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## A 'Parody' on Josquin's *Inviolata* in Barcelona 1967: An Unknown Mass by Philippe Verdelot?

BERNADETTE NELSON

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY choirbooks copied in the Iberian peninsula are proving increasingly to contain previously unrecognized concordances of compositions of Franco-Flemish origin as well as *unica* whose significance, therefore, has very largely been overlooked. While many of these sources are frequently regarded as 'peripheral' (and thus outside the nucleus normally seriously considered for editorial and historical purposes), others may often be seen to contain vital clues for both recognizable or otherwise unknown stemmata and therefore possible routes of transmission. Furthermore, and especially where a source or a group of sources may be linked to a particular institution or choral foundation, we are invariably presented with important historical evidence of musical tastes which – certainly in the case of imported foreign repertoires – frequently demonstrates cultural inter-connections of wide-reaching significance. While it is well known that the music of Josquin and his contemporaries was one of the favoured repertoires plucked on the vihuela and formed the basis of numerous

Aspects of this article were presented in papers delivered at the International Conference in Lérida (Spain), 'Fuentes musicales en la Península Ibérica, ca. 1250 – ca. 1550', in April 1996, the Twenty-Third International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, University of Southampton, in July 1996, and the Sixteenth International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Royal College of Music, London, in August 1997. The following manuscript sigla from the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, 5 vols., ed. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979–88), are used here:

- BarcBC 708 and 1166: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya MSS 708 and 1166 (the latter originally bound with MS 1967, hereafter designated BarcBC 1967)
- BarcOC 7: Barcelona, Biblioteca de L'Orfeo Català MS 7
- BolC Q 25: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 25
- BolSP 24: Bologna, Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio MS 24
- CoimU 9: Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade MS 9
- EscSL 1: Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca e Archivo de Música MS 1
- FlorD 14: Florence, Duomo, Archivio Musicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore MS 14
- MadM 6832: Madrid, private library of Don Bartolomé March Servera (olim Biblioteca de la Casa del Duque de Medinaceli) MS 6832
- MunBS 1536: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung Mus.ms. 1536
- NYorkH 278 and 288: New York, Hispanic Society Library MSS 278 and 288
- RegB 786–837: Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proske-Musikbibliothek MSS 786–837
- RomeV 35–40: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana MSS 35–40
- VatG XII 3: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII.3
- VatS 19, 46 and 55: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Cappella Sistina 19, 46 and 55
- VeraA 218: Verona, Società Accademia Filarmonica, Biblioteca e Archivio MS 218.

keyboard intabulations by Antonio de Cabezón, Francisco do Soto and others,<sup>1</sup> the extent to which Franco-Flemish repertories played an integral and frequently indispensable part in musico-liturgical contexts in important Spanish cathedrals and court chapels is less frequently explored, with more attention perhaps being paid to the output of native-born musicians in such environments.<sup>2</sup> The influence of this music, and the general etiquette and ceremony of the northern court, particularly where the Spanish royal chapel was concerned, is an area of musicology that offers numerous avenues for exploration.<sup>3</sup>

Barcelona 1967 (=1166/1967), a choirbook sometimes referred to as the *Cançoner de Gandia* that has only recently received scholarly attention,<sup>4</sup> is a unique source for a parody Mass on Josquin's setting of the Marian sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*.<sup>5</sup> The Mass is written

<sup>1</sup> Intabulations and arrangements of music by such Franco-Flemish composers as Josquin, Gombert, Févin and Willaert, among others, are found especially in Luys de Narváez, *Los seys libros del delphin* (Valladolid, 1538), ed. Emilio Pujol, Monumentos de la música española (hereafter MME), 3 (Barcelona, 1971); Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville, 1546), ed. Emilio Pujol, MME, 7 (Barcelona, 1984); Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de serenatas* (Valladolid, 1547), ed. Emilio Pujol, MME, 22–3 (Barcelona, 1965); Luys Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares, 1557), ed. Higinio Anglés, MME, 2/ii (Barcelona, 1944; repr. 1984); Antonio de Cabezón, *Obras de música* (Madrid, 1578), ed. Felipe Pedrell and Higinio Anglés, MME, 27–9 (Barcelona, 1966; repr. 1982); and Maria Ester Sala, *Glosados* (Madrid, 1974). This in itself is evidence of the wide circulation of both secular and sacred music in Spain, though there are now relatively few exemplars of repertories in their original form extant in the Iberian peninsula (see also below, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> Evidence for these repertories also survives in inventories of collections once forming part of the holdings of court chapels, cathedrals and other institutions. Some of the most famous of these include those compiled for the courts of Mary of Hungary and Philip II, and those surviving in the archives of such cathedrals as Tarazona and Avila. Some, however, appear to date only from the second half of the sixteenth century. Inventories are reproduced in, for example, Edmond Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, ii (Brussels, 1885), and viii (Brussels, 1888; both vols. repr. New York, 1969, with introduction by Edward E. Lowinsky), 365–81, and Pedro Calahorra, 'Los fondos musicales en el siglo XVI de la Catedral de Tarazona. I: Inventarios', *Nassarre*, 8 (1992), 9–56. Probably the most important surviving collection of manuscripts containing northern repertories in Spain is that copied for Toledo cathedral in the mid sixteenth century: see the entries for the Toledo cathedral archive in the *Census-Catalogue* and Robert Stevenson, 'The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and Some Other Lost or Little Known Flemish Sources', *Fontes artis musicae*, 20 (1973), 87–107. For references to literature concerning the reception of Franco-Flemish polyphony in Spain and Portugal, and a further manuscript source of chansons, see Juan Ruiz-Jiménez, 'The Mid-Sixteenth Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain: The Evidence of Ms 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 51/1 (2001), 25–41.

<sup>3</sup> A number of publications have touched on this area, including Robert Stevenson, 'Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal', *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky in collaboration with Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford, 1976), 217–46, and Bernadette Nelson, 'Ritual and Ceremony in the Spanish Royal Chapel, c.1559–c.1561', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 105–200.

<sup>4</sup> This source is not currently listed in the *Census-Catalogue* as it was only comparatively recently transferred to the Biblioteca de Catalunya. An inventory and description first appeared in José Llorens Cisteró, 'El Cançoner de Gandia', *Revista de musicologia*, 1 (1981), 79–84, where the discovery that BarcBC 1166 once formed part of the same choirbook was announced. Both manuscripts (BarcBC 1166/1967) are thus included in all subsequent inventories – among them Maricarmen Gómez Muntané's edition *Bartomeu Càreres: Opera omnia* (Barcelona, 1995). For an edition of music from this choirbook, see Josep Climent Barber, ed., *Cançoner de Gandia* (Valencia, 1995). See also below, note 10.

<sup>5</sup> The identification of the thematic inspiration of the Mass was given in the author's paper delivered at the Lérída conference in 1996 and at the International Musicological Society Conference held in London in August 1997. A performing edition of *Missa Inviolata*, transposed up one tone, is published by Mapa Mundi editions, series B, no. 26 (Lochs, Isle of Lewis, 2001).

in a skilled Franco-Flemish hand and scored for six voices but, like the bulk of the repertory in this source, it was apparently copied anonymously and without title or any other identifying inscriptions. The context is a complex of predominantly sacred music by composers ranging from Bartomeu Càreres, a Valencian musician (and copyist) attached to the court of the duke of Calabria in Valencia in the early 1540s, to Pedro de Pastrana, a certain 'Alonso' and the Netherlandish composer Noel Bauldeweyn, inscribed here as 'Noel Valdovin'.<sup>6</sup> In addition, recent concordance search has also revealed sacred music by Philippe Verdelot, Costanzo Festa and Cristóbal de Morales.<sup>7</sup> The strong presence of music by Càreres and the inclusion of one identified piece by Pastrana, who was the duke's *maestro de capilla* in the 1530s (and later that of Prince Philip (Philip II)),<sup>8</sup> are among the strongest reasons for linking this choirbook with the Valencian court,<sup>9</sup> as is also the fact that among the anonymous works there is a number of other pieces of probably local origin, including eight villancicos<sup>10</sup> and a sequence of psalm-tone *fabordones*. However, there is also a selection of other sacred liturgical pieces of almost certainly northern Italian (or Franco-Flemish) provenance besides the motets: these include polyphonic litanies, a setting of the genealogy of St Matthew and, most unusually, a set of chant Propers for the feast of the Espousals of the Virgin.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, this last sequence incorporates two Introit settings by the choirmaster Càreres – a fact suggestive of the importation and subsequent absorption of a foreign repertory.

The more international significance of the source is thus only beginning to be appreciated. This may well hold clues for the origin and provenance of the *Inviolata* Mass, and begs further investigation into possible routes of transmission of the musical repertory as a whole to

<sup>6</sup> The motet by Bauldeweyn in this manuscript (BarcBC 1967, ff. 31<sup>v</sup>–38), *Sancta Maria virgo virginum*, is also an *unicum*. For a context and discussion of this piece see Bernadette Nelson, 'Pie memorie', *Musical Times*, 136 (1995), 338–44.

<sup>7</sup> These are Festa's setting of *Surge amica mea* (BarcBC 1967, ff. 27<sup>v</sup>–31), Verdelot's *Gabriel archangelus* (*ibid.*, ff. 168<sup>v</sup>–169) and the set of Lamentations for Maundy Thursday, *Coph. Vocavi amicos meos* (*ibid.*, ff. 184<sup>v</sup>–189) by Morales. (Concordances for the last named are included in VatG XII 3, BarcBC 708, BarcOC 7 and MadM 6832.) For details of concordance search see Bernadette Nelson, 'A Choirbook for the Chapel of Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria: The Sacred Repertories in Barcelona 1166/1967', *Fuentes musicales en la península ibérica (ca. 1250–ca. 1550)/Fuentes musicales a la península ibérica: Actas del coloquio internacional . . . /Actes del col·loqui internacional, Lleida, 1–3 abril, 1996* (Lleida, 2001), 219–52.

<sup>8</sup> See Maricarmen Gómez, 'Pastrana, Pedro de', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edn, London, 2001) (hereafter NG2), xix, 227–8, and Higini Anglés, *La música en la corte de Carlos V*, i (Barcelona, 1944; repr. 1984), 98f.

<sup>9</sup> This opinion was first expressed by Llorens Cisteró, in 'El Cançoner de Gandia', 71. For a brief account of the life of the duke of Calabria and his court in Valencia, see Luis Gásser, *Luis Milán on Sixteenth-Century Performance Practice* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1996), 6–9.

<sup>10</sup> It is probably the villancico repertory in this source that has prompted some scholars to refer to the source as the *Cançoner de Gandia* (it was originally recovered from the collegiate church in Gandia south of Valencia). This is clearly a misnomer as it is neither a *cançoner* nor a *cancionero* in the manner of the *Cancionero de Palacio* or the *Cancionero de Uppsala*. The bulk and most important part of the collection is the repertory of sacred music that also includes plainchant.

<sup>11</sup> *Missa de desponsatione Beatae Mariae*, BarcBC 1967, ff. 125<sup>v</sup>–126<sup>v</sup>. Documentary evidence would suggest that chants for the Proper of this Mass were first written only in the early 1540s in Venice. For further details, and a connection with Willaert, see Bonnie Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 895.



the duke of Calabria's court circle. Circumstantial evidence would suggest that the choirbook was one of a number of musical manuscripts copied expressly to prepare for the transfer, in 1546, of the royal residence from the city to the newly founded Hieronymite monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes near Valencia, whose church was intended as a mausoleum for the duke's family.<sup>12</sup> By exactly what means the repertory reached Valencia has yet to be ascertained, but it would seem likely that the intimate connections between the duke and the court of the dukes of Ferrara, where his mother and family took refuge for 25 years,<sup>13</sup> were instrumental in encouraging numerous links and associations with well-known musicians circulating in that orbit. These included Willaert,<sup>14</sup> Maistre Jhan,<sup>15</sup> Jan Nasco<sup>16</sup> and Jacquet de Mantua, the composer of *Missa Ferdinandus dux Calabriae*.<sup>17</sup> A Venetian

<sup>12</sup> According to Fray José de Sigüenza's account of the foundation of the monastery, the duke started to have a collection of 'large books' of music copied for his music library containing 'music of his time' (*canto de su tiempo*). See Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo (Segunda parte, 1600)*, Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles, 12 (Madrid, 1969), 134. The establishment of the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes c.1545 arose from the joint wish of Fernando and his consort Queen Germana de Foix (some time in the 1530s) to found a Hieronymite monastery which would eventually serve as a mausoleum for themselves and for their families. It was only after Germana's death in October 1536 that moves were made to fulfil this wish, and the duke had first to seek the emperor's and papal approval as the site chosen was a Cistercian monastery of which Pastrana was abbot. The Pope issued a bull on 1 November 1545 dismissing the Cistercians and granting permission to install a new Order of Hieronymites. From this date the name of the monastery was changed to San Miguel de los Reyes, a name chosen principally because of the special devotion of Fernando and Germana to St Michael the Archangel and the feast of the Epiphany, both of which were honoured with great fervour at the Valencian court. The name 'de los Reyes' may also have been chosen because of the monastery's intended function as a royal mausoleum. See Luis Querol y Roso, *La última reina de Aragón, virreina de Valencia* (Valencia, 1931), 182 and *passim*, V. Castañeda, 'Don Fernando de Aragón, Duque de Calabria', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 15 (1911), 268–86 (p. 278), and Sigüenza, *Historia*, 130.

<sup>13</sup> Following the expulsion of the duke's family from Naples, his mother, Queen Isabella, spent the last 25 years of her life in the duchy of Ferrara (1508–33) with her daughters Isabel and Julia, and her son Cesare who died prematurely in 1520 (see also below, note 17). This period coincided with the reign of Alfonso I d'Este (1505–34). Isabel and Julia arrived in Valencia from Ferrara in 1533. It is reported that Isabel in particular helped her brother Fernando in the choice of music for the court as well as other tasks. See Sigüenza, *Historia*, 134, and George Nugent, 'Jacquet's Tributes to the Neapolitan Aragonese', *Journal of Music Theory*, 6 (1988), 198–226 (p. 201 and note 10). It is also reported that in 1527 Don Fernando received from Ferrara part of the library inherited from Alfonso el Magnánimo of Naples. See Gásser, *Luis Milán*, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Willaert had a long association with the d'Este family prior to his appointment as *maestro de capilla* at St Mark's, Venice, in 1527. See Lewis Lockwood/Giulio Ongaro and others, 'Willaert, Adrian', *NG2*, xxvii, 389–400.

<sup>15</sup> Maistre Jhan was a member of the ducal chapel from 1512 (under Alfonso I d'Este) and still recorded as being there in 1543. See George Nugent and James Haar, 'Maistre Jhan', *NG2*, xv, 644–5.

<sup>16</sup> A copy of Nasco's St Matthew Passion, then considered a 'rare' work, was given to Valencia cathedral by the duke. A number of copies of this work survive in sources in Spain, notably El Escorial. (One source, NYorkH 288, has the inscription: 'Este passio(n) entrego el duq(ue) de Calabria a la iglesia Cathedral de Valencia por cosa rara'.) The identification of the authorship of the passion was made by Greta Olson in her paper 'Some Clues to the Transmission of an Unusual Passion Setting', delivered at the Sixth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, University of Edinburgh, July 1994. For further details of the Escorial manuscripts, see Michael J. Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs* (Rochester, NY, 1998), 194, 224 and 227, though Nasco's passion music in NYorkH 278 and EscSL 1 is misattributed to Juan Baptista Comes. See also George Nugent, 'Nasco, Jan', *NG2*, xvii, 646–7.

<sup>17</sup> The Mass was published in 1540 (RISM 1540<sup>3</sup>); see George Nugent, 'Jacquet of Mantua', *NG2*, xv, 744–6. Jacquet also wrote a lament (*Ploremus omnes*) in honour of the duke's younger



Figure 1. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya MS 1967, f. 16 (detail): *Missa Inviolata*, Credo (*supranus* part). Reproduced by permission.

connection is also possible (this is implied, for example, by the Propers for the Feast of the Espousals),<sup>18</sup> and there are a number of calligraphic and notational features that are also generally suggestive of connections with northern Italy. One of the most significant features, for example, is the regular use of the term *supranus* to designate the top voice (see Figure 1).<sup>19</sup> Moreover, one of the scribes employed at the court from c.1546 to 1550–2 was a certain Pompeyo de Russi, who was almost certainly Italian. It is likely that he too would have played an important role also in obtaining new music for Fernando's court.<sup>20</sup>

In many ways the *Inviolata* Mass may be seen as the centrepiece of the choirbook, and it is one of several pieces with a Marian association. It was seemingly copied as the second item in the source, immediately preceding the motets by Bauldeweyn and Festa. As it is the only work of its kind in this collection, it could well have been invested with a particular significance. It is even possible that it was sung on the

brother, Cesare, who had died in 1520. See Nugent, 'Jacquet's Tributes', 203–10, and William M. McMurtry, 'Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, and the Estensi: A Relationship Honoured in Music', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8/3 (1977), 17–30.

<sup>18</sup> See above, note 11.

<sup>19</sup> Normally in Spanish manuscripts of this period the term *cantus*, or occasionally *tiple*, is used to identify the top voice in a polyphonic composition; *supranus* is only very rarely found. The consistent use of the term *supranus* in BarcBC 1967 is certainly an indication of Italian influence. The earliest use I have found of it occurs in Guilielmus Monachus's treatise *De praeceptis musicae* of c.1480 (see Ernest Trumble, *Fauxbourdon: An Historical Survey* (Brooklyn, 1959), Example 18) and, in sources of polyphony, in the *Chansons a trois* published by Antico and Giunta in Venice in 1520 (RISM 1520<sup>6</sup>). It is also found sporadically in a handful of later sources including an isolated instance in VatG XII 3 (f. 32<sup>v</sup>), a manuscript dating from 1589.

<sup>20</sup> Pompeyo de Russi (Rusy) is listed as *puntador* in archival documents dating from between 1546 and 1550–2. See Jaime Moll Roqueta, 'Notas para la historia musical de la corte del Duque de Calabria', *Anuario musical*, 18 (1963), 123–35 (pp. 123–8), Miguel Lasso de Vega, *Doña Mencía de Mendoza, Marquesa del Cenete, 1508–1554* (Madrid, 1942), 47–8, and José Ruiz de Lihory, *La música en Valencia* (Valencia, 1903), pp. xxv–vi. According to royal chapel documents published by Edmond Vander Straeten, Russi was later (1562) employed in Philip II's *capilla* (see Vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays Bas*, viii, 41 and *passim*).

occasion of the dedication Mass at the new monastery on 2 July 1546 which, in accordance with the duke's wishes, was celebrated in honour of the feast of the Visitation.<sup>21</sup> Another possibility is that it was performed to fulfil the request made by the duke's consort, Queen Germana de Foix, in her obit for a sung Mass for the 'purity of the Virgin, Holy Mary, Our Lady' on each anniversary of her death.<sup>22</sup> Whatever its function or frequency of performance at this particular court, the question of its possible origin and provenance demands further investigation.

#### THE INVOLATA MASS AS 'PARODY'

Josquin's five-voice canonic setting of *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* served as a source of inspiration for composers of both vocal and instrumental music in the first half of the sixteenth century, and survives in several exemplars.<sup>23</sup> Of the numerous motets based on this Marian sequence, a number demonstrate some thematic relationship with Josquin's setting while just one, the eight-voice setting now generally thought to be by Verdelot<sup>24</sup> (though some doubt has been expressed about this),<sup>25</sup> borrows the two-voice structural canon. (This motet shows no other affiliation with Josquin's counterpoint, however.) Two keyboard intabulations by Cabezón survive in his *Obras de música*.<sup>26</sup> In view of its great popularity, it is perhaps surprising that no other polyphonic Masses are known to have been directly inspired by Josquin's motet. The only two *Inviolata* Masses, a four-voice setting by Pierre de La Rue and one for five voices by Noel Bauldeweyn, employ the plainchant sequence as a cantus firmus, and cannot be said to relate to Josquin's motet setting.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> An account of the dedication Mass, which featured much polyphonic music sung by both the court chapel musicians and the Hieronymite monks, is provided in Sigüenza, *Historia*, 132. No specific mention is made of a polyphonic Mass setting, however. In the context of this particular feast, it may be significant that the text of the motet by Festa (*Surge amica mea*), taken from the Song of Songs, is precisely that allocated for the Gospel of that day.

<sup>22</sup> This occurred in 1533. In her will, Germana had requested that three Masses be celebrated on these occasions: the first, a sung Mass, in honour of the purity of the Virgin; the second in honour of the Holy Name of Jesus; and the third in honour of the Passion. See Nelson, 'A Choirbook', 250. For a transcript of Germana's will, see Querol y Roso, *La última reina*, 184.

<sup>23</sup> For surviving sources of Josquin's *Inviolata*, see Sydney R. Charles, *Josquin Des Prez: A Guide to Research* (New York and London, 1983), 37.

<sup>24</sup> This motet is included in the composer's work-list in H. Colin Slim/Stefano La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe', *NG2*, xxvi, 427–34 (p. 432). It survives in four sources: the earliest of these, VerA 218 (c.1536), has an attribution to Gombert ('Gunbert'), with Mouton's name entered in the bass partbook, while three late sources of German provenance, MunBS 1536, RegB 786–837, and Montanus and Neuber's *Thesaurus musicum* (Nuremberg, 1564 [RISM 1564<sup>1</sup>]), ascribe the work to Verdelot. For further information see Norbert Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot* (Cologne and Wiesbaden, 1967), 59, 86–7, 98–9.

<sup>25</sup> This is implied by Böker-Heil, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> See Sala, ed., *Glosados*.

<sup>27</sup> For an edition of La Rue's *Missa Inviolata*, see Pierre de La Rue: *Opera omnia*, ed. Nigel St John Davison, J. Evan Kreider and T. Herman Keahey, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* (hereafter CMM), 97/iv (Neuhausen, 1996), no. 17. On Bauldeweyn's Mass, see Edgar Sparks, *The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn* (New York, 1972), 8, 133 and *passim*. A collected edition of the music of Noel Bauldeweyn is currently in preparation by the present author.

As far as is known, the copy of the anonymous *Inviolata* Mass in Barcelona 1967 is unique. This is unfortunate, not least because it is transmitted here with a number of lacunae: the Sanctus omits the 'Pleni sunt', the 'Osanna' and the corresponding 'Benedictus', while there is only one Agnus dei, and this is underlaid with the concluding text 'dona nobis pacem'. While it is tempting to suggest that these omissions are indicative of musico-liturgical practices peculiar to the Valencian court, in which these sections were perhaps normally replaced by chant, motets or organ music, it is also conceivable that the scribe was copying from a source in which they were excluded anyway. For instance, a context for the same omissions in a large group of polyphonic Mass settings is provided by Bologna Q 25, an incomplete set of partbooks dating from about the mid sixteenth century and transmitting Masses by Carpentras, Josquin, Layolle, Mouton and others.<sup>28</sup> As may be deduced from a consideration of the overall structure of the Mass in relationship to the three *partes* of the Josquin motet shown in Table 1, it is almost certainly the case that these sections would have formed part of the original Mass setting and would have been thematically related to the first and second *partes* of the motet.

It is also clear, however, that this was by no means a straightforward 'parody' Mass in perhaps the conventional sense: with the possible exception of the Sanctus, there is little systematic use of Josquin's music; furthermore, the composer virtually ignores Josquin's canonic structural framework in the interests of adding these lines to the general pool of ideas taken from the motet which are then used and transformed in response to his individual account of events in a new setting. In the context of the Mass as 'parody', the use of a cantus firmus in Kyrie I and the Christe is deceptive, though it may even be that the Mass was originally conceived as a cantus firmus setting and that the composer introduced the Josquin tribute only after he had written these opening sections. Nevertheless, on the whole, the chant remains a subliminal aspect of the work. Generally speaking, the individual movements and sections may begin with a clear reference either to the first few notes of a chant phrase or to recognizable contrapuntal fabric from the motet, but thereafter the contrapuntal argument is largely freely invented. Where further allusions to the motet occur, these motifs are usually expanded and developed in an individual way, with stretto repetition forming an important structural device. Further, but as is not the case in a number of other 'parody' Masses of the early sixteenth century, material from the motet is never used in the same way twice, but is varied according to the composer's whim and as

<sup>28</sup> I know of no other sources of Masses by this generation of composers in which these particular sections are so clearly deliberately excluded. Unfortunately, the provenance of BolC Q 25 has not yet been established with any certainty though it was probably copied in northern Italy c.1525–50 (see *Census-Catalogue*, i, 77). It is interesting also that one of the scribal hands of Q 25 is remarkably similar to that of several portions of BarcBC 1967, including the folios containing the *Inviolata* Mass: notable among similarities are the tapered ovoid note-heads. This notational style also characterizes other Italian manuscripts of the period, including BolSP 24, a manuscript copied at San Petronio, Bologna, around the mid sixteenth century.

TABLE 1

STRUCTURAL OUTLINE OF *MISSA INVOLATA A6* (BARCELONA 1967, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>–29; AFTER JOSQUIN'S MOTET A5)

<i>Mass section</i>	<i>signature</i>	<i>no. of voices</i>	<i>scoring</i>	<i>motet pars/chant phrase<sup>a</sup></i>
KYRIE				
Kyrie eleison I	¢	6	SATTBB	chant phrase: IA (c.f. in tenor)
Christe eleison	¢	4	ATTB	chant phrase: IB (c.f. in tenor)
Kyrie eleison II	¢	6	SATTB	J IIB/b–J IIIA/a (+ J Ia)
GLORIA				
Et in terra	¢	6	SATTBB	J IA/a (+ other themes from I)
Qui tollis	¢	6	SATTBB	J IIA/a (–J IIa, b)
Cum sancto	¢	6	SATTBB	J IIIa (+ other themes from III)
CREDO				
Patrem	¢	6	SATTBB	J IA/a (+ themes related to IIIa)
Et incarnatus	¢	6	SATTBB	(J IIA–J IIIa)
Crucifixus	¢	4	TTBB	(J IIB/b; free)
Et iterum	¢	3	SAT	(J Ia; free)
Et in spiritum	¢	6	SATTBB	J IIIa (free use of J IIIa)
SANCTUS				
Sanctus	¢	6	SATTBB	J IA/a: other themes from I; J IID/d
[Pleni sunt: missing]				
[Osanna: missing]				
[Benedictus: missing]				
AGNUS DEI				
[Agnus dei I (and II?): missing]				
Agnus dei . . . dona nobis pacem	¢	6	SATTBB	J IIIa (free use of J IIIa)

<sup>a</sup> J I–III represents the three *partes* of Josquin's motet: the letters 'A', 'B', etc. refer to a chant phrase (the *Inviolata* chant, in the version used by Josquin, is reproduced as Example 1); 'a', 'b', etc. refer to counterpoint or motifs from the motet.

appropriate to the particular context – with some motifs and figures, even, exploited as rhetorical gestures.

The subtle ways in which the composer only gradually introduces material from Josquin's motet is an intriguing aspect of the Mass. The

Example 1. *Inviolata* chant, after Josquin.

I

In-vi-o-la-ta, in-te-gra et ca-sta es Ma-ri-a: Quae es ef-fe-cta ful-gi-da cae-li por-ta.

O ma-ter al-ma Chri-sti ca-ris-si-ma: Su-sci-pe pi-a lau-dum prae-co-ni-a.

II

No-stra ut pu-ra pe-cto-ra sint et cor-po-ra: Quae nunc fla-gi-tant de-vo-ta cor-da et o-ra.

Tu-a per pre-ca-ta dul-ci-so-na, No-bis con-ce-das ve-ni-am per sae-cu-la.

III

O be-ni-gna, O re-gi-na, O Ma-ri-a.

Quae so-la in-vi-o-la-ta per-man-si-sti per-man-si-sti.

first unambiguous reference to counterpoint from the motet at the beginning of Kyrie II occurs rather dramatically with the music suddenly exploding into stretto imitation of the striking fanfare-like triadic figure taken from the second phrase (J IIB/b) of the motet's *secunda pars* at the words 'Quae nunc flagitant'. Here also the composer incorporates a rare homage to the underlying canonic dialogue (see Example 2;<sup>29</sup> instances of the triadic figure are shown in boxes, while phrases from the chant are marked 'x'). This is followed by a free contrapuntal structure directed to some extent by a slow-moving cantus firmus of phrase IIC of the chant in the second tenor, and the section concludes (again somewhat unexpectedly) with the unmistakable 'harmonic' or chordal gesture which characterizes the opening of the

<sup>29</sup> Extracts from BarcBC 1967 here and in Examples 3b, 4b, 5, 6, 10a-b, 12, 14, 16a and 17b are cited after the edition published by Mapa Mundi, with permission. (For details see note 5.)

Example 2. *Missa Inviolata*, Kyrie II, bars 1–9.

motet's *tertia pars*, where it is set three times to the words 'O benigna, O regina, O Maria' (Example 4a), again incorporating the appropriate chant phrase in the second tenor. So the characteristic descending dotted-rhythm 'Inviolata' theme from the beginning of the motet is not heard until the beginning of the Gloria, and the first half of Josquin's motet as a whole is not used to any great extent until the Sanctus (see below).

The openings of the 'Qui tollis' and 'Cum sancto spiritu' in the Gloria, for instance, which are related to the openings of the *secunda* and *tertia partes* of Josquin's motet respectively, provide further insight into the composer's methods of building on or filling out the original contrapuntal texture lifted from the motet (see Examples 3a–b and 4a–b). In the 'Qui tollis' (Example 3b) the composer accommodates the semblance of an additional entry of the theme based on the chant phrase 'Nostra ut pura' in the alto part by slightly altering Josquin's counterpoint in the accompanying parts from the fifth bar onwards; but, contrary to what Josquin does in the motet, he continues with a number of additional fugal entries. In the first 11 bars of 'Cum sancto' (Example 4b), the composer incorporates further entries of the characteristic sequence of falling fourths from the *tertia pars* of the motet ('O benigna'), with only the barest manipulation of Josquin's themes (see outlined portions of Example 4a–b). Thus, rather than presenting the threefold statement of this phrase corresponding to each of the invocations in the motet ('O benigna, O regina, O Maria'), the composer has woven the ideas into a continuous contrapuntal texture. This sequence also accounts for some of the concluding section of the Credo beginning 'Et in spiritum', and is even more ingeniously manipulated to form a large part of the contrapuntal texture of the Agnus dei.

Thematically, it is probably the Sanctus which is most closely related to the first part of the *Inviolata* motet, but it further demonstrates the composer's skill in combining Josquin's themes in an individual way while still retaining their original formation and character. (The whole of the Sanctus is reproduced as Example 5.) Here, in contrast to the somewhat sparse texture of the motet opening, the first half is a dense and intricately woven texture consisting primarily of the close stretto imitation of the 'Inviolata' and related motifs in dotted rhythm in the middle and lower parts, and dominated, like the motet, by a fourfold presentation of the 'Inviolata' theme in the superius. (The textural density which accumulates is a characteristic of this composer's style to which we shall return.) At this point (bars 19–20), the composer latches on to a short theme, heard just once in the superius of the motet set to the word 'integra', and manipulates its potential for suspensions and continually changing 'harmonic' circumstances, in a climactic three-fold repetition of the words 'dominus deus'. The section draws relatively swiftly to a conclusion at the word 'Sabaoth' by moving quite quickly to the passage with which Josquin ends the *prima pars* at the word 'praeconia'. (The relationships between Josquin's 'praeconia' cadence and those in the Mass and other works will be reviewed below.)

By way of contrast, the Credo is in some degree the most freely organized structure of the Mass, with the counterpoint and musical ideas being only rarely directly inspired by Josquin's motet. Although the general style is consistent with the other movements, there are also many more variations in texture, as well as a number of idiomatic features – such as the use of parallel 6–3 chords and 'under third' cadences, and one instance of parallel seconds as passing notes – which are not encountered to the same extent in any of the other movements. Thus, apart from the opening of this movement with its clear thematic relationship to the beginning of the motet (phrase IA/a; see also Figure 1), and therefore also to other movements in this Mass, the only other audible links with the motet are the occasions when the composer introduces the distinctive chordal and melodic sequence from the opening of the motet's *tertia pars*.<sup>30</sup> The frequency with which this occurs is all the more striking in a context in which generally few such clear references are made to Josquin's motet. There are two sections for reduced numbers of voices in the Credo: the Crucifixus, scored for four voices, and 'Et iterum', for three. Though based at the outset on the chant phrase openings, these two sections are entirely freely composed, comprising closely woven imitative textures.

#### TOWARDS A CONTEXT AND IDENTIFICATION OF AUTHORSHIP

There is little doubt that the composer of this Mass was a competent contrapuntist who was as much at home with cantus-firmus writing as he was with creating both freely discursive six-part textures and more

<sup>30</sup> The appearance of this phrase at 'Et homo factus est' in the Credo in particular is discussed below.



Example 3. (a) Josquin, *Inviolata, secunda pars*, bars 64–74 (after *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, ed. Albert Smijers (Amsterdam, 1921–56), *Motetten*, 2/xxv); (b) *Missa Inviolata*, 'Qui tollis', Gloria, bars 65–75.

(a)

(b)

strictly imitative, and therefore terse, three- and four-part contrapuntal textures. The subtlety with which he bent his model to serve his artistic needs could have been undertaken only by one who had thoroughly absorbed and assimilated this material through a fairly long acquaintance – a familiarity doubtless gained through performance and study. Seen in this light, it is perhaps less surprising that the composer largely chose to ignore the canonic structural device of the motet (which in any case might only have imposed restrictions in the context of a Mass setting), and he was clearly more inspired by its general character. Quite apart from the Mass's significance as the only polyphonic Mass known to us which was directly inspired by Josquin's *Inviolata*, its anonymity in Barcelona 1967 presents us with the challenge of trying to

## Example 3 continued

(a)

69

(b)

70

place it in a more precise compositional (and indeed geographical) context and period for its genesis through examination of its stylistic and formal qualities. Our line of inquiry is of course bound to be much more far-reaching than it might have been had the source offered an attribution, and therefore more clear-cut and possibly pre-determined perimeters. The only pointer is that it was copied anonymously into a choirbook which was almost certainly prepared for the musical chapel of the duke of Calabria in Valencia in the mid 1540s; and, as already indicated, it is probable that like some of the other compositions in the source it would have been imported to the Valencian court possibly via a route leading to the court of Ercole II d'Este in Ferrara and other establishments in northern Italy (see above). But what stylistic features

Example 4a. Josquin, *Inviolata*, *tertia pars*, bars 106–10 (after *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, ed. Albert Smijers (Amsterdam, 1921–56), *Motetten*, 2/xxv).

can be distinguished which suggest a more precise compositional environment?

Given that the majority of thematic ideas and many of the vertical sonorities in this Mass may be identified with Josquin's motet, it is intriguing to observe that, both in the treatment of the borrowed material and in a large number of other musical gestures and textures including a good many harmonic features, it has stylistic elements in common with a pool of other vocal compositions dating principally from the 1520s and 1530s; it also, in at least one instance, recalls passages in La Rue's *Missa Inviolata* of a slightly earlier period (see below). Most of these parallels occur in music by a number of composers the majority of whom were not only brought up in or exposed to the Franco-Flemish tradition but are also known to have spent a significant proportion of their professional careers in Italian institutions. In the context of the present discussion it may be significant that many of the similarities can be found in works by, among others, three of the principal composers in the Valencian choirbook who have so far been identified: Verdelot, Bauldeweyn and the Spaniard Morales. Furthermore, if musical stylistic evidence can be seen as a way of establishing a common compositional context, we may also find ourselves on the way to tracing the channels of musical circulation and possibly to unearthing evidence for musical contacts and influence between composers active during the first half of the sixteenth century.

From the point of view of texture, scoring and sonority, the closest parallel with Kyrie I occurs in the first seven bars of the eight-voice *Inviolata* setting now generally attributed to Verdelot (see Examples 6 and 7, and above). Not only is the motet opening scored for exactly the same combination of voices, but also both passages begin with an

Example 4b. *Missa Inviolata*, 'Cum sancto', Gloria, bars 122–32.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a polyphonic setting. The first system, starting at bar 122, features a vocal line with the lyrics "Cum san - cto spi - ri - - - tu" and four instrumental staves. The second system, starting at bar 128, continues the vocal line with "in glo-ri - a de - - - i" and the instrumental parts. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, with some notes beamed together. The overall style is characteristic of 16th-century polyphonic music.

identical antiphonal arrangement of upper and lower voices, with the top voice of each group outlining the first three notes of the *Inviolata* chant in the same mensural disposition as that found at the opening of Josquin's motet.<sup>31</sup> From then on, however, the eight-voice motet is constructed entirely on the canonic framework of its model, and the overall

<sup>31</sup> It is also intriguing that this parallel with the Mass should occur within the nine-bar period preceding the first canonic entries in the manner of Josquin's motet. Curiously, the soprano (*supranus*) in the Mass returns to the *f*' at the end of the first phrase, calling to mind the first phrase of the chant's presentation in Josquin's *Benedicta es caelorum regina*.

compositional approaches of motet and Mass are therefore to a very large extent fundamentally different. One of the most striking features of the Kyrie opening also is the hemiola-like rhythm of the two lower contrapuntal parts contravening the steady pulse of the top voice. While comparable openings may be found here and there among works by composers of the 1520s and 1530s (including Gombert's five-voice

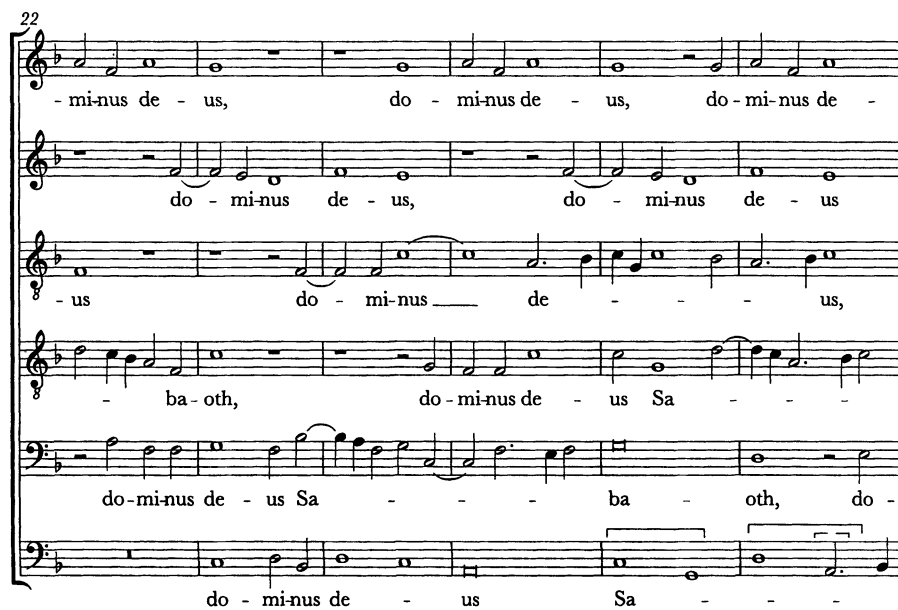
Example 5. *Missa Inviolata*, Sanctus.

The musical score for Example 5, *Missa Inviolata*, Sanctus, is presented in two systems of six staves each. The top system shows the first five staves with lyrics 'San' and 'San ctus, San'. The bottom system shows the next five staves with lyrics 'San ctus, San' and 'San ctus, San'. The music is in a key with one flat and a common time signature. The rhythm is characterized by a hemiola-like pattern in the lower parts.

[illegible]

## Example 5 continued

22



- mi-nus de - us, do - mi-nus de - us, do - mi-nus de -  
do - mi-nus de - us, do - mi-nus de - us  
- us do - mi-nus de - us,  
- ba - oth, do - mi-nus de - us Sa -  
do - mi-nus de - us Sa - ba - oth, do -  
do - mi-nus de - us Sa -

28



- us, do - mi-nus de - us Sa -  
Sa - ba - oth, do - mi-nus de - us, de - us  
do - mi-nus de - us Sa - ba - oth,  
- ba - oth, do - mi-nus  
mi-nus de - us Sa - ba - oth,  
- ba - oth, do - mi-nus de -

## Example 5 continued

34

ba - oth, do - mi-nus de - us Sa-ba - oth.

Sa - ba - oth.

do - mi-nus de - us Sa - ba - oth.

de - us Sa - ba - oth.

do - mi - nus de - us Sa - ba - oth.

us Sa - ba - oth.

setting of *Inviolata*),<sup>32</sup> it is interesting that this is a distinctive feature of the beginning of most movements of Morales's five-voice *Missa L'homme armé* (composed in the same modal area).<sup>33</sup>

All sections of the *Missa Inviolata* which refer thematically to the opening of the Marian sequence – the first Kyrie, the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus – are characterized by this 'plagal' opening. It would also appear to be quite a common realization of cantus firmi starting on *f*.<sup>34</sup> The same type of rhythmic treatment, for instance, marks the beginning of the Gloria, where the accompanying voices engage in a brief discourse using the typical interval of a fourth both in a rising sequence and in a series of cross-rhythms. Here, however, the first three notes of the chant as a cantus firmus occur in one of the inner voices, and both of these textural features have their counterparts in the opening of the Agnus dei in La Rue's four-part *Missa Inviolata*.<sup>35</sup> The dark sonority of

<sup>32</sup> For Gombert's *Inviolata* setting, see *Nicolai Gombert opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1968), no. 7.

<sup>33</sup> See in particular the opening Kyrie where the characteristic rise of a fourth in the lowest voice can be seen as an anticipation of the *L'homme armé* tune itself which is then paraphrased in the top voice. Morales's Mass is edited by Higinio Anglés in *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, i, MME, 11 (Barcelona, 1952).

<sup>34</sup> The apparently widespread association in music from this period of the melodic progression *f-g-a* with an accompaniment emphasizing the plagal (degree) point of the Lydian mode is striking: besides a number of other *Inviolata* settings (such as Gombert's), it also occurs in settings of the antiphon *Regina caeli*, some of which appear to have close thematic connections with motets in the *Inviolata* tradition. See for example the anonymous six-voice setting in VatS 46, ed. Nors S. Josephson, *Early Sixteenth-Century Sacred Music from the Papal Chapel*, CMM, 95 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), ii, 245.

<sup>35</sup> See *Pierre de La Rue*, ed. Davison, Kreider and Keahey, 58.



Example 6. *Missa Inviolata*, Kyrie I, bars 1–7.

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son,

Example 7. Verdelot, *Inviolata* (a8), bars 1–7 (RISM 1564<sup>1</sup>).

In - vi - o - la - ta

the opening of the Sanctus (see Example 5), on the other hand, assumes an entirely different character from that of any other section of the Mass, although there is a clear relationship with the beginning of the first Kyrie and that of other pieces to which it can be compared. It is intriguing that these opening bars are also remarkably similar both to those of the five-voice *Christe* in Bauldeweyn's *Missa Quam pulchra es*

Example 8. Bauldeweyn, *Missa Quam pulchra es, Christe*, bars 1–8 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus.ms. 6; quoted by permission).

Example 9. Verdelot, *Italia mia*, bars 1–6 (after H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, Chicago and London, 1972).

(Example 8) and moreover to those of a five-voice setting of Petrarch's sonnet *Italia mia* by Verdelot (Example 9).<sup>36</sup>

A further distinctive feature of the *Inviolata* Mass, but one that was evidently already in fairly common use by Franco-Flemish composers active during the first decades of the sixteenth century especially, is the style of cadential formula which closes the final Kyrie, the Gloria, the Credo and the Agnus dei, thus creating a stylistic unity, rather like a 'motto' ending. This consists of a 'codetta' of three to six bars succeeding the last cadence (generally approached from the dominant, C–F in the bass), during which a pedal on *f* is held in one or two of the

<sup>36</sup> For other similarities between Josquin's *Inviolata* and *Italia mia*, see below, note 50. *Italia mia* is published in H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago and London, 1972), ii, 58–63.

inner parts. In harmonic terms, the music after this cadence passes through the plagal area of B♭ before coming to rest on the final, *f*. In contrapuntal terms, the texture is frequently animated and complex, consisting of repeated dotted-rhythm cells tossed between the parts, the lower voices sometimes outlining a scale comparable to Josquin's distinctive 'Inviolata' motif. What is striking is that these concluding phrases are to be found in a number of other polyphonic pieces and Mass movements in the same mode written for five and six voices by several composers ranging from Bauldeweyn (in music dating from before 1520)<sup>37</sup> and others of that generation,<sup>38</sup> to Charles d'Argenti<sup>39</sup> and even Morales in the same *L'homme armé* Mass and other works dating from a later period.<sup>40</sup> These phrases are so alike as to be virtually interchangeable (see Example 10a–d). Whether or not these composers were aware of such stylistic similarities with their use of clichéd formulas, the very fact that we can trace these connections today is surely indicative of a common compositional language used by a number of composers of the 'post-Josquin' generation. Exploration of this lies outside the scope of the present study but it is worth bearing in mind that in the case of Morales, who as far as we can tell reached Italy only in about 1534,<sup>41</sup> we may be closer to establishing a chronology for some of his musical compositions.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, the clear connection between the scoring and texture of both the Kyrie opening and that of the eight-voice *Inviolata* setting attributed to Verdelot is surely one of the more obvious pointers we have towards establishing a more precise compositional context for the Mass.<sup>43</sup> It is significant, therefore, that music ascribed to Verdelot plays

<sup>37</sup> This feature in Bauldeweyn's music is discussed by Bernadette Nelson, 'The Missa Du bon du cuer: An Unknown Mass by Noël Bauldeweyn?', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 51/2 (2001), 103–30 (pp. 119–20).

<sup>38</sup> For example, the conclusion of the six-voice *Nunc dimittis*, the *tertia pars* of *Responsum acciperat* originally attributed to Josquin. See *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, ed. Albert Smijers, *Motetten*, 5/xlix (Amsterdam, 1923), no. 85 (p. 142).

<sup>39</sup> The conclusion of his Credo *Sub tuum praesidium*. See *Early Sixteenth-Century Sacred Music*, ed. Josephson, CMM, 95/i, 143.

<sup>40</sup> These include a five-part *Regina caeli* setting, and also his *Missa Quaeramus cum pastoribus* where a variant occurs; both works are scored for five voices.

<sup>41</sup> See Robert Stevenson/Alejandro Planchart, 'Morales, Cristóbal de', *NG2*, xvii, 85–91 (p. 86), and Alison Sanders McFarland, 'Within the Circle of Charles V: New Light on the Biography of Cristóbal de Morales', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 324–38. The first record of Morales's arrival dates from February 1534.

<sup>42</sup> *Missa L'homme armé*, for example, first appeared in print in 1540 in Scotto's *Quinque missae Moralis hispani, ac Jachet musici excellentissimi liber primus* (RISM 1540<sup>3</sup>), and his *Missa Quaeramus cum pastoribus* is now thought to date only from 1541. For the latter, see Klaus Pietschmann, 'A Renaissance Composer Writes to his Patrons: Newly Discovered Letters from Cristóbal de Morales to Cosimo de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 383–400 (p. 387). We are unable at present to establish a more precise appraisal of the formation of Morales's contrapuntal style. However, the fact that we can find certain of his characteristics already in the music of his Franco-Flemish forebears is indicative of some of his sources of inspiration and influence.

<sup>43</sup> For sources of this motet see above, note 24. The provenance of the earliest surviving source of this motet, VerA 218, is still uncertain, though a Paduan connection has been proposed. See Norbert Böker-Heil, 'Zu einem frühvenezianischen Motettenrepertoire', *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Stauder, Ursula Aarburg and Peter Cahn (Tutzing, 1969). See also *Census-Catalogue*, iv, 74–5. It is notable that the Verona source is made up entirely of music richly scored for between six and ten voices, including motets by Gombert and Mouton as well as Verdelot. In view of the attribution to Verdelot in the three later German sources, that to Gombert (and Mouton) in this particular source is intriguing.

an extremely important part in the contextual quest for the Mass – especially some of his motets and madrigals written in comparable modal areas and scored for between five and as many as eight or nine voices. This in itself must be indicative of close connections between the group of works under discussion. For example, a motet with perhaps the greatest number of thematic and textual similarities to the six-voice *Inviolata* Mass is Verdelot's seven-voice *Beata es*, with its *secunda pars* beginning 'Ave Maria' – a motet which has been described as 'one of

Example 10a. *Missa Inviolata*, Kyrie II, closing bars.

26

This musical score represents the closing bars of the Kyrie II from the *Missa Inviolata*. It is written for six voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score begins at measure 26. The Soprano part features a melodic line with a final cadence. The Alto and Tenor parts provide harmonic support with various intervals and rests. The Bass parts provide a solid foundation with sustained notes and moving lines. The piece concludes with a final double bar line.

Example 10b. *Missa Inviolata*, Agnus dei, closing bars.

40

This musical score represents the closing bars of the Agnus dei from the *Missa Inviolata*. It is written for the same six voices as Example 10a. The key signature remains two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score begins at measure 40. The Soprano part has a melodic line that leads to the final cadence. The other voices provide harmonic support with various intervals and rests. The piece concludes with a final double bar line.

Example 10c. Bauldeweyn, *Missa Quam pulchra es, Christe*, Kyrie II, closing bars (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus.ms. 6; quoted by permission).



Example 10d. Morales, *Missa L'homme armé*, Kyrie I, closing bars (after Cristóbal de Morales: *Opera omnia*, i, ed. Higinio Anglés, MME, 11, Barcelona, 1952).



the most remarkable works of the young French composer'.<sup>44</sup> In itself, this piece is already a tribute to Josquin in that it borrows material from his four-voice motet *Ave Maria . . . virgo serena*.<sup>45</sup> The two passages which

<sup>44</sup> Philippe Verdelot: *Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1966–79), ii, p. xiii. The motet is thought to date from Verdelot's 'late' period (c.1520–7). See H. Colin Slim, 'Verdelot, Philippe', *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980 edn), xix, 631–5 (p. 633); the dating of works in Slim's article is taken from Norbert Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot* (Cologne, 1967). For an edition, see *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, 18–23.

<sup>45</sup> See Edward E. Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 3 (1950), 173–232 (p. 195).

are most reminiscent of prominent themes and contrapuntal textures in the Mass occur in both *partes*: in the *prima pars* where the composer introduces the principal theme from Josquin's *Ave Maria* for the first time (Example 11a, marked 'x') and in the *secunda pars* at the words 'Dominus tecum' (Example 11b, also marked 'x'). In both passages, the full complement of voices engages in a contrapuntal texture which combines the slower-moving chant theme with descending dotted-rhythm scalic motifs comparable to the 'Inviolata' theme. As in the Mass, these are sometimes heard in close stretto in the lower parts, creating passages of descending parallel thirds which may be compared, for example, to the phrase beginning 'Glorificamus te' in the Gloria (Example 12), structured around the first tenor citing the first three notes of the *Inviolata* chant. Like the passage 'Dominus tecum' in Verdelot's motet (Example 11b), announced first in the soprano at the cadence to the final, this phrase from the Gloria is notable for its emphasis on a descending triadic theme (*c''-a'-f'*). The entry of the theme midway through a cadence on the final (bars 13–14 in both *partes* of the motet) thus adds considerable emphasis to this point of articulation. Moreover, the impressive sonority which is created by the full chord of the nineteenth (*F-c''*) on the chord of resolution is always used with discretion and at strategic moments by both Verdelot and the composer of the Mass.

Further comparable episodes may be isolated from Verdelot's eight-voice *Gaudet in caelis*,<sup>46</sup> a piece in the same modal area whose texture as a whole is also animated by a busy counterpoint in which dotted figures and scalic motifs continually cross in conflicting rhythms, and which features a theme moving in slower notes outlining the first three notes of the scale, *f-g-a*. These similarities also include an entry on *c''* in the soprano against a cadential preparation (creating a chord of the nineteenth), an entry in an inner part of the chant theme *f-g-a* (at bars 17–19), and the repeated use of a descending scale-like figure in dotted rhythm in the two upper voices halfway through the motet (bars 35–42) which climaxes on a dominant preparation for a return to the modal centre. The last feature in particular compares with the opening section of the Sanctus, up to 'dominus deus' (see Example 5, bars 10–22).

Another point of comparison between the motet *Beata es* and the Mass concerns the use of a particular theme in imitation. Both *partes* of the motet conclude with exactly the same material: a 25-bar passage beginning with the text 'genuisti qui te fecit' which is clearly related thematically to one heard at the start of the motet (see Example 13a–b). Although this entails quite a common point of imitation in music of the time, it is striking how the themes and their treatment are comparable to those that open the Christe of the *Inviolata* Mass (Example 14), the latter in turn recalling the beginning of the Christe in Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua*.<sup>47</sup> The cadential period articulating the final appearance of 'qui te fecit' (Example 13b, bars 37–9) also has a

<sup>46</sup> For an edition of the motet, see *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, CMM, 28/iii, 55–63.

<sup>47</sup> A further example of a fugal episode based on this theme, and again initiated by the lowest voice starting on C, occurs in Verdelot's six-voice setting of the *Salve regina* at the words 'et spes nostra' (bar 42 onwards). See *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, 61.

Example 11a. Verdelot, *Beata es*, bars 9–15 (after *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1973).

9

vir - go Ma - ri - - a

A - ve Ma - ri - a

Ma - ri - a

Ma - ri - a

Example 11b. Verdelot, *Beata es, secunda pars: Ave Maria*, bars 12–19 (after *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1973).

12

Do - mi - nus te - cum,

Do - mi - nus te - cum, do - mi - nus te -

Do - mi - nus

Do - mi - nus

Do - mi - nus te - cum do - mi - nus

Example 12. *Missa Inviolata*, Gloria, bars 16–23.

16

Gra - ti - as a - gi -

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te

Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te

21

- mus ti - bi

parallel in the Mass: almost exactly the same cadence, from the point of view of both contrapuntal movement and scoring, occurs in the Gloria at 'agimus tibi' (see Example 12, bars 21–3). In both instances the main contrapuntal activity defining this period takes place in just four of the vocal parts.<sup>48</sup> It is also true to say, however, that this type of cadence, in which harmonically the music moves from the plagal to the 'submediant', involving a 9–8 suspension between the top part and the bass, is characteristic of much music written in the early sixteenth

<sup>48</sup> A similar cadential formula can be identified in another piece by Verdelot: his setting of the canticle *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* in the sixth tone. See *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, 124 (bars 10–11).



Example 13a. Verdelot, *Beata es*, bars 1–7 (after *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1973).

Be - a - ta

Be - a - ta

Be - a - ta es

Be - a - ta es

Be - a - ta es

Be - a - ta es

Example 13b. Verdelot, *Beata es*, bars 34–9 (after *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1973).

34

ge - nu - i - sti qui te fe - cit

ge - nu - i - sti qui te fe - cit

ge - nu - i - sti qui te fe - cit

qui te fe - cit

nu - i - sti, ge - nu - i - sti qui te fe - cit

qui te fe - cit

Example 14. *Missa Inviolata*, Christe, bars 1–6.

Chri - - - ste

Chri - - - - -

Chri - - - - -

Chri - - - ste e - - - lei

century – particularly in the Dorian and Lydian (and Ionian on F) modes. For example, a particularly close parallel, from the contrapuntal point of view, to the one in the Gloria perhaps surprisingly occurs twice in a comparable context in a five-part *Regina caeli* setting by the French papal chapel composer Johannes Beauserron.<sup>49</sup>

It goes without saying that similarities found between cadential structures frequently involve standard progressions and that only a limited number of solutions are available. However, what is singular about these comparisons of cadences in the *Missa Inviolata* with those that may be distinguished in a number of works by Verdelot in particular is the number of coincidences between pitch and scoring. In almost every case, the most significant events defining these cadential periods (besides the bass lines) occur at the same pitches, and frequently in the same voice parts. A further example concerns the distinctive 'praeconia' cadence which occurs at the end of the *prima pars* of Josquin's motet (Example 15a) and is used in a striking manner at the end of the *Missa Inviolata* Sanctus (see Example 5, bars 35–7). The four notes of the chant at the word 'praeconia', which account for this period, are absorbed into more than one contrapuntal line in the Sanctus; but it is fascinating how closely the transformation of these chant notes at this point in the Mass corresponds to the theme in the tenor of a similar cadence in Verdelot's *Ultimi mei sospiri* (Example 15b). Furthermore, both Mass and madrigal have exactly the same overall scoring and vocal ranges. Earlier it was noted how the opening of Verdelot's *Italia mia* may be compared to that of Josquin's *Inviolata*, and it is therefore intriguing to find that the 'praeconia' cadence also occurs midway through this setting in a rather unexpected context (Example 15c).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> For an edition, see *Early Sixteenth-Century Sacred Music*, ed. Josephson, CMM, 95/i, 107–12.

<sup>50</sup> There is a number of coincidental likenesses between phrases in *Italia mia*, Josquin's *Inviolata* (the *prima pars* especially) and hence the Sanctus in the *Inviolata* Mass in particular. Besides the opening (see Example 9) and the 'praeconia' cadence, one can trace the theme 'integra' at the phrase 'Rettor del ciel' (bars 35ff.) which, somewhat unusually in the context of Verdelot's madrigals, is used imitatively, and thus resembles the striking repetitive use in the Sanctus (see above). There are other comparable themes and episodes, including the oblique reference to 'Nostra ut pura' immediately after the 'praeconia' cadence, thus corresponding to the thematic ideas at that juncture in the motet (*prima pars* leading to *secunda pars*).

Similar textures and antiphonal effects characterize much of his six-voice motet in two *partes*, *Attende domine* (also with the same scoring). For instance, an almost exact parallel can be found for two of the more unusual cadential closes in the Mass: at the end of Kyrie I (compare Examples 16a and 16b) and at 'Jesu Christe' in the Gloria, both featuring a decorated *tierce* at the resolution.

This quest for the compositional context for the *Missa Inviolata* has already led us through a sizeable group of vocal works composed

Example 15a. Josquin, *Inviolata*, *prima pars*, bars 55–8 (after *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, ed. Albert Smijers (Amsterdam, 1921–56), *Motetten*, 2/xxv).

55

lau - dum prae - co - ni - a,  
prae - co - ni - a  
lau - - dum prae - co - ni - a

Example 15b. Verdelot, *Ultimi mei sospiri*, bars 33–6 (after H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, Chicago and London, 1972).

33

In - fi - ni - ta,  
In - fi - ni - ta,  
In - fi - ni - ta,  
In - fi - ni - ta,  
In - fi - ni - ta,  
In - fi - ni - ta,

Example 15c. Verdelot, *Italia mia*, bars 62–4 (after H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, Chicago and London, 1972).

between c.1518 and the mid 1530s. Not surprisingly, most of these are in the Lydian mode (with B $\flat$ ) or in the Ionian on F. It could be argued that a common mode is bound to encourage melodic similarities, with phrases that gravitate towards the final, peak on the dominant and also emphasize predictable melodic intervals, as well as producing standard harmonic patterns, particularly at cadences or other points of articulation. However, it is when the manipulation of these tones within a contrapuntal framework creates a distinctive texture and sonority which we begin to recognize (or distinguish) as the property of an individual composer that we can begin to compare and classify. In any case, it is almost inevitable that a composer will reproduce thematic ideas and contrapuntal combinations from one work to another through association, whether conscious or not – particularly when he is concerned with similar or identical vocal scorings and therefore similar disposition of sound within the same modal framework.

It is for such reasons that I think a strong case can be made for Verdelot's candidature as the composer of *Missa Inviolata*, although this cannot be proved conclusively. The greater proportion of the works discussed here are thought to date from his 'late' period of composition – between c.1520 and 1527, when he was largely based in Florence, though one or two of these apparently date from just before that time. Although his whereabouts prior to Florence have not yet been ascertained, it is thought that he had been in the Veneto, but possibly also in Rome by c.1521.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, certainly from 1523 onwards he was employed as singer and *maestro di cappella* at both the Baptistry and

<sup>51</sup> See Slim/La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe', 427. It is theoretically possible that parts of the Mass were already written before he came to Florence. For Verdelot's association with Venice, see in particular Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals*, 45–9, and Anne-Marie Bragard, 'Verdelot en Italie', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 11 (1957), 109–24 (pp. 109–11). Unfortunately we have little idea of polyphonic Mass repertoires from the Veneto at this time.

Example 16a. *Missa Inviolata*, Kyrie I, closing bars.



Example 16b. Verdelot, *Attende domine*, closing bars of *prima pars* (after *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, CMM, 28/iii, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979).

Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.<sup>52</sup> It is significant that most of this music, scored for between five and eight voices (like *Missa Inviolata*), favours a combination of the lowest-sounding voices, which in itself explains the peculiar density and rich sonority of much of the repertory. It is also to be noted that a great proportion of repertories

<sup>52</sup> Various studies have brought forward documentary evidence and dating for Verdelot's employment in Florence. The most recent theory is that he was employed as *maestro di cappella* at the Baptistery of Santa Maria del Fiore at the latest from March 1522 (see Slim/La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe', 427). It is also thought that he was in Florence from at least May 1521. See also Richard

associated with Florence surviving from the early decades of the sixteenth century reveal a penchant for such rich scorings.<sup>53</sup>

It is tantalizing, however, that we have no tangible evidence of the polyphonic Masses once forming part of the repertoires regularly sung in the Florentine institutions in the 1520s; also, the only two Masses attributed to Verdelot are both scored for four voices.<sup>54</sup> Frank D'Accone's study of the musical chapels of Santa Maria del Fiore and the Baptistry gives some indication (in the form of documentary accounts) of the extent to which polyphony was sung in these institutions.<sup>55</sup> Although polyphonic Masses do not feature highly on the prescriptive lists, there is at least an indication that, besides two specific Marian feasts on which a polyphonic Mass was certainly sung, Mass in honour of the Virgin was regularly sung on Saturdays in front of the altar dedicated to her.<sup>56</sup> One would also expect devotion to the Virgin to be paramount at such an institution as Santa Maria del Fiore: this may account, too, for the emphasis on Marian themes in the surviving motet repertory, and is possibly the reason why those by Verdelot (for example) were written on such a grand scale. There is also evidence dating from 1522 that a polyphonic Mass was to be sung every morning in the Baptistry.<sup>57</sup> All that really survives from the cathedral at this time, however, is several settings of the Proper of the Mass.<sup>58</sup>

Until other documentary or musical details come to light, of course, we cannot be certain of the origins of *Missa Inviolata*. No matter how persuasive the arguments from the stylistic point of view in favour of a compositional context for the Mass in circles associated with Verdelot

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Sherr, 'Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer "La Fiore"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 402–11. See also Bragard, 'Verdelot en Italie', and Frank D'Accone, 'The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry during the First Half of the 16th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 24 (1971), 1–50 (p. 18 note 40). For the probable dating of Verdelot's works, see Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot*; see also Slim, 'Verdelot, Philippe', 633–5.

<sup>53</sup> For example, RomeV 35–40, though a Roman provenance for this manuscript has also been proposed. For a description, contextual study and inventory, see Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Manuscript', 173–232. See also Anne-Marie Bragard, *Étude bio-bibliographique sur Philippe Verdelot, musicien français de la Renaissance* (Brussels, 1964), 5–11, and Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals*, i, 57–8. For Verdelot and the Florentine connection of this set of partbooks, see Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford, 1998), 177ff.

<sup>54</sup> Two Masses based on Richafort's motet *Philomena praevia*; see Slim/La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe', 428–9 and 433. Nor, at present, do we have any theories as to the dating of these two fundamentally different works. For an edition of the parody in RISM 1544<sup>2</sup>, see *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, 1ff. The version in CoimU 9, of uncertain authorship, is unpublished; for details, see Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal, c.1530–c.1620: Sources from the Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra* (New York and London, 1995), 181.

<sup>55</sup> D'Accone, 'The Musical Chapels', 4–5 and 6–7.

<sup>56</sup> Of the nine official feast days on which polyphonic Masses were to be sung, a 1502 document highlights the feasts of the Annunciation and the Assumption (*ibid.*).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>58</sup> The surviving sources associated with the cathedral are listed in the *Census-Catalogue*, i. See especially FlorD 14, which contains a series of 14 cycles of Mass Propers, many of which may be attributed to Francesco Corteccia who was a member of the *cherico del coro* up to 1522 (see Frank D'Accone, 'Corteccia, Francesco', NG2, vi, 507–9). There is reason to believe, however, that a number of manuscripts that once formed part of the Duomo's collection have not survived, or have been lost; some of these included Masses by Isaac and his generation. I would like to thank Frank D'Accone for relaying this information to me in correspondence.

in Florence (or possibly Venice), the fact that no evidence has yet been found connecting the work to any Italian institution makes it impossible to attach any historical certainty to this or to the Mass's date of origin – particularly as it is known to survive in only one, relatively late, source in a different country. However, as recounted above, the making of Barcelona 1166/1967 was almost unquestionably connected with influences from Ferrara, a place that seemingly enjoyed a number of cultural associations with Florence during the time of Alfonso I d'Este. Also, the stylistic circuit has touched on at least one roughly coeval work within the papal chapel manuscripts, Beauserron's five-voice *Regina caeli*, and another link with the Mass is found here in a further work attributed to Beauserron – the latter possibly even helping to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of *Missa Inviolata*.

Up to this point, all stylistic comparisons with this work have been made with motets and a handful of pieces with secular texts, but none, as yet, with any complete Mass compositions (or Mass sections) of the period. Neither can any structural or strong stylistic relationships be found with Verdelot's four-voice *Missa Philomena*. As already observed, any connections that can be made with the two other *Inviolata* Masses – the four-part one by La Rue, and the five-part by Bauldeweyn (the latter being the only one of the three to retain some of the original text in the chant-carrying voice) – cannot really be regarded as the result of direct influence. Yet among the papal chapel manuscripts are two Credo settings attributed to Beauserron structured on the *Inviolata* chant as a texted cantus firmus in the *quinta pars* (of alto range). These Credos are virtually identical, with only slight differences between them. One forms part of a *Missa de beata Virgine* by Beauserron himself, the other of a compilation Marian Mass in which the Kyrie and Gloria are attributed to Jusquinus Dor, and the Sanctus and Agnus form an anonymous pair.<sup>59</sup> Quite unusually, and as distinct from the other three *Inviolata* Mass settings, the cantus firmus in the Beauserron Credo(s) is placed at a different transposition (a fifth above) from the surrounding counterpoint, which is written in the Lydian mode on F (with B♭). However, close examination of the contrapuntal fabric of Beauserron's Credo would suggest that the composer was almost certainly acquainted with the six-voice *Missa Inviolata* – even if (as it would seem) only from vague recollection.

Generally speaking, in Beauserron's Credo *Inviolata* there are only faint echoes of the Credo from the anonymous *Missa Inviolata*, and some of these similarities – such as the use of triadic motifs and the frequent emphasis on *c''* as a peak note in the superius – can probably be accounted for by their shared modal area. Yet in this setting, which otherwise would appear to bear no conscious relation to the Josquin *Inviolata* 'tradition', there is one short passage which alludes to the sequence of falling fourths characterizing the unmistakable 'O

<sup>59</sup> These are copied into VatS 19 and 55 respectively. Dor is recorded as one of Leo X's *cantores secreti* in 1520. Beauserron was a member of the papal chapel for a substantial period of about 28 years, from 1514 to 1542, thus overlapping with both Dor and Morales who joined the Sistine Chapel choir c.1535. See *Early Sixteenth-Century Sacred Music*, ed. Josephson, CMM, 95/i, pp. ix–x.

Example 17a. Beauserron, *Credo Inviolata*, bars 65–9 (after *Early Sixteenth-Century Sacred Music from the Papal Chapel*, ed. Nors S. Josephson, CMM, 95/i, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982).

65

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit

lau - dum prae - co - ni - a

Example 17b. *Missa Inviolata*, Credo, bars 99–107.

99

Et ho - mo fa - ctus est, et ho - mo fa -

benigna' passage in Josquin's motet. Example 17a is an extract from Beauserron's *Credo* as copied in *Cappella Sistina 55* from the point where the superius sings the phrase 'salutem, descendit de caelis', drawing the section to a close before the section beginning 'Et incarnatus est'. This extract can be compared to the first of two statements of the phrase 'et homo factus est' from the *Credo* in the *Missa Inviolata* (Example 17b). The main observation to be made is that Josquin's 'O benigna' chordal sequence (the interlocking falling fourths) can be detected in both extracts; further, the cast of the short phrase in the



superius in both Masses is almost identical: both begin on an *a'*, rather than the *c''* of the Josquin (see Example 4a), and both are notable for their deliberate placement and therefore accentuation of the B♭ on the off-beat (though the harmonic realization differs slightly). A partial echo or imitation of this phrase is heard among the inner parts in both examples. However, perhaps most curious is that, while the Credo of the anonymous *Inviolata* Mass incorporates glimpses (in the second soprano) of the chant phrase IIIA which inspired this contrapuntal and chordal treatment by Josquin in the first place, Beauserron's passage is built on a cantus firmus of the end of the second line of the chant (phrase ID). So the allusion to 'O benigna' in Beauserron's setting is apparently out of context here. Interestingly, the idea of interlocking fourths in imitation in Beauserron's Credo is introduced in the lower three parts a few bars earlier, at the words 'qui propter nos homines' – a passage built on the cantus firmus of the beginning of the phrase ID of the chant where the descending three notes *a–g–f* (in this context, *e–d–c*) are outlined. Moreover, a similar contrapuntal episode built on this motif occurs with exactly the same text ('qui propter nos homines') in the Credo of the *Inviolata* Mass, but without reference to any chant phrases. Another point of similarity between the two Credos also occurs in the ensuing section, Et incarnatus est. These begin in a near-identical manner, though at different pitches, with the chant phrase 'Nostra ut pura' (phrase IIA) clearly heard in the highest-sounding voice. There are no other passages in Beauserron's Credo that show a direct association with either Josquin's motet or the six-voice Mass, though the interlocking-fourths idea recurs in the three-voice Benedictus and one further phrase.

The connections seen here between Beauserron's Credo and that in the *Inviolata* Mass are probably more than mere coincidence. While it is evident that Beauserron was not paying any direct tribute to Josquin, the themes from the motet incidentally introduced into his Credo are almost certainly indicative of his knowledge or recollection of the six-voice Mass, either aurally or through participation in performance. Whether or not this transmission took place in Rome, or even in the papal chapel, is almost impossible to gauge. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence indicating close links between Florence and Rome at the time, particularly in this era coinciding with the election of two Medici popes in succession: Leo X in 1513 and Clement VII in 1524. Documents attest to the trafficking of musicians between Florence and the Vatican, in particular of Verdelot who went to Rome on the occasion of Clement VII's coronation in December 1523–January 1524, and Charles d'Argenti (formerly a singer at the cathedral in Florence, then at the Santissima Annunziata) who was admitted to the papal chapel in 1528.<sup>60</sup> There is also evidence to suggest that Roman musical

<sup>60</sup> See D'Accone, 'The Musical Chapels', 22 (note 59); also Slim/La Via, 'Verdelot, Philippe', 428.

repertories and performance practice were reflected in Florence.<sup>61</sup> The earliest known source for Beauserron's Credo is *Cappella Sistina* 55, in a section that Jeffrey Dean dates to c.1525, and not later than 1526,<sup>62</sup> which in theory presents a plausible hypothesis for a transmission of repertories by composers associated with Florence, including *Missa Inviolata*, as early as December 1523. If, on the other hand, the Mass originated from before Verdelot's Florentine period, it could have been transmitted by a Venetian intermediary.<sup>63</sup>

As we have seen, comparison between numerous passages in the anonymous six-voice *Inviolata* Mass and in some of Verdelot's madrigals and more grandiose motets associated particularly with his Florentine years (c.1523–c.1527), from the point of view of contrapuntal idiom, sonority and texture, reveals stylistic affinities of a kind rarely found to the same extent in the music of any of the other composers mentioned here. Like Verdelot, the composer of the Mass was evidently very much inspired by Josquin. Moreover, and like Verdelot in his *Beata es* especially, he demonstrates a mastery of counterpoint and an ability to manipulate thematic material borrowed from Josquin in such a way as to recreate the older master's lines in an entirely new and richly woven fabric, at times within a relatively advanced harmonic idiom. There is little doubt that Josquin's *Inviolata* was a great source of inspiration for many composers of Verdelot's generation. Some of the most distinctive elements of this motet – in particular the 'Inviolata' theme (as we have seen in *Beata es*) and the chordal sequence characterizing the 'O benigna' phrase – can be traced at a number of points in works of Marian association especially.<sup>64</sup> It is intriguing also, therefore, to find an unexpected allusion to the 'O benigna' phrase in a work by Verdelot of indisputably Florentine origin: his seven-voice *Sint dicte grates Christo*, with its *secunda pars* beginning 'Est florentini populi' – a work which has been dated to c.1527.<sup>65</sup> This occurs at the words 'certa Baptista salus' in an imitative fashion found only in the Mass and comparable to the contour of the phrase at 'Et homo factus est' shown in Example 17b.

There is still much anonymous music lying in Italian and Spanish manuscripts awaiting further investigation. It is therefore possible that concordances of the whole or parts of the *Missa Inviolata* will emerge to throw yet further light on its origin and context. That it was

<sup>61</sup> See Frank D'Accone, *The Civic Muse* (Chicago and London, 1997), 311.

<sup>62</sup> I would like to thank Jeffrey Dean for providing me with information on the copying and dating of this manuscript which revises the dating given in his Ph.D. dissertation, 'The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501–1527' (University of Chicago, 1984), 249–50.

<sup>63</sup> One could also bear in mind that the copyist of BarcBC 1967 used the term *supranus* consistently throughout the copy of the Mass, which is suggestive of a possible Venetian connection. See above, note 19.

<sup>64</sup> For example, Willaert's five-voice *Regina caeli*. See *Adriani Willaert opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck and Walter Gerstenberg, CMM, 3/iii (Rome, 1953), 56. Like Josquin's *Inviolata*, this piece is also structured on a canon, based on the plainchant, between two inner voices.

<sup>65</sup> See *Philippe Verdelot*, ed. Bragard, CMM, 28/ii, p. xi. Bragard indicates that this motet was probably composed for the procession of Santa Maria in Imprunetta (18 August 1527). For an edition, see *ibid.*, 110–18.

connected in some way with the eight-voice *Inviolata* setting now attributed to Verdelot is clear and, if the authorship of this particular motet has ever been uncertain, its aural association with a work by this composer must once have been known to musicians of the sixteenth century.

#### ABSTRACT

Preserved anonymously and without title in Barcelona 1967 is a unique six-voice polyphonic Mass which to a large extent 'parodies' Josquin's famous setting of the Marian sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*. It was copied along with other works apparently imported from northern Italy to the court of the duke of Calabria in Valencia in the early 1540s, the supposed provenance of the choirbook, and bears every indication of having been written by a skilled Franco-Flemish hand c.1520–3. More particularly, the counterpoint, richly woven texture and sonority have much in common with music attributed to Philippe Verdelot, especially in works he composed from c.1518 through to his time in Florence up to 1527. This article draws upon several works by Verdelot for stylistic comparison, including an eight-voice *Inviolata* setting now attributed to him, as well as music by his contemporaries, and also shows how the composer of the Mass was skilled in manipulating Josquin's themes, and contrapuntal textures and structures, thus demonstrating his debt to the master