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Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress: The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*

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S ometime in the 1490s Henricus Isaac composed the grand six-voice motet *Angeli archangeli* (Angels, archangels), a stunning work of polyphony that was widely known from Italy to the

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The following abbreviations and manuscript sigla, drawn from Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, ed., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, 5 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1979–88), are used throughout:

AH	Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume, ed., <i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i> , 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues, 1886–1922)
BerIS 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40021
BrusBR 215–16	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 215–16

Low Countries and continued to be sung well into the 16th century (complete modern edition of the motet given in Appendix 1).¹ Its text, which pleads for intercession from angels, archangels, and numerous other classes of saints, is drawn from two antiphons for the Feast of All Saints (November 1), but the melodies of these chants are absent in Isaac's composition. Instead, the sole preexistent musical element is a cantus firmus in the tenor voice, drawn from the tenor of the mid-15th-century chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* (As a woman in distress), attributed to Binchois. The other intricately composed voices cascade gloriously around the cantus firmus, but they show no trace of canon, systematic imitation, or any other compositional device that would come to be expected of a six-voice motet in the early 16th century. The lack of any structural backbone beside the cantus firmus calls extra attention to the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor, and while the motet text seems very strongly to indicate that the piece was composed for the veneration of All Saints, the cantus firmus—clearly labeled in several of the manuscript sources of the motet—suggests otherwise. What, after all, do the angels and archangels from the motet text have to do with the woman in distress from the chanson? In what follows, it will be argued

CAO	René Jean Hesbert, ed., <i>Corpus antiphonalium officii</i> , 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963–79)
FlorBN 232	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS II.I.232
LeipU 1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 (“Apel Codex”)
LU	Catholic Church, Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, <i>Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu gregoriano quem ex editione typica in recentioris musicae notulas translatus solesmenses monachi rhythmicis signis diligenter ornaverunt</i> , vol. 1 part 2 (Tournai: Desclée and Socii, 1956)
MunBS 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154 (“Choirbook of Nikolaus Leopold”)
NHavY 91	New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 91 (“Mellon Chansonier”)
WarU 2016	Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS Mf. 2016 (formerly Breslau, Musikalisches Institut bei der Universität Breslau, MS Mf. 2016)
RomeC 2856	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856
VatC 234	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C VIII 234 (“Chigi Codex”)
VatS 46	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 46

¹ This dating of the composition and its subsequent performance is based on its manuscript dissemination, which is discussed below and shown in Table 2.

that the secular tenor was heard as a Marian cantus firmus, and that *Angeli archangeli* is in fact a motet for the Assumption of the Virgin.

Scholars have long understood that the liturgical origins of motet texts and cantus firmi have much to say about the function and meaning of Renaissance motets, but in recent decades musicologists have gained a more sensitive understanding of both the generic characteristics of the motet ca. 1500 and its relationship to liturgy and devotion.² Whereas Jacquelyn Mattfeld, in her pioneering work of the late 1950s and early 1960s, assumed that motets—much like polyphonic mass ordinaries—were simply sung within liturgical and devotional rites in place of the texts or melodies that they set to polyphony,³ more recent work, especially that of Anthony Cummings, has shown that the performance of motets was in fact much more flexible.⁴ Although motets were most often performed at a few fixed points within the daily liturgical celebrations (before Mass, at the Elevation of the Host, after the *Ite missa est*, and after the evening services of Vespers and Compline), they were not generally substituted for the plainchant items or spoken prayers from which they drew their texts and cantus firmi.⁵ Rather, they provided polyphonic embellishment of the liturgy, adorning it with splendid sound that commented on the theological/devotional content of the services in which they were sung. Moreover, motet performance was not limited to liturgical settings, but could con-

² Two recent collections have provided valuable investigations into the meaning and context of both individual motets and the genre as a whole, some of which focus on the time period ca. 1500: Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997); Herbert Schneider and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, ed., *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte* (Mainz: Schott, 1992). Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Dufay* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999) is a thorough study of the motet as a musical genre in the early 15th century, some of whose characteristics were retained in the later 15th century.

³ Jacquelyn Anderson Mattfeld, "Cantus Firmus in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Prez" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1959); idem, "Some Relationships Between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Prez," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 159–83.

⁴ Anthony Michael Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 43–59. Also useful are Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 35 (1985): 9–22; Richard Sherr, "The Singers of the Papal Chapel and Liturgical Ceremonies in the Early Sixteenth Century: Some Documentary Evidence," *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P. A. Ramsey (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 249–64, esp. 255–58. Although all of these studies draw the majority of their documentary evidence from the records of the papal chapel, it is reasonable to assume that the practices of this institution are largely representative of more widespread practices ca. 1500.

⁵ In this regard, the motet differed from strictly liturgical genres, such as the hymn or Magnificat, which tended to be composed in alternatim style (verses of chant alternating with verses of polyphony) and were usually modeled very closely on the chant melody for which they were substituted within a liturgical office.

ceivably be part of any para-liturgical devotion (such as an evening *Salve* service⁶), any important political or diplomatic occasion, or even supertime entertainment for a patron.⁷ The liturgical origins of motet texts and cantus firmi were an important factor in determining the occasions on which performance of a particular motet would be appropriate, but they did not dictate an exact liturgical position.

Musicological investigations of function or meaning in individual Renaissance motets have tended to focus on the specific historical or biographical occasions of motet composition or performance. Often this research examines motets with unusual occasional texts, proposing historical occasions or dates for their composition based largely on the evidence in the text.⁸ There are also rare cases in which an equally precise occasion can be determined for a motet with a common liturgical or devotional text.⁹ But often the quest for an occasion has led scholars

⁶ The *Salve* service, named for the Marian antiphon *Salve regina*, grew out of the singing of a Marian antiphon after the evening office of Compline. These services were an important venue for the performance of sacred polyphony in many locales in the late Middle Ages. The best general discussion of *Salve* services during which polyphony was sung can be found in Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), 1:397–421, which focuses on Brussels and other nearby cities in the Low Countries. On *Salve* services in some other locations, see the following: on Bruges, Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 86; on Antwerp, Kristine K. Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp," *Early Music History* 7 (1987): 8–12; on Paris, Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), 108–9; on Reims and St. Denis, respectively, Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 215–21; idem, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 74 and 299–300.

⁷ The *Diarii Sistini* reveal that the singers of the papal chapel regularly sang motets for the Pope on special occasions as he dined. In 1520 the Ferrarese ambassador in Rome reported that he attended one such dinner with the Pope at the Castel Sant' Angelo at which a *Salve regina* by Josquin was performed; see Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," 10.

⁸ Isaac's six-voice *Virgo prudentissima*, composed for the Coronation of Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor, is one such composition. See the discussion of this work below and n97.

⁹ A well known example is Josquin's six-voice *Pater noster – Ave Maria*, which was performed in front of Josquin's house in Condé sur L'Escaut as part of general processions through the town after Josquin's death; see Herbert Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources," *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference held at The Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976), 208. However, there remains some disagreement over whether Josquin composed the motet specifically for these occasions, or whether he was re-using a motet composed many years earlier. See Daniel E. Freeman, "On the Origins of the *Pater noster – Ave Maria* of Josquin des Prez," *Musica Disciplina* 45 (1991): 198; Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 304; and David Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology for Josquin: an Interim Report," *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 19 (1999): 150.

to make broad inferences that are not supported by the available evidence. Let us take as an example the multiple analyses of Josquin's six-voice *Absolve quaesumus*, a funeral motet whose text is a standard prayer for absolution taken from the Office of the Dead and whose cantus firmus is *Requiem aeternam*, the introit of the Mass for the Dead. Despite the fact that both text and cantus firmus were drawn from extremely well known and widespread sources, no fewer than three specific dedicatees have been proposed for the motet, all based on the same limited evidence and all highly speculative at best.¹⁰ True, the grandeur of Josquin's motet suggests that it *may* have been composed for a specific deceased person. But absent convincing evidence to suggest exactly who that person is, it is best to understand *Absolve quaesumus* simply as a splendid motet for the dead that could be sung at any commemoration in which polyphony was called for.

In other words, one should investigate the liturgical/devotional associations of a motet and infer from them a range of possible performance contexts, rather than proposing a single, overly specific context. For although isolating a precise occasion can bring us closer to a composer's creative burst, it obscures the fact that most motets from ca. 1500—especially those with widespread devotional texts—were composed to be performed many times. A setting of the *Salve regina*, for example, could be appropriate to virtually any Marian celebration, be it a festal Mass or a votive evening service. Furthermore, even when composers did write a motet for a specific event, they knew that it could be reused on appropriate occasions in the future. In a particularly instructive example, Jeffrey Dean argues persuasively that Loyset Compère's *Sola caret monstis* was composed to commemorate a particular conflict between King Louis XII of France and Pope Julius II in 1507, but he also points out that the transmission of the motet in VatS 42 shows that it continued to be performed in later years during Lent, the season from which it draws its Gregorian cantus firmus.¹¹ It is therefore important to take a "liturgically structured"¹² approach to motet analysis in order to un-

¹⁰ It has been variously proposed that Josquin composed the piece for the death of Philip the Fair (d. 1506; see Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vols. [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1962–65], 2:59), that Josquin wrote it for his own death (see Jeremy Noble, "Josquin Desprez," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1st ed. [London: MacMillan, 1980], 9:717—a hypothesis Noble abandoned in "Josquin des Prez" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. [New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2000 [hereafter *NGII*]), and for the death of Jacob Obrecht (d. 1505; see Willem Elders, "Josquin's *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine: A Tribute to Obrecht?*," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 [1987]: 14–25).

¹¹ Jeffrey Dean, "The Occasion of Compère's *Sola caret monstis*: A Case Study in Historical Interpretation," *Musica Disciplina* 40 (1986): 99–133.

¹² I borrow this term from Beth Williamson, who advocates a similar approach to the analysis of images on late medieval altarpieces, an artistic genre whose flexible rela-

derstand the theological/devotional meaning that motets convey. Only then is it possible to determine the range of contexts in which their performance would have been appropriate.

In the late 15th century sacred polyphony drew its preexistent musical material more and more often from secular models. Although secular borrowing has long been examined as a musical characteristic of late medieval polyphony, it has only recently been analyzed as a sacred symbolic element. The work of Michael Long, Craig Wright, and most recently Jennifer Bloxam has shown that secular cantus firmi were heard as sacred symbols in the 15th century.¹³ And since Renaissance composers tended to borrow the same models—such as the *L'homme armé* tune—over and over, we can discern patterns in how these secular materials were interpreted on a sacred level. The present essay examines the case of *Comme femme desconfortée*, which was not only one of the most popular chansons of the 15th century but was also one of the most popular secular cantus firmi in sacred polyphony. As we shall see below, the sacred compositions that incorporate it are by and large devoted to the Virgin Mary, demonstrating that she was widely understood as the sacred counterpart of the *femme desconfortée* in the chanson. Once the Marian associations of the chanson are established, it will be possible to ask why Isaac would have used it as the cantus firmus for *Angeli archangeli*, which draws its text not from a Marian source but from the All Saints liturgy.

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A wealth of textual, musical, theological, devotional, and manuscript source evidence will suggest that the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor transforms the *Angeli archangeli* text into a description of the Assumption of the Virgin, which was commemorated annually on August 15. The use of an All Saints text to describe the Assumption was possible because the Assumption of the Virgin and the veneration of All Saints were very closely related in late medieval iconography and liturgy. Indeed, it was upon Mary's assumption into heaven that she was crowned queen of the heavenly assembly of saints.

In recognizing *Angeli archangeli* as a motet for the Assumption of the Virgin, one must resist the temptation to associate it too closely with the Feast of the Assumption on August 15 or with any other specific historical occasion to which its composition *may* have been linked.

tionship to the liturgy is similar to that of the motet; see Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* 79 (2004): 381.

¹³ Michael Long, "Symbol and Ritual in Josquin's *Missa di Dadi*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 1–22; Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001); M. Jennifer Bloxam, "A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass," *Early Musical Borrowing*, ed. Honey Meconi (New York: Routledge, 2004), 7–35.

Instead, one should conclude only that it was a splendid motet appropriate for performance on any occasion when veneration of the Virgin or of the heavenly community of saints was desired. In the following analysis, then, we will approach *Angeli archangeli* as an educated Renaissance listener would have: as a complex devotional artwork with specific theological/devotional meaning that in turn dictates a broad but distinct range of performance possibilities.

The Motet Text

Angeli archangeli is composed in two *partes*, each of which borrows its text from a liturgical antiphon. The complete motet text is as follows:

Prima Pars

Angeli, archangeli, throni et dominationes, principatus et potestates, virtutes, cherubim atque seraphim, patriarche et prophete, sancti legis doctores, apostoli omnes, Christi martyres, sancti confessores, virgines Domini, anachoritae, sanctique omnes, intercedite pro nobis.

Angels, archangels, thrones and dominations, principalities and powers, virtues, cherubim and seraphim, patriarchs and prophets, holy doctors of the law, all apostles, martyrs of Christ, holy confessors, virgins of the Lord, hermits, and all saints, intercede for us!

Secunda Pars

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus, te prophetarum laudabilis numerus, te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus, te omnes sancti et electi voce confitentur unanimes, beata Trinitas, unus Deus.

The glorious chorus of apostles, the praiseworthy number of prophets, the chosen throng of martyrs extols you, all saints and the elect together sing praises to you, blessed Trinity, single God.

The text of the *prima pars* is drawn from *Angeli archangeli*, the Magnificat antiphon for the Feast of All Saints, the *secunda pars* from *Te gloriosus apostolorum*, the Benedictus antiphon for All Saints.¹⁴ The text reads

¹⁴ The Magnificat was the daily canticle sung at Vespers, while the Benedictus was the canticle of the morning office of Lauds. Both were sung to complex recitation formulae and were framed—much like office psalms—by antiphons proper to the day. Modern versions of these two antiphons for All Saints can be found in *LU*, 1721–22 and 1724. *Te gloriosus apostolorum* is an old chant, which is listed in *CAO* (antiphon no. 5118). *Angeli archangeli*, on the other hand, is not in *CAO* and appears to be a later composition. (The antiphon used by Isaac should not be confused with a different antiphon also entitled *Angeli archangeli* [*CAO*, no. 1398], which was widespread in the liturgies of both St. Michael [29 September] and All Saints [1 November], but which was a simple psalm antiphon and has a different, shorter text than the Magnificat antiphon used by Isaac in his motet.)

somewhat like a litany, listing various orders of saints and asking that they intercede on behalf of the singers. First come the nine orders of angels,¹⁵ then various classes of earthly saints, and finally the entire community of saints and the Holy Trinity. The angels are given a small degree of emphasis by their placement at the beginning of the text, but taken as a whole, it seems quite clear at first glance that the text is a plea for intercession from the entire heavenly community.

It has long been noted in the literature that *Angeli archangeli* draws its text from the All Saints liturgy,¹⁶ but it has not been noted that the two antiphons whose texts it quotes did not appear in all liturgical usages ca. 1500.¹⁷ They are generally found in Italian liturgies, including those of Rome and Florence, where Isaac's motet was copied into manuscript sources.¹⁸ But they tend to be absent in northern usages, including that of the court of Emperor Maximilian I, whom Isaac served as court composer from 1496 until his death in 1517.¹⁹ Since the motet is

¹⁵ The traditional grouping of the heavenly angels into nine distinct ranks was initiated ca. 500 in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite; see Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel: Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Bern: Francke, 1962), 25–27. On several 16th-century musical works devoted to the heavenly community of angels, some of which make symbolic use of the number nine, see Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 221–33.

¹⁶ See: Martin Just, "Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tübingen, 1960), 2:31; Jeffrey J. Dean, ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina MS 46, Renaissance Music in Facsimile 21* (New York: Garland, 1986), xi; Herbert Kellman ed., *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Chigi C VIII 234, Renaissance Music in Facsimile 22* (New York: Garland, 1987), vi; and Martin Picker, *Henricus Isaac: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1991), 85.

¹⁷ Jennifer Bloxam has repeatedly made the invaluable point that one must consider local liturgical variants when examining late medieval sacred polyphony. See M. Jennifer Bloxam, "A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460–1520," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1987), esp. I:1–8; idem, "In Praise of Spurious Saints: The *Missae Floruit egregiis* by Pipelare and La Rue," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 163–220; idem, "Sacred Polyphony and Local Traditions of Liturgy and Plainsong: Reflections on Music by Jacob Obrecht," in Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), 140–77; idem, "Plainsong and Polyphony for the Blessed Virgin: Notes on Two Masses by Jacob Obrecht," *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 51–75; idem, "Obrecht as Exegete: Reading *Factor orbis* as a Christmas Sermon," in Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 169–92.

¹⁸ The *Breviarium ad usum sancte Romane ecclesie* (Venice: Giunta, 1503), a breviary of Roman usage, transmits the antiphons on fols. 111v–112r, as does the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Edili 119, a Florentine breviary of 1506, on fols. 193r–193v. On MS Edili 119, see Lorenzo Fabbri and Marica Tacconi, eds., *I Libri del Duomo di Firenze: Codici Liturgici e Biblioteca di Santa Maria del Fiore (Secoli XI–XVI)* (Florence: Centro Di, 1997), 209; Marica Tacconi, "Liturgy and Chant at the Cathedral of Florence: A Survey of the Pre-Tridentine Sources (Tenth-Sixteenth Centuries)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1999), 191–94.

¹⁹ Neither antiphon is found, for example, in the *Antiphonale Pataviense* (Vienna: Winterburger, 1519; facs. ed. Karlheinz Schlager, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 88 [Kassel:

transmitted in sources copied in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries,²⁰ the presence or absence of these antiphons in the local liturgies has an important bearing on how singers and listeners understood *Angeli archangeli* in the early 16th century. In Florence and Rome, for example, they might have associated the motet text with the All Saints liturgy, whereas in northern locales they would simply have noted its textual content, irrespective of its liturgical origins.²¹ The text does very clearly praise the entire heavenly community, whose feast was celebrated annually on November 1. But All Saints were also venerated on numerous other occasions throughout the year when the litany of the saints was chanted—most notably major processions. Moreover, in books of hours, the most common devotional books of the late Middle Ages, both the litany of the saints *and* a suffrage to All Saints were often included so that they could be recited privately at any time in praise of the heavenly community.²² Although the text of *Angeli archangeli* addresses the heavenly community of saints, the limited dissemination of the antiphons whose texts it borrows, and the absence of their melodies within the motet,²³ loosen its connection to the November 1 solemnity of All Saints.²⁴

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Bärenreiter, 1985]), an antiphoner of the usage of Passau, which approximates the usage of Maximilian's court. Here and in other German usages, the Magnificat and Benedictus antiphons for All Saints are *O quam gloriosum* and *In civitate Domini*, respectively.

²⁰ All sources are listed below in Table 2.

²¹ It should be noted here that *Te gloriosus apostolorum* shares a lengthy portion of its text ("Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus, te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus, te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus") with the *Te Deum*, which was sung nightly at Matins, except during penitential seasons.

²² The litany in a book of hours usually followed immediately after the Penitential Psalms. Suffrages to numerous saints were often included toward the end of the book; they were small devotions comprising an antiphon and a short prayer, both to be recited privately. The most useful discussions of the contents, organization, and function of books of hours are Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris: [Macon, Protat Frères], 1927), 1:i–lxxxv; Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988). For an overview of the role and placement of litanies and suffrages, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 97–102 and 111–23.

²³ One passing allusion to the *Te gloriosus apostolorum* melody does appear in the superius and quinta vox at mm. 92–98 on the words "te prophetarum," which seem to quote the corresponding segment of the chant. But such a brief allusion is far from the structural quotation of chant sources that are often found in motets from ca. 1500, usually in the tenor voice.

²⁴ Herbert Kellman has proposed that *Angeli archangeli* was included in VatS 234 ("Chigi Codex") because All Saints Day was the birthday of Philippe Bouton, the Burgundian nobleman for whom the manuscript was originally prepared; see idem, ed., *Chigi C VIII 234*, vi; idem, ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535* (Ghent: Ludion, 1999), 127. Indeed, the inclusion of Isaac's composition in VatS 234 is an anomaly, given that Bouton probably crossed paths with all composers whose works are included except for Isaac. Kellman's hypothesis, however, seems unlikely, given that the antiphons *Angeli archangeli* and *Te gloriosus apostolorum* do not

Another noteworthy aspect of the *Angeli archangeli* text is that it does not name the Virgin Mary, who figures prominently in most All Saints devotions, among the orders of saints. The opening of the litany of the saints, transcribed here from a 16th-century book of hours, illustrates her importance within the heavenly community (emphasis added):

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison!	Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy!
Pater de celis Deus miserere nobis!	God, father of the heavens, have mercy on us!
Fili redemptor mundi Deus miserere nobis!	God, the Son and redeemer of the world, have mercy on us!
Spiritus sancte Deus miserere nobis!	God, the Holy Spirit, have mercy on us!
Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis!	Holy Trinity, single God, have mercy on us!
<i>Sancta Maria</i> , ora pro nobis!	<i>Holy Mary</i> , pray for us!
<i>Sancta Dei genitrix</i> , ora pro nobis!	<i>Holy mother of God</i> , pray for us!
<i>Sancta virgo virginum</i> , ora pro nobis!	<i>Holy virgin of virgins</i> , pray for us!
Sancte Michael, ora pro nobis!	Saint Michael, pray for us!
Sancte Gabriel, ora pro nobis!	Saint Gabriel, pray for us!
Sancte Raphael, ora pro nobis!	Saint Raphael, pray for us!
Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli Dei, orate pro nobis!	All holy angels and archangels of God, pray for us!
Omnes sancti beatorum spiri- tuum ordines, orate pro nobis!	All holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us!
... ²⁵	...

Significant is the shift of petition that takes place immediately following the several pleas to Christ and the Holy Trinity that open the litany. Whereas the members of the Trinity are implored to “have mercy on us” (*miserere nobis*), all the saints who follow are asked merely to “pray for us” (*ora[te] pro nobis*). For while God (the Trinity) can grant salvation, the other saints can merely pray to God that he be merciful. Indeed, intercession with God was precisely what medieval Christians

appear in the All Saints liturgy in northern usages, including that of Paris, which was followed at the Court of Burgundy. Perhaps *Angeli archangeli* was included in the manuscript simply because it was an internationally famous motet, or because of its structural similarity (discussed below) with Josquin’s *Stabat mater*, which appears just a few folios earlier in the manuscript.

²⁵ Transcribed from New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 411, a 16th-century French book of hours of the usage of Rome.

sought when venerating the saints, and Mary's intercessory powers were understood to be far greater and more far-reaching than those of any other saint.²⁶ It is telling that not one but three petitions to Mary follow those to the Holy Trinity, and that she appears—immediately followed by saints Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the rest of the angels—at the head of the long list of “pray for us” petitions. Her place at the forefront of the saintly community is confirmed in many visual depictions of All Saints. Figure 1 shows one such illustration from a 15th-century Sienese antiphoner, which currently resides in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.²⁷ It shows the assembly of saints as a large crowd with Mary standing front and center.

Despite Mary's absence in the *Angeli archangeli* text, she is present in the motet. As noted above, the only pre-existent musical element of the motet is the paraphrased tenor voice of *Comme femme desconfortée*. Although the chanson itself sets a fairly straightforward courtly love text, its afterlife in sacred polyphony indicates that it was heard not just as a love song, but also as an allegorical song of Marian praise. Its presence in *Angeli archangeli* not only inscribes Mary into the motet, but indeed the structural prominence of its tenor voice gives Mary a place of much greater privilege within the polyphonic texture than any of the classes of saints named in the text.

Excursus: *Comme femme desconfortée* as a *Marian Cantus Firmus*

Comme femme desconfortée is a three-voice rondeau transmitted in eleven 15th-century manuscript sources, but attributed only once—to Binchois in NHavY 91.²⁸ This attribution is shaky on stylistic grounds, since the song opens with a point of imitation between the tenor and cantus voices, a practice otherwise unknown in the chansons of Binchois. It is nevertheless possible that the song is a late work of Binchois from ca. 1450, the time at which it appears in its earliest manuscript

²⁶ On Mary as the great intercessor or *Mediatrice*, see Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996), 125–36; Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 2000), 102–41.

²⁷ This leaf, painted by the Master of the Osservanza, is described in Sandra Hindman, Mirella Levi D'Ancona, Pia Palladino, and Maria Francesca Saffiotti, *The Robert Lehman Collection IV: Illuminations* (Princeton: The Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), 136–40.

²⁸ Modern editions of the chanson are available in Wolfgang Rehm, ed., *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois (1400–1460)*, Musikalische Denkmäler 2 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957), 53–54; Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonier*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979), 1:101. All sources of the chanson are listed in David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), 116.

figure 1. Osservanza Master (active second quarter 15th century), *All Saints in an Initial E*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.2484recto). Photograph, all rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



source.²⁹ Regardless of its authorship, its wide dissemination reveals that it was one of the best known chansons of the late 15th century. Several of its distinctive textual and musical characteristics seem to have captured the attention of composers in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, who made frequent use of it both as a model for secular recomposition and as a cantus firmus in sacred polyphony.³⁰ It was always the tenor voice of *Comme femme desconfortée* (given in Ex. 1) that served as a cantus firmus in sacred compositions. The sacred works built upon it are listed in Table 1.

In the text of *Comme femme desconfortée*, the narrator takes on the voice of a woman in distress, who laments her misfortune and sings of her desire for death over the bipartite musical structure typical of the rondeau genre. The refrain summarizes the sentiment of the chanson:

A

Comme femme desconfortee,
Sur toutes aultres esgaree,
Qui n'ay jour de ma vye espoir

As a woman in distress,
More than all others distraught,
Who have not on any day of my
life hope

B

D'en estre en mon temps consolee,
Mais en mon mal plus agrevee
Desire la mort main et soir.

Of being consoled while I still
live,
But evermore oppressed by my
misfortune
I desire death morning and
night.³¹

The six-line verse structure is somewhat unusual,³² as is the feminine narrative voice. Yet what sets *Comme femme desconfortée* most apart from other 15th-century chansons are the distinctive devotional associations it carried when used as a sacred cantus firmus. The ten sacred compositions in which its tenor appears (see Table 1) are stylistically diverse, ranging from three-voice instrumental compositions to six-voice motets, but they display a remarkable uniformity of devotional content. With

²⁹ Fallows accepts the attribution to Binchois (*Catalogue*, 116), as do Perkins and Garey (*Mellon Chansonnier*). Rehm, however, includes it among Binchois's doubtful works (*Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois*).

³⁰ The secular recompositions of *Comme femme desconfortée*, which are not directly relevant to the present discussion, are listed in Fallows, *Catalogue*, 117. On the reworking of 15th-century chansons in general, see Honey Meconi, "Art-Song Reworkings: An Overview," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119 (1994): 1–42.

³¹ Text and translation modified from Perkins and Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2:294–95.

³² Fifteenth-century rondeaux generally have four- (*rondeau quatrain*) or five-line (*rondeau cinquain*) stanzas.

example 1. Tenor Voice of *Comme femme desconfortée* (transcribed from NHavY 91)

The image shows a musical score for the Tenor Voice of the chanson 'Comme femme desconfortée'. The score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a tempo marking '(s = ♩)'. The first staff is labeled '8' and the second staff is labeled '9'. The third staff is labeled '17' and the fourth staff is labeled '25'. The score ends with a double bar line. The title 'Comme femme' is written below the first staff.

the exception of three works—the two by Isaac and the one by Pierre de la Rue based on Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*—all set unambiguously Marian texts. Through its frequent use in sacred polyphony—and, as we shall see, through resonance with devotional culture at large—this secular chanson became an unusually distinct sacred signifier.

The two compositions in Table 1 by Alexander Agricola are probably the earliest pieces of polyphony to combine *Comme femme desconfortée* with sacred Marian texts. Both are instrumental works composed over the tenor voice of *Comme femme desconfortée*, and both are transmitted without text in all but one of their sources.³³ They thus fall within a group of 17 instrumental chanson reworkings by Agricola (including a third on *Comme femme desconfortée*), all of which faithfully cite the tenor voice of the chanson on which they are based.³⁴ However, a single source, BerlS 40021, transmits these two settings of *Comme femme desconfortée* with Marian contrafact texts. The paper on which they are written

³³ The rapid rhythmic motion, large melodic ranges, and absence of text beyond incipits in these pieces indicate that they are instrumental compositions. Modern editions of these two works are available in Alexander Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, 5 vols., ed. Edward Lerner, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 22 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1961–70), 5:72–77.

³⁴ All of these compositions are edited in Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, 5:71–101. The tenor voice of *L'homme banni* (*Opera Omnia*, 5:89–90) is unidentified but clearly recognizable as a faithfully cited cantus firmus, and *Pourquoy tant—Pour quelque paine* (*Opera Omnia*, 5:91–92) borrows both the tenor and cantus voices of its chanson model.

TABLE 1

Sacred Works with *Comme femme desconfortée* Tenor
as Cantus Firmus

Composer	Composition	Text	Comments
Alexander Agricola (ca. 1455–1506)	<i>Virgo sub aetheriis</i> (3vv)	Marian prayer in hexameters	Three-voice instrumental composition over <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor; textless in all sources except BerlS 40021, which underlays this text only in the tenor voice.
Agricola	<i>Ave quae sublimaris</i> (4vv)	Marian prayer	Four-voice instrumental composition over <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor; textless in all sources except BerlS 40021, which underlays this text only in the lowest voice.
Johannes Ghiselin (fl. 1491–1507)	<i>Inviolata integra et casta es</i> (4vv)	Marian sequence	Tenor voice cites <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor at 2x augmentation, repeating a lengthy portion of it to accommodate the long sequence text; discantus simultaneously paraphrases <i>Inviolata</i> chant melody.
Ghiselin	<i>Regina celi</i> (4vv)	Marian Antiphon, Eastertide	Tenor voice cites <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor literally at 2x augmentation; altus voice simultaneously paraphrases <i>Regina celi</i> chant.
Henricus Isaac (ca. 1450–1517)	<i>Angeli archangeli</i> (6vv)	Two antiphons for All Saints	Tenor voice paraphrases <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor, mostly in long note values; parts A and B of Binchois's rondeau tenor used in prima and secunda pars, respectively. The motet appears in LeipU 1494 with alternate text, <i>O regina nobilissima</i> , an unknown Marian prayer.
Isaac	<i>Missa Comme femme desconfortée</i> (4–5vv)	Mass	Cantus-firmus mass based on <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor; some brief quotation of other chanson voices as well.
Josquin des Prez (ca. 1457–1521)	<i>Stabat mater</i> (5vv)	Rhymed prayer (sequence) to Mary's sorrows	Tenor voice cites <i>Comme femme desconfortée</i> tenor literally at 4x augmentation; parts A and B of rondeau tenor used in prima and secunda pars, respectively, as in Isaac's <i>Angeli archangeli</i> .
Pierre de la Rue (ca. 1452–1518)	<i>Credo Angeli archangeli</i> (8vv)	Credo	Parody Credo movement based on Isaac's <i>Angeli archangeli</i> .

TABLE 1 (continued)

Ludwig Senfl (ca. 1486–1542/3)	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i> (5vv)	Marian hymn, <i>Ave Maria</i> acrostic	Cantus firmus structure modeled on Josquin's <i>Stabat mater</i> ; tenor voice is identical to Josquin's, and Senfl placed this piece near Josquin's <i>Stabat mater</i> in MunBS 12.
Hieronymus Vinders (fl. 1525–6)	<i>Missa Stabat mater</i> (5–6vv)	Mass	Parody mass based on Josquin's <i>Stabat mater</i> . First introduces <i>Comme femme</i> cantus firmus in Credo at "Et incarnatus est," the only part of the mass ordinary text to mention Mary.

dates from 1493–4/5, which implies that the works were copied into BerLS 40021 in the mid 1490s.³⁵

BerLS 40021 is one of four small-format choirbooks of German origin from ca. 1500 that transmit vast repertoires of polyphonic music then current in the German-speaking lands.³⁶ These sources, the contents of which tend to be grouped according to genre, contain mass ordinary settings, mass proper settings, motets, and numerous other miscellaneous compositions. Agricola's two Marian-texted *Comme femme desconfortée* settings appear close to one another in BerLS 40021, both anonymously, within a group of miscellaneous liturgical compositions.³⁷ Their instrumentally conceived voices stand out from the vocally conceived masses, motets, and canticles that surround them, but their sacred Latin texts place them within a devotional context.

The three-voice setting appears before the four-voice setting, with the text *Virgo sub aetheriis* underlaid only in its tenor voice.³⁸ The source

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³⁵ The dating of the paper in the manuscript is discussed in Martin Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021 : Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Mus. ms. 40021*, 3 vols., Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 76–78 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 3:298–317. *Virgo sub aetheriis* appears in gathering XII, which Just dates to 1493–4/5 (see the table that Just provides on p. 298).

³⁶ There is a complete modern edition of BerLS 40021: Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*. The other three manuscripts in the group are: MunBS 3154 ("Choirbook of Nikolaus Leopold"), modern edition of the entire manuscript in Thomas Noblitt ed., *Der Kodex des Magister Nicolaus Leopold: Staatsbibliothek München Mus. ms. 3154*, 4 vols., Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 80–83 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987–96); LeipU 1494 ("Apel Codex"), modern edition of the entire manuscript in Rudolf Gerber, Ludwig Finscher, and Wolfgang Dömling, eds., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, 3 vols., Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 32–34 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956–75); and WarU 2016. On this group of sources see Martin Just, "Bermerkungen zu den kleinen Folio-Handschriften deutscher Provenienz um 1500," in Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I: Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquin Desprez* (Munich: Kraus International Publications, 1981), 25–45.

³⁷ They appear on fols. 131v–132r and fols. 134v–135r, respectively.

³⁸ Modern edition in Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*, 2:136–38.

of the tenor voice is not labeled in the manuscript, but it is set apart texturally from the other voices and strictly cites the *Comme femme des-confortée* tenor. The contrafact text, composed in classical hexameters, pleads to Mary for guidance toward heaven:

Virgo sub aetheriis semper
veneranda puellis,
quae pia sperantes in te non
deseris umquam,
flectere iter doceas tenuis ubi
semita monstrat
ire per angustam regna ad
caelestia portam.

Pious Virgin, forever venerable
among heavenly maidens,
[you] who never desert those who
put their hope in you,
may you teach [us] to wind down
the delicate path,
where the way guides us through a
narrow gate to the heavenly
kingdoms.

These words are drawn from a prayer for protection from mortal pestilence, although they include only four of the original ten verses, omitting any direct mention of pestilence.³⁹ BerlS 40021 is the only one of the seven sources of the piece to transmit it with this text, but it is also one of the earliest sources.⁴⁰ The only source that is possibly earlier is RomeC 2856, which has been dated as early as ca. 1480 but now seems almost certainly to date from the 1490s,⁴¹ while all others date from

³⁹ In Gotha, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Gymn. 1 (fol. 283r), the text appears with the rubric “Carmen ad Trabeatam Virginem pro Mortifera Peste” (Song to the Blessed Virgin for Mortal Pestilence). The poem, by either Enea Silvio or Conrad Celtis, consists of ten lines of hexameter, of which lines 1, 2, 7, and 8 appear in Agricola’s composition in BerlS 40021. The text is listed in Hans Walther, ed., *Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I: Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), no. 20557. See also Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*, 3:332.

⁴⁰ The sources are listed in Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, 5:lxii. All sources except BerlS 40021 contain only the textual incipit “Comme femme.”

⁴¹ Lewis Lockwood, ed., *A Ferrarese Chansonier: Roma, Biblioteca casanatense 2856: “Canzoniere di Isabella d’Este,”* facs. ed. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2002). Jose Llorens dated the source to 1490 (Jose Llorens, “El codice Casanatense 2856 identificado como el Cancionero de Isabella d’Este [Ferrara] esposa de Francesco Gonzaga [Mantua],” *Annuario Musical* 20 [1965]: 161–78). Lewis Lockwood then proposed the date 1480 (Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984], 224–26). David Fallows tentatively supported Lockwood’s dating (Fallows, *Catalogue*, 39, under the siglum “RCas”), noting however that none of the works in the manuscript have concordances from earlier than ca. 1492. Joshua Rifkin has recently argued persuasively that the source dates from ca. 1490 at the earliest (Joshua Rifkin, “Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin’s *Ave Maria* . . . *virgo serena*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 [2003]: 314–22). Rifkin’s argument is only enhanced by his recent adjustment of Agricola’s birthdate to ca. 1455 (idem, “Alexander Agricola and Cambrai: A Postscript,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 54 [2004]: 21–28; I thank Joshua Rifkin for sharing this work with me prior to its publication), since Agricola’s works figure too prominently in the manuscript for someone who would have been only about 25 years old and had never been to Italy by 1480.

after 1500. Copied well before Agricola died in 1506, the early reading of this piece transmitted in BerlS 40021 shows that the Marian contrafactum was known in Agricola's time, although it remains unclear whether Agricola himself was aware of this text.

Agricola's four-voice setting of *Comme femme desconfortée* appears a few folios later in BerlS 40021 with the otherwise unknown text *Ave quae sublimaris*, another general prayer to the Virgin, underlaid in the lowest-sounding voice⁴²:

Ave quae sublimaris ad sidera
notueris virgo polo sumpta,
fac nobis propria cuncta dilue
peccata, virgo super astra levata,
regnans in caelis, petentibus
ore fideli, aeterna, tribue polo
conscendere sedem ac requiem
proelii fessis in arce summo.

Hail, you who are elevated to the
stars, you are known as the virgin
assumed to heaven. Virgin raised
above the stars, who rule in
heaven, make haste and wash
away the sins of those praying
to you with faithful mouths.
O eternal one, grant [us] a
heavenly seat to which to ascend,
and to the weary grant repose
from battle in the highest arc.

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This text emphasizes Mary's place in heaven and the desire of those saying/singing the prayer to join her there—a connection that will figure prominently in the discussion of *Angeli archangeli* below. BerlS 40021 is the only one of the three sources of the piece to transmit this text, but it is also by far the earliest source.⁴³ Curiously, the tenor voice of the composition, the only voice drawn from *Comme femme desconfortée*, is omitted. Nevertheless, the composition is not harmonically viable without it, and the scribe most likely omitted it because it was identical to the tenor voice of *Virgo sub aethereis*, which appears just a few folios earlier.

That *Virgo sub aetheriis* and *Ave quae sublimaris* are both textual unica suggests that Agricola's *Comme femme desconfortée* compositions were originally conceived as textless works. Yet the Marian texts assigned to them in BerlS 40021 are still important, because they are the earliest of a long line of surviving polyphonic compositions that combine the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor voice with Marian devotional texts. *Virgo sub aetheriis* and *Ave quae sublimaris* may be contrafacta, but there is ample evidence that their texts were not assigned to settings of *Comme femme*

⁴² Modern edition in Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*, 2:141–44.

⁴³ Sources are listed in Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, 5:lx. In BerlS 40021 *Ave quae sublimaris* appears in the same fascicle as *Virgo sub aetheriis*, which, as previously stated, was probably copied in the mid 1490s.

desconfortée at random. BerlS 40021 also transmits—on paper dating from 1492–95—a version of Johannes Ghiselin’s motet *Inviolata integra et casta es*, another one of the compositions listed in Table 1 that incorporate the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor as a cantus firmus.⁴⁴ Within this single manuscript, then, there are three Marian-texted compositions over the same cantus firmus, all copied in the 1490s. These pieces show that already by this time the woman in distress described in the chanson was understood to resonate with the Virgin Mary.

The appearance of Ghiselin’s *Inviolata integra et casta es* in BerlS 40021 indicates that it was composed in the early 1490s. It also appeared later in Petrucci’s *Motetti libro quarto* (Venice, 1505) along with Ghiselin’s *Regina celi*, which also incorporates *Comme femme desconfortée* as a cantus firmus. Each motet quotes the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor strictly while paraphrasing in a different voice a common Gregorian chant melody devoted to the Virgin (*Inviolata integra et casta es* in one, *Regina celi* in the other). This double cantus firmus technique featured in both works emphasizes not just the devotional resonance of the woman in distress with Mary, but also the melodic compatibility of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor with two common Marian chants.

Regina celi is the simpler of Ghiselin’s two motets listed in Table 1.⁴⁵ The motet is composed in a single section, in which the tenor voice cites the entire *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in *tempus perfectum* (O), exactly as it appears in the original chanson (see Ex. 2a). The other voices are in *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (C), necessitating a twofold augmentation of the written tenor voice in performance (that is, one notated semibreve in the tenor corresponds to one breve in the other voices). The altus paraphrases the sixth-mode *Regina celi* chant mostly in long note values,⁴⁶ transposing it up a fifth so that it corresponds to the C tonality of the chanson tenor. The remaining two voices are stylistically heterogeneous. After citing the first five notes of the *Regina celi* chant at the opening of the piece, the discantus juxtaposes groups of long notes with rapid passagework. The bassus assumes a similar melodic profile without showing any motivic connection to the preexistent material. The resultant four-voice texture is functional if not especially smooth, an admirable accomplishment given the contrapuntal challenge of combining two preexistent melodies within a four-voice texture.

⁴⁴ The composition is on fols. 169v–170r, in gathering XV of the manuscript, which is dated by Just to 1492–95 (see Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*, 3:298).

⁴⁵ A modern edition of the entire motet is given in Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera Omnia*, 4 vols., ed. Clytus Gottwald, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 23 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1961–68), 1:28–31.

⁴⁶ The chant melody is most readily accessible in *LU*, 275. Given Ghiselin’s rather free paraphrase of the melody, it would be difficult to situate his composition geographically based on local melodic variants.

example 2a. Johannes Ghiselin, *Regina celi* (opening)

(= = o)

Re - gi - na ce - li

Re - gi - na ce - li

Comme femme Re - gi - na ce - li

Re - gi - na ce - li

example 2b. Johannes Ghiselin, *Inviolata integra et casta es* (opening)

(= = o)

In - vi - o - la - ta in - te - gra et

In - vi - o - la - ta in - te - gra [et ca -

In - vi - o - la - ta [in - te - gra et

In - vi - o - la - ta in - te - gra [et -

The *Regina caeli* was a Marian chant assigned to Eastertide, the seven weeks between Easter Sunday and Pentecost. The theology of Eastertide focuses on Christ's resurrection, and the *Regina caeli* is a chant that praises Mary specifically as the mother of the resurrected Christ:

Regina caeli laetare, alleluia!	Queen of Heaven rejoice, alleluia!
Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia!	Because he whom you were worthy of bearing, alleluia!
Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluia!	Is risen as he said [he would], alleluia!
Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia!	Pray to God for us, alleluia!

Each verse is punctuated by the word “alleluia,” an exclamation of joy that, as is well known, was stricken from the Lenten liturgy only to return forcefully on Easter Sunday and remain a pervasive presence throughout Eastertide. Ghiselin’s merger of the *Regina celi* chant with the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor embodies a symbolic resonance between courtly song and Marian Eastertide/springtime devotion that I discuss in depth elsewhere.⁴⁷ The distraught woman of *Comme femme desconfortée* seems here to represent the sorrowful Mary at the Cross, while the *Regina celi* urges her to rejoice at Christ’s resurrection. The motet thus emphasizes the joy of the Easter season by contrasting it with the sorrow that is celebrated beforehand during Lent.

The cantus firmus structure of Ghiselin’s *Inviolata integra et casta es* is similar to that of his *Regina celi*. As in *Regina celi*, the tenor voice quotes the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in *tempus perfectum* (O) but must be augmented to twice its written value in order to correspond to the *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (C) in the other three voices (see Ex. 2b).⁴⁸ The tenor differs from that in *Regina celi* only in that it is transposed up an octave and repeats a lengthy portion of the chanson tenor (mm. 1–20 of the tenor as shown in Ex. 1). Ghiselin seems to have repeated this section simply to accommodate the lengthy *Inviolata* chant, which is paraphrased throughout the entire composition in the discantus.⁴⁹ As in *Regina celi*, Ghiselin paraphrases the Gregorian melody mostly in long note values, with only minor melodic ornamentation, and once again he transposes the sixth-mode (F-mode) melody up a fourth so that its final corresponds to the C tonality of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor. The remaining voices of *Inviolata integra et casta es* (altus and bassus) once again fill out the texture with a heterogeneous mix of

⁴⁷ See my forthcoming article “The Marian Symbolism of Spring: Two Case Studies from Medieval and Renaissance Polyphony” and my dissertation, “Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs in Medieval Polyphony: Studies in Musical Symbolism” (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 2004), 175–250.

⁴⁸ Modern edition of the entire motet in Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera Omnia*, 1:31–36. In this edition, the repetition takes place in mm. 61–120, which replicate mm. 1–60 exactly.

⁴⁹ The chant is most readily accessible in *LU*, 1861–62. Ghiselin’s paraphrased cantus firmus varies from this chant version only in that it presents the texts of verses 5 and 6 (a versicle pair) in reverse order.

long notes and rapid passagework, rendering a competent but inelegant four-voice texture.

The Gregorian sequence *Inviolata integra et casta es* was set to polyphony numerous times in the Renaissance, most notably for five voices by Josquin. It was not assigned to a particular Marian occasion but was instead a general devotional chant in praise of Mary's purity. In arguably the only example of self-conscious text emphasis in Ghiselin's setting, he opens the motet in pure homophony on the word "Inviolata" ("inviolate"), as shown in Example 2b. This brief moment of declamatory texture emphasizes Mary's freedom from sin. In using *Comme femme desconfortée* as a cantus firmus here, Ghiselin emphasises the dichotomy between Mary's sorrow (in the tenor cantus firmus) and her purity (in the *Inviolata* text). In the late Middle Ages, this dichotomy was reenacted every year on Holy Saturday, which commemorated the day between Christ's death and his resurrection. It was on this day—as Christ lay dead—that Mary suffered her greatest sorrow, represented in the visual arts by the Lamentation scene, or *Pietà*. In the Middle Ages, Holy Saturday was also the day on which catechumens were baptized—ceremonially cleansed of original sin. This confluence on Holy Saturday of baptism and commemoration of Mary's most sorrowful hour emphasized a theological connection between Mary's suffering and her purity. The pairing of the *Inviolata* chant with the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in Ghiselin's motet embodies this same theological connection between suffering and redemption, between Christ's death and the absolution of sins, and between Mary's sorrow and her intercessory role in the remission of sins.

Although little is known about Ghiselin's life, there is documentary evidence that he knew three of the other composers who wrote works over the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor. In the early 1490s he worked alongside Isaac at San Giovanni in Florence, in 1493/4 he accompanied Agricola from Florence to Naples, and at the beginning of the 16th century he knew Josquin at the court of Duke Hercules I d'Este at Ferrara.⁵⁰ All of these documented interactions between the composers

⁵⁰ Ghiselin seems to have gone by two different names, Ghiselin and Verbonnet, and his works appear in various sources attributed to both names. For an overview of his life and the confusion over his name, see: Clytus Gottwald, "Johannes Ghiselin – Janne Verbonnet: Some Traces of His Life," *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961): 105–11; Mary Beth Winn, "Le Cœur la suyt, Chanson on a Text for Marguerite d'Autriche: Another Trace in the Life of Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet," *Musica Disciplina* 32 (1978): 69–72; Martin Staehelin, "Quellenkundliche Beiträge zum Werk von Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 120–32. On his activity in Florence and Ferrara, respectively, see Frank A. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 307–58, esp. 345; Lockwood, *Renaissance Ferrara*, 152 and 202.

took place within a decade, starting in the early 1490s. It was during this same decade that Agricola's and Ghiselin's compositions over the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor were copied into BerlS 40021⁵¹ and, as we shall see below, that Isaac's *Angeli archangeli* was copied into LeipU 1494. This biographical and transmissional evidence raises the possibility that the tradition of using the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in Marian polyphony was propagated early on through direct personal contact between composers. It is quite possible—though not provable—that Agricola, Ghiselin, and Isaac influenced one another in their choice of this cantus firmus in the 1490s while working together in Florence, and that Josquin got the idea to use *Comme femme desconfortée* as the tenor of his *Stabat mater* from his interactions with Ghiselin at the Ferrarese court.

The earliest source of Josquin's *Stabat mater* for five voices is VatC 234 ("Chigi Codex"), dated to 1498–1503.⁵² Josquin's is therefore almost certainly not the earliest of the sacred compositions built on *Comme femme desconfortée*,⁵³ but it quickly became the most widespread of all of them, appearing in some 21 manuscript and printed sources⁵⁴ and serving as a compositional model for two of the other compositions: Ludwig Senfl's motet *Ave rosa sine spinis* and Hieronymus Vinders' *Missa Stabat mater*. *Comme femme desconfortée* has such a strong textual affinity with the *Stabat mater* text set by Josquin that musicologists have failed to notice the more general Marian applicability of *Comme femme desconfortée* in sacred polyphony. Yet an examination of Josquin's motet

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⁵¹ Although Gottwald lists Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto* (Venice, 1505) as the single source for *Inviolata* (Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera Omnia*, critical notes), the motet is also transmitted in BerlS 40021 with a slightly different text: *Inviolata intemerataque virginitas* (edition in Just, ed., *Der Kodex Berlin 40021*, 2:244–49). The paper of the 15th fascicle, in which the piece appears, is dated to 1492–95 (see n43). BerlS 40021 is thus most likely an earlier source than the Petrucci print of 1505. Nevertheless, since the text in BerlS 40021 does not correspond to the Gregorian melody quoted in the superius voice, it is rightly considered a contrafactum. One should note, however, that this alternate text still retains the opening word, "Inviolata," which is set in strict homophonic texture (see Ex. 2b), and the text in BerlS 40021 is still generally about Mary's purity, retaining the symbolic relationship between her sorrow and her freedom from sin.

⁵² The history and dating of the manuscript is discussed in Herbert Kellman, ed., *Chigi C VIII 234*, v–xi. See also Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, "Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C VIII 234" in Martin Staehelin, ed., *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 65–74; Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex," *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 223–58.

⁵³ David Fallows suggests convincingly that almost all of Josquin's five- and six-voice motets (including *Stabat mater*) were composed ca. 1500–1510 (see Fallows, "Approaching a New Chronology," 147 and 150). The presence of *Stabat mater* in VatC 234 indicates that it was composed in the earliest part of that time span.

⁵⁴ The sources are listed in Albert Smijers, ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, 13 vols. (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1921–69), *Motetten* 2:viii–xii.

in the context of all the compositions listed in Table 1 shows that the suffering described in the chanson could enhance just about any devotional text to the Virgin, not just the *Stabat mater*.

The *Stabat mater* was an extremely widespread rhymed prayer with the double-versicle structure typical of liturgical sequences.⁵⁵ The following is its opening stanza:

Stabat mater dolorosa
iuxta crucem lachrymosa
dum pendebat filius.
Cuius animam gementem
contristantem et dolentem
pertransivit gladius.

The sorrowful mother stood
at the foot of the Cross
where her son hung;
the sword pierced her
sad, lamenting, and
aching soul.

These words combine the description from the Gospel of John of Mary's grief at the foot of the Cross (John 19:25–6) with Simeon's prediction at the Presentation in the Temple that a sword would pierce Mary's heart (Luke 2:35). One of the manuscript sources of Josquin's motet, BrusBR 215–16, was compiled specifically for the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, transmitting both chant and polyphony for the celebration.⁵⁶ Yet while it would seem to follow that Josquin's motet was composed for this specific liturgical occasion, the *Stabat mater* had quite an extensive history of devotional use beyond this single celebration.

The *Stabat mater* appears in modern liturgical books as the sequence for the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, but this strict liturgical assignment arose fairly late in its history.⁵⁷ In fact, in BrusBR 215–16, which is dated to 1516–23, the sequence in the plainchant Mass for the Seven Sorrows is not *Stabat mater* but *Astat virgo virginum*.⁵⁸ The melody of the *Stabat mater* was actually composed much later than the text,

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⁵⁵ Complete text given in *AH*, 54:312–8. Josquin sets only 16 of the 20 stanzas, omitting stanzas 11–14.

⁵⁶ On the history and dating of BrusBR 215–16, see Kellman, ed., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 66–67.

⁵⁷ The chant is given in *LU*, 1634.

⁵⁸ The plainchant portion of BrusBR 215–16, found on fols. 44r–49v, is discussed briefly in Jozef Robijns, “Eine Musikhandschrift des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts im Zeichen der Verehrung unserer lieben Frau der sieben Schmerzen (Brüssel, Kgl. Bibliothek, Hs. 215–216),” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 44 (1960): 28. Robijns claims that the sequence *Astat virgo virginum* does not belong to this mass, but he presents no evidence in support of this assertion, presumably basing his claim on the mass in *LU*, which contains *Stabat mater* as its sequence. The only motet in BrusBR 215–16 other than Josquin's *Stabat mater* is Mattheus Pipelare's *Memorare mater Christi*, which is much more clearly devoted to the Seven Sorrows than Josquin's motet. Pipelare's composition is for seven voices, labeled “primus dolor,” “secundus dolor,” etc. in the manuscript (fols. 33v–34r). Like Josquin, he draws his cantus firmus from a secular source, the Spanish canción *Nunca fue pena mayor* by Juan de Urrede. On Pipelare's motet, see Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 151–54.

which originally was simply a rhymed prayer to Mary's sorrow. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the *Stabat mater* was most widely disseminated in books of hours, where it was a general accessory prayer that followed the even more widespread *Obsecro te* and *O Intemerata*.⁵⁹ Josquin's composition should therefore be understood not as a setting of a liturgical sequence but as a prayer motet, for there is no trace of the *Stabat mater* chant melody in Josquin's setting, and he omits four stanzas of the complete 20-stanza text.

Josquin's motet is in *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (♢). His tenor voice transposes the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor up a fourth and presents it in fourfold augmentation (a semibreve of the original becomes a long), otherwise quoting it strictly.⁶⁰ The tenor voice is therefore similar to those of Ghiselin discussed above, but whereas Ghiselin cites the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in its original mensuration, leaving it to the performer to create the augmentation, Josquin writes out the tenor in augmented note values. Josquin's motet also reflects the structure of the chanson in a way that Ghiselin's does not: He divides his motet into two *partes*, with the *prima pars* corresponding to the musical "A" section of the chanson tenor, the *secunda pars* to the "B" section.⁶¹ The structure of the chanson tenor thus dictates the formal layout of the piece. Nevertheless, the other freely composed voices render the tenor virtually unrecognizable to the ear. Several partial and complete points of imitation, as well as mostly uniform rhythmic and melodic motion among the four non-cantus-firmus voices, create a seamless polyphonic texture around the slow-moving cantus firmus.

Josquin's tenor voice does not contain enough notes to accommodate the entire *Stabat mater* text, raising the question of whether it should be vocalized without text, sung with partial text, or performed instrumentally—all viable performance options.⁶² These difficulties of

⁵⁹ The *Stabat mater* text, generally believed to be of 13th-century Franciscan origin, has been ascribed to Jacopone da Todi (ca. 1230–1306), but that attribution is not secure. Although the text resembles that of a sequence, it was not used as a liturgical sequence until the 15th century, when a feast of the Seven Sorrows was first established. The 15th-century *Stabat mater* melody is given in *LU*, 1634. On the *Stabat mater* in general, see John Caldwell and Malcolm Boyd, "Stabat mater dolorosa," *NGII*; Paul-Gerhard Nohl, "Das 'Stabat mater'," *Musik und Kirche* 67 (1997): 97–106.

⁶⁰ The standard modern edition of the motet remains that in Smijers ed., *Werken*, Motetten 2:51–57. In its cantus-firmus structure, *Stabat mater* is very similar to the motet *Missus est Gabriel angelus*, attributed to both Josquin and Mouton, which takes the tenor voice of Busnoys's *A une dame j'ai fait veu* as its cantus firmus. The relationship of that motet to *Stabat mater* is discussed in Rothenberg, "Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs," 140–46.

⁶¹ Isaac's *Angeli archangeli* and Senfl's *Ave rosa sine spinis* are also divided into two *partes* following the bipartite division of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor.

⁶² The question of how to perform this tenor is discussed in Ludwig Finscher, Winfried Kirsch, et al., "The Performance and Interpretation of Josquin's Motets: Workshop Report," *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings*, 658–62.

text underlay in the tenor underscore the fact that the melodic presence of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor is significant.⁶³ Michael Long has eloquently described its symbolic function within the motet:

In Josquin's [*Stabat mater*], at the same time that the character of Mary is amplified and extended into a more human and immediate realm, the melancholy persona of *Comme femme*, who, according to the song text, has had her "joy" snatched away by death, is elevated and reinterpreted. The despair of an unhappy woman on earth is not merely a symbol which "stands for" the grief of the Virgin, but is a fragment of the mundane which reveals or reflects something greater than itself. In so doing, not only the *femme desconfortée*, but the chanson itself undergoes a process of "sanctification."⁶⁴

Although the textual affinity between the *Stabat mater* and *Comme femme desconfortée* was clearly important to Josquin when he matched text to cantus firmus,⁶⁵ the symbolism of *Comme femme desconfortée* moves beyond mere representation of Mary's sorrow. As part of the "mundane which reveals . . . something greater than itself," the chanson, when used as a cantus firmus, sanctifies earthly sorrow by aligning it with that of Mary as she grieved for her son.

By understanding the cantus firmus of Josquin's *Stabat mater* as more than just a signifier of Mary's sorrow, one can better understand Josquin's motet in relation to the other compositions listed in Table 1. In all of these pieces, the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor illustrates a symbolic connection between earthly suffering and Marian prayer. In Josquin's *Stabat mater*, there is to be sure an extra element of textual resonance that aligns the persona of *Comme femme desconfortée* directly with Mary as she stood under the Cross. But this specific textual parallelism, easily described and perceived, has obscured the polyvalent symbolic resonance between the chanson and Marian devotion that we have seen in the compositions by Agricola and Ghiselin. It is precisely this symbolic breadth that undergirds the long-lived tradition of incorporating *Comme femme desconfortée* into Marian polyphony. Indeed, Senfl's *Ave Rosa sine spinis* and Hieronymus Vinders' *Missa Stabat mater*, both Marian compositions modeled on Josquin's motet, show that the chanson tenor, while inextricably linked to Mary, could be transferred into Marian contexts other than devotion to Mary's sorrows.

⁶³ Numerous commentators have noted that the cantus firmus in some way represents Mary's sorrow without further examining how it does so. See, for example: Finscher et al., "Performance and Interpretation," 659; Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2:32; and Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 299.

⁶⁴ Long, "Symbol and Ritual," 2.

⁶⁵ Stephanie P. Schlagel, "The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance,'" *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 587–88 provides a useful discussion of the points of textual resonance between motet text and cantus firmus in Josquin's *Stabat mater*.

Senfl's *Ave rosa sine spinis* stands in a special relationship to Josquin's *Stabat mater*, since Senfl took Josquin's cantus-firmus structure as a direct model for his own work.⁶⁶ Its tenor is identical to Josquin's, transposing the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor up a fourth and augmenting it fourfold, but otherwise quoting it faithfully. As in Josquin's work, the mensuration is *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (♢), and its five voices cover essentially the same ranges as Josquin's. The four freely composed voices create a seamless, partially imitative polyphonic texture within which the augmented cantus firmus is embedded.

Senfl clearly knew Josquin's *Stabat mater* very well, for he included it in the *Liber selectarum cantionum* (Augsburg: Grimm and Wyrnung, 1520), one of the earliest German printed motet collections, consisting of four-, five-, and six-voice motets mostly by Josquin, Isaac, and Senfl.⁶⁷ Senfl, who was the musical editor of the publication, labeled Josquin's tenor voice "Comme femme" while underlaying its notes with incipits from the *Stabat mater* text.⁶⁸ Senfl evidently intended the tenor to sing the words of the *Stabat mater* while at the same time making it known that the origin of the voice in the chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* was important. Josquin's motet also appears in the manuscript MunBS 12, the production of which Senfl supervised shortly after his arrival at the Bavarian Court in the 1520s.⁶⁹ Here the cantus firmus is not labeled "Comme femme," although the partial *Stabat mater* text in the tenor voice is written in red, setting it visually apart from the other voices.⁷⁰ It is as an unicum in this same manuscript that Senfl's *Ave rosa sine spinis* appears, and just as in Josquin's composition, the tenor voice, though not labeled as *Comme femme desconfortée*, is underlaid with a partial *Ave rosa sine spinis* text written in red.

Although Senfl clearly admired Josquin's composition and considered his choice of cantus firmus significant, the *Ave rosa sine spinis* text is much more general in its Marian devotional imagery than is the *Stabat mater*. Composed in the stanzaic structure of a hymn, it is an acrostic

⁶⁶ A modern edition is given in Ludwig Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke*, 11 vols., ed. Walter Gerstenberg (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler, 1937–74), 11:38–47.

⁶⁷ On the influence of this print on Josquin reception in German-speaking lands in the 16th century, see Schlagel, "The *Liber selectarum cantionum*."

⁶⁸ *Liber selectarum cantionum*, fol. 157r. The *prima pars* of the tenor voice is underlaid with the words "Stabat mater dolorosa," while the *secunda pars* is underlaid with the single word "Eya" (fol. 161r).

⁶⁹ Josquin's composition appears on fols. 111v–122r. On this manuscript, see Martin Bente, Marie Louise Göllner, Helmut Hell, and Bettina Wackernagel, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, 3 vols., Kataloge bayerischer Musiksammlungen 5 (Munich: Henle, 1979–89), 1:74–75.

⁷⁰ In MunBS 12, one complete verse of the *Stabat mater* text is underlaid in each *pars*, in contrast to the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, in which only incipits are given in the tenor.

of the *Ave Maria*.⁷¹ The stanzas, of which there are seven, each begin with a word or phrase of the *Ave Maria*. Senfl sets the first six of these, omitting the last one built upon the closing word “Amen” (although Senfl does end the motet with the word “Amen”). The text of *Ave rosa sine spinis* expands upon the *Ave Maria*, emphasizing Mary’s sinlessness, her divine motherhood, and calling her “star of the sea” (*stella maris*). Absent is any mention of Mary’s suffering and thus the direct textual resonance between chanson text and motet text that is present in Josquin’s *Stabat mater*. Instead, Senfl enhances the general Marian devotional content of his motet by invoking the Marian associations of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor.

So too does Hieronymus Vinders in his five-voice *Missa Stabat mater*, a parody mass based on Josquin’s motet.⁷² Although Vinders takes the polyphonic texture of Josquin’s motet as his primary compositional model, he omits the *Comme femme desconfortée* cantus firmus for most of the mass. Rather, he works out Josquin’s points of imitation intensively in all five voices. Vinders does, however, introduce the cantus firmus at three distinct points during the mass. The first is in the “Et incarnatus est” section of the Credo, where the usually imitative texture switches to strict homophony, as was common for this portion of the mass in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.⁷³ Vinders subjects the opening portion of the cantus firmus to the same fourfold rhythmic augmentation that Josquin employs in his *Stabat mater*, although he splits the long notes into shorter repeated notes in order to accommodate the full text, as seen in Example 3. This portion of the Credo text provides the only mention of Mary’s name in the entire mass ordinary: “Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est” (“And he was incarnated of the Holy Spirit through the Virgin Mary, and he was made man”). By introducing the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor at this precise moment, Vinders underscores the single moment of Marian emphasis within the mass text.

⁷¹ The complete text is given in *AH*, 30:240.

⁷² Modern edition in Hieronymus Vinders, *Missa Stabat mater*, 5–6 *vocum*, ed. Willem Elders, *Exempla Musica Neerlandica* 7 ([Amsterdam]: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1972).

⁷³ The tradition of setting the “Et incarnatus est” homophonically goes back to Guillaume de Machaut’s 14th-century *Missa de Notre Dame* but became widespread only in the late 15th century. This section of the Credo was probably set homophonically because the officiant of the mass was required to kneel when these words were sung, and it was thus important that the text be clearly audible. Richard Sherr has documented this practice in the papal liturgy of the early 16th century; see Sherr, “Speculations on Repertory, Performance Practice, and Ceremony in the Papal Chapel in the Early Sixteenth Century,” in Bernhard Janz ed., *Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle: Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1989*, *Cappellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta, Collectanea II* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 114–16.

example 3. Hieronymus Vinders, *Missa Stabat mater*, "Et incarnatus est"

(= ∞)

Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu, de Spi-ri-

Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu de Spi-ri-

Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu

Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-

Et in-car-na-tus est de Spi-ri-tu, de Spi-ri-

9

- tu Sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

tu Sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

8

Sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

tu Sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

tu Sanc-to ex Ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

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et ho-mo fac-tus est. et ho-mo fac-tus est

et ho-mo fac-tus est et ho-mo fac-tus est.

8

et ho-mo fac-tus est.

et ho-mo fac-tus est, et ho-mo fac-tus est.

et ho-mo fac-tus est, et ho-mo fac-tus est.

et ho-mo fac-tus est, et ho-mo fac-tus est.

The second entry of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor in Vinders' mass is in the "Hosanna," at which point the mensuration shifts from *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (C) to *tempus perfectum* (O). The cantus firmus, which is subjected to fourfold rhythmic augmentation in Josquin's motet (and in the "Et incarnatus est" of the mass), is here reduced back to its original rhythmic values. The third entry of the chanson tenor occurs in Agnus Dei I, for which the texture increases to six voices as the tenor states an extended portion of the cantus firmus, once again rhythmically augmented. The three statements within the mass of the cantus firmus therefore all accompany stark textural shifts. Additionally, motives from the cantus firmus become more and more prominent within the polyphonic texture from the "Hosanna" to the Agnus Dei. The *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor, absent in the earlier movements of the mass, comes increasingly to inscribe Mary into the musical edifice in the later movements.

The one major composition listed in Table 1 yet to be discussed is Isaac's *Missa Comme femme desconfortée*, a mass that takes the chanson as its compositional model. Since cyclic masses always set the same text, the symbolic associations of their cantus firmi assume an even more prominent role than in motets in determining their theological/devotional meaning. In Vinders' *Missa Stabat mater*, the motet on which the mass is based provides a direct link to Marian devotion, in addition to the symbolic connection provided by the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor. In Isaac's *Missa Comme femme desconfortée*, the chanson tenor is our only hint of what the devotional content of the mass is, but the preceding discussion shows that it alone is enough to support an assignment to Mary.⁷⁴

In the late 15th century, it was quite common to open stanzas of vernacular poetry, both sacred and secular, by quoting the opening lines of well known chansons.⁷⁵ One such poetic work is a prayer to the Virgin (*Oraison a Nostre Dame*) by the Burgundian court poet, chronicler, and musician Jean Molinet (1435–1507) that quotes at the start of each of its stanzas the opening line of a different well known chanson.⁷⁶ These include *De tous biens plaine* by Hayne van Ghizeghem, *D'ung aultre*

⁷⁴ The Marian characteristics of the *Missa Comme femme desconfortée* are discussed in Rothenberg, "Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs," 334–37.

⁷⁵ Conversely, secular songs sometimes took their opening lines from well-known poems. Paula Higgins has pointed out that two of Ockeghem's chansons, *D'ung aultre amer* and *Fors seulement*, seem to draw their first lines of text from the earlier and widely-disseminated *Complainte* of Alain Chartier (1385–1433); see Paula Higgins, ed., *Chansonnier Nivelle de la Chaussée* (*Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. Vmc. ms.57, ca 1460*) (Geneva: Minkoff, 1984), iii.

⁷⁶ Complete text of the prayer given in Noël Dupire, ed., *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, 3 vols. (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1936–39), 2:472–82. The poem is discussed in Bloxam, "A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass," 24–27.

amer by Ockeghem, *Se la face ay pale* by Du Fay, the anonymous chanson *J'ay pris amours*, and, in one internal stanza, *Comme femme desconfortée*.⁷⁷ The language of courtly love in each of these chanson incipits is transformed into Marian praise, never more strikingly than in the stanza that quotes *Comme femme desconfortée*. Molinet writes (emphasis added):

<i>Comme femme desconfortee,</i>	You were as a woman in distress
Vous fustes ung jour qui passa,	one day in the past,
A cause de vostre portee,	Because of your son,
Qui fust, sans estre desportee,	Who was, without being
	consoled,
Mise en croix et la trespasa;	Put on the Cross and [who] rose
	above it;
Mais grant joye nous compassa	But great joy renewed us
Après sa resurrection.	After his resurrection.
O doulce fille de Sion,	Oh sweet daughter of Zion,
De vertus miniere et monjoye,	Miner of virtues and joy,
Vous estes, pour conclusion,	you are, in conclusion,
Mon seul plaisier, ma doulce	my sole pleasure, my sweet joy.
joye. ⁷⁸	

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Here Molinet contrasts Mary's sorrow at the Cross with the joy she brings to those who praise her. Just as in the sacred polyphony discussed above, this sacred poem uses *Comme femme desconfortée* to inscribe Mary's sorrow into a more general song of Marian praise.

When understood as a sacred symbol, *Comme femme desconfortée* brings Mary's suffering into a "more immediate and human realm," to quote Michael Long once again. When used in sacred polyphony, it became a very general Marian signifier, folding devotion to Mary's sorrows into a broad range of Marian devotional settings. Moreover, it encouraged those singing to empathize with Mary, for she was not the only one who suffered. Most nights of the year, medieval clerics sang the *Salve regina*, which states:

Ad te clamamus exules filii Eve.	To you we cry, we exiles, we
	children of Eve.
Ad te suspiramus gementes et	To you we sigh, groaning and
flentes in hac lacrimarum	weeping, in this vale of tears.
valle.	

⁷⁷ The appearances of chanson texts in Molinet's writings are listed in Fallows, *Catalogue*. On the use of chanson incipits in Molinet's writings, see Françoise Ferrand, "Le Grand Rhétoriqueur Jean Molinet et la chanson polyphonique à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne," *Musique, littérature et société au moyen âge: Actes du colloque*, 24–29 Mars 1980, ed. Danielle Buschinger and André Crépin (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1980), 395–407; Clemens Goldberg, "Militat omnis amans: Zitat und Zitieren in Molinets 'Le débat du viel Gendarme et du viel amoureux' und Ockeghem's Chanson 'L'autre d'antan'," *Die Musikforschung* 42 (1989): 341–49.

⁷⁸ *Les Faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. Dupire, 2:473.

Eya ergo advocata nostra, illos
tuos misericordes oculos ad
nos converte.

Et Ihesum benedictum fructum
ventris tui nobis post hoc
exsilium ostende.

O clemens, O pia, O dulcis
Maria.

Therefore, our advocate, turn
your merciful eyes to us.

And after this exile show us Jesus,
the blessed fruit of your
womb.

O merciful, o kind, o sweet Mary.

In sacred polyphony, *Comme femme desconfortée* symbolized the path from earthly sorrow to heavenly redemption that Mary herself traveled and that those praying and singing to her hoped to follow.

Angeli archangeli as a Marian Motet

Isaac divides *Angeli archangeli* into two *partes*, with the “A” section of *Comme femme desconfortée* serving as the cantus firmus in the *prima pars*, the “B” section as the cantus firmus in the *secunda pars*. In the formal sense, then, it resembles Josquin’s *Stabat mater* and Senfl’s *Ave rosa sine spinis*—or rather, they resemble it, since *Angeli archangeli* is the earliest of the three compositions. Unlike Josquin and Senfl, however, Isaac paraphrases the chanson tenor quite freely. After measures 12–28 (see Appendix), which present a slightly embellished but nevertheless rhythmically accurate quotation of measures 1–5 of the chanson tenor at six-fold augmentation (a semibreve in the original becomes an altered long), Isaac’s tenor moves into a loose paraphrase that treats the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor more or less as an arhythmic succession of notes. Despite liberties taken with the rhythmic structure of the cantus firmus, many of its notes are quite long, emphasizing its structural importance to the motet.

The *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor implies that *Angeli archangeli* was understood as a Marian motet, as do several aspects of its manuscript transmission. Table 2 lists all of its manuscript sources in chronological order. It is immediately striking that the earliest source, LeipU 1494 (“Apel Codex”), which was copied in the late 1490s and provides a *terminus ante quem* for composition of the motet, transmits it with an alternate text, *O regina nobilissima*.⁷⁹ This otherwise unknown prayer extols Mary with typical vocabulary, praising her as queen and speaking of the desire to join her in heaven:

Prima Pars

O regina nobilissima et domina

O most noble queen and singular
mistress,

⁷⁹ A modern edition of this version of the piece is available in Rudolf Gerber et al., eds., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, 3:369–78, which is the only published edition of the motet aside from that included in the Appendix of the present article.

singularis tu virgo, non fortuito inventa, sed a saeculis praelecta, et ab altissimo praecognita et sibi praeparata, a patribus praesignata, figuris enigmatibus prophetarum laudabiliter pronunciata.

you virgin, not found by chance, but eternally chosen, both recognized by the highest realms and prepared for them, prefigured by the fathers, gloriously announced by the enigmatic words of the prophets.

Secunda Pars

Ergo tui est evacuare tartarum, illuminare mundum, irradiare coelum, replere paradisum, diabolum contrerere ac ex ipsius ore peccatores rapere, et eos per poenitentiam patri omnium, ut mater piissima, velis in horam beatitudinis congregare.

It thus falls to you to evacuate the inferno, to illuminate the world, to light up the heavens, to fill up paradise, to crush the devil and rescue sinners from his very mouth, and, as the most holy mother, to guide them through penitence to the father of all in the hour of beatitude.

Although *O regina nobilissima* has generally been considered a contrafact text within the musicological literature, it resonates beautifully with the Marian associations of the *Comme femme desconfortée* cantus firmus.⁸⁰

What is more, LeipU 1494 may well have originated close to the musical circles of Maximilian I, whom Isaac served as court composer starting in 1496.⁸¹ Thus even if *O regina nobilissima* is not the original text, it should be considered a highly significant alternate text. It shows

⁸⁰ Martin Just suggests in a single article that *O regina nobilissima* may be the original text (see Martin Just, "Heinrich Isaacs Motetten in italienischen Quellen," *Analecta Musicologica* 1 [1961]: 2–3), noting the appropriateness of the cantus firmus to this text and pointing out that Josquin's *Stabat mater* and Senfl's *Ave rosa sine spinis*, both Marian motets, also use this cantus firmus. In his dissertation, he simply notes the resonance between the cantus firmus and the *O regina nobilissima* text, without indicating which text he believes to be the original (see Just, "Studien zu Heinrich Isaacs Motetten," 1:58 and 2:32). Emma Kempson mentions that LeipU 1494 transmits the *O regina nobilissima* text without commenting on whether it was the original text of the motet (see Emma Kempson, "The Motets of Heinrich Isaac [c. 1450–1517]: Transmission, Structure, and Function" [Ph.D. diss., Kings College, London, 1998], 253). The editors of the complete modern edition of LeipU 1494, however, suggest explicitly that *Angeli archangeli* is the original text (see Rudolf Gerber et al., ed., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, 3:412).

⁸¹ *O regina nobilissima* appears in the 21st fascicle of LeipU 1494 along with two other compositions by Isaac (*La Morra* and *La Spagna*, both with contrafact Latin texts). The fascicle is copied on paper that originated in Bavaria in 1496 (see Gerber et al., ed., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, 3:395–96). The repertory in general and the dating of the paper on which the manuscript is written suggest a connection to the musical circles of Maximilian I. The possibility of such a connection is discussed in Martin Just, "Bemerkungen zu den kleinen Folio-Handschriften," 34; Birgit Lodes, *Gregor Mewes' Concentus harmonici und die letzten Messen Jacob Obrechts* (Habilitationsschrift, Univ. of Munich, 2002), 256–58, esp. n367.

TABLE 2

Manuscript Sources of *Angeli archangeli*

Manuscript	Date	Comments
LeipU 1494 ("Apel Codex")	ca. 1490– 1504	Copied in German-speaking lands, perhaps close to the musical circles of Emperor Maximilian I. <i>Angeli archangeli</i> appears here with a different text: <i>O regina nobilissima</i> . It is part of the 21st fascicle, which also contains two other compositions by Isaac and is copied on paper dated to 1496.
VatS 234 ("Chigi Codex")	ca. 1498– 1503	Produced in the Low Countries in the workshop of Petrus Alamire. <i>Angeli archangeli</i> and Josquin's <i>Stabat mater</i> appear one after another, both with tenor voice labeled "Comme femme."
VatS 46	ca. 1508– 1527	A large motet manuscript in which compositions are liturgically ordered. Used in performance by the Sistine Chapel choir throughout much of the 16th century. <i>Angeli archangeli</i> (copied ca. 1517–19) appears among a group of 11 general Marian motets at the end of the manuscript.
FlorBN 232	ca. 1515	A large motet manuscript that seems to have originated in the Florentine Medici circles in which Isaac moved. It contains 11 compositions by Isaac.

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at the very least that the Marian associations of the cantus firmus (labeled "Chome feme" in LeipU 1494) were well known to musicians in Germany very shortly after Isaac wrote the piece. A plausible hypothesis is that Isaac composed the motet in the early to mid 1490s in Florence as *Angeli archangeli* and then changed the text to *O regina nobilissima* when he took up employment at the court of Maximilian, where as mentioned above, the antiphons *Angeli archangeli* and *Te gloriosus apostolorum* were absent from the liturgy.

It is also possible that *O regina nobilissima* was the original text of the motet, but its transmission in only one source speaks against this possibility. Moreover, a comparative study of text underlay speaks in favor of *Angeli archangeli* as the original text. Although both texts can be fit satisfactorily to the existing music, *Angeli archangeli* works better at three points in the piece. First, in measure 5, all four sounding voices create a

brief moment of homophonic texture, which fits the word “archangeli” (of *Angeli archangeli*) perfectly, whereas the word “nobilissima” (of *O regina nobilissima*) must be somewhat awkwardly underlaid. Second, in measures 174–90 of *Angeli archangeli*, a shift to triple mensuration accompanies the text “beata Trinitas unus Deus” (“blessed Trinity, single God”), creating a symbolic connection between the Trinity and triple meter.⁸² No such symbolic resonance with the mensural shift is present in the text of *O regina nobilissima*. Finally, the words “te prophetarum” in the superius and quinta vox in measures 92–98 seem to allude—albeit briefly—to the chant melody of *Te gloriosus apostolorum*, an allusion that is meaningless beneath the *O regina nobilissima* text.⁸³

That *Angeli archangeli* was the original text of the motet—or at least that it was a text well known by Isaac—is further indicated by its transmission in FlorBN 232, a manuscript that was compiled ca. 1515 in the Florentine Medici circles within which Isaac moved at this time.⁸⁴ Yet the placement of the motet within VatS 46 indicates quite strongly that the motet was considered a Marian composition even when texted as *Angeli archangeli*. VatS 46 is a motet manuscript that was compiled for the Sistine Chapel choir ca. 1508–27 and used in performance until the late 16th century.⁸⁵ Its contents follow the liturgical order of the occasions for which the compositions were appropriate, and it closes with a group of eleven Marian motets that were suitable for Marian devotions throughout the entire year. It is among this highly unified group of compositions that *Angeli archangeli* appears.⁸⁶ The composition immediately preceding it is Scribano’s *Paradisi porta[e] per Evam*, which sets an antiphon for the Assumption, and it is the liturgy, literature, and iconography of the Assumption that hold the final key to understanding Isaac’s motet.

⁸² Discussed in Willem Elders, *Studien zur Symbolik in der Musik der alten Niederländer* (Bilthoven: A. B. Creyghton, 1968), 99 and 152; idem, *Composers of the Low Countries*, trans. Graham Dixon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 71.

⁸³ See n23 above.

⁸⁴ On the contents, context, and origins of this manuscript, see Anthony Cummings, “A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration (Manuscript II. I. 232 [olim Magl. XIX. 58; Gaddi 1113] of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence): Bibliography and History,” *Acta Musicologica* 55 (1983): 267–332.

⁸⁵ Jeffrey Dean, ed., *Cappella Sistina MS 46*, facs. ed. Dean’s introduction to this edition is the most complete discussion of the origins and history of the manuscript.

⁸⁶ *Angeli archangeli* appears on fols. 122v–128r. The group of eleven Marian compositions (twelve including *Angeli archangeli*) covers fols. 115v–159r. The liturgical ordering of the manuscript is discussed in Jeffrey Dean, ed., *Cappella Sistina MS 46*, x–xii, which also includes an annotated list of the contents of the manuscript. A more detailed version of this same list is given in Jeffrey Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–27” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1984), 243–46. Despite the appearance of *Angeli archangeli* among these Marian motets, Dean continues to label it as a motet for All Saints.

The Assumption of the Virgin and the Assembly of Saints

The Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) was one of the most solemn days of the Church year ca. 1500. It was the highest ranking of the six Marian feasts then common, and the only one for which the vigil and octave were generally celebrated.⁸⁷ Yet unlike the feasts of the Purification, Annunciation, and Visitation, which celebrated events in Mary's life that are described in the Gospel of Luke, the Assumption has no basis in scripture.⁸⁸ The event that it celebrates—Mary's bodily assumption into heaven—is described only in apocryphal gospels and has been a point of theological contention for many centuries.⁸⁹ The apocryphal Assumption stories tell of the apostles gathering at Mary's side as she lay on her deathbed and of Christ descending on a cloud with angels to carry Mary's body up into heaven, but the texts in which these stories originated were not well known in the late Middle Ages.⁹⁰ Rather, the stories were disseminated primarily through Jacobus de Voragine's widely read *Legenda aurea* and through visual depictions of the Assumption, which drew heavily on Voragine's work.

Figure 2 shows the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin* (1510) by Albrecht Dürer, who beginning in 1512 was commissioned by Isaac's employer, the Emperor Maximilian I, to produce several large-scale works. Dürer published this woodcut in 1511 as part of his widely disseminated *Marienleben* cycle.⁹¹ The lower half of the scene shows the apostles gathered around Mary's tomb, which stands empty. They all

⁸⁷ There were five Marian feast days that were celebrated almost universally ca. 1500: the Feast of the [Immaculate] Conception (8 December), the Feast of the Purification (2 February), the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March), the Feast of the Assumption (15 August), and the Feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September). The Feast of the Visitation (2 July) also became widespread in the 15th century.

⁸⁸ Useful overviews of Mary in the scriptures are given in Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries*, 7–36; Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963–65), 1:1–31. See also the numerous relevant portions of Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, rev. ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1993).

⁸⁹ Though extremely prominent in medieval liturgy and devotion, Mary's Assumption remained a controversial subject among theologians throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. It was first adopted as dogma of the Catholic Church in 1950 with Pope Pius XII's Bull *Munificentissimus Deus*. On the history and theology of Mary's Assumption, see Martin Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge: étude historico-doctrinale* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944).

⁹⁰ These apocrypha are available in English translation in J. K. Elliott, ed. and trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 691–723. The most influential of these for the Latin Middle Ages was the *Narrative of Pseudo-Melito*, given on pp. 708–14.

⁹¹ The *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin* is the 19th of 20 woodcuts in Dürer's *Marienleben* cycle. A complete full-size facsimile edition is Albrecht Dürer, *Die Drei Grossen Bücher*, ed. Matthias Mende, Anna Scherbaum, and Rainer Schoch (Nördlingen: Dr. Alfons Uhl, 2001).

look upward, where a cloud elevates Mary into heaven. Above the cloud, the radiant Virgin dominates the scene, flanked by a multitude of angels and crowned Queen of Heaven by the equally radiant Holy Trinity. Dürer's woodcut is unusually elegant, but its iconographic depiction of the Assumption is entirely typical. Similar Assumption scenes showing Mary taken into heaven by angels and crowned by God were prominent all over Western Europe, including Isaac's adoptive home city of Florence.⁹² The Assumption scene shown here provides the context in which Isaac's juxtaposition of the *Angeli archangeli* text and the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor can finally be fully understood.

If we imagine *Angeli archangeli* as a musical depiction of Dürer's Assumption scene, the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor represents the central figure of Mary. Over this tenor, the Latin motet text sings to the angels and archangels who joyfully carry her to heaven after her death, to the other classes of saints that join her there, and finally to the Holy Trinity, which crowns her Queen of Heaven upon her Assumption. As she is raised into heaven, the sorrow of *Comme femme desconfortée* is contrasted with the joy that Mary brings to those greeting her there, much as it is contrasted with the joy of those praying to her in Jean Molinet's *Oraison a Nostre Dame* discussed above.

In Dürer's woodcut, as in most depictions of Mary's Assumption, the angels are an undistinguishable bunch, difficult to align with the nine distinct ranks of angels named at the outset of *Angeli archangeli*. Other select examples do, however, clearly differentiate the nine orders. One such depiction is the *Coronation of the Virgin* by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion, shown in Figure 3.⁹³ Painted in Cologne ca. 1465–70, this work displays an iconography similar to Dürer's. Mary is the central figure in the scene, crowned by the Holy Trinity and flanked by a multitude of angels. Yet here the angels are divided into nine distinct rows, four on each side and one beneath her holding up the platform on which she is elevated into heaven. At the bottom corners the donors of the painting kneel, looking with reverence upon the Assumption and

⁹² Two such depictions dating from the early 15th century figure prominently in the architecture of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. On the outside of the cathedral above the *Porta della Mandorla* is a relief sculpture by Nanni di Banco of Mary assumed into heaven by angels while she presents the sacred girdle to the apostle Thomas. On this work see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, ed., *La Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore a Firenze*, 2 vols. (Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1995), 2:148 and 129 (plate 145). From the inside of the cathedral, one can see the central stained glass window of the facade, a round window by Lorenzo Ghiberti depicting a radiant Mary assumed into heaven by angels and crowned by Christ, surrounded by twelve apostles and two prophets in the border. On this window, see *ibid.*, 2:276 and 283 (plate 5).

⁹³ The Master of the Lyversberg Passion was active in Cologne ca. 1460–90. The work is described in Kevin Perryman, trans., *Alte Pinakothek Munich: Explanatory Notes on the Works Exhibited* (Munich: K. M. Lipp, 1986), 332–33.

figure 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*.
Rosenwald Collection, Image © 2004 Board of Trustees, Na-
tional Gallery of Art, Washington



figure 3. Master of the Lyversberg Passion and Workshop, *Coronation of the Virgin with Donors*. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek Munich



Coronation of the Virgin taking place above. Mary is surrounded by the nine orders of angels, just as the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor is surrounded by voices singing to the nine orders in *Angeli archangeli*. But what of the other classes of saints named in the motet text? An answer to this question is provided by Jacobus de Voragine's widely read description of the Assumption.

Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, written in the 13th century, was among the most widely read books of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁹⁴ It is a manual on the liturgical celebrations of the church year ordered according to the liturgical calendar. For each feast day, Voragine generally recounts its biblical or apocryphal sources, cites church authorities who have written about the celebration, and recounts miracles that occurred either on that day or as a result of prayer to the saint(s) commemorated on that day. In his entry on the Assumption of the Virgin,

⁹⁴ A recent critical edition of the Latin text is *Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea*, 2 vols., ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998). The complete work is translated as William Granger Ryan, trans., *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993).

Voragine cites a homily of “Gerard, bishop and martyr,” presumably St. Gerard of Csanád, the first bishop of the diocese of Csanád in Hungary, who was martyred at Buda in 1046.⁹⁵ Almost all of Gerard’s writings are lost, including the homily cited in the *Legenda aurea*, but the following description of the praise Mary received upon her entry into heaven was widely read in Voragine’s work (emphasis added):

Qualiter autem in celesti gloria sublimata et honorata sit, ostendit beatus Gerardus episcopus in suis homeliis dicens: ‘Solut dominus Ihesus Christus potest hanc magnificare quemadmodum fecit, ut ab ipsa maiestate laudem continue accipiat et honorem, *angelicis* stipata choris, *archangelicis* uallata turmis, *thronorum* hinc inde possessa iubilationibus, *dominationum* circumcincta tripudiis, *principatuum* circumsepta obsequiis, *potestatum* amplexata plausibus, *uirtutum* girata honoribus, *cherubin* circumstantiata hymnificationibus, *seraphin* undique possessa ineffabilibus cantationibus. Ipsa quoque ineffabilissima *trinitas* perenni tripudio sibi applaudit atque sua gratia in ea tota redundante omnes eidem attendere facit. *Apostolorum* splendidissimus ordo ineffabili laude illam extollit, *martyrum* multitudo omnimode supplicat domine tante, *confessorum* exercitus innumerabilis continuum sibi personat canticum, *uirginum* candidissima concio iugem choream ad suam celebrat gloriam. . . .’

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(Indeed, Gerard in his homilies tells to what height of heavenly glory and honor she was elevated: ‘The Lord Jesus Christ alone can give such greatness as he gave [to his mother]—greatness such that she continuously receives praise and honor from the divine majesty itself, is attended by choirs of *angels*, compassed about by troops of *archangels*, accompanied on all sides by the jubilation of *thrones*, encircled by the dances of *dominations*, surrounded by the praises of *principalities*, by the plaudits of *powers*, by the honors of *virtues*, the hymns of the *cherubim* and the chants of *seraphim*. The ineffable *Trinity* also applauds her with unceasing dance, and the grace with which the three Persons totally infuse her draws the attention of all to her. The illustrious order of the *apostles* extols her with praise beyond expression, the throng of the *martyrs* offers every kind of worship to so great a queen, the innumerable army of *confessors* sounds a continuous chant to her, the shining assembly of *virgins* sings a ceaseless chorus in honor of her glory. . . .’)⁹⁶

The similarities between this passage and the text of *Angeli archangeli* are striking indeed. Not only does Gerard begin by naming the nine ranks of angels in the exact order that the antiphon *Angeli*

⁹⁵ L. Siekaniec, “Gerard of Csanád, St.,” *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 19 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967–95).

⁹⁶ Latin text from Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 2:790–1. Translation modified from Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2:85.

archangeli does, but he also proceeds to cite the Trinity, the apostles, martyrs, and virgins, all of whom are named in *Angeli archangeli* after the nine ranks of angels. Isaac most likely chose to set the two antiphon texts of *Angeli archangeli* around the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor precisely because they surround the cantus firmus in the same way that all of these heavenly figures surround Mary in the Assumption/Coronation scene depicted in the visual arts and described by Voragine in the *Golden Legend*.

Several years after composing *Angeli archangeli*, Isaac wrote another six-voice cantus-firmus motet that draws an even more direct connection between Mary's Assumption and veneration of the entire heavenly community. *Virgo prudentissima* was composed ca. 1507 in preparation for Maximilian I's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor.⁹⁷ Isaac chose as his cantus firmus *Virgo prudentissima*, the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers on the Feast of the Assumption.⁹⁸ Over this Assumption melody, the humanistic text⁹⁹ states (emphasis added):

Dicite, qui colitis splendentia culmina Olimpi,	Say, you who inhabit the splendid heights of Olympus:
Spirituum proceres, <i>Archangeli</i> et <i>Angeli</i> et almae	Noble Spirits, <i>Archangels</i> and <i>Angels</i> and gracious
<i>Virtutesque Throni</i> , vos <i>Principum</i> et agmina sancta,	<i>Virtues</i> , you <i>Thrones</i> of <i>Principalities</i> and holy armies,
Vosque <i>Potestates</i> et tu <i>Dominatio</i> coeli,	And you <i>Powers</i> and you heavenly <i>Domination</i> ,
Flammantes <i>Cherubin</i> verbo <i>Seraphinque</i> creati,	Fiery <i>Cherubim</i> and <i>Seraphim</i> created from the Word,
An vos laetitiae tantus perfuderit unquam	Whether such a sense of joy has ever filled
Sensus ut <i>aeterni Matrem</i> <i>vidisse tonantis</i>	You as when you saw the <i>assembly</i> <i>of the Mother</i>
<i>Consessum</i> , coelo, terraque, marique potentem	<i>Of the eternal almighty</i> , the Queen, Powerful in Heaven,
Reginam, cuius numen modo spiritus omnis	On land and at sea, whose divin- ity is deservingly venerated

⁹⁷ The motet is discussed most recently in Rothenberg, "Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs," 279–91; Schlagel, "The *Liber selectarum cantionum*," 575–76. For earlier bibliography on the piece, see Picker, *Henricus Isaac*, 94–95.

⁹⁸ CAO, antiphon no. 5424.

⁹⁹ The text of the motet, though sometimes attributed to the St. Gall humanist Joachim von Watt (Vadian), is most likely by Maximilian's Capellmeister Georg Slatkonja, who was also the first Bishop of the diocese of Vienna. See Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1970), 40; Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, 3 vols. (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1978), 2:64; Rothenberg, "Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs," 283n57.

Et genus humanum merito
veneratur adorat.

...

Praecipuum tamen est *Illi*,
quo assumpta fuisti,

Quo tu pulchra ut luna mi-
cas et electa es ut sol.

[And whom] every spirit and hu-
man being adores.

...

However, the highest place be-
longs to *Him by whom you were*
assumed,

To whom you shine, beautiful as
the moon, and are as excel-
lent as the sun.

Like *Angeli archangeli*, this motet refers to the Assumption scene without being liturgically limited to performance on the feast of the Assumption. Instead, the scene of Mary's Assumption into heaven and her place there among the angels and the entire assembly of saints are invoked in order to venerate the higher being, him by whom she was assumed, namely, God.

In *Virgo prudentissima*, it is the liturgical cantus firmus from the feast of the Assumption that symbolically reinforces the description of Mary in heaven. In *Angeli archangeli*, on the other hand, the scene is never described literally by the main motet text but is instead implied by the symbolic associations of the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor. The motet text is literally addressed to the angels, various classes of saints, and the entire community of the elect, praising the Holy Trinity in its final line. But it is Mary who stands directly below the Trinity at the forefront of this heavenly community, and it is her fundamentally important presence that the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor symbolizes. To invoke the Assumption is to invoke her Coronation, the moment at which she was crowned Queen of Heaven and of the entire community of saints residing therein. In combining the *Angeli archangeli* text with the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor, then, Isaac joins the veneration of Mary's Assumption with veneration of the heavenly assembly of saints. It is this fact that explains Isaac's choice of motet text, for the assembly of saints had its own commemoration: the feast of All Saints (1 November).

Aspects of the late medieval liturgy of the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) underscore the close relationship between the Assumption of the Virgin and the assembly of saints. Most remarkably, the Assumption mass opens in virtually all usages with the introit *Gaudeamus omnes*, precisely the same introit that opens the mass for All Saints (1 November). On the Feast of the Assumption, it has the following text (emphasis added): "Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum celebrantes sub honore *Marie virginis de cuius assumptione* gaudent angeli et collaudant filium Dei" (Let us all rejoice in the Lord, celebrating the feast day in honor of the *Virgin Mary*, about whose *Assumption* the angels rejoice and praise the son of God). On the feast of All Saints, the melody and

text are identical except that the italicized words are simply changed to “sanctorum omnium de quorum solemnitate . . .” (All Saints, about whose solemnity . . .).

What is more, the epistle of the Assumption mass, drawn from Ecclesiasticus 24:11–20, contains the following verse: “et radicavi in populo honorificato et in parte Dei mei hereditas illius et *in plenitudine sanctorum* detentio mea” (And I took root in an honourable people, and in the portion of my God his inheritance, and my abode is *in the full assembly of saints*).¹⁰⁰ The book of Ecclesiasticus, one of the so-called Wisdom texts of the Old Testament, is written in the first person as spoken by the figure of Wisdom (*Sapientia*) herself.¹⁰¹ When transplanted into the Assumption liturgy, however, the passage is to be read allegorically, with Mary taking on Wisdom’s persona. Wisdom’s place in the full assembly of saints comes to represent Mary’s place in heaven among the community of saints.

The two depictions of Mary’s Assumption given as Figures 2 and 3 do not show all the classes of saints listed by Voragine in his description of the Assumption cited above, but the depiction of All Saints shown in Figure 4 does. It is a representation of All Saints from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* by the mid 15th-century French miniaturist Jean Fouquet.¹⁰² Although the book has been dismantled and exists now only as a series of individual leaves, this illumination almost certainly accompanied a suffrage—a short devotion consisting of an antiphon and a prayer to be recited privately—to All Saints.¹⁰³ Fouquet’s illumination shows the community of All Saints assembled before the Trinity, which is enthroned in Glory. Here depicted as triplets cloaked in white, the three persons of the Trinity gaze to their right at Mary, who sits enthroned on the same wooden platform, also dressed in white. The winged figures of the four evangelists—eagle (Matthew), ox (Luke), lion (Mark), and man (John)—are positioned immediately above and below the Trinity, and the various classes of saints are assembled in rows

¹⁰⁰ Ecclesiasticus 24:16. Latin text drawn from the Vulgate Bible, English from the Douay-Rheims translation.

¹⁰¹ Ecclesiasticus, also called the book of Sirach, is one of the seven so-called deuterocanonical (or apocryphal) books of the Old Testament that appear in Catholic Bibles, including the Vulgate, but not in most Jewish or Protestant Bibles. The other six are the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Baruch, and I and II Machabees.

¹⁰² This sumptuously illuminated book of hours was executed by Fouquet beginning in 1452 for the French statesman Etienne Chevalier (ca. 1400/10–1474). In the 18th century the book was dismantled and the miniatures cut out. It survives as a collection of individual leaves, most of which are held by the Musée Condé in Chantilly. See Charles Sterling and Claude Schaefer, *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier* (New York: George Braziller, [1971]), esp. 18–20; Claude Schaefer, *Jean Fouquet: An der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1994), 40–138 and 306–9.

¹⁰³ See n22.

figure 4. Jean Fouquet, *Recognition of the Trinity by All Saints*, from the Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier, fol. 27r. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY



on either side of the platform on which the Trinity and Mary sit and in a crowd immediately before it. The orders of angels hover in concentric circles around the central platform, their arms folded at their chests, their wings folded upward behind their heads. The two highest orders, the cherubim and seraphim, are positioned closest to center, glowing bright orange, as if absorbing the radiance of Mary and the Trinity. If one counts outward from the cherubim and seraphim to the upper left hand corner of the scene, one can discern nine distinct circles of angels, the last two of which are the angels and archangels.¹⁰⁴

Although Fouquet's depiction accompanied a devotion to All Saints, it matches the Assumption scene as described in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* and is thus a graphical representation of what is depicted musically by Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*. The *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor, featured in long note values in the middle of the polyphonic texture, represents Mary. Around it, the other five voices name the ranks of angels and classes of saints who greeted her upon her assumption into heaven, and who are shown surrounding her in Fouquet's illumination.

Conclusion

Understanding *Angeli archangeli* as an Assumption motet explains several puzzling aspects of its construction and dissemination. It clarifies first of all why Isaac combined the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor with this text drawn from the All Saints liturgy. It also explains why the motet is included among a group of Marian compositions at the close of the manuscript VatS 46. Finally, it helps us to understand why it would be given the unambiguously Marian text *O regina nobilissima* in LeipU 1494.

Although the Feast of the Assumption was celebrated on August 15, the miracle of the Assumption was venerated throughout the entire year. Quoting what he believes to be an epistle of Saint Jerome, Voragine writes: "We celebrate this feast [of the Assumption] as it comes round once a year, but it is celebrated unceasingly by [the heavenly community]."¹⁰⁵ Images of the Assumption were commonplace in late medieval visual culture, appearing, among other places, as the standard

¹⁰⁴ The most useful discussion of this image is Schaefer, *Jean Fouquet*, 102.

¹⁰⁵ "Quoniam festiuitas hec que nobis hodie reuoluitur annua illis omnibus est facta continua" (Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 2:790). English modified from Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 2:84. This quotation is actually drawn from chapter 51 of Paschasius Radbertus, *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, ed. Albert Ripberger, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 56C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), which in the Middle Ages was wrongly attributed to Saint Jerome.

illustration for the daily Marian office of Compline in books of hours.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, in most churches a Marian antiphon was sung each night after Compline, which for most of the year was either the *Salve regina*, *Regina caeli*, or *Ave regina caelorum*, all of which praise Mary as Queen of Heaven. As a motet celebrating the Assumption—the moment at which Mary became Queen of Heaven—*Angeli archangeli* would likewise be appropriate throughout the entire year. It is tempting to assume, given its six-voice texture and grand scale, that it was composed for a specific historical occasion, perhaps an especially sumptuous celebration of the Feast of the Assumption sometime in the 1490s. But the Assumption of the Virgin was such an important miracle in the late Middle Ages that it was always worthy of devotional splendor. Without further evidence for a specific historical occasion, it must suffice to understand the theological/devotional meaning that *Angeli archangeli* communicates, for it continued to provide a stunning musical depiction of the Assumption every time it was subsequently performed. The singers of the Sistine Chapel no doubt felt the wonder of the Assumption whenever they sang its mellifluous tones from the pages of VatS 46, as did the numerous others who surely sang it at times and in places that the limitations of the historical record prevent us from identifying.

559

There are many sacred musical works from ca. 1500 that, like *Angeli archangeli*, set liturgical texts or have secular cantus firmi that seem theologically unspecific. Yet detailed historical investigation of their texts and—perhaps surprisingly—their secular cantus firmi can reveal a great deal about their theological/devotional meaning. Such analysis might not always tell us exactly when or where these pieces were composed, but it addresses the more important question of how their audiences half a millennium ago understood them as musical-devotional artworks.

Colby College

ABSTRACT

Henricus Isaac's grand six-voice motet *Angeli archangeli* (Angels, archangels) sets a text from the liturgy of the Feast of All Saints (November 1), but its only preexistent musical material is a cantus firmus in the tenor voice, drawn from the tenor of the mid 15th-century chanson *Comme femme desconfortée* (As a woman in distress), attributed to Binchois. Scholars have assumed that *Angeli archangeli* is a motet for All Saints but have been at a loss to explain why Isaac chose the cantus

¹⁰⁶ The traditional iconography of the hours of the Virgin within books of hours is discussed in Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 60–66.

firmus he did. This study attempts to explain Isaac's puzzling juxtaposition of Latin text and secular cantus firmus by suggesting that *Angeli archangeli* is not a motet for All Saints, but rather for the Assumption of the Virgin.

Liturgical analysis of the motet text reveals that its connection to the Feast of All Saints (November 1) is weaker than has previously been assumed. Additionally, examination of numerous other sacred works that incorporate the *Comme femme desconfortée* tenor demonstrates that it was widely understood as a Marian cantus firmus ca. 1500. The Marian associations of the cantus firmus help to explain why one manuscript source (VatS 46) groups the work with other Marian motets, and why another (LeipU 1494) transmits it with a Marian contrafact text (*O regina nobilissima*). Finally, by relating the musical construction of *Angeli archangeli* to the Assumption of the Virgin as depicted in late medieval liturgy, iconography, and in Jacobus de Voragine's widely read *Legenda aurea*, it is suggested that the text of *Angeli archangeli*, though drawn from the All Saints liturgy, actually describes Mary's assumption into heaven. Sacred text and secular cantus firmus thus collaborate in communicating a complex but clear theological/devotional meaning.

Appendix

Complete Edition of *Angeli archangeli*

Critical Commentary

Source: FlorBN 232, fols. 13v–17r (Yzach)

Concordances:

-VatC 234, fols. 241v–245r (H. Yzaac)

-VatS 46, fols. 122v–128r (Ysaac)

-LeipU 1494, fols. 249v–251r (anon.; texted *O regina nobilissima*)

Notes:

1. Bassus lacks text in entire *prima pars*; supplied from VatC 234.
2. Sexta vox lacks text in mm. 40–70; supplied from VatC 234.
3. Superius lacks text in mm. 51–53 and m. 50 is mistakenly texted “omnes,” repeating text from stave immediately above it. Text for mm. 50–54 supplied from VatS 46.
4. Tenor lacks text in entire *secunda pars*; supplied from VatS 46.
5. Quinta vox lacks text in mm. 139–end; supplied from VatS 46.
6. M. 163 contains faulty counterpoint between the quinta vox and the lower three voices. This identical error is present in both VatC 234 and VatS 46. LeipU 1494 contains a variant version that is more contrapuntally sound (see Rudolf Gerber et al., eds., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, 3:377).
7. Tenor in m. 171, “s” of “unanimis” is accidentally omitted.

Angeli archangeli

Henricus Isaac
(ed. David J. Rothenberg)

[Superius] An - ge - li, arch - an - ge - li

[Quinta vox] An - ge - li, arch - an - ge - li

[Altus] An - ge - li, arch - an - ge - li

[Tenor] [C]omme femme

[Sexta vox] An - ge - li, arch - an - ge - li

[Bassus]

Appendix (continued)

6

S. li [arch - an - ge - li],

Q.V. [arch - an - ge - li],

A. [arch - an - ge - li], thro -

T.

S.V. [arch - an - ge - li],

B. [Thro - ni

10

S. prin - ci - pa - tus,

Q.V. prin - ci - pa -

A. ni et do - mi - na - ti - o - nes, prin - ci - pa -

T. An -

S.V. prin -

B. et do-mi-na - ti - o nes,

Appendix (continued)

14

S. et po - te - sta - tes,

Q.V. tus et po - te - sta - tes, vir -

A. tus et po - te - sta - tes, vir -

T. ge li,

S.V. - ci - pa - tus et po - te - sta - tes,

B. che -

563

18

S. vir - tu - tes, che -

Q.V. tu - tes, che -

A. - tu - tes, che - ru - bin

T. arch an -

S.V. vir - tu - tes,

B. ru bin

Appendix (continued)

22

S. 

- ru - bin at - que se -

Q.V. 

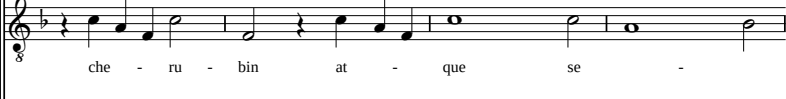
- ru - bin at - que se - ra -

A. 

at - que se - ra -

T. 

at - que se - ra -

S.V. 

che - ru - bin at - que se -

B. 

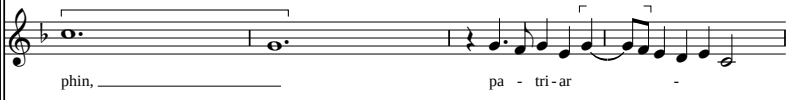
at - que se - ra -

564

26

S. 

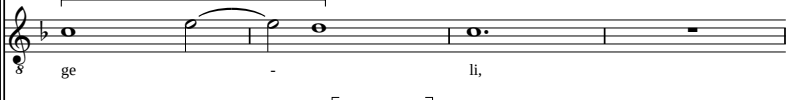
ra - phin, pa - tri -

Q.V. 

phin, pa - tri - ar -

A. 

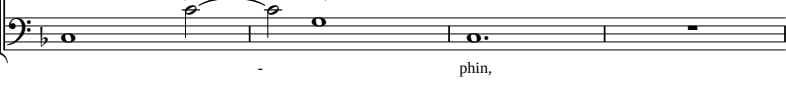
phin, pa - tri - ar -

T. 

ge - li,

S.V. 

ra - phin, pa - tri - ar -

B. 

phin,

Appendix (continued)

30

S. ar - che, et pro - phe - te, sanc - ti

Q.V. - che et pro - phe - tes, sanc - ti

A. che et pro - phe - te, sanc -

T. vir -

S.V. - che, sanc - ti - le - gis

B. sanc -

565

35

S. le - gis doc - to - res,

Q.V. le - gis doc - to -

A. ti le - gis doc - to - res,

T. gi -

S.V. doc - to -

B. ti le - gis doc - to -

Appendix (continued)

39

S. a - po - sto - li om - nes, Chri - sti

Q.V. res, a - po - sto - li om -

A. a - po - sto - li om - nes, Chri -

T. -

S.V. res, [om - nes Chri -

B. -

566

43

S. mar - ty - res, sanc -

Q.V. nes, — Chri - sti mar - ty - res,

A. - sti mar - ty - res sanc - ti

T. - nes Do - mi - ni,

S.V. sti mar - ty - res, —

B. - res,

Appendix (continued)

47

S. ti con - fes - so - res, [vir -

Q.V. vir - gi - nes

A. con - fes - so - res, vir - gi - nes

T. in

S.V. con - fes - so - res, vir - gi - nes

B. vir

567

51

S. gi - nes,] Do -

Q.V. Do - mi -

A. Do - mi - ni,

T. - ter - ce - di -

S.V. Do - mi - ni,

B. gi - nes Do -

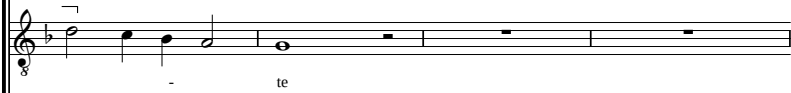
Appendix (continued)

55

S.  mi - ni, a - na - cho -

Q.V.  ni, a - na - cho -

A.  a - na - cho - ri - te, sanc -

T.  te

S.V.  a - na - cho - ri - te, sanc - ti -

B.  mi - ni,

568

59

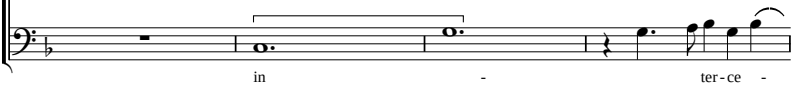
S.  ri - te,

Q.V.  ri - te, sanc - ti-que om -

A.  ti - que om - nes in - ter - ce -

T.  pro

S.V.  que om - nes, in - ter-ce-di - te pro -

B.  in - ter-ce -

Appendix (continued)

63

S. in - ter - ce - di - te pro _____

Q.V. nes, in -

A. - di - te pro _____ no - bis

T. no - bis. _____

S.V. _____

B. - di - te pro _____ no -

569

[Secunda Pars]
(= = o)

67

S. no - bis. _____

Q.V. ter - ce - di - te pro _____ no - bis. _____ Te

A. pro - no - bis. _____ Te _____

T. _____ [Te _____

S.V. _____ no - bis.] _____ Te _____

B. bis (no - bis.) _____

Appendix (continued)

72

S.

Q.V.

A.

T.

S.V.

B.

79

S.

Q.V.

A.

T.

S.V.

B.

Appendix (continued)

86

S. - rum cho - rus, te

Q.V. rum cho - rus, _____

A. cho - rus, te _____

T. po - sto - lo - rum cho - rus, _____

S.V. - rum _____ cho - rus,

B. rum _____ cho - rus, _____

571

93

S. pro-phe - ta - rum [te pro-phe - ta - rum] lau -

Q.V. te pro-phe - ta - rum lau - da - bi - lis

A. pro - phe - ta - rum lau - da - bi - lis - nu -

T.

S.V.

B.

Appendix (continued)

101

S. da - bi - lis nu - me - rus

Q.V. nu - me - rus [nu - me - rus],

A. me - rus, te mar - ty -

T. lau -

S.V. te

B. te

108

S. te mar - ty -

Q.V. te mar - ty -

A. - rum [te mar - ty - rum]

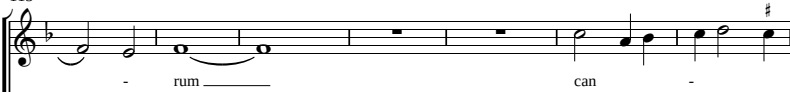
T. - da - bi - lis nu -

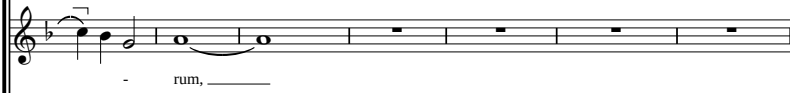
S.V. mar - ty -

B. mar - ty -

Appendix (continued)

115

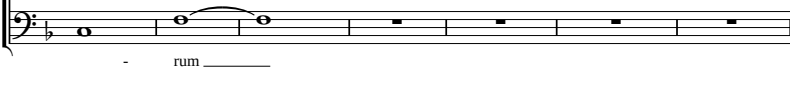
S. 
- rum _____ can -

Q.V. 
- rum, _____

A. 
can - di - da - tus _____

T. 
me - rus, _____

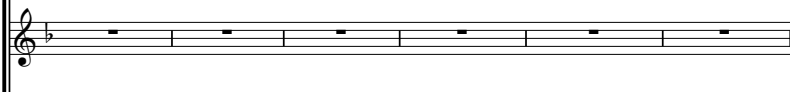
S.V. 
rum can - di -

B. 
- rum _____

573

122

S. 
- di - da -

Q.V. 

A. 
[can] - di -

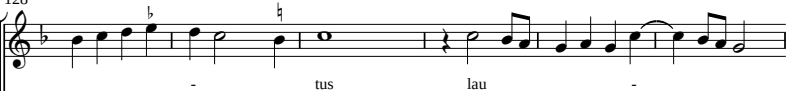
T. 

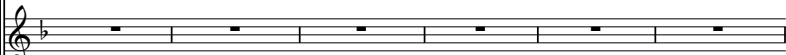
S.V. 
da -

B. 
lau - dat _____ ex -

Appendix (continued)

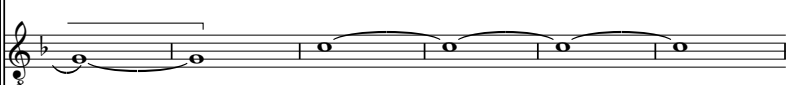
128

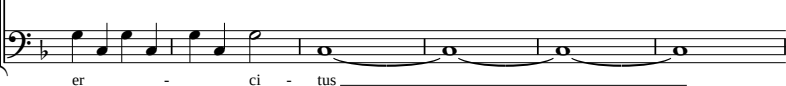
S. 
- tus lau -

Q.V. 

A. 
- da -

T. 

S.V. 

B. 
er - ci - tus

134

S. 
dat [lau - dat, lau - dat] ex - er -

Q.V. 
lau - dat ex - er - ci - tus [lau - dat ex -

A. 
tus] lau - dat ex - er - ci - tus

T. 
lau - dat

S.V. 
tus lau - dat [lau - dat, lau - dat]

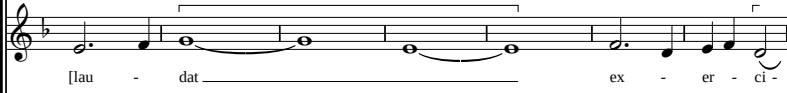
B. 
[lau - dat, lau - dat, lau - dat, lau -

Appendix (continued)

141

S. 
- ci - tus, te om - nes

Q.V. 
er - ci - tus ex - er - ci - tus], ___

A. 
[lau - dat ex - er - ci -

T. 
ex - er - ci -

S.V. 
ex - er - ci - tus,

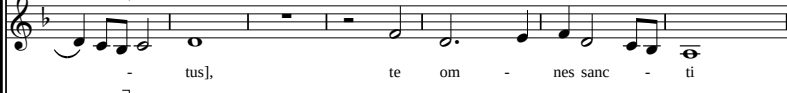
B. 
dat], te om -

575

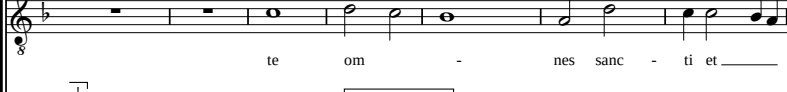
148

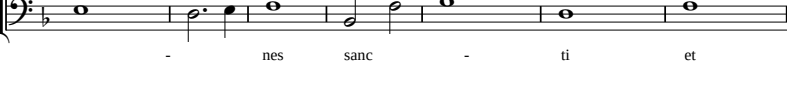
S. 
sanc - ti ___

Q.V. 
te

A. 
- tus], te om - nes sanc - ti

T. 
- tus ___

S.V. 
te om - nes sanc - ti et ___

B. 
- nes sanc - ti et

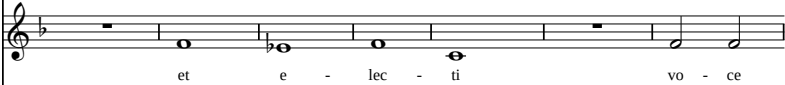
Appendix (continued)

155

S. 

Q.V. 

om - nes sanc - ti et e - lec - ti

A. 

et e - lec - ti vo - ce

T. 

S.V. 

e - lec - ti vo - ce con - fi -

B. 

e - lec - ti vo - ce con - fi - ten -

576

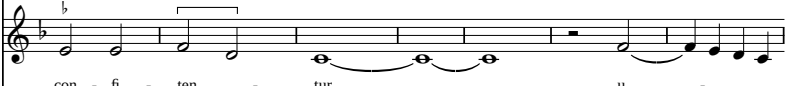
162

S. 

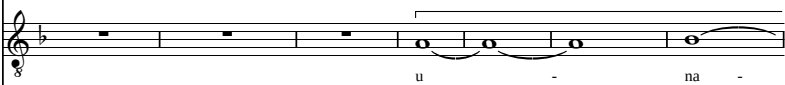
u - na - ni - mes,

Q.V. 

vo - ce con-fi - ten - tur u - na - ni -

A. 

con - fi - ten - tur u -

T. 

u - na -

S.V. 

- ten - tur

B. 

- tur u - na - ni -

Appendix (continued)

169

[$\text{lo} = \text{do}$]

S. be - a - ta

Q.V. mes,

A. na - ni - mes, be - a - ta

T. ni - mes, be - a - ta Tri -

S.V. u - na - ni - mes,

B. mes,

577

176

S. Tri - ni - tas, u -

Q.V. be - a - ta Tri - ni - tas,

A. Tri - ni - tas, u -

T. ni - tas,

S.V. be - a - ta Tri - ni - tas,

B. be - a - ta Tri - ni - tas,

Appendix (continued)

185

S. *[♩. = ♩]*
- nus ____ De - us, A -

Q.V.
u - nus ____ De - us, A -

A.
nus ____ De ____ us, A -

T.
u - nus ____ De - us, A -

S.V.
u - nus De - us,

B.
u - nus De - us, A -

578

193

S.
- men. ____

Q.V.
- men. ____

A.
- men. ____

T.
- men.] ____

S.V.
A - - - - - men. ____

B.
- - - - - men. ____