose love of outward splendor was matched only by his deep personal failings, to which he owed both his brilliant court and his tragic demise. For a while, the

Milanese readily accepted Galeazzo as their duke: he shrewdly retained at court most of the "cabinet" employed by his father, beginning with the gifted Cicco Simonetta as prime minister, thereby providing outward continuity in governance. Indeed, during Galeazzo's ten-year reign, Milan continued its astonishing upward spiral of prosperity, facilitated by the duke's own shrewd policies on trade and agriculture. Likewise did the Milanese benefit from Galeazzo's foreign policy, particularly in the formation of a "Triple Alliance" (1474), with Florence, and Venice; as well as in his sensible cordiality with France—all of which upheld a broad and salutary peace throughout Italy.

To his political savvy, however, was coupled an exaggerated and insatiable appetite for lust and luxury, along with a highly pronounced vanity—in contrast to the moderation displayed by his father, Francesco. On the one hand, Galeazzo's love of decoration sparked an aggressive campaign to beautify the ducal palaces with art and lavish ornamentation—employing such artists as the Lombard master, Vincenzo Foppa. Most significant to this study, of course, is the duke's unprecedented patronage of music, giving rise to perhaps the greatest musical chapel of its time (see the introduction). On the other hand, Galeazzo's vanity drove him to some outlandish displays of pomp—such as his famous voyage to Florence in 1471, in the company of a huge retinue, arrayed in the most expensive fabrics—which aroused the resentment of many of his subjects. To this was added a sometimes wicked temper, which early put him in conflict with his mother—until her death in October, 1468—and later solidified the resolve of his enemies. On December 26, 1476, in the midst of a time-honored ritual accompanying the feast of Saint Stephen, Galeazzo was assassinated by three conspirators, each inspired by vague and disparate notions of "libertas mediolanensis."¹²³

123 The details of Galeazzo's infamous assassination are given in LubkinR, 239-241. All three conspirators, Giovanni Andrea Lampugnano, Carlo Visconti, and Gerolamo Olgiati, were captured and executed—the latter cried out before dying, "Mors acerba, fama perpetua."

It was a critical moment for both the Sforza dynasty and the political future of Italy—as intuited by Pope Sixtus IV, who upon hearing of Galeazzo's death, uttered prophetically, "Hodie pax Italiae mortua est." The ducal throne was immediately passed to Galeazzo's six-year old son, Gian Galeazzo, under the regency of his mother, Bona of Savoy, while the reigns of government were ably maintained by Cicco Simonetta, for a time. Before long, however, the political aspirations of Galeazzo's brothers—especially, Sforza Maria, Ascanio Maria, and Ludovico Maria—came into conflict with this delicate balance of power. The elder statesman, Simonetta, at first gained the upper hand, successfully exiling the overtly rebellious siblings in May, 1479; but within a year, Ludovico, the most ambitious of them, had successfully outmaneuvered both Simonetta and the unfortunate duchess: Simonetta was arrested and then executed (October, 1480), while Bona of Savoy was forced to abdicate Milan—leaving Ludovico as guardian of Gian Galeazzo, and in effect, supreme authority of the Milanese duchy.

Despite the deceptive manner in which he usurped power, Ludovico—called "il Moro," due to his dark complexion—was entirely suited to his new princely position, and his reign, from 1480 to 1500, corresponds to the so-called "Golden Age" of Renaissance Milan.¹²⁴ In truth, Gian Galeazzo remained the nominal duke until his death in 1494, but no one doubted that Ludovico yielded the real authority. Intelligent, cultured, and egotistical, Ludovico utilized Milan's great resources to transform the city into a true Renaissance capital, while his brilliant court became, following his own desire, a "second Athens." Artists, poets, and humanists of the highest caliber were enticed to Milan by Ludovico's great patronage—most significantly the architect, Donato Bramante, and Leonardo da Vinci, who fulfilled a wide variety of artistic and

124 A useful source on Ludovico's reign is Giulia Bologna, ed. *Milano e gli Sforza: Gian Galeazzo Maria e Ludovico il Moro (1476-1499): mostra documentaria e iconografica in occasione del Convegno internazionale, "Milano nell'età di Ludovico il Moro," Biblioteca trivulziana, Castello sforzesco, 28 febbraio-20 marzo, 1983* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1983); see also Mesquita, "Ludovico Sforza and His Vassals," in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 184-216.

engineering duties during his seventeen-year stay in Milan. The artistic climate then intensified following the arrival of Ludovico's cultured bride, Beatrice d'Este—daughter of Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara—in 1491; their sumptuous wedding was but one of many elaborate festivities for which Ludovico's reign became famous.

Ludovico thus created a closed, highly refined, and fairy tale-like court, which distanced him from the common citizenry; and yet in the absence of any capricious fits of cruelty, such as found in Galeazzo, they tolerated his aristocratic aloofness—particularly given the general prosperity from which all benefited. While he excelled at fostering splendor at court and stability in Milan, Ludovico was rather less skilled in handling foreign crises, and it was this weakness that eventually cost him his position, and Milan her freedom. For a time, Ludovico was able to maintain equilibrium within Italy, while elevating his own stature—particularly through the Peace of Bagnolo with Venice (1484); an alliance with Florence and Naples was then strengthened through the marriage (1489) between Duke Gian Galeazzo and Isabella d'Aragon, grand-daughter of King Ferrante.

Ludovico's undoing arrived from across the Alps: he unwisely supported King Charles VIII's claim on Naples (1494), only to retract following its fall, whence he formed an "Italian League" with Venice and the Pope, which defeated the French at the Battle of Fornovo (1495). For a time, Ludovico—who, with the death of his nephew was now officially proclaimed Duke of Milan—basked in the success of his clever maneuverings. His elation was temporary, however, and the beginning of the end was heralded by the sudden death of his beloved wife, Beatrice, in January, 1497: Milan's joys turned to sorrow, as the duke secluded himself in pitiful mourning at the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Things then quickly deteriorated: following Charles VIII's death (1498), the French crown passed to Louis d'Orleans (Louis XII), who immediately laid claim to Milan itself.¹²⁵ After Ludovico's past deceptions, the other Italian states refused to

¹²⁵ See n. 53, above.

answer his call for assistance, and the duke found himself alone, abandoned even by his own people. In August, 1499, the French army entered Milanese territory, whereupon Ludovico fled in desperation to seek the aid of Emperor Maximilian. Meanwhile, the French army arrived in Milan, amidst cheers from the people, which swelled when Louis himself arrived on October 6, 1499. Ludovico managed one brief return to Milan, in February, 1500, only to be defeated and captured by the French at Novara two months later: taken to the Chateaux de Loche in Berry, France, Ludovico died on May 27, 1508.

In the wake of Ludovico's defeat, Milan enters a long and sorrowful period of foreign domination that quickly falls outside the scope of this study. Two more Sforza, Massimiliano and Francesco II—both sons of Ludovico—would wear the ducal mantle, yet as mere puppets of external powers: the former (1512–15) as a tool of Pope Julius II, who formed a Holy League (1511) to temporarily expel the French from Italy; the latter (1529–35) as weak vassal of Emperor Charles V, whose Spanish forces definitively chased the French from Milan (1530), whence the city became a mere Spanish colony.

The Marian Devotion of the Sforza and Santa Maria delle Grazie

The Sforza owed the institution and eminence of their ducal sovereignty to the Visconti, their predecessors, and it is no accident that many of the programs and traditions established by them were duly maintained. Given the tenuousness of his initial claim to power, Francesco Sforza endeavored to portray himself as the legitimate successor of Filippo Maria Visconti, in part by reconfirming all existing economic privileges granted to religious bodies within the duchy—chief among them being the Certosa di Pavia and the Fabbrica del Duomo, whose allocations were in fact increased. Dynastic continuity was likewise upheld in the baptismal dedication to the Virgin for all eight children of Francesco and Bianca Maria—following the tradition established by Gian Galeazzo Visconti.

Francesco's devotional ovations were not merely symbolic, and he seems to have been genuinely religious by nature: so Corio writes, "In no one was [found] greater observance of faith, he always loved justice, and was a lover of religion..."¹²⁶

Francesco's devotion to the Virgin can be seen in the celebrated building founded under his protection, the Ospedale Maggiore, dedicated to Mary, and which came to have a special association with the feast of the Annunciation—thanks to the bull "Virgini gloriosae," issued by Pope Pius II, which established, on Francesco's behalf, papal indulgences for all who visited the Ospedale on March 25.¹²⁷ Already in 1451, Francesco granted assistance for the construction of a new Augustinian church, dedicated to Santa Maria Incoronata, beside which Bianca Maria later (1460) founded a church dedicated to Saint Nicholas of Tolentino (canonized 1446).¹²⁸ Bianca Maria was herself extremely devout, called "religiosissima et sanctissima" by the Canon Regular of the Duomo, Matteo Bossi, a piety she undoubtedly essayed to impart to her children.¹²⁹

Her success is debatable with regard to her first-born son, and successor to the ducal throne, Galeazzo Maria—recalling Cecilia Ady's remark that: "[Galeazzo] forms a striking example of a child upon whose education every care has been lavished and who nevertheless turns out badly."¹³⁰ This is not to say that Galeazzo refrained from religious observance: indeed, he heard Mass daily, gave regular audience to preachers and confessors, and ordered all distinguished subjects and feudatories to appear in Milan for the "principal" Milanese solemnities of Christmas, Easter, and the feast of

126 CorioSM 2:1374: "In nisuno fu maggiore observantia de fede, amò sempre la iustitia e fu amore de la religione..."

127 With this bull, Pius II granted Milan a new Jubilee—called "la festa del Perdono"—to assist in the completion of the Ospedale, whereby all who visited it (or to the Duomo, in alternating years) on March 25 would receive a plenary indulgence of twenty-five years: the first year, the faithful contributed over 8,500 Imperial lire, nearly sufficient to complete the building. The "Perdono" was extended by subsequent pontiffs, until Pius IV made it perpetual, in 1560. See BascaD, 98-99.

128 See TreccSM 9:631.

129 See MesquitC, 420.

130 AdyS, 94

Saint Joseph—March 20, corresponding to the day of Galeazzo's ascension.¹³¹ And yet manifest in these religious activities was likewise the duke's exaggerated vanity. His piety was in a sense "on display" as a forum to reveal his tremendous wealth and political might.¹³² This is perhaps best seen in the duke's extravagant voyage to Florence in 1471 mentioned above, made under the guise of a religious "pilgrimage" to the church of Santissima Annunziata.¹³³

At the same time, Galeazzo does seem to have held a sincere devotion to the Virgin Mary, even if it simultaneously served the heightening of his earthly fame and reputation. Like his father, Galeazzo maintained the endowment of religious chapels patronized by the Visconti, among which was the pilgrimage church of Santa Maria del Monte sopra Varese—the famed sight of Ambrose's vision—for the celebration of Mass and Office.¹³⁴ He also endowed the Observant (Franciscan) monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, outside Abbiategrasso, earlier supported by his parents. This monastery had become an increasingly important center of advocacy for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, chiefly through the famed preacher Michele Carcano, and according to the diary of Cicco Simonetta, Galeazzo bequeathed it two choirbooks, now lost.¹³⁵ Beyond this tacit support for the Immaculate Conception, Galeazzo may have

131 See LubkinR, 66-73, 89, 131; see also WelchS, 165—which quotes a letter from the Mantuan ambassador to Ludovico Gonzaga (April, 1473), which describes Galeazzo's obsession with hearing sermons and taking confessions: "This illustrious lord attends to his confessions and sermons. He has arranged for preaching in the castle every day since Sunday; he calls for preachers, now one, now another, from those who are preaching in this land, and has had many new confessors come."

132 See WelchS, 164-65, where she extends this vanity to his large musical chapel as well: "The duke was murdered while attending mass but piety, the traditional formula for expressing interest in sacred music, played a relatively small role on these occasions. Galeazzo Maria was perfectly aware of the need to appear in the guise of a Christian prince... Nevertheless, the language of secular pleasure dominated discussions concerning the new choir."

133 LubkinR, 98-100.

134 LubkinR, 78—to his credit, "when Galeazzo heard that some of the chaplains were neglecting their duties, he became upset,... and he commanded the archpriest of the church to set them straight."

135 See TreccSM, 9:623-25. Contrary to the statement of WelchS, 173, Santa Maria dell'Angeli was not "new" to Galeazzo; rather he merely provided it with continued patronage—the monastery dates back to the reign of Filippo Maria Visconti in the 1420s. Cf. Alfio Natale, ed. *I diarii di Cicco Simonetta* (reprint, Milan: Editore Giuffrè, 1962), 16-19.

held some affinity for the feast of the Annunciation, perhaps in tribute to his father—as suggested not only by the Florentine "pilgrimage," but also in his new chapel constructed in the Castello Sforzesco, where the lunettes carried an image of the Annunciation scene alongside his arms and monograms.¹³⁶

At least one of Galeazzo's Marian offerings, however, was more obviously tinged with his own inflated ego—namely, in the gift presented to the shrine of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Monza, north of Milan: a silver likeness of himself, worth some 500 ducats.¹³⁷ This gesture, which oddly merges devotion and pure vainglory, is thus an important symbol of Galeazzo's religious attitude, at least in its less flattering light. On the surface, the offering would seem to point to a particular devotion on Galeazzo's part to Mary in her capacity as the Mother of Mercy, and thus another continuation of Visconti piety. This can be—and has been—further supported by a celebrated passage of Bernardino Corio's *Storia di Milano*, in a way that bears direct relation to the Gaffurius Codices.

The passage in question is found directly preceding Corio's description of the duke's assassination, on Christmas Day, 1476. After relaying a series of ominous premonitions by the duke, accompanied by an uncharacteristic desire to linger with his children, Corio unexpectedly digresses into a discussion of Galeazzo's great love for music, the huge sums he lavished on his singers, and finally his command that the singers wear mourning clothes on the feast of St. Thomas, Apostle (December 22), and sing daily "this verset taken from the Office of the Dead: 'Maria mater gratiae, mater

¹³⁶ See WelchA, 213-18; and WelchS, 175-76. In 1469, Galeazzo began an extensive program of reconstruction of the Castello di Pavia, which included the transformation of an older, single-vaulted dining hall into a second chapel—designated as the *capella di camera*. This in turn explains the division of the duke's chapel into the *cantori di cappella* and *cantori di camera*. Later, Galeazzo ordered construction of a third chapel, for a newly extended south wing—containing the Annunciation lunettes. All three chapels, including the original, double vaulted Visconti chapel on the ground floor, were designed, or redesigned, to accommodate large crowds—in contrast to the chapels of the Medici or Montefeltro, which were explicitly spaces for private prayer.

¹³⁷ LubkinR, 116.

misericordiae, etc."¹³⁸ In his 1996 article, Macey, correctly identified the Marian verset as stemming not from the Office of the Dead, as Corio suggests, but rather as the beginning of the second strophe of the Marian hymn, *Memento salutis auctor*—as is likewise evident from the present study.¹³⁹ Corio's confusion likely arose from the verset's continuation, "Tu nos ab hoste protege, et mortis hora suscipe" (protect us from evil and receive us at the hour of our death).

The hymn *Memento salutis auctor* had become a staple of Books of Hours, including those owned by Galeazzo and his wife, Bona of Savoy—the latter richly decorated by the eminent Lombard miniaturist, Giovan Pietro Birago.¹⁴⁰ Macey uses this appearance, along with the aforementioned passage in Corio and the gift to Santa Maria delle Grazie in Monza, to propose an explicit connection between the patronage of Galeazzo and the presence of the verset "Mater gratia, mater misericordiae" in four motet cycles found within the Gaffurius Codices: Compère's *Missa Galeazescha* and *O admirabile commercium* (after Ward), Weerbeke's *Ave mundi domina*, and the *Vultum tuum* cycle of Josquin, found partially in the fourth *Librone*.¹⁴¹

While the details of the musical argument will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, Macey's assumption about Galeazzo's explicit connection between the verset and its appearance in the *Libroni* should here be qualified. First, as should be evident from this study, the verset in question would arguably have been familiar with anyone active in Milanese religious life—not only the nobility, but also the composers of the motet cycles and the historian Bernardino Corio.¹⁴² Second, how much can Corio be taken at his

138 CorioSM 2:1398: "... [Galeazzo] puoi gli impuose che in ogni giorno per lo advenire ne la missa cantassino questo versiculo tolto ne l'officio dedicato a li defuncti: 'Maria, mater gratiae, mater misericordiae etc.'" The full passage has appeared in several musical discussions, and need not be repeated here. These include: MottaM, 31; WelchS, 151-52; and MaceyGM, 160.

139 MaceyGM, 165.

140 For more on the so-called Sforza Hours, see Mark L. Evans, *The Sforza Hours* (London: British Library, 1992).

141 MaceyGM, 165-96.

142 It may also be mentioned that the very verset emphasized here—"Maria mater gratiae, mater misericordiae, Tu nos ab hoste protege, et mortis hora suscipe"—was singled out for

word in the passage discussed above? A tendency to invent anecdotes for dramatic purposes is not beyond the conventions of Renaissance historiography. When, in 1591, Paulo Morigia wrote his own *Historia di Milano*, he likewise joined the duke's haunting premonitions with his love for music, and yet closed the passage differently, by noting how three days before his death, the duke ordered his singers dressed in mourning clothes to sing [an Office] *da morto*.¹⁴³ A careful reading of Corio, in fact, suggests that some references to the Virgin are used only to invoke a general air of religious devotion. Galeazzo's dying words, for example, are given by Corio as "O nostra donna," which a witness to the scene relayed as "Son morto."¹⁴⁴ It would thus seem that, given the absence of any corroborating evidence, it might be prudent to exercise caution in accepting Corio at his word in this matter. Even Galeazzo's Book of Hours (the so-called

recitation near the conclusion of an Ambrosian Mass, *ad benedictionem in honorem B.M.V.* See AMM, 643.

143 I here quote Morigia's complete passage (MorigHM, 161-62; cf. Corio, Storia, 2:1398): "L'anno poi 1476, il 20 di Dicembre, si parti dal Castello d'Abiagrasso [= Abbiategrasso] mal volontieri, & con grande maninconia, & tre corvi gli andarono sopra il capo gridando lentamente; venuto à Milano parve che non si potesse rallegrare; Teneva egli nella sua corte trenta musici Oltramontani, tutti scielti, che da esso erano benissimo pagati, & al Maestro di Capella nominato Cordovero, li dava di salario cento scudi il mese, perche molto si dilettaua della musica; ma essendo all'hora cosi mesto, ordinò che si vestisse la Capella di paramenti luttuosi (haveva egli paramenti per la sua Capella, che valeuano più di cento mila scudi) & ordinò, que tre di sino al Natale di Christo si cantasse da morto." This slight discrepancy between Morigia and Corio concerning Galeazzo's final decree to his singers underscores the principal motive of both chroniclers: namely, that the duke was to be understood as intuiting his own death in part by an unexpected desire to hear a daily Office of the Dead. Corio clearly believed that the "Maria mater gratiae" verset formed part of this Office; Morigia perhaps knew better.

144 In a letter [ASMa, AG, b. 1625] from Zaccaria Saggi to Ludovico Gonzaga, dated December 28, 1476, cited in LubkinR, 361, n. 127. A similarly abrupt juxtaposition of the Virgin Mary with the death of a noble is seen in Corio's account of Bianca Maria Visconti's death on October 23, 1468—CorioSM 2:1376: "Lui [fra Michele da Carcheno] essendo non puocho famigliare a la Bianca e dedito, intendendo da medici come l'altro giorno mancharebbe de la vita, il tutto a lei fece palese il perché con grande reverentia tolse li divini sacramenti et inde a l'altro dimane, che fu il vigesimo tertio del predicto [mese = October], l'anima rese al suo creatore. Questo illustrissima ducissa a Milano fece construere il templo de Maria Virgine nuncupata a l'Incoronata..."

schwarzes Gebetbuch) which contained the Marian hymn, was not a personal commission, but rather a gift presented to him by Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy.¹⁴⁵

When these factors are combined with the questionable nature of Galeazzo's offering to the shrine of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Macey's explicit connection between the duke and each of the various appearances of the Marian verset in the *Libroni* appears somewhat dubious. All this is not to deny that Galeazzo held a sincere devotion to the Virgin Mary in general, or to the *Mater gratiae* in particular, nor that he expressed these devotions via musical commissions. The motet cycle bearing his name (Compère's *Missa Galeazescha*) is Marian in text content, and the two occurrences of the Marian verset (in the final two motets) may indeed suggest a personal connection to the duke, as Macey maintains.¹⁴⁶ However, Galeazzo was not exceptional among the nobility in venerating the *Mater gratiae*. Indeed, this devotion is much better documented with regard to Galeazzo's younger brother and successor, Ludovico Maria Sforza.

In general, Ludovico Maria appears to have inherited the deep spirituality of his mother, Bianca Maria Visconti, far more than his older brother. He was by nature averse to violence, "mild and merciful," according to the historian Francesco Guicciardini, and possessed by a temperamental insecurity which inclined him to Church teachings and

145 Charles, like his father Philip the Good, was a collector of *Horae*, and owned several "black" books of hours. One of these (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1856) was presented to Galeazzo, probably during their brief alliance in 1475 or 76. See Evans, op. cit., 24. Charles would likewise be instrumental in mediating Galeazzo's dispute with the King of Naples over the employ of the celebrated singer, Cordier. (Cf. MerkPC, 137).

146 I am less convinced by Macey's assertions that occurrences of the name Maria not only in this cycle, but in various other motets of the Gaffurius Codices refer explicitly to the duke (MaceyGM, 196-201). Beyond the logical presence of this name within a Marian text, the use of Maria as a middle name for males was rather common in Milan—including several other members of Galeazzo's court. See n. 90, above. Macey makes a similar claim for another work which does not appear in the Gaffurius Codices, Josquin's famous acrostic motet, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*. This, however, conflicts with the argument made by Richard Sherr, namely that the motet was written in Rome during the 1490s. See Macey, "Some Thoughts on Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza," *From Ciconia to Sweelink: Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, ed. A. Clement and E. Jas (Amsterdam, 1994), especially pp. 111-24; and Sherr, "Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 434-64.

rituals for personal solace, rather than for public aggrandizement.¹⁴⁷ More so than Galeazzo, he took an active interest in the spiritual well-being of his duchy: not only did he regularly host sermons and theological debates at court, but he also intervened in the selection of preachers for various churches throughout his dominion—particularly on behalf of the more rigid Observant orders (both Franciscan and Dominican). Indeed, according to the author Matteo Bandello, Ludovico had intended in his later years to actively participate in the religious reform of his territory:

If the duke Ludovico Sforza had not lost this duchy, he had already expressed his intention to reform all the clergy, and every other sort of religious person of his dominion, imploring the Pope to tighten the charge of the monastics, and the bishops their priests, that all live according to their orders. But his capture and miserable imprisonment prohibited this holy, necessary, and praiseworthy work.¹⁴⁸

The Virgin Mary played a considerable role within Ludovico's religiosity—dating back to the age of five, when during a serious illness, his mother placed him under special protection of the Blessed Virgin.¹⁴⁹ That Ludovico remained cognizant of this special relationship throughout his life is demonstrated in the famous Brera altarpiece, originally painted for the church of Sant'Ambrogio in Nemo by a master of the Lombard school, possibly Zenale di Treviglio—in late 1495, during the temporary elation following the defeat of Charles VIII.¹⁵⁰ The painting shows Ludovico and Beatrice, most elegantly

147 See MesquitC, esp. 420-24, 438-39. That Ludovico, like his older brother, celebrated his daily private Mass according to the Roman rite is demonstrated by NobleF, 17-18.

148 "... se il duca Lodovico Sforza non perdeva questo ducato, aveva già messo ordine di voler riformare tutto il clero ed ogn'altra sorte de le persone religiose di questo dominio, supplicando il papa che astringesse i capi de le religioni, e i vescovi i loro preti, che ciascuno vivesse secondo gli ordini loro. Ma l'esser egli cacciato e fatto miseramente priogione ha vietato questa così santa, necessaria e lodevole opera." Cited in TreccSM 9:585; see also MesquitC, 438.

149 See AdyS, 124-25; cf. Achille Dina, "Il Moro prima della sua venuta al governo," *Archivio storico lombardo* 13 (1886), 737-76.

150 For a reproduction, see AdyS, 279. For a list of eleven Marian churches patronized by Ludovico during his life, see VisentinP, 56.

attired, along with their two sons, all kneeling in prayer before the enthroned Virgin with Child. On either side of the Virgin stand the four Fathers of the Church; Saint Ambrose stands just behind Ludovico, holding a flagella with his left hand and placing his right hand on the duke's shoulder, as if presenting him to Mary as an object worthy of her merciful grace and protection. The Christ child gestures a blessing to Ludovico—as if in recognition of His mother's wishes—while the Virgin extends a hand toward Beatrice, thereby including her in the dispensation as well.

Beatrice d'Este brought with her to Milan some of the intense piety practiced by her father, who in the words of de Mesquita "presided over the most devout court in Italy."¹⁵¹ It was following Beatrice's arrival—and especially in the wake of her tragic death in 1497—that Ludovico manifested his deepest religious commitment, and his most distinct devotion to the Virgin Mary. Specifically, this involved the special patronage accorded the Dominican monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan.

The church and convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie—situated just outside the Porta Giova, alongside the woods of the Castello Sforzesca—owes its origins to the rift that developed in the 1450s, between the older, established Dominican community of Sant'Eustorgio and the reform movement of the Observants.¹⁵² In 1462, Gaspare da Vimercate, a trusted condottiero of Francesco Sforza, granted land to the Observants for the construction of a new convent; the first stone was laid on August 28, 1464, and the community received the official title of "Santa Maria ad gratias" in a document issued at the Lombard Chapter (May 10, 1465)—"in perpetual memory of her deeds and for the

¹⁵¹ MesquitC, 420. For more on Beatrice, see Julia M. Ady, *Beatrice d'Este* (London: J.M. Dent and Co., 1903).

¹⁵² A fervor of monastic reform, from the mid-fifteenth century, initiated the movement of the Observants, dedicated to greater discipline and poverty—not only among the Dominicans, but also among the Franciscans, Augustinians, Servites, etc. Initially, the Observant Dominicans in Milan were content to remain subject to the Order as a whole, but gradually the call was made to establish an independent jurisdiction—which they obtained in 1459 (the so-called "congregazione lombarda"). The older Dominican community of Sant'Eustorgio (see Chapter 1) rejected the Observant mandate, and an intense rivalry between Sant'Eustorgio and the Observants of Santa Maria delle Grazie endured through the mid-sixteenth century. See TreccSM 9:612-16; and BertelSM, 16-24 (Angelo M. Caccin, "Come nasce un convento").

greater devotion to the glorious Virgin."¹⁵³ The decision to dedicate the congregation to the *Mater gratiae* is typical of Milanese spirituality of the time, committed to praise Mary's continual grace and generosity in concrete forms. Duke Francesco granted a series of privileges to the new congregation, in turn establishing a link between the new convent and the Sforza dynasty, one that would culminate in Ludovico.

Until the latter's usurpation of power in 1480, development of the Grazie buildings and property was slow and relatively modest. Yet already in September, 1481, a letter signed by (the eleven-year old) Gian Galeazzo Sforza—most certainly under his uncle's counsel—granted the donation of a large plot of the Parco del Castello to the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie. More significant is a letter of December 31, 1488, which grants the Grazie immunity from taxes and other burdens, including those associated with irrigation of ducal canals for its grounds; though signed by Gian Galeazzo, the letter contains traces of Ludovico's seal, and is found in a small parchment codex ornamented with il Moro's particular insigniae, thus demonstrating his direct interest in the prosperity of the Grazie.¹⁵⁴ With Beatrice's arrival in 1490, Santa Maria delle Grazie became the court's top architectural priority, signaled by the engagement of Bramante—from May, 1492, to construct the famous cupola, and to rebuild the apse and choir, called "la mia Cappella grande" by Ludovico; and of Leonardo da Vinci—from 1493, to paint "il Cenacolo" in the Refractory of the convent.¹⁵⁵

153 Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo di religione, p.a., Conventi, cart. 1398: "Ad perpetuam rei memoriam et maiorem Virginis gloriosae devotionem..." Cited in BertelSM, 227 (doc. 8). Gaspare de Vimercate's association to the convent is preserved in a fresco by Benedetto Bembo (c. 1463-65) at Santa Maria delle Grazie—of him, his wife, and children, kneeling in prayer on either side of the Virgin Mary, who widens her mantle over them in her traditional gesture as the *Mater gratiae*. For a reproduction, see GasserB, 224.

154 D'addaLM, 27; see also BertelSM, 22 ("Il ruolo di Ludovico di Moro").

155 See BertelSM, 70-81, 188-98; see also TreccSM 7:650-54 and 8:488-534. Further, there is some evidence that the singers of Ludovico's chapel performed occasionally in Santa Maria delle Grazie, singing Mass, and perhaps other services; see MerkMP, 364-67.

In early 1497, Ludovico's interest turned near obsessive, in the wake of Beatrice's death on January 2, after an evening of dancing while pregnant with their third child. Her death—and that of a stillborn child—was a horrific blow to Ludovico, as described by that indefatigable Venetian diarist, Marino Sanudo:

Throwing himself into dark and sullen prayer, carried by the memory of the deceased, amidst the most superstitious terrors, [Ludovico] ceased to attend to the cares of State and of his own house. Shunning even the consolation of filial tenderness, he closed himself up for 15 days in a room shielded from light, until grief gave way to a return to religious sentiment, inspired from his earliest youth by his mother, and began to visit regularly those sanctuaries that were for the poor Beatrice the object of greatest fondness.¹⁵⁶

There is no question but that the duchess's favorite sanctuary was Santa Maria delle Grazie; she had long favored it for her private devotion, and became a near daily visitor in late 1496, following the death of Bianca Sanseverino—the daughter of Ludovico by Bernardina de' Corradis, and adored by Beatrice as well. Bianca had died on November 22, 1496, and consumed by grief, Beatrice was often seen at her tomb situated beside the altar of the Blessed Virgin. When Beatrice herself passed on, her body was transferred to a decorous tomb draped in black velvet, placed at the end of the Choir. Ludovico then bid the entire clergy of Santa Maria delle Grazie to recite daily one hundred Requiem Masses, for an entire month, each performed amidst a hundred burning candles.¹⁵⁷

156 "Datosi in preda alla più cupa tetraggine, trascinato dalle memorie del passato, fra i terrori più superstiziosi, cessò dall'attendere alle cure di Stato ed a quelle della sua casa. Respingendo persino le consolazioni della sua casa. Respingendo persino le consolazioni della tenerezza filiale, si chiuse solo per quindici giorni in una camera parata a lutto, infino a che il dolore, lasciando luogo ad un ritorno di sentimenti religiosi, sin dalla prima giovinezza ispiratigli dalla madre, si diede a visitare assiduamente quei santuarii ch'erano stati per la povera Beatrice l'oggetto di maggior predilezione..." Cited in D'addaLM, 25-26.

157 See *ibid.*, 26.

Ludovico attended (Gregorian) Mass and Office—including the Little Office—there twice a day, and in general adopted a new religiosity which persisted to the end of his life.¹⁵⁸ He became a regular visitor to Santa Maria delle Grazie, and held great esteem for its friars, enjoying their company and conversation—especially that of the Prior, Fra Vincenzo Bandello, who had become Ludovico's confessor. Most famously, he endowed the community with generous privileges and exquisite gifts—goblets, altar plates, missals, crucifixes, and other religious ornaments, amply decorated with jewels, gold, and silver, and supplied with Beatrice's name and arms.¹⁵⁹ Two new altars, dedicated to Saints Beatrice and Louis were set up in the chapel; Solari was commissioned to carve reliefs for the high altar, as well as the magnificent sepulcher, bearing the images of both Ludovico and Beatrice, now in the Certosa; Bramante was ordered to complete the cupola and begin a new sacristy; a congress of architects was established to design a new façade "of the same height and proportion as the *Cappella Grande*;" Leonardo was urged to complete "il Cenacolo" and then begin portraits of the duke and duchess on the opposite wall; everywhere throughout chapel and convent were placed the arms, initials, and insigniae of both. In short, the sorrowful last days of Ludovico's reign were spent with near constant attention to and affiliation with the convent and church of Santa Maria delle Gratie.

Ludovico's devotion to Santa Maria delle Grazie has been worth lingering on since it was during the period of his intense involvement there that the first three of the Gaffurius Codices were likely produced. As already discussed above, the first *Librone* begins with the miniature of Mary as the *Mater gratiae*. In the absence of any other dedicatory inscription, along with the preponderance of Marian works (see the

158 According to Sanuto, in the wake of Beatrice's death, "El duca era venuto religioso molto e devotissimo, diceva l'officio grande, desunanza e viveva casto." Cited in *ibid*, 26. Further, he made immediate payment of votive offerings to Beatrice's favorite Marian churches; see MesquitLG, 422.

159 The details of Ludovico's endowment to Dominicans of Santa Maria delle Grazie are found in the extensive "Decreto di Concessioni" (from late 1497), reproduced in full in D'addaLM, 33-47.

introduction), I would here suggest that the first *Librone* (if not all four) is dedicated specifically to Santa Maria delle Grazie. The question then arises, given Ludovico's attachment to this aspect of Mary: might he somehow figure into this dedication? Ludovico personally aided Gaffurius in first obtaining his post at the cathedral, yet unlike his older brother, always respected the independence of the Duomo's chapel.¹⁶⁰ In partial gratitude, Gaffurius dedicated the motet, *Salve decus genitoris*, explicitly to Ludovico. This motet, which like the Marian illumination, appears in the first *Librone*, is not a political motet but a sacred one, expressing Ludovico's near divine relationship to God. The first strophe reads:

Salve decus genitoris	Hail, ornament of the Begetter
Virtus orbis productoris,	Virtue of the world's Producer
Splendor aevi conditoris,	Splendor of time's Creator,
Ludovice Sfortia	O Ludovico Sforza

It is thus conceivable that beyond this motet, Gaffurius acknowledged the duke with an icon of personal significance, that of *Santa Maria delle Grazie*. If such a gesture were intended, however, it would not necessitate any exclusive connection to Ludovico, just as each appearance of the Marian verset does not necessitate an exclusive connection to the patronage of Galeazzo. Rather than being associated with any one individual, the forceful presence of the *Mater gratiae* in these manuscripts carries a wider implication: namely, that a profound Milanese devotion to the Virgin Mary—particularly cultivated during the age of the Sforza—was in part manifest through a specific and popular tribute to Mary as the dispenser of grace and mercy (*Mater gratiae, mater*

160 See TreccSM 9:740-48:(p. 747) "[L]'omogeneità e il carattere della Cappella del Duomo e la sua ricca autosufficienza... permettono l'indipendenza assoluta dalla Cappella ducale..."

misericordiae); one which everyone—dukes, composers, singers, and church-goers alike—could discern and claim as their own.¹⁶¹

Milan and the Controversy of the Immaculate Conception

The Mariology of the second half of the fifteenth century was dominated by the often explosive controversy surrounding the doctrine and celebration of Mary's Immaculate Conception. The notion of Mary as the embodiment of life-long purity—as fostered by Ambrose and declared at the Council of Ephesus—sparked an early impulse in the East (e.g., Andrew of Crete and John of Damascus) to extend this purity to the point of her conception, though articulated in rather imprecise terms. The belief was first manifest through the observance of the Feast of Mary's Conception, beginning perhaps in Syria, in the late-seventh century. The feast arose briefly in England around 1050, only to disappear with the arrival of the Normans in 1066. Its reappearance there around 1120 in turn gave rise to the first critical discussions on the Immaculate Conception, advancing theological justifications of a now burgeoning public devotion.

The first Western theologian to lay the foundation for later acceptance of the doctrine was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Saint Anselm (d. 1109). Though he himself denied Mary's Immaculate Conception, his emphasis on her unique purity came to form a pillar of subsequent assertions—not least of which was the statement co-opted in the bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*, whereby the doctrine became an article of faith (1854): "It was fitting that this Virgin should shine with a degree of purity such that none greater can be

¹⁶¹ The image of Santa Maria delle Grazie is likewise associated with the Fabbrica del Duomo, the administrative body that commissioned the manuscripts, eventually becoming its official emblem (*stemma*). While the appearance of this image in MiLD 1 may in part reflect the Fabbrica's involvement, the universal awareness of the image as Santa Maria delle Grazie—not to mention its placement above the opening Marian hymn—sustains the logic of the proposed dedication. See Bascapé, "Lo stemma," 26-28; and BescaD, 99-100. For a contemporary devotional image of Santa Maria delle Grazie (the image of Gaspare da Vimercate cited in n. 153, above) beside the image found as the miniature in MiLD 1 (fol. 1v), see GasserB, 224-25.

imagined apart from God."¹⁶² Critical, too, was Anselm's redefinition of Original Sin—namely, not as resulting solely from concupiscence (the definition established by Augustine), but rather as the absence of the original state of Divine justice, stemming from Adam's disobedience in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:6-24). It was left, however, to Anselm's disciple, Eadmer (d. 1124) to bring these insights to the proper defense of Mary's Immaculate Conception. If, following Anselm, Original Sin was but the absence of God's grant of original justice, then there was nothing preventing Him from restoring that state within Mary, and from Conception: "He certainly could do it, and willed it; if, therefore, he willed it, he did it."¹⁶³ Eadmer here employed the scholastic fundamental of *potuit, voluit, fecit*, which would accompany support for the Immaculate Conception well into fifteenth century.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, an abrupt halt in the wider acceptance of the doctrine, as well as the dissemination of the feast, was effected by Saint Bernard. Beyond his general aversion to Scriptural embellishment (since the Gospels are silent on the subject), Bernard upheld the Augustinian definition of Original sin, and in turn subscribed to the more conservative belief that she was sanctified in the womb. To Bernard's authority was soon added the dissent of Peter Lombard, Peter of Celle (d. 1183), Saint Albert the Great, and especially Saint Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). The Dominican author of the *Summa Theologiae* rephrased the argument against the Immaculate Conception, insisting that if Mary had been conceived without sin, she would not have required Christ's Redemptive powers, and this in turn "would have

162 Anselm, *De conceptu virginali*, 18 (PL 158:451): "Conueniens fuit ut illa Virgo ea puritate niteret qua maior sub Deo nequit intelligi." Cf. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum* (Fribourg: Herder, 1937), 1641.

163 Eadmer, *De conceptione Beatae Mariae* (PL 159:305): "Si Deus castaneae (chestnut) confert ut inter spinas remota punctione concipiatur, alatur, formetur, non potuit haec dare humano quod ipse sibi parabat templo (= Mary) in quo corporaliter habitaret, et de quo in unitate suae personae perfectus homo fieret, ut licet inter spinas peccatorum conciperetur, ab ipsis tamen spinarum aculeis omnimode exsors redderetur? Potuit plane, et voluit; si igitur voluit, fecit." This comparison of Mary with a chestnut is original to Eadmer.

diminished (*derogaret*) the dignity of Christ in his capacity as the Savior of all men."¹⁶⁴ This was the negative argument carrying the greatest weight throughout the ensuing controversy, and hence the one which would have to be overcome if the doctrine was to survive.

The calling was answered by the English Franciscans William of Ware and especially his pupil, Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who effected a virtual reversal of Aquinas's argument. Rather than undermining Christ's universal Redemption, Scotus explained, the Immaculate Conception of Mary became the fullest and most perfect realization of His redeeming power—for the preservation of sinlessness was reasoned by Scotus as the most "perfect" form of Redemption, superior to the mere purification of sin already contracted. This greatest act of Redemption, since possible, was certainly performed at least once, and who could be more favored by it than the Mother of the Redeemer: "Mary more than anyone else would have needed Christ as her Redeemer, since she would have contracted original sin... if the grace of the Mediator had not prevented this."¹⁶⁵

The Franciscan Order accepted Scotus's rebuttal of Aquinas's objection and quickly embraced the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as among their chief causes. It soon gained widespread acceptance, principally through the work of Scotus's disciples: most important was Peter Oriol, whose lengthy treatise on the subject combined his teacher's theological arguments with a variety of ideas drawn from popular devotion—for example, that Mary's purity dictates that she could never be a "vessel of wrath [= sin],... something horrible for pious ears and devout souls."¹⁶⁶ Indeed, as the controversy evolved through the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries, devotion often superseded theology in the supporting arguments—where

164 Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, "De sancificatione beatae virginis," 3a, q. 27, art. 2: "[S]i nunquam anima beatae Virginis fuisset contagio originalis peccati inquinata, hoc derogaret dignitati Christi, secundum quam est universalis omnium Salvator." Aquinas's argument in *Quaestio* 27 is valuable to the modern reader in reviewing the plethora of arguments for and against Mary's Immaculate Conception up to his time.

165 Cited in E.D. O'Connor, "Immaculate Conception," in NCE 7:381.

166 Cited in GraefH, 303.

Mary's privileges as generous intercessor and virtuous Mother of the Redeemer became in themselves grounds for her Immaculate Conception. So the influential Archbishop of Milan, Peter of Candia (later Alexander V), could admit in his treatise on the subject:

I say without prejudice to the decision of Mother Church, if this matter should be settled at some future date, that *not compelled by any reason, but solely by the purest devotion*, I believe firmly and confess simply, that the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, who is exalted above the angels, was never attacked by the stain of original sin... for if I should deviate from the truth through ignorance, I would rather err by an excess of praise than of blame.¹⁶⁷

The "matter" to be settled by the Church is, of course, the fierce controversy that ensued between the Franciscans and the Dominicans who, despite the subtle arguments of Scotus, steadfastly denied that Mary was conceived without Original Sin. As Bonniwell explains, the denial of the Dominicans arose not from any lack of devotion to Mary, but rather by virtue of the absolute authority granted their most beloved associate, Thomas Aquinas—who, again, saw the Immaculate Conception as incompatible with Christ's universal Redemption: a Dominican statute issued in 1279, and reaffirmed regularly thereafter, expressly demanded no one to speak against the teachings of Aquinas, lest they be severely punished.¹⁶⁸ This stricture was maintained even after the feast and doctrine of the Immaculate Conception were approved at the close of the Council of Basle (1438)—by then, however, the Council had ceased to be in contact with Rome, thus incumenical, and not binding to the entire Church.

The controversy entered its most antagonistic period in the second half of the fifteenth century, and not surprisingly, the city of Milan played a rather significant role. Among the most vigorous opponents of the doctrine in the last quarter of the century

¹⁶⁷ Cited in *ibid.* 311. The last line stems from William of Ware, the teacher of Duns Scotus; cf. GraefH, 299.

¹⁶⁸ BonnHD, 212-14, 240-42.

was the Dominican Vincenzo Bandelli, who published in Milan ("dominante Felicissimo Galeazzo Maria Vicecomite duce Quinto...") a *Libellus recollectorius de veritate conceptionis beatae Virginis Mariae* (1475), in which he declared simply that "it is unwise to believe that the Blessed Virgin was not conceived in Original Sin," adding in his dedicatory letter that "we follow the truth that is offered to us not from crickets [scabellis], but from the sacred codices, [that] the kind mother of God was sanctified—most excellently, above all creatures—after she contracted Original Sin..."¹⁶⁹

Franciscan reaction to Bandelli and his supporters was swift and vitriolic, and among the most fiery among them was il beato Michele Carcano (d. 1487). In 1453, fra Michele began preaching at a newly constructed auditorium, called "il Giardino," associated with the Observant Franciscan convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli—later patronized by Galeazzo Maria. Indeed, Michele's arrival signals a period of closer relations between the Franciscans and the ducal court.¹⁷⁰ And yet, such was his emotional impact upon his hearers—enough to incite political instability—that he was twice banished from Milan in the early 1470s, only to be asked back through public outcry.¹⁷¹ The Immaculate Conception was among Michele's chief concerns, and his sermons on it demonstrate a greater reliance on devotional than on theological reasoning. In one of these, he outlines four "reasons" (*rationes*) why the Virgin was conceived without Original Sin: on reason of God's punishment—that it would constitute an

169 "...impium est tenere B. Virginem non fuisse in peccato originali concepta... [S]equamur veritatem quae non ex scabellis sed ex sacris codicibus nobis offertur et almam Dei genitricem post originalis peccati contractionem excellentissime super omnes fuisse sanctificata." Cited in CattMS, 127. Following the argument of Saint Bonaventura, opponents of the Immaculate Conception would argue that grace was infused into Mary's soul immediately *after* conception. See GraefH, 283.

170 See n. 144 above, where Michele is cited by Corio as the preacher who delivers Bianca Maria Visconti her last rites, and described as "non puocho famigliare a la Biancha."

171 See TreccSM 9:624. Carcano wasn't the only preacher to be banned temporarily from Milan for stirring up controversy—others included the Dominican Angelo da Chivasso (1481) and the Franciscan Bernardino da Feltre (1491)—a "hell-fire preacher" and founder of the famous charitable institution, the Monte di Pietà; Ludovico Maria himself was particularly interested in hosting theological debates; see MesquitC, 436-39.

unthinkable punishment upon Mary; of God's hatred—similar idea; of Mary's purity; and of Christ's redemption—where Carcano reproduces Scotus' argument.

Particularly interesting is the third reason:

The [Immaculate Conception] can again be proven by reason of [Mary's] purity, in this way: the blessed Virgin must have possessed, among all creatures, the highest grade of purity after God [cf. Saint Anselm]. Now, purity consists in the absence of that which is sin or a guilty failing, whence someone is called pure who is without sin, otherwise it would be impossible to call the Angels pure, or to call Christ very pure [purissimo]. Thus if the Virgin was the purest after God—worthy enough to be the vessel of the Son of God—it is obvious that she must not have possessed Original Sin... [This preservation from sin] was conceded to the Virgin because she is the Mother of God, because she is Queen of the Angels, because she is Mistress of heaven and earth, because she is the Mother of Mercy [*Mater misericordiae*], and finally [because she is] a refuge of sinners.¹⁷²

As is clear from the latter half of the argument, Michael's rationale is governed by the tremendous importance he grants Mary within the lives of the faithful, particularly as the merciful protectress of sinners. And in light of the ever-increasing fervor of popular Marian devotion in these closing years of the fifteenth century, Michele was right on target.

Michele and his fellow Franciscans in Milan and elsewhere surely rejoiced when on February 27, 1476, Pope Sixtus IV issued the bull *Cum praeclsa*—which formally approved the Feast of the Conception (December 8), with its own Mass and Office. The

172 "La stessa costa si prova ancora ratione puritatis in questo modo: la Vergine benedetta doveva possedere, tra le creature, il più alto grado di purità dopo Dio. D'altra parte la purità consiste nell'assenza di ciò che è peccato o difetto colpevole, onde puro è detto chi è senza peccato, altrimenti non si potrebbero dire puri gli Angeli nè purissimo Chirsto. Perciò se la Vergine doveva essere la più pura dopo Dio onde essere altresì degno vaso del Figlio di Dio, è ovvio non dovesse avere il peccato originale... Quel grado sì eccelso fu concesso alla Vergine perché Madre di Dio, perchè Regina degli Angeli, perchè Signora del cielo e della terra, perchè Madre della misericordia e ultimo rifugio dei peccatori." Cited in CattMS, 129

Pontiff demonstrated his devotion to the doctrine by enriching the feast with generous indulgences—including one of 11,000 years for the recitation of the Office.¹⁷³ Still, the controversy continued unabated, such that Sixtus twice (1482 and 83) issued bulls forbidding either supporters or detractors from labeling the other "heretics"—although the language of the bulls make clear his own support for the doctrine. Tensions remained high through the end of the century, as attested in the fervid writings during the late 1480s and 1490s of Bernardino da Busti—who preached in Milan following fra Michele's temporary exile. Bernardino, an Observant Franciscan, wrote his own Mass and Office for the feast, as well as nine sermons on the Immaculate Conception—with a heavy reliance on miracles to demonstrate its validity—which thoroughly summarize the arguments of the day.¹⁷⁴ More will be said of Bernardino's Mariology below.

As the Milanese people voiced their passionate support of the doctrine, so too did the Sforza leadership. Francesco renewed a 1403 statute of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1450 and 59), ordering the celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the Marian chapel of San Francesco.¹⁷⁵ Galeazzo Maria patronized the Observant Franciscan convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, perhaps the most vigilant defenders of the doctrine in all of Lombardy.

With Ludovico Maria, the verdict may seem dubious, given his strong patronage of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria della Grazia. And yet, by the 1480s, at least some within the Dominican community had come to embrace the feast and doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—as seen, for example, in the temporary approval by the Dominican capitular Fathers, assembled in Rome in 1481, of the Feast of the Conception—though subsequently altered in 1484 to the Feast of Mary's

173 See Carlo Sericoli, *Immaculata M. B. Virginis Conceptio iuxta Xysti IV constitutiones*, (Roma: Libreria dello stato, 1945), 14.

174 Bernardino's Office of the Immaculate Conception was approved and granted indulgences by Pope Sixtus IV in 1490. See CucchiM, 26.

175 See CattMS, 125-26.

"Sanctification."¹⁷⁶ In addition, Ludovico patronized the Observant branch of the Carmelite Order in Milan who, like the Franciscans, were staunch supporters of the doctrine.¹⁷⁷ Finally, Ludovico was at least once invited, in 1491, to arbitrate in the long-standing dispute between Leonardo da Vinci and the monks of the Confraternity of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, over the completion of the artist's "Virgin of the Rocks," begun in April, 1483. The model for the angel, incidentally, was Cecelia Gallerani, Ludovico's chief romantic interest before the arrival of Beatrice d'Este; such might have proven troublesome for the artist had Ludovico vehemently opposed the doctrine.¹⁷⁸

In any event, by the time of Ludovico's fall, acceptance of the doctrine had become nearly universal and, even Dominicans began to shift their allegiance on the subject. In the Ambrosian Missals of 1482, 1486, and 1494, the feast of *Conceptio Sanctae Mariae* appears in the calendars on December 8—as a Votive Mass; the Missal of 1488 indicates the feast of December 8 within the *Proprium Sanctorum*—following the feast of Saint Zenone—with the rubric, "eodem die conceptio beatae Virginis Mariae, " and adds: "The Ingressa and other chants as written for the Nativity of the above-mentioned Virgin."¹⁷⁹ Only in the Ambrosian Missal of 1560, written in the midst of the Council of Trent, was the feast of the Immaculate Conception provided with its own chants, such

¹⁷⁶ BonnHD, 240-42.

¹⁷⁷ TreccSM 9:645. For more on the Carmelites (the Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Carmel), see Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Carmel*, 4 vols. (Darien, Ill.: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1976-88).

¹⁷⁸ The details of the dispute between the Leonardo and the monks at the Confraternity of the Conception at S. Francesco—including the complete, and eventually problematic contract, see StitesL, 122-34; see also TreccSM 8, 488-90. The image of Mary employed in Leonardo's fresco— young and pure, adoring the infant Jesus—had become conventional iconography of the Immaculate Conception, particularly for the Franciscans: for example, it appears in a sculpture at the Franciscan convent of S. Maria delle grazie in Monza (c. 1480). Further, Leonardo placed Mary within an enclosed grotto, which Stites likens to Canticle's "Hortus oclclusus," another image of the doctrine. See Eva Tea, "L'immacolata nell'arte," in *L'Immacolata Concezione* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1954), 154-62. See also Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁹ "Ingressus et alios cantus prout scriptum est in nativitate supradictae virginis." Cited in CattMS, 140. The same rubric is repeated in the Ambrosian Missals of 1505 and 1522.

as are found in the modern *Antiphonale Missarum*.¹⁸⁰ The Council declared that its definition of Original Sin did not apply to the Blessed Virgin, and from this time acceptance became quite unchallenged—leading eventually to the bull of 1854, whereby the doctrine became a proscriptive article of faith for all Catholics.

The High Tide of Mariology in late-Fifteenth Century Milan

The inflamed controversy surrounding the Immaculate Conception is symbolic of an ever-swelling intensity of Marian devotion, which by the mid-fifteenth century had reached near fever pitch, in Milan as elsewhere. The reasons are complex, and have to do as much with external factors as with the particular powers and virtues ascribed by the faithful to the Virgin Mary: the incessant threat of plague (with great Milanese outbreaks in 1450, 1485, 1502, and 1512), the growing emphasis on plenary or partial indulgences granted for religious observance, constant political instability, and even the advent of humanism.¹⁸¹ Liturgical scholars generally label the century prior to the Council of Trent as a period of ecclesiastical decline in Italy—with the rampant exercise of "exaggerated Mariolatry" a prominent symptom.¹⁸²

The consolidation of political power into the hands of individual families altered the dynamics of ecclesiastical elections, whereby material and political interests often rivaled or even prevailed over spiritual concerns. In Milan, Francesco Sforza shrewdly hand-picked a series of Archbishops whose loyalties were assured, and whose elections

180 AMM, 409-413. An Ambrosian Office of the Immaculate Conception was first definitively introduced in the Breviary of 1582, under San Carlo; see CattMS, 140.

181 In the spirit of Renaissance humanism, the image of Mary as *virgo inviolata* was at times merged with that of Mary as *tutta bella*. This composite is readily seen in the visual art of the period (likewise seen in Leonardo's "Virgin of the Rocks"), yet also through the growing use of imagery taken from the Song of Songs within Marian poetry. See WarnerA, 121-33, 182-87. The Gaffurius Codices contain over a dozen motets (by Gaffurius, Weerbeke, etc.) whose texts derive from the Song of Songs; see Chapters 3 and 4.

182 The tendency of modern mariologists to label the Marian veneration of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries as "decadent," moreover, has tended either to limit the scope of their investigations, or to create preconceived dismissals regarding the validity of such veneration. Laurentin, for example, entitles the entire period from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, "La décadence" (cf. LaurenCT, 77).

were easily approved by the Pope.¹⁸³ In so doing, Francesco was able to increase his ability to confer vacant ecclesiastical benefices to those favored by him—a privilege used to great advantage by his son, Galeazzo Maria, not least in the acquisition of singers.¹⁸⁴

Francesco's final selection to the archbishopric—made in tandem with Pope Pius II—was Stefano Nardini (1461–84), who was on more than one occasion obliged to use his position to assist, diplomatically and financially, the military ambitions of Galeazzo Maria. Nardini's two immediate successors, Giovanni (1484–88) and Guido Arcimboldi (1489–97) were both closely allied with Ludovico Sforza, who frequently entrusted them with political missions; it was Guido, moreover, who participated in the foundation of Santa Maria delle Grazie. For Guido's successor, Ludovico selected his wife's brother, Ippolito I d'Este (1497–1518) who, indeed, was not even a priest, and who spent little time in Milan. He in turn was succeeded by his ten year-old nephew, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este (1519–1550), whose loyalties were more to France than to Milan.¹⁸⁵

In sum, the politicization of the archiepiscopal office had a deleterious effect on the spiritual life of the Milanese diocese. As the Archbishop was frequently away from Milan, the pastoral duties of the Duomo were carried out by a vicar general, who himself

183 During the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries, the election of the Milanese archbishop was determined largely by the pope, and at times in contrast to the will of the duke—such as with the election of Enrico Rampini by Eugenius IV, in a long-running conflict with Filippo Maria Visconti. Things changed with the arrival of Francesco Sforza, whose political might ensured the co-operation of the pope: Francesco secured the election of five archbishops from three popes (Eugenius, Nicholas V, and Pius II). See TreccSM 9:510-18.

184 Francesco's aggressive campaign to control ecclesiastical benefices—largely as a vehicle to strengthen and support his government—has been closely examined by Michele Ansani, "La provvista dei benefici (1450–1466): strumenti e limiti dell'intervento ducale," in Giulio Chittolini, ed., *Gli Sforza, la Chiesa lombarda, la corte di Roma* (Naples: Liguori, 1989), 1–113. Galeazzo Maria's vigorous campaign to attract singers by means of benefices has been demonstrated, much through previously unknown documents, by Paul Merkley and Lora Matthews; see MerkPC, 125–44; and MerkMP, 1–32. The ducal tradition of benefice appointment was maintained, at times lavishly, by Ludovico Maria—who employed a special secretary, the humanist Jacopo Antiquario, to handle an ever-increasing number of ducal expectatives, collected in a *Liber promissionum beneficiorum*. In the wake of Beatrice's death, however, Ludovico seems to have desired a greater balance between the prospective political benefits of a nomination and the resulting spiritual integrity of the appointment, such that the action would not "dare graveza con Dio." See MesquitC, 428–30.

185 See TreccSM 9, 518–19.

was selected by the duke—usually chosen from one of the religious orders, and thus not necessarily faithful to the Ambrosian "Capitolo Metropolitano." All of this led to a weakening of clerical discipline as well as an increase in ecclesiastical abuse—occasionally erupting into a "crisis" of one kind or another, such as effected the Cappella del Duomo in 1461–63 (see Chapter 4). In this environment, spiritual activity evolved spontaneously from within the community itself, unbridled from strict ecclesiastical control. Indeed, popular devotion and charitable works flourished as never before—chief among them being the tremendous outpouring of veneration for the Virgin Mary.

The rise of Marian devotion in the late-fifteenth century owes much to the greater powers accorded her in various theological writings of the period, most of which arose from sermons delivered on Marian feasts. This study has already pointed to the steady increase in Mary's divine profile through the latter Middle Ages, particularly from the time of Saint Anselm (d. 1109)—whose emphasis on her unrivaled purity gave impetus to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Critical, too, was the increased distinction made between the realms of Justice and Mercy, such as was formulated in a (now) spurious sermon once attributed to Saint Bonaventura (d. 1274)—which asserted plainly that Mercy, governed by Mary, is "better than justice."¹⁸⁶ Two other writings from the mid-13th century, long attributed to Saint Albert the Great, initiated a new, highly flamboyant tone of Mariology: the *De laudibus Sanctae Mariae*, written by Richard of Saint Laurent (d. c. 1250) and the famous *Mariale*, which was proven spurious only in 1952.¹⁸⁷ In these works, Mary is granted truly divine powers, ranging from omnipotence

¹⁸⁶ From the so-called *Sermo VI de Assumptione*, shown by Beumer to be spurious in 1960. See Johannes Beumer, "Eine dem heiligen Bonaventura zu Unrecht zugeschriebene Marienpredigt?" *Franziskanische Studien* 42 (1960), 1-26; see also Chapter 1, nn. 263-65.

¹⁸⁷ The attribution of *De laudibus* to Saint Albert was proven spurious in 1625; Albert's genuine Mariology is more conservative: for example, he clearly distinguishes between the high veneration (*hyperdoulia*) owed Mary, and the worship (*latría*) owed God. By contrast, the *De laudibus* recommends its readers to recite daily: "Mater noster qui es in caelis, panem nostram cotidianum da nobis hodie..." beside the traditional "Pater noster." The argument against Albert's authorship of the *Mariale* was demonstrated by Albert Fries in 1952, by virtue of a few key discrepancies with Saint Albert's other writings: most importantly, the *Mariale* states that Christ was conceived of both the blood and flesh of Mary; whereas elsewhere the saint

and direct knowledge of the Trinity to an explicit partnership with Christ in the world's Redemption; no longer is Mary a mere shelter for sinners, but a bonified "associate of Christ" (*socia Christi*) in their Salvation. It is such assertions that led Laurentin to find here "les premiers symptômes de la décadence."¹⁸⁸

The impulse to venerate Mary in the highest theological terms intensified through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, argued increasingly with convoluted Scholastic formulations—lending an air of legitimacy to intrinsically popular beliefs. Among the most influential theologians of the fifteenth century was Saint Bernardine of Siena (d. 1444), elected Vicar General of the Observant Franciscans in 1438. His writings on the Virgin Mary contain assertions which can only be labeled "Mariolatry."¹⁸⁹ Bernardine of Siena goes to great lengths to portray Mary as independent from Christ, the "Mistress of the world" above and beyond her role as Mother of God. Indeed, borrowing arguments from Franciscan Spirituals such as Umbertino of Casale (d. c. 1330), Bernardine of Siena attempts to portray Mary as possessing powers superior even to those of God:

Now, God could only generate God from himself; and yet the Virgin made a Man. God could only generate someone infinite, immortal, eternal, impassable, impalpable, invisible, in the form of God; but the Virgin made Him finite, mortal, poor, temporal, palpable, sentient, visible, in the form of a servant, in a created nature.... O the unthinkable power of the Virgin Mother!.... Surely it was quite impossible for God to do such a thing by Himself. Therefore this is the prerogative of the Virgin that, since God could not do it, He did not concede this to any other creature.¹⁹⁰

affirms conception only of Mary's blood. See Beumer, "Die Mariologie Richards von Saint-Laurent," *Franziskanische Studien* 41 (1959), 19-40; Fries, *Die unter dem Namen des Albertus Magnus überlieferten mariologischen Schriften* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1954); see also GraefH, 266-78; and LaurenCT, 77-79.

188 See n. 182, above.

189 See Giulio Folgarait, *La teologia mariana di S. Bernardino da Siena* (Milan: Editrice Ancora, 1939).

190 Cited in GraefH, 317.

Mary, thus, was the one and only being capable of making God both human and mortal, a task not even possible for God Himself. When Mary's theoretical superiority to God, then, was combined with the more established notion of her unrivaled mercy, the faithful would have but little incentive to turn anywhere else for their spiritual needs.

Bernardine of Siena's influence was most assuredly felt in Milan, as he preached there during the Lenten seasons of 1419 and 20.¹⁹¹ His success with the citizens and with the duke (Filippo Maria Visconti) enabled him to found the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli—which, again, became a stronghold of support for the Immaculate Conception during the Sforza years. Milan continued to be particularly receptive to the higher strains of Marian theology through the end of the century. It was here that perhaps the most audacious of all Marian theologians preached and repeatedly published his writings, the Franciscan Bernardine of Busti (d. c. 1515).

Bernardine of Busti (henceforth Bernardine) was born in Milan around 1450, becoming an Observant Franciscan around 1475.¹⁹² From his youth, Bernardine harbored a deeply-felt veneration for the Virgin, and throughout his life proved himself a most ardent apostle of her purity and her Redemptive power. Above all, Bernardine was the champion of the Immaculate Conception, becoming the most faithful disciple of Michele Carcano, to whom he owed his reception into the Observant Order. A great portion of Bernardine's Marian writings explicitly support the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—nine sermons, a Mass and Office (approved by Pope Sixtus IV, and published in Milan in 1492 along with the nine sermons), an *Opusculum de Immaculata Conceptione*, etc. Bernardine "substantiated" the doctrine by reporting several miracles related to its affirmation, some of which allegedly took place near Milan itself; for example:

¹⁹¹ See TreccSM 9:623.

¹⁹² For Bernardine's biography, as well as a fuller evaluation of his Mariology, see CucchiM; see also CattMS, 111-16, 130-33. For a more concise summary of his life and works—along with a complete list of his theological writings, see VisentinP, 90-96.

Around the city of Milan, a few years ago, another miracle took place; for when a certain nobleman affirmed that the blessed virgin was conceived without Original Sin, a certain monk of some Order [scil., Dominican] fought most tenaciously against the latter's opinion. Wherefore this nobleman, devoted to the Virgin and angry that this monk would speak evil against the purity of the Mother of God, said to him: "I ask God that He may act in judgment before you and me. Behold the miracle: although this nobleman had suffered a continual fever for many months, which continually afflicted him severely, immediately [after the plea to God], the man was perfectly freed from it. [Then], the foe of [Mary's] virginal purity was invaded by the same fever, which afflicted him for many months.¹⁹³

Bernardine further expressed his love for the Virgin Mary in a collection of Italian Canticles and *Laude*, compiled in his *Corona o Thesauro spirituale della Beata Vergine Maria*, published at Milan in 1490, and again twice there in 1492—demonstrating its great popularity just at the moment when the first of the Gaffurius Codices was being prepared.¹⁹⁴ The work is divided into 63 chapters (2261 verses in all), one for each year the Virgin supposedly walked the earth. Here Bernardine offers fancifully detailed episodes of Mary's life along with copious praise of her purity, beauty, and intercessive powers, and even includes some Marian passages from Dante and Saint Bernard. In the preface, Bernardine relays his hope that "whoever devoutly recites these praises, [will

193 "Prope civitatem etiam Mediolani a paucis annis citra aliud miraculum evenit; cum enim quidam nobilis beatam virginem sine originali peccato conceptam affirmaret, frater quidam ordinis cuiusdam illius opinionem valde pertinaciter impugnabat. Quapropter ille nobilis, Virginis devotus, indignatus quod ille frater contra puritatem matris Dei obloqueretur, dixit ei: Rogo Deum ut faciat iudicium inter me et vos. Mirabile dictu: cum iste nobilis per multos menses febrem ethicam passus esset, quae continue cum valde affligebat, stans hoc dicto perfecte liberatus est. Ipsum vero virgineae puritatis adversarium febris invasit, quae eum per multos menses afflixit." Cited in CattSM, 131-32.

194 The *Mariale super Missus est*, then attributed to Saint Albert the Great, was also published in Milan around the same time, in 1488. See CucchiM, 30 and VisentinP, 92-96.

hopefully] become a true lover of the most gracious queen of heaven; and finally through her aid will gain the glory of eternal life."¹⁹⁵

In these writings, and especially in Bernardine's enormous *Mariale*, the principal theme is Mary as Universal Mediatrix on behalf of the faithful. The *Mariale*, first published in Milan in 1494, is certainly Bernardine's most famous work; it is a compilation of sorts, and includes 63 Marian sermons, divided into 12 chapters. As Cucchi observes, Mary's universal mediation forms not the topic of any one treatise by Bernardine, but rather is the dominant concept developed somewhat in all his writings.¹⁹⁶ Bernardine readily admits the essential mediation offered by Christ, situated between the extremes of God and his mortal creations, by means of the Incarnation: "And because there was a rift [*questio*] between God and man, Christ resolved that rift, making himself mediator."¹⁹⁷ And yet, Bernardine vigorously argues that man required another mediator between himself and Christ, and that in the history of Salvation, this ultimate privilege was granted alone to Mary: "The Blessed Virgin was created as the middle, or Mediatrix, between God and man."¹⁹⁸ Through this vital role, Mary becomes "Coadiutrix redemptionis," the antithesis and rectifier of Eve, and the ally of Christ in the ultimate defeat of Satan—to the great benefit of mankind:

"Sinners, dissenters, and enemies of God because of their sins, must turn to this mediatrix; because through her was suppressed the quarrel that existed between God and man, since also through her were terminated all the rifts [*questiones*] between man and the devil."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ "La quale devotione qualunque dira devotamente, spero diventara vero amatore de la gratiosissima regina del celo; e finalmente per suo adiutorio pervenira a la gloria de vita eterna." Cited in CattMS, 114.

¹⁹⁶ CucchiM, 37-47.

¹⁹⁷ *Mariale* V, 1:3: "Et quia erat questio inter Deum et hominem, Christus solvit hanc quaestionem mediatorem se faciens."

¹⁹⁸ *Mariale* II, 2:3: "Beata Virgo facta est media, sue mediatrix inter Deum et homines."

¹⁹⁹ *Mariale* II, 2:3: "I peccatori, discordi e nemici di Dio a causa del peccato, debbono ricorrere a questa mediatrice; perché come per suo mezzo fu sedata la lite che esisteva tra Dio e gli uomini, così anche per suo mezzo hanno termine tutte le questioni tra gli uomini e il diavolo." Cited in CucchiM, 73.

Bernardine is careful to acknowledge Mary's great powers of universal mediation as arising ultimately from her role as the Mother of God, whereby the author shows himself an heir to the teachings of Saint Ambrose. The Divine Maternity of Mary is the foundation of all of her actions and of her cooperation in the salvation of mankind: "It is certain, I say, that [her] Maternity of God is the cause [*causalitas*] of her every grace, the essential factor of her divine peace, charity, and friendship."²⁰⁰ This is not only the proof of Mary's Immaculate Conception, Bernardine argues, but also the means by which she becomes Mother of Mercy, and direct dispenser to man of the grace necessary for Salvation. Here, indeed, Bernardine displays his complete reliance on Mary, and utters the kind of sentiment which encapsulates the Milanese Mariolatry of the 1490s:

Since every aspect of the divine nature, its power, knowledge, and divine will were contained within the bosom of the Blessed Virgin, I am not afraid to affirm that this holy Virgin has a kind of jurisdiction on every sort of grace; since from her bosom, like from a Divine Ocean, emanates rivers and streams of every grace. And truly, being the Mother of God, Mary gained—as her natural right—such dignity in this world to be justly called the Queen of Mercy, and this because of the magnificence of her Son, who is King of kings and Lord of lords... Now, the holy Virgin participated in the first dignity of the Son, in that she was created before eternity by God, to such a high degree that one would err to say that Jesus is more truly the Son of God than of the Virgin;... And thus, since Mary is the Mother of that Son who produced the Holy Spirit, all of the gifts, all of the virtues, and all of the graces of the Holy Spirit are dispensed through her hands, to whomever she wants, whenever she wants, however and to whatever degree she wants.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ *Mariale* I, 9:3: "Certum est, dice, quod Maternitas Dei est causalitas omnis gratiae, principatio diviae pacis, caritatis et amicitiae." See also VisentinP, 94-95 for this and similar quotations.

²⁰¹ *Mariale* XII, 2:1, eccel. 12: "Poichè tutta la divina natura, come pure tutto il potere, il sapere e il volere divino, stette racchiuso nel seno della B. Vergine, non temo di affermare che la Vergine benedetta ebbe una certa giurisdizione su qualunque derivazione di grazia, poichè dal suo seno, quasi oceano della Divinità, emanarono i rivi e i fiumi di tutte le grazie. E veramente, come Madre di Dio, Maria acquistò per diritto naturale, tanta dignità nel mondo da

Bernardine's exuberant celebration of Mary's unilateral control of redemptive grace is not wholly original, and much derives from his namesake, Bernardine of Siena—as he himself admits.²⁰² And yet as never before, the call was submitted to a widely receptive readership, grateful for a theological validation of their deeply felt piety for the Virgin Mother of God.

This popular piety was manifest in diverse ways during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, collectively defining Milan as well-nigh obsessed with the Virgin Mary. To be sure, Milan was not alone in her preoccupation with Mary. But the long and distinct tradition of Milanese devotion to the Virgin outlined above—from the rousing Marian writings of Saint Ambrose, to the intrinsic place of the Virgin within the Ambrosian liturgy, to the civic link forged between Mary and Milan by Bonvesin de la Riva, and cemented by the fervid Marian piety of the Visconti and Sforza rulers—made the city particularly receptive to the higher strains of Mariolatry, while giving it its own distinctive character. This is the world that must be understood if one is to fully appreciate the wealth of Marian polyphony compiled in the Gaffurius Codices.

One interesting testimony to the rising tide of popular Marian devotion in these years is the increased fascination with miracles obtained through Mary's intercession. Anthologies of Marian miracles had circulated in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century, becoming prime source material for local preachers. With the advent of printing, this dissemination increased dramatically, and printers eagerly tapped the growing

venir chiamata giustamente Regina di misericordia, e questo a causa della magnificenza del Figlio suo, che è il Re dei re e il Signore dei dominati... Ebbene, la Vergine santa partecipò all prima dignità del Figlio, in quanto cioè è generato ab aeterno da Dio, in così alto grado, che si errerebbe dicendo Gesù più vero Figlio di Dio che della Vergine;... Ora, essendo Maria Madre di un tal Figlio, che produce lo Spirito Sancto, perciò per mano di lei vengono dispensati, a chi vuole, nel tempo che vuole, come e quanto vuole, tutti i doni, tutte le virtù le grazie dello Spirito Santo." Cited in CattMS, 111-12.

202 Specifically, the *Mariale* borrowed from Bernardine of Siena's *Sermones de Nativitate*, which in turn relied on the writings of earlier Franciscans, such as Ubertino of Casale. See CucchiM, 258, 270; and GraeffH, 315.

market for this specialized genre of devotional literature. The promise of large profits enticed some printers even to invent new miracles, provoking in turn severe punishment by ecclesiastical tribunals when exposed.²⁰³ The first printed collection of 62 Marian miracles, in the vernacular, was published in Milan in 1469, although none of these refer directly to the city. A second collection, in Latin, was published in 1484 by Giovanni Biffi, a respected scholar and archpriest at the Duomo. This time several Milanese examples are cited, and in the introduction the author indicates how the inspiration to publish the collection came while giving Saturday lessons to some children of the Milanese nobility.²⁰⁴

Among the most well-known—if not peculiar—examples of a Marian miracle taking place in Milan, is that of *Santa Maria di Ratte*, purportedly taking place early in the fifteenth century: legend tells how a large neighborhood of Milan was severely infested with rats; when every human effort to eliminate them failed, the people poured into the streets in collective prayer to the Virgin; shortly thereafter the pest disappeared, and in gratitude, the citizens erected a new church in her honor.²⁰⁵

The underlying narrative of this story—a public outpouring of prayer to the Virgin issued in hopeful anticipation of her divine assistance—belies the strong impulse felt in Milan to venerate Mary communally, and in ways outside of strict liturgy. This was manifest in part by the thriving life of congregations, confraternities and charitable houses under the patronage of the Virgin Mary. The second half of the fifteenth century witnessed a burgeoning of Marian congregations associated with the various monastic groups, whose friars preached fiery sermons, inspiring the faithful to join with them in

203 See CattSM, 113

204 See *ibid.*, 112-13.

205 The original mid fifteenth-century sculpture depicting Mary and the infant Jesus, along with a rather large rat nuzzled between them, is conserved in the Casa Bagnatti Valsecchi, Milan. For a photograph, see TreccSM 9: 699.

Marian prayer and worship. Below is a list of some of the Marian monastic congregations which arose in these years.²⁰⁶

Congregation	Monastic Order	Date Founded
Santa Maria del Giardino	Observant Franciscan	1451
Santa Maria delle Grazie	Dominican	1463-64
Santa Maria della Pace	Amadieti	1476
Santa Maria della Rosa	Dominican	1479-80
Santa Maria del Paradiso	Observant Servite	1481
Santa Maria della Passione	Laternanensi	1485
Santa Maria della Stella	Observant Benedictine	c. 1490
Santa Maria al Castello	Augustinian	1492
Santa Maria della Stella	Servite	c. 1500

A number of Milanese merchant guilds likewise established confraternities or *scuole* dedicated to Mary during the second half of the fifteenth century. These include paper merchants (*catari*), wool merchants (*mercanti di lana*), furriers (*pellicciai*), embroiders ("*phrijgiones*"), and bakers (*farinari*). Members would gather in the Duomo, or in another parish church dedicated to Mary, to celebrate the Little Office, and to sing Marian chants and *laude*.²⁰⁷ Finally, Mary became the patron of several charitable houses, or *luoghi pii*, which sprang up during these years—supplementing the eleemosynary work of the famous Scuola delle Quattro Marie, dating back to the mid-twelfth century—for example, the *scuole* of Santa Maria di San Satiro, Santa Maria di San Celso, and Santa Maria Rotunda.²⁰⁸

206 See Marco Pogliani, "Contribuo per una bibliografia delle foundationi religiose di Milano," *Archivio Ambrosiano* 14 (1985), esp. 236-261; see also TreccSM 9:574-662.

207 See TreccSM 9: 684-85. The wool merchants later commissioned their own Marian altar in the Duomo.

208 The *scuole* of Santa Maria di S. Satiro was approved in September, 1480 by Bona of Savoy and Gian Galeazzo Maria; S. Maria di S. Celso was founded in 1490; Santa Maria Rotunda in 1495, and was later patronized by Francis I. The Scuola delle Quattro Mariae was originally a devotional body, possessing its own altar in S. Maria Maggiore—called "quattrinis Mariae,"

Within the Duomo itself, new Marian devotions, altars, and congregations sprang up in these years—many of which were doubtless embellished with chant and/or polyphony performed by the *cappella musicale* (see Chapters 3 and 4). Indeed, it may be assumed that much of the copious output of Marian motets in the Gaffurius Codices had its immediate motivation in these new para-liturgical devotions. Here may be mentioned briefly five ornaments to Marian devotion that entered the Duomo in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The first devotion surrounded a statue entitled the Madonna del Coazzone (Milanese for "long hair"), sculpted in 1481 by Pietro Antonio Solari. The statue of Solari was in fact the third version of Mary with long, flowing hair—the first, from the fourteenth century, had been in the old Santa Maria Maggiore; the second was painted by Cristoforo de Mottis in 1464-66; both are now lost—and displayed her with hands clasped in the act of prayer, bearing a long robe ornamented with bushels of wheat and stars, and bearing a halo with twelve stars. Upon her belt is written, "Electa ut sol pulchra ut lunna" (Brilliant as the sun, beautiful as the moon).²⁰⁹ The image, with symbolic reference to Mary's Immaculate Conception, was widely venerated not only by local Milanese, but by French and German residents as well. The statue is now in the Castello Sforzesco.

The second devotion surrounded a silver sculpture, which likewise displayed Mary with long hair and a halo of gold stars, and which was received as a gift to the Fabbrica del Duomo from Germany, in 1465. Once in the Duomo, it was painted, and soon called "Nostra Signora di Milano." Such was the intensity of devotion granted it, that in 1479, the image was temporarily placed on pillars until a special altar could be

since it depicted the four major feast of the Virgin. By the 1330s it had altered its identity into a charitable house, and quickly became celebrated throughout Lombardy. See Antonio Noto, *Gli amici dei poveri di Milano: sei secoli di lasciti e donativi cronologicamente esposti* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1953), XII; see also TreccSM 9:674.

209 The theme unites verses from Revelation, 12:1: "Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus eius et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim" and the *Song of Songs*, 6:9: "Quae est ista quae progrediatur quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna electa ut sol."

built in its honor. This "cappella seu altare de coazono" was completed by Solari; and in 1487, following the completion of a stained-glass window above it, the altar was enhanced with a benefice to maintain two priests. Care of the altar was later assigned to the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Neve by San Carlo, who also ordered the statue's removal (it is now in the Museo del Duomo). In time the altar's name was changed to "Virgo potens."²¹⁰

The third devotion arose in 1495, when a hermit preacher with the colorful name "Missus a Deo" (sent from God, cf. John 1:6) began preaching each morning in the piazza del Duomo. He exhorted the faithful to fervent prayer and penitence, and upon the sounding of the bells, invited the large crowd to follow him into the Duomo to sing the "Ave Maria" beside a statue of Mary and Child—one which a former captain of Francesco Sforza had placed upon a pillar near the principal gate. This devotion, which formed an extension of the earlier "Ave" devotion established by Bonvesin de la Riva, became extremely popular, and quickly gave rise to a *scuola* dedicated to singing each day the "Ave Maria."

The fourth devotion centered on a Marian altar that was built next to the gate of the southern sacristy in 1511, during the Milanese reign of Louis XII. It bore an image of Mary and Elizabeth, and was chiefly venerated by women, who would especially bestow it with votive offerings following the birth of a boy. It was called the Madonna della visitatione, or the Madonna del parto (labor), and thus the devotion clearly embraced the part of the Visitation narrative that focused on Mary's aid in her cousin's childbirth. This altar is particularly significant to this study, since through the testimony of one Signor Matteo Rotondo da Saronna, the Capitolo del Duomo established that Mass and Vespers be sung there on all Marian feasts, and on each Saturday throughout

210 This image of Mary became quite popular, such that within a few decades some forty reproductions were made, as far away as Bavaria and France—where they even gave rise to several confraternities, called Notre-Dame de Milano." See CattSM, 109-110.

the year.²¹¹ That these services were accompanied by Marian motets seems quite plausible.

The fifth devotion surrounded the sculpture and altar that would become the principal Marian locus in the Duomo during the sixteenth century, the *Madonna dell'albero*. The complex sculpture constituted a painted wooden tree representing Mary and Child on top, with some angels and the apostles Philip and Jacob below. The altar first appeared around 1516, and by 1524 its popularity had grown such that Duke Francesco II Sforza attached to its care a benefice. Later, during the archepiscopacy of San Carlo, the statue was moved (1582), and the altar became dedicated to Santa Tecla.²¹²

Finally, this chapter ends with an example of just how intense the impulse to venerate Mary in a communal manner had become during this age of Mariolatry. In the years of turmoil just prior to Francesco II Sforza's nominal investiture of Milan (December, 1529)—when the city was under perpetual siege by foreign troops and in constant danger of starvation—large crowds began to throng the streets, fervently celebrating a Marian Mass or Office before the many statues of the Virgin placed within the city walls, in anticipation of some miracle. The practice became so widespread that it posed problems for daily commerce, disrupting the passage of horses and wagons. In response, Duke Francesco sent a letter to Archbishop Ippolito d'Este (September, 1530) wherein he ordered the immediate cessation of such public devotions, calling them a "cosa scandalosa et de murmuratione presso ogn'homo da bene et religioso" (a scandalous thing, and source of grumbling for every upstanding and religious man).²¹³

²¹¹ See CattMS, 104.

²¹² See *ibid*, 103-04.

²¹³ The letter (Milan, Archivio di Stato, Potenze estere, cart. 1427) supplements the censure of public devotions with a command that all devotional images be removed from city streets and placed in parish churches or other suitable locations: "Et desiderando noy obviare a tal inconvenienti vi exhortiamo a far ogni opportuna provisione, acciò per l'advenire non si celebri più [Mass or Office] in ditti lochi pubblici ne in altri, salvo nelle Chiese ad ciò deputate se non fusse caso di necessità. Et quelle devotioni et imagini si trovano fissate et anesse in muro vediate, le quali tali offitii se celebrano in vie publiche, desideriamo le facciate trasportare et reponere

In short, Marian devotion in Milan, as elsewhere, had become excessive, bringing to mind Laurentin's comment that "une épuration s'imposait" (a purification was necessary).²¹⁴ This boundless devotion to Mary, to whom the Milanese faithful were turning perhaps more than to Christ, was among the chief criticism of the early Protestants, and quelling the extremes of Mariology was a primary task of the Catholic reformers—culminating in Milan with the work of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in the 1560–80s. And yet, to the period under discussion, this devotion to the Virgin was neither excessive nor decadent; rather, it was a sincere expression of faith by a populace who saw in Mary their greatest advocate and source of protection. It is this same boundless devotion to Mary, moreover, that gave impetus to the exaggerated Marian emphasis found in the motet cycles of the Gaffurius Codices, to which this study now turns.

nelle Chiese parrocchiali o vero più propinque ad tale devotione..." That Mass was celebrated outdoors may seem surprising, and yet this too is explicitly indicated in the same letter: "... in quella nostra Città di Milano se celebrano in diversi lochi nelle vie pubbliche misse et altri divini offitii per miraculi quali dicono esser fatti dalla Gloriosa nostra Donna..." Cited in TreccSM 9: 698-99.

²¹⁴ Laurentin, 80.

Chapter 3

Part II: Marian Polyphony in Renaissance Milan

The Marian *Motetti Missales* Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices

A. Historical Context of the Milanese Motet Cycles—Part 1

The *Motetti Missales*

The *motetti missales* are unquestionably the most well-known and celebrated feature of the Gaffurius Codices, and thus form a logical starting point for the musical portion of this study. They are, moreover, predominantly Marian in their devotional content, and thus exemplify the principal thesis of this study: that a profound Milanese devotion to the Virgin Mary was in part manifest in a copious output of polyphonic music dedicated to her. Finally, a proper evaluation of the *motetti missales* will help elucidate the overall repertory of motet cycles in the Gaffurius Codices, which collectively form the most salient link between Marian devotion and sacred polyphony in Renaissance Milan.

In concise terms, *motetti missales* may be defined as cycles of motets setting discrete texts, which collectively substitute for items standard to the Roman Mass.¹ Textual and musical analysis of the individual cycles will appear later in this chapter; but first the scholarly literature on the *motetti missales* will be briefly reviewed in order to set the stage for some new arguments concerning the overall context of the motet cycle repertory in Milan.

To begin with a negative proposition, the *motetti missales* literature has been defined in large measure by controversy—starting with the name of the genre itself. Struck, in his words, by the "common replacing (*Ersetzung*) of individual Mass movements with motets," Knud Jeppesen coined the term "*Vertretungs-Messen*"

¹ For the identification of the *motetti missales* with the Roman rite, see Chapter 2, n. 147. More on this will be discussed below.

(replacement or substitution Masses).² As such it was adopted by Gustave Reese in 1954, and by Claudio Sartori, who in his 1957 *Catalogo*, labeled each case a "Missa sostituita da motetti"—a title repeated in both the RISM catalogue and the Garland facsimiles of the Gaffurius Codices.³ From 1954 stem the two dissertations of Gerhard Croll and Ludwig Finscher, on the music of Weerbecke and Compère, respectively—which not only raised the profile on the genre to a considerably greater height, but also prompted a new expression, "motet cycles *loco missae*," derived from the use of the term "loco" as a rubric upon some of the individual motets.⁴ In his 1963 dissertation, Thomas Noblitt expressed his preference for the only proper name explicitly given in the manuscripts, that is, "motetti missales"—which appears in the opening Index, or *tabula* of MiLD 1: *Motetti missales c[on]seq[ue]ntes*.⁵ Most subsequent writers have concurred with Noblitt's view, although a new expression appears occasionally in the literature, as when Paul Merkley recently tagged the entire genre for its most famous exemplar, the *Missa Galeazescha*.⁶

These changes in terminology exemplify the subjective strain that has run through the literature on the *motetti missales*. At the same time, some degree of consensus has

² JepG, 16: "Auffallend ist häufige Ersetzung eigentlicher Messensätze durch Motetten."

³ ReeseMR, 227; SartCM, 45-48—e.g. Gaspar - Ave mundi domina a4 (Nell'indice: Messa di G. sostituita da 8 Motetti); RILM, 242-43—namely, for the two cycles of Weerbecke; and BrownRM, 12a:xi-xiii—for the cycles of Compère and Weerbecke. Likewise is Sartori's expression repeated in AMMM 11:iii and 13:iv. The influence of Sartori's *Catalogo* on later sources is manifest in other ways as well, including some fallacious designations—such as the repetition of his improper grouping of nine motets in MiLD3 under the title, "Offerenda" (SartCM, 52) in BrownRM 12c:vii-viii and in another index of the manuscripts, FlorenSS, 268. See Chapter 4.

⁴ CrollM, 179: "Diese den Sachverhalt nicht klar umschreibende Bezeichnung (i.e. "Vertretungs-Messen)—denn es handelt sich ja nicht um Messen, die etwas vertreten—sei im folgenden durch den Terminus 'Motettenzyklen *Loco-Missae*.'" Finscher likewise preferred the expression "motet cycle *loco-missae* as well, as is made clear in FinschLC, 89. The latter source is a 1964 revision of the author's 1954 dissertation, "Die Messen und Motetten Loyset Compères," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Göttingen, 1954).

⁵ NoblitMM, 13: "[W]e have employed the term *motetti missales*; not only because it adheres as closely as possible to the original designation in the manuscript, but also because it provides a more adequate description of all the motet cycles." See also NoblitAM, 77.

⁶ MerkPC, 122: "At the same time, what may be termed a new liturgical genre, the *missa galeazescha*, is associated with Galeazzo Sforza's chapel of ultramontane singers."

been forged along the way—starting with an inventory of eight explicitly identified *motetti missales* :

Table 2: Inventory of 8 Explicitly Labeled *Motetti Missales* (MilD 1 and 3, MunBS 3154)

<u>Location</u>	<u><i>Motetti Missales</i></u>	<u>Composer</u>
1. MilD 1, fols. 84v-93	<i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>	Gaffurius
2. MilD 1, fols. 126v-134	<i>Ave mundi domina</i>	Weerbecke
3. MilD 1, fols. 134v-143	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	Weerbecke
4. MilD 1, fols. 162v-170	<i>Ave Domine, Jesu Christe</i>	Compère
5. MilD 1, fols. 171v-179	<i>Hodie nobis de Virgine</i>	Compère
6. MilD 3, fols. 125-135	<i>[Missa] Galeazescha</i>	Compère
7. MunBS 3154, fols. 38v-43	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	anon (Martini?)
8. MunBS 3154, fols. 43v-48	<i>Natus sapientia</i>	anon (Martini?)

These include six cycles from the Gaffurius Codices, and two anonymous cycles copied into MunBS 3154, attributed by Noblitt to Johannes Martini.⁷

More importantly, the studies of Jeppesen, Croll, Ludwig, and Noblitt offered the prospect of a reasonably definitive and clear-cut description of the genre, by virtue of the consistent presence of several traits within each of the explicitly labeled *motetti missales*. These include, above all, a common mode, *finalis*, and clef arrangement for each motet of the cycle, as well as a consistent mensuration or pattern of mensuration throughout the cycle. Further, as discussed by Finscher, and strongly accentuated by Noblitt, each of the identified cycles includes a motet or motet *pars* bearing fermata-marked block chords, setting a text *de Corpore Christi*, which identify it as the music for the Elevation of the Host. Finally, each cycle displays a degree of textual unity, linking it

⁷ NoblittMM, 145-50 (p. 149: "Thus, there is considerable evidence that Martini is the composer of the two Munich cycles.") A skeptical response to Noblitt's reasoning is given in CrawTM, 103: "Unfortunately, this commendably original conclusion, although perhaps correct, is developed inadequately."

devotionally if not liturgically to a particular feast or festive group—Marian and/or Christological.

If these six traits comprise the "standardized" features of the *motetti missales* (Class A), then another group also existed of somewhat more variable traits between the different cycles (Class B)—which ultimately proved more problematic. These variable traits, which will be elaborated upon considerably in the following musical discussion, include:

1) The use of clear and consistent thematic material amongst the connected motets, limited to only four cycles: *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Ave Domine*, *Jesu Christe*, *Gaude flore virginali*, and *Natus sapientia*.⁸

2) The varied number of motets subsumed in each cycle; since most have been identified with eight, this was deemed the "standard" number—and yet two explicitly labeled cycles, *Salve mater Salvatoris* and *Gaude flore virginali* have been identified with fewer, namely four and seven motets, respectively. Moreover, three other cycles, *Quam pulchra es*, *Hodie nobis de Virgine*, and the *Missa Galeazescha*, are identified in the present study as comprising seven, not eight motets.⁹

3) The varied manner in which the cycles are explicitly designated as *motetti missales*, namely three:

a) The parchment guard sheet of MilD 1, contains a partial Index or *tabula* of the manuscript, including the rubric *Motetti missales consequentes*, under which are listed five cycles—*Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Ave mundi domina*, *Quam pulchra es*, *Ave virgo gloriosa* (comprising motets 1, 2, and 4 of the *Missa Galeazescha*) *Ave Domine*, *Jesu Christe*, and *Hodie nobis de Virgine*.

⁸ See NoblitAM, 88-91. See also below for more on this topic.

⁹ The re-designation of seven instead of eight motets for *Hodie nobis de Virgine* and the *Missa Galeazescha* (and presumably for *Quam pulchra es* as well), however, would not alter the number of liturgical items to be replaced by motets. See below for more detail.

b) For the latter two cycles, the individual motets are further provided with rubrics denoting explicit liturgical (substitution) assignments—"loco Introitus," "loco Gloria," etc.—within the body of the manuscript;

c) Liturgical assignments alone identify the remaining cycles as *motetti missales*—namely, the complete *Missa Galeazescha*, *Gaude flore virginali*, and *Natus sapientia*, partial for the latter two.¹⁰

4) This in turn identifies the variable issue of explicit liturgical assignments for the individual motets of the cycles: as just outlined, only three cycles, *Ave Domine*, *Jesu Christe, Hodie nobis de Virgine*, and the *Missa Galeazescha*, include complete assignments; two cycles, *Gaude flore virginali* and *Natus sapientia*, contain partial assignments; while three cycles, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Ave mundi domina*, and *Quam pulchra es*, contain no assignments at all.

Ultimately, these variable traits invited a new skepticism toward the notion of a "standardized" *motetti missales* repertory. In fact, the roots of a more flexible definition of the genre stem back to the earliest writings of Finscher, who in a footnote to both his monograph and critical edition of *Compère*, suggested that six additional motet cycles of the three undamaged *Librone* might also be *motetti missales*.¹¹ Finscher's challenge was then taken up by Noblitt, who in his dissertation applied to each of the six a litmus test based on the Class A traits outlined above; all failed the test, and yet his discussion did little more than to deny their identity as *motetti missales*, without providing much in the way of alternative explanations for the unity they did display.¹²

10 The cycle *Gaude flore virginali* includes four motets with explicit *loco* designations: *loco Offertorii*, *loco Sanctus*, and *loco Agnus*; the cycle *Natus sapientia* includes four: *loco Introitus*, *loco Patrem*, *loco Offertorii*, and *post Elevationem*. See NoblitMM, 64-65, 102-03.

11 See FinschLC, 90 (n. 10) and CompOO II:i: "Some other motet groups ... are not designated as a cycle but seem to have been used as *motetti missales* nevertheless." Much more will be said on Finscher's suggestions in Chapter 4.

12 NoblitMM, 208-239: (p. 238: "There is little evidence that any of these six motet groups were ever employed as *loco* cycles.")

Such stringency eventually provoked the response of David Crawford, who in a 1970 review of the dissertation, took open aim at the notion of an exclusively "systematized" repertory of *motetti missales*, stating that it "would be difficult to envision a systematic practice without related procedures as forerunners or contemporaries."¹³ Crawford supported his claim by briefly referring to a possible seven-part *motetti missales* cycle in the damaged fourth *Librone*, utilizing Sartori's 1953 inventory of the manuscript, which gave musical incipits only.¹⁴ Crawford made no use of the then recently published facsimile of MilD 4, a publication that would ultimately validate his suspicions.¹⁵

The first serious encounter with the damaged fourth *Librone* was taken up, once again, by Finscher, who in a 1979 article, briefly proposed fifteen cycles—which included not only those "presumably *loco missae*," but also, in accord with Crawford, other cycles preserved in a primitive or decayed form (*Zerfallsformen*).¹⁶ The floodgates, so to speak, were now opened. In 1984, Jeremy Noble, expressed his consequential opinion that Josquin's "Vultum tuum" was a *motetti missales* cycle, despite its incomplete preservation in MilD 4—including the absence of the two movements which most clearly linked it to the genre, as were preserved in Petrucci's *Libro Quarto* of 1505.¹⁷ Noble's paper was highly significant, as well, in finally dispelling the belief, dating back to Jeppesen, that the *motetti missales* represented a practice linked to the Ambrosian rite, about which more will be said below and especially in Chapter 4.¹⁸

¹³ CrawTM, 104.

¹⁴ SartQC, 33-43. Specifically, Crawford was referring to fols. 68v-77, which would later be identified as Cycle #VI (fols. 70v-77) by Ward (see n. 19 below).

¹⁵ AMMM 16 (ed. Angelo Ciceri and Luciano Migliavacca, Milan, 1968).

¹⁶ FinschV, 62-64 (n. 9).

¹⁷ NobleF, 16-17. The opinion that the *motetti missales* were written for the Ambrosian rite is still being expressed, as in a recent article by Willem Elders, in JosquinC, 542.

¹⁸ Ibid, 17-18.

The most consequential response to Crawford's review, however, has been a 1986 article by Lynn Halpern Ward.¹⁹ Building largely upon Finscher's observations—fifteen of her proposed sixteen cycles correspond precisely with his enumerations—Ward presents a thorough and quite valuable discussion of the motet cycles of MilD 4. These cycles range in size from two to seven motets, and are shown to be convincingly unified by most of the Class A traits—both musical and textual—of the "standardized" *motetti missales*. The one exception is the absence of an Elevation motet, or motet *pars*, in all but one of the proposed cycles.²⁰ And naturally, these cycles are at variance with the Class B traits, since each comprises less than eight motets and is void of any explicit designations—due partly to the damaged state of the manuscript. In spite of these variants, however, Ward carries forth the claims of Crawford and Finscher, and suggests that at least 9 of the 16—if not more—can "justifiably be called *motetti missales*."²¹

For most of these proposed cycles, however, Ward had to make an assumption—namely, that MilD 4 carried incomplete and/or jumbled versions of once intact *motetti missales*, to be re-constructed from the other three Librone, as well as from two prints of Petrucci.²² Her study concluded not only that the notion of a "standardized" *motetti missales* is misleading, but that, in her words, "the motet cycle

¹⁹ WardMM.

²⁰ The exception is Cycle #VI in Ward's inventory, *Diem novae gratiae* (fols. 70v-77)—that is, the same cycle noted originally by Crawford. The cycle, however, does not contain just one movement *de Corpore Christe*, but rather is entirely devoted to the body or blood of Christ, and is largely set in the homophonic style associated with the Elevation motet: thus it constitutes a complete cycle *de Corpore Christe*. See WardMM, 505. Possible explanations for the absence of Elevation motets in MilD 4 are given in WardMM, 515-16, and in Chapter 4 of the present study.

²¹ WardMM, 522. These include, incidentally, three "hybrid" cycles which combine a complete Mass Ordinary with two or three motets, quite similar to the cycle found already in the second Librone, the *Missa Sanctae Catarinae* of Gaffurius—whose own concluding motet bears the rubric, "loco Deo gratiae," and which had thus become a type of "honorary" *motetti missales* in the writings of Finscher and Noblitt (see especially NoblittMM, 187-98, where its two motets are discussed). All three cycles are likely by Gaffurius—namely, Ward's cycles #I ([*Missa*] *Imperatrix gloriosa*, fols. 12v-24), II ([*Missa*] *La Bassadanza*, fols. 26v-38), and III ([*Missa*] *Nativitas tua*, fols. 40v-48). All three will be discussed in Chapter 4.

²² See the "reconstructed" cycles in WardMM, 506-07 (Table 3).

was of central importance to the musical life of late fifteenth-century Milan, and was far more extensively produced than has heretofore been believed."²³

This study concurs entirely that a strict definition of the *motetti missales* is unwarranted, given first that no such definition is implied in the manuscripts themselves; and second that the practice of substituting motets cycles for portions of the Mass liturgy in a deliberate and prescribed manner likely persisted in Milan for several decades (mid-1470s–c. 1500), and thus some degree of evolutionary variation—in both the structuring and notation of the cycles—was inevitable.

One case illustrating the challenge of defining *motetti missales*, by and large overlooked, is the three-movement motet cycle, *Ave virgo gloriosa*, by Compère, from MilD 1. This, again, comprises three motets of the composer's eight-part *Missa Galeazescha*, from MilD 3. While most writers have noted this relationship, in part to substantiate Compère's authorship of the larger cycle, only Ward has pointed to the three-part cycle's listing as a *motetti missales* cycle in the *tabula*.²⁴ However, she too refers to it only as three motets of the larger cycle; and thus, no one has asked why this three-part cycle appears independently in MilD 1, listed explicitly as a *motetti missales* cycle, and whether it too may have somehow served this function autonomously, distinct from, though obviously related to, the larger *Missa Galeazescha*.

The case of *Ave virgo gloriosa* suggests a more general concern: the understandable fascination with the *motetti missales* genre has created a tendency to view motet cycles, and not only those of the Gaffurius Codices, first and foremost as "once complete" *motetti missales* cycles. This tendency is found already in the six cycles proposed by Finscher, and has since been expanded to include, not only the cycles of MilD 4—most notably, Josquin's *Vultum tuum* and Weerbecke's *Spiritus domine replevit*—

²³ Ibid, 523.

²⁴ Ibid, 492: "The heading "motetti missales consequentes" introduces three motets from the same cycle [i.e. the *Missa Galeazescha*] in the *tabula* of MilD 1."

but also Compère's *Officium de Cruce*, and Josquin's *Qui velatus facie fuisti* and *O domine Jesu Christe*.

The principal aim here is not to argue either for or against the identity of these cycles as prospective *motetti missales*, but rather to re-focus attention on the motet cycles as they stand in the Gaffurius Codices. The influential article by Noble cited above, for example, contains a comment which illustrates this tendency: in speaking of the *Vultum tuum* cycle, the author expresses his surprise that "Gaffurius has chosen not to preserve" the two outer motets of the series, even though "these are precisely the ones which clearly identify the cycle as *motetti missales*."²⁵ Doesn't this statement, however, presume a deliberate editorial decision on Gaffurius's part that may not have been the case? Why are these two motets absent in MilD 4? In light of David Kidger's observation that the texts of two of the four preserved motets are found in a twelfth-century Pavian chant manuscript for Vespers of the Assumption, could not the Milanese cycle have adorned a Marian Vespers service, only later to be amplified into the seven-part cycle found in Petrucci's *Libro quarto*?²⁶ This cycle will be discussed again in Chapter 4.

A similar caution should be extended to MilD 4 as a whole. Ward's overriding concern with re-establishing the "original" make-up of the *motetti missales* has tended to overlook the integrity of the cycles as they exist. To see *motetti missales* as single entities, to be re-constructed from two or three existing cycles, often preserved in the "wrong order," is to expect of them the kind of unity found in Mass Ordinary cycles. Indeed, as Ward has shown, MilD 4, the last of the series, is literally dominated by motet cycles. If these suggest a state of decline from the eight-part *motetti missales* with explicit liturgical assignments, they also suggest a vibrant liturgico-devotional environment in which motet cycles of all kinds played a significant role—and one which Gaffurius himself, as the

²⁵ NobleF, 16-17.

²⁶ David Kidger, "Motet-Cycle or *Motetti Missales*: A Reappraisal of Josquin Desprez' *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*" (paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, October, 1998).

acting *maestro di cappella* of a thriving Cathedral chapel and scribe of part of the manuscript, conscientiously embraced and documented.

This is not the first study to propose a wider cyclic motet repertory in Renaissance Milan, and yet earlier such suggestions have tended to over-emphasize its relationship to the *motetti missales*. One early hypothesis, however, made in 1963 by Edward Lowinsky, carries with it a useful perspective. While one can reject Lowinsky's claim that the *motetti missales* were simply motet cycles adapted by Gaffurius in the 1490s—to suit his own "taste and preference (and possibly those of the court of Milan)"—the image he creates of various motet cycles made adaptable by scribes squares well with the diversified cyclic repertory contained in the Gaffurius Codices.²⁷ Indeed, the manuscripts strongly suggest that scribal action was exercised in the transmission of at least some of these motet cycles, namely in the frequent copying of some motets into more than one cycle—in each case creating a cycle distinct in size and sequence. This in turn could point to a scenario where composers and scribes worked jointly, augmenting, reducing, or altering existing cycles to suit the growing variety of liturgical or devotional purposes which they undoubtedly served.

Discussion of this broader, non-explicit motet cycle repertory, including issues of transmission and functionality, appear below in Chapter 4. First, however, this study takes up a more detailed account of the *motetti missales* cycles found in the Gaffurius Codices, with particular attention to the five dedicated principally to the Virgin Mary. This will in turn allow for a fuller appreciation of the Milanese cyclic repertory as a whole—musically, textually, and devotionally.

²⁷ LowinS, 533. This hypothesis received more recent support in FallowsJ, 76-78. Lowinsky's claim stemmed from his difficulty in reconciling the musical traits found in Compère's and Weerbecke's *motetti missales* with the overall musical style of the 1470s. For more on this, see RifkinJC, and below.

B. Analysis of the Marian *Motetti Missales* of the Gaffurius Codices

The seven explicit *motetti missales* cycles found in the Gaffurius Codices vividly demonstrate the primacy of Marian devotion within the musical life of Renaissance Milan. Five of the seven are distinctly Marian in textual content (see Table 2, nos. 1-4, 6) while the two Christological cycles—Compère's *Ave Domine Jesu Christe* and *Hodie nobis de virgine*—each incorporate at least some Mariological material.²⁸ This would seem to suggest some intrinsic correspondence between the *motetti missales* genre and Marian devotion in the minds of composer and scribes active in Milan.²⁹ The Marian slant of the *motetti missales* repertory has been recognized by other writers, but none has approached the subject wholly from this perspective.³⁰

²⁸ Strictly speaking, these two cycles fall outside the realm of the Marian *motetti missales*, and thus will not receive independent analysis in this study. It may here be mentioned, however, that in each cycle, the Virgin is referenced repeatedly. In the Christological cycle, *Ave Domine, Jesu Christe* (MilD 1, 162v-170), Christ is commonly defined as the Son of the Virgin Mary (motet 1: "filium virginis"; motet 2: "flos et fructus Virginis"; motet 4: "processit de Virgine"; motet 5: "natus de Virgine alvo"); the final motet, "Da pacem, Domine," concludes with a wholly Marian section (see CompOO, II:39-40, mm. 14-39)—whose text combines the Marian antiphons *de Annuntiatione*, *Ave Maria*, *gratia plena* (LU, 1416) and *Ecce ancilla Domini* (LU, 1417), along with an unidentified Marian praise, "In honorem matris Dei, et eius memoria, decantemus omnes ei, 'Ave plena gratia.'" It was this substantial reference to the Virgin, and the many references in the cycle to God the Father, that led Finscher to suggest that the entire cycle, "could be used and was perhaps intended as a cycle *de Trinitate* too." (FinschLC, 106). I would rather suggest that the Marian content of the cycle is but symptomatic of the devotional tenor of the time—namely that the Virgin Mary could not be entirely excluded from a Christological cycle; just, as will be seen, the figure of Christ could not be excluded from a Marian cycle. The cycle *Hodie nobis de Virgine* (MilD 1, 171v-179) was written in celebration of Christmas, and thus the many references to the Virgin are entirely in line with the overall theological and devotional understanding of this feast (see Chapter 1). Mary's Divine Maternity is referenced in all but motets 4 and 5, a product of the strongly Marian presence within the Christmas Office liturgy, from which most of these texts are taken; see NoblitMM, 37-40 and FinschLC, 92-94.

²⁹ This discussion likewise omits from primary focus the two *motetti missales* cycles copied into MunBS 3154, *Gaude flori virginale* and *Natus sapientia*—the former of which is decidedly Marian in content (with a text drawn largely from the twelfth-century sequence of the same name, generally attributed to Thomas Becket—AH 31:198-99). Although these cycles share a number of features in common with the cycles preserved in MilD (see NoblitMM, esp. 144-45), there is no proof that they were composed, copied, or performed in Milan. As such, they will be referred only in passing, by virtue of specific correlation to the assuredly Milanese cycles.

³⁰ See, for example, NoblitAM, 87: "BMV cycles form the largest of the two groups [of *motetti missales*, the other being *de DNJC*]... This fact strikingly illustrates the tremendous influence that Marian worship exercised during the *quattrocento* and its consequent effect upon the sacred

The "Mass substitution" cycle may indeed have been devised—or at least sustained—largely in response to an ever-intensifying devotion to the Virgin, specifically as embodied in the Marian Votive Mass. The Marian *motetti missales* cycles provided listeners with a quantity of explicit verbal reference to the Virgin Mary unavailable in the texts of the traditional Mass items—especially those of the Ordinary—thus yielding a more "fitting" musical compliment to a Marian Votive Mass. Finscher regarded the *motetti missales* as "another incarnation of the medieval idea of troping,"³¹ and yet the motets of the Marian *motetti missales* appear to function less as tropological interpolations of the traditional Mass items than as a practical means of supplying more Marian polyphony into an intensely devout Marian service.

The discussion below will approach each of the Marian *motetti missales* cycles from both the textual and musical perspectives, allowing the two spheres to diverge as well as converge—for it is not usually possible to forge an explicit connection between an individual Marian text and its corresponding musical setting. As discussed in the introduction, the Renaissance Marian motet did not employ a musical style manifestly differentiated from that of the non-Marian motet, but rather adopted freely the variegated stylistic currents of contemporary sacred polyphony in general—much as occurred with the political motet.³²

General issues of musical style and technical procedure in the Milanese motet cycle repertory are an integral concern of the present study—one in which several previous assumptions will be challenged, and new hypotheses presented. The analyses below and in Chapter 4 follow a fairly consistent methodology, aimed at facilitating direct comparisons between cycles. The examination of each cycle is divided into three primary sections: the text (1), the music (2), and the interaction of text and music (3).

polyphony of the century." See also MerkRL, 350: "All but one of these cycles in the Milanese *Libroni*... is on a Marian theme." MaceyGM has perhaps gone the farthest in exploring this relationship, though from a decidedly singular perspective.

³¹ FinschLC, 91.

³² See DunnS, xv, as discussed in the introduction, p. 22.

The first section considers the structure and liturgical (or para-liturgical) identity of the texts used in the cycle being discussed, along with their historical origins, and their devotional or theological content. The second, and most weighty section deals with issues of musical style and procedure—focusing on the topics of plainchant usage, counterpoint, texture, form, and the musical or motivic features which bind the individual motets into cycles. This uniform approach to analysis helps to clarify the degree to which a given cycle conforms or diverges from some overall musical tendencies of this repertory—including a general disinterest in utilizing *cantus prius factus* and a rather conservative approach to counterpoint and imitation, based largely on a traditional discant-tenor framework; at the same time, the methodology helps to underscore the great variety of approaches taken in these cycles with regard to musical texture, formal clarity, and motivic cohesion. Finally, the third section of each analysis treats the interaction of music and poetry, both from a syntactic and a semantic standpoint—including the identification of direct musico-textual connections (word-painting), which in turn provides key insight into both sacred Renaissance compositional praxis and contemporary Mariology.

1. *Salve mater Salvatoris*—Franchinus Gaffurius

MilD 1 contains all but one of the seven explicit *motetti missales* preserved in the Gaffurius Codices, the exception being the *Missa Galeazescha* found in MilD 3—which again is but an extension of the *Ave virgo gloriosa* cycle. The explicit nature of these first six cycles is provided in the *tabula* found on the opening parchment guard sheet (*motetti missales consequentes*), and it would seem intentional that the first cycle to be listed and copied is by Gaffurius himself. This is quite significant, demonstrating that the tradition of the *motetti missales* was still vibrant during Gaffurius's tenure at the Cathedral and

that he wished to demonstrate his advocacy of the practice by contributing his own exemplar. The cycle *Salve mater Salvatoris*, moreover, is most likely the last of the *motetti missales* to be composed, and thus provides a valuable frame of reference for the evaluation of the remaining cycles, in terms of both textual use and musical style.

Salve mater Salvatoris consists of four motets, each of which is composed in multiple *partes*, or movements: motets 1 and 2 are divided into two *partes* each; motets 3 and 4 into three *partes* each. The division of the first motet is made clear by separating double bars within a single folio, along with a *custos* for the Alto and Tenor; the divisions of motets 2, 3, and 4 are established by a *custos* at the end of each voice part, along with one or more appearances of the rubric "verte" or "verte folium." Further, a half-cadence (on D or F, within a framework of G Dorian) separates internal motet *partes* in all but two cases: between the two *partes* of motet 1 and between the second and third *partes* of motet 4.

In all, Gaffurius's cycle consists of nine separate *partes*, which led Luciano Migliavacca to envision a nine-fold liturgical substitution program—namely, *loco Introitus*, *loco Kyrie*, *loco Gloria*, *loco Patrem*, *loco Offertorii*, *loco Sanctus*, *post Elevationem*, *loco Agnus*, and *loco Deo gratias*—despite any rubrics whatsoever.³³ Migliavacca's plan, however, asserts one substitution function absent even in the explicit *loco* cycles of Compère ("loco Kyrie"). Adding to the confusion is the list of the cycle's individual motets in the *tabula*, where five are given—the concluding part of the fourth motet, *Res miranda*, is listed separately. Sartori recognized the error of the *tabula* and listed the proper disposition of the four motets in his *Catalogo*. Noblitt, on the other hand, enumerates five motets, though not the same five as in the *tabula*; rather, he chooses to view the two *partes* of the opening motet, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, as two separate motets—despite the fact that they are both written on a single folio, and are connected

³³ AMMM V.iv: "Solo che non è specificato... a quale parte della messa ciascun mottetto debba sostituirsi, per quanto, dalla convergenza di altre indicazioni simili, si possa ricavare un ordine e una corrispondenza di parti di questo genere."

by a *custos* in the Alto and Tenor voices³⁴ Noblitt's disposition is thus untenable, and it is curious that he gives no explanation for his unusual split of the first motet.³⁵

Exactly how the cycle functioned during the Mass must, for the most part, remain unanswered. The one possible exception is the music accompanying the ritual of the Elevation of the Host; as mentioned, this music generally sets a Christological text in fermata-block chords. Although, in contrast to the other *motetti missales*, Gaffurius sets no separate text *de Corpore Christi* in his cycle, he does set the concluding Doxology of the opening sequence (see Appendix B, #1, final verset of motet 3) partly in fermata-blocked chords. This gives some reasonable credence to the proposal, favored by Noblitt, that this was the music *ad Elevationem*.³⁶ Since this Doxology is found within the *tertia pars* of the third motet, its opening two *partes* would have been performed *loco Sanctus*. The liturgical disposition of the other motets, however, can only be surmised, and may well have varied from one performance to another—a further aspect of the genre's flexibility in later years.

1. The Texts

The textual content of *Salve mater Salvatoris* differs considerably from that of the other *motetti missales* of the Gaffurius Codices, in that it derives almost entirely from two complete Marian sequences: *Salve mater Salvatoris* and *Imperatrix gloriosa*.³⁷ The only additions to the sequence texts are two brief Marian petitions taken from the *Litaniae*

³⁴ NoblitMM, 153-57. Noblitt points out the use of the rubric "verte folium" to indicate the continuation of a single motet (p. 154), but surprisingly makes no mention of the *custos* as carrying the same function—despite its consistent use in this capacity not only in this cycle, but throughout the *Libroni* as a whole.

³⁵ There are a few cases in the *Libroni* in which more than one motet appears on a single folio, and yet these are copied as clearly distinct works, separated by one or more blank staves, and often a rubric or title of some kind (see, for example, MilD 1. fols. 1v-2, 2v, 3r, 97v-98). The *secunda pars* of *Salve mater Salvatoris*, on the other hand, begins on the same staff in the Soprano and Bass—that is, the two voices not connected by a *custos* leading to the next stave.

³⁶ NoblitMM, 155.

³⁷ AH 54: 383-386 (*Salve mater Salvatoris*); AH 54: 351-353 (*Imperatrix gloriosa*).

Laurentanae, inserted between versicles of *Imperatrix gloriosa*, and placed in the last part of motet 4.³⁸ By contrast, the other *motetti missales* cycles of the Codices inevitably use a more heterogeneous approach to textual content.³⁹ The texts and translations of *Salve mater Salvatoris* are given in Appendix B (#1).

Salve mater Salvatoris

The sequence *Salve mater Salvatoris* is among six Marian Victorine sequences attributed with reasonable security to Adam of St. Victor (d. 1146), and among the few for which some contemporary testimony is preserved: a thirteenth-century Dominican and regular visitor to the Abbey of St. Victor, Thomas of Cantimpré, recorded a miracle that accompanied the author's writing of this very sequence:

While the venerable Master Adam, canon of St. Victor in Paris, was composing the sequence, "Salve mater Salvatoris," and had just written another strophe (no. 10a), namely:

Hail Mother of Compassion,
And noble resting place
Of the whole Trinity

when the glorious virgin appeared to him and, as if repaying him for the homage he had paid her, supplicantly bowed her head in deepest humility to him as he was reflecting.⁴⁰

³⁸ LU, 1857-58.

³⁹ With regard to textual use, *Salve mater Salvatoris* bears resemblance to the two anonymous cycles in MunBS 3154, each of which draws largely on one single source: a Marian sequence for *Gaude flore virginali* (see n. 28 above), and a fourteenth-century rhymed Office *de Passione*, often attributed to Pope John XXII (d. 1334), for *Natus sapientia* (AH 30: 32-35 = *Patris sapientiae*)—though each with the addition of a distinct Elevation text *de Corpore Christi*. *Patris sapientiae* also served as a primary source for Compère's *Officium de Cruce* (see FinschLC, 194-99), which notably is transmitted with the same Elevation text, *Adoramus te, Christe* in Petrucci *Motetti de Passione* (1503¹). Finscher has dated the *Officium de Cruce* to around 1500-02. This, combined with their single-text structure, may argue for a somewhat later composition date for the Munich cycles than for those of Compère and Weerbecke, perhaps in the 1480s (see RifkinM for a new perspective on the dating of works in MunichBS 3154).

⁴⁰ "Unde venerabilis magister Adam, canonicus sancti Victoris Parisiensis, cum in dictanda sequentia: Salve mater Salvatoris, alium rhythmum edidisset videlicet: Salve mater pietatis, Et totius Trinitatis, Nobile triclinium, Gloriosa virgo apparens ei, et quasi pro honoris laude satisfaciens, cogitanti eidem supplex altissimae humilitatis cervicem inclinavit." Quoted in FassME, 54. The location of the miracle, in the crypt of St. Victor, became a popular pilgrimage shrine.

The sequence text, with various musical settings, enjoyed a wide transmission well into the late-fifteenth century, including numerous printed sources of the latter fifteenth century.⁴¹ The poetic composition is paradigmatic of the so-called "Second Epoch" of the Medieval sequence—associated directly with Adam of Saint Victor—and is marked by a regular trochaic rhythm based on natural word-accent, internal rhythmic caesuras which coincide with the end of words, and a clear, generally three-syllable rhyme scheme per double versicle (aab / ccb).⁴² Following the arguments of Meersseman and Szövérfy, *Salve mater Salvatoris* is among countless Marian hymns of the period influenced by Latin translations of the Byzantine *Hymnos Akathistos*, or "Greeting hymns" (*Grußhymnen*), where a plethora of praise was built into a context of salutation (*Salve*) to the Virgin Mary, in direct emulation of the Annunciation scene.⁴³

Fassler has argued that the Victorine sequences carried a multi-leveled exegetical significance for the community of Saint Victor, where its members could draw meaning not only from the text itself—abundant in Biblical references—but also from other texts sung to that same melody, as well as from pronouncement of local theologians such as Hugh and Richard of Saint Victor.⁴⁴ While the particular spirit of reform that animated

⁴¹ AH 54: 384-85 cites sixty-eight manuscript sources. ChevRH #18051 lists eleven printed sources.

⁴² See AH 54, p. vi-vii, where *Salve mater Salvatoris* is discussed as a model example of the "Sequenz zweiter Epoche: 'Die Anfangsstrophen der Mariensequenz, 'Salve mater salvatoris'... mögen diese Gesetze veranschaulichen:" In all, *Salve mater Salvatoris* is comprised of twelve double versicles, as indicated in Appendix B; as is seen, not all versicles have three lines each: there are four lines each for verses 9 (abab/cdcd) and 11 (aaab/cccb); and five for verse 12 (aaaab/cccb).

⁴³ See Szövérfy, 31-37: (p. 32) "Das Schema der 12 marianischen Grußhymnen des Hymnos Akathistos wurde im Westen zur Grundlage von liturgischen und nicht-liturgischen Hymnen, Antiphonen, Andachtshymnen und Lieder der Kirche." The *Akathistos* (from the Greek meaning "standing" or "not seated") dates likely from the sixth or seventh century, and was likely associated originally with the Feast of the Annunciation. See G. G. Meersseman, "Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland," in *Spicilegium Friburgense*, vols 2-3 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1956-60); and I. Thomas, "Akathistos" in NCE 1:228.

⁴⁴ FassME, 63-85. Following the Victorine theologians, Fassler suggests a musico-poetic application to the three-fold Victorine Biblical exegesis: namely, that according to history (the literal narration of events), allegory (signifying something else in the past, present, or future), and tropology (signifying what ought to be done in the future). Fassler concludes (p. 82), "The Victorine sequence repertory, as it developed during the course of the twelfth century, became an expression of Victorine exegesis, both in its content and its mode of expression." It

the Victorine compositions might well be lost on Gaffurius and his contemporaries, they too would have brought to the sequence a rich, multi-leveled exegesis—drawing upon its many Biblical references, cross-relating it with other sequences and hymns that shared similar language or ideas, and recasting all these in the contemporary spirit of fervent Mariology that all but dominated their religious outlook.

In the first motet, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, Gaffurius sets the first two complete strophes, which establish the poem's focus on Mary as the virginal mother of Christ. Her honored place in this Divine Plan extends far beyond Gabriel's "Ave," to the very beginning of time ("from eternity, this vessel was prepared"), which the author reinforces by associating Mary with the Old Testament, as the beloved or Bride from the *Song of Songs*.⁴⁵ Mary is identified with the Canticle Bride from the second strophe, namely as the "flower among thorns" (cf. Song of Songs 2:1-2: "sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica

should be noted that this development was carried out in the spirit of dramatic religious reform, one that owed much to earlier reformers such as Peter Damian (see Chapter 1). See also FassGS, 187-210.

⁴⁵ Interpretations of the Canticle with reference to Mary date back to the early Church, though limited to individual verses. Several of these verses entered Marian liturgy as lessons and antiphons between the ninth and twelfth centuries, particularly for the feasts of the Assumption and Nativity (See CAO I, nos. 106 and 109). From the early-twelfth century stem the earliest commentaries on the Canticle in purely Marian terms—namely, by the Benedictines Rupert of Deutz (d. c. 1135) and Honorius of Autun (d. 1136). Particularly influential were the eighty-six *Sermones in Canticum Canticorum* (c. 1135–53) of Saint Bernard—although it should be noted that in his sermons, Bernard only rarely links the Bride directly with Mary; rather, the Bride is principally associated with the individual faithful (or the Church in general) in pursuit of communion with the Bridegroom, Christ. Here Mary serves more as an exemplification of Bernard's allegorical teaching, as in the association of the Bride's "spikenard" with Mary's humility (cf. SBO II:39 [Serm. 42,6]: "Non gloriatur se in meritis, nec inter laudes suas humilitatis obliviscitur, quam et humiliter confitetur sub nardi nomine, ac si voce virginis Mariae dicat: 'Nullius mihi meriti conscia sum ad tantam dignitatem, nisi quod Deus respexit humilitatem ancillae suae.' Nam quid est alius: 'Nardus mea dedit odorem suum,' quam: 'Placuit mea humilitas?'). Bernard demonstrates his deep love for Mary—as well as more direct links between her and the Canticle Bride—in his Marian sermons, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this study. Sequences by Victorine poets (perhaps influenced by contact with Bernard, see FassGS, 249) interpolate the Canticle Bride in both ways: as the Church (e.g. the Easter sequence, *Ecce dies celebris*) and as the Virgin Mary (as in *Salve mater Salvatoris*). From the second half of the twelfth-century and continuing well into the Renaissance, Marian interpretations of the Canticle became commonplace—not least in devotional hymns and sequences—and would have appeared so to composers such as Gaffurius and Weerbeke. See GraefH, 226-29, 256-59; and FultonVM, esp. 377-538.

mea inter filias"), a metaphor which the author then cleverly inverts by associating the thicket of thorns with sinful man—in fundamental contrast to Mary's sinlessness.⁴⁶

The second motet, *Salve decus virginum*, sets the following three strophes (nos. 3-6), which expand the links between Mary and the Bride of the Canticle—defining her with the same horticultural language used by Solomon to describe his Beloved: "fons hortorum," "flos campi convallium," "nardus odorifera," "custos unguentorum," "cella pigmentarium," "cinnamomi calamus," "Libanus non incisus" (cf. *Song of Songs* 2:1, 4:10, 14-15). The allusions serve to reinforce Mary's unsurpassed purity, as the "porta clausa" (cf. *Song of Songs* 4:12, "hortus conclusus"), who brought forth the most "singular lily," that is Christ. In the motet, Gaffurius switches the order of the third and fourth strophes of the sequence, perhaps to initiate the motet with another salutation ("Salve decus virginum"), as well as to arrive more quickly at the Marian attribute most crucial to the late-fifteenth century—"Mediatrix hominum" (see Chapter 2).

The three sections of motet 3, *Tu thronus es Salomonis*, complete the remaining six verses of the sequence (nos. 7-12), and move from allusions to the *Song of Songs* ("thronus es Salomonis," "ebur candens," "palmas singularem") to those of another popular Marian source, the ninth-century hymn, *Ave maris stella*. Adam of St. Victor set one other sequence with direct reference (in both text and music) to this famous hymn, *O Maria stella maris*, and indeed the sequence *Salve mater Salvatoris* contains this very line at the beginning of its eleventh strophe, with a direct allusion to the subsequent line as well (cf. "dignitate singularis" and "pietate singularis").⁴⁷ In *Salve mater Salvatoris*, however, the astronomical references are expanded beyond what occurs in *O Maria stella maris*, and are placed less to identify Mary as the safe harbor for the weary sinner (as is the

⁴⁶ This would correspond to the third, or tropological level of Victorine exegesis (following the Marian sermons of Godefroy of Saint Victor, d. 1198), where Mary becomes a type or model for the faithful—for despite the common corruption of human existence, Mary can serve as model and inspiration, whereby the faithful may "conceive" Christ spiritually, as Mary did so physically. See FassME, 86-91.

⁴⁷ AH 54:386-87 (*O Maria stella maris*). See also FassME, 91-100.

case in *O Maria*), than to exalt her status as celestial queen, "ordained above all the orders of the heavens." In this capacity, she earns her position as the "noble resting place [= dining room] of the whole Trinity," the thought that supposedly heralded the miracle at Saint Victor. The image of Mary as the nourishing site of the Trinity would have been particularly potent in Gaffurius's day, and may even have conjured up images of a Quaternity to those most devoted to her (see Chapter 2). Not surprisingly, it is here that occurs the only Marian petition of the text (no. 11b): "Placed in the very height of heaven, commend us to your Son." Gaffurius seems to have desired great emphasis on this astronomical-celestial portion of the text, enough to break a double versicle (no. 9)—the first half, "Sol luna lucidior," is set at the end of the *prima pars*; the second half, "Lux eclipsim nesciens," begins the *tertia pars*—whereby Mary's uneclipsed heavenly light is emphasized, symbolizing both her perpetual virginity and her unending devotion to God.

The final versicle is a modified Doxology, not unlike that which appears at the close of other Marian sequences attributed to Adam of Saint Victor.⁴⁸ The Doxology of *Salve mater Salvatoris* is a brief petition to Christ, the Incarnate Word of the Father, to preserve Mary's servants and release them into His glory—thus forging a Redemptive "Trinity" of Father, Mother, and Son. This does create a sudden Christological emphasis, although not one directly linked to the doctrine of the Eucharist, nor placed at the beginning of a motet or motet *pars*—as are the case in the other Milanese *motetti missales*. Still, Gaffurius marks the section off by a held *longa*, and sets the text with a combination of fermata-blocked chords and homophony—in much the same manner as the Elevation music by Weerbecke and Compère. As such, there is reasonable, though not definitive grounds to consider this the cycle's "Elevation motet."

⁴⁸ See, for example, *Ave virgo singularis* (AH 54:326-28), *Gratulemur in hac die* (AH 54:325-26), and *O Maria stella maris*.

Imperatrix gloriosa

Motet 4 sets the entire text of *Imperatrix gloriosa*—a twelfth-century Marian sequence likely written in the Augustinian monastery of Seckau, Austria. Like *Salve mater Salvatoris*, the sequence enjoyed a wide popularity well into the Renaissance, and is found in several printed sources of the late-fifteenth century that also include *Salve mater Salvatoris*—such as the near contemporaneous *Missale Ratisbonense* (1485).⁴⁹ The verse structure of *Imperatrix gloriosa* follows a pattern used in the eleventh-century sequence, *Verbum bonum et suave*—among many others—where each versicle contains four lines following the rhyme pattern aaab; the ten versicles, however, are not paired regularly, as in *Verbum bonum* (or *Salve mater Salvatoris*) but instead are grouped into a larger pattern consisting of three groupings of rhymed versets, alternating 3-2-3, separated by single, free versicles—creating an overall mirror symmetry (chiasmus) of 3-1-2-1-3, as follows:

(1)	(free)	(2)	(free)	(3)
aaab/aaab/cccb	ddde	cccf/cccf	gggh	iiib/jjjb/kkkb
3	1	2	1	3

Gaffurius effectively mirrors this poetic structure by placing the entire first grouping (1) in the *prima pars*; the two free versicles and the second grouping (2) in the *secunda pars*; and the entire third grouping (3) in the *tertia pars*.⁵⁰ In this latter part, Gaffurius inserts the Marian acclamations from the Litany of Loreto between versicles, and concludes the motet with an "Amen," marking the end of the entire cycle.⁵¹

⁴⁹ AH 54: 351-3, which lists fifty-eight manuscript and printed sources.

⁵⁰ The poetic structure was misread in NoblitMM, 157—by citing the rhyme scheme as AAAA (instead of AAAB: "credula" does not rhyme with "filia"); further, Noblitt dismisses Gaffurius's text as "corrupted," by virtue of the presence of "in uterum" instead of "in situlam" (versicle 7)—without noting that this was a very common substitution, appearing in nine sources cited in AH.

⁵¹ Some versions of the sequence include the word "Maria" after each versicle, as in GoedeUP, 67-69—which in turn may have served as inspiration for Gaffurius himself to add the Litany acclamations to the sequence text.

Whereas the sequence used in the first three motets emphasized Mary's identity as the virginal mother of God, with secondary emphasis on her celestial position, here these qualities are reversed: Mary is first heralded as the powerful and noble empress of heaven, and only then as the generous mother of Christ. The formulation "*Imperatrix gloriosa*" reflects the heightened position Mary held in the history of Salvation from the twelfth century, a considerable leap from the more restrained "*domina angelorum*" of earlier Marian texts. The currency of the expression, "Empress" for Mary is reflected in another, contemporary sequence from Austria or Southern Germany, "*Imperatrix angelorum*," which in some sources begins, "*Imperatrix gloriosa angelorum*."⁵²

After the opening imperial address—qualified with Mary's paradoxical identity as both mother and daughter of Christ—the text set as the *prima pars* introduces a common motive of Marian prefiguration, the "Rod of Jesse." This image, one of great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, stems from Isaiah 11:1, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow forth out of its roots," and was seen to prefigure Mary, a descendent of Jesse (father of David), as that root from whence Jesus, the flower of Salvation, would come.⁵³ The second and third versicles expand upon Mary's identity in this image, as the flowering branch ("*virga florens*") nourished and impregnated by God, via the Holy Spirit ("an austere, sweet wind").

The versicles set in the *secunda pars* continue to highlight the Incarnation, where Christ is defined not as the flower, but rather as the fruit borne from the flower. They also introduce Joseph—a figure often ignored in Marian poetry— with two versicles (nos.

⁵² AH 54: 360-61. This sequence, which likewise appears in numerous fifteenth-century sources, contains the refrain "Audi nos, O Maria" at the end of each versicle, which again may have inspired Gaffurius in his decision to add the Litany.

⁵³ Technically, Mary is descended from David by marriage only, for according to the Gospels of Matthew (1:16) and Luke (1:27, 3:23), it is Joseph who is the direct descendant of David. The intention of both evangelists, of course, was to demonstrate the lineage of Christ from the House of David (e.g. Romans 1:3: "... concerning [God's] Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who was born of the seed of David, according to the flesh..."). In Medieval iconography, however, the Tree of Jesse was often designed as extending to Mary as well; See J. R. Johnson, "Tree of Jesse" in NCE 14:268-69.

5 and 6) that paraphrase Matthew 1:19-20: "Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not wanting to make her a public example, was minded [by the Holy Spirit] to put her away secretly." The next versicle returns to the subject of the Incarnation, using the familiar metaphor of dew dropping from heaven into Mary's womb.⁵⁴

The *tertia pars* sets the final three versicles, along with the interpolated litany. It begins by re-expressing the wonder of the Incarnation, though moving from the vegetal symbols of rod and flower to the astronomical symbols of Sun (Christ) and star (Mary)—demonstrating the rich variety of Marian symbolism available to a Medieval poet, even within the same work. The remainder of the text is largely a petition for Mary's intercession on behalf of the sinner, to be absolved of earthly sins and allowed entrance into the heavenly kingdom through her merciful kindness. Mary's crucial ability to obtain Salvation is editorially emphasized by Gaffurius's interpolation of the litany—"Holy Mother of God, pray for us"; again, this must be recognized as the crux of Marian devotion in the late fifteenth century, and it would seem no accident that Gaffurius chose the texts of his only *motetti missales* so as to close in this fashion.

Taken as a whole, then, the text of the cycle *Salve mater Salvatoris* is dedicated to Mary as the Mother of God, the pure and beautiful vessel alone worthy of bringing forth the Incarnate Word, prefigured in the Old Testament as both the beloved of God and the rod of Jesse, and the powerful Queen of heaven, capable of interceding on behalf of sinful man to gain entrance into heaven. Neither sequence can be limited in liturgical identity to any one Marian feast, and indeed the content suggests the cycle to have been performed for any Marian commemoration, and notably for a Marian Votive service—such as a Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin.

⁵⁴ SzövmM, 53 identifies this versicle as an example of the "Wasser-und Tau-Motive" common in Medieval Marian hymns. Water and dew had multiple symbolic associations to Mary; cf. WarnerA, 260: "Dew was 'moonwater' to the Greeks and to their intellectual followers;... because the conception of a child depended on the fertility of a woman, and that in turn was, it appeared, governed by the moon, a nexus of images of water, moonlight, and birth bound together the Christian doctrine of the Redemption through an incarnate God..."

Highly significant is the fact that this cycle makes use of two Marian sequences, a liturgical genre officially excluded from the Ambrosian liturgy.⁵⁵ It is thus all the more surprising that the theory of an Ambrosian origin to the *motetti missales* was maintained as long as it was. Indeed, Roman sequences were a principal textual source for motet cycles and individual motets in these manuscripts. Such works were undoubtedly performed either at the ducal chapel or in side altars of the Duomo, where strict compliance with Ambrosian liturgy was not enforced. In fact, Gaffurius himself would return to these same two sequences in another, three-motet cycle located in MilD 3, *Caeli quondam roraverunt* (see Chapter 4).⁵⁶

2. The Music

In his 1963 dissertation, Noblitt noted that "as a composer [Franchinus Gaffurius] has been practically unknown until the past few years."⁵⁷ Surprisingly, Noblitt's statement could well be applied today, nearly forty years later; although his complete musical works have been published, relatively few studies have explored this corpus in detail, and his place in the compositional developments of the late-fifteenth century—especially on Italian soil—remains only marginally understood.⁵⁸ Noblitt embraced in his dissertation the opportunity of providing a thorough analysis of the two

⁵⁵ TreccSM, IV:610-11.

⁵⁶ At the same time, the general decline in ecclesiastical discipline within the Ambrosian Church during the late-fifteenth century likely played a role in encouraging the frequent setting of Roman sequences in the Gaffurius Codices. Moreover, Gaffurius himself included a (Marian) troped Sanctus (*Genitor summi Filii*) within one of his Ambrosian Mass cycles—that is, comprising only the Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus: the *Missa Montana* (MilD 3, fols. 110v-116); tropes were likewise omitted in official Ambrosian liturgy. It was such "abuses" that would later trigger the reform activities of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo. See TreccSM IV:610-11.

⁵⁷ NoblitMM, 151. Indeed, he cites only Cesari (1922) and Jeppesen.

⁵⁸ Beyond Noblitt's study, some recent additions include a terse discussion in FlorenSS, 51-52; and brief articles by Kanazawa (KanazFG) and Degreda (DegredM)—the latter of which centers more on his role as a *maestro di cappella* than as a composer.

works of Gaffurius that fell into his list of *motetti missales*, namely *Salve mater Salvatoris*, and the hybrid Mass-motet cycle, the *Missa Sanctae Catharinae*—which expands a Mass Ordinary cycle with a preceding and concluding motet, the latter of which is provided with the designation *loco Deo gratias*.⁵⁹

Noblitt's individual analyses of these two works are presented in play-by-play fashion—both in prose and accompanied by analytical tables for each motet—which tend to leave the reader rather burdened with formalistic detail in want of broader stylistic observations. This is somewhat redressed in the "stylistic summary" which follows discussion of the two cycles, in which Noblitt does draw some insightful conclusions. Yet, a summary based on two works alone is prone to miscalculation. Below and in the following chapter of the present study, twenty-two motets of Gaffurius will be examined, after which a fresh stylistic summary will be offered, aimed at clarifying the compositional profile of this important Renaissance musician (see the epilogue).⁶⁰

The following discussion is based on the AMMM edition, in conjunction with the manuscript facsimile. This analysis, like that of subsequent Marian works in the *Libroni* will pursue overall stylistic tendencies rather than play-by-play details. For this and all subsequent analyses, individual voice parts indicated in parenthesis or in footnotes will be abbreviated as follows: S = Soprano (*Cantus*); A = Alto (*Contratenor acutus*); T = Tenor; B = Bass (*Contratenor gravis*); otherwise the voice names will be written out as soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. Further, to make reference easier, the discussion below will refer to the individual *partes* of the four motets, and not only to the opening *pars*. The sectional disposition of the four motets, however, should be kept in mind:

⁵⁹ NoblittMM, 151-207.

⁶⁰ One unnecessary hindrance to Noblitt's analyses, incidentally, is his decision to base them on his own (unprovided) transcriptions, and not on the AMMM edition (vol. V:75-104); as such he often cites measure numbers which conflict with those of AMMM—namely, for subsequent *partes* of the individual motets; his rationale for this is unexplained.

- Motet 1. *Salve mater Salvatoris*
secunda pars: Salve verbi sacra parens
- Motet 2. *Salve decus virginum*
secunda pars: O convallis humilis
- Motet 3. *Tu thronus es Salomonis*
secunda pars: Salve mater pietatis
*tertia pars: Lux eclipsim nesciens*⁶¹
- Motet 4. *Imperatrix gloriosa*
secunda pars: Florem ergo genuisti
tertia pars: Res miranda

The cyclic identity of these four motets is shown not only in the tabula of MiD 1, but also by virtue of the principal Class A (invariable) traits maintained throughout the cycle, as indicated in the table below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	♩ ⁶²	G	Mixolydian
<i>Salve decus virginum</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	♩	G	Mixolydian
<i>Tu thronus es Salomonis</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	♩	G	Mixolydian
<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	♩	G	Mixolydian

Use of Plainchant

It is one of the characteristic features of the *motetti missales* repertory—and the Milanese motet cycle repertory as a whole—that polyphonic settings of plainchant texts (sequences, hymns, antiphons, etc.) generally do not utilize the corresponding plainchant melodies, where they exist. Among the few exceptions discussed in the literature is the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, which according to Noblitt uses the opening four notes of the sequence melody (g-a-g-c') as "head-motive" throughout the cycle. Though not made clear

⁶¹ The AMMM edition (V:90) incorrectly gives the opening line of this motet *pars* as "*Vox eclipsim nesciens*." This is, in fact, one of several errors in text and music transcription found in this edition—giving some grounds to call for a new Gaffurius critical edition.

⁶² The B has the mensuration sign **C** in the *secunda pars*, which is likely a scribal error.

in Noblitt's discussion, the version of the sequence melody he refers to—one of at least six—is that given fully in Misset (#36), and partially in Moberg (#11a, and not #10).⁶³

While it is plausible that Gaffurius consciously borrowed the opening four notes of the sequence for use in his cycle, it is not as evident as Noblitt suggests. To begin, the "head-motive" appears for the first time only in motet 2, and is preceded by several appearances of the "head-motive" in inversion (g-f-g-d) in the two *partes* of motet 1 (e.g., *Salve mater Salvatoris*, T, mm. 23-25, transposed; *Salve verbi*, S, mm. 30-31; *Salve verbi*, T, mm. 35-36 and 50-52, transposed); indeed in the course of the cycle, the inverted "head-motive" appears more frequently than the prime version.⁶⁴ The beginning of *Salve mater Salvatoris* presents a different four-note motive (g-a-g-f), which itself appears frequently throughout the cycle. One wonders, then, why Gaffurius would borrow four notes from the beginning of a sequence, and apply it for the first time only at the beginning of the seventh versicle, while supplying the corresponding versicle with a different motive altogether. It is interesting that Noblitt argues against the use of consciously borrowed plainchant motives in Gaffurius's *Missa Sanctae Catharinae*, contrary to the opinion of Amergio Bortone, due in part to the "fundamental nature" of the motives used, and suggests instead that the relationships between recurring motives in the hybrid cycle and those in the sequence melody constitute an "accidental rather than intentional use of the plainsong."⁶⁵ Given the "fundamental nature" of the "head-motive" found in *Salve mater Salvatoris*, it may be prudent to adopt a similar position for this cycle.⁶⁶

⁶³ NoblittMM, 161-63. See MissetP, #36; MobergS II:11A. The version in MobergS is actually written in F Lydian, instead of G Mixolydian. AH 54:386 notes that this sequence text has been preserved "in 6 verschiedenen [musicalischen] Formen."

⁶⁴ NoblittMM, 162-63 dismisses the idea that the inverted "head-motive" was itself derived from the melody of the third and eighth verses of the sequence (g-f-g-f-e-d), since they do not include the filled in notes of the final descending fourth. However, he neglected the opening two measures of the cycle, in the B, where this "motive" is found in its entirety (see EX. 9).

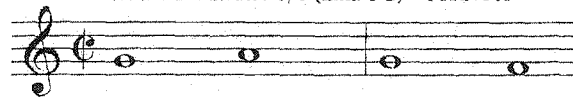
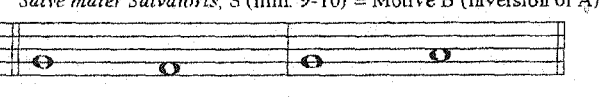
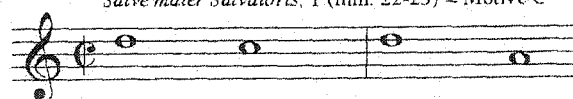
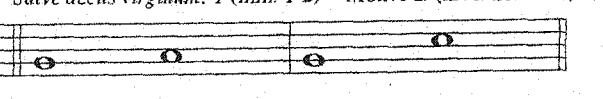
⁶⁵ Ibid., 189-91.

⁶⁶ Indeed, this figure g-a-g-c' is a modal commonplace, appearing in Introit psalmody for both modes 2 and 8.

Motivic Construction

Regardless of their origin, the various motives and motivic permutations found strewn throughout the cycle create an impressively coherent whole, revealing a rather sophisticated side of Gaffurius the composer. The result here is a cycle of extraordinarily tight motivic unity, nearly Beethovenian in scope and complexity. In his analysis, Noblitt points up some of the motivic connections between and amongst the individual motets, and yet seems to overlook the extent to which they are applied. Admittedly, the motives are quite short and of a rather generic character: they are generally two measures in length, and comprised of four, predominantly step-wise semibreves. Further, it must be admitted that phrases beginning with four syllabic and predominantly step-wise semibreves—before proceeding to faster, more melismatic movement—are rather characteristic of Gaffurius, and not only of his motets. And yet, the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle displays such a consistent use of motivic repetition, inversion, retrograde, variation, and combination as to render coincidence unlikely. The result is a striking economy of material atypical of Renaissance polyphony. Indeed, Gaffurius's use of motivic organization in this cycle exceeds that found in the *motetti missales* of Compère or Weerbeke—demonstrating, perhaps, a kind of practical extension to his theoretical preoccupations.

Below are the six principal motives that animate the cycle:

<p>EX. 1 <i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>, S (mm. 1-2) = Motive A</p> 	<p>EX. 2 <i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>, S (mm. 9-10) = Motive B (inversion of A)</p> 
<p>EX. 3 <i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>, T (mm. 22-23) = Motive C</p> 	<p>EX. 4 <i>Salve decus virginum</i>, T (mm. 1-2) = Motive D (inversion of C)</p> 

EX. 5
Salve verbi sacra parens, S (mm. 43-45) = Motive E

EX. 6
Salve verbi, S (mm. 50-51) = Motive F (inversion of E)

The motives likewise appear as repeated minims, generally presented in brief homophonic passages, such as in Examples 7 and 8:

EX. 7
Tu thronus es Salomonis (mm. 45-46)
 Motive A (slightly varied)

EX. 8
Tu thronus es Salomonis (mm. 18-21)
 Motive E (expanded)

Most interesting are those moments which combine two different motives within the same phrase—such as in Example 9, with Motives A and C; Example 10, again with Motives A and C; and Example 11, with Motives B and D:

Salve mater Salvatoris (mm. 1-5)
Motives A (S and T) and C (B)

Sal - ve ma - - - ter Sal - - - - va - to - ris,

Salve verbi sacra parens (mm. 35-40)
 Motives C (T and B = retrograde) and B (S and T)

(pa)rens, flos _____ de spi - - - - - na,

Salve decus virginum (mm. 1-4)
Motives D (S and T) and A (B)

Sal - ve de - - ens vir gi - num,

It is such instances that illustrate Gaffurius's ability to construct counterpoint through sophisticated motivic usage, which in turn helps grant the work a cohesion and organicism worthy of comment and appreciation.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

If the motivic unity of *Salve mater Salvatoris* represents a forward-looking compositional feature of Gaffurius's writing, other aspects of these motets show a more conservative approach. Counterpoint appears often—though not always—guided by a traditional Discant-Tenor orientation, with the alto and bass providing a harmonic compliment to the fundamental contrapuntal framework of soprano and tenor. The bass in particular becomes an important mechanism of support to this framework through the prevalence of fourth or fifth leaps at cadences—usually to the *finalis*, but also occasionally to the dominant or sub-final; indeed, in contrast to the cycles of Compère, octave leaps in the bass are never encountered at cadences, although the bass does at times drop out at the moment of cadential arrival.

Four-part, non-imitative writing dominates the contrapuntal texture of *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Imitation, however, is used with considerable regularity throughout the cycle: it occurs predominantly at the unison or octave (sometimes at the fifth), mostly at the beginning of phrases, and is generally limited to two or three measures. Imitative writing is mostly limited to two voices, generally soprano and tenor, but also alto and bass, and other combinations as well. Rarely are more than two points of imitation found consecutively. One notable exception is in *Lux eclipsim*, measures 28-45, where four consecutive imitative duos are encountered, one for each of the final four lines of a five-line versicle; noteworthy in the passage leading into this section is the ostinato-like triple repetition of Motive C in the bass, seen in Example 12:

EX. 12

Lux eclipsim nesciens (mm. 24-32)

Motive C in ostinato (B)



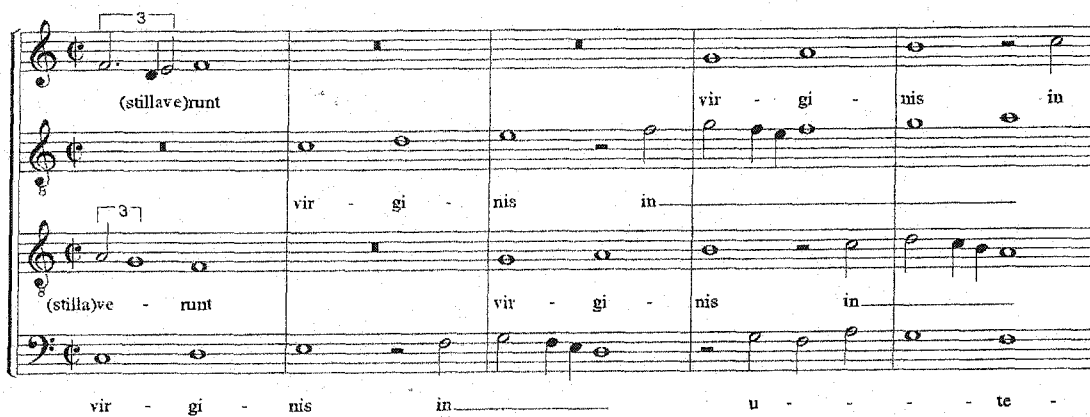
In pro - cin - ctu con - sti - tu - ti,
te tu - en - te si - mus tu - ti;

Four-part pervasive imitation occurs only twice in the entire cycle—once at the beginning of *Imperatrix gloriosa* (mm. 1-5, where the final entrance, in the A is at the 7th); and again near the end of *Florem ergo genuisti* (mm. 60-66). The latter represents a textbook-like case of paired entrances (B-A, T-S) on the octave and fifth respectively, where the latter pair extends beyond the opening two measures with one additional phrase, before reaching the final cadence. See Example 13.

EX. 13

Florem ergo genuisti (mm. 60-69)

Pervading Imitation: B-A-T-B




(still)ave runt vir - gi - nis in
vir - gi - nis in
(still)ave runt vir - gi - nis in
vir - gi - nis in u - - - te -



Gaffurius effectively creates contrast of texture and sonority by means of occasional homophonic passages, generally syllabic, quite short, and of a static melodic nature—usually related to one of the recurring motives. Contrast is likewise created by frequent duos, often in canonic imitation and/or presented in alternation, as well as occasional trios, predominantly alto-tenor-bass. The latter are usually presented in *fauxbourdon* style, representing an archaic sonority within an otherwise relatively modern harmonic context.⁶⁷ One striking instance, found in *Salve decus virginum* (mm. 37-42) is an extended trio in *fauxbourdon* based on an ascending five-part sequence in the soprano, and thus an interesting mix of archaic and modern tendencies. See Example 14.

⁶⁷ Noblitt (ibid., 202) finds the harmony of these motets "very representative of their age," citing the use of complete triads sixty percent of the time, with the dominant root chordal movement being of a second, not a fourth or fifth; though as mentioned, cadential movement in the B is often generated by V-I movement.

EX. 14
Salve decus virginum (mm. 36-41)
 Fauxbourdon Trio, Sequence

Contrast of sonority is further generated by the two *tripla* sections found in the cycle (generated by use of minor color), which occur at the end of *O convallis humilis* (mm. 39-47) and as the penultimate phrase of *Florem ergo genuisti* (mm. 52-60). Both are presented as alternating duets (A-B, S-T), and based largely on a consistent  formula; the duets in *O convallis* are followed by a brief phrase *a4*, which concludes the motet. These two sections demonstrate that dance-like quality discussed by Finscher as characteristically "Italian," and found likewise in the *motetti missales* of Compère and Weerbecke, as well as in numerous motets of Gaffurius.⁶⁸ However, such *tripla* sections are conspicuously absent in the motet cycles and individual motets written ostensibly by local-Milanese (Ambrosian) composers (see Chapter 4), offering an interesting stylistic distinction between them and the works of ultramontane composers active in Milan—while also demonstrating Gaffurius's embrace of this "modern" and "popular" (i.e. dance-like) device, whereby he aligns himself compositionally with the ranks of Compère, Weerbecke, and Josquin.

⁶⁸ FinschLC, 95-96, 114-15. See also the discussions of Weerbecke's and Compère's cycles below.

Overall Musical Style

In characterizing the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, Finscher issued a fairly disparaging review, calling it "a strangely unbalanced work, lacking the cyclic unity and bold modernism of Compère's cycles, as well as the stylistic unity and aesthetic perfection of Gaspar's works."⁶⁹ Finscher's remarks are based on his initial misconception that the motet copied subsequently in MilD 1, *O Beate Sebastiane*, also belonged to this same cycle—a work with contrasting modality, clef arrangement, and textual theme.⁷⁰ With this work removed, the four motets of *Salve mater Salvatoris* can certainly be seen to display cyclic unity, not least through the motivic construction discussed above. Despite this clarification, however, it must be admitted that Gaffurius's cycle is somewhat musically unbalanced—with modern features, such as the *tripla* sections, alternating duets, and motivic unity, found alongside more conservative, even archaic features, such as the *fauxbourdon* sections and a rather tepid approach to imitation, generally limited to brief canons in duet.⁷¹ Compromising the aesthetic quality too is the persistent use of short, homogenous melodic phrases in all voices, and the absence of sectional repetition within individual motets—a feature found regularly in the cycles of Compère and Weerbeke.

On the other hand, *Salve mater Salvatoris* aptly displays Gaffurius's rather sophisticated approach to modality within a polyphonic context, a direct reflection of his consummate understanding of the subject as a theorist. Specifically, the cycle consciously defines Mixolydian on G—with clear Plagal ambitus for soprano (c'-d'') and tenor (d-d''), frequent cadences on G, and the regular outline of the mode's interval

⁶⁹ FinschLC, 116.

⁷⁰ Curiously, Finscher provided the correct folio range of Gaffurius's cycle in the second volume of his Critical Edition of Compère, published five years earlier, see CompOO II:i.

⁷¹ Finscher's comment that Gaffurius's cycle contains the "the abundant use of the octave-leap cadence" (FinschLC, 116) is inaccurate: although the octave-leap in the B at cadences occurs several times in the motet, *O Beate Sebastiane* (cf. AMMM V, 105-10, mm. 43, 71, 81, 91, 101, and 111), they are entirely absent in *Salve mater Salvatoris*. For more on Gaffurius's approach to cadence treatment, including the use of recurring cadential formulae, see NoblitMM, 203-05.

species, particularly the descending fifth; likewise, the cycle employs a deliberate and effective use of modal commixture, namely with F Lydian—where Gaffurius takes advantage of the common reciting tone (c') for both Modes 5 and 8 (e.g. *Res miranda*, T, mm. 53-75), and with D Dorian—by means of the identical ambitus of Modes 1 and 8 (e.g. *Lux eclipsim*, T, mm. 28-38). This modal sophistication contrasts with the more conservative approach seen in the *motetti missales* of Weerbecke, and especially Compère.

Beyond this, Gaffurius's cycle contains a number of passages that yield great clarity of structure and heightened musical discourse—such as the climactic four-part sequential passage in *Imperatrix gloriosa* (mm. 33-40), seen in Example 15—which reveal him a composer of considerable merit. In all, the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle demonstrates a decisive achievement for a native Italian polyphonist in the embrace of a new musical style—rising toward, if not wholly meeting the aesthetic and technical challenges embodied in the *motetti missales* of his Northern colleagues.

EX. 15
Imperatrix gloriosa (mm. 33-40)
 Four-voice Ascending Sequence

The musical score for Example 15 is a four-voice ascending sequence. It is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass voices. The lyrics are: ri - ga - vit co - pi - o - sa de - quam ri - ga - vit co - pi - o - sa de -.



3. Text and Music

Gaffurius was a humanist, and his mindfulness of poetic rhythm and meter—both Latin and Greek—is well demonstrated in his theoretical writings.⁷² It is thus no surprise that in *Salve mater Salvatoris* Gaffurius displays fastidious attention to the declamation and form of the texts he sets. So much as can be observed from syllabic passages, especially in homophony, Gaffurius consistently provides proper text declamation of the text, refraining from the inversions commonly found in the music of his Franco-Flemish colleagues.⁷³ Regarding textual form, individual poetic lines are prevailingly set with distinct musical phrases that end with a cadence; versicles are often, though not always, marked off with stronger and more conclusive cadences than internal lines. This zealous concern with poetic syntax sometimes leads to a disjointed quality within the music, arising from the continuous succession of short melodic and

⁷² PaliscaH, 205-06. Book 2, Chapter 1 of his *Practica Musica* is dedicated to Latin poetic meter.

⁷³ See the discussion of declamation in LowinJ, 700-06.

contrapuntal phrases. Overlap of consecutive phrases is very common, but generally limited to the moment of cadential arrival.

In only a few instances does Gaffurius ignore the division of poetic lines, such as occurs between the second and third lines of the first versicle of *Salve mater pietatis* (mm. 5-14): he chooses not to divide the lines "et totius Trinitatis / nobile triclinium," in order to maintain a continuous ascending sequence (5X) in the alto, accompanied partly in imitation (at the minim) in the bass, and freely in the tenor. See Example 16.

EX. 16
Salve mater pietatis (mm. 5-14)
Extended Sequence in A (and B)

The musical score for Example 16 consists of two systems of four staves each, representing Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass voices. The first system (measures 5-14) shows the lyrics: (tis), et to - ti - - us Tri - ni - ta - - - tis no -. The second system (measures 15-18) shows the lyrics: bi - le - - ni - cli - - - ni - um; Ver - bi, tis uo - bi - le - - tri - - - cli - ni - um; Ver - bi, bi - le - - tri - cli - - - ni - - um; Ver - bi. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and note values, with lyrics written below the staves.

This passage, moreover, touches upon that other species of musico-textual correspondence: musical interpretation of textual content. In his closing remarks on Gaffurius's motet style, Noblitt expresses his disinterest in searching for such correspondence, concluding that "expressive treatment of the text and word-painting were simply not a part of the fifteenth-century technique of composition."⁷⁴ Noblitt may well have based his conclusion on the opinion of Finscher, who likewise saw semantic interpretation generally absent in the repertory of the *motetti missales*: "There is, however, one and perhaps the decisive device of the later 'Italian' motet style scarcely anticipated in these works—text interpretation by means of contrast and analogy, word painting and tone symbolism."⁷⁵ While overt instances of word-painting are certainly more typical of post-1500 motets, it would be unwise, I believe, to assume a complete disregard for semantic interpretation in motets of the final decades of the fifteenth century. In light of more recent literature, the question of semantic interpretation within these motets ought to be revisited.⁷⁶

Marian motets offer a good medium for evaluating the prospect of musical text interpretation in the late *quattrocento*—given first the common use of rich and colorful imagery within their texts, and second given the deep devotional significance their textual content held to composers and listeners alike. While specific identifications of word-painting in these works may be speculative, the overall picture of text-setting during this important period is clearly worthy of investigation.

⁷⁴ NoblittMM, 207.

⁷⁵ FinschLC, 114.

⁷⁶ Among recent studies on the relationship between music and text in the Josquin generation include, Don Randel, "Music and Poetry, History, and Criticism: Reading the Fifteenth-Century Chanson," in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson* (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), 52-74; Willem Elders, "Das Symbol in der Musik von Josquin des Prez," *Acta musicologica* 44/3-4 (1969), 164-85; idem, *Symbolic scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Brill: Leiden, 1994); Jaap van Benthem, "Josquins Motette, 'Huc me sydereo,' oder Konstruktivismus als Ausdruck humanistisch geprägter Andacht? in *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte* (Mainz: Schott, 1991), 135-64; Martin Just, "Anschaulichkeit und Ausdruck in der Motette des späten 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Motette...* (op. cit); see also FinschV.

All of the proposed instances of musico-semantic correspondence in *Salve mater Salvatoris* are admittedly quite subtle, and do not evoke the kind of satisfaction found, for example, in the motets of Weerbeke. Among the candidates for text expression in Gaffurius's cycle include the following (in order of appearance):

1) *Salve verbi sacra parens*, mm. 56-58 (all voices), "spina sumus cruentatis" (we are bloody with thorns): here is the first instance in the cycle of four-part homophony, and thus may be seen as an emphatic reinforcement of this vivid image of man bloody with the thorns of sin.

2) *O convallis*, mm. 39-47 (all voices), "tu candoris et decoris/ tu dulcoris et odoris/ habens plenitudinem" (you possess a plenitude of radiance and beauty, of sweetness and fragrance): the lilting *tripla* music (alternating duets followed by writing *a4*) is a suitable compliment to the image of Mary's beauty and sweetness.

3) *Salve mater pietatis*, mm. 5-14 (A, T, B), "et totius Trinitatis/ nobile triclinium" (and [hail] noble resting place of the whole Trinity): as noted above, these two lines are set conjunctly, without internal cadence—a rare occurrence in this cycle, thus already signaling Gaffurius's special recognition; the use of three voices in this passage may be seen to mirror the image of the Trinity, as can the sequential figure in the alto, which is built upon a (triple) hemiola figure (see Example 16).

4) *Salve mater pietatis*, mm. 17-26 (S, A), "speciale majestatis" (a special [lodging] of the Word, i.e. the womb of Mary): this is an uncharacteristically long, melismatic duet, and may signify the long and intimate union between Christ and Mary during her pregnancy.

5) *Lux eclipsim nesciens*, mm. 6-14 (A, T, B), "virginis est castitas" = ([the light of] the virgin is chaste): the lengthy and emphatic sequence in the bass may be seen to underscore Mary's chastity—that is, her perpetual virginity—among the most fundamental of her features in Milanese devotional history (see Chapter 1).

6) *Imperatrix gloriosa*, mm. 14-21 (all voices), "Jesu Christi generosa/mater atque filia" (Generous mother and daughter of Jesus Christ): the two lines are divided not according to strict poetic syntax; rather a cadence (on C) appears on "Christi" (m. 15), with the remainder of the thought set in longer, melismatic writing, leading to a cadence on F (m. 21). Beyond illustrating Gaffurius's attention to semantic logic over strict syntactic form in this instance, the differing cadences could evoke a distinguishing identity between Christ and Mary.

7) *Imperatrix gloriosa*, mm. 33-40 (all voices), "quam rigavit copiosa / Deitatis gratia" ([splendid root] nourished by the abundant grace of God): this is the four-part sequential passage mentioned above (Example 15), and another example of two lines set conjunctly, without internal cadence. The climactic power of the multiple and simultaneous sequences well evokes the power of God's grace, just as the lack of a separating cadence demonstrates Gaffurius's willingness to break syntactic structure for semantic logic—particularly for texts of devotional import.

8) *Res miranda*, mm. 1-4, (all voices), "Res miranda" ("Wondrous thing): here Gaffurius returns to the use of fermata-block chords, with melody and harmony nearly identical to the passage setting the words "salva reos" (save the guilty) in *Lux eclipsim* (mm. 63-66); as such, this may be seen as forming an exegetical connection between the powers of Christ (and Mary) to save the faithful, and the wonder of the Incarnation, which made it all possible.

2. Ave mundi Domina—Gaspar van Weerbecke

Following Gaffurius's cycle in the *tabula* of motetti *missales* are the two cycles of Weerbecke, *Ave mundi Domina* and *Quam pulchra es*, which are copied consecutively into MILD 1 (fols. 126v-134, 134v-143). Both cycles are Marian in textual content, and thus directly relevant to this study. In the introduction to his Compère edition, Finscher casually states: "Apart from Gaspar's cycles, Compère's *motetti missales* are the oldest works of their kind."⁷⁷ Finscher's comments are implicitly based on Weerbecke's earlier arrival in Milan—in 1472, compared to Compère's, in 1474—but beyond this no musical grounds are given for this assertion. It is noteworthy that only Compère's *motetti missales* are supplied with explicit liturgical (*loco*) designations; this would, in fact, seem to suggest an early phase of development, after which explicit labeling would no longer be required—as is clearly the case in Gaffurius's cycle.⁷⁸ Further, some stylistic features of Weerbecke's cycles suggest a later compositional period, as will be discussed below.

The cycle *Ave mundi Domina* is comprised of eight motets, each of which is composed as a single movement—with the exception of the fifth motet, *Ave regina caelorum, ave*, whose second section, *O salutaris hostia*, provides the music for the Elevation of the Host. Eight is likewise the number of Mass items "replaced" in the complete, liturgically explicit *motetti missales* of Compère, from which Croll and Noblitt devised a corresponding liturgical disposition for Weerbecke's cycle; their one discrepancy concerns the sixth motet, *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*, which Croll labeled [ad Elevationem], but which Noblitt, rightly, labeled [post-Elevationem].⁷⁹ The full liturgical "program" is given along with the texts, in Appendix B (#2). Further, two of these motets, *Ave regina caelorum* (no. 5) and *Quem terra, pontus, aethera* (no. 6) were

⁷⁷ CompOO II:ii.

⁷⁸ See also NoblitMM, 21. Croll offers no theory of chronology (cf. CrollM, 179-238).

⁷⁹ CrollM, 191 and NoblitMM, 23.

copied consecutively into MilD 2, while another, *Anima mea liquefacta est* (no. 4) enjoyed a wide circulation outside Milan.⁸⁰

1. The Texts

In terms of textual content, the motets of *Ave mundi Domina* represent a stark contrast to those of *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Whereas Gaffurius created a cycle with texts drawn predominantly from two complete Marian sequences, with minimal interpolation, Weerbecke's first *motetti missales* cycles contains texts drawn from no less than five hymns (three liturgical, two para-liturgical), a Marian antiphon, the Bible (three verses from the *Song of Songs*), and various unidentified, seemingly popular sources (see Appendix B, #2). The result is a mosaic of liturgical and devotional poetry, a Mariological *quodlibet* of a rather subjective nature, which offers a rich, scholastic interplay of Marian images and expressions. This approach to text selection is likewise found in Weerbecke's *Quam pulchra es*, and in the *motetti missales* of Compère, proving textual compilation to be a principal compositional aesthetic of the genre—at least in its early phase.⁸¹

The texts of the opening two motets—*Ave mundi domina* and *Ave mater gloriosa*—are derived from as yet unidentified poetic sources. Their commonplace and formulaic

⁸⁰ The version of the fifth motet in MilD 2 (fols 49v-50) is copied as having the opening line, "Ave domina angelorum, ave domina angelorum," which is evidently a scribal error. This discrepancy was overlooked in the recent Critical Edition of the cycle.

⁸¹ By contrast, see n. 39, above. The pastiche-like approach to text construction in the *motetti missales* of Weerbecke and Compère finds a direct correlation in the literary quodlibets found in Milanese popular prayer books, or *Libri preci*, of the period—which freely juxtapose versets of speculative Latin poetry with snippets of Italian *laude* and even liturgical texts in a similar mosaic of sacred images and expressions. While in Milan, I observed dozens of Marian *Libri preci*, especially at the Biblioteca Trivulziana (see Chapter 4); and though no direct correspondences were uncovered, one can easily imagine these composers scouring such books for ideas and inspiration. The fluid mixture of learned doctrine and popular piety is, of course, wholly in line with the overall tenor of Mariology in the late *quattrocento*; see, for example, VisentinP, 106. As will be seen, however, Weerbecke and Compère differ somewhat in their approach to textual compilation—with the latter adopting more of a mix-and match approach in contrast to the former's tendency to juxtapose discreet texts.

language suggest a popular and compiled origin; indeed, several lines are virtual staples of Marian poetry: "Ave mundi domina,"⁸² "caeli regina," "rosa sine spina," "O clemens, o pia... O dulcis Maria,"⁸³ "Ave mater gloriosa," "Stella maris appellata," "Et pro nobis semper ora," etc.

The text of *Ave mundi Domina* forms a suitable introduction to the cycle: it bids hail to Mary in her myriad identities—as mistress of the world, queen of heaven, virginal mother of God, and Beloved of the Canticle ("rose without thorns"). The central portion of the text (lines 5-15) is the most interesting, and is not a mere compilation: it forms an extended petition, in which each of Mary's central feasts is tied to an appropriate blessing for the faithful: medicine from her Conception, the path of Salvation from her Assumption, etc.⁸⁴ It will be noted, however, that one of Mary's feasts is strangely without a corresponding blessing: her Annunciation (cf. lines 11-13); it appears that perhaps a subsequent line was inadvertently removed, along the lines of: "Et annuntiatio/Nostra invitatio" (Let your Annunciation be our invitation [to Christ]). The musical material is somewhat conflicting to the text here, and does seem to suggest that Weerbecke set a now-missing textual line. Combined praise and petition close the first text, addressed to "sweet Mary."

The second unidentified text, *Ave mater gloriosa*, bears slight resemblance to the sequence, *Ave virgo gloriosa*,⁸⁵ which likewise refers to Mary as the "rod of Jesse" and the "star of the sea"—in fact, the bass has as its opening line, "Ave virgo gloriosa" in the manuscript. The motet text also considers Mary's perpetual virginity—among the oldest

⁸² *Ave mundi domina* is likewise the title of three other unrelated Marian sequences, see MoneLH II:427-28, ChevRH: 1967, 1969.

⁸³ For example, from the Marian antiphon, *Salve regina*; see Chapter 2.

⁸⁴ The formulae used here—for example, "Tua praesentatio/Nobis sit oblatio"—bear some resemblance to the formulae used in the final (twelfth) part of the rhymed prayer, *Ave regina caelorum* (AH 32:43-47), also used in Compère's *Missa Galeazescha*—for example, "Mundi princeps et regina/Esto nobis disciplina"; and "O sponsa Dei electa/Esto nobis via recta."

⁸⁵ AH 54:417-18.

of Mariological themes (see Chapter 1)—and closes with a stock petition for Mary to "always pray for us."

The text of the third motet, *Salve virgo virginum*, is a mild adaptation of a fourteenth-century French hymn that itself tropes the famous Marian antiphon, *Salve regina*.⁸⁶ Here is an good example of high Mariology, and quite symptomatic of the Marian fervor of the late Middle Ages (see Chapter 2): the Virgin is here accorded powers normally reserved to Christ: she is the light of lights, and the salvation of man ("salus hominum"), while also being mother to the King of kings; she alone is the hope of man in his final hour, the one who can save him from eternal damnation by means of her entreaties to her Son. In emulation of the antiphon, the text closes by referring to the "valley of tears" in which the faithful find themselves, and for whom Mary is leader, voice, and consoler—holding reign in heaven beside the Father and the Son.

The fourth motet, *Anima mea liquefacta est*, is wholly derived from consecutive verses of the *Song of Songs* (5:6-8), with only slight abbreviation and alteration; the motet text, however, is identical with an existing liturgical chant—for example, a Vespers antiphon *de Assumptione Sanctae Mariae* found in the twelfth-century Antiphonary of Bamberg (Staatsbibliothek, lit. 23)—suggesting that Weerbecke borrowed the text directly from a liturgical source, and did not compile it himself.⁸⁷ The Canticle passage quoted is the last half of a lengthy soliloquy by the Bride: following her inability to answer the nocturnal call of her Beloved (5:2-5), she now reflects on her failing, and laments his disappearance; and after receiving the wounds of the city watchmen, beckons the daughters of Jerusalem to seek out her Beloved and inform him of her suffering. To Saint Bernard, the sorrow of the Bride symbolized the Church's sorrow over the loss of Christ's flesh, following His Crucifixion and Resurrection into

⁸⁶ MoneLH II: 213. Hymns *super Salve regina* were quite popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See, for example, MoneLH II:20216, which provides ten examples.

⁸⁷ See CAO III:50 and I:282; such direct connection with liturgical items will likewise hold true with Weerbecke's other settings from the *Song of Songs*.

heaven; the city watchmen were the Apostles, the guardians of the Church, and their "wounds" are but the pangs by which she may hope to find Him—much as Mary was "found" with child by the Holy Spirit: "And I consider that the Bride of the Lord resembles His Mother in this; for had she not been filled by the Holy Spirit, by no means would she have questioned the watchmen so familiarly, inquiring about him in whom her Spirit resides."⁸⁸ More direct Marian interpretation aligned the passage with Mary's suffering at the Cross—whereby she earned her participation in Redemption (see Chapter 2).⁸⁹ The rich imagery of the Canticle clearly offered ample inspiration to Weerbeke—not only here, but also in three motets of the *Quam pulchra es* cycle—imagery which yields some of the most convincing tone symbolism encountered in the entire *motetti missales* repertory.

The fifth motet, *Ave regina caelorum, ave*, retreats somewhat from the devotional intensity of the previous two motets: the first part is identical with the Marian antiphon sung regularly at the end of Compline from February 2 until Wednesday in Holy Week.⁹⁰ The text addresses Mary as queen of heaven, and most glorious mother of the Redeemer; and yet the language is relatively sober compared with that of *Salve virgo virginum*. The text of the second part is identical with the fifth verse from the Lauds hymn *de Corpore Christi, Verbum supernum prodiens*, and is a petition of the Host (the bread of the

⁸⁸ SBO II:271 (Serm. 78, 8): "Existimo autem simile quid habere in hac parte sponsam Domini Matri ipsius. Nisi enim et ipsa inventa esset habens de Spiritu Sancto, nequaquam ab inventoribus suis tam familiariter requisisset de eo, cuius Spiritus est ille."

⁸⁹ This is reflected in the appearance of the verse, "Anima mea liquefacta es, ut dilectus locutus est" in the Office in *Festo Septem Dolorum B.M.V.*, celebrated locally from the early-fifteenth century; see MarbCS, 272. Among the earliest commentaries on the *Song of Songs* as reflecting Mary's compassionate suffering on the Cross is the *Explanatio sacri epithalamii in matrem sponsi* by the Augustinian canon William of Newburgh (d. c. 1199); see FultonVM, 525-37; and GraefH, 258.

⁹⁰ LU, 274-75. This is one of four principal Marian antiphons (the others being *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Regina caeli*, and *Salve regina*) sung regularly at the end of Compline in Roman usage—one for each of the four seasons of the Church year; the practice dates back to the thirteenth century. Polyphonic settings of these antiphons, sometimes quoting the chant(s), are found from the late-fourteenth century, notably in England; and become numerous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Ruth Steiner, "Marian antiphons," in NCE 9:208-09; and Kuo-Huang Han, "The Use of the Marian Antiphons in Renaissance Motets" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1974).

Eucharist) for assistance in a time of war—a fitting wish for these ever bellicose times (see Chapter 2); the setting of the verse in fermata-block chords further confirms its liturgical usage *ad Elevationem*.

The final three motet texts of *Ave mundi domina* demonstrate markedly greater unity than the previous five, in that two Marian texts—the hymns *de BMV*, *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*, and the Vespers hymn *de Annuntiatione*, *A solis ortus cardine*—bind them together: as seen in Appendix B (#2), the text of motet 6 is derived from verses 1, 2, 4, and 5 of *Quem terra*, with a single line addition (no. 5) taken from *A solis* (strophe 3, line 4); the text of motet 7 is largely derived from verses 7 and 8 of *Quem terra* and verse 4 of *A solis*; and the text of motet 8 is largely derived from verses 4, 5, 6, and of *A solis*. The only additions are four unidentified lines at the start of motet 7; and the four-lines strophe (lines 13-16) in motet 8, beginning "Maria mater gratiae"—which, of course, is the famous verset of *Memento salutis auctor* that holds such prominence within Milanese devotion to the Virgin Mary, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Unity among the three motets is most pronounced in their thematic content: Mary is celebrated not for her heavenly powers of intercession, but rather for her identity as the mother of the Redeemer. *Quem terra, pontus, aethera*, attributed to Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 610), is characteristic of the early phase of Western Mariology, in addressing the dual topoi of Mary's Divine Maternity and perpetual virginity (see Chapter 1). Like many of Fortunatus's hymns, this one is thematically and stylistically modeled after Ambrose, such as his famous *Intende, qui regis*.⁹¹ The four strophes set in motet 6 venerate Mary for having carried Christ in her undefiled womb—the added line from *A solis*, simply expands on her innocence—and yet far more than Mary, it is Christ

⁹¹ For *Intende qui regis*, see LVM, 92-93. Beyond general similarities of poetic structure (4 lines per strophe, 8 syllables per lines, irregular rhyme scheme) and theme (the Incarnation, Mary's Divine Maternity and perpetual virginity), the two hymns share some similar language: notably "Miretur omne saeculum" (*Intende qui regis*, line 7) and "Mirantur ergo saecula" (*Quem terra*, line 9); "Clastrum pudoris permanet" (*Intende qui regis*, line 14) and "Clastrum Mariae bajulat" (*Quem terra*, line 4).

who is the hymn's principal object of reverence and adoration. Typical of the era, Mary's glory is inextricably linked to Christ, and the devotion owed her uniquely a product of her Divine Maternity.

The text of motet 7, *O virginum praeclara*, continues the dual theme of Mary's Divine Maternity and perpetual virginity: she is the door, the gate, and the window through whom the shining light of Redemption came forth; she is also presented as the counterpart to Eve, a theme likewise traced back to Ambrose. The final strophe, again, is from *A solis ortus cardine*, an alphabetic hymn ("Abcdar") credited to the fifth-century poet, Sedulius—which likewise suggests the influence of Ambrose's hymn style.⁹² Once more Mary is the modest house ("domus") that became the temple of God, who without suffering any despoilment, conceived the Word Incarnate.⁹³

The final motet, *Fit porta Christi pervia*, is much the counterpart to motet 7, in that it is almost entirely derived from *A solis*, with the addition of the "Milanese"

⁹² See AH 27 117-19 (cf. strophes 1-5 of no. 32-I, and strophes 4-6 of no. 32-II). Sedulius's hymn is a narrative of Christ's life, from birth to Resurrection, and was likely composed without any specific liturgy in mind. In subsequent centuries, however, the original hymn was "divided" into shorter hymns and applied to various feasts throughout the Church year: Christmas, Epiphany, Holy Innocents, Easter, and the Annunciation—where the first eight strophes form the Vespers or Lauds hymn for this feast from at least the tenth century. See SzövCH, 17-18. In AH 27, for example, the hymn is given in *Annuntiatione BMV*; this festal assignment, though explicit only in a 1502 print (source X), is assumed also for tenth- and eleventh-century manuscript sources (MT, LSa, LSd), which list the hymn "in diem s. Mariae" (see AH 27: 21-42). For a sense of the variety of liturgical usage for this hymn, see ChevRH, 27-41. The exact motet text found in MilD 1 contains some alterations and omissions from the hymn version cited in AH 27, as noted in CrollM, 192 and the CMM edition of Weerbecke's cycles (see n. 94 below).

⁹³ As mentioned above, motets 5 and 6 from Weerbecke's *Ave mundi domina* were copied consecutively into MilD 2 (fols. 51v-53). This is one of three small cycles copied into the Gaffurius Codices whose motets are derived from a "complete" *motetti missales* (see also nn. 128 and 158, below), and which may be considered independent, though derivative, motet cycles. On a devotional level, the two-part *Ave regina caelorum* cycle (see Chapter 4, Table 3, no. 19) creates a somewhat less cohesive whole than its two counterparts: the first text divides its focus between Mary's heavenly queenship and the pacifying powers of the Eucharist, while the second text focusses largely on Christ—with Mary's role limited to her Divine Maternity. While the fermata-held chords in the *secunda pars* of *Ave regina caelorum* establishes its clear identity as the "Elevation motet" within the eight-part *motetti missales*, such a function is less obvious for the two-part cycle. More likely, the latter cycle was a product of scribal intervention, intended to fulfill a more "modest" paraliturgical function—probably a Marian votive service.

verset.⁹⁴ Aside from the latter, the focus here is largely on Christ: the husband, Redeemer, author, and giant ("gigas") of His Church—symbolic also of Mary, who is but the intact corridor of His arrival. The "Milanese" verset ("Maria mater gratiae..."), thus appears rather out of context, in that Mary is now the one who protects the sinner from damnation. Weerbecke's decision to include this verset demonstrates a seeming inability, in the late fifteenth century, to delimit Mary's identity entirely to her Divine Motherhood. Following this verset, a concluding Doxology ends the motet and the cycle.

It would be difficult to construct a single thematic focus or narrative out of these eight motets, substantiating the idea of the *motetti missales* as a general forum for multi-dimensional devotion, in this case Marian. It also confirms the cycle's liturgical use *de BMV*, likely for a Saturday Votive Mass of the Virgin, and not for any specific feast. If anything, the *Ave mundi domina* cycle demonstrates Weerbecke's knowledge of a wide range of Marian texts (assuming he selected them), and his—and his era's—overall desire to venerate Mary in her myriad identities: immaculate virgin, mother of the Redeemer, comely Beloved of the Canticle, queen of heaven, and merciful protector of the faithful.

2. The Music

Weerbecke created in *Ave mundi domina* a cycle of considerable stylistic unity, despite the diverse nature of the texts. It is a unity, however, that is engendered through a near constant variety of texture, counterpoint, and rhythmic character.⁹⁵ Indeed, the

⁹⁴ CrollM, 192 notes that between motets 7 and 8, Weerbecke sets only the fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth strophes—that is those beginning with D, F, G, and H—whereby "ist der Abcdar zertört."

⁹⁵ The similar point was articulated in CrollM, 200: "Bei aller Mannigfaltigkeit, die sich im Ablauf der Motetten in dem häufigen Wechsel der Stimmgruppen und Satztechniken darbietet, ist die Gestaltung des Motettensatzes grundsätzlich einheitlich."

cycle forms a kind of model for one the reigning paradigms of Renaissance aesthetics—unity in diversity.⁹⁶ The cyclic identity of *Ave mundi domina* is established first in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Ave mundi domina</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>Ave mater gloriosa</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>Salve virgo virginum</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>Anima mea liquefacta est</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ ⁹⁷	G	Dorian
<i>Ave regina caelorum, ave</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>Quem terra, pontus aethera</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>O virginum praeclara</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian
<i>Fit porta Christi pervia</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	Ⓒ	G	Dorian

A detailed analysis of the cycle—both over all, and of individual motets—is provided by Croll, while Noblitt gives a surprisingly terse treatment, in notable contrast to his discussion of *Salve mater Salvatoris* and the two Munich cycles.⁹⁸ Croll's discussion yields good insight into Weerbecke's musical approach in the cycle, though on at least one point he seems to have overstated his case, as will be noted below. The following discussion makes use of the recent (1998) Critical Edition of all three motet cycles of Weerbecke.⁹⁹ The discussion will refer to the number of the motet, with the following order:

⁹⁶ See, for example, KristelRT, 198 (from the chapter entitled, "The Unity of Truth"): "The thought of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is full of varied attempts to restate specific ancient or medieval positions or to arrive at new combinations or original solutions. The variety of new sources and of old and new opinions and positions brought many thinkers face to face with the question of how this diversity of purported truths could be brought to a unity."

⁹⁷ The mensuration Ⓒ appears in all voices in MilD 1, but as Ⓒ in all other sources; the discrepancy in MilD is thus likely a scribal error.

⁹⁸ CrollM, 188-225; NoblitMM, 18-33. Noblitt derives not only his discussion of Weerbecke's cycles largely from Croll's dissertation, but he likewise derives much of his dissertation's structure from Croll—namely in the outline of texts and the analytical tables.

⁹⁹ WeerbOO 3:1-19. Critical remarks and texts/translations are given on pp. xxix-xvi. The translations given in Appendix B (and C) are my own.

- Motet 1. Ave mundi domina
- Motet 2. Ave mater gloriosa
- Motet 3. Salve virgo virginum
- Motet 4. Anima mea liquefacta est
- Motet 5. Ave regina caelorum, ave
 secunda pars: O salutaris hostia
- Motet 6. Quem terra, pontus aethera
- Motet 7. O virginum praeclara
- Motet 8. Fit porta Christi pervia

Use of Plainchant

As Croll has outlined, Gregorian melodies exist for five of the eight texts utilized in this cycle (nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8);¹⁰⁰ and yet, the use of *cantus prius factus* is limited to the final motet. The melody borrowed is from the Compline hymn, *Fit porta caeli pervia*, and is likewise similar to melody of the hymn, *Fit porta Christi pervia*—both of whose texts are derived from *A solis ortus cardine*.¹⁰¹ The four phrases of the hymn melody appear in the *prima pars* of motet 8, measures 1-28, in the phrase sequence a-b-c-d-d-b-c-d, where each is lightly paraphrased in the soprano and partially imitated in the tenor and bass (the second "b" phrase is treated in imitation between T and B). The presentation of the hymn melody is thoroughly modern in outlook—namely, in an integrated rhythmic style, even across the change in meter from duple to triple. More importantly, the chant melody is very clearly identifiable, in distinct contrast to the leap required to see *cantus prius factus* usage in Gaffurius's cycle.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

Weerbecke's Northern training (perhaps with Dufay) is evident in the fluid contrapuntal style of the cycle, and in the ease and frequency with which he uses

¹⁰⁰ CrollM, 196-97: "Zu zahlreichen Motettentexten sind Choralmelodien, oft mehrere Fassungen, überliefert:" These include a chant melody for motet 5, *secunda pars* (*O salutaris hostia*), and even a separate melody for the fourth strophe of *A solis ortus cardine*, set at the end of motet 7.

¹⁰¹ The hymn melody of *Fit porta caeli pervia* is found in WeinH, 70. See also WeerBOO, lv.

imitation.¹⁰² Four-part, non-imitative counterpoint is certainly used, but not as regularly as in *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Imitation, however, is generally limited to soprano and tenor within a four-part texture, and the traditional discant-tenor frame is no less operative than in Gaffurius's cycle. As in the latter, the bass is harmonically supportive at most cadences, with leaps common not only to the *finalis* and dominant, but also to the median (B \flat)—though, again, the bass is occasionally silent at cadential arrivals. Rather curious are the two instances of a Landini cadence: both of them in motet 7 (mm. 12 and 39)—a rare archaism in these motets.

Four-part, pervasive imitation is used as sparingly as it was in *Salve mater Salvatoris*, again with only two instances—in the midst of motet 2 (mm. 14-20), and at the beginning of motet 3. In truth, these two are rather rudimentary examples of the texture: that in motet 2 is but a brief four-part canon (slightly altered in the B), with each entrance on F; while that in motet 3 is quasi-canonic, with each descending (S-A-T-B) entrance on G. Weerbecke's imitative writing is on the whole largely canonic in nature—usually at the unison or fifth—and nowhere in these motets is found the textbook model of through-imitation (1-5-1-5), such as was witnessed in Gaffurius's cycle. On the other hand, the great variety of imitative motives and textures featured throughout the cycle grants the counterpoint a more modern sonority than *Salve mater Salvatoris*, closer to the motet of later decades.

Weerbecke demonstrates his modernity most emphatically in the varied textures and sonorities employed throughout *Ave mundi Domina*, a point finely diagrammed in Croll's discussion.¹⁰³ Duos are frequently employed, often in alternating chains, and are themselves disposed in great variety—in imitation, homo-rhythm, and free counterpoint. Weerbecke clearly had a great predilection for homo-rhythmic duos: instances appear in

¹⁰² For Weerbecke's background, see Croll, "Gaspar van Weerbeke," in NG 20:290.

¹⁰³ See the tabled analyses of the cycle's individual motets, CrollM, 208-25—which admittedly tax the reader with (poetic) line by line (*Zeile*) inventories.

all but one of the motets—namely motet 5, which instead proceeds largely as alternating duets in imitation.

Homophony, in general, is a dominant texture throughout the cycle, with three- or four-part passages appearing repeatedly in each motet—much in contrast to the short, static, and sporadic use of this texture in *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Weerbeke likewise regularly breaks the established duple meter with lively *tripla* sections (via minor color)—at times, as in motet 1 (mm. 48–66), in quick alternation. The combination of regular *tripla* sections and dance-like homophony, such as seen in Example 17 (from the end of motet 3), epitomizes the popularesque "Italian" sonority described by Finscher as characteristic of the *motetti missales*—far more than the brief instances found in Gaffurius's cycle.

EX. 17

Ave mundi domina, Motet 3 (mm. 64–70)

Tripla music in homophony

The musical score for Example 17 consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system covers measures 64–69, and the second system covers measures 70–75. The music is in homophony, with triplets indicated by a '3' over the notes. The lyrics are: con - so - la - trix a - pud pa - trem et fi - li - um, et fi - li - um.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Another "progressive" characteristic of *Ave mundi domina* is the common use of sectional repetition, a feature absent in *Salve mater Salvatoris*. The repetition may be exact—as in the alternating homophonic trios in motet 2 (mm. 37-41); or may be slightly varied, as in motet 1, measures 35-41. One notable occurrence is the triple repetition of a four-part homophonic phrase, with slight variation in the soprano, found in motet 3, mm. 53-63. The use of sectional repetition is also found in *Quam pulchra es*, and even more regularly in the *motetti missales* of Compère—where it is emphasized by Finscher as being a particularly progressive element of his style.¹⁰⁴

Absent in this music, on the other hand, is the feature used so prominently in Gaffurius's cycle: motivic connections within and between motets. Croll goes to great length to support the use of three recurring *melodieverläufe* (melodic turns) which manifest themselves in various ways throughout the cycle.¹⁰⁵ They include the principal "turn": g-d'-g; as well as two subordinate "turns": g-f-b'-g and g-d-g. Noblitt, correctly I believe, rejects their definition as true unifying motives, referring to them rather as "more the common melodic ductus of the time."¹⁰⁶

What Noblitt and Croll fail to point out, however, is that the three "turns" are simply the structural melodic outlines of the cycle's mode, G Dorian: the first is the outline of the first species of fifth on G; the second is a slight variation of the intonation formula of the psalm-tone of Mode 2 on G; and the third is the lower, or plagal fourth of

¹⁰⁴ FinschLC, 104, 115-116. See also CrollM, 210-22, under the sections, "Die melodischen Beziehungen."

¹⁰⁵ CrollM, 204-08: (p. 204) "Die melodischen Beziehungen zwischen den Motetten sind am stärksten in den Hauptstimmen Diskant und Tenor ausgeprägt... Die drei Melodieverläufe werden bei ihrer Wiederkehr nicht jeweils getreu wiederholt, lediglich ihre Konturen (Anfangs-, Spitzen- und Schlußton) werden beibehalten, während die melodische Ausfüllung dieser Schemata mehr oder weniger variiert ist." Croll tries to bolster his argument by pointing to appearances of these "Schemata" in other works by Weerbeke, and by Compère, Ghiselin, Josquin, Brumel, and Gaffurius (pp. 206-07)—which in fact weakens their identity as distinct melodic ideas capable of binding separate motets together.

¹⁰⁶ NoblittMM, 29.

G Dorian.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the cycle, Weerbecke is fairly consistent in his modal definition, holding a middle ground between the modal flexibility of Gaffurius's cycle, and the conservative approach to mode found in the cycles of Compère. The tenor and soprano of *Ave mundi domina* consistently express the parameters of Mode 2 on G—both in their overall ambitus (T = D-f; S = c-d'), and in the regular outline of the interval species of the mode. Thus, more than illustrating thematic motives or "common melodic ductus," the recurring patterns discerned by Croll evidence Weerbecke's acknowledgment of and reliance on the Church modes in constructing his polyphonic compositions.

3. Text and Music

In the above discussion of Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*, it was noted how consistently the composer aligned the musical syntax with the poetic, by means of clear, homogenous phrase lengths and consistent cadences. *Ave mundi domina*, however, does not display the same consistently clear attention to poetic syntax, despite the generally more advanced musical craft with which Weerbecke responds to textual content. For example, Weerbecke carries the same poetic thought or strophic division over a metric change from duple to triple, as he does in motet 1 (mm. 57-61, 62-67) and motet 2 (mm. 33-44); in Gaffurius's cycle, the shifts to *tripla* always correspond to clear textual divisions. More surprising is Weerbecke's disregard for the strophic structure in motet 6, *Quem terra* (mm. 23-35), where the first two lines of the strophe 5 are appended texturally to strophe 4, before arriving at a strong cadence on G. Text declamation, on the other hand, is quite good, so-called "French declamation" appearing only once—in

¹⁰⁷ CrollM, 206 comes closest by noting the appearance of the ascending Dorian fifth in the opening Kyrie of Mass IX, though rejects this as being an operative *cantus prius factus*.

motet 7 (mm. 51-55): *In-trent ut as-tra fle-bi-les, cae-li fe-nes-tra fac-ta es* (italicized words correspond to musical accents).

The most curious syntactic situation involves a possible textual omission in motet 1—as noted, it would seem logical that "Et annuntiatio" would be followed by some corresponding blessing. In examining the musical syntax, Weerbecke has clearly composed four musical phrases beginning in measure 35 (see Example 18): Phrase 1 = mm. 35-37; Phrase 2 = mm. 38-44; Phrase 3 = 44-47; Phrase 4 = 47-49—followed by a shift to *tripla*. And yet, there are only three textual phrases: "Tua praesentatio/Nostra oblatio/Et annuntiatio." In the manuscript for Phrase 3, this creates an odd quasi-homophonic duo in tenor and soprano, with two different texts—a problem editorially corrected in the CMM Edition.¹⁰⁸ Given the generally poor status of the text underlay—a problem noted in the same Edition—it would seem conceivable that a line (something like "nostra invitatio") was inadvertently omitted by the scribe.

EX. 18

Ave mundi domina, Motet 1 (mm. 34-49)

The musical score consists of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with Latin lyrics. The lyrics are: Soprano: Tu - a prae - sen - ta - ti - o nos -; Alto: (ti - na.) Tu - a prae - sen - ta -; Tenor: Tu - a prae - sen - ta - ti - o nos -; Bass: (ti - na.) Tu - a prae - sen - ta - ti - o nos -.

¹⁰⁸ Weerbecke 3:2.

There are also two instances in which Weerbecke willfully breaks the syntactic structure for semantic reasons: the first occurs in motet 7 (m. 51), where the composer divides a poetic strophe (strophe 7 of *Quem terra*) with a fermata-held cadence (on D) after the second line; while this disrupts the strophe, it rightly separates what are two distinct thoughts: Mary as the counterpart to Eve, and Mary as the window to heaven. The second instance concerns motet 4—the setting from the *Song of Songs*, *Anima mea liquefacta est*—which more forcefully enters into the realm of text-expression: Weerbecke has here divided the music internally with five fermatas.¹⁰⁹ Only two of these fermatas

¹⁰⁹ As such in MilD 1. Some slight variation is found in the other five sources. See WeerbOO 3:xxxvii-xxxix.

(mm. 32 and 46), however, are justified syntactically; the others can only be described as "rhetorical," granting support to the drama of the text:

1) The fermata in measure 28 separates "vocavi" from "et non respondit mihi"—as if to represent the silence following the Bride's call to her Beloved.

2) The fermatas in measures 59 and 63 function to separate a single line into three parts, namely, "O daughters of Jerusalem / tell my love / that I languish with love"—as if to echo the sorrow and breathlessness of the Bride. Further, the octave leaps in the soprano and tenor just prior to "Filiae" reinforce the intensity with which the Bride calls to her companions.

Other possible examples of text expression in the *Ave mundi Domina* cycle include, in order of appearance:

1) Motet 3, mm. 24-29 (S, A, T), "regem regum hominum" ([Christ, the] King of kings of men): this is a three-part canon (presented A-T-S), bearing a motive of considerable breadth, and supported by an uncommon D pedal in the bass—as if to represent the breadth and stability of the "King of kings."

2) Motet 3, mm. 36-43 (T, B), "Sperantium mortis hora" (In the hour of our expected death): this imitative duet between the two lowest voices maintains a low tessitura—perhaps as a representation of death's gravity.

3) Motet 4 mm. 1-13 (all voices), "Anima mea liquefacta est" (My soul dissolved): this begins as a long three-part canon (B-T-S), with music that itself seems to dissolve, in the alto and soprano, into a low and somewhat sorrowful tenor-bass duo, leading to G cadence.

4) Motet 4, mm. 19-26 (S, A), "Quaesivi illum et non inveni" (I sought him and did not find him): the contour of the soprano melody on "quaesivi illum" seems to "seek" around $b\flat$, before turning downward toward a G cadence for the follow-up line, "et non

inveni." A similar pattern is found in the alto, around the note f', before turning in descent toward b \flat .

5) Motet 4, mm. 38-41 (S), "Et percusserunt me" (And they smote me): The soprano melody ascends abruptly from d' to b \flat on the word "percusserunt," as if to provide an aural counterpart to the harsh insult delivered upon the Bride.¹¹⁰

3. *Quam pulchra es*—Gaspar van Weerbeke

Weerbeke's second *motetti missales* cycle, *Quam pulchra es*, is much in the same vein as its predecessor in the manuscript, *Ave mundi Domina*, in both musical and textual terms. There are, however, some noteworthy differences. To begin, this cycle consists of seven motets, not eight—although all previous writers have identified the latter number. The confusion concerns the fifth motet, *Ave regina caelorum, mater*, which like its counterpart in the previous cycle is followed by a text *de Corpore Christi, Ave corpus domini*, set in fermata-block chords—and thus suited for the Elevation of the Host.

Unlike in the *Ave mundi domina* cycle, however, this music ends with a clear half-cadence (on D, within a G Dorian context), while each voice part contains the rubric "verte folium," demonstrating that the motet continues onto the next folio.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ This is among the very few instances of text-expression suggested by Croll (cf. CrollM, 216: "Hier wird das "Schlagen" der Wächter durch ein aufschnellendes Motiv symbolisiert."

¹¹¹ The next folio (MilD 1, 139v-140), moreover, begins with music on a D sonority; whereas each individual motet begins on G—with the exception of motet 5 itself, which starts with an imitative motive that begins on D in each voice part, before moving to a solid G dorian shape. Again, this does not deny the distinct liturgical "functions" of the subsequent *partes*, but rather defines them within the context of a single motet.

Surprisingly, this point is passed up by both Croll and Noblitt, who were seemingly misled by the *tabula* of MilD 1— which lists the following *pars*, *O Maria, clausus hortus*, as a separate motet. In their respective discussions of the cycle, Croll and Noblitt provide a separate *loco* designation for this third *pars* ("ad Elevationem" for Croll, "post Elevationem" for Noblitt); a more proper designation, however, would be "loco Sanctus" for the entire motet, with the sub-divisions "ad Elevationem" for *Ave corpus Domini*, and "post Elevationem" for *O Maria, clausus hortus*. Further, the final motet, *Tota pulchra es*, is composed as a two-part motet, creating a greater weight of closure to the entire cycle.¹¹² The revised liturgical "program" is given along with the texts, in Appendix B (#3).

The motets of the *Quam pulchra es* survive only in the Gaffurius Codices: beyond the seven motets in MilD 1, two of the motets (nos. 1 and 5) were copied into MilD 2. Significantly, motet 5, *Ave regina caelorum, mater* is copied together with its two subsequent *partes*, replete with the rubric "verte folium" before *O Maria*—proof that this constitutes a single motet; as such, the following discussion will consider *O Maria* as the *tertia pars* of *Ave regina caelorum* and not, like earlier literature, as a separate motet. Finally, three motets (nos. 1, 4, and 6) were copied into MilD 4, confirming how popular these motets were in Milanese devotional life.

1. The Texts

Quam pulchra es is comprised of a similarly wide mixture of Marian texts as in *Ave mundi Domina*—with sources including a sequence, a rhymed Office, a rhymed prayer, an *Historia rhythmica*, two antiphons, and the *Song of Songs*. The Canticle is the source of three separate motets (nos. 1, 4, 7), suggesting the composer's penchant for this Book, as well as its close link between it and the Virgin Mary in the context of the late-

¹¹² BrownRM 12a:xii (no. 87) incorrectly lists the two *partes* as two separate motets.

fifteenth century motet. Unlike in *Ave mundi domina*, hymns play no role in this cycle; though like it, the textual sources are liturgical—notably the two Marian antiphons—as well as para-liturgical.

The text of the opening motet is taken from Chapter 7 of the *Song of Songs*, though not from a single contiguous passage, and with slight alteration (7:6-12); however, the motet text is identical with an antiphon *ad processionem de B.M.V.* found in a twelfth-century monastic Antiphonary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12584), again suggesting that Weerbecke borrowed his text directly from a liturgical source.¹¹³ The Canticle text stems from a lengthy invocation on the Bride's beauty by the Bridegroom, ripe with vivid metaphorical imagery: her stature like a palm, her breasts like a cluster of grapes, her head like a mountain, and her neck like an ivory tower. The last image recalls Hermann of Tournai's metaphor of the Virgin as the neck of the Church: the connecting intercessor between Christ (the Head of the Mystical Body) and the Church—a metaphor still prevalent in the late Middle Ages.¹¹⁴ The text here closes with the Bride's whole-hearted invitation to share in her delights, forming a near climax in the poem's erotic sensibility—which Saint Bernard ecstatically re-defined as a spiritual marriage between the Bride and Christ: "Rightly does [the Bride] renounce all other affections, devoting herself wholly to love alone, for in returning her love, she may respond to His love."¹¹⁵ To Weerbecke's age, however, this beauty and desire belonged wholly to Mary—removed but slightly from the lady of courtly love poetry.¹¹⁶

The text of the second motet is identical with the Marian antiphon, *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, sung regularly at the end of Compline from the Saturday before

¹¹³ See CAO III: 421. Portions of the text are found scattered in various Marian feasts, as seen in MarbCS, 276-77, and yet the precise connection between the processional antiphon and Weerbecke's motet appears here for the first time.

¹¹⁴ See GraefH, 234.

¹¹⁵ SBO II:302 (Serm. 83, 6): "Merito cunctis renuntians affectionibus aliis, soli et tota incumbit amori, quae ipsi respondere amori habet in reddendo amorem."

¹¹⁶ See WarnerA, 134-48.

Advent until Purification.¹¹⁷ It thus forms a parallel with the first part of motet 5 in Weerbecke's *Ave mundi domina* cycle—that is, *Ave regina caelorum, ave*—and shows the composer's desire to include at least one staple of the Marian liturgy in each of his *motetti missales*. The text was long attributed to Hermannus Contractus (d. 1054), though it is most certainly of a somewhat later date.¹¹⁸ It addresses Mary as the merciful mother of Christ, perpetual Virgin, and "star of the sea"—and thus a poetic heir to the hymn *Ave maris stella*. The text is most forcefully a petition for Mary's mercy on behalf of the poor, fallen sinner in his desire to enter heaven—into which she is "as an open gate."

The third motet, *Salve virgo salutata*, sets a brief Marian sequence perhaps written in the late-twelfth century and employed, at least in one instance, in the Little Office of the Virgin.¹¹⁹ The text reveals the influence of the Byzantine *Hymnos Akathistos*, with the greeting "Salve" commencing five of its nine lines.¹²⁰ The sequence is rather moderate in its Mariology; it hails Mary as the virginal mother of the Redeemer, as well as the supportive guide who leads the risen faithful before her Son. Following the opening salutation, the sequence creates a vivid and powerful image of Mary, as the "morning star," leading the jubilant faithful upward to the heights of heaven, cheering them on as they ascend toward Christ—an image keenly captured by Weerbecke.

The text of the fourth motet, *O pulcherrima mulierum*, is derived, with slight alteration, from Chapter 5 of the *Song of Songs*, verses 9, 10, 13, and 16.¹²¹ The Cantic passage follows the verses set in motet 4 of *Ave mundi domina*, where prompted by a query from the Bride's companions (the daughters of Jerusalem), she is now given opportunity to describe her Beloved's delights. Christ is the Beloved, and Mary the

¹¹⁷ LU, 273-74.

¹¹⁸ Steiner, "Alma redemptoris mater," in NCE I:327.

¹¹⁹ ChevRH, 18298 cites a 1360 Tropery, which includes the sequence "Off. parv., Feria II, h. 9."

¹²⁰ See n. 43 above.

¹²¹ Portions of this text were early incorporated into the liturgies of the Nativity and Assumption, see CAO III:151, 500. Given the pattern observed with Weerbecke's other settings of the *Song of Songs*, it may be that the entire text of the motet was borrowed from a liturgical source, though none is as yet identified.

Bride; it is thus her turn to speak of Christ's strength ("chiefest among ten thousand") and beauty ("he is altogether lovely"). As such, the fourth motet follows the tenor of the third, where Mary's identity is inseparable from that of Christ, and where her defining role is in support of Him.

The fifth motet combines three separate texts: a Marian antiphon; a strophe from a prayer *de Corpore Christi*—serving for the Elevation; and a group of compiled verses from a rhymed office *de Conceptione BMV*. The *prima pars*, *Ave regina caelorum, mater* is a frequent companion to the more famous Marian antiphon, *Ave regina caelorum, ave*; the former is sometimes found as a Responsory to the latter, and sometimes as an alternate antiphon to the latter in various Marian contexts.¹²² For example, both antiphons are found in contemporary Books of Hours, including the so-called *Sforza Hours* made for Bona of Savoy (see Chapter 2), as antiphons *de Sancta Maria* sung regularly at Compline.¹²³ The latter text likewise tropes the former: it too addresses Mary as queen of heaven and mother (cf. "Lady") of the angels, and concludes with a petition for prayers to Christ on behalf of the faithful; new here, however, is the emphasis on Mary as the model of virgins. As will be seen in the next chapter, this text occurs as the opening motet in another cycle, ostensibly written by a local Milanese composer (see Cycle #9).

Like its counterpart in *Ave mundi domina*, the Elevation text set as the *seconda pars*, *Ave corpus domini*, makes direct reference to the Eucharistic, though without the accompanying petition. Only the opening line is set by Weerbecke in fermata-block chords; the remainder of the verse continues in slightly animated homophony, demonstrating a certain technical flexibility for the music of the Elevation—thus

¹²² LU, 1864. The antiphon dates from the fourteenth-century (see ChevRH, 2072). It may or may not be coincidence that Weerbecke set companion antiphons—each beginning "Ave regina caelorum"—as the *prima pars* of the fifth motet in both of his *motetti missales*.

¹²³ The version of *Ave regina caelorum, mater* set by Weerbecke, and found in most fifteenth-century liturgical sources, varies slightly from the version found in LU, 1864—namely, the fifth line reads, "funde preces ad filium," not "ad Dominum" as it does in the *Liber*.

compatible with the treatment of the Doxology text in Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*. The half cadence at the conclusion of this *pars*, again, signals a continuation of the motet.

This *tertia pars*, *O Maria, clausus hortus*, combines two antiphons for Vespers and one for Matins (the third Nocturn) written for a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century rhymed Office of the Conception.¹²⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, it was the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that truly witnessed the triumph of the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception—not least in Milan, where it became particularly venerated by the Visconti, and later the Sforza, including Galeazzo Maria.¹²⁵ The inclusion of this still controversial subject might suggest that the cycle was particularly suited for performance during a Mass of the Conception, most notably the line: "Nobis praesens solemnitas assit perpes jucunditas" (May the present festival be a perpetual joy for us); still, this would not preclude its use elsewhere, namely for a Saturday Votive Mass, as Croll and others have also implied.¹²⁶ Previous discussions, moreover, have missed the appearance of two of these antiphons, *O Maria clausus ortus* and *Audi virgo glorifica*, in contemporary Books of Hours—as antiphons *de Sancta Maria* sung regularly at Prime and Sext, respectively;¹²⁷ it would thus seem likely that Weerbecke chose the antiphons as much for their appearance in *Horae*, as for their associations with the Feast of the Conception. Befitting the fervor of the feast, in any case, the text here returns to a loftier

¹²⁴ AH 5:47-50. The Matins antiphon (*Audi, virgo glorifica...*) is given as the monastic alternative on p. 50. Another, varied version of the Office is given in MoneLH II:8-15, where the *Audi virgo glorifica* antiphon is given *ad cantica* (i.e. *ad Magnificat*). The popularity of this Office, and the individual antiphons and responsories therein, is noted in AH 5, 50: "Dieses Officium gehört zu den weitverbreitetsten und findet sich fast in jedem Brevier oder Antiphonar." Variants are common—such that "es ist eben daher ganz unthunlich, alle Varianten aufzuführen."

¹²⁵ See Chapter 2, pp. 204-12.

¹²⁶ CrollM, 196; NoblitMM, 28. Croll, however, does not list *Quam pulchra es* as among the "Motettenzyklen 'de BMV'," an obvious oversight. One notable variant between Weerbecke's text and the versions found in AH 5 and MoneLH II is in the antiphon *Ave decus virgineum*—where the latter close with "Tua namque *conceptio*/Summa est gratulatio," whereas Weerbecke's version closes, "Tua namque *veneratio*/Summa est gratulatio," a variant missed in earlier discussions.

¹²⁷ For example, the *Horae* of Catherine of Cleves (c. 1470). See *Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve: Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1973), 163.

Mariology: as the ever-closed garden (cf. *Song of Songs*, 4:12), Mary is also the harbor for shipwrecked souls, who carries the power to reconcile the sinner with Christ; after Him, she the only hope for man, yet like Him she is both merciful and powerful, independently able to remove sin and obtain pardon. The unbounded fervor of *quattrocento* Mariology is well summarized in the concluding line of the motet: "For your veneration is [our] greatest joy."¹²⁸

The text of the sixth motet, *Mater patris filia*, is taken from a three-strophe antiphon *ad Magnificat* of a fourteenth-century *Historia rhythmica de BMV*; the strophes may in turn stem from an as yet unidentified hymn.¹²⁹ The antiphon opens with the paradox of Mary's identity—as both the mother and daughter of God—and continues by acknowledging the joy this dual identity brings, as well as her special titles: the "star of the sea," the "queen of the heavenly court," and above all, the "mother of mercy." The text is largely a petition, first to Mary for her merciful assistance, and then to Christ, to heed His mother, and—continuing the play on words—to grant the children the kingdom of the Father.

The final motet, *Tota pulchra es*, once more appropriates verses from the *Song of Songs*: the *prima pars* adopts, with minimal alteration, verses 7 and 11 of Chapter 4; while the *secunda pars* adopts verses 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Chapter 2 along with verse 8

¹²⁸ As noted, motets 1 and 5 of this cycle were copied successively into MilD 2 (fols. 48v-51)—the second of three small motet cycles derivative of *motetti missales* (cf. nn. 93 and 158)—and may be considered an independent motet cycle (see Chapter 4, Table 3, no. 18). On a devotional level, the two motets of this smaller *Quam pulchra es* display only minor correlation with each other, yet enough to grant them at least some cohesion as a unique motet cycle. Specifically, both motet 1 and the *tertia pars* of motet 5 bear some relationship to the *Song of Songs*, though only explicit in the first motet. The one anomalous portion of the bi-partite cycle is the *secunda pars* of motet 5, which accompanies the Elevation of the Host in the *motetti missales*. As in the two-part *Ave regina caelorum* cycle, however, this smaller *Quam pulchra es* cycle was likely a product of scribal intervention, and intended for performance in a Marian votive service.

¹²⁹ AH 45a, 26-29. The *Historia rhythmica* forms part of an *Officium BMV in Sabbato*, within a Breviary dated c. 1317 (Porto, Biblioteca municipale, MS 368). The antiphon text also appears as a Marian sequence in ChevRH, 11349 and AH46:202-03. Weerbecke's motet text oddly omits the third line of the second strophe, "In hac valle miserae." The same text—with variants—is used by Brumel in his three-voice "song motet." See Antoine Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Barton Hudson, CMM 5, 6 vols. (Kassel: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-71), V:52-55.

of Chapter 4. Here again, the entire text of the motet is identical with an existing liturgical item—for example, a Vespers antiphon *de Assumptione* in the Antiphonary of Bamberg—once more suggesting that Weerbeke borrowed the text directly from a liturgical source.¹³⁰ Further, the opening line of text (4, 7: "You are wholly beautiful, my love, and without stain") held theological import for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and was adopted in the fourteenth century as the opening antiphon of Vespers and Lauds for the Feast of the Conception—further hinting at a special association between the cycle and this feast.¹³¹ In the *prima pars*, the Beloved is described by the Bridegroom in some of the Canticle's most seductive language ("Thy lips drop as honeycomb..."); the *secunda pars* begins with a delightful portrait of spring—the season of expectation preceding the Bridegroom's calling ("... and the voice of the turtle-dove was heard in our land")—and closes with an emphatic invitation to the Bride to receive her crown. Saint Bernard interprets the "voice of the turtle-dove" in part as God's special respect for virginity—of which Mary is supreme model: "The turtle-dove is commended not only by its sighs, it is commended also for its chastity."¹³² As for the following line, "Arise, my love, ... come and be crowned," its use as support for Mary's bodily Assumption into heaven dates back to the *Transitus* stories of the late-fifth

¹³⁰ See CAO III:508; the entire text is likewise found in the liturgy of September 8, in a twelfth-century monastic Antiphonary (London, British Library, Add. 30850); see CAO II:485. Portions of the text were earlier placed in the liturgies of the Nativity and Assumption; see CAO III:301, 508; see also MarBCS, 268.

¹³¹ LU, 1320. The verset had earlier been adopted for the feast of the Nativity and for the Common of virgins (see CAO III:508). The specific language of this verset (*Tota pulchra es amica mea, et macula [stain] non est in te*) to argue in favor of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception goes back to its earliest supporters, and would later enter into official Church doctrine—first with Alexander VII's 1661 bull, *Sollicitudo*: "vetus est... beatissimam Matrem [Christi] fuisse speciali Dei gratia et privilegio... Jesu Christi... a *macula* peccati originalis praeservatam immunem;" and then—in very similar language—in the final proclamation of the doctrine, Pope Pius IX's 1854 bull, *Ineffabilis*: "definimus quae... beatissimam Virginem Maria... fuisse... gratia et privilegio intuitu meritorum Jesu Christi... ab omni originis *culpa* labe praeservatam immunem." In this way, Mary becomes the realization of God's communion with the Bride, i.e. Israel and the Church. See LaurenCT, 113-17.

¹³² SBO II:139 (Serm. 59, 7): "Nec soli commendant turturem gemitus: commendat et castitas."

century, and would become a dominant argument in the West's acceptance of the doctrine as Marian interpretations of the Canticle became more widespread.¹³³

Like the *Ave mundi domina* cycle, the motets of *Quam pulchra es* venerate the Virgin Mary in multiple ways: as the virginal mother—and daughter—of God, the queen of heaven, the guide and "star" on behalf of the faithful, and the mother of mercy. Yet, more than in *Ave mundi domina*, a sense of unity is created through these texts, first by virtue of the three texts taken from the Canticle, namely nos. 1, 4, and 7—that is, the beginning, middle, and end of the cycle. These maintain a theme of Mary's unsurpassed physical and spiritual beauty—and indeed, the word "pulchra" is featured in the first line of each motet. One can well imagine Weerbecke viewing a recent fresco of the Virgin Mary *tutta bella* for inspiration, perhaps a recent *Madonna col Bambino* by the Milanese painter, Vincenzo Foppa—who began a series of Bellini-influenced Madonnas in the mid-1470.¹³⁴ Further, two motets (no. 5, *tertia pars*, and no. 7) carry links to the Feast of the Conception, the only one whose liturgy is significantly referenced.¹³⁵ Though this may suggest a special relationship between *Quam pulchra es* and the feast or doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the cycle should not be considered exclusively connected to it; were such a link desired, Weerbecke would likely have commenced the cycle with a text whose festal association was unambiguous, as Compère did with his Christmas cycle, *Hodie nobis de Virgine*.

¹³³ See GraefH, 134-37. See also Chapter 1, pp. 74-83.

¹³⁴ See TreccSM VII:761-62. See also Maria Grazia Balzarini, *Vincenzo Foppa* (Milan: Jaca, 1997), esp. 19-20, 66-70.

¹³⁵ See nn. 122 and 131 above.

2. The Music

Quam pulchra es shares much in common with *Ave mundi domina* in terms of its musical style and the musical techniques employed.¹³⁶ Like the previous cycle, this one utilizes a broad range of textural, contrapuntal, and rhythmic strategies, which in turn bind the individual motets together through their consistent application throughout the cycle. The similarity between the two cycles extends even to their mode, for both are in the protus mode on G; and yet Weerbecke cleverly distinguishes the two by means of range, and hence modality: whereas *Ave mundi domina* establishes a clear plagal range for the tenor and superius, *Quam pulchra es* is clearly authentic in both parts—a distinction reflected in the differing clef arrangement for the two cycles. The overall cyclic identity of *Quam pulchra es* is established in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>Salve virgo salutata</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>O pulcherrima mulierum</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>Ave regina caelorum, mater</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>Mater patris filia</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	C	G	Dorian
<i>Tota pulchra es</i>	G ^{2b} , C ^{2b} , C ^{3b} , C ^{4b}	O/O3	G	Dorian

As with the previous cycle, the discussion of *Quam pulchra es* makes use of the recent Critical Edition of the motet cycles of Weerbecke. However, given the revised view of the fifth motet as containing three *partes*, a discrepancy in numbering now exists for the final three motets. The discussion below will thus refer to the motets using the following numerical order—with the corresponding motet numbering in the Critical Edition indicated in bracketed Roman numerals:

¹³⁶ So concurs CrollM, 225: "Hinsichtlich der musikalischen Gestaltung ist der Zyklus "Quam pulchra es" sehr eng mit dem Zyklus "Ave mundi Domina" Verwandt." See CrollM, 225-38 for a more detailed discussion of the individual motets.

- Motet 1. Quam pulchra es [I]
- Motet 2. Alma redemptoris mater [II]
- Motet 3. Salve virgo salutata [III]
- Motet 4. O pulcherrima mulierum [IV]
- Motet 5. Ave regina caelorum, mater [V]
 - secunda pars*: Ave Corpus Domini
 - tertia pars*: O Maria, clausus hortus [VI]
- Motet 6. Mater patris filia [VII]
- Motet 7. Tota pulchra es [VIII]
 - secunda pars*: Iam enim hiems transiit

Use of Plainchant

Quam pulchra es employs no *cantus prius factus* melodies, despite the availability of plainchant melodies for three of these texts: motets 2 and 5 (the Marian antiphons), and the opening line of motet 7.¹³⁷ The tenor voice, moreover, is consistently integrated into the overall texture, again representing a markedly "modern" aspect of this cycle, and of the *motetti missales* repertory as a whole.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

Quam pulchra es greatly resembles *Ave mundi domina* in its contrapuntal and textural usage. Again, four-part, non-imitative writing is used only modestly, with imitation occurring most frequently between soprano and tenor. The traditional discant-tenor frame is once again active in this cycle, although it is given far less harmonic support by the bass, which is frequently silent at the moment of cadential arrival: in motets 1, 3, and 4, cadential leaps of a fourth or fifth are limited to the closing measures, with only a slight increase found in the other motets. The contrast here with *Ave mundi domina* is quite striking, and demonstrates that bass support to a discant-tenor framework was by no means an automatic procedure even among first rank composers of the time.

¹³⁷ CrollM, 197 missed the plainchant available for *Ave regina caelorum, mater*.

Four-part, pervasive imitation is once again limited to two occurrences (just as in *Ave mundi domina* and *Salve mater Salvatoris*)—in the middle of motet 4 (mm. 35-44), and at the beginning of motet 5. In truth, only the former instance constitutes true four-part imitation, and is built on a cadential-type motive (leading to G), proceeding bass-alto-tenor-soprano, all commencing on the same pitch level (A). The latter case is purely imitative for only two measures—again proceeding bass-alto-tenor-soprano, using paired entry pitches: d-d'-g-g'—after which only the bass and tenor continue in imitation. In all, these motets demonstrate a less systematic approach to imitation than found, for example, in the mature works of Josquin: it is hardly employed in motets 2 and 3, while applied nearly continuously in the *prima pars* of motet 5—namely as alternating imitative duets. Weerbeke thus employs imitation in this cycle as but one possible texture, to be mixed freely with non-imitative counterpoint and homo-rhythmic motion.

The variety of texture and sonority witnessed in *Ave mundi domina* is again found in *Quam pulchra es*. As in the previous cycle, the motets regularly alternate a four-part contrapuntal texture with duos and homophony, along with an occasional trio (as in the beginning of the *secunda pars* of motet 7). When viewed together with the motets of *Ave mundi domina*, a common textural pattern seems to emerge—namely, the initial establishment of a four-part texture early in the motet (or motet *pars*), followed by two- or three-part writing, and concluding with a return to full scoring. This is not wholly consistent, however: in *Quam pulchra es*, motets 3 and 6 begin with a series of alternating duos—the former with the unusual pairing of soprano and bass—before moving to a four-part texture. The duos in this cycle likewise adopt a variety of dispositions: freely contrapuntal, imitative, and homo-rhythmic; the latter is again particularly cultivated, as in the alternating duos in the *tertia pars* of motet 5—granting it a particularly popularesque sonority. Perhaps the most interesting imitative duo takes place in motet 6 (mm. 42-47): a tenor-bass duo imitated at the fifth at a distance of a minim, using a

sequential pattern, which itself creates a five-measure hemiola before resolving metrically to a G cadence (see Example 19)—nothing quite like this duet occurs in any of Weerbecke's motets examined in this study.

EX. 19
Quam pulchra es, Motet 6 (mm. 42-47)
 Imitative sequence, hemiola, in A and B




Four-part homophony, generally with slight animation particularly toward the cadence, is again featured in nearly every motet, an exception being motet 3. Weerbecke employs lively *tripla* sections with less regularity than in *Ave mundi domina*, in motets 1, 2, and 4 only—notated with a 3 in each voice part instead of through minor color. Motet 7 provides the only mensural change within either cycle: the *prima pars* is in *tempus perfectum*, while the *secunda pars* is in *tempus perfectum proportio tripla* (O3). This latter music is largely homo-rhythmic (*a2* and *a4*), which creates a rousing and dance-like conclusion to the cycle.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Sectional repetition is used in this cycle with even greater vigor than in *Ave mundi domina*, being entirely absent only in motet 6. Again, the repetition may be exact, as in the alternating duos of motet 4 (mm. 6-10); or varied, as in the alternating imitative duos in motet 1 (mm. 53-59)—where the second duo (S-T) repeats the material of the first up a fourth. Two motets make use of multiple repetitions: motet 3 (mm. 18-47) repeats a three-measure phrase no less than five times, with some contrapuntal or textural

variation in each, and with the second and fourth entries broken up with independent phrases; in the *tertia pars* of motet 5 (mm. 17-50), a three-phase section (two alternating duos and a four-part phrase in animated homophony) is repeated three times, with some variation and manipulation of the material in each—all of which adds to the popularesque quality already inherent in the dominantly homophonic texture.

Noteworthy too is the repetition of the tenor in motet 2 (mm. 1-20): a three-phase line is repeated exactly in this voice—the first of which, incidentally, resembles a common Mode 1 chant intonation (g-d'-e'-d)—with only partial repetition in the other voices in the second phrase. This technique of tenor repetition appears only once in Weerbecke's cycles, whereas it is commonly employed in Compère's *motetti missales*.

In his discussion of this cycle, Croll argues for the use of a recurring "turn" (*melodieverläufe*) likewise in the cycle *Quam pulchra es*: d'-f'-f'-c'-g.¹³⁸ The melodic outline of this shape is indeed found in the soprano at the conclusion of motets 2 (mm. 44-49), 3 (partially, mm. 41-46), 4 (mm. 61-65) and 5 (*prima pars*, mm. 55-62), as well as within motets 6 (mm. 54-60) and 7 (mm. 25-30)—thus generally spread over five or six measures, with considerable internal variation.¹³⁹ Noblitt dismissed Croll's assertion, finding this pattern too "largely the result of the general melodic ductus."¹⁴⁰ Still, the repeated use of this motive, together with the unity observed in the choice of texts for *Quam pulchra es*, provide evidence of Weerbecke's careful working out of material within his motet cycles. Beyond this, moreover, I would point to another motive in the soprano that appears in all but one of the motets: d'-d'-c'-b'-a, usually presented as 

¹³⁸ CrollM, 227: "Er tritt - mehr oder weniger vollständig -- meist als Diskant-Tenor-Imitation und vor allem in den Schlußabschnitten auf." The expression "more or less completely" is somewhat misleading, since the "turn" appears not as a distinct "motive" but rather as a general melodic shape. Croll continues (p. 227): "Bemerkenswert ist sein im Vergleich zu den Melodieverläufe A, B und C (from *Ave mundi domina*) großer Ambitus..."—which again weakens the argument for the former cycle.

¹³⁹ CrollM, 227 further adds two appearances of the "turn" in the S (motet 1, mm. 27-38; motet 5, *tertia pars*, mm. 26-30) and one in the T (motet 6 mm. 35-40) which are much less convincing.

¹⁴⁰ NoblittMM, 30.

namely, in motets 1 (m. 48), 2 (mm 39-40), 3 (mm. 25-26), 5 (*prima pars*, mm. 26-27), 6 (mm. 70-71), and 7 (mm. 41-42); while not terribly distinct, it may be noted that the pattern appears only once in *Ave mundi Domina* (motet 8, mm. 50-51).

At the same time, both of the shapes detected in *Quam pulchra es* can be explained as natural melodic expressions of the cycle's principal mode: Mode 1 on G. Weerbecke's use of modality is first seen in the overall ambitus of the tenor (F-g in motets 1-6, D-g in motet 7) and soprano (overall c-g', with several motets f-f'), and in the regular outline of interval species of Mode 1 on G; and also of Mode 5 on F—with which the cycle displays a fair amount of commixture. The pattern discerned by Croll touches into the upper fourth of the mode—and indeed the third d'-f' is found ubiquitously in both the soprano and tenor; moreover, given the commixture with Mode 5 on F, the pattern f-c'-g can be viewed as another embodiment of this modal consideration.

3. Text and Music

Quam pulchra es in general displays a more consistent adherence to textual syntax than did *Ave mundi domina*, thus bringing it somewhat closer in line to Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Every shift to *proportio tripla*, for example, corresponds to a logical syntactic division, while overt disruptions of strophic groupings are absent—partly due, perhaps, to the greater reliance in this cycle on prosaic texts. As in *Ave mundi domina*, Weerbecke here generally follows an Italianate accentuation of the text, and yet a few homo-syllabic phrases demonstrate a "mixed" approach, through the inclusion of some French declamation: as in motet 3 (mm. 18-19, 29), "Sal-ve"; and motet 5 (*tertia pars*,

mm. 17-19), "Au-di vir-go glo-ri-fi-ca," and (mm. 42-44), "No-bis prae-sens so-lem-ni-tas"—these last two further underscoring the popularesque nature of this motet *pars*.

In two instances, Weerbecke seems to have side-stepped textual syntax, and yet a closer look reveals each to have been prompted by an overriding concern. In motet 3 (mm. 18-32), one of only three strophic texts, Weerbecke aligns texturally the first line of strophe 3 with the whole of strophe 2—all in writing *a4*, before arriving at a cadence on G, and commencing alternating duets. However, this occurs within a larger context of sectional repetition, wherein the third strophe itself repeats the musical pattern in both duet and *a4* writing. Although Weerbecke slightly blurs the syntactic division of the text, he does create a more subtle musical underpinning than a strict textural division would have allowed—thereby avoiding the "choppy" sectional writing that marks some of Gaffurius's motets.

The other instance, admittedly rather tame, occurs in motet 6 (mm. 16-34). In the opening thirty-five measures, Weerbecke sets four lines, all ending with the same poetic rhyme (-ia), and thus constituting the first of three strophes. However, the four lines are set within five musical phrases: specifically an "extra" phrase—a homo-rhythmic duo in soprano and tenor—occurs after the line "Stella maris eximia," following a cadence, and before the line "Audi nostra suspiria." Both the first and fourth *Libroni*, which carry the motet, extend the word "eximia" over the "extra phrase."¹⁴¹ As such, Weerbecke has chosen to separate these lines temporally with a long, *jubilus*-like melisma in the soprano and T—such long melismas, moreover, are quite rare in Weerbecke's *motetti missales*. His reason for doing this is likely semantic: namely to accentuate Mary as the "excellent star of the sea," as well as to separate and thus point up the following petition, "hear our sighs"—set in declamatory fashion, as a homo-syllabic duo in soprano and alto.

¹⁴¹ The two versions differ, however, in their underlay of the melisma: MilD 1 has only the concluding "a" over the second phrase; MilD 4 (which does preserve this) extends the word "exi-mia" over both phrases. WeerbOO 3:33 has chosen to repeat the word "eximia" in the second phrase—which seems to go against the intention of the composer.

Weerbecke thus brings his semantic sensibility to bear on *Quam pulchra es*, just as he did in *Ave mundi domina*. Here, too, the texts drawn from the *Song of Songs* seem to have been particularly stimulating, both for specific instances of text setting and for overall musical expression. Among other possible examples of text expression in *Quam pulchra es* are, in order of appearance:

1) Motet 1, mm. 26-31 (S, T, B), "caput tuum ut Carmellus" (Your head is like Mount Carmel): the soprano and tenor present a canonic figure which descends and ascends upon a B \flat Major triad; when seen, especially from the preceding cadential pitch, the shape is that of a mountain: d'-f'-d'-b \flat '-d'-f'-d'-b \flat . Also the bass creates an up-and-down, "mountainesque" shape: b \flat -f-d-g-f-d-B \flat -b \flat -f. A related, arpeggiated motive does appear in imitation between soprano and bass two phrases earlier (mm. 16-21), though a fourth lower, and lacking the emphatic quality seen in this phrase—enough to maintain the possibility of "word-painting" in this passage.

2) Motet 3, mm. 39-40, (S, T), "Ducens ante filium." (Leading [your servants] before your Son): this is the fifth and final repetition of the musical figure which dominates the motet. It is, however, the only instance in which the soprano theme is imitated at the octave in the tenor, suggesting Weerbecke used the canon to depict the image of Mary "leading" the faithful before Christ.

3) Motet 4. Overall, this is a highly emotive motet, and among the most expressive in this repertory. A number of individual instances can be argued as text expression, including:

a) mm. 1-6 (all voices), "O pulcherrima" (O most beautiful [woman]): the highly charged and detached setting of this utterance, replete with melodic flourish in the soprano and alto, and an unusual single-voice hemiola in the bass, all concluding with a fermata-held half cadence, mirror its emotive intensity;

b) mm. 14-23 (all voices), "Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto tuo...?" (What is your Beloved more than another beloved [that you urge us so]): the quasi-homophonic

setting *a4*, begins and continues in repeated pitches in all voices, as if to express the insistence with which the maidens query the Bride;

c) mm. 24-30 (all voices), "Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus" (My love is white and ruddy): the four-part homophony here follows an alto-tenor duet, and thus creates a declamatory quality mirroring the dialogue of the text;

d) mm. 35-47 (all voices), "labia illius stillanti myrrham primam" (His lips dropping with flowing myrrh): the long, drawn-out pervasive imitation, with its overarching descent (b^b - d '- g) may be seen to depict the slow drip of myrrh, like honey from a spoon.

e) mm. 48-65 (all voices): the final *tripla* section, moreover, is filled with an urgency and intensity which echoes that contained in the Bride's description of her Beloved. Three other motets in this cycle end with rousing *tripla* sections (motets 1, 2, and 7), and yet this one appears particular emphatic by virtue of the reiterations of the high f in the soprano.

4) Motet 7: This text, derived from the *Song of Songs*, is likewise highly expressive and contains two proposed instances of text setting—complementing an overall sense of musico-semantic expression, that may be difficult to pinpoint:

a) mm. 13-16 (S, T), "mel et lac sub lingua tua" (honey and milk [drop] under your tongue): a two-part canon at the minim in the soprano and tenor is based on two-part descending figure, each of which outlines a triad, g minor and F Major, respectively. The figures, particularly in the canonic texture, and accompanied by similar descending thirds in the bass (b^b - g '- e^b '- c), can once again be seen to depict the slow drip of honey and milk, though now from the lips of the Bride—or perhaps the flow of honey under ("sub") her tongue.

b) mm. 33-42 (all voices), "Et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra/Surge, amica mea, et veni.." (And the voice of the turtle-dove was heard in our land/ Arise, my love, and come): these highly symbolic lines are carefully and deliberately articulated through

a combination of alternating duets (non-imitative) and four-part homophony ending on a fermata-held half cadence (on D). The two cadences, on "audita est" (m. 36) and "veni" (m. 42), allow for pause, as if in reflection of the dove's call in the first; and in contemplation of Bride's impending coronation in the second. It may be added, that nearly every voice which participates in the duets ends its phrase with two minims, the second reached by a descending leap of a third or fourth (e.g. T, m. 33; A, m. 37; S, m. 40); such feminine "cadences" are very rare in these motets, and may suggest that Weerbeke was here intending to mimic the call of the "turtle dove in our land."

4. *Missa Galeazescha*—Loyset Compère

Already in Cesari's 1922 study of music at the Sforza court, Compère's *Missa Galeazescha* was granted special consideration.¹⁴² To this day, it remains the most celebrated *motetti missales* (excluding from consideration Josquin's *Vultum tuum*), and has received a level of scholarly attention surpassing the others.¹⁴³ The acclaim, however, has less to do with any unique musical quality of this cycle, vis-à-vis the others, than with its intriguing title: derived from the rubric, "Galeazescha" placed above the first motet, *Ave virgo gloriosa* in MiID 3 (fol. 125v). The precise significance of the rubric has been the subject of various theories, none of which can claim certitude—and about which more is said below.

¹⁴² CesariM, 17, where it is listed as the only group of "Motetti... sostituenti... le solite cantiche della messa."

¹⁴³ Such is clear from a review of the literature given in the opening twenty-seven footnotes of this chapter.

As mentioned, Finscher has casually suggested that Weerbecke's *motetti missales* were written before those of Compère—which also include *Hodie nobis de virgine* and *Ave Domine, Jesu Christe*, both in MilD 1 (see n. 28, above). At the same time, Finscher notes the "immaturity and youthful boldness of style" found in Compère's *motetti missales*, as well as their less consistent embrace of modern elements than those of either Weerbecke or Gaffurius.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, Compère's cycles more consistently embrace archaic elements; coupled with the use of *loco* designations for his cycles alone, I think it prudent to consider whether Compère's *motetti missales* are the first exemplars of the experimental genre.

Compère's *Missa Galeazescha* is unique in that its motets appear as part of two explicitly designated *motetti missales* in the Gaffurius Codices, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. The *tabula* of MilD 1 lists three motets—*Ave virgo gloriosa*, *Ave salus infirmorum*, and *Ave sponsa verbi*—as among the manuscript's "motetti missales consequentes," which then reappear as motets 1, 2, and 4 of the larger, seven-motet cycle found in MilD 3. It is here assumed that Compère wrote all seven motets as a single cycle, likely during his tenure at Milan (1474–77), and that motets 1, 2, and 4 were later editorially singled out to form a separate *motetti missales* cycle—demonstrating the later flexible performance practice of the genre—before the entire cycle was reassembled for inclusion in MilD 3 (c. 1489–99).¹⁴⁵ The following discussion, therefore, will treat the cycle in its "complete" form, taking only brief pause (see n. 151, below) to consider the devotional implications of the smaller cycle.

Each of the seven motets is composed in a single movement, with the exception of the tri-partite fifth motet, *O Maria (loco Sanctus)*, whose *secunda pars* is *Adoramus te, Christe (ad Elevationem)*, and whose *tertia pars* is *Virgo mitis, virgo pia (post Elevationem)*;

¹⁴⁴ FinschLC, 91, 114–115.

¹⁴⁵ Based on newly found documents, especially a mandate of February, 1492, Merkley and Matthews have re-dated MilD 3 to this time frame, and specifically to 1492 (compared to an earlier *terminus ante quem non* of 1505); see MerkMP, 325–30. As will be seen in Chapter 4, this re-dating has strong implications for the motet cycle repertory as a whole.

the coupled identity of *O Maria* and *Adoramus te/ Virgo mitis*, though until now overlooked, is confirmed first by the rubric *verte folium* placed at the bottom of *O Maria* (in the B, fol. 131r), as well as by the half cadence (on A within a D Dorian context) which concludes the *loco Sanctus*. Thus, despite the common assertion that this cycle contains eight motets, a more accurate view identifies seven—just as was seen in Weerbecke's *Quam pulchra es*.

1. The Texts¹⁴⁶

The *Missa Galeazescha* draws upon a great number of texts for use in its seven motets; indeed, in general contrast to the cycles of Weerbecke, the separate motets here draw from multiple sources—even more so than in Compère's other two *motetti missales*.¹⁴⁷ The sources thus far identified are all Marian sequences, with the exception of the text *ad Elevationem*, which derives from a short Office Responsory *de Inventione Sancti Crucis*. In general, Compère adopts complete sequence versicles, often but not always paired. In addition are found a number of unidentified strophic verses—perhaps drawn from popular sources—as well as short Marian acclamations (see Appendix B, #4). The result is a cycle decidedly para-liturgical and hence devotional in nature, a broad assemblage of compiled Marian expressions, images, and attributes, which collectively grant poetic voice to the Sforza's (and their era's) deep veneration of the Virgin Mary.

¹⁴⁶ Given the significance of this cycle, and the complexity of its textual arrangement, the individual texts will receive somewhat greater attention than in previous cycles.

¹⁴⁷ See NoblitMM, 37-47 for the texts of all three cycles. Useful for the *Missa Galeazescha* texts, though not without a few minor errors, is MaceyGM, 206-211.

Ave virgo gloriosa—loco Introitus

The first motet, *Ave virgo gloriosa*, draws upon five complete versicles from three Marian sequences, along with a brief petition interjected partially within the final versicle and again fully at the end of the motet: "O virgo pura, pro nobis dulciter ora." The opening three versicles (of which the first two are paired) are drawn from *Ave virgo gloriosa*, a thirteenth-century sequence—likely of Dominican origins—which enjoyed a wide dissemination into the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁸ Two other motets in this same cycle (nos. 5 and 6) likewise draw upon this sequence, as does another motet of the same name by Compère (a4), copied into both the first and second *Libroni*—showing the composer's high regard for this text. The third versicle stems from *Veni virgo virginum*, a thirteenth-century French sequence, perhaps written for the new Feast of the Visitation, and modeled upon the more famous *Veni sancte spiritus*, whose melody it borrowed.¹⁴⁹ The final versicle is derived from *Salvatoris mater pia*, another thirteenth-century Dominican sequence, structurally modeled on a very popular eleventh-century Marian sequence, *Hodiernae lux diei*.¹⁵⁰

Taken as a whole, these lines celebrate Mary particularly for her perpetual virginity—"lily of celibacy," "sealed fountain of purity"—as well as for her identity as queen of heaven. It is in the latter capacity, especially, that she is petitioned for her prayers, her mercy, and notably her arbitration on behalf of the faithful before Christ, the Judge. To Compère's time, this interceding role was valued above all.

¹⁴⁸ AH 54: 417-19.

¹⁴⁹ AH 54: 393-394 and MoneLH II:359-60. The sequence's use for the feast of the Visitation is suggested in the opening versicle of the second strophe: "Consolatrix inclita/ veni, vide, visita/certantes in acie."

¹⁵⁰ AH 54:424-26. *Hodiernae lux diei* appears in AH 54:34649. See also FassGS, 65, 333-34. and GoedeUP, 70-71.

Ave salus infirmorum—loco Gloria

The second motet, *Ave salus infirmorum*, is comprised of six complete versicles drawn from four Marian sequences—maintaining the pattern of the first motet. The first two versicles (not paired) stem from *Ave caelorum regina*, a fifteenth-century Italian trope of the familiar Marian antiphon (every versicle begins with "Ave"), which borrows the melody of *Verbum bonum et suave*.¹⁵¹ The third versicle stems again from *Salvatoris mater pia*, while the fourth stems from *Verbum bonum et suave* itself, and thus it is no coincidence that these versicles appear together. The latter source—which will re-appear in motets 4 and 5—was among the most popular Marian sequences; it is among the earliest examples of the "Second Epoch" of the sequence, and was likely written in Southern France in the late eleventh century, whence it became a model for the slightly later Victorine sequences.¹⁵² The motet concludes with two paired versicles from *Ave virgo virginum*, a twelfth-century Dominican sequence, again modeled upon *Veni sancte spiritus*—whose melody usually accompanies it.¹⁵³

The opening two versicles establish a quite lofty Mariology for this motet—not surprising, given their provenance in fifteenth-century Italy: Mary, not Christ, is called the "salvation of the weak"; she is able to destroy single-handedly the squalor of sin and, from her position in heaven, actually grant Salvation to man. Here in these versicles, more than in any other seen in the *motetti missales* repertory thus far, is the kind of fervor witnessed in the writings of Bernardino da Busti—where again Mary possesses "a clear jurisdiction on every kind of grace" (see Chapter 2). The motet text then steps back somewhat—Mary, the "flower among thorns" (cf. *Song of Songs*, 2:2) is praised as the virginal mother of the true Solomon (another reference to the Canticle)—before closing

¹⁵¹ AH 54:416, which notes, "Diese aus *Italien* stammende Sequenz ist scheinbar nicht in liturgischen Gebrauch übergegangen, wenigstens in keiner liturgischen Hs. von uns vorgefunden."

¹⁵² AH 54:343-345, which lists 110 sources from the 11th to the 16th centuries. For the popular melody of *Verbum bonum*, not employed in this cycle, see GoedeUP, 69-70.

¹⁵³ AH 54:432-33. This is the first of numerous Marian poetic texts which subsequently adopt this same title; see MoneLH II:452, which lists eight texts entitled, *Ave virgo virginum*.

with a vivid petition for Mary's interceding powers: may she who brings joy to the weeping, grant eternal joy with Christ through her favoring gaze.

Ave decus virginale—loco Credo

The third motet, *Ave decus virginale*, slightly breaks the pattern of the first two, as its five versicles are drawn from only two sources. The first versicle stems from *Ave virgo gratiosa*, a Marian sequence closely linked in style, provenance, and transmission, to *Ave virgo gloriosa*; further, it shares an identical verse and strophic construction with *Salve mater Salvatoris*, suggesting a direct borrowing. The remaining four versicles, however, all stem from a single source, *Ave regina caelorum / clarum jubar supernorum*, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century rhymed prayer *de BMV* which again tropes the Marian antiphon.¹⁵⁴

On the whole, this motet is an intense, even desperate petition to the Virgin, addressed in her capacity as the all-powerful Mediatrix; again, this is not surprising, given the late origins of all but the first versicle. Here, the pious mother of God, "queen of queens," and "beautiful star of the sea" is implored to exercise her unchallenged ability to pardon sins. Just as Mary rejoices in heaven at the right side of Christ, so too are the faithful desperate to survive their [spiritual] poverty, escape eternal condemnation, and enter "her refuge." Such is possible first through Mary's divine merits and then through her compassion; thus, the intriguing plea just to be worthy of venerating the Virgin.

Ave sponsa verbi summi—loco Offertorii

The fourth motet, *Ave sponsa verbi summi*, returns to the compilation pattern of the first two motets, as its seven versicles are drawn from at least four Marian sequences—the third versicle has not been identified, but could well derive from a

¹⁵⁴ AH 32:43-47, verses IX, 7 (with considerable variation); IX, 9 (though missing the final line, "moribusque nobilior"), X, 1 (with some variation), and XI, 1 (again, with some variation). MaceyGM, 207 misses this source.

sequence; likewise, two brief Marian petitions, inserted within the motet, have not been identified. The first versicle stems again from *Verbum bonum et suave*. The second and third versicles—of two lines each—form the opening strophe drawn from *Gaude, virgo salutata*, a brief *prosa de V Gaudiis* (five joys)BMV, likely written in Northern France in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The fifth versicle stems from *Gaude, virgo gratiosa*, another brief *prosa de V Gaudiis* BMV, written probably in France in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁶ The final versicle once again stems from the sequence, *Salvatoris mater pia*, seen already in the first two motets.

This motet retreats slightly from the impassioned rhetoric of the previous text, to reflect somewhat on the spiritual Joys of Mary.¹⁵⁷ After hailing her as the Bride of the Word (see Chapter 1), the text articulates the two principal Joys associated with Mary's Divine Maternity; this is then followed by a citation of one of the Joys associated with her heavenly position—namely, that of undoing Eve's sin; eventually, her joy is unspecified ("enjoying your delights"), by which point the underlying intention of the text has become clear: namely, as another petition for Mary's intercession. Once more, she is asked to remove the stain of earthly sin from the faithful, to exonerate their crimes, and to unite them with Christ in heaven. Here, too, Mary is asked specifically to mediate before her Son, to assuage the stern Judge, "lest He condemn us" (see Chapter 2)—

¹⁵⁵ AH 54:332-33, called "ein Meisterstück nach Inhalt und Form."

¹⁵⁶ AH 9:54.

¹⁵⁷ The tradition of assigning Mary a particular number of joys arose largely as a response to the enumeration of her "Sorrows," which by the fourteenth century had been fixed at seven: Simeon's prophecy; the flight into Egypt; Jesus's disappearance in the Temple; His arrest and captivity; His crucifixion and death; His deposition into her arms; and the separation and sorrowful waiting thereafter. Mary's joys were initially five—associated with the first chaplet of the rosary, from the thirteenth century (see Chapter 2)—and were at first based entirely on her terrestrial experience: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the recovery of Christ in the Temple. The fourteenth and especially fifteenth centuries saw a tremendous rise in the number of hymns and sequences devoted to the Joys of Mary, which soon outnumbered those devoted to her Sorrows. The actual number of Joys likewise grew: to seven, ten, twelve, and fifteen—now including her celestial as well as earthy Joys (*de VII Gaudiis caelestibus*, or *de VII gaudiis terrestribus et totidem caelestibus*). See SzövmM, 137-45, which distinguishes "Gaude" hymns into several sub-categories: based on the number of joys, opening words, and whether the joys are terrestrial, celestial, or both.

evoking the image of Mary as merciful Mediatrix before a demanding Christ, among the most potent of the late Middle Ages.¹⁵⁸

O Maria—loco Sanctus/ad Elevationem/post Elevationem

The fifth motet, *O Maria*, consists of three *partes*—following their liturgical designations, *loco Sanctus*, *ad Elevationem*, and *post Elevationem*. With the exception of the very brief *secunda pars*, *Adoramus te Christe*, the motet maintains the curious compilation strategy of this cycle. The *prima pars* consists of five versicles drawn from three Marian sequences, along with several Marian acclamations, all beginning "O," that punctuate the text—most notably, "O Maria," which is cleverly interwoven into the second versicle. The first two versicles (paired, though in reverse order) are drawn from *Salve mater Salvatoris*. The third versicle derives once again from *Verbum bonum et suave*; and the final two are paired versicles drawn from the "title" sequence, *Ave virgo gloriosa*. It seems that by this fifth motet, Compère begins turning largely to sources already employed.

The punctuated acclamations throughout this motet impact as well its overall Mariological tenor: like shouts from a crowd, they pierce through the refined Victorine versicles in unqualified veneration of the Virgin—O Mary! who sits in heaven; O Mary!

¹⁵⁸ The three motets copied into MiD 1 (fols. 143v-149), and listed as a *motetti missales* in the *tabula* (nos. 1, 2, and 4) display considerable unity in terms of textual content, and thus form a successful cycle in their own right: all three place prime focus on Mary's identity as Mediatrix, or intercessor, with motets 1 and 4 making explicit reference to her ability to placate Christ and exonerate sin. It would appear as no accident that this derivative cycle would include *Ave salus infirmorum*, that is Compère's setting of two versicles from *Ave caelorum regina*, the lofty fifteenth-century sequence which grants Mary actual power of Salvation. Further, the three motets are well unified in terms of text construction: all three are formed using a similarly diverse compilation pattern—in contrast to motet 3, which relies mainly on one source; moreover, all three motets contain a verse from the sequence, *Salvatoris mater pia*. A natural question arises from this cycle: how exactly was it employed as a *motetti missales*? While a definitive answer is not possible, it would seem likely that the three motets would simply have replaced three items of the Mass—perhaps as *loco Introitus*, *loco Gloria*, and *loco Offertorii* (as in the *Missa Galeazescha*), or perhaps in a more *ad libitum* pattern following the will of the presiding clergy; in either event, it would further confirm the later flexibility that surrounded the performance practice of the *motetti missales*.

star of the sea; O Mary! who bore the Redeemer; O queen of mercy! O light of holiness! to you we sigh, to you we cry! This interplay between popular drama and refined devotional poetry brings out some of Compère's best musical craft.

Following *Adoramus te, Christe*—whose function *ad Elevationem* is further confirmed by its setting in fermata-marked block chords—the *tertia pars, Virgo mitis*, returns to entirely Marian texts. The first of its four and one-half versicles stems from an unknown source, seemingly popular in nature—a belief supported by its musical setting.¹⁵⁹ The remaining three and one-half versicles are drawn from two Marian sequences: the second and third (not paired) are taken from the beginning of *Ave virgo virginum*, already set in motet 2. The remainder of the motet sets one and one-half versicles (paired, but in reverse order) of *Mariae preconio*, a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century French sequence, which enjoyed a fairly wide dissemination into the Renaissance.¹⁶⁰

The opening versicle maintains the popularesque quality of the *prima pars*, while also creating a lightness of mood unseen in the previous texts. The sweet Virgin, path and refuge for sinners, is here offered a suitably sweet rendering of "the angelic salutation"—in what brings to mind the Milanese devotion of the "Ave Maria" organized in the pizza del Duomo by the preacher "Missus a Deo" (see Chapter 2). The sweet tone continues through the remainder of the motet, as praises and titles are lavished upon the Virgin: light of lights, lily of chastity, lamp of grace, and medicine of anxiety. Interestingly, aside from two relatively tame requests in the first versicle (lines 2 and 3), the text is free from petition.

¹⁵⁹ A likely inspiration for the opening two lines of this text, so far unnoticed, is the sixth strophe (first versicle) of the fifteenth-century Compassion hymn, *Stabat juxta Christi crucem* (itself modeled on the more famous *Stabat mater dolorosa*—see Chapter 2): "Virgo mitis, virgo pia, spes reorum, vitae via, virgo plena gratia." AH 8:56.

¹⁶⁰ AH 54:391-93. Its dissemination seems largely limited to France.

Salve mater Salvatoris—loco Agnus Dei

In the sixth motet, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, Compère continues the patchwork approach, and again relies mainly on sources already tapped. The first and third versicles are drawn from *Salve mater Salvatoris*—including, of course, the sequence's opening versicle. Compère's overall use of four versicles from this sequence may, in fact, have served as a direct textual inspiration to Gaffurius, in the latter's effort to contribute to a (by then) ancient musico-devotional tradition. The two versicles from *Salve mater Salvatoris* are interrupted by one from *Ave virgo virginum*, demonstrating Compère's rather pointillist approach to text selection. Following this is a dense versicle that appears to be a troped expansion of the "Milanese" verset of *Memento salutis auctor* ("Maria mater gratiae," etc.)—seen also in motet 8 of Weerbeke's *Ave mundi domina*. The motet ends with two versicles (paired) from *Ave virgo gloriosa*, and the acclamation "O Maria."

Devotional intensity is heightened somewhat in this penultimate motet of the cycle. The formal and somewhat subdued versicles of Adam of Saint Victor's salutation to the Virgin are curiously broken up, as if by an uncontrolled plea for Mary's intervention; finally, the need to petition the Virgin overflows in the troped "Milanese" verset: no longer is Mary the mere "vessel of glory," but the "path to forgiveness." Her intercession is desperately required—to "implore" Christ for entrance into heaven when the moment of Judgment arrives. This is the crux of Mariology in Compère's day: she is the "good mother" of Christ and matron of heaven who holds the key to Salvation, and can through her mercy transport the faithful to heaven when earthly existence has ended—O Mary!

Virginis Mariae laudes—loco Deo gratias

The final motet, *Virginis Mariae laudes*, begins with a similar dependence on Marian sequence versicles, before concluding the cycle with an ecstatic collage of Marian

acclamations and petitions. The opening two versicles are drawn from the beginning of *Virginis Mariae laudes*, a twelfth-century French *prosa* modeled on the Eastertide sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes*—whose melody it generally adopts; the Marian text was not written for Eastertide, but did serve as a model for later Marian sequences written for the Christmas and Easter season.¹⁶¹ Next appear the opening two versicles of the fifteenth-century text, *Ave caelorum regina*, used already in motet 2. Two paired versicles of unknown origin—likely from a sequence—are then followed by string of acclamations, dominated by "O Maria," which borrow in part from the "Milanese verset" and *Salve regina*.

Compère (or whoever compiled the texts) is to be commended for closing this cycle with the opening verses of *Virginis Mariae laudes*. His listeners would doubtless hear the textual paraphrase of *Victimae paschali laudes*, and would rejoice at the invitation to "intone the praises of the Virgin Mary," the redeemer of sorrowful Eve—a parallel the Milanese faithful would well recognize from the writings of their beloved Saint Ambrose (see Chapter 1). The listeners would then be ready to conclude the Votive Mass—which the cycle doubtless accompanied—with a final collection of Marian praises, petitions, and ecstatic acclamations. Though now queen of the heavens, Mary's earthly conduct remains the ultimate example; but more, her identity as the mother of God has made her the very source of Salvation, to whom "run all creatures." The petitions begin simply, to keep the faithful pure of heart—in direct emulation of the Virgin's steadfast faith; soon, however, they grow more urgent, broken up with shouts of "O Mary," as if gasping for breath: Mary, the mother of mercy, key to salvation and forgiveness, aid us now! In near frenzy, the relentless shouts beg one thing: "Mary, hear us!"

When viewed as a whole, no single Marian theme emerges in this cycle, no single Marian feast for which it appears most suitable. Between and even within individual

¹⁶¹ AH 54:27-29. Some descendants are given in AH 54:29-32. See also GoedeUP, xlix, 126-7.

motets, various Marian themes and images integrate freely, as do texts of varying Mariological intensity. The *Missa Galeazescha* thus aptly illustrates the compatibility of Marian devotional texts throughout four centuries (12th–15th c.), as well as the steady intensification of their Mariology into the fifteenth century. One can imagine Compère pouring over a vast inventory of Marian sequences—perhaps in consultation with his fellow singers, the local clergy, or members of the Sforza court—in search of just the right versicles, just the right imagery, and in just the right order. One can also imagine the compiler's principal ambition in this exercise: namely, to present a musico-poetic offering to the Virgin Mary of unique scope and highly fervent devotion, in anticipation of her aid when the Day of Judgment actually does come.

The Meaning of "Galeazescha"

The selection of texts, moreover, speaks to a key question of this repertory: what is to be made of the title, "Galeazescha" in MiD 3. The question has received several answers. Cesari early posited the theory that the cycle was written for Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (b. 1469), or simply compiled from motets especially liked by the young duke.¹⁶² Both these possibilities were firmly rejected by Finscher, especially the latter part, given the clearly composed nature of the cycle. Further, the recent confirmation by Matthews and Merkley that Compère remained in Milan only until February, 1477 leaves little possibility that the cycle was composed at the behest of the eleven-year old Gian Galeazzo—who gained the ducal throne after his father's assassination on December 26, 1476.¹⁶³

In response to Noblitt's suggestion that the cycle was written for either Galeazzo, father or son, Crawford proposed a fanciful interpretation of the cycle as being written

¹⁶² CesariM, 17: "[I motetti] col titolo di *Galeazescha*... sembra sia stata composta in omaggio di Gian Galeazzo, o almeno compilata con pezzi da questo preferiti."

¹⁶³ MerkJD, 449-50.

for both, in the wake of the former's assassination.¹⁶⁴ Specifically, he interpreted the texts as revealing the Marian petitions of Bona of Savoy (the duke's widow)—symbolically referenced in the expression "mater bona"—for the salvation of her husband and for the political survival of her son: "O Queen, appeal to the King, so that our punishment might be mitigated." Finscher, who had first assumed a connection only to Galeazzo Maria, now found Crawford's political interpretation "ingeniöse und überzeugende."¹⁶⁵ More recently, Patrick Macey introduced another angle of interpretation: namely that the appearance of the expressions, "Mater gratiae" and "Mater misericordiae" in this cycle suggests a specific homage to the Marian devotion of Galeazzo Maria (cf. the anecdote of Bernardino Corio).¹⁶⁶ As discussed at length in Chapter 2, Macey here ignores the tremendous significance these expressions held to Milanese devotional life in general, which in turn weakens his argument.¹⁶⁷

Though many have discussed the meaning of "Galeazescha," the textual content of the cycle has not yet been examined in detail; and particularly not in the exegetical context of late fifteenth-century devotional life. Given the lack of documentation, a definitive interpretation of "Galeazescha" may never be possible, and yet I would here propose an alternative to the views stated by Crawford and Macey. It cannot be overemphasized how fervently devoted Compère's age was to the Virgin Mary—how in their harsh and fragile lives, in constant fear of eternal damnation, the faithful turned to her for protection, forgiveness, and comfort. The texts of the *Missa Galeazescha* are indeed intense, and do call for Mary to "mitigate punishment," "destroy poverty," and "banish

¹⁶⁴ NoblitMM, 36-37; CrawTN, 105-06.

¹⁶⁵ FinschV, 63, n. 9.

¹⁶⁶ MaceyGM, 164-66. 175-80. Macey makes similar arguments for other appearances of the verset—which he labels the "Galeazzo" verset—in the cycles of the Gaffurius Codices, including Weerbeke's *Ave mundi domina* (pp. 182-85), Josquin's *Vultum tuum* (pp. 185-92), and Compère's so-called *O admirabile* (pp. 180-81); see Chapter 4 for more on these last two cycles. Interestingly, although Macey notes Crawford's suggested connection between the expression "O Maria" and Galeazzo Maria Sforza (p. 174), he makes no reference to Crawford's political interpretation of the cycle.

¹⁶⁷ More intersection with Macey's hypotheses is found in GasserB, 215-25.

sin." Yet to refer to them as "doleful laments," as Crawford does, is exaggerated. This is but the language of Marian devotion in the late Middle Ages, a paradoxical mix of joyful praise and fearful petition. I see no reason to decipher these texts for subtle clues of political instability or for the encoding of the duke's private devotion—the expressions "mater bona," "O Maria," "Mater gratiae," and "Mater misericordiae," are all staples of the Marian lexicon, and thus defy easy association to any one individual. To my mind, if Compère had desired a specific political reference, we would not have to hunt so hard for it.¹⁶⁸ More likely, Compère's cycle was either dedicated to Galeazzo Maria or particularly favored by him, thereby gaining the title "Galeazescha." The Marian sentiments and expressions employed in the cycle may well have held special significance to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, but likely no more so than to Compère, the singers in the ducal and Cathedral chapels, and the faithful who witnessed their performance.

2. The Music

Compère's *motetti missales* are rather distinct from those of Gaffurius and Weerbecke in their overt and inconsistent mix of modern and archaic features. The inconsistencies, both stylistic and technical, suggest experimentation—perhaps not only arising from "youthful boldness" as Finscher put it.¹⁶⁹ They may also arise from the sheer struggle of forging a new genre from the shadow of an old one—the Mass Ordinary cycle. The most striking differences between the *Missa Galeazescha* and his colleague's

¹⁶⁸ The *Libroni* does contain one explicit politico-religious motet directed to a member of the Sforza court, Gaffurius's *Salve decus genitoris*, written for Ludovico Sforza; see Chapter 2, p. 203.

¹⁶⁹ See n. 144 above.

motetti missales are 1) the use throughout this cycle of two alternating tenors—which come together only rarely, particularly in the final, cadential measures of each motet; and 2) a consistent pattern of shifting mensurations, as many as four in each motet—representing perhaps the most archaic aspect of the cycle.¹⁷⁰ Despite these differences, the *Missa Galeazescha* displays its unity in the same principal manner as the others—namely in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T1, T2, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Ave virgo gloriosa</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	O – O3	D	Dorian
<i>Ave salus infirmorum</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	C – C3	D	Dorian
<i>Ave decus virginale</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	C2-3 C2-3	D	Dorian
<i>Ave sponsa verbi summi</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	O2-O3-O2-O3	D	Dorian
<i>O Maria!</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	C-C3-C-C3/C/C2-3	D	Dorian
<i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	C-C3-C-C3	D	Dorian
<i>Virginis Mariae laudes</i>	C1, C4, C4, C4, F4	O-O3-C-C3	D	Dorian

A detailed musical analysis of this cycle is provided by Finscher, whose insights are fundamental to an understanding of the *motetti missales* repertory as a whole.¹⁷¹ Noblitt does little more than repeat Finscher's observations.¹⁷² This discussion makes use of Finscher's edition (CMM), though given the revised view of the fifth motet as containing three *partes*, a discrepancy in numbering now exists for the final three motets, as it did for Weerbecke's *Quam pulchra es*. The discussion below will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order—with the corresponding motet numbering in the CMM edition indicated in bracketed Roman numerals:

¹⁷⁰ FinschLC, 103, which omits, however, the final two mensuration shifts in motet 3 (see the table above). This archaic approach to mensuration is somewhat repeated in Compère's *Hodie nobis de virgine*; see FinschLC, 94.

¹⁷¹ FinschLC, 89-117; see also CompOO II:i-v; FinschM, 238-241, 260-78 provides a more detailed discussion of the individual motets of the *Missa Galeazescha*, much akin to Croll's discussion of Weerbecke's cycles; Finscher's most important observations, however, are successfully distilled in the later monograph.

¹⁷² NoblitMM, 33-58.

- Motet 1. Ave virgo gloriosa [I]
- Motet 2. Ave salus infirmorum [II]
- Motet 3. Ave decus virginalis [III]
- Motet 4. Ave sponsa verbi summi [IV]
- Motet 5. O Maria! [V]
 - secunda pars*: Adoramus te, Christe
 - tertia pars*: Virgo mitis, virgo pia [VI]
- Motet 6. Salve mater Salvatoris [VII]
- Motet 7. Virginis Mariae laudes [VIII]

Use of Plainchant

In stark contrast to the cycles previously discussed, the *Missa Galeazescha* makes extensive use of *cantus prius factus*—a significant and perhaps conscious echo of the traditional Mass cycle repertory. The usage is more extensive than in Compère's other two *motetti missales*: five of the seven motets borrow identified chant melodies, compared to two in *Ave Domine, Jesu Christe*, and none in *Hodie nobis de virgine*. The most reliable account of *cantus prius factus* usage in the *Missa Galeazescha* is by Macey, who adds two instances to earlier identifications by Finscher and Faggion.¹⁷³ All of the chant melodies identified are sequences, presented in alternation between the two Ts; and yet the text associated with a given sequence melody rarely corresponds to the text of the motet where the melody appears—adding to the patchwork quality of this cycle.¹⁷⁴ The sequence melodies clearly identified are:

- Veni virgo virginum*¹⁷⁵ (*Veni sancte spiritus*)—motet 1
- Ave virgo virginum* (*Veni sancte spiritus*)—motets 2 and 6
- Ave maris stella*¹⁷⁶—motet 4

¹⁷³ MaceyGM167-76. Macey, however, does not make clear that both *Veni virgo virginum* and *Ave virgo virginum*, were generally sung to the melody of *Veni sancte spiritus*; nor that *Virginis Mariae laudes* was generally sung to *Victimae paschali laudes*—and that Compère was thus not intentionally employing these older melodies, but simply using the "standard" melodies associated with the Marian sequences. Some suggestions of chant borrowing made in FinschM, 265, are not quite convincing—namely, the appearance of the final strophe of *Salve mater salvatoris* in motet 4. See also NoblitMM, 53-57.

¹⁷⁴ MaceyGM, op. cit.

¹⁷⁵ GoedeUP, 43-44.

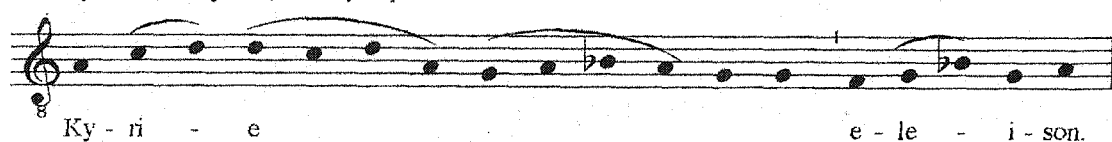
¹⁷⁶ LU, 1259-61.

*Mane prima sabbati*¹⁷⁷—motet 5 (*tertia pars*)

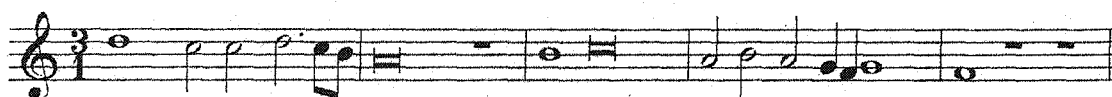
*Virginis Mariae laudes*¹⁷⁸ (*Victimae paschali laudes*)—motet 7

In addition, I would strongly support Faggion's claim that Compère makes use of the opening motive of *Kyrie IX* (*cum júbilo*, sung in *festis BMV*) in the opening measures of motet 1;¹⁷⁹ likewise, the fourth "Kyrie" motive is suggested in the motive used later in the same motet (T1, mm. 18-22), as seen in Example 20.

EX. 20a
Kyrie IX (*Cum júbilo*), 4th Kyrie phrase



EX. 20b
Missa Galeazescha, Motet 1 (mm. 18-22), T



Finscher has maintained that the *Missa Galeazescha* "seems to be built upon pre-existent melodies from beginning to end."¹⁸⁰ While it is true that many of the tenor melodies bear a resemblance to Gregorian melodic contours, as Finscher has demonstrated, they also serve to outline Dorian interval species—particularly an ascending and descending fifth, much as occurs in the opening motive of *Kyrie IX*.

¹⁷⁷ GoedeUP, 34-35.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 33.

¹⁷⁹ AMMM 13:vii.

¹⁸⁰ FinschLC, 102.

Modality is, in general, very strictly observed throughout this cycle: a great majority of cadences occur on D, A, and C, much less on F; and again, the Ts are quite consistently defined in clear modal terms—in an outline of the interval species, the chain of thirds as manifest in this mode, circling around the reciting tone, and so forth. A common pattern in this cycle is the appearance of a C cadence—both in the Ts and contrapuntally—in the penultimate phrase of a section, before concluding on a D cadence. This is also a common trait of Mode 1 chants on D, and occurs, again, in the opening motive of *Kyrie IX*. One famous sequence text that makes use of this pattern is *Ave maris stella* (strophe 1), whose use in motet 4 may have as much to do with its modal qualities as its exegetical symbolism.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

A tepid and inconsistent approach to counterpoint is articulated by Finscher as among the problems still present in Compère's *motetti missales*—lacking "the deliverance of imitation from the bonds of strict canon," for example.¹⁸¹ The kind of contrapuntal flexibility and maturity observed in Weerbecke's cycles is not to be found in the *Missa Galeazescha*. A principal cause of this stylistic uncertainty is the over-dominance of the alternating Ts, which almost inevitably control both cadential and contrapuntal activity—their constant appearance in imitation suggests their governing role, though Compère artfully masks it with a variety of entrance schemes. The Ts are rhythmically integrated with the other voices, and yet the distinction of their presentation, melodically and via the alternation, reveals a closer connection to the older tenor *cantus firmus* technique than in the cycles of Weerbecke and Gaffurius—and in turn closer to the conservatism of the Mass Ordinary cycle.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 114.

¹⁸² Ibid., 103, where Finscher notes the novelty of Compère's "unreal" notation of two tenors, to which "there is no counterpart... in the Milan manuscripts or, apparently, in any other sources of the time." The technique is likewise found in two motets of Compère's *Ave Domine, Jesu*

Other aspects of conservatism are present as well: four-part non-imitative counterpoint is prevalent, including at the beginning of all but two of the motets (nos. 3 and 4). Imitation is most common between soprano and tenor, and the traditional discant-tenor framework is absolutely fundamental. The bass moreover, displays very little supportive movement at cadences, on par with that observed in Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es*. Octave leaps above the tenor at cadences, however, occur more often in the *Missa Galeazescha* than in any cycle discussed thus far; this cadential treatment is perhaps the best evidence of Compère's residence in an older (Burgundian) musical milieu.

It is thus curious that four-part pervasive imitation occurs with much greater frequency here than in the other cycles examined: in all, seven instances occur in five motets—motet 1, mm. 10-13 (with a tonal answer in the A) and mm. 17-20; motet 2, mm. 6-7; motet 4, mm. 1-6; motet 5, *tertia pars*, mm. 39-46; motet 7, mm. 14-19 and mm. 27-31. The imitative motives are usually short (often only four notes), with entries primarily limited to the unison, octave, and fifth; and yet Compère often pursues the imitation with free counterpoint to maintain a rich and resonant texture. One notable instance that illustrates Finscher's remark about the "bonds of strict canon," however, is that in motet 5 (*tertia pars*, mm. 39-46), which grants entries to all five voices, at the unison and octave (see Example 21). There are also several three-voice imitative passages, including one in motet 3 (mm. 38-42), whose motive bears a striking resemblance to the second part of the *L'homme armé* tune (from "On a fait partout

Christe—namely, the motets *loco Offertorii* and *loco Deo gratias*. See CompOO II:30-33, 39-40, respectively.

EX. 21

Missa Galeazescha, Motet 5 (*tertia pars*, mm. 39-46)

Five-voice strict canon (6 times)

(ve)ni - a.

(ve)ni - a.

(ve)ni - a.

Tu pin - cer - na ve - ni - ae,

(a.) Tu pin - cer - na ve - ni - ae, tu lu -

tu lu - cer - na gra - ti - ae, tu su -

ni - ae, tu su - per - na

tu lu - cer - na gra - ti - ae,

tu su - per - na

cer - na gra - ti - ae, tu su - per - na

crier"), as seen in Example 22. In general, Compère seems to have had a penchant for pervasive imitation exceeding that of his Milanese colleagues—and in the *Missa Galeazescha* more than his other cycles.

Three-voice strict canon (A-B-T1)

o re - gi - na re - gi -

¹⁸³ The explanation for the *Missa Galeazescha*'s absence of duos is not due to the five-part structure; both five-voice motets in *Ave Domine, Jesu Christe* (see n. 182 above) contain duos—indeed, the motet *loco Offertorii* is largely based on alternating duos.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The *Missa Galeazescha* shares with Weerbeke's cycles a modern pursuit of formal clarity through musical repetition, though articulated in a somewhat more conservative manner. The structural importance of the alternating Ts imposes a subtle sectional orientation to the cycle that contrasts with the more fluid underpinning of *Quam pulchra es*, for example; and it is likewise the Ts that generally govern the sectional repetitions. Whether arising from *cantus firmus* material or not, successive repetition in the alternating Ts occurs in all but the fourth motet—notably, at the beginning of the motet or motet *pars* (in all cases except motet 4, the *seconda pars* of 5, 6, and 7). These tenor repetitions frequently do not engender repetition in the other voices—as, for example, in the beginning of motets 1 and 2 and in the *prima pars* of motet 5 (mm. 2-6, 11-15).

In some cases, however, repetition is partly or wholly observed in the accompanying voices: notable cases include motet 3 (mm. 39-57); the *tertia pars* of motet 5 (mm. 10-27—where the Ts beget five *a4* repetitions of a popularesque four-bar phrase, in the pattern a-a-b-a-a); and motet 7 (mm. 48-61)—the latter forming continuous imitative repetitions of the same motive.¹⁸⁴ Perhaps the most interesting use of repetition is in the *prima pars* of motet 5, namely in the recurring acclamations ("O Maria, "O regina pietatis," "O lucerna sanctitatis"), each time set in the same strict chordal manner: d-B \flat -B \flat -a (mm. 1, 11—actually the beginning of the second versicle, 27, 33, 39). Finscher has likened this to a modern rondo, although the diagram he provides is not entirely clear or accurate (the "p" in the diagram should be a "d", and he makes no indication that the last two chordal acclamations are in fact divided musically).¹⁸⁵

Beyond these internal repetitions, this cycle makes no overt use of motivic connection between motets—in contrast to Compère's *Ave Domine, Jesu Christi*, which

¹⁸⁴ FinschLC, 105 notes the repetitions in motets 3 and 5, but inaccurately states that "the last two motets of the cycle are free from repetitions of structural importance."

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 104-05.

makes considerable and deliberate use of recurring motives, mostly in the tenor.¹⁸⁶ There is, however, one melodic motive, so far overlooked, that arguably can be observed in each motet—namely, the general pattern of a minim rest followed by three minims repeated on the same pitch; these are usually then followed by a semibreve approached by a leap. An example is in motet 2, mm. 6-7 (Example 23).

Other instances of this motive include motets 1 (mm. 32); 2 (mm. 10-11 and 15-16); 3 (18-19, 23-28, 38-42, 44, and 48-49); 4 (17-18 and 22-23); the *prima pars* of 5—where it is used in each setting of the textual acclamation, especially the final three (mm. 27-28, 33-34, and 39-40); 6 (mm. 27); and 7 (mm. 38). Admittedly, the motive is not terribly distinctive, and moreover, its appearance in the final two motets is somewhat debatable. Still, the motive is conspicuously absent in any of the motets of Compère's

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 107-08.

other two *motetti missales*, and thus may be seen as having been employed here by the composer as a subtle unifying factor.

3. Text and Music

In his summary of Compère's *motetti missales*, Finscher notes that "the text is used only as a means to establish musical form," and that "the meaning of the words, their contrasts and analogies, and their picturesque possibilities are very rarely expressed by musical means"—and indeed he cites no case of word painting.¹⁸⁷ Such does appear to be the case in the *Missa Galeazescha*, as the syntactical divisions of the text—line and versicle—are in nearly every case painstakingly observed, with weaker cadences at the ends of internal lines and stronger, more conclusive cadences (almost inevitably on D) at the end of the versicle. This is particularly apparent in those versicles of unusual poetic structure, as in motet 4—where successive versicles of differing rhyme schemes (aaab, abab, aaaa, etc—see Appendix B, #4, motet 4) are consistently matched in musical syntax; and in the *tertia pars* of motet 5 (mm. 10-27), where the unusual five-line versicle is set to the repetitive five-phrase music discussed above. Likewise, changes of mensuration inevitably correspond to the beginning of a poetic versicle. In these ways, Compère shows himself studiously aware of musico-syntactical considerations, much as Gaffurius was in his cycle. I observed only one slight syntactic infelicity—namely, an instance of a cadence in the middle of a poetic line, in motet 2, mm. 22 (at the word, "flori" in the S); the cadence, however is deceptive—with the bass going to B \flat , instead of the expected D.

The texts of this cycle display an intense and richly articulated veneration of the Virgin Mary, with an overall textual design that suggests a great deal of care in its

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 114.

compilation—likely made by Compère himself. It thus stands to reason that the composer would be mindful not only of its poetic syntax, but also of its poetic meaning. At the same time, it must be admitted that Compère's musical language in the *Missa Galeazescha* is in general rather homogenous, such that discerning overt text expression is rather difficult—more so, certainly, than in the motets of Weerbeke.

If Compère refrains from capturing the rich imagery of the texts with clever musical turns—perhaps still unaware of the possibilities—he still manages to reflect the spirit of the text in several key places. A particularly striking example is the musical style with which he sets the popularesque, five-line versicle in the *tertia pars* of motet 5 (mm. 10-26): "Sweet virgin... Be unto us our refuge/ So that with sweet melodies/ We may sing, 'Ave Maria.'"—again, set in lively, repetitive animated homophony. It is conceivable that Compère here borrowed a melody from a monophonic *Lauda*—as Macey has suggested—but more likely, he is simply responding to the popular nature of the text with equally popularesque music.¹⁸⁸

Another skillful, and indeed more powerful response to the text is seen in the *prima pars* of motet 5—where Compère astutely echoes the impassioned acclamations, "O Maria," "O regina pietatis," and "O lucerna sanctitatis," with equally impassioned and punctuated fermata-marked block chord, again repeated in the same chordal progression (d-d-B \flat -a). Just as the verbal acclamations jump out in contrast to the fluid Marian imagery of the sequences—like shouts from a crowd—so too does the static homophony jump out in contrast to the fluid counterpoint surrounding it. Most clever is the combined musical and textual elision of the second "O Maria" (from the beginning of strophe 11 of *Salve mater Salvatoris*)—which incorporates the static homophony directly into the contrapuntal fabric (mm. 11-12). This is a different kind of text expression than seen in the Canticle motets of *Quam pulchra es*, perhaps, but it is text expression nonetheless.

¹⁸⁸ MaceyGM, 173-74.

The only other instance of text expression discerned occurs in motet 3 (mm. 35-38)—where Compère suddenly sets off the line "sed meritis praeclarior" largely in fermata-blocked chords. Aside from the acclamations, the Elevation music (motet 5, *secunda pars*), and the very conclusion of the cycle (motet 7, mm. 62-65)—notably on the words, "exaudi nos, O Maria"—Compère makes no use of this technique. Why, then, on the words, "sed meritis praeclarior"? Set in context, this line remarks on how Mary becomes even more beautiful through her merits—her Divine Motherhood of Christ and her position of authority in heaven. Beauty combined with full grace and unlimited power to aid the adoring faithful: how better to single out this precious image than through an unexpected use of unmetered chords, as if in slow contemplation of Mary's unsurpassed beauty.

Chapter 4

Part II: Marian Polyphony in Renaissance Milan

The Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices

A. Historical Context of the Milanese Motet Cycles—Part 2

The Motet Cycles

In the previous chapter, the extensive literature on the *motetti missales* was reviewed and re-evaluated, and the cycles themselves submitted to extensive analysis. The discussion attempted to validate the skepticism of some previous writers (notably Crawford and Ward), that the *motetti missales* is incapable of sustaining a strict and limiting definition.¹ More important, however, the *motetti missales* were placed within a much broader repertory of motet cycles found in the Gaffurius Codices, a repertory marked principally by flexibility and multi-faceted functionality. The present chapter is devoted to fleshing out this broader cyclic repertory; the closest and most valuable precedent to this task is Ward's evaluation MilD 4, which will figure frequently in the following discussion.²

Specifically, this chapter will focus on the non-explicit motet cycles—of varying size and functionality—that can be observed in the undamaged Gaffurius Codices. Primary focus will be placed on the Marian cycles, which constitute a great majority of the non-explicit cyclic repertory, much as was the case with the *motetti missales*.³ Before

¹ See, especially, Chapter 3, pp. 227-236.

² For the value of Ward's article (WardMM), see Chapter 3, pp. 232-235.

³ In the first part of this chapter (Part A), the entire repertory of non-explicit motet cycles in all four Gaffurius Codices will be identified and placed within devotional and liturgical context. The second part of this chapter (Part B) will then feature a detailed textual and musical analysis of the ten non-explicit Marian cycles (thirty-four motets in all) copied into MilD 1 and 3—namely, six attributed to Gaffurius (nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, and 24), one by Weerbecke (no. 16) and three anonymous cycles (no. 15, 22, 23); this excludes the two cycles of Weerbecke copied into MilD 2 (nos. 18 and 19), extracted from his two *motetti missales*, *Ave mundi domina* (no. 2) and *Quam pulchra es* (no. 3)—which were addressed briefly in Chapter 3, nn. 92 and 127. At a later point, I hope to return to the remaining motet cycles in all four

addressing individual cycles, some further clarification on the entire Milanese cyclic repertory will be useful. Table 3 provides an inventory of the forty motets cycle that I have catalogued within the Gaffurius Codices. The cycles are divided into three categories: 1) the explicitly designated *motetti missales*—which here include both the three-part *Ave virgo gloriosa* and the larger *Missa Galeazescha*; 2) the unspecified motet cycles in the first three *Librone*; and 3) the motet cycles of MilD 4, discussed by Ward.

This inventory alone confirms the flexible nature of the cyclic repertory discussed above and in Chapter 3. Of these forty cycles, eleven contain one or more motets also found in other cycles, invariably located in another *Librone*—namely, cycles 2 and 18; 3, 17, and 38; 4 and 7; 20 and 30; and finally, 22 and 23—all of which is indicated in the notes below the table. In a similar pattern, the two motets of Gaffurius's hybrid cycle, the *Missa Sanctae Catarinae* (no. 19) are recopied into MilD 3 as an independent, two-part motet.⁴ Significantly, such cyclic flexibility is not to be found within the Mass Ordinary cycles of these manuscripts, showing the vital distinction between the two genres.

The group of seventeen cycles in Category II (nos. 8-24) is especially germane to this discussion, in providing a fresh inventory of the non-explicit, or "unspecified" motet cycles from the first three *Librone*. The existence of several of these cycles was suggested by earlier writers—that is, Finscher and Ward—though generally referenced by folio numbers only, without commentary. In several instances, my readings have varied from

manuscripts—including the damaged MilD 4—in order to incorporate their analyses with those of the present study.

⁴ The two motets of the *Missa Sanctae Catarinae* (MilD 2, 100v-110), *Hac in die laudes* (presumably "loco Introitus") and *Virgo constans decolatur* ("loco Deo gratias") reappear as a two-part motet, "Pro Sancta Caterina" in MilD 3, 183v-185. Only the latter motet contains a rubric designating the liturgical replacement identity; however, SartCM, 49 lists the opening motet as "Introito," thereby incorrectly suggesting an explicit replacement identity—later repeated in BrownRM 12b:vii.

Table 3: Motet Cycles from the Gaffurius Codices, MiID 1, 2, 3, and 4

<u>Cycle</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Items</u>	<u>Devotional Subject</u>
I. Motetti missales Cycles, MiID 1 and 3						
1.	MiID 1, fols. 84v-93	<i>Salve mater Salvatoris</i> ^a	Gaffurius	<i>motetti missales</i>	4	Virgin Mary
2.	fols. 126v-134	<i>Ave mundi domina</i> ^a	Weerbecke	<i>motetti missales</i>	8	Virgin Mary
3.	fols. 134v-143	<i>Quam pulchra es</i> ^a	Weerbecke	<i>motetti missales</i>	7	Virgin Mary
4.	fols. 143v-149	<i>Ave Virgo gloriosa</i> ^a	Compère	<i>motetti missales</i>	3	Virgin Mary
5.	fols. 162v-170	<i>Ave Domine Jesu Christe</i> ^b	Compère	<i>motetti missales</i>	8	Jesus Christ
6.	fols. 171v-179	<i>Hodie nobis de Virgine</i> ^b	Compère	<i>motetti missales</i>	8	Jesus Christ
7.	MiID 3, fols. 126v-134	[Missa] <i>Galeazescha</i> ^c	Compère	<i>motetti missales</i>	7	Virgin Mary
II. Unspecified Cycles, MiID 1, 2, and 3						
8.	MiID 1, fols. 64v-66	<i>Beata progenies</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary
9.	fols. 68v-71	<i>Hortus conclusus</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary
10.	fols. 72v-74	<i>O sacrum convivium</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	2	Holy Spirit
11.	fols. 75v-80	<i>Prodiit puer de puella</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	3	Mary, Jesus, Joseph
12.	fols. 99v-103	<i>Castra caeli</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	4	Virgin Mary
13.	fols. 103v-106	<i>Vox jocunda cum favore</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	2	Jesus Christ
14.	fols. 106v-108	<i>Ave cella novae legis</i>	(Gaffurius)	unspecified (motets)	2	Mary (& Christ)
15.	fols. 109v-112	<i>Ave mundi reparatrix</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary
16.	fols. 114v-117	<i>Christe mater ave</i>	Weerbecke	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary
17.	fols. 158v-162	<i>Exultabit cor meum</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	4	Christ & All Saints
18.	MiID 2, fols. 48v-51	<i>Quam pulchra es</i> ^d	Weerbecke	unspecified (motets)	2	Virgin Mary
19.	fols. 51v-53	<i>Ave regina caelorum</i> ^e	Weerbecke	unspecified (motets)	2	Virgin Mary
20.	fols. 54v-56	<i>O sacra convivium</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	2	Jesus Christ
21.	fols. 100v-110	<i>Missa Sanctae Caterine</i>	Gaffurius	Mass (hybrid)	3	Saint Catherine
22.	MiID 3, fols. 162v-167	<i>Beata et venerabilis Virgo</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	5	Virgin Mary
23.	fols. 167v-173	<i>Ave regina caelorum, mater</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	5	Virgin Mary
24.	fols. 205v-208	<i>Caeli quondam roraverunt</i>	(Gaffurius)	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary

(Table 3—continued)

<u>Cycle</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Items</u>	<u>Devotional Subject</u>
III. Unspecified Cycles, MiLD 4						
25.	MiLD 4, fols. 12v-24	<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i> ^f	(Gaffurius)	Mass (hybrid)	4	Virgin Mary
26.	fols. 26v-38	<i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	(Gaffurius)	Mass (hybrid)	3	Virgin Mary
27.	fols. 40v-48	<i>Nativitas tua Dei genetrix</i>	(Gaffurius)	Mass (hybrid)	3	Virgin Mary
28.	fols. 60v-65	<i>Sanctus Spiritus adsit</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	5	Holy Spirit
29.	fols. 65v-68	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Compère	unspecified (hybrid)	3	Virgin Mary
30.	fols. 70v-77	<i>Diem novae gratiae</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	7	Jesus Christ
31.	fols. 83v-87	<i>Verbum Dei Deo natum</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	2	Saint John
32.	fols. 90v-95	<i>Diffusa est gratia</i> ^g	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	5	Virgin Mary
33.	fols. 95v-99	<i>Magnum nomen</i>	Gaffurius	unspecified (motets)	4	Jesus Christ
34.	fols. 103v-107	<i>Ora pro nobis virgo</i>	Josquin	unspecified (motets)	4	Virgin Mary
35.	fols. 108v-113	<i>Missus est ab arce matris</i>	anonymous	unspecified (hybrid)	5	Virgin Mary
36.	fols. 113v-118	<i>Gaudeamus omnes</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	5	Virgin Mary
37.	fols. 120v-125	<i>Spiritus Domini replevit</i>	Weerbecke	unspecified (motets)	5	Holy Spirit
38.	fols. 125v-129	<i>Beata es virgo</i>	anonymous	unspecified (motets)	4	Virgin Mary
39.	fols. 129v-132	<i>Beata Dei genetrix</i>	Compère	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary
40.	fols. 132v-135	<i>Quam pulchra es</i> ^d	Weerbecke	unspecified (motets)	3	Virgin Mary

Notes

^a Identified in the opening *tabula* only. All three motets of *Ave virgo gloriosa* (no.4) are also contained within the [Missa] Galeazescha. (no. 7). See Chapter 3, n. 158.

^b Identified in both the opening *tabula* and within the manuscript.

^c Identified in the manuscript only.

^d Both motets are also contained within the *Motetti missales* cycle, *Quam pulchra es* (no.3). See Chapter 3, n.93.

^e Both motets are also contained within the *Motetti missales* cycle *Ave mundi domina* (no.2). See Chapter 3, n.128.

^f All three motets of this hybrid cycle are also found within the motet cycle *Caeli quondam* (no.24). A combination of bibliographic and stylistic criteria warrant the proposed attribution of both cycles to Gaffurius.

^g Four of the five motets are also contained within the cycle *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (no. 22).

theirs, namely in the cycles numbered 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 17 (cf. Table 3).⁵ Some of these cycles explicitly substantiate the pluralistic environment of motet cycles in Milan I have proposed—most importantly *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (no. 22) and *Ave regina caelorum* (no. 23); while three others provide evidence for five new attributions to Franchinus Gaffurius—namely, *Castra caeli* (no. 12), *Ave cella novae regis* (no. 14), and *Caeli quondam roraverunt* (no. 24).

Before turning to the analysis of these and other motet cycles of the Gaffurius Codices, it is worth considering a general question: what may have motivated composers and scribes working in Milan to repeatedly combine motets into cycles as they did? Some of the answer to this question would seem to reside in a basic tenet of Renaissance thought, already discussed in Chapter 3: the principal of unity.⁶ Perhaps the most significant musical manifestations of this principal during the Early Renaissance is the Mass Ordinary cycle, where liturgically disparate texts are unified by purely musical

⁵ See Chapter 3, p. 231. Finscher, in his Critical Edition of Compère (CompOO II:i, n. 4), and again in his monograph of the composer (FinschLC, 90, n. 10), suggested the existence of six cycles—in each case referenced in a footnote, with folio numbers only: MilD 1, 67v-71; 71v-75; 98v-106, 154v-162; MilD 3, 162v-167; 167v-173. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Finscher proposed these cycles as likely *motetti missales*, a hypothesis tested and rejected by Noblitt in his dissertation (NoblittMM, Chapter 5, "Problematic Motet Groups in the Gaffurius Codices"). Ward repeated Finscher's suggestions—in a footnote, without commentary—though she gave titles to the prospective cycles (WardMM, 492-93, n. 5). At the end of her article (WardMM, 523, n. 56), she adds: "Other possible *motetti missales* cycles in the Gaffurius codices not already mentioned in this essay include the following group: MilD 1, fols. 64v-66, 68v-71, 75v-79, 106v-108, 108v-112, 114v-117, and MilD 3, fols. 214v-218." Both Finscher's and Ward's comments will be further referenced below.

⁶ See Chapter 3, n. 96.

means.⁷ Excluding a few experiments in the fourteenth century—notably, Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame*—the unified cyclic Mass becomes common only after 1450.⁸

Almost immediately, however, there appears a first-step extension to this new paradigm, in a phenomenon discussed by Robert Snow. Briefly, Snow documented the existence of six unified cycles, consisting of a Mass Ordinary and a concluding motet, composed presumably by English composers working on the Continent in the 1440s and 50s.⁹ A few connections between these cycles and the Milanese manuscripts are worth pointing out: first, one of the concluding motets, that which follows the *Missa O Rosa Bella*, is found as a *contrafactum* in MilD 1.¹⁰ The Mass Ordinary on its own is found in Modena 456, demonstrating an overall transmission of the hybrid cycle into Northern Italy. The entire cycle is modeled on Bedyngham's three-voice *O rosa bella*, adapting both its Tenor and its opening phrase—used as a head-motive—in all movements.¹¹ This is significant, since one of the Milanese motet cycles to be discussed, *Ave regina caelorum* (no. 23), makes use of a similar "head-motive" technique, based on Walter Frye's motet

⁷ The cyclic Mass, of course, is not the only musical manifestation of unity during the Renaissance. A new awareness of unity can be perceived as well in the overall sonority of choral polyphony after 1430, where a uniform text is set in each voice part, and where individual contrapuntal lines display greater similarity in melodic and rhythmic character—culminating in the pervasive imitation style of Josquin and his contemporaries. Likewise, unity is seen in the growing use of a harmonic conception of composition, beginning with the *fauxbourdon* chordal style and culminating in the use of a harmonically functional Bass. A useful discussion of unity in Renaissance music—with parallels in other arts and disciplines—is found in TischSE, esp. 556-58: (p. 557) "It would seem that this general view of the Renaissance as the age of striving for unity brings about a better understanding of its achievements and defeats."

⁸ Among the earliest "genuine" Mass cycles—written c. 1440—are John Dunstable's *Missa Rex saeculorum* (without Kyrie), where all movements use a Tenor melody which freely paraphrases the antiphon of the same name; and Leonel Power's *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater*, perhaps the first strict tenor Mass. See, Lewis Lockwood, "Mass, II:6" in NG 11:784-86.

⁹ SnowMM. The cycles are copied into three South German manuscripts: the so-called Speciálñk Codex, TrentC 88 and TrentC 90.

¹⁰ In the Speciálñk Codex, the Ordinary movements of the *Missa O Rosa Bella* are followed by an anonymous four-part motet, *O Pater Aeternae*. This motet alone appears as a *contrafactum*, with the text, *O admirabile commercium*, in MilD 1, 123v-124. The former version is transcribed in SnowMM, 315-20; the latter version will appear in GasserAM. The two versions differ musically, as well, and there is cause to argue the precedence of the Milanese version (see the commentary in GasserAM).

¹¹ For the attribution to Bedyngham of *O rosa bella*, also attributed to Dunstable, see Fallows, "Dunstable, Bedyngham and *O rosa bella*," *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994), 287-305.

of the same name. Further, Frye is himself represented in the Mass-motet repertory: his three-voice ballade, *So ys emprentid* is the model for the fourth of Snow's cycles, attributed to Guillaume Rouge.¹² Admittedly, Frye's *Ave regina caelorum* was extremely popular, with a very extensive transmission, and yet the coincidence is intriguing.¹³ Lastly, it may be noted that the Milanese manuscripts themselves contain four similar hybrid cycles, all by Gaffurius—thus forming an interesting book-end to the practice of the 1440s and 50s.¹⁴

While evidence of direct contact between Milanese and English musical practice is limited—and thus the connections just outlined may be coincidental—it should be noted that at the very onset of his musical campaign, in October, 1471, Duke Galeazzo Maria sent his singer, Raynerio, to King Edward IV of England, to find suitable singers.¹⁵ Perhaps, then, Raynerio returned to Milan with some knowledge of this unique English practice.

In any event, the Mass-motet cycle reflects an interest among composers in extending the unity paradigm of the Mass Ordinary cycle to include the sacred motet—creating a situation where, in Snow's words, "the 'absolute' work of art begins to encroach on liturgical function, and purely aesthetic considerations begin to supersede

¹² See SnowMM, 309; in this cycle, the Mass Ordinary cycle is followed by a four-voice Marian motet, *Stella coeli extirpavit*, whose Tenor is derived from Frye's ballade, utilized likewise in the Ordinary movements.

¹³ Frye's three-voice *Ave regina caelorum*, which itself may be a *contrafactum* of a now-lost secular ballade, survives in no less than thirteen sources; three of the sources (including, significantly, the *Speciálník* Codex, present it as a four-voice composition, each with a differing added voice. More indicative of its fame is its appearance in two contemporary paintings: one with the Discant and Tenor parts; the other with the Tenor alone. See Walter Frye, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Sylvia W. Kenney, CMM 19 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960), i-ii, 8-9.

¹⁴ Besides the *Missa Sanctae Catarinae* (no. 21), three other cycles of Gaffurius contain complete Mass Ordinary cycles plus motets: the *Missa Imperatrix gloriosa* (no. 25), with three motets, the *Missa Assumpta est Maria* (no. 26), with two motets; and the *Missa Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix* (no. 27), likewise with two motets. Much more on all four cycles will be said below.

¹⁵ See the introduction. The opening of the letter is quoted (with translation) in GasserB, 204; and printed in full in MottaM, 301.

liturgical considerations."¹⁶ Following this experiment, the self-contained motet cycle—even one that compromises more extensively the liturgy of the Mass, as does the *motetti missales*—can be seen as a sort of culmination of this same unity-impulse. Given the neo-Platonic fervor of the 1480s and 90s, the motet cycles of Milan may even have held some humanistic import—particularly to someone like Franchinus Gaffurius, who owned a copy of part of the Latin translation by Ficino of Plato's complete works, and supplied his copy with copious marginal notes.¹⁷ Thus, Gaffurius's embrace, indeed advocacy, of the unified motet cycle at the Milanese Cathedral may be seen as a material extension of his intellectual preoccupations.

Beyond the principal of unity, one other motivating factor may be suggested—namely, that the act of binding motets together to form cycles elevated the status or profile of the motet genre as a whole. The period of the motet cycle's vogue, c. 1470–1510, corresponds to the period in which the production of motets virtually explodes. Composers, as never before, embraced the musical and textual freedom the motet offered, a freedom which fit well with the parallel explosion of devotional or votive services, then multiplying dramatically throughout Italy and beyond—a point well articulated in a 1991 article of Howard Mayer Brown.¹⁸ And yet, the motet still suffered

¹⁶ SnowMM, 314.

¹⁷ See Otto Kinkeldy, "Franchino Gaffuri and Marsilio Ficino," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1948), 379–82. A copy of Ficino's translation of Plato's works, commissioned by Cosimo de'Medici, published in 1484, and subsequently deposited in the Harvard Library, contains a note below the colophon: "Franchini gaffori musicis professoris est hic liber / die vi maii 1489 emptus." Along with numerous marginal notes (over 140), Gaffurius accentuates frequent passages with the expression, "Nota," or with a pointing hand. This suggests, at the very least, a thorough reading of Plato's texts as well as of Ficino's many introductions and commentaries—both of which carry ample promotion of the unity-principal. See also KristelRT, 50–65, 160–63, 196–210: (p. 204): "In the work of [the Florentine Academy's] leader, Marsilio Ficino, we find several concepts pointing toward the idea of a universal truth. First of all, he insists on a basic harmony between Platonic philosophy and Christian theology. In trying to defend the immortality of the soul... he insisted that his opponents had destroyed the harmony between religion and philosophy, and that he himself had been destined by providence to restore that unity."

¹⁸ BrownM. In his article, Brown examines the four motet prints of Petrucci (1502–05). A summarized evaluation of the texts of their 175 individual motets allows him to posit a general theory of their functionality: he concludes that the great majority—particularly the large number of settings of non-liturgical, devotional texts—served for extra-liturgical adornment in

the ranking of a second-class genre. Tinctoris's famous definitions (c. 1472) of the Mass as *cantus magnus*, the motet as *cantus mediocris*, and the cantilena or chanson as *cantus parvus* were doubtless intended not only as quantitative (size) distinctions, but also evaluative (status) ones.¹⁹ The Mass was regarded as primary not only for its direct association with the liturgy of the Eucharist, but likewise for its extended and unified nature.

This gradation is still seen, for example, in Paulo Cortese's discussion of the three genres, found in his *De cardinalatu libri tres*, written about 1505: the motet, called *praecentoria* (suggesting its textual freedom) is deemed inferior to the Mass, called *litatoria* (or sacrificial songs), due largely to its lack of obligation to being sung in a "singular" manner ("ne uniusmodi servarentur in canendo modi")—which Nino Pirrotta surmised may refer to Mass composition with a unifying *cantus firmus*.²⁰ Certainly, the

side chapels at votive services. Brown also discusses the repertory of the motet cycles included in Petrucci's prints which (p. 761), "appears to have been designated explicitly as appropriate for votive services..." a claim Brown likewise extends to "a substantial number of the motets written about 1500 in Italy." Brown's concluding urge to musicologists (p. 763), "to re-examine all the long motet cycles that appear in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources," forms a significant inspiration to this dissertation.

¹⁹ Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musicae diffinitiorum*, in *Johannes Tinctoris: Opera theoretica*, facsimile edition of the Treviso Edition (c. 1494) (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), pp. bi, recto (*Missus*); bi, verso (motetum), and aiiii, verso (cantilena). The descriptive terms *magnus* and *parvus* were commonly applied to literary forms, such as Horace does in his *Ars Poetica*—following Aristotle. For each literary genre, an author would combine length, meter, language, and other technical features to produce a work of greater or lesser aesthetic value, following the rules of rhetorical decorum. Significantly, diverse degrees of poetic expression were also related to questions of genre: for Horace, as for Aristotle and Neoptolemus, full expression was limited to the "great" (*magna*) genres of epic and tragedy; by contrast, "small" (*parva*) genres—such as odes, satires, elegies, and lyric verse—received less critical poetic capital, by virtue of their reduced potential for full expression. See C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles* (Cambridge, University Press, 1963), esp. 202-09.

²⁰ See PirrotM, esp. 159-60. Pirrotta reproduces Cortese's entire passage on music, entitled "De vitandis passionibus deque musica adhibenda post epulas" (On the avoidance of passions and on the use of music after meals), on pp. 147-52; and likewise provides an English translation, pp. 152-55; and a commentary, pp. 155-161. As Pirrotta notes, the precise meaning of Cortese's highly flourished (Ciceronian) Latin is at times difficult to ascertain; following a rather opaque division of singing into three types (Phrygian, Lydian, and Dorian—the latter exemplified by the body of Gregorian chant, and the most highly preferred), Cortese proceeds to the three-fold division of vocal music: namely, Mass, motet, and "carmina"—the latter reserved for sung poetry, accompanied by the lute, and particularly as performed by Serafino Aquilano. The Mass, given its direct association with the Eucharistic liturgy (and likely its

quality of unity seen in the Mass was force enough for Cortese's judgment, despite the far greater space he devotes to the motet, its composers, and the subtle distinctions between them.

It was in response to this secondary status, I believe, that composers strove—albeit, perhaps unconsciously—to increase the motet's stature by expanding its scope and obliging it, too, "uniusmodi in canendo modi." Evidence is found not only in the Gaffurius Codices, but strikingly in Petrucci's motet prints between *Motetti B* and *Motetti libro quarto*: As seen in Table 4, these include not only the five clearly marked motet cycles in these prints, but also six multi-movement motets, written in more than three parts. Such extended motets—notably absent in the motets written in the preceding generation—are clearly operating from the same aesthetic, augmenting the motet's stature by setting an extended text in a unified musical manner.

Table 4: Petrucci 1503¹, 1504¹, and 1505²—Motet Cycles and Multi-movement motets

a. *Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et Huiusmodi B* (1503¹)

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Mvmts.</u>	<u>Type</u>
1. <i>O domine Jesu Christe (Officium de Passione)</i> [no. 2]	Josquin	5	Motet cycle
2. <i>Qui velatus facie fuisti</i> [no. 3]	Josquin	6	Motet cycle
3. <i>Lauda Syon salvatorem</i> [no. 12]	Brumel	12	Multi-mvmt. motet
4. <i>In nomine Jesu (Officium de Cruce)</i> [no. 21]	Compère	9	Motet cycle

grander and more unified nature), is deemed superior to the motet, "which is somehow mixed with the Mass, but can be seen to be added (*ascriptitia*) and supplementary (*astitutia*) since for them there is a free option of choice." I have translated the two Latin adjectives differently than Pirrota (who used "supernumerary" and "ingrafted," respectively), for reasons of clarity; moreover, the adjectives "added" and "supplementary" better articulate the extra-liturgical function the motet served in Cortese's era; see n. 18, above. Cortese mentions only one composer of Masses, Josquin, "who excelled among many, because more science was put by him in the ... genre." In contrast, he mentions six composers of motets (Obrecht, Isaac, Agricola, Brumel, Compère, and Spataro), and provides for each a specific evaluative critique—though difficult to interpret conclusively. For a recent discussion of the "crisis" of musical Latin, as exemplified in Cortese's treatise, see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "Humanism and the Language of Music Treatises" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Kansas City, November, 1999).

b. Motetti C (1504¹)

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Mvmts.</u>	<u>Type</u>
1. <i>Virgo praecllens deitatis mater</i> [no. 21]	anon	5	Multi-mvmt. motet
2. <i>Planxit autem David</i> [no. 33]	Josquin	4	Multi-mvmt. motet
3. <i>Inviolata integra et casta es Maria</i> [no. 35]	anon	12	Multi-mvmt. motet
4. <i>Gloria laus et honor</i> [no. 36]	anon	4	Multi-mvmt. motet
5. <i>Gaudeamus omnes in domino</i> [no. 37]	anon	5	Multi-mvmt. motet

c. Motetti libro quarto (1504¹)

<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Mvmts.</u>	<u>Type</u>
1. <i>Gloria laus et honor</i> [no. 24]	Brumel	7	Multi-mvmt. motet
2. <i>Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes</i> [no. 39]	Josquin	7	Motet cycle
3. <i>Spiritus domine replevit (in honorem Sancti Spiritus)</i> [no. 41]	Weerbecke	6	Motet cycle

Some further evidence of this trend is seen in the multi-part motets and motet cycles copied into Italian manuscripts between c. 1480 and 1530, listed in Table 5.²¹

Table 5: Multi-mvmt. motets (and motet cycles) found in Italian MSS (c. 1480–1530)

<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Mvmts.</u>
BolC Q20, fols. 49v-52	<i>O domine Jesu Christe</i>	M. Jhan	7
FlorL 666, fols. 14v-22	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Josquin	5
FlorBN II.I.232, fols. 35v-40	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Josquin	5
fols. 57v-62	<i>Planxit autem David</i>	Josquin	4
fols. 79v-81	<i>Qui dabit capiti meo aquam</i>	Isaac	4
fols. 103v-108	<i>Considera Israel pro his</i>	de la Rue	4
fols. 137v-146	<i>In nomine Jesu [Officium de Cruce]</i>	Compère	9
fols. 166v-170	<i>Misericordias domini in aeternum</i>	Josquin	5
VatG XIII.27, fols. 73v-75	<i>Quis dabit capiti meo aquam</i>	Isaac	4
VatS 15, fols. 231v-235	<i>Virgo praecllens deitatis mater</i>	anon	5
VatS 35, fols. 5v-8	<i>Domine non secundum</i>	Josquin	4

²¹ This list is admittedly partial and provisional; a more exhaustive study of the multi-movement motet in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries will likewise provide useful insight into the overall evolution of the motet during this period. For the list of motets given in Table 3, it should be noted that the three motets of Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam* are drawn from the composers *Missa Salva nos*; further, the five-movement motet, *Virgo praecllens deitatis mater* was also copied into Mild 3, 200v-203.

VatS 42, fols. 58v-67	<i>Factum est cum baptizaretur</i>	Prioris	4
VatS 46, fols. 50v-55	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Josquin	5
VatS 55, fols. 117v-121	<i>Domine non secundum peccata nostra</i>	anon	4
fols. 121v-125	<i>Domine non secundum peccata nostra</i>	anon	4
VatSP B80, fols. 32v-35	<i>Domine non secundum peccata nostra</i>	Josquin	4

By around 1510, the motet had securely established itself as the dominant genre of sacred composition; evidence is seen, for example, in the prominence of motet examples in the theoretical discussions of Pietro Aron and later Heinrich Glarean, among others.²² The need to substantiate the motet by combining several of them into cycles was perhaps less pressing after this point. It is interesting, for example, that Petrucci's subsequent motet publications, the *Motetti de la Corona* (1514¹ and 1519¹⁻³), contain no motet cycles; nor even any motets of more than three parts.²³ At the same time, growing concern over liturgical license, particularly that inherent in the *motetti missales*, was doubtless operative as well in the eventual decline of the motet cycle.

²² In his *Trattato* of 1525, for example, Aron cites thirty-three examples from motets—mainly drawn from Petrucci motet prints—as compared to only six from Mass movements; see Cristle Collins Judd, "Reading Aron Reading Petrucci: The Music Examples of the *Trattato della Natura et Cognitione di Tutti gli Tuoni* (1525)" in *Early Music History* 14 (1995), esp. 124-26. Glarean, in his monumental *Dodecachordon* (1547), made use of fifty polyphonic examples from motets, as opposed to thirty-five drawn from Mass movements; see Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, ed. and transl. by Clement A. Miller (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), II:x-xii.

²³ There were, however, a few extended texts that received continued attention throughout the sixteenth century and beyond—most notably the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Interest in settings groups of distinct verses of the Lamentations in motet-like fashion began already in the late-fifteenth century, demonstrated in Petrucci's two-volume collection of polyphonic Lamentations in 1506; from the 1530s, interest in setting most or all of the text became more widespread, culminating in the settings of Lassus, Morales, Victoria, and especially Palestrina. See Günther Massenkeil, "Lamentations," in NG 10:410-12.

B. Analysis of the Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices

The primacy of Marian devotion demonstrated in the *motetti missales* repertory (see Chapter 3) is maintained forcibly in the "unspecified" motet cycle repertory as well. Of the seventeen cycles discerned in the three surviving manuscripts (Category II), ten are distinctly Marian (nos. 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, and 24), while two more incorporate a substantial Marian component (11 and 14); thus twelve of seventeen, or seventy-five percent of the cycles may be aligned directly with Marian devotion. Of the sixteen cycles discerned in the damaged fourth *Librone* (Category III), eleven, or sixty-nine percent are distinctly Marian. In all, twenty-eight of forty, or seventy percent of the entire motet cycle repertory preserved in the Gaffurius Codices can be directly linked with Marian devotion.

This large percentage associated with the veneration of the Virgin Mary, appears even more dramatic when compared to the number of cycles devoted explicitly to the veneration of Christ: of the entire cyclic repertory, six of the forty are distinctly Christological (nos. 5, 6, 13, 20, 30, and 33), while three others (nos. 11, 14, and 17) incorporate substantial Christological material; thus, in all, only nine of forty, or twenty-three percent can be linked explicitly to Christological devotion. Next in the devotional hierarchy are the three cycles devoted to Holy Spirit (nos. 10, 28, and 37); and one cycle each devoted to Saint Catherine (no. 21) and Saint John the Baptist (no. 31).

Thus, not only does the "Mass substitute" cycle seem to have been devised, or sustained, in response to the heightened fervor of Marian devotion in Early Renaissance Milan, but indeed the overall genre of the Milanese motet cycle appears to have been conceived fundamentally as a means of ornamenting the practice of Mary veneration. Significantly, the dominance of Marian motet cycles surpasses even the Marian hegemony of the Milanese motet repertory as a whole (see the introduction). The logical next question is: how exactly did these motet cycles serve in the practice of Marian devotion? An answer can best be attempted in the context of the analysis of the Marian

cycles themselves, which will demonstrate both similarities and differences in liturgical and devotional character when compared to the *motetti missales*.

The analyses which follow will proceed very much like those in Chapter 3, with detailed attention to textual, musical, and musico-textual facets of each cycle examined. Likewise, the abbreviations utilized in Chapter 3 will be continued here.²⁴ With the exception of the three motets of Weerbeke's *Christi mater ave* (see Cycle 7, below), each motet from the Gaffurius Codices to be analyzed below is an *unica*. Specifically, the pages that follow will discuss ten Marian motet cycles, found in either MILD 1 or 3, presented in the order in which they appear in manuscripts, namely:

1. *Beata progenies*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 8]
2. *Hortus conclusus*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 9]
3. *Prodiit puer*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 11]
4. *Castra caeli*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 12]
5. *Ave cella novae legis*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 14]
6. *Ave mundi reparatrix*—anonymous [Table 3, no. 15]
7. *Christe mater ave*—Gaspar van Weerbeke [Table 3, no. 16]
8. *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—anonymous [Table 3, no. 22]
9. *Ave regina caelorum, mater*—anonymous [Table 3, no. 23]
10. *Caeli quondam roraverunt*—Franchinus Gaffurius [Table 3, no. 24]

²⁴ See Chapter 3, p. 251.

1. *Beata progenies*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Just as Gaffurius is represented with the first *motetti missales* copied into MiD 1, so too is he represented by the opening motet cycle, *Beata progenies* (Table 3, no. 8). Indeed, as seen in Table 3 (nos. 8-12), the first five motet cycles copied into MiD 1—including *Salve mater Salvatoris*—are unequivocally by Gaffurius, and in general he can be identified with a good many of the "unspecified" motet cycles—more than any other single composer. This clearly demonstrates not only his strong personal advocacy of the genre, but also the thriving performance environment of motet cycles during his tenure at the Cathedral. As mentioned in Chapter 3, analysis of the over twenty motets which comprise Gaffurius's motet cycles will go a long way in broadening our understanding of him as a composer, and of his role in the evolution of the motet in the late fifteenth-century (see the epilogue).

The cycle *Beata progenies* is comprised of three motets, each of which is composed as a single, relatively brief movement.²⁵ Already this sets up a paradigm in contrast to the "complete" *motetti missales*, including Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*; for though the latter contains only four motets, each is composed in two or three *partes*. It is true that Compère's *Ave virgo gloriosa* contains just three motets, but as this is likely an editorially abridged version of the *Missa Galeazescha*, a direct structural connection is unlikely. At the same time, the motets of the *Beata progenies* cycle are admittedly less unified than normally occurs in these motet cycles, enough to suggest the possibility of editorial intervention.

²⁵ As suggested above (n. 5) a partial identity of this cycle was made by Ward—in a footnote, with folio numbers only. Specifically, her folio numbers suggested a two-part cycle, formed by the opening two motets alone. The discussion below will in part support this claim, while at the same time provide arguments for the larger, three-part cycle proposed here. In any event, this represents the first scholarly examination of the three motets.

1. The Texts

The texts set in *Beata progenies* immediately mark a departure from the textual approach of the *motetti missales*, in that all three are derived not from para-liturgical sequences, but rather from liturgical chants, two of which are specifically associated with the feast of the Nativity of Mary. *Beata progenies* is the first motet cycle—of any kind—to appear in the Gaffurius Codices, and it thus seems fitting that its texts bear liturgical and devotional association to this Marian feast, to which the Duomo was believed "dedicated" (see Chapter 2). As seen in Appendix C (#1), each of the three texts is taken largely from individual liturgical chants, though with slight additions or alterations. This apparent inability to confine a text to its exact liturgical origins would seem to imply the same impulse as observed in the textual compilations of the *motetti missales*—where the motet, and especially the motet cycle, became a forum for subjective devotional alterations, in the manner of a trope or commentary. In this case, however, the alterations are slight, and quite modest when compared to the pastiche-like construction of Compère's *motetti missales* texts (see Chapter 3).

Another major difference between *Beata progenies* and the *motetti missales* is the former's direct association with the Ambrosian liturgy. As noted in the previous chapter, the *motetti missales* are unquestionably associated with the Roman liturgy, and each likely embellished the celebration of a Votive Mass in the ducal chapel. By contrast, the first and third motet texts of *Beata progenies* are uniquely Ambrosian, and were likely performed to accompany an Ambrosian liturgical observance—*de Nativitate Mariae Virginis*—in the Duomo. The second text, though largely adopted from a Roman chant, contains additions that may reflect an Ambrosian modification.

The first text, *Beata progenies*, is taken largely from an ancient Milanese chant, dating perhaps to the period of the Genoese exile (seventh century),²⁶ whose primary

²⁶ See Chapter 1, pp. 53-54.

identity during the Renaissance was as the *Confractorium* for the Mass in *Nativitate Sanctissimae Virginis Mariae*—appearing as such, for example, in the *Missale Ambrosianum* given to the Duomo in 1459 by Bianca Maria Visconti.²⁷ The motet text, however, concludes with the phrase "conditorem ominum," absent in all sources thus far encountered. The third motet text borrows, with one striking exception, the entire text of the Ambrosian chant *Sub tuum misericordiam*—the exception being the opening line where, as seen in Appendix C, the word "misericordiam" is replaced with "protectionem." In the Ambrosian liturgy, in fact, these are two separate chants—one beginning, *Sub tuum misericordiam confugimus*, the other *Sub tuum protectionem confugimus*—both of which were sung, consecutively, during the elaborate processional for the feast of the Purification, from the Duomo to Santa Maria Beltrade (see Chapter 1). The latter, however, continues "ubi infirmi susceperunt virtutem, et propter hoc tibi psallimus, Dei Genitrix vera" in every liturgical source; whereas, "Sub tuum misericordiam"—which likewise was sung during an Ambrosian Votive Mass of the Virgin, as the chant *post evangelium*—proceeds exactly as in the motet text.²⁸ It is possible that the substitution of "protectionem" for "misericordiam" was a scribal error, but conscious interpolation must not be ruled out.

The second motet text, *Gloriosae Virginis Mariae*, on the other hand, is adapted not from an Ambrosian chant, but rather from the Roman *antiphon ad Magnificat* for the

²⁷ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 257 inf., fol. 202v. Beyond its appearance as a Mass chant, *Beata progenies* was likewise sung as an Office chant, an *antiphon in cantemus* for both the Sunday after Christmas and for Purification; as well as a processional chant for both VI *Dominica Adventus* and Purification (see MA II:79-80, 110, 348); see also the 1502 processional, edited by Pietro Casòla, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare, II. E. 1. 6, fol. 44v (cf. HugloF, 62, mistakenly identified as U.3.4): *In purificationem beatissime Virginis marie ab ecclesia beltradis ad ecclesiam maiore*. For modern usage, see AM, 85 and 526.

²⁸ The motet text, however, omits the conjunction, "ut," which appears in nearly every source of the chant. One exception I encountered, interestingly, is in a late-15th-century Franco-Burgundian (Roman) Book of Hours, which also contains a *Missa votiva BMV secundem morem Ambrosii* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 470, fols. 93-98v): here, *Sub tuum misericordiam*, lacking the "ut," appears as the Mass chant *post evangelium*. The Marian Votive Mass identity of *Sub tuum misericordiam* was standard during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance—it appears, for example, in a mid-fifteenth century *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 615, fol. 199v), and survives as such in modern Ambrosian books; see AM, 580.

feast of the Nativity.²⁹ Supplementing this chant text are two lines which reinforce the liturgical association to the Nativity of Mary, beginning "Hodie nata est Maria virgo." The following line, "cuius vita inclita lucem dedit seculo," bears resemblance to the Roman Vespers antiphon, *Nativitas est hodie sanctae Mariae Virginis*, which continues "cuius vita inclita cunctas illustrat ecclesias," though the two concluding lines of the motet may stem directly from a distinct antiphon, thus far unidentified.³⁰ While the appearance of a Roman text between two Ambrosian texts may seem to negate their identity as a unified cycle, the common liturgical tie of the first and second motets with the feast of the Nativity, as well some musical links to be discussed below, should not preclude this possibility.

With regard to devotional content, the opening two motets praise Mary for her role in the Incarnation, as the Mother of Christ, and as the model of chastity—she who likewise preserved the dignity of her own mother, Anne, by maintaining her virginity even in childbirth. The image of Saint Anne is made more tangible through the liturgical celebration of Mary's birth to her parents, Anne and Joachim—which in Gaffurius's day was itself defined as Immaculate, thus drawing further connection between Mary and Anne (see Chapter 2). While the third motet maintains some reference to Mary's purity—"sola casta"—the emphasis here is on her powers of protection (and, by inference, mercy): as mentioned in Chapter 1, this Ambrosian text is among the earliest Latin descendants of the fourth-century Greek prayer, *Sub tuum praesidium*, itself among the earliest Christian prayers to reference Mary's powers of intercession on behalf of the faithful.³¹ Thus, in this context of celebrating Mary's birth and perpetual virginity (even in birth), Gaffurius's cycle concludes by eliciting Mary's merciful protection against the ills of temptation, in both prayer and song.

²⁹ LU, 1623-24.

³⁰ LU, 1625-26.

³¹ See Chapter 1, n. 109.

2. The Music

The three motets of *Beata progenies* likewise display musical qualities which bind them together; and yet the links are not as conclusive as in the vast majority of motet cycles in the Gaffurius Codices. Specifically, the three are entirely unified only by virtue of scoring—namely, all are for three voices, scored [Cantus], Tenor, Contratenor [*gravis*]. The full motet parameters, following the Class A traits discussed in Chapter 3, are as follows:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Beata progenies</i>	C1 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	O/O3	G	Dorian
<i>Gloriosae Virginis Mariae</i>	C1 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	C	G	Dorian
<i>Sub tuum protectionem</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	O	F	Lydian

At first glance, the three motets appear rather dissimilar: the first and second, though they share the same clef arrangement, final, and mode, possess contrasting mensurations; more striking is the third motet, which is composed in an entirely different mode (F Lydian), and possesses a different clef arrangement from the first two. While this may seem to throw out the possibility of a unified, tri-partite cycle, it should be noted that the third—which like the first sets an Ambrosian text—shares the same initial mensuration as the opening motet. And though the modal definition of the third is different from the first two, all three share the same hexachordal identity of *cantus mollis*, by virtue of the b^b common to both G Dorian and F Lydian. Given his modal and hexachordal mastery, Gaffurius may have subtly intended compositional unity across strict modal definitions—as a more sophisticated manifestation of commixture.

Moreover, all three display similar musical techniques and a consistent approach to composition, including some potential thematic connections. The following discussion

will again make use of the AMMM edition, and will follow the same analytical model and abbreviations used in the previous chapter.³² The discussion will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order:

- Motet 1. Beata progenies
- Motet 2. Gloriosae Virginis Mariae
- Motet 3. Sub tuum protectionem

Use of Plainchant

As witnessed frequently in the *motetti missales* repertory, the *Beata progenies* cycle employs no *cantus prius factus* melodies, despite the existence of chants for all three motets—namely, two Ambrosian and one Roman. Only with considerable inventiveness can one argue for any direct connection—such as between the regular commixture of D Dorian with C Lydian found in the *Beata progenies* chant, and the regular use of a "transposed" commixture of G Dorian with F Lydian found in the motet, particularly in the soprano and tenor (where the ascent from f to b^b, reminiscent of the c-f ascent of the chant, is more pronounced: e.g. T., mm. 16-19). This, however, is of such a generic nature, and lacking in concrete melodic borrowing, as to make the association dubious. Rather, as was suggested for the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, such connections are best deemed coincidental, and simply in keeping with Gaffurius's overall melodic—and modal—tendencies.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

The contrapuntal writing in the *Beata progenies* cycle is neither particularly modern nor conservative in outlook: imitation occurs regularly, though generally limited to two quasi-canonic voices at the octave. Three-part imitation occurs once in each of

³² AMMM V:20-25.

the opening two motets (motet 1, mm. 19-21; motet 2, mm. 1-6)—and thus its absence in the third motet again suggests a distinct compositional attitude. Indeed, while imitation is found frequently in motets 1 and 2 (six times each), it appears but twice in motet 3, where it is overshadowed by non-imitative writing. As in the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, the bass is consistently supportive at cadences in all three motets, with fifth or fourth leaps to the *finalis* occurring regularly; only twice is there an octave leap at the moment of cadential arrival: in motet 2, m. 37, A-a, to a cadence on D; and in motet 3, m. 6, C-c, to a cadence on F—where the leap appears generated more for textural reasons.

Compared to Gaffurius's *motetti missales* cycle, however, the motets of *Beata progenies* display relatively little variety in texture. Each of the motets contains some two-part writing, occasionally presented as alternating duos (motet 1, mm. 6-13; motet 3, mm. 16-23, consisting of five short, consecutive duos)—which in turn allow Gaffurius to create a mild impression of four voices through shifts in tessitura, such as found in motet 3 (see Example 24). Somewhat surprising, however, is the absence of strict three-part homophony, with only a few measures of quasi-homophony *a3*, and only one brief instance of a homo-rhythmic duo (motet 2, S and B, mm. 44-45). Finally, some variety of texture is created in motet 1 (mm. 19-25), by means of a shift of mensuration (to *tempus perfectum*, *prolatio maior*); and in motet 3 (mm. 27-28), by means of a brief, quasi-canonical hocket between the soprano and tenor, preceding the final cadence. In all, Gaffurius seems to have taken little advantage of the trio scoring in *Beata progenies* to create notable shifts in texture and sonority.

EX. 24*Beata progenies*, Motet 3 (mm. 16-23)

Alternating Duos

no - stram pre - ca - ti - o - nem — ne ten - ta - ti - o -

in - du - cas in ten - ta - ti - o - nem.

[no]stram — de pre - ca - ti - o - nem — ne in - du - cas

nem, sed be - ra nos, so - la —

— sed de pe - ricu - lo li - be - ra - nos, so -

sed — de - peri - cu - lo — li - be -

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The motets of the *Beata progenies* cycle likewise offer relatively little in the way of clear motivic or formal unity, particularly when compared to the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, where Gaffurius displayed remarkable attention to complex motivic development (see Chapter 3). One possible instance in the *Beata progenies* cycle, albeit subtle, occurs at the start of each motet, especially between motets 1 and 2, in the bass: both begin with a descending line from g, presented in a dotted rhythm; in motet 3, with its contrasting modality, the same basic idea occurs, now in the soprano, as a descending line from f' in dotted rhythm (see Example 25).

EX. 25

Beata progenies, a. Motet 1 (mm. 1-4, B); b. Motet 2 (mm. 1-4, B); c. Motet 3 (mm. 1-4, S).
Possible Thematic Material

a.



Be - a - ta pro - ge - ni - es

b.



Glo - ri - o - sae

c.



Sub - tu - am pro - tec - ti -

While the "motive" is admittedly formulaic, its recurrence appears systematic. The opening two motets contain an element of internal repetition, though not as sophisticated as in the *motetti missales* of Weerbeke and Compère: in both instances, the repetitions are consecutive and the repeated material derives from one voice only (motet 1, mm. 6-11; motet 2, mm. 19-28, with some variation). Finally, some unity may be seen in the initial cadential movement of G-B^b-G in motets 1 and 2, which is then somewhat less pronounced in motet 3, as F-C-F—that is, all three motets cadence first on the final, and then move to another pitch center before returning to the final. It may be noted that the first strong G cadence in motet 2 (mm. 11-12) is marked by a double attack of low G in the bass—a stylistic trademark of Gaffurius.

As will be discerned, the cyclic identity of *Beata progenies* is less demonstrable than in previous cycles discussed in this study. And yet, their unique scoring (these are

the only three-voice motets by Gaffurius), as well as several—albeit subtle—musical connections must allow for the possibility that the motets were composed or at least compiled as a cycle. Most significant in supporting this claim, perhaps, is the liturgical-devotional content of the texts—all are Marian, the first two are linked to the Nativity, and the first and third motets are Ambrosian. It may be that Gaffurius composed only the opening two motets as a cycle, to which a scribe joined the third, written separately—perhaps as a means of augmenting the liturgical splendor of the feast to which the Duomo was most intimately associated.

3. Text and Music

As in the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, Gaffurius generally sets the texts of *Beata progenies* with care, and the grammatical syntax is generally well reflected in the musical structure. One interesting exception is in motet 2 (mm. 33-37): here a melodic sequence in the soprano, whose second iteration is imitated at the octave by the tenor, separates two poetic ideas—"[virginalem pudicitiam] non amisit." and "Hodie nata est [virgo Maria]"—which likewise divide the end of one textual source from the beginning of the next. While this demonstrates a modern-looking desire to blur strict sectional divisions by means of a more subtle underpinning, it also obscures the logical syntax of the text.³³ This minor indelicacy, however, does little to detract from the overall studious attention to the syntax of all three chant-based texts.

The motet texts of *Beata progenies* provide a few possible cases of musico-textual expression, though as in the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, they are rather subtle and

³³ An examination of the manuscript (MilD 1, 65v) reveals this as an unlikely candidate for scribal error.

generally not as clearly defined as those seen in the cycles of Weerbecke (see Chapter 3).

Among those worthy of comment here, in order of appearance, are:

1) Motet 1, mm. 19-22 (all voices), "[virgo] genuit conditorem omnium" (The virgin *bore* the creator of all): while, in general, Gaffurius's melodic lines in this cycle are relatively short and syllabic (or neumatic), a rare melisma occurs on the word "genuit." The melisma, in fact, appears in all three voices, as the only three-part point of imitation in the motet, and its appearance on "genuit" is unambiguous for all voices in the manuscript. Given the liturgical identity of this motet cycle, it may be that Gaffurius wished to emphasize Mary's role as the bearer of Christ, while at the same time alluding to Mary's birth by Anne, the actual subject of the feast.

2) Motet 1, mm. 8-15 (all voices), "unde Christus natus est: quam gloriosa est Virgo" (From whence Christ was born: how glorious is the Virgin): here two short phrases are presented, the first leading to a cadence on G (m. 11), the second to a cadence on B^b (m. 15); as the textual content shifts from the birth of Christ to the glory of the Virgin, Gaffurius may well have desired to underscore their individual identities with distinct cadential loci—much as was seen in the motet *Imperatrix gloriosa* of *Salve mater Salvatoris*.³⁴

3) Motet 3, mm. 6-11 (all voices), "[Sub tuum protectionem] confugimus" (We *fly* under your protection): another melisma—this time quasi-imitative, especially between the tenor and soprano—occurs on the word "confugimus." This may be seen as an early "madrigalism," where the visual image of the faithful "flying" to Mary's protection is quite clearly presented (see Example 26).

³⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 267.

EX. 26

Beata progenies, Motet 3 (mm. 6-11)

Word-painting

(protectio)nem con -

(protectio)nem con -

con - fu - gi - mus, —

fu - gi - mus,

fu - gi - mus, —

san - cta De -

2. *Hortus conclusus*—Franchinus Gaffurius

If *Beata progenies* represents a somewhat problematic opening exemplar of the "unspecified" motet cycle, then the three-part *Hortus conclusus* (Table 3, no. 9) re-establishes a more stable definition of the genre—akin to the unity observed in the *motetti missales*. Unity among the three motets is manifest both textually and musically, enough to affirm that Gaffurius—to whom all three motets are attributed in the manuscript—conceived of them as a cycle.³⁵ More than *Beata progenies*, the *Hortus*

³⁵ As mentioned above (n. 5), the suggestion of *Hortus conclusus* as a cycle has been made by others. Finscher (*CompOO* II:i, n. 4; *FinschLC*, 90, n. 10—folio numbers only) claimed that the three motets were preceded by the motet, *Sponsa Dei electa* (MilD 1, 67v-68), to create a four-

conclusus cycle likewise affirms that the Milanese musical milieu supported the creation of motet cycles not explicitly associated with the substitution of items proper to the Mass, and that Gaffurius was chief among those advocating the practice.

1. The Texts

In a manner reminiscent of the opening three motets of Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*, the motets of *Hortus conclusus* demonstrate their unity most evidently by means of their texts: all three set texts derive wholly or in part from a single source—in this case the *Song of Songs*. As discussed in Chapter 3, the *Song of Songs* became a popular source of motets during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries—for example, in the two *motetti missales* of Weerbeke—and held special devotional associations to the Virgin Mary.³⁶ Gaffurius here supports this trend by having composed a cycle linked almost exclusively to the Canticle. In contrast to Weerbeke's cycles, however, the texts set by Gaffurius do not seem to derive intact from liturgical items—at least none uncovered thus far—but rather seem to adopt the compilation approach observed in Compère's *motetti missales* cycles. The one possible exception is the final motet, *Tota pulchra es*, whose text much resembles that of Weerbeke's motet of the same name (motet 7 of *Quam pulchra es*) which, as noted, is identical to a liturgical item.

part *motetti missales*. Finscher's claim was addressed by Noblitt (NoblittMM, 220-24), who despite acknowledging some motivic unity—namely, the opening motives of *Hortus conclusus* and *Descendi in hortum*—dismissed the motets as a *motetti missales*, without explaining their similarities. WardMM, 523, n. 56 listed among the "other possible *motetti missales*" the folios 68v-71—that is, the exact three motets proposed here—although she gives no explanation for altering Finscher's folio numbers. The motet, *Sponsa Dei electa* (cf. AMMM 5:26-27), in fact, demonstrates considerable variance from the three motets to be discussed here, both musically and textually—including a contrasting mensuration and clef arrangement, differing contrapuntal and textual orientation, a contrasting textual source, and so forth.

³⁶ See Chapter 3, n. 45

The opening motet, *Hortus conclusus*, is constructed much as a Biblical gloss, where the first part appropriates verses 12-13 from Chapter 4, followed by a brief Marian acclamation (*Virgo dulcis, O Maria*), which makes explicit Mary's identity as the Canticle Bride; another, single line—from Chapter 5, verse 5, line 2—is then likewise followed by a "commentary," of unknown origin. Specifically, the motet's initial lines define Mary as the "closed garden" and "sealed fountain," who bestows (emits) an orchard, that is Christ. It could be argued that the description of Mary as a "closed garden" suggests a connection between this cycle and the doctrine and celebration of Mary's Immaculate Conception.³⁷ This, in fact, seems quite possible, as the opening text section bears a close resemblance to the Ambrosian *Responsorium in choro* (without the accompanying verse) for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.³⁸ Noteworthy in both chant and motet text is the exclusion of "*malorum puniceorum*" (pomegranates), found in the Canticle verse as the qualifier of "*paradisus*" (orchard). Moreover, the *Responsorium* concludes with the acclamation, "*O Maria*," similar to the motet's own acclamation. Next comes a single Canticle line with vivid imagery of the Bride's hands dripping with myrrh (the original text has "*manus meae*"); this is followed by a Marian gloss, where the honey is likened to the Lord's heavenly deeds, most especially His creation of Mary as the mother worthy of bearing the Christ child. The Canticle verse 5:5 did not receive the same degree of commentary as other Canticle verses—such as 4:12-13, 2:10-11, and especially 4:7-8. Thus, this motet's "gloss" is of particular interest, and demonstrates further the late-Medieval drive to explain the Canticle in largely Marian terms.³⁹

³⁷ Cf. Chapter 3, p. 290. Saint Bernard, in his *Sermones Canticum Canticorum*, aligned the expressions simply with the state of virginity, as the doorway sealed by chastity; cf. SBO II:64 (Serm. 47:4): "*Hortus conclusus, fons signatus. Quod utique claustrum pudoris signat in virgine, et inviolate custodiam sanctitatis, si tamen talis fuerit, quae sit sancta corpore et spiritu.*"

³⁸ LVM, 551. MarbachCS, 272 lists another Responsory for the Roman Feast of the Immaculate Conception based upon Canticle 4:12, though with less similarity to the motet text.

³⁹ MarbachCS, 272 lists an alleluia verse, which adopts the whole of verse 5:5, as part of the liturgy of S. Franciscae a Quinque Vulneribus, Virg.

The second motet text, *Descendi in hortum*, appropriates in its first part portions of Chapter 6, verses 10 and 12 of the *Song of Songs*. The abbreviation used in this motet (particularly the absence of verse 11) is similar to a Marian antiphon *de Annuntiatione* (as found, for example, in the twelfth century Antiphonary of Bamberg), and to a Matins antiphon *in festis BMV per annum*, found in the monastic *Liber Responsorium*, though is not identical to any source found thus far.⁴⁰ Specifically, the motet text alone replaces "hortum nucum" (nut garden) with "hortum meum," and condenses the remainder of verse 10, while retaining most of verse 12 (excluding only the repeated "revertere" after "Sunamitis"). The commentary tradition gives relatively little Marian weight to these verses—to Bernard, for example, the call for the Shulammite (that is, the beloved) to return, is simply associated with the soul's ability to return to good, such that God will gladly look upon it.⁴¹ The remainder of the motet text, however, qualifies these verses in Mariological terms, with an exuberant acclamation and petition: she is first saluted as the virgin, more splendid than the sun and brighter than the stars—forming a sort of astrological gloss on the preceding Canticle verse (VI:9), "Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol" (Fair as the moon, clear as the sun)—and then asked to aid the poor sinner with her presence, as the most pure consoler.

Finally, the third motet text, *Tota pulchra es*, is derived wholly from the *Song of Songs*—namely Chapter 4, verses 7, 10, and 11; and Chapter 2, verse 12, with some variation and alteration of line sequence. The motet text is very similar to that of Weerbecke's motet of the same name—which itself is identical with a liturgical antiphon *de Assumptione* (see Chapter 3). Gaffurius sets an abridged version of the chant (minus

⁴⁰ CAO III:143 and I:282; LR, 252. NoblitMM, 223 incorrectly equates the motet text with that of a processional antiphon *post Trinitatem*, found in the modern Sarum Missal (p. 173): the text found there is, in fact, identical with that in the other sources discussed here.

⁴¹ SBO II, 297 (Serm. 82, 7): "Non est apud Verbum otiosa animae generosa cognatio, de qua triduo iam tractavimus, et cognationis testis similitudo perseverans. Dignanter admittit in societatem Spiritus similem in natura. Et certe de ratione naturae, similis similem quaerit. Vox requirentis: Reverte, Sunamitis, revertere, ut intueamur te. Intuebitur similem, qui dissimilem non videbat; sed et se intuendum praestabit."

II:10-11 and IV:8), and yet their close connection—especially the juxtaposition of verses of Chapter 2 after those of Chapter 4—suggests that the two composers derived their text from the same liturgical source. As discussed in Chapter 3, the lines of this text held association with both the Immaculate Conception (especially the opening line) as well as the Assumption.⁴² It is perhaps no coincidence, moreover, that Gaffurius's setting of *Tota pulchra es* concludes his mini-motet cycle, just as it concluded Weerbecke's *Quam pulchra es* cycle, composed likely a decade or so earlier.

Although it is difficult to say with certainty, it is conceivable that this cycle was composed—and compiled—with devotional and/or liturgical connections to the Immaculate Conception. The doctrine-laden text of "Tota pulchra es, et macula non est in te," may be seen to qualify the opening reference to the Virgin Mary as the "hortus conclusus," particularly given the evidence of textual borrowing from the Ambrosian liturgy of the Immaculate Conception. This, however, is not to say that the cycle was written exclusively for an Ambrosian liturgical service of the Immaculate Conception: indeed, the two final texts bear closest relationship to Roman liturgical texts. Nor, moreover, is it to suggest that the cycle's performance was limited to the feast (or votive service) of the Immaculate Conception; the exuberant mix of Marian praise and petition, set within a clear Marian exegesis of the *Song of Songs* would make this cycle suitable to any number of Marian services—liturgical or votive, in the Duomo or in the ducal chapel.⁴³

⁴² See Chapter 3, pp. 290 for a fuller interpretation.

⁴³ The friendly relationship between Gaffurius and Ludovico Sforza—symbolized by the motet *Salve decus genitoris* (MilD 1, 82v-84) written in the duke's honor—suggests that Gaffurius may well have composed motets appropriate, or even destined, for performance in the duke's chapel. See Chapter 2, pp. 203.

2. The Music

Complementing the textual unity in *Hortus conclusus* is a manifest musical unity that leaves little doubt but that the three motets were composed explicitly as a motet cycle. The elements of unity range from contrapuntal orientation to motivic correlation, and collectively help to broaden understanding of Gaffurius's approach to cyclic planning. Moreover, this cycle exhibits a few compositional idiosyncrasies on Gaffurius's part that will prove useful in identifying other motets as likely candidates of his authorship. The overall cyclic identity of *Hortus conclusus* is first established in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Hortus conclusus</i>	C1 ^b , C2 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	O	G	Dorian
<i>Descendi in hortum</i>	C1 ^b , C2 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	O	G	Dorian
<i>Tota pulchra es</i>	C1 ^b , C2 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	O	G	Dorian

The following discussion will again make use of the AMMM edition, and will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order:⁴⁴

- Motet 1. Hortus conclusus
- Motet 2. Descendi in hortum
- Motet 3. Tota pulchra es

Use of plainchant

Despite Gaffurius's general tendency to ignore corresponding chant melodies in his motets, the cycle *Hortus conclusus* offers some grounds for suggesting *cantus prius factus* usage—namely, the use of the Ambrosian Responsory, *Hortus conclusus*, at the

⁴⁴ AMMM V:28-37. The AMMM transcription includes a few textual errors: in Motet 1 (mm. 33-39) the edition inaccurately transcribes the abbreviation "du" as "domini," instead of "dum" (an error echoed in NoblitMM, 222); in Motet 2 (mm. 37-40) the edition omits the word "sole" (after "O virgo") and (mm. 44-45) omits the "con-" of "consolatrix."

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

In the *Hortus conclusus* cycle, Gaffurius returns to the kind of contrapuntal and textural variety witnessed in the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, absent somewhat in the *Beata progenies* cycle examined above. Imitation, however, is utilized more sparingly than in these latter two cycles, overshadowed by free counterpoint and homophony. Indeed, imitation occurs but a few times in each motet of *Hortus conclusus*, and never is the same motive passed between more than two voices. As if in lieu of actual imitation, Gaffurius employs immediate, sectional motivic repetition several times in each motet, reminiscent of Weerbecke's and Compère's *motetti missales*. This rather modern approach is complemented by the consistent use of a harmonically supportive bass at cadences—with only one exception, in motet 2 (mm. 10-11), where an octave leap occurs at the arrival of a moderately strong cadence on G. The generally strong linear motion at cadences is then accentuated by the consistent use of internal melodic phrases that are largely cadential in nature—whereby Gaffurius demonstrates a greater reliance on stock formulae than seen in the previous motets examined. A case in point occurs in motet 1 (mm. 24-36), which presents a string of five short cadential motives, as seen in Example 28.

EX. 28

Hortus conclusus, Motet 1 (mm. 24-36)

String of "cadential" melodic phrases

stil - la - ve - runt myr - rham. Mel - li -

[myr]rham. Mel - li -

(me - li - flu - i) fac - ti sunt cae - flu - i (me - li - flu - i) fac - ti sunt cae - li, mel - li - flu - i flu - i fac - ti

li, mel - li - flu - i fac - ti sunt cae - li, dum ma - fac - ti sunt cae - li, dum ma - nu Do - mi - ni, dum ma - nu sunt cae - li, dum ma - nu Do - mi - ni, dum ma - nu

The constant variety of texture and scoring observed in each of the three motets of *Hortus conclusus* is perhaps the cycle's most salient feature. Each motet employs a consistent and fluid alternation of two-, three-, and four-part writing, as well as a subtle mix of counterpoint and homophony, all of which creates greater compositional focus than witnessed in the *Beata progenies* cycle. Most striking is the use of a homophonic *tripla* section (notated by minor color) at the conclusion of each motet (presented as a dynamic sequence in the S and T in the final motet)—which not only creates a driving momentum for each motet individually, but likewise binds the three together in an aurally unmistakable way. Motet 1 also features an internal homophonic *tripla* section (mm. 11-18), consisting of two alternating duets (S/T and A/B) followed by a passage *a4*—where the soprano and tenor echo the motive just iterated in the alto/bass duet (see Example 29)

EX. 29

Hortus conclusus, Motet 1 (mm. 11-18)
Internal, homophonic *tripla* section

The musical score for Example 29 is a four-part setting of a Latin text. It is written in 3/4 time and features a homophonic *tripla* section. The lyrics are: (tus) emis - si o - nes tu - ae pa - ra - di - - - sus, e - mis - si - o - nes tu - ae. The score is divided into four staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are written below the staves. The section is characterized by homophonic tripling of notes, indicated by '3' over the notes. The lyrics are: (tus) emis - si o - nes tu - ae pa - ra - di - - - sus, e - mis - si - o - nes tu - ae.

ae - pa - ra - di - sus, Vir - go - dul - cis, O Ma - ri - a, (O Ma - ri - a)

One final textural moment of interest is near the conclusion of motet 2 (mm. 43-45), just preceding the final *tripla* section: here Gaffurius writes four repeating homophonic duets in alternation (S/T, A/B), where the "motive" is simply a short cadential *clausula* (g'-f'-f'-g' against g-a-a-g). With the addition of *musica ficta* on the f's, the net effect" is not unlike the kind of alternating tonic-dominant-tonic progression used to end a work of the Classical period.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Each of the three motets in *Hortus conclusus* makes use of sectional repetition, although limited to a single immediate echo (or near-echo), usually as part of alternating duets—thus approaching without equaling the sophisticated structures seen in Weerbeke's and Compère's cycles (see Chapter 3). The kind of repetition seen in Example 29 is found as well later in motet 1 (mm. 39-43), where the material of an alto/bass duet is passed to the soprano and tenor, respectively, and harmonized as four-part homophony (see Example 30).

EX. 30

Hortus conclusus, Motet 1 (mm. 39-43)

Sectional repetition

(ni)

fa - bri - ca - ta est, fa - bri - ca - ta est

fa - bri - ca - ta est, fa - bri - ca - ta est

(ni)

fa - bri - ca - ta est, fa - bri - ca - ta est

fa - bri - ca - ta est, fa - bri - ca - ta est ma

The repeated a's of this passage, moreover, can be seen to bind all three motets together: repeated a's in the soprano within a homophonic texture can in fact be seen in each motet—motet 1, mm. 41-42; motet 2, mm. 27-28; and motet 3, 28-30, 34-36.

Beyond this, unity amongst the motets can be observed by virtue of the opening motive in the soprano—most pronounced between the opening two motets, with the third presenting a somewhat truncated version of the same "motive"—principally g'-f'-e'-f'-g'-(a')-b'-a'-g'. Likewise can the ascent from a' to d'' in the soprano, first witnessed in motet 1 (mm. 6), be seen to take on "motivic" value in motet 2 (mm. 7-8, 10-11), and especially motet 3, where it bears an ostinato-like quality, particularly from measure 38 to 45. While individually these motivic connections seem rather tame, collectively they reinforce the image of Gaffurius having composed them at the same time, and with an ear to creating a unifying quality to the cycle.

Part of this unity is seen in Gaffurius's approach to modality, much as has been noted in his other two cycles examined. Again, Gaffurius's modal usage is rather sophisticated: in each motet, the generally clear G Dorian modality is obscured briefly by

EX. 31
Hortus conclusus, Motet 3 (mm. 54-55)
 Concluding Double-Cadential "chord" (Gaffurius signature)

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3. Text and Music

The texts of *Hortus conclusus* are set with a level of syntactical clarity exceeding even Gaffurius's two other cycles examined thus far. Despite the rapid alternations of texture found in each motet, no ambiguity or conflict between textual and musical structures can be strongly argued. Noteworthy, for instance, is the manner in which Gaffurius unites the acclamation, "Virgo dulcis, O Maria" to the Canticle line, "emisiones tuae paradisus" (as demonstrated in Example 29), and yet maintains the individual utterance of each phrase—further evidence that the composer may have borrowed the passage directly from the Ambrosian Responsory. Indeed, the constant alternation of texture and scoring in these motets allows Gaffurius to set the texts with great fluidity, without at the same time disrupting the logic of the syntax.

The use of explicit musical ideas to reflect the semantic meaning of the texts, on the other hand, remains relatively subtle in Gaffurius's motets, and individual proposals may well be argued against. It is interesting, for example, that in setting such suggestive lines as "manus tuae stillaverunt myrrham" ("your hands drip with myrrh," motet 1, mm. 19-27) or "favus distillans labia" ("your lips drop honey," motet 3, mm. 16-19), Gaffurius chose not to "paint" the images in any explicit manner; although he does seem to depict the purely directional "descendi" ("I descended," motet 2, mm. 4-7) with a long, winding "descent" from g' to g in the tenor. Why this would be the case is an interesting question indeed, though clearly the notion of "painting" verbal images was not an automatic compositional reflex in the late-fifteenth century. As such, Weerbecke's explicit "word-painting" in his *Quam pulchra es* cycle appears all the more impressive (see Chapter 3).

Among some other proposals for musico-poetic correlation in *Hortus conclusus*, in order of appearance, are:

1) Motet 1, mm. 11-18 (all voices), "Emissiones tuae paradisus, Virgo dulcis, O Maria" (Your shoots are an orchard, Sweet Virgin, O Mary): this passage, already much

discussed (see Example 29), leads into the first climax of the cycle, as well as the first strong cadence (on F, m. 18). The transfer of the alto and bass duet lines to the soprano and tenor, and into a four-part, *tripla* harmonization may be seen to reflect the intrinsic connection between Christ and Mary, the source of the "orchard"; with the four-part climax echoing the jubilant Marian acclamation that informs the text as a whole.

2) Motet 2, mm. 27-29 (all voices), "Revertere, revertere [Sunamitis]" (Return, return, Shulammite): this static and quasi homophonic iteration forms a simple musical counterpart to the declamatory tone of the text—demonstrating that rhetorical imperatives as opposed to "picturesque" images were more faithfully rendered by a humanist composer such as Gaffurius.

3) Motet 2, mm. 42-48 (all voices), "adsis nobis, propitia consolatrix, O Maria purissima" (bear near us, O kind consoler, O most pure Mary): this passage, likewise discussed above, sets the final petition—the most exuberant of the cycle—in a manner both jubilant and insistent, by means of the hoquet-like duet alternation of a single cadential figure, followed by a rousing *tripla* passage *a4* to close the motet. The music, thus forms a perfect devotional and rhetorical complement to the pious petition for Mary's necessary assistance.

3. *Prodiit puer*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Gaffurius's three-motet cycle *Prodiit puer* (Table 3, no. 11) maintains a clear unity as in the previous cycle, and in fact displays a more fully developed approach to musical cohesion—akin to the motivic techniques used in *Salve mater Salvatoris*.⁴⁵ As much as any other cycle in this study, *Prodiit puer* substantiates the existence of a repertory of Milanese motet cycles unfettered by the strict liturgical requirement of the *motetti missales*, just as it amply displays the creative vision and technical mastery of its composer.

1. Texts

The first and third motets of this cycle—*Prodiit puer* and *Gaude mater luminis*—bear a close relationship, as both set complete Marian sequences, each divided into two *partes*. As such, they reinforce the tendency of Gaffurius, in contrast to his Northern contemporaries, to conceive of his motet cycles in part as collections of intact devotional poetry—such as was seen in his *Salve mater Salvatoris*—and not the pastiche-like approach of Compère and, to a lesser extent, Weerbecke. Similarly, the second motet, *Joseph est conturbatus est*, displays the composer's impulse to set complete liturgical texts, such as in motet 3 of his *Beata progenies*. This is not to say that text compilation was outside the composer's capacity—as, indeed, motets 1 and 2 of *Beata progenies* demonstrate—but rather that they are less common. One wonders if Gaffurius's position as the *maestro di cappella* at a metropolitan Cathedral played a role in this tendency—in

⁴⁵ Among the "[o]ther possible *motetti missales* cycles" listed in WardMM, 523, n. 56 (by footnotes only) is MilD 1, 75v-79—which corresponds precisely to the three motets proposed here as the *Prodiit puer* cycle (cf. n. 5, above). No other mention of the cycle has been made, and naturally this represents its first detailed discussion.

contrast to the pastiche-like approaches of Weerbeke and Compère, both employed exclusively at the ducal chapel.

Specifically, *Prodiit puer* sets all six versets (or three paired versets)—with minor variants—of the sequence of the same name; the text, of likely Southern Italian origin from the fourteenth century, enjoyed only limited transmission within Italy, and was sung to the melody of *Verbum bonum et suave*.⁴⁶ Each four-line verset follows the regular syllabic pattern 8-8-8-7 (trochaic tetrameter), with the rhyme scheme a-a-a-b—which, not surprisingly, is identical to its thirteenth-century model, *Verbum bonum et suave*.⁴⁷ The third motet, *Gaude mater luminis*, sets all eight versets of a sequence of likely German origin from the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ Unlike *Prodiit puer*, *Gaude mater luminis* has a rather irregular structure, as the initial four versets (or two paired versets) contain three-lines which follow the syllabic pattern 7-7-7, and carry the rhyme scheme a-a-b ("stollen", "abgesang"); whereas the final four versets have two lines each, following the overall rhyme pattern: a-b, a-b, c-d, e-d. What links the two verset types, however, is the addition of a single word, "Maria," at the close of each verset—acting as a sort of Refrain. Gaffurius follows this structural pattern precisely, with each *pars* of the motet setting four versets, each closing with "Maria"—which Gaffurius uses to great effect.

The second motet, by contrast, is a liturgical text, and one that belongs uniquely to the Ambrosian rite—namely, the *Psallenda*, *Joseph conturbatus est*, which was initially sung during the Vespers of Christmas, before being transferred to the Feast of Saint

⁴⁶ AH 37, 83. The oldest listed source is a fourteenth-century *Graduale* from Civitate (today, Civitavecchia, North of Rome). The two notable variants are the reversal of versets 3 and 4, and the curious inversion of the closing two words of the motet's fourth verse, as "caelestia terrestribus," instead of "terrestribus caelestia"—which disrupts the rhyming pattern of the paired versets; one here suspects scribal error (see MiD 1, fols. 76v-77). On the other hand, the opening word given in AH is "Prodit," which is clearly a typographical error.

⁴⁷ See MoneLH, II:75.

⁴⁸ See MoneLH, 398-99. The text, moreover, may be added to the list of Svövérfy's "Gaude-Hymnen ohne Zahlenangabe," not surprising given its early date; cf. SvözMM, 137-39; see also Chapter 3, n. 157.

Joseph (March 19), probably in the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ The inclusion of this text within the *Prodiit puer* cycle is in fact quite striking, for it confirms a rather flexible interchange permitted in Gaffurius's day between the Roman-based sequences and the unique liturgy of the Ambrosian rite (see Chapter 2).

Regarding the devotional content of the texts (see Appendix C, #3), the three motets forge an interesting triptych, with references to all three members of the Holy Family: Mary, Joseph, and Jesus—and thus reminiscent of the visual portrayals of the *Sacra Famiglia*, which became common from the early fifteenth century, particularly in Books of Hours.⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that reference to Joseph is likewise made in motet 4 (*Imperatrix gloriosa, secunda pars*) of Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, perhaps suggesting a personal devotion on the composer's part.⁵¹ At the same time, the devotional emphasis is predominantly on Mary, as the bearer of Christ, particularly in the final motet.

The opening motet, *Prodiit puer*, is again divided into two *partes*, and begins by extolling Mary's miraculous conception of the Word, arising from a "sound chamber of chastity, as a light from a star." Mary's perpetual virginity is depicted with the imagery of the Holy Spirit (the Word) having entered (*introivit*) and then exited (*exiuit*) her womb, though requiring neither sexual contact nor labor to bear the Christ child. The wording is reminiscent of Josquin's motet *Praeter rerum serium*, at the line, "Initus et exitus/ partus tui pernitus," though Gaffurius's treatment of the textual imagery cannot compare to that of Josquin.⁵² The unprecedented (*inaudita*) nature of this heavenly-terrestrial union described at the start of the *secunda pars* (again forming a parallel to

⁴⁹ For the chant, see LV, 593-94; see also Terence Bailey and Paul Merkley, *The Antiphons of the Ambrosian Office* (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989), 198.

⁵⁰ See WarnerA, 188-90.

⁵¹ A more universally recognized cult of Joseph arose in the latter sixteenth century; a permanent altar of S. Giuseppe was erected in the Duomo, for example, only around 1566, after a design of the architect Pellegrino Tibaldi. See Giovanni Battista Sannazzaro, "Altari" in *Il Duomo di Milano: Dizionario storico artistico e religioso* (Milan: NED, 1976), 21.

⁵² Cf. Josquin des Prés, *Werken*, ed. Albert Smijers (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1926-64), *Bundel VII*, 25-26 (mm. 59-69).

Praeter rerum serium, at its opening line) is then followed by an extended petition to Mary, as the mother of Christ and—significantly—the *Mater misericordiae*, for her intercession before her Son on behalf of the faithful

The second motet, *Joseph conturbatus est*, unlike the first and third, is set as a single *pars* only. Here, the brief mention of Joseph's bewilderment at Mary's pregnancy acts as a pretext for the eucharistic line that concludes the motet—reflecting the chant's origins within the liturgy of Christmas: the Word was made flesh and lived among us. The brevity of the reference, and especially its florid contrapuntal setting, all but exclude the possibility that the motet accompanied the Elevation of the Host (see Chapter 3).

Finally, motet 3, *Gaude mater luminis*, establishes the primary devotional intent of the cycle, with an impassioned Marian sequence. Following the pattern observed so often, the text moves from praise to petition—not unlike the "Gaude" hymn set by Compère as the fourth motet in his *Missa Galeazescha* (see Chapter 3). Mary is the mother of light, God's royal rod (cf. Isaiah 11:1), and the mirror of virtue who purified the ages—a reference to her reversal of Eve's earlier transgression. This great deed, among the principal Joys granted her by Divine Majesty, in turn merits her role as the Mother of Christ, whereby she is deserving of every praise: all honor Mary, from the mighty to the wretched. Her unique position in turn allows her to console the weeping sinner, and to bring his case before Christ to ensure the blessing of knowing His heavenly kingdom.

While the liturgical identity of *Joseph conturbatus est* might suggest a liturgical function for the cycle as a whole, the two sequence-based motets which bookend the cycle suggest otherwise—namely, that *Prodiit puer* was written to accompany a votive service, in all likelihood dedicated to the Virgin Mary alone. Again, the reference to Joseph in the second motet could possibly suggest its use for a votive service dedicated to the Holy Family, though I have found no references to such para-liturgical devotions in fifteenth-century Milan. Moreover, the image of Joseph is tangential compared to dominant focus on Mary, and of course, Christ. Joseph's devotional role here is likely as

an extension of Mary's human identity—as her earthly husband—whereby her Divine Maternity is all the more astonishing.

2. The Music

The three motets of *Prodiit puer* demonstrate not only clear musical unity, but also a level of compositional sophistication on Gaffurius's part not seen since *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Compared to *Beata progenies* the musical and motivic connections here are unambiguous, while the contrapuntal, melodic, textural, motivic, and modal aspects display more maturity and scope than *Hortus conclusus*. The overall cyclic identity of *Prodiit puer* is first established in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Prodiit puer</i>	C1, C3, C4, F3 ⁵³	O	D	Dorian
<i>Joseph conturbatus est</i>	C1, C3, C4, F3	O	D	Dorian
<i>Gaude mater luminis</i>	C1, C3, C4, F3	O	D	Dorian

The following discussion will again make use of the AMMM edition, and will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order:⁵⁴

- Motet 1. *Prodiit puer*
secunda pars: Res a saeculis
- Motet 2. *Joseph conturbatus est*
- Motet 3. *Gaude mater luminis*
secunda pars: Te honorant superi

⁵³ AMMM V incorrectly copied the B incipit as having the clef F4, for all three motets.

⁵⁴ AMMM V:52-63. The AMMM transcription includes at least one musical error: Motet 3, *secunda pars*, B, m. 23, where the first B should be an A. The faulty transcription creates an unthinkable double half-step progression (B-B \flat -A).

Use of plainchant

It appears as though Gaffurius made no attempt to borrow from existing plainchant for this cycle; at least he made no use of the existing, chant melody of *Joseph conturbatus est*, nor the well disseminated melody for the sequence, *Gaude mater luminis*. Specifically, the *Psallenda* is in Mode 8 and the sequence melody is in Mode 3 on E (with commixture of Mode 1 on D), while motet 3 makes use neither of G Mixolydian nor E Phrygian. More obvious is the acclamation, "Maria" in motet 3, which in the sequence melody is clearly Phrygian (e-f-g-f-e-d-e), but which in the motet is either Dorian or Lydian (f-g-f).⁵⁵ While it is possible that the "head"-motive which starts each motet (d-f-e-d) was borrowed from another chant, its rather generic identity makes this seem unlikely—particularly given the general practice of non-*cantus prius factus* usage in the Milanese motet cycle repertory.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

The contrapuntal writing of *Prodiit puer* illustrates, perhaps as much as anything discussed so far, the skill and proficiency of Gaffurius the composer. Polyphonic techniques and procedures appear here as the mindful handmaidens of aesthetic clarity and musical drama, and through his artful alliance of symmetry and diversity show Gaffurius a formidable heir to his Northern predecessors in Milan. Imitation is used throughout the cycle, though as but one technique among several and somewhat overshadowed by free counterpoint. Each of the three motets begins with imitation, on the same "head motive": the first two pass the motive among all four voices (motet 1 with the intervals 1-1-1-5; motet 2, with the intervals 1-1-5-5); while the final motet presents it as a two-part imitation (at the octave) between soprano and tenor. Indeed, most internal points of imitation are limited to soprano and tenor, demonstrating a still conservative approach to the technique. At the same time, Gaffurius offers a few more

⁵⁵ For the sequence melody, see GoedeUP, 72.

sophisticated uses of imitation, including one which cleverly interplays with the cycle's overall motivic identity: in motet 3 (*prima pars*, mm. 14-16), Gaffurius presents a three-part imitative point (S-B-T, at the intervals 1-6-1) based on a transposed and rhythmically animated version of the "head-motive," though the tenor precedes its "answer" with an inversion of the same motive in homophony with the soprano (see Example 32)—in all forming a good example of counterpoint in the service of formal and aesthetic identity.

EX 32

Prodiit puer, Motet 3 (*prima pars*, mm. 14-16)
3-pt. imitation (S-B-T), based on "Head-Motive"

The musical score for Example 32 is a three-part imitation (Soprano, Bass, Tenor) based on the "Head-Motive" in Motet 3 of *Prodiit puer*. The score is in 3/4 time and features four staves with lyrics in Latin. The lyrics are: "Vir - ga De - i re - gi - a, flo - re fruc - tu can - di - da di - vi - ga De - i re - gi - a, flo - re Vir - ga De - i re - gi - a, flo - re".

One of the most striking aspects of *Prodiit puer*, in comparison to previous cycles of Gaffurius, is the melodic writing. The reliance on brief, cadential-oriented melodic lines seen in earlier cycles—especially in *Hortus conclusus*—is here replaced by a penchant for broader, more flowing melodies, particularly in the soprano. One such case is in motet 2, where the final twelve measures (mm. 17-28) present one continuous—and quite beautiful—melody in the soprano, partly imitated in the tenor (mm. 22-24) and replete with two melodic sequences. Likewise are found numerous florid lines containing

a string of six or more semiminims—for example, three consecutive runs in motet 2 (S and A, mm. 2, 5, and 9). In curious contrast to these mellifluous melodic aspects, however, are found several unusual "instrumentalisms" in the bass—including one string of three consecutive leaps of a fifth (motet 3, *secunda pars*, mm. 17-18: a-d-g-c-e-A). At the same time, such lines create near-tonal definition to the overall counterpoint—which, along with the generally supportive identity of the bass at cadences, and overall modal sophistication, display Gaffurius's theoretical persona in practice.

The textural variety observed so well in *Hortus conclusus* is again found in *Prodiit puer*, with a similar mix of duos, trios (often in *fauxbourdon*), and four-part writing—as well as the regular appearance of homophonic (or quasi-homophonic) *tripla* sections in all but the second motet. New to *Prodiit puer*, however, is the regular insertion of a ritornello-like refrain in both sections of motet 3—namely, three fermata-marked chords (the S is invariably f'-g'-f', in two alternating harmonizations) upon the acclamation, "Maria"—in direct response to their appearance in the sequence text (see Ex. 33 for both harmonizations). While this technique is new to the motets of Gaffurius discussed thus far, it is very similar to that observed in motet 5 of Compère's *Missa Galeazescha* (see Chapter 3), and may demonstrate a conscious borrowing. As such, the praise issued by Finscher at Compère's use of such a modern compositional procedure should likewise apply to Gaffurius.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ See FinschLC, 104-05; cf. Chapter 3, p. 323.

EX. 33

Prodiit puer, Motet 3 (e.g., *prima pars*, mm. 13 and 36)
Alternating harmonizations of "Maria"

The musical score for Example 33 consists of two measures, each with four staves. The first measure shows the word "Ma - ri - a" on each staff, with the syllables aligned under specific notes. The second measure shows "Ma - - - ri - - - a", where the "Ma" and "a" syllables are spread across multiple measures, indicated by the longer horizontal lines. The notes are placed on different staves in each measure, illustrating alternating harmonizations.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The regular ritornello-like acclamations on "Maria" in motet 3 speak likewise to issues of motivic unity, and thus once again to the use of musical techniques in the service of aesthetic principles. The three motets of *Prodiit puer*, in fact, contain several motivic connections, approaching those seen in the cycles of Weerbecke and Compère, as well as in Gaffurius's own *Salve mater Salvatoris*. Each of the three motets begins with a "head-motive," consisting of the pitches d-f-e-d-a; one slight distinction in their use is that in the opening motet, the motive proceeds down a fourth on the last two pitches (e.g. motet 1, *prima pars*, mm. 1-2, B, d-A,), while in the second and third motets the motive rises a fifth (e.g. motet 2, mm. 2-3, T, d-a). The motivic usage here, however, is not limited to the opening of each motet alone. First, a transposed and rhythmically varied version of the "head-motive" appears in motet 3 (see Example 32), along with what appears an inverted presentation of the same motive; that the inversion is not accidental is suggested by a second presentation of the same version a few measures later, also in imitation (motet 3, *prima pars*, T/S, mm. 20-24). A similar mix of the prime

and retrograde versions of the "head-motive" is found in motet 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 29-30), at the same transposed pitch level as in motet 3—thereby further linking these two motets.

Beyond this, there is another repeated motive, although limited to motet 1 (*prima pars*): namely a line in the soprano whose basic shape is f'-e'-a'-g'-c"—which first appears somewhat subtly in measures 12-13, and then more clearly in measures 22-24 (in imitation between S and T) and again in measures 36-37, toward the end of the *pars*, thus creating dramatic momentum into the final section. Further, the motive used in the "Maria" acclamation (f'-g'-f') in motet 3 appears to be foreshadowed in the opening two motets: in motet 1, soprano, measures 26-27 (in the *tripla* section), and motet 2, soprano, measures 6-7 (transposed down to c'-d'-c'). Finally, and perhaps most significantly, motet 1 contains a case of sectional repetition, the technique noted by Finscher and Croll as perhaps the most modern features of Compère's and Weerbecke's *motetti missales*: specifically, Gaffurius's case occurs in the *seconda pars*, measures 15-27, where a homo-rhythmic duet in the tenor and bass is repeated twice more, separated by *a4* writing (leading into an extended *tripla* section) the first time, and a soprano/tenor duet the second. The final appearance of the duet (mm. 26-27) is extended, leading to stronger cadence, on D, whereas the previous duets resolved to F (see Example 34).

EX. 34

Prodiit puer, Motet 1 (secunda pars, mm. 15-27)

Sectional repetition

(bus) Ma - ter mag - ni Na - za - rae - i, Ma -

(bus) Glo - ri - o - sa Ma - ter De - i, Ma - ter mag - ni Na - za - rae - i, Ma -

(bus) Ma - ter mag - ni Na - za - rae - i, Ma -

(bus) Glo - ri - o - sa Ma - ter De - i, Ma - ter mag - ni Na - za - rae - i, Ma -

ter Je - su nos - trae spe - i, Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae: te pre - ca - mur tu pre - ca -

ter Je - su nos - trae spe - i, Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae: te pre - ca - mur tu pre - ca -

ter Je - su nos - trae spe - i, Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae: te pre - ca - mur tu pre - ca -

ter Je - su nos - trae spe - i, Ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae: te pre - ca - mur tu pre - ca -

re tu - um na - tum nos ju - va - re; pa -

re fac nos te - cum ha - bi - ta - re

tu - um na - tum nos ju - va - re; pa -

re fac nos te - cum ha - bi - ta - re

This cadential identity of this sectional repetition, moreover, points to one last musical aspect of *Prodiit puer* worth mentioning—an aspect one has come to expect in Gaffurius's works: namely, a well-developed use of modal identity. As seen above, all three motets are in D Dorian, and throughout Gaffurius alternates the clear reinforcement of Mode 1 on D, with a strong commixtures of F Lydian and—especially in motet 3—A Phrygian. Indeed, with few exceptions, cadences arrive either on D, F, or A, while the melodic writing consistently outlines the corresponding interval species. Noteworthy, for example, is the strong F Lydian modality which marks the *secunda pars* of motet 1, preceded, significantly, by a half-cadence on C at the end of the *prima pars*; F Lydian predominates the *secunda pars*, in fact, until the extended alto/bass homorhythmic duet mentioned above, leading to a final, strong Dorian cadence on D. Although the opening two motets contain occasional A cadences, motet 3 includes no less than five, of which the last three are demonstrably Phrygian (that is, *secunda pars*, mm. 10, 14, and 23), by means of added b's in several voices. Gaffurius then cleverly shifts the b's toward two strong F Lydian cadences, before resolving in the final bars to D Dorian. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that motet 2 makes use of Gaffurius's signature double cadence in the final two measures.

In all, the three motets display considerable craft and artfulness, and show Gaffurius's attention to some of the more sophisticated techniques of his Northern colleagues. It would seem likely that, compared to *Beata progenies*, for example, *Prodiit puer* is a later work, one that leads up to (or perhaps closely following) his more ambitious *motetti missales* cycle—where the composer aimed his pen directly at the cyclic tradition of his distinguished Milanese predecessors.

3. Text and Music

Gaffurius's approach toward musico-textual issues in *Prodiit puer* is very much in keeping with his previously discussed cycles. With impressive consistency, the composer displays careful attention to the syntactic structure of the poetry—concluding each poetic strophe with a clear musical cadence, and generally providing two adjacent strophes with distinct contrapuntal or textural qualities. A partial exception to the latter is in the *secunda pars* of motet 1, where Gaffurius provides the final two strophes with a connecting musical motive (see Example 34, above), and yet he clearly separates the two with a strong cadence as well as a shift in texture from *tripla* to regular mensuration (mm. 21-22). Larger structural divisions are likewise articulated, namely the *prima pars* of both motets 1 and 3, which conclude with incomplete cadences—a cadence on the sub-final in motet 1; and the closing refrain in motet 3, with the third in the soprano.

As with the previous cycles of Gaffurius, semantic links of text and music are less clearly articulated, and in most cases the proposed instances are open to question. The one exception in *Prodiit puer*, moreover, has as much to do with syntactic identity as semantics—namely, the repeated musico-textual acclamation of "Maria" in fermata-bearing chords in the *secunda pars* of motet 3 (see Example 33). Specifically, the acclamations have the dual function of articulating the end of each textual strophe—just as they do in the sequence itself—while also highlighting in an audible, somewhat meditational manner the devotional essence of the motet, an impassioned praise and petition of the Virgin Mary. Among some other proposals for musico-poetic correlation in *Prodiit puer*, in order of appearance, are:

1) Motet 1, *prima pars*, mm. 11-15 (S), "ut lux [exit] de stella" (as light leaves a star): *Prodiit puer* contains a number of extended, melismatic lines, with this representing among the first. The meandering ascent and descent, c'-c''-c', may be seen to represent the swooping flow of light from a bright star. Further, the basic motive used here is

repeated in the soprano (mm. 22-26), at the line "atque verbum hinc exivit" (and the Word also exited [from Mary's womb]). The motivic connection would hardly seem accidental, and thus Gaffurius seems to have complemented the textual link between a star and Mary's womb with a musical one. Finally, a cadential progression can be seen between the two presentations, namely the rather weak cadence on F at the end of measure 15 is "resolved" in measure 26, bringing closure to this musico-textual metaphor.

2) Motet 1, *prima pars*, mm. 20-26 (all voices), "Verbum quidem introivit, atque verbum hinc exivit" (The Word entered and also exited from that [chamber]): the contrasting imagery of the Word entering and exiting Mary's womb may likewise be seen to contain some musical symbolism. If so, however, its use is highly subtle, and cannot compare to the sophisticated and powerful symbolism heard in the similar text of Josquin's *Praeter rerum serium*, where the contrasting movements of "initus" and "exitus" are presented with obvious and stunning drama. Still, one may argue for some "visual" progression in *Prodiit puer*: first in the tenor, where a cadential movement of G to F is created; and second, by virtue of the shift from a three- to a four-voice texture—which may be seen to represent a three-member presence as the Spirit enters (the Father, Mary, and the Holy Spirit) shifting to a four-part one (now complete with the Christ child). Even if granted, however, the instance highlights the considerable distance in skill and dramatic potency between Gaffurius and the master of his generation, Josquin des Prés.

3) Motet 1, *secunda pars*, mm. 15-30 (A and B), from "Gloriosa Mater Dei" to "paradisi gloriae" (see Appendix C, #3): this passage contains the recurring motive discussed above. Beyond the formal qualities of the usage, the recurring motive may be seen to create a kind of textual and devotional sub-text—namely, the explicit link created by the duos: Glorious Mother of God... we beseech you to pray [for us]... and allow us live with you [in paradise]. This may be seen to be the devotional essence of the motet, and thus Gaffurius may have intended to underscore this primary theme by means of the recurring motive.

4) Motet 2, mm. 12-29 (all voices), "Verbum caro factum est/ et habitavit in nobis" (The Word was made flesh and lived among us): this is by far the greatest amount of music devoted to a single couplet, and contains a number of extended, melismatic lines—most notably the eleven-measure line in the soprano, from measure 17. This textual passage contains the sole reference to the Eucharist within the motet cycle, and Gaffurius seems to have granted it a particularly rich setting, displaying his devotional attention to this most mysterious of Catholic doctrines. This is not to suggest that the motet served as an Elevation motet, but rather that the doctrine of the Eucharist had a welcome and complementary place within a Marian motet cycle.⁵⁷

5) Motet 3, *prima pars*, mm. 33-35 (all voices), "prolem sanctitatis" ([Mary has merited to bear] the Child of Sanctity): this *tripla* passage contains a brief double canon (S/T and A/B) which may be seen to represent the dual partnership of Christ and Mary.

⁵⁷ From at least the thirteenth century, there arose an increased notion of affinity between the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary—where the Eucharist body born at the Mass was united with the human body of Christ born of the Virgin. The connection is observed, for example, in the many Books of Hours which, especially from the fifteenth century, include an *Officio de Corpore Christi*. The affinity was further represented in a number of altarpieces of the early Renaissance—most notably, those of Giovanni Bellini, such as his San Giobbe altarpiece. In the words of Bellini scholar, Rona Goffen, "Mary herself, raised on her throne, occupies the place of the altar in the apse. Her left hand recalls the praying gesture of the orant: she is the priest of Bellini's illusionistic church, and her Son is her eucharistic offering." See Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 153 (photo of altarpiece on p. 148); see also Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 133-35.

4. *Castra caeli*—Franchinus Gaffurius

In contrast to the two previously discussed cycles, the four-part *Castra caeli* (Table 3, no. 12) has a somewhat less secure cyclic identity. Aside from the opening two motets—whose texts are drawn from the same Marian sequence, the musical and textual unity of the motets may well be open to some dispute. Nevertheless, enough connecting material is perceptible to pose at least the argument that all four motets were created and compiled as a cycle.⁵⁸ This, moreover, affords the opportunity to propose the final motet, *Eya mater summi Dei*, as the work of Gaffurius—bringing it out the realm of *anonimi*, and into the expanding corpus of Gaffurius compositions. The argument likewise allows further discussion of what may or may not be considered a motet cycle, and to what degree scribes may have participated in the phenomenon.

1. The Texts

The texts of the four motets proposed as forming the *Castra caeli* cycle are all dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and all stem from non-liturgical sources, two of which have been identified (motets 1 and 2). This coupled with the lack of any specific doctrinal or liturgical references would suggest that the motets were sung as part of a

⁵⁸ As mentioned above, all four cycles were posited by Finscher as forming part of a much larger, eight-part cycle (FinschLC, 90, n. 10; as MilD 1, 98v-106)—with folio numbers only—as a possible *motetti missales* (see n. 5, above); the proposal was then dismissed by Noblitt, without providing much in the way of explanation for the unity present (NoblittMM, 229-33). Indeed, Finscher seems to have overstated his case, most clearly by virtue of the differing devotional content of the motet texts—which include one dedicated to Saint Afra; four to the Virgin Mary (those proposed here); and three dedicated to the Eucharist, all of which stem from the same sequence *de Corpore Christi*. Beyond the textual differences, the motets of contrasting devotional themes display obvious musical differences—thematic, contrapuntal, and textural—enough to support the decision to delimit the proposed cycle here to the four Marian motets.

votive Marian service, likely performed in one of the Marian side chapels of the Duomo. At the same time, the texts display a notable degree of Mariological differences—particularly the fourth motet. To be sure, the previously discussed Marian cycles displayed devotional variety, and yet here the contrasts themselves make the identity of the cycle more questionable.

The opening two motets derive from the twelfth-century sequence, *Castra caeli dum trascendo*, with the first motet setting the initial two strophes, and the second motet setting the third and fourth strophes (beginning *O res leata*); the final two strophes of the sequence are left unset.⁵⁹ This sequence, of Austrian or Southern German origin, enjoyed a fairly wide dissemination, including into several Italian manuscripts and printed books of the late- fifteenth century.⁶⁰

The third motet, *Imperatrix reginarum*, opens with the first strophe of the Marian sequence of the same name, and concludes with a so-far unidentified three-line strophe, of a rather popular nature (with ending rhymes *pia, via, Maria*). The sequence appears in a twelfth-century Antiphonary as an antiphon *de Assumptione*, copied with chant notation; despite a notice in a late fifteenth-century manuscript—preserved in the Brera Library (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, cod. AD IX.43)—where it is labeled "rithimi beati Leonis papae," the sequence was almost certainly not authored by Pope Leo IX (d. 1054).⁶¹

⁵⁹AH 54:374. While this relationship would normally constitute a *prima* and *secunda pars* of a single motet, the manuscript provides no *custos*, nor does the first motet end with an unresolved cadence; thus, the two motets must be considered as separate entities.

⁶⁰ MonelH, II:360 cites the earliest source as a twelfth-century manuscript from Graz, Austria. Blume (AH 54:374-75), however, notes that nothing on the poet was discovered either in Graz or elsewhere, and that the manuscript "ist offenbar ein suddeustches Produkt aus dem Gebiete der alten großen Salzburger Erzdiözese."

⁶¹ MonelH, II:421-22 and AH 20, 154-55, with the chant melody appearing on p 274. Blume, unlike Mone, was careful to dismiss the claim that the sequence was written by the eleventh-century pope, citing both personal and historical style differences; he cites the inscription, "auf die wohl ein Nachdruck nicht zu legen ist. Man müßte an Leo IX. denken, allein seine Verse sind weniger vollendet als diese, den Charakter des 12. Jahrhunderts tragenden."

The final motet, *Eya mater summi Dei*, is unidentified, and seems to derive from two different poetic sources, both likely of popular origin; the first part consists of three, eight-syllable lines, all ending with the same rhyme (*Dei, Nazarei, rei*)—displaying an identical structure to the latter part of *Imperatrix reginarum*, and thus perhaps taken from the same poetic source (see also Cycle #7, below).

The devotional content of these four motets displays some notable contrasts (see Appendix C, #4): most significant is the manner in which the first three exclusively and fervently reference the Virgin Mary, while the fourth is as much Christological paean as Marian prayer. Again, most of the Marian *motetti missales* and motet cycles include a combination of Marian and Christological praise, but here the contrast appears more striking, given particularly the nearly complete absence of reference to Christ in the opening three motets. This is not to deny the possibility that Gaffurius purposely included the fourth motet to "balance" the high Mariology of the opening three, and yet the contrast should be kept in mind when considering the overall cyclic identity of the four motets.

Specifically, the texts of the opening two motets—co-opting most of the twelfth-century sequence, *Castra caeli dum*—form a pious and meditative praise of Mary as the embodiment of earthly and celestial peace: the serene peace of the heavens, the mysterious peace of the Church, and the very source (*dispensatrix*) of peace on behalf of her fellow man. Her ability to dispense peace is specifically aligned with her identity as the *stella maris*, she who consoles and makes tranquil those hearts tossed about fiercely on the sea of life. While the author of the sequence is unknown, it would appear likely that he was a monastic, intimately acquainted with the writings of Saint Bernard (see Chapter 1); one can imagine the author, unsettled in his heart, and within the throes of a deep meditation—contemplating the heavens and the Pure Mind of God—when he suddenly recalls Bernard's words: "O, whoever you are, you who in the flurry of this world feel yourself more driven about by storms and tempests than walking upon solid

ground, do not turn your eyes from the splendor of this star, if you do not want to be overwhelmed by these storms! ... If you are thrown about upon the waves of pride, of ambition, of slander, of envy, look to the star, call upon Mary."⁶² And indeed, the author willingly heeds Bernard's advice by calling upon Mary, that sweet creature (*dulcis creatura*), at the end of each strophe.

The third motet, *Imperatrix reginarum*, complements the Marian thrust of the preceding two motets, with a string of praises, elevated to a pitch commensurate with the high Mariology of the late-fifteenth century: not merely is Mary the dispenser of peace, she is likewise the Empress of Queens, and the very preserver, even savior (*salvatric*) of souls; Mary, herself the rose unstained by sin,⁶³ is the one to whom the weary sinner turns for guidance on the path of life—such to ensure entrance into heaven.

Following such unbridled devotion to the Virgin Mary—beyond whom no other heavenly force is mentioned—the fourth motet, *Eya mater, summi Dei*, marks a striking contrast. Mary is praised here, to be sure, though largely as the mother of Christ; the sinner cries out for her favor, and yet the principal focus is on her Son, who ascended after Crucifixion, and to whom praise is given, lest damnation befalls the suppliant. Mary is the sweet virgin of virgins, but absent is any reference to her commanding sway over heavenly judgment. Again, while contrasts in Mariological tone have been observed in many previously discussed cycles (and will continue in subsequent cycles), such a mild Marian appeal to close a cycle otherwise dominated by high Mariology appears unusual—and suggests either a different compositional identity, or a sudden devotional need to temper the Mariology of the preceding motets with a more Christo-centric text.

⁶² See Chapter 1, p. 122.

⁶³ Cf. MoneLH II:422: "*gelu* (cold, frost) figürlich statt *peccatum* (sin), denn auch der Teufel wird *aquilo* (the cold North wind) ist undeutlich."

2. The Music

A more complete answer to the question of cyclic identity will follow the musical discussion, though admittedly no absolute conclusion can here be proposed. Indeed, unambiguous musical unity can be observed only between the first two motets—a logical consideration given their singular text; the third and fourth motets bear some musical connections to the first two, including possible thematic material, and it is these connections that are sufficient to bring forward the argument of a four-part cycle. The cyclic identity of *Castra caeli* is first considered by virtue of the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Castra caeli dum trascendo</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	Φ	G	Dorian
<i>O res laeta</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	Φ	G	Dorian
<i>Imperatrix reginarum</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , C4 ^b	C	G	Dorian
<i>Eya mater summi Dei</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b	C	G	Dorian

Clearly the kind of absolute Class A unity observed in the previous two cycles (and most of those discussed in Chapter 3) is not to be found here. The unity of Final and mode contrast with the disunity of both clef arrangement (*Imperatrix reginarum*) and especially mensuration—where the *tempus perfectum diminutum* of motets 1 and 2 contrasts with the *tempus imperfectum* of motets 3 and 4; these conflicts alone are sufficient to raise skepticism toward the definition of a four-part cycle. The following discussion will make use of the AMMM edition—in conjunction with the transcription of motet 4 found in Appendix D (#1)—and will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order:⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The first three motets are transcribed in AMMM V:119-24. The fourth motet's proposed attribution to Gaffurius will be discussed below.

Motet 1. *Castra caeli*
Motet 2. *O res leata*
Motet 3. *Imperatrix reginarum*
Motet 4. *Eya mater summi Dei*

Use of plainchant

According to Mone, the twelfth-century version of *Castra caeli* was transmitted with neumes,⁶⁵ although later versions seem to have transmitted the text alone—as no existing melody is noted by Blume, and none was found in any modern source examined. Similarly, the sequence *Imperatrix reginarum* was transmitted with neumes in a twelfth-century Antiphonary (S. Vandregisili, Codex Parisinense 10509), reproduced by Blume (AH 20, p. 247), yet was transmitted with text alone in the two later sources found by Blume.⁶⁶ However, motet 3 makes no obvious reference to the chant melody, while the tenor itself is fully integrated into the general texture. Given Gaffurius's tendencies in this regard, moreover, it seems likely that all four motets were freely composed, without reference to *cantus prius factus*.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

If the four motets were intended as a cycle, their inconsistencies would match well against their generally undeveloped approach to counterpoint and texture. Compared to the previous two cycles, *Castra caeli* displays a tentative, even archaic use of imitation and general lack of textural variety, which collectively suggests an early stage of composition. Motet 1 does begin with a four-voice imitative point, but one lacking real definition: the imitative material is limited to four descending pitches in a dotted rhythm—beginning on g in the bass—before each voice assumes a differing melodic shape; furthermore, the individual entrances follow the unusual intervallic

⁶⁵ MoneLH, II:374.

⁶⁶ AH 20, 155. Beyond the Antiphonary and the manuscript of the Brera, Blume notes only one other source for the sequence, an Orationale (Codex Ultrajectinesnes MS 375B), dated 1477.

progression of 1-5-2-4 (proceeding B-T-S-A), rather atypical of Gaffurius. Two other motets likewise begin with imitation: motet 3, despite the contrasting mensuration, displays the closest relationship to motet 1—namely, a four-voice imitation (T-S-B-A) based on a very similar descending subject, with an intervallic progression of 4-1-1-7, again highly unusual. Motet 2 begins with a related imitative subject—of slightly greater definition, six notes—though only three voices take part (S-T-B, with the more normal intervallic progression of 1-4-1). By contrast, motet 4 begins without imitation—a significant difference, to be sure. Beyond these instances, however, true imitation is strongly overshadowed by free counterpoint and pseudo-imitation (two or three notes only), and strict canon (motet 2, mm. 15-18; motet 4, mm. 29-32).

Other aspects of the counterpoint as well show a more conservative approach, notably the activity of the bass voice: specifically, leaps of a fifth or fourth at cadences are much overshadowed by rests at the moment of cadential arrival—indeed, such leaps occur only in the final cadences of motets 1, 3, and 4, with one internal leap of a fifth in motet 3 (mm. 24-25); the same motet, however, likewise contains an octave leap, from C to c, at the cadence on F in measure 12.

The conservative tendencies of *Castra caeli* are likewise seen in the scoring—beginning with the general lack of clear textural variety as compared with the previous two cycles. Frequent shifts between three- and four-part counterpoint are common, while some two-part writing occurs in motet 1 and especially motet 3—which includes five alternating duos (A/B, S/T), from measure 12 to 27. With the exception of this latter, however, the textural shifts are rather aimless, and devoid of compositional focus. An archaic aspect is then seen in the three trios in *fauxbourdon* style, in motet 1 (mm. 7-10) and motet 4 (mm. 15-17; 27-27). Homophony, on the other hand, is hardly used at all—indeed, apart from the *fauxbourdon* trios, it is completely absent. Finally, *Castra caeli* deviates from the previous two cycles in the absence of *tripla* sections—which itself may

suggest an early composition date, from a period before Gaffurius automatically employed this modern "Italianate" technique.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The above discussion of *Prodiit puer* demonstrated the degree to which Gaffurius was capable of creating subtle motivic unity within and between motets of a cycle, in turn showing him a composer of considerable craft. Given what has been said about *Castra caeli*, however, its own minimal use of motivic connections should come as little surprise. Beyond a few vague and largely formulaic cases, for instance, the individual motets display no internal motivic connections, let alone the kind of sophisticated sectional repetition seen in *Prodiit puer*.

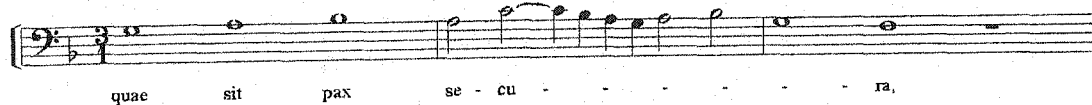
More important, of course, is the question of motivic connections between the motets, as a means of establishing cyclic identity. Although the potential cases are themselves somewhat formulaic, the motives possess enough distinct identity to at least bring the argument forward. The first three motets present what may be loosely called a "head-motive," consisting of a short, descending scalar figure in dotted rhythm, presented in stretto-like imitation; thus is motet 3 linked to the first two, despite its contrasting mensuration. Motet 4, by contrast, begins with a pseudo-imitative duo (S/T), based on an even, ascending figure; at first glance, this would seem to preclude its inclusion in the same motet cycle, and yet this opening motive is itself aligned with the three preceding motets. Specifically, the figure found in the soprano at the start of motet 4 (mm. 1-4) can be found in motet 1 (B, mm. 10-12), motet 2 (S, mm. 10-12), and motet 3 (S, mm. 20-24). Motet 4 likewise contains two other motives found in the preceding motets: an imitative motive in the soprano and bass, measures 17-20, is found in motet 2 (S, 23-25); and the melody in the soprano, measures 26-29, is similar to one found in motet 1 (mm. 8-10). These motivic connections are all given in Example 35 (1-3).

EX. 35-1

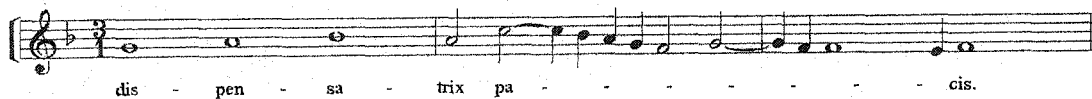
Castra caeli—Motivic Connections

a. Motet 1 (mm. 10-12, B); b. Motet 2 (mm. 10-12, S); c. Motet 3 (mm. 20-24, S); d. Motet 4 (mm. 1-4, S)

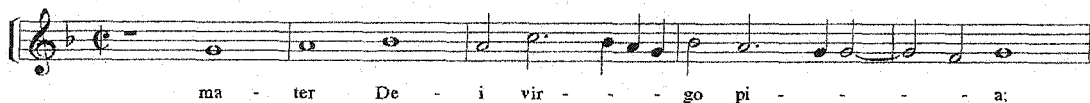
a.



b.



c.



d.



Example 35-2

Castra caeli—Motivic Connections

a. Motet 2 (mm. 23-25, S); b. Motet 4 (mm. 17-20, S and B)

a.



b.



Example 35-3*Castra caeli*—Motivic Connections

a. Motet 1 (mm. 8-10, S); b. Motet 4 (mm. 26-29, S)

a.

pu - ra dum per - pen - - - do,

b.

quem lau - da - mus Do - - - - mi - num,

The motivic connections just enumerated admittedly present a less than secure argument for the compositional integration of the four motets, and yet they cannot be immediately dismissed as mere formulaic coincidence. The conservative and archaic musical features discussed above would, again, graft well upon a motet cycle of marginal unity—and perhaps point to an early stage of composition. Whether or not one takes a skeptical opinion as to their cyclic identity, however, it appears quite certain that motet 4 is also the work of Gaffurius—despite its lack of attribution in the manuscript—given its strong melodic and contrapuntal connections to the others. Most obvious in this regard is the closure of motet 4 with a double reiteration of the "tonic" chord—seen many times above as a virtual trademark of Gaffurius, otherwise limited to him among attributed compositions in these manuscripts. Support is also seen in the modal identity of these motets—namely, their clear modal identity (G Dorian, with slight commixture of F Lydian) and uniform ambitus: significantly, all four motets share a similar ambitus in the soprano (either d'-d'', c'-d'', or d'-c''), and exact ambitus in the tenor (f-d')—which slightly strengthens the four-fold unity of *Castra caeli*.

3. Text and Music

Perhaps the most persuasive argument that *Castra caeli* represents "early Gaffurius" comes in the relationship established in these motets between text and music. His more "mature" cycles, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Hortus conclusus*, and *Prodiit puer*, were all marked by a sensitive response to the syntax, if not always the semantic content, of the text he set—where poetic structural divisions were neatly echoed by clear cadences and distinct musical ideas. By contrast, the music of *Castra caeli* largely obfuscates the poetic structure of the text: with one possible exception, the ends of internal strophes are denied strong, conclusive cadences by means of overlapping counterpoint into the next strophe. A glance back to the discussion of *Prodiit puer* will reveal just how unusual that is. The possible exception occurs in motet 4, where between the (seemingly) two poetic sections Gaffurius provides a tepid two-part cadence, without contrapuntal overlap into the next section (S/T, mm. 13)—though by standards set in previously discussed cycles, the division is hardly clear.

An even stronger contrast with *Prodiit puer* is seen in the very different ways Gaffurius acknowledges the acclamation "Maria," placed at the end of a poetic strophe: whereas in motet 3 of *Prodiit puer*, Gaffurius set each acclamation in fermata-marked chords, the acclamation "Maria" receives no distinct treatment in motets 1 and 2 of *Castra caeli*—in contrast to its clear function in the poetic sequence. Indeed, Gaffurius creates no musical links between any of the four settings of "Maria" in motets 1 and 2, suggesting that such musico-poetic devices had not yet entered into his compositional awareness.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ While the lack of distinct and coordinated settings of "Maria" is no proof of an earlier composition date, the common scholarly arguments made—notably with regard to Josquin—that later period works display greater textual cognizance, may be logically applied to Gaffurius as well.

The treatment of "Maria" in motets 1 and 2 also speaks to the general lack of syntactic rendering in *Castra caeli*. As mentioned in the discussion of *Prodiit puer*, the separate, fermata-marked settings of "Maria" create a somewhat meditational and reposeful articulation of the Virgin Mary. More than in *Prodiit puer*, moreover, such a musical response would be entirely appropriate to motets 1 and 2 of *Castra caeli*, where in each case Mary is referred to as the embodiment of spiritual and heavenly peace: "quae sit pax segura"; "pacis archam... dulcis creatura"; "dispensatrix pacis"; "fluctus... maris, cor tranquillum facis." However, Gaffurius sets each "Maria" in active counterpoint, undistinguished from the surrounding music. Other "opportunities" of semantic rendering in *Castra caeli* are likewise bypassed—most obviously the line "surrexit tuus filius," in motet 4 (mm. 13-17), which evades any sort of melodic "ascent." At the same time, two possible instances of "musico-poetic" rendering may here be suggested—slight cases in line with the generally unimaginative approach to text-setting found in these motets:

1) Motet 2, mm. 19-22 (S), "fluctus sedas feri maris" (you subside the surge of the fierce sea): on the word "maris" (sea), the soprano proceeds with a rather long, sequential sequence—which may well portray the "surging" of the fierce sea of life, the image most closely related to the Marian sermons of Saint Bernard.

2) Motet 4, mm. 22-26 (A), "non moriturus amplius" (no longer will we perish): here the alto resounds six-fold the pitch a'—the height of its range in these motets, which may well be a reflection of the strength and force the suppliant feels at the assurance of never-ending life through the aid of Mary and the mercy of her Son.

5. *Ave cella novae legis*—(Franchinus Gaffurius)

The next cycle, *Ave cella novae legis* (Table 3, no. 14), consists of only two motets, found consecutively in Mild 1 (fol. 106v-108), where both are unattributed. However, the second of the two motets, *Promissa mundo gaudia*, is copied alone in Mild 2, (fol. 7v-8), where it is clearly attributed to Gaffurius.⁶⁸ The strong textual and musical connections between these two motets suggests that they form a unified cycle, and consequently that they were authored by the same composer; like the preceding cycle, therefore, this one offers another previously unattributed motet to Gaffurius—namely the cycle's opening motet, *Ave cella novae legis*.⁶⁹ Admittedly, two motets create a rather slight cycle, and yet their musical distinctions preclude their being discussed as a single motet in two *partes*; indeed, *Ave cella novae legis* is not the only two-part motet cycle identified in these manuscripts, as seen in Table 3 (nos. 10, 13, 19, 20, 31)—further exhibiting the flexible nature of the Milanese motet cycle.

1. The Texts

The motets of *Ave cella novae legis* continue to demonstrate Gaffurius's—and Renaissance Milan's—interest in setting Roman sequences in polyphony: strophes of two sequences are set here, along with some additions and permutations. The first motet sets the first, second, and sixth strophes of the sequence, *Ave cella novae legis*, the latter two strophes separated by an inserted poetic verse of similar metric structure—though so far

⁶⁸ See BrownRM II:fol 7v-8: F. Gaffori.

⁶⁹ As mentioned above (n. 5), this cycle was first suggested by WardMM, 523 (n. 56), by folio number only; thus, the attribution of the opening motet to Gaffurius is proposed here for the first time.

unidentified.⁷⁰ The second motet sets all or part of the first, second, fifth, and thirteenth strophes of the sequence, *Promissa mundo gaudia*, though altered to the point of revision.⁷¹ Both sequences stem from the twelfth century—from early in the Second Epoch—and both enjoyed fairly wide distribution well into the fifteenth century. *Ave cella novae legis* is likely of Austrian origin, perhaps from the old Salzburg diocese, while the origin of the second is more difficult to determine—and Beaugendre's and Bourassé's suggestion of Hildebert de Lavardin, Archbishop of Tours (1056-1133), as its author is forcefully denied by Blume.⁷²

The devotional content of *Ave cella novae legis* is not wholly singular in its emphasis: the first motet is devoted to the Virgin Mary, while the second is liturgically delimited to the feast of Christmas. The sequence *Ave cella novae legis* represents a classic example of the Latinized *Hymnos Akathistos* ("Greeting hymns," see Chapter 3), where each strophe begins with the Annunciation-derived *salutatio*, "Ave."⁷³ Gaffurius, however, interrupts the second and third "Ave" strophe with another strophe not commencing as such—thus diluting somewhat the "greeting" motif. The three "Ave" strophes establish the prime devotional emphasis of the motet—namely, praise of Mary as the virginal mother of God: she is the chamber who brought forth the new King and the new covenant, without procuring the sin of concupiscence. This meritorious position as the virginal mother of God in turn grants her the ability to placate her Son—the judge of man—with her kind prayers. By contrast, the inserted strophe (beginning "Flos productus est de spina") introduces the Canticle image of Christ as the flower among thorns, the home of the eternal Divine Mind—thus shifting the devotional focus from Mary to Christ, as well as intensifying the level of theological abstraction.

⁷⁰ For *Ave cella novae legis* see AH 54:361-362 and MoneLH, II:294-95.

⁷¹ For *Promissa mundo gaudia*, see AH 143-45 and MoneLH, II:65-66.

⁷² AH 54:145.

⁷³ Indeed, SzövmM, 34 identifies *Ave cella novae legis* as a prime example of this large group of "Grußhymnus," earlier classified by Meersseman.

Promissa mundo gaudia is consistently identified as a sequence (or trope) in *Nativitate Domine*, an identity made clear by the phrase "die ista" (on this day [of Christmas]) which closes each strophe. The adapted version set by Gaffurius makes the liturgical connection even more explicit by concluding the first strophe, "hac die natali." As Blume points out, the sequence's redactions were not very stable: "Die liturgische Verbreitung dieser Sequenz ist eine ganz eigenartige; ebenso auffallend ist die sehr verschiedenartige Strophenfolge in den verschiedenen Quellen."⁷⁴ These diverse redactions may in turn help to explain the modified version of the sequence set in Gaffurius's motet. The opening two strophes are relatively unaltered—with the exception of their concluding lines—the second dispensing entirely with the reference to Christmas, in place of "munere fatali" (by the gift of fate). The third motet strophe is only loosely based on the fifth sequence strophe, appending two new lines to the original "Virga Jesse floruit"; it may be noted, however, that the motet strophe's final word, "umbraculum" (shadow) is likewise the final word of a later strophe in the sequence (no. 14)—not likely a coincidence. The final strophe of the motet then returns to a faithful rendering of the sequence, identical with the thirteenth strophe, with the exception of the closing "die ista." In keeping with the Christmas theme, the motet text is an exaltation of the promise of Christ's coming—the unleashing of heavenly grace upon the world. Mary is referenced solely as the fruitful virgin who bore God without knowing the shadow of sin (*nesciens umbraculum*), a common theme within the Christmas liturgy (see Chapter 1).

There is little argument that the two texts of *Ave cella novae legis* create some notable contrasts in devotion and liturgy—the one Marian, the other Christological; the one para-liturgical, with oblique reference to the Annunciation, the other explicitly tied

⁷⁴ AH 54:145. The versions given in AH and Mone reveal as well the unusual poetic and rhyme structure of the sequence—the strophes vary, without logical sequence, from two to five lines each; some strophes have a very consistent a-a-b or a-a-a-b rhyme scheme, while others have little or no rhyme at all. It should be noted as well that the two versions cited above have a differing system of numbering strophes, with this discussion following the strophe numbers given in AH.

to Christmas. The devotional independence of the two texts is demonstrated in the singular appearance of *Promissa mundo gaudia* in MiD 2, as a Christmas-tide motet. What then is to be made of the two motets together? The answer would seem to lie first in the inextricable relationship between Mary and Christ that permeates so much of Christian doctrine and devotion, particularly as manifest in Milan (see Chapters 1-2). A second answer may be bound up in the liturgy itself: the salutation of Mary ("Ave") brings into focus the Annunciation scene, where Mary is first alerted to her conception of the Christ child; the inserted strophe of the first motet places a more direct emphasis on the fruit of this conception, the future Incarnation of Christ, the Divine Mind. The second motet then culminates the narrative by directly referencing His birth, with subtle reference back to Mary, who in large part enabled it by providing the "trove" wherein God placed His tabernacle. As such, this cycle would most likely have been performed during the Christmas season—perhaps, like the *Missa Galeazescha* a decade or so earlier, during a votive service at the ducal court, or at a side altar of the Duomo.

2. The Music

The two motets of *Ave cella novae legis* introduce a somewhat different style of polyphony to the works of Gaffurius discussed thus far, further augmenting the stylistic range of the composer—as will be considered in the summary at the end of this study (see the epilogue). At the same time, the two motets utilize a technique which links them directly to another motet cycle of Gaffurius. The cyclic identity of *Ave cella novae legis* is first seen in the Class A traits, as listed below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Ave cella novae legis</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F1 ^b	C	G	Dorian
<i>Promissa mundo gaudia</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F1 ^b	C	G	Dorian

The discussion below follows the transcription of *Ave cella novae legis* found in Appendix D (#2) in conjunction with the AMMM transcription of *Promissa mundo gaudia* motet, and will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order⁷⁵ :

Motet 1. Ave cella novae legis
Motet 2. Promissa mundo gaudia

Use of Plainchant

More so than is common in Gaffurius, the two motets of *Ave cella novae legis* suggest the possibility of *cantus prius factus* usage, particularly in the tenor. Both motets contain a few lengthy passages of consecutive semibreves in the tenor, which progress largely by step. More conspicuous are the two string of breves in motet 1: one of six breves within an overall eight-measure phrase (T, mm. 22-28)—creating the melody b^b-c'-d'-c'-d'-c'-b^b-a-g on the text "Ave virgo mater facta"; the other of four breves within the final phrase (T, mm. 74-82)—outlining a descending fifth from d' to g, before leading into the final cadence. Existing melodies are indeed noted for both sequences by Mone and Blume, but unfortunately none is found in modern transcription, and I have been unable to consult the original sources.⁷⁶ At the same time, the above examples demonstrate that the elongated melodies generally outline a G Dorian species of fifth, and thus—in keeping with the other works of Gaffurius—may not originate in any pre-existing chant melody. To be sure, an examination of the sequence melodies will clarify this point.

⁷⁵ For the transcription of *Promissa mundo gaudia*, see AMMM V:8-12.

⁷⁶ See MoneLH, II:294 (*Ave cella novae legis*) and AH 54:145 (*Promissa mundo gaudia*).

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

In the discussion of Gaffurius's motets, contrapuntal technique is generally described as somewhat conservative—at times, as in *Castra caeli*, even archaic. While Gaffurius seems to have held a consistent penchant for free counterpoint, no other cycle discussed thus far has witnessed such a slight use of imitation. Both motets begin with brief imitation between the soprano and tenor (slightly longer in motet 2), but then continue predominantly in dense, four-part free counterpoint; the only additional moment of imitation within the cycle occurs in Motet 1 (mm. 29-33)—an interesting alto/bass duo, consisting of ascending semi-minim runs, at once scalar and sequential, imitated a minim apart, creating a clever cascade-like effect. Otherwise, only a few hints at imitation are to be found within the entire 170 measures of music in this cycle. This lack of imitation, moreover, is complemented by the frequent appearance of long, sinuous melodies, especially in the soprano—including one line lasting over eighteen measures in motet 2 (S, mm. 67-85). To be sure, this is not same style of melodic writing seen in most of Gaffurius's cycles discussed so far, where the melodies tend to be short, cadential, and quite prone to imitative counterpoint.

As if in place of imitation, Gaffurius makes considerable use of a technique not encountered since the discussion of *Salve mater Salvatoris*: repeating melodic ostinati. As noted in Chapter 3, the *tertia pars* of motet 3 of *Salve mater Salvatoris* contained an ostinato in the bass, repeated three times, based on a pattern labeled Motive C. While the ostinato appeared but once in *Salve mater Salvatoris*, the *Ave cella novae legis* cycles contains several such ostinati—all of which, like the figure in the *motetti missales*, are cadential in nature. However, while the ostinato in *Salve mater Salvatoris* was varied rhythmically in each repetition (see Chapter 3, Example 12), the ostinati in *Ave cella novae legis* maintain the same rhythm, making them considerably more pronounced. Specifically, motet 1 contains two ostinati: the first in the alto, measures 42-46, with a figure repeated three times (d'-e'-d'-g'-f'-g'); the second in the bass, measures 63-70, with

a related, cadential figure likewise repeated three times (g-f-e-f-g-d). This latter bears rather close connection to the figure in *Salve mater Salvatoris*—thereby increasing the security of the attribution to Gaffurius. Motet 2 contains four ostinati: the first occurs in the bass, measures 18-26, with a very similar cadential figure repeated four times (g-d-g-f-g); the second and third ostinati are related: a five-fold figure in the soprano (mm. 40-49) is repeated an octave lower in the tenor (mm. 52-61)—this one, again cadential, revolves around two pitches, alternately g and c; the fourth appears in the soprano (mm. 53-59), in counterpoint to the tenor ostinato—these are shown in Example 36.

EX. 36

Ave cella novae legis—Melodic ostinati

a. Motet 1 (mm. 42-46, A); b. Motet 1 (mm. 63-70, B); c. Motet 2 (mm. 18-26, B);
d. Motet 4 (mm. 40-49, S); e. Motet (mm. 52-61, T and S)

a.

flos pro duc tus est de spi

b.

(gna) pla ca no

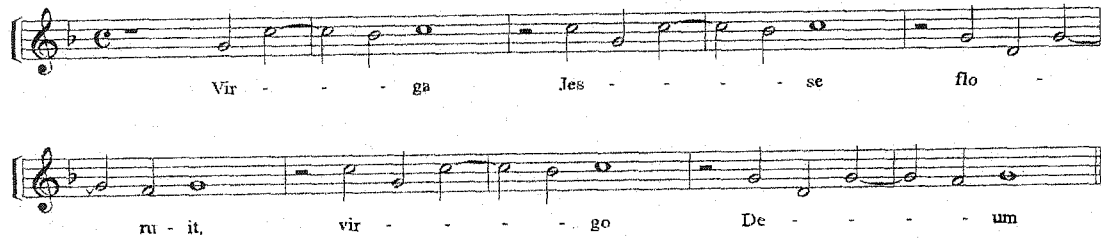
bis, O be gni na

c.

hac di e

na ta li. In vir gi ne foe

d.



e.

(it) ne - - - sci - - - ens um -

ne - - - sci - ens (ne - - - sci - ens) um - bra -

bra - cu - - - lum - - - lum)

cu - lum (ne - - - sci - ens um - bra - - - cu - lum)

The predominant use of cadential ostinati in *Ave cella novae legis*—including one which creates internal formal repetition—grants some insight into Gaffurius's mind as a composer; here the ostinato device serves as both an alternative to imitation, and as a means of unifying the two motets. The theoretical nature of the ostinato thus intersects with the creative act of composition, thereby bridging the two distinct dimensions of this extraordinary musician.

Although the use of recurring ostinati helps to create some variety in sonority, the overall impression in *Ave cella novae legis* is one of unvarying dense counterpoint. As such, the great variety seen in such cycles as *Hortus conclusus* and *Prodiit puer* is replaced by a more monotonous approach to texture: only one duo (motet 1, mm. 29-35) and a few trio sections—generally transitional—break up the otherwise four-part texture, all but devoid of imitation. Likewise is homophony absent, except for one brief five-measure passage in motet 2 (mm. 35-39); *tripla* sections are entirely lacking. Indeed, the

dense texture of *Ave cella novae legis* is somewhat reminiscent of the Ambrosian motets, to be discussed below (Cycles #8 and 9), which may suggest that they are early works written shortly after Gaffurius arrived in Milan (1484), in emulation of the local polyphonic style.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The ostinati in the motets of *Ave cella novae legis* contribute to its formal cohesion, audibly linking the two with each presentation. The internal repetition of the five-fold ostinato in motet 2 (mm. 40-61) creates further cohesion, and displays the approach to formal construction recognized earlier in the cycles of *Compère* and *Weerbecke*—as well as others by Gaffurius. Beyond this are a number of motivic connections between the two motets: most important is the opening imitative motive of motet 1 (T/S, g'-g'-a'-g'-b^b'-a'-g'-f'), which appears again at the start of motet 2—likewise in imitation, though in reverse order. Others include a motive within a long, sinuous melody in motet 1 (S, mm. 20-21: g'-f'-a'-g'-f'-e') that reappears in motet 2 (S, mm. 29-30); and a static passage which appears in quasi-homophony in motet 1 (S, mm. 49-51: b^b'-b^b'-b^b'-[b^b'-b^b']-a'-f'-a'-g'-f'-[e'-d']) and then in the full homophony of motet 2 discussed above (mm. 35-39). These may have formulaic qualities, but their contrapuntal and textural placement renders the connections unambiguous. Another such "formulaic" connection appears in the tenor of both motets (motet 1, mm. 42-46; motet 2, mm. 48-49): this concerns a simple scalar ascent and descent from g to b^b, which then appears slightly altered in motet 2, in diminution. These relationships are shown in Example 37 (1-4)

EX. 37-1

Ave cella novae legis—Motivic connections

a. Motet 1 (mm. 1-5, S and T); b. Motet 2 (mm. 1-5, S and T)

a.

A - ve cel - la no - - vae

A - - - - ve cel - - - - la no - - -

b.

Pro - mis - sa mun - do gau - - -

Pro - mis - sa mun - - - - -

EX. 37-2

Ave cella novae legis—Motivic connections

a. Motet 1 (mm. 20-22, S); b. Motet 2 (mm. 29-31, S)

a.

A - ve vir - - - go ma - - - - -

b.

In vir - - - gi - ne foe - cum - di - tas.

EX. 37-3

Ave cella novae legis—Motivic connections

a. Motet 1 (mm. 49-52, S); b. Motet 2 (mm. 35-39, S)

a.

In quo se - det mens di - vi - - - - - na,

b.

(le) ful - sit de - i - tas mu - ne - re - - - fa - ta - li.

3. Text and Music

The somewhat uneven musical style of *Ave cella novae legis* is echoed in its similar treatment of the text. Gaffurius's "mature" cycles, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Hortus conclusus*, and *Prodiit puer* were all marked by consistent attention to textual syntax by musical means. *Ave cella novae legis*, however, is more reminiscent of *Castra caeli* in its frequent disregard for musico-textual syntax, though to a lesser degree than the latter. The two motets of *Ave cella novae legis* each set four, three-line strophes, neatly articulated with distinct rhymes, and yet half of these are introduced without clear musical articulation.

In motet 1, for example, the end of the first strophe receives a strong cadence in the lower three voices (m. 20), yet is overlapped by the soprano, which cadenced two measures earlier. This minor syntactic obfuscation is then followed by a complete disregard for the end of the second strophe, which begins without a break of any kind in the alto and tenor (mm. 42). By contrast, the end of the third strophe receives a decisive close, with a fermata-held half cadence on D (m. 58); this internal caesura may well be in response to the "foreign" nature of this third strophe (beginning "Flos productus est"), thereby heralding both the return of the primary text and the beginning of the final strophe of the motet. Beyond this, motet 1 contains three striking caesura-like cadences within strophes 2, 3, and 4—namely at the conclusion of the second line of each, on "intacta" (m. 35), "divina" (m. 52), and "benigna" (m. 67); these cadences further disrupt the poetic clarity of the text, and symbolize Gaffurius's tenuous handling of syntactic issues. Motet 2 is similar in its mixed attention to syntax: the ends of the first and third strophes are completely obfuscated by overlapping counterpoint and no clear cadence (mm. 24-25; 60-65), while the end of the second strophe receives a strong, held cadence on G—parallel to the half-cadence in motet 1. Further, the alternating ostinati between

soprano and tenor persist the entire length of the third strophe, thereby defining it a purely musical manner.

The internal cadences in motet 1—on "intacta," "divina," and "benigna"—may compromise the syntactic clarity of the texts, and yet may also suggest a subtle semantic gesture on Gaffurius's part; by creating closure, and thus focus, on these words, Gaffurius may well have intended a pious subtext on the Virgin Mary: by virtue of her "intact" motherhood, Mary received "divine" status by God, whereby her "benevolence" is able to placate the stern judgment of her Son.

Among some other proposals for musico-poetic correlation in *Ave cella novae legis*, in order of appearance, are:

1) Motet 1, mm. 29-35 (A, B), "Mater felix et intacta" (Happy and intact mother): the playful, cascading imitation between alto and bass mentioned above may well represent the joyful, yet undespoiled Virgin Mary, perhaps at play with her Son.

2) Motet 1, mm. 49-52 (S, T, B,), "in quo sedet mens divina" (wherein sits the Divine Mind): the static, quasi-homophonic writing here may have been intended to impart the firm and solid placement of the Divine Mind within Mary's womb.

3) Motet 1, 63-73 (B), "Placa nobis, O benigna" (Placate your Son, O kind one [with your prayers]): the three-fold ostinato sets in a clearly articulated manner these words—"placa... nobis... O benigna"; this, of course, begins the concluding petition to Mary for succor, and the "stubborn" repetition of the motive may have been intended to intensify the plea, the devotional climax of the text. The subsequent passage—setting "tua prece filium"—is marked by a five-fold sequence in the soprano (mm. 74-79), which brings the petition to a climactic conclusion.

4) Motet 2, mm. 44-49 (B), "[Virga Jesse] floruit" (The rod of Jesse bore fruit): the long scalar run—consisting of twelve consecutive, ascending semiminims—may signify the fertile burst of creativity that was the birth of Christ.

6. *Ave mundi reparatrix*—anonymous

The three-part cycle *Ave mundi reparatrix* (Table 3, no. 15) is the first of three anonymous motet cycles to be discussed in this study; it is one, moreover, whose identity as a unified motet cycle is all but incontrovertible.⁷⁸ This cycle thus sparks some interesting speculation regarding the practice of the motet cycle repertory in Milan—expanding responsibility for the motet cycle genre beyond a few esteemed foreign composers on the one hand, and the local and unusually learned *maestro di cappella*, Franchinus Gaffurius, on the other. In truth, there is slight musical evidence that Gaffurius could be the composer of *Ave mundi reparatrix*; and yet the overall musical style is sufficiently distinct to assume its composer was another, local figure—perhaps a singer in the cathedral chapel—who consciously adopted the Milanese practice of musically binding motets together for performance in a votive service. The musical style, though distinct, displays nothing to suggest that its composer was anything but a well-trained and competent musician.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ WardMM, 523, n. 56, listed among the "[o]ther possible *motetti missales* cycles in the Gaffurius codices" the four motets subsumed within MilD 1, 108v-112—again, without commentary. Despite some similarities—namely, mode and clef arrangement—the first motet of this group, *O beate praesulis*, displays sufficient musical and textual distinctions from the following three to remove it from consideration here. Most notable are their contrasting thematic and contrapuntal identities, and especially their distinct devotional subjects: *O beate praesulis* is dedicated to Saint Ambrose, whereas the remaining three are dedicated to the Virgin Mary. As such, this three-part cycle is proposed here for the first time.

⁷⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3, two *motetti missales*, preserved in the manuscript MunBS 3154 were copied without attribution; however, as Noblitt has argued—and no one has successfully disproven—they may well be the works of the Northern composer, Johannes Martini (see Chapter 3, n. 7). Further, as seen in Table 3 of this chapter, *Ave mundi reparatrix* is just one of numerous motet cycles without attribution.

1. The Texts

Ave mundi reparatorix shows its allegiance to the "tradition" of the Milanese motet cycle first by virtue of its texts—all three are derived from non-liturgical sequences *de beata virgine*. The first motet sets all of *Ave mundi reparatorix*, while the second and third motets divide up the first eight verses of *Uterus virgineus*; this technique of combining two Marian sequences, with one divided between two motets, is likewise seen in two cycles of Gaffurius—his *motetti missales*, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, and the three-part cycle, *Caeli quondam roraverunt*. This textual approach may thus represent a convention of sorts, and shows that, the Ambrosian prohibition of sequences notwithstanding, Milanese singers and churchgoers were quite enamored of these Roman texts (see Chapter 2).

Ave mundi reparatorix is a brief, four-verse sequence written perhaps in Northern France in the mid-fifteenth century; indeed, the text given by Blume derives from a single source, the fifteenth-century Manuscript Virunen (Vernon) 172, and I have come across no other source for the text.⁸⁰ Not surprisingly, the text is marked by a high tone of Mariology, reminiscent of the fifteenth-century Italian trope, *Ave caelorum regina*, set in Compère's *Missa Galeazescha* (see Chapter 3). Here, too, Mary is granted titles of considerable power: she is the repairer or restorer (*reparatorix*) of the world, a title normally granted to Christ alone; her formidable position is depicted with the horticultural language of the *Song of Songs*: she is granted the singular privilege of reclining in the "garden-table" of the Trinity—enough for the most fervid admirers of Mary to imagine a kind of heavenly Quaternity. Not merely the Mother of Christ, she is the human bride befitting communion with the Holy Spirit whereby, as Lady (*dominatrix*) of all heavenly creatures, she may grant the suppliant her powerful intercession. The sequence closes with a near-ecstatic image, evoking Dante, of the

⁸⁰ AH 34, 97.

ultimate blessing available to the faithful: the ability to contemplate Christ's unity within the Trinity—a blessing attainable only through Mary's assistance.

The second text, *Uterus virgineus* is a thirteenth-century sequence—likely from Northern France as well—which received moderate transmission into the fifteenth century.⁸¹ Given its provenance, the text is naturally more sober in its Marian content than the preceding, once more revealing the Milanese impulse to balance fervent Mariolatry with a more sober approach, one in line with the views of Saint Ambrose (see Chapter 1). In this text, Mary is praised only for her Divine Maternity: she is the honored throne of Christ, called the true Solomon, and thus the sequence forms yet another direct exegesis of the *Song of Songs* in strictly Marian terms.⁸² Mary is to be honored not for any personal powers, but rather for being deemed worthy to house the Son of God, and for being that humble handmaiden honored with the heavenly presentation of this "excellent gift." Her merit is her modesty and purity, which remained intact despite the Divine Conception. The image of heavenly dew dropping into Mary's womb—made swollen yet unspoiled, like wool by the rain—revisits the "Wasser-und-Tau-Motive" observed already in other, contemporary texts—such as *Verbum bonum et suave* and *Imperatrix gloriosa*.⁸³ In all, this is a fairly conservative Marian text, limiting its praise to Mary's identity as mother and perpetual virgin.

⁸¹ AH, 54, 389-90; Blume is somewhat hesitant in his affirmation of the sequence's French origins, despite its earliest provenance in a French manuscript (*Graduale*, MS Gallicum, saec. 13): "Frankreich ist sehr schwach durch Quellen vertreten; und doch möchte man glauben, daß dort im 13. Jahrh. die Sequenz entstand, aber trotz ihrer Schönheiten ebendort weniger Anklang fand, als in Deutschland" (p. 391).

⁸² See Chapter 3, n. 45. The sequence seems somewhat indebted to the more famous *Verbum bonum et suave*, whose second strophe begins, "Ave veri Salamonis mater..."

⁸³ See Chapter 3, n. 54.

2. The Music

The musical language and motivic content found within the three motets of *Ave mundi reparatrix* makes this cycle among the most consciously unified of the entire Milanese cyclic repertory. Unity is made explicit not only through melodic material, but also by ostinato-like rhythmic patterns, textural usage, melodic ambitus, and cadence structure—thus creating an explicit and demonstrable compositional unity that is quite remarkable, even for this repertory. The cyclic identity of *Ave mundi reparatrix* is first seen in the Class A traits, listed below.

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Ave mundi reparatrix</i>	C1, C3, C3, C4	O	C	Lydian
<i>Uterus virgineus</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	O	C	Lydian
<i>Haec est sedes</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	O	C	Lydian

The discussion below follows the transcription of *Ave mundi Reparatrix* found in Appendix D (#3-5), and refers to the number of the motets, with the following order:

- Motet 1. *Ave mundi reparatrix*
- Motet 2. *Uterus virgineus*
- Motet 3. *Haec est sedes*

Use of Plainchant

Neither of the two Marian sequences set in this cycle is listed by Blume (or Mone) as possessing an accompanying Gregorian melody, nor has any been found in modern sequence compilations. As the musical content of these motets offers no evidence to the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that *Ave mundi reparatrix* follows the typical Milanese pattern, and refrains from any *cantus prius factus* usage.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

The contrapuntal language of *Ave mundi reparatrix* is relatively varied and dynamic, with imitation but one of several techniques employed. Indeed, imitation is used sparingly, and is fairly overshadowed by free counterpoint. The imitation that is present is generally short or canonic in nature. Not uncommon are passages of "quasi-imitation," as in Motet 1, measures 29-32—where a tenor/soprano duo is presented in stretto, with each voice beginning in ascending semibreves before clearly moving in distinct melodic directions. At the same time, imitation is given high profile by virtue of its presence at the start of the opening two motets; motet 3, by contrast, begins as alternating, non-imitative duets. Motet 1 likewise begins as alternating, overlapped duets (T/S, A/B), but in this case both duets are imitative, and both utilize the same melodic material—at least at the start, before deviating somewhat. The technique of using alternating, repetitive duets to open a work is not uncommon in the late-fifteenth century—it is found, for example, in several of Josquin's four-part motets, such as *Memor esto verbi tui* and *Dominus regnavit*; and yet it is seen here for the first time in this study.⁸⁴ Although motet 3 does not begin with imitation, it does contain the sole example in this cycle of four-part imitation, presented in strict canon—the imitation (mm. 23-26) is presented bass-alto-tenor-soprano in the regular intervallic pattern 1-1-5-5, and is divided up into two distinct phases; overlapping the final two entries is another quasi-imitative duo between the bass and alto (mm. 26-27). The passage is given below as Example 38.


⁸⁴ See Josquin des Prés, *Werken*, Bundel VI:3 and XVII:13. Indeed, Josquin seems to have been quite fond of the texture as a means of opening a motet; other examples among his four-part motets include *Christum ducem* (Bundel I:21), *Alma redemptoris mater/Ave regina caelorum* (Bundel IV:105), *Domine, ne in furore tuo* (Bundel XV:131), *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (Bundel XVII:41), *Ave Christe* (Bundel XX:45), *Nunc dimittis* (Bundel XXV:198-99), and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu* (Bundel XXV:216). The same technique is also used in the final passage of motet 2 of this motet cycle, mm. 31-38. Interestingly, I have found only one example of the technique in the works of Gaffurius: his four voice *Magnificat Sexti toni*, see AMMM IV:50.

EX. 38

Ave mundi reparaatrix, Motet 3 (mm. 23-27)

Four-part canonic imitation (B-A-T-S)

The musical score for Motet 3, measures 23-27, is presented in four staves. The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: (re) sic ven-ter in - tu-mu - it ser - va - to pu - sic ven-ter in - tu-mu - it ser - va - to pu - sic ven-ter in - tu-mu - it ser - va - to pu - sic ven-ter in - tu-mu - it (in - tu - mu - it) ser - va - to pu - . The score illustrates a four-part canonic imitation (B-A-T-S) where each voice part enters with the same melodic line at different intervals.

Attention to textural interest was evidently a high priority to the composer of *Ave mundi reparaatrix*, and is manifest in the numerous textural techniques employed. Complementing the variety is a clarity of textural progression, which appears as a deliberate compositional aspect of the cycle: one such technique is the presentation of alternating duets followed by four-part writing, such as occurs at the start of motets 1 and 3, as well as several internal passages (motet 1, 14-24; motet 2, mm. 31-38; motet 3, 17-29). In addition to the frequent use of alternating duos, occasional, brief trios are also found (e.g., motet 2, mm. 16-17); in general, shifts in texture are handled with a supple use of overlap and subtle underpinning. More obvious uses of textural variety occur by virtue of the frequent ostinati employed throughout the cycle: most interesting is the static, fanfare-like ostinati which appears in each motet, often in multiple voices, and generally adopting the rhythm —motet 1, mm. 36-39, motet 2, mm. 22-25, and motet 3, mm. 11-13.


Other, more melodic ostinati are also found in each motet—namely, motet 1, soprano and bass, mm. 25-28, and bass, mm. 34-38; motet 2, bass and soprano (22-25); motet 3, bass, mm. 29-36; the two types of ostinati, moreover, are in several cases used simultaneously. The "melodic" ostinati are generally cadential in nature, and in this regard resemble the approach found in several motets of Gaffurius—most specifically in the cycle *Ave cella novae legis*: compare, for example, the ostinato in motet 2 of *Ave mundi reparatrix* (B, mm. 22-25) with that found in motet 2 of *Ave cella novae legis* (B, 20-25). The similarity here is striking, and gives cause to consider Gaffurius as the composer of the cycle discussed here. The most dramatic textural item in *Ave mundi reparatrix*, however, occurs at the close of motet 2, with a rousing shift into *tripla* to close the motet.⁸⁵ By contrast, homophony is all but absent in these motets, granting the cycle a still somewhat conservative outlook.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Ave mundi reparatrix displays striking attention to cyclic unity, by means of clear motivic and rhythmic repetition amongst the three motets. The most obvious link is the use of an opening "head-motive" in each motet—namely the ascending melodic pattern c"-c"-d"-e" in the soprano, as well as an octave lower in the tenor, presented either in imitation (motets 1 and 2) or as repetition (motet 3). Admittedly, the motive, an ascending third, is not imbued with much distinct identity, and yet its appearance at the start of each motet makes its functionality unambiguous. Indeed, the use of a relatively

⁸⁵ The mensural identity of the cycle, of course, is *tempus perfectum*—somewhat uncommon, but not terribly rare within this repertory. The mensural shift in motet 2, however, is rather rare—namely, a shift of *proportio sesquialtera*, thereby creating the unusual mensural identity of *tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta*. See ApelN, 158: "[S]esquialtera occurs usually in combination with *tempus imperfectum*, and an example [of *sesquialtera* with *tempus perfectum*] is of purely hypothetical significance. This does not mean to exclude the use of O3/2 altogether." Another example of *tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta*, not mentioned by Apel, is in Isaac's *Missa Virgo prudentissimo*. I would like to thank Professor William Mahrt for this reference.

nondescript "head-motive" to bind motets of a single cycle has been observed several times above, particularly in the cycles of Gaffurius, and seems a conscious echo of contemporary Mass cycle practice—much as was suggested in the opening section of this chapter. In a manner reminiscent of Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*, moreover, the "head-motive" of *Ave mundi reparatrix* can be perceived numerous times within all three motets, although the ubiquitous nature of the motive—an ascending third—makes the argument less than secure. A few other motives offer somewhat stronger evidence as unifying material, most notably a swift ascending scale, from a to g', presented in the alto in each motet: motet 1, mm. 23-24, motet 2, 29-30, and motet 3, mm. 15-16 (broken into two parts).

Considerably more impressive is the use in each motet of the static, fanfare-like ostinato mentioned above. Not only does the rhythmic pattern  appear in each motet—motet 1, tenor, mm. 10, 13-15; alto and tenor, mm. 25-27; soprano, alto, and tenor, mm. 34-40; motet 2, alto and tenor, mm. 22-25; motet 3, soprano, alto, and tenor, mm. 11-13—but their appearances inevitably provide rhythmic interest within an otherwise static C Major sonority. The only pitches involved in these ostinati, in fact, are those of a C Major triad, while the accompanying melodic material—usually other ostinati—support the C Major pedal effect; see Example 39 for three cases. The result is a striking, sustained sonority that is immediately identifiable to the ear as unifying material, and in a more palpable manner than purely motivic links can offer. The sustained presence of C Major, moreover, gives the cycle a strikingly modern sound, one conscious not only of linear counterpoint, but also of vertical harmony—not unlike that seen in Brumel's twelve-voice *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ See Antoine Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Barton Hudson, CMM 5 (Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1970) III:1-79; for a good example of Brumel's harmonic awareness, see the opening of the "Gloria," pp. 13-16.

EX. 39

Ave mundi reparaatrix—Harmonic ostinati (C Major sonority)

a. Motet 1 (mm. 34-38); b. Motet 2 (mm. 22-25); c. Motet 3 (mm. 11-13)

a.

E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con - tem - ple - mur u - ni - ta - tem

(gi-o) E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con - tem - ple - mur u - ni - ta - tem

(gi-o) E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con - tem - ple - mur u - ni - ta - tem

b.

pa - ci - fi - cus, sum - mi pa - tris

(nis) pa - ci - fi - cus, sum - mi pa - tris

(Salo) pa - ci - fi - cus, sum - mi pa - tris

Sa - lo - mon pa - ci - fi - cus, sum - mi pa - tris

c.

se - de re - si - det, Do - mi - nus qui pre -

(hac) se - de re - si - det, Do - mi - nus qui pre -

(i) In hac se - de re - si - det, Do - mi - nus qui pre -

(i) hac se - de re - si - det, Do - mi - nus qui pre -

The presence of the sustained C Major sonority is naturally a reflection of the overall modal identity of *Ave mundi reparatorix*—C Lydian, which given the use of the "flat" fourth degree is identical with Glarean's C Ionian.⁸⁷ This is the first appearance of C Lydian in this study, though the mode is also found in the five-part cycle, *Ave regina caelorum*, to be discussed below. The composer of *Ave mundi reparatorix* appears firmly committed to a strong modal definition, as the great majority of cadences in each motet fall on the final, with marginal use of cadences on G, A, and E (Phrygian). A majority of the latter, moreover, are either evaded, overlapped with contrapuntal activity, or driven quickly toward a stronger cadence on C. Several stock cadential formulae can be detected, such as the figure used in motet 1, mm. 23-24, which appears in nearly identical form in motet 2, mm. 30-31—including the ascending scale in the alto mentioned above. Most striking are the ambitus of the individual voices, which display greater unity than witnessed thus far: across all three motets, the ambitus are identical for the soprano (e'-f''), tenor (g-g'), and bass (c-c'), with only slight variance in the alto; as can be seen, the modal clarity of C Lydian is reinforced by the ambitus of the tenor and bass. These modal factors, combined with the pronounced use of sustained C harmony discussed above, contribute to the overall modern outlook of the cycle.

3. Text and Music

In the cycles discussed previously, the presence or absence of clear musical unity usually conforms with the composer's attention of syntactic definition. In *Ave mundi reparatorix*, however, the clear motivic connections between motets are met with a rather

⁸⁷ In contemporary musical and theoretical practice, the use of C Lydian is usually referred to as *quintus* or *sextus tonus irregularis*, such as appears in Gaffurius's *Missa Sexti toni irregularis*. See AMMM 1:57-74.

inconsistent clarity of musico-textual syntax. In motet 1, for example, each division of the four versets is met with overlapped or evaded cadences, thus obscuring the textual form. Motets 2 and 3, by contrast, impart better treatment to the eight versets of *Uterus virgineus*, providing fairly clear divisions between each set of paired versets, though obscuring the divisions between internal versets—except for the final verset of motet 2, which is marked by the move into *tripla* mensuration. A closer look, however, may reveal a more subtle display of textual clarity. For example, in motet 1 the opening two versets form a textural pattern of alternating duets followed by four-part free counterpoint, while the final verset is marked by the most extended prolongation of C Major harmony of the cycle (mm. 34-37), which identifies the verset as a veritable "apotheosis" of the motet. More interesting is the introduction of melodic ostinati in motets 1 and 2 precisely at the beginning of the third verset, or half-way point of the motet (motet 1, m. 25; motet 2, m. 22)—where the patterns in the bass are rather similar; likewise, the division between the third and fourth strophe of motet 3 is marked by an extended ostinato in the bass (m. 29). Though subtle, these details appear with enough consistency to bring the work a successful level aural clarity.

Given this subtlety, it should come as little surprise that *Ave mundi reparatrix* displays relatively little in the way of semantic rendering, or word-painting; indeed, a few obvious places for word-painting are as if deliberately passed over—such as in motet 2, measures 15-18, on the lines "dispar et dissimilis" (unique and different), where the soprano and alto are in presented in strict parallel sixths. At a loss to present any substantial case of semantic rendering, therefore, only the most general kind of reflection can be made here—namely, that the overall expression of joy within these texts (Mary as the loving protector and intercessor on behalf of the faithful, and as the joyful mother of Christ) is echoed in the joyful mode of C Lydian and especially in the many extended passages of a C Major sonority.

In general, *Ave mundi Reparatrix* is an interesting and quite successful cycle, one whose greatest significance is the explicit manner in which it displays its unity—across all parameters, musical and textual. As much as any cycle discussed thus far, *Ave mundi reparaatrix* confirms that the unified motet cycle was an active musical form in late *quattrocento* Milan, and that its creation was by no means limited to the strict liturgical constraints of the *motetti missales*. On the contrary, *Ave mundi reparaatrix* was most certainly composed and compiled for performance at a Votive service, likely a Marian Votive Mass, either in a side altar of the Duomo, or at the ducal court—though given the anonymity of the composer, the former seems more likely. There is some reason to suggest Gaffurius as the composer of this cycle—most notably the use of multi-voice, cadential ostinati. Although no other known motet by Gaffurius is written in C Lydian, he did compose three Mass cycles in this mode: two Ambrosian, the *Missa Sexti Toni Irregularis* and the *Missa Trombetta*, and one Roman, the *Messa a Quattro*.⁸⁸ Granted, these factors alone are not sufficient to prove Gaffurius's authorship of *Ave mundi reparaatrix*—the lack of musico-textual clarity is one counter-argument—yet the possibility should surely not be excluded.

7. *Christi mater ave*—Gaspar van Weerbecke

The three-part cycle, *Christe mater ave* (Table 3, no. 16), stands unique within this chapter, as the sole example of an "unspecified" motet cycle by a non-Italian composer; and notably by one of the esteemed Northerners who unquestionably participated in the *motetti missales* phenomenon—Gaspar van Weerbecke.⁸⁹ This is significant in

⁸⁸ See AMMM I: 57-74; II:52-70; and II:111-137, respectively.

⁸⁹ The suggestion of this three-part cycle was first made by WardMM, 523, n. 56—by footnote only. CrollM, 153-55 addresses some common ground (*Gemeinsamkeiten*) among these three

demonstrating that the "votive" motet cycle was not limited to local musicians, and indeed may have gained momentum and credibility through the involvement of such a well-respected composer.⁹⁰ The cycle is also significant to this study in demonstrating the artistic gap between a master composer such as Weerbecke and the native composers discussed in this chapter; for despite the notable achievements of Gaffurius and the local Milanese composers, the diversity, skill, and clear musico-structural vision witnessed in *Christe mater ave* evinces a generally higher level of musical thought, and helps verify the musical hegemony of Franco-Flemish composers in the latter fifteenth century. Finally, the cyclic conception of these three motets, though not as palpable as some others in MiLD 1, is sufficiently displayed to warrant their confident designation as a motet cycle.

1. The Texts

The presence of cyclic unity within *Christe mater ave* begins in the texts of the three motets. Specifically, all three are dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and all display a passionate and deeply personal mode of devotional expression—one that places them firmly within the overall context of the high Mariology of late *quattrocento* Milan (see Chapter 2). Significantly, all three are of unknown origin, and though two of them display a relationship to known texts, it seems quite likely that Weerbecke took the texts

motets—along with one other, *Virgo Maria non est tibi*, not appearing in the Gaffurius Codices—though stops short of labeling them as a motet cycle.

⁹⁰ As noted in Chapter 3 (nn. 93 and 128), MiLD 2 contains two small motet cycles by Weerbecke—*Quam pulchra es* and *Ave domina angelorum*—although both were simply extracted from the composer's *motetti missales*. *Christe mater ave* thus stands as the only autonomous "unspecified" motet cycle by a Northern composer copied into the first three Gaffurius Codices (see Table 3).

from a local source.⁹¹ As such, the cycle bears resemblance to Weerbecke's first *motetti missales*, *Ave mundi Domina*, where the opening two texts are derived from unknown, popular texts, though likewise bear some relationship to known texts, without direct correspondence.⁹² And like *Ave mundi Domina*, Weerbecke here reflects the popularesque nature of these texts with similarly styled musical writing. The net result is a growing picture of Weerbecke as a composer acutely sensitive to the less formalized devotional needs of his audience—and not only the lay congregation, but likely also the court, and his fellow singers.

As seen in Appendix C (#7), the opening text, *Christi mater ave*, is so far unidentified. At the same time, the prosaic language is largely conventional, particularly phrases such as "Virgo quae Christum peperisti" and "Christo funde, Maria, preces"—the latter resembling the line "funde preces ad filium" which concludes the antiphon "Ave regina caelorum, mater," set twice in the Gaffurius Codices. The second text, *Mater digna Dei*, is likewise unknown, but more strongly resembles available texts. Although not strictly poetic, the motet text contains several simple and rapid-fire rhymes: Dei, diei, rei, mei, Dei, mei, diei; coli, poli, noli, etc. Such patterns are not terribly uncommon to sequence or rhymed office texts, particularly those of a more popular nature; indeed, this repertory includes another closely related example—namely, motet 4 of *Castra caeli*, *Eya mater summi Dei*, whose opening eight lines all end "-ei." Among other related examples include a sequence which begins, "Mater sancta Dei, fuga noctis, origo diei/ Luminis aetherei stella, memento mei"; and another Marian sequence whose second strophe begins "Ara Dei, salus rei/ Robur spei, cordis mei."⁹³ Another related text is one found in a *Libro preci* preserved in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, which begins, "Salve mater

⁹¹ Although I was unable to find an exact correlation, I did discern some relationship between two of the texts in the cycle and several popular devotional poems copied into various local *Libri preci*, specifically those preserved in the Biblioteca Trivulziana.

⁹² See Chapter 3, pp. 269-71.

⁹³ For these texts see AH 15:124 and AH 3:176, respectively.

misericordiae/mater spei et mater veniae/Mater Dei et mater gratiae/Mater in qua totius gloriae."⁹⁴ There is some suggestion, moreover, that the opening two texts were composed together: specifically, both contain the expressions "Me tibi commendo [Maria]" (I commend myself to you, Mary), and "me linquere noli" (do not forsake me).

Ave stella matutina, the third text, follows by contrast a common poetic form, proceeding with the standard 8-8-7 syllable pattern, with the rhyme scheme a-a-b (trochaic tetrameter) in its opening five tersets, before launching into an irregular closing, doxology-like terset. The exact source of the text is unknown, and yet it stands as part of a sizable repertory of devotional poetry beginning "Ave stella matutina".⁹⁵ The original *Ave stella matutina* text is likely that which continues "peccatorum medicina/mundi princeps et regina/ esto nobis disciplina," a German sequence from the late-twelfth century, conceived probably as a variation upon the more famous *Ave maris stella*.⁹⁶ The fourteenth and especially fifteenth centuries witnessed a new blossoming of *Ave stella matutina* texts—dedicated not only to Mary, but also to other saints, such as Saint Benedict and Saint John the Baptist.⁹⁷ The version set in the *Christi mater ave* cycle—which bears only superficial resemblance to the others of the series—likely dates from the mid- to late-fifteenth century; indeed, all three texts of the cycle may be reasonably assumed to stem from a period close to the composition of the music.

⁹⁴ Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 419, fol. 39v.

⁹⁵ See the Register of AH (Bern: Francke, 1978), I:142, which lists eight individual texts beginning "Ave stella matutina" [nos. 3580-3587]—six of which are Marian, with none being identical to the motet text. Another, distinct Marian example was found in a *Libro preci* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS. 416, 46). Antoine Brumel also set a motet with a text beginning, "Ave stella matutina," likewise unknown and unrelated to Weerbecke's motet; see Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, 8:3-6. In addition, RILM, 579 lists four anonymous settings of *Ave stella matutina*, three of which set the likely original twelfth-century version; I was unable to determine the exact text of the fourth setting.

⁹⁶ See MoneLH, II:321, where the text is cited from a twelfth-century manuscript from Mainz, Germany. RILM, 579 lists three distinct anonymous motets—from BolC Q 20, FlorC MXIX 125bis, and PadB D27—all of which set this version of the text (with each *secunda pars* beginning "Tu es archa compluta").

⁹⁷ See AH 29:137 (fourteenth century) and AH 48:455 (fifteenth century), respectively.

This assumption is made principally by virtue of the devotional content of the texts. All three present a passionate and rather exuberant tone of Mariology in keeping with the Marian fervor of the late-fifteenth century—when Mary was frequently called upon as the principal protector against damnation. The first text, *Christi mater ave*, is perhaps the most reserved of the three, as the opening six lines offer familiar praise of Mary's perpetual virginity and Divine Maternity. And yet these praises quickly reveal themselves to be a mere preamble to the fervid plea for Mary's protection that follows; the repeated use of the first person singular—"me rege, me serva/ me tuerare.. /me tibi commendo/ me.. linquere noli/ ne peream" grant the petition an intensity and vividness unseen in any other motet text reviewed in this study—and reminiscent of some of the more impassioned Marian sermons of fifteenth-century Milan, such as those of the Franciscan, Jacob of Milan (see Chapter 2). Mary is ecstatically implored to guide and preserve the suppliant, without whose powers—to assuage her Son—he will perish. Indeed, the suppliant closes with a nearly pathetic cry for Mary not to forsake him, bringing to mind Christ's final words on the Cross "Deus meus... ut quid derelinquisti me?."98

The second text, *Mater digna Dei*, ushers in an impassioned plea for Mary's protection even more directly. A few praises of Mary as the "path of forgiveness," "kind light of day," and the "queen of heaven" become the passing means by which the suppliant humbly submits for the Virgin's mercy and protection. He commends himself to Mary and begs not to be forsaken—again drawing a close parallel to *Christe mater ave*. The closing line of this text then makes the cycle's only direct address to Christ, whose mercy is likewise requested along with His mother's.

Finally, the third text, *Ave stella matutina* presents a more speculative and visual petition to the Virgin, beginning with the rather abstract image of Mary as the "morning

⁹⁸ Matthew 28:46 and Mark 15:34. The phrase stems from Psalm 22:1.

star." The metaphor is a parallel to the ancient Marian title of "stella maris," the star which radiates a light "whose rays illuminate the whole world," to quote Saint Bernard; or the light "from which the morning star draws its beauty," to quote Dante (*Paradiso* XXXII:107).⁹⁹ Indeed, Mary is here that "morning star" who has become "our life, a divine light, illuminating every age"—recalling both *Ave maris stella* and Bernard's exhortation. Upon completion of this compelling image, the text proceeds into nearly the same level of fervid Marian petition as the preceding texts: she is first asked to defend the faithful from ruin, as the remedy to sin; she is then bid to "hear our song—"audi nostra cantica," reminiscent of the call to Mary in motet 5 (*tertia pars*) of Weerbeke's *Quam pulchra es* to "accepta nostra cantica"—in order to receive a final supplication. The shift here to first person plural undoubtedly lessens the emotive tenor of the text, and yet the plea that follows is itself striking: as Mary turns her ears to listen, she is implored to lead not only those singing into heaven, but likewise the members of their family—"omni cum familia." Mary is thus afforded the ability to grant both those who pray to her entrance into paradise, yet also their loved ones, who perhaps do not. With such powers, it is little wonder that the Virgin Mary became the principal object of devotion to Weerbeke and his contemporaries.

2. The Music

Christi mater ave displays a level of musical competence, coherence, and variety comparable to his two *motetti missales* discussed in Chapter 4, and warrants an honored place among the Milanese motet cycles. The contemporary esteem of its individual motets is evidenced by their re-appearance in other, non-Milanese sources—the only

⁹⁹ See Chapter 1, p. 122 and Dante, Par. XXXII:107-08; see also Chapter 1, p. 126-27

such case among these "unspecified" motet cycles. All three motets appear in a Florentine manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Panciatichi 27) and in Petrucci's *Motetti A* (1502¹), both stemming from the early years of the sixteenth century; in addition, the second motet, *Mater digna Dei*, was copied into two other manuscripts from Northern Italy: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 758 (early sixteenth century) and Padua, Biblioteca del Duomo, MS A. 17 (dated 1522).¹⁰⁰ Given the dating of 1490 for MilD 1, it seems very likely that the Milanese manuscript is the earliest source, and that the cycle stems from Weerbeke's tenure at the Sforza court, either in the 1470s or the early 1480s.¹⁰¹ The cyclic identity, however, appears to have been lost on the subsequent sources, though Petrucci at least partially recognized a connection—namely, between *Christi mater ave* and the third motet, *Ave stella matutina*.¹⁰² However, the musical ties between all three motets—such as the presence of a unifying "head-motive"—provide very strong evidence that Weerbeke conceived of them as a single, self-contained cycle. The unity of the three motets is first seen in the Class A traits, as shown below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Christ mater ave</i>	C1, C3, C4, F1	Ⓒ	A	Dorian
<i>Mater digna Dei</i>	C1, C3, C4, F1	Ⓒ	A	Dorian
<i>Ave stella matutina</i>	C1, C3, C4, F1	Ⓒ	A	Dorian

¹⁰⁰ See Croll, "Gaspar van Weerbeke: An Outline of His Life and Works," *Musica Disciplina* 6 (1952): 70-71; and see RISM, 142, 310, and 566.

¹⁰¹ See the introduction, p. 9-10.

¹⁰² Petrucci placed *Christi mater ave* and *Ave stella matutina* as fols. 50v-51 and 51v-52, respectively; a two-part motet by Johannes Ghiselin, *Anima mea liquefacta est* (fols. 52v-54) then separates Weerbeke's second motet, *Mater digna Dei* (fols. 54'-55). By contrast, the Florentine manuscript copies the motets as fols. 67v-68, 39v-40 (anonymous), and 99v-100, respectively. See the opening part of this chapter for a discussion of Petrucci's interest in motet cycles arising only with his motet publications subsequent to *Motetti A*.

The discussion below is based on the transcriptions found in the AMMM edition, and will refer to the number of the motets in the following order:¹⁰³

- Motet 1. *Christi mater ave*
- Motet 2. *Mater digna Dei*
- Motet 3. *Ave stella matutina*

Use of Plainchant

The texts of all three motets derive from unknown, and likely popular sources. The discussions of Weerbecke's two *motetti missales* in Chapter 3, moreover, demonstrate the composer's relative disinterest in employing *cantus prius factus* even when chant melodies were available and widely known: only one of eight possible chant melodies were employed—namely, motet 8, *Fit porta Christi pervia*, of *Ave mundi Domina*.¹⁰⁴ The writing of the tenor is once again fully integrated, and in general *Christ mater ave* continues the propensity of the Milanese motet cycle to avoid the integration of chant melodies.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

In his dissertation on Weerbecke's motets, Gerhard Croll groups four motets as among the composer's chant-free motets which employ a compositional approach that is neither strictly polyphonic nor strictly homophonic, thus labeled "Motetten mit wechselnden Satztechniken": the three motets of *Christi mater ave* and another motet, *Virgo Maria non est tibi similis*, not found in the Gaffurius Codices.¹⁰⁵ The motets of

¹⁰³ AMMM 11:1-12.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 3, p. 277.

¹⁰⁵ CrollM, pp. 140-155. Croll presents them in the order of greatest textural variety, as follows: *Mater digna Dei*, *Christi mater ave*, *Virgo Maria non est tibi*, and *Ave stella matutina*. His analytical approach is very similar to that used for Weerbecke's *motetti missales*, with each motet provided with a section-by-section description of the contrapuntal activity; cf. Chapter 3, n. 103. Although *Virgo Maria non est tibi* does not appear in the Gaffurius Codices, it was also copied into Florence Biblioteca National MS Panciatichi 27 (fols. 66v-67) and Petrucci's *Motetti A* (fols. 21v-22); indeed, this latter motet shares enough musical features with the three motets of *Christi mater ave* (including an appearance of the "head-

Christi mater ave indeed display a conscientious variety of contrapuntal and textural writing, and as such resemble not only Weerbecke's *motetti missales*, but also the more advanced cycles of Gaffurius, such as *Prodiit puer* and *Hortus conclusus*.

Croll typically provides a very valuable and insightful study of these motets, which he notes form "ein mosaikartiges Bild" by virtue of their continual variety of musical praxes—namely, through a rich mixture of polyphonic and homophonic procedures.¹⁰⁶ Imitation is used with great regularity in motets 1 and 2, although is entirely absent in motet 3—which relies more on regular shifts in texture and rhythm to create contrapuntal interest. Every type of imitative writing is found in these two motets: four-voice pervasive imitation, strict canon, alternating imitative duets, pseudo-imitation, etc.—illustrating Weerbecke's obvious mastery of the technique. This mastery in turn allows him to employ imitation not as an end in itself, but rather in the service of musical expression and especially textual clarity.

At times, different imitative procedures follow each other in effortless sequence, such as in the extended middle section of motet 1 (mm. 19-39): here, a strict alto/bass canonic duet (mm. 19-22) is immediately echoed in the same two voices, though now proceeds as true imitation (mm. 22-26); this is then overlapped with a strict soprano/tenor canonic duo, itself a varied repetition of the original alto/bass duet, transposed up a sixth (mm. 26-29); overlapping this is a brief four-part canon, proceeding alto-bass-soprano-tenor (mm. 29-34), which is immediately followed by an extended, quasi-canonic imitation between tenor and soprano, which itself consists of a two-fold repetition of the same motive (mm. 33-39). This is shown in Example 40. With consummate dramatic instincts, Weerbecke follows this run of imitative polyphony with an extended passage of homophony, itself marked by exact and varied repetition, thus

motive") to suggest the possibility that it was either composed together with them, or added later to create a larger cycle. Given its absence in the Gaffurius Codices, however, the motet will not be considered here (cf. CrollM, 146-47, 153-54).

¹⁰⁶ CrollM, 140: "Die Aneinanderreihung von Abschnitten mit verschiedenen Satztechniken ergibt ein mosaikartiges Bild."

maintaining clarity and focus of sonority. Motet 2 is somewhat less zealous in its employ of imitation, though extended passages are likewise found—such as the run of four imitative passages (mm. 44-58): a soprano/tenor quasi-canonic duo (mm. 44-47) is overlapped with an imitative trio (S, T, A, mm. 46-50); at this point an soprano/tenor imitative duo proceeds within a four-part texture, leading to a fermata-based caesura (mm. 50-54); a rare soprano/alto canonic duo (mm. 55-58)—the only such scoring in the entire cycle—then leads directly into the final nineteen bars of the motet (mm. 59-77), which proceed in near strict homophony, not unlike what occurred in motet 1. Indeed, free non-imitative counterpoint is used sparingly in all three motets, and is generally presented as a distinct section, preceded and followed by imitation or homophony—such as in motet 2 (mm. 39-43), which follows a passage in strict, fermata-marked homophony and precedes the imitative section described above.

EX. 40

Christe mater ave, Motet 1 (mm. 19-39)

Contrapuntal variety

par - tu post par - tum sic - ut et an - te ma -

Vir go quae Chris tum pe - pe -

te ma - nens. lac - te

Vir go quae Chris tum pe - pe - ri - sti,

nens.

ri - sti. lac - te e - du - ca - sti. me

e - du - ca - sti, me re - ge, me ser -

lac - te e - du - ca - sti, me re - ge, me

lac - te e - du - ca - sti, me re - ge, me ser - va, me

re - ge, me ser - va, me tu - e - a - re, po - tens: me

va, me tu - e - a - re, po - tens: me

ser - va, me tu - e - a - re, po - tens: me

tu - e - a - re, po - tens: me ti - bi com-men - do, (me)

As noted, motet 3 dispenses with imitation, and yet it exemplifies the cycle's rich variety in scoring and texture. Croll rightly views the constant shifts in scoring in motet 3 as serving the interest of formal clarity and text presentation,¹⁰⁷ and yet the textual dimension of *Christi mater ave* is interesting in its own right. Specifically, motet 3 is marked by a continual and highly organized shift in scoring, proceeding largely as a

¹⁰⁷ CrollM, 147-48: "Anders als in Motetten "Mater digna Dei", "Christi mater ave" und "Virgo Maria" vollzieht sich in dieser Komposition [*Ave stella matutina*] der Wechsel der Satztechniken und Stimmgruppen regelmässig. Hierfür ist die Form des... Textes von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung."

pattern of alternating, generally syllabic homo-rhythmic duos (S/T, A/B—frequently in parallel sixths) followed by *a4* writing in strict or slightly animated homophony; this pattern, with variations, forms a sectional module of sorts that repeats nearly throughout the motet, creating a rather sophisticated schema. Duos and trios, both imitative and homo-rhythmic, likewise mark motets 1 and 2, though with less rigid structure. Motet 1, for example, limits the use of duo-writing to the middle section discussed above—namely, the string of three duos (mm. 19-30), which evolves into the four-part canon which precedes the closing section.

Motet 3 is notable also in presenting a substantial middle section in *tripla* proportion (mm. 26-74), within which Weerbecke's organizational skills are highly exhibited. Three texture-related items are worth noting in this section: first, Weerbecke sets up the move to a triple meter in the preceding three measures by means of a hemiola, which likewise foreshadows the initial motive of the *tripla* section (see Example 41); second, as Example 41 shows, the opening soprano/tenor duet makes use of a striking hemiola in its final bar, by means of minor color—this is maintained in most subsequent duets, lending a lively rhythmic drive to the section; third, the return to duple mensuration (m. 75) is marked by rapid alternating duets (A/B, S/T) in syllabic homo-rhythm, which create another series of triple-felt hemiolas, paralleling the entrance into *tripla* proportion. To be sure, such subtle and highly interesting compositional praxis is hard to find in the other "unspecified" motet cycles, and is a mark of the distinction of this Northern composer.

EX. 41

Christe mater ave, Motet 3 (mm. 23-29)

Rhythmic and textural interest

The musical score for 'Christe mater ave', Motet 3 (mm. 23-29) is presented in two systems. Each system consists of four staves (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: 'pec - ca - tor - um om - ni - um.' and 'Au - res tu - as nunc in - cli - na.' The music is written in a simple, homophonic style with long notes and rests.

Finally, homophony is used with great distinction and variety in the *Christi mater ave* cycle—quasi-archaic fermata-marked chords, strict declamatory homophony, homorhythmic duos, animated homophony, etc. In contrast to imitation, moreover, homophony makes a notable appearance in each motet. Most striking, perhaps, is motet 2, which begins with six quasi-archaic fermata-marked chords, on the opening words, "Mater digna Dei"; then is punctuated at mid-point with another six fermata-marked chords, on the petition, "miserere mei" (mm. 33-38). The closing section (mm. 64-72) alludes to the same texture with a two-phrase passage *a4* in strict homophony, with a closing fermata-marked chord at the end of each phrase, upon the words "Jesu fili

Dei/miserere"—leading into the concluding "mei" of the line, which is expanded by means of a five-measure melisma in four-part animated homophony; each of these two phrases is likewise made up of six chords, enhancing their unity. As this passage demonstrates, moreover, texture becomes a valuable means of declaiming and interpreting the text.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Christi mater ave likewise displays a progressive and consummate approach to formal structure, in a manner reminiscent of Weerbecke's two *motetti missales* (see Chapter 3). As in these latter cycles, all three motets utilize internal sectional repetition, both as immediate echoes and as more subtle connections between remote segments. The imitative section of motet 1 (mm. 19-30) described above is one such example—where the opening alto/bass duo, itself a two-fold repetition of a single figure, is then followed by a tenor/soprano duo, which presents a transposed version of the same motive. The subsequent, concluding section of motet 1 then continues the use of immediate and transposed reiteration, though in reverse order. The entire passage (mm. 39-53) consists of *a*4 animated homophony, divided into four phrases, each separated by a rest: the second and third phrases are but varied repetitions of the first, each time transposed down a third (with the S starting on the pitches g', e', and c', respectively); the fourth phrase is then an expanded repetition of the third phrase, now on the same pitch.¹⁰⁸ Motets 1 and 2 also display instances of remote repetition, such as the return of the "head-motive" in motet 2 (S, mm. 1-4) in the penultimate phrase (mm. 70-72)—each time presented in strict homophony.

¹⁰⁸ The passage can likewise be seen as a two-part section of varied repetition (A, A'), by virtue of the parallel cadential flourishes that end both the second and fourth phrases. CrollM, 144 interpreted this passage in this latter fashion, labeling it as "Mimesis": "Der ganze Schlußabschnitt kann als Mimesis aufgefaßt werden, denn die Takte 47-54 bilden eine freie, transponierte Wiederholung der Takte 39-45." Croll gives a transcription of the passage on p. 145.

It is in motet 3, however, that Weerbecke displays his most deliberate and impressive compositional planning. Croll spends considerable time on the formal layout of the motet, providing several individual graphs—which, however, tend to obscure the decisive impact of the mensural change in measure 26.¹⁰⁹ A chief tenet in this motet is that the internal phrase structure of the music is entirely dependent on the form of the text: specifically, the poetic a-a-b pattern of each of the opening five versets is set in a parallel musical form—that is, "Barform" (a-a-b)—where the "a" phrases are presented as alternating, syllabic and homo-rhythmic duets (inevitably S/T, A/T) and the "b" phrase is primarily set *a4*, in homophony. The initial "stollen" (a-a) phrases are either presented in octave-transposed repetition (as in mm. 1-5, 6-10), or in a sort of antecedent-consequent form (as in mm. 15-18, 19-22); the concluding "abgesang" (b) phrase is presented either as a single phrase or in two varied repetitions—the second being an elaborate, melismatic variation of the first. The final "doxology-like" section (mm. 75-94) breaks this pattern in favor of an "apotheosis"-like ending, initiated by four rapid, alternating duets, themselves built on repetition (a-a-b-b), and followed by two distinct phrases: the first is another presentation of the "head-motive" (mm. 82-86), and the second is a melismatic section *a4* in free-counterpoint, cleverly based on both preceding phrases. The following chart attempts to outline the formal progression of the motet:

¹⁰⁹ CrollM, pp. 147-152, provides three separate graphs (pp. 149-151), corresponding to sections of mm. 1-37, 38-75, and 75-94. The first two sections are deemed the "Hauptteil" with the third labeled as the "Schlußgruppe." Croll's decision to divide the two sections of the "Hauptteil" as such is based on the internal phrase structures of each, as will be seen in the graph provided below.

Section	A. (mm. 1-25)	B. (mm. 26-74)
Mensuration	Ⓒ	Ⓒ3
Rhyme Scheme	a a b a a b	a a c d d e (e) f f g (g)
Phrase Structure	a a b c d e	f g h i i j j' k k j'' j'
Scoring	S/T A/B a4 S/T A/B a4	S/T A/B a4 S/T A/B S/T A/B S/T A/B S/T a4

Section	C. (mm. 75-94)
Mensuration	Ⓒ
Rhyme Scheme	h (h) i (i) j k
Phrase Structure	k k l l a' k'
Scoring	S/T A/B S/T A/B a4 a4

The above analysis clearly demonstrates the consummate level of craft and formal clarity of the three motets of *Christi mater ave*, and yet what can be said about their identity as a unified motet cycle? Though not without some caution, there is ample reason to assume that Weerbecke conceived of and wrote these motets as a cycle, and that they were performed as such in late *quattrocento* Milan. Croll concludes the discussion of his "zweite Gruppe" by noting some very tangible connections between the four motets, and yet offers no proposal that they form a cycle; surprisingly, in this regard, Croll makes no mention of the fact that three of the motets appear consecutively in MilD 1.¹¹⁰ Indeed, he all but obfuscates this grouping by discussing the motets in the order: *Mater digna Dei* (motet 2), *Christi mater ave* (motet 1), *Virgo Maria non est tibi* (non-Milanese), and *Ave stella matutina* (motet 3)—which again are ranked as such by their relative use of a "Wechsel der Satztechniken."

¹¹⁰ CrollM, 152-55.

To begin, cyclic unity among the three motets is given substantial support by virtue of a "head-motive" (a'-[g']-c''-b') that appears not only at the start of each motet, but internally as well. Each initial occurrence of the motive is somewhat unique, and yet their inter-relationship is unmistakable (see Example 42). The internal recurrences are most pronounced in the final two motets—namely, once in motet 2: mm. 70-73—where the strict homophony clearly recalls the fermata-held chords of the opening; and three times in motet 3: mm. 6-8, 40-41, and 82-86—the last forming a striking homophonic utterance, at the words, "audi exaudi nos," similar as well to the opening of motets 1 and 2. Admittedly, the motive is rather simple—and may well represent a sort of melodic signature of Weerbecke, as Croll suggests.¹¹¹ Its repeated appearance in defining moments of the motets, however, is sufficient to suggest that Weerbecke was not merely resorting to a familiar melodic pattern, but rather was creating an audible link between motets.

EX. 42

Christe mater ave—"Head-Motive"

a. Motet 1 (mm. 2-6, S); b. Motet 2 (mm. 1-6, S); c. Motet 3 (mm. 1-5, S)

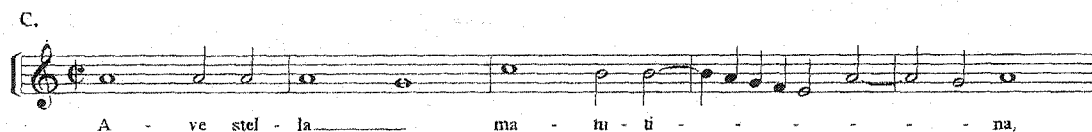
a.


Chri - - - sti ma - - - ter

b.

Ma - - - ter dig - - - na De - - - i.

¹¹¹ CrollM, 154: "Das Streben nach thematischer Vereinheitlichung innerhalb der Motetten der zweiten Gruppe gewinnt in Verbindung mit den bei den Hoheliede-Motetten der ersten Gruppe gemachten Beobachtungen die Bedeutung einer Eigenart der Melodiebildung Gaspar's." Croll notes that a similar—though distinct—melodic motive (e'-g'-a'-g'-c'-b') appears within several of Weerbecke's Canticle motets, which he calls the "Vidi speciosam-Motiv" (cf. CrollM, 133-40). While the general pattern may be "einer Eigenart der Melodiebildung Gaspar's," this fact does not convincingly negate the argument of intentional cyclic unity among the *Christi mater ave* motets.



Another motivic link—namely, the soprano figure g'-a'-g'-e'-[f]-e' seen in motets 1 (mm. 32-34), 2 (mm. 44-46), and 3 (mm. 26-29)—is clearly less conspicuous, and yet it furthers the argument of cyclic unity. Equally subtle, perhaps, is the appearance in each motet of the rhythmic pattern , presented as a step-wise ascent or descent, with the two semibreves reiterating the same pitch—that is, motets 1 (mm. 19-20, 22-23, 26-27), motet 2 (mm. 7, 9-10, 55-56), and motet 3 (mm. 1, 3).

Yet, when all this is combined with general elements of style and textual unity, the argument for the cyclic identity of *Christi mater ave* gains credibility; other stylistic factors not so far mentioned include: the great reliance on short melodic figures, limited to a small ambitus; the near-constant limit of duos to soprano/tenor and alto/bass—even within four-part imitation, such as in motet 1, mm. 9-19; the frequent pattern, most pronounced in motet 3, of alternating duos followed by *a4* homophony; and the similar approach to modality in all motets—not only their common use of A Dorian, but the frequent commixture with E Phrygian and especially C Lydian. In short, it seems no accident that these three motets were copied successively in MilD 1, and as such Weerbecke's *Christi mater ave* may now reasonably be added to the growing list of motet cycles written for votive Marian services in Renaissance Milan—cycles not beholden to the strict liturgical requirements of the *motetti missales*.


3. Text and Music

As perhaps no other cycles examined in this study, *Christi mater ave* displays a meticulous intersection between the form of the text and the structure of the music. In each motet, the construction of individual phrases and larger sections mirror the syntactic flow of the text, while the rhythm and meter of the words themselves are commonly reflected in the musical rhythm. Croll likewise notes his awareness of "die bedeutende Rolle, die der Motettentext stets für die formale Anlage und für die Melodik und Rhythmik der Kompositionen spielt."¹¹² If, as Finscher and others have suggested, a pronounced relationship between musical and textual structure is a distinction between older and more modern compositional praxes, then Weerbecke here shows himself firmly in the vanguard.

The musico-syntactic union shows itself most clearly in the two poetic texts (motets 2 and 3), and yet is readily apparent in the opening, prose text, *Christi mater ave* as well. Each syntactic phrase of motet 1—if not each clause—is presented with a single musical idea, ending with a clear cadence. Phrases are commonly separated not only by cadences, but also with stop-like breves (mm. 8 and 18) or minim rests (mm. 39, 46, and 49). Even the "innocent" overlap of phrases is avoided, except in one instance—namely, in between the lines "sicut et ante manens" and "Virgo que Christum peperisti" (m. 26), though again the syntactic division is made clear by means of a strong cadence on the final. Adding to the decisiveness of the text is the common use of syllabic, declamatory writing, especially in the final twenty-five measures of the motet—generally attentive to the proper accentuation of the text.

Motet 2 follows the same consistency of syntactic articulation, even more apparent given the unique poetic nature of the text: this text utilizes a popularesque

¹¹² CrollM, 152.

reiteration of only a few rhymes—namely, "-ei" (7 lines), "-oli" (3 lines), "-ia" (2 lines), and again "-ei" (2 lines). Weerbecke articulates not only each individual line—with a unique phrase and a concluding cadence—but likewise articulates the beginning of each new rhyme-set with a marked caesura, with the exception of the second (m. 45). The division between lines, moreover, is generally drawn by both a firm cadence and a change of musical procedure, which heightens the syntactic clarity. It also runs the risk of presenting a somewhat "choppy" musical discourse, which Weerbecke helps to avoid by maintaining the "tonality" of the preceding cadence in the new phrase—with two exceptions (mm. 38-39, and 72-73, both times following the phrase "miserere mei"), thereby creating a sense of continuity.¹¹³ Again, a syllabic, declamatory approach to the melodic setting of the text is prevalent, especially in homophonic sections; the rhythm  noted above is several times employed in conjunction with the poetic rhythm; and in general a pattern is created where the first several words of a line are presented syllabically, leading to a melismatic run on the closing one or two syllables—such as occurs on the line "Genitrix commendo Maria" (mm. 59-63).

Not surprisingly, motet 3 is the most pristine in its syntactic observance, some of which has been noted above. The strict pattern of phrases and scoring are a direct outgrowth of the poetic structure: five trochaic tersets, each following the strict rhyme pattern a-a-b. Again, the two initial rhymed lines ("stollen") are presented as coupled alternating duos, while the concluding unrhymed line ("abgesang") is presented either in strict homophony, or as a bi-partite repetition—in either case musically quite distinct from the preceding two phrases.¹¹⁴ In separating individual poetic lines, motet 3 is equally strict, with phrase overlap occurring only twice (mm. 57 and 68), and dividing

¹¹³cf. CrollM, 141-42, who likewise makes this point, though notes only the first exception (mm. 38-39).

¹¹⁴ As a comparison to Weerbecke's strict treatment of the a-a-b rhyme pattern with musical Barform, see Gaffurius's treatment of the four a-a-b versets in the *prima pars* of motet 3 of his *Prodiit puer* cycle, which makes no such attempt at musico-syntactic exactitude.

cadences unexposed to even the slightest hint of evasion. Were it not for Weerbecke's magnificent sense of melody and the varied rhythmic vitality of the phrases, the music might well appear disjointed. The concluding, non-poetic lines (from m. 75) are introduced by the return to duple mensuration, and subject to the same clear division of phrases. Finally, motet 3 is dominated by syllabic writing, most notably in the *tripla* section; this in turn makes the three melismatic phrases (mm. 52-56, 71-75, and 89-94) quite potent. That Weerbecke could harness such strict syntactic restrictions as a vehicle for effective musical expression is a sign of his strength as a composer.

If *Christe mater ave* is a text-book example of syntactic adherence, it is much less so with regard to semantic rendering, or "text-painting." The text even affords an opportunity for the most musical type of word-painting a Renaissance composer could want, and yet it is one that Weerbecke does not observe: motet 2 includes the line, "duxque comesque mei" (and be my leader and companion). Of course, in the musical parlance of the Renaissance, "dux" and "comes" had precise meanings, relating to the imitative practice of "subject" and "answer." In this quite imitative motet, one would have expected Weerbecke to have thrown in some fancy contrapuntal device, perhaps for the amusement of his fellow musicians; and yet the composer chooses instead to set the line in strict homophony (mm. 22-25). Clearly, such "visual" representation was not in the composer's mind.

Beyond this, moreover, the text offers little in the way of obvious source material for semantic expression—in contrast, therefore, to Weerbecke's *motetti missales*, with their rich poetic language drawn from the *Song of Songs* (see Chapter 3). Motet 3 is perhaps the most image-laden text, and yet Weerbecke's strict formal plan of the motet limits the potential for depicting those images. Indeed, one needs to search intently within these motets for examples that can firmly withstand objection. If anything, reflection of the text can be seen as a means of emphasizing the devotional essence of the text, in this case, the fervid petitions to the Virgin Mary—particularly by means of

deliberate musico-textual textures, such as strict syllabic homophony or melismatic writing.

Some of the potential candidates for semantic rendering, in the order of appearance, are:

1) Motet 1, mm. 7-8 (all voices), "ave" (Hail): while simple, the otherwise isolated homophonic presentation of the angelic salutation in consecutive breves, set as a plagal cadence to the final, makes a fitting setting for the humble greeting rendered to the Virgin by the suppliant.

2) Motet 1, mm. 9-18 (all voices), "sanctissima virgo Maria" (most sacred Virgin Mary): this subsequent passage launches into the most ornate imitative section of the motet, four-part pervasive imitation that concludes with a somewhat "soaring" melismatic conclusion. It may be no accident that this texture sets the object of the suppliant's devotion, raising the intensity upon the very name of the blessed Virgin.

3) Motet 2, mm. 1-6, 33-38, and 64-72 (all voices), "Mater digna Dei... miserere mei....Jesu fili Dei, miserere mei" (Mother worthy of God... have mercy on me Jesus, Son of God, have mercy on me): these lines are set in the somewhat archaic texture of fermata-held block chords—except for the final phrase, which is set in strict homophony. By setting these phrases in this manner, Weerbecke is not only rendering a pious gesture upon these words of submission, but also conjoining them into a single, coherent idea: Mary, mother of God, and Jesus, Son of God, have mercy upon me.¹¹⁵

4) Motet 3, mm. 82-86 (all voices), "audi exaudi nos" (hear and grant us this): after the flurry of alternating duets, as the concluding strophe begins (mm. 75-81), this strictly homophonic, slow-moving passage appears quite striking and conspicuous. The passage, which likewise quotes the cycle's "head-motive," is a quite appropriate rendering of the final petition—now reverent following the intense pleas leading up to

¹¹⁵ It is perhaps no coincidence, moreover, that the latter two passages are alone in shifting tonalities in the following phrase.

it—where Mary is beseeched to listen with open ears, and to grant the suppliants the request of preserving them and their loved ones. The closing line, "virgo Maria. Amen" (Virgin Mary. Amen) then proceeds with a "jubilant" melisma (mm. 87-94), where the "-a" of "Maria" blends seamlessly into the final assent.

8. *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—anonymous

The five-part cycle *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (Table 3, no. 22) is arguably the most important cycle to be discussed in this chapter—at least in terms of clarifying the overall context of the Milanese motet cycle.¹¹⁶ This work, the second of three anonymous cycles to be analyzed here, resembles the first cycle presented in this chapter, Gaffurius's *Beata progenies*, in that all its texts are strictly liturgical, and that four of the five pertain exclusively to the Ambrosian rite. The similarities end there, however, as the liturgical identity of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is considerably more explicit in function and unity than in *Beata progenies*, while the musical style is far more provocative. Almost single-handedly, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* dispels the notion that the Milanese motet cycle was limited to the dynamics of the explicit *motetti missales*, while at the same time it affirms the principal devotional impetus of the entire practice as the pious veneration of the Virgin Mary.

¹¹⁶ The proposal of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* as a motet cycle was first made by Finscher (CompOO II:i, n. 4; FinschLC, 90, n. 10; cf. n. 5, above)—referenced with folio numbers only. Finscher's implicit suggestion that the cycle represents a possible *motetti missales* was addressed in NoblittMM, 212-217. Though Noblitt acknowledges briefly some musical and textual relationships between the motets, he ultimately rejects it as a potential *motetti missales*, without exploring the implications of its distinct unity and liturgical identity. His reliance upon modern liturgical sources alone, moreover, prevents him from observing the most provocative implications of its texts. Most importantly, Noblitt's cursory musical discussion overlooks the most salient aspects of its style and musical unity, which grant the cycle great significance within Renaissance musicology, as will be seen.

1. The Texts

If the previous discussion of motet cycle texts has demonstrated anything, it is that their selection has favored para-liturgical to liturgical selections. Whether taken from intact sources (principally sequences) or compiled from disparate sources in pastiche-like constructions (especially in the *motetti missales*), the texts suggest that the individual motets were not mere polyphonic versions of liturgical chants, meant to be sung in the precise liturgical position prescribed by the chant. Rather, the texts demonstrate that the motets were polyphonic embellishments, meant either to substitute for liturgical items (as in the *motetti missales*), or to be inserted more informally within the course of a votive service (namely, in the non-explicit motet cycles) perhaps at the beginning or end of the service. A somewhat unique case is the Elevation motet of the *motetti missales*, which was written not to substitute for a normally prescribed text, but to accompany a ritual—the Eucharistic consecration—that otherwise would be without music. The only partial exception to these types is the cycle mentioned above, *Beata progenies*, which is comprised of three adapted liturgical texts, two of which demonstrate clear connections to the feast of the Nativity. However, each of the three texts has disparate liturgical functions which preclude their identity as polyphonic chant settings derived from a single service.¹¹⁷

The cycle *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* stands in contrast to this picture in that each of the five texts is strictly liturgical, with only slight modifications in the last two. Four of the five texts, moreover, are unique to the Ambrosian liturgy, the exception being the final text, *Felix namque es*, which is exclusive to the Roman rite. That *Felix namque es*

¹¹⁷ As indicated above, two of the chants (motets 1 and 2), *Beata progenies* and *Gloriosae virginis Mariae* are linked with the Feast of the Nativity, though from different rites, Ambrosian and Roman, respectively; the third (motet 3), *Sub tuum misericordiam*, is an adapted Ambrosian chant, though not explicitly linked to the Nativity.

forms part of this same cycle, however, is affirmed not only by musical criteria, but also by codicological evidence: namely, by virtue of its re-appearance as the final motet of the same basic cycle in the fourth *Librone*.¹¹⁸ Such near-exact repetition is, in fact, relatively rare in the Gaffurius Codices and suggests the special status held by these particular Marian motets.

While the strict liturgical identity of all five texts is unusual for the Milanese cyclic repertory, what is truly remarkable here is that the opening three texts stem from a single religious service, and are presented in the correct liturgical order. From at least the mid-fifteenth century, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, *Beatus ille venter*, and *Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix* were sung as the final three propers of the Votive Mass of the Virgin—as the *Offerenda* (or Offertory chant), *Confractorium* (or fraction antiphon), and *Transitorium* (or Communion chant), respectively. The precise date in which these chants adopted this position is difficult to determine, as the earliest liturgical books bearing the Ambrosian Votive Masses—namely, the Sacramentaries of Bergamo and Biasca—contain only the priestly prayers, prefaces, and collects; while the earliest chant manuscripts—such as the *Antiphonale Ambrosianum* (11th c.)—dispense with the Votive Masses altogether (see Chapter 1). The point is moot, however, since during the early Renaissance, these chants were consistently sung in this liturgical position, as attested to in numerous Ambrosian Missals and Books of Hours of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ MilD 4, fols. 90v-95r (see Table 3, no. 32). The motet order here is *Diffusa est gratia; Beata et venerabilis Virgo; Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix; Virgo verbum concepit; Felix namque es, sacra Virgo Maria*. The only motet not appearing in the MilD 3 cycle, *Diffusa est gratia* (the text is both Ambrosian and Roman), likewise shares the same Class A features as the others, to be discussed below. See AMMM 16:180-89.

¹¹⁹ For example, see the first printed *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1475), fols. 120r-v (*Missa in honorem Virginis Mariae... Sabb[at]o*). While in Milan, I examined dozens of Ambrosian Missals and Books of Hours from the fifteenth century, and in every case where chant texts were included, they corresponded precisely to the order found in the 1475 Missal. Two particularly interesting manuscripts were a Franco-Burgundian (Roman) *Liber Horae* from the mid-15th century (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Codex 470), which midway inserts an Ambrosian Votive Mass of the Virgin (fols. 92v-100, *Missae sce Marie virginis secundum morem s Ambrosii*), accompanied by a decorous miniature of Saint Ambrose, scourge in hand (see Chapter 1); and the beautiful *Missale Ambrosianum* given to the Duomo by Bianca Maria Visconti in 1459 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A 257 inf.), which contains notated chants for only

At the same time, all three chants are quite ancient within the Ambrosian rite, dating back to perhaps the seventh century, and some fulfilling multiple functions within the Ambrosian calendar; for example, all three appear in the Ambrosian Little Office of the Virgin in the eleventh-century *Manuale Ambrosianum*—all sung in Matins: *ad Matutinam*: *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* as the *Responsorium post hymnum*; *Beatus ille venter* and *Magnificamus te* as antiphons.¹²⁰ This last point might seem to suggest that the cycle was meant to be sung not for a Marian Votive Mass, but for the Little Office of the Virgin. Indeed, the fourth motet, *Virgo verbum concepit*, sets an Ambrosian text that likewise was sung in the Little Office of the Virgin, as a *psallenda ad Vigiliis*, and indeed only appears in the Ambrosian rite as an Office chant—as well as a processional antiphon for the Feast of the Purification.¹²¹

However, another piece of codicological evidence all but guarantees that the cycle was intended exclusively for a Marian Votive Mass. Specifically, this concerns the placement of the rubric "Offerenda" above the opening motet, *Beata et venerabilis*

three of the seven daily Votive Masses— not including the *Die sabbati Missa sce Mariae* (fol. 143-144v).

¹²⁰ See MA I:172 [*Excerpta ex manuali ambrosiano saec. fere XI, olim Ecclesiae cisnusculi* (Cod. ambr. I 55 sup.)]. These functions continued well into the Renaissance, as seen in the *Brevarium Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1491, fol. 177r). Perhaps the earliest liturgical function of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* was as the *Responsorium post hymnum* for Matins during the Octave of Christmas, thus explaining the Refrain in the both the Respond and Verse, "Jacebat in praesepio et fulgebat in caelo"—see MA II:64 (*Natale sancti stephani*), 77 (*feria VI.*), and 78 (*feria VII.*). *Beatus ille venter* and *Magnificamus te*, on the other hand, likely started as *antiphonae duplae* for the sixth Saturday of Advent, or perhaps as processional antiphons for the Feast of the Purification; see MA II:40 (*Sabbato VI*) and 111 (*antiphonae XII. et XIII.*). The latter function was carried into the Renaissance—as seen in the *Processionale Ambrosianum*, edited by Pietro Casòla in 1502 (Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS II.E.1.6; mistakenly labeled U.3.4 in HugloF, 62): fol. 44r-46v [*In purificationem beatissime Virginis marie ab ecclesia beltradis ad ecclem maiore*]. See also AM, 88-89.

¹²¹ See MA I:177 and AM, 86. *Virgo verbum concepit* likewise may have begun as part of the Marian liturgy of VI *Dominica Adventus*; see MA II:41. Indeed, the actual motet text here is a slightly modified version of the antiphon—namely with an addition of the final line, "Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit." This line is itself a modified version of the final line of the Ambrosian *psallenda*, *Senex puerum*, sung *ad vespas* for the Feast of the Purification (cf. LV, 179). It is very unlikely, however, that this would suggest some relationship between the motet cycle and Purification, since no other proper chant of this feast is included. The original version of *Virgo verbum concepit*, like *Beatus ille venter* and *Magnificamus te*, likely originated as part of the Ambrosian Marian liturgy of VI *Dominica Adventus*.

Virgo.¹²² As has been seen, particularly with the *motetti missales*, rubrics to designate liturgical placement are not uncommon, and this one placed above the [*Cantus*] part was undoubtedly intended to indicate the motet's performance as a polyphonic substitution for an *Offerenda* chant. Compelling evidence for this hypothesis is found in a statute issued by the Fabbrica del Duomo in 1463, which directly concerns the singing of polyphony. The pertinent passage is found in the second article of the statute:

[Second]: For the greater honor of the Church, [the singers] are obliged to sing some chants in counterpoint: namely, the *Ingressus* or *Lucernarium*, or other chants deemed suitable by the singers: and especially at the *Confractorium* or *Transitorium* (emphasis added).¹²³

Thus the two chants deemed most suitable for polyphony, the *Confractorium* and *Transitorium*, are precisely those set as the second and third items of the *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* cycle. From the statute, therefore, it appears clear that the rubric was placed there explicitly to inform the singers that in addition to the *Confractorium* (*Beatus ille venter*) and *Transitorium* (*Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix*), the *Offerenda*, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, was also intended for polyphonic adornment.¹²⁴ In this light, it may be noted that the final motet, *Felix namque es*, appears in this period as a Roman Offertory chant for the Votive Mass of the Virgin—further evidence of the cycle's association with a Marian Votive Mass.¹²⁵ This, of course, doesn't completely explain the presence of the

¹²² See BrownRM 12c, fol. 162v.

¹²³ "[Secundo]: Pro maiori parte honore Ecclesiae teneantur aliquem cantum per contrapunctum cantare ingressum vel lucernarium vel alium cantum: prout cantoribus videbitur: et maxime in confractorio vel transitorio." The statute which is discussed and reproduced in SartJ, 69-71 was issued following a series of disciplinary crises within the *cappella*, leading to the complete firing and then re-hiring of all singers pending their acceptance of its conditions.

¹²⁴ Of the other non-specified cycles, only two display a correspondence to a presumed [Roman] replacement Mass item in each case, only the Introit: the anonymous cycle, *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*; and Weerbecke's *Spiritus Domini replevit* (See Table 3, Nos. 36 and 37). The latter cycle sets four additional Mass propers *de Spiritu Sancto*: namely, the Alleluia, Gradual, Offertory, and Sequence. Unlike the *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* cycle, however, four of the five Mass items of Weerbecke's cycle are in the wrong order. Still, Weerbecke's cycle may represent some sort of Roman counterpart to the Ambrosian cycle. See WardMM, 520-22.

¹²⁵ See MR, 456-58. As will be seen below, however, the exact text of the motet setting of *Felix namque es* is completely unique to this otherwise Ambrosian cycle.

fourth motet, *Virgo verbum concepit* which, however, could have served as an "extra-liturgical" motet elsewhere in the service.¹²⁶

With regard to devotional content, the five texts of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* exhibit a generally conservative Mariology, not surprising given their ancient origin, as well as their dominant presence within the Ambrosian rite. In the first text, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, the opening of the respond extols Mary's Divine Maternity—she who conceived the Savior "without the shameful touch of man" (*sine tactu pudoris*)—while the remainder turns to Christ, both as infant and eternal creator of all things; this thematic mixture of Mary's perpetual virginity with Christ's infancy reflects the chant's origins within the Octave of Christmas.¹²⁷ The second text, *Beatus ille venter* then paraphrases and amplifies the words shouted to Christ by a woman in the crowd, after Luke 11.27.¹²⁸ The third text, *Magnificamus te*, is likewise a praise of Mary as mother of Christ, though closes with a modest plea for her intercession—to "dispatch to us your sanctifications." The fourth text, *Virgo verbum concepit*, once again venerates Mary's role in the Incarnation and her perpetual virginity, while in the fifth, *Felix namque es*, the joy and praise Mary receives as mother of the true Sun of Justice is suddenly "appended" with an explicit reference to her power as dispenser of grace. In sum, each of the texts offers praise to Mary as the inviolate mother of the Redeemer, and yet she is always praised in association with her Son, who indeed receives as much unique attention in these texts as she does.

The striking exception to the general Christological emphasis in these Marian texts—wholly in keeping with the teachings of Saint Ambrose (see Chapter 1)—is seen in

¹²⁶ It may here be noted that the opening text of the parallel cycle in *Mild* 4, *Diffusa est gratia* was likewise sung during the Renaissance within the Ambrosian Little Office of the Virgin—namely, as a *Capitulum* for Nones and Compline. See, for example, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 475, fols. 51v and 66. As such, this motet would likely have been performed at the beginning of the Marian Votive Mass.

¹²⁷ See n. 120, above.

¹²⁸ "Factum est autem, cum haec diceret: extollens vocem quaedam mulier de turba dixit illi: Beatus venter qui te portavit et uverat quae suxisti."

that closing "appendix" to *Felix namque es* noted above. After closing the chant text in praise of Christ, the text suddenly turns to Mary, not as the mother of God, but rather as sole figure to whom the faithful can turn to "drive back darkness [sin] from our breast"—*sola cuius radiis tenebras repellis pectore nostro*. This high tone of Mariology seems to have little to do with Ambrose's conservative teachings, and much more with the exuberant Marian prose of Bernardino da Busti (see Chapter 2). Thus, it would appear that the composer of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, though maintaining a great deal of allegiance to the Ambrosian tradition, was in the end unable to resist at least some expression of the fervid Marian devotion that otherwise dominated Milanese religious life in the closing years of the fifteenth century.

2. The Music

The distinct textual approach of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is complemented by its rich and rather fascinating musical style. Among the most intriguing questions arising from its analysis is who may have composed the cycle. As already stated, the fact that the motets of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* set a group of Ambrosian liturgical chants—likely written for an Ambrosian Votive Mass of the Virgin—goes a long way in suggesting that its composer was a local Milanese composer, and not one of the Franco-Flemish residents in the city. This presumption then gains considerable support when the actual musical language of the motets is considered. The existence in the Gaffurius Codices of a substantial motet cycle setting uniquely Ambrosian texts in a distinct musical style thus reinforces the great significance of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, marking it as an important addition to our overall understanding of sacred polyphony in the Early Renaissance. The strong musical unity of the five motets is first seen in the Class A traits, as shown below:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Beata et venerabilis Virgo</i>	C1b, C3b, C4b, F4b	♩	G	Dorian
<i>Beatus ille venter</i>	C1b, C3b, C4b, F4b	♩	G	Dorian
<i>Magnificamus Dei Genitrix Dei</i>	C1b, C3b, C4b, F4b	♩	G	Dorian
<i>Virgo verbum concepit</i>	C1b, C3b, C4b, F4b	♩	G	Dorian
<i>Felix namque es</i>	C1b, C3b, C4b, F4b	♩	G	Dorian

The analysis below is based on the transcriptions found in Appendix D (#6-10), and will refer to the number of the motets in the following order:

- Motet 1. *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*
secunda pars: Caeli terraeque maris inferno
- Motet 2. *Beatus ille venter*
- Motet 3. *Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix*
- Motet 4. *Virgo verbum concepit*
- Motet 5. *Felix namque es*

Use of Plainchant

Given their common place in the liturgy, the chants associated with the five motet texts of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* were all presumably well-known to its composer. Still, the cycle follows the common tradition of Milanese motet cycles in dispensing with plainchant melodies—even when the motets themselves function as strict replacement items. This is significant, since it identifies the composer of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* as participating in the common Milanese cyclic practice of ignoring *cantus prius factus*, just as he stands outside that tradition by setting functional Ambrosian texts. This interplay between "standardized" Franco-Flemish and distinct Milanese praxes is, in general, a hallmark of the cycle, and will be observed in other facets as well.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ The identity of *Beata et venerabilis* as a "crossing of boundaries" between these two musical worlds is the center argument of GasserB.

Contrapuntal and Textual Features

Analysis of the contrapuntal identity of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* yields perhaps the most provocative insight into how this cycle can be compared to most others of the repertory. The dramatic comparison is drawn, however, not from the traditional manner by which counterpoint has been evaluated in this study—imitation, canon, bass support at cadences, and the like. Indeed, the use of imitation in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is by no means extraordinary, being neither more or less pronounced than commonly seen in the other cycles examined thus far. Some imitation is found in each motet, including at the start of motets 2 and 3; just as common, though is a sort of pseudo-imitation—where the first few notes appear as if in imitation, only to proceed in contrasting directions, such as appears at the start of both *partes* of motet 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 1-4; *secunda pars*, mm. 44-46). Likewise common is the use of immediate repetition of a motive (usually at the octave), which has the appearance of imitation, although the "dux" is separated from the "comes" by a strong cadence—such occurs, for example, in motet 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 1-8, 29-36) and the opening of motet 5 (mm. 1-8), which much resembles the opening of motet 1.

Impressive displays of imitation, by contrast, are absent: the cycle contains no examples of pervasive, four-part imitation, with only one instance of three-part imitation—a strictly canonic structure built on a dotted, chordal figure (d'-b \flat -c'-d'-g), and presented tenor-alto-bass, at the unison and octave, respectively (motet 5, mm. 28-31). Two other instances of strict canon occur: in the *secunda pars* of motet 1 (mm. 47-50) and motet 4 (mm. 37-44)—both are presented at the octave between tenor and soprano, and both are largely triadic in nature. On the whole, therefore, the use of imitation in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* does not allow for a very strong distinction between it and the other Milanese motet cycles; as the above musical discussions have shown, sporadic imitation mixed with a good deal of free counterpoint—as is the case here—is rather common, while elaborate and continuous imitation is rarely found in these cycles.

Similarly, the cycle frequently employs a leap of a fifth or fourth in the bass at cadences, particularly toward the final, G; by contrast, the cycle includes only one appearance of a cadential octave leap in the bass (motet 5, m. 45), and only two instances of a rest in the bass at the moment of cadential arrival (motet 2, m. 26; motet 5, m. 28)—all of which is rather typical and implies a relatively modern compositional outlook.

Where *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* does stand out, on the other hand, is in its unusual contrapuntal approach to dissonance. Analysis of the motets discussed so far has shown a consistently predictable approach to dissonance: parallel dissonances are avoided, dissonances on strong beats are prepared and resolved as suspensions, and dissonant clusters among voices are rare and limited to weak passing beats. These expectations are frequently defied in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, by virtue of several instances of striking dissonance treatment within the cycle. Dissonant clusters occur in each of the five motets, some on strong beats—such as the three-note clusters found in the *prima pars* of motet 1 (m. 15, second semibreve) and motet 5 (m. 4, downbeat); even a four-note cluster is found in the *secunda pars* of motet 1 (m. 61, g-a-b \flat -c', fourth semibreve). Examples of strong-beat dissonances occur in motet 2 (m. 38, second semibreve, e' in the soprano against f in the bass—with alto and tenor creating a minor second of a and b \flat) and motet 4 (m. 36, downbeat, a' in the S against B \flat in the bass—in turn preceded by b \flat ' in the S against A in the B on the final minim of the previous measure).

Admittedly, the above "violations" are relatively mild, and would hardly be worth mentioning if they constituted the sole such examples. However, the periodic three- or four-note clusters and strong-beat dissonances take on a clearer significance when seen along side the striking use of parallel dissonance in this cycle. Specifically, the *prima pars* of motet 1 contains two examples of parallel sevenths, the first of which is so shocking, one is convinced that scribal error is afoot: in measure 9, four ascending parallel sevenths occur between bass and soprano, as seen in Example 43. These parallel

sevenths clearly violate every standard of written counterpoint discussed by contemporary theorists, and yet the logical voice-leading of both the soprano and bass, along with the natural resolution in measure 10, strongly suggest that the writing here is entirely intentional.¹³⁰

EX. 43

Beata et venerabilis Virgo, Motet 1 (mm. 6-10)
Parallel 7ths (m. 9, S and B)

The musical score is presented in four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the staves. In measure 9, the Soprano and Bass voices have a parallel 7th interval between the notes 'bi' and 'lis'.

ve - ne - ra - - - bi - lis Vir - - - -
ta et - - - ve - ne - ra - bi - lis
et ve - ne - ra - bi - lis Vir - - - -
ve - ne - ra - - - - bi - lis Vir - - - -

More importantly, this dissonance treatment supports the claim that *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is by a local, Milanese composer and not one of the esteemed *oltremontani* of Galeazzo or Ludovico's chapel. Unlike his Northern contemporaries, a local composer might have tolerated such dissonance treatment due to a peculiar Ambrosian practice of improvised polyphony in parallel dissonance. This practice is given an insightful description by none other than Franchinus Gaffurius—who, though a

¹³⁰ The re-appearance of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* in the MilD 4 (fols. 91v-92) only partially confirms the dissonances at measure 9, since the upper of the two voices ([Cantus]) is destroyed for the passage in question. The preserved B voice, however, is identical to that found in MilD 3. Further, the absence of any attempted correction in MilD 3, as well as the voice-leading considerations in the S and B mentioned above, makes the likelihood of scribal error rather small.

native-Italian, wholly adopted the high standards of the *ars contrapuncti* in the Northern tradition from Guido to Tinctoris.¹³¹ In the third book of his *Practica Musicae* (1496), Gaffurius presents a brief chapter entitled "De falso contrapuncto," where he describes—with considerable disdain—the ancient practice among "our Ambrosians" of singing in parallel dissonance:

We call false counterpoint when two singers proceed through the dissonant extremes of conjunct sonorities, such as major and minor seconds. Also of this type are major and minor fourths, as well as sevenths and ninths. These are entirely excluded from all logic and the nature of sweet harmony... The method of false counterpoint, which the Ambrosians themselves call 'sequence', is as follows: an individual singer recites the notes of a plainchant in a higher voice, while two or three singers, in unison, accompany the chant [below] in alternating seconds and fourths, following a prescribed order—which, since it is removed from all logic of modulation, I am loath to describe.¹³²


Gaffurius also notes that the practice is employed for specific Ambrosian occasions, such as for the solemn vigils of martyrs and for several chants from the Mass of the dead, and admittedly makes no mention of its use in sacred motets.¹³³ Indeed, there is no reason to assert that the parallel sevenths in motet 1 were an intentional emulation of this improvised "sequence" practice—especially given the joyful tenor of a Marian Votive Mass, in distinct contrast to the lugubrious chants mentioned by Gaffurius. Rather, it is here proposed that these parallel dissonances may well have sounded more tolerable


¹³¹ Cf., for example, GaffP, Book 3, Chapter 4: "Semibrevis enim recta plenam temporis mensuram consequens: in modum scilicet pulsus aequae respirantis: in contrapuncto discordantiae suscipere non potest: ut artis posuere magistri." (emphasis added)

¹³² GaffP, Book 3, Chapter 14 (De falso contrapuncto): "Falsum contrapunctum dicimus quum duo invicem cantores procedunt per dissonas coniunctorum sonorum extremitates ut sunt secunda maior et minor: quarta item maior et minor: quarta item maior et minor: Atque septima et nona eiusmodi: quae ab omni penitus suavis harmoniae ratione et natura disiunctae sunt... Processus itaque falsi contrapuncti: quem Ambrosiani ipsi sequentem vocant: est huiusmodi. Solus quidem cantor acutiore voce pronunciat notulas cantus plani: duo vero aut tres succinunt unico sono notulas ipsas cantus subsequentes in secundam et quartam vicisim certo ordine: quem quoniam ab omni modulationis ratione seiunctus est: me pudet describere..."

¹³³ *ibid.*: "Hoc enim utuntur Ambrosiani nostri in vigiliis solemnibus martirum et in nonnullis missae mortuorum canticis." He goes on to dispel the notion that the practice was instituted by Ambrose himself. The sole musical example given by Gaffurius, moreover, is the "De profundis" chant from the Requiem Mass.

to the ears of a composer—as well as those of the Duomo's singers—steeped in this "unlearned" Ambrosian practice. Further, in polyphonic context, the passage given in Example 43 creates lovely, if somewhat haunting, music, and should by no means suggest that the composer of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* was incapable of writing expressive, even beautiful music.

The parallel sevenths notwithstanding, the compositional proficiency of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is clearly displayed by means of the cycle's substantial textural variety. Four-part counterpoint commonly alternates with duos, trios, and syllabic homophony to maintain a vibrant mixture of sonorities. Alternating duos, for example, are found in motets 1 (*secunda pars*, mm. 66-71), 2 (mm. 34-38), and 5 (mm. 36-40); a string of four alternating trios appears in motet 4 (mm. 11-26), while a string of three alternating trios appears in motet 5 (mm. 23-33—the last being the three-part canon mentioned above). Homophonic (or quasi-homophonic) passages are somewhat rare and brief, but do occur in each motet: the first two alternating duos mentioned above, for example, are in strict, syllabic homophony—based on the rhythm , thereby introducing a popularesque or chanson-like style into the often dense contrapuntal texture. Motet 3 (mm. 29-30) introduces a passage of three-part, syllabic homophony, likewise based on the chanson-like rhythm given above, while motet 4 (mm. 49-53) presents a four- and then three-part homophonic passage again built on the same rhythm.

Another textural feature that adds variety to the contrapuntal writing is the use of parallel tenths between soprano and bass. These are found in each motet, and frequently involve an ascending passage using the dotted rhythm —such as in motets 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 20-32; *secunda pars*,), 2 (m. 42), 4 (mm. 7), and 5 (m. 21). Frequently, the parallel tenths involve melodic sequences, sometimes quite extensive—as in motets 1 (*secunda pars*, mm. 53-55, built on the dotted rhythm); and especially 3 (mm. 35-42)—a four-part sequence in both voices that brings this motet to an apotheosis-like conclusion (see Example 44). All of the motets, moreover, contain some sequential

writing, which likewise adds clarity and focus—striking examples include the three-part descending sequence in the bass in motet 3 (mm. 22-27) and the slow three-part sequence, based on a rising fourth, in the soprano in motet 5 (mm. 8-13). In many cases, the composer helps to bring attention to the sequential writing by placing a slow, breve-dominated line in one or two of the accompanying voices—mostly the tenor. Absent in these motets, though, are shifts to *trippla* mensuration or other more dramatic textural changes, and yet the overall impression created here is that of a composer fully aware of contemporary techniques, as well as cognizant of the need to continually focus the listeners attention by means of textural variation.


EX. 44

Beata et venerabilis Virgo, Motet 3 (mm. 35-42, S and B)
Four-part melodic sequences

The musical score for Motet 3, measures 35-42, Soprano and Bass parts, is presented in two systems. The first system shows measures 35-38, and the second system shows measures 39-42. The Soprano part is in the upper staff, and the Bass part is in the lower staff. The lyrics are: trans - - - mit - te, (trans - - - mit - te, te, trans - - - mit - te) no - - - te, trans - - - mit - te) no - - -.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

Compared to the other motet cycles discussed so far in this study—especially Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Hortus conclusus*, *Prodiit puer*, *Ave cella novae legis*, and

the anonymous *Ave mundi reparatorix*—*Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is relatively tepid in its display of formal cohesion among its five motets. The kind of strict motivic connections seen in *Prodiit puer* or *Ave mundi reparatorix*, for example, are largely absent. At the same time, a number of more subtle textural and stylistic facets can be seen to tightly unify the motets—certainly enough to solidify the argument of their having been composed, and not just compiled, as a cycle. Among these are several techniques, already mentioned, which appear across the five motets: the use of parallel ascending tenths, often presented in a dotted rhythm between soprano and bass; the use of melodic sequences, especially in the soprano; and, most striking, the use of a chanson-like rhythm, generally , often presented in a homophonic or quasi-homophonic context—motet 1, *prima pars*, mm. 27-31; motet 2, mm. 34-35 and 40-41; motet 3, mm. 29-30; motet 4, mm. 40-41; and motet 5, mm. 49-51.

Although no specific motive recurs in each motet, there is one figure which appears in both motets 3 and 4: the figure is first found as the opening motive of motet 3 (g-e-f-g-a-g), which is presented in imitation at the octave between bass and alto (mm. 1-4), and then returns in imitation at the octave between alto and soprano three measures later (mm. 7-10), but up a whole step (a-f-g-a-b^b-a); the figure then reappears in motet 4 (mm. 37-40), once again in imitation at the octave, between alto and soprano, and once again beginning on the pitch a. Although this is a rather stock figure, its recurrence in two-part imitation at the octave between alto and soprano, and on the same pitch-class, lessens the likelihood of mere coincidence. At the same time, the composer in at least one instance seems to purposefully avoid motivic repetition where such would be entirely expected—namely in motet 1, between the two statements of the textual Refrain, "Jacebat in presepio et fulgebat in caelo" (*prima pars*, mm. 27-44; *secunda pars*, 66-75). Both settings present the opening words in the popularesque chanson-type rhythm, and yet the actual melodic material is quite distinct. This would seem to suggest that the composer of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* was not especially drawn to exact

repetition, preferring to present a variety of material within an overall context of stylistic unity—among the first principals of Renaissance *unitas*.

Indeed, it is in the realm of style that the motets of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* seem to display their greatest cohesion. More to the point, style becomes a key window of differentiation between this Ambrosian cycle, ostensibly written by a local Milanese composer, and other cycles discussed in this study.¹³⁴ The main facets of this "local" style are a marked propensity for dense four-part counterpoint, often extended by evaded or interrupted cadences, and a common use of long, sinuous melodies, particularly in the soprano. Among the most dramatic examples of these long soprano melodies is found in motet 1—namely, *prima pars*, mm. 5-26, that is, twenty-two full measures without a rest. Extended melodies, moreover, are not limited to the S—motet 4, for example, contains a nineteen-measure uninterrupted passage in the alto (mm. 10-28). Although *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* appears to have dispensed with *cantus prius factus* usage, such long melodies may well be a polyphonic counterpart to the *melodiae longissimae* that are a defining feature of many Ambrosian chants, such as the Responsories *cum infantibus*.¹³⁵ In any event, the composer's daily experience with Ambrosian liturgy undoubtedly influenced his polyphonic melodic style on some level, just as the Ambrosian practice of the improvised *discordantes* may subtly explain the cycle's striking use of dissonance—another key facet of the cycle's overall style.

The stylistic distinctions outlined above are not intended to minimize the vital consistencies that do exist between *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* and the remainder of the

¹³⁴ The cycle *Ave mundi reparatrix* (#6, above) was likewise proposed as possibly the work of a local Milanese composer. Despite a few similarities between that cycle and *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—such as the common use of a sort of "pseudo"-imitation—there are sufficient differences in musical style and textual approach to rule out the likelihood of their being by the same composer.

¹³⁵ See E.T. Moneta Caglio, "I responsori cum infantibus nella liturgia ambrosiana," in *Studi in onore di Mons. C. Castilglioni* (Milan: NEC, 1957), 481-578. A propensity for long melodies was also seen occasionally in Gaffurius's *Ave cella novae legis*, and thus may be seen as among the particular local features initially adopted by the young *maestro di cappella*.

Milanese cyclic repertory—and thus the critical "crossing of boundaries" between local and foreign-modeled musical praxes that this cycle represents. The cycle shares a good many of the common characteristics of the Milanese motet cycle—including the use of imitation, attention to textual variety, use of melodic sequence, and so forth. Another feature that *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* shares with other cycles—notably those of Gaffurius—is a fastidious attention to modal clarity: a great majority of completed cadences fall on the final, G, with the next most common cadence tone being the dominant, D. The linear writing is permeated with clear outlines of G Dorian interval species, particularly in the Tenor; and the ambitus of the individual voices appear cognizant of modal definition, especially in the soprano, tenor, and bass—where in every motet the ambitus is G-b \flat . Somewhat unusual is an occasional moment of commixture with B \flat Lydian—namely, in the final three motets (motet 3, mm. 25-28; motet 4, mm. 21-23; and motet 5, mm. 21-22), where each time a somewhat archaic-sounding cadence appears, with the soprano resolving to the third.

This in turn leads to a final musical consideration, the dating of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*. Although the dense style, and occasional archaic cadence-type just mentioned may suggest an early date as compared to Gaffurius's cycles, or even the *motetti missales* of the 1470s, the common use of a harmonically supportive bass at cadences, the regular use of syllabic homophony in paired duets, and the use of *tempus imperfectum diminutum* throughout the cycle, would seem to suggest a date no earlier than the *motetti missales* of Compère and Weerbeke, and quite likely from the period of Gaffurius's tenure at the Cathedral, in the 1480s or early 90s. Lacking documentation, precise dating is impossible; and yet it is clear that the composer of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* was well acquainted with the tradition of his contemporaries, and quite capable of writing music that in its best moments, such as the "apotheosis" of Example 41, could approach the richness of their greatest works.

3. Text and Music

Another facet of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* that approaches the craft of other motet cycles, such as those of Gaffurius, is the generally clear manner in which the music responds to textual syntax. All of these motets use liturgical texts, and thus are not obliged to respond musically to successive poetic strophes, such as appear in sequences; at the same time each motet text has its own internal syntactical divisions, which rely on musical structure for their articulation. In motet 1, for example, both *partes* conclude with a single-line Respond, "Jacebat in praesepio et fulgebat in caelo," which each time is articulated by means of a clear preceding cadence—the first on D (m. 26), the second on G (m. 66)—and set off by means of a chanson-like texture. Although the actual musical settings of the Responds are distinct, both conclude with the same cadential pattern. In motet 2, each of the five lines of text (see Appendix C, #8) is separated by a cadence, making it the most deliberately attentive to syntax. By contrast, motets 3 and 4, create a more subtle underpinning by overlapping cadences, which faithfully appear at the close of each textual line; motet 4 follows this procedure, no doubt, to avoid what would otherwise be a rather choppy presentation, given its repetitive and formulaic textual construction. Motet 5 likewise overlaps most cadences, with the significant exception of the last two lines (from "sola cuius radiis," mm. 45-56)—which mark the division between the Roman chant and the likely Ambrosian devotional appendix.

With regard to semantic content, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* follows the typical Milanese pattern of minimizing overt connections—not surprising here since these ancient liturgical texts lack the kind of vivid imagery seen, for example, in sequences based on the *Song of Songs*. By contrast, semantic representation is created by some sort of musical emphasis on a particular word or phrase, thereby bringing out its devotional identity. Among these is the setting in both *partes* of motet 1 of the textual Respond cited above: the popularesque nature of the musical setting appears a reflection of the popular

Christmas imagery of the Nativity scene—"He laid in a manger and shone forth in heaven." Three other potential examples of word-setting in this cycle, admittedly subtle include:

1) Motet 3, mm. 35-44 (all voices), "[sanctificationes tuas] trans mitte" (dispatch to us your sanctifications): this is the passage seen in Example 44, the "apotheosis" that concludes the motet, and one of the most powerful moments of the cycle. The triple sequences in the soprano and bass, along with the slow descent (from d'-g) in the tenor give the passage an open, jubilant air, and as such the passage seems a direct reflection of the devotional passion which accompanies this text, the cycle's only Marian petition.

2) Motet 5, mm. 8-17 (S), "Virgo" [Maria] (Virgin Mary): this striking sequence, based on a pattern of ascending fourths, brings a contemplative focus to the Virgin Mary, the subject of both the motet and the cycle in general. Its appearance on the word "Virgo," moreover, places emphasis on this most valued devotional attribute of the Madonna, in keeping with Ambrosian tradition.

3) Motet 4, mm. 45-49 (A), "sola cuius radiis" (by whose rays of light alone): the ecstatic rise in the alto in this passage (f-g'), rather uncharacteristic of the cycle, is placed on the opening line of this Ambrosian "appendix" to *Felix namque es*. Beyond bringing attention to this semantic division, the alto line seems to underscore the ecstatic Mariology embodied in this text—in keeping with the high tone of Bernardino da Busti (see Chapter 2)—where Mary is called upon as the sole figure who can reliably remove the stain of sin from the hearts of the faithful.

9. *Ave regina caelorum*—anonymous

The five-part motet cycle *Ave regina caelorum* (Table 3, no. 23) is the third and final anonymous cycle to be discussed in this study, and nearly comparable to the previous, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, in its musicological import. Indeed, these two cycles appear consecutively in MilD 3 (162v-167; 167v-173), and have been vaguely linked in some previous references, though none approaching the level of detail to be offered here.¹³⁶ The most direct link between the two cycles was made by Sartori, who mistakenly catalogued the five motets of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* and the first four motets of *Ave regina caelorum* as a single, nine-part cycle, entitled "Offerenda"—based, of course, on the rubric in MilD 3 (fol. 162v).¹³⁷ Although these two anonymous cycles were unquestionably composed as distinct works, they share much in common: both make use of liturgical texts, both were composed to accompany specific Marian liturgical services, and both seemingly belong to the same, local compositional orbit—perhaps even being products of the same composer. At the same time, *Ave regina caelorum* displays some musical characteristics otherwise unknown in the Milanese repertory. Most importantly, the cycle joins *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* in solidifying the argument that the Milanese motet cycle repertory was a pluralistic phenomenon, and by no means limited to the confines of the *motetti missales*.

¹³⁶ Alongside *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (see n. 116, above), *Ave regina caelorum* was first proposed as a motet cycle by Finscher (CompOO II:i, n.4; FinschLC, n. 10)—with folio numbers only. Again, the proposal was addressed by Noblitt (NoblittMM, 217-19), who dismissed it as a candidate, again without offering explanations for the unity he observed. WardMM, 509, n. 34 offers the first direct counter to Noblitt's dismissal by noting the latter's ignorance with regard to the textual identity of the final four texts of the cycle. Ward's note closes with a direct encouragement for the present discussion, "The discovery that these antiphons were, in fact, used in votive services for the Virgin calls for a reevaluation of this problematic cycle."

¹³⁷ SartCM, 52: "Offerenda a4" (fols. 162v-171). This designation was then uncritically adopted in BrownRM 12c:viii-ix. The likely explanation for Sartori's exclusion of the fifth motet, *Magnum haereditatis*, is the presence of a blank folio (MilD 3, fol. 171v-172) between it and the fourth motet, *Germinavit radix Jesse*.

1. The Texts

Ave regina caelorum presents another anomalous case of a motet cycle whose texts are predominantly liturgical, and which collectively link the cycle with a specific liturgical function. Like *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, moreover, the texts here suggest the individual motets not as "substitution" items or mere para-liturgical additions, but rather as polyphonic versions of functioning liturgical chants. There are, however, some notable differences: whereas *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* was ostensibly destined for an Ambrosian Votive Mass of the Virgin, the cycle *Ave regina caelorum* was likely written to ornament a Saturday Votive Office of the Virgin according to the Roman rite. The latter cycle thus stands as an interesting cross between the Roman "substitution" *motetti missales* and the Ambrosian "ornamental" motet cycle discussed previously. Together these two cycles evince the growing status of the motet cycle as a functional means to adorn the liturgy, in a manner comparable to the polyphonic Mass cycle.

As seen in Appendix C (#9), the cycle *Ave regina caelorum* begins with a single text that is liturgically distinct from the final four—this opening text is not the more familiar Marian antiphon sung at Compline, which continues "Ave domina angelorum," but rather the Responsory or *antiphona per annum in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis*, which continues "mater Regis angelorum"—the same text set in the first part of motet 5 of Weerbeke's *motetti missales*, *Quam pulchra es*.¹³⁸ The text of this *Ave regina caelorum*—a derivative of the more famous antiphon—stems from the fourteenth century, and has held an ancillary liturgical status compared to its counterpart to this day. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the antiphon text is perhaps most famous by virtue of its

¹³⁸ See Chapter 3, p. 288. For the former *Ave regina caelorum* text, see LU, 274-75; for the latter, see LU, 1864; see also MoneLH, II:202. The textual distinction between the two *Ave Regina caelorum* chants raises a problem found in RISM, 590, where the index of motet incipits does not distinguish between the two texts.

three-voice setting by the Walter Frye, which plays a significant role in the very identity of this motet cycle.

The four remaining motet texts, on the other hand, are both well-known and liturgically significant—as well as intimately linked. All are prominent antiphons sung as Roman Office chants for the feast of the Circumcision (January 1), for Lauds, Vespers, and the Little Hours: the second, third, and fourth motets—*O admirabile commercium*, *Quando natus est*, and *Germinavit radix Jesse*—were sung as the first, second, and fourth antiphons, respectively, for Lauds, Vespers, and the Little Hours; by contrast, the fifth motet—*Magnum haereditatis*—was sung only as the Magnificat antiphon for Second Vespers.¹³⁹

As noted in Chapter 1, the feast of January 1 was Rome's first celebration devoted uniquely to the Virgin Mary (*Dies Sanctae Mariae*)—dating to the period following the Council of Ephesus—and maintained its Marian connection even after the narrative content shifted to Christ's Circumcision, officially in the eleventh century. The five so-called "Circumcision antiphons" themselves date back to the fifth or sixth centuries, and were originally associated with the liturgy of Christmas, which explains their mutual emphasis on Christ and his virginal mother.¹⁴⁰ As such, it is not surprising that the antiphons were also sung in other Marian contexts as well—most notably the Saturday Votive Office of the Virgin, between the Octave of Christmas (January 1) and Purification.¹⁴¹ The exact origins of this votive ritual is unclear, and yet by the fifteenth century it was firmly established in Roman Books of Hours and other devotional books—including the famous *schwarze Gebetbuch* owned by Galeazzo Maria Sforza (see

¹³⁹ See AR, 258-261.

¹⁴⁰ See D. O. Rousseau, "Les Antiennes de la Circoncision," *Revue liturgique et monastique* 10 (1924-25), 55-61. The texts were likely Latin translations of Byzantine originals, and were first transferred to the Octave of Christmas, which in time became associated with the Feast of the Circumcision. Although the feast has Western origins dating to the sixth century, Rome officially adopted it as such only in the eleventh century.

¹⁴¹ See SherrCL, esp. 195-98, who also makes this point in his study of Josquin's cyclic setting of all five Circumcision antiphons.

Chapter 3).¹⁴² Significantly, the Magnificat antiphon, *Magnum haereditatis* is also included in these votive contexts—namely, for Vespers (sung *ad Magnificat*) and Compline (sung *ad Nunc Dimittis*).¹⁴³

The identity of these antiphons as part of a Votive Office of the Virgin—a point clearly unknown to Noblitt—provides a critical window into the potential function of the *Ave regina caelorum* cycle. The presence of polyphonic settings of four antiphons sung during this votive ritual, preceded by a more universal Marian antiphon, makes quite likely the argument that the cycle itself was meant to adorn this Votive Office. Although the middle three antiphons were sung "ad Laudes et per horas," the final antiphon was sung only during Vespers and Compline; given its ritualistic prominence, moreover, an elaborate Vespers service of the Saturday Votive Office of the Virgin seems the most likely object of the cycle's composition. In this case, the four final antiphons would have functioned much like the three opening motets of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—as polyphonic versions of the chants normally sung within the service. The opening motet would thus have functioned in a para-liturgical manner, perhaps at the opening of the Vespers service. One interesting question still outstanding is why only three of the "Circumcision antiphons" were included in the cycle; while a precise answer is impossible, it should be noted that the end of the fourth motet marks an end of a folio bundle, and that the ensuing blank folio may have been intended for a setting of the fifth

¹⁴² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1856, 99-100. My examination of devotional books in Milan turned up numerous private Books of Hours which contained the Votive Office of the Virgin with the "Circumcision antiphons," including several produced in Milan during the 1470s-90s—such as the Roman Books of Hours, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 466 (fol. 74-76) and MS 479 (fols. 84v-86): both with the rubric: "Ab octava nativitatis domini usque ad festum purificationis. Ad laudes et per horas." Thus, Sherr's assertion that the antiphons were sung from Epiphany to Purification is inaccurate (*ibid.*, p. 196); indeed, their use from the Octave of Christmas (Jan. 1) is considerably more logical, given their principal liturgical usage.

¹⁴³ For example, Codex Trivulziana 466, 76v and Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1856, 100.

antiphon, *Ecce Maria genuit*.¹⁴⁴ In any event, the *Ave regina caelorum* cycle can now stand beside the *O admirabile* cycles of Josquin—and later Willaert, whose *O admirabile* cycle likewise concludes with a setting of *Magnum haereditatis*—as one likely destined for Marian Vespers service.¹⁴⁵

Finally, with regard to devotional content, it comes as no surprise that the Mariological tone is relatively mild.¹⁴⁶ It is only in the first text, *Ave regina caelorum*, that some level of Mary's role in Salvation is acknowledged: the text begins with a set of praises highlighting her heavenly and earthly graces—she is both queen of heaven and mother of the angels, as well as the singular example of human purity—and closes with a standard petition for her to pray to her Son on behalf of the faithful. The remaining texts are principally Christological—obvious given their liturgical origins—and yet each makes at least some mention of the Divine Maternity of Mary: she was the Virgin deigned to bear the Christ-child, thereby fulfilling Scripture, whose womb was made the Temple of God, despite its virginal state. The devotional identity of *Ave regina caelorum* thus points to another parallel with *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—as both cycles juxtapose a body of Marian liturgy with conservative theological content with one para-liturgical text which expands Mary's profile to include her powerful role as heavenly Mediatrix.

¹⁴⁴ See BrownRM 12c:fol. 171v-172. At the same time, my own examination of the *Libroni* revealed that the preceeding folio marked the end of a fascicle bundle, which often—though not always—results in an empty folio in these manuscripts.

¹⁴⁵ For Willaert's *a 5* cycle, see Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Hermannus Zenck and Walter Gerstenberg, CMM 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950), V:31-56; this is a seven-part cycle, originally published in his *Musica Nova* (1559): it includes the five Circumcision antiphons, is followed by the motet, *Mirabile mysterium*, and concludes with *Magnum mysterium*. Further, in his *Motetta IV Vocum, liber secundus* (1539), Willaert included, as consecutive motets, *Magnum mysterium* (no. 5) and *Ave regina caelorum, mater* (no. 6)—perhaps displaying an understood connection between these two texts in the mind of the composer and his audience.

¹⁴⁶ As a useful interpretation of the three middle texts, with ample Biblical citations, see SherrCL, 196-98.

2. The Music

Ave regina caelorum offers a good deal of compatibility with *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* on a musical level as well. As will be seen in the following discussion, the two cycles display a similar approach to melody, counterpoint, mode, and mensuration—lending credence to the prospect that both were created by the same composer. At the same time, there are notable differences; most importantly, *Ave regina caelorum* adopts a formal technique absent in its predecessor in *MiD 3*, and indeed unique to the entire cyclic repertory of the Gaffurius Codices. Specifically, this cycle employs a "head-motive" technique that "parodies" the head-motive of a pre-existing polyphonic composition—namely, Walter Frye's famous three-voice setting of *Ave regina caelorum*. The cyclic identity of the *Ave regina caelorum* cycle is first seen in the Class A traits, listed below.

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Ave regina caelorum</i>	C1, C3, C3, C4	Ⓒ	C	Lydian
<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	C1, C3, C3, C4	Ⓒ	C	Lydian
<i>Quando natus es</i>	C1, C3, C3, C4	Ⓒ	C	Lydian
<i>Germinavit radix Jesse</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	Ⓒ	C	Lydian
<i>Magnum haereditatis mysterium</i>	C1, C3, C4, C4	Ⓒ	C	Lydian

The discussion below follows the transcription of *Ave regina caelorum* found in Appendix D (#11-15), and refers to the number of the motets, with the following order:

- Motet 1. *Ave regina caelorum*
secunda pars: Funde preces ad filium
- Motet 2. *O admirabile commercium*
- Motet 3. *Quando natus es*
- Motet 4. *Germinavit radix Jesse*
- Motet 5. *Magnum haereditatis mysterium*

Use of Plainchant

As with *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (and most of the Milanese motet cycle repertory), *Ave regina caelorum* largely dispenses with any *cantus prius factus*, despite the ready availability of all five chant melodies. The only possible exception appears in motet 1; rather than quoting the *antiphona per annum* set here, though, the opening bars of the motet seem to outline the more famous *Ave regina caelorum*—that is, the Marian antiphon sung at Compline.¹⁴⁷ Example 45a shows the initial bars of the motet, with the "x's" outlining what appears to be the initial phrase of the famous chant—in the soprano (mm. 1-3) and especially the tenor (mm. 2-7); the sole variant is the motet's use of $b\sharp$ in place of the chant's $b\flat$. Significantly, this clever quotation may have been inspired by the opening bars of Frye's *a3* setting of *Ave regina caelorum*, in the tenor—as seen in Example 45b. These four measures, in any event, ostensibly provided the motet cycle with considerable source material, and thus the hypothesis is worth posing. If the opening bars of motet 1 did intentionally reference the Marian antiphon, however, they did so exceptionally, for no other motet seems to have attempted any *cantus prius factus* usage.

EX. 45a

Ave regina caelorum, mater, Motet 1 (mm. 1-7, S and T)

Quotation of opening phrase of antiphon, *Ave regina caelorum, ave* (?)

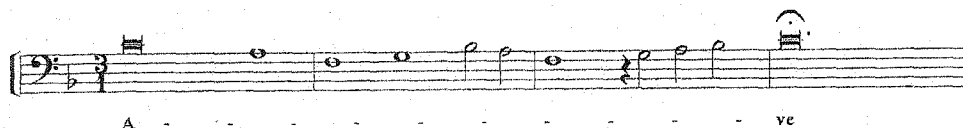


¹⁴⁷ LU, 274.

EX. 45b

Walter Frye, *Ave regina caelorum, mater* (mm. 1-4, T)

Quotation of opening phrase of antiphon, *Ave regina caelorum, ave* (?)



Contrapuntal and Textural Features

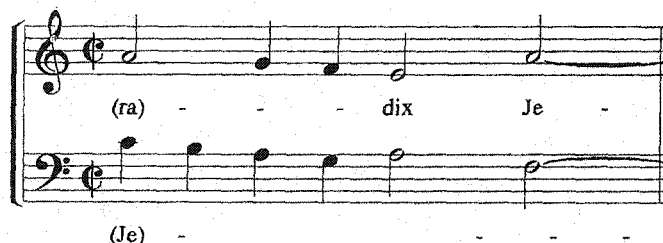
Ave regina caelorum stands out from the rest of the motet cycle repertory in a variety of ways, among which is a marked disinterest in imitative counterpoint. Even compared to *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, *Ave regina caelorum* is markedly conservative in this respect: true imitation is limited to two brief moments in the cycle—namely, at the start of motets 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 1-5, S-T) and 2 (mm. 1-4, T-S). More common are short passages of quasi- or "pseudo"-imitation, much as appeared in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—namely, in motets 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 5-7, B; and mm. 25-27, S-A-T), 2 (mm. 25-28, S-T), and 3 (mm. 9-10, T-S; mm. 25-27, T-S); some of these, moreover, consist of no more than two or three notes. The most notable "imitative" passage appears at the beginning of motet 5 (mm. 1-7): here the soprano presents an inverted arch-like motive which is echoed in the tenor, though a sixth below the soprano; however, the tenor entrance coincides with a weak cadence in measure 4, and thus is more varied repetition than true counterpoint. Apart from these tepid examples, the cycle is completely void of imitation: motet 4, for example, contains none at all. The bulk of the contrapuntal writing in this cycle adopts a full-textured, non-imitative approach, suggesting that the composer was either ill at ease with imitation or simply uninterested in creating a musical structure dependent on it.

Ave regina caelorum lies somewhat closer to *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* with respect to dissonance treatment—once again suggesting a local, Ambrosian orientation. Strong-

beat dissonances (usually *mi-contra-fa*) and dissonant clusters occur with some regularity—such as the four note cluster (d-e-f-g) in motet 1 (*secunda pars*, m. 61, second minim). Indeed, the cycle contains yet another case of parallel sevenths—namely, in motet 4 (m. 12, second minim, S and B), as seen in Example 46. Admittedly, this instance of parallel sevenths is considerably less alarming than what occurred in motet 1 of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, and in general the dissonance level is abated somewhat by comparison. Still, the consistently high tolerance for dissonance in *Ave regina caelorum*, coupled with its dense contrapuntal style, gives some credence to the notion that both cycles were composed by the same composer—or at least by joint members of the Cathedral choir.


EX. 46

Ave regina caelorum, mater, Motet 4 (m. 12, S and B)
Parallel 7ths



The textural content of *Ave regina caelorum* at once strengthens and weakens the argument that the two cycles were written by the same person. In the negative, the considerable textural variety witnessed in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* is absent here: in fact, the cycle creates perhaps the most unvaried texture in the entire motet cycle repertory. With few interruptions, the music proceeds as nearly continuous four-part non-imitative counterpoint, creating a highly dense sonority throughout. Only three brief trios and one slight duo appear in the course of the five motets, with deliberate homophony entirely

lacking. Indeed, it is difficult to comprehend the same composer adopting such conflicting approaches to scoring.

At the same time, *Ave regina caelorum* does make extensive use of a textural device observed frequently in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—namely, the use of parallel tenths, between soprano and bass (or A and B), presented in a dotted, ascending pattern—using the rhythm ; examples are found in motets 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 13-14), 2 (mm. 36-37), 3 (m. 35), and 5 (mm. 15-16). This last case, moreover, involves a brief sequence in both the soprano and bass—a technique noted several times in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, which would seem to strengthen the argument of mutual authorship. Granted, this brief two-part sequence appears paltry compared to the grand four-part sequence in motet 3 of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (see Example 41), and the sequential writing is on the whole more tepid in this cycle—the largest sequence occurs in motet 5 (mm. 42-44, B, three-part), which when coupled with the two-part sequence in the soprano and the elongated ascents in the alto and tenor, helps create a minor "apotheosis" near the end of the cycle. One possibility, given these contrapuntal and textural findings, is that *Ave regina caelorum* represents an early and rather undeveloped compositional effort by this local composer, pointing toward the more accomplished *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

The most outstanding feature of *Ave regina caelorum* is its display of formal unity, by virtue of each motet's use of a "head-motive," based on Frye's *a3* setting of *Ave regina caelorum*.¹⁴⁸ This latter connection is most easily observed between Frye's motet and motet 1 of the cycle—as seen in Examples 45a and 45b—and is marked by the following four traits: 1) both set the exact same text, including the use of "filium" as a variant of

¹⁴⁸ For a modern edition of Frye's *Ave regina caelorum*, see n. 13, above.

"Dominum" in the fifth line;¹⁴⁹ 2) both motets (and the entire motet cycle) are set in the somewhat unusual mode of C Lydian (*sextus tonus irregularis*); 3) the opening four measures of the Discant in Frye's motet outline a melodic shape that is recreated in the opening five measures of the soprano in the cycle's motet—namely, the descending shape c''-a'-g'-f'-e'; and 4) the conclusion of this melodic shape coincides with an archaic cadence type (on C) with the soprano closing to the third degree. These last two combine to form not only the most striking correspondence between the two motets, but also the primary structural feature of the entire motet cycle: most significantly, the melodic shape of the soprano in motet 1, concluding with the "third-cadence" on C, becomes a sort of "head-motive" to be found in each of the remaining four motets. The actual presentation of the "head-motive" is admittedly somewhat varied in each motet, and yet the overall shape of the S's initial phrase (c'-g'-f'-e'), leading to a "third-cadence" on C, can be observed at the start of all five motets, leaving little doubt that the correspondence was intentional.¹⁵⁰ This type of motivic unity—where each motet shares a "head-motive" derived from a previous polyphonic model—demonstrates to what degree the Milanese composers were able to graft the tradition of the polyphonic Mass cycle onto the new genre of the motet cycle.¹⁵¹

Beyond the melodic outline of the "head-motive," moreover, the "third-cadence" itself becomes a chief unifying device within and between motets of the *Ave regina caelorum* cycle—where it usually descends from the c'' above, as in the "head-motive." Every motet contains multiple instances of the cadence-type: four in motet 1 (*prima pars*,

¹⁴⁹ This variant, however, seems to be fairly common, appearing also in Weerbecke's *Quam pulchra es* cycle (motet 5, *prima pars*). Perhaps more significant is the fact that both motets divide the antiphon text into two *partes*, with the *secunda pars* beginning at the same textual division, from "Funde preces."

¹⁵⁰ The only exception is in motet 2, which delays the "head-motive" to the second phrase; the basic shape—c''-g'-f'-e'—leading to the "third-cadence" can be clearly observed, however, in the S phrase from measure 5 to the downbeat of measure 10.

¹⁵¹ It should be remembered that Frye is himself represented in the Mass motet repertory discussed by Snow (see n. 12, above), and thus the presence of a parody-like motet cycle based on his *Ave regina caelorum* may suggest a direct connection of some sort.

mm. 5, 21, 38; *secunda pars*, m. 57); three in motet 2 (mm. 10, 15, 34); three in motet 3 (mm. 9, 14, 30); two in motet 4 (mm. 9, 31), and four in motet 5 (mm. 10, 25, 39, 52). While on the surface this may seem unremarkable, the "third-cadence" is in fact quite rare in the Milanese motet repertory.¹⁵² One significant exception is the preceding cycle, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*: that cycle too contains three instances of this "archaic" cadence-type, though on B \flat (motets 3, m. 28; 4, m. 23; and 5, m. 22). As such, the "third-cadence" may well represent a local penchant, or perhaps a favored cadential sonority of a single composer.

Unity within *Ave regina caelorum* is then further enhanced by a number of motives which recur within two or more motets. These include a sort of "tail-motive" which, though not yielding the same kind of bond as the "head-motive," seems to establish some presence: the "motive" in fact is not so much a single melodic shape, but rather is identified by an emphatic rise to a high e" in the soprano and a high g' in the tenor during the final phrase of each motet; the bond is closest between motets 1 (*secunda pars*, mm. 57-62) and 2 (mm. 48-51), and to a lesser extent 5 (mm. 55-56)—when the voices surge repeatedly toward this high note, creating perhaps the most climactic moments of the cycle. Another climactic "motive" that recurs is a syncopated flourish in the soprano—e"-d"-c"-d"-c"-b'-a'-[g']—which appears twice in motets 1 (*prima pars*, mm. 23-25; and *secunda pars*, mm. 57-59) and 2 (mm. 14-16 and 36-38). Further, the precise opening soprano figure of motet 3 (mm. 1-3) recurs twice in motet 4 (mm. 18-20 and 35-37). While subtle, all of these (and other) motivic connections secure the unity of the cycle, and assert the diligent craft of its composer.

Finally, the overall style of *Ave regina caelorum* creates the most palpable means of creating unity, much as it did for *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*. And as in the latter cycle,

¹⁵² An initial review of the motets of the Gaffurius Codices revealed only two cases outside of this cycle and *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*: "O beatae presulis" (MilD 1, 108v-109, m. 11) and "Uterus virgineus" (from Cycle #6, *Ave mundi reparatrix*, m. 28). Doubtless others exist, and yet the difficulty in spotting them is testimony to their rarity.

the stylistic trademarks of *Ave regina caelorum* help to position it within a local, Milanese orbit—namely, an extensive use of dense (and generally non-imitative) counterpoint, frequent employment of evaded or deceptive cadences, and a great number of long, sinuous melodies—in all voices. Several of these are near astonishing, such as the thirty-measure uninterrupted passage in the bass in motet 3 (mm. 1-30); other notably extended phrases occur in motets 2 (T., mm. 30-49), 4 (B, mm. 1-21), and 5 (S, mm. 25-42). Indeed, uninterrupted passages of over ten measures are quite the norm in this cycle—again reminding one of the *melodiae longissimae* of Ambrosian chant. The cycle's approach to mode is likewise reminiscent of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, with a great majority of cadences falling on C. Interesting is the common commixture with E Phrygian, marked not only by periodic Phrygian cadences, but also by the "head-motive's" descent from c' to e', where the higher tone doubles as the reciting tone of the new mode.

In sum, the cycle creates an impressive formal composite, and leaves little doubt that its composer possessed considerable craft and imagination. Again, lacking documentary evidence, an exact dating is impossible, and yet it seems likely that it stems from a period near to the creation of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—perhaps preceding it by a few years.¹⁵³ It is worth hypothesizing, in fact, that a single local chorister in the Duomo's chapel early set to compose this motet cycle, for use in a Roman Votive Office, before turning to ornament his own rite with a more polished cycle destined for an Ambrosian Votive Mass—both in praise of Milan's beloved patroness, the Virgin Mary.

¹⁵³ Despite the lack of imitation, the continually dense texture, and the dominant use of the "archaic" cadence type, a somewhat "modern" dating of the cycle can be gleaned from two additional factors: 1) the cycle's consistent mensuration of *tempus imperfectum diminutum*—in contrast to the *tempus perfectum* of Frye's *a3* motet; and 2) the frequent use of a functional V-I cadential movement in the B, particular toward the Final, C—with only two appearances in the B of a sudden rest at the moment of cadential arrival (motet 1, *prima pars*, m. 30; motet 5, m. 35), and no octave leaps at cadences—and thus very similar to the B usage in *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*.

3. Text and Music

The texts of *Ave regina caelorum*, like those of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, derive from liturgical plainchant, and thus adhere to a more prosaic syntax than most of the other cycles examined in this study. Textual division is marked not by rhyme, but by grammatical syntax, which in turn relies on cadential division for articulation. Like its predecessor in MiLD 3, *Ave regina caelorum* fulfills this responsibility admirably, as each motet consistently articulates syntactical divisions with clear cadences. Not surprisingly, a good many of the principal grammatical divisions are marked by the "third-cadence" on C—thus granting it syntactic as well as motivic significance. The most pronounced division occurs in motet 1, where the *secunda pars* begins with the syntactically distinct closing petition—just as occurred in Frye's *a3* setting.¹⁵⁴ Motets 2, 3, and 4 are all marked by cadences at the conclusion of each text line, with minimal cadential activity within a line or phrase. Noteworthy is the lack of clear musical correspondence between the conclusion of motets 3 and 4, both ending with the phrase, "te laudamus, Deus noster." This in turn is reminiscent of what occurred in motet 1 of *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, where the concluding Refrain of both *partes*—"Jacebat in praesepio et fulgebat in caelo"—was met with differing musical settings. Motet 5 appears as the least rigid in its musico-syntactic divisions, appearing more committed to a subtle underpinning and continuous musical flow aided by frequent weak or evaded cadences.

Semantic expression through musical means is typically slight and subtle in *Ave regina caelorum*, in part a reflection of the largely theological nature of the texts.

As such, only two subtle candidates of text expression are worth proposing here, neither of which is immune from skepticism:

¹⁵⁴ It may also be noted that both *partes* conclude with the precisely the same cadential pattern, which then is reiterated at the conclusion of motet 2; this exact same formal connection was likewise observed for *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*, adding to the evidence of their mutual authorship.

1) Motet 1, mm. 22-25 and 57-59 (S), "O Maria... [funde preces ad filium] pro salute [fidelium]" (O Mary... pour forth prayers to your Son for the Salvation of the faithful): these two passages are marked by the same melodic flourish in the soprano, which may suggest a subtle devotional connection between Mary, the object of the petition, and the desired blessing yielded by her prayers—the Salvation of the faithful.

2) Motet 5, mm. 29-33, (S), "[ex] ea carnem assumens" (by taking flesh from her): this passage in the soprano stands out considerably from a great majority of the melodic writing in this cycle—which is predominantly florid and marked by great momentum: here, by contrast, the soprano proceeds in four ascending, step-wise breves. The text at this point makes direct reference to the Incarnation, and thus holds some correspondence to the *cantus coronatus* style of the Elevation motet, another musical predilection of Renaissance Milan.

10. *Caeli quondam roraverunt*—(Franchinus Gaffurius)

The three-motet cycle *Caeli quondam roraverunt* (Table 3, no. 24) is the last of the motet cycles to be discerned in MilD 3 (fols. 205-208v), a cycle whose clear musical and textual unity make it a fitting conclusion to the analytical portion of this study. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that it may be confidently attributed—for the first time—to the principal musical protagonist of this dissertation, Franchinus Gaffurius. The evidence for this attribution is both musical and bibliographic, beginning with some late-nineteenth century inventories of the Milanese choirbooks.

Specifically, an appendix attached to the 1885 publication of the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano* provides a list of composers with Milanese association,

along with a partial list of their works; among the most detailed is that of Gaffurius, for whom seventy-three Masses, motets, antiphons, and litanies are listed.¹⁵⁵ The list is particularly valuable in that it attributes to Gaffurius a number of works found in the damaged fourth *Librone* (see Table 1 in the introduction)—some of which appear anonymous in the earlier three manuscripts. Among these are the three motets of *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, which collectively appear as part of a hybrid Mass-motet cycle in MilD 4 (fols. 12v-24)—two preceding the Mass cycle, and one following it. The only notable difference is that the hybrid cycle begins not with *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, but with *Imperatrix gloriosa*—which in fact is more logical from a text standpoint.

Although the 1885 appendix does not list *Imperatrix gloriosa* by name, the sequence of works there attributed to Gaffurius strongly suggest that the "Messa a 4 voci" cited after the *Messa super Ave maris stella*, and before the *Messa La Bassadanza*, is the *Messa Imperatrix gloriosa*—since these three Masses appear consecutively in MilD 4 (fols. 1v-38). Indeed, a slightly later inventory found in Robert Eitner's 1900 *Quellen-Lexicon*, is more specific, stating, "Der 2te Codex des 16. Jhs. [MilD 4] enthält von Gafor die Missae super Montana, Ave Maris stella, Imperatrix gloriosa, La basse danze u. a."¹⁵⁶ Musical factors will further substantiate the attribution of the *Caeli quondam roraverunt* cycle to Gaffurius, as will be outlined in the discussion below.

¹⁵⁵ AFD II, 168-69 (#78).

¹⁵⁶ EitnerQL, 122. The story of the early inventories of MilD 4, and the possible attribution of the *Missa Imperatrix gloriosa* to Gaffurius was first discussed in WardMM, 495-97, although surprisingly she makes no connection between the appearance of the hybrid cycle in MilD 4 and the motet cycle of MilD 3. In addition, she mistakenly identifies the Gaffurius attributions listed in the *Annali della Fabbrica*, Appendix II as located on pp. 108-09, instead of pp. 168-69.

1. The Texts

In *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, Gaffurius makes use of what appears to be his favorite motet source-type, the Marian sequence (see Appendix C, #10); more to the point, the cycle relies entirely on two Marian sequences already set by Gaffurius—*Imperatrix gloriosa* and *Salve mater Salvatoris*, from the composer's only *motetti missales* (see Chapter 3). At the very least, this suggests Gaffurius's personal fondness for these two famous sequences of the Second Epoch, and yet it would also seem to suggest the general esteem for these texts among the faithful of late-fifteenth century Milan. Specifically, Gaffurius sets five hemistiches of *Imperatrix gloriosa* (nos. 1a, 1b, 2b, 3a, 4a), divided among the opening two motets; and four hemistiches of *Salve mater Salvatoris* (nos. 2a, 2b, 4a, 5b), all set in the third motet. One interesting point, alluded to above, is that the cycle as set in MilD 3 reverses the logical sequence order of the verses of *Imperatrix gloriosa*, such that the cycle begins with *Caeli quondam roraverunt* (verse 4a, 3a), only to be followed by the sequence's initial verses (1a, 1b, 2b); again, this is then "corrected" in MilD 4 (fols. 12v-14).¹⁵⁷ While the reversed order in MilD 3 may be the product of scribal oversight, it may also be further evidence of the generally flexible approach to textual organization among Milanese motet cycles.

The historical and devotional significance of these two sequences was outlined in some detail in Chapter 3, in the discussion of Gaffurius's *motetti missales*, *Salve mater Salvatoris*, and thus will not be reviewed here.¹⁵⁸ Two points, however, may be added: first, in the *motetti missales*, the rather exuberant tone of *Imperatrix gloriosa* came only following the more tempered *Salve mater Salvatoris*, where primary emphasis was placed on Mary's Divine Maternity, with secondary mention of her celestial powers; in the

¹⁵⁷ cf. AMMM 16:24-27.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 3, pp. 241-50; again, both sequences are found in AH 54:360-61 (*Imperatrix gloriosa*) and 384-85 (*Salve mater Salvatoris*).

three-part motet cycle, by contrast, the initial setting of *Imperatrix gloriosa* places greater focus on Mary as Queen (Empress) of heaven, with then subsequent focus on her lifelong virginity and motherhood of Christ. Second, it appears interesting that in these "abridged" settings, Gaffurius would choose to set the only verse that makes mention of Joseph (motet 1, verse 3a); when seen in connection to his cycle *Prodiit puer de puella* (whose second motet, *Joseph conturbatus est*, is entirely devoted to him), this would seem to suggest Gaffurius's (and his era's) strong desire to acknowledge the entire Holy Family when paying homage to the Virgin Mary.

2. The Music

The three motets of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* display sufficient musical unity to suggest having been composed as a cycle—which is then confirmed by virtue of their collective presence in the Mass-motet hybrid of MilD 4. Whether the Mass Ordinary portion of the hybrid was written before or after the three motets is impossible to say, partly given the damaged state of the manuscript; likewise is a description of any musical connections between the Mass and the motets largely prohibitive—although all portions do share the same clef arrangement, mode, and final.¹⁵⁹ The strongest musical connections occur between the opening two motets, though the third motet shares enough musical material with the other two to validate its claim of cyclic inclusion. The cyclic identity of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* is first seen in the Class A traits, as listed below:

¹⁵⁹ WardMM, 519 makes passing reference to the hybrid *Missa Imperatrix gloriosa*, suggesting that the second motet, *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, "was intended for performance *loco Offertorii*," though without evidence. Whether or not the three motets held some Mass replacement function in MilD 4, however, there is no reason to suggest that such identity was in operation for the motet cycle discussed here.

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Clef (S, A, T, B)</u>	<u>Mensuration</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Mode</u>
<i>Caeli quondam roraverunt</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	☉	G	Dorian
<i>Imperatrix gloriosa</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	☉	G	Dorian
<i>Salve verbi sacra parens</i>	C1 ^b , C3 ^b , C4 ^b , F4 ^b	☉	G	Dorian

The discussion below follows the transcription of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* found in Appendix D (#16-18), and will refer to the number of the motets, with the following order:

- Motet 1. *Caeli quondam roraverunt*
- Motet 2. *Imperatrix gloriosa*
- Motet 3. *Salve verbi sacra parens*

Use of Plainchant

Both of the Marian sequences utilized in this cycle held Gregorian melodies which enjoyed a fairly wide circulation, as discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to Gaffurius's *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle.¹⁶⁰ In that discussion, mention was made of Noblitt's proposed connection between the short motives featured in Gaffurius's *motetti missales* and the opening four notes of the Gregorian melody of *Salve mater Salvatoris*—a proposal argued against in this study. When examining the melodic material of *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, however, no such connections appear even remotely sustainable, and as such it continues the general trend among Milanese composers to refrain from incorporating chant melodies into their motet cycles.

¹⁶⁰ *Imperatrix gloriosa* is transcribed in GoedeUP, 67-68; *Salve mater Salvatoris* is transcribed in two different versions in MobergS II, nos. 10 and 11a.

Contrapuntal and Textural Features

The contrapuntal writing of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* is rather conservative in nature—though certainly more dynamic than in *Ave regina caelorum*, and even *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*. Imitation occurs at the start of each motet, thus articulating a strong initial presence before fading somewhat from the stage. The imitative points in motets 1 and 3 are presented first as contrapuntal duos, with the upper voice then passing on its motive in imitation; motet 2, by contrast, begins in stretto-like imitation in all four voices. The three-part imitation in motet 1 (T-A-S) proceeds in the irregular intervallic progression of 1-4-7 (yielding a "tonal answer" in the last two voices)—reminiscent of the unusual interval progressions seen in motets 1 and 2 of Gaffurius's *Castra caeli* cycle; both motets 2 and 3 proceed in more regular intervallic progressions, with that of motet 3 following the balanced progression 1-1-5-5, itself reminiscent of the "text-book" case seen in motet 4 of *Salve mater Salvatoris* (see Chapter 3). Following these initial points of imitation, however, the technique is hard to find: motet 1 contains no more imitation, while motet 3 contains but one more instance—a chanson-like motive passed as a strict canon between tenor and soprano (mm. 38-42); motet 2 contains two additional brief imitative moments—a three-point imitation (B-T-S, mm. 25-30), built upon the opening motive of motets 1 and 2, and a brief imitative duo (T-S, mm. 51-53) that begins a seventh apart, before "correcting" itself to the octave. The bass is only moderately supportive harmonically within the overall counterpoint, with strong fifth or fourth leaps at the cadence occurring only occasionally; in motet 1, especially, the bass is often absent at the point of cadential arrival; octave leaps at the cadential arrival, however, are entirely absent.

The textural identity of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* is likewise rather conservative, with dense four-part counterpoint the prevailing sonority. Marked variety comes first in motet 2, with a brief pair of alternating duets (B/A, T/S) in measures 47-55. Motet 3 then introduces a decidedly more varied approach to texture, with the occasional

introduction of brief trios (mm. 18-20, 33-35, 54-57, the latter alternating) and near-strict homophony (mm. 22-24, 37-39). A modern, "popular" quality is present in these two quasi-homophonic moments, particularly in the former, where the feminine cadence on "peccati" (mm. 23-24) creates a frottola-like effect. Beyond these, contrapuntal variety or focus is created in all three motets by occasional parallel tenths between bass and soprano, as well as by a rather pronounced use of melodic sequence, most notably at the end of motets 2 and 3; *tripla* sections are entirely absent. Overall, the contrapuntal and textural identity of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* suggests an uncertain balance between conservative and modern qualities, beyond Gaffurius's early "experiments" of *Ave cella novae legis*, but preceding the maturity of cycles such as his *Salve mater Salvatoris* and *Prodiit puer*.

Formal and Motivic Characteristics

In a pattern observed several times before, Gaffurius here contrasts his rather pedestrian approach to counterpoint and texture with a fairly sophisticated use of motivic cohesion. *Caeli quondam roraverunt* demonstrates its motivic structure most notably in motets 1 and 2, by use of a single melodic figure which appears frequently in each motet. The figure first appears at the start of motet 1—as the motive of the initial imitation—and appears an additional six times in the course of the motet: bass and soprano (in tenths, mm. 7-8), alto (mm. 15-16), soprano (mm. 26-27), bass (mm. 38-39), soprano (mm. 42-43), and tenor (mm. 44-45); the figure then initiates the opening point of imitation in motet 2—in all four voices—and appears an additional five times in the motet: bass (mm. 25-26), tenor (mm. 26-27), soprano (mm. 28-29), tenor (mm. 46-47), and alto (mm. 55-56). Beyond this, there are several "false" appearances of the figure in both motets, in all creating a consistent string of motivic links throughout these first two motets. In keeping with Gaffurius's other "thematic" cycles, the figure itself is rather

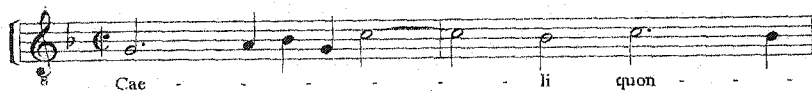
cadential in nature—g-a-b^b-g-c'-b^b-c'—and yet its motivic function and identity are unmistakable. Example 47 contains six examples of the motive.

EX. 47

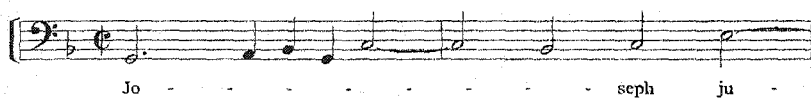
Caeli quondam roraverunt—Unifying Motivic Figure

a. Motet 1 (mm. 1-2, T); b. Motet 1 (mm. 22-23, B); c. Motet 1 (mm. 42-43, S);
d. Motet 2 (mm. 1-2, B); e. Motet 2 (mm. 26-28, T); f. Motet 2 (mm. 38-39, S)

a.



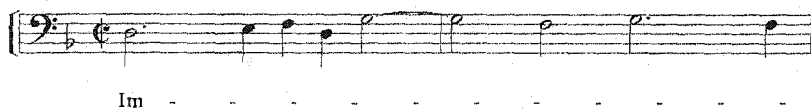
b.



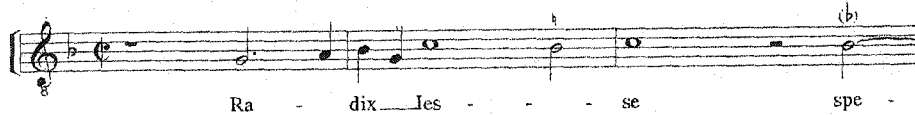
c.



d.



e.



f.



Motet 3, by contrast, is entirely devoid of this figure, and indeed proceeds without repetition of any internal motive. To be sure, this casts some doubt on the inclusion of this motet in the cycle; the opening two motets, in may be remembered, derive their texts from a single para-liturgical source, whereas motet 3 stems from a different source entirely. Still, there are a few formal ideas which connect this motet to the preceding two: first, the opening imitative motive of motet 3, like that of motets 1 and 2, is decidedly cadential in nature—g'-f'-e'-f'-g'-f'-g'—and, as in motet 1, begins in the alto as part of a two-voice counterpoint before being passed in imitation; second, a chain of repeated descending semibreves occurs in the tenor in both motet 1 (mm. 12-14: b^b-b^b-a-a-g-g) and motet 3 (mm. 21-29: b^b-b^b-a-a-[g-b^b-a-g]-f-f ... g-g-f-f-e-e-d-d); most obvious, however, is the long multi-voice sequence that closes both motets 2 (mm. 60-65) and 3 (mm. 59-64)—all voices present descending sequences, with the soprano and bass in parallel tenths, and with the soprano motive of motet 2 repeated exactly in the alto of motet 3 (see Example 48). Admittedly, these motivic connections do not satisfy all doubt that the three motets were original conceived by Gaffurius as part of a single cycle (given its greater variety of texture, it is conceivable that motet 3 was written slightly later); however, their cyclic grouping in both MilD 3 and MilD 4 illustrates that at least in the minds of the Milanese scribes, they were indeed a unified cycle.

EX. 48

Caeli quondam roraverunt—Motivic connection, sequential patterns

a. Motet 2 (mm. 60-65); b. Motet 3 (59-64)

a.

fu - i - sti pa - ra - nym - pho cre -
 (pa - ra - nym - pho - cre - du - la -
 pa - ra - nym - pho (pa - ra - nym - pho, pa - ra - nym - pho, pa - ra - nym - pho)
 (fui)sti pa - ra - nym - pho

b

(Chris) - tus ex te pro - di - it.
 (Chris) - tus ex te pro - di - it.
 (Chris) - tus ex te pro - di - it.
 (Chris) - tus ex te pro - di - it.

Finally, the three motets of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* demonstrate unity by virtue of their approach to modality, beginning with their striking similarity of ambitus for all three motets—identical in the soprano (c'-d'') and bass (G-b^b). Typical of Gaffurius, the modality (G Dorian) is clearly presented by virtue of both cadences (primarily G and D, with occasional cadences on C and A) and interval species (for example, the descending T semibreves mentioned above). Most limited in its modal definition is motet 1, where

strong cadences occur only on G and D, whereas motet 2 contains two strong cadences on C, and motet 3 a strong Phrygian cadence on A. Motet 1 is likewise noteworthy for its double iteration of the "tonic" chord at the conclusion (mm. 49-50)—once again, a trademark of Gaffurius. This, above all, is confirmation that this interesting and quite successful motet cycle is the handiwork of Milan's prodigious *maestro di cappella*, Franchinus Gaffurius.

3. Text and Music

With *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, Gaffurius returns to the kind of syntactic clarity that was the hallmark of such cycles as *Salve mater Salvatoris*, *Hortus conclusus*, *Prodiit puer*, and to some degree *Beata progenies*. What makes this cycle stand out, moreover, is the manner in which Gaffurius combines syntactic clarity with the motivic structure noted above—namely for the opening two motets. Specifically, Gaffurius seems to have consciously positioned the periodic occurrences of the principal motive at the beginning of each new poetic verset—with but one exception. In motet 1, coinciding with the first strong cadence on G (m. 22), the motive is presented decisively in the bass (on G), just at the start of the second verset (*Joseph justus vir expavit*). Similarly, the second verset of motet 2 (*Radix Jesse speciosa*), is clearly articulated by both a clear cadence on G (m. 25) and another presentation of the principal motive in the bass (again, on G). The third verset of motet 2 (*Florem ergo genuisti*) is clearly marked by a strong preceding cadence on C at the end of the second verset (m. 47), yet is begun not with an iteration of the principal motive, but rather with the marked change of texture noted above—the introduction of alternating duos. However, the motive does reappear in the alto (m. 55) upon the conclusion of the second duo, at the start of the four-part counterpoint that heralds the end of the motet.

Motet 3, of course, does not mark its poetic structure with a recurring motive, and yet the syntactic structure is very neatly articulated: the start of the second verset (*Nos spinetum nos peccati*) is marked by both a strong cadence on G (m. 21) and an audible change in texture—from counterpoint to quasi-homophony; the third verset (*Salve decus virginum*) is again marked by both a strong cadence, on A (m. 36), and a change in texture from counterpoint to quasi-homophony; finally, the fourth verset (*Flos campi convallium*) is set up by a very clear cadence on D (m. 47), with a duration of a breve in the alto and bass, and a long in the soprano and tenor. The overall mixture in these motets of clear syntactic articulation and subtle contrapuntal underpinning evinces Gaffurius's theoretical interest in creating musico-poetic transparency—for the listener as well as the performer—and is in general a sign of his skill as a composer.

The syntactic success of *Caeli quondam roraverunt* seems to have but little impact in creating unambiguous musico-semantic concurrences—as has been the norm for Gaffurius. Yet, as always, this is not to say that such concurrences were not intended by the composer, since a few cases can be reasonably proposed. In all, four instances of word-painting were observed:

1) Motet 1, mm. 12-16 (T), "concreteque stillaverunt" (They [dew drops from heaven] solidified and trickled down): here the tenor presents six repeated, descending semibreves in an overall descent from b^b to d, which vividly render an image of a stately trickling down of heavenly seeds into the womb of the Virgin. Similarly, the alto and bass present overall melodic descents in this passage, as if accompanying the solidified seeds toward their blessed destination.

2) Motet 1, mm. 40-50 (all voices), "florescentem virgulam" (The branch which began to blossom): these two words span some eleven measures, making it the most melismatic passage in the entire cycle; the extended melismas with their undulating contours—especially in the soprano and tenor—create an atmosphere of growth and

expansion, akin to the miraculous expanse of the Virgin's womb, which so frightened Joseph.

3) Motet 2, mm. 38-47 (A), "*copiosa Deitatis gratia*" (the abundant Grace of God): the dramatic running ascent of a ninth in measures 42-43 is the most forceful expression within this passage of what appears a direct response to the image of God's abundant (*copiosa*) Grace.

4) Motet 3, mm. 22-24 (all voices), "*Nos spinetum, nos peccati*" (We are the thicket [of thorns] we are the sins): this quasi-homophonic passage stands unique within the cycle for its popular quality—notably the feminine cadence on "*peccati*." The popular, paired nature of the musical passage may well have been intended by Gaffurius as a reflection of the popular parallelism of the text.

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Conclusion

A. Summary

The preceding chapters have provided a fair amount of detail—starting with the history of Marian devotion in Milan and then centering on the musical and textual content of the Marian motet cycles of the Gaffurius Codices. To remind the reader of the larger picture offered by this study, a brief summary is here presented—namely, a restatement of the general principals and conclusions from the main body of this dissertation. The summary attempts to consolidate succinctly its principal topics: 1) the overarching history of Marian devotion in Milan; 2) the interaction between Marian devotion and sacred polyphony in the Renaissance; 3) the nature and importance of the Milanese motet cycle repertory; and 4) the musical style of the sixty Marian motets of the Gaffurius Codices analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The opening two chapters trace the slow but steady rise of Marian devotion in Milan between roughly the fourth and early-sixteenth centuries. Beyond the complex details of this development stands a simple truth: devotion and veneration of the Virgin Mary witnessed a virtually unbroken escalation, from a rather subdued acknowledgment of her privileged position as mother of Christ to an almost fanatical reliance on her powers of intercession on behalf of the faithful. By the closing years of the fifteenth century, Mary was accorded a nearly autonomous authority to grant entrance into heaven, not only in the minds of the faithful but also in the writings of learned preachers and theologians—culminating in the works of Bernardino da Busti. This unbroken line of devotion in turn opened the vast repertory of medieval and renaissance Marian poetry—in the form of hymns, sequences, and popular verses—to anyone wishing to praise or petition the Virgin Mary, including musical composers. The more extreme manifestations of Marian devotion observed in late-*quattrocento* Milan, and elsewhere, would later be redressed by the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century; but for the composers,

singers, and church-goers of the Sforza era, the fervid reliance on Mary's assistance for salvation was a fundamental and unquestioned aspect of their religious identity.

The era's preoccupation with Mary is perhaps nowhere better observed than in the repertoires of late-fifteenth century sacred polyphony, particularly motets. Composers of the Josquin generation devoted much of their energy to writing motets devoted to the Virgin Mary; more were dedicated to her than to any other religious figure, even Christ. As seen in Appendix A, nearly half the motets written by major composers of the period are Marian—a devotional as well as musical phenomenon. An even greater concentration of Marian motets is observed in the motet repertory of the Gaffurius Codices (indexed in the introduction), a testament to the high level of Marian devotion in late-*quattrocento* Milan. The texts of this repertory, moreover, accurately mirror Milanese religious life during this period—that is, the co-existence of the official Ambrosian rite observed in the Duomo and the un-official Roman rite observed within the Sforza court. Finally, the textual content by and large reflects a distinctly Milanese approach to Marian devotion, going back to the writings of St. Ambrose—namely, the imperative to place Mary's power, however great, within the context of her unique theological prerogative as the divine and virginal mother of Christ.

A clarifying glimpse into the relationship between Marian devotion and the sacred polyphony of the Gaffurius Codices is found in the distinctly Milanese genre of the motet cycle—whose investigation is the chief concern of this dissertation. The concentration of Marian devotion in these cycles—both the codified *motetti missales* cycles and the unspecified motet cycles—is even higher than that found within the motet repertory as a whole. This in turn suggests that composers active in Milan—Compère, Weerbeke, Josquin, Gaffurius—may have associated the genre directly with Marian worship, perhaps as a sort of devotional counterpart to the Christological emphasis of the Mass cycle. Tracing the texts of the fourteen Marian motet cycles analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4 places in high relief the great variety of poetic sources—both liturgical

and para-liturgical—used by Milanese composers. Many of these suggest performance within a Marian votive service.

The preponderance of motet cycles in these choirbooks illustrates the high status granted the genre in late-fifteenth century Milan. This investigation makes clear that the motet cycle was by no means limited to the explicit *motetti missales*, and that the flexibility of the genre held great interest to several Milanese composers, both at the Sforza court and at the Duomo—especially its *maestro di cappella*, Franchinus Gaffurius. The flourishing of the motet cycle, moreover, may be seen to reflect a changing perception of the motet during this period—where by joining motets together to form cycles, the composer infuses the genre with a heightened status, on par with the Mass cycle. The phenomenon is identified in Chapter 4 as related to the increase in motet cycles and multi-movement motets found generally in contemporary Italian manuscripts and prints—particularly the prints of Petrucci. Thus, Milan can be seen as a leading force in this development, but one which seems to dissipate shortly after 1500—following the fall of the Sforza and coinciding with the completion of the Gaffurius Codices.

Finally, the musical identity of the fourteen Marian motet cycles of the surviving Gaffurius Codices, comprising a total of sixty motets, is systematically evaluated in Chapters 3 and 4. The repertory of the Gaffurius Codices is widely recognized as marking a critical juncture between an older, Netherlandish practice and a more modern style influenced by Italian popular forms such as the frottola and lauda. All ten of the unspecified cycles receive detailed analysis for the first time in this dissertation, adding considerably to the picture of polyphonic writing in late-*quattrocento* Milan. The composer most frequently considered in these chapters is Gaffurius—whose overall musical style is summarized below; in addition, three anonymous cycles are discussed.

The diversity of styles and approaches (not to speak of quality) amongst these sixty motets defies easy summation, although it may be noted that the "Italianate" sonorities of chordal homophony and dance-like *tripla* sections found in the *motetti*

missales cycles of Compère, Weerbecke, and Gaffurius are only sporadically found in the genuinely Italian cyclic repertory. While several of Gaffurius's unspecified motet cycles display sections of strict homophony and *tripla* mensuration, several others do not; likewise, amongst the three anonymous cycles, only *Ave mundi reparatrix* appears indebted to this same "progressive" orientation. By contrast, the two cycles identified in this study as written by local, Ambrosian composers—*Beata et venerabilis Virgo* and *Ave regina caelorum, mater*—display a more conservative style, free of both extended homophony and *tripla* writing. The result is a considerable degree of stylistic diversity, casting doubts on previous descriptions of a so-called "Milanese" style—particularly since the motets of local composers adopt an approach quite remote from that taken by the ultramontane composers hitherto cited as representative.

At the same time, a number of musical techniques may be seen as somewhat standardized across the repertory; these include: 1) a strong reliance on a fundamental discant-tenor contrapuntal framework, with frequent—though not consistent—harmonic support at cadences in the bass; 2) an only sporadic presence of imitation, usually limited to soprano and tenor, pervasive, four-part imitation being relatively rare; and 3) a fairly consistent avoidance of *cantus prius factus* technique, even when plainsong melodies are readily available. Further, these motets display a somewhat uniform approach to text setting, generally observing poetic syntax, and limiting text representation to subtle gestures.

B. Epilogue: The Musical Style of Franchinus Gaffurius

In the course of Chapters 3 and 4, Franchinus Gaffurius emerges as the major musical protagonist of this dissertation, and thus worthy of special consideration. Specifically, this epilogue summarizes some of the disparate musical observations made within the previous two chapters, with the purpose of providing a more coherent overview of Gaffurius's musical style. This study is provisional, given the limited number of works under consideration; still, it is based on the twenty-two motets of Gaffurius analyzed in this study, and thus offers a step forward in coming to terms with this gifted but rather overlooked composer. The only previous summation of Gaffurius's musical style is in Noblitt's dissertation; though it yields several astute observations, it is based only upon six motets.¹ This underscores the need for a systematic examination of Gaffurius's extant compositions—which could proceed from these two existing stylistic overviews.²

Chronology

Of all the stylistic summations possible for a Renaissance composer, none is as potentially slippery as that involving chronology. In the case of Gaffurius, the challenge is made more difficult by virtue of his unusually static biography—his final thirty-eight years, the period of nearly all his compositional activity, spent in one city, Milan. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that any of the motets considered here were composed prior to his arrival in Milan in 1484, at the age of thirty-three; further, the dating of the manuscripts that bear these works would suggest that they were written sometime between 1484 and 1490 (for the works in Mild 1) or at the very latest 1500

¹ NoblittMM, 198-207. Noblitt subsumes in his "Stylistic Summary" the four motets of the *Salve mater Salvatoris* cycle, as well as the two motets which bookend the *Missa Sanctae Catarinae V. et M.*

² See the comments in Chapter 3, p. 251.

(for those in MilD 3). As such, the very notion of chronology for these twenty-two motets may seem a bit unwarranted, being limited to a period of perhaps only six years.

However, within these works is found a substantial level of compositional diversity, enough to suggest some degree of development and evolution on Gaffurius's part. A chronology built upon compositional "progress"—and not biography or the dating of musical sources, for example—is not without its subjective problems. And yet one has difficulty imagining a composer following a work which displays brilliant artistic cohesion with another that is muddled in near-aimless musical discourse. If a chronology based on musical style and craft alone is possible, then it would appear much as follows for these twenty-two motets of Gaffurius.

Specifically, the seven motet cycles evaluated in this study seem to divide themselves into three phases of compositional quality and self-assuredness, and therefore chronology: the motets of the first phase display at least some level of artistic weakness, as well as a greater propensity toward archaic structures; those of the second phase appear more experimental, uneasily mixing undeveloped or archaic tendencies with techniques recognized as "modern" for the period; those of the third phase, by contrast, yield more consistently successful works, unfettered by archaisms and generally affording some level of compositional mastery. The proposed disposition of these three phases is as follows:

Phase 1 (apprenticeship)

Beata progenies
Castra caeli

Phase 2 (growth and assimilation)

Ave cella novae legi
Caeli quondam roraverunt

Phase 3 (gradual maturity)

Hortus conclusus
Salve mater Salvatoris
Prodiit puer

I have no documentary evidence to support this chronology; instead, it is based on musical style, and in particular on the varying levels of musical craft demonstrated in these twenty-two motets. Rather than summarize these varying levels immediately, the above-proposed chronology is perhaps best made by outlining the treatment of individual compositional paradigms for each of the motet cycles—which in any event will help to forge the stylistic overview which is the main task of this epilogue.

Counterpoint

Gaffurius's approach to counterpoint is decidedly not his most progressive attribute as a composer; what is more, his contrapuntal handling is rather more consistent throughout these twenty-two motets than are many other musical paradigms. On the whole, imitation plays a relatively minor role in these motets, taking a back seat to free counterpoint—which dominates the fabric of the music. To be sure, late-fifteenth century composers in general used imitation as but one among several contrapuntal approaches—in contrast to the generation of composers active in the opening decades of the sixteenth century, who made it a defining feature; and yet Gaffurius's embrace of imitation seems tepid even compared to his contemporaries in Milan. The kinds of skillful imitative displays seen in Weerbecke's *Ave Christe mater* (motets 1-2), for example, are largely absent in Gaffurius's motets.³ One doubts that Gaffurius lacked the technical skills needed to compose elaborate imitative constructs—as suggested by the virtuoso contrapuntal examples of musical proportion in his theoretical works; rather, it appears that the technique simply did not enter his thinking as a primary mode of composition—something borne out in his Masses and Magnificats as well. Most instances of imitation in these motets are short, quasi-canonic, and limited to the soprano and tenor, often at the octave. Pervasive imitation is found occasionally, but only as isolated events surrounded by free counterpoint.

³ See Chapter 4, pp. 428-29.

Even still, some sort of developmental progression can be gleaned from these motets, both technically and artistically. In the earliest cycles (Phase 1), imitation is quite undeveloped and tentative: pseudo-imitative and strict canon are common, particularly in *Castra caeli*—which likewise contains the odd imitative interval progressions of 1-5-2-4 and 4-1-1-7 (motets 1 and 3, respectively).⁴ In both *Castra caeli* and *Beata progenies*, moreover, the bass is less supportive harmonically than in later cycles, with rests at the moment of cadential arrival and octave leaps common.

The motets of Phase 2 display a somewhat experimental approach to counterpoint, thus supporting their "intermediary" status. *Caeli quondam roraverunt* begins each motet with a passage of imitation, before largely abandoning the technique; although motet 2 displays a four-part pervasive imitation following the progression 1-1-5-5, motet 1 starts with a three-part point with the odd interval progression 1-4-7, suggesting a still casual view of imitative symmetry. By contrast, *Ave cella novae legis*, all but abandons imitation entirely, in favor of an elaborate system of melodic ostinati, amid an otherwise quite dense contrapuntal texture. The harmonic role of the bass too is "intermediary"—although octave leaps are absent, silences at cadential arrivals are quite common in both cycles.

The three cycles of Phase 3, despite considerable sophistication, display a still modest approach to counterpoint: discant-tenor construction dominates, while imitation is used sparingly; however, its use is more polished, and more gracefully placed within the musical discourse. *Salve mater Salvatoris* contains two quite skillful instances of pervasive imitation, along with an elaborate string of four imitative duos (motet 3, *tertia pars*).⁵ In *Prodiit puer*, the "head-motive" is treated to imitation at the start of each motet, which continues to be found subsequently—including some bold constructs, such as the simultaneous use of prime and inverted versions of the "head-motive" within an internal

⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 389-90.

⁵ That is, in *Lux eclipsim nesciens*; see Chapter 3, p. 258.

three-part imitative point (motet 3).⁶ Complimenting this somewhat more confident use of imitation in these motets is a generally supportive bass at cadences, with frequent harmonic leaps of a fourth or fifth.

Texture

An increased attention to textural clarity and variety is among the hallmarks of late-fifteenth century polyphony, part of the changing aesthetic that likewise finds a new interest in more popularesque forms of musical articulation. In this regard, Gaffurius shows himself more aware of contemporary trends—many of which see their first blossoming in the works of his Milanese predecessors—than was seen with counterpoint. This is particularly true in the works assigned to his third phase, and in general Gaffurius's approach to texture seems to undergo more development than does counterpoint. With increasing prominence, these motets make use of varied scoring (duos and trios), syllabic homophony and quasi-homophony, *tripla* rhythm via minor color, parallel tenths, and melodic sequences—all of which help to offset the often staid presentation of free counterpoint with limited imitation.

In the motet cycles of Phase 1, the level of textural clarity is in fact rather limited. *Castra caeli* in particular often seems to wander in near aimless shifts between three- and four-part scoring, while *Beata progenies* presents little textural variety—and in general takes little advantage of its *a3* scoring, as noted in the analysis. Still, the motets of both cycles present occasional strings of alternating duos, which do bring focus to the musical discourse—including a string of five alternating duos in *Beata progenies* (motet 3); as well as three fauxbourdon-style trios in *Castra caeli*. This latter is admittedly an archaic texture, and yet it is one that Gaffurius seems particularly fond of, given its continued use even in his most "advanced" cycles. By contrast, neither cycle makes use of syllabic homophony; and only one of the seven motets involved makes use of any *tripla* shift—

⁶ See Chapter 4, p. 375.

namely, motet 1 of *Beata progenies*, although this is actually an old-fashioned shift of mensuration (from *prolatio minor* to *maior* within *tempus perfectum*), rather than the more progressive shift via minor color.

The cycles of Phase 2 likewise continue a rather conservative approach to texture, particularly *Ave cella novae legis*. As noted, this cycle makes use of a fairly rigorous ostinato technique, which provides some textural focus—by virtue of the aural distinction of a repetitive melodic fragment; and yet these ostinati occur within a context of dense counterpoint, bereft of homophony, and nearly void of duos or trios. Again, the dense texture in this cycle is reminiscent of the Ambrosian cycles *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* and *Ave regina caelorum*, and thereby suggest some sort of attempt at assimilation on Gaffurius's part. *Caeli quondam roraverunt* presents a more confident display of textural variety—especially motets 2 and 3, with alternating duos, several trios, and even one passage of syllabic homophony (motet 3); further, this cycle makes use of extended melodic sequences, which like the ostinati in *Ave cella novae legis*, bring increased focus to the musical texture. On the other hand, neither cycle contains a shift into *tripla* rhythm.

The somewhat conservative textural stance of these four cycles evaporates in the three cycles of Phase 3. Each cycle displays an impressive level of textural variety and clarity, which help considerably to raise the aesthetic success of the individual motets. Inserted into the contrapuntal fabric are frequent, and clearly articulated duos and trios—the latter usually presented in fauxbourdon style. Homophony now becomes a standard device, placed periodically in each cycle, and often following a duo or trio, thereby sustaining textural focus. Melodic sequences and ostinati are used occasionally, particularly in *Salve mater Salvatoris*—such as the five-part sequence in motet 2 (*prima pars*), placed in the lower three voices to create an extended trio in *fauxbourdon* style.⁷ Perhaps the most impressive is *Prodiit puer* which creatively integrates full-voiced counterpoint (free and imitative) with duos, trios (again in fauxbourdon style), and

⁷ See Chapter 3, p. 259.

homophony; added to this clarity is the rondo-like refrain in motet 3. Finally, each of the three cycles includes rousing sections of *tripla* rhythm via minor color, lending the cycles the modernesque sonority identified frequently in the motets of Weerbeke, Compère, and Josquin.

Melodic Characteristics

Noblitt devotes considerable attention to Gaffurius's approach to melody and phrase construction, where he makes several cogent observations generally borne out in the motet cycles analyzed in this study: each voice part tends to hold a relatively equal level of melodic and rhythmic interest, including the tenor and bass; melodic phrases tend to be short and to lie within a limited ambitus—usually a fifth or sixth; phrase lengths are generally equal among all voices, with overlap quite common at cadences; melodic motion tends to be step-wise, with wide leaps kept at a minimum—though this is less true for the bass; and a pattern of long notes at the beginning of a phrase followed by shorter notes leading toward the cadence is quite common.⁸ As noted, extended sequences and melodic ostinati are not uncommon—a practice in keeping with Gaffurius's penchant for short melodies. Indeed, an observation not noted in Noblitt is the composer's frequent reliance on cadence-like melodic formulae—such as the passage seen in *Hortus conclusus* (motet 1), presented as Example 28. One point of contention is Noblitt's denial of the motivic identity of Gaffurius's melodies, brought up in the discussion of *Salve mater Salvatoris*.⁹ As often argued in this study, Gaffurius seems intent on infusing some of his admittedly "formulaic" melodies with motivic functionality—a propensity most effective for the genre of the motet cycle.

In spite of this general uniformity, a variance of melodic craft can be observed in these motets, in line with the chronology noted above. In the two cycles of Phase 1, the

⁸ NoblitMM, 198-200.

⁹ See Chapter 3, 252-257; cf. NoblitMM, 162-63, 199.

melodic material seems less self-assured than in the later-phased cycles; sequences are nearly absent, and the melodic material is at times lacking in clear focus, as if Gaffurius is still tenuous in his ability to bring distinct and lucid lines together in a contrapuntal fabric. Among the motets of Phase 2, *Caeli quondam roraverunt* is quite typical of the melodic approach outlined above, while *Ave cella novae legis* represents a stark contrast—as noted, this cycle juxtaposes short, cadential *ostinati* with long, sinuous melodies, including one lasting 18 measures, reminiscent of the Ambrosian cycles (nos. 8 and 9) discussed in Chapter 4. The picture here is of a composer attempting to refine his own voice while at the same time trying to assimilate the tendencies of local composers. Finally, the motets of Phase 3 more consistently epitomize the description given above, particularly *Hortus conclusus* and *Salve mater Salvatoris*; partial exception are the motets of *Prodiit puer* cycle, which often replaces the short cadential-like figures with more flowing, even florid lines—always clearly defined—and a pronounced use of melodic sequence.

Modal and Harmonic Aspects

Noblitt portrays Gaffurius's approach to harmony and modality as "representative of their age," in contrast to the "progressive" tendencies of the Munich cycles (attributed by Noblitt to Martini): full triads are generally absent at cadences (omitting the third), while internal chordal progressions proceed largely by step-wise bass movement; the final and fifth of the mode (labeled tonic and dominant) are heavily favored points of accentuation; and proper dissonance is used freely, particularly in approach of cadences.¹⁰ Noblitt, however, says little on Gaffurius's approach to modal definition—a topic, by contrast, addressed frequently in the present study. As noted,

¹⁰NoblittMM, 202-04; the most detailed discussion here is of Gaffurius's vertical and melodic approach at cadences—complete with percentages for varying cadential progressions: according to Noblitt's calculations, authentic cadences rank highest with 75%, followed by deceptive (11%), half (10%), and plagal (4%) cadences. These percentages are roughly apt for the cycles examined in this study.

Gaffurius is quite consistent in his tendency to create clear modal identity by means of strong cadences, overall melodic ambitus, and especially interval species within individual phrases. Quite striking is Gaffurius's penchant for commixture, with a mix of G Dorian and F Lydian being especially favored. In nearly every case, the commixture is clearly manifest—with a section of one pronounced mode being temporarily "interrupted" with that of a second, only to return to the original modality.

In contrast to most other paradigms, Gaffurius's approach to modality is highly consistent among the twenty-two motets reviewed in this study—not surprising given the composer's life-long preoccupation with music theory, and modes in particular. Even in the least "developed" cycles of Phase 1, modality is clearly defined, with a mature use of commixture. The three cycles of Phase 3, not surprisingly, find the most sophisticated treatment of modality, as well as the most adventurous steps harmonically—such as in the quasi-tonal homophonic passages of *Hortus conclusus* (motet 2).¹¹ *Prodiit puer* displays a particularly rich approach to harmony and modality, with the principal mode of D Dorian mixed with both F Lydian and A Phrygian—through clever insertions of bb.¹² On the whole, therefore, Gaffurius's approach to modality is quite progressive, forming a basis for future elaboration in the hands of mid- to late-sixteenth centuries composers—including that by another theorist-composer, Gioseffo Zarlino.¹³

Formal Characteristics

Aside from a few off-hand comments regarding the largely non-motivic nature of Gaffurius's melodies, Noblitt's "Stylistic Summary" is silent on overall issues of musical form in these motets. The present study's focus on formal unity (or lack of it) amongst motets of a cycle, by contrast, has granted considerable attention to formal and motivic

¹¹ See Chapter 4, p. 364.

¹² Ibid, p. 380.

¹³ See, for example, Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *JAMS* 34/3 (fall, 1981), 428-70.

characteristics. The analyses of Gaffurius's motet cycles in Chapters 3 and 4 have noted considerable variety in his approach to musical form, from a seeming disregard of formal properties to a heightened attention to both motivic unity and formal clarity—which, when fully realized, reveal Gaffurius to be a composer of impressive artistic powers. As such, the use of form can prove a constructive gauge of Gaffurius's "evolution" as a composer, much as it has shown evidence of the superior quality of motets by Weerbecke and Compère.

The motets of Phase 1, not surprisingly, display little in the way of formal mastery. The weak, even suspect, unity of both *Beata progenies* and *Castra caeli* is matched by a sort of formal meandering within these seven motets—with only two minor cases of internal repetition in the former, and then in only one voice.¹⁴ The cycles of Phase 2 show not only more attention to motivic unity among motets, but also a more pronounced display of formal clarity: the *ostinati* of *Ave cella novae legis* create a distinct type of internal repetition, while *Caeli quondam roraverunt* cleverly articulates the form by virtue of a repeating motive at the start of each textual verse in motets 1 and 2, and a recurring final sequence at the close of motets 2 and 3.

These efforts, however, pale in comparison to the at times dazzling formal constructs of the Phase 3 cycles. Each of the three cycles display not only unambiguous cyclic unity—most dramatically through the motivic *tour de force* in *Salve mater Salvatoris*¹⁵—but also sophisticated formal devises. These include the sectional repetitions of *Hortus conclusus* and the rondo-like refrain of *Prodiit puer*, which likewise include moments of sectional repetition.¹⁶ As noted, such conscious displays of formal cohesion have been identified by Finscher and others as benchmarks of compositional skill and progressiveness in the works of Compère and Weerbecke—an epithet worthy of Gaffurius too in his finest moments.

¹⁴ See Chapter 4, p. 351.

¹⁵ See Chapter 3, pp. 254-57.

¹⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 364-65, 377-80.

Music and Text

Noblitt says few words about Gaffurius's approach to the text, especially regarding possible semantic connections between text and music—indeed, he firmly denies any semantic correspondence whatsoever, noting that "expressive treatment of the text and word-painting were simply not a part of the 15th-century technique of composition."¹⁷ On the other hand, Noblitt is quick to note a strong syntactic relationship, to the point of stating that "[t]he structure of these motets is largely determined by the text."¹⁸ An intuitive discomfort with these strictly opposing viewpoints regarding music and text is then borne out in the analyses of the present study—at least to the point of questioning Noblitt's harsh dismissal of semantic connections. Admittedly, semantic links observed in Gaffurius's motets are generally subtle, and at times open to dispute—compared to the more explicit examples found in Weerbeke—and yet the overall impression is that of a composer conscious of both the structure and meaning of the text, appropriate given their potent devotional objective: to praise and petition the Virgin Mary.

Though overstated, Noblitt is correct in suggesting that Gaffurius composed his music with close consideration of the textual structure. As a general rule, a given line of text is set to an individual line of music, often across all voice parts, while larger units such as versets are normally articulated with a substantial dividing cadence. It is interesting, in this regard, that Gaffurius tends to set discreet, if not complete, poetic texts for his motets or motet cycles, in contrast to the pastiche-like tendencies of Compère—perhaps stemming from the former's humanistic concern with the integrity of texts. Gaffurius also generally refrains from overly explicit nods to semantic identity, and yet nearly every motet provides at least one provocative instance that suggests a

¹⁷ NoblittMM, 207.

¹⁸ Ibid., 207.

direct overture to musico-textual expression. On the whole, these tend not to be the kind of direct "word-painting" found in the later madrigal—although a few such cases do exist, such as the "fleeing" imitation on the word "configimus" in *Beata progenies* (motet 3). The connection is often more subtle, and displays cognizance of the text through emphasis or special treatment on a given word or phrase—"Maria," "genuit," "Virgo," and the like; indeed, this latter is more interesting, as it suggests a kind of speculative piety on Gaffurius's part, akin to the pious and devotional function of the texts themselves.

This musico-textual summary too can be superimposed upon a sort of evolutionary chronology through the individual motets of the three phases. In the motets of Phase 1, the text structure is not as consistently adhered to as one might expect of a learned humanist. In *Castra caeli*, for example, a surprising number of poetic strophes are obfuscated by cadential placement and phrase overlap. An improvement is seen in the motets of Phase 2, with an impeccable display of musico-strophic division seen in *Caeli quondam roraverunt*, by virtue of clear cadences and presentation of a "head-motive" at the start of most every verset.¹⁹ Likewise do the motets of Phase 3 display very clear syntactic articulation, with individual versets consistently divided by strong cadences, changes of texture; and with larger structures (*partes*) divided by half cadences, such as occurs in both *Salve mater Salvatoris* and *Prodiit puer*.

Again, semantic connections are subtle, and are best gauged by examining the instances proposed at the close of the analysis of each cycle—some of which are admittedly open to question. While no clear "evolution" can be cited, it is worth pointing out that many of the most intriguing cases of possible word expression occur in the motet cycles of Phase 3—such as the "painting" of "descendi" in *Hortus conclusus*, the musical link between "Res miranda" and "salva reos" in *Salve mater Salvatoris*, and the meditative reiterations of "Maria" in *Prodiit puer*.²⁰ Through inclination or talent,

¹⁹ See Chapter 4, pp. 481-82.

²⁰ For these examples, see Chapter 4, p. 367; Chapter 3, p. 267; and Chapter 4, p. 381, respectively.

however, Gaffurius seems never to have "evolved" to the level of semantic sophistication found in such Northerners as Weerbecke and Josquin.

Gaffurius: Composer and Music Theorist

The list of Renaissance musicians who were prolific both as theorists and composers is quite short—perhaps limited to Tinctoris, Gaffurius, and Zarlino; another musician, Guillaume Dufay, can scarcely be called prolific as a theorist, since his two brief theoretical works, the *Musica* and the *Tractatus de musica mensurata et de proportionibus*, have been lost.²¹ Indeed, only Zarlino can claim to have been as active as Gaffurius in both realms—testament enough to the greatness of these two musicians. As such, one would hope to find some palpable insight into Gaffurius the composer from his theoretical writings. Unfortunately, this writer has seen but little direct correspondence between the two sides of his musical persona.

As a theorist, Gaffurius was largely of a conservative bent, a dutiful student of Pythagorus, Boethius, Guido, Ugolino di Orvieto and Tinctoris; and a fierce opponent of the progressive tendencies of Bartolomeo Ramis and his disciple Giovanni Spataro—culminating in his polemic tract, *Apologia adversum Johannem Spatarium et complices Musicos Bononiensis* (Turin, 1520), published just two years before his death.²² Gaffurius's importance as a theorist rests largely on the so-called "trilogia gaffuriana"—*Theorica musicae* (1492), *Practica musicae* (1496), and *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (1518).²³ Not surprisingly, these tracts provide an encyclopedic knowledge of Medieval and early Renaissance speculative and practical theoretical

²¹ See David Fallows, *Dufay* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), 240. Mention of the *Musica* is found, in fact, in the margins of two early theoretical works of Gaffurius—the *Extractus parvus musicae* and the *Tractatus brevis cantus plani*, both dated c. 1474. See Clement Miller, "Early Gaffuriana: New Answers to Old Questions," *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970), 372.

²² See Lowinsky, Blackburn, and Miller, ed. *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 48, 60.

²³ See Miller, "Franchino Gaffurius," NG 77:77-79.

concepts—the nature of sound, intervals, modes, mensural proportions, rules of consonance, even tuning and instrument construction—and yet say relatively little about the actual process and objectives of polyphonic composition.

The most important and relevant of these treatises is, of course, the *Practica musicae*, which includes the famous eight rules of counterpoint (Book 3, Chapter 3). In essence, however, these latter are simply rules of dissonance treatment, with relatively little on compositional procedure.²⁴ Discussions of imitation, homophony, formal procedure, text treatment, and the like are on the whole bypassed in the *Practica*. An indication of the gap between Gaffurius's compositional and theoretical orientations can be gleaned from the musical examples found in the *Practica*: of the 155 music examples given in the four books, only four present *a*4 counterpoint—and these only to demonstrate rules of cadential voice-leading²⁵ with seven showing *a*3 counterpoint; the remaining examples are *a*2. Imitation occurs in only 10 examples—all *a*2—and most of these are pseudo-imitation, where only the first three to five notes are truly imitative; this may show a similitude after all, as pseudo-imitation appears fairly frequently in Gaffurius's motets. Most of the musical examples occur as part of Book 4, on mensural proportions; while these examples have little to do with the motets observed in this study, they do demonstrate Gaffurius's technical skill as a composer. Perhaps the most interesting link between the *Practica musicae* and the motets of the Codices comes by way of Gaffurius's harsh criticism of the Ambrosian practice of parallel dissonance—which intersects with the anonymous cycle, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo* (see Chapter 4, Cycle #8).

²⁴ Perhaps the most relevant is the sixth rule, which observes simply that the three voices of polyphony (cantus, tenor, contratenor) should move in contrary rule—though this rule is stated as arbitrary, for parallel motion is likewise acceptable. For an overview of the *Practica*, see Miller, "Gaffurius's *Practica musicae*: Origins and Content," *Musica disciplina* 22 (1968), 105–28.

²⁵ Book 3, Chapter 11: "The Composition of the Different Parts of Counterpoint." See *The Practica Musicae of Franchinus Gaffurius: Translated and Edited with Musical Transcriptions*, ed. and trans. by Irwin Young (Madison, WI and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 149–153.

Otherwise, the correlation between Gaffurius the theorist and Gaffurius the composer must be observed in more indirect ways. These include, above all, Gaffurius's firm commitment to modal clarity within his motets, a direct outgrowth of his unparalleled knowledge of the Church modes—their intonation formulae, reciting tones, interval species, the nature of commixture, and so forth. Likewise can Gaffurius's commitment to syntactic precision in his motets be seen as a reflection of his theoretical concern with the rules of Latin poetic meter—confronted directly in Book 2, Chapter 1 of the *Practica musicae*.²⁶ Beyond these, the theoretical side of Gaffurius the composer may be discerned via more subtle musical procedures: the sophisticated motivic construction of his Phase 3 motets, the elaborate ostinati technique of *Ave cella novae legis*, and even the creation of a unique musical signature, the double cadence—whereby this *professor musicae* and humanist scholar could leave his own distinct salutation to posterity.

Conclusion

The stature of Gaffurius the composer may well lie in the second tier of Renaissance composers, below the ranks of his Northern contemporaries—Josquin, Isaac, Brumel, Compère, and Weerbecke. And yet, his importance as a bridge to the coming generation of native Italians cannot be ignored. Gaffurius was among the few native composers of his day to fully embrace the new musical language of sacred polyphony, and it is assuredly not by virtue of their quality that his works were not more widely transmitted in manuscript nor published in prints. Gaffurius chose to live, compose, write, and teach within the confines of Milanese territory, with highest commitment to a single institution, the Duomo di Milano. One wonders what musical masterpieces may have flowed from his pen had not Ludovico il Moro lost the crown in 1500; the final

²⁶ "Poets and Musicians Settled on a Short and a Long as the Measure of Time in the Voice," see *The Practica Musicae*, 67-72.

twenty-two years of Gaffurius's life were spent under foreign occupation, and never again would he enjoy the magnanimous patronage he enjoyed with Ludovico.

Gaffurius seems to have developed as a composer principally during the first fifteen or so years of his tenure in Milan—likely beginning with an immature approach to composition, learning through assimilation of local and Northern praxes, and coming into his own as a consummate composer. While his stature may always lie in the second tier, his music—not infrequently infused with beauty and artistic elegance—deserves to be more widely known, and more frequently performed.

Appendix A

Marian Compositions by Major Composers of the Josquin Generation

[Agricola, Brumel, Compère, Josquin, Gaffurius, Isaac,
La Rue, Obrecht, Weerbecke]

(Based on non-doubtful worklists in NG—Marian works/Entire output)

Alexander Agricola (NG 1:162-63)

Missae (0/8 = 0%)

Mottetti (13/25 = 52%)

Ave maris stella (4v.)
Ave Domina Sancta Maria (4v.)
Ave pulcherrima regina (4v.)
Magnificat primi toni [i] (4v.)
Magnificat primi toni [ii] (4v.)
Magnificat secundi toni (4v.)
Magnificat octavi toni (4v.)
O quam glorifica (3v.)
O virens virginum (4v.)
Regina coeli (4v.)
Salve Regina [i] (4v.)
Salve Regina [ii] (4v.)
Virgo sub ethereis (3v.)

Motet-Chansons (1/3 = 33%)

Belles sur toutes/Tota pulchra es

Antoine Brumel (NG 3:379-80)

Missae (1/15 = 7%)

Missa de beata virgine (4V.)

Mottetti (17/34 = 50%)

Ecce ancilla Trinitas (3v.)
Ave cujus conceptio (4v.)
Ave Maria, gratia Dei plena (3v.)
Ave stella matutina (4v.)
Ave virgo gloriosa (4v.)
Beata es, Maria (4v.)
Conceptus hodiernus Mariae semper virginis (4v.)
Magnificat primi toni (3v.)
Magnificat secundi toni (4v.)
Magnificat sexti toni (4v.)
Mater patris et filia (3v.)
Nativitas unde gaudia/Nativitas tua, Dei genetrix (4v.)
Quae est ista (4v.)
Regina caeli laetare (4v.)

Regina caeli laetare (4v.)
Sicut lilium inter spinas (4v.)
Sub tuum praesidium (4v.)

Loyset Compère (NG 4:598)

Missae (0/3 = 0%)

Mottetti Missales et alia - Cycles [see below for individual movements] (1/3 = 33%)
Missa Galeazescha [= Missa Ave virgo gloriosa] (in 8 parts, 4v.)

Mottetti (23/47 = 49%) [including indiv. parts of loco cycles]

Adoramus te Christe [= Part 6 of Missa Galeazescha]
Ave Maria, gratia plena (4v.)
Ave virgo gloriosa [= Part 1 of Missa Galeazescha]
Ave salus infirmorum [= Part 2 of Missa Galeazescha]
Ave decus virginale [= Part 3 of Missa Galeazescha]
Ave sponsa verbi [= Part 4 of Missa Galeazescha; 2nd p. = Gaude mundi domina]
Beata Dei Genitrix [= 2nd p. of Missa Hodie nobis de virgine]
Magnificat primi toni (4v.)
Magnificat quarti toni [Esurientes only] (2v.)
Magnificat sexti toni [i] (4v.)
Magnificat sexti toni [ii] (4v.)
Magnificat septimi toni (4v.)
Magnificat octi toni [Esurientes only] (3v.)
O admirabile commercium (4v.)
O Genetrix gloriosa [2nd p. = Ave virgo gloriosa] (4v.)
O Maria in supremo [= Part 5 of Missa Galeazescha]
O post partum munda [lost, from Mil 4] (4v.)
Omnium bonorum plena (4v.)
Paranymphus salutem virginem (4v.)
Propter gravamen et tormentum (4v.)
Salve mater salvatoris [= Part 7 of Missa Galeazescha]
Sile fragor (4v.)
Virgo caelesti (4v.)
Virginis Mariae laudes [= Part 8 of Missa Galeazescha] (

Motet-Chansons (2/5 = 40%)

Plaine d'ennuy / Anima mea (3v.)
Royne du ciel / Regina celi (3v.)

Josquin Des Prés (NG 9:728-33)

Missae (4/18 = 22%)

Missa "Ave Maris Stella" (4v.)
Missa de beata virgine (4-5v.)
Missa Gaudeamus [?] (4v.)
Missa Mater Patris (4v.)

Fragmenta Missarum

Gloria de beata virgine (4v.)

Mottetti Missales et alia - Cycles [see below for individual movements] (2/2 = 100%)

Missa Vultum tuum (in 8 parts, 4v.)

O admirabile commercium [Cycle of antiphons for Circumcision] (in 5 parts, 4v.)

Mottetti (41/115 = 36%) [including contrafacta and individual parts of motetti missales]

Alma Redemptoris Mater (4v.)

Alma Redemptoris Mater / Ave Regina caelorum (4v.)

Ave Maria, gratia plena ...benedicta tu [= 4th part of Vultum tuum]

Ave Maria, gratia plena...virgo serena (4v.)

Ave Maria [= 2nd part of Pater noster] (6v.)

Ave Maria [= 1 text of O bone dulcis Domine Jesu / Pater noster / Ave Maria] (4v.)

Benedicta es, celorum regina (6v.)

Christe, Fili Dei [= 7th part of Vultum tuum]

Ecce Maria genuit [= 5th part of O admirabile commercium]

Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea (4v.)

Gaude virgo, mater Christi

Germanavit radix Jesse [= 4th part of O admirabile commercium]

Honor, decus, imperium [= v.2 of hymn Nardi Maria pistici]

Illibata Dei virgo nutrix / La mi la [w/ acrostic] (5v.)

Intermerata virgo [= 3rd part of Vultum tuum]

Inviolata, integra et casta es (5v.)

Magnificat tertii toni (4v.)

Magnificat quarti toni (4v.)

Mente tota tibi supplicate [= 6th part of Vultum tuum]

Missus est Gabriel (4v.)

Mostra te ess matrem [= vv. 4-6 of the hymn, Ave Maris Stella] (4v.)

O admirabile commercium [= 1st part of O admirabile]

O Maria, nullam tam gravem [= 5th part of Vultum tuum]

O Maria, virgo sanctissima [= Se congie prens] (6v.)

O Mater Dei et hominis [= Adaptation of Tu solus qui facis mirabilia] (4v.)

O virgo genetrix [= Plusiers regretz] (5v.)

O virgo prudentissima / Beata mater (6v.)

O virgo virginum (6v.)

Ora pro nobis, virgo [= 8th part of Vultum tuum]

Praeter rerum serium (6v.)

Quando natus es [= 2nd part of O admirabile commercium]

Regina caeli (4v.)

Rubum quem viderat Moyses [= 3rd part of O admirabile commercium]

Salve Regina (4v.)

Salve Regina (5v.)

Sancta Dei Genitrix [= 2nd part of Vultum tuum]

Stabat mater dolorosa / Comme femme desconfortée (5v.)

Tu lumen [= elevation motet (?) of Vultum tuum] (4v.)

Virgo prudentissima (4v.)

Virgo salutiferi / Ave regina (5v.)

Vultum tuum deprecabuntur [= 1st in Vultum tuum]

Franchinus Gaffurius (NG 7:78-79)

Missae (3/17 = 18%)

Missa montana (4v.)

Missa de Assumptione (4v.)

Missa de Nativitate (4v.)

[not included are those, such as the *Missa Imperatrix gloriosa*, found anonymously in
MILD 4 (see Chapter 4)]

Mottetti Missales Cycles [see below for individual movements] (1/1 = 100%)

Salve mater Salvatoris (4 parts, 4v.)

Mottetti (33/49 = 67%) [including contrafacta and individual parts of motetti missales]

Ave mundi spes, Maria (4v.)

Beata progenies (3v.)

Castra caeli (4v.)

Descendi in hortum (4v.)

Gaude mater luminis (4v.)

Gloriosa virginis Mariae (3v.)

Hortus conclusus (4v.)

Imperatrix gloriosa [= 4th motet in Salve mater Salvatoris]

Imperatrix reginarum (4v.)

Magnificat primi toni [i] (3v.)

Magnificat primi toni [ii] (4v.)

Magnificat primi toni [iii] (4v.)

Magnificat sexti toni [i] (3v.)

Magnificat sexti toni [ii] (4v.)

Magnificat sexti toni [iii] (4v.)

Magnificat sexti toni [iv] (4v.)

Magnificat octavi toni [i] (3v.)

Magnificat octavi toni [ii] (4v.)

Magnificat octavi toni [iii] (4v.)

Magnificat octavi toni [iv] (4v.)

Prodiit puer (4v.)

Promissa mundo gaudia (4v.)

Regina caeli (4v.)

Salve decus virginum [= 2nd motet in Salve mater Salvatoris]

Salve mater Savatoris [= 1st motet in Salve mater Salvatoris]

Salve mater Salvatoris [litany] (4v.)

Sponsa Dei electa (4v.)

Stabat mater (4v.)

Sub tuam protectionem (3v.)

Tota pulchra es (4v.)

Tu thronus es Salamonis [= 3rd motet in Salve mater Salvatoris]

Virgo Dei digna (4v.)

Virgo prudentissima (4v.)

Heinrich Isaac (NG 9:332-36)

Missae (5/36 = 14%; re: lit. masses, 4/20 = 20%)

Missa de beata virgine (4v.)

Missa de beata virgine [i] (5v.)

Missa de beata virgine [i]5v.)

Missa de beata virgine (6v.)

(N.B. his large output of Liturgical mass cycles, using plainsong, ad Organum)

Missa "Virgo prudentissima" (6v.)

Choralis Constantinus [CC] (all 4v.) (14/98 cycles = 14%; only Marian cycles receive two settings)

Annuntiatione Mariae [i]: (CC ii, 34)

Rorate coeli desuper (int.)

Ave Maria gratia plena (tr.)

Ecce virgo concepit (comm.)

Annuntiatione Mariae [ii]: (CC iii, 298)

Rorate coeli desuper (int.)

Prophetae sancti praedicaverunt (all.)

Fortem expediat pro nobis (seq.)

Assumptione Mariae [i]: (CC ii, 113)

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino (int.)

Assumpta est Maria (all.)

Quae sine virili conmixtione (seq.)

Delixisti iustitiam et odisti (comm.)

Assumptione Mariae [ii]: (CC iii, 420)

Assumpta est Maria (all.)

Congaudent angelorum chori (seq.)

Circumcisione Domini: (CC ii, 11)

Vultum tuum (int.)

Post partum virgo (all.)

Regem tuum intacte (seq.)

Simile est regnum (comm.)

Commune Festorum BMV: (CC iii, 317)

Salve sancta parens (int.)

Sancta Dei Genetrix (all.)

Per quod ave salute (seq.)

Beata viscera Maria virginis (comm.)

Conceptione Mariae: (CC ii, 191)

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino (int.)

Conceptio gloriosae (all.)

De radice Jesse propaginis (seq.)

Diffusa est gratia in labiis (comm.)

De Sancta Maria, a Nativitate usque ad Purificatione: (CC iii, 307)

Vultum tuum (int.)

Post partum virgo inviolata (all.)

Regem regum intactae profundit (seq.)

Nativitate Mariae [i]: (CC ii, 134)

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino (int.)

Nativitatis gloriosae virginis (all.)

Laude dignum angelorum (seq.)

Diffusa est gratia in labiis (comm.)

Nativitate Mariae [ii]: (CC iii, 429)

Nativitas gloriosae virginis (all.)

Stirpe Maria regia procreata (seq.)

Presentatione Mariae: (CC ii, 174)

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino (int.)

Felix virgo quae nondum (all.)

Uno nexiu coniugatis (seq.)

Beata viscera Mariae virginis (comm.)

Purificatione Mariae: (CC ii, 24)

Suscepimus deus misericordiam (int.)

Post partum virgo (all.)

Generosi Abrahae, tu filia (seq.)

Responsum accepit Simeon (comm.)

Gaude Maria virgo (tr.)

Visitatione Mariae [i]: (CC ii, 95)

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino (int.)

Magnificat anima mea (all.)

Piae vocis laudes canta (seq.)

Beata viscera Mariae virginis (comm.)

Visitatione Mariae [ii]: (CC iii, 381)

In Maria benignitas per saecula commendatur (all.)

Veni praeclsa Domini (seq.)

Alia Propria Missae (6/38 = 16%)

Gaude Maria virgo (tr., 2v.)

Gaude Maria virgo (tr., 4v.)

Rorate coeli desuper (int., 6v)

Salve sancta parens (int., 6v.)

Vultum tuum (int., 4v.)

Vultum tuum (int., 6v.)

Mottetti (20/51 = 39%)

Alma Redemptoris Mater (4v.)

Anima mea liquifecta est (4v.)

Ave ancilla trinitatis [i](3v.)

Ave ancilla trinitatis [ii](4v.)

Ave regina caelorum (4v.)

Ave sanctissima Maria (4v.)

Gaude Dei genetrix virgo(4v.)

Inviolata integra et casta [frag.] (5v)

O Maria, mater Christi (4v.)
 Quae est ista quae ascendit (4v.)
 Regina caeli laetare (5v.)
 Rogamus te piissima Virgo (4v.)
 Salve Regina [i] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [ii] (5v.)
 Sncta Maria (4v.)
 Spiritus Sancta in te descendet, Maria (6v.)
 Sub tuum praesidium (4v.)
 Tota pulchra es (4v.)
 Vultum tuum [i] (4v.)
 Vultum tuum [ii] (6v.)

Pierre de La Rue (NG 10:475-76)

Missae 11/35 = 31%

Missa Assumpta est Maria (4v.)
 Missa Ave Maria (4v.)
 Missa Ave Sanctissima Maria [= Missa de beata virgine] (6v.)
 Missa Conceptio tuo (5v.)
 Missa cum iucunditate (4v.)
 Missa de beata virgine [= Missa "Salve sancta parens" and Missa "Coronata"] (4v.)
 Missa de septem doloribus (5v.)
 Missa "Inviolata"
 Missa "Ista est speciosa" (5v.)
 Missa "Sancta Dei genetrix" (4v.)
 Missa "Sub tuum praesidium" [= Missa quarti toni] (4v.)

Mottetti (18/34 = 53%)

Ave Regina caelorum (4v.)
 Gaude virgo mater (4v.)
 Magnificat primi toni (3-6v.) [need to check if these are one or more; see, Mag. sexti toni]
 Magnificat secundi toni (2-4v.)
 Magnificat quarti toni (3-4v.)
 Magnificat quinti toni (2-4v.)
 Magnificat sexti toni (3-5v.)
 Magnificat septimi toni (3-4v.)
 Magnificat octavi toni (2-4v.)
 Regina caeli (4v.)
 Salve mater Salvatoris (4v.)
 Salve Regina [i] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [ii] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [iii] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [iv] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [v] (4v.)
 Salve Regina [vi] (4v.)
 Sancta Maria Virgo (3v.)

Jacob Obrecht (NG 13:483-84)

Missae (6 / 29 = 21%)

Missa "Ave Regina caelorum" (4v.)
Missa "Beata viscera" (4v.)
Missa "Maria zart" (4v.)
Missa "Salve diva parens" (4v.)
Missa "Sicut spinam rosam" (4v.)
Missa "Sub tuum praesidium" (3-7v.)

Mottetti (11 / 28 = 39%)

Alma redemptoris mater (3v.)
Ave maris stella (3v.)
Ave regina caelorum, mater Regis (4v.)
Beata es, Maria (4v.)
Haec Deum coeli [praise of Virgin and Trinity] (5v.)
Magnificat (4v.)
Mater patris nati nata (5v.)
Regina caeli (2v.)
Salve regina [i] (4v.)
Salve regina [ii] (3v.)
Salve regina [iii] (6v.)

Gaspar van Weerbeke (NG 20:291-92)

Missae (1 / 8 = 13%)

Missa Ave regina caelorum (4v.)

Mottetti Missales - et alia - Cycles [see below for individual movements] (2 / 3 = 67%)

Ave mundi domina (8 parts, 4v.)
Quam pulchra es (7 parts, 4v.)

Mottetti (29 / 45 = 64%) [including contrafacta and individual parts of motetti missales]

Alma redemptoris mater [= 2nd part of Quam pulchra es]
Anima mea liquefacta est [= 4th part of Ave mundi domina]
Ave domina angelorum (4v.)
Ave domina sancta Maria
Ave mundi gloriosa [= 2nd part of Ave mundi domina]
Ave mater omnium (4v.)
Ave mundi domina [= 1st part of Ave mundi domina]
Ave regina caelorum, ave [= 5th part of Ave mundi domina]
Ave regina caelorum, ave (antiphon)
Ave regina caelorum, mater [= 5th part of Quam pulchra es]
Ave stella matutina (4v.)
Christi mater ave (4v.)
Dulcis amica Dei digna (4v.)
Fit porta Christi pervia [= 8th part of Ave mundi domina]
Ibo mihi ad montem mirrhe (4v.)
Magnificat octavi toni (4v.)
Mater dinga Dei (4v.)
Mater patris filia [= 6th part of Quam pulchra es]
O pulcherrima mulierum surge [= 4th part of Quam pulchra es]

O virginum praeclara [= 7th part of Ave mundi domina]
Quam pulchra es [= 1st part of Quam pulchra es]
Quem terra, pontus aethera [= 6th part of Ave mundi domina]
Salve sancta parens (4v.)
Salve virgo salutata [= 3rd part of Quam pulchra es]
Salve virgo virginum [= 3rd part of Ave mundi domina]
Stabat mater dolorosa/Vidi speciosam (5v.)
Tota puchra es [= 7th part of Quam pulchra es]
Vidi speciosam sicut columbam (4v.)
Virgo Maria non est tibi similis (4v.)

Combined Statistics — Marian Works/Entire Output

I. Missae:

31/169 = 18%

II. Mottetti (including Magnificat settings, but excluding Motet-chansons and C.C.)

205/428 = 48%

Appendix B

Texts and Translations of the Marian Motetti Missales

1. *Salve mater Salvatoris*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Motet 1, *Salve mater Salvatoris*

Prima pars

Salve, mater salvatoris,
vas electum, vas honoris
vas caelestis gratiae.

Ab aeterno, vas provisum
vas insigne, vas excisum
manu sapientiae.

Hail, mother of the Savior,
Chosen vessel, vessel of honor,
Vessel of celestial grace.
From eternity, this vessel was prepared,
This vessel was marked, this vessel was shaped
By the hand of wisdom.

Secunda pars

Salve, verbi sacra parens,
flos de spina, spina carens
flos, spineti gloria.

Nos spinetum, nos peccati,
spina sumus cruentati,
sed tu spinae nescia.

Hail, sacred parent of the Word,
Flower among thorns, flower free from thorns,
Glory of the thicket.
We are the thicket, we are the sins,
And we are bloody with thorns,
But you did not know this thorn.

Motet 2, *Salve, decus virginum*

Prima pars

Salve, decus virginum,
mediatrix hominum,
salutis puerpera.

Myrtus temperantiae,
rosa patientiae,
nardus odorifera.

Hail, splendor of virgins,
Mediatrix of men,
Bearer of salvation.
Myrtle of temperance,
Rose of patience,
Fragrant spikenard.

Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
cella custos unguentorum,
cella pigmentaria.

Cinnamomi calanum,
myrrham, thus, et balsamum
superans fragrantia.

Closed gate, source of gardens,
Chamber and preserver of unguents,
Chamber of healing ointments.
[You are] a fragrance surpassing
A branch of cinnamon,
Myrrh, frankincense, and balsam.

Secunda pars

O convallis humilis,
terra non arabilis,
quae fructum parturit;

Flos campi convallium,
singulare lilium,
Christus ex te prodiit.

O humble valley,
Soil unable to be cultivated
That [nevertheless] bore fruit;
Flower of the fields of the lily,
Singular lily,
Which Christ produced out of you.

Tu caelestis paradisus
Libanusque non incisus,
vaporans dulcedinem;

Tu candoris et decoris,
tu dulcoris et odoris
habes plenitudinem.

You are a heavenly paradise
And uncut frankincense,
Fuming forth sweetness;
You possess a plenitude
Of radiance and beauty,
Of sweetness and fragrance.

Motet 3, Tu thronus es Salomonis

Tu thronus es Salomonis,
cui nullus par in thronis
arte vel materia.

Ebur candens castitatis,
aurum fulvum claritatis
praesignans mysteria.

Palmam praefers singularem
nec in terris habes parem
nec in caeli curia;

Laus humani generis,
virtutum prae ceteris
habes privilegia.

Sol luna lucidior
et luna sideribus;
sic Maria dignior
creaturis omnibus.

You are the throne of Salomon,
To which none is equal among thrones
In art or substance. (?)

Shining ivory of chastity,
Yellow gold of brightness
Foreshadowing their mysteries.

You hold forth the singular palm
And you have equal neither on earth
Nor among the court of heaven;
You carry the praise of the human race,
You possess the privileges of virtues
Beyond all others.

Son, brighter moon
And moon to the constellations;
Thus Mary is more worthy
Than all creatures.

Secunda pars

Salve, mater pietatis,
et totius trinitatis
nobile triclinium,

Verbi tamen incarnati,
speciale maiestati
praeparans hospitium.

Hail, Mother of Compassion,
And noble resting place
Of the whole Trinity
Preparing a special lodging
For the majesty
Of the word made flesh.

O Maria stella maris
dignitate singularis,
super omnes ordinis
ordines caelestium.

In supremo sita poli,
nos assigna tuae proli,
ne terrores sive doli
nos supplantent hostium.

O Mary, star of the sea
Of singular dignity,
You are ordained above
All the orders of the heavens.
Placed in the very height of heaven
Commend us to your Child, (?)
Lest the terrors or evils of our
Deceive us.

Tertia pars

Lux eclipsim nesciens
virginis est castitas,
ardor indeficiens
immortalis charitas.

The light of the virgin, not knowing
An eclipse is chaste,
[Her] incessant heat
Is her immortal love of God.

In procinctu constituti
te tuente simus tuti,
pervicacis et versuti
tua cedat vis virtuti,
dolus providentiae.

Iesu, verbum summi patris,
serva servos tuae matris,
salve reos, salva gratis
et nos tuae claritatis
configura gloriae.

Evil falls to the strength of your virtuous care
During the established battle [with Eve's sin],
You are carefully and forthrightly preserved,
In the determination and shrewdness
Of providence [??]

Jesus, Word of the highest Father,
Preserve the servants of your mother,
Release the guilty ones, save us out of kindness
And fashion us
To the glory of your brightness

Motet 4, Imperatrix gloriosa Prima pars

Imperatrix gloriosa,
potens et imperiosa,
Jesu Christi generosa
mater atque filia.

Radix Jesse speciosa,
virga florens et frondosa,
quam rigavit copiosa
Deitatis gratia.

Glorious Empress,
Powerful and imperious,
Noble mother and daughter
Of Jesus Christ.

Splendid root of Jesse,
Flowering and leafy branch,
Which the abundant
Grace of God nourished.

Auster lenis te perflavit
et perflando fecundavit,
aquilonem qui fugavit
sua cum potentia;

An austere, sweet wind blew through you
And, in so doing, impregnated you,
And it chased away the North Wind
With its power;

Secunda pars

Florem ergo genuisti,
ex quo fructum protulisti,
Gabrieli cum fuisti
paranymphe credula.

Thus you bore the flower,
From which you brought forth the fruit,
When you were trusting
In the bridesman Gabriel.

Joseph justus vir expavit,
ista dum consideravit,
sciens quod non irrigavit
florescentem virgulam.

Joseph, a just man, became afraid,
Then he considered this situation,
Knowing that he did not nourish
The branch which began to blossom.

Bene tamen conservavit
archanum nec divulgavit
sponsam, sed magnificavit
honorans ut dominam.

Yet, he guarded well the secret
and did not divulge his wife,
But rather he magnified [her],
Honoring her as his lady.

Caeli quondam roraverunt,
ex quo nubes concreverunt,
concretaeque stillaverunt
virginis in uterum.

Once [seeds] dropped dew from heaven,
Whereby the clouds condensed,
They [then] solidified and trickled down
Into the womb of a virgin.

Tertia pars

Res miranda, res novella!
nam procedit sol de stella,
regem dum parit puella
viri tori nescia.

Wondrous thing, new thing!
For the Sun emerged from the star,
When a girl who knew not a man's bed
Brought forth a king.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis!

Ergo, clemens et benigna
cunctorumque laude digna,
tuo nato nos consigna
pia per suffragia,

Sancta Dei Genitrix, ora pro nobis!

Ut carnali, qua gravamur,
compede sic absolvamur,
ut soluti transferamur
ad caeli palatia.
Amen.

Saint Mary, pray for us!

Thus, [you who are] merciful and kind
And worthy of praise from all,
Make us known to your Son
Through your pious intercession,

Holy Mother of God, pray for us!

So that we be thus be absolved from the
Carnal shackles with which we are burdened,
And be freely transported
To the palace of heaven.
Amen.

2. *Ave mundi domina*—Gaspar van Weerbecke

Motet 1, *Ave mundi domina* (loco Introitus)

Ave mundi domina,
et caeli regina,
mater Dei integra,
Rosa sine spina.

Tua sit conceptio,
nostra medicina,
et tua nativitas
via matutina,

Tua praesentatio
nostra sit oblatio,
et annuntiatio,

Et purificatio
nostra sit purgatio
tua assumptio
nostra salutis via.

Tu nos tecum astrue
in vera sophia,
quae regnas cum filio,
O clemens, O pia,
fac nos tecum vivere,
O dulcis Maria

Hail, lady of the world,
And queen of heaven,
Spotless mother of God,
Rose without thorns.

May your Conception,
Be our medicine,
And may your Nativity
Be our morning path,
May your Presentation [at the temple]
Be our offering,
And may your Annunciation,
And may your Purification
Be our purgation,
And may your Assumption
Be our path of Salvation.

You uphold us with you
In true wisdom,
And you who reigns with your Son,
O compassionate one, O kind one,
Allow us to live with you,
O sweet Mary.

Motet 2, *Ave mater gloriosa* (loco Gloria)

Ave mater gloriosa,
virga Jesse speciosa,

Ex regali stirpe nata,
virgo semper illibata,
stella maris appellata,

Hail, glorious mother,
Splendid root of Jesse,

Born from noble lineage
Virgin ever unspoiled
Called "star of the sea,"

Gaude, pia, et decora,
nos exaudi sine mora,
et pro nobis semper ora.

Rejoice, pious and becoming one
Hear us without delay
And pray always for us.

Motet 3, Salve virgo virginum (loco Credo)

Salve virgo virginum,
salve lumen luminum,
ave salus hominum.

Greetings, virgin of virgins,
Greetings, light of lights,
Hail, Salvation of men,

Mater Christi peperisti
Regem regum hominum,
gaude, pura spes futura
sperantium mortis hora,
Dominum exora,
ne damnemur in aeternum.

As the mother of Christ
You bore the King of kings of men,
Rejoice, pure hope of those
Expecting their future our of death,
Pray to the Lord,
Lest we be damned in eternity.

Speciosa dux errantium,
gloriosa vox laetantium,
in hac valle sis te laudantium,
consolatrix apud patrem et filium.

Splendid leader of the errant,
Glorious voice of the joyous,
In this valley [of tears], be the consoler
Of those who praise you, beside the Father and Son.

Motet 4, Anima mea liquefacta est (loco Offertorii)

Anima mea liquefacta est,
Ut dilectus meus locutus est:
Quaesivi illum et non inveni,
Vocavi et non respondit mihi.
Invenerunt me custodes civitatis;
Percusserunt me,
Et vulneraverunt me;
Tulerunt pallium meum
Custodes murorum.
Filiae Jerusalem,
Nuntiate dilecto meo,
Quia amore langueo.

My soul failed me [dissolved],
When my beloved spoke to me:
I sought him and did not find him,
I called him and he did not respond to me.
The city watchmen found me;
They hit me,
And they wounded me;
The watchmen of the walls
Took away my veil.
O daughters of Jerusalem,
Tell my beloved
That I am love-sick.

Motet 5, Ave regina caelorum (loco Sanctus/ad Elevationem)

Prima pars

Ave regina caelorum
ave domina angelorum
salve radix sancta,
ex qua mundo lux est orta.
salve gloriosa,
super omnes speciosa,
vale, valde decora,
et pro nobis semper
Christum exora.

Hail, queen of heaven
Hail, lady of the angels
Greetings, holy root,
From whom the light for the world arose.
Greetings glorious one
Splendid above all creatures,
Hail, greatly becoming one,
And for us always
Pray to Christ.

Secunda pars

O salutaris hostia,
quae caeli pandis ostium,
bella premunt hostilia,
da robur, fer auxilium.

O host of salvation,
Who opens the door of heaven,
Hostile wars oppress us,
Give us strength, deliver us help.

Motet 6, Quem terra, pontus, aethera (post Elevationem)

Quem terra, pontus, aethera
colunt, adorant, praedicant,
trinam regentem machinam,
claustrum Mariae bajulat,
secreta quae non noverat.

He whom earth, sea, and aether
Honor, adore, and proclaim,
Who reigns over the triune sphere.
Mary's sealed fortress bears,
Though she did not know the secret.

Cui luna, sol, et omnia
deserviunt per tempora,
perfusa caeli gratia,
gestant puellae viscera.

He whom the moon, sun, and universe
Serve eternally,
Imbued with the grace of heaven,
The womb of a girl bears.

Beata mater munere,
cuius supernus artifex
mundum pugilio continens
ventris sub arca clausus est.

Mother blessed with this gift,
Whose greatest craftsman
Holding the world in His fist
Was enclosed within the chest of her womb.

Beata caeli nuntio,
fecunda sancto spiritu,
desideratus gentibus
cuius per alvum fusus est.

Blessed by heaven's messenger,
Made fertile by the Holy Spirit,
The One desired by all mankind
Was poured forth through your belly.

Motet 7, O virginum praeclara (loco Agnus Dei)

O virginum praeclara,
Maria sanctissima,
tuum factorem [genuisti]
[et] redemptorem saeculi.

O magnificent virgin,
Most holy Mary,
[You bore] your Creator
[and] Redeemer of the ages.

O gloriosa domina,
excelsa supera sidera,
qui te creavit provide,
lactasti sacro ubere.

O glorious lady,
Exalted above the stars,
He who created you carefully,
You suckled at your sacred breast.

(Quod Eva tristis abstulit,)

(That which Eve removed in sorrow,)

tu reddis almo germine,
intrent ut astra flebiles,
caeli fenestra facta es.

You returned with nourishing fruit,
And so that weeping stars may enter,
You were made the window of heaven.

Tu regis alti janua
et porta lucis fulgida,
vitam datam per virginem,
gentes redemptae, plaudite.

You are the door of the highest King
And gate of the shining Light
Rejoice, redeemed people,
In the life that was given through a virgin.

Domus pudici pectoris
templum repente fit Dei,
verbo concepit filium,
Jesum Christe

The home of a chaste breast
Was unexpectedly made the temple of God,
By the Word, [Mary] conceived her Son,
Jesus Christ

Motet 8, Fit porta Christi pervia (loco Deo gratias)

Fit porta Christi pervia,
Refulta plena gratia,
transitque rex et permanet
clausa, ut fuit, per saecula.

The gate of Christ became passable,
Shining fully with grace,
And though the King passed, still it
Remained closed, as it was through the centuries.

Genus superni luminis
processit aula virginis,
sponsus, redemptor, conditor,
suae gigas ecclesiae.

The being of the highest light
Proceeded through the palace of a virgin,
The Bridegroom, Redeemer, and Creator
The Giant of His Church.

Honor matris et gaudium,
immensa spes credentium,
per atra mortis pocula
resolvit nostra crimina.

The honor and joy of the mother,
The immense hope of the faithful,
Through the dark goblet of death
He dissolved our crime.

Maria mater gratiae,
mater misericordiae,
tu nos ab hoste protege
et hora mortis suscipe.

Mary, mother of grace
Mother of mercy,
Protect us from the enemy
And receive us at the hour of our death.

Gloria tibi, domine,
qui natus es de virgine,
cum patre, sancto spiritu
in sempiterna saecula.
Amen.

Glory to you, O Lord,
You who were born of a virgin,
With the Father and Holy Spirit
Forever and ever.
Amen.

3. *Quam pulchra es*—Gaspar van Weerbecke

Motet 1, *Quam pulchra es* (loco Introitus)

Quam pulchra es,
et quam decora,
Carissima, in deliciis tuis
Statura tua adsimilata est palmae,
Et ubera tua botris.
Caput tuum ut Carmelus,
Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea,
Veni, dilecte mi, egrediamur
in agrum,

How beautiful you are
And how becoming,
O most dear one, in your delights
Your stature is like to a palm-tree
And your breasts to clusters of grapes.
Your head upon you is like Mount Camel,
Your neck is as a tower of ivory,
Come, my love, let us go forth
Into the field

Et videamus si flores fructus
parturierunt,
Si floruerunt mala punica,
Ibi dabo tibi ubera mea.

And let us see if the flowers
Have born fruit,
If the pomegranates be in flower
There I will give you my breasts.

Motet 2, Alma redemptoris mater (loco Gloria)

Alma redemptoris mater,
quae pervia caeli porta manes
et stella maris.
succurre cadenti,
surgere qui curat populo:
tu quae genuisti natura mirante,
tuum sanctum genitorem,
virgo prius ac posterius,
Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud Ave,
peccatorum miserere.

Kind mother of the Redeemer,
You who remains passable as the gate of heaven
And star of the sea,
Succor the fallen,
Raise up the people for whom you care:
You, who bore, through a wonder of nature,
Your sacred Creator,
Virgin, before and after,
Receiving that "Ave" from Gabriel's mouth,
Have mercy of sinners.

Motet 3, Salva virgo salutata (loco Credo)

Salve virgo salutata,
salve partu decorata
Salvatorem omnium.

Greetings, health-bringing virgin,
Greetings, becoming in giving birth
To the Savior of all.

Salve gaudens resurgentem,
salve plaudens ascendentem
ad caeli palatium.

Greetings, rejoicing in the risen,
Greetings, celebrating those ascending
To the heavenly palace.

Salve scandens ad superna,
Tuos famulos gubernas,
ducens ante filium.

Greetings, ascending to the heights (of heaven)
Guide your children,
Leading them before your Son.

Motet 4, O pulcherrima mulierum (loco Offertorii)

O pulcherrima mulierum,
Qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto
tuo, quia sic adiurasti nos?
Dilectus meus candidus
et rubicundus;
Electus ex milibus.
Labia eius stillantia
myrrham primam.
Gutter illius consuevissimus
Et totus desiderabilis.
Talis est dilectus meus
Et ipse est amicus meus,
filiae Hierusalem.

O most beautiful among women,
What is your beloved more than another beloved
That you so adjure us?
My beloved is white
And ruddy;
Pre-eminent among ten thousand.
His lips are dropping
With flowing myrrh.
His throat is most sweet;
And altogether lovely.
This is my beloved
And this is my friend,
O daughters of Jerusalem.

Motet 5, Ave regina caelorum (loco Sanctus/ad Elevationem/post Elevationem)

Prima pars

Ave regina caelorum,
mater regis angelorum,
O Maria, flos virginum,
velut rosa vel lilium.
funde preces ad filium,
pro salute fidelium.

Hail, queen of heaven,
Mother of the King of angels,
O Mary, flower of virgins,
Like a rose or a lily.
Pour forth prayers to your Son,
For the salvation of the faithful.

Seconda pars

Ave corpus domini,
munus et finale,
corpus junctum homini
in memoriale,
cum finalis termini
mundo dixit vale

Hail body of the Lord,
Gift and purpose,
Body joined to man
In remembrance,
With his final words,
He said to the world, "Farewell."

Tertia pars

O Maria, clausus hortus,
naufragantis mundi portus,
placa nobis, qui te fecit,
matrem sibi quam elegit.

O Mary, closed garden,
Harbor of the world's shipwrecked,
Reconcile us with He who made you,
He who chose you as his mother.

Audi, virgo glorifica,
post filium spes unica,
clemens et imperiosa,
nostra dele maculosa,
accepta nostra cantica,
impetra pulchra caelica.

Hear, glorious virgin,
After your Son, our only hope,
Merciful and powerful,
Remove our stains,
Receive our song,
Accomplish [this], O heavenly beauty.

Ave decus virgineum,
ave jubar aethereum,
nobis praesens solemnitas
assit perpes jucunditas,
tua namque veneratio
summis est gratulatio.

Hail, virginal ornament,
Hail, aethereal splendor,
May this present solemnity
Be a perpetual joy to us,
For your veneration
Is our greatest joy.

Motet 6, Mater patris filia (loco Agnus Dei)

Mater patris filia
mulier laetitia,
stella maris eximia,
audi nostra suspiria.

Mother and daughter of the Father
Joyful woman,
Excellent star of the sea,
Hear our sighs.

Regina poli curiae,
mater misericordiae,
sis reis porta veniae.

Queen of the heaven's curia
Mother of mercy
Be the gate of forgiveness to the guilty.

Maria, propter filium,
confer nobis remedium;
bone fili, prece matris,
dona tuis regna patris.

Mary, through your Son,
Grant us a cure;
Good Son, through the prayers of your mother
Grant your children the kingdom of the Father.

Motet 7, Tota pulchra es (loco Deo gratias)

Prima pars

Tota pulchra es,
Et macula non est in te.
Favus distillans labia tua,
Mel et lac sub lingua tua;
Odor unguentorum tuorum
super omnia aromata.

You are wholly beautiful,
And there is no spot in you.
Your lips drop honey,
Honey and milk are under your tongue;
The smell of your ointments
Are better than all manner of spices.

Secunda pars

Iam enim hiems transiit;
Imber abiit, et recessit.
Flores apparuerunt,
Vineae florentes odorem dederunt.
Et vox turturis audita est
in terra nostra.
Surge, prospera, amica mea,
et veni:
Veni de Libano, veni coronaberis.

For lo, the winter is past;
The rain is over and gone.
The flowers appear,
The vines in blossom give forth their fragrance.
And the voice of the turtle-dove is heard
In our land.
Arise, quickly, my love, and come:
And come:
Come from Lebanon, come and be crowned.

4. *Missa Galeazescha*—Loyset Compère

Motet 1, Ave virgo gloriosa — Loco Introitus

Ave virgo gloriosa,
caeli jubar, mundi rosa,
caelibatus liliū.

Ave gemma pretiosa
super omnes spetiosa
virginale gaudium.

Florens ortus, aegris gratus,
puritatis fons signatus
dans fluentia gratiae

Quae regina diceris
miserere miseris,
virgo, mater gratiae.

Reis ergo fac, regina,

— O virgo pura
apud regem ut ruina
relaxentur debita.

Hail, glorious virgin,
Splendor of heaven, rose of the world,
Lily of celibacy.

Hail, precious gem,
Precious above all creatures,
Virginal joy.

Flowering source, beloved of the sorrowful,
Sealed fountain of purity
Bringing forth streams of grace.

And you who are called queen
Have mercy on the miserable,
O virgin, mother of grace.

Therefore, O Queen, appeal to the King,

— O pure virgin,
So that our owed punishment (ruin)
May be mitigated.

O virgo pura,
pro nobis dulciter ora.

O pure virgin,
Pray sweetly for us.

Motet 2, Ave salus infirmorum—Loco Gloria

Ave salus infirmorum,
et solamen miserorum;
dele sordes peccatorum,
te laudantum, domina.

Hail, salvation of the weak,
And consolation of the miserable;
Destroy the squalor of the sinners,
Who (now) are praising you, O lady.

Ave mater Jesu Christi,
virgo deum genuisti.
per virtutem ascendisti,
dans salutem homini.

Hail, mother of Jesus Christ,
As a virgin you bore God.
Through your virtue you ascended to heaven,
Granting the salvation of men.

Inter spinas flos fuisti,
sic flos flori placuisti
pietatis gratia.

You were a flower among thorns,
Thus, as a flower you pleased
The flower of piety with your grace.

Ave veri Salomonis,
mater, vellus Gedeonis,
cuius magi tribus donis
laudent puerperium.

Hail, mother of the true Solomon,
Fleece of Gedeon,
Whose tribes of Magi praise
The new-born with gifts.

Virgo carens simili,
tu quae mundo flebili
contulisti gaudia.

Nos digneris visere,
ut cum Christo vivere
possimus in gloria.

Virgin without compare,
You are the one who bestows joy
Upon the weeping world.
May you deign to behold us,
So that we be able to live
With Christ in glory.

Motet 3, Ave decus virginale—Loco Credo

Ave decus virginale,
templum Dei speciale,
per te fiat veniale
omne quod committimus.

Hail, virginal splendor,
Special temple of God,
Through you are all [the sins]
We commit pardoned.

O domina piissima,
omni laude dignissima,
fac nobis dignus te laudare
venerari et amare.

O most pious lady,
Most worthy of every praise,
Allow us to be worthy
To praise, venerate, and love you.

O domina Deo cara,
stirpe decens et praeclara
sed meritis praeclarior.

O lady, dear to God,
Becoming and beautiful in lineage,
But more beautiful through [your] merits.

O domina dominarum,
o regina reginarum,
propter tuam pietatem
pelle meam paupertatem.

O lady of ladies,
O queen of queens,
Through your compassion
Banish my poverty.

O praeclara stella maris,
quae cum deo gloriaris,
nos ad portum fac venire
nunquam sinas nos perire.

O beautiful star of the sea,
Who rejoices with God,
Allow us to come to your refuge
Never allow us to perish.

Motet 4, Ave sponsa verbi summi—Loco Offertorii

Ave sponsa verbi summi,
maris portus, signum dumi,
aromatum virga fumi,
angelorum domina.

Hail, bride of the highest Word,
Refuge of the sea, token of the bramble-bush,
Rod of aromatic smoke,
Lady of the angels.

Gaude, virgo salutata,
Gabrieli nuntio.
Gaude, mater iocundata,
Jesu puerperio.

Rejoice, health-bringing virgin,
In Gabriel's annunciation.
Rejoice, delighted mother,
In the birth of Jesus.

Gaude, mundi domina,
dulcis super omnia.
Gaude, caeli regina
Evae tollens vitia.

Rejoice, Lady of the world,
Sweet above all creatures.
Rejoice, Queen of heaven,
Taking away the faults of Eve.

O plena prae ceteris
petition
gratia divina,
De peccati vinculo,
hoste carne seculo,
libera nos, O Maria

O [Mary], full of divine grace,
Beyond all others,
O Mary, free us
From the bonds of sin,
and from the enemy of worldly flesh

Gaude, virgo, fruens delitiis,
expurga nos a nostris vitiis,
iam rosa iuncta lilio
et iunge tuo filio.

Rejoice, virgin, enjoying your delights,
Exonerate us from our crimes,
[You who are] now a rose joined to a lily,
And unite us with your Son.

Mater dei exaudi nos,
petition
ora deum tuum natum,
ne damnet nos.

Hear us, Mother of God
Pray to God, your Son,
Lest He condemn us.

Et regnare fac renatos,
a peccatis expurgatos,
pietate solita.

And cause us to prevail as born again,
Purged from sin
Accustomed to your piety.

Motet 5, O Maria!—Loco Sanctus/ad Elevationem/post Elevationem
prima pars

O Maria!

In supremo sita poli,
nos commenda tuae proli,
ne terrores sive doli
nos supplantent hostium.

O Maria stella maris
dignitate singularis,
super omnes ordinis
ordines caelestium.

Ave, prolem genuisti,
Ave solem protulisti,
mundo lapsa contulisti
vitam et imperium.

O Maria

Ad te flentes suspiramus,
te gementes invocamus,
Evae gens misera.
-- O regina pietatis!
Statum nostrae paupertatis
vultu tuae bonitatis
bene considera.

O lucerna sanctitatis!

Secunda pars

Adoramus te, Christe,
et benedicimus tibi,
quia per sanctam crucem tuam
redemisti mundum.

Tertia pars

Virgo mitis, virgo pia,
esto nobis vitae via,
esto nostrum refugium,
ut cum dulci melodia,
cantemus Ave Maria.

Ave, virgo virginum,
ave, lumen luminum,
ave, stella praevia.

Castitatis lilium,
consolatrix omnium,
peccatorum venia.

O Mary!

Placed in the highest place in heaven,
Commend us to your Child,
Lest the terrors or evils of our enemies
Deceive us.

O Mary, star of the sea
Of singular dignity,
You are ordained above
All the orders of the heavens.

Hail, you who have borne the Child,
Hail, you who have brought forth the Sun,
You who have bestowed life and power
To the faltering world

O Mary

To you we sigh our laments,
To you we invoke our cries,
The miserable descendants of Eve.
O Queen of pity!
Consider well
Our position of poverty
With the countenance of your goodness.

O lantern of sanctity!

We adore you, O Christ,
And we bless You,
Because through Your Holy Cross
You have redeemed the world.

Sweet virgin, pious virgin,
Be unto us the path of Life,
Be unto us our refuge,
So that with sweet melodies,
We may sing, "Ave Maria."

Hail, virgin of virgins,
Hail light of lights,
Hail, guiding star.

Lily of chastity,
Consoler of all,
Forgiveness of sins.

Tu pincerna veniae,
tu lucerna gratiae,
tu superna gloriae,
es regina.

You are the bearer of forgiveness,
You are the lamp of grace,
You are the celestial queen
Of glory.

Et veramentis anxiae
medicina.

And the medicine
Of our true anxieties.

Motet 6, Salve mater salvatoris—Loco Agnus Dei

Salve mater Salvatoris,
vas electum, vas honoris
vas caelestis gratiae.

Hail, mother of the Savior,
Chosen vessel, vessel of honor,
Vessel of celestial glory.

Tu nostrum refugium,
da reis remedium,
procul pelle vitia.

You, our refuge,
Grant us a remedy for [our deeds],
Banish vice far away.

Salve verbi sacra parens,
flos de spina, spina carens
flos spineti gloria.

Hail, sacred parent of the Word,
Flower among thorns, flower free from thorns,
Glory of the thicket.

Tu veniae vena, mater gratiae,
confer nobis dona misericordiae,
filium implora ut donum veniae,
donet mortis hora nobis ut gloriae
regno praesentemur.

You are the path to forgiveness, mother of grace,
Grant us the gift of mercy,
Implore your Son to grant us the gift of forgiveness
At the hour of our death,
So that we may be shown the kingdom of glory.

Dulcis Jesu, mater bona,
mundi salus et matrona,
supernorum civium.

Good mother of Sweet Jesus,
Salvation and matron of the world
Of celestial citizens.

Pacem confer sempiternam,
et ad lucem nos supernam
transfer post exilium.

Grant eternal peace,
And transport us to the celestial light
After our exile.

O Maria!

O Mary!

Motet 7, Virginis Mariae laudes—Loco Deo Gratias

Virginis Mariae laudes
intonent Christiani,

Let all Christians intone
The praises of the Virgin Mary,

Eva tristis abstulit,
et Maria protulit,
natumque, redemit
peccatores.

Sorrowful Eve destroyed,
But Mary bore her Son,
And redeemed
Sinners.

Ave, caelorum regina,
ave, morum disciplina,
via vitae lux divina
virgo mater filia.

Hail, queen of the heavens,
Hail, education of good conduct,
The path of Life, the divine light
Virgin, mother, and daughter.

Ave templum sanctum dei,
fons salutis porta spei,
ad te currunt omnes rei,
plena cum fiducia.

Sancta parens,
refove gentes
quae corde praecantur.

Labe carens,
remove mentes
quae sorde ligantur.

Mater misericordiae,
O Maria!
Spes salutis et veniae,
Maria mater gratiae,
succurre nobis hodie.

O Maria!
in hac valle miseriae
O Maria!
exaudi nos,
O Maria!

Hail, holy temple of God,
Source of salvation, gate of hope,
To you run all creatures,
Filled with faith [in you].

Holy parent,
Renew your people
Who are enchanted by your heart.
[You], lacking any stain,
Remove from our minds
Those things which are bound to uncleanness.

Mother of mercy,
O Mary!
Hope of salvation and forgiveness,
Mary, mother of grace,
Aid us today.

O Mary!
In this valley of misery,
O Mary!
hear us,
O Mary!

Appendix C

Texts and Translations of the Marian Motet Cycles

1. *Beata progenies*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Motet 1, *Beata progenies*

Beata progenies,
unde Christus natus est;
quam gloriosa est Virgo,
quae caeli Regem genuit,
Conditorem omnium.

Blessed lineage,
From whence Christ was born;
How glorious is the Virgin,
Who bore the King of heaven,
The creator of all.

Motet 2, *Gloriosae virginis Mariae*

Gloriosae virginis Mariae
ortum dignissimum recolamus,
quae et genitricis
dignitatem obtinuit,
et virginalem pudicitiam
non amisit.
Hodie nata est virgo Maria,
(antiphon)
cuius vita inclita
lucem dedit saeculo.

Let us remember the most worthy
Birth of the glorious Virgin Mary,
She who preserved
The dignity of her mother,
And who did not lose
Her virginal propriety.
Today was born the Virgin Mary,

Whose celebrated life
Gave light to the ages.

Motet 3, *Sub tuum protectionem*

Sub tuum protectionem confugimus,
sancta Dei Genitrix;
[ut] nostram deprecationem
ne inducas in tentationem,
sed de periculo libera nos,
sola casta, et benedicta

We fly under your protection
Holy Mother of God,
[As you hear] our petition,
Do not lead [us] into temptation,
But free us from danger,
Who alone are chaste and blessed

2. *Hortus conclusus*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Motet 1, *Hortus conclusus*

Hortus conclusus,
fons signatus;
emissiones tuae paradisi,

A closed garden,
A sealed fountain;
Your shoots are an orchard,

Virgo dulcis,
O Maria,
Manus tuae stillaverunt myrrham.
Melliflui facti sunt caeli
dum manu domini,
fabricata est mater tante Dei.

Sweet Virgin,
O Mary,
Your hands drip with myrrh.
Honey-filled are the deeds of heaven
When done by the hand of the Lord,
And He created a mother worthy of God.

Motet 2, Descendi in hortum

Descendi in hortum meum
ut viderem et inspicerem
si flouissent mala punica.
Revertere sunamitis,
ut intueamur te.
O virgo sole splendidior,
O cunctis astris clarior,
adsis nobis propitia, consolatrix,
O Maria purissima.

I descended into my garden
In order to look and see
Whether the pomegranites had bloomed
Return, return, O Shulammite,
That we may look upon you.
O virgin, more splendid than the sun
O [light], brighter than all the constellations
Be near us, O kind consoler,
O most pure Mary

Motet 3, Tota pulchra es

Tota pulchra es, amica me,
Et macula non est in te.
Favus distillans labia tua,
Mel et lac sub lingua tua;
Odor unguentorum tuorum
super omnia aromata.
Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra;
Vineae florentes odorem dederunt,
Et vox turturis audita est
in nostra terra.

You are wholly beautiful, my friend,
And there is no spot in you.
Your lips drop honey,
Honey and milk are under your tongue;
The smell of your ointments
Are better than all manner of spices.
The flowers appear in our land;
The vines in blossom give forth their fragrance;
And the voice of the turtle-dove is heard
In our land.

3. Prodiit puer de puella—Franchinus Gaffurius

Motet 1, Prodiit Puer

Prima pars

Prodiit puer de puella,
sana castitatis cella,
sicut exit lux de stella
et de sole radius.

Verbum quidem introivit
atque verbum hinc exivit,
et sic tuus parturivit
venter viri nescius.

Sic est factus homo Deus,
ne periret homo reus,
quod si crederet judaeus
non esset in miseria.

A boy came forth from a girl,
A sound chamber of chastity,
As light leaves from a star
And a beam from the sun.
The Word entered and also
The Word exited from that [chamber]
And thus your womb labored
Without knowing man.
Thus was God made man,
Lest sinful man perish,
Since if the Jew believed
He would not be in misery.

Secunda pars

Res a saeculis inaudita,
quod puella parit ita,

A thing unknown in this world
That a girl brought forth [a child] in this manner,

et quod ita sunt unita
caelestia terrestribus.

Gloriosa Mater Dei,
Mater magni Nazarei,
Mater Jesu, nostrae spei,
Mater misericordiae:

Te precamur tu precare
tuum natum nos juvare;
fac nos tecum habitare
in paradisi gloriae.

And thereby the heavenly
Is united to the terrestrial.
The Glorious Mother of God
Mother of the Great Nazarene
Mother of Jesus, of our Hope
Mother of Mercy
We pray that you beseech
Your Son to aid us;
Let us live with you
In the glory of paradise.

Motet 2

Joseph conturbatus est:
de utero virginis
verbum caro factum est
et habitavit in nobis.

Joseph was confused
By the virgin's womb;
The Word was made flesh

Motet 3

Prima pars

Gaude mater luminis,
quam divini numinis,
visitavit gratia,
Maria.

Virga Dei regia,
flore fructu candida
divina potentia,
Maria.

Tu virtutum speculum,
per lustrasti saeculum,
luce claritatis,
Maria.

Plena Dei munere
meruisti gignere
prolem sanctitatis,
Maria.

Gaude mater luminis,
Rejoice, mother of Light,
She whom the Grace
O Mary.
Royal rod of God,
Made a white floral blossom
By [His] divine power,
O Mary.
You are the mirror of virtue
You have purified the ages,
By the light of your goodness,
O Mary.
You, full of God's gift,
You have merited to bear
The Child of Sanctity,
O Mary.

Secunda pars

Te honorant superi
matrem omnis gratiae,
Maria.

Ad te clamant miseri
de valle miseriae,
Maria.

Audi preces, terge fletus,
nos commenda Filio,
Maria.

Ut nos tua prece suo
collocet in solio,
Maria. Amen.

The mighty honor you,
Mother of every grace,
O Mary.
To you cry out the miserable
From the valley of misery,
O Mary.
Hear our prayers, dry the weeping,
Commend us to your Son,
O Mary.
So that through your prayers
He may gather us before His throne,
O Mary. Amen.

4. *Castra caeli dum transcendo*—Franchinus Gaffurius

Motet 1, *Castra caeli dum transcendo*

Castra caeli dum transcendo,
mente pura dum perpendo,
quae sit pax segura,
Maria.

Velum templi calum detexi,
paxis archam te conspexi,
dulcis creatura,
Maria.

As I consider the heights of heaven,
As I contemplate the Pure Mind,
There [I find] a serene peace,
O Mary.

I secretly looked behind the veil of the temple,
And I observed you as the arc of peace,
Sweet creature,
O Mary.

Motet 2, *O res laeta*

O res laeta, messis grata!
Nostrum genus et cognata,
dispensatrix pacis,
Maria.

Turbulentos consolaris,
fluctus sedas feri maris,
cor tranquillum facis,
Maria.

O happy creature, beloved harvest,
Our race and our kin,
Dispenser of peace,
O Mary.

You console the agitated,
You subside the surge of the fierce sea,
You make it tranquil,
O Mary.

Motet 3, *Imperatrix reginarum*

Imperatrix reginarum
et salvatrix animarum,
pretiosa margarita,
rosa gelu non attrita.

Mater Dei virgo pia
Nos tuere hac in via,
O dulcis Maria.

Empress of Queens,
And preserver of souls,
Precious pearl,
Rose not blemished with sin [cold].

Mother of God, pious virgin,
Preserve us on our way,
O sweet Mary.

Motet 4, *Eya mater summi Dei*

Eya mater summi Dei,
Jesu Christi Nazarei,
nos clamamus ad te rei.
Surrexit tuus filius,
praedulcis, virgo virginum.
Non moriturus amplius,
quem laudamus dominum.
Tu nobis fac propitium.

Behold, mother of the highest God,
Jesus Christ the Nazarene,
We cry out to you.
Your son has risen,
Very sweet one, virgin of virgins.
No longer will we perish,
We whom praise the Lord.
Be favorable unto us.

5. *Ave cella novae legis*—(Franchinus Gaffurius)

Motet 1, *Ave cella novae legis*

Ave cella novae legis,
ave parens novis regis,
sine viri semine.

Hail, chamber of the new law,
Hail, parent of the new king,
[Created] without the seed of man.

Ave virgo, mater facta,
mater felix et intacta,
decus omnis seminae.

Hail virgin, made mother,
Happy and intact mother,
Splendor of all woman.

Flos productus est de spina
in quo sedes menas vina
regens omne seculum.

A flower was brought forth from a thorn,
Wherein sits the Divine Mind,
Reigning for all eternity.

Ave mater, Deo digna,
Placa nobis, o benigna,
tua prece filium.

Hail mother, worthy of God,
Placate your Son, O kind one,
With your prayers.

Motet 2, *Promissa mundo gaudia*

Promissa mundo gaudia
superna solvit gratia
hac die natali.

By the promised joys to the world
Heavenly grace was unleashed
On this day of Christmas.

In virgine fecunditas
in prole fulsit deitas,
munere fatali.

God shone down into the Son
The fruitfulness found in the virgin,
By the gift of fate.

Virga Jesse floruit,
virgo Deum genuit,
nesciens umbraculum.

The rod of Jesse bore fruit,
And a virgin bore God,
Without knowing the shade [of sin].

Rex in praedam prodiit
et in solem posuit
suum tabernaculum.

The king brought forth into this trove
And placed in the sun
His tabernacle.

6. *Ave mundi reparatrix*—(anonymous)

Motet 1, *Ave mundi reparatrix*

Ave, mundi reparatrix,
trinitatis inclinatrix,
herbido triclinio,

Vere patri decens nata,
flamini sponsa ornata,
mater summo filio.

Hail, restorer of the world,
Bidder of the Trinity,
From an herbal chamber,
Born wholly befitting the Father,
A bride adorned for the Holy Spirit,
Mother of the highest Son.

Dominatrix supernorum,
placa regem angelorum,
ut tuo suffragio,
Eius apud trinitatem,
contemplemur unitatem,
in perhyemni gaudio.

Motet 2, Uterus virgineus

Uterus virgineus,
thronus est eburneus,
veri Salomonis.

Thronus admirabilis,
dispar et dissimilis,
universis thronis.

Solomon pacificus,
summi patris filius,
hunc elegit thronum.

Virgo thronus exstitit,
cui Deus praestitit,
tam excellens donum.

Motet 3, Haec est sedes

Haec est sedes gratiae,
sedes pudicitiae,
sedes summi Dei.

In hac sede residet,
Dominus qui presidet,
Universe rei.

Sicut vellus maduit,
de caelesti rore,
sic venter intumuit,
servato pudore.

Nec vellus corrumpitur,
ymbre pluviale,
nec pudor ammittitur,
in conceptu tali.

Lady of celestial beings,
Appease the King of the angels,
That through your intercession,
We may contemplate His unity
Within the Trinity,
Through winter-time rejoicing.

The virginal womb,
Throne of the true Solomon,
Is ivory white.
It is an admirable throne,
Unique and different
From every other throne.

The Peace-making "Solomon."
Son of the highest Father,
Has chosen this throne.
The Virgin is this throne,
To whom God has presented
Such an excellent gift.

This is the seat of grace,
Seat of modesty,
Seat of the highest God.
In this seat He dwelled,
The Lord who presides over
Things universally.

Like wool that has been moistened,
By the dew of heaven,
So her belly swelled,
Protected from shame.
Neither is wool spoiled,
By the pouring rain,
Nor does shame enter,
In this conception.

7. *Christi mater ave*—Gaspar van Weerbeke

Motet 1, *Christi mater ave*

Christi mater, ave,
sanctissima virgo Maria,
partu [et] post partum
sicut et ante manens.

O Mother of Christ, Hail,
O most sacred Virgin Mary,
Remaining [a virgin] during and after,
Just as before His birth.

Virgo quae Christum peperisti,
lacte educasti,
me rege, me serva,
me tueare, potens:
me tibi commendo,
me, virgo, linquere noli;
ne peream,
Christo funde, Maria, preces.

O Virgin, you who bore Christ,
And reared Him with your milk,
Guide me, preserve me,
Protect me, O mighty one:
I commend myself to you,
O Virgin, do not forsake me,
Lest I perish,
O Mary, extend these prayers to Christ.

Motet 2, Mater digna Dei

Mater digna Dei,
veniae via luxque diei,
sis tutela rei,
duxque comesque mei.
Nata Dei,
miserere mei,
lux alma diei;
digna coli,
regina poli,
me linquere noli.
Me tibi, virgo pia,
Genitrix, commendo, Maria.
Jesu, fili Dei,
miserere mei.

Mother, worthy of God
The path of forgiveness and the light of day.
Be the protection,
And be my leader and companion.
Daughter of God,
Have mercy on me,
Kind light of day;
Model of women,
Queen of the heavens,
Do not forsake me.
I commend myself, pious virgin,
To you, O Mother Mary.
O Jesus, Son of God,
Have mercy on me.

Motet 3, Ave stella matutina

Ave stella matutina
vita nostra, lux divina,
lucens omne saeculum.
Nos defenda a ruina,
quae es vera medicina
peccatorum omnium.

Hail, morning star
Our life, divine light,
Illuminating every age.
Defend us against ruin,
You who are the true remedy
Of all our sins.

Aures tuas nos inclina:
cum pietatis sis regina,
audi nostra cantica,

Quibus tibi nostros duces
supplicamus ita duces
omni cum familia.

Turn your ears to us,
Since you are the queen of compassion,
Hear our song,
We beseech you, that those of us whom
You lead to you, you will also lead the
Other members in our family.

Ut ducendo semper tui
sint et possint post haec duci
Tecum ad caelestia.

So that in leading [us]
[Our loved ones] may always be lead after [us]
With you into heaven.

O gloriosa, O benedicta caeli regina,
audi exaudi nos,
virgo Maria. Amen

O glorious, O blessed queen of heaven
Hear and grant us this,
O Virgin Mary. Amen.

8. *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*—anonymous

Motet 1, *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*

Beata et venerabilis Virgo,
quae sine tactu pudoris
mater inventa es salvatoris.
Jacebat in presepio
et fulgebat in celo.

Blessed and venerable Virgin,
Who without shameful touch [of man]
Was deemed the mother of our Saviour.
He layed in a manger
And shined forth in heaven.

Celi terreque maris inferni creator,
auctor perpetuus,
dominus immense maiestatis.
Jacebat in presepio
et fulgebat in celo.

Creator of heaven and earth, of the sea and of hell,
Eternal author
Lord of boundless majesty.
He layed in a manger,
And shined forth in heaven.

Motet 2, *Beatus ille venter*

Beatus ille venter
que te portavit, Christe
et beata ubera que te lactaverunt
Dominum et salvatorem mundi.
Qui pro salute generis humani
carnem assumere dignatus es

Blessed is that womb
Which carried thee, O Christ
And blessed are the breasts that nursed thee,
As Lord and Savior of the world.
You, who for the salvation of the human race
Have deigned to assume flesh.

Motet 3, *Magnificamus te, Dei genitrix*

Magnificamus te, Dei genitrix
quia ex te natus est Christus
salvans omnes qui te glorificant
Sancta Domina, Dei Genitrix
sanctificationes tuas
transmitte nobis.

We magnify thee, O parent of God
Because out of you was born Christ
Saving all who glorify you
Holy Lady, Parent of God
Dispatch to us
your sanctifications.

Motet 4, *Virgo verbum concepit*

Virgo verbum concepit
Virgo permansit.
Virgo genuit regem omnium regum.
Virgo postpartum
quem genuit adoravit.

The Virgin has conceived the Word
The Virgin persisted to the end
The virgin begot the King of all kings
And postpartum, the Virgin
Adored him whom she bore.

Motet 5, *Felix namque es*

Felix namque es sacra,
Virgo Maria
et omni laude dignissima
quia ex te ortus est sol iustitiae
Christus Deus noster
sola cuius radiis
tenebras repellis pectore nostro.

Truly happy are you,
O sacred Virgin Mary
And most worthy of every praise
Since out of you arose the Sun of Justice,
Christ, our God
By whose rays (of light), you alone drive
back the darkness from our breasts.

9. *Ave regina caelorum*—anonymous

Motet 1, *Ave regina caelorum, mater*

Ave Regina caelorum, mater Regis angelorum, O Maria flos virginum, velut rosa vel liliū. Funde preces ad filium, pro salute fidelium.	Hail, Queen of Heaven, Mother of the King of angels, O Mary, flower of virgins, Like a rose or a lily. Pour forth prayers to your Son, For the salvation of the faithful.
--	--

Motet 2, *O admirabile commercium*

O admirabile commercium. Creator generis humani, animatum corpus sumens, de virgine nasci digantus est, et procedens homo sine semine, largitus est nobis suam deitatem.	O admirable commerce. The creator of the human race, Taking a living body, Deigned to be born of a virgin, And without seed, coming forth as man, He has bestowed upon us His divinity.
---	--

Motet 3, *Quando natus es*

Quando natus es ineffabiliter ex virgine, tunc impletae sunt Scripturae; sicut pluvia in vellus descendisti, ut salvum faceres genus humanum: te laudamus Deus noster.	When you were born, Ineffably, from a virgin, Then were the Scriptures fulfilled; You descended like rain upon fleece, To save the human race: We praise you, our God.
---	---

Motet 4, *Germinavit radix Jesse*

Germinavit radix Jesse, orta est stella ex Jacob; Virgo peperit Salvatorem: te laudamus, Deus noster.	The root of Jesse has sprouted forth, A star has risen from Jacob; A virgin has brought forth a Saviour: We praise You, our God.
--	---

Motet 5, *Magnum haereditatis mysterium*

Magnum haereditatis mysterium, templum Dei factus est uterus nesciens virum; non est pollutus ex ea carnem assumens; omnes gentes venient, dicentes: Gloria tibi Domine.	Great mystery of lineage, A womb which knew not man Was made the Temple of God; He was not soiled By taking flesh from her; Let all people come, saying: Glory to You, O Lord.
--	--

10 *Caeli quondam roraverunt*—(Franchinus Gaffurius)

Motet 1, *Caeli quondam roraverunt*

*Caeli quondam roraverunt,
ex quo nubes concreverunt,
concretaeque stillaverunt
virginis in uterum.*

Once [seeds] dropped dew from heaven,
Whereby the clouds condensed,
They [then] solidified and trickled down
Into the womb of a virgin.

*Joseph justus vir expavit,
ista dum consideravit,
sciens quod non irrigavit
florescentem virgulam.*

Joseph, a just man, became afraid,
Then he considered this situation,
Knowing that he did not nourish
The branch which began to blossom.

Motet 2, *Imperatrix gloriosa*

*Imperatrix gloriosa,
potens et imperiosa,
Jesu Christi generosa
mater atque filia.*

Glorious Empress,
Powerful and imperious,
Noble mother and daughter
Of Jesus Christ.

*Radix Jesse speciosa,
virga florens et frondosa,
quam rigavit copiosa
Deitatis gratia.*

Splendid root of Jesse,
Flowering and leafy branch,
Which the abundant
Grace of God nourished.

*Florem ergo genuisti,
ex quo fructum protulisti,
Gabrieli cum fuisti
paranympho credula.*

Thus you bore the flower,
From which you brought forth the fruit,
When you were trusting
In the bridesman Gabriel.

Motet 3, *Salve verbi sacra parens*

*Salve verbi sacra parens,
flos de spina, spina carens
flos, spineti gloria.*

Hail, sacred parent of the Word,
Flower among thorns, flower free from thorns,
Glory of the thicket.

*Nos spinetum, nos peccati,
spina sumus cruentati,
sed tu spinae nescia.*

We are the thicket, we are the sins,
And we are bloody with thorns,
But you did not know this thorn.

*Salve decus virginum,
mediatrix hominum,
salutis puerpera.*

Hail, splendor of virgins,
Mediatrice of men,
Bearer of salvation.

*Flos campi convalium,
singulare lilium,
Christus ex te prodiit.*

Flower of the fields of the lily,
Singular lily,
Which Christ produced out of you.

Appendix D

Transcriptions of Unpublished Motets from the Marian Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices

1. *Eya mater summi Dei*
2. *Ave cella novae legis*
3. *Ave mundi reparatrix*
4. *Uterus virgineus*
5. *Haec est sedes*
6. *Beata et venerabilis Virgo*
7. *Beatus ille venter*
8. *Magnificamus te Dei Genitrix*
9. *Virgo verbum concepit*
10. *Felix namque es*
11. *Ave regina caelorum, mater*
12. *O admirabile commercium*
13. *Quando natus es*
14. *Germinavit radix Jesse*
15. *Magnum haereditatis*
16. *Caeli quondam roraverunt*
17. *Imperatrix gloriosa*
18. *Salve verbi sacra parens*

1. Eya mater summi Dei

(*Castra caeli*, motet 4)

[anon]

C

[Superius] E - ya ma - ter sum - mi De - i,

[Altus] Je -

[Tenor] E - ya ma - ter sum - mi De - i,

[Bassus]

5

su Chri - sti Na - za -

Je - su Chri - sti

8

nos cla - ma - mus ad te re -

re - i, ad te re -

nos cla - ma - mus ad te

Na - za - re - i, ad te re -

13

i. Sur - re - xit tu - us fi -
re - i. tu - us fi -
i. Sur - re - - - xit tu - us fi -

17

prae - dul - - - cis, vir - - - - go vir -
li - us, prae - dul - cis, vir -
li - us,
li - us, prae - dul - - - - cis,

21

gi - num.
go vir - gi - num. Non mor - i - tu - rus am -
Non mor - i - tu - rus am - - -
Non mor - i - tu - rus am -

25

quem lau - da - mus Do -

pli - us, quem lau - - - da - mus

pli - us,

pli - us, quem lau - da - mus Do -

29

mi - num. Tu no - - - - bis

Tu no - bis fac - - -

Tu no - - - bis fac - - - pro - pi -

mi - num. Tu no - bis

33

fac - - - pro - pi - - ti - um.

pro - pi - ti - - - um.

ti - um.

fac - - - pro - pi - - ti - um.

2. Ave cella novae legis

(Ave cella novae legis, motet 1)

C [anon]

[Superius] A - ve cel - la no -

[Altus] A - - - - - ve cel - la

[Tenor] A - - - - - ve cel - - - - la

[Bassus] A - - - - - ve cel - la no - - -

5 vae le - - - gis, a -

no - - - - vae le - - - gis,

no - - - - vae le - - - -

vae le - - - -

9 ve pa - - - - - rens no -

a - - - - - ve - - - - pa - - -

gis, a - ve pa - - - - rens - - -

gis, a - ve pa - - - -

13

vi re - gis, si - - - ne vi -
 rens no - - - vi re - - - gis,
 no - vi re - gis, si -
 rens no - vi re - - - gis,

17

ri se - mi - ne. A - - -
 si - - - ne vi - - - ri se - mi - ne.
 ne vi - - - ri se - - - mi - ne.
 si - ne vi - ri se - - - mi - ne.

21

ve vir - - - go,
 A - ve vir - go, ma -
 A - - - ve vir - - -
 A - ve vir - - -

25

ma - ter fac - ta,
 ter (ma - ter) fac - ta,
 go, ma - ter fac - ta,
 go, ma - ter fac - ta,

29

ta, ma - ter fe - lix
 ta, ma - ter fe - lix et -

33

de - cus om -
 et in - tac - ta,
 de - cus om -
 in - tac - ta,

37

nis fe - - - mi - nae.

de - cus om - nis fe - - -

nis fe - - - mi - nae.

de - cus om - - - nis fe - - -

41

mi - nae. Flos pro - - - duc -

mi - nae. Flos pro - duc - tus est -

mi - nae. Flos pro - duc - - -

45

Flos pro - duc - tus est de spi na

tus est de spi - - - na

de spi - na in quo

tus est de spi - na

49

in quo se - det mens di - vi - na

se - det mens di - vi - na

in quo se - det mens di - vi - na

53

re - gens om - ne se

re - gens om - ne se

re - gens om - ne

re - gens om - ne se

57

cu - lum. A - ve ma

cu - lum. A - ve ma

se - cu - lum. A - ve ma

cu - lum. A - ve ma

61

ter, De - o di - gna, Pla - - - - -

ter, De - - - o di - gna, Pla - - - - -

ter, De - - - o di - gna, Pla - - - - - ca

ter, De - - - o di - gna, Pla - - - - -

65

ca no - - bis, O be - ni - gna (O - - - - -

ca no - - - - - bis, O be -

no - - - bis, O - - - - -

ca no - - - - - bis, O - - - - -

69

be - ni - - - - -

ni - - - - - gna (O - - - be -

be - ni - - - - gna

be - ni - gna (O - - - be -

73

gna), tu - - - a - - -

ni - gna), tu - - a - - - pre - ce

tu - - - a - - - pre - - -

ni - gna), tu - - - a pre - - - ce

77

pre - - - - - ce fi - - - - -

fi - li-um (tu - - a pre - - - ce fi -

ce fi - - - - -

fi - - - - -

81

li - um.

li - - - um).

li - - - um.

li - - - um.

3. Ave mundi reparatrix (Ave mundi reparatrix, motet 1)

[anon]

1

[Superius] A - ve, — mun - di re - - - pa -

[Altus]

[Tenor] A - ve, — mun - di re - - - - - pa -

[Bassus]

5

ra - trix,

Tri - ni - ta - tis in - - - cli-na -

ra - trix,

Tri - ni - ta - tis in - cli-na -

10

her - bi-do — tri - cli - - - ni - o,

trix, her - bi-do tri - - cli - ni - o, —

her-bi-do tri - cli - ni - o, [tri - cli - ni - o], Ve-re

trix, her-bi - do tri - cli - ni - o, Ve - re —

14

fla - mi-ni spon -

fla - mi-ni spon-sa or -

pa - tri de-cens na - - - - ta,

18

sa or - - - - na - - - - ta, ma - ter - - - - sum -

na - - - - ta, ma -

ma - ter - - - - sum - - - -

ma - - - - ter

22

mo fi - - - - li - o. Domi -

tersum - - - - mo fi - li - o. Domi-na - trix

mo fi - - - - li - o.

sum - - - - mo fi - li - o. Do - - - - mi-

26

na - trix su - perno - rum pla - ca - re - gem an - ge - lo - rum,
 placare - gem an - ge - lo - - - rum,
 su - per - no - rum, pla ca re - gem an - ge - lo -

na - trix su - perno - rum pla - ca re - gem an -

30

ut tu - o suf - - - fra - - - -
 rum, ut tu - o suf - - - fra - gi - o,
 ge - lo - rum, suf - fra -

34

E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con temple -
 gi - o, E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem,
 E - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con temple - mur
 gi - o, E - - - ius a - pud tri - ni - ta - tem, con - tem -

38

mur u-ni-ta-tem, in per-hyem - - ni gau-di-o.

contemple-mur u-ni-ta-tem, inper-hyem - ni gau-di-o.

u-ni-ta-tem, inper-hyem - - ni gau-di-o.

ple-mur u-nita-tem, in-perhyem - ni gau-di-o.

4. Uterus virgineus (Ave mundi reparatrix, motet 2)

[anon]

[Superius] U-te-rus vir - - - gi - ne - us,

[Altus] U - te - rus vir - - -

[Tenor] U-te - rus vir - - - gi - ne - us,

[Bassus] U - - - te - - - - rus vir -

thro - - nus est e - bur - ne -

gi - ne - us, thro - nus est

thro - - - nus est e - bur -

gi - ne - us, thro - nus est

us, Thro -

e - bur-ne - us, ve - ri Sa - lo - mo - nis.

ne - - - us, ve - ri Sa-lo - - mo - nis.

e - bur - ne-us, ve - ri Sa-lo-mo - nis. Thro - nus ad -

13

nus ad-mi-ra-bi-lis, dis-par

Thro-nus ad-mi-ra-bi-lis, dis-par

Thro-nus ad-mi-ra-bi-lis,

mi-ra-bi-lis, dis-par et dis-

17

et dis-si-mi-lis, u-ni-ver-sis thro

et dis-si-mi-lis, u-ni-ver-sis thro

[dis-par], u-ni-ver-sis

si-mi-lis, u-ni-ver-sis thro

21

nis. pa-ci-fi-cus, sum-mi

nis. Sa-lo-mon pa-ci-fi-cus, sum-mi pa

thro-nis. Sa-lo-mon pa-ci-fi-cus, sum-mi pa

nis. Sa-lo-mon pa-ci-fi-cus, sum-mi pa

25

pa - tris fi - - - li - us, hunc e - le -

tris fi - - - - - li - us,

tris fi - - - li - us, hunc e -

tris fi - - - li - us, [fi - li - us],

29

gitthro - - - num. Vir - go thro-nus ex-sti -

hunc e - le-git thro - num.

le - - - gitthro - num. Vir - go thro - nus ex-sti -

hunc e - le - gitthro - - - num.

33

tit, tamex-cel - - - lens do - - - num.

cu - i De-us praesti - tit, tam ex-cel - lensdo-num.

tit, tamex-cel - - - lens do - - - num.

cu - i De - usprae - sti - tit, tamex - cel - lens do - num.

5. Haec est sedes (Ave mundi reparatrix, motet 3)

[anon]

[Superius] Haec est se-des gra - ti-ae,

[Altus] Haec est se - des gra - ti - ae,

[Tenor] Se - des pu - di - ci -

[Bassus] Se - des pu - di -

se - des sum - mi De -

se - des sum - mi De - i, [De -

ti-ae, se - des sum-mi De -

ci - ti - ae, se - des sum - mi

i. In hac se - de re-si-det, Do-mi -

i]. In hac se - de re-si -

i. In hac se - de re-si-det, Do-mi -

De - i. Do - mi -

13

nus quipre - - - si - det, u - ni - ver-se - re -

det, Do - mi - nus qui pre - si - det, u - ni -

nus quipre - - - si - det, u - ni - ver - - - se re -

nus quipre - - si - det, u - ni - ver - se re -

17

i.

ver - se re - - - i. Si - cut vel - lus ma - du-it,

i. de cae -

i. Si - cut vel - - - lus ma - - - du - it,

21


de cae - le - sti ro - - - re,

sic ven - ter in - tu - mu - it,

le - sti ro - - - re, sic ven -

sic ven - ter in - tu - mu - it, [in - tu -

25



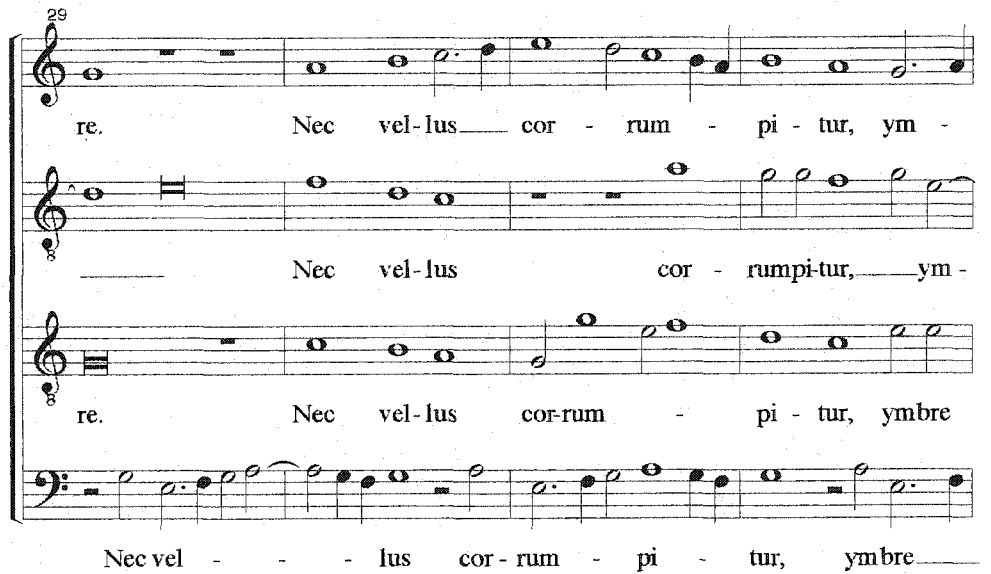
sic ven-ter in - tu-mu-it, ser - va - to pu - do -

ser - va - to pu - do - re.

ter in-tu-mu - it, ser - va - to pu-do -

mu - it], ser - va - to pu - do - re.

29



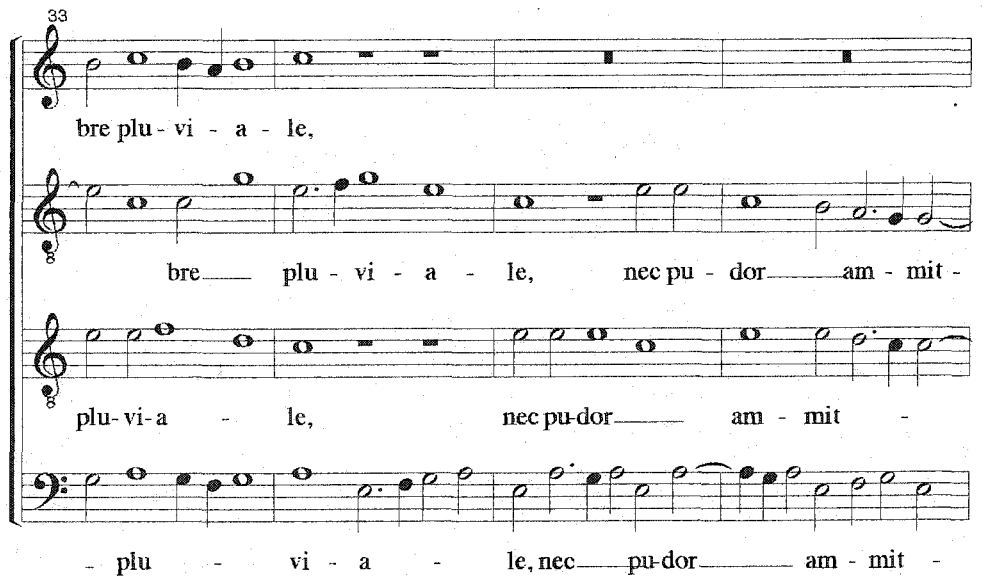
re. Nec vel-lus cor - rum - pi - tur, ym -

Nec vel-lus cor - rum pi-tur, ym -

re. Nec vel-lus cor-rum - pi - tur, ymbre

Nec vel - lus cor - rum - pi - tur, ymbre

33



bre plu - vi - a - le,

bre plu - vi - a - le, nec pu - dor am - mit -

plu-vi-a le, nec pu-dor am - mit -

plu - vi - a - le, nec pu-dor am - mit -

37

in — con - cep - tu ta - - - li.

ti - tur, in — con-cep - tu — ta - - li.

ti - tur, in con-cep - tu — ta - li.

ti - tur, in — con - cep - tu — ta - li.

6. Beata et venerabilis Virgo

(Beata et venerabilis Virgo, motet 1)

[prima pars]

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

1

Be - - - - -

Be - - - - - a - - - - - ta

5

Et - - - - - ve - ne - ra - - bi - lis Vir - - - - -

a - - - - - ta et - - - - - ve - ne - ra - bi -

et ve - ne - ra - bi - lis Vir -

Et - - - - - ve - ne - ra - - - - - bi - lis Vir - - - - -

10

go, quae si -

lis Vir - go, - - - - - quae si - ne - tac -

go, quae -

go, quae - - - - - si - ne

15

ne tac - tu pu - do - ris ma -

tu pu - do - - - ris ma - - - - -

- si-ne tac - tu pu - - - do - ris

20

tac - tu pu - do - - - ris ma -

ter in - ven-ta es, [in - - - ven - ta - es] Sal -

ter in - ven-ta es Sal - - - - - va -

ma - ter in - - - ven - - - ta - es Sal -

ter in - - - - ven - ta es, [in - ven-ta es] Sal -

25

va - to - ris. Ja - ce-bat in pre-se-pi -

to - - - ris. Ja - ce-bat

va - to - ris. Ja - ce-bat in pre-se-pi - o,

va - to - ris. Ja - ce - bat in pre-se - pi - o,

30

o, Ja - ce - bat in pre - se - pi -

in pre - se - pi - o, — [in pre - se - pi - o, Ja - ce - bat in

Ja - ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o, in pre - se - pi -

Ja - ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o, [Ja - ce - bat

35

o et ful - ge - - - bat in cae - - -

pre - se - pi - o] et ful - - -

o et ful - ge - - - bat

in pre - se - pi - o] et ful - - -

40

lo.

ge - bat in cae - - - lo.

in cae - - - lo.

ge - bat in cae - - - lo.

[secunda pars]

44

Ter - rae -

Cae - li ter -

Ter - rae - que ma -

Cae - li

49

que ma - ris in - fer - ni cre -

rae - que ma - ris in - fer -

ris in - fer - ni cre -

ter-rae-que ma - ris in - fer - ni

54

a - tor, auc - tor per -

ni cre - a - tor, per - pe -

a - tor, auc - tor per-pe -

cre - a - tor, auc - tor

59

pe - tu - us, Do - mi - nus im -

tu - - - us, Do - mi - nus im - - - men -

tu - - - us, Do - mi - nus im -

per - pe - tu - us, Do - mi - nus im -

64

men - se maj - e - sta - tis: Ja -

se Ja - ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o

men - se maj - e - sta - tis: Ja -

men - se Ja - ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o

69

ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o et ful - - - ge - bat in cae -

et ful - ge - bat in

ce - bat in pre - se - pi - o et ful - ge - bat in

et ful - - - ge - bat in

74

lo.

cae - - - - - lo.

cae - - - - - lo.

cae - - - - - lo.

7. Beatus ille venter

(Beata et venerabilis Virgo, motet 2)

[anon]

[Superius]

Be - a - - - - tus il - - - le

Altus

Be - - - a - - - tus il - - - le

Tenor

Be - a - - - tus

Bassus

Be - a - - - - tus il - - - le

5

ven - - - - -

ven - - - - - ter

il - le ven - - - - -

ven - - - - - ter, [ven - - - - -

10

ter qui te - - - - - ta -

qui - - - - - te - - - - - vit,

ter qui te por - ta - - - - - vit,

ter] qui - - - - - te - - - - - ta -

15

vit, Chri - - - - ste,

Chri - - - - ste,

et be - a - - - ta - u -

vit, Chri - - - - ste, et be - a - ta

20

quae - - - - te lac -

quae te lac - ta - ve -

be - ra quae te lac -

u - - - - be - ra, [u - be - ra] quae te lac - ta -

25

ta - ve - runt, Do - mi - num et Sal -

runt, Do - - - mi - num et

ta - ve - runt, Do - - - mi - num et

ve - - - runt, Do - - - mi - num et

30

va - to - rem mun - - - di,

Sal - va - to - - - remmun - di, qui pro sa -

Sal - va - to - - - remmun - di,

Sal - va - to - - - remmun - - - di, qui pro sa -

35

ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni [ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni]

lu - te ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni

ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni, ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni

lu - te ge - ne - ris hu - ma - ni

40

car - nem as - su - me - re dig - - - - -

car - nem as - su - me - re dig - - - - - na -

car - nem as - su - me - re dig - - - - -

car - nem as - su - me - re dig - - - - -

45

na - - - - - tus es.

tus, [dig - - - - - na - tus] es.

na - - - - - tus es.

na - - - - - tus es.

8. Magnificamus te, Dei Genitrix

(Beata et venerabilis Virgo, motet 3)

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Mag - ni - fi - ca - - - - mus -

De - i

Mag - ni - fi - ca - - - - mus - te De -

De - i Ge - ni - trix, qui - - - a

te De - i Ge - - - ni - trix, - - - - qui - a ex

Ge - - - - - ni - trix, qui - a ex te

i Ge - - - - - ni - trix, - - - - qui - a ex te

ex te na - tus est Chri - - - - stus,

te na - tus est Chri - stus, - - - - sal - vansom -

na - tus est - - - - Chri - stus, sal - - - - vans -

na - tus est Chri - stus, sal - vansom -

15

qui te glo - - -

nes qui te glo -

om - nes qui te

nes qui te glo - - -

20

ri - - - fi - cant; San - cta

ri - fi - - - cant; San - cta Do -

San - cta Do - - -

ri - fi - cant; San - - - cta Do -

25

Do - mi - na, De - i Ge - ni - trix, san - cti - fi -

mi - na, De - i Ge - ni - trix,

mi - na, De - - - i Ge - ni - trix, san - cti - fi -

mi - na, De - - - i Ge - ni - trix, san - cti - fi -

30

ca - ti - o - nes tu - as

san - cti - fi - ca - ti - o - nes tu - as

ca - ti - o - nes tu - as

ca - ti - o - nes tu - as

35

trans - mit - te, [trans mit - te, trans -

trans - mit - te, [trans mit - te, trans -

trans - mit - te, [trans mit -

trans - mit - te, [trans mit - te, trans -

40

mit - te] no - bis.

mit - te] no - bis.

te] no - bis.

mit - te] no - bis.

9. Virgo verbum concepit

(Beata et venerabilis Virgo, motet 4)

[Superius] [anon]

Vir - - - - - go

Altus

Vir - - - - -

Tenor

Vir - - - - - go

Bassus

Vir - - - - - go ver - - - - -

5

ver - - - - - bum con - - - - - ce - - - - -

go ver - bum, [ver - - - - - bum] con -

ver - - - - - bum con -

bum, [ver - - - - - bum] con - - - - - ce - - - - -

10

pit, - - - - -

ce - - - - - pit, Vir - - - - -

ce - - - - - pit, Vir - - - - - go [per - man -

pit, Vir - - - - -

15

Vir - - - go per - - - man - sit,
go, Vir - - - go per - man - sit,
sit], Vir -
go per - - - man - - - -

20

Vir - go - ge - nu - it, Vir - - - -
Vir - - - -
go ge - - - - nu - it,
sit, Vir - - - - go - ge - - - - nu - - - - it,

25

go ge - - - - nu - it
go ge - - - - nu - it re -
[ge - nu - it] re - - - - gem om - ni -
ge - - - - nu - - - - it re - - - -

30

re - gem om - ni - um re -

gem om - ni - um re -

um, [om - ni - um] re -

gem om - ni - um re -

35

gum, Vir - go

gum, Vir - go post - par -

gum, Vir - go post -

gum, [re - gum], Vir - go post -

40

post - par - tum - quem - ge - nu - it a - do - ra -

tum quem ge - nu - it a - do -

par - tum - quem - ge - nu - it a - do - ra -

par - tum - quem - ge - nu - it a - do -

45

ra - - - - - vit.

ra - - - - - vit.

vit.

vit.

ra - - - - - vit.

10. Felix namque es

(Beata et venerabilis Virgo, motet 5)

[Superius] [anon]

Fe - - - - - lix - - - - - nam - - - - - que

Altus

Fe - - - - - lix - - - - - nam - - - - -

Tenor

Fe - - - - - lix - - - - - nam - - - - -

Bassus

Fe - - - - - lix - - - - - nam - - - - - que

5

Vir - - - - -

que - - - - - es, sac - - - - - ra

Es, - - - - - sac - - - - - ra Vir - - - - -

es, - - - - - sac - - - - - ra Vir - - - - -

10

Vir - - - - -

go - - - - - Ma - - - - -

go - - - - - Ma - - - - -

go - - - - - Ma - - - - -

15

go Ma - - - ri - a, et om -

go Ma - - - ri - - - a, et om -

ri - a, Ma - - ri - a, et

ri - a, [Ma - ri - a], et om - - -

20

ni lau - - - de dig - - -

ni lau - - - de dig -

om - - - ni lau - de dig - nis -

ni lau - - - de

25

nis - - - si - ma,

nis - - - si - ma, qui -

si - ma, qui - a ex te

dig - - - nis - si - ma, qui - a -

30

or - tus est

a ex te or - - - tus est, [or - tus

or - - - - - tus est, [or - tus

ex te or - - - - - tus

35

sol ju - - sti - - ti - ae,

- est] sol ju - - - sti - ti - ae,

est] sol ju - - - sti -

est sol ju - - - - - sti -

40

Chri - - - stus De - - - us no -

Chri - - - stus De - us no - - - -

ti - ae, Chri - - - stus De - - - - us

ti - ae, Chri - stus De - - - - us

45

ster; te - ne -

ster; so - la cu - ius ra - di - is te - ne -

no - ster; so - la cu - ius ra - di - is te - ne -

no - ster; so - la cu - ius ra - di - is te - ne -

50

bras re - pel - lis pec - to - re no - stro, [no - - - -

bras re - pel - lis pec - to - re no - stro, no - - - -

bras re - pel - lis pec - to - re no - - - -

bras re - pel - lis pec - to - re no - stro, [no - - - -

55

stro].

stro.

stro.

stro].

11. Ave regina caelorum, mater

(Ave regina caelorum, motet 1)

[prima pars]

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

5

ve, re - - - gi - na cae -

ve, [a - - - ve], re - - - gi - na

ve, re - gi - na

A - - - ve, re - - - gi -

10

lo - - - rum,

cae - lo - rum, ma - ter Re - - -

cae - lo - - - rum,

na cae - lo - - - rum, ma - - -

15

ma - - - - ter Re - - - - gis an -

gis an - ge-lo -

ma - - - - ter Re - gis an -

ter Re - - - - gis an - ge-lo -

20

ge - lo - rum, O Ma - - ri -

rum, O Ma - - - - ri -

ge-lo - rum, O Ma-ri - - - -

rum, O Ma - - - -

25

a flos vir - - - - gi - num,

a flos vir - - - - gi -

a flos vir - - - - gi -

ri - - - - a flos vir - - - - gi - num,

30

ve - - - lut ro - - - - -

num, ve - lut ro - - - - - sa vel - - -

num, ve - - - - - lut ro - - - - -

ve - - - lut ro - - - - - sa vel - - -

35

sa vel - - - li - - - li - um, [vel - - -]

li - - - - - li - um, [vel - - -]

sa vel - - - li - - - li-um, [vel - - -]

li - li - um, [vel - - - li - - -]

40

li - - - - - li - um].

li - - - - - li - um].

li - - - - - li - um].

li - - - - - li - um].

[secunda pars]

43

Fun - - - de pre - - - ces, [pre -

Fun - - - - - - - de pre - - -

Fun - - - - - - - de pre - - -

Fun - - - - - - - de pre - - -

48

ces] ad fi - li -

ces

ad

Ad

fi -

de] pre - ces, [pre - ces] ad fi -

53

um, pro sa - lu - te, pro

fi - li - um, pro sa - lu - te

li - um, pro sa - lu - te

li - um, pro sa - lu - te

58

— sa - lu - te fi - - - - de -

fi - - - de - - - li - um, [fi -

fi - - - de - - - - -

fi - - - - - de - - - - -

63

fi - - - - - de - - - - -

li - um.

de - - li - - - um].

li - - - um.

li - - - um.

12. O admirabile commercium

(Ave regina caelorum, motet 2)

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

O ad - mi - ra - bi - le
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le com -
O ad - mi - ra - bi - le com -
com - mer - ci - um. Cre -
com - mer - ci - um. Cre - a -
mer - ci - um. Cre -
mer - ci - um. Cre - a -
a - tor ge - ne - ris hu -
tor ge - ne - ris hu - ma -
a - tor ge - ne - ris hu - ma -
tor ge - ne - ris hu -

15

ma - ni, a - - - ni - ma - tum cor - - - - -

ni, a - ni - ma - tum cor - - - - - pus su -

ni, a - - - - ni - ma - - tum cor - - - - -

ma - ni, a - - - - ni - ma - tum cor - - - - - pus

20

pus su - - - - mens, de - - - - vir - gi -

mens, de - - - - vir - - - - - gi -

pus su - - - - mens, de vir - gi - ne

su - - - - mens, de - - - - vir - - - - - gi -

25

ne nas - - - - ci dig - - - - - na -

ne nas - ci dig - - - - - na - - - - -

nas - - - - - ci dig - - - - - na - tus est,

ne nas - - - - ci dig - - - - -

30

tus est, et pro - ce - - dens ho - mo

tus est, et pro - - - - ce -

et pro - ce - - - dens ho - - - - mo

na - tus est, et pro - ce - - - dens ho - mo

35

si - ne se - - - - - mi - ne,

dens ho - mo si - ne se - mi - ne,

- si - - - - - ne se - - - - mi - ne,

40

si - ne se - - - - - mi - ne,

lar - - - - gi - tus est no - - - - bis

lar - - - - gi - tus est no - bis su - - - -

lar - gi - tus est no - - - - bis su - - - -

lar - - - - gi - - - tus est no - bis su -

45

su - am de - - - i - ta - - -

am, [su - am] de - - -

am de - i - ta - tem,

am de - - - i - ta - tem, [de -

50

tem. _____

i - ta - - - tem, [de - - - i - ta - tem].

[de - - - i - ta - tem]. _____

i - - - ta - tem]. _____

13. Quando natus es (Ave regina caelorum, motet 3)

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Quan - do na - tus es in - ef - fa -

Quan - - - do na - tus es

Quan - do na - - - tus es in - ef - fa -

Quan - do na - tus es in - ef - fa -

bi - li - ter ex - vir - gi - ne,

ex - vir - - - gi - ne,

bi - li - ter tunc

bi - li - ter ex - vir - - - gi - ne, tunc

tunc im - ple - tae Scrip - tu - rae; si -

tunc im - ple - tae sunt Scrip - - - tu - rae;

im - ple - tae sunt Scrip - - - tu - rae;

im - ple - tae sunt Scrip - - - tu - rae;

15

cut plu - vi - a in vel - lus de -

si - cut plu - vi - a in vel - lus de -

si - cut plu - vi - a in vel - lus

20

si - - - cut plu - vi - a in vel - lus de - scen -

scen-di - sti, ut sal - vum fa - - - -

scen - di - sti, ut sal - - - - vum fa -

de-scen-di - sti, ut sal - vum fa -

di - - - sti, ut sal - - - - vum fa -

25

ce - res ge - - - nus hu - ma - num, [hu -

ce-res ge - nus hu - ma - num, [hu - ma -

ce - res ge - - - - nus hu - - - ma -

ce - - - - res ge - nus hu -

30

ma - num]: te lau - da - - - - -

num]: te lau - da - mus, [te - - - - -

num: te lau - da - mus, [lau - da - - - - -

ma - num: te lau - da - mus, [lau - - - - -

35

mus De - - - us no - - - - -

lau - da - mus] De - us no - - - - -

mus] De - - - - us no - - - - -

da - mus] De - - us no - - - - -

39

ster. - - - - -

ster. - - - - -

ster. - - - - -

ster. - - - - -

14. Germinavit radix Jesse

(Ave regina caelorum, motet 4)

[anon]

[Superius]

Ger - mi - na - - - - - vit ra - - - -

Altus

Ger - - - mi - na - - - - - vit ra -

Tenor

Ger - - - -

Bassus

Ger - - - - mi - na - - - - - vit ra -

5

dix, [ra - dix] Jes - se, [ra -

dix, [ra -

mi - na - - - - - vit

dix Jes - - - - - se, [ra -

10

dix Jes - - - - - se],

dix] Jes - - - - - se,

ra - - - - - dix Jes - se,

dix Jes - - - - - se],

15

or - ta

or - - - ta est stel - - - la, [or - ta est stel -

or - - - ta est stel - - - la,

or - - - ta est stel - - - - - la

20

est stel - la ex Ja - cob; Vir - go,

la] ex Ja - - - cob; Vir - go,

or - ta est stel - la ex Ja - - - cob;

ex Ja - cob; Vir - - - -

25

[Vir - go] pe - - - pe - rit Sal -

[Vir - go] pe - - - pe - rit

Vir - - - go pe - - - pe - rit

go pe - - - pe - rit, [pe - - - - pe - rit] Sal -

30

va - to - rem, Sal - va - to - rem:

Sal - va - to - rem:

Sal - va - - - to - rem, [Sal - va - to - rem]:

va - to - rem, Sal - va - to - - - rem:

35

te lau - da - - - mus, De - us no -

te lau - - - da - mus, De - - - us

te lau - da - - - mus, De - - -

te lau - da - - - mus, De - - - us no -

40

ster.

no - - - - - ster.

us no - ster.

ster.

15. Magnum haereditatis

(Ave regina caelorum, motet 5)

[anon]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

5

Mag - num hae - re - di - ta - tis

Mag - num hae - re - di - - - - ta -

Mag - - -

Mag - - -

my - - - - - ste - - - - ri -

tis my - ste - ri - um, [my - ste - ri -

num hae - re - di - ta - tis my - - - - ste - - - - ri -

num hae - re - di - ta - tis my - - - - ste - - - - ri -

10

um, tem - - - plum De - - - - i

um], tem - - - - - plum De - i

um, tem - - - - - plum De - i

um, tem - - - - - plum De - i

15

fac - tus est u - te - rus ne - sci - ens vi - rum; non

u - te - rus ne - sci - ens vi -

fac - tus est u - te - rus ne - sci - ens vi - rum;

20

fac - tus est u - te - rus ne - sci - ens vi -

rum; non est pol - lu - tus, non est pol - lu -

rum; non est pol - lu - tus, [non est pol - lu -

non est pol - lu - tus, non est

25

tus ex e - a, e -

tus] ex e - a car -

pol - lu - tus ex e - a

tus ex e - a car -

30

a car - nem as - su - - - -

35

nem as - - - - - su - - - - -

mens; om - - - - - nes gen - - - - - tes ve -

40

mens; om - - - - - nes gen - - - - - tes - - - - -

ni - ent, [ven - - i - ent],

ve - - - - - ni - ent, di - - - - -

ve - ni - ent, di - cen - - - - -

ve - - - - - ni - ent, di - - - - - cen -

45

di - cen - tes: Glo - - - - -

cen - - - - - tes: Glo - - - - -

tes, [di - - - - - cen - - - - - tes]:

tes: Glo - - - - -

50

ri - a, [Glo - ri - a] ti - - - - -

ri - a, [Glo - - - - - ri - a] ti - - - - -

Glo - - - - - ri - a ti - - - - -

ri - a, [Glo - ri - a] ti - - - - -

55

bi Do - - - - - mi - ne.

bi Do - - - - - mi - ne.

bi Do - - - - - mi - ne.

bi Do - - - - - mi - ne.

16. Caeli quondam roraverunt

(Caeli quondam roraverunt, motet 1)

[Franchinus Gaffurius?]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

1

Ro - ra - ve -

Cae - li quon - dam ro - ra -

Cae - li quon - dam ro - ra -

Cae - li quon - dam ro - ra - ve -

5

runt, ex quo nu - bes con -

ve - runt, ex quo nu - bes con - cre -

ve - runt, ex quo nu - bes con -

runt, ex quo nu - bes con - cre -

10

cre - ve - runt, stil - la -

ve - runt, con - cre - tae - que stil -

cre - ve - runt, con - cre - tae - que stil - la -

ve - runt, con - cre - tae - que stil - la -

15

ve - - - runt vir - - - gi - - nis

la - ve - runt vir - - gi - nis in

ve - - - runt vir - gi - - -

ve - - - runt vir - - - gi - - nis in

20

in u - te - rum. Jo - seph ju -

u - - - te - rum, [u - te - rum]. Jo - seph

nis in u - - - te - rum. Jo-seph

u - te - rum. Jo - - - seph ju - - -

25

stus vir ex - pa - vit, is - ta dum con - si - de -

ju - stus vir ex - pa - vit, is - ta dum con - si -

ju - stus vir ex - pa - vit, is - ta dum con - si - de -

stus vir ex - pa - vit, is - ta dum con - si -

30

ra - - - vit, sci - - - ens quod non

de - ra - - vit, sci - ens quod non

ra - vit, sci - ens quod non ir -

de - ra - vit, sci - - - - ens

35

ir - - - - - ri - ga - - - vit

ir - - - - ri - ga - - - vit flo -

ri - ga - vit

quod non ir - - - - - ri -

40

flo - - - - - re-scen - - -

re - scen - - - - - tem

flo - - - - - re - scen -

ga - vit flo - - - - - re-scen - - -

45

tem vir - - - gu - - lam, [vir -

vir - - - gu - - lam, [vir -

tem vir - - - gu - lam, [vir -

tem vir - - - gu - - lam, [vir -

49

gu - - - lam].

gu - - - lam].

gu - - - lam].

gu - - - lam].

17. Imperatrix gloriosa

(Caeli quondam roraverunt, motet 2)

[Franchinus Gaffurius?]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Im - - - pe - ra -

Im - - -

Im - - - pe -

Im - pe - ra - trix glo - ri - o - sa,

trix glo - - ri - o - sa, po -

pe - - ra - trix glo - ri - o - sa, po - - -

ra - trix - - glo - ri - o - sa, po - - -

po - tens et - im - pe - ri - o - sa, Je -

tens et - im - pe - ri - o - sa, Je - - -

tens et - im - pe - ri - o - sa, Je -

tens et - im - pe - ri - o - sa, Je -

15

su Chri - - sti ge - ne - ro - sa

8

su Chri - sti ge - ne - ro - sa

8

su Chri - - sti ge - ne - ro - sa

8

su Chri - - sti ge - ne - ro - sa

20

ma - - - ter at - que fi -

8

ma - - - ter at - que fi - li - a.

8

ma - ter at - que fi - - - - - li -

8

ma - - - - ter at - que fi - - - - li - a.

25

li - a. Ra-dix Jes - - - se spe - ci - o -

8

Ra - - dix Jes - - - se spe - ci - o -

8

a. Ra - dix Jes - se spe - ci - o -

8

Ra - - - - dix Jes - - - se spe - ci -

30

sa, flo - rens et fron - do -

sa, vir - ga flo - rens et fron - do -

sa, vir - ga et fron -

o - sa, vir - ga flo - rens et fron - do -

35

sa, quam ri - ga - vit co -

sa, quam ri - ga - vit co - pi -

do - sa, quam ri - ga - vit co - pi - o - sa

sa, quam ri - ga - vit co -

40

pi - o - sa De - i - ta -

o - sa De - i - ta -

De - i - ta -

pi - o - sa De - i - ta -

45

tis gra - - ti - a.

tis gra - - - - ti - a. Flo - rem er - go ge -

tis - - - gra - ti - a.

tis gra - - ti - a. Flo - rem er - go ge -

50

ex quo - - - fruc - tum pro -

nu - i - sti,

ex quo fruc - - - - tum pro - tu -

nu - i - sti,

55

tu - - li - sti, Ga - bri - e - li cum

Ga - bri - e - li cum fu - - - i - sti pa -

li - sti, Ga - bri - e - li cum fu - i - sti

Ga - bri - e - li cum - - - fu - - - i -

60

fu - i - - sti - - pa - - - ra - - - nym -

ra - - - - nym - - - pho cre -

pa - ra-nym - pho, [pa - ra-nym-pho, pa - ra-nym - pho, pa -

sti pa - - - - ra - - - - nym - - - - pho -

65

pho cre - du - la, [cre - du - la].

du - la, [cre - - - - du - la].

ra - nym - pho] cre - - - - du - la.

cre - - - - du - la.

18. Salve verbi sacra parens

(Caeli quondam roraverunt, motet 3)

[Franchinus Gaffurius?]

[Superius]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

Sal - - - - - ve ver -

Sal - - - - - ve ver -

Sal - - - - - ve

Sa - - - - - cra pa -

bi sa - - - - - cra pa - rens,

bi sa - - - - -

ver - bi sa - - - - - cra pa - - -

rens, flos de spi - na,

flos de spi - - - - - na, spi -

cra pa - rens, flos de spi - na, spi - - - -

rens, flos de spi - na, spi -

15

spi - - - na ca - - - rens, flos - spi - ne - ti -

na ca - - - rens, flos - spi - ne - ti

na ca - - - - - rens,

na - ca - - - - rens, flos - spi - ne - ti -

20

- glo - ri - a. Nos spi - ne - tum, nos pec - ca - ti,

glo - ri - a. Nos spi - ne - tum, - nos pec - ca - ti,

Nos spi - ne - tum, - nos pec - ca - ti,

glo - ri - a. Nos spi - ne - tum, - nos pec - ca - ti,

25

spi - na - su - mus cru - en - ta - ti, sed -

spi - na su - - - mus - cru - en - ta - - - ti,

spi - na su - mus cru - en - ta - ti,

spi - na su - - - mus - cru - en - ta - ti,

30

tu spi - - - nae [ne - sci - a].

sed tu spi - - - nae

sed tu spi - nae ne - - -

35

Sal - ve de - cus vir - gi - num,

ne - sci - a. Sal - ve de - cus vir - gi - num, me -

sci - a. Sal - ve de - cus

ne - sci - a. Sal - ve de - cus vir - gi - num, me - di -

40

me - di - a - trix ho - mi - num, sa - lu - tis pu -

di - a - trix ho - mi - num, sa - lu -

vir - gi - num, sa - lu - tis pu - - - -

a - - - - trix ho - mi - num, sa - lu - tis

45

er - pe - ra. Flos cam -

tis pu - er - pe - ra.

er - pe - ra. Flos cam -

50

pu - er - pe - ra. Flos

pi con - val - li - um, [con - val - li -

Flos cam - pi con - val - li - um, sin - gu - la -

pi con - val - li - um, sin - gu -

cam - pi con - val - li - um, um], Chris -

55

re - li - li - um, Chris

la - re li - li - um, Chris

li - li - um, Chris

59

tus ex te

tus ex

tus ex

tus ex te

63

pro - - - di - it.

te pro - - di - it.

te pro - - di - it.

pro - - - di - it.

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