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**Conflicting attributions in the Continental motet repertory from
ca. 1500 to ca. 1550**

Hur, Young-Han, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

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CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS IN THE CONTINENTAL MOTET

REPERTORY FROM CA. 1500 TO CA. 1550

by

YOUNG-HAN HUR

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1990

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PREFACE

Conflicting attributions in music generally have been treated as problems of authorship: which composer wrote the piece. The main reason for this seems to be that most conflicting attributions have been discussed within one rather narrow context or another, most often in studies that deal with an individual composer. And undoubtedly, such one-composer studies should have the problem of determining authorship as the--or at least a--primary concern. However, as such studies have proliferated, and as an ever-increasing number of newly uncovered conflicting attributions have come to light, the need to examine the conflicting attributions in a different, more "global" context has been growing. Thus, the present study of conflicting attributions in the Continental motet repertory of the first half of the sixteenth century attempts to both bring together (for the first time) all the conflicting attributions in that body of music and examine them from a number of different points of view. And rather than placing the emphasis on the problem of who wrote what piece, the conflicting attributions are themselves used as a springboard that sheds light on such aspects of sixteenth-century music as patterns of

dissemination, printing techniques, composers' biographies, and even modern musicological attitudes towards the notion of authorship.

In all, the study accounts for a total of 266 motets (including one Te Deum) that involve conflicting attributions among 122 composers. The search for conflicting attributions is limited to motets written by composers who were active on the Continent during the first half of the sixteenth century (thus disregarding Latin motets by English composers). In some instances composers who were not active during that period have been included if their works conflict with those by composers who worked primarily during the fifty-year span. Finally, all composers who were active primarily between ca. 1500 and ca. 1550 have been included, with no attempt to distinguish between those works written during the period in question and those that might fall a few years on either side.

The 266 motets listed in the Inventory (Appendix A) have been tracked down by three means: (1) previous studies, editions, worklists, inventories, etc., of individual composers and sources, which, as one might expect, yielded the overwhelming majority of conflicts--245; (2) my own thematic catalogue of 1,900 motets which added nine more conflicts not noted in the existing literature (Nos. 84, 97, 143, 173, 191, 204, 206, 233, 235); and (3) unpublished

information kindly given to me by Dr. Bonnie Blackburn which added still another twelve conflicting attributions (Nos. 1, 16, 30, 40, 68, 69, 77, 87, 92, 94, 101, 145). Since my catalogue contains all the motets that I have been able to find in modern editions, no doubt more conflicting attributions will eventually be discovered as more editions become available.

I hope that this project is merely a first step in what will become a series of similarly conceived, future studies on conflicting attributions for other periods and other genres, and that such studies will take us one step closer to a better understanding not only of individual problems of authorship, but also of such aspects of the musical past as compositional process, performance practices, patterns of transmission, copying and printing process, and even biography.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would have been neither begun nor finished without the tireless support of Prof. Allan Atlas, who suggested the topic to me in the first place, and who read multiple drafts of each chapter, never failing to return them to me without encouragement and helpful criticism. I wish to express my most sincere gratitude to him. In addition, Profs. Ruth DeFord and Andrew Tomasello also helped guide the dissertation along from its inception,

giving numerous suggestions that improved it at every stage. Indeed, the overall organization of the dissertation owes much to suggestions that Prof. DeFord gave early on in its formulation. To stay among faculty of the City University of New York for one more moment, I am grateful to Profs. Barry Brook, Edward Lerner, and Dennis Slavin, all of whom read the finished product and made further suggestions at the stage of its final polishing.

It is my pleasure to thank Dr. Bonnie Blackburn and Prof. Lawrence Bernstein, both of whom kindly shared valuable information with me through correspondence. And I should not forget to thank Jerry Call of the University of Illinois at Urbana for his help when I visited the Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies there in the summer of 1988.

I should like to thank the staffs of the Isham Memorial Library of Harvard University, the Research Division of the Library for the Performing Arts of Lincoln Center, and the Paul Klapper Music Library of Queens College of the City University of New York, for their ever-ready generosity and willingness to help.

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CHAPTER I
 CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FROM ca. 1350
 TO ca. 1600: A SURVEY

In general, our modern notion of authorship in the arts--whether music, literature, or the visual arts--is grounded in the idea of a one-to-one relationship between the author, and the work of art. Thus we speak of Homer's Iliad, Shakespeare's Hamlet, Leonardo's Mona Lisa, Beethoven's Choral Symphony, etc. At times, however, a given work may be attributed to more than one author, a phenomenon that is particularly relevant to English drama of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and to music of a number of different periods. Yet despite sharing the multi-author phenomenon, the two fields furnish us with distinctly different types of multiple authorship: in English drama of that period, multiple authorship usually comes about as a result of the active collaboration of two or more writers, a type that we may call "shared authorship;"¹ in music, on the other hand, instances in

1. Needless to say, we find examples of "shared authorship" in music also, especially in Baroque opera. A particularly well known example is Muzio Scevola, composed by Filippo Amadei (Act I), Giovanni Bononcini (Act II), and Handel (Act III). Yet even here there is an important difference as compared with the "shared authorship" of English drama, for in the latter, the question of who wrote which portion of the play cannot be always clearly deter-

which two composers are named for a single piece in the very sources that transmit that piece have usually been viewed as representing a disagreement or contradiction between attributions, a type generally known as a "conflicting attribution." This idea of a conflicting attribution is generally unfamiliar to students of literature and to historians of the visual arts.²

For music historians, however, especially those who specialize in the music of the Renaissance or the Classical Era, the problem posed by conflicting attributions is ever-present. The following discussion surveys the problem of conflicting attributions as it affects various genres from

mined; see, for example, Ernest Oliphant's discussion of Beggars' Bush by Beaumont and Fletcher (The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, pp. 256-65).

2. There are, of course, examples of "conflicting" attributions in literature. For instance, the seventeenth-century drama The Coronation, a Comedy is attributed to John Fletcher and James Shirley, while The Bondman is ascribed to Fletcher and Philip Massinger; see Bently, "Authenticity and Attribution in the Jacobian and Caroline Drama," pp. 183-4, and for still other examples, Oliphant, The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, pp. 94-9. In addition, a few more conflicting attributions are to be found in English poetry of the same period, as in the case of The Passionate Shepherd, ascribed to both Christopher Marlowe and Shakespeare; see Hebel and Hudson eds., Poetry of the English Renaissance, p. 946. Conflicting attributions also appear in fifteenth-century poetry, as, for example, in the Spanish canción Yerra con poco saber attributed to Juan de Mena and Pere Torroellas; see Pope and Kanazawa, Montecassino 871, p. 572.

ca. 1350 to ca. 1600. In the discussion that follows, the material is organized in the following fashion: (A) a discussion of conflicting attributions from ca. 1350 to ca. 1500; (B) conflicts from ca. 1550 to ca. 1600 (both of these periods are treated in rather general fashion); and (C) conflicts from ca. 1500 to ca. 1550, this period being covered with statistics in a genre-by-genre approach (chansons, frottole, madrigal, Masses, and finally the motet.

(A) CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FROM ca. 1350 TO ca. 1500

The first unequivocal examples of conflicting attributions appear in the fourteenth century, when music manuscripts begin to name composers on a fairly regular basis.³ In Apel's monumental edition of the French secular repertory, there are three pieces--out of a total of 118

3. Aside from some authors to whom various Gregorian chants are attributed (if, indeed, they composed the music of the chants ascribed to them), the first extensive group of composers to appear in the history of Western music consists of the troubadours and trouvères of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And as Van der Werf points out, there are instances in which a chanson is attributed to different composers (The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères, p. 16). However, this view has been challenged by Karp, who maintains that the attributions "refer primarily to the poet and not the composer" ("Troubadours and Trouvères," The New Grove, vol. XIX, p. 197). In the end, though, we probably know too little about the composer-poets and their creative processes to say whether or not those pieces carry conflicting attributions in the sense that we are using the term here.

with attributions (and 293 in all)--that are attributed to more than one composer: No. 28, ascribed to Philippus de Caserta and Johannes Galiot; No. 88, to Galiot and Jacques de Senleches; and No. 115, to Machaut and Jean Vaillant.⁴ And if the proportion of conflicting attributions to the total number of attributions is minuscule in the fourteenth-century French repertory, it is almost non-existent in the contemporary Italian repertory. In fact, the entire body of Trecento music seems to offer only a single piece with a conflicting attribution, Mort' è la fè, ascribed to both "Franciscus" [Landini?] and P[aulus] A[bbas de Florentia].⁵ In all, it seems fair to say that while the fourteenth century gave rise to the first instances of clearly conflicting attributions, those that do appear are few in number and present little problem to modern scholars.

The situation changes, and dramatically so, in the fifteenth century, when conflicting attributions become both numerous and troublesome. Among the first composers

4. Apel, ed., Fourteenth-Century French Secular Music, vol. I, pp. xxxv and xl.

5. Günther, Nàdas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia," p. 207. This conflicting attribution has only recently been brought to light, and we might note that von Fischer's catalogue of the Trecento repertory does not list a single conflicting attribution as carrying a conflict; see his Studien zur italienischen Musik, pp. 18-73.

seriously affected by conflicting attributions is John Dunstable. The Dunstable worklist in The New Grove contains sixty-four works under the composer's name, with as many as thirteen of them also ascribed to someone else.⁶ Looking at the kinds of pieces that are affected by the conflicts, we notice that sacred works outnumber secular pieces, eleven to two, something that we would expect given that the total number of secular pieces attributed to Dunstable consists of only five works (as opposed to fifty-nine sacred compositions). What is surprising, though, is that as many as eight of the eleven conflicts that affect Dunstable's sacred output belong to one specific sub-genre, the non-isorhythmic motet, while the isorhythmic motets are completely free of conflicting attributions (see Table I-1):

An examination of works attributed to Hugo de Lantins yields a total of five conflicts--three of ten sacred compositions, and two of eighteen secular works. For Lantins, however, the genre most heavily affected is that of Mass movements, as all three of the sacred works with conflicting attributions are the Mass movements (see Table I-2). Thus, to change the focus from composers to

6. Unless otherwise noted, the data presented in this chapter is based on the worklists included in the individual entries on composers in The New Grove. The modern edition of Dunstable's works lists only seven conflicting attributions; see the critical commentary of Dunstable, Complete Works.

Table I-1. Conflicting attributions in Dunstable's works.

Genre	Number of Pieces	Number of Conflicts	Composers
Masses and Mass movements	19	3	Power (2), Power and Benet (1)
Non-Isorhythmic Motets	26	8	Power (4), Binchois (2), Dufay (1), Forest (1)
Isorhythmic Motets	14	0	
Secular Works	5	2	Bedyngham (2)

Table I-2. Conflicting attributions in H. de Lantins' works.

Genre	Number of pieces	Number of Conflicts	Composers
Masses and Mass movements	5	3	Dufay (2), Forest (1)
Non-Isorhythmic Motets	4	0	
Isorhythmic Motets	1	0	
Secular Works	18	2	Arnold de Lantins (2)

manuscripts, it may not be surprising that in BolC Q15, BolU 2216, and OxfBC 213, each of which transmits a mixed repertory, sacred compositions are transmitted with conflicts rather more frequently than are the secular works--eight out of 414 redactions of sacred pieces and four out of 304 redactions of secular ones. However, to conclude that one particular genre or another is more seriously affected by conflicting attributions than another seems inappropriate, since there are not enough incidents to make comparison meaningful.

One pattern begins to emerge clearly with the Dunstable conflicts: a composer tends to conflict either with another or with a narrow circle of composers with whom there would seem to be some biographical connections. Thus of the thirteen conflicting attributions in which Dunstable is involved, seven are, as one might expect, with his fellow Englishman Leonel Power. In the case of Hugo de Lantins, four of the five conflicts involve either Dufay (2), who might have had a close connection with Hugo,⁷ or Arnold de Lantins (2), who probably was Hugo's relative.⁸

This pattern--the tendency for certain composers to

7. As Alejandro Planchart, "Du Fay's Benefices," p. 124, points out, Hugo was present at the Malatesta court of Pesaro at precisely the same time that we presume that Dufay was also in Malatesta service.

8. See The New Grove, vol. X, pp. 457-8.

conflict primarily with certain other composers--is apparent again in the second half of the fifteenth century, though now the concentration of conflicting attributions shifts to the secular repertory, specifically to the French chanson, a repertory that Fallows has estimated to consist of some 1,200 works.⁹ Limiting his search only to those conflicting attributions in which at least one of the composers involved is named in a source that originated in Italy, Atlas turned up seventy-six conflicts.¹⁰ Though we can do no more than guess, if we extend Atlas's study to include conflicts in which both composers are named in sources from north of the Alps, the number of conflicts would approximately double. The number of conflicting attributions for the chanson repertory of the second half of the fifteenth century could therefore conceivably approach 12% of the total repertory.

Unfortunately, no similarly systematic effort has been made to tally up the conflicting attributions in the sacred genres of the same period. However, it seems unlikely that the rate of conflicting attributions in such pieces would

9. "Review of Howard Mayer Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent," Times Literary Supplement, 27 April 1984, p. 474. Fallows points out that the 268 works in the manuscript FlorBN BR229 constitute approximately one quarter of the total chanson repertory of the second half of the fifteenth century.

10. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions."

match or even come close to that in the French chanson. Indeed, three strictly liturgical genres of the period for which there are inventories--Office hymns, Magnificats, and Te Deums--contain a very small number of conflicts.¹¹ This trend is confirmed by the ratios of conflicting attributions in the sacred and secular works of four composers--Agricola, Busnois, Compère, and Ockeghem (Table I-3).¹²

Though Ockeghem has left us secular and sacred pieces in almost equal number--there are twenty-four chansons ascribed to him, alongside seventeen Masses and nine motets--six of the eight conflicting attributions involving Ockeghem occur in his secular output. As for Agricola, there are conflicting attributions in four out of thirty-eight sacred works (10.5%), but seventeen out of eighty-four secular works (20.2%). Thus it seems safe to say that during the second half of the fifteenth century the problem of conflicting attributions is far more acute in the secular repertory than it is in the sacred.

As for the phenomenon in which a composer tends to conflict predominantly with one other composer or with a

11. For hymn settings, see Ward, The Office Hymn; for Magnificat and Te Deum settings, see Kirsch, Te Deum- und Magnificat.

12. In addition to the worklists in The New Grove, I have used the followings: Agricola, Opera Omnia, Finscher, Compère, and Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions."

Table I-3. Comparison of conflicting attributions in sacred and secular works of Agricola, Busnois, Compère, and Ockeghem.

	Sacred		Secular	
	number of pieces	number of conflicts	number of pieces	number of conflicts
Agricola	38	4	84	17
Busnois	14	0	73	14
Compère	30	4	69	15
Ockeghem	26	2	24	6
Total	108	10	250	52

small group of composers with whom he intersects biographically, this will, as Table I-4 makes clear, hold up for all four composers. Indeed, Atlas believes the tendency is so strong, that he actually turns it around and speculates about the biographies of certain composers based upon the composer-concentration of their conflicting attributions.¹³

(B) CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FROM ca. 1550 TO ca. 1600

In the second half of the sixteenth century, it seems initially as though conflicting attributions are virtually absent, at least in comparison to both the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, a search through the works of some of the most prolific composers of the period--Lasso, Monte, Palestrina, Porta, and Wert--turns up only a meager number of conflicts: one madrigal for Lassus, and three madrigals

13. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," pp. 275-6. Thus it would not be surprising if further research turns up some kind of biographical connection between Busnois and Japart, about whom we know very little. (For speculation about the matter, see the forthcoming article by Atlas, "Japart-Busnois/Student-Teacher" to appear in a Festschrift for Luther Dittmer.) And though there is no documentary evidence that links Caron to Busnois, it has been suggested that they knew each other; see The New Grove, vol. III, p. 816.

Table I-4. Composers with whom the four composers conflict.

Agricola	Compère (4), Isaac (3), Brumel (2), Fresneau (2), Hayne (2), Josquin (2), Obrecht (2), Aulen, Bourdon, Busnois, Felice, La Rue, P., Robert, Verbonet (1)
Busnois	Caron (3), Japart (3), Hayne (2) Ockeghem (2), Agricola, Compère, Felice, Isaac, La Rue, Martini, Mureau (1)
Compère	Agricola (4), Josquin (3), Weerbecke (2), Anchieta, Boris, Busnois, Martini, Mureau, Ninot, Obrecht, Peñalosa, Pietrequin, Pipelare, Ribera, Richafort, Robert, Rubinet, Stockem, Tinctoris, Vaqueras (1)
Ockeghem	Busnois (2), Barbingant, Dufay, Faugues, Hayne, Cornelius Heyns, Malcort, Martini (1)

for Monte.¹⁴ Still, as a recent example involving Giovanni Gabrieli attests, one cannot be certain that at least a few more conflicts will not turn up in the future. For example, while the inventory of Gabrieli's works compiled by Kenton fails to list a single instance of a conflicting attribution,¹⁵ the addenda made by Charteris includes a hitherto overlooked German organ tabulature--BerlPS 40165--that transmits eight keyboard works generally thought to be Gabrieli's but which are here attributed to Christian Erbach and Andrea Gabrieli.¹⁶ Or, to cite another example, the madrigal Non vi vieto per questo included in Dorico's 1560 collection of Lasso's madrigals, and thus generally regarded as an authentic work of Lasso's, is also attributed to Hoste da Reggio in a Scotto print of 1554.¹⁷ Perhaps, therefore, still further conflicting attributions of this period will be uncovered when a more thorough cross-checking of works is possible. Even so, it is probable that a list

14. Mann, The Madrigals of Monte, pp. 142-57. MacClintock's catalogue lists no conflicting attributions; see her Giaches de Wert: Life and Works, pp. 239-79. Unfortunately, there are still no thorough catalogues of both works and sources for either Palestrina or Porta. All that can be said is that The New Grove worklists for those composers fail to list even a single conflicting attribution.

15. Kenton, Giovanni Gabrieli, passim.

16. Charteris, "New Sources," p. 169.

17. Haar, "A Madrigal Falsely Ascribed to Lasso," pp. 526-7.

of conflicting attributions from this period would be rather short. For that reason the pattern of conflicting attributions--concentrations within certain groups of composers--mentioned in connection with the conflicts in the second half of the fifteenth century is not found here.

No doubt, the virtual disappearance of conflicting attributions in the second half of the sixteenth century is related to the changes in the means through which most music was transmitted. In general, transmission by manuscript became ever more insignificant during these years, and we would have lost only a small number of pieces from this period even had no manuscripts at all from the late sixteenth century survived. For example, even were we to disregard every manuscript redaction of Philippe de Monte's madrigals, not a single piece would be lost.¹⁸ And just as the manuscript tradition slowed down, so too did the production of printed anthologies, at least as measured against their mid-century peak (see Table I-5). Now, what these two means of transmission have in common, despite

18. Mann, The Madrigals of Monte, pp. 11-58. This is especially true for the Italian madrigal and related genres. As for the sacred music of the period, though manuscripts were still fairly important, they tended to betray a backward-looking tendency in musical repertoires; manuscripts from the late sixteenth century often contain as much music by composers of the first half of the century as they do by composers from the second half.

Table I-5. Anthologies published before 1600.*

Years	Number of prints
1501-10	31
1511-20	29
1521-30	32
1531-40	150
1541-50	244
1551-60	301
1561-70	264
1571-80	156
1581-90	224
1591-1600	201

*This table is based on RISM B/IV/1.

their obvious differences, is that they represent two types of anthology--assemblages of various composers' works. At the same time, the production of one-composer collections began to increase. Even though the number of such collections published during the period is hard to estimate accurately, an examination of printed collections for some composers chosen at random--Monte, Porta, and Wert--provides us with some basis on which to judge their importance. Admittedly, as Table I-6 shows, the sheer number of anthologies that include music by these three composers is still larger than the number of one-composer collections. However, since each collection devoted to a single composer contains a far greater number of works by that composer than does an anthology, the number of pieces by the composer which is included in the one-composer collections is far greater than that in the anthologies.¹⁹

In all, the sharp decrease in the number of conflicting attributions may be related to the increase in the publication of one-composer collections, a type that began to appear regularly in the early 1530's. This new medium became what was perhaps the major means of transmitting music during both the second half of the

19. Moreover, many pieces that appeared in anthologies had already been printed in earlier, one-composer collections. For such instances in connection with Monte, see Mann, The Secular Madrigals of Monte, p. 41.

Table I-6. Number of publications in both anthology and collection types for the works by Monte, Porta, and Wert.

Composer	Anthologies	One-Composer Collections
Monte	33	44
Porta	43	14
Wert	12	18
Total	88	76

sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth, when the music printing business as a whole began to fall upon hard times.²⁰

Thus, if the hypothesis relating the rate of conflicting attributions to the means of transmission is correct, we should see a different situation in the seventeenth century, when transmission by means of manuscript once again began to predominate. Looking at the works of Giacomo Carissimi, for example, we are struck by the large number of conflicting attributions in his works and, hence, at least somewhat confirming the hypothesis. In her index of Carissimi's cantatas, Gloria Rose notes that of the total of 211 such works, thirty-two are transmitted with conflicting attributions, involving fourteen composers.²¹ And as one might expect, the transmission of Carissimi's vocal works was primarily through manuscripts.²²

20. According to Bianconi, music publishing declined sharply after 1600; see, Music in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 73-81.

21. Rose, Giacomo Carissimi, passim.

22. For example, of Carissimi's more than 250 motets, fifty-three survive in prints, while more than two hundred motets are transmitted only in manuscripts; see, Jones, Motets of Carissimi, p. 41. Moreover, the figures for the print-to-manuscript ratio of Carissimi's cantatas are even more striking. Up to 1710 there are but nine prints that contain cantatas by Carissimi, while the number of manuscript redactions that transmit his cantatas runs well into the hundreds; see Rose op. cit., p. vii.

(C) CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FROM ca. 1500 TO ca. 1550

During the first half of the sixteenth century, almost every genre--whether secular or sacred--was affected by conflicting attributions in fairly substantial numbers. The following discussion of conflicts during the period between 1500 and 1550 is based sometimes on data taken from a selective population, at other times on data drawn from a more comprehensive population. Yet despite this inconsistency in the methods of obtaining the data, it provides some idea as to the degree with which conflicting attributions were transmitted during this period.

(1) Secular Music

The three main secular genres of the time were the chanson, the madrigal, and--early in the century--the frottola. As will be shown, each of the three genres is marked by a rate of conflicting attributions that varies from about 6% to approximately 13% of the total number of pieces in each genre by a select group of composers. Moreover, in each genre, a pair of composers emerges, with the number of conflicts between the members of each pair being so great in comparison to conflicts that they have with other composers that no one could fail to recognize them.

For the so-called "Parisian" chanson, I examined the

works of Certon, Janequin, and Sermisy. According to the worklists in The New Grove, these three composers wrote a total of about 731 chansons: 283 by Janequin, 176 by Sermisy, and 285 by Certon (minus 13 for duplications owing to conflicting attributions = 744).²³ As Table I-7 shows, the 731 works include thirty-nine instances of conflicting attributions. Table I-7 further shows that the greatest number of conflicts between any two composers are the eleven between Janequin and Sermisy. Finally, while Sermisy conflicts with Sandrin and Certon five and two times respectively, neither one of the latter two composers ever stands in conflict with Janequin. From the number of composers involved--thirty one--and the number of conflicts, it is clear (1) that conflicting attributions in the Parisian chansons were common, and (2) that the late fifteenth-century trend in which one composer tended to conflict with another continues to hold up.

23. In addition to the worklists for the three composers in The New Grove, the following sources were used: the Passereau worklist in The New Grove (which adds two more Janequin/Passereau conflicts that are not listed in the worklist for Janequin); and Certon: Chansons polyphoniques, Agnel and Expert, eds., which, however, includes only 125 pieces. Since the Certon worklist in The New Grove, which credits Certon with 285 chansons, does not cite conflicting attributions, the seven conflicts accounted for in Table I-7 were taken from Certon: Chansons polyphoniques. Thus there may well be further conflicting attributions involving Certon.

Table I-7. Conflicts in the Parisian chansons involving three composers.

Composer	Number of pieces ascribed	Composers involved	Number of conflicts
Janequin	283	Sermisy(11), Passereau(4), Le Heurteur(3) Clemens (2), Gascongne(2), Bonvosin(1), Cosson(1), Fevin(1), Gombert(1), Gosse(1), T. Janequin(1), Port(1), Sohier(1), Ysoré(1).	31
Sermisy	176	Janequin(11), Sandrin(5), Certon(2), Crecquillon(2), Jacotin(2), Le Heurteur(2), Appenzeller(1), Dulot(1), Gombert(1), Isaac(1), La Rue(1), Mornable(1), Moulu(1), Peletier(1), Vermont(1).	27
Certon	285	Panurge(2), Sermisy(2), P. Clereau(1), Dufour(1), Gardane(1).	7
Subtotal	744		67
*Subtract duplications	-13		-13
Total	731		54

Rate of Conflicting Attribution: 7.2%

* Since there are conflicts involving more than two composers, and since conflicts among the three representative composers are listed twice, all the duplications must be subtracted in order to calculate the total number of pieces with conflicting attributions.

In Italy, the two major secular genres of the time were the frottola in the early part of the century and later the madrigal. The works of four frottola composers were examined: Cara, Lurano, Pesenti, and Tromboncino. Of the approximately 349 different compositions ascribed to the four composers, twenty-two involve conflicting attributions (see Table I-8).²⁴ Again, the large number of conflicts between one pair of composers--Cara and Tromboncino--is significant.

It is interesting to note that the varying geographical-chronological breadths with which the Parisian chansons and frottole were disseminated does not affect the degree to which they were affected by conflicting attributions in any significant way. Thus while the Parisian chanson traveled widely all over the Continent, the rate of conflicts in the chanson repertory is not meaningfully higher than the rate of conflicts in the frottola, a genre cultivated and disseminated mainly in northern Italy. Moreover, as we shall see, the rate of conflicts in the chanson is also lower than that in the madrigal, a genre disseminated outside Italy only during the second half of the sixteenth century.

24. The data is based on the catalogue by Jeppeson, La Frottola, vols. I-III, passim.

Table I-8. Conflicts in frottole involving four composers.

Composer	Number of pieces ascribed	Composers involved	Number of conflicts
Tromboncino	176	Cara(10), Pesenti(3), Lurano(2), A. de A.(1), F. T.(1), F. V.(1), Iac. Fo.(1)	19
Cara	118	Tromboncino(10), Alexandro Mantovano(2), Pesenti(1)	13
Pesenti	36	Tromboncino(3), Cara(1)	4
Lurano	35	Tromboncino(2)	2
Subtotal	365		38
Subtract duplications	-16		-16
Total	349		22

Rate of Conflicting Attribution: 6%

As with the frottola, our sample of madrigals was taken from the works of four composers: 429 madrigals by Berchem, Festa, Verdelot, and Willaert.²⁵ These works yielded fifty-seven instances of conflicting attributions, with the most prominent couplings of composers taking the form of fourteen conflicts between Festa and Fogliano²⁶ and of eleven between Festa and Arcadelt (see Table I-9).

In sum, the rates of conflicting attributions in the sample populations of attributed chansons, frottole, and madrigals are 7.2%, 6%, and 13.2%, respectively. Obviously, these figures are, with respect to the genres as a whole, slightly skewed, in that the samples that yielded them consisted only of pieces transmitted with attributions in the first place. And it is just as obvious that the rates would drop if the many anonymi in these genres were added to the total populations.²⁷

25. For conflicting attributions in Festa's madrigals, see Musch, Festa als Madrigalkomponist, pp. 157-69 and Fenlon and Haar, "Fonti e cronologia." The modern edition of Willaert's madrigals adds more conflicting attributions which are not listed in The New Grove; see, Willaert, Opera Omnia, vol. XIV, pp. viii-ix.

26. The fourteen madrigals are ascribed to Fogliano only in RegB 940-1; see Fenlon and Haar, "Fonti e cronologia," p. 215, fn. 8.

27. For example, in a letter of 1 December 1988, Prof. Lawrence Bernstein informed me that his estimate of the proportion of chansons with conflicting attributions would be about 5% of the total repertory.

Table I-9. Conflicts in madrigals involving Berchem, Festa, Verdelot, and Willaert.

Composer	Number of pieces ascribed	Composers involved	Number of conflicts
Festa	123	Fogliano (14), Arcadelt (11), Verdelot (2), Compère (1), S. Festa (1), Gardane (1), Ghibelli (1), Rampollinus (1), Pesenti (1), Pisano (1), Willaert (1)	34
Verdelot	146	Arcadelt (4), Willaert (4), M. Jhan (3), Festa (2), De Silva (2)	14
Willaert	78	Verdelot (4), Barré (2) Corteccia (1), Donato (1), C. Festa (1)	8
Berchem	88	Arcadelt (2), A. Ferrabosco (1), Jacquet (1), Ivo (1), Ivo Barry (1), Naich (1)	7
Subtotal	435		63
Subtract duplications	-6		-6
Total	429		57

Rate of Conflicting Attribution: 13.2%

(2) Sacred Music (Masses)

Thanks to the catalogues of Kirsch and Ward, there are three sacred genres--straddling the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries--for which accurate rates of conflicting attributions can be determined: Office hymn, Magnificat, and Te Deum. While Kirsch's catalogue of Te Deum and Magnificat settings lists nine settings with conflicts out of a total of 1,160, Ward's inventory of 755 Office hymns does not include a single item with a conflicting attribution. In both instances, the low proportion of pieces with conflicting attributions would seem to result from (1) the low attribution rate to begin with--only 144 of the 755 hymns listed by Ward bear attributions, and (2) the generally circumscribed dissemination with which the majority of these often "local" pieces are found.

In other sacred genres, however, namely the motet and the Mass, conflicting attributions are as numerous, or almost so, as in the secular genres of the time. Since there is no single inventory for the Mass repertory of the period, our estimate must once again be based on a group of select composers (see Table I-10). What emerges is that, with the Masses of Josquin omitted, a total of 110 ascribed Masses by seven composers includes five with conflicting

Table I-10. Conflicts in Masses involving the eight composers.

Composer	Number of pieces ascribed	Composers involved	Number of conflicts
Josquin	29	Compère (2), La Rue (2), Bauldewyne (1), Martini(1), Moulu (1), Nicolaus Scomtianus(1), Richafort(1)	9
Crecquillon	15	Clemens (1), Manchicourt(1), Morales (1)	3
Mouton	19	Fevin (1), Forestier (1)	2
Clemens	15	Crecquillon (1)	1
Fevin	10	Mouton (1)	1
Manchicourt	20	Crecquillon (1)	1
Morales	23	Crecquillon (1)	1
Gombert	12		0
Subtotal	143		18
Subtract duplications	-4		-4
Total	139		14

Rate of Conflicting Attribution: 10.1%

less than the 6% that emerges from our select group of frottola settings. When, however, Josquin's twenty-nine ascribed Masses with their nine conflicts are added, the rate of conflicting attributions more than doubles, reaching 10.1%. Josquin alone, then, accounts for more than half of the conflicting attributions in our sample, and we shall see that he stands out in a similar way in our overall, non-randomly-selected survey of the motet repertory.

(3) The Motet Repertory

Since conflicting attributions in the motet repertory from ca. 1500 to ca. 1550 are the main subject of the present study, we shall deal with them in only the briefest, most introductory fashion here. Out of a total of 6,000 motets,²⁸ I have accounted for 266 conflicting attributions that involve a total of 122 composers. Thus, slightly less than 5% of the motets--both attributed and anonymous--composed in the first half of the sixteenth century are transmitted with conflicting attributions, a proportion that approximates our estimated percentages for conflicting attributions in such genres as the chanson and frottola, while falling rather short of our estimate for the madrigal and Mass.

28. Information supplied by Dr. Bonnie Blackburn; letter of 17 July 1988.

Finally, as I have already noted in the Preface, this study deals with the Continental motet only, Latin motets by English composers having been excluded. This is not to imply that the English motet repertory and other English genres do not have conflicting attributions and problems of their own. Rather, it is a case of their being sharply distinct repertories. In fact, there is only one instance in which a motet is attributed both to an English and to a Continental composer: the Ascendo ad Patrem ascribed to Maillard and Tye. If nothing else, this lack of conflicting attributions between English and Continental composers may show that the lines between the repertories were drawn a good deal harder than they had been a hundred years earlier, when six of the thirteen conflicts involving Dunstable had him bumping up against Continental composers.

There emerge from this brief sketch of conflicting attributions three "themes," so to speak, the last two of which run through the entire span of periods covered: (1) conflicting attributions--that is, situations in which the musical or other documentary sources unequivocally attribute one work to two or more different composers--are an ever-present phenomenon from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century to ca. 1550 (with a much smaller number of conflicts appearing in both the late fourteenth and late

sixteenth centuries);²⁹ (2) from the fifteenth century on, there seems to be a correlation between the number of conflicting attributions and the means by which music was generally transmitted; that is, the number of conflicts during the second half of the sixteenth century--small in comparison with the periods before and after--would seem to be related to the predominance of printed, one-composer collections as opposed to either printed or manuscript anthologies; and (3) if one finds a relatively large number of total conflicts for a given composer, the vast majority of those conflicts tends to occur with only one or two other authors with whom the composer has had some biographical intersections, while a larger group of composers will share

29. A superficial survey of conflicting attributions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows that these periods, too, transmit a large number of conflicts. For instance, seventeenth-century Italy, is plagued by conflicting attributions, and, as in the late fifteenth century, they seem to be concentrated in certain genres; thus they appear mainly in conjunction with the cantata and motet, as opposed to instrumental music, oratorio or opera; see The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series for conflicting attributions in the seventeenth-century cantatas. As for the Classical Era, it would seem to be similar to the first half of the sixteenth century, as conflicting attributions seem to pervade most genres; see, for example, MacIntyre, The Viennese Mass, pp. 583-676, and LaRue, The Eighteenth-Century Symphonies.

the rest, each of whom has a smaller number.³⁰

Finally, while it is one thing to identify certain recurring "themes," it is another to explain their causes. And though the explanations offered in the chapters that follow may seem conjectural and less than precise, they represent at least a beginning for the study of conflicting attributions in the early sixteenth-century motet. At the same time, the present work serves as an invitation for others to explore the problem of conflicting attributions in various periods and genres with the same intensity.

30. This pattern also seems to continue into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, of the thirty-two cantatas of Carissimi that have conflicting attributions, fourteen are also ascribed to Luigi Rossi, who worked in Rome, where Carissimi spent most of his life; see Rose, Giacomo Carissimi, passim. Similarly, of the forty-nine conflicts that affect the symphonic works of Johann Stamitz, eleven are also attributed to Filtz who studied with Stamitz at Mannheim; the Stamitz-Filtz conflicts are twice as numerous as those for the next pairing, Stamitz and F. X. Richter, for whom there are five conflicts; see Wolf, Johann Stamitz, pp. 377-458.

CHAPTER II
CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS
AND THEIR TRANSMISSION TYPES

Sixteenth-century sources transmit conflicting attributions in various ways: (A) in multiple sources--with four different transmission types--(1) conflicting attributions transmitted in both manuscripts and prints; (2) conflicting attributions in which manuscripts disagree with prints only; (3) conflicting attributions transmitted only through manuscripts; and (4) conflicting attributions transmitted only through prints.¹

There are those conflicting attributions (B) in which the names of the two composers actually appear within a single source. Again, four different types may be distinguished: (1) the two composers are named in a conflict between any combination of indices and the main body of the sources; (2) the two composers are named over the prima and the secunda pars, respectively; (3) the two composers are named using the word "alias;" and (4) the two composers are named in different copies or "states" of the same edition of a printed source.

1. Throughout this chapter, sources without ascriptions are ignored, since they do not affect the transmission type of the conflicting attribution.

In addition, we should note that a conflicting attribution involving multiple sources may include a source with an internal conflict. Such cases are included in both categories. Throughout this chapter, the emphasis is placed on the presentation of factual-statistical information, and, it must be said, no significant patterns emerged from the following analysis.

(A) CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS TRANSMITTED IN MULTIPLE SOURCES

(1) Conflicts transmitted in both manuscripts and prints.

By far the greatest number of conflicting attributions belong to the type in which each of the composers involved is named in both manuscripts and prints. One example may suffice as an illustration: Congratulamini mihi (No. 45) attributed to Sermisy in four prints--Gardane 1539/13, Attaignant 1542 Sermisy, Gardane 1549/10, and Scotto 1549/10a--and in two manuscripts--KönSU 1740 and MunBS 16, though it bears Verdelot's name in the print Kriesstein 1540/7 and the manuscript ErlU 473/1. Of the 266 motets with conflicting attributions, no fewer than 154 motets (58%) are transmitted in this manner.²

2. Manuscripts are designated using the sigla employed in the Census Catalogue, and prints are designated by publisher followed by RISM (vol. B/IV/1) number. For printed single-composer collections, the siglum consists of the name of the printer, year of publication, and name of the composer to

(2) Conflicts between manuscripts and prints.

This subgroup consists of conflicting attributions in which all manuscript sources that transmit the motet with an ascription attribute it to one composer, while all prints transmitting the same motet--again, with an ascription--attribute it to another composer.

Again, one example may serve here, the Morales/
Escobedo Immutemur habitu (No. 112): this motet is attributed to Escobedo in two manuscripts, ToleBC 17 and VatS 13, whereas Morales is named in three prints, Scotto 1543/5, Gardane 1546/9, and Montanus & Neuber 1556/9. Altogether, there are forty-eight such examples, or 18% of the whole (see Table II-1).

(3) Conflicts transmitted in manuscripts only

There are only twenty motets in which conflicting attributions are found exclusively in manuscripts; thus these conflicts comprise only a small part (7%) of the whole. Looking at Table II-2, one notices immediately that Josquin and Mouton dominate the list. This may no doubt be explained by their status as two of the most prolific composers of motets just prior to the period when printed

whom the collection is devoted. See the List of Sources (Appendix C) for a full explanation of each siglum.

Table II-1. Conflicting attributions transmitted
in manuscript-vs.-print fashion.

Motet Number	Ascription in manuscripts	Ascription in prints
1	Richafort	Gombert
11	Bauldeweyn	Josquin
12	Willaert	Simon
13	M. Jhan	Jacquet
16	Dalla Viola	Gombert
17	Conseil/M. Jhan	Jacquet
25	Josquin	Senfl
29	Josquin	Champion
46	Crecquillon	Hollander
48	Jacquet	Gombert/Ruffo
49	Clemens	Tubal
50	Haugk	Gombert/Mahu
55	Champion/Josquin	Senfl
57	Carpentras	Josquin
58	Stoltzer	Josquin
70	Moulu	Mouton
71	Lhéritier	Jacquet
76	Clemens	Crecquillon
77	Reulx	Sermisy
88	Mouton/Richafort	Hesdin
89	Mahu	Walter
90	Mouton	Fevin
98	Phinot	Gombert
103	M. Jhan	Jacquet
105	Lapicida	Mouton
112	Escobedo	Morales
115	Moulu	Mouton
116	Morales	Jacquet
121	Mouton	Moulu
125	Clemens	Valent
129	Crecquillon	Clemens
144	Josquin/M. Jhan	Heugel
151	Richafort	Gombert
155	Danglon	Pesenti
162	Brouck	Sermisy
165	Lupus	Conseil
177	Anchieta/ Peñalosa/Ribera	Compère
178	Manchicourt	Clemens
179	Maessens	Mouton
204	Morales	Clemens
207	Festa	Senfl
208	Lupi	Sermisy

(continued)

218	Gombert	Hesdin
230	Arcadelt	Crecquillon
233	Crecquillon	Clemens/Manchicourt
243	M. Jhan	Danckerts
247	Mouton	Lhéritier
256	Josquin	Appenzeller

Table II-2. Conflicting attributions
transmitted only in manuscripts.

Motet number	Composers involved
43	Josquin/Mouton
72	Anchieta/Peñalosa
80	Mouton/Willaert
83	Josquin/Senfl
106	Mouton/Ninot
110	Lhéritier/Mouton
133	Gombert/Mouton/Verdelot
146	Eckel/Josquin
158	Escobar/Peñalosa
173	Crecquillon/Lupi
175	Josquin/Regis
181	Compère/Richafort
186	Lupus/Renaldo
196	Josquin/Mouton
215	Lhéritier/Mouton
216	Jacquet/Josquin/Verdelot
222	Josquin/Peñalosa
229	Ninot/Obrecht
239	De Silva/Josquin/Mouton
252	Jacquet/Mouton
258	Brunet/Josquin

sources, if not coming to dominate, at least came to stand on par with manuscripts in disseminating the motet. Indeed, many of the composers listed in Table II-2 had already reached maturity by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, such prolific composers as Clemens, Crecquillon, and Gombert, whose careers blossomed at the time that coincides with the "explosion" of printed sources, are barely represented in the list. For example, only one instance involves Willaert (No. 80).

The twenty motets in Table II-2 are transmitted in forty-three manuscripts (see Table II-3). The chronological and regional breakdown of those manuscripts show that (1) almost half of them were compiled around the middle of the century, (2) while all the Italian sources (except TrevBC 8) are distributed equally for the first two thirty-year spans, the German sources begin to appear only after 1530, and (3) the number of the Spanish sources decreases gradually.

(4) Conflicts transmitted in prints only.

Included in this category are forty-four motets (see Table II-4); thus approximately 17% of the conflicting attributions--more than two times as many as were disseminated only in manuscripts--are transmitted exclusively in printed sources. Here the Willaert-Gombert generation comes to the fore. Fourteen motets involve Gombert, five concern Jacquet, and four each mention Lupi,

Table II-3. Chronological and Regional Breakdown of the forty-three manuscripts

Date	Regional Breakdown	Total
before 1530	<u>7 Italian</u> (BolC Q19, BolC Q20, FlorBN II.I.232, ModD 9, Vats 42, Vats 46, VerBC 760), <u>5 Spanish</u> (BarcBC 454, SegC s.s., SevC 5-5-20, TarazC 2, TarazC 5), <u>2 Netherlandish</u> (VatC 234, VienNB Mus. 15941), <u>1 French</u> (CopKB 1848)	15
1530-1560	<u>8 German</u> (CopKB 1872, DresSL 1/D/505, Eiss s.s., KönSU 1740, LeipU 49, RosU 49, RegB 940-1, SGalls 463), <u>7 Italian</u> (BolC R142, FlorBN Magl. 125bis, RomeV 35-40, VatG XII.4, Vats 24, Vats 38, VerA 218), <u>3 Spanish</u> (SevBC 1, ToleBC 10, ToleBC 21), <u>2 Netherlandish</u> (BrusC 27088, LeidGA 1439)	20
after 1560	<u>6 German</u> (DresSL Grimma 49, DresSL Grimma 51, MunBS, 1536, RegB 786-837, VienNB Mus. 19189, ZwiR 74/1), <u>1 Italian</u> (TrevBC 8), <u>1 Spanish</u> (VallaC 5)	8

Table II-4. Conflicting attributions transmitted in prints only.

Motet number	Composers involved
2	Caussin/Gombert
4	Gombert/Hesdin
5	Gombert/Verdelot
28	Stoltzer/Werrecore
30	Eustachius/Isaac
37	Gombert/Naich
38	Crecquillon/Lupi
51	Gombert/Hellinck
61	Conseil/Gombert
62	Fevin/Josquin
68	Gallus/Susato
69	Arcadelt/Sermisy
75	Gombert/Manchicourt
79	Gombert/Willaert
82	Lupi/Lupino
85	Hesdin/Manchicourt
92	Manchicourt/Portinaro
99	Fevin/Mouton
104	Brumel/Josquin
113	Jacquet/Senfl
118	Jacquet/Werrecore
124	Berchem/Jacquet
126	Courtois/Jacotin/Morales
132	Gombert/Ruffo
134	Gombert/Grandsyre/Lupi
137	Clemens/Morales
138	Jacquet/Morales
147	Hellinck/Vinders
148	Jacquet/Manchicourt
157	Gascongne/Mouton
170	Gascongne/Mouton
180	Gombert/Ruffo
192	Caussin/Gombert
195	Hellinck/Lupi
197	Mahu/Mouton
198	Gombert/Ruffo
199	Certon/Josquin
206	Clemens/Crecquillon
212	Cadéac/Hesdin
217	Lupino/Willaert
231	Gombert/Morales/Ruffo
248	Ferrabosco/Rore
253	De Silva/Paminger
257	Clemens/Crecquillon

Manchicourt, and Mouton (see Table II-5).

Finally, Table II-6 provides the breakdown of the 266 motets that were distributed in each of the four transmission types.

(B) CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS TRANSMITTED IN SINGLE SOURCES

The sources of sixteenth-century vocal music were prepared in one of two formats: choirbook or partbook. In the case of choirbook format, there are two places where the names of composers could appear--in the index and above the beginning of the superius, generally at the top of the verso. However, in the case of partbooks, which were introduced toward the end of the fifteenth century³ and which gradually became the format favored both by printers and by compilers of manuscripts in the sixteenth century, the attribution can, in theory (assuming a set of five partbooks), appear in ten different places--above the beginning of the music of each voice part, as well as in the index of each partbook. Obviously, not every source gives each attribution ten times.⁴ Rather a set of "partial

3. According to The New Grove, BerlPS 40098 (the so-called Glogauer Liederbuch), compiled in ca. 1480, is the first set of partbooks; see, "Partbooks," vol. XIV, p. 251.

4. There is, however, among later printers--Susato for example--a tendency to give attributions as many times as possible; see Table II-10.

Table II-5. Composers involved in conflicts
transmitted in printed sources only.

Composers	Number of conflicts
Gombert	14
Jacquet	5
Lupi, Manchicourt, Mouton	4
Clemens, Hellinck, Hesdin, Josquin, Morales, Ruffo	3
Caussin, Crecquillon, Fevin, Gascongne, Lupino, Werrecore, Willaert	2
Arcadelt, Berchem, Brumel, Cadéac, Certon, Conseil, Courtois, De Silva, Eustachius, Ferrabosco, Gallus, Grandsyre, Isaac, Jacotin, Mahu, Paminger, Portinaro, Rore, Senfl, Sermisy, Stoltzer, Susato, Vinders, Verdelot	1

Table II-6. Number of motets in each type.

Type	Number of motets with conflicts	Percentage
Mss+Prints vs. Mss+Prints	154	58%
Mss vs. Prints	48	18%
Mss vs. Mss	20	7%
Prints vs. Prints	44	17%

attributions"--some in indices and some above the music in the main body of the source--is more common, especially in manuscripts. In any event, the multiple attributions in sets of partbooks soon gave rise to instances in which one ascription in a source names one composer, while another ascription in that same source offers the name of another composer.

As in the case of conflicting attributions transmitted in multiple sources, we can classify four different types of conflicts transmitted in a single source.

(1) Conflicts involving indices and the main body of source.

In this first group, which comprises the largest category of single-source conflicting attributions--forty one out of a total of fifty--we may distinguish among five different subgroups: (a) index vs. the main body of the source (nineteen cases); (b) index vs. partbook and partbook vs. partbook (fifteen); (c) partbook vs. partbook (four); (d) index vs. index (two); and (e) index vs. index and partbook vs. partbook (one). Each of those types will be discussed in turn.

(a) Index vs. The Main Body of The Source

In this subgroup, the ascription in the index disagrees with that in the main body of the source, whether the source is in partbook or choirbook format. For

instance, in Attaingnant 1535/3, the motet Deus regnorum et christianissimi (No. 60) is ascribed to Sermisy in the index of the source, but to Gascongne above the music in all partbooks. As Table II-8 makes clear, such examples are also found in manuscripts of both formats. However, since indices or tables of contents are not found in manuscripts as frequently as they are in prints,⁵ this type of conflicting attribution is more prevalent in printed sources than it is in manuscripts; there are eleven such conflicting attributions in prints, and eight in manuscripts (see Tables II-7 and II-8).

(b) Index vs. Partbook and Partbook vs. Partbook

Frequently the name given in the index reappears in some of the partbooks, but disagrees with the attribution given in others. Thus, there can be a conflict between the ascriptions in the index and those in the partbooks, as well as among the ascriptions in the partbooks themselves. Eleven printed sources carry fifteen such conflicts (see Table II-9). An example of such a conflict appears in connection with the Jacquet/Morales Jubilate Deo (No. 138), for which Moderne 1542/5 gives the name "Morales" above the

5. We should note, however, that not all indices in printed sources list the names of composers. Particularly, the indices of early prints often list incipits and folios only.

Table II-7. Motets with conflicts between index and partbooks in printed sources.

Motet No.	Printer	Source	Attributions in	
			indices	partbooks
19	Attaingnant	1534/5	Verdelot	Sermisy
100	Attaingnant	1534/9	Mouton	Gombert
60	Attaingnant	1535/3	Sermisy	Gascongne
202	Formschneider	1537/1	Josquin	Moulu
266	Buglhat	1538/5	Jacquet	Willaert
47	Petreibus	1538/6	Wolff	Josquin
27	Gardane	1539/12	Lhéritier	Pieton
131	Scotto	1541/3	Gombert*	Jacquet
145	Petreibus	1542/6	Jacquet	Sermisy
166	Phalèse	1554/1	Clemens	Crecquillon
27	Rampazetto	1564/6	Lhéritier	Pieton

*Attribution on the title page.

Table II-8. Motets with conflicts between index and music in manuscript sources.

Motet No.	(Format) Source	Attributions	
		in indices	above music
118	(P) BudOS 23	C. Festa	S. Festa
254	(C) CambriP 1760	Fevin	Therache
74	(C) LeidGA 1441	Crecquillon	Clemens
202	(C) ToleBC 10	Moulu	Verdelot
42	(C) VatG XII.4	Jacquet	Jaques
14	(C) VatS 45	Brumel	Jo. Brumes
133	(P) VerA 218	Gombert	Mouton
255	(P) VerA 218	Lupus	Mouton

P = Partbook, C = Choirbook

Table II-9. Motets with index-vs.-partbook and partbook-vs.-partbook conflict.

Motet No.	Printer	Date	Attributions in	
			Indices	Partbooks
197	Rhaw	1538/8	Mouton	Mahu/Mouton
96	Moderne	1539/5	Gombert	Gombert/Lupi
138	Moderne	1542/5	Morales	Jacquet/Morales
135	Susato	1546/6	Manchicourt	Clemens/Manchicourt
227	Ulhard	1548/2	Crecquillon	Canis/Crecquillon
235	Ulhard	1548/2	Crecquillon	Canis/Crecquillon
262	Ulhard	1548/2	Crecquillon	Canis/Crecquillon
47	Mont & Neuber	1553/4	Wolff	Josquin/Wolff
253	Mont & Neuber	1553/4	De Silva	De Silva/Paminger
119	Mont & Neuber	1553/5	Certon	Certon/Josquin
190	Susato	1553/14	Manchicourt	Clemens/Manchicourt
65	Phalèse	1554/1	Crecquillon	Clemens/Crecquillon
82	Mont & Neuber	1555/12	Lupi	Lupi/Lupino
92	Mont & Neuber	1556/8	Portinaro	Manchicourt/ Portinaro
164	Mont & Neuber	1556/8	Maessens	Comes/Maessens

motet in both the contratenor and the bassus partbooks, as well as in all five indices, while the superius, tenor, and altus partbooks name "Iacquet." This type of conflict is never found in manuscripts of partbook format.

(c) Partbook vs. Partbook

The next group of conflicting attributions consists of those conflicts in which only the partbooks disagree among themselves. For example, the scribe of RegB 786-837 attributes the Clemens/Manchicourt Vidi speciosam (No. 260) to Manchicourt in the partbook of discantus I, while he names Clemens as the composer in each of the other six partbooks. There are two other instances of such conflicting attributions: No. 54 to Josquin and Senfl in DresSL 1/D/3; and No. 128 to Gombert and Sermisy in VerA 218. On the other hand, there is only one such instance involving prints: No. 254 to La Fage and Therache in Antico 1521/5. Finally, it is interesting to note that, whereas the conflicting attributions of subgroup (a) were more prevalent in prints than they were in manuscripts (by a margin of 11 to 8), and whereas those in subgroup (b) involved only printed sources, those in subgroup (c) appear mostly in manuscript sources, something perhaps explained by the tendency of manuscripts to have indices far less frequently than do printed sources.

(d) Index vs. Index

Still another way that conflicting attributions were transmitted within a single source involves two examples in which two indices of a source list the same motet under the names of two different composers. Thus Gratia plena ipsa (No. 106) in VienNB Mus. 15941 is attributed to Mouton in the tenor index, but to Ninot le Petit in the bassus index. BolC R142 attributes Salve Regina (No. 216) to Josquin in the first index, but to Jacquet in the second index. We can presume that such index-vs.-index examples are not encountered in prints because the compositor of a printed set of partbooks did not need to reset the type for each index, thus rendering all the indices identical.⁶

(e) Index vs. Index and Partbook vs. Partbook

The final type of conflicting attribution is represented by only one example in which two composers are named both in the indices and in the main body of the source, that is, indices disagree with indices and partbooks disagree with partbooks. Table II-10 illustrates how

6. Sometimes the compositors were forced to reset the type, for they had to change the folio or page numbers when the pieces in the collection did not begin on the same folio or page in each partbook. However, even in such circumstances, the names of composers and the text incipits could remain as they were set for the first partbook printed. This procedure, called "standing types," will be explained further in Chapter III.

Table II-10. Attributions in Dispereant nisi sit (No. 66)
in Susato 1553/15.

Partbook	Index	Above the music
Superius	Rore	Lowys
Altus	Rore	Lowys
Contratenor	Lowys	Rore
Tenor	Rore	Lowys
Bassus	Rore	Rore

Dispereant nisi sit (No. 66) is attributed to both Rore and Lowys in Susato 1553/15.

(2) Two composers named in the prima and the secunda pars.

In general, the motets of the early sixteenth century--especially those of the Gombert generation--consist of two sections called "prima pars" and "secunda pars." The usual place for the composer's name is above the prima pars, that is, at the top of the verso folio. The name is sometimes repeated above the secunda pars, as when the composer's name functions as a running head. In some cases, though, the attribution over the secunda pars names a composer other than the one given on the previous page or folio.

An example of such a conflicting attribution occurs in connection with the Clemens/Crecquillon Dum aurora (prima pars)/Discite a me (secunda pars) (No. 65). All but one of the partbooks of Phalèse 1554/1--the exception being the bassus, where no attribution is given--transmit Discite as a separate motet and ascribe it to Clemens. However, the bassus partbook designates Discite as the secunda pars of Dum aurora which is ascribed to Crecquillon (see Table II-11).

Although it seems probable at first that Phalèse regarded the two sections as two different pieces (except

Table II-11. Attributions in Phalèse 1554/1 for Dum aurora
and Discite

	<u>Dum aurora</u>	<u>Discite</u>
Index	Crecquillon	[not listed]
Superius	[no ascription]	Clemens
Contratenor	[no ascription]	Clemens
Tenor	[no ascription]	Clemens
Bassus	Crecquillon	"Secunda pars" [no ascription]
Qnt.	[no ascription]	Clemens

for the bassus), and thus attributed each to different composers, that only one of the two sections is listed in the index--Dum aurora--speaks against such a possibility.⁷ The reasons for the error are therefore not immediately apparent. Three more examples--Nos. 22, 96, and 135--can be included among this type; in each instance, the second composer is named above the secunda pars, and stands against the ascription that appears both above the prima pars and/or in the indices.

(3) "Alias" attributions.

A third type of conflicting attribution may be called the "alias" type. Here, the printer or scribe seems actually to acknowledge (1) that the conflicting attribution had already entered the tradition in which the motet was transmitted, (2) that their exemplar(s) already contained the conflicting attributions, and (3) that they could or would not decide which ascription was correct, and chose to pass on both names. Thus, the scribe of RegB B211-5 attributes Magnus es tu Domine (No. 153) to "Josquin alii HF[Heinrich Finck]." Likewise, Petreius 1542/6 ascribes In te Domine

7. Sometimes the two partes of a motet are split into two separate motets and ascribed to two composers (see No. 246, for example). However, since the conflicting attributions for No. 150 do not occur within a single source, they are not included in this type. See Chapter V, where some of these motets are discussed.

speravi (No. 122) to "Lerithier, alias Verdeloth." Finally, the conflicting attribution for Sancta Trinitas (No. 224) may actually combine the "alias" type of conflict with simple confusion owing to the perpetual Doppelmeister problem (see Chapter III), as when the scribe of RegB 786-837 attributed the motet to "Jachet alias Jacotin." Here the scribe may well have been using the "alias" in its literal sense, but at the same time thought that "Jachet" and "Jacotin" were simply two different forms of the same composer's name.

(4) Attributions in different "states" of the same edition

Modern scholars have identified some "concealed editions" in the music books of the sixteenth century, that is, editions that are not specified as such on their title page, but that contain differences in such matters as text underlay, minor musical changes, etc.⁸ The final type of conflicting attribution occurs when different states of the same edition attribute a motet to two different composers.⁹

8. For example, Pogue has identified different states of the first edition of Moderne's Motteti del fiore I (1532/10); see Moderne, pp. 122-3.

9. In technical terms, 50% or more of the type should be reset in order for a copy to be identified as a different edition. When two copies exist with slight differences, they are referred to as different "states;" see Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, pp. 313-6.

According to Suzanne Cusick, there are three extant states of Dorico's reprint of Petrucci's Motetti della corona I.¹⁰ The index of the Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, exemplar attributes the Mouton/Fevin Gaude francorum regia (No. 99) to Fevin and the Mouton/Longueval Benedicta es caelorum (No. 33) to Mouton.¹¹ However, the first piece is attributed to Mouton in the index of the exemplar at Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, while the second piece is ascribed to Longueval in the index of the copy at Barcelona, Biblioteca Central (now the Biblioteca de Catalunya). Thus each of the three extant states transmits a different set of attributions for the two motets.

One final observation may be made in connection with those conflicting attributions that appear within a single source: in four instances--Nos. 54, 122, 224, and 260--both of the composers named within that source are also named in others, whereas on nine occasions--Nos. 47, 118, 133, 153, 202, 216, 235, 255, and 266--the two composers involved in an internal conflict within a single source conflict with still a third composer named in yet another collection. Thus there is an overlap of thirteen motets between the conflicting attributions that are transmitted in multiple

10. Cusick, Valerio Dorico, p. 161.

11. These agree with the attributions in Petrucci 1514/1, the source that Dorico was reprinting.

sources and those that appear within a single source.

CHAPTER III

CAUSES FOR CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS

In their discussions of the problems raised by conflicting attributions, scholars not only have sought to unravel the question of which of two or more composers named in a conflicting attribution actually wrote the composition in dispute, but also have offered theories explaining how conflicting attributions came about in music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the first place. Two of these theories can by now be regarded as "traditional," and account for the conflicts by imputing them either to "honest" confusion on the part of scribes and printers, on the one hand, or to intentional misattribution, on the other. In addition to these traditional interpretations for the appearance of conflicting attributions, recent years have seen three new theories about how conflicting attributions came about: Spitzer's "anonymous transmission/re-attribution" theory, Boorman's interpretation based on the examination of certain aspects of the printing process, and Atlas's "revision" hypothesis.

(A) THE TRADITIONAL EXPLANATIONS FOR CAUSES OF CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS

(1) CONFUSION

Until recently, perhaps the single most often-cited

explanation for the presence of conflicting attributions is that they arose because of confusion on the part of scribes or printers. Further, this hypothesis generally accounts for three possible causes of such confusion: (1) similar names among composers of the period; (2) settings of the same or similar text by more than one composer; and (3) musical similarities between those settings.

(a) Composers with Similar Names.

The most obvious examples of confusion owing to similar names occur when a single composition is ascribed to two composers who shared the same surname. Two examples suffice to illustrate the point, one involving Costanzo and Sebastiano Festa,¹ the other Antoine and Robert Fevin. The scribe of BudOS 23 ascribes In illo tempore (No. 118) to both of the Festas--to Sebastiano in the bassus partbook, and to Costanzo in the index. Similarly, the compiler of CambriP 1760 attributes a Lamentation to Antoine Fevin above the music, while he names Robert Fevin in the index of the manuscript. The presence of these examples within single sources seems to suggest all the more strongly that both conflicts came about simply through a scribe's confusion over the two composers who shared the same name.

1. It has been presumed that the two Festas were related, even though a conclusive document to support the assertion is still lacking; see, The New Grove, vol. VI, p. 504.

The most frequently cited examples of such confusion arising from the similar names of composers are those involving: (1) "Lupus" for Johannes Lupi, Lupus Hellinck, Francesco Lupino, et al.; (2) "Jacquet" for Jacquet of Mantua, Jacquet Berchem, Jaques du Pont, et al.; and (3) "Benedictus" for Benedictus Appenzeller, Benedictus Ducis, et al.² Here, though, not all instances of confusion necessarily resulted in a true conflicting attribution. It is possible that when sixteenth-century scribes or printers saw the name "Lupus" in their exemplars, they could--assuming that they recognized the multi-composer ambiguity and decided to take a stand on the issue--resolve the ambiguous ascription with a more specific attribution of their own, one that named either Lupi, Hellinck, or Lupino. It is also possible that a compiler of a source was actually unaware of the ambiguity inherent in an ascription to "Lupus," and simply expanded it with the single so-named composer with whom he was familiar. Thus an ascription to "Lupus" could just as well refer to the same man as one that named "Johannes Lupi." What we have, therefore, is not so much a conflicting attribution as an instance of the somewhat "loose" uses of an ambiguous name.

2. For the three "packs" of composers, see Blackburn, "The Lupus Problem," Nugent, "The Jacquet Motets," and Thompson, "Benedictus Appenzeller."

Two examples may illustrate both situations. A case in which the names "Lupus" and "Lupi" gave rise to a true conflicting attribution that was no doubt a result of honest confusion occurs in connection with the motet Pontificum sublime decus (No. 195), which Moderne 1538/2 ascribes to "Io. Lupi," whereas Susato 1546/7 gives it to "Lupus Hellinc." On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether the ascriptions to "Lupi" and "Lupino" of Dum fabricator mundi (No. 82) in Montanus & Neuber 1555/12-- "Lupi" in the index, but "Lupino" in the discantus and bassus partbooks-- should be interpreted as true conflicts or not. They can be viewed in two ways: (1) since "Lupino" is a diminutive of "Lupi," the two names could in fact indicate one and the same person; or (2) the two names could refer respectively to Johannes Lupi and Francesco Lupino, and do, in that case, constitute a true conflicting attribution. In any event, there is no way of knowing just what information the printers intended to pass on to their customers.

If composers with the same name were a source of confusion, so too were composers whose names were merely similar, whether with respect to the actual sound of the names or to orthographic similarities. Certainly, it could have been the similarity in the pronunciation of the two composers' names that caused Nisi Dominus edificaverit (No. 168) to be attributed to Le Heurteur in Attaingnant 1535/1

and to Lhéritier in Moderne 1532/10. On the other hand, orthographical similarities may have caused the ascription of Ave Maria gratia plena (No. 14) to Brumel in the index of VatS 45 to become transformed to "Jo. Brumes" in the main body of that source; and that we are not dealing with a simple misspelling but with a true case of the scribe's having confused two composers is evident from his having included the Christian name "Johannes" (Brumel's first name, of course, being Antoine). Similarly, it is easy enough to understand the process by which In illo tempore accesserunt (No. 115) was attributed both to Mouton (in VienNB Mus. 15941) and to Moulu (in BolC Q19); at some point, the "t" and "l" became confused, as did the final "n" and "u," letters whose forms were identical. Thus, unstandardized spellings combined with occasional slovenly penmanship could easily lead to the transformation of an attribution from one composer to another.

(b) Similar Texts.

In addition to the confusion that resulted from the similarities among composers' names, there was also the problem caused by composers often writing motets that set the identical text, or at least motets with the same text incipit. Thus it is easy enough to understand the process wherein a scribe or printer confused the composer of, say,

one setting of Ave regina caelorum with another composer who set the same text. At other times, however, confusion and a subsequent conflicting attribution might have come about even when two texts began with the same words but then continued differently.³ Thus as Nugent explains, the attribution to Jacquet of the Aspice Domine de sede (No. 7) in Scotto 1539a Jacquet (also ascribed to La Fage and Sermisy) came about through Scotto's having confused that setting with Jacquet's authentic setting of Aspice Domine quia facta in another collection of Jacquet's motets published by Scotto during the same year.⁴ During a period in which a short text incipit was used in a manner analogous to a title, such a mistake was easy to make. When one considers that certain texts were set over and over again, it is not surprising that motets based on certain texts gave rise to large clusters of conflicting attributions. Table III-1 lists all such motets that are involved in three or more different sets of conflicting attributions.

3. For example, each of four settings of Inclina Domine (Nos. 125-8) employs a quite different text; the whole of Ps. 85 for the Gombert/Sermisy setting (No. 128), a part of Ps. 85 for the Courtois/Jacotin setting (No. 126), parts of Ps. 85, Ps. 90, and Ps. 141 for the Berchem/Gombert setting (No. 127), and parts of Ps. 85, Ps. 5, and Ps. 69 for the Clemens/Valent setting (No. 125).

4. Nugent, "The Jacquet Motets," p. 168.

Table III-1. Motet texts with three or more settings involving conflicting attributions.

Incipit	Composers involved	Number of Settings
Beati omnes qui timent (Nos. 25-29)	Josquin/Senfl Gombert/Hellinck Lhéritier/Pieton Stoltzer/Werrecore Champion/Josquin	5
Ave Regina caelorum (Nos. 15-18)	Conseil/Jacquet/M.Jhan Conseil/Jacquet Dalla Viola/Gombert Festa/Jacquet	4
Inclina Domine (Nos. 125-128)	Clemens/Valent Courtois/Jacotin Berchem/Gombert Gombert/Sermisy	4
Congratulamini mihi (Nos. 44-46)	Josquin/Le Brung/Richafort Crecquillon/Hollander Sermisy/Verdelot	3
In te Domine speravi (Nos. 122-124)	Lhéritier/Verdelot Hellinck/Senfl/Verdelot Berchem/Jacquet	3
Nigra sum sed formosa (Nos. 166-168)	Conseil/Lupus Clemens/Crecquillon Crecquillon/Jacquet	3
Pater peccavi (Nos. 189-191)	Clemens/Manchicourt Clemens/Manchicourt Clemens/Crecquillon	3
Quam pulchra es (Nos. 200-202)	Lupi/Verdelot Jacquet/Lupi/Mouton Josquin/Moulu/Mouton/ Verdelot	3
Usquequo Domine (Nos. 246-248)	Hellinck/Verdelot Lhéritier/Mouton D. Ferabosco/Rore	3

(c) Similarity of Text and Music.

In some instances, composers not only set the same--or almost the same--text, but they also carried the textual similarity over into the music. This, of course, only added to the confusion. For example, the conflicting attribution of the motet In te Domine speravi (No. 122) to Lhéritier and Verdelot may well have come about, as Perkins suggests, because the printer Petreius (in 1542/6) confused the work with a motet by Verdelot that not only sets the identical text, but begins with a similar musical motive (see Ex. III-1).⁵

In all, "honest confusion," whether caused by the similarity in the names of composers, in the text used, or in the music when one finds different settings of the same text, no doubt generated more than a few of the conflicting attributions that we find in the sixteenth-century motet.

(2) INTENTIONAL MISATTRIBUTIONS

The second "traditional" explanation of conflicting attributions concerns what might be called "intentional misattribution," that is, instances in which sixteenth-century printers, seeking to capitalize on the reputation of a "big-name" composer, intentionally ascribed to him pieces that were written by someone else.

5. Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxii.

Ex. III-1. Beginnings of In te Domine speravi
by (a) Lhéritier and (b) Verdelot

(a) 1. P. 2. P.

S. A. T. B.

(b) 1. P. 2. P.

S. A. T. B.

Detailed description: The image contains two musical staves, (a) and (b), each with four staves for Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). Each staff is divided into two systems, labeled '1. P.' and '2. P.'. The notation is a simplified form of musical notation, using diamond-shaped note heads and square rests. The staves are connected by a vertical line, and the two systems are separated by a double bar line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) for all parts. The time signature is 4/4. The notation is a simplified form of musical notation, using diamond-shaped note heads and square rests.

The title page of Arcadelt's first book of madrigals, published in 1539 by Gardane, reads as follows: Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quattro con nuova gionta impressi. However, in examining the actual contents of the book, one finds that there are ten pieces that carry ascriptions to someone other than Arcadelt. Thus, in this case we are fortunate, since in spite of his misleading title page, Gardane identified the pieces that he knew were not by Arcadelt, and the "intentional misattributions" do not go beyond the rather misleading title page. Seven years later, in 1546, the printer would mislead the public once again, but this time with a different twist. In Gardane 1546/9, the title page reads: Moralis Hispani et multorum eximiae artis virorum musica... Here, however, the honest admission on the title page, to the effect that the collection contains motets by composers other than Morales, is undermined in the body of the collection, where Gardane failed to enter even a single attribution, thus leaving us to wonder both about which motets are not by Morales and about the identity of the other composers represented.⁶

In both of the instances just cited, Gardane's

6. Nugent points out that one of the motets in the collection, In illo tempore dixit Jesus (No. 116), was later attributed to Morales in CoimU 48 because the scribe of that manuscript copied the piece from Gardane's print, where only the name Morales appears.

"dishonesty" is tempered: in the case of the misleading title page of the Arcadelt print, by subsequent attributions, and in the case of the lacking attributions in the Morales collection, by the admission on the title page that not all the motets contained in the publication were by that composer. In other instances, however, publishers were indeed unscrupulous with respect to their ascriptions, and, as the evidence to be presented will make clear, the underlying motive for the use--or misuse--of a famous composer's name was the hope for the commercial success of the publications.⁷

A number of contemporary documents support such an assumption. In the dedication to Arcadelt's second book of madrigals for four voices, Gardane says, "The malevolence of printers, from pure avarice, does not always recoil from publishing under the name of worthy authors the inferior products of others."⁸ Or, as Formschneider points out in his preface to a motet collection (Formschneider 1537/1), he had experienced difficulty in ascribing some of the motets in the book, because "sometimes authors' names were

7. For other examples of prints with misleading titles, see Haar, Italian Poetry and Music, p. 101 and fn. 6.

8. The dedication is transcribed and translated in Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, vol. I, pp. 163-4.

fraudulently changed."⁹

Nor was it only the publishers who knew about the deliberate falsification of authorship; composers were also aware of the practice. In the dedication of his first book of madrigals, published by Scotto in 1544, Corteccia writes:

For the principal reason which moved me to do this [publishing the collections of his madrigals] is that some of these madrigals of mine had been printed by others . . . under the names of other authors, who in turn are more excellent and more famous than I. . . . On the other hand, printed under my name were some other [madrigals] which I freely confess to never having seen, let alone written, and thus I did not want anyone, being misled by such an ascription, to hold me in higher esteem than I actually merit.¹⁰

Similar testimony can also be found in the dedication of Berchem's madrigal book that Gardane published in 1546, where Berchem accuses some printers of outright plagiarism.¹¹ Obviously, one should ask whether such assertions as those by Corteccia and Berchem were simply a fashion of the time, and thus of little significance, or were indeed a true assessment of the practices of sixteenth-century publishers. On the one hand, D'Accone has pointed out that seven madrigals in the Corteccia collection had

9. Quoted from Thompson, "Benedictus Appenzeller," pp. 115-6.

10. See Corteccia, *Opera omnia*, vol. VIII, p. xxvii.

11. Lewis, "Gardane's Early Connections," p. 210.

indeed been printed under Arcadelt's name in the first four books of Arcadelt's madrigals published by Gardane and Scotto in 1539.¹² Thus, one tends to believe, as does D'Accone, that Corteccia is telling the truth. On the other hand, when Gardane published the second book of Corteccia's madrigals in 1547, the composer repeated the same claim that he had made in the first book, even though the second book contains only two pieces printed elsewhere under someone else's name. This leads D'Accone to conclude that the claim in the second book is "formal" and "stylized."¹³

In any event, these contemporary documents seem to indicate, at the very least, that intentional misattributions were an integral part of the music publishing business in the sixteenth century. And finally, if printers were guilty of fabricating intentional misattributions, we may at least speculate that compilers of manuscripts--especially of presentation manuscripts--did the same. Indeed, we can infer precisely this from Martin Luther's casual statement that he ascribed a piece which he

12. Corteccia, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. xiii.

13. Corteccia, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. xi. However, Prof. Ruth DeFord has informed me that an examination of some 200 publications of Italian secular music of the latter part of the sixteenth century yielded a single case in which a composer reported misattributions of his works to other composers. I should like to thank Prof. DeFord for this information.

himself had arranged to a well-known composer, because the person to whom Luther was sending the piece liked music only by famous composers.¹⁴

(B) THREE NEWLY-PROPOSED EXPLANATIONS

Recently, three new explanations for the causes of conflicting attributions in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century have been advanced by Spitzer, Boorman, and Atlas. While Spitzer's hypothesis is, to some extent, little more than an elaboration and expansion of the conventional "confusion" theory, the ideas proposed by Boorman and Atlas use various aspects of musical sources in completely new and original ways.

(1) ANONYMOUS TRANSMISSION/RE-ATTRIBUTION

Even though they do not express it explicitly, proponents of the "confusion theory" presuppose the partially anonymous transmission of the pieces whose attributions came to be confused. It is with this presumption that Spitzer formulates his "anonymous transmission/re-attribution" theory. Spitzer surmises:

14. For the discussion of the letter, see Nettl, Luther and Music, p. 62, Bornkamm, Luther in Mid-Career, p. 674, Preuss, Luther der Künstler, pp. 117-8, and Mattfeld, Rhaw's Publications, p. 254. The letter appears in Luther, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. V, pp. 320-1.

Instead of name and notes being transmitted together in writing, only the notes would have been written. When the notes were eventually provided with a name in writing, that name would have been acquired from another source--written or oral--than the notes.¹⁵

What Spitzer tries to establish is the two-step process in which music and ascriptions were transmitted: anonymous transmission of the music, and then the addition of an ascription. According to Spitzer, the second step might have been open to any kind of confusion, including the "revision" theory, which will be discussed below.

To illustrate his hypothesis, Spitzer cites three chansons--Adieu mes amours, Cela sans plus, and Si dedero--which are transmitted with conflicting attributions in the Wolffheim Chansonnier, a manuscript where no attributions were originally entered, but to which some ascriptions were added by a later hand.¹⁶ The most important aspect of Spitzer's theory is that he views the music and the attributions as having been transmitted separately.

If we link Spitzer's hypothesis to the Jacquet/La Fage/Sermisy Aspice Domine de sede (No. 7), the attribution to Jacquet in Scotto 1539a Jacquet could be explained in the following two-step sequence: (1) the source from which

15. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attributions," p. 147.

16. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," pp. 149-50.

Scotto worked contained the motet, but without an attribution; (2) Scotto was able to ascribe it to Jacquet, for he knew from another written source--Scotto's other collection of Jacquet's motets published in the same year--that had Jacquet composed a motet with a similar text.

It seems, however, that Spitzer's theory would work better if the ascription had been obtained from an oral source, since he introduces a term, the "regional attribution-grapevine," which, as he defines it, "transmitted chanson authorship independent of the transmission of musical texts."¹⁷ With the concept of the "regional grapevine" in mind, Spitzer argues that conflicting attributions of Mais que ce fust to Petrequin and Compère show two clearly divided traditions of attribution: in Florentine sources, the song is ascribed to the local composer, Petrequin, whereas in the Venetian Odhecaton, the piece is attributed to Compère.¹⁸ This leads Spitzer to suggest that even if a scribe worked from a source with an attribution, he might well have changed the attribution in his exemplar to one known from a local, oral tradition.¹⁹

17. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," p. 144.

18. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," p. 145.

19. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," p. 146.

In all, Spitzer argues that conflicting attributions came about as a result of scribal-printer confusion. This confusion was caused by a specific mode of transmission, which almost invited compilers of sources to create their own attributions based on local oral (or written) traditions.

(2) CONFLICTS INDUCED BY THE PRINTING PROCESS

The hypotheses about the causes of conflicting attributions set forth by Boorman and Atlas break completely with the more traditional theories concerning their causes. Of the two, Boorman's hypothesis is the more demonstrable, Atlas's the more speculative in nature. On the other hand, Atlas's is potentially more far-reaching in its applicability to a wider body of sources and repertory.

Boorman sees the causes of at least some conflicting attributions as lying in certain aspects of the printing process itself, more specifically in the practices employed by such Italian printers of the 1530s and early 1540s as Gardane and Scotto.²⁰ In the printing process of the period, Boorman sees three features that led to the creation of conflicting attributions: (1) the practice wherein an opening sometimes contained three pieces spread across verso

20. Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions."

and recto, but only two ascriptions, one at the head of each page; (2) the practice of using running headlines that consisted of a composer's name which served not as an attribution, but as an identification of the volume as a whole; (3) the process whereby, generally in an anthology, the headline-attribution that appears on one page was mistakenly carried over to a new piece on another page simply as an oversight, not because the printer thought of it as the correct attribution. In what is perhaps the most conceptually original aspect of his hypothesis, Boorman shows that at least some supposed instances of conflicting attributions are thus more apparent than real. The following examples illustrate Boorman's three points.

The first feature of Boorman's theory concerns the layout of the printed page. The ambiguity as to ascriptions arises when three pieces are distributed on one opening, but are accompanied by only two attributions (see Figure 1). When three pieces were layed out as in Figure 1, the name of the composer of the second piece could not be fitted between the end of the first piece and the beginning of the second piece because of the presence of the text. Thus, just which work belongs to which composer becomes unclear, especially for the second and third ones.

Obviously, so ambiguous a practice of ascribing works could easily enough lead to the creation of conflicting

Figure 1.

Verso	Recto
Name A Piece 1 ----- ----- Piece 2 ----->	Name B Piece 2 ----- ----- Piece 3 ----->

attributions when someone other than the printer himself--for instance, another printer or a scribe using the print as the exemplar for a manuscript--based an attribution on such an opening. Further confusion would have been caused by some printers altering the position of compositions in subsequent editions. Figure 2 shows how the ascription of E morta la speranza changed from Arcadelt to Festa owing to such alterations. The piece appears in all four surviving editions of Arcadelt's third book of madrigals, published for the first time in 1539 by Scotto, and then reissued three times by Gardane in 1541, 1543, and 1556. Boorman argues that the crucial change occurred in the edition of 1543, where the layout of the three pieces implies Festa's authorship of E morta la speranza. Gardane himself was confused when he published the fourth edition, where the piece is unquestionably ascribed to Festa.

Though Boorman's discussion is concerned mainly with madrigal prints of the 1530s and 1540s, we can already see that certain practices utilized by such earlier printers as Petrucci and Antico, ca. 1520, already had the potential to give rise to conflicting attributions.

In Petrucci 1519/3, O pulcherrima mulierum (No. 182) appears on f. 14v above the motet Quam pulchra es, with the headline "XIIII. Noel baulduin XV." (see Figure 3). Traditionally, O pulcherrima came to be considered one of

Figure 2.

	Verso	Recto
Scotto 1539/23	Archadelt E morta --- -----	next piece
Gardane 1541/11	Archadelt Benedetto-- ----- E morta -->	Con. festa ----- Se morte-- ----->
Gardane 1543/20	Con. festa So che --- ----- E morta -->	Archadelt ----- Lasso che-- ----->
Gardane 1556/22	Con. festa E morta -- -----	next piece

Figure 3.

Sup. XIIII. Noel baulduin XV.
O pulcherrima ---
-----||
Quam pulchra es ----->

Bauldeweyn's works until Sparks examined various surviving states of that print. He points out that the ascription of the motet to Bauldeweyn by some modern scholars resulted from the misunderstanding of the headline: they thought that the Bauldeweyn attribution referred to piece No. 14 and that No. 15 was anonymous. However, Sparks concludes that the headline should be read as "anonymous XIIII, Bauldeweyn XV," since throughout that volume Petrucci placed the composer's name before the piece number. Therefore, the ascription to Bauldeweyn applies to the second piece on that page, No. XV Quam pulchra es, not to No. XIIII O pulcherrima mulierum.²¹

The next feature that Boorman discusses is the standard running headline, a headline that is repeated throughout the volume. Boorman believes that this type of headline in some collections represents nothing more than an identification tag of sorts, as in Gardane 1539/24, where the name, "Archadelt," appears in all but seven captions. Thus the appearance of the name "Archadelt" in a caption does not imply that "the printer originally thought the piece to be by that composer."²² Therefore, Boorman does

21. Sparks, The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn, pp.? Also, Sparks points out that in some other states of the book he examined, an additional attribution, "Noel bauduin. XV," is carefully printed vertically in the left margin of the beginning of Quam pulchra es.

22. Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions," pp. 138-9.

not regard attributions in standard running headlines as necessarily being an indication of authorship. Obviously, if a sixteenth-century scribe or printer regarded it otherwise, a conflicting attribution could have come about.

An example from Gardane will suffice to illustrate the point. In 1539, 1541, and 1545, Gardane published three separate editions of Arcadelt's fourth book of madrigals. According to Boorman's interpretation of the running headlines, the seemingly apparent conflicting attributions for two of the madrigals in those editions (see Table III-2), Io son tal volta and Tengan dunque, are not conflicts at all. For example, the appearance of the name Arcadelt in 1541/12 over Io son tal volta does not mean that Gardane changed and corrected his earlier attribution of the same piece to Verdelot. Rather, it is a running headline, and what appears to be an ascription to Arcadelt in the second edition should not be understood as such. Io son tal volta should be regarded as a work of Verdelot, a fact borne out by Gardane's "re-ascription" in the 1545 edition. (The same interpretation can be applied to the attribution to Arcadelt for Tengan dunque in the first and second editions.)

Finally, Boorman argues that some of the conflicting attributions can be resolved by examining details of printing process. This part of his theory requires some preliminary knowledge of the music printing. It has been

Table III-2. Changes in ascriptions for the two
 madrigals in three editions of the fourth book
 of Arcadelt's madrigals.

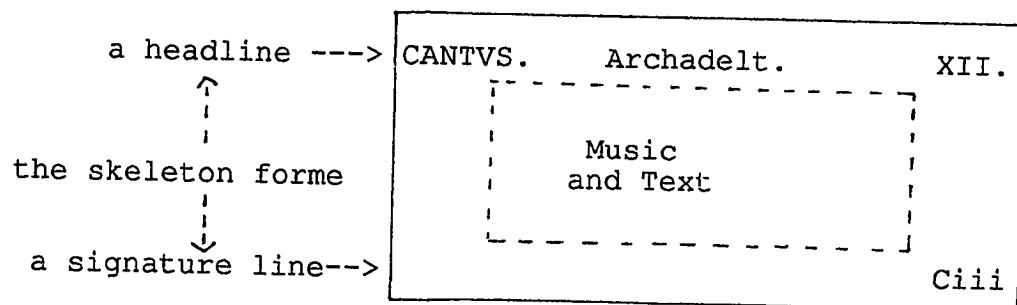
Piece	1539/24	Ascription	
		1541/12	1545/18
Io son tal volta	Verdelot	Archadelt	Verdelot
Tengan dunque	Archadelt	Archadelt	Leonardus Barre

said that printers of the sixteenth century generally needed two formes to print a sheet of paper--the outer and the inner formes--with each forme holding types for music, text, and border materials such as the headline and signature line. (This last part of the forme is sometimes called a skeleton forme; see Figure 4).

Boorman argues that many printers of the sixteenth century retained types to the fullest extent possible from one sheet to the next in order to speed up production.²³ Such types are called "standing types." The standing types varied according to how the printers proceeded: (1) if partbooks were printed one at a time--for example, a whole superius partbook, and then the tenor partbook, and so on--at least the voice designation could stay, as could the composer's name when the edition was devoted to one composer; (2) if partbooks were printed one gathering at a time--for example, the first gathering of all partbooks, then the second gathering, and so on--most of the border materials including page numbers, when each piece appears on the same page in each partbook, could remain. The first procedure has been called "horizontal" printing, the second,

23. See also Lewis, "Antonio Gardane," p. 108.

Figure 4. A portion of a hypothetical forme for one sheet.



"vertical" printing.²⁴

The most efficient procedure was vertical printing, because in many prints of the second generation printers, all pieces were arranged so that the same piece appears on the same page in all partbooks. Therefore it was possible that the name of a composer, which appeared as part of the headline, was carried over from the place where it legitimately belonged to where it did not. Obviously, such a mistake is even more disastrous in anthologies, where many different composers are represented, for more often than not, the retention of the names from one sheet to the next resulted in an ascription to the wrong composer.

As an example of this process, Boorman discusses a madrigal from Gardane 1541/16, which is largely devoted to Verdelot. The madrigal in question is Deh perche non è in voi which appears on f. C3v (p. 22) of each partbook. It is anonymous in all partbooks except for the cantus where it is attributed to Arcadelt. Boorman, however, argues that the madrigal should be considered anonymous, since the name Arcadelt was simply carried over from f. B3v of the cantus to f. C3v of the same book where Deh perche is printed. Boorman's argument is enhanced by the typographical evidence

24. These terms were introduced for the first time by Lewis. She discusses the printing process of Gardane in detail; see Chapter III of her study.

offered by the physical condition of the letter "l" in the name Arcadelt as well as by the spacing of letters, both of which are identical on f. B3v and C3v, something that would have occurred only if the skeleton forme for B3v was reused for C3v.²⁵ Thus Boorman believes that some conflicting attributions came about simply by means of the typesetter's having inadvertently retained an ascription in a skeleton forme when he should have removed or changed it.

Boorman's brilliant demonstration of printing-house techniques shows that more than a few of what seem to be conflicting attributions came about neither because printers honestly believed that two different composers wrote the same piece nor because a printer was intentionally foisting an incorrect name upon the public, but as a result of imperfections, shortcuts, and oversights in the printing process itself.

(3) REVISION HYPOTHESIS

Atlas's "revision" hypothesis takes up the problem of conflicting attributions in the Franco-Netherlandish chanson in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁶ He begins with the observation that the pattern of conflicting

25. Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions," pp. 131-2.

26. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions."

attributions was not haphazard or, as he puts it, "accidental," but that composers who conflict with one another most often tend to share chronological-geographical intersections in their careers. Atlas notices that many of the chansons involved in conflicting attributions were also disseminated with variants that could be classified as "compositional" variants, that is, variants that were unlikely to have been added in the course of the normal copying process, but are of a nature that seems to betray the work of a real composer. Putting the two observations together, he concludes that many of the apparent conflicts in the chanson repertory were not conflicts at all--at least not in the sense of one being correct, the other wrong--but instances in which one composer had revised the work of the other, so that both composers named in such a conflicting attribution had some rightful claim on the piece in question.

Two examples may suffice to illustrate Atlas's theory. First, the chanson Des bien, attributed to both Isaac and Martini, was transmitted, as Ex. III-2 shows, with extensive variants. As Atlas points out, the variants are too significant to be regarded as nothing more than the product of a wayward or even inventive copying process. Rather, he argues that one of the composers must have revised the work of the other, and this is perfectly understandable given

that the careers of Isaac and Martini intersected on more than a few occasions. On the other hand, even though the next example, La saison en est, attributed to Agricola and Compère, shows less extensive variants than the first one, Atlas believes that they may still be classified as "compositional" variants (see Ex. III-3). Since Agricola and Compère were together both at Milan and later at the French royal court, one of the two composers reworked the piece of the other. After examining seventy-six chansons with conflicting attributions, Atlas concludes that fifty-three of them may contain "compositional" variants, supporting his hypothesis that many conflicting attributions really indicate that one composer revised the work of the other.

As Spitzer points out, the "revision theory" marks a completely new approach to the problem of conflicting attributions:

it approaches the music of another era without prejudice and without anachronism. . . Atlas implicitly questions modern notions of what constitutes the "same" piece of music as well as the idea that there must be a one-to-one correspondence between composer and work.²⁷

To sum up: each of the last three hypotheses about the causes of conflicting attributions suggests possible causes

27. Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," p. 116.

Ex. III-2. Martini/Isaac, Des biens, m. 22f, (a) FlorBN
Magl. 178 and FlorBN BR229; (b) CapePL 3.b.12, FlorBN
Panc. 27, and BerlS 40021

(a)



(b)



(continued)

(a)

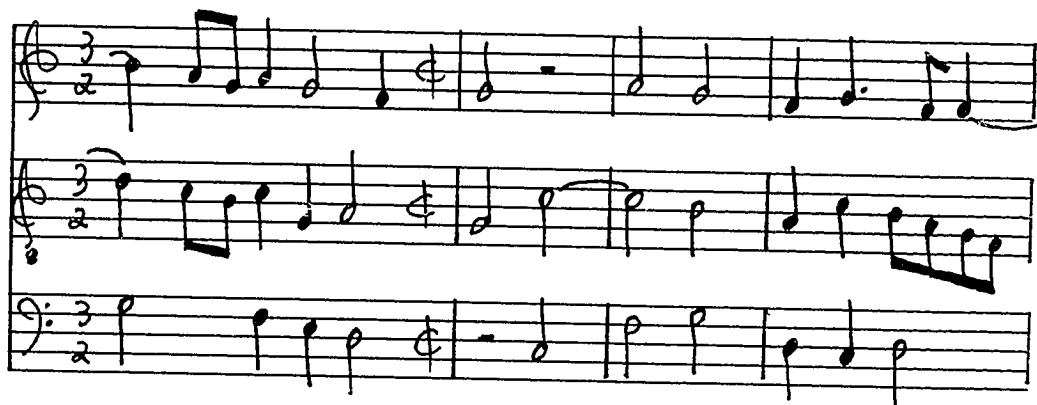


(b)

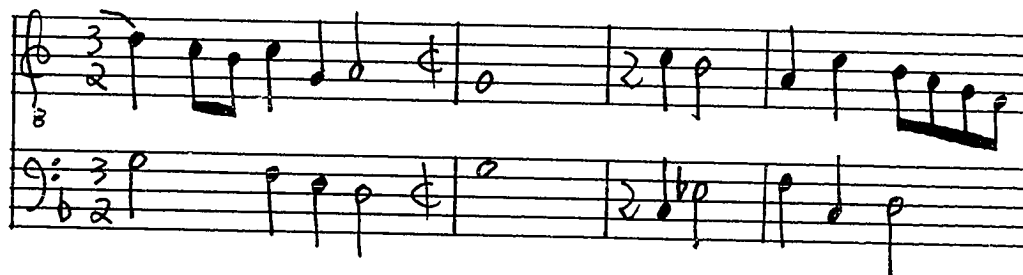


Ex. III-3. Agricola/Compère, La saison en est, mm. 15-18:
 (a) CopKB 1848, FlorBN Magl. 178, ParisBNF 2245, RomeC
 2856; (b) LonBL 31922

(a)



(b)



which had not been considered before. It is interesting that, while each of the three hypotheses is different from the others, each shares a fundamentally new insight with one of the others. Boorman and Atlas share the notion that some of the so-called conflicting attributions may not be conflicts at all. On the other hand, Atlas and Spitzer share the idea that conflicting attributions in the chanson repertory of the late fifteenth century are not unconscious errors--as Boorman claims they are in his repertory and sources--but conscious acts by scribes and printers who could in some way justify the attributions that they entered.

CHAPTER IV

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM

Faced with the problem of conflicting attributions in the motet repertory of the sixteenth century, scholars have traditionally used three different approaches in their efforts to determine authorship. The three approaches employ evidence gleaned from (1) stylistic analysis of the music, (2) the sources that transmit the composition, or (3) other external evidence, such as biographical data, the verbal texts of the music, the testimony of theorists, etc. What follows is a discussion of these traditional approaches as they have been employed in an effort to determine the authorship of various sixteenth-century motets. And in reading it, one must bear in mind (1) that we are concerned not with the conflicting attributions or the composers themselves, but with the various methodological approaches of modern-day scholars, and (2) the constant assumption on the part of most scholars that conflicting attributions, if they can be resolved at all, can be resolved in favor of one composer or another.

(A) STYLE ANALYSIS

Problematical though it may be, style analysis has been the main approach not only in the attempts to resolve conflicting attributions, but also in matters pertaining to

authorship-anonymity in general.¹ Though the application of style analysis in order to determine the authorship of anonymous works is particularly risky, its use as the chief criterion in the solution of conflicting attributions is at least somewhat less daunting, since the field of possible composers is limited to those named in the sources. In other words, unless one wants to complicate the matter even further, one need only choose a composer from the two--generally--composers involved, rather than search out a possible candidate from an exponentially larger group of composers, as in the case of ascribing anonymous pieces. For example, Blackburn need only decide whether Paradisi portas (No. 186) was composed by Renaldo or Lupus, the two composers to whom the motet is ascribed: if the motet is stylistically different from Lupus's other motets, it is ascribed to Renaldo, and vice-versa.

Some scholars are skeptical about the reliability of style analysis as it pertains to the question of conflicting

1. For a detailed account of the problems raised by the use of style analysis, see Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution," pp. 370-413. Spitzer's discussion deals with the problem as it pertains to eighteenth-century music. On the use of style analysis in the field of literature, see D. Erdman and E. Fogel, eds., Evidence for Authorship, especially the article by Fogel, pp. 69-101. And for the visual arts, see two classic studies, Giovanni Morelli, Italian Painters, and Bernard Berenson, The Study and Criticism of Italian Art; for a recent discussion, see Edgar Wind, "Critique of Connoisseurship."

attributions in general. Atlas, for instance, finds difficulty in reaching firm conclusions when composers wrote "in fairly similar and impersonal styles," or when the output of some composers is too small to formulate easily identified personal styles.² Thus one must ask if the nine motets credited to Lupus in The New Grove work list and the eleven motets--including Paradisi portas--by Renaldo in BolC Q19 provide enough of a stylistic profile on which to posit a personal style for the two composers.³ And if the questions can be raised in connection with authors who have left us as many motets as we have just mentioned, what are we to do when a composer named in a conflicting attribution has left no more than two or three such works, or, to confound the problem even further, if all--or many--of the other works by the composer are also involved in conflicting attributions?⁴

Sometimes even a large number of compositions by one

2. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," p. 251. See also Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions," p. 155.

3. Apparently it is a sufficient body of works for Blackburn, who assigns the piece to Renaldo on stylistic grounds; see "The Lupus Problem," pp. 249-50.

4. The following composers with at least one motet involved in a conflicting attribution left no more than four motets; Craen (4), Danglon (2?), Elimot (1), Forestier (2), Grandsyre (2), Le Bouteiller (2), Longueval (3), Naich (2), Pesenti (2), and Ribera (4).

or more of the composers involved is not necessarily sufficient to determine the authorship of the piece. Thus Maas reports his inability to assign the well-known Passion attributed to Obrecht/Longueval/La Venture/La Rue to any one of the composers on the basis of style analysis,⁵ while Kirsch finds it difficult to assign the Josquin/De Silva/Mouton Te Deum (No. 239) on stylistic grounds, even though all of the composers named left a large enough body of motets to permit some conclusions based on stylistic comparison.⁶ It seems, then, that the failure to distinguish between one composer's style and that of another with any real degree of certainty results from the "fairly similar and impersonal styles"--to quote Atlas again--in which they composed.

And even if one succeeds in formulating a clear picture of a given composer's style, uncertainties may remain, since another scholar may well have a different view about that composer's style. A case in point is the Josquin/Mouton Missus est Gabriel angelus (No. 163), which Smijers credited to Josquin on stylistic grounds, whereas

5. Maas, "A l'aventure, Een onderzoek," pp. 92-102. Only two composers, Longueval and Obrecht, are considered in his study.

6. See Kirsch, Die Motetten des Andreas de Silva, pp. 306-8. Kirsch does not discuss the attribution to Mouton, and though he does not offer a conclusive answer, he is inclined to accept the attribution to Josquin.

Lowinsky, using a similar methodology, assigned the work to Mouton.⁷ Consequently, there is always an air of subjectivity that seems to surround the use of style analysis. Using it to determine the most likely composer in cases of conflicting attributions yields answers that never quite have a sense of certainty about them.

Reacting to such doubts, several scholars have attempted to refine the style-analytical method so that the results drawn from it are beyond reproach with respect to their objectivity. In order to obtain such objectivity, they generally follow a three-step procedure: (1) they decide on a number of the stylistic features on which to focus in order to establish a profile of the composer's style; (2) they set up quantitative values in order to evaluate stylistic characteristics in terms of numeric values; and finally (3) they identify the composer of the work in question based on a comparison of test results. The type of style analysis that follows this three-step

7. Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, pp. 222-4. Josquin, Werken, vol. XXIV, p. v. For other examples of such disagreement, see the comments concerning the Caen/Hellinck/Richafort Hierusalem luge (No. 107) and the Brunet/Josquin Victimae paschali laudes (No. 258) in the inventory.

procedure may be referred to as "statistical analysis."⁸

Here, we shall look at one example of many studies which use statistical analysis: John Reid's study of the music of Dufay. The reason for choosing Reid's study is two-fold: (1) in dealing with a fifteenth-century composer, he faces a problem that does not occur with later composers, namely the problem of determining the extent to which the completely non-autograph dissemination of the works actually reflects Dufay's intentions; and (2) the study employs a concept called "minor encoding habits," which was developed by analysts in the fields of literature and painting, and first applied to music by Paisley.⁹ In the paragraphs that follow, I shall try to show that despite the claims made by those who practice statistical analysis, its usefulness in

8. In the field of literary criticism, statistical analysis has a long history with, for example, the practice of tallying the frequency of certain words as a means for determining an author's stylistic profile having already begun as early as the mid-nineteenth century. For an excellent introduction to the history of statistical analysis in literature, see Williams, Style and Vocabulary, pp. 1-10.

9. Paisley, "Identifying the Unknown Communicators," passim. Another musical study which uses the same concept is Fruehwald, "Authenticity Problems in Haydn's Early Instrumental Works." There are many other statistical analysis studies of music that do not use the "minor encoding habits." To discuss other approaches, however, goes beyond my own interests in the matter. For a recent bibliography on this subject, see Davis, Computer Application in Music, which includes a section devoted to style analysis. See also Fruehwald who adds to Davis's list ("Authenticity Problems in Haydn's Early Instrumental Works," pp.?).

relationship to the present repertory is still limited.

Reid's study, which takes Paisley's as a starting point, is based on a comparison of dissonance treatment in Dufay's works with that in the works of other composers.¹⁰ Before dealing with what is probably the main problem in Reid's work--can the music of the period even be analysed statistically?--two basic mistakes in his study must be noted. First, although the number of sample pieces used to establish Dufay's style may be sufficient, the number of sample pieces for other composers is too small to be meaningful.¹¹ Obviously, when the sample pieces by other composers are too few in number, the stylistic traits supposedly characteristic of Dufay's works cannot necessarily be considered as Dufay's alone. Second, the choice of dissonance treatment does not fit well with the criteria for identifying "minor encoding habits" on which Reid's study is supposedly based. For example, the test which Reid calls the "very unusual occurrence rate"--that is, the rate of dissonance types that occur very rarely in

10. Reid, "The Treatment of Dissonance in the works of Dufay." Chapter V of this study was published as an article entitled "Testing for Authenticity."

11. The samples consist of just five pieces: one chanson by Binchois, one chanson by Grenon, one motet by Carmen, the Kyrie of the Missa Mimi by Ockeghem, and the Ave Maria (for four voices?) by Josquin.

Dufay's authentic works--violates the criterion that the frequency of occurrence should be high relative to the sampling error.¹² In any event, the following discussion leaves these objections aside.

Reid conducts four tests to solve problems of Dufay authenticity: (1) type-component evaluation, (2) rhythmic evaluation, (3) the "very unusual occurrence" rate, and (4) the dissonance type-distribution test. The most crucial mistake made by Reid lies not in what kind of tests he carried out, but in the assumption that Besseler's edition--once it decided which pieces were and were not authentic--necessarily presents a text (reading) for each piece that represents Dufay's intentions. As we all know in connection with music of this period, the multiple redactions of a given work are more often than not transmitted with variant--small or large--readings. Obviously, the problem is that we simply do not know which version is the "authentic" one (if, in fact, there is such a thing). Why is it necessary to know which one is authentic? Because Reid's four tests are bound to be greatly affected even by very small alterations such as certain all-too-common cadential variants, rhythmic changes (a minim for two semiminims or vice versa), etc. In all, I regard the authentic Dufay

12. For the criteria, see Paisely, "Identifying the Unknown Communicators," p. 227.

style as profiled by Reid as being little more than fiction.

Finally, one should remember that our knowledge of a given composer's style is almost entirely dependent upon attributions in the sources in which the composer's works appear. In this sense, Boorman's concern with the risk of style analysis is not overstated, ". . .it has seemed dangerous to attempt to analyse any one work, and thereby eliminate any one composer, when our perception of that composer's style is built up from pieces that may not be his. . . ."13

Despite these weaknesses, style analysis is, as we have noted, still a widely practiced method for coming to terms with conflicting attributions.

(B) MUSICAL SOURCES

(1) Raw Tabulation

The most simplistic use of the musical sources has consisted of scholars' tallying up the ascriptions to the composers involved, and then assigning the work to the composer with the greater number of ascriptions. Atlas's criticism of this method is well founded:

13. Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions," pp. 155-6.

. . .its wrong-headedness is evident in that it forgets that all the ascriptions to one composer may be dependent upon a common parent or, once we reach the era of printed music, even on one another.¹⁴

In spite of its "wrong-headedness," this method has been applied rather widely, even by scholars with more than a little experience in dealing with both conflicting attributions and Renaissance sources. Thus Perkins attributes Beata Dei Genetrix (No. 21)--also ascribed to Conseil and Willaert--to Lhéritier because of "a preponderance of attributions" to him.¹⁵ Likewise, Picker assigns the Gascongne/La Fage/Lupus Rex autem David (No. 211) to Gascongne because he is "named by three sources."¹⁶ Or, to offer a final example: on the authorship of the Josquin/Mouton/Willaert Salva nos, Domine (No. 214), Lowinsky says that Mouton's authorship of the motet "is guaranteed [my emphasis] by the Medici Codex and by eight additional concordances."¹⁷ In all, while the correct composer may well be the one named in the greater number of sources, the method is not a method at all.

14. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," p. 252.

15. See the introduction to Lhéritier, Opera Omnia, p. xxii.

16. Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 64.

17. Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 179.

(2) Analysis of the Reliability of the Sources

Among the advances in our knowledge of Renaissance music in recent years is the increased accuracy with which the provenance of an ever growing number of manuscripts has been determined. And this, when taken in conjunction with our biographical data about composers, has led to the next method of resolving conflicting attributions. This method centers around the task of determining which among the sources that transmits a composition stands closest--chronologically and geographically--to either of the composers involved, and which, then, is the "most reliable" and thus most likely to transmit the correct attribution.

An example of the method working in its most convincing fashion appears in connection with the motet In illo tempore (No. 118), which is attributed to the two Festas--Costanzo and Sebastiano--and to Mouton, and which survives in two prints and two manuscripts. The motet was published by the German printers Montanus & Neuber under Mouton's name in 1554--thirty-two years after Mouton's death. The source, then, is far removed from Mouton both chronologically and geographically.¹⁸ As for Costanzo Festa, he is named in BudOS 23, compiled around 1550--or

18. As far as we know, Mouton was not active in Germany.

possibly later--at Wittenberg. Here there is no geographical connection with the composer. Against these two sources, Antico 1521/5 and the northern Italian manuscript BolC Q19, which bears the date 1518, name Sebastiano Festa as the composer of the motet.¹⁹ Tying the provenance and date of the two Italian sources to the known facts of Sebastiano's life,²⁰ Picker concludes that the motet rightly belongs to Sebastiano.²¹

Though certainly more methodologically rigorous than the "raw tabulation" method, and possibly--perhaps even probably--more objective than style analysis, this method, too, is not without its problems. It can function only with as much accuracy as the manuscript-biography data on which it is based.

Perhaps the best-known example concerns the conflicting attributions in FlorL 666 (the so-called "Medici Codex"). Lowinsky, of course, believed that the manuscript originated at the French royal court, where Jean Mouton was a prominent figure at the time of the manuscript's

19. The bassus partbook of BudOS 23 ascribes the motet to Sebastiano.

20. Very little is known about Sebastiano's life. However, his association with Leo X is documented; see, Main, "Sebastiano Festa," in The New Grove, vol. V, p. 504.

21. Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 62.

compilation in 1518.²² Assuming its authoritative nature (Lowinsky even states that Mouton might have been the editor or supervisor of the manuscript), Lowinsky takes the ascriptions of FlorL 666 at face value,²³ even to the extent of ignoring the internal evidence when it does not support the ascription in the manuscript.²⁴

The problem here seems clear. If, as most scholars now agree, Lowinsky's conclusion about the Royal French provenance of FlorL 666 can be successfully challenged,²⁵ then his resolutions reached by the "best source" method are open to question. Indeed, Picker notes the reliability of both readings and attributions in the motet collections of Andrea Antico, and thus accepts Antico's ascription to Barra of Nuptiae factae sunt (No. 174), a composition which had been ascribed to Elimot in FlorL 666 and accepted by

22. See Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 28-36.

23. Eight motets (see Appendix C) in FlorL 666 are attributed to someone else in other sources. Not one attribution was rejected by Lowinsky.

24. For instance, Lowinsky argues that Mouton is the author of In omni tribulatione (No. 121), even though it "is an unusual work among Mouton's motets"; see The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 170.

25. The controversy concerning the provenance of FlorL 666 has spawned an extensive literature, including notices by Lockwood, Perkins, Finscher, Crawford, and Rifkin, all of whom agree that the manuscript was written in Italy, not France. For a summary of the matter, see Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 10, fn. 6.

Lowinsky.²⁶

The task of deciding which source stands as the "most reliable" is not always clear cut. Indeed, problems may even arise in what would appear to be fairly simple situations, as when printed sources are devoted to a single composer. In these cases their attributions are generally considered to take precedence over any that may challenge them in an anthology. What, however, should we conclude about Domine non secundum peccata nostra (No. 75), which is included not only in two Gombert collections published by Scotto and Gardane in 1541 and 1542 respectively,²⁷ but also in a collection of Manchicourt's motets issued by Attaingnant in 1539?

Though we might assume that the Parisian Attaingnant stands more closely to Manchicourt than does the Venice-based Scotto to Gombert, nevertheless we are left with the question of how the Venetian printer could have blundered so badly as to include in an all-Gombert collection a work that was not by Gombert. Yet even our initial impression of Attaingnant 1539 as the more reliable source must be tempered, since that all-Manchicourt collection is

26. For another instance in which there is disagreement about which source stands as the most reliable, see the comments in the inventory about the Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/Ribera O bone Jesu (No. 177).

27. Lewis, Antonio Gardane, vol. I, p. 215.

challenged in three other instances. Similarly, the Scotto collection, presumably devoted exclusively to Gombert, is challenged on two other occasions. The fact that a collection is devoted to the works of a single composer is not a guarantee that its attributions are correct.

The example just cited leads us to the next problem in connection with this method: how can we decide which source is the more reliable when the sources that contain the attributions are equally close (or far removed) from the composers involved? Confronted with the fact that Salvator mundi (No. 215) is ascribed to Lhéritier in VatG XII.4, a Roman source copied in 1536 (Lhéritier was active there in 1521-2), but is assigned to Mouton in SGallS 463, copied in ca. 1540 by Aegidius Tschudi, a member of Glarean's circle,²⁸ Perkins concludes that the two sources are equally reliable for their respective composers, and that the motet, therefore, "could be by either man."²⁹

Thus, to single out the "most reliable" source is not always easy, and the seemingly attractive logic of the method is constantly limited by the accuracy with which we

28. Tschudi studied with Glarean who was in Paris between 1517 and 1522, and who claimed to converse with Mouton through an interpreter.

29. See the introduction to Lhéritier, Opera Omnia, p. xxiii.

can both determine the provenance of the sources and tie that information to our still sometimes sketchy knowledge of biographical data.

(C) OTHER METHODS

Another question that arises in connection with the conflicting attributions in the motet repertory concerns the testimony of theorists. How much weight should be accorded to their ascriptions? The most crucial theorist in this respect is Glarean, who offers many attributions in his Dodecachordon.

In his study of Petrucci's Motetti della corona series, Gehrenbeck states that Glarean's attribution of the Josquin/Richafort/Mouton Miseremini mei (No. 161) to Mouton in the Dodecachordon may indicate that "Mouton himself had verified his authorship" of the motet.³⁰ However, Loach, in his study of SGallS 463, characterizes Glarean's acquaintance with the French composer as "tenuous" and "aloof,"³¹ and he shows convincingly that Glarean collected music not from Parisian sources, but mainly from such Italian sources as Petrucci's Motetti C (1504/1) and

30. Gehrenbeck, "Motetti della corona," vol. III, p. 957.

31. Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook," p. 213.

Antico's four motet books.³² Thus the statements that theorists offer about authorship are in general no more reliable than the ascriptions in musical sources. In the end, sixteenth-century theorists seem to have relied on the same sources that we use today.³³

In a few instances--when a motet with a conflicting attribution survives either with different verbal texts or with a single text with variants--the text itself has been used as evidence for resolving the problem of authorship. Two examples may suffice.

Four years after the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, the motet Quis dabit oculis (No. 207), composed to commemorate her death, was copied into BolC Q19 under Costanzo Festa's name. The same composition was printed twenty years later in Formschneider 1538/3, but now with textual-musical changes that associate the work with the death of Maximilian I (d. 1519) and with an attribution to Ludwig Senfl. As Main has argued, since Festa might have enjoyed a relationship with the French court and Senfl had no such connection, it is more likely that Festa was the

32. Loach, "Aegidius Tschudi's Songbook," p. 87. Chapter IV of Loach's study deals with the sources for SGallS 463.

33. Perhaps the best known example is the case of Pietro Aaron, who simply took attributions from Petrucci's publications.

composer of the original version.³⁴

The second example concerns a contrafactum. Montanus & Neuber 1564/1 opens with a setting of Vidi speciosam (No. 260) attributed to Manchicourt. However, as Lowinsky has pointed out, the twelfth composition in the very same collection, a setting of Salva nos Christe salvator attributed to Clemens non Papa, is musically identical to the Manchicourt motet that opens the collection. Using the music-word criterion as the basis for his argument, Lowinsky concludes that it was Vidi speciosam which was the original text and that it was Manchicourt, therefore, who wrote the piece.³⁵

Two aspects of this method call for comment. First, there are obviously few conflicting attributions that can be resolved this way. And second--and more important--both Main and Lowinsky acknowledge that the two conflicting attributions which involve contrafacta point to one composer's having revised the work of the other.³⁶

At present, most scholars seeking to resolve a conflicting attribution employ both style analysis and one

34. Main, "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet," pp. 173-89.

35. Lowinsky, "Two Motets Wrongly-ascribed to Clemens," pp. 21-30.

36. For the "revision hypothesis," see Chapter III.

or more methods involving "external evidence." Though this seems to be the most sensible approach, it can sometimes lead to still another problem, as when the two types of evidence are in conflict. And while most scholars nowadays would probably give preference to the evidence gleaned from the sources or from other contemporary witnesses, there are instances in which the two types of evidence seem to reach a standoff. As Sparks points out in connection with the Bauldeweyn/Josquin Ave caro Christi cara (No. 11--see the comments in the Inventory): "I have no explanation for the contradiction [of the evidence] and do not see at the moment how to weigh the evidence accurately enough to resolve it."³⁷

In the end, it is apparent that no single method--or even any combination of methods--is foolproof. In fact, the literature is full of statements that express the frustrations of scholars trying to come to terms with conflicting attributions of this period: ". . .unfortunately. . .a preponderance of evidence does not always exist" (Reese);³⁸ ". . .research on questions of personal style around 1500 has not advanced to the point where one could pronounce judgement on so difficult a question with definiteness"

37. Sparks, The Music of Noel Bauldeweyn, p. 103.

38. Reese, Music in the Renaissance, p. 42.

(Lowinsky);³⁹ "there are puzzling exceptions that are difficult to account for [with respect to the reliability of sources]" (Nugent);⁴⁰ and as if in summation, "Hindering the development of a secure stylistic profile is the large number of conflicting attributions. . ." (Blackburn).⁴¹ Thus in order to overcome this difficult matter, as I have mentioned in Chapter III, Atlas and Boorman have recently advanced new ways of looking at the problem.

39. Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 222.

40. Nugent, "The Jacquet Motets," p. 200.

41. Lupi, Opera Omnia, vol. II, p. xx.

CHAPTER V
AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED MOTETS
WITH CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS

The first half of the sixteenth century has left us at least 266 motets with conflicting attributions. To "solve," "explain," or "account for" all of these, whether with traditional or new methods, would be unrealistic. Rather, I have examined the conflicting attributions for fifty-eight motets, with the choice of works having been determined by the likelihood that the conflicts might possibly be solved or explained using the methods developed by Atlas and Boorman for the fifteenth-century chanson and the sixteenth-century madrigal, respectively (see Chapter III). In the discussion that follows, I examine first those conflicting attributions that seem to yield most readily to Boorman's ideas about the problem and then those for which Atlas's hypothesis seems to provide an answer. As we shall see, more than a few of the conflicting attributions will not be easily explained by means of either method.¹

1. I have not used Spitzer's anonymous transmission-reattribution hypothesis, since its completely speculative nature makes the hypothesis rather impractical for the problem at hand.

(A) Conflicting Attributions Explained by Means of Boorman's Methods

As noted in Chapter III, Boorman's explanation of conflicting attributions in sixteenth-century madrigal prints consists of three components: (1) the features of layout, (2) attributions in the running headline, and (3) carried-over attributions. Though virtuoso-like in its treatment of printed sources, Boorman's method is somewhat limited in its applicability, not only because it is confined to printed sources, but also because it deals exclusively with collections issued by two Venetian printers, Gardane and Scotto. As we shall see, at least some of the conditions that apply in madrigal collections of both publishers find no parallel in the printed motet collections of the period.

(1) The Problematic Lay-out

In general, the layout of motet books is less problematic than that of contemporary madrigal books. Unlike the printed madrigal collections, which, with their shorter pieces, often place three pieces--but only two attributions--across an opening, the printed motet collections are rarely affected by the "problematic layout," since a single opening of a motet book usually contains no more than one or two motets (depending on whether the motets are in one or two partes). Even when a motet print does

contain three pieces on a single opening, as sometimes occurs in the collections of such German printers as Petreius, Kriesstein, or Montanus & Neuber (all of whom were perfectly willing to begin a new piece wherever the preceding one ended), the complications caused by the Gardane- or Scotto-type of "problematic layout" are avoided since the German printers usually placed the ascription for new pieces either directly above or just to the left of the beginning of the work.

Moreover, the question of which attribution belongs to which motet is further clarified in most motet collections by the presence of indices with attributions, a feature that is rarely present in the early madrigal prints with which Boorman is concerned (especially in the one-composer collections). In all, examples of conflicting attributions caused by the problematic layout are rare in the motet repertory. Only three conflicts in three prints--with none dating from after 1520--seem to have been caused by such a problem in layout: No. 63, Dilectus Deo, in Petrucci 1514/1; No. 161, Miseremini mei saltem vos, in Antico 1520/2; and No. 183, O pulcherrima mulierum, in Petrucci 1519/3.²

2. For Nos. 63 and 161, see the comments in the Inventory; for No. 183, see Chapter III. It should be pointed out that none of the prints involved has an index that contains attributions.

(2) Running Headlines

There are not many instances in the printed motet repertory in which we can clearly show that an attribution in a running headline of a one-composer collection is not a true attribution, but merely an identification tag of sorts for the volume as a whole. Indeed, the conflicting attributions for only four motets that appear in two one-composer collections can be explained by Boorman's interpretation of running headlines.

When Gardane published the first book of Gombert's four-voice motets in 1541 (Gardane 1541 Gombert), he used Scotto 1539 Gombert as the basis for his edition. Though the content of the two collections is slightly different,³ all of the motets are ascribed to "Gomberth" in the running headline of both editions.⁴ However, when Gardane issued a new edition of the collection in 1551 (Gardane 1551 Gombert), he changed the attributions for two motets: No. 263, Virgo prudentissima, and No. 16, Ave regina caelorum, to Payen and "Incerto autore," respectively. There seems to be no doubt, then, that Gardane's intention was to correct his (and Scotto's) earlier attributions, and that the

3. See Lewis, "Antonio Gardane," vol. I, pp. 215-7.

4. My own examination of Scotto 1539 Gombert shows that the name "Gomberth" appears in the headline of every page of all partbooks.

ascription of these motets to "Gomberth" in the earlier collections had come about only through the use of the name as a running headline.

A similar instance can be found in connection with Gardane's two collections of Jacquet's motets. In Gardane 1553 Jacquet, the printer changed the attributions of No. 117, In illo tempore dixit Jesus, and No. 124, In te Domine speravi, from Jacquet (to whom they had been ascribed in Gardane 1540 Jacquet) to Berchem. While Boorman's interpretation of the attributions in the running headline is certainly applicable to the four conflicts in these particular Gardane and Scotto collections, I have not yet encountered such instances in the books of other printers. Perhaps the practice of using headline attributions in this way is unique to the two Venetians, Gardane and Scotto.

(3) Carried-Over Attributions

Finally, a number of conflicting attributions that appear within a single printed collection (see Tables II-8 and II-10) can be explained away by means of Boorman's idea concerning the so-called carried-over attribution, for in these instances, there can be no doubt that the composers made some kind of mistake. Moreover, since the prints with which this study is concerned usually include an index in at least one of the partbooks, we may assume that the attributions in the index are those that the printer

intended.⁵ For example, No. 19, Ave sanctissima Maria, is attributed in Attaingnant 1534/5 to Verdelot in the indices and the superius partbook, but to "Claudin" in the contratenor. In this case, we may suppose that Attaingnant's intention was to attribute the motet to Verdelot, but that the name "Claudin" was carried over from someplace else in the print owing to a compositor's error. Nevertheless, my own examination of the prints (mostly from microfilms) reveals that many conflicting attributions appearing within a single print cannot be explained in terms of Boorman's theory. And sometimes, it is difficult to determine the precise place from which the carried-over ascription was drawn.

The conflicting attributions discussed below are arranged in the following order: (a) conflicts definitely caused by carried-over attributions; (b) conflicts that might have been caused by carried-over attributions, but for

5. one may argue that, when index and partbook disagree, it is the partbook that should be considered correct, because the compositor corrected the ascription when he set type for the music. Yet, it seems unlikely that composers would have made such corrections. Probably we have to distinguish between the working habits of composers, on the one hand, and scribes on the other. While a scribe could act as copyist, editor, and corrector at the same time, composers probably acted merely as typesetters, putting the presumably correct type in the right place, and adhering slavishly to the manuscript exemplar in front of them. In other words, setting type is a much more mechanical process than is the copying of music.

which the origin of the error cannot be easily determined, and, (c) conflicts that could not have been caused by a carried-over attribution.

(a) Conflicting Attributions Caused by Carried-Over Attributions

- (i) No. 227, Servus tuus ego sum, Canis/Crecquillon
- No. 235, Surge illuminare Jerusalem, Canis/(Clemens)/
Crecquillon
- No. 262, Virgo gloriosa, Canis/Crecquillon

In Ulhard 1548/2, three consecutive motets (Nos. 6-8 of the collection) are ascribed to both Canis and Crecquillon; the attribution to Canis appears only in the altus partbook, whereas the other books and all the indices ascribe the three motets to Crecquillon.⁶ According to the indices, this anthology contains seventeen motets by four composers--five each by Canis, Crecquillon, and Payen, and two by Lestainnier. The three motets with conflicting attributions are the first of the five that are attributed to Crecquillon in the indices. Since the first gathering contains four Canis motets, his name appears in four headlines of that gathering. But when the compositor set the second gathering, which includes one motet by Canis and three by Crecquillon, instead of changing the attributions from Canis to Crecquillon for the last three pieces, he

6. The motet No. 235 is also ascribed to Clemens in another source, see the Inventory.

apparently kept all the headline materials intact except for the piece numbers. There seems little doubt, then, that the attributions to Canis in the headlines of the altus book were carried over from the first gathering of the same book. This implies that Ulhard employed what is known as horizontal printing, which was the obvious choice for this kind of collection where pieces by the same composer are grouped together. Thus, that the compositor could easily have forgotten to change the attributions in the headlines is readily understood.

(ii) No. 190, Pater peccavi (I), Clemens/Manchicourt

This is a particularly interesting example, for it shows that a carried-over attribution need not necessarily have been carried over from someplace within the same volume, but could even have been carried over from another volume of a multi-volume series issued by the same printer. Susato 1553/14 ascribes this motet to Manchicourt in the indices and in all partbooks except the contratenor, where the name "Iaco. Clemens non Papa" appears in the headline of fol. 2r. To explain this conflicting attribution, we must consider the whole series of collections to which this print belongs. During the period 1553-1555, Susato published twelve volumes of motet anthologies entitled Ecclesiasticarum cantionum. There is good evidence that

Susato prepared all twelve volumes at the same time,⁷ since the first gathering of each of the twelve contratenor partbooks was evidently set first by a single compositor whose work appears nowhere else in the collections, something that becomes evident from the fact that the fonts used for the first gathering of each contratenor book are found exclusively in those parts of the collections. Thus, if the attribution to Clemens in the contratenor book of Susato 1553/14 was carried over from another place, it must have been from a first gathering of another volume in the series.

Comparison of the first pages, in fact, yields unequivocal evidence that the attribution to Clemens in 1553/14 was indeed carried over from the first page of Susato 1553/12 (see Plates I and II). Not only does the spacing of the composer's name match perfectly, but so too does the placement and the spacing of the folio numbers.⁸

7. This process is sometimes called "concurrent" or "parallel" printing. It was used as a time-saving method, since the compositor does not have to wait until the other parts of the job are finished. For further information on this technique, see Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, pp. 164-8.

8. Perhaps this implies that the compositor worked on 1553/14 immediately after having completed 1553/12.

Plate I. The Contratenor Partbook of Susato 1553/14, f. 2r.

119

taco. Clemens non papa

Pater peccati

in calum & toram te in ca. & es-

tam & iam non sum dignus

vacari filius tu-

num fac me sicut tuum

ex mercenariis tuis

Plate II. The Contratenor Partbook of Susato 1553/12, f. 2r.

120. Clemens non Papa *12. 4*

CONTRATENOR

Discede a me quia mitis sum Discede a me quia mitis sum

quia mi- tis sum *humilis corde*

humilis corde *et inuenietis* *et inuenietis*

tu *requiem requiem* *animabus vestris* *q*

vestris *animabus vestris* *animabus vestris*

animabus vestris *3* *q* *q. q.*

(b) Conflicting Attributions that might have been caused by Carried-Over Attributions

(i) No. 61, Deus regnorum, Gascongne/Sermisy

Whereas all four partbooks of Attaingnant 1535/3 attribute this motet to Gascongne, the indices ascribe it to Sermisy. Altogether there are six motets attributed to Gascongne in this collection (two before and three after Deus regnorum), and it seems possible that the attribution could have been carried over from another place in the collection. However, the headlines containing the name Gascongne are too similar to one another to permit us to pinpoint the one that was carried over, and we are faced with the problems of uncertainty that constantly plague scholars who work with early prints. Theoretically, in dealing with a carried-over attribution, we should be able to identify precisely the spot from which the ascription was carried over. Yet, in order to do this, we must know many of the details about how a specific print was executed. For example, did the printers use only one forme, or was more than one forme used? Did the compositors employ the technique called "work-and-turn"?⁹ Did they work in sequence from the beginning of the collection to end? (In theory, they could have begun anywhere in the print.) In other

9. On the printing technique called "work-and-turn," see Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, p. 83, and Boorman, "A Case of Work and Turn."

words, the precise spot from which an attribution could have been carried over will vary with the compositors' working methods. And to tell the truth, we cannot always determine the minute details of the printing process. Even when we find the kind of printers' errors that occurred in connection with the Clemens/ Manchicourt Pater peccavi or the three motets attributed to Canis and Crecquillon (see above), we can reconstruct only part--never the whole--of the printing process.¹⁰ Without such evidence, it is virtually impossible to say how Gascongne's name came to be printed on every page that was intended to carry an attribution to Sermisy.

(ii) No. 100, Gaude virgo Catherina, Gombert/Mouton

In Attaignant 1534/9, this piece is attributed to Mouton in the indices, but to Gombert in the bassus partbook. (No ascription is given in the other three partbooks.) Significantly, the bassus headline contains information that goes beyond the customary material; it

10. In Gaskell's words,

. . . real (as opposed to theoretical) printing was a complex craft carried out by fallible and inconsistent human beings of widely different capabilities. . . . For every generalization that is made about the history of printing technology, for every rule supposedly observed by hand printers, there may have been an exception; or--for there was no rule about this either--there may not (A New Introduction to Bibliography, p. 47).

reads: "De Sancta Katherina Gombert Bassus," and thus yields a clue as to the probable place from which the headline was taken. Although there is no other "Catherine motet" ascribed to Gombert in that collection, another Attaingnant print, Attaingnant 1534/6, contains Gombert's Virgo sancta Katherina, and does so with precisely the same inscription: "De Sancta Katherina." Thus it is possible--even probable, given the two collections were published in the same year and were part of the multi-volume series--that Attaingnant used a forme in 1534/9 which he had already used in the production of 1534/6. Though there is no evidence to indicate that Attaingnant's composers worked on more than one collection at a time (as there was in connection with the Susato prints discussed above), one cannot eliminate the possibility that the attribution to Gombert in Attaingnant 1534/9 was carried over from another Attaingnant collection.

(c) Conflicting Attributions that were not caused by Carried-Over Attributions

(i) No. 266, Visita quaesumus, Jacquet/(Lhéritier)/Willaert

This motet is attributed to Jacquet in the indices of Buglhat 1538/5, but to Willaert in all the partbooks (the ascription to Lhéritier appears in other sources--see the Inventory). The headlines of the pages on which the piece appears read as follows:

Cantus	Prima pars	Adrian Vvillart
Tenor	Prima pars	Adrian Vvillart
Altus		Adrian Vvillart
[Bassus]		Adrian Vvillart

An examination of all the headlines that attribute other motets to Willaert fails to confirm that the attribution of Visita quaesumus to Willaert was carried over from any other place in this collection. For example, in the tenor partbook, the headline on fol. 6v reads "Tenor Adrian Vvillart Prima pars," and thus has a different word order, while the headline on fol. 18v of the cantus partbook reads "Cantus Prima Pars Adrian Vvillart," and therefore differs in having a capital P for the word "Pars."

With the failure to explain this conflicting attribution by means of the carried-over technique, the attribution to Willaert becomes even more difficult to comprehend. As the four headlines show, the composers did not even use the same forme for the piece throughout all the partbooks. Rather, they altered the forme when they set the piece in the altus and bassus partbooks, omitting the "Prima Pars" designation in the altus book and both that and the voice designation in the bassus. Yet through it all, the attribution to Willaert was maintained, and the conflicting attributions admits of no easy explanation.

(ii) No. 19, Ave sanctissima Maria, Sermisy/Verdelot

Though this motet is ascribed to Verdelot in both the indices and the superius partbook of Attaingnant 1534/5, the contratenor book of that collection gives the name "Claudin" over the piece. In addition, the headline of the contratenor book contains the word "Canon" right next to the composer's name. Thus if the Claudin headline over the motet was carried over, the headline of the page from which it came must have had the matching phrase: "Canon. Claudin." However, that phrase appears nowhere else in Attaingnant 1534/5. The evidence therefore suggests that the conflicting attribution of Ave sanctissima Maria was not caused by a carried-over attribution.

(iii) No. 197, Puer natus est nobis, Mouton/Mahu

While the index and altus partbook of Rhaw 1538/8 ascribes the motet to Mouton, the bassus partbook gives it to Mahu, where the name appears as "STE. MAHV." Again, though, the possibility of a carried-over ascription must be rejected, since all other references to Mahu in this collection give his name as "STEPHANVS MAHV."

(iv) No. 47, Conserva me Domine, (Finck)/Josquin/Wolff

In Petreius 1538/6, this motet is ascribed to "Martianus Vuolff" in the index, but to "Josquin" in the Discantus partbook (it is anonymous in the other

partbooks).¹¹ Here, we can be sure that the attribution to "Iosquin" was not carried over from any other place in the print, since the name "Iosquin" appears not in the headline of the page, but directly above the beginning of the motet, which begins on the last staff of the page. When Montanus & Neuber published this work in 1553/4, they must have used the Petreius print as their exemplar, because Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 duplicated the conflicting ascription precisely as it appears in the Petreius print naming Wolff in the index and Josquin in the Discantus partbook.¹²

(v) No. 253, Verba mea auribus De Silva/Paminger

Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 contains another motet for which an attribution appears not in a headline but in the middle of a page--this time in the altus partbook. The motet Verva mea auribus is ascribed to De Silva in both the indices and the bassus partbook, but to "Leon. Paminger" in the altus. Thus once again, the conflicting attribution, though appearing in the single collection, could not have come about through a carried-over attribution.

In conclusion, Table V-1 summarizes the conflicting

11. This motet is also ascribed to Finck in KasL 24.

12. In addition, Montanus and Neuber 1553/4 gives the name Wolff in the altus and bassus partbooks.

Table V-1. Motets examined in relation to Boorman's methods

Motet Number	Composers involved	Component tested*	Conflicts explained
No. 16	Dalla Viola/Gombert	(2)	yes
No. 19	Sermisy/Verdelot	(3)	no
No. 47	Finck/Josquin/Wolff	(3)	no
No. 61	Gascongne/Sermisy	(3)	?
No. 63	Fevin/Josquin	(1)	?
No. 100	Gombert/Mouton	(3)	?
No. 117	Berchem/Gombert/Jacquet	(2)	yes
No. 124	Berchem/Jacquet	(2)	yes
No. 161	Josquin/Mouton/Richafort	(1)	yes
No. 183	Bauldeweyn/Festa/Fevin/ Mouton	(1)	yes
No. 190	Clemens/Manchicourt	(3)	yes
No. 197	Mahu/Mouton	(3)	no
No. 227	Canis/Crecquillon	(3)	yes
No. 235	Canis/Clemens/Crecquillon	(3)	yes
No. 253	De Silva/Paminger	(3)	no
No. 262	Canis/Crecquillon	(3)	yes
No. 263	Gombert/Payen	(2)	yes
No. 266	Jacquet/Lhéritier/Willaert	(3)	no

*(1) = The problematic lay-out, (2) = Running headlines,
 (3) = Carried-over attributions

attributions discussed so far. Ten of eighteen conflicts can be explained using Boorman's method, while the remaining seven cannot be so resolved.

(B) Conflicting Attributions Explained by Means of Atlas's Method

Altogether, the conflicting attributions of forty motets have been examined with a view to explaining the conflicts by means of the revision hypothesis developed by Atlas. Many of the motets display at least one of the following six "variant types" that, according to Atlas, could account for the conflicting attributions: (1) instrumental arrangements of vocal works, (2) added or alternate voice part(s), (3) an added large-scale section of music, (4) "local" variants in music, (5) "local" variants in the text, and (6) contrafacta. The ensuing discussion takes up each type of compositional variant as it appears in the sample motets.

(1) Instrumental Arrangements of Vocal Works

This category includes those conflicting attributions that might have been caused by one musician's having intabulated the work of another. Thus when a composer's name appears in connection with an instrumental version of a motet, the attribution might refer only to the arranger, not to the composer of the original motet.

- (a) No. 52, Date siceram maerentibus, Gombert/Josquin/
Mikołaj/Sermisy

This motet is ascribed to "Nicolaus Cracoviensis" (Mikołaj z Krakowa) in the tabulature KrakPAN 1716, compiled by the Polish organist Jan of Lublin, and to Gombert, Josquin, and Sermisy in other sources. Though the whole of KrakPAN 1716 was copied by Jan, the intabulations included in the manuscript were probably done by others, and Jan of Lublin simply copied his pieces from tabulatures now lost.¹³ In this case, then, the attribution to Mikołaj was entered because Jan of Lublin worked from a source containing a work intabulated by Mikołaj and ascribed to him.¹⁴

In general, the intabulation of vocal works did not generate many conflicting attributions, and they certainly do not furnish the most interesting or perplexing examples.

(2) Added or Alternate Voice Part(s)

The conflicting attributions included here pertain to those in which the conflict can be associated either with a difference in the number of voice parts among the various redactions of the piece, or to the presence of an entire

13. White, "The Tabulature of Lublin," p. 142.

14. Blackburn also believes that Mikołaj was only responsible for the intabulation; see, "Josquin's Chansons," p. 34.

alternate voice part.

(a) No. 80, Dulces exuvie, Mouton/Willaert

This work is ascribed to Willaert in SGallS 463 as a three-voice work (the same version appears without an ascription in both Antico 1520/6 and Rhaw 1542/8), while a four-voice version is credited to Mouton in RegB 940-1 (this version also appears anonymously in Rhaw 1538/8).¹⁵ Though Mouton is thought to have been Willaert's teacher,¹⁶ it would appear that Mouton added the fourth voice to Willaert's three-voice version. (On the other hand, one may argue that Mouton's version is original, and that it was Willaert who was responsible for reducing the number of voice parts to three, since the fourth voice blends very well with the others, and contains no stylistic traces of being an added voice, though some might say that it overly thickens the texture.)

(b) No. 257, Verbum iniquum et dolosum, Clemens/
Crecquillon

Kempers includes two versions of this motet in his edition of Clemens's motets on the grounds that the work

15. Where modern editions of a piece--with accurate lists of variants--were available, I have used them (these are listed in the Inventory); otherwise, the transcription and/or collation are my own.

16. See Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, p. 40.

survives with two different contratenors.¹⁷ One version of the motet is ascribed to Clemens in Scotto 1554/14 and Montanus & Neuber 1564/5, while the other bears an ascription to Crecquillon in Susato 1553/10 and Montanus & Neuber 1559/2, but to Clemens in Phalèse 1559c Clemens. There can be little doubt that the conflicting attributions came about when one composer replaced the contratenor with his own.¹⁸

As a whole, the motet repertory contains only a few

17. Clemens, Opera Omnia, vol. XV, p. 43 and p. 46.

18. This is one of those instances in which the distribution of the compositional variants (here the two contratenor parts) does not coincide precisely with the attributions, since one of the versions is attributed to both Clemens and Crecquillon. Atlas explains this seeming contradiction as resulting from confusion on the part of the compilers of the manuscripts and prints ("Conflicting Attributions," p. 273) but he then goes on to say,

There is, however, an important difference [from the conventional "confusion theory"], for now the names are not being "made up," so to speak. Rather, each of the composers who disputes the authorship of a chanson has, according to the hypothesis, a legitimate place in the transmission of the work. What has become confused is now simply a matter of which version should be credited to which composer.

Thus, the attribution of the second version to Clemens resulted, according to Atlas's explanation, from Phalèse's confusion about which composer wrote what. (This assumes, of course, that Phalèse himself knew both composers had some claim to the piece.) Another possible explanation might derive from the notion of contamination in the transmission of the work. We may imagine the following situation: Phalèse, having access to both the Susato and Scotto versions, adopted the music of the Susato version, while he took the Clemens attribution from Scotto.

conflicting attributions that appear in conjunction with added or alternate voices,¹⁹ and as such differs significantly from the fifteenth-century chanson.²⁰

(3) Added Sections of Music

It is not unusual to find a motet from the first half of the sixteenth century sometimes transmitted with one pars, sometimes with two partes. At the same time, one pars of a multi-section motet could have been disseminated as a separate independent piece. And as often happens, a motet so transmitted will be ascribed to more than one composer, in which event we may be dealing with instances in which one composer either added to or deleted from a motet composed by another.

(a) No. 176, O admirabile commercium, Josquin/Regis

The motet O admirabile commercium appears in two manuscripts: LeidGA 1439, with an attribution to Josquin,

19. See also Motet Nos. 39, 223, and 228.

20. As one can see from the inventory in Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions", pp. 278-84, Nos. 5, 9, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, and 31, this kind of coupling of conflicting attribution and "added-voice revision" was quite common among the fifteenth-century chanson. No doubt, the smaller number of such conflicts-revisions in the motet repertory has to do with the general change in style ca. 1500, that is, from successive to simultaneous composition. Obviously, with the establishment of a truly simultaneous process of composition, one based more and more on successive points of imitation, the temptation or the possibility of adding a new voice became all the less inviting.

and VatC 234, which names Regis as the composer. In LeidGA 1439, the tertia pars, "Puer natus est nobis," is missing. While one might assume that the last part was somehow dropped inadvertently in the copying process, a closer look at the music suggests that even if it was LeidGA 1439 that deleted the final pars (as opposed to its having been added in VatC 234), we are dealing with a completely calculated act of composition. The evidence lies in the final "chord" of the secunda pars of the two versions. In VatC 234, this sonority is a full C-major triad that is then followed by the tertia pars, while that in LeidGA 1439 omits the third, E, and thus gives us a more typical final sonority as the whole piece comes to a close. This seemingly minute piece of evidence is perhaps supported by the text of the tenor part, which after having sung the words "Verbum caro est" in cantus-firmus fashion through the first two partes, has no further reference to the text in the tertia pars. Obviously, one can argue both ways: that Regis changed the final sonority at the end of the secunda pars and added a differentiated tertia pars to Josquin's two-part original, or that Josquin, noting the lack of coherence between the first two partes and the third, decided to drop the final section and then changed the final sonority of the secunda pars to the customary open fifth.

(b) No. 182, O pulcherrima mulierum, (Bauldeweyn)/(Festa)/
Fevin/Mouton

While BarcBC 454 ascribes this motet to Mouton, two other sources, Kriesstein 1540/7 and VienNB Mus. 15941, attribute it to Fevin. Kriesstein 1540/7, however, has only the section that sets "Descendi in hortum meum", which is the secunda pars of O pulcherrima in BarcBC 454. The version in Kriesstein 1540/7, however, extends the ending of that pars with nineteen additional measures of music which repeat the last three words of the Descendi ("veni, et coronaberis"). Remarkably, the additional music is nothing other than the beginning of O pulcherrima. Thus the beginning music of O pulcherrima as ascribed to Mouton in BarcBC 454 becomes the ending of the independent Descendi as attributed to Fevin in Kriesstein 1540/7.

In terms of tonal coherence, Mouton's version is consistent: it begins with a tonal center of E, and reaches a cadence on A at the end of the prima pars; the secunda pars then continues to be centered on A, and eventually returns to a Phrygian cadence on E at its conclusion. The version attributed to Fevin, on the other hand, ends with a full C-major triad.

To decide in favor of one version or the other as being the original on the grounds of the tonal structure seems inappropriate. Rather, a comparison of the two beginnings may yield some evidence. In general, multi-part

motets begin each section in a different manner. The opening of the prima pars is usually "slow" (with long notes) and imitative, while the secunda pars usually begins with a full texture (very often chordal), or, if it is contrapuntal, with a rather fast rhythm. Given this "standard" procedure, Descendi better fits the model when it functions as a secunda pars of the motet than it does as the beginning of a piece, and in all, we can probably conclude that Fevin reworked Mouton's motet.²¹

(4) Local Variants in Music

Certainly, the most frequently encountered type of revision is the one that consists of what might be called "local variants," that is, variants that alter short stretches of music either in one voice or throughout the polyphonic fabric and which seem to be more significant than simple scribal alterations. In the latter group--variants which could easily have been introduced in the copying process by non-composer scribes--we may include the following: (1) minor rhythmic changes caused by alterations in text underlay (for example one breve for two semibreves,

21. Although it is ascribed to Fevin, the version in VienNB Mus. 15941 is the same as the version attributed to Mouton in that it also contains two partes. However, the Vienna version has many "local" variants which might point to further revision by Fevin.

or vice versa), (2) light embellishment of a passage, such as filling in passing tones between two notes, and (3) standard cadential variants.²² As for the "local-compositional" variants, there is obviously some subjectivity in defining them, though one criterion might be that they could hardly have been made without access to a "score."

(a) No. 45, Congratulamini mihi omnes, Sermisy/Verdelot

A compositional variant between the version attributed to Verdelot in Kriesstein 1540/7 and ErlU 473/1 and that ascribed to Sermisy in Scotto 1549/10a appears in the altus at mm. 44-6 (Ex. V-1).

(b) No. 60, Dirige gressus meos, Clemens/Crecquillon

The version of this motet in Dressl Löbau 12, where it is attributed to Clemens, differs from the reading found in each of the sources that ascribes the work to Crecquillon: while the superius of the Clemens version fills mm. 17-19 of the superius with a dotted longa and equivalent rest, the Crecquillon version fills the space with the same thematic material that had appeared at mm. 15-6 (Ex. V-2).

22. Brown, in an interesting study on this matter, points out that a comparison of five manuscripts into which the Netherlandish court scribe Alamire copied the same Mass by La Rue shows that each reading contains "remarkably few changes in pitches and rhythms;" see, "In Alamire's Workshop," p. 16.

Ex. V-1. Sermisy/Verdelot, No. 45, Congratulamini mihi omnes, mm. 44-6: (a) Kriesstein 1540/7 (Verdelot) and ErlU 473/1 (Verdelot); (b) Scotto 1549/10a (Sermisy)

(a)



(b)

S.

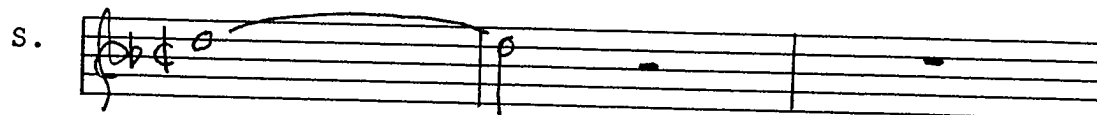
A.

T.

B.

Ex. V-2. Clemens/Crecquillon, No. 64, Dirige gressus meos,
mm. 17-19: (a) DresSL Löbau 12 (Clemens); (b) all other
sources (Crecquillon)

(a)



(b)

S.

A. I

A. II

T.

B.

(c) No. 74 Domine ne in furore Josquin/Verdelot

In general, the variants show that two sources KasL 24, with an attribution to Josquin, and LeipU 49, where the piece appears anonymously, are closely related. Significantly, the manuscript that ascribes the motet to Verdelot, BolC Q20, disagrees with the two German sources at mm. 43-4 of the tenor (Ex. V-3).

(d) No. 78, Domini est terra, Appenzeller/Josquin/Vinders

Of the five sources that I have collated, CambraiBM 125-8, with an attribution to Vinders, contains many small variants that distinguish it from the others: GreifU 640-1 (ascription to Appenzeller), KasL 24 (attribution to Josquin), LeidGA 1442 (anon.), and UlmS 237 (anon.). Moreover, of the last four sources, all but GreifU 640-1 are very closely related, so that as Ex. V-4 shows the manuscripts that ascribe the motet to either Appenzeller or Vinders stand aside from both KasL 24 and LeidGA 1442. In the end, one may argue that the version attributed to each composer contains variants that distinguish it from the version ascribed to any other composer: thus three composers and three sets of variant readings.

(e) No. 110, Hodie salvator mundi, Lhéritier/Mouton

The manuscript that attributes this motet to Mouton, TrevBC 8, contains numerous compositional variants which

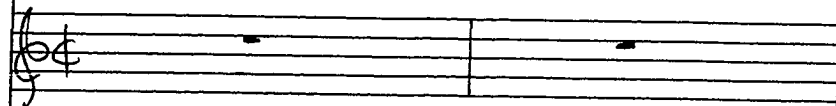
Ex. V-3. Josquin/Verdelot, No. 73, Domine ne in furore,
mm. 43-44: (a) BolC Q20 (Verdelot); (b) KasL 24 (Josquin)
and LeipU 49 (anon.)

(a)

S.



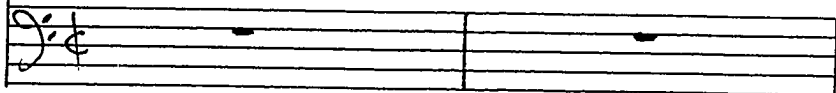
A.



T.



B.



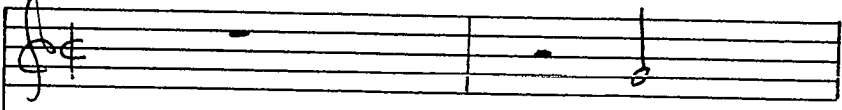
(b)

T.

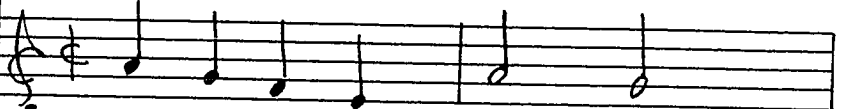


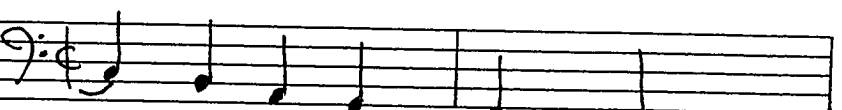
Ex. V-4. Appenzeller/Josquin/Vinders, No. 78, Domini est
terra, mm. 163-4: (a) CambraiBM 125-8 (Vinders),
 GreifU 640-1 (Appenzeller), and UlmS 237 (anon.);
 (b) KasL 24 (Josquin) and LeidGA 1442 (anon.)

(a)

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

(b)

T. 

place it against all other sources, including VatG XII.4, which has an ascription to Lhéritier. Ex. V-5 shows the compositional variant that affects tenor and bassus at mm. 86-8.

(f) No. 143, Laqueus contritus est, Clemens/Gombert

This work is attributed to Gombert in both Montanus & Neuber 1554/11 and CambraiBM 125-8, but to Clemens in Phalèse 1559e Clemens. In addition to the variant readings found at the end of the prima pars, there are significant differences in the superius and tenor at m. 120 (Ex. V-6).

(g) No. 150, Lectio actuum apostolorum, Josquin/Viardot

The attribution to Viardot appears in Vats 42, which begins the motet with the words "Dum complerentur." As for the Josquin attribution, it appears in both Petrucci 1519/3 and MunU 401, both of which add thirteen measures to the beginning of the Viardot version in order to incorporate the words "Lectio actuum apostolorum. In diebus illis." It seems apparent that Josquin added the opening phrase to Viardot's motet.²³

23. See Sherr, "The Papal Chapel and Its Sources," p. 236, who offers the same opinion.

Ex. V-5. Lhéritier/Mouton, No. 110, Hodie salvator mundi,
 mm. 86-88: (a) BolC Q19 (anon.), CasAC D(F) (anon.), and
 VatG XII.4 (Lhéritier); (b) TrevBC 8 (Mouton)

(a)

S.

A.

T.

B.

(b)

T.

B.

Ex. V-6. Clemens/Gombert, No. 143, Laqueus contritus est,
 mm. 119-121: (a) Phalèse 1559e Clemens (Clemens);
 (b) Montanus & Neuber 1554/11 (Gombert)

(a)

S. 

T. 

(b)

S. 

A. 

T. 

B. 

(h) No. 225, Sancti Dei omnes, Josquin/Mouton

This motet consists of three parts in the version attributed to Josquin in ToleBC 13, while all other sources, including the one that names Mouton, VatS 42, combine the second and third parts into one by altering the final chord of the second part from a major triad on F to one on C. Obviously, this change helps the passage bridge the gap from one section to the next. Similarly, there is a varied cadence at mm. 211-2, where the version ascribed to Mouton pauses on a full cadence, while that attributed to Josquin avoids the cadence.

(5) Local Changes in Text

As with the musical variants, textual variants can be divided into two groups, those fashioned by the scribes, printers, or compilers of the collections and those that may properly be attributed to the composer.²⁴ As we have noted in the previous chapter, the two versions of Quis dabit oculis (No. 207) are thought to result from Senfl's having revised--or altered--some of the words in Festa's original composition. Thus, when there are textual variants that substantially change the content of the text, we may risk

24. Most modern editions do not report minor textual variants. Surprisingly, perhaps, one of the best editions in terms of listing such variants is still the "old" Josquin edition edited by Smijers.

regarding them as compositional variants. Such changes occur especially frequently in the so-called "state motets," as in the Gascongne/Mouton Non nobis Domine.

(a) No. 171, Non nobis Domine, Gascongne/Mouton

The version of this motet in Petrucci 1519/1, where the motet is attributed to Mouton, celebrates the birth of Princess Renée in 1510, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. In Attaingnant 1535/3, on the other hand, the same motet appears with an ascription to Gascongne and with a text that pays tribute to Louis's successor, Francis I:

Petrucci 1519/1

Attaingnant 1535/3

Non nobis Domine, non nobis
sed nomini tuo da gloriam
qui Reginam fecundasti
et in partu praeservasti
tante prolis gratia
ergo clamemus in caelum
vivat Rex in aeternum
vivat Rex vivat Rex
et Regina.

-->qui Franciscum sublimasti
-->et in regem coronasti
-->plebis cum laetitia

-->vivat Rex vivat Rex
per saecula.

O Francia quantum potes
tantum gaude
nam filia datur
Annae Regique
[missing here]
ergo . . .

-->O Francia quantum potes
lauda Deum
-->qui tibi regem Franciscum
dedit
-->pro salute patriae

secunda pars

Lauda Deum, O Renata
per Renati precesnata
Et nos pari foedere
[missing here]
ergo . . .

-->Jesu bone, rex virtutum
-->qui das salutem regibus
-->conserva regem Franciscum
-->dans pacem suis diebus

O Renata parens regni
 audi praeces Ludovici
 da filium nobilem
 da rubor fer auxilium
 ergo . . .

-->O Maria, mater Dei
 -->exaudi praeces populi
 -->serva semper lilium

It seems apparent that it was Mouton who composed the original motet, and that Gascongne was responsible only for the new text and the necessary rhythmic changes.²⁵

(b) No. 90, Egregie Christi martyr Christophore, Fevin/
 Mouton

This motet belongs to a type that can be used for a number of different occasions simply by changing a proper name. Thus the versions in Petrucci 1514/1 (attributed to Fevin) and VienNB Mus. 15491 (attributed to Mouton) have the name of St. Christopher, while the versions in BolSP 38 (anon.), CasAC P(E) (anon.), and LonBLR 8G.VII (anon.) use St. Petronius, St. Evasius, and St. Martin, respectively. Here it would be difficult to conclude that these differences came about through the intervention of either Mouton or Fevin, not because they are both named in connection with the St. Christopher version, but because the local textual changes would seem to be the work of scribes adjusting the text in order to meet the requirements of a

25. Both Gehrenbeck, "Motetti della corona," vol. III, pp. 1061-5, and Dunning, Staatsmotetten, pp. 78-82, express the same view. Aside from the textual variants just cited, the music of the two versions is almost identical.

local tradition. Moreover, the two sources with attributions are virtually identical musically. (Of course, it is possible that a source unknown to us, or one of the sources that I was not able to collate, contains compositional variants.)

(c) No. 180, O Christe redemptor, Maessens/Mouton

As Picker points out, there is no question that the conflicting attribution came about through a textual revision, as the source which attributes the motet to Maessens transmits a number of substantial alterations of the text.²⁶ For example, the version ascribed to Maessens deliberately obscures the French connection in the original text by substituting the word "coetum" for "lilium."

(d) No. 233, Super montem excelsum, Clemens/Crecquillon/
Manchicourt

There are three versions of the text of this responsorial motet, just as there are three composers to whom it is attributed. The three versions appear in AachS 2 (attributed to Crecquillon), Phalèse 1559 Clemens VI, and Attaingnant 1539 Manchicourt. The differences in the texts of the three sources are:

26. Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 59.

AachS 2	Phalèse	Attaingnant
Et dic civitatibus Jude	Et dic civitatibus	as AachS 2
... ecce Dominus Deus vester	ecce Dominus Deus noster	as AachS 2
... Alleluia, Alleluia, ...	Noe, noe, ...	as Phalèse
<u>secunda pars</u>		
... Et regnabit super vos	Et regnabit super nos	as Phalèse
... Alleluia, Alleluia, ...	Noe, noe, ...	as Phalèse

To be sure, the textual variants are minor ("noster"/"vester" or "nos"/"vos"), and one hesitates to classify them as compositional variants. Even the lack of the word "Jude" in the version that names Clemens seems insignificant. In all, it is unlikely that these textual variants have anything to do with the conflicting attributions.²⁷

However, the situation changes somewhat when we consider one of the musical variants, for while the Clemens and Manchicourt versions are virtually identical, the

27. Whenever a source alters either the text itself or even the text underlay, rhythmic changes are inevitable. It is tempting to speculate that even minor rhythmic changes which most of us believe are scribal variants may in some cases be true compositional variants. A case in point is the Crecquillon/Lupi Nos autem gloriari oportet where the two sources that name the two composers disagree with each other rhythmically in almost every measure throughout the motet. After all, it was during the first half of the sixteenth century that close attention to text underlay became prominent.

version ascribed to Crecquillon adds four measures at the end of the secunda pars.

(6) Contrafacta

At least some conflicting attributions might have been produced by one composer supplying a completely new text for a motet written by another composer, yielding a contrafactum.

(a) No. 242, Tua est potentia, Danckerts/Phinot

An interesting manuscript in connection with contrafacta is TrevBC 29. In her recent study of the manuscript, Blackburn has pointed out that no fewer than sixty of the 175 motets in TrevBC 29 involve contrafacta.²⁸ Naturally, she suggests that all the new texts were provided by the owner and scribe(?) of the manuscript, Pietro Varisco.²⁹ Thus she does not consider the possibility that at least in some instances it might have been the composer who was responsible for the new text.

However, at least one motet in the manuscript raises doubts about Varisco's one-man job: Tu es vas electionis is ascribed to Danckerts in TrevBC 29, while the same music, but with a different text--Tua est potentia--is included in

28. Blackburn, Treviso Cathedral, p. 9.

29. Blackburn, Treviso Cathedral, p. 4.

Gardane 1552 Phinot. As Blackburn indicates, the differences between the two versions pertain to more than just the words, since at one point in the secunda pars, the scribe of TrevBC 29 deleted eleven and a half breves worth of music in order to accommodate the new text.³⁰ Moreover, she shows convincingly that the scribe used the Gardane print (with its ascription to Phinot) for this motet.³¹ What is difficult to understand, then, is why Varisco, assuming that he was the scribe of TrevBC 29, changed the ascription from Phinot to Danckerts.

Is it possible, therefore, that it was Danckerts who supplied the new text and made the musical alterations? There is nothing that argues against this. Danckerts was dismissed from the Sistine Chapel in 1565 when he was about fifty-five years old. After that, we know nothing about his whereabouts. Significantly, though, Danckerts is named as the composer of another motet that survives in TrevBC 30, a companion volume to TrevBC 29, which Blackburn dates from no earlier than 1575.³² Perhaps, all of this suggests that

30. Though this manuscript was destroyed, the portion of the manuscript that contains our motet survives in photographic reproductions; see Blackburn, Treviso Cathedral, p. vi.

31. Blackburn, Treviso Cathedral, pp. 46-50.

32. Only four motets are known to be composed by Dankerts; see Blackburn, Treviso Cathedral, pp. 39-40.

Danckerts, after leaving the Sistine Chapel in 1565, was active at Treviso, where he arranged Phinot's motet, which then became accessible to Varisco and TrevBC 29.

To sum up, a fairly good number (twenty four out of forty) of our sample conflicting attributions can, it seems, be explained--or perhaps we should say understood--by examining them with Atlas's revision hypothesis in mind (see Table V-2). To be sure, the theory is just that. But what cannot be denied is the frequent coupling of conflicting attributions, on the one hand, and a variety of different kinds of "compositional" variants, on the other. Moreover, it is Atlas's explanation, more than any other, that seems to illuminate the subject of our next chapter, the pattern of "clubiness" among the composers involved in conflicting attributions.

Table V-2. Forty motets examined in connection with the revision theory.

Motet Number	Composers involved	Type of variant	Explained by variants
No. 6	Berchem/Lupi		no
No. 10	Brumel/Mouton	(6)	yes
No. 17	Conseil/Jacquet/ M. Jhan		no
No. 36	Fevin/Mouton	(3)	yes
No. 38	Baston/Mouton/ Richafort	(2)	?
No. 45	Sermisy/Verdelot	(4)	yes
No. 52	Gombert/Josquin/ Sermisy/Mikolaj	(1), (6)	yes
No. 60	Clemens/Crecquillon	(4)	yes
No. 63	Fevin/Josquin	(3)	yes
No. 68	Conseil/Festa		no
No. 74	Josquin/Verdelot	(4)	yes
No. 78	Appenzeller/Josquin/ Vinders	(4)	yes
No. 80	Mouton/Willaert	(2)	yes
No. 90	Fevin/Mouton	(5)	no
No. 106	Mouton/Ninot	(3)	?
No. 110	Lhéritier/Mouton	(4)	yes
No. 114	Josquin/Mouton	(3)	yes
No. 134	Gombert/Grandsyre/ Lupi	(3), (6)	?
No. 142	De Silva/Josquin	(1)	no
No. 143	Clemens/Gombert	(4)	yes
No. 150	Josquin/Viardot	(4)	yes
No. 154	Finck/Hellinck/ Josquin		no
No. 169	Le Heurteur/ Lhéritier/Lupus/ Sermisy	(1)	?
No. 171	Gascongne/Mouton	(5)	yes
No. 176	Josquin/Regis	(3)	yes
No. 178	Anchieta/Compère/ Peñalosa/Ribera	(4)	yes
No. 180	Maessens/Mouton	(5)	yes
No. 182	Compère/Richafort	(3)	?
No. 183	Fevin/Mouton	(3), (4)	yes
No. 194	Josquin/Ninot	(4)	yes
No. 200	Lupi/Verdelot		no
No. 205	Isaac/Rener	(2)	no
No. 225	Josquin/Mouton	(4)	yes
No. 233	Clemens/Crecquillon/ Manchicourt	(4), (5)	yes

(Continued)

No. 238	De Silva/Werrecore		no
No. 242	Danckerts/Phinot	(4), (6)	?
No. 244	Josquin/Pesenti		no
No. 245	Josquin/Gombert	(3), (4), (6)	yes
No. 257	Clemens/Crecquillon	(4)	yes
No. 258	Brunet/Josquin	(4)	yes

CHAPTER VI
CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS AND
THE BIOGRAPHICAL INTERSECTIONS OF COMPOSERS

One of the observations that has emerged from the present survey of conflicting attributions is that there is a tendency for certain composers to conflict mainly with either one other composer or with a small, seemingly "closed" group of composers, who often seem to have shared rather marked biographical intersections. Many of the composers seem to have worked at the same place at approximately the same time (see Chapter I).¹ This tendency is quite prominent among composers of motets written during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Table VI-1 lists the pairs of composers who conflict with one another more than three times, and comments briefly on the intersections of their careers.

Obviously, the career intersections between composers are clearer for some pairs than for others. At one end of the spectrum is the relationship between Mouton and Fevin, which can be substantiated on the basis of solid documentary evidence. In other instances, though, the connections are either more tenuous or simply cannot be proven to have

1. This Chapter is based on the Index of Composers which appears as Appendix B in this study.

Table VI-1. Pairs of Composers with Three or More Conflicts.

Pairs of Composers	Comments on the intersections
Clemens/Crecquillon (16)	both at the chapel of Charles V
Josquin/Mouton (11)	both at the court of Louis XII
Clemens/Manchicourt (6)	not enough information
Gombert/Ruffo (6)	not enough information
Josquin/Verdelot (5)	not enough information
Berchem/Jacquet (4)	both in Northern Italy; but probably names simply confused
Fevin/Mouton (4)	both at the court of Louis XII
Gombert/Verdelot (4)	not enough information
Jacquet/Gombert (4)	indirect connection (see below)
Josquin/Senfl (4)	not enough information
Moulu/Mouton (4)	both at the court of Louis XII or Francis I
Verdelot/Willaert (4)	not enough information
Berchem/Gombert (3)	not enough information
Canis/Crecquillon (3)	both at the chapel of Charles V; but printer's error
Gascongne/Mouton (3)	both at the French court
Gombert/Lupi (3)	indirect connection
Hellinck/Lupi (3)	both in Netherlands; but probably names simply confused
Jacquet/Maitre Jhan (3)	both at Ferrara
Jacquet/Morales (3)	indirect connection (see below)
Lhéritier/Mouton (3)	indirect connection
Lhéritier/Willaert (3)	not enough information
Mouton/Richafort (3)	both at the court of Louis XII and Francis I
Mouton/Verdelot (3)	indirect connection

existed (which is not the same as saying that they were non-existent). This, of course, results from the scanty biographical information about certain composers. A case in point is Verdelot, about whom we know only that he was in Florence during the period 1522-1527. Thus, while the sources have him in conflict with four different composers more than three times each--Josquin (5), Gombert (4), Willaert (4), and Mouton (3)--there is no proof that Verdelot came into direct contact with any of these men.

At times the evidence is simply circumstantial. For instance, although we know surprisingly little about Clemens's life, Kempers, relying on the texts of some of his "state" motets, suggests that the composer might have had some ties with Charles V.² And, not surprisingly, there are no fewer than sixteen occasions on which the other composer named in a conflict with Clemens is Crecquillon, chapel master to Charles V. In fact, the sixteen conflicting attributions between Clemens and Crecquillon is the single largest number of conflicts between any two composers. This brings us to another point, one first posited by Atlas: the correlation between the frequency of conflicting attributions and the amount of biographical intersection of these composers seems so pronounced that I feel comfortable

2. Kempers, "Bibliography of the Sacred Works of Clemens non Papa," pp. 88-91.

in following Atlas in turning the observation around and using the patterns of conflicting attributions themselves as evidence on which to speculate about the biographies of certain composers.³

In the discussion that follows, the composers involved in the conflicting attributions are organized into six broad, geographically distinct groups according to where they spent a--if not the--major part of their careers: (A) France, especially the royal court; (B) Rome, especially the Papal chapel; (C) Northern Italy, particularly Venice and the courts at Ferrara and Mantua; (D) the Netherlands, especially the Habsburg courts; (E) the cities and courts in the German-speaking lands; and (F) Spain. For some composers, of course, assignment to one center or another is difficult, since not all of them confined their activities to one place. Josquin, to take but one example, was active at Milan (1459-79), Rome (1486-1501), Paris (1501-03),

3. See Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," pp. 275-6, and fn. 39. Though Atlas uses the pattern of conflicts and the idea of biographical intersections as support for his variant-based revision hypothesis, there is no reason that the pattern-and-biography part of his hypothesis cannot stand on its own. Indeed, Atlas himself permits it to do just that in connection with the careers of Hayne van Ghizeghem-Jean Fresneau and Isaac-Martini. As Atlas also points out, it was the observation about the correlation between the pattern of conflicts and the biographical intersections that served as the starting point for his hypothesis.

Ferrara (1503-04), and the northern French city of Condé (1504-21). In contrast to his reasonably well-documented career, some composers cannot be placed in any of the six centers because we know nothing or next-to-nothing about them.⁴ Yet despite these problems, there is a pattern for most of the composers considered. Finally, since we are dealing with as many as 126 composers, the biographical information that appears in the following tables is given in a concise, even sketchy form.⁵

(A) France

The leading resident composer at the French royal court during the first quarter of the century was undoubtedly Jean Mouton (c. 1459-1522), who is documented at the court from 1509(?) through 1522, and whose forty-three motets with conflicting attributions stand second only to the forty-eight that involve Josquin.⁶ Among the composers

4. For some of these composers, I shall argue for a connection with one center or another based on the pattern of their conflicting attributions.

5. Unless noted otherwise, all biographical information is taken from the entries for each composer in The New Grove.

6. The composers who are involved in conflicting attributions for more than ten motets are the following (I list both the number of motets and the somewhat higher number of total conflicts, the discrepancy in number being a result of some motets having attributions to three or even four composers): Josquin (48/76), Mouton (43/56), Gombert (42/54), Jacquet (35/43), Clemens (28/30), Verdelot (27/36),

with whom Mouton conflicts, those who most frequently challenge his claims to a piece are Josquin (11 times), Fevin, and Moulu (4 times each). The Mouton-Fevin relationship is perfectly clear, since Fevin was active at the same court from 1507 to 1512 (see Table VI-2), and there is no question, then, about the intersection of their careers. Things are less clear in connection with the Mouton-Josquin relationship, since Josquin can be definitely associated with the court only in 1501-03, that is, prior to Mouton's first known appearance there. However, there has been speculation that Mouton may already have been attached to the retinue of Anne of Brittany as early as 1501.⁷ Thus the careers of Mouton and Josquin may well have intersected, and indeed, the hypothesis that the careers of composers who share a large number of conflicting attributions must have been intertwined would in this case support Ronsard's statement that Josquin was Mouton's teacher, even though Ronsard's report has generally been disregarded as

Crecquillon (25/27), Willaert (17/20), Lupi (15/17), Sermisy (13/18), Richafort (13/19), Manchicourt (12/13), Hellinck (11/14), Lhéritier (11/15), and Morales (10/18).

7. There is a consensus that Mouton arrived at Paris in 1501-02. In addition to The New Grove, see Bernstein, La Couronne et Fleur, part II, p. 20 and Sherr, "The Membership of the Chapels," p. 71.

fictitious.⁸

Finally, there is the problem of the Mouton-Moulu relationship. This connection is problematical for two reasons: (1) we have few, if any, hard facts about Moulu's career, and (2) as mentioned in Chapter III, the Mouton-Moulu conflicts are prime candidates for those that may simply have come about through "honest confusion," owing to the orthographical similarities of their names. However, not only has it been assumed--on the basis of his two motets, Fiere attropos and Mater floreat--that Moulu was in some way associated with the court during the first quarter of the century, but Richard Sherr has recently uncovered documents which indicate that a Petrus Moulu was a cleric in the diocese of Meaux (twenty-four miles east of Paris) in 1505 and in 1513.⁹ And though the cleric Moulu is not specifically referred to as a musician, his presence just outside Paris adds strength to the Mouton-Moulu connection that we would posit simply on the basis of the

8. For the translation of the passage, see Strunk, Source Readings, vol. II, p. 99. On the presumed fictitious character of Ronsard's statement, see The New Grove, vol. XII, p. 657.

9. Sherr, "Membership of the Chapels," pp. 81-2.

Table VI-2. Composers in France.

(A) Composers who worked
at the court or Paris

Barra 1510-12
 Brumel 1498
 Carpentras 1512
 Certon 1532-36
 Conseil 1509
 Fevin 1507-12
 Forestier 1505-13
 Jacotin 1532-5
 Josquin 1501-03
 Le Brung 1498-1513
 Longueval 1507-17
 Mouton 1509-22
 Richafort 1512
 Sermisy 1532-54
 Vermont 1509-28

(B) Composers who worked at
other cities in France

Arcadelt 1554-62 (Reims)
 Brouck 1527 (Calais)
 Cadéac 1538-56 (Auch)
 Hesdin 1536-8 (Beauvais)
 Lasson 1528 (Nancy)
 Le Bouteillier (Bourges
 and Chartres)
 Le Heurteur 1545 (Tours)
 Lhéritier 1540 (Avignon)
 Manchicourt 1539 (Tours)
 Therache 1492-1527 (Nancy)

(C) Composers whose relation to the French region have been
suggested

De Silva--studied at the court
 Festa--studied at the court
 Gascongne--at the court
 Gosse--at the court in 1547-9
 Jacquet--studied at the court
 La Fag--at Paris
 Lhéritier--at the court ca. 1501
 Moulu--at the court
 Verdelot--in northern France before 1527
 Willaert--studied at the court

Note to Table VI-2: in addition to the articles in The New Grove, for Jacotin, see Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," pp. 222-3.

conflicting attributions.¹⁰

Finally, an examination of the twenty-five composers with whom Mouton conflicts shows that only nine of them--Baston, S. Festa, Gombert, Lapidida, Lupi, Lupus, Maessens, Mahu, and Ninot--have no known association either with the royal court in particular or with France in general. In addition, the number of conflicts involving these nine composers comes to only eleven, or less than one quarter of the forty-five conflicts with the related composers (see Table VI-3). Among the sixteen composers who share a geographical relationship with Mouton, only two--Hesdin and Lhéritier--belong with the composers listed in Group (B), which consists mainly of composers of the post-Mouton generation.

Now, what does all this add up to? It seems clear that Mouton shares the overwhelming majority of his conflicting attributions with composers who worked either at the very same court, and with whom he therefore had direct contact, or at least at what we may possibly presume were cultural satellites of the court, and that most of those composers were Mouton's direct contemporaries. The number of conflicts with composers from other geographical areas or

10. Obviously, the intersection of the careers of Mouton and Moulu and the possible confusion owing to the orthographic similarities of the names are in no way mutually exclusive of one another.

Table VI-3. Breakdown of conflicting attributions involving Mouton.

Group of Composers	Number of Conflicts
Group (A)	21
Group (B)	4
Group (C)	20
Non-related	11

with those of a later generation comprise a clear minority of the conflicting attributions with him.

In some cases, even a single conflict may help to support an otherwise tenuous piece of biographical speculation. For example, if, as Lowinsky conjectures,¹¹ Mathurin Forestier (fl. c. 1500) can be identified with the Mathurin Dubuison who is not only recorded in the court documents in 1489, 1505-7 and in 1512-3 (documents from 1499 through 1503 are missing),¹² but also appears among the composers with French-court connections in Moulu's motet Mater floreat, it could possibly mean that Forestier and Josquin were active at the court together (although Josquin left the court in 1503). Such an identification and relationship between the two composers may well gain support from the Forestier/Josquin conflict, No. 252, Veni sancte Spiritus.¹³

(B) Rome

Among the composers who worked at Rome for a prolonged period are Josquin and Ninot in the late fifteenth and early

11. Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 74, fn. 34.

12. Brenet, Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle, pp. 41-64.

13. According to the worklist of The New Grove for Mouton, one Mass is ascribed to both Mouton and Forestier; perhaps this is another indication of Forestier's connection to France.

sixteenth centuries, as well as Arcadelt, Carpentras, Conseil, Danckerts, Festa, and Morales during the first half of the sixteenth century (see Table VI-4). Since Josquin and Ninot form a distinct chronological pair, perhaps their conflicting claim to Planxit autem David (No. 194) is not just an accident.

Aside from Josquin, only Morales, among the Rome-based composers, is involved in enough conflicts to catch our attention: there are three with Jacquet, two each with Clemens and Gombert, and one with each of twelve other composers. As can be seen from Table VI-4, though, none of the three composers seems to have had a direct connection with Morales, at least not in Rome. Yet each of them may well have come into direct contact with him. Morales often accompanied his papal employer (Paul III) to the cities and courts of northern Italy, for example, Loreto in 1539 and Bologna, Modena, Parma, and Ferrara in 1543. Of course, it was in this northern Italian milieu, and at precisely this time, that Jacquet was active.

There is at least a fair amount of circumstantial evidence that suggests Morales's acquaintance with another well-traveled ruler of the time, Charles V, and hence with his leading composer, Gombert. The first contact between Morales and the emperor's chapel could have occurred when the composer was still at Seville. Perhaps Morales and

Table VI-4. Composers in Rome.

(A) Composers who worked at the Papal Chapels or at churches in Rome

Animuccia 1550-52	Jacotin 1516-21
Arcadelt 1540-51	Josquin 1486-1501
Carpentras 1508-26	Lhéritier 1521-22
Conseil 1513-35	Morales 1535-45
Danckerts 1538-65	Ninot 1488-1502
De Silva 1519-20	Ribera 1520-27
Eustachius 1514	Verdelot 1523-24
Ferrabosco 1546-50	Vermont 1528-30
Festa 1517-45	Willaert 1515

Gombert met at Seville in March 1526, during the celebrations of the marriage of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal. We certainly know that Morales performed for the emperor during the latter's visit to Rome in 1536. Finally, during the above-mentioned trip to northern Italy in 1543, Morales obtained a permit, dated 15 May, to visit Genoa for a month, so that his stay in that city would have overlapped nicely with the presence there of Charles V from 25 May to 2 June. Indeed, Stevenson believes that the very purpose of Morales's visit was to meet the emperor and to explore the opportunity of landing a position with him.¹⁴ And if Clemens was also associated with Charles at that time (see above), the Morales/Gombert and Morales/Clemens conflicts could be explained by the hypothesis about biographical intersections. In the end, of course, we can do no more than speculate, but there is a tantalizing link between the Morales/Gombert and Morales/Clemens conflicts and the travels of the composers and their patrons.

(C) The Cities and Courts of Northern Italy

The two leading motet composers in northern Italy were certainly Jacquet of Mantua (1483-1559) and Willaert (c. 1490-1562), both of whom apparently had connections in France during the early years of their careers (see Table

14. Stevenson, "Morales," The New Grove.

VI-5). And as one might expect, given the somewhat broad picture that we are drawing, the composers who conflict with Jacquet and Willaert are overwhelmingly those with French and northern Italian orientations. Thus of the forty-four conflicts in which Jacquet is involved, only seven are with composers who have no strong, direct connections with either France or northern Italy: Gombert (4--but see below), Crecquillon (1), Lupi (1), and Senfl (1).¹⁵ Willaert's conflicts present a similar picture. Out of a total of twenty conflicting attributions, only two are with composers who are not associated primarily with France or northern Italy: one each with Obrecht (who belongs, of course, to an earlier generation) and Gombert.

What is especially interesting in connection with the conflicts involving the Italy-based Jacquet, Willaert, and Morales is the constant recurrence of conflicting attributions that all three composers have with Gombert. Although there is no documentary evidence that places Gombert on the peninsula, there is strong circumstantial evidence that points to a sojourn in northern Italy. First, there is the sudden appearance of his works in the Venetian

15. I have omitted Jaques du Pont, about whom we know nothing.

Table VI-5. Composers Who Worked in Northern Italy

(A) Composers Who Worked at Northern Italian Cities

Berchem 1530-50 (Venice, Verona)	Lhéritier 1506-08 (Ferrara)
Brumel 1506-10 (Ferrara)	Lupino 1532-55 (Loreto, Fano, Urbino)
Caussin 1529-48 (Parma)	Lupus 1518-19 (Ferrara)
Conseil 1532 (Florence)	Maistre Jhan 1512-43 (Ferrara)
Contino 1541-65 (Trent, Brescia, Mantua)	Obrecht 1504-5 (Ferrara)
Courtois 1553-54 (Verona)	Pesenti 1506-14 (Ferrara)
Dalla Viola 1528-72 (Ferrara)	Phinot 1545-55 (Urbino)
De Silva 1522 (Mantua)	Portinaro 1520-78 (Padua)
Eustachius 1520-24 (Modena)	Rore 1547-63 (Ferrara, Parma, Venice)
Ferrabosco 1540-48 (Bologna)	Ruffo 1520-72 (Verona, Milan, Ferrara)
Festa 1514 (Ferrara)	Verdelot 1522-27 (Florence)
Isaac 1502-1517 (Florence Ferrara)	Werrecore 1522 (Milan)
Jacquet 1516-59 (Ferrara,	Willaert 1517-62 (Ferrara,
Josquin 1459-1479, 1503-04 (Milan, Ferrara)	

(B) Composers who probably worked in Northern Italy

Arcadelt (Venice)
Comes (Venice)
Lupus (if = Lupato, Venice)
Maffoni (Brescia)
Renaldo (Modena)
Simon (Ferrara)

Note to Table VI-5: for Maffoni, see Jeppesen, Italia Sacra Musica, vol. I, p. xiv; for Renaldo, see Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel," p. 237, and p. 241; as for Simon "Ferrariensis," the designation speaks for itself.

northern Italian orientations. Thus of the forty-four conflicts in which Jacquet is involved, only seven are with composers who have no strong, direct connections with either France or northern Italy: Gombert (4--but see below), Crecquillon (1), Lupi (1), and Senfl (1).¹⁶ Willaert's conflicts present a similar picture. Out of a total of twenty conflicting attributions, only two are with composers who are not associated primarily with France or northern Italy: one each with Obrecht (who belongs, of course, to an earlier generation) and Gombert.

What is especially interesting in connection with the conflicts involving the Italy-based Jacquet, Willaert, and Morales is the constant recurrence of conflicting attributions that all three composers have with Gombert. Although there is no documentary evidence that places him in Italy, there is strong circumstantial evidence that points to a sojourn in northern Italy. First, there is the sudden appearance of his works in the Venetian prints of Gardane and Scotto--both in one-composer collections and anthologies--from 1539 on. Second, we know that Gombert left the Imperial chapel before 1540; and the next document about him does not come until 1547, when his presence is recorded at Tournai. Finally, there is a letter of 1547 (it

16. I have omitted Jaques du Pont, about whom we know nothing.

is not dated more precisely) from Gombert to Ferrante Gonzaga (brother of the Duke of Mantua and the "gran capitano" of Charles V).¹⁷ Thus, it may not be coincidental to find that (1) thirteen of the twenty-eight composers who conflict with Gombert, worked in Italy; and (2) five of the thirteen composers who have multiple conflicting attributions with him--Ruffo (6), Jacquet (4), Berchem (3), Caussin (2), and Phinot (2)--were themselves active at various courts and cities of northern Italy between 1539 and 1547, precisely the years during which Gombert's own whereabouts are unknown. If one combines what documentation there is (including the period of silence about Gombert's career) with our hypothesis about conflicting attributions at the intersections of careers, the likelihood that Gombert spent some time in northern Italy between ca. 1540 and ca. 1546 becomes a very compelling idea.

(D) The Netherlands

During his long reign (1519-56), Charles V maintained two separate chapels, the Spanish chapel at Madrid and the Flemish chapel at Brussels.¹⁸ Even though Madrid was

17. On the letter, see Miller, "Jerome Cardan on Gombert, Phinot, and Carpentras," pp. 413-5.

18. Composers who worked for two other members of the Habsburg family, Maximilian I (1493-1519) and Ferdinand I (1558-64), are listed in Table VI-7.

Charles's main residence, it was the Flemish chapel that was the musically more important one. Two of the most prolific composers in that chapel were Crecquillon and Clemens.¹⁹ With their sixteen conflicts, it is these two composers that stand as the single most-often conflicting pair in the entire motet repertory. In addition, a further examination of the other composers involved in conflicting attributions with Clemens and Crecquillon, shows, once again, that most of them are "local" composers, that is, fellow Netherlanders (Table VI-6).

Of the eleven non-Clemens conflicts in which Crecquillon is involved, only three--one each with Arcadelt, Jacquet, and Maistre Jhan--are with non-Netherlandish composers. A similar situation emerges in connection with the Clemens conflicts that do not involve Crecquillon. Aside from two conflicts with Morales (who as we have seen, may well have come into contact with Charles V and his musicians) and one with Adrian Tubal, the remaining ten conflicts in which Clemens is involved are all with composers connected to the Habsburgs.²⁰

Josquin, too, clashes often with the Netherlanders.

19. See above and fn. 2.

20. One conflict with Valent is not included, since we know nothing about him.

Table VI-6. Composers in the Netherlands

(A) Composers who worked for Habsburg Families

Appenzeller 1537-51 (Mary of Hungary)
 Bruck 1519 (Charles V)
 Canis 1542-55 (Charles V)
 Champion 1518-28 (Charles V)
 Crecquillon 1540-55 (Charles V)
 Gombert 1526-40 (Charles V)
 La Rue 1514-16 (Marguerite of Austria)
 Maessens 1530-40 (Marguerite of Austria and Charles V)
 Manchicourt 1559-64 (Philip II)
 Payen 1525-58 (Charles V)
 Vaet 1543-54 (Charles V)

(B) Non-Habsburg Composers who Worked in the Netherlands

Appenzeller 1517 (Bruges)	Josquin 1504-21 (Condé)
Baston ca. 1542-63 (?)	Louys ? (Antwerp)
Bauldeweyn 1509-17 (Mechelen, Antwerp?)	Lupi 1514-26 (Cambrai, Louvain)
Caussin 1520 (Cambrai)	Moreau 1553-8 (Antwerp?)
Champion 1513-18 (Mechelen)	Naich 1529 (Liège)
Clemens 1544-50 (Bruges)	Obrecht 1476-1504 (Utrecht, Bergen op Zoom, Cambrai)
Craen 1504 (Bruges)	Regis 1460-81 (Cambrai, Antwerp)
De Latre 1538-65 (Liège, Utrecht)	Richafort 1507-09, 1542-47 (Mechelen, Bruges)
Grandsyre 1558 (Liège?)	Tubal ca. 1553-6 (Antwerp?)
Guyot 1546-63 (Liège)	Vinders ca. 1510-50 (?)
Hellinck 1506-23 (Bruges)	
Hollander 1549-57 (Oudenaarde)	

Note to Table: For Bauldeweyn, in addition to The New Grove, see Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage," pp. 44-5, and for Grandsyre, see below.

There are conflicts with Appenzeller (2), Bauldeweyn (1), Craen (2), Champion (2), Gombert (3), Hellinck (1), Richafort (2), and Vinders (1). Moreover, three of the composers--Appenzeller, Gombert, and Vinders--wrote elegies on Josquin's death. When we consider that Josquin spent his final years at Condé, the many conflicting attributions with Habsburg-employed composers fall neatly into place.²¹

Finally, we may take up the case of a very minor figure, Ioan. Grandsyre, about whom we know nothing except for two motets that are attributed to him. His name appears in Baethen 1556/3 over the motet Isti sunt viri (No. 134), which is also ascribed to Gombert and Lupi.²² Since both Gombert and Lupi spent part of their careers in the southern Netherlands--Gombert in 1534 and 1547 at Tournai and Lupi from 1514 to 1521 and from 1526 to 1539 at Cambrai--the possibility that Grandsyre was also active there looms large.

As it happens, I was able to find that a musician called Zacharis Grandsyre was a maître de chant at St.

21. In his Practica musica (1556), Hermann Finck states that Gombert was a pupil of Josquin. Nugent surmises that Gombert knew Josquin at Condé. Finally there is a motet ascribed to Appenzeller, Josquin, and Vinders, No. 78, Domini est terra; see Chapter V for a discussion of the work.

22. Grandsyre's other motet appears in the same print, this time without a conflicting attribution.

Lambert Cathedral at Liège from 1535 to 1557.²³ There are, of course, two problems in identifying Ioan. Grandsyre with Zacharis Grandsyre: (1) their Christian names are not the same, and (2) Baethen 1556/3 was published in Düsseldorf when Zacharis was at Liège, and for so minor a figure to be in a remote collection is at least somewhat unusual. But perhaps the objection to the identification can be at least partially removed, for while the difference in Christian name is not easily dismissed, we may note that although Baethen published this print at Düsseldorf, he had moved there only one year earlier, in 1555, from Maastricht, which is only 12 miles north of Liège.²⁴ Thus, if we are willing to allow for a slip on someone's part with respect to the Ioan.-Zacharis problem, it may well be that the Grandsyre who conflicts with Gombert and Lupi is the musician who was active at Liège.

(E) The German-Speaking Lands

For composers working in what is now Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe, both the number of composers involved and the number of conflicting attributions is small (see Table VI-7). Except for some conflicts such as those

23. Quintin, "Les Maîtres de Chant de la Cathédrale," p. 13.

24. Baethen's residency prior to Maastricht was Louvain, where he worked from 1545 to 1551; see, The New Grove, vol. II, p. 15.

Table VI-7. Composers who worked in Germany

Bruck 1527-48 (Vienna, Linz)
Cleve 1533-82 (Vienna, Augsburg)
Ducis 1535-44 (Schalckstetten)
Eckel 1516 (Dresden, Leipzig)
Finck 1510-27 (Stuttgart, Vienna)
Guyot 1563-64 (Vienna)
Haugk 1538-44 (Breslau)
Heugel 1536-85 (Kassel)
Isaac 1497-1501 (Innsbruck, Vienna)
Lapicida 1510-47 (Heidelberg, Vienna)
Mahu 1528-39 (Vienna)
Paminger 1505-67 (Vienna, Passau)
Rener 1498-17 (Vienna, Torgau)
Senfl 1518-43 (Augsburg, Munich)
Stoltzer 1519-26 (Breslau, Ofen)
Walter 1521-54 (Torgau, Dresden)
Wolff ? (Stuttgart?)

between Isaac and Renier (Qui paracletus diceris, No. 204)--both composers were in the employ of Maximilian I--or Johannes de Cleve and Jean Guyot for Expurgate vetus fermentum (No. 94)--both men were associated with the court of Ferdinand I--our notions about the "club"-like nature of the conflicts seem not to apply in anything approaching a convincing fashion.

(F) Spain

There are only five motets that have conflicting attributions involving composers active in Spain: Nos. 73 (Anchieta/Peñalosa), 112 (Escobedo/Morales), 158 (Escobar/Peñalosa), 177 (Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/Ribera), and 222 (Josquin/Peñalosa).²⁵ Thus, as one can see, the Spaniards tend to conflict among themselves (see Table VI-8).

In conclusion, it seems rather apparent that there is a strong connection between conflicting attributions and the intersections of composers' careers, as witness the conflicts for such pairs of composers as Clemens/Crecquillon, Josquin/Mouton, and Fevin/Mouton. What is significant in all this, of course, is that the "non-accidental" nature of the patterns, as Atlas refers to it in

25. This list includes only one of the conflicts involving Morales, who was, obviously, as much associated with Italy as with Spain.

Table VI-8. Composers in Spain.

Anchieta 1489-1516 (Seville)
Escobar 1489-1521 (Seville)
Escobedo ? (Salamanca)
Morales ca.1500-26, 1545-53 (Seville, Toledo, Málaga)
Peñalosa 1498-1511 (Seville)
Ribera (no documents)

connection with the fifteenth-century chanson,²⁶ is strong enough to permit us to turn the patterns around and use them as a basis on which to speculate about the biographies of composers either for whom there is little or no information at all, as in the case of Grandsyre, or for whom there are lacunae in an otherwise fairly well-documented career, as in the case of Gombert. In the end, conflicting attributions may well have to be accorded a new position in our thinking: from one that see the conflicts primarily as nothing more than the result of confusion and sloppiness on the part of scribes and printers to one that functions as a potentially powerful tool for reconstructing the otherwise obscure biographies of more than a few Renaissance composers.

26. Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions," pp. 253-5.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have dealt with various aspects of conflicting attributions as they affect 266 motets that date from the first half of the sixteenth century and that are attributed to 122 composers. And though we now understand a good deal more about many aspects of the conflicts, we are still left with a number of problems that need further investigation.

As for what we know: (1) conflicting attributions are an ever-present phenomenon from the late fourteenth century through the late eighteenth; (2) in the first half of the sixteenth century, conflicting attributions appear in the motet repertory with approximately the same rate of frequency as they do in the other major genres; (3) a substantial number of the conflicts may be explained by one or another of the new methods developed by Atlas and Boorman (see below); and (4) as Atlas pointed out in connection with the fifteenth-century chanson, there seems to be a definite connection in the motet repertory between the most frequently conflicting pairs of composers and their biographical intersections, enough so that we may turn things around and use the conflicting attributions as a hinge on which to speculate about biography.

On the other hand, there are some questions that

resist easy answers: (1) what is the nature of the relationship between the major mode of transmission--anthologies vs. one-composer collections--and the number of conflicts (see Chapter I); (2) Do the types of conflicting attributions--and the preponderance of one type or another--tell us anything about patterns of music transmission (see Chapter II); (3) can we, in the end, truly "solve" the conflicts at all? I shall conclude this study with some speculations about these questions, less with the hope of answering them than with the hope that further study--whether by myself or others--will eventually provide answers that are more concrete in their substance.

As we saw in Chapter I, the general shift in the mode of music transmission from printed and manuscript anthologies to printed one-composer collections seems to be the key in explaining the sudden decrease in the number of conflicting attributions in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet it is hard to explain their precise role in bringing about this reduction, since one-composer collections had already been plentiful in the first half of the century, when conflicting attributions were still a major problem. One possible explanation is that there was a growing effort by composers to protect their music. Many of the one-composer collections from the first half of the century fail to include a dedication by the featured

composer. Perhaps, then, we may think of these collections as "unauthorized" collections. It appears that the music in such collections was obtained through various secondary sources, such as publication by other printers or manuscript copies that circulated "freely." The opposite situation would be one in which printers acquired music directly from the composers. In such cases we might expect to find the composer's own dedication included. Usually, we see more and more such dedications in the second half of the sixteenth century. Consequently--and with the generally decreasing importance of manuscript sources--chances for printers to publish unauthentic works in one-composer collections were reduced. However, until there are further studies on the precise nature of the relationships that existed between composer and printer on the one hand, and composer-printer and one-composer collections, on the other, we shall continue to grope in the dark.¹

1. For example, although I have assumed that it is so, it is not readily apparent whether the presence of an author's dedication in a one-composer collection is an important indication that such a collection was "authorized." Among Dorico's one-composer collections, some contain a composer's dedication (see a dedication transcribed in Cusick, Dorico, p. 183), while others include a dedication by the printer (see a dedication in Cusick, Dorico, p. 181). In the collections published by Gardane and Scotto, many of the dedications are those of the printers themselves, even in the publications of such local composers as Willaert. On the other hand, many of Attaignant's collections include a dedication by the composer.

Perhaps the single most disappointing aspect of my research was the inability to find clear geographical distribution of conflicting attributions. The patterns that did emerge seem too haphazard to permit a general statement. There are, of course, some instances in which the conflicting attributions are split according to geographical boundaries. For instance, Deus in nomine tuo (No. 56) is attributed to Lhéritier in the Italian sources Gardane 1539/6, RomeV 35-40, but to Willaert in the non-Italian sources (Moderne 1532/9 and Petreius 1538/6). On the other hand, there seem to be even more instances in which the geographical boundaries are irrelevant, as with the Alleluia noli flere Maria (No. 3), which is ascribed to Gascongne in the German sources Ulhard 1545/2 (Augsburg), Montanus & Neuber 1554/10 (Nuremberg), BudOS 23 (Wittenberg), RegB 849-52 (Regensburg), and WrocS 2 (Wroclaw), as well as in the Italian manuscript BolC Q20 (northern Italy), while it is credited to Mouton in both the Netherlandish Susato 1547/6 (Antwerp) and the German Montanus & Neuber 1559/2 (Nuremberg). Again, my study failed to disclose any significant dissemination of conflicting attributions along purely geographical lines.

Finally, there is perhaps the ultimate question: given our still fragmentary knowledge about such matters as the way music circulated, the composer-printer-scribe

relationship, the idea of "ownership," and "composers' rights,"² and the always ephemeral yardstick of style, not to mention the lack of composers' autographs,³ can we truly "solve" conflicting attributions? Certainly, the methods and ideas of Atlas and Boorman do not so much "solve" the conflicts, but rather "explain" why they are there in the first place. And pushed to their logical ends, the ideas of Atlas and Boorman may even lead to the conclusion that there are, in fact, no conflicting attributions at all, that the conflicts came about not because two different people really thought that two different composers wrote the same piece, but because in one case one composer revised another's work and in the other there was a slip-up in the printing process. From these points of view, the traditional theory of confusion may cover a small minority of the conflicts, and

2. Underlying attitude of the confusion theory is to view the musical community before the nineteenth century as less conscious about authorship than that of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; for example Spitzer says, "Authorship, thus, does not seem to have been an integral aspect of musical works in the 15th and 16th centuries in anything like the sense it is today ("Authorship and Attribution," p. 110);" or La Rue states, ". . . in considering the whole question [of conflicting attributions], we must constantly remind ourselves that authorship was a more casual matter two hundred years ago ("Major and Minor Mysteries," p. 181)."

3. There are several instances where the existence of autograph caused conflicting attributions, rather than settled the issue; see Rose, "Pasqualini as Copyist," Melamed, "The Authorship of the Motet Ich Lasse Dich Nicht (BWV Anh. 159)," and Brown, Schubert, p. 25.

in these cases true "solutions" might be forestalled by the obstacle mentioned above.

Perhaps, we have to learn to accept a contradiction that is in the end insolvable, rather than forcing it to conform to our concept of authorship. In this respect, as Spitzer correctly observes, Atlas's revision theory, regardless of how effective it is as an explanation of conflicting attributions, shows a new attitude toward authorship in music. His hypothesis questions whether "authorship" is one and the same as "ownership" in music and whether it existed during the late fifteenth--or, for our purpose, early sixteenth--century.⁴ Unlike the situation in the other arts, the ownership of a musical work is difficult to define, since the identity of musical works is transcendental.⁵ Perhaps, Dahlhaus's statement about

4. According to Fritz Reckow, in an unpublished paper read at the meeting of the American Musicological Society, 1988, "The Concept of Opus," the notion of a musical work as work of art (that is, creation) did not exist in the Middle Ages at all: however, he argues that such a notion of a musical work began to emerge during the latter part of the fifteenth century, the same period with which Atlas's study is concerned. I should like to thank Prof. Tomasello for bringing this paper to my attention.

5. In other words, musical works do not exist in a concrete and definite form (notation), but rather exist only when we perform them. And performance includes such mental and physical activities as acoustical realization, the act of listening to that acoustical realization, and even copying. Sometimes the distinction between such activities and composing is blurred, to cite an extreme case, as in improv-

Rossini's operas has some bearing on our subject: "there is no 'authentic,' 'firsthand,' or 'final' version of a Rossini opera...Instead, all we have is a series of instances standing side by side as equivalent realizations of a mutable conception, like a set of variations without a theme."⁶ This intrinsic aspect of music has too often been ignored by traditional musicological studies. Yet, with this notion of the identity of a musical work, we are able to see conflicting attributions as a trace left by the vitality of the process of transmission, transmission in its literal sense--the process of transferring from one person to another.

isation. I am planning to pursue this in relation to the final movement of Beethoven's Eighth Symphony. For an extensive treatment of the subject, see Ingarden, The Works of Music and the Problem of Its Identity, and also, Levinson, "What a Musical Work Is."

6. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, pp. 9-10.

APPENDIX A. INVENTORY

Prefatory Notes to the Inventory

The Inventory accounts for 266 motets for which there are conflicting attributions during the first half of the sixteenth century. It provides the following information:

Main Entry: the motets have been arranged in alphabetical order and assigned a serial number. For each motet, the text incipit, number of voices (in parenthesis), and composers to whom the motet is ascribed are listed. When a motet was transmitted with more than one text, the alternative text(s) is (are) entered in parenthesis below the main text incipit and preceded by an equal-sign (=). In some instances--as when many sources transmit only the secunda pars or other partes without the prima pars--the text incipit of the secunda pars or other partes are also listed below the main text incipit.

Sources: Under "Attributions and Sources," concordant sources are grouped according to their attributions, while within the list of sources for each composer, prints precede manuscripts, as they do for sources that transmit the work anonymously. After the main list of sources, such additional information as instrumental arrangements, transpositions, alternative text incipits, etc., is provided. An asterisk before a source indicates that I have

not examined it myself, and that information about its attribution has been taken from a secondary source, usually from an inventory of the source or from the "Complete Works" edition of the composer in question.

Sigla: Sigla for manuscripts are those used in the Census Catalogue, while RISM designations (Vol. B/IV/1) are used for printed anthologies. As for printed single-composer collections, the siglum consists of the name of the printer, year of publication, and name of the composer to whom the collection is devoted. All sigla are fully explained in Appendix C.

Modern Editions: No attempt has been made to list all available modern editions. Instead, only "standard" editions such as "Complete Works" are given. However, when there is no such edition available for a motet, any available modern edition is listed.

Comments: Only those comments related to the question of authorship are included. When the comments are made by scholars other than myself, bibliographic information is given at the end of each comment.

No. 1. **Ad te levavi oculos meos** (à 4) Gombert/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Petreius 1539/9

RICHAFORT

KasL 24

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 26.

No. 2. **Adversum me susurrabant** (à 4) Caussin/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

CAUSSIN

Moderne [1539]/11

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541c Gombert
*Gardane 1542 Gombert

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 37.

No. 3. **Alleluia noli flere Maria** (à 4) Gascongne/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

GASCONGNE

Ulhard 1545/2
Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

BolC Q20
BudOS 23
*RegB 849-52
*WrocS 2 (intabulation)
*WrocS 5

MOUTON

*Susato 1547/6
Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

ANON.

PadBC A17
*VatM 571

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 10.

No. 4. **Alleluia spiritus Domini** (à 5) Gombert/Hesdin

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1539b Gombert

HESDIN

Buglhat 1539/7

ANON.

*BolSP 39
*HradKM 29
*ZwiR 33/34

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VII, p. 101.

---**Angelus Domini** Gombert/Mouton/Verdelot

See Surge Petre

No. 5. **Angelus Domini ad pastores ait** (à 4) Gombert/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Attaingnant 1529/1

VERDELOT

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 1.

Comments

Böker-Heil attributes the work to Gombert on the grounds that it is not in Verdelot's style (Die Motetten von Verdelot, pp. 208-9).

No. 6. **Angelus Domini apparuit** (à 5) Berchem/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

*TrevBC 5

LUPI

Attaingnant 1542 Lupi

Castiglione 1543/3

*Merulo 1569/2

BrusC 27088

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 100.

Comments

Nugent attributes the work to Lupi, because the four earlier sources name Lupi as the composer of the work ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 207).

No. 7. **Aspice Domine de sede** (à 4) Jacquet/La Fage/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Scotto 1539b Jacquet

*MilC 186
StuttL 35

LA FAGE

Attaingnant 1535/3

SERMISY

*Giunta [c1526]/5
Attaingnant 1542 Sermisy
Kohlen 1558/20 (intabulation)

KönSU 1740
ModD 9
VatG XII.4
*VerBC 760

ANON.

*Attaingnant 1531/5 (intabulation)

CasAC D(F)
ChiN M91
*ModE N.1.2
PadBC A17

Modern Editions

Slim, A Gift of Madrigals, vol. II, p. 24.
Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 127.

Comments

Nugent suggests that Scotto confused this motet with another setting of a similar text that is definitely by Jacquet, one that also begins with the words "Aspice Domine;" he thus attributes the motet to Sermisy ("The Jacquet Motets," pp. 167-71).

However, after the first two words, the two texts are quite different. Finally, Nugent does not consider the attribution to La Fage.

No. 8. **Aspice Domine quia facta** (I) (à 4) Festa/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

C. FESTA

*KönSU 1740

GOMBERT

Moderne 1532/10
 Attaingnant 1534/4
 Scotto 1539a Gombert
 Gardane 1541 Gombert
 Gardane 1551/2

*MadM 6832

ANON.

Ulms 237

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 86.

No. 9. **Aspice Domine quia facta** (II) (à 5) Jacquet/Lupus

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Moderne 1532/9
 Scotto 1539a Jacquet
 Gardane 1540 Jacquet
 Petreius 1540/6
 *Gardane 1547/22
 Moderne 1552/30
 *Gardane 1553 Gombert
 *Gardane 1553/17
 *Montesdoca 1554/32 (intabulation)
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/1
 *Scotto 1565a Jacquet
 *Jobin 1574/13

BolC Q27(I)
 *MilC 186
 ModE C.313
 MunU 401
 RomeM 23-4
 RomeV 35-40
 StuttL 35
 *ToleBC 10
 *TrevBC 36
 *TurBN IV.45
 VallaC 15
 VallaC 16
 *VallaC 17
 *VatS 38
 *WrocS 1 (intabulation)

LUPUS

CambriU Peter. 471-4

ANON.

*Brocar 1557 (intabulation)
 Phalèse 1571/16

*BolSP 39
 *LucBS 775
 *PiacD (4)

Modern Editions

De Monte, Opera omnia vol. XXVI, appendix (as a Mass model).

No. 10. **Ave ancilla trinitatis** (à 3) Brumel/Mouton
 (= Ave Maria gratia plena)

Attributions and Sources

BRUMEL

Petrucchi 1502/2

SegC s.s.

MOUTON

Petreius 1541/2 ("Ave Maria gratia plena")

ANON.

*Egenolph [c1535]/14

Modern Editions

Brumel, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 1.
Hewitt, Canti E, p. 201.

Comments

Atlas includes this motet within the category of "Pieces in which variants may possibly support the revision hypothesis" ("Conflicting Attributions," p. 280).

No. 11. **Ave caro Christi cara** (à 4) Bauldeweyn/Josquin
(= Ave Christe immolate)

Attributions and Sources

BAULDEWEYN

*ToleF 23
VienNB Mus. 15941

JOSQUIN

Montanus & Neuber 1564/5

ANON.

VatP 1976-9 ("Ave Christe immolate")

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. V, p. 20.

Comments

Sparks claims that Josquin seems to be the composer of the motet on stylistic grounds. However, since he also believes that Montanus & Neuber 1564/5 is an unreliable source, he fails to reach a firm conclusion (The Music of Bauldeweyn, pp. 98-103).

---**Ave Christe immolate** Bauldeweyn/Josquin

See Ave caro Christi cara (No. 11)

No. 12. **Ave et gaude** (à 5) Simon Ferrariensis/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

SIMON

*Schöffler 1539/8

WILLAERT

*BolC Q27 (I)

*TrevBC 29

ANON.

*PiacD (5)

Modern Editions

None.

---**Ave Jesu Christe** Josquin/Verdelot

See Sancta Maria virgo (No. 221)

No. 13. **Ave Maria alta stirps** (à 5) Jacquet/Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Gardane 1540 Jacquet

MAISTRE JHAN

*TrevBC 29

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent concludes that the ascription to Jhan in TrevBC 29 is unreliable ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 201).

---**Ave Maria gratia plena** Brumel/Mouton

See Ave ancilla trinitatis (No. 10)

No. 14. **Ave Maria gratia plena** (à 4) Brumel/Jo. Brumes

Attributions and Sources

BRUMEL

VatS 45 (attribution in index)

JO. BRUMES

VatS 45 (attribution over music)

Modern Editions

Brumel, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 113.

Comments

Hudson attributes the motet to Jo. Brumes, since he considers it not to be in the style of Brumel (Brumel, Opera omnia, p. xlii).

---**Ave Maria virgo**, Josquin/Verdelot

See Sancta Maria virgo (No. 221)

No. 15. **Ave regina caelorum** (I) (à 3) Festa/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

C. FESTA

*Gardane 1551/3

*Phalèse 1569/6

JACQUET

*Gardane 1569/3

ANON.

*Gardane 1543/6

Modern Editions

None.

No. 16. **Ave regina caelorum** (II) (à 4) Dalla Viola/Gombert
Attributions and Sources

DALLA VIOLA

LonRC 2037

GOMBERT

Scotto 1539a Gombert

Gardane 1541 Gombert

Scotto 1541/4

ANON.

Gardane 1551/2

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 30.

No. 17. **Ave regina caelorum** (III) (à 5) Conseil/Jacquet/
Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

RomeV 35-40

VallaC 15

JACQUET

Scotto 1539a Jacquet
 *Gardane 1553 Jacquet
 *Scotto 1565b Jacquet

MAISTRE JHAN

RomeM 23-4
 VatG XII.4
 VatS 17

ANON.

*PiacD (2)

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent ascribes the piece to Jacquet, and writes that the attribution to Conseil in RomeV 35-40 came about through the scribe's confusion of this piece with another setting of this popular text by Conseil ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 200).

Nugent does not discuss the attributions to Maistre Jhan. See also Table V-2.

No. 18. **Ave regina caelorum** (IV) (à 6) Conseil/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

RomeV 35-40

JACQUET

Scotto 1549/3

BrusC 27088
 ModE C.314
 VallaC 15

ANON.

*PiacD (4)
VatS 17

Modern Editions

None.

No. 19. **Ave sanctissima Maria** (à 6) Sermisy/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

SERMISY

Attaingnant 1534/5 (attribution in CT.)

VERDELLOT

Attaingnant 1534/5 (attribution in index)

ANON.

BrusBR 228

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. III, p. 166.
Picker, The Chanson Albums, p. 172.

Comments

Though Davison believes that Verdelot is the composer, some scholars suggest that it was written by Pierre de La Rue (to whom it is not even attributed), since (1) La Rue composed a Mass modeled on this motet, and (2) it is unlikely that La Rue would have used as a model a composition by a composer younger than himself ("The Motets of La Rue," p. 34).

See also Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

No. 20. **Ave virgo gratiosa** (à 6) Jacquet/Vermont primus

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Gardane 1542/10

RomeV 35-40

*TrevBC 29

VERMONT

Attaingnant 1534/5

ANON.

*EdinU 64

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. III, p. 28.

No. 21. **Beata Dei genetrix** (à 4) Conseil/Lhéritier/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

Moderne 1539/10

LHÉRITIER

Buglhat 1538/5

Petreijs 1540/6

Scotto 1555/15

RegB 940-1

WILLAERT

Scotto 1539a Willaert

ANON.

*BolSP 38
 CasAC D(F)
 LeipU 51
 ModD 3
 PadBC A17
 *RegB 1018

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 91.
 Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 7.

Comments

Perkins attributes the work to Lhéritier, seemingly for no other reason than that he is the most frequently-named composer (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxii).
 Scotto deleted the motet when he reissued the Scotto 1539 Willaert in 1545.

No. 22. **Beata es Maria** (à 5) Hellinck/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Susato 1546/7 (attribution over the 2.p. of S. and T.)

LUPI

Susato 1546/7 (attribution in indices and all other places)

ANON.

*FlorD 11

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 39.

No. 23. **Beata es virgo Maria** (à 4) Lhéritier/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

LÉHRITIER

Attaingnant 1534/3
 Moderne 1539/10
 Gardane 1539/13
 Gardane 1549/10
 Scotto 1549/10a
 Du Chemin 1553/2
 Scotto 1555/15
 Scotto 1562/2

*VerBC 760

VERDELOT

Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

ANON.

*BolSP 45

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 235.
 Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol II, p. 118.
 Smijers, Treize livres, vol. I, p. 67.

Comments

Perkins ascribes the work to Lhéritier because of the preponderance of attributions to him (Lhéritier, Opera omnia p. xxi).

No. 24. **Beata viscera** (à 6) Verdelot/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

VERDELOT

RomeV 35-40

WILLAERT

Attaingnant 1534/10
Gardane 1542/10

ModE C.314
*RegB 853-4
RomeM 23-4
*TrevBC 29

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 72.
Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 105.
Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VIII, p. 126.

No. 25. **Beati omnes qui timent** (I) (à 4) Josquin/Senfl

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

LeipU 49

SENFL

Grimm & Wyrung 1520/4

ANON.

NurGN 83795

Modern Editions

Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, vol. III, p. 43.No. 26. **Beati omnes qui timent** (II) (à 4) Gombert/Hellinck

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

KönSU 1740

HELLINCK

Moderne 1532/10
 Petreius 1539/9
 Gardane 1539/12
 Gardane 1545/4
 Rampazetto 1564/6
 Montanus & Neuber 1569/1

RegB 940-1
 TrevBC 7

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VII, p. 176.

No. 27. **Beati omnes qui timent** (III) (à 4) Lhéritier/Pieton

Attributions and Sources

LHÉRITIER

Gardane 1539/12 (attribution in index)
 Rampazetto 1564/6 (attribution in index)

PIETON

Moderne 1532/10
 Gardane 1539/12 (attribution in partbooks)
 Petreius 1542/6
 Gardane 1545/4
 Rampazetto 1564/6 (attribution in partbooks)
 Montanus & Neuber 1569/1

Modern Editions

None.

No. 28. **Beati omnes qui timent** (IV) (à 5) Stoltzer/Werrecore

Attributions and Sources

STOLTZER

Montanus & Neuber 1569/1

WERRECORE

*Rhaw 1542/8

ANON.

KasL 24

*StuttL 43

Modern Editions

Stoltzer, Ausgewählte Werke, vol. II, p. 97.

No. 29. **Beati omnes qui timent** (V) (à 6) Champion/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

CHAMPION

Petreius 1542/6

Montanus & Neuber 1569/1

JOSQUIN

KasL 24

Modern Editions

Champion, Opera omnia, p. 106.

Comments

Osthoff attributes the motet to Champion on the grounds that he considers the ascription in KasL 24 to Josquin unreliable (Josquin, vol. II, pp. 19-20).

No. 30. **Benedic anima mea** (à 4) Eustachius Gallus/Isaac

Attributions and Sources

EUSTACHIUS

Petrucchi 1519/1

ISAAC

Petreius 1539/9

Modern Editions

Gehrenbeck, Motetti della corona, vol. IV, p. 1460.

No. 31. **Benedicam Dominum** (à 5) Bauldeweyn/Stoltzer

Attributions and Sources

BAULDEWEYN

MunU 401

STOLTZER

Petreius 1538/6

*Rhaw 1545/6

DressL 1/D/3

ANON.

*DressL Grimma 58 (1.p. only)

Modern Editions

Stoltzer, Ausgewählte Werke, vol. II, p. 26.

Comments

Sparks is unable to decide the question of authorship for this motet; he states that two kinds of evidences--reliability of sources and musical style--disagree: while the motet is in Bauldeweyn's style, reliable German prints ascribe it to Stoltzer (Music of Bauldeweyn, p. 110, fn. 26).

No. 32. **Benedicta es caelorum** (I) (à 4) Le Bouteillier/
Willaert

Attributions and Sources

LE BOUTEILLIER

Attaingnant 1534/4

WILLAERT

Scotto 1539a Willaert

*Gardane 1545b Willaert

KönSU 1740

*LonRC 1740

*MunBS 19

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. II, p. 99.

Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 78.

No. 33. **Benedicta es caelorum** (II) (à 4) Longueval/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LONGUEVAL

*Dorico 1526/1 (attribution in the copy at
Barcelona, Biblioteca Centrale)

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1514/1

*Dorico 1526/1 (attribution in the copy at Jena
Universitätsbibliothek)

*Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Mouton

*MadM 6832

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 118.

No. 34. **Benedictus Dominus Deus** (à 4) Conseil/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

KönSU 1740

LUPI

Gardane 1539/13
 Attaingnant 1542 Lupi
 Gardane 1549/10
 Scotto 1549/10a
 Montanus & Neuber 1555/11
 Scotto 1562/2

CambraiBM 125-8
 *LeuvU 163
 MunBS 16
 *RegB 883-6

ANON.

*Gardane 1547/22 (intabulation)
 *Phalèse 1552/29 (intabulation)
 *'S HerAB 73
 MunU 401
 *PadBC D27 (2.p. only)

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. 1, p. 144.

---**Bonitatem et disciplinam** Carpentras/Josquin

See Bonitatem fecesti (No. 35).

No. 35. **Bonitatem fecesti** (à 4) Carpentras/Josquin
(= Bonitatem et disciplinam)

Attributions and Sources

CARPENTRAS

Petrucchi 1514/1
Petreius 1539/9

FlorBN II.I.232
*GreifU 640-1

JOSQUIN

KasL 24 ("Bonitatem et disciplinam")
SGallS 463

ANON.

LeipU 49 ("Bonitatem et disciplinam")

Modern Editions

Genet, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 57.

Comments

In connection with Josquin, Osthoff considers both KasL 24 and SGallS 463 unreliable sources (Josquin, vol. II, p. 19).

Antonowytsch ascribes the piece to Carpentras on the grounds that its style is not that of Josquin ("The Present State," p. 61).

Glarean, in his famous anecdote, says that Josquin composed this motet (Glarean, Dodecachordon, vol. II, p. 272).

No. 36. **Caeleste beneficium introivit** (à 4) Fevin/Mouton
(2.p. Adiutorium nostrum)

Attributions and Sources

FEVIN

CambriP 1760 (2.p. only)

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1514/1
Dorico 1526/1

VienNB Mus. 15941 (2.p. only)

ANON.

LonBLR 8G.vii (2.p. only)
*LonRC 1070 (2.p. only)
VatP 1976-9 (2.p. only)

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 152.

No. 37. **Cantantibus organicis** (à 4) Gombert/Naich

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Susato 1554/8
*Andreae 1565/22 (intabulation)
*Laet 1569/36 (intabulation)

NAICH

Moderne [1539]/11

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 50.
Naich, Opera omnia, p. 187.

No. 38. **Christus factus est** (à 5) Crecquillon/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

*Waelrant & Laet 1554/6
Montanus & Neuber 1559/1
*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

LUPI

Montanus & Neuber 1555/12 ("Incertus autoris" in S.)

ANON.

Susato 1553/12

*Müller 1562/24 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

Walter, "The Five-Voice Motets," vol. II, p. 161.

Comments

Blackburn ignores the ascription to Lupi in Montanus & Neuber as a printer's error ("The Lupus Problem," p. 313).

---**Christus resurgens** Josquin/Verdelot

See Sancta Maria virgo virginum (No. 221)

No. 39. **Christus resurgens ex mortuis** (à 4/5) Baston/Mouton/
Richafort

Attributions and Sources

BASTON

Ulhard 1545/2

MOUTON

*VienNB Mus. 18825

RICHAFORT

Antico 1520/2

Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

Du Chemin 1553/2

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

Susato 1555/9 (à 5)

*Le Roy & Ballard 1556 Richafort

*WrocS 2 (intabulation)

*WrocS 5

ANON.

*Rhaw 1539/14
 *BarcBC 681
 BudOS 23
 CambraiBM 125-8
 CasAC D(F)
 *FlorD 11
 MunU 401
 TrevBC 7
 *UppsU 76c
 VallaC 15
 VatP 1976-9

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 259.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 182.
 Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 70.

Comments

Reese says that the motet is "undoubtedly by Richafort" without giving any reason (Music in the Renaissance, p. 337).
 Picker ascribes it to Richafort, since he believes that Antico 1520/2 is a reliable source (Motet Books of Antico, p. 43).

No. 40. **Clama ne cesses** (à 4) Appenzeller/Canis

Attributions and Sources

APPENZELLER

Susato 1547/6

CANIS

Ulhard 1548/2
 *Scotto 1554/15

*StuttL 36

Modern Editions

None.

No. 41. **Clamabat autem mulier chananea** (à 5) Jacquet/Morales/
 (= Orabat Jesum mulier) Rore

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

RegB 940-1 ("Orabat Jesum mulier")

MORALES

*ToleBC 17

RORE

*Phalèse 1573 Rore

*Gardane 1595 Rore

DresSL Grima 54

ANON.

*Gardane 1549/8

Modern Editions

Morales, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 96.

Rore, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 143.

Comments

Owens explains that Gardane included this work in Gardane 1595 Rore because "it appears anonymously between two Rore motets in [Gardane] 1549/8" ("Illuminated Manuscript," p. 64).

No. 42. **Coenantibus illis** (à 4) Jacquet/Jaques du Pont

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

VatG XII.4 (ascription in index)

JAQUES DU PONT

Gardane 1539/13
 Vissenaken 1542/7
 Gardane 1549/10
 Scotto 1549/10a
 Montanus & Neuber 1555/11

TrevBC 7
 VatG XII.4 (ascription above music)

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent ascribes the motet to du Pont, writing that the ascription to Jacquet in the index of VatG XII.4 was the result of the scribe's having confused Jacquet with the similarly named Jaques du Pont ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 168).

No. 43. **Confitemini Domine** (à 6) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

RomeV 35-40

MOUTON

*VatS 38

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Osthoff was not able to decide the authorship of this motet. However, he suggests that the scribe of Vats 38 confused the work with the four-voice setting of the same text by Mouton (Josquin, vol. II, p. 127).

No. 44. **Congratulamini mihi omnes** (I) (à 4) Josquin/Le Brung
/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Formschneider 1537/1

DressL Grimma 54

*RegB 849-52

*WrocS 2 (intabulation)

*WrocS 5

LE BRUNG

*VienNB Mus. 18825

RICHAFORT

BolC Q19

ANON.

Gardane 1549/12

*BerlPS 40043

CambraiBM 125-8

CasAC D(F)

DressL Glashütte 5

PadBC A17

RegB 940-1

*RegB 1018

SionA 87-4

StuttL 34

*VatVM 571

*WrocS 8

*ZwiR 94/1

Modern Editions

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 149.

Comments

Osthoff dismisses the ascription to Josquin in Formschneider 1537/1 as being unreliable (Josquin vol. II, pp. 10-1).

No. 45. **Congratulamini mihi omnes** (II) (à 4) Sermisy/
Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

SERMISY

Gardane 1539/13
Attaingnant 1542 Sermisy
Gardane 1549/10
Scotto 1549/10a

KönSU 1740
MunBS 16

VERDELOT

Kriesstein 1540/7

ErlU 473/1

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the motet.

No. 46. **Congratulamini mihi omnes** (III) (à 5) Crecquillon/
Hollander

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

RegB 940-1

HOLLANDER

Susato 1555/9

Modern Editions

None.

No. 47. **Conserva me, Domine** (à 4) Finck/Josquin/Wolff

Attributions and Sources

FINCK

KasL 24

JOSQUIN

Petreius 1538/6 (attribution in D.)

Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 (attribution in D.)

LeipU 49

WOLFF

Petreius 1538/6 (attribution in index)

Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 (attribution in index, A.,
and B.)

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

No. 48. **Convertimini ad me** (à 5) Gombert/Jacquet/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8

JACQUET

StuttL 34

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent ignores the attribution to Jacquet in StuttL 34 as having no firm basis ("The Jacquet Motets," pp. 208-9).

No. 49. **Cum esset Anna** (à 5) Clemens/Tubal

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS NON PAPA

LeidGA 1442

TUBAL

Waelrent & Laet 1555/6

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XXI, p. 109.

No. 50. **Cur quisquam corradat** (à 4) Gombert/Haugk/Mahu

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541c Gombert

*Gardane 1542 Gombert

HAUGK

KönSU 1740

MAHU

Petreius 1538/7

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 104.

No. 51. **Cursu festa redit** (à 5) Gombert/Hellinck

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541b Gombert

HELLINCK

Kriesstein 1545/3

ANON.

*LucBS 775 (5.p. only, a fourth higher)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 52. **Date siceram maerentibus** (à 5) Gombert/Josquin/
Mikołaj/Sermisy
(=Je ne me puis =Respice in me =Lauda Syon)

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

*Juan 1546/14 (intabulation, "Respice in me")

*Montesdoca 1554/32 (intabulation, "Lauda Syon")

JOSQUIN

*Attainnant 1549 Josquin ("Je ne me puis")

*Le Roy & Ballard 1560 ("Je ne me puis")

*Le Roy & Ballard 1572/2 ("Je ne me puis")

BudOS 23

MunBS 1508 ("Je ne me puis")

MIKOLAJ

*KrakPAN 1716 (intabulation)

SERMISY

Kohlen 1558/20 (intabulation)

ANON.

*Müller 1562/24 (intabulation)

MunU 326
 *RegB 1018
 RegB B211-5
 *WrocS 12

Modern Editions

Josquin, Wereldlijke Werken, Bundel III, p. 78.
 Blackburn, "Josquin's Chanson," p. 68.
 Lyublyn, Tabulature of Keyboard, vol. III, p. 56.

Comments

Blackburn ascribes the work to Josquin on stylistic grounds, though she concedes that the bibliographical evidence supports Gombert's authorship ("Josquin's Chanson," p. 31).

See Chapter V for a discussion of the work.

No. 53. **De profundis clamavi** (I) (à 4) Champion/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

CHAMPION

VienNB Mus. 15941

JOSQUIN

Grimm & Wyrung 1520/4
 Antico 1521/3
 Petreius 1539/9
 Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

KasL 24
 SGallS 463

ANON.

[Antico?] [c1521]/7

DresSL 1/D/6
ErlU 473/4
RegB C120

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 35.
Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 67.

Comments

Picker attributes the motet to Josquin on stylistic and bibliographic grounds (Motet Books of Antico, pp. 24-5).

No. 54. **De profundis clamavi** (II) (à 5) Josquin/Senfl

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Petreius 1539/9

DresSL 1/D/3 (attribution in C. V.)

SENFL

Formschneider 1537/1

BerlPS 40013

DresSL 1/D/3 (attribution in T. 4ta.)

DresSL 1/D/6

*EisS s.s.

GothaF A98

KasL 24

*MunBS 10

MunU 327

NurGN 83795

RegB 891-2

ANON.

*CopKB 1873
LeipU 49
MunU 326

Modern Editions

Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, vol. III, p. 86.

No. 55. **Deus in adjutorium** (à 3) Champion/Josquin/Senfl

Attributions and Sources

CHAMPION

VienNB Mus. 15941

JOSQUIN

KasL 24

SENFL

Petreius 1538/6

ANON.

Grimm & Wyrung 1520/4

Modern Editions

Champion, Opera omnia, p. 112.

No. 56. **Deus in nomine tuo** (à 5) Lhéritier/Willaert
(2.p. Ecce enim)

Attributions and Sources

LHERITIER

Gardane 1539/6

RomeV 35-40

WILLAERT

Moderne 1532/9
Petreius 1538/6

ANON.

*StuttL 43

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 149.

Comments

Perkins ascribes the motet to Lhéritier, stating that RomeV 35-40 is a reliable source (Lhéritier, Opera Omnia, p. xxii).

No. 57. **Deus in nomine tuo** (à 4) Carpentras/Josquin
(2.p. Voluntarie)

Attributions and Sources

CARPENTRAS

VatS 46

JOSQUIN

Montanus & Neuber 1553/5

ANON.

Petrucchi 1519/3
Dorico 1526/4

Modern Editions

Genet, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 32.
Josquin, Motetten, vol. II, p. 127.

Comments

Osthoff considers VatS 46 to be more reliable than Montanus & Neuber 1553/5, and thus ascribes the work to Carpentras (Josquin, vol. II, p. 117).

Gehrenbeck attributes the work to Josquin on stylistic grounds ("Motetti della corona," vol. II, p. 644).

No. 58. **Deus pacis reduxit** (à 4) Josquin/Stoltzer

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Formschneider 1538/3

STOLTZER

*ZwiR 81/2

Anon.

*BudOS P6

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 116.

No. 59. **Deus qui sedes super thronum** (à 4/6) Verdelot/Walter

Attributions and Sources

VERDELOT

*DressL Pirna VII (à 6)

WALTER

*[no printer named] 1524 Walter

*Schöffner 1525 Walter

*Schöffner 1534 Walter

*Rhaw 1544 Walter

*Rhaw 1551 Walter

RegB 940-1
 StuttL 35
 *WeimB B
 *WrocS 1 (intabulation)
 *WrocS 12
 *ZwiR 34/35

ANON.

*Formschneider 1533/1 (intabulation)

BerlPS 40013
 GothaF A98
 *KrakPAN 1716 (intabulation)
 LeipU 51
 NurGN 83795
 *RegB 1018
 SionA 87-4
 *UlmS 236

Modern Editions

Walter, Sämtliche Werke, vol. II, p. 3.

No. 60. **Deus regnorum et christianissimi** (à 4) Gascongne/
 Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

GASCONGNE

Attaingnant 1535/3 (attribution over music)

SERMISY

Attaingnant 1535/3 (attribution in index)

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 118.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the conflicting attributions.

No. 61. **Deus ultionem Dominus** (à 4) Conseil/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

*Gardane 1549/9

*Scotto 1549/9a

GOMBERT

Petreius 1539/9

ANON.

*Attaingnant [1528]/2

KasL 24

RomeM 23-4

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 20.

---**Diem festum sacratissime** Arcadelt/Crecquillon

See Sigum salutis pone Domine (No. 230)

No. 62. **Dilectus Deo** (à 4) Fevin/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

FEVIN

Rhaw 1538/8

JOSQUIN

Petreius 1538/7

ANON.

Petrucchi 1514/1 (1.p. only)

Dorico 1526/1 (1.p. only)

PadBC A17 (1.p. only)

Modern Editions

- Albrecht, Symphoniae jucundae 1538, p. 77.
 Clincksale, The Works of Fevin, vol. II, p. 327.

Comments

Antonowytch ascribes the motet to Fevin on stylistic grounds ("The Present States," p. 62).

Although Clincksale was not aware of the attribution to Josquin in Petreius 1538/7, he points out that the two partes are different in style ("Fevin," pp. 136- 7).

Gehrenbeck discusses the possibility of a misreading of the headline in the altus book of Petrucci 1514/1, where "Ant. feuin" appears. He believes that the attribution belongs to the motet, Egregie (see No. 90), which appears just before Dilectus, and which Petrucci ascribes to Fevin in the index ("Motetti della corona," vol. II, p. 649, fn. 1).

No. 63. **Dilexi quoniam exaudiet** (à 4) Ducis/Maffoni

Attributions and Sources

DUCIS

Petreius 1539/9

RegB 940-1
 *WrocS 10

MAFFONI

*BergBC 1209

ANON.

*Günther 1544/25 (intabulation)
 *Eichorn 1556/32 (intabulation)

CasAC N(H)
 FlorBN II.I.350
 *GreifU 640-1
 *KönSU 1740
 SGalls 463
 SionA 87-4
 *VerBC 760
 *WrocU 42

Modern Editions

Jeppeson, Italia Sacra Musica, vol. II, p. 122.

No. 64. **Dirige gressus meos** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

DresSL Löbau 12

CRECQUILLON

Scotto 1549/7

*Gardane 1549/8

Montanus & Neuber 1554/11

*Phalèse 1555/4

*Phalèse 1558/6

*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

AachS 2

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XXI, p. 120.

Walter, "Five-voice Motets," vol. II, p. 267.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the work.

No. 65. **Discite a me** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon
(2.p. Dum aurora)

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Susato 1553/12

Phalèse 1554/1 (attribution in S. A. T. CT.)

Beyer 1583/24 (intabulation)

MunBS 13

*WhalleyS 23

CRECQUILLON

Phalèse 1554/1 (attribution in index, B.)

*StuttL 9

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XIII, p. 2.

Comments

In the bassus partbook of Phalèse 1554/1, this motet is printed as the secunda pars of Dum aurora, which is ascribed to Crecquillon in the index of the print, while Discite a me is not listed in the index (see Chapter II, Table II-10).

No. 66. **Dispereant nisi sit** (à 5) Louwys/Rore

Attributions and Sources

LOUWYS

Susato 1553/15 (see Comments)

RORE

Gardane 1549/8

Susato 1553/15 (see Comments)

*Phalèse 1573 Rore

MunBS 16

Modern Editions

Rore, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 140.

Comments

See Chapter II, Table II-11.

No. 67. **Dominator caelorum** (à 5) Conseil/C. Festa

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

Schöffler 1539/8

BolC Q27(I)

C. FESTA

RomeV 35-40

ANON.

*PadBC D27

Modern Editions

Festa, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 20.

Comments

Main ascribes the motet to Festa on stylistic grounds ("Costanzo Festa," p. 63).

No. 68. **Domine da nobis** (à 4) Gallus/Susato

Attributions and Sources

GALLUS

Vissenaeken 1542/7

SUSATO

Ulhard 1545/2

Modern Editions

None.

No. 69. **Domine Deus omnipotens** (à 4) Arcadelt/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

ARCADELT

Buglhat 1538/5

SERMISY

Attaingnant 1542 Sermisy

Modern Editions

None.

No. 70. **Domine Dominus noster** (à 4) Moulu/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

MOULU

KasL 24

MOUTON

Antico 1520/1

Petreius 1538/6

ANON.

*Heilbs XCIII/3

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 169.

Comments

Picker considers KasL 24 as a peripheral source, and thus ascribes the work to Mouton (Motet Books of Antico, p. 35).

No. 71. **Domine exaudi me** (à 5) Jacquet/Lhéritier

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Moderne 1539/5
Gardane 1540 Jacquet
Petreius 1542/6

LHÉRITIER

RomeM 23-4

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Lewis ascribes the motet to Lhéritier on the strength of the ascription in RomeM 23-4, which, she believes, is authoritative ("Antonio Gardane," p. 212).

No. 72. **Domine Jusu Christe** (à 4) Anchieta/Peñalosa

Attributions and Sources

ANCHIETA

*SegC s.s.
*SevBC 5-5-20

PEÑALOSA

*TarazC 5

ANON.

*CoimU 12
*CoimU 32
*VallaC 5

Modern Editions

None.

No. 73. **Domine ne in furore** (à 4) Josquin/Stoltzer/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

KasL 24

STOLTZER

*UtreH s.s.

VERDELOT

*Rhaw 1544/4

BolC Q20

ANON.

LeipU 49

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

No. 74. **Domine non est exaltum** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Susato 1546/7

*Montanus & Neuber 1553/6

Susato 1553/14

*Sylvius [1559]/4

DressL Löbau 12

LeidGA 1441 (attribution over music)

CRECQUILLON

LeidGA 1441 (attribution in index)

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 4.

No. 75. **Domine non secundum peccata nostra** (à 4) Gombert/
Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541c Gombert
*Gardane 1542 Gombert
Montanus & Neuber 1556/9

MANCHICOURT

Attaingnant 1539 Manchicourt
Attaingnant 1545 Manchicourt

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 6.
Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 110.
Smijers, Trieze livres, vol. XIV, p. 118.

No. 76. **Domine Pater et Deus** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

LeidSM 1440

CRECQUILLON

Ulhard 1548/2
*Waelrant [1556]/4
Phalèse 1559 Crecquillon
*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XXI, p. 128.

No. 77. **Domine quis habitabit** (à 4) Reulx/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

REULX

CambraiBM 125-8

SERMISY

Attaingnant 1529/1

Petreius 1538/6

Modern Editions

None.

No. 78. **Domini est terra** (à 4) Appenzeller/Josquin/Vinders

Attributions and Sources

APPENZELLER

*GreifU 640-1

JOSQUIN

KasL 24

VINDERS

Vissenaecken 1542/7

CambraiBM 125-8

ANON.

Formschneider 1537/1

LeidGA 1442

UlmS 237

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

As though Osthoff disregards the ascription to Josquin in KasL 24 unreliable, he does not ascribe the motet to anyone (Josquin, vol. II, pp. 19-20).

See Chapter V for a discussion of the conflicting attribution.

No. 79. **Dulce lignum** (à 5) Gombert/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541b Gombert

WILLAERT

Scotto 1539c Willaert

Modern Editions

None.

No. 80. **Dulces exuvie dum fata deus** (à 3/4) Mouton/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

MOUTON

RegB 940-1 (à 4)

WILLAERT

SGallS 463 (à 3)

ANON.

*Antico 1520/6 (à 3)

Rhaw 1538/8 (à 4, "altus ad placitum")

Rhaw 1542/8 (à 3)

Modern Editions

Albrecht, Symphoniae iucundae 1538, p. 26 (à 4 version).

Loach, "Tschudi's Songbook," vol. II, p. 51.

Comments

Loach suggests that the scribe of RegB 940-1 confused this motet with Mouton's different setting of the same text ("Tschudi's Songbook," pp. 197-8).

See Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

---**Dum complerentur** Josquin/Viardot

See Lectio actuum apostolorum (No. 150)

No. 81. **Dum complerentur** (à 5) Arcadelt/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

ARCADELT

Moderne 1538/2
 Moderne 1539/4
 Gardane 1539/6
 Schöffner 1539/8
 Petreius 1540/6
 *Moderne 1542/4
 Montanus & Neuber 1550/2
 Montanus & Neuber 1555/10

 *LeuvU 163
 MunU 327
 RegB 875-7
 RegB 940-1
 RomeV 35-40
 *VatS 19
 *WrocS 3 (intabulation)
 *WrocS 5
 *ZwiR 74/1

VERDELOT

*WrocS 10
 *WrocS 12

ANON.

*Eichorn 1556/32 (intabulation)
 *Gerlach 1575/17 (intabulation)

DressL Glasütte 5
 *DressL Grimma 56
 *FlorD 11
 LeidSM 1440
 LeipU 49
 *LucBS 775

Modern Editions

Arcadelt, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 5.

No. 82. **Dum fabricator mundi** (à 5) Lupi/Lupino

Attributions and Sources

LUPI

Kriesstein 1545/3
 Montanus & Neuber 1555/12 (attribution in index,
 A., T., CT.)

LUPINO

Montanus & Neuber 1555/12 (attribution in D. B.)

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 184.

Comments

Blackburn notices that some stylistic features of Lupi's music are absent in this work (Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. xxx).

No. 83. **Ecce Dominus veniet** (à 5) Josquin/Senfl

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*ZwiR 74/1

SENFL

*EisS s.s.

ANON.

Formschneider 1537/1

Modern Editions

None.

---**Ecce video** Craen/La Rue

See Sancta Maria virgo (No. 220)

No. 84. **Ecce nos reliquimus omnia** (à 4) Crecquillon/
Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

LeidSM 1440

MAISTRE JHAN

Attaingnant 1534/10

*Scotto 1543/4

LonRC 2037

ANON.

CasAC N(H)

MunU 401

Modern Editions

Marshall, Four-voice Motets, vol. IV, p. 29.
Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VIII, p. 175.

No. 85. **Ecce odor filii mei** (à 4) Hesdin/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

HESDIN

Susato 1547/5

MANCHICOURT

Attaingnant 1539 Manchicourt
 Attaingnant 1545 Manchicourt

Modern Editions

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 136.

No. 86. **Ego Dominus** (à 4) Maessens/Vaet

Attributions and Sources

MAESSENS

Montanus & Neuber 1556/9

VAET

Montanus & Neuber 1564/5

*Dressl Pirna III
 RegB 891-2
 *StuttL 8

ANON.

Susato 1554/8

Modern Editions

Vaet, Sämtliche Werke, vol. I, p. 25.

No. 87. **Ego dormio et cor meum** Canis/Clemens

Attributions and Sources

CANIS

Waelrant 1556/6

CLEMENS

*Phalèse 1555/4
 *Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*BudOS 23
 *DressL Löbau 12
 *RegB 893

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera Omnia, vol. XVI, p. 40.

No. 88. **Ego sum qui sum** (à 5) Hesdin/Mouton/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

HESDIN

Buglhat 1539/7

MOUTON

BolC Q27(I)

RICHAFORT

*ToleBC 22
 LeidGA 1439

ANON.

*HradKM 29

Modern Editions

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 156.

No. 89. **Ego sum resurrectio** (à 4) Mahu/Walter

Attributions and Sources

MAHU

RegB B211-5

WALTER

Rhaw 1538/8

ANON.

BerlPS 40013
 DressL 1/D/501
 GothaF A98
 LeipU 51
 NurGN 83795
 *WeimB B

Modern Editions

Walter, Sämtliche Werke, vol. III, p. 48.
 Albrecht, Symphoniae iucundae 1538, p. 115.

No. 90. **Egregie Christi martyr Christophore** (à 4) Fevin/
 Mouton

Attributions and Sources

FEVIN

Petrucchi 1514/1
 Dorico 1526/1

MOUTON

*VienNB Mus. 15941

ANON.

*BolSP 38 (St. Petronius instead of St. Christopher)
 CasAC P(E) (St. Evasius instead of St. Christopher)
 LonBLR 8G.vii (St. Martin instead of
 St. Christopher)

Modern Editions

Clincksale, "The Works of Fevin," vol. II, p. 516.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 250.
 Gehrenbeck, "Motetti della corona," vol. IV,
 p. 1584.

Comments

Clincksale attributes the motet to Fevin on
 stylistic grounds ("The Works of Fevin," vol. I, p. 196).

No. 91. **Elisabeth Zachariae magnum** (à 4) La Fage/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LA FAGE

Petrucchi 1519/1
Antico 1520/1
Dorico 1526/2
Rhaw 1538/8

FlorL 666
ModD 9

MOUTON

Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

RegB 861-2
RegB 940-1

ANON.

*[no printer named] 1546/4 (intabulation)

DressL 1/D/501
LeipU 51
PadBC A17
RegB C120

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 100.
Albrecht, Symphoniae jucundae 1538, p. 93.
Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 259.

Comments

Lowinsky ascribes the work to La Fage on both stylistic and bibliographic grounds (The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 148).

No. 92. **Emendemus in melius** (à 4) Manchicourt/Portinaro

Attributions and Sources

MANCHICOURT

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8 (attribution in T. B.)

PORTINARO

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8 (attribution in A.)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 93. **Expurgate vetus fermentum** (I) (à 5) Berchem/Gombert/
Lupi

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

*Gardane 1552b Gombert

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541b Gombert*Scotto 1550 Gombert

LUPI

Susato 1555/8

LeidGA 1441

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. 1.Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 48.

Comments

Blackburn considers the attributions to Berchem and Gombert as an error (Lupi, Opera omnia, p. xvii).

However, she does not explain what kind of error Gardane and Scotto committed.

No. 94. **Expurgate vetus fermentum** (II) (à 4) Cleve/Guyot

Attributions and Sources

CLEVE

RegB 849-52

GUYOT

Susato 1547/6

*WrocS 10

Modern Editions

None.

No. 95. **Factum est verbum Domini** (à 6) Berchem/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

*Gardane 1542 Willaert (attribution over 1.p.)

*Montanus & Neuber 1558/4

*TrevBC 8

WILLAERT

*Gardane 1542 Willaert (attribution over 2.p.)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 96. **Felix namque es** (à 5) Gombert/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Moderne 1539/5 (attribution in all partes and voices
except for those that ascribe it to Lupi--see
below)

LUPI

Moderne 1539/5 (attribution in 1.p and 2.p. of S.
and 2.p. of B.)

Attaingnant 1542 Lupi

MunBS 274a

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 124.

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 51.

No. 97. **Gabriel angelus** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559e Clemens

LeuvK 4

CRECQUILLON

Susato 1553/8

Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

LeidGA 1441

RegB 861-2

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XX, p. 12.

Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. III, p. 30.

No. 98. **Gabriel nunciavit Mariae** (à 5) Gombert/Phinot

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

*Moderne 1538/2

PHINOT

*TrevBC 29

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 91.

No. 99. **Gaude francorum regia** (à 4) Fevin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

FEVIN

Petrucchi 1514/1
 Dorico 1526/1 (attribution in the exemplar at Jena,
 Universitätsbibliothek)
 Attaingnant 1535/3

MOUTON

Dorico 1526/1 (attribution in the exemplar at
 Barcelona, Biblioteca Central)

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 141.
 Clincksale, "The Works of Fevin," vol. II, p. 328.

Comments

Clincksale says, "the music shows Fevin's best style" ("The Works of Fevin," p. 138).
 He is not aware of the attribution to Mouton. For the attributions in Dorico 1526/1, see Chapter II.

No. 100. **Gaude virgo Catherina** (à 4) Gombert/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Attaingnant 1534/9 (attribution in B.)

MOUTON

Attaingnant 1529/1
 Attaingnant 1534/9 (attribution in index)

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VII, p. 162.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 314.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the conflicting attribution.

No. 101. **Gaudent in caelis** (à 4) Clemens/Maessens

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Ulhard 1549/11
 *Scotto 1554/15
 *Phalèse 1559e Clemens

LeidGA 1441
 *LeuvK 4

MAESSENS

Montanus & Neuber 1546/8

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 116.

No. 102. **Gaudent in caelis** (à 8) (II) Phinot/Richafort/
 Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

PHINOT

*MunBS 1536

RICHAFORT

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

RegB 786-837

VERDELOT

VerA 218

ANON.

CopKB 1872

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. III, p. 55.
Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 234.

No. 103. **Genuit puerpera** (à 4) Jacquet/Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Gardane 1545 Jacquet

MAISTRE JHAN

*TrevBC 8

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent ascribes the motet to Jacquet on the grounds that TrevBC 8 is unreliable ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 169).

No. 104. **Gloria laus et honor** (à 4) Brumel/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

BRUMEL

Petrucchi 1505/2

JOSQUIN

Formschneider 1538/3

Modern Editions

Brumel, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 29.

Comments

Antonowytch ascribes the motet to Brumel on stylistic grounds ("The Present States," p. 62).

Hudson favors Brumel for stylistic and bibliographical reasons (Brumel, Opera omnia, p. xxx.)

Osthoff dismisses the attribution to Josquin by Formschneider as unreliable (Josquin vol. II, p. 12).

No. 105. **Gloriosi principes terrae** (à 5) Lapidida/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LAPICIDA

FlorL 666

MOUTON

Attaingnant 1534/10

Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Mouton

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 380.

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VIII, p. 93.

Comments

Lowinsky attributes the work to Lapidida, writing that the work is stylistically unlike those by Mouton (The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 230).

No. 106. **Gratia plena ipsa** (à 4) Mouton/Ninot le petit

Attributions and Sources

MOUTON

VienNB Mus. 15941 (without 3.p., attribution in T. index)

NINOT LE PETIT

VienNB Mus. 15941 (without 3.p., attribution in
B. index)

ANON.

VatP 1976-9

Modern Editions

Ninot le Petit, Opera omnia, p. 130.

Comments

Hudson argues that the style of the piece is unlike that of either composer (Ninot le Petit, Opera omnia, p. xxviii).

No. 107. **Hierusalem luge** (à 5) Caen/Lupus/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

CAEN

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

RegB 891-2

*WrocS 1 (intabulation)

*WrocS 12

LUPUS

Attaingnant 1534/10

RomeV 35-40

VatG XII.4

RICHAFORT

Moderne 1532/9

Gardane 1539/6

Petreius 1540/8

Du Chemin 1553/2

*Du Chemin 1557/12

*Sanchez 1578/24 (intabulation)

*Beyer 1583/24 (intabulation)

*DresSL Löbau 8/70
 *DresSL Pirna VII
 ErlU 473/1
 MunU 401
 RegB 940-1
 *ZwiR 74/1

ANON.

CopKB 1872
 LeipU 49
 MunU 326
 MunU 327
 NurGN 83795
 *PiacD (5)
 SionA 87-4
 UlmS 237
 ZwiR 46/120
 *ZwiR 75/1

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VIII, p. 118.
 Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 248.

Comments

Blackburn ascribes the motet to Richafort, stating that its style is unrelated to that of either Lupus or Hellinck ("The Lupus Problem," pp. 304-8).

Kabis ascribes the work to Richafort on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Richafort," p. 25).

Reese favors Lupus (Music in the Renaissance, p. 337, fn. 7).

No. 108. **Hodie Christus natus est** (I) (à 5) Gombert/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3
 Montanus & Neuber 1554/10
 *WrocS 6 (intabulation)

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo
 *Montanus & Neuber 1564/4

Modern Editions

None.

No. 109. **Hodie Christus natus est** (II) (à 5) Conseil/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

MunBS 274a

LUPI

Castiglione 1543/3
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*WrocS 6 (intabulation)

ANON.

DressL Glashütte 5
 *PiacD (5)

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 76

Comments

Blackburn writes that the work is by Lupi on stylistic grounds, and that the readings in the sources differ according to their attribution (Lupi, Opera omnia, pp. xx-xxi).

No. 110. **Hodie salvator mundi** (à 4) Lhéritier/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LHÉRITIER

VatG XII.4

MOUTON

*TrevBC 8

ANON.

BolC Q19
CasAC D(F)

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 60.

Comments

Perkins accepts the ascription in VatG XII.4 as being reliable. He also explains that the attribution to Mouton in TrevBC 8 is an error on the part of the scribe, who confused this motet with Mouton's Salvator mundi because of the musical and textual similarities of the two motets (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxii).

See Chapter V for a different explanation of the conflicting attribution.

No. 111. **Homo quidam fecit** (à 5) Gombert/Phinot

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3

PHINOT

*Caesano 1554 Phinot
*Gardane 1555 Phinot

RegB 891-2

Modern Editions

Phinot, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 146.

No. 112. **Immutemur habitu** (à 4) Escobedo/Morales

Attributions and Sources

ESCOBEDO

*ToleBC 17

*VatS 13

MORALES

*Scotto 1543/5

Gardane 1546/9

Montanus & Neuber 1556/9

Modern Editions

Monumentos de la Música Española, vol. XIII, p. 28.

No. 113. **In Domino confido quomodo dicitis** (à 4) Jacquet/
Senfl

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Scotto 1539b Jacquet

Scotto 1544 Jacquet

Gardane 1545 Jacquet

*Du Bosc & Gueroult 1554/13

SENFL

Petreibus 1542/6

ANON.

CivMA 59

Modern Editions

Jacquet, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 63.

Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, vol. III, p. 103.

No. 114. **In illo tempore Maria Magdalena** (à 4/6) Josquin/
Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*VerBC 760 (1.p. only)

MOUTON

Antico 1521/5
Attaingnant 1529/1

*BergBC 1209
BolC Q19
LonRC 2037
ModD 9
*VienNB Mus. 18825

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4
[Antico?] [c1521]/7

CambraiBM 125-8
*LonRC 1070
*MunBS 41 (à 6)
PadBC A17

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 365.
Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 391.

No. 115. **In illo tempore accesserunt** (à 4) Moulu/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

MOULU

BolC Q19
SGallS 463

MOUTON

Formschneider 1537/1
 Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Mouton
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4
 *LonRC 1070
 RegB 940-1

Modern Editions

Chapman, "The Works of Moulou," p. 317.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 383.

Comments

Chapman favors Mouton on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Moulou," pp. 34-40).

Loach concludes that this motet is not in Mouton's style ("Tchudi's Songbook," p. 206).

The conflicting opinions of Chapman and Loach underscore the difficulty of using style as a conclusive criterion.

No. 116. **In illo tempore dixit Jesus** (à 4) Jacquet/Morales
 (2.p. Dicebant ergo)

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Scotto 1539b Jacquet
 Gardane 1539/13
 Scotto 1544 Jacquet
 Gardane 1545 Jacquet
 Gardane 1549/10
 Scotto 1549/10a
 Scotto 1562/2

MORALES

*CoimU 48

ANON.

*Scotto 1543/5
Gardane 1546/9

CasAC N(H)
StuttL 35
*TrevBC 5

Modern Editions

Jacquet, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 1.
Monumentos de la Música Española, vol. XX, p. 40.

Comments

Nugent accepts the motet as Jacquet's, explaining that the compiler of CoimU 48 simply copied the Morales attribution in Scotto 1543/5 or Gardane 1546/9, where the Morales's name appears on the title page of each source ("The Jacquet Motets," pp. 170-1).

For more detail, see Chapter III.

No. 117. **In illo tempore dixit Jesus** (à 5) Berchem/Gombert/
(2.p. Domine ostende) Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

*Gardane 1553 Jacquet
*TrevBC 29

GOMBERT

Moderne 1539/5
Kriesstein 1545/3
*Kriesstein 1545/6

JACQUET

Gardane 1540 Jacquet
Moderne 1542/5
Montanus & Neuber 1555/10
*Scotto 1565a Jacquet

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent favors Jacquet, since he believes that the attribution to Berchem in Gardane 1553 Jacquet was caused by that printer's competition with Scotto ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 205).

No. 118. **In illo tempore dixit Jesus** (à 4) C. Festa/S.Festa/
(2.p. Postquam) Mouton

Attributions and Sources

C. FESTA

BudOS 23 (attribution in index)

S. FESTA

Antico 1521/5

BolC Q19

BudOS 23 (attribution in B.)

MOUTON

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 412.

Comments

Picker assigns the work to Sebastiano Festa, claiming that BolC Q19 and Antico 1521/5 are authoritative sources (Motet Books of Antico, p. 62).

No. 119. **In nomine Jesu** (I) (à 5) Jacquet/Werrecore

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Kriesstein 1545/3
*Kriesstein 1546/5

WERRECORE

Castiglione 1543/3
Montanus & Neuber 1564/4
*Merulo 1569/2

ANON.

*LucBS 775

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Since "Incerto Authore" appears in the indices and the bassus partbooks of both Kriesstein prints, Nugent attributes the piece to Werrecore, even though the other four partbooks of both prints name Jacquet ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 208).

No. 120. **In nomine Jesu** (II) (à 6) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*Montanus & Neuber 1558/4
Montanus & Neuber 1564/3

MunBS 1536

MOUTON

BolC R142

Modern Editions

None.

No. 121. **In omni tribulatione** (à 4) Moulu/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

MOULU

Antico 1521/5
[Antico?] [1521]/6

MOUTON

FlorL 666

ANON.

*VatP 1980-1
*VerBC 760

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 201.

Comments

Chapman ascribes the motet to Mouton on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Moulu," p. ?)

Lowinsky accepts the attribution to Mouton in FlorL 666 (The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 169).

No. 122. **In te Domine speravi** (I) (à 4) Lhéritier/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

LHÉRITIER

*Giunta [c1526]/5
Gardane 1539/12
Petreius 1542/6 (attribution in partbooks)
Gardane 1545/4
Rampazetto 1564/6

VERDELOT

*Moderne 1532/11
Gardane 1539/13

LHERITIER alias VERDELOT

Petreius 1542/6 (attributed as "Lerithier, alias Verdeloth" in index)

Modern Editions

Lh  ritier, Opera omnia, p. 209.

Comments

Perkins offers two possible reasons for confusion on the part of Petreius: (1) "a knowledge of the conflicting ascription given by [Moderne 1532/11 and Gardane 1539/13]; and (2) "a striking similarity with the beginning of another setting of the same text that appears only under Verdelot's name." Perkins concludes that the latter is the more likely reason for the conflict (Lh  ritier, Opera omnia, p. xxii).

For the beginning of each piece, see Chapter III, Ex. III-1.

No. 123. **In te Domine speravi** (II) (   5) Hellinck/Senfl/
Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Moderne 1532/9
Attaingnant 1535/1
Formschneider 1537/1
Gardane 1539/6
Du Chemin 1553/2
Montanus & Neiber 1559/1

BolC Q27(I)
BrusC 27088
ErlU 473/3
*LeuvU 163
*RegB 772
RegB 891-2
RegB C99
RomeV 35-40
StuttL 34
*ToleBC 17

SENFL

MunU 401
 *WeimB B

VERDELOT

DresSL 1/D/3
 KasL 24
 *ZwiR 73

ANON.

Phalèse 1571/16

 BerlPS 40013
 DresSL 1/D/501
 GothaF A98
 MunU 326
 MunU 327
 NurGN 83795
 *PiacD (5)
 UlmS 237
 *VatVM 571

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IX, p. 55.

No. 124. **In te Domine speravi** (III) (à 5) Berchem/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

Gardane 1540 Jacquet
 *Gardane 1553/17

JACQUET

Scotto 1539a Jacquet
 Schöffner 1539/8
 Petreius 1542/6
 *Gardane 1553 Jacquet
 *Scotto 1565a Jacquet

Modern Editions

None.

No. 125. **Inclina Domine** (I) (à 4) Clemens/Valent

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

*VienNB Mus. 19189

VALENT

*Rampazetto 1563/3

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XXI, p. 140.No. 126. **Inclina Domine** (II) (à 4) Courtois/Jacotin/Morales
(2.p. **Deduc me Domine**)

Attributions and Sources

COURTOIS

*Gardane 1543/21 (2.p. only)

*Gardane 1559/21 (2.p. only)

*Scotto 1587/8 (2.p. only)

JACOTIN

Attaingnant 1535/1

*Scotto 1549/14 (2.p. only)

*Montanus & Neuber 1560/2 (2.p. only)

MORALES

*Gardane 1546/9 (attribution on the title page)

ANON.

*Gardane 1542/18 (2.p. only)

*Scotto 1543/5

*CoimU 48

Ulms 237

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IX, p. 151.

Comments

Gardane 1546/9 carries the inscription "Morales and others" on its title page, without further attributions in the main body of the print (see Chapter III).

No. 127. **Inclina Domine** (III) (à 5) Berchem/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

*Gardane 1552b Gombert

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541b Gombert

*Scotto 1550 Gombert

Montanus & Neuber 1554/11

StuttL 34

Modern Editions

None.

No. 128. **Inclina Domine** (IV) (à 8) Gombert/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

VerA 218 (attribution in A2.)

SERMISY

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

*MunBS 25

VerA 218 (attribution in B1.)

ANON.

MunBS 1536

Modern Editions

Sermisy, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 39.

No. 129. **Inclita strips Jesse** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

*Ulhard 1549/11
Phalèse 1559c Clemens

CRECQUILLON

LeidGA 1441

ANON.

Baethen 1556/3

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 138.

No. 130. **Infirmittatem nostram** (à 5) Verdelot/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

VERDELOT

Attaingnant 1534/6
Formschneider 1538/3
*Valderrábano 1547/25 (intabulation)
*Fezandat 1558/18 (intabulation)
Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

BolC Q27(I)
*KlagL 4/3 (intabulation)
*LeuvU 163
ModD 4
RomeV 35-40

WILLAERT

LeidGA 1441

ANON.

*Phalèse 1552/29 (intabulation)

*'S HerAB 72C

*PadBC D27

*PiacD (5)

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 6.

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IV, p. 99.

No. 131. **Ingresso Zacharia** (à 5) Gombert/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3 (attribution on the title page only)

JACQUET

Scotto 1541/3 (attribution in A. T. B.)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 132. **Inter vestibulum** (à 5) Gombert/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo

Modern Editions

None.

No. 133. **Inviolata integra et casta** (à 8) Gombert/Mouton/
Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

VerA 218 (attribution in index)

MOUTON

VerA 218 (attribution in B.)

VERDELOT

MunBS 1536
RegB 786-837

ANON.

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

Modern Editions

None.

No. 134. **Isti sunt viri** (à 5) Gombert/Grandsyre/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3
*Gardane 1552a Gombert

GRANDSYRE

*Baethen 1556/3

LUPI

Attaingnant 1542 Lupi

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 111.

Comments

On Grandsyre, see Chapter VI.

No. 135. **Ite in orbem** (à 5) Clemens/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Susato 1546/6 (attribution over 1.p. of S. and
1.p. and 2.p. of CT. T. B. Q.)
Susato 1553/12
Montanus & Neuber 1555/10

*CoimU 48
NurLA 28
*ZwiR 74/1

MANCHICOURT

Susato 1546/6 (attribution in index and over 2.p.
of S.)

ANON.

DressL Pirna VIII

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 7.
Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 93.

No. 136. **Jam non dicam vos servos** (à 5) Hellinck/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

*TrevBC 30

RICHAFORT

Moderne 1532/9
Petreius 1540/6
Du Chemin 1553/2
Montanus & Neuber 1555/10
*Le Roy & Ballard 1556 Richafort

ModD 3
 *MunBS 1503b
 MunU 401
 RegB 940-1
 *RegB B223-33
 RegB C99
 *UppsU 76c
 *VienNB Mus. 9814

ANON.

LeidGA 1438
 LeipU 49
 PadBC A17

Modern Editions

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 114.
Monumenta Musica Neerlandica, vol. IX, p. 60.

---**Je prens congie** Gombert/Josquin

See Tulerunt Dominum meum (No. 245)

No. 137. **Job tonso capite** (à 5) Clemens/Morales

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

*Gardane 1549/8
 *Waelrant & Laet 1554/6
 Susato 1554/9
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

MORALES

Scotto 1549/7

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 70.
 Morales, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 126.

No. 138. **Jubilate Deo** (à 6) Jacquet/Morales

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Moderne 1542/5 (attribution in S. T.)

MORALES

Moderne 1542/5 (attribution in index and A. CT. B.)

*Valderarábano 1547/25 (intabulation)

Scotto 1549/3

Montesdoca 1554/32 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

Monumentos de la Música Española, vol. XIII, p. 184.No. 139. **Judea et Jerusalem** (à 4) Isaac/Obrecht

Attributions and Sources

ISAAC

Petreius 1538/7

*RegB 838-43

OBRECHT

DresSL 1/D/505

ANON.

*DresSL Grimma 59

LeipU 51

*ZwiR 94/1

Modern Editions

None.

No. 140. **Judica me, Deus** (à 4) Caen/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

CAEN

Petrucchi 1519/1
Dorico 1526/2

KasL 24

JOSQUIN

Petreius 1538/6
Montanus & Neuber 1553/4

ANON.

DresSL 1/D/6

Modern Editions

Kirsch, Die Motetten des De Silva, p. 487.
Gehrenbeck, "Motetti della corona," vol. IV, p.
1653.

Comments

Osthoff concludes that this motet is stylistically
unlike those by Josquin (Josquin, vol. II, p. 129).

No. 141. **Justum deduxit Dominus** (à 4) Crecquillon/De Latre

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

Ulhard 1548/2
Phalèse 1559 Crecquillon
*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

LeidGA 1438

DE LATRE

Susato 1553/9

Modern Editions

Marshall, Four-voice Motets, vol. II, p. 83.
Monumenta Musica Neerlandica, vol. IX, p. 29.

Comments

Marshall attributes the motet to Crecquillon on the grounds that four sources ascribe it to him (Four-voice Motets, p. 19).

No. 142. **Laetare nova Syon** (à 4) De Silva/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

Moderne 1532/10

*BergBC 1209

*TrevBC 8

JOSQUIN

*Gardane 1546/25 (intabulation)

*Gardane 1546/26 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

De Silva, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 36.

Comments

Kirsch suggests that, since Josquin's motet Adiuro nos is inserted between two parts of our motet in BergBC 1209, the editor of the Gardane prints could have thought that Laetare nova Syon, too, was by Josquin. He also points out that three sources, BergBC 1209 and the two Gardane intabulations, are stemmatically close (Die Motetten des De Silva, p. 65).

No. 143. **Laqueus contritus est** (à 4) Clemens/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559e Clemens

GOMBERT

Montanus & Neuber 1554/11

CambraiBM 125-8

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XIX, p. 64.

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 42.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

No. 144. **Lauda Jerusalem** (à 4) Heugel/Josquin/Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

HEUGEL

Formschneider 1537/1

JOSQUIN

KasL 24

MAISTRE JHAN

FlorL 666

ANON.

*VatP 1980-1

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 19.

Comments

Lowinsky accepts the ascription to Maistre Jhan in FlorL 666, claiming that the manuscript is authoritative. He also suggests that the reason for the attribution to Heugel in Formschneider 1537/1 could have been the result of confusion with Heugel's five-voice setting of the same text (The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 126).

No. 145. **Laudate Dominum omnes gentes** (I) (à 5) Berchem/
Jacquet/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

JACQUET

Gardane 1540 Jacquet

Petreius 1542/6 (attribution in index)

RegB B211-5

SERMISY

Petreius 1542/6 (attribution in D.)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 146. **Laudate Dominum omnes gentes** (II) (à 16) Eckel/
Josquin

Attributions and Sources

ECKEL

CopKB 1872

DressL Grimma 49

JOSQUIN

LeipU 49

Modern Editions

None.

No. 147. **Laudate pueri Dominum** (à 5) Hellinck/Vinders

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Kriesstein 1545/3
 *Formschneider 1544/20

VINDERS

*Susato 1557/3

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Blackburn concludes that this motet is stylistically unlike those of Hellinck ("The Lupus Problem," p. 304).

No. 148. **Laudem dicite Deo nostro** (I) (à 5) Jacquet/
Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Gardane 1540 Jacquet

MANCHICOURT

Attaingnant 1539 Manchicourt
 Attaingnant 1545 Manchicourt

ANON.

RegB B211-5

Modern Editions

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 69.

Comments

Nugent accepts the attribution to Manchicourt, since the motet is included in two Parisian collections of Attaignant ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 207).

No. 149. **Laudem dicite Deo nostro** (II) (à 5) P. Animuccia/
Rore

Attributions and Sources

ANIMUCCIA

ParisBNC 851

RORE

*Gardane 1595 Rore

ModE C.313

*MunBS B

*TrevBC 4

Modern Editions

Rore, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 64.

---**Laudemus Dominum** Contino/Jacquet

See Surge Petre (II) (No. 237)

No. 150. **Lectio actuum apostolorum** (à 5) Josquin/Viardot
(= Dum complerentur)

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Petrucchi 1519/3

Dorico 1526/4

MunU 401

VIARDOT

VatS 42 ("Dum complerentur")

ANON.

Grimm & Wyrnung 1520/4

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. II, p. 24.

Comments

Noting that the version in Vats 42 does not have the opening phrase of Lectio..., Sherr suggests that only that opening phrase was composed by Josquin ("The Papal Chapel," p. 236).

For further details, see Chapter V.

No. 151. **Levavi oculos meos** (à 4) Gombert/Richafort

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1539a Gombert

Gardane 1541 Gombert

Scotto 1541/4

RICHAFORT

KönsU 1740

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 47.

No. 152. **Locutus est Dominus** (à 5) Jacquet/Lupus

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Gardane 1538/4

*Scotto 1549/4

*Gardane 1549/5

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*Scotto 1565b Jacquet

BolC Q27(I)

ModE C.313

LUPUS

RegB B211-5

ANON.

Formschneider 1538/3

*LucBS 775

MunBS 16

*PiacD (5)

*TrevBC 6

Modern Editions

None.

---**Lugebat David Absalon** Gombert/Josquin

See Tulerunt Dominum meum (II) (No. 245)

No. 153. **Magnus es tu Domine** (à 4) Finck/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

FINCK

Formschneider 1538/3

JOSQUIN

Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

MunU 322-5

SGallS 463

*VienNB Mus. 15500

JOSQUIN alias FINCK

RegB B211-5

ANON.

Petrucchi 1504/1

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 88.

No. 154. **Mane nobiscum Domine** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1554/1
Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

BrusC 27088
KasL 91
LeidGA 1438

CRECQUILLON

Scotto 1554/16

ANON.

*ColnU 57

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XIV, p. 14.

No. 155. **Manus tue Domini fecerunt** (à 4) Danglon/Pesenti

Attributions and Sources

DANGLON

*VerBC 760

PESENTI

[Antico?] [1521]/6 ("Manus Domini fecerunt me")

ANON.

CasAC D(F)
*CorBC 95-6/ParisBNN 1817

Modern Editions

Jeppesen, Italia Sacra Musica, vol. II, p. 10.

No. 156. **Maria Magdalene** (à 5) Gombert/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

*WrocS 2 (intabulation)

MANCHICOURT

Moderne 1539/5

Gardane 1539/6

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VII, p. 71.

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 122.

No. 157. **Maria virgo semper laetare** (à 4) Gascongne/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

GASCONGNE

Attaingnant 1534/3

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1519/1

ANON.

*LonRC 1070 (without text)

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. I, p. 82.

No. 158. **Memorare piissima** (à 4) Escobar/Peñalosa

Attributions and Sources

ESCOBAR

*SevBC 1
 *SevC 5-5-20
 *TarazC 2

PEÑALOSA

BarcBC 454
 *ToleBC 21

ANON.

*CoimU 12
 *CoimU 32

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Although Hardie does not discuss the conflicting attribution, she points out that there are four different version od this motet ("Motets of Peñalosa," vol. I, pp. 137-43).

No. 159. **Mirabile mysterium** (à 5) Berchem/Jacquet/Le Brung

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*RegB 853-4

JACQUET

Scotto 1539a Jacquet
 Buglhat 1539/7
 Gardane 1540 Jacquet
 *Gardane 1553 Jacquet
 *Gardane 1553/17
 *Scotto 1565b Jacquet

*LucBS 775
ModE C.313

LE BRUNG

Schöffner 1539/8

ANON.

CasAC (C)
*WrocS 6 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 160. **Miseremini mei saltem vos** (à 4) Josquin/Mouton/
Richafort

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Antico 1520/2

MOUTON

Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

MunBS 16
SGalls 463

RICHAFORT

Petrucchi 1519/1

VienNB Mus. 15941

ANON.

Attaingnant 1534/3

VatP 1976-9
*VatP 1980-1

Modern Editions

- Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 217.
 Smijers, Treize livres, vol. I, p. 176.
 Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 257.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 490.

Comments

Antonowytch points out that, stylistically this motet cannot be by Josquin ("The Present State," p. 62).

Gehrenbeck believes that the motet "undoubtedly belongs to Mouton," since Glarean attributes it to him ("Motetti della corona," vol. III, p. 957).

Kabis attributes the work to Richafort on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Richafort," p. 25).

Loach also assigns the piece to Richafort on stylistic grounds ("Tschudi's Songbook," pp. 202-3).

Picker accepts the ascription the motet to Richafort on the grounds that he is named two independent sources: Petrucci 1519/1 and VienNB Mus. 15941 (Motet Books of Antico, pp. 39-40).

Reese ascribes the piece to Mouton without giving any reason (Music in Renaissance, p. 282, fn. 558).

No. 161. **Miserere mei Deus** (à 4) Carpentras/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

CARPENTRAS

Petrucci 1519/3
 Dorico 1526/4

FlorBN II.I.232

MOUTON

Petreius 1538/6

ANON.

FlorBN Magl. 164-7

Modern Editions

Genet, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 42.

•

No. 162. **Miserere mei Domine** (à 4) Bruck/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

ARUCK

RegB B211-5

SERMISY

Buglhat 1538/0
Attaingnant 1542 Sermisy
Petreius 1542/6

Modern Editions

None.

No. 163. **Missus est Gabriel angelus** (à 5) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Petrucchi 1519/3
Dorico 1526/3

MunU 401 ("MVTON" was crossed out, then "IOSQVIN"
was atdad by a contemporary hand)
VatG XII.4
*VatS 19

MOUTON

Grimm & Wyrung 1520/4
Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

FlorL 666

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. I, p. 3.
Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 360.

Comments

Lowinsky assigns the work to Mouton on stylistic grounds (The Medici CodeX, vol. I, pp. 222-4).

Smijers argues that bibliographical and stylistical evidence point to Josquin (Motetten, vol. 1, p. v).

No. 164. **Ne reminiscaris Domine** (à 5) Comes/Maessens

Attributions and Sources

COMES

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8 (attribution in D. A.)

MAESSENS

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8 (attribution in index and B. V.)

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

According to The New Grove, Montanus & Neuber 1556/8 attributes this work to Gombert (vol. XI, p. 486). However, in the exemplar that I examined, the motet is not ascribed to him. We should note that the same print attributes another setting of the same text (for five voices) to Gombert, and that it appears just before the motet that we are considering here.

No. 165. **Nigra sum sed formosa** (I) (à 4) Conseil/Lupus

Attributions and Sources

CONSEIL

Attaingnant 1534/4
Moderne 1539/10

LUPUS

BolC Q19

ANON.

MunU 401

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IV, p. 152.

Comments

Blackburn ascribes the motet to Conseil on stylistic grounds ("The Lupus Problem," p. 251).

No. 166. **Nigra sum sed formosa** (II) (à 5) Clemens/
Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1554/1 (attribution in index)

CRECQUILLON

Phalèse 1554/1 (attribution in partbooks)
*Du Chemin 1551/1
Susato 1555/8
*Sylvius [1559]/5
*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

LeidGA 1438

Modern Editions

Walter, "The Five-voice Motets," vol. II, p. 556.
Monumenta musicae neerlandicae, vol. IX, p. 120.

No. 167. **Nigra sum sed formosa** (III) (à 5) Crecquillon/
Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

*Susato 1553/16
*Susato 1557/4
Susato 1558/3

JACQUET

Gardane 1540 Jacquet

ModE C.313

Modern Editions

Walter, "The Five-voice Motets," vol. II, p. 573.

Comments

Nugent regards the attributions in the Italian sources more reliable than those in Susato's prints ("The Jacquet Motets," pp. 201-2).

No. 168. **Nisi Dominus edificaverit** (à 4) Hellinck/
Le Heurteur/Lhéritier/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Khollen 1558/20 (intabulation)

LE HEURTEUR

Attaingnant 1535/1
Scotto 1555/15

LHÉRITIER

Moderne 1532/10
Petreius 1539/9
Gardane 1539/12
Gardane 1545/4
Rampazetto 1564/6

*CoimU 48

SERMISY

CambraiBM 125-8

ANON.

KasL 24
LeidGA 1442

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 198.

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IX, p. 165.

Comments

Perkins accepts the attribution to Lhéritier simply because of their numerical preponderance (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxii).

No. 169. **Noe, noe, noe, hodie salvator mundi** (à 4) Jacquet/
Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

*BergBC 1209

BolC Q19

MOUTON

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10

*RegB 838-43

*WrocS 6 (intabulation)

*WrocS 15

ANON.

*PadBC D27

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 26.

No. 170. **Non nobis Domine** (à 4) Gascongne/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

GASCONGNE

Attaingnant 1535/3

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1519/1

Dorico 1526/2

ANON.

VatP 1976-9

Modern Editions

Das Chorwerk, vol. LXXVI, p. 1.

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 38.

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 583.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the motet.

No. 171. **Non turbetur cor vestrum** (I) (à 4) Gosse/
Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

GOSSE

Gardane 1539/13

Gardane 1549/10

Scotto 1549/10a

Scotto 1562/2

BudOS 23

RegB 875-7

MANCHICOURT

LeidGA 1441

Modern Editions

None

No. 172. **Non turbetur cor vestrum** (II) (à 5) Le Roy/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

LE ROY

Susato 1553/13

VERDELOT

Petreius 1540/6

Montanus & Neuber 1555/10

RegB 875-7

*WrocS 2 (intabulation)

*WrocS 5

ANON.

*DresSL 2/D/22

SionA 87-4

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. III, p. 66.

Comments

Böker-Heil concludes that the motet is not by Verdelot on stylistic grounds. He also points out that the sources with the Verdelot attributions are of German origin, and thus unreliable (Die Motteten von Verdelot p. 211).

No. 173. **Nos autem gloriari oportet** (à 5) Crecquillon/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

CRECQUILLON

*VienNB Mus. 19189

LUPI

BrusC 27088

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 86.
 Walter, "The Five-voice Motets," p. 598.

Comments

See Chapter V for a comment on the motet.

No. 174. **Nuptiae factae sunt** (à 4) Barra/Elimot

Attributions and Sources

BARRA

Antico 1521/3

SGallS 463

ELIMOT

FlorL 666

ANON.

[Antico] [c1521]/7

CasAC D(F)

CivMA 59

DressL 1/D/6

LeipU 51

PadBC A17

RegB 940-1

RegB B211-5

RegB C120

*WrocS 12

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. III, p. 185.

Comments

Rifkin concludes that no approach--whether stylistic or bibliographical--provides enough evidence to resolve the conflicting attribution (The New Grove, vol. II, p. 178).

No. 175. **O admirabile commercium** (à 5) Josquin/Regis

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

LeidGA 1439 (without 3.p)

REGIS

*VatC 234

Modern Editions

Regis, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 49.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the motet.

No. 176. **O beata infantia** (à 6) Richafort/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

RICHAFORT

*Le Roy & Ballard 1556 Richafort

ModD 9

WILLAERT

RomeV 35-40

Modern Editions

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 128.

Comments

Kabis assigns the motet to Richafort on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Richafort," pp. 23-5).

No. 177. **O bone Jesu** (I) (à 4) Anchieta/Compère/Peñalosa/
Ribera

Attributions and Sources

ANCHIETA

SegC s.s.

COMPÈRE

Petrucchi 1519/2
Dorico 1526/3

PEÑALOSA

BarcBC 454

RIBERA

*TarazC 2

ANON.

*CoimU 12
*BarcOC 5

Modern Editions

Compère, Opera omnia, vol.IV, p. 27.

Comments

Baker attributes the motet to Anchieta, since she believes that SegC s.s. is a reliable source ("An Unnumbered Manuscript," pp. 50-1).

Finscher, on the other hand, regards Petrucci 1519/1 to be a more reliable source (Loyset Compère, p. 180).

Ros points out that the three different endings with which the work is transmitted came about through successive revisions that play upon the last two words of the piece, "finem meum (my ending)" ("Barcelona Manuscript").

No. 178. **O bone Jesu** (II) (à 4) Clemens/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Montanus & Neuber 1556/8

MANCHICOURT

*MontsM 772

ANON.

Susato 1554/8

Modern Editions

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 160.

Comments

According to Kempers, this motet is attributed to Clemens in the index of Montanus & Neuber 1556/8, but to Maessens in the partbooks of that print. He concludes that Maessens is the more likely composer ("Bibliography of the Sacred Works," p. 150).

However, the exemplar that I looked at attributes the motet only to Clemens, in both the indices and all partbooks.

No. 179. **O Christe redemptor** (à 4) Maessens/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

MAESSENS

LeipU 49

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1519/1

Antico 1521/5

Dorico 1526/2

ANON.

*ZwiR 73

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 374.

Comments

Even though Picker accepts the work as Mouton's--he dismisses the attribution to Maessens as unreliable--he proposes that Maessens might have been responsible for rhythmic changes that improve the text-music relationship (Motet Books of Antico, p. 59).

For more detail, see Chapter V.

No. 180. **O doctor optime** (à 5) Gombert/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo

Modern Editions

None.

---**O fili Dei** Gombert/Verdelot

See Sancta Maria succurre (No. 219)

No. 181. **O genetrix gloriosa** (à 4) Compère/Richafort
(2.p. Ave virgo gloriosa)

Attributions and Sources

COMPÈRE

VatS 46

RICHAFORT

CopKB 1848

ANON.

Petrucchi 1502/1

Mild 1 (2.p. only)

Mild 2 (2.p. only)

Mild 3 (1.p. only)

*SienBC K.I.2

Modern Editions

Compère, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 29.

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 208a.

Comments

Finscher suggests that CopK 1848 ascribes the piece to Richafort because of his parody Mass based on the motet (Loyset Compère, p. 187, fn. 16).

No. 182. **O pulcherrima mulierum** (à 4) Bauldeweyn/Festa/Fevin
/Mouton
(2.p. Descendi in hortum meum)

Attributions and Sources

BAULDEWEYN

Petrucchi 1519/3 (see Comments)

Dorico 1526/4 (see Comments)

C. FESTA

BolC R142

FEVIN

Kriesstein 1540/7 (2.p. only)

VienNB Mus. 15941

MOUTON

BarcBC 454

SGallS 530 (intabulation, 1.p. only)

ANON.

BolC Q27 (I)
PadBC A17
VerBC 760

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Clincksale attributes the motet to Mouton on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Fevin," pp. 193-5).

Sparks shows that the attribution to Bauldeweyne in the main body of Petrucci 1519/3 is not an attribution, but simply misreading of the headline by present-day scholars. He thus claims that this motet cannot be regarded as Bauldeweyn's. He further points out that the attribution to Bauldeweyn in the index of Dorico 1526/4 is simply a printing mistake (Music of Bauldeweyn, pp. 17-22 and fn. 11).

According to Sparks again, the motet is ascribed to Josquin in the index of Petrucci 1519/3. However, in the index of the exemplar at London British Library, the motet is anonymous.

In connection with the attributions to Fevin and Mouton, see Chapter V.

No. 183. **O sacrum convivium** (à 5) Arcadelt/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

ARCADELT

Buglhat 1539/7
Montanus & Neuber 1555/11

RomeV 35-40

JACQUET

*Scotto 1565b Jacquet

Modern Editions

Arcadelt, Opera omnia, vol. X, p. 9.

Comments

Nugent explains that the inclusion of this work in the Jacquet collection was a result of Scotto's borrowing some works from Buglhat 1539/7 ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 207).

However, Nugent does not explain how the attribution was changed from Arcadelt to Jacquet.

No. 184. **O salutaris hostia** (à 6) Verdelot/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

VERDELOT

*ToleBC 10

WILLAERT

Gardane 1542/10

RomeV 35-40

VatG XII.4

ANON.

CasAC (C)

Modern Editions

Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 55.

---**Orabat Jesum mulier** Jacquet/Morales/Rore

See Clamabat autem mulier chananea (No. 41)

No. 185. **Os loquentium iniqua** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559e Clemens

CRECQUILLON

Susato 1553/9

LeidGA 1441

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XX, p. 8.
Marshall, Four-voice Motets, vol. III, p. 110.

---**Osculetur me** Craen/La Rue

See Sancta maria virgo (No. 220)

No. 186. **Paradisi portas aperuit nobis** (à 4) Lupus/Renaldo

Attributions and Sources

LUPUS

*VerBC 760

RENALDO

BolC Q19

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Blackburn favors Renaldo on stylistic grounds ("The Lupus Problem," pp. 249-50).

No. 187. **Pastores loquebantur** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Susato 1555/9
Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*RegB 853-4

CRECQUILLON

LeidGA 1441

ANON.

*DressL Grima 53
DressL Pirna II

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XVII, p. 33.

No. 188. **Pater noster** (à 4) Obrecht/Willaert
(2.p. **Ave Maria**)

Attributions and Sources

OBRECHT

LeipU 49 (1.p. only)

WILLAERT

Moderne 1532/10
Attaingnant 1534/4 (1.p. only)
Petreius 1538/7 (1.p. only)
Gardane 1539/12
*Gardane 1545c Willaert
Gardane 1545/4
*Juan 1546/14 (intabulation)
*Cordova 1547/25 (intabulation)
*Scotto 1548/12 (intabulation)
*Pisador 1552/35 (intabulation)
Du Chemin 1553/2 (1.p. only)
Rampazetto 1564/6

LeidGA 1442 (1.p. only)
LondRC 2037
MunU 326
ParisBNC 851 (1.p. only)
RegB 875-7
RegB 940-1
RegB C99
*RomeSC 792-5
*ToleBC 21
*VallaP s.s. (1.p. only)
*VerBC 760 (1.p. only)
*VienNB Mus. 15500

ANON.

CasAC N(H)
 ChiN M91 (1.p. only)
 *FlorD 27
 LeipU 51
 TrevBC 34
 VatP 1976-9 (1.p. only)
 *VatVM 571

Modern Editions

Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 11.
 Obrecht, Werken, vol. VI, p. 131.
 Smijers, Treize livres, vol. II, p. 1.
 Slim, A Gift of Madrigals, vol. II, p. 29.

Comments

Although Long does not doubt Willaert's authorship of the motet, she points out that the secunda pars, "Ave Maria" should be considered as a separate motet, because two partes are stylistically different ("The Motets of Willaert," pp. 81 and 91-3).

No. 189. **Pater peccavi** (I) (à 4) Clemens/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

*Moderne 1547/2
 Susato 1547/5
 *Phalèse 1555/5
 Phalèse 1559d Clemens
 *Phalèse 1568/23

AnsbachS 16
 LeidGA 1441
 *ToleBC 13

MANCHICOURT

*Montanus & Neuber 1546/8
 Montanus & Neuber 1556/9
 *BerlPS 40043
 DresSL Glashütte 5
 RegB 940-1

ANON.

*ColnU 57
 *CopKB 1873
 *LüneR 144
 *RegB 1018
 SionA 87-4
 *WrocS 1 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. IX, p. 1.
 Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 163.

No. 190. **Pater peccavi** (II) (à 5) Clemens/Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Susato 1553/14 (attribution in CT.)

MANCHICOURT

Susato 1546/7
 Susato 1553/14 (attribution in all places but CT.)
 Montanus & Neuber 1556/8

MontsM 772
 RegB 940-1

Modern Editions

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. VI, p. 169.

Comments

On the attribution to Clemens, see Chapter V.

No. 191. **Pater peccavi** (III) (à 8) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1555/5

CRECQUILLON

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1
 *Wyriot 1578/1

MunBS 41
 StuttL 13

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera Omnia, vol. XVI, p. 96

No. 192. **Peto Domine** (à 5) Caussin/Gombert

Attributions and Sources

CAUSSIN

Moderne 1542/5
 *Gardane 1548 Caussin
 Montanus & Neuber 1556/8

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541b Gombert
 *Gardane 1552b Gombert

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. 115.

No. 193. **Philomena praevia** (à 4) Richafort/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

RICHAFORT

Antico 1520/1
 *[Antico?] [1521/4]
 *Le Roy & Ballard 1556 Richafort

CambraiBM 125-8
 RegB C99

SERMISY

*CoimU 48

ANON.

*Attaingnant [1528]/2

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 206.

Kabis, "The Works of Richafort," vol. II, p. 26.

No. 194. **Planxit autem David** (à 4) Josquin/Ninot le petit

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Josquin

Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

SGallS 463

*VatS 38

NINOT

FlorBN II.I.232

ANON.

Petrucchi 1504/1

DressL 1/D/505

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 95.

No. 195. **Pontificum sublime decus** (à 5) Hellinck/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

*Susato 1546/7

LUPI

Moderne 1538/2

Moderne 1539/4

Gardane 1539/6

*Moderne 1542/4

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 98.

Comments

Blackburn ascribes the motet to Lupi on both bibliographic and stylistic grounds (Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. xxiii).

No. 196. **Puer natus est nobis** (I) (à 4) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

DresSL Grimma 51

MOUTON

BolC Q19

FlorBN II.I.232

ModD 9

VatS 46

VienNB Mus. 15941

ANON.

[Antico] [c1521]/7

*BolSP 29

PadBC A17

Modern Editions

None.

No. 197. **Puer natus est nobis** (II) (à 4) Mahu/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

MAHU

Rhaw 1538/8 (attribution in B.)

MOUTON

Rhaw 1538/8 (attributions in index and A.)

ANON.

*Welack 1591/25

ErlU 473/4

LeipU 51

MunU 326

RegB 940-1

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 677.

Albrecht, Symphoniae jucundae 1538, p. 15.

Comments

Noblitt suggests that the attribution to Mouton in Rhaw 1538/8 was the result of confusion with a setting of the same text by that composer ("Reconstruction of Thomaskirche 51," p. 70, fn. 54).

In the worklist for Josquin, Noble erroneously states that this motet and the previous one (No. 196) are identical (The New Grove, vol. IX, p. 735).

No. 198. **Puer qui natus est** (à 5) Gombert/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo

Modern Editions

None.

No. 199. **Quam dilecta tabernacula** (à 5) Certon/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

CERTON

Montanus & Neuber 1553/5 (attribution in index and B.)

JOSQUIN

Montanus & Neuber 1553/5 (attribution in A.)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 200. **Quam pulchra es** (I) (à 4) Lupi/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

LUPI

*Moderne 1532/11
Gardane 1539/12
Attaingnant 1542 Lupi
Gardane 1545/4
Rampazetto 1564/6

CambraiBM 125-8
 LeipU 51
 *LeuvU 163
 RomeM 23-4

VERDELOT

Rhaw 1538/8

RegB 940-1

ANON.

LeipU 49

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 130.
 Albrecht, Symphoniae iucundae 1538, p. 29.

No. 201. **Quam pulchra es** (II) (à 4) Jacquet/Lupi/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

*Scotto 1565 Jacquet

LUPI

Buglhat 1538/5
 Petreius 1540/6

RegB 940-1

MOUTON

CambraiBM 125-8

ANON.

DressL 1/D/501
 LeipU 51
 *PadBC D27
 *WrocS 8

Modern Editions

Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 702.
 Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. VII, p. 77 (as a model
 for Clemens's mass).

Comments

Blackburn points out that the motet is stylistically
 unlike those of Lupi. She suggests that Buglhat confused
 our motet with Lupi's authentic setting of the same text
 ("The Lupus Problem," pp. 358-9).

No. 202. **Quam pulchra es** (III) (à 4) Josquin/Moulu/Mouton/
 Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Montanus & Neuber 1559/2
 Formschneider 1537/1 (attribution in index)

MOULU

Formschneider 1537/1 (attribution in partbooks)

BolC Q19
 RegB B220-2
 SGallS 463
 *ToleBC 10 (attribution in index)
 *ZwiR 81/2

MOUTON

Petrucchi 1519/2
 Dorico 1526/3

BolC R142

VERDELOT

*ToleBC 10 (attribution over music)

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4

Modern Editions

Chapman, "The Works of Moulu," vol. II, p. 324.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 694.

Comments

Chapman attributes the work to Moulu on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Moulu," vol. I, p. 39).

Loach also uses style as his criterion, but decides that the work is not by Moulu ("Tschudi's Songbook," p. 206).

Antonowytch claims that the motet is not by Josquin on stylistic grounds ("The Present States," pp. 62-3).

No. 203. **Queramus cum pastoribus** (à 4) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*Gardane 1546/25 (intabulation)
 *Gardane 1546/26 (intabulation)

MOUTON

Antico 1521/3
 Attaingnant 1529/1
 Du Chemin 1553/2
 Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Mouton
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

Dressl Grima 51
 *MadM 6832
 *RegB 786-837
 *RegB 838-43
 *RegB 878-82
 SGallS 463
 Vats 46

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4
 *[Antico?] [1521]/7

*BloomL 4
 *BloomL 8
 *BloomL 9
 *BolSP 38
 CasAC D(F)
 *FlorD 11
 *LonRC 1070
 ModD 3
 ModD 9
 *PadBC D27
 *UppsU 76c

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 97.
 Smijers, Van Ockeghem, vol. VII, p. 201.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 689.

No. 204. **Qui consolabatur me** (à 5) Clemens/Morales

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1554/1
 *Phalèse 1555/2
 Montanus & Neuber 1556/8
 *Susato 1557/4

MORALES

ParisBNC 851

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XIV, p. 22.
 Morales, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. 68.

No. 205. **Qui paracletus diceris** (à 6) Isaac/Rener

Attributions and Sources

ISAAC

Montanus & Neuber 1564/3
 *RegB 878-82

RENER

Rhaw 1542/12

ANON.

*BudOS P6

*StuttL 24

Modern Editions

Rener, Collected Works, Part I, p. 126.

No. 206. **Quis dabit mihi pennas** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559f Clemens

CRECQUILLON

Scotto 1554/14

Modern editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XX, p. 71.

Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. III, p. 119.

No. 207. **Quis dabit oculis** (à 4) Festa/Senfl

Attributions and Sources

C. FESTA

BolC Q19

SENFL

Formschneider 1538/3

Modern Editions

C. Festa, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 25.

Senfl, Sämtliche Werke, vol. III, p. 17.

Comments

Main concludes that the motet was originally written by Festa for the death of Anne of Brittany and that Senfl was responsible for adapting it to a revised text to commemorate the death of Maximilian I ("Funeral Motet," pp. 173-89).

No. 208. **Quis est iste qui progreditur** (à 5) Lupi/Sermisy

Attributions and Sources

LUPI

LeidGA 1439

SERMISY

Attaingnant 1542 Sermisy
Kriesstein 1545/3

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Blackburn assigns the work to Sermisy, arguing that LeidGA 1439 is late and thus not reliable ("The Lupus Problem," p. 313).

No. 209. **Repleatur os meum** (à 5) Berchem/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

BERCHEM

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

JACQUET

Gardane 1538/4
Scotto 1539a Jacquet
Kriesstein 1540/7
Moderne 1542/5
*Scotto 1549/4
*Gardane 1549/5
*Scotto 1565a Jacquet

BolC Q27(I)
 ModE C.313
 VatG X17.4

ANON.

BudOS 23
 *PadBC D27
 *PiacD (3)
 RomeV 35-40

Modern Editions

None.

No. 210. **Retribuere dignare Domine** (à 4) Jacquet/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Scotto 1539b Jacquet
 Scotto 1544 Jacquet
 Gardane 1545 Jacquet

BolC Q20

VERDELOT

*BergBC 1209

ANON.

*PadBC D27

Modern Editions

Jacquet, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 87.

Comments

Nugent favors Jacquet on the grounds that the work is included in three different Jacquet collections ("Jacquet Motets," p. 170).

No. 211. **Rex autem David** (à 4) Gascongne/La Fage/Lupus

Attributions and Sources

GASCONGNE

Antico 1521/5
Attaingnant 1535/3

KönsU 1740

LA FAGE

[Antico?] [1521]/6

LUPUS

Moderne [1539]/11

ANON.

PadBC A17
RegB 940-1

Modern Editions

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 424.
Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 171.

Comments

Picker attributes the motet to Gascongne because he is named in more sources than any of the other composers (Motet Books of Antico, p. 64).

No. 212. **Salus populi ego sum** (à 5) Cadéac/Hesdin

Attributions and Sources

CADÉAC

Attaingnant 1535/5
Schöffner 1539/8
Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Cadéac

HESDIN

Buglhat 1539/7

ANON.

*ZwiR 46/120

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XIII, p. 190.

---**Salva nos Christe salvator** Clemens/Manchicourt

See Vidi speciosam (No. 260)

No. 213. **Salva nos Domine** (I) (à 4) Isaac/La Rue
 (= Agnus Dei III of Missa Salva nos = Christe eleison)

Attributions and Sources

ISAAC

*Formschneider 1539/2 ("Agnus Dei" as a part of the Mass)

*BasU F.IX.55 ("Agnus Dei" as a part of the Mass)

LA RUE

Rhaw 1538/8

ANON.

*KasL 53/2

MunU 326

RegB 940-1 ("Christe eleison")

*VerBC 756 ("Agnus Dei" as a part of the Mass)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 214. **Salva nos Domine** (II) (à 6) Josquin/Mouton/
Willaert

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

BolC R142

MOUTON

Antico [1521]/6
Kriesstein 1540/7
*Montanus & Neuber 1558/4

BolC Q19
FlorL 666
*'S HerAB 72C
ModD 9
*StuttL 3
*VatS 38

WILLAERT

Gardane 1542/10

ANON.

*VatP 1980-1

Modern Editions

Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 65.
Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 227.
Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 756.

Comments

Lowinsky ascribes the work to Mouton, because FlorL 666 and eight other sources name him as the composer (The Medici Codex, vol. I, p. 179).

No. 215. **Salvator mundi, Salva nos** (à 4) Lhéritier/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LHÉRITIER

VatG XII.4

MOUTON

SGallS 463

VallaC 5 (1p)

ANON.

Antico 1520/2

[Antico?] [c1521]/7

CasAC D(F)

*SGallS 464

*VatP 1980-1

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 72.

Picker, Motet Books of Antico, p. 244.

Comments

Perkins is unable to decide who composed the motet, since he believes that VatG XII.4 and SGallS 463 are equally authoritative for their respective composers (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxiii).

Picker favors Lhéritier, pointing to both the reliability of VatG XII.4, and the stylistic features of the motet (Motet Books of Antico, p. 42).

No. 216. **Salve regina** (à 6) Jacquet/Josquin/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

BolC R142 (attribution in the first index)

*VatS 24

JOSQUIN

BolC R142 (attribution in the second index)

VERDELLOT

RomeV 35-40

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 58.

Comments

Böker-Heil ascribes the motet to Verdelot on stylistic grounds (Motetten von Verdelot, pp. 211-4).

No. 217. **Sana me Domine** (à 4) Lupino/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

LUPINO

*Gardane 1549 Lupino

WILLAERT

*Gerlach 1567/1

Modern Editions

None.

No. 218. **Sancta et immaculata** (à 4) Gombert/Hesdin

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

VatG XII.4

HESDIN

Attaingnant 1534/6

Buglhat 1538/5

Petreius 1540/6

ANON.

CambraiBM 125-8
 LeipU 51
 MunU 401

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IV, p. 182.

No. 219. **Sancta maria succurre** (à 4) Gombert/Verdelot
 (= O fili dei)

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Kohlen 1558/20 (intabulation)

VERDELOT

Attaingnant 1529/1
 Attaingnant 1534/4
 Formschneider 1538/3 ("O fili dei")
 Gardane 1539/13
 Gardane 1549/10
 Scotto 1549/10a
 Scotto 1549/15
 Du Chemin 1553/2
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/2 ("O fili dei")
 Scotto 1562/2

MunBS 16
 RegB 891-2 ("O fili dei")
 RegB B225
 *WrocS 1 ("O fili dei," intabulation)

ANON.

PadBC A17
 RegB 940-1 ("O fili dei")

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. III, p. 21.
 Smijers, Treize livres, vol. II, p. 42.

Comments

Gombert wrote a parody mass modeled on this motet.

No. 220. **Sancta maria virgo** (à 3) Craen/La Rue
 (2.p. O Maria virgo = Ecce video = Osculetur me)

Attributions and Sources

CRAEN

Petrucchi 1502/1 ("Ecce video")
 *[Egenolff] [c1535/14] ("Ecce video")
 *Petreius 1536/13 ("Ecce video," intabulation)
 Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon ("Ecce video")

 CambraiBM 125-8 ("Osculetur me")
 MunU 322-5 ("Ecce video")
 SGallS 463 ("Ecce video")
 *SGallS 530 ("Ecce video," intabulation)

LA RUE

FlorBN 2439

ANON.

[Egenolff] [c1535/14] ("Ecce video")
 Formschneider 1538/9 (without text, 1.p. only)

Modern Editions

Glarean, Dodecachordon, p. 404.
 Newton "Florence Manuscript 2439," p. 260.

No. 221. **Sancta maria virgo virginum** (à 6) Josquin/Verdelot
 (= Ave Jesu Christe = Christus resurgens)

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*WrocS 1 ("Ave Jesu Christe" intabulation)
 *WrocS 2 ("Christus resurgens" intabulation)
 *WrocS 5 ("Christus resurgens")

VERDELOT

Moderne 1538/2
 Moderne 1539/4
 *Moderne 1542/4
 *Eichorn 1573/27 ("Ave Jesu Christe" intabulation)
 *Sanchez 1578/24 (intabulation)

ModD 9
 *MunBS 59
 *MunBS 266 (intabulation)
 MunU 401 (without text)
 *RegB 893 ("Ave Jesu Christe")
 *RegB 1018
 RomeV 35-40
 *Schmalt s.s. ("Ave Jesu Christe")
 *ToleBC 10
 VallaC 15
 *VienNB Mus. 16195 ("Ave Jesu Christe")

ANON.

*Attaingnant [1528]/2
 *Gardane 1547/22 (intabulation)

 ChiN M91
 FlorBN Magl. 125bis
 LeidGA 1439
 LonBLR A49-54
 *PiacD (5)
 *VatS 38
 *WrocS 6 ("Sancta Maria vel Christus resurgens"
 intabulation)
 *ZwiR 96/1 ("Ave Jesu Christe")

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. V, p. 20.
 Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 42.

No. 222. **Sancta mater, istud agas** (à 4) Josquin/Peñalosa

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

BarcBC 454

PEÑALOSA

*SevC 5-5-20
 *TarazC 2
 *ToleBC 21

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. supplement, p. 41.
 Peñalosa, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 123.

Comments

Ros assigns the work to Peñalosa, since the attribution in BarcBC 454 was added by a later hand ("Barcelona 454").

No. 223. **Sancta trinitas unus Deus** (I) (à 4/6) Craen/Festa
 /Fevin/Josquin/Morales

Attributions and Sources

CRAEN

KönSU 1740

C. FESTA

*TrevBC 5

FEVIN

Petrucchi 1514/1

Dorico 1526/1

Montanus & Neuber 1555/11 (à 6, "Fevin. Arnoldus de
 Bruck addidit duas voces")

*Montanus & Neuber 1558/4 (à 6)

Khollen 1558/20 (intabulation)

BarcBC 454

CambriP 1760

DressL Glashütte 5 (à 6)

*LübBH 203

ModD 9

*RegB 883-6 (à 6)

RegB 940-1 (à 6)

*StuttL 25

*ToleBC 13

*UppsU 76c

*VatC 234

*VerBC 760

*WrocS 3 (intabulation, à 6, "Fevin. Arn. de Bruck
 addidit duas voces")

*WrocS 5 (à 6, "Fevin. Arn. de Bruck addidit duas
 voces")

JOSQUIN

*EisS s.s. (à 6)

MORALES

*SaraP 34

ANON.

*Attaingnant 1531/5 (intabulation)
Formschneider 1537/1

BolC Q27 (I)
CambraiBM 125-8
*ChiN 107510 (intabulation)
CivMA 59
CopKB 1872
*CopKB 1873
DressL Grima 55
ErlU 473/4
LondBLR 8G.vii
*LondRC 1070
PadBC A17
SGallS 462
*TourC M

Modern Editions

Rokseth, Treize motets, p. 28.
Bruck, Sämtliche Motetten, p. 99 (the six-voice version).

Comments

Montanus & Neuber 1555/11 attributes the original version à 4 to Fevin and notes that Brouck added two voices, thus turning the motet into a six-part composition.

No. 224. **Sancta trinitas unus Deus** (II) (à 8) Jacotin/
Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

JACOTIN

Ulhard 1545/2

JACQUET

Montanus & Neuber 1555/11
 Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

MunBS 1536
 RomeV 35-40
 VerA 218

JACQUET alias JACOTIN

RegB 786-837

ANON.

*VatS 57
 *WrocS 3 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 225. **Sancti Dei omnes** (à 4) Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

*ToleBC 13

MOUTON

Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Mouton

VatS 42
 *VatS 76
 *VerBC 760

ANON.

Petrucci 1504/1

*LonRC 1070
 Mild 3
 *VerBC 758

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. V, p.27.
Das Chorwerk, vol. LXXVI, p. 15.
 Shine, "The Motets of Mouton," p. 785.

No. 226. **Saule, Saule, quid me** (à 5) Le Brung/Moulu

Attributions and Sources

LE BRUNG

*Giunta [c1526]/5
 Attaignant 1534/10

MunU 401
 *ToleBC 10

MOULU

ModD 9

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4

*BergBC 1209
 CasAC D(F)
 PadBC A17
 *PiacD (3)
 *PiacD (4)
 Vats 46

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. VIII, p. 54.
 Chapman, "The Works of Moulu," vol. II, p. 330.

Comments

Chapman favors Moulu on stylistic grounds ("The Works of Moulu," pp. 33-4).

No. 227. **Servus tuus ego sum** (à 4) Canis/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CANIS

*Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in A.)

CRECQUILLON

Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in index and S. T. B.)

Phalèse 1559 Crecquillon

*Phalèse 1576 Crecquillon

LeidGA 1441

Modern Editions

Marshall, The Four-voice Motets, vol. II, p. 23.

Comments

On the attribution in Ulhard 1548/2, see Chapter V.

No. 228. **Si bona suscepimus** (à 5) Richafort/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

RICHAFORT

MunU 327

VERDELOT

Moderne 1532/9

Formschneider 1537/1

Gardane 1539/6

Schöffer 1539/8

Du Chemin 1553/2

*Montesdoca 1554/32 (intabulation)

*Brocar 1557 (intabulation)

Kohlen 1558/20 (intabulation)

Montanus & Neuber 1559/1

*Jobin 1574/13 (intabulation)

*Beyer 1583/24 (intabulation)

*Jobin 1589/17 (intabulation)

BolC Q27(I)
 ErlU 473/3
 *MadM 6832
 ModD 9
 ModE C.313
 ParisBNC 851
 RegB 891-2
 RegB 940-1
 RomeV 35-40
 *ToleBC 17
 VatG XII.4
 *VatS 38
 *WrocS 10
 *WrocS 12
 *ZwiR 74/1
 *ZwiR 79/2

ANON.

ChiN M91
 CopKB 1872
 *FlorD 11
 GothaF A98
 *LüneR 150
 NurGN 83795
 *OxfBT 1018
 *RegB 1018
 *RomeSC 389
 *StuttL 43

Modern Editions

Verdelot, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 1.
 Slim, A Gift of Madrigals, vol. II, p. 129.

No. 229. **Si oblitus fuero** (à 4) Ninot le Petit/Obrecht

Attributions and Sources

NINOT LE PETIT

FlorBN II.I.232
 VatS 42

OBRECHT

DressL 1/D/505

ANON.

Petrucchi 1504/1

CambraiBM 125-8

*CorBC 95-6/ParisBNN 1817

*MunBS 3154

*SienBC K.I.2

Modern Editions

Obrecht, Werken, vol. VI, p. 97.

Ninot le Petit, Opera omnia, p. 96.

Comments

For a stemma of the motet, see Noblitt, "Textual Criticism," p. 242. The stemma, however, does not indicate who the composer might be.

Shine includes this motet as Mouton's work ("The Motets of Mouton," vol. II, p. 798). In addition, the Mouton Worklist in The New Grove lists the work as Mouton's. However, CambraiBM 125-8, which both Shine and The New Grove cite as bearing Mouton's name, transmit the work without an ascription.

No. 230. **Signum salutis pone Domine** (à 5) Arcadelt/
(= Diem festum sacratissime) Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

ARCADELT

*TrevBC 29 ("Diem festum sacratissime")

*TrevBC 30

CRECQUILLON

*Kriesstein 1545/3

*Montanus & Neuber 1555/11

Modern Editions

None.

No. 231. **Spem in alium** (à 5) Gombert/Morales/Ruffo

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541/3
Montanus & Neuber 1556/8

MORALES

Moderne 1542/5

RUFFO

*Castiglione 1542 Ruffo

Modern Editions

Monumentos Música Española, vol. XXXIV, p. 79.

No. 232. **Spes salutis** (à 4) Hellinck/Lupi

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Buglhat 1538/5

LUPI

Attaingnant 1542 Lupi

CambraiBM 125-8
*LeuvU 163

ANON.

*Formschneider 1546/31

Modern Editions

Lupi, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 37.
Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. iii (as a Mass model).

Comments

Blackburn assigns the motet to Lupi on stylistic grounds. She says that the attribution to "Lupus" in the Buglhat print should be understood as referring to Hellinck ("The Lupus Problem," p. 359).

No. 233. **Super montem excelsum** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon/
Manchicourt

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559f Clemens

CRECQUILLON

AachS 2

MANCHICOURT

Attaingnant 1539 Manchicourt

Attaingnant 1545 Manchicourt

ANON.

AnsbachS 12

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XX, p. 96.

Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. IV, p. 65.

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 150.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the piece.

No. 234. **Super ripam Jordanis** (à 5) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1554/2
 Susato 1555/8
 Montanus & Neuber 1555/12
 *Du Bosc & Gueroult 1556 Clemens

AachS 2
 BrusC 27088
 DresSL 1/D/6
 DresSL Grimma 54
 MunBS 13
 RegB 861-2
 *StuttL 9

Crecquillon

*LübBH 203

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XIV, p. 26.

No. 235. **Surge illuminare Jerusalem** (à 4) Canis/Clemens/
 Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CANIS

Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in A.)

CLEMENS

Phalèse 1559e Clemens

CRECQUILLON

Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in index, S. CT. T. and
 B.)
 Susato 1553/9
 LeidGA 1441
 StuttL 36

ANON.

AnsbachS 12

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XX, p. 1.
 Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. III, p. 82.
Monumenta Musicae Neerlandicae, vol. IX, p. 46.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the attributions
 in Ulhard 1548/2.

No. 236. **Surge petre** (I) (à 4) Gombert/Mouton/Verdelot
 (2.p. Angelus Domini)

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1541c Gombert
 *Gardane 1542 Gombert
 Montanus & Neuber 1550/2
 Du Chemin 1554/7

StuttL 34

MOUTON

KönsU 1740

VERDELOT

*ZwiR 81/2

ANON.

CambraiBM 125-8
 LeipU 49 (1.p. and 2.p. are reversed)
 StuttL 36 (1.p. and 2.p. are reversed)
 *TorunK 29-32 (1.p. and 2.p. are reversed)
 UlmS 237

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. 107.

Comments

Böker-Heil argues against the ascription to Verdelot on stylistic grounds (Die Motetten von Verdelot, pp. 208-9).

No. 237. **Surge petre** (II) (à 5) Contino/Jacquet
(= Laudemus Dominum)

Attributions and Sources

CONTINO

*Scotto 1560 Contino

*TrevBC 29 ("Laudemus Dominum")

JACQUET

*ModE C. 313

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Blackburn suggests that the scribe of ModE C. 313 confused this motet with the six-voice setting of the same text by Jacquet (Music for Treviso, p. 91).

No. 238. **Surrexit pastor bonus** (à 5) De Silva/Werrecore

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

BolC Q27(I)

ModD 9

*VatS 24

WERRECORE

Formschneider 1538/3

*WrocS 2 (intabulation)

*WrocS 5

ANON.

*BudOS 6
 *FlorD 45
 PadBC A17
 *PiacD (5)
 *StuttL 43

Modern Editions

De Silva, Opera omnia, vol. II, p. 55.

---**Sustinuimus pacem** Gombert/Josquin

See Tulerunt Dominium meum (No. 245)

No. 239. **Te Deum laudamus** (à 4) De Silva/Josquin/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

BolC Q20

JOSQUIN

*RcsU 49

MOUTON

KönSU 1740

ANON.

Formschneider 1537/1

AugsS 7
 DresSL 1/D/6
 ErlU 473/1
 RegB 940-1
 *RegB 1018
 RegB C120

Modern Editions

De Silva, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 71.

Comments

Kirsch is not able to come to a conclusive decision; he states that while the piece is stylistically unlike those of De Silva, the manuscript, RosU 49, which names Josquin, is not reliable (Die Motetten des de Silva, pp. 306-8).

Kirsch does not take the ascription to Mouton in KönSU 1740 seriously.

Osthoff believes that the motet is by De Silva, since BolC Q20 is the earliest source for the work (Josquin, vol. II, p. 70).

No. 240. **Tribulatio et angustia** (à 4) Josquin/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Formschneider 1537/1
Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

DresSL 1/D/6
LeipU 49

VERDELOT

*Giunta [c1526]/5

ANON.

*[Antico?] [1521]/4

BerlPS 40031
GothaF A98
LonBLR 8G.vii

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 75.

Comments

Böker-Heil assigns the work to Verdelot on the grounds that since Giunta [c1526/5] is the earliest source (Die Motetten von Verselot, pp. 214-5).

No. 241. **Tu es petrus** (à 5) Danckerts/Gombert/Morales/Moreau

Attributions and Sources

DANCKERTS

*Kriesstein 1545/3 (attribution in B)

GOMBERT

*TrevBC 29

MORALES

*Scotto 1541/3

*Kriesstein 1545/3 (attribution in other places)

*Susato 1546/7

*ToleBC 17

MOREAU

*Phalèse 1553/11

ANON.

*Susato 1557/3

*FlorD 11

Modern Editions

Monumentos Música Española, vol. II, p. 149.

---**Tu es vāz** Danckerts/Phinot

See Tu est potentia (No. 242)

No. 242. **Tu est potentia** (I) (à 5) Danckerts/Phinot
(= Tu es vas)

Attributions and Sources

DANCKERTS

*TrevBC 29 ("Tu es vas")

PHINOT

*Beringi 1547 Phinot

*Gardane 1552 Phinot

*ZwiR 74/1

ANON.

*WrocS 12

Modern Editions

Phinot, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 5.

Comments

Blackburn ascribes the motet to Phinot, and considers the revised version ("Te es vas") to be the work of Varisco, the scribe of TrevBC 29 (Music for Treviso, pp. 46-51).

For a different explanation of the conflicting attribution, see Chapter V.

No. 243. **Tu est potentia** (II) (à 6) Dnackerts/Maistre Jhan

Attributions and Sources

DANCKERTS

*Kriesstein 1540/7

MAISTRE JHAN

*TrevBC 30

Modern Editions

None.

No. 244. **Tulerunt Dominium meum** (I) (à 4) Josquin/Pesenti

Attributions and Sources

JOSQUIN

Petrus 1547/1 Dodecachordon

MunU 322-5

SGalls 463

PESENTI

Petrucchi 1519/2

ANON.

Petrucchi 1503/1

Modern Editions

Glarean, Dodecachordon, vol. II, p. 391.

Gehrenbeck, "Motetti della corona," vil. IV, p. 1867.

Comments

Antonowytsch disregards the attributions to Josquin on stylistic grounds ("The Present State," p. 63).

In the Dodecachordon, Glarean says that he does not know who composed the motet. But according to Miller, Glarean states in a letter to his friend that some people ascribe it to Isaac (Miller, Dodecachordon, vol. II, p. 259, and fn. 1).

No. 245. **Tulerunt Dominium meum** (II) (à 8) Gombert/Josquin

(=Je prens congie = Lugebat David Absalon
= Sustinuimus pacem)

(2.p. Porro rex operuit = Tu sola es)

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

*Pisador 1552/35 ("Tulerunt" only, intabulation)

LonBLR A49-54 ("Je prens congie" only)

VerA 218 ("Sustinuimus" only)

JOSQUIN

Montanus & Neuber 1554/10 ("Tulerunt" only)
 Montanus & Neuber 1564/1 ("Lugebat" with "Porro")

DressL Löbau 50 ("Tulerunt" only)
 MunBS 1536 ("Tulerunt" only)
 RegB 786-837 ("Lugebat" with "Porro")
 *WrocS 1 (intabulation)
 *WrocS 2 ("Tulerunt" only, intabulation)
 *WrocS 5 ("Tulerunt" only)

ANON.

DressL Glashütte 5 ("Tulerunt" only)
 DressL Grimma 7 ("Tulerunt" only)
 DressL Grimma 55 ("Tulerunt" Only)
 VerA 218 ("Tu sola" only)

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. XI, p. 230 ("Je prens").
Das Chorwerk, vol. XXIII, p. 22 ("Tulerunt" only).

No. 246. **Usquequo Domine obliviscerisme** (I) (à4) Hellinck/
 (2.p. Illumina oculos) Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

HELLINCK

Attaignant 1535/1
 Gardane 1549/12 (attribution above 1.p.)

BolC Q20

VERDELOT

Gardane 1549/12 (attribution above 2.p.)

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. IX, p. 93.

No. 247. **Usquequo Domine obliviscerisme** (II) (à 4)
Lhéritier/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LHÉRITIER

*Giunta [c1526]/5

MOUTON

BolC Q20

Modern Editions

Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. 123.

Comments

Perkins regards the motet as Lhéritier's, since he considers Giunta [c1526]/5 a reliable source (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxiii).

No. 248. **Usquequo Domine obliviscerisme** (III) (à 5)
Ferrabosco/Rore

Attributions and Sources

FERRABOSCO

*Gardane 1544/6

RORE

*Gardane 1595 Rore

ANON.

*Wolfa 293

Modern Editions

Das Chorwerk, vol. DXXI, p. 28.

Comments

Johnson favors Ferrabosco, stating that the editor of Gardane 1595 Rore confused the motet with Rore's different setting of the same text (Johnson, "Motets of Rore," p. 95).

No. 249. **Vado ad eum** (à 5) Rore/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

RORE

- *Gardane 1544/6
- *Scotto 1545 Rore
- *Gardane 1545 Rore
- Montanus & Neuber 1555/10
- *Phalèse 1573 Rore
- *Gardane 1595 Rore

ModE C.313
RegB 875-7
*Wolfa 293

WILLAERT

Castiglione 1543/3

ANON.

- *BolSP 39
- *LucBS 775
- *TurBN IV.45

Modern Editions

None.

No. 250. **Veni electa mea** (à 5) Gombert/Jacquet

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

- Schöffer 1539/8
- *Gardane 1552b Gombert
- *TrevBC 29

JACQUET

BolC Q27(I)

ANON.

*LucBS 775

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. VIII, p. 137.

Comments

Nugent ascribes the motet to Gombert, arguing that the ascription to Jacquet in BolC Q27(I) is a scribal error ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 207).

No. 251. **Veni sancte Spiritus** (II) (à 4) Jacquet/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

BolC Q19

MOUTON

BolC Q20

ANON.

PadBC A17

Modern Editions

None.

Comments

Nugent ascribes the motet to Jacquet on the grounds that BolC Q19 is an important source for Jacquet's music ("The Jacquet Motets," p. 169).

No. 252. **Veni sancte Spiritus** (I) (à 6) Forestier/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

FORESTIER

*UppsU 76b

JOSQUIN

Formschneider 1537/1
 Le Roy & Ballard 1555 Josquin
 Montanus & Neuber 1558/4

BolC R142
 *HradKM 22
 *RegB 878-82
 StuttL 36

ANON.

BerlPS 40013
 DresSL Glashütte 5
 DresSL Grimma 55
 DresSL Pirna VIII
 GothaF A98
 NurGN 83795

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. III, p. 37.

No. 253. **Verba mea auribus** (à 4) De Silva/Paminger

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

Gardane 1549/12
 *Scotto 1549/15
 Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 (attribution in index and B.)

PAMINGER

Montanus & Neuber 1553/4 (attribution in A.)

Modern Editions

De Silva, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 14.

Comments

See Chapter V on the attributions in Montanus & Neuber 1553/4.

No. 254. **Verbum bonum et suave** (I) (à 4) Fevin/La Fage/
Therache

Attributions and Sources

FEVIN

CambriP 1760 (attribution in Index)

LA FAGE

Antico 1521/5 (attribution in T.)

THERACHE

Petrucchi 1519/1

Antico 1521/5 (attribution in other partbooks)

Dorico 1526/2

CambriP 1760 (attribution above music)

FlorL 666

ANON.

LonBLR 8 G.vii

*LonRC 1070

Modern Editions

Lowinsky, The Medici Codex, vol. II, p. 95.

No. 255. **Verbum bonum et suave** (II) (à 8) Lupus/Mouton

Attributions and Sources

LUPUS

VerA 218 (attribution in Index)

MOUTON

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

*MunBS 1536

VerA 218 (attribution in B.)

*WrocS 6 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

None.

No. 256. **Verbum caro factum est** (à 5) Appenzeller/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

APPENZELLER

Susato 1546/7

JOSQUIN

*ZwiR 73

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. V, p. 149.No. 257. **Verbum iniquum et dolosum** (à 4) Clemens/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Scotto 1554/14

Phalèse 1559c Clemens

Montanus & Neuber 1564/5

CRECQUILLON

Susato 1553/10
 Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

Modern Editions

Clemens, Opera omnia, vol. XV, p. 43 (the Scotto version) and p. 46 (the Phalèse version).
 Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. III, p. 115.

Comments

See Chapter V for a discussion of the motet.

No. 258. **Victimae paschali laudes** (à 6) Brunet/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

BRUNET

*VatS 24

JOSQUIN

FlorBN Magl. 125bis
 *RomeV 35-40
 *ToleBC 10

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. V, p. 98.

Comments

Osthoff assigns the motet to Josquin on stylistic grounds (Josquin, vol. II, pp. 27-8)

Sparks, however, favors Brunet, also on stylistic grounds ("Problems of Authenticity," pp. 345-59).

No. 259. **Videns Dominus flentes** (à 4) Jacquet/Verdelot/
Willaert

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

TrevBC 7 ("Jachet" is crossed out, and then
Willaert's name was added)

VERDELOT

Rhaw 1538/8

WILLAERT

Attaingnant 1535/3
Scotto 1539a Willaert
*Gardane 1545b Willaert

LonRC 2037

RomeM 23-4

TrevBC 7 ("Jachet" is crossed out, and then
Willaert's name was added)

ANON.

LeipU 49

Modern Editions

Willaert, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 71.
Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XI, p. 158.

No. 260. **Vidi speciosam** (à 8) Clemens/Manchicourt
(= Salva nos Christe salvator)

Attributions and Sources

CLEMENS

Montanus & Neuber 1564/1 ("Salva nos")

RegB 786-837 (attribution in all partbooks except
for D1)

MANCHICOURT

Attaingnant 1545 Manchicourt
 Montanus & Neuber 1564/1

MunBS 1536
 RegB 786-837 (attribution in D1)

Modern Editions

Manchicourt, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 163.

Comments

After examining the music-word relationship, Lowinsky considers Manchicourt's version to be the original. ("Two Motets Wrongly Ascribed," p. 27).

No. 261. **Virgo carens criminibus** (à 4) De Silva/Moulu

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

*Antico [1521]/4
 Attaingnant 1534/6

*BergBC 1209

MOULU

RegB B220-2

ANON.

PadBC A17

Modern Editions

De Silva, Opera omnia, vol. I, p. 59.

No. 262. **Virgo gloriosa** (à4) Canis/Crecquillon

Attributions and Sources

CANIS

Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in A.)

CRECQUILLON

Ulhard 1548/2 (attribution in all other places)

Modern Editions

Marshall, The Four-Voice Motets, vol. III, p. 91.

Comments

See Chapter V for the attributions in Ulhard 1548/2.

No. 263. **Virgo prudentissima** (I) (à 4) Gombert/Payen

Attributions and Sources

GOMBERT

Scotto 1539a Gombert
Gardane 1541 Gombert
Scotto 1541/4

PAYEN

Ulhard 1548/2
Gardane 1551/2

LeidGA 1441

ANON.

Vissenaeken 1542/7

Modern Editions

Gombert, Opera omnia, vol. V, p. 33.

No. 264. **Virgo prudentissima** (II) (à 4) Isaac/Josquin

Attributions and Sources

ISAAC

Formschneider 1537/1
Montanus & Neuber 1559/2

Dressl 1/D/6

JOSQUIN

Petrucchi 1502/1

*HradKM 7
MunU 322-5
SGallS 463
*SGallS 530 (intabulation)

Modern Editions

Josquin, Motetten, vol. I, p. 133.

No. 265. **Virtute magna** (à 4) De Silva/Lasson/Verdelot

Attributions and Sources

DE SILVA

*BerlPS 321

LASSON

Attaingnant 1535/5
Gardane 1539/12
Gardane 1545/4
Montanus & Neuber 1555/10
Rampazetto 1564/6

RegB 875-7
*WrocS 1 (intabulation)
*WrocS 3 (intabulation)
*WrocS 5

VERDELOT

Rhaw 1538/8
Valderrábano 1547/25 (intabulation)

RegB 940-1
 *WrocS 12

ANON.

Moderne 1532/10

LeipU 51
 *PadBC D27
 TrevBC 7
 UlmS 237

Modern Editions

Smijers, Treize livres, vol. XIII, p. 36.
 Albrecht, Symphoniae iucundae 1538, p. 126.

No. 266. **Visita quaesumus** (à 4) Jacquet/Lhéritier/Willaert

Attributions and Sources

JACQUET

Buglhat 1538/5 (attribution in index)
 Scotto 1539b Jacquet
 Scotto 1544 Jacquet
 Gardane 1545 Jacquet

BolC Q20
 LonRC 2037
 StuttL 35

LHÉRITIER

*ToleBC 17

WILLAERT

Buglhat 1538/5 (attribution above music)

Modern Editions

Jacquet, Opera omnia, vol. IV, p. 31.

Comments

Perkins favors Jacquet, since most of the sources name him (Lhéritier, Opera omnia, p. xxiii).
 See Chapter V for the ascriptions in Buglhat 1538/5.

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Certon, Pierre: 1 motet with 1 composer

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Gombert (1)					61	
Jacquet (2)	17	18				
Lhéritier (1)			21			
Lupi (2)				34		109
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Hollander (1)	46								
Jacquet (1)									
Lupi (2)	38							167	
Maistre Jhan (1)					84				173
Manchicourt (1)									

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Craen (1)			223
S. Festa (1)	118		
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 Clemens (1)
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 Danckerts (1)
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 Grandsyre (1)
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Clemens				143		
Grandsyre				134		
Hesdin						218
Jacquet	117		131			
Lupi				134		
Manchicourt					156	
Mouton				133		
Richafort					151	
Ruffo			132			180 198
Sermisy			128			
Verdelot				133		

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Dankerts		241	
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Josquin		245	
Morales	231		
Moreau		241	
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Haugk, Virgilius: 1 motet with 2 composers

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Gombert (2)	26 51		
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Contino (1)				
Crecquillon (1)				
Festa (1)	15			
Gombert (4)			48	117
Jacotin (1)				
Jaques (1)			42	
Josquin (1)				
La Fage (1)	7			
Le brung (1)				
Lhéritier (2)			71	
Lupi (1)				
Lupus (2)	9			
Maistre Jhan (3)	13	17	103	
Manchicourt (1)				
Morales (3)			41	116
Mouton (3)				
Rore (1)			41	
Ruffo (1)			48	
Senfl (1)				113
Sermisy (2)	7			
Verdelot (3)				
Vermont (1)		20		
Werrecore (1)				119
Willaert (2)				

(continued)

Arcadelt			183	
Bercehm	145			209
Crecquillon			167	
Gombert	131			
Jacotin				224
Josquin				216
Le brung		159		
Lupi				201
Lupus		152		
Manchicourt		148		
Morales	138			
Mouton			169	201
Sermisy	145			
Verdelot				210 216

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Contino	237	
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Verdelot	259	
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Jaques du Pont: 1 motet with 1 composer

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Bauldeweyn (1)	11				
Brumel (1)					104
Brunet (1)					
Caen (1)					
Carpentras (2)	35			57	
Certon (1)					
Champion (3)	29		53	55	
Craen (2)					
De Silva (2)					
Eckel (1)					
Festa (1)					
Fevin (2)					62
Finck (2)		47			
Forestier (1)					
Gombert (2)			52		
Heugel (1)					
Isaac (1)					
Jacquet (1)					
Le Brung (1)		44			
Maistre Jhan (1)					
Mikołaj (1)			52		
Morales (2)					
Moulu (1)					
Mouton (11)		43			114
Ninot (1)					
Peñalosa (1)					
Pesenti (1)					
Regis (1)					
Richafort (2)		44			
Senfl (4)	25			54 55	83
Sermisy (1)			52		
Stoltzer (2)				58	73
Verdelot (5)					73
Viardot (1)					
Vinders (1)					78
Willaert (1)					
Wolff (1)		47			

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Caen	140								
Certon									199
De Silva	142								
Eckel		146							
Finck			153						
Heugel		144							
Maistre Jhan		144							
Mouton	120				160	163		196	
Ninot								194	
Regis							175		
Richafort					160				
Viardot			150						

(continued)

Craen					223				
De Silva						239			
Festa					223				
Fevin					223				
Forestier									252
Gombert								245	
Jacquet		216							
Morales					223				
Moulu	202								
Mouton	202	203	214			225	239		
Peñalosa				222					
Pesenti								244	
Verdelot	202		216	221				240	
Willaert		214							

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Brunet		258							
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La Fage, Jean de: 4 motets with 6 composers

Gascongne (1)	211								
Jacquet (1)	7								
Lupus (1)	211								
Mouton (1)	91								
Sermisy (1)	7								
Therache (1)	254								

La Rue, Pierre de: 2 motets with 2 composers

Craen (1) 220
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Jacquet (2)		71		266
Le Heurteur (1)			168	
Lupus (1)			168	
Mouton (3)		110	215	247
Pieton (1)	27			
Sermisy (1)			168	
Verdeolt (2)	23		122	
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Louwys, Ioannes: 1 motet with 1 composer

Rore (1) 66

Lupi, Johannes: 15 motets with 11 composers

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Conseil (2)	34		109					
Crecquillon (2)	38			173				
Gombert (3)		93	96	134				
Grandsyre (1)				134				
Hellinck (3)	22				195		232	
Jacquet (1)						201		
Lupino (1)		82						
Mouton (1)						201		
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Lupus: 7 motets with 9 composers

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Gascongne (1)		211	
Jacquet (2)	9 152		
La Fage (1)		211	
Le Heurteur (1)	168		
Lhéritier (1)	168		
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Renaldo (1)		186	
Sermisy (1)	168		

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Gombert (1)	50
Mouton (1)	197
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Maistre Jhan: 6 motets with 6 composers

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Crecquillon (1)	84
Danckerts (1)	243
Heugel (1)	144
Jacquet (3)	13 17 103
Josquin (1)	144

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Crecquillon (1)		233
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Hesdin (1)	85	
Jacquet (1)		148
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Josquin (1)	52
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Craen (1)		223
Danckerts (1)		241
Escobedo (1)	112	
Festa (1)		223
Fevin (1)		223
Gombert (2)		231 241
Jacotin (1)	126	
Jacquet (3)	41 116	138
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 Carpentras (1)
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 Hesdin (1) 88
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 Lapidida (1) 105
 Lhéritier (3) 110
 Longueval (1) 33
 Lupi (1)
 Lupus (1)
 Maessens (1)
 Mahu (1)
 Moulu (4) 70 115
 Ninot (1) 106
 Richafort (3) 39 88
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Carpentras			161			
Festa	118					182
S. Festa	118					
Fevin						182
Gascongne			157		170	
Gombert			133			
Jacquet					169	
Josquin	120		160	163		196
Maessens					179	
Mahu						197
Moulu	121					
Richafort			160			
Verdelot			133			

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De Silva					239	
Gombert					236	
Jacquet	201					251
Josquin	202	203	214	225	239	
Lhéritier			215			247
Lupi	201					
Lupus						255
Moulu	202					
Verdelot	202			236		
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Payen, Nicolas: 1 motet with 1 composer

Gombert (1) 263

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Compère (1)		177
Escobar (1)	158	
Josquin (1)		222
Ribera (1)		177

Pesenti, Michele: 2 motets with 2 composers

Danglon (1)	155
Josquin (1)	244

Phinot, Dominique: 4 motets with 4 composers

Danckerts (1)		242
Gombert (2)	98	111
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Josquin (1) 175

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Renner, Adam: 1 motet with 1 composer

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Reulx, Jacques de: 1 motet with 1 composer

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Richafort, Jean: 13 motets with 13 composers

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 Caen (1) 107
 Compère (1) 181
 Gombert (2) 1 151
 Hellinck (2) 107 136
 Hesdin (1) 88
 Josquin (2) 44 160
 Le Brung (1) 44
 Mouton (3) 39 88 160
 Phinot (1) 102
 Sermisy (1) 193
 Verdelot (2) 102 228
 Willaert (1) 176

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 Ferrabosco (1) 248
 Jacquet (1) 41
 Louwys (1) 66
 Morales (1) 41
 Willaert (1) 249

Ruffo, Vincenzo: 6 motets with 3 composers

Gombert (6) 48 108 132 180 198 231
 Jacquet (1) 48
 Morales (1) 231

Senfl, Ludwig: 7 motets with 6 composers

Champion (1) 55
 Festa (1) 207
 Hellinck (1) 123
 Jacquet (1) 113
 Josquin (4) 25 54 55 83
 Verdelot (1) 123

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Arcadelt (1)	69		
Berchem (1)		145	
Bruck (1)		162	
Gascongne (1)	60		
Gombert (2)	52	128	
Jacquet (2)	7	145	
Josquin (1)	52		
La Fage (1)	7		
Le Heurteur (1)			168
Lhéritier (1)			168
Lupi (1)			208
Lupus (1)			168
Mikołaj (1)	52		
Reulx (1)		77	
Richafort (1)			193
Verdelot (2)	19 45		

Simon Ferrariensis: 1 motet with 1 composer

Willaert (1) 12

Stoltzer, Thomas: 4 motets with 4 composers

Bauldeweyn (1)	31
Josquin (2)	58 73
Verdelot (1)	73
Werrecore (1)	28

Susato, Tylman: 1 motet with 1 composer

Gallus (1) 68

Therache, Pierrequin de: 1 motet with 1 composer

La Fage (1) 254

Tubal, Adrian: 1 motet with 1 composer

Clemens (1) 49

Vaet, Jacobus: 1 motet with 1 composer

Maessens (1) 86

Valent: 1 motet with 1 composer

Clemens (1) 125

Verdelot, Philippe: 27 motets with 19 composers

Arcadelt (1)			81			
De Silva (1)						
Gombert (4)	5				133	
Hellinck (2)				123		
Jacquet (3)						
Josquin (5)			74			202
Lasson (1)						
Le Roy (1)					172	
Lhéritier (2)	23			122		
Lupi (1)						200
Moulu (1)						202
Mouton (3)					133	202
Phinot (1)				102		
Richafort (2)				102		
Senfl (1)					123	
Sermisy (2)	19	45				
Stoltzer (1)			74			
Walter (1)			59			
Willaert (4)	24				130	184

(continued)

De Silva					265
Gombert		219	236		
Hellinck				246	
Jacquet	210	216			259
Josquin		216	221	240	
Lasson					265
Mouton				236	
Richafort			228		
Willaert					259

Vermont primus: 1 motet with 1 composer

Jacquet (1) 20

Viardot: 1 motet with 1 composer

Josquin (1) 150

Vinders, Jheronimus: 2 motets with 3 composers

Appenzeller (1)	78
Hellinck (1)	147
Josquin (1)	78

Walter, Johann: 2 motets with 2 composers

Mahu (1) 89
 Verdelot (1) 59

Werrecore, Matthias Hermann: 3 motets with 3 composers

De Silva (1) 238
 Jacquet (1) 119
 Stoltzer (1) 28

Willaert, Adrian: 17 motets with 14 composers

Berchem (1)			95		
Conseil (1)	21				
Gombert (1)		79			
Jacquet (2)					259
Josquin (1)				214	
Le Bouteillier (1)		32			
Lhéritier (3)	21	56			
Lupino (1)					
Mouton (2)			80		217
Obrecht (1)				214	
Richafort (1)				188	
Rore (1)			176		
Simon (1)	12				249
Verdelot (4)		24	130	184	259

(continued)

Jacquet 266
 Lhéritier 266

Wolff, Martin: 1 motet with 2 composers

Finck (1) 47
 Josquin (1) 47

APPENDIX C. LIST OF SOURCES

The sources cited in the Inventory (Appendix A) are listed here in two sections--(A) printed sources and (B) manuscript sources. Printed sources are grouped according to printers, and then for each printer anthologies are listed first chronologically followed by one-composer collections. Under each source, the motet serial number and an attribution as given in that source are also listed.

The arrangement of manuscript sources strictly conforms to that of the Census Catalogue, that is, cities in alphabetic order. Also taken from the Census Catalogue is information on date and provenance of sources. As in printed sources, the motet number with an attribution in that source is listed under each entry. In both sections, for sources that are not found in RISM IV/B/I or the Census Catalogue, additional information on the literature about the sources is given.

(A) PRINTED SOURCES

ANDREAE in Kraków

- 1565/22 Valentini Greffi Bakfarci pannonii,
 harmoniarum musicarum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 No. 37 Gombert

ANTICO in Rome and Venice

- 1520/1 Motetti novi libro secondo.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 La Fage 91, Mouton 70, Richafort 193
- 1520/2 Motetti novi libro tertio.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 160, Richafort 39, anon. 215
- 1520/6 Chansons à troys.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 anon. 80
- 1521/3 Motetti libro primo.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Barra 174, Josquin 53, Mouton 203
- [1521]/4 [Motetti libro secondo]
 Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
 De Silva 261, Richafort 193, anon. 114,
 115, 202, 203, 226, 240
- 1521/5 Motetti libro quarto.
 Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
 S. Festa 118, Gascongne 211, Moulu 121,
 Mouton 114, 179, La Fage/Therache 254
- [1521]/6 Motetti e canzone libro primo.
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
 La Fage 211, Moulu 121, Mouton 214,
 Pesenti 155
- [c.1521]/7 [Motetti et carmina gallica]
 Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 53, 114, 174, 196, 203, 215, 212

ATTAINGNANT in Paris

- [1528]/2 Motetz nouvellement composez.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 61, 193, 221
- 1529/1 XII. Motetz musicaulx a quatre et cinq
 voix composez par les auteurs cy
 dessoubz escriptz . . .
 Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
 Gombert 5, Mouton 100, 114, 203, Sermisy
 77, Verdelot 219
- 1531/5 Treze motetz musicaulx avec ung prelude
 le tout reduict en la tabulature . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 7, 223
- 1534/3 Liber primus quinque et viginti musicales
 quatuor vocum motetos complectitur . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Gascongne 157, Lhéritier 23, anon. 160
- 1534/4 Liber secundus: quatuor et viginti
 musicales quatuor vocum motetos
 habet . . .
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
 Boutillier 32, Conseil 165, Gombert 8,
 Verdelot 219, Willaert 188
- 1534/5 Liber tertius: viginti musicales quinque
 sex vel octo vocum motetos habet . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 Verdelot/Sermisy 19, Vermont primus 20
- 1534/6 Liber quartus XXIX. musicales quatuor
 vel quinque parium vocum modulos
 habet . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 De Silva 261, Hesdin 218, Verdelot 130
- 1534/9 Liber septimus XXIIII. trium, quatuor,
 quinque, sexve vocum modulos . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Mouton/Gombert 100

(Attaingnant continued)

- 1534/10 Liber octavus XX. musicales motetos
quatuor, quinque vel sex vocum
modulos . . .
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Le Brung 226, Lupus 107, Maistre Jhan 84,
Mouton 105, Willaert 24
- 1535/1 Liber nonus XVIII. daviticos musicales
psalmos habet.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Jacotin 126, Le Heurteur 168, Lupus 123,
246
- 1535/3 Lib. undecimus XXVI. musicales habet
modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus . . .
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Fevin 99, Gascongne 170, 211, Gascongne/
Sermisy 60, La Fage 7, Willaert 259
- 1535/5 Liber decimustertius XVIII. musicales
habet modulos quatuor, quinque vel sex
vocibus . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Cadéac 212, Lasson 265
- 1539 Manchicourt Liber decimus quartus XIX musicas
cantiones continet P. de Manchicourt.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Manchicourt 75, 85, 148, 233
- 1542 Lupi Io. Lupi, chori sacrae virginis Mariae
cameracensis magistri. . . liber tertius.
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Lupi 6, 34, 96, 134, 200, 232
- 1542 Sermisy Claudii de Sermisy, Regii Sacelli
submagistri, Nova & Prima motettorum. . .
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Sermisy 7, 45, 69, 162, 208
- 1545 Manchicourt Petri Manchicurtii . . . modulorum
musicalium Primus tomus.
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Manchicourt 75, 85, 148, 233, 260

(Attaingnant continued)

- 1549 Josquin Trente sixiesme livre contenant XXX.
chansons . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Josquin 52

BAETHEN in Düsseldorf

- 1556/3 Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum
diversorum autorum . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Grandsyre 134, anon. 129

BERINGEN in Lyons

- 1547 Phinot Liber primus mutetarum quinque vocum.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Phinot 242

BEYER in Leipzig

- 1583/24 Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument
darinne auff alle Sontage . . .
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 65, Richafort 107, Verdelot 228

BROCAR in Alcala

- 1557 Libro de Cifra Nueva para Tecla, Harpa, y
Vihuela, . . .
Literature: Brown, Instrumental Music
Printed, pp. 174-7
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Verdelot 228, anon. 9

BUGLHAT in Ferrara

- 1538/5 Liber cantus (vocum quatuor) triginta
novem motetos habet . . .
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Arcadelt 69, Hesdin 218, Jacquet/Willaert
266, Lhéritier 21, Lupi 201, Lupus 232,
Sermisy 162

(Buglhat continued)

- 1539/7 Moteti de la Simia (Liber primus vocum
quinque).
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Arcadelt 183, Hesdin 4, 88, 212, Jacquet
159

CAESANO in Pesaro

- 1554 Phinot Liber secundus mutetarum quinque vocum.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Phinot 111

CASTIGLIONE in Milan

- 1543/3 Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus quae
quinquae absolutae vocibus . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Lupi 6, 109, Werrecore 119, Willaert 249
- 1542 Ruffo Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci.
 Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Ruffo 48, 108, 132, 180, 198, 231

CORDOVA, DE FERNANDEZ in Valladolid

- 1547/25 Libro de musica de vihuela intitulado
Silva de sirenas. . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Morales 138, Verdelot 130, 265, Willaert
188

DORICO in Rome

- 1526/1 Motetti de la Corona libro primo.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Fevin 90, 223, Fevin/Mouton 99, Mouton 36,
Mouton/Longueval 33, anon. 62
- 1526/2 Motetti de la Corona libro secondo.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Caen 140, La Fage 91, Mouton 170, 179,
Therache 254

(Dorico continued)

- 1526/3 Motetti de la Corona libro tertio.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 163, Mouton 202
- 1526/4 Motetti de la Corona libro quarto.
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
 Bauldeweyn 182, Carpentras 161, Josquin
 150, anon. 57

DU BOSC & GUEROULT in Geneva and Lyons

- 1554/13 Secundus liber modulorum, quatuor,
 quinque et sex vocum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Jacquet 113
- 1556 Clemens Quintus liber modulorum quinque vocum
 (quos vulgus moteta vocat).
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Clemens 234

DU CHEMIN in Paris

- 1551/1 Primus liber septem decim continet
 quatuor, & quinque vocum modulos . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Crecquillon 166
- 1553/2 Liber primus collectorum modulorum (qui
 moteta vulgo dicuntur) . . .
 Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
 Lhéritier 23, Mouton 203, Richafort 39,
 107, 136, Verdelot 228, Willaert 188,
 Lupus 123
- 1554/7 Moduli undecim festorum solemnum totius
 anni, cum quatuor & quinque vocibus . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Gombert 236
- 1557/12 Tresiesme livre, contenant XXIIII.
 chansons nouvelles à quatre parties . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Richafort 107

EGENOLFF in Frankfurt

- [c.1535]/14 [Lieder zu 3 & 4 Stimmen]
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 10, 220

EICHORN in Frankfurt

- 1556/32 Tabulatura continens insignes et
 selectissimas quasdam fantasias . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 63, 81
- 1573/27 Tabulatura continens insignes et
 selectissimas quasque cantiones . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Verdelot 221

FERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA in Valladolid

- 1558/18 Second livre de tabulature de leut,
 contenant plusieurs chansons . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Verdelot 130

FORMSCHNEIDER in Nuremberg

- 1533/1 Tabulatur auff die Laudten etlicher
 Preambel, Teutscher, Welscher . . .
 Literature: Brown, Instrumental Music
 Printed, pp. 42-3
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 anon. 59
- 1537/1 Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex,
 quinque, et quatuor vocum . . .
 Contains 14 conflicting attributions:
 Heugel 144, Isaac 264, Josquin 44, 240,
 252, Josquin/Moulu 202, Lupus 123, Mouton
 115, Senfl 54, Verdelot 228, anon. 78, 83,
 223, 239

(Formschneider continued)

- 1538/3 Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex,
quinque et quatuor vocum . . .
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Finck/Hellinck 153, Josquin 58, 104, Senfl
207, Verdelot 130, Werrecore 238, anon.
152
- 1538/9 Trium vocum carmina a diversis musicis
composita.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 220
- 1539/2 Missae tredecim quatuor vocum a
praestantiss. artificib. compositae.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Isaac 213
- 1544/20 Hundert und fünfftzehen guter newer
Liedlein, mit vier, fünff, sechs
Stimmen . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Hellinck 147
- 1546/31 Musica und Tabulatur, auff die Instrument
der kleinen und grossen Geygen . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 232

GARDANE in Venice

- 1538/4 Primus liber cum quinque vocibus. Motetti
del frutto.
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 152, 209
- 1539/6 Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus. Fior
de mottetti tratti dalli Mottetti del
fiore.
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Arcadelt 81, lhéritier 56, Lupi 195, Lupus
123, Manchicourt 156, Richafort 107,
Verdelot 228

(Gardane continued)

- 1539/12 Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Fior de
mottetti tratti dalli mottetti del fiore.
Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus.
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Lasson 265, Lhéritier 122, 168, Lhéritier/
Pieton 27, Lupi 200, Lupus 26, Willaert
188
- 1539/13 Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus.
Mottetti del frutto a quatro.
Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
Gosse 171, Jacquet 116, Jaques du Pont 42,
Lhéritier 23, Lupi 34, Sermsy 45,
Verdelot 122, 219
- 1542/10 Adriani Willaert musicorum omnium qui
hactenus et nostro . . .
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 20, Willaert 24, 184, 214
- 1542/18 Primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a
tre voci, insieme alcuni di Const. Festa.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 126
- 1543/6 Motetta trium vocum ab pluribus
authoribus composita . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 15
- 1543/21 Primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a
tre voci . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Courtois 126
- 1544/6 Cipriani musici eccelentissimi cum
quibusdam aliis doctis authoribus
motectorum . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Ferrabosco 248, Rore 249
- 1545/4 Flos florum primus liber cum quatuor
vocibus. Motteti del fior.
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Lasson 265, Lhéritier 122, 168, Lupi 200,
Lupus 26, Pieton 27, Willaert 188

(Gardane continued)

- 1546/9 Moralis hispani et multorum eximiae artis
virorum musica . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Morales 112, 116, 126,
- 1546/25 Intabolatura de lauto di recercari canzon
francese motetti madrigali . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 142, 203
- 1546/26 Intabolatura di lauto di recerchari,
canzon francese, motetti, madrigali . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 142, 203
- 1547/22 Intabolatura de lauto di Simon Gintzler
musico del reverendissimo cardinale di
Trento . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Jacquet 9, anon. 34, 221
- 1549/2 = 1539/3
- 1549/5 = 1538/4
- 1549/8 Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci
di Cipriano de Rore, et de altri . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
 Clemens 137, Crecquillon 64, Rore 66,
 anon. 41
- 1549/9 Musica quatuor vocum, que materna lingua
moteta vocantur . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Conseil 61
- 1549/10 = 1539/13
- 1549/12 Electiones diversorum motetorum distincte
quatuor vocibus . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 De Silva 253, Lupus/Verdelot 246, anon. 44
- 1551/2 Nicolai Gomberti musici imperatorii
motetorum . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Gombert 8, Payen 263, anon. 16

(Gardane continued)

1551/3 = 1543/6

1553/17 Iachet musici suavissimi celeberrimique
musices reverendissimi cardinalis . . .
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Berchem 124, Jacquet 9, 159

1557/6 = 1550/1

1559/21 Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a
tre voci, con la gionta di dodese canzon
francese & sei motetti novissimi . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Courtois 126

1569/3 = 1543/6

1540 Jacquet Primo libro di mottetti di Iachet a
cinque voci con la gionta . . .
Contains 9 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet Berchem 124, Jacquet 9, 13, 71,
117, 145, 148, 159, 167

1541 Gombert Gomberti excellentissimi, . . . Liber
Primus, cum quatuor vocibus.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 8, 16, 151, 263

1542 Gombert N. Gombert, Musici imperatorii,
motectorum... Liber Secundus. Quatuor
volum.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 2, 50, 75, 236

1542 Willaert Adriani Wilaert musicorum omnium . . .
Musicorum Sex volum . . . Liber Primus.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Berchem/Willaert 95

1545 Jacquet Iachet Musici suavissimi celeberrimique
musices . . . Motecta quatuor volum . . .
Liber Primus.
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 103, 113, 116, 210, 266

(Gardane continued)

- 1545 Rore Cypriani Rore musici excellentissimi
Motetta nunc primum summa . . . Quinque
volumen.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Rore 249
- 1545b Willaert Adriani Willaert musici celeberrimi . . .
Musica quatuor voluminum . . . Liber Primus.
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Willaert 32, 259
- 1545c Willaert Adriani Willaert musici celeberrimi . . .
Musica quatuor voluminum . . . Liber Secundus.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Willaert 188
- 1548 Caussin Arnoldi Causini musici celeberrimi
Motecto . . . Liber Primus cum quinque
voluminibus.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Caussin 192
- 1549 Lupino Di Francesco Lupino anconitano maestro di
Capella del Domo di Urbino Il Primo Libro
di Motetti a Quatro voci . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Lupino 217
- 1552a Gombert Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi
cum quinque vocibus Liber Primus . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Gombert 134
- 1552b Gombert Nicolai Gomberti Musici excellentissimi
cum quinque vocibus Liber Secundus . . .
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Berchem 93, 127, Gombert 192, 250
- 1552 Phinot Liber Primus Mutetarum Quinque Voluminum
Dominico Phinot Autore.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Phinot 242

(Gardane continued)

- 1553 Jacquet Iachet Musici suavissimi
celeberrimique . . . Motecta Quinque
vocum . . .
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Berchem 117, Jacquet 9, 17, 117, 124, 159
- 1555 Phinot Liber Secundus Mutetarum Quinque Vocum
Dominico Phinot Autore . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Phinot 111
- 1595 Rore Sacrae cantiones quae dicuntur motecta,
cum quinque, sex, & septem vocibus . . .
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Rore 41, 149, 248, 249

GERLACH in Nuremberg

- 1567/1 Suavissimae et iucundissimae
harmoniae: octo, quinque et quatuor
vocum . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Willlaert 217
- 1575/17 Ein new kunstlich Tabulaturbuch, darin
sehr gute Moteten.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 81

GIUNTA in Rome

- [c.1526]/5 Fior de motetti e Canzoni novi composti
da diversi eccellentissimi musici.
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Le Brung 226, Lhéritier 122, 247, Sermisy
7, Verdelot 240

GRIMM & WYRSUNG in Augsburg

- 1520/4 Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo
Mutetas appellant sex quinque et quatuor
vocum.
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Josquin 53, Mouton 163, Senfl 25, anon.
55, 150

GÜNTHER in Nuremberg

- 1544/25 Das dritt Buch. Ein new künstlich Lauten
Buch . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 63

JOBIN in Strasbourg

- 1574/13 Teütsch Lautenbuch, darinnenn kunstliche
Muteten, liebliche italianische . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 9, Verdelot 228
- 1589/17 Thesaurus motetarum. Newerlessner zwey
und zweintzig herrlicher Moteten . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Verdelot 228

JUAN de LAON in Seville

- 1546/14 Alonso Mudarra Tres Libros de Musica en
cifras para vihuela. En el Primero.
Literature: Brown, Instrumental Music
Printed, pp. 87-9
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 52, Willaert 188

KOHLEN in Heidelberg

- 1558/20 Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten von Moteten
frantzösischen-welschen . . .
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Fevin 223, Hellinck 168, Gombert 219,
Sermisy 7, 52, Verdelot 228

KRIESSTEIN in Augsburg

- 1540/7 Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae
cantiones . . .
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Danckerts 243, Fevin 182, Jacquet 209,
Mouton 214, Verdelot 45

(Kriesstein continued)

- 1545/3 Cantiones septem, sex et quinque vocum.
 Longe gravissimae . . .
 Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
 Crecquillon 230, Gombert 117, Jacquet 119,
 Lupi 82, Lupus 51, Hellinck 147,
 Morales/Danckert 241, Sermisy 208
- 1545/6 Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica, ex
 praestantissimis musicorum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Gombert 117
- 1546/5 = 1545/3

LAET in Antwerp

- 1569/36 Valentini Greffi Bakfarci pannonii,
 harmoniarum musicarum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Gombert 37

LE ROY & BALLARD in Paris

- 1572/2 Mellange de chansons tant des vieux
 auteurs que des modernes . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Josquin 52
- 1555 Cadéac Motet, quatuor, quinque et sex vocum,
 liber primus.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Cadéac 212
- 1555 Josquin Moduli, ex sacris literis dilecti et in
 4, 5, et 6 voces distincti, liber primus.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 194, 252
- 1555 Mouton Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6, & 8
 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
 Mouton 33, 105, 115, 203, 225

(Le Roy & Ballard continued)

1560 Josquin Livre des meslanges, contenant six vingtz chansons.

Literature: Blackburn, "Josquin's Chansons," p. 31

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 52

1556 Richafort Modulorum quatuor, quinque & sex vocum, liber primus.

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Richafort 39, 136, 176, 193

MERULO in Venice

1569/2 Motectarum divinitatis liber primus que quinque absolute vocibus . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Lupi 6, Werrecore 119

MODERNE in Lyons

1532/9 Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus.
Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9, Lupus 123, Richafort 107, 136, Verdelot 228, Willaert 56

1532/10 Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore.
Contains 7 conflicting attributions: De Silva 142, Gombert 8, Lhéritier 168, Lupus 26, Pieton 27, Willaert 188, anon. 265

1532/11 Secundus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore.
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Lupi 200, Verdelot 122

1538/2 Tertius liber mottetorum ad quinque et sex voces . . .
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Gombert 98, Lupi 195, Verdelot 221

1539/4 = 1538/2

(Moderne continued)

- 1539/5 Quartus liber mottetorum ad quinque et
sex voces . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 117, Gombert/Lupi 96, Jacquet 71,
Manchicourt 156
- 1539/10 Tertius liber cum quatuor vocibus.
Motteti del fiore.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Conseil 21, 165, Lhéritier 23
- [1539]/11 Quartus liber cum quatuor vocibus.
Motteti del fiore.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Caussin 2, Lupus 211, Naich 37
- 1542/4 = 1538/2
- 1542/5 Quintus liber mottetorum ad quinque, et
sex, et septem vocum.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Caussin 192, Jacquet 117, 209, Jacquet/
Morales 138, Morales 231,
- 1547/2 Harmonidos Ariston. Tricdon ogdaomeron.
In quo habentur liturgiae . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 189
- 1552/30 Intabulatura Valentini Bacfarc
transilvani coronensis liber primus.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Jacquet 9

MONTANUS & NEUBER in Nuremberg

- 1546/8 Selectissimae symphoniae compositae ab
excellentibus musicis, ante hac non
aeditae.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Maessens 101, Manchicourt 189
- 1550/2 Carmina vere divina, a praetantissimis
artificibus . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Arcadelt 81, Gombert 236

(Montanus & Neuber continued)

- 1553/4 Psalmorum selectorum a praestantissimis
huius nostri temporis . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
De Silva/Paminger 253, Josquin 140,
Josquin/Wolff 47
- 1553/5 Tomus secundus Psalmorum selectorum,
quatuor et plurium vocum.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Certon /Josquin 199, Josquin 57
- 1553/6 Tomus tertius Psalmorum selectorum,
quatuor et plurium vocum.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 74
- 1554/10 Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum
musicis numeris . . .
 Contains 10 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 154, Conseil 109, Gascongne 3,
Gombert 108, 156, Josquin 245, Mouton 118,
169, Richafort 39, Verdelot 5
- 1554/11 Tomus quartus Psalmorum selectorum,
quatuor et plurium vocum . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 64, Gombert 127, 143
- 1555/10 Secundus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor,
quinque, sex, et plurium vocum . . .
 Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Arcadelt 81, Clemens 135, Jacquet 117,
Lasson 265, Richafort 136, Rore 249,
Verdelot 172
- 1555/11 Tertius tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor,
quinque, sex, et plurium vocum . . .
 Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 230, Fevin 223, Jacquet 224,
Jaques du Pont 42, Lupi 34, anon. 183
- 1555/12 Quartus tomus Evangeliorum, quatuor,
quinque, sex, et plurium vocum . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 234, Lupi 38, Lupi/Lupino 82

(Montanus & Neuber continued)

- 1556/8 Quintus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum
sententiarum: quinque vocum . . .
Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
Caussin 192, Clemens 178, 204,
Comes/Maessens 164, Gombert 48, 231,
Manchicourt 190, Manchicourt/Portinaro 92
- [1556]/9 Sextus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum
sententiarum. Quatuor, sex, et octo
vocum . . .
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 75, Maessens 86, Manchicourt 189,
Morales 112
- 1558/4 Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex,
quinque, et quatuor vocum . . .
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Berchem 95, Fevin 223, Josquin 120, 252,
Mouton 214
- 1559/1 Secunda pars magni operis musici,
continens clarissimorum
symphonistarum . . .
Contains 15 conflicting attributions:
Berchem 159, 209, Caen 107, Clemens 87,
137, 187, Crecquillon 38, Jacquet 9, 152,
Jacquet/Berchem 145, Lupus 109, 123,
Mouton 163, Verdelot 130, 228
- 1559/2 Tertia pars magni operis musici,
continens clarissimorum
symphonistarum . . .
Contains 10 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 97, 257, Isaac 264, Josquin
202, 240, Mouton 3, 91, 115, 203, Verdelot
23
- 1560/2 Variarum linquarum tricinia, a
praestantissimis musicis . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Jacotin 126

(Montanus & Neuber continued)

- 1564/1 Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum Harmonias . . .
 Contains 10 conflicting attributions: Clemens 260, Crecquillon 191, Jacquet 224, Josquin 245, Manchicourt 260, Mouton 249, 255, Richafort 102, Sermisy 128, anon. 133
- 1564/3 Thesauri musici tomus tertius continens cantiones sacras . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Isaac 205, Josquin 120
- 1564/4 Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens selectissimas quinque vocum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Ruffo 108, Werrecore 119
- 1564/5 Thesauri musici tomus quintus, et ultimus, continens sacras harmonias . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 257, Josquin 11, Vaet 86
- 1569/1 Beati omnes. Psalmus CXXVIII. Davidis: sex, quinque et quatuor vocum . . .
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Champion 29, Lupus 26, Pieton 27, Stoltzer 28, 174

MONTESDOCA in Seville

- 1554/32 Libro de musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Gombert 52, Jacquet 9, Morales 138, Verdelot 228

MÜLLER in Strasbourg

- 1562/24 Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stucken . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 38, 52

PETREIUS in Nuremberg

- 1536/13 Der ander Theil des Lautenbuchs. . . .
 durch mich Hansen Newsidler . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Craen 220
- 1538/6 Tomus primus psalmorum selectorum à
 praestantissimis musicis . . .
 Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
 Josquin 140, Josquin/Wolff 47, Mouton 70,
 161, Senfl 55, Sermisy 77, Stoltzer 31,
 Willaert 56
- 1538/7 Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum
 selectissimae . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
 Isaac 139, Josquin 62, Mahu 50, Willaert 188
- 1539/9 Tomus secundus psalmorum selectorum
 quatuor et quinque vocum.
 Contains 9 conflicting attributions:
 Carpentras 35, Ducis 63, Gombert 1, 61,
 Isaac 30, Josquin 53, 54, Lhéritier 168,
 Lupus 26
- 1540/6 Selectissimarum mutetarum partim quinque
 partim quatuor vocum tomus primus.
 Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
 Arcadelt 81, Hesdin 218, Jacquet 9,
 Lhéritier 21, Lupi 201, Richafort 136,
 Verdelot 172
- [1540]/8 Conventus novi, trium vocum, ecclesiarum
 usui in Prussia praecipue
 accomodati . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Richafort 107
- 1541/2 Trium vocum cantiones centum, à
 praestantissimis diversarum
 nationum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Mouton 10

(Petreius continued)

- 1542/6 Tomus tertius psalmorum selectorum
quatuor et quinque . . .
Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
Champion 29, Jacquet 71, 124, Jacquet/
Sermisy 145, Lhéritier/Verdelot 122,
Pieton 27, Senfl 113, Sermisy 162

PETRUCCI in Venice

- 1502/1 Motetti A. numero trentatre. A
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Craen 220, Josquin 264, anon. 181
- 1502/2 Canti B. numero cinquanta B
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Brumel 10
- 1503/1 Motetti De passione De cruce De
sacramento de Beata virgine et huius
modi.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 244
- 1504/1 Motetti C.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
anon. 153, 194, 225, 229
- 1505/2 Motetti libro quarto.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Brumel 104
- 1514/1 Motetti de la corona. Libro primo.
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Carpentras 35, Fevin 90, 99, 223, Mouton
33, 36, anon. 62
- 1519/1 Motetti de la corona libro secondo.
Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
Caen 140, Eustachius 30, La Fage 91,
Mouton 157, 170, 179, Richafort 160,
Therache 254
- 1519/2 Motetti de la corona. Libro tertio.
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Compère 177, Mouton 202, Pesenti 244

(Petrucchi continued)

- 1519/3 Motetti de la corona. Libro quarto.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
 Bauldeweyn 182, Carpentras 161, Josquin
 150, 163, anon. 57

PETRUS in Basel

- 1547/1 Glareani Dodecachordon.
 Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
 Craen 220, Josquin 53, 153, 194, 244,
 Mouton 160, Richafort 39

PHALESE in Louvain

- 1552/29 Hortus Musarum in quo tanquam flosculi
 quidam selectissimorum carminum collecti
 sunt . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
 anon. 34, 130
- 1553/11 Liber quartus cantionum sacrarum, (vulgo
 moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Moreau 241
- 1554/1 Liber primus cantionum sacrarum, (Vulgo
 moteta vocant) quinque vocum . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
 Clemens 154, 204, Clemens/Crecquillon 166,
 Crecquillon 65
- 1554/2 Liber secundus cantionum sacrarum, (vulgo
 moteta vocant) quinque et sex vocum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Clemens 234
- 1554/4 = 1553/11
- 1555/2 = 1554/1
- 1555/4 Liber septimus cantionum sacrarum vulgo
 moteta vocant, quinque & sex vocum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attribution:
 Clemens 87, Crecquillon 64

(Phalèse continued)

- 1555/5 Liber octavus cantionum sacrarum vulgo
moteta vocant quinque sex septem & octo
volum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 189, 191
- 1558/6 = 1555/4
- 1568/23 Luculentum theatrum musicum, in quo
(demptis vetustate tritis cantionibus)
selectissima optimorum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 189
- 1569/6 Selectissimarum sacrarum cantionum (quas
vulgo Moteta vocant) flores, trium
volum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
C. Festa 15
- 1571/16 Theatrum musicum, longe amplissimum cui
(demptis quae vetustate viluerant) . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
anon. 9, 123
- 1559c Clemens Liber tertius cantionum sacrarum vulgo
moteta vocant, quatuor volum.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 129, 257
- 1559d Clemens Liber quartus cantionum sacrarum vulgo
moteta vocant, quatuor volum.
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 143, 189
- 1559e Clemens Liber quintus cantionum sacrarum vulgo
moteta vocant, quatuor volum.
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 97, 101, 185, 235
- 1559f Clemens Liber sextus cantionum sacrarum vulgo
moteta vocant, quatuor volum.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 233

(Phalèse continued)

- 1559 Crecquillon Liber septimus cantionum sacrarum vulgo moteta vocant, quatuor vocum.
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 76, 141, 227
- 1573 Rore Sacrae cantiones seu moteta (ut vocant) non minus instrumentis quam vocibus aptae, liber unus.
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Rore 41, 66, 249
- 1576 Crecquillon Opus sacrarum cantionum (quas vulgo moteta vocant). . . quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocum . . .
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 38, 64, 76, 141, 166, 227

PISADOR in Salamanca

- 1552/35 Libro de musica de vihuela, agora nuevamente compuesto por Diego Pisador . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 245, Willaert 188

RAMPAZZETTO in Venice

- 1563/3 Liber primus Musarum cum quatuor vocibus sacrarum cantionum que vulgo mottetta vocantur ab Orlando di Lassus, . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Valent 125
- 1564/6 Motteti del Fiore a quattro voci, novamente ristampati . . .
Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Lasson 265, Lhéritier 122, 168,
Lhéritier/Pieton 27, Lupi 200, Lupus 26,
Willaert 188

RHAW in Wittenberg

- 1538/8 Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves
quatuor vocum . . .
 Contains 9 conflicting attributions:
Fevin 62, La Fage 91, La Rue 213,
Mahu/Mouton 197, Verdelot 200, 259, 265,
Walter 89, anon. 80
- 1539/14 Officia Paschalia. De Resurrectione et
Ascensione Domini.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 39
- 1542/8 Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentiorum in
arte musica symphonistarum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Werrecore 28, anon. 80
- 1542/12 Sacrorum hymnorum liber primus. Centum &
triginta quatuor hymnos continet . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Rener 205
- 1544/4 Postremum Vespertini Officii opus, cuius
prioris partes . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Verdelot 73
- 1545/6 Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica, ex
praestantissimis musicorum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Stoltzer 31
- 1544 Walter Wittembergisch deudsch Geistlich
Gesangbüchlein.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Walter 59
- 1551 Wlater = 1544 Walter

SANCHEZ in Madrid

- 1578/24 Obras de musica para tecla arpa y
vihuela, de Antonio de Cabeçon . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Richafort 107, Verdelot 221

SCHÖFFER in Strasbourg

- 1539/8 Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae, a
 primarijs (Germaniae inferioris, Galliae,
 & Italiae) . . .
 Contains 8 conflicting attributions:
 Arcadelt 81, Cadéac 212, Conseil 67,
 Gombert 250, Jacquet 124, Le Brung 159,
 Simom 12, Verdelot 228
- 1525 Walter Geystliche Gsangbüchlin.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Walter 59
- 1534 Walter Wittembergische Gsangbüchli . . . uff ein
 neues corrigeriet, . . .
 Contains conflicting attributions:
 Walter 59

SCOTTO in Venice

- 1541/3 Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi
 Pentaphthongos harmonia . . .
 Contains 10 conflicting attributions:
 Gombert 48, 108, 111, 132, 134, 180, 198,
 231, Gombert/Jacquet 131, Morales 241
- 1541/4 Gomberti excellentissimi, et inventione in
 hac arte facile principis, . . . musica
 quatuor vocum . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Gombert 16, 151, 263
- 1543/4 Symphonia quatuor modulata vocibus
 excellentissimi musici Joannis Galli
 alias chori Ferrariae magistri . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Maistre Jhan 84
- 1543/5 Moralis hispani, et multorum eximiae
 artis virorum musica . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
 Morales 112, anon. 116, 126
- 1548/12 Intabolatura di lautto libro secondo.
 Madrigali a cinque & a quattro . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
 Willaert 188

(Scotto continued)

- 1549/3 Il primo libro de motetti a sei voce, da
diversi eccellentissimi musici . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 18, Morales 138
- 1549/4 Excellentis. autorum diverse modulationes
que sub titulo Fructus vagantur . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 152, 209
- 1549/7 Primo libro de motetti a cinque voci da
diversi eccellentissimi musici . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 64, Morales 137
- 1549/9a Musica quatuor vocum, que materna lingua
moteta vocantur . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Conseil 61
- 1549/10 Excelentiss. autorum diverse modulationes
que sub titulo Fructus vagantur . . .
Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Gose 171, Jacquet 116, Jaques du Pont 42,
Lhéritier 23, Lupi 34, Sermisy 45
- 1549/14 Libro secondo de li motetti a tre voce,
da diversi eccellentissimi musici . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Jacotin 126
- 1549/15 Elletione de motetti non piu stampati a
quatro voci di Verdelotto et di
altri . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
De Silva 253
- 1554/14 Motetti del Laberinto, a quatro voci
libro secondo.
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 257, Crecquillon 206
- 1554/15 Motetti del Laberinto. A quatuor voci
libro terzo.
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Canis 40, Clemens 101

(Scotto continued)

- 1554/16 Motetti del Laberinto, a cinque voci
libro quatro.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 154
- 1555/15 Moteti de la fama Libro primo a quatro
voci, composti da Ioanne Lheritier . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Le Heurteur 168, Lheritier 21,
Lheritier/Verdelot 23
- 1562/2 Motetti del frutto a quatro voci. Libro
primo . . .
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gose 171, Jacquet 116, Lheritier 23, Lupi
34
- 1587/8 = Gardane 1543/21
- 1539a Gombert Gomberti Excellentissimi et inventione in
hac arte . . . Musica Quatuor Vocum . . .
Liber Primus.
 Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 8, 16, 151, 263
- 1539b Gombert Musica Excellentissimo Nicolai Gomberti
(vulgo Motecta Quinque Vocum
nuncupata) . . . Liber Primus
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Gombert 4
- 1539a Jacquet Motecta quinque vocum . . . liber primus.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 9, 17, 124, 159, 209
- 1539b Jacquet Motecta quatuor vocum . . . liber primus.
 Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 7, 113, 116, 210, 266
- 1539a Willaert Musica quatuor vocum (quae vulgo motecta
nuncupatur) . . . liber primus, quatuor
volum.
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Willaert 21, 32, 259

(Scotto continued)

- 1539c Willaert Musica quinque vocum (quae vulgo motecta nuncupatur) . . . liber primus.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Willaert 79
- 1544 Jacquet = 1539b Jacquet
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 113, 116, 210, 266
- 1541b Gombert Motectorum quinque vocum. . . liber secundus.
Contains 5 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 51, 79, 93, 127, 192
- 1541c Gombert Motectorum . . . liber secundus quatuor vocum.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 2, 50, 75, 236
- 1545 Rore = Gardane 1545 Rore
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Rore 249
- 1560 Contino Modulationum, quinque vocum, liber secundus.
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Contino 237
- 1565a Jacquet = Scotto 1539a Jacquet
= Gardane 1545 Jacquet
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 9, 117, 209
- 1565b Jacquet Motetti di Jachet da Mantoa a cinque voci. Libro secondo, di novo ristampati.
Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Jacquet 17, 124, 159, 183

SUSATO in Antwerp

- 1546/6 Liber primus sacrarum cantionum, quinque
vocum, vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 135, Manchicourt 135
- 1546/7 Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum,
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 6 conflicting attributions:
Appenzeller 256, Clemens 74, Hellinck 195,
Lupi/Lupus 22, Manchicourt 190, Morales
241
- 1547/5 Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum, quatuor
vocum, vulgo Moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 189, Hesdin 85
- 1547/6 Liber quartus sacrarum cantionum, quatuor
vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Appenzeller 40, Guyot 94, Mouton 3
- 1553/8 Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 97
- 1553/9 Liber secundus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Crecquillon 185, 235, De Latre 141
- 1553/10 Liber tertius ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 257
- 1553/12 Liber quintus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 65, 135, anon. 38
- 1553/13 Liber sextus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Le
Roy 172

(Susato continued)

- 1553/14 Liber septimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 74, Clemens/Manchicourt 190
- 1553/15 Liber octavus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Louwys/Rore 66
- 1553/16 Liber XIIII ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 167
- 1554/8 Liber quartus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Gombert 37, anon. 178, 86
- 1554/9 Liber nonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 137
- 1555/8 Liber decimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum
quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant . . .
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 234, Crecquillon 166, Lupi 93
- 1555/9 Liber undecimus ecclesiasticarum
cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta
vocant . . .
Contains 3 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 187, Hollander 46, Richafort 39
- 1557/3 Liber duodecimus ecclesiasticarum
cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta
vocant . . .
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Vinders 147, anon. 241
- 1557/4 = 1553/16
Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 204, Crecquillon 167

(Susato continued)

1558/3 = 1553/16

Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 167

SYLVIUS in Geneva

[1559]/4

Tertius liber modulorum, quatuor ey
quinque vocom . . .

Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Clemens 74

[1559]/5

Quartus liber modulorum, quatuor et
quinque vocom . . .

Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 166

ULHARD in Augsburg

1545/2

Concentus octo, sex, quinque & quatuor
vocom . . .

Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Baston 39, Gascongne 3, Jacotin 224,
Susato 68

1548/2

Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocom.
Ab eximiis et praestantibus . . .

Contains 7 conflicting attributions:
Canis 40, Canis/Crecquillon 227, 235, 262,
Crecquillon 76, 141, Payen 263

1549/11

Cantiones selectissimae. Quatuor vocom.
Liber secundus . . .

Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 101, 129

VISSENAECKEN in Antwerp

1542/7

Quatuor vocom musicae modulationes numero
XXVI ex optimis autoribus . . .

Contains 4 conflicting attributions:
Gallus 68, Jaques du Pont 42, Vinders 78,
anon. 263

WAELRANT et LAET in Antwerp

- 1554/6 Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta
vocant) quinque et sex vocum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Clemens 137, Crecquillon 38
- 1555/6 Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie moteta
vocant) quinque et sex vocum . . .
 Contains 2 conflicting attributions:
Canis 87, Tubal 49
- [1556]/4 Sacrarum cantionum (vulgo hodie Moteta
vocant) quatuor vocum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 76

WELACK in Wittenberg

- 1591/25 Cantilenae latinae et germanicae IIII. et
V. vocum . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 197

WYRIOT in Strasbourg

- 1578/1 Selectae cantiones octo et septem vocum,
in usum Academiae Reipublicae
argentoratensis.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Crecquillon 191

Prints without the name of the printer

- 1524 Walter Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn.
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
Walter 59
- 1546/22 Intabulatura di lautto, libro quarto, de
la messa di A. Fevino . . .
 Contains 1 conflicting attribution:
anon. 91

(B) MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

AachS 2 Aachen. Stiftsarchiv. MS II

Date: 1574-9

Provenance: Aachen?

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 234,
Crecquillon 64, 233**AnsbachS 12** Ansbach. Staatliche Bibliothek. MS VI.g.12

Date: 1564

Provenance: Dresden

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 233, 235

AnsbachS 16 Ansbach. Staatliche Bibliothek. MS VI.g.16

Date: 1565-6

Provenance: Ansbach

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Clemens 189

AugsS 7 Augsburg. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. MS Tonkunst
Schletterer 7

Date: 1576

Provenance: Augsburg

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 239

BarcBC 454 Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 454

Date: before 1525

Provenance: Barcelona

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Fevin 223, Josquin
222, Mouton 182, Peñalosa 158, 177**BarcBC 681** Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 681

Date: first half of 16th c.

Provenance: Vich

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 39

BarcOC 5 Barcelona. Biblioteca de L'Orfeó Català. MS 5

Date: late 15th c. - early 16th c.

Provenance: partly Spanish

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 177

BasU F.IX.55 Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität.
MS F.IX.55

Date: early 16th c.

Provenance: Basel?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Isaac 213

BergBC 1209 Bergamo. Biblioteca Civica. MS 1209 D

Date: second quarter of 16th c.

Provenance: Bergamo

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: De Silva 142, 261,
Jacquet 169, Maffoni 63, Mouton 114, Verdelot 210,
anon. 226

BerlPS 321 Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS
Landesberg 321

Date: after 16th c.

Provenance: ?

Literature: Kirsch Motetten des De Silva, p. 52.

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: De Silva 265

BerlPS 40013 Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS
mus. 40013

Date: ca. 1540

Provenance: Torgau

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Senfl 54, anon. 59,
89, 123, 252

BerlPS 40031 Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS
mus. 40031

Date: second quarter of 16th c.

Provenance: Germany?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 240

BerlPS 40043 Berlin. Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS
mus. 40043

Date: ca. 1542-4
Provenance: Torgau
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Manchicourt 189,
anon. 44

BloomL 4 Bloomington. Indiana University, Lilly Library.
Latin American Manuscripts, Guatemala, Music MS 4

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: Santa Eulalia, Guatemala
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 203

BloomL 8 Bloomington. Indiana University, Lilly Library.
Latin American Manuscripts, Guatemala, Music MS 8

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: San Juan Ixcoi, Guatemala
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 203

BloomL 9 Bloomington. Indiana University, Lilly Library.
Latin American Manuscripts, Guatemala, Music MS 9

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: San Mateo Ixtatán, Guatemala
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 203

BolC Q19 Bologna. Civico Museo bibliografico musicale. MS
Q19

Date: ca. 1518
Provenance: northern Italy (Ferrara?)
Contains 13 conflicting attributions: C. Festa 207, S.
Festa 118, Jacquet 169, 251, Lupus 165, Moulu 115, 202,
Mouton 114, 196, 214, Renaldo 186, Richafort 44, anon.
110

BolC Q20 Bologna. Civico Museo bibliografico musicale. MS Q20

Date: ca 1530

Provenance: northern Italy

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: De Silva 239, Gascongne 3, Jacquet 210, 266, Lupus 246, Mouton 247, 251, Verdelot 73

BolC Q27(I) Bologna. Civico Museo bibliografico musicale. MS Q27(I)

Date: the second quarter of the 16th c.

Provenance: northern Italy

Contains 13 conflicting attributions: Conseil 67, De Silva 238, Jacquet 9, 152, 209, 250, Lupus 123, Mouton 88, Verdelot 130, 228, Willaert 12, anon. 182, 223

BolC R142 Bologna. Civico Museo bibliografico musicale. MS R142

Date: ca. 1515-30, or 1530-50

Provenance: northern Italy

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: C. Festa 182, Jacquet/Josquin 216, Josquin 214, 252, Mouton 120, 202

BolSP 29 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A.XXIX

Date: 1512-27

Provenance: Bologna

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 196

BolSP 38 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A.XXXVIII

Date: 1512-27

Provenance: Bologna

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 21, 90, 203

BolSP 39 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A.XXXIX

Date: 1552

Provenance: Bologna

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 4, 9, 249

BolSP 45 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A.XXXV

Date: 1527-41

Provenance: Bologna

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 23

BrusBR 228 Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 228

Date: 1516-23

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 19

BrusC 27088 Brussels. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique. MS 27088

Date: before 1549

Provenance: Beaumont

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Berchem 18, Clemens 154, 234, Lupi 6, 173, Hellinck 123

BudOS 6 Budapest. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. MS Bártfa 6

Date: early 17th c.

Provenance: Bártfa

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 238

BudOS 23 Budapest. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. MS Bártfa 23

Date: ca. 1550, and after 1555

Provenance: Wittenberg

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Clemens 87, C.Festa/S.Festa 118, Gascongne 3, Gosse 171, Josquin 52, anon. 39, 209

BudOS P6 Budapest. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár. MS Bártfa
Mus. Pr. 6 (a-d)

Date: after 1558

Provenance: Bártfa

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 58, 205

CambraiBM 125-8 Cambrai. Bibliothèque municipale. MSS 125-
128

Date: 1542

Provenance: Bruges?

Contains 17 conflicting attributions: Reulx 77, Craen
220, Gombert 143, Lupi 34, 200, 232, Mouton 201,
Richafort 193, Sermisy 168, Vinders 78, anon. 39, 44,
114, 218, 223, 229, 236

CambriP 1760 Cambridge. Magdalene College, Pepys Library.
MS 1760

Date: ca. 1500-16

Provenance: France

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Fevin 36, 223,
Fevin/Therache 254

CambriU Peter. 471-4 Cambridge. University Library. MSS
Peterhouse 471-474

Date: 1539-41

Provenance: Canterbury, or Durham

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Lupus 9

CasAC C Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca
Capitolare, Duomo. MS C

Date: 1538-ca. 1545

Provenance: Casale Monferrato

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 159, 184

CasAC D(F) Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca
Capitolare, Duomo. MS D(F)

Date: 1521-ca. 1526, and 1538-ca. 1545
Provenance: Casale Monferrato
Contains 10 conflicting attributions: anon. 7, 21, 39,
44, 110, 155, 174, 203, 215, 226

CasAC N(H) Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca
Capitolare, Duomo. MS N(H)

Date: 1538-ca. 1545
Provenance: Casale Monferrato
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: anon. 63, 84, 116,
188

CasAC P(E) Casale Monferrato. Archivio e Biblioteca
Capitolare, Duomo. MS P(E)

Date: 1521-ca. 1526
Provenance: Casale Monferrato
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 90

ChiN M91 Chicago. Newberry Library. Case MS.-VM 1578.M91

Date: 1527-9
Provenance: Florence
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: anon. 7, 188, 221,
228

ChiN 107510 Chicago. Newberry Library, Special Collections.
Ms. Lute Codex Vincenzo Capirola, Acquisition Number
107501

Date: ca. 1515-20
Provenance: Venice
Literature: Gombosi, Composizione di Meser Vincenzo
Capirola, pp. ix-xiv
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 223

CivMA 59 Cividale del Friuli. Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
MS LIX

Date: ca. 1535-40

Provenance: ?

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 113, 174, 223

CoimU 12 Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade. MS M.12

Date: late 15th c.-early 16th c.

Provenance: Coimbra

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 72, 158, 177

CoimU 32 Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade. MS
M.32

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Coimbra

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 72, 158

CoimU 48 Coimbra. Biblioteca Geral da Universidade. MS M.48

Date: after 1559

Provenance: Coimbra

Literature: Kastner, "Los manuscritos musicales," pp. 80-6

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Clemens 135,
Lhéritier 168, Morales 116, Sermisy 193, anon. 126

ColnU 57 Cologne. Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek. MS GB
III 57

Date: 2nd half of 16th c.

Provenance: of German origin?

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 87, 154, 190

CopKB 1848 Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny
Kongelige Samling 1848, 2^o

Date: ca. 1525

Provenance: Lyons?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Richafort 181

CopKB 1872 Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny
Kongelige Samling 1872, 4^c

Date: 1541-3

Provenance: Copenhagen, or Königsberg

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Eckel 146, anon.
102, 107, 223, 228

CopKB 1873 Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny
Kongelige Samling 1873, 4^o

Date: after 1556

Provenance: Copenhagen

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 54, 189, 223

CorBC 95-6 Cortona. Biblioteca Comunale. MSS 95-96
(see ParisBNN 1817)

Date: ca. 1492-4, and 1515-6

Provenance: Florence

Contains conflicting attributions: anon. 155, 229

DresSL 1/D/3 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus.
1/D/3

Date: ca. 1550-60

Provenance: Wittenberg

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Josquin/Senfl 54,
Stoltzer 31, Verdelot 123

DresSL 1/D/6 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus.
1/D/6

Date: ca. 1560-80

Provenance: Silesia

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Clemens 234, Isaac
264, Josquin 240, Senfl 54, anon. 53, 140, 174, 239

DresSL 1/D/501 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Mus. 1/D/501

Date: ca. 1560

Provenance: central Germany

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: anon. 89, 91, 123,
201

DressL 1/D/505 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Mus. 1/D/505

Date: ca. 1530

Provenance: Annaberg

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Obrecht 139, 229,
anon. 194

DressL 2/D/22 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus.
2/D/22

Date: ca. 1590-1600

Provenance: central Germany?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 172

DressL Glashütte 5 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek.
MS Glashütte 5 (1-2)

Date: 1583-8, and ca. 1600

Provenance: ?

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Fevin 223,
Manchicourt 189, anon. 44, 81, 109, 245, 252

DressL Grimma 7 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 7 (1-4)

Date: ca. 1590-1621, and ca. 1650

Provenance: Meissen

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 245

DressL Grimma 49 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 49 (1-7)

Date: 1593-6

Provenance: Meissen

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Eckel 146

DressL Grimma 51 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 51 (1-4)

Date: ca. 1570-80

Provenance: Meissen

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Josquin 196, Mouton
202

DressL Grimma 53 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 53 (1-5)

Date: ca. 1560-75
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 187

DressL Grimma 54 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 54 (1-5)

Date: ca. 1590
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 234,
Josquin 44, Rore 41

DressL Grimma 55 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 55 (1-7)

Date: ca. 1560-80
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 223, 245, 252

DressL Grimma 56 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 56 (1-5)

Date: ca. 1560-86
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 81

DressL Grimma 58 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 58 (1-3)

Date: ca. 1555-60
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 31

DressL Grimma 59 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Grimma 59a

Date: ca. 1560
Provenance: Meissen
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 139

DresSL Löbau 12 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Löbau 12

Date: 1565

Provenance: Löbau

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 64, 74, 87

DresSL Löbau 50 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Löbau 50

Date: ca. 1610-60

Provenance: Löbau

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 245

DresSL Löbau 8/70 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek.
MSS Löbau 8 and Löbau 70

Date: 1592

Provenance: Löbau

Contains conflicting attributions: Richafort 107

DresSL Pirna II Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Pirna II

Date: ca. 1550-65, or 1575

Provenance: Pirna

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 187

DresSL Pirna III Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Pirna III

Date: ca. 1550-65, or ca. 1570-80

Provenance: Pirna

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Vaet 86

DresSL Pirna VII Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Pirna VII

Date: ca. 1556

Provenance: Pirna

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Richafort 107,
Verdelot 59

DresSL Pirna VIII Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS
Pirna VIII

Date: ca. 1560-70
Provenance: Pirna
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 135, 252

EdinU 64 Edinburgh. University Library. MS 64

Date: ca. 1557
Provenance: Scotland
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 20

EisS s.s. Eisenach. Stadtarchiv. MS s.s.

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: Eisenach
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Josquin 223, Senfl
54, 83

ErlU 473/1 Erlangen. Universitätsbibliothek. MS 473/1

Date: 1541
Provenance: Heilsbronn
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Richafort 107,
Verdelot 45, anon. 239

ErlU 473/3 Erlangen. Universitätsbibliothek. MS 473/3

Date: 1545
Provenance: Heilsbronn
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Hellinck 123,
Verdelot 228

ErlU 473/4 Erlangen. Universitätsbibliothek. MS 473/4

Date: 1540-1
Provenance: Heilsbronn
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 53, 197, 223

FlorBN II.I.232 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS
II.I.232

Date: 1516-21

Provenance: Florence

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Carpentras 35, 161,
Mouton 196, Ninot 194, 229

FlorBN II.I.350 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.
MS II.I.350

Date: ca. 1520

Provenance: Florence

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 63

FlorBN Magl. 125bis Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale
Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX, 125bis

Date: 1530-4

Provenance: Florence

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Josquin 258, anon.
221

FlorBN Magl. 164-7 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.
MS Magliabechi XIX. 164-167

Date: 1530-40

Provenance: Florence

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 161

FlorC 2439 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica
Luigi Cherubini. MS Basevi 2439

Date: 1506-14

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: La Rue 220

FlorD 11 Florence. Duomo, Archivio Muaicale dell'Opera di
Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 11

Date: 1557

Provenance: Florence

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: anon. 22, 39, 81,
203, 228, 241

FlorD 27 Florence. Duomo, Archivio Muaicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 27

Date: 1564-8

Provenance: Florence

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 188

FlorD 45 Florence. Duomo, Archivio Muaicale dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. MS 45

Date: ca. 1559

Provenance: Florence

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 238

FlorL 666 Florence. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. MS Acquisti e doni 666

Date: 1518

Provenance: Rome

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Elimot 174, Lapidida 105, La Fage 91, Maistre Jhan 144, Mouton 121, 163, 214, Therache 254

GothaF A98 Gotha. Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein. MS Chart. A. 98

Date: 1545

Provenance: Torgau

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Senfl 54, anon. 59, 89, 123, 228, 240, 252

GreifU 640-1 Greifswald. Universitätsbibliothek. MSS BW 640-641

Date: 1539-58

Provenance: Barth?

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Appenzeller 78, Carpentras 35, anon. 63

Heilbs XCIII/3 Heilbronn. Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung. MSS XCIII-XCVI/3

Date: after 1566

Provenance: ?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 70

'S HerAB 72C 'S Hertogenbosch. Archief van de Illustre
Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. MS 72C

Date: 1530-1

Provenance: Brussel/Mechlin

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Mouton 214, anon.
130

'S HerAB 73 'S Hertogenbosch. Archief van de Illustre
Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. MS 73

Date: 1544

Provenance: 'S Hertogenbosch

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 34

HradKM 7 Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna. MS II A 7

Date: late 15th c., or early 16th c.

Provenance: Prague

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 264

HradKM 22 Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna. MS II
A 22 (a-b)

Date: 1574-5

Provenance: ?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 252

HradKM 29 Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna. MS II A
29

Date: ca. 1556- 62

Provenance: ?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 4, 88

KasL 24 Kassel. Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel
und Landesbibliothek. MSS 4° Mus. 24/1-4

Date: 16th C.

Provenance: Kassel

Contains 17 conflicting attributions: Caen 140, Finck
47, Josquin 29, 35, 53, 55, 73, 78, 144, Moulu 70,
Richafort 1, Senfl 54, Verdelot 123, anon. 28, 61, 168,
174

KasL 53/2 Kassel. Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek. MS 8° Mus. 53/2

Date: 16th C.

Provenance: Kassel

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 213

KasL 91 Kassel. Murhard'sche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek. MSS 4° Mus. 91/1-5

Date: 16th c.

Provenance: Kassel

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Clemens 154

KlagL 4/3 Klagenfurt. Landesregierungsarchiv. MS 4-3

Date: ca. 1560-70

Provenance: ?

Literature: Federhofer, "Eine Kärntner Orgeltabulatur," p. 330.

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 130

KönSU 1740 Königsberg. Former Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. MS 1740

Date: ca. 1537-44

Provenance: Königsberg

Contains 13 conflicting attributions: Conseil 34, Craen 223, C. Festa 8, Gascongne 211, Gombert 26, Haugk 50, Mouton 236, 239, Richafort 151, Sermisy 7, 45, Willaert 32, anon. 63

KrakPAN 1716 Kraków. Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk. MS 1716

Date: ca. 1537-48

Provenance: ?

Literature: White, "The Tabulature of Lublin," pp. 137-62.

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Mikołaj 52, anon 59

LeidGA 1438 Leiden. Gemeentearchief, Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1438

Date: 1549

Provenance: Leiden

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Clemens 154, Crecquillon 141, 166, anon. 136

LeidGA 1439 Leiden. Gemeentearchief, Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1439

Date: 1559

Provenance: Leiden

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Josquin 175, Lupi 208, Richafort 88, anon. 221

LeidGA 1441 Leiden. Gemeentearchief, Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1441

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Brussels?

Contains 13 conflicting attributions: Clemens 101, 189, Clemens/Crecquillon 74, Crecquillon 97, 129, 185, 187, 227, 235, Lupi 93, Manchicourt 171, Payen 263, Willaert 130

LeidGA 1442 Leiden. Gemeentearchief, Archieven van de Kerken. MS 1442

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Brussels?

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Clemens 49, Willaert 188, anon. 78, 168

LeidSM 1440 Leiden. Stedelijk Museum in de Lakenhal. MS 1440

Date: 1559

Provenance: Leiden

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 76, Crecquillon 84, anon. 81

LeipU 49 Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche
49 (1-4) and MS Thomaskirche 50

Date: ca. 1558

Provenance: Leipzig

Contains 15 conflicting attributions: Josquin 25, 47,
145, 240, Maessens 179, Obrecht 188, anon. 35, 54, 73,
81, 107, 136, 200, 236, 259

LeipU 51 Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche
51 (1-2)

Date: ca. 1555

Provenance: Leipzig

Contains 12 conflicting attributions: Lupi 200, anon.
21, 59, 89, 91, 139, 174, 188, 197, 201, 218, 265

LeuvK 4 Leuven. Bibliotheek der Katholieke Universiteit te
Leuven. MS M4

Date: 1556

Provenance: from Low countries

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Clemens 97, 101

LeuvU 163 Leuven. Former Bibliothèque de l'université. MS
163

Date: 1546

Provenance: ?

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Lupi
34, 200, 232, Lupus 123, Verdelot 130

LonBL 29246-7 London. British Library, Reference Division.
Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 29246, 29247

Date: ca. 1620

Provenance: ?

Literature: Hughes-Hughes, pp. 59-63

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 52

LonBLR 8 G.vii London. British Library, Reference Division.
Department of Manuscript. MS Royal 8 G.vii

Date: 1513-25

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: anon. 36, 90, 223,
240, 254

LonBLR A49-54 London. British Library. MS Royal A49-54

Date: ca. 1565-80

Provenance: from Nonesuch palace

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Gombert 245, anon.
221

LondRC 1070 London. Royal College of Music. MS 1070

Date: ca. 1510-5, or 1533-6

Provenance: London, or France

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: anon. 36, 114, 115,
157, 203, 223, 225, 254

LonRC 2037 London. Royal College of Music. MS 2037

Date: 1527-34

Provenance: Ferrara

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 266, Maistre
Jhan 84, Mouton 114, Willaert 188, 259, Dalla Viola 16

LübBH 203 Lübeck. Bibliothk der Hansestadt Lübeck. MS Mus.
A 203 (a-d)

Date: ca. 1586-1613

Provenance: Lübeck?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Crecquillon 234,
Fevin 223

LucBS 775 Lucca. Biblioteca Statale. MS 775

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: from Low Countries

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 159, anon.
9, 51, 81, 119, 152, 249, 250

LüneR 144 Lüneburg. Ratsbücherei. MS Mus. ant. pract. K.N.
144

Date: ca. 1590

Provenance: Lüneburg

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 189

LüneR 150 Lüneburg. Ratsbücherei. MS Mus. ant. pract. K.N.
150

Date: ca. 1575-1620

Provenance: Lüneburg

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 228

MadM 6832 Madrid. Private Library of Don Bartolomé March
Servera. MS R. 6832

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Spain

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Gombert 8, Mouton
33, 203, Verdelot 228

MilC 186 Milan. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica
Giuseppe Verdi. MS Santa Barbara 186[IV.10]

Date: ca. 1540?

Provenance: ?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 7, 9

MilD 1 Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo,
Sezione Musicale. Librone 1

Date: ca. 1484-90

Provenance: Milan

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 181

MilD 2 Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo,
Sezione Musicale. Librone 2

Date: ca. 1490-1500

Provenance: Milan

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 181

Mild 3 Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo,
Sezione Musicale. Librone 3

Date: ca. 1500

Provenance: Milan

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 181, 225

ModD 3 Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS
Mus. III

Date: 1520-4

Provenance: Modena

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Richafort 136, anon.
21, 203

ModD 4 Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS
Mus IV

Date: ca. 1520-30

Provenance: Modena?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 130

ModD 9 Modena. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. MS
Mus. IX

Date: ca. 1520-30

Provenance: Modena

Contains 12 conflicting attributions: De Silva 238, Fevin
223, La Fage 91, Moulu 226, Mouton 114, 196, 214,
Richafort 176, Sermisy 7, Verdelot 221, 228, anon. 203

ModE C.313 Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS
C.313 (1-4)

Date: ca. 1560

Provenance: Ferrara

Contains 9 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9, 152, 159,
167, 209, 237, Rore 149, 249, Verdelot 228

ModE C.314 Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS
C.314 (1-7)

Date: ca. 1560

Provenance: Ferrara

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 18, Willaert
24

ModE N.1.2 Modena. Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. MS
A.N.1.2 (Lat. 452)

Date: 1534-5

Provenance: Ferrara

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 7

MontsM 772 Montserrat. Biblioteca del Monestir. MS 772

Date: ca. 1560

Provenance: Madrid

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Manchicourt 178, 190

MunBS 10 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 10

Date: 1525-30

Provenance: Munich

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Senfl 54

MunBS 13 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 13

Date: after 1552

Provenance: Munich

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Clemens 65, 234

MunBS 16 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 16

Date: ca. 1552-6

Provenance: Munich

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Lupi 34, Mouton 160,
Rore 66, Sermisy 45, anon. 152

MunBS 19 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 19

Date: before 1531, and ca. 1531-40
Provenance: Munich
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Willaert 32

MunBS 25 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 25

Date: ca. 1520-4
Provenance: Munich
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Sermisy 128

MunBS 41 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 41

Date: ca. 1552-60
Provenance: Munich
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Crecquillon 191,
anon. 114

MunBS 59 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 59

Date: ca. 1556-63
Provenance: Borna or Wittenberg?
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 221

MunBS 266 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS 266

Date: ca. 1555-1575
Provenance: Augsburg
Literature: RISM B/VII, pp. 214-5
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 221

MunBS 274a Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Musiksammlung. Musica MS 274a

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: Augsburg?
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Conseil 109, Lupi
96

MunBS 1503b Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1503b

Date: ca. 1535-50
Provenance: Augsburg?
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Richafort 136

MunBS 1508 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1508

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: from Netherlands
Contains 1 conflicting attributions: Josquin 52

MunBS 1536 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1536

Date: 1583
Provenance: ?
Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 224, Josquin
120, 245, Manchicourt 260, Mouton 255, Phinot 102,
Verdelot 133, anon. 128

MunBS 3154 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Musiksammlung. Musica MS 3154

Date: ca. 1466-1511
Provenance: Innsbruck or Augsburg?
Contains conflicting attributions: anon. 229

MunBS B Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musiksammlung.
Musica MS B

Date: 1557-9
Provenance: Munich
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Rore 149

MunU 322-5 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität. MSS 8° 322-325

Date: 1527
Provenance: Basel
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Craen 220, Josquin
153, 244, 264

MunU 326 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 8° 326

Date: 1543

Provenance: Augsburg?

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Willaert 188, anon. 52, 54, 107, 123, 197, 213

MunU 327 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 8° 327

Date: ca. 1543

Provenance: Augsburg?

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Richafort 228, Senfl 54, anon. 107, 123

MunU 401 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 4° Art. 401 (1-4)

Date: 1536-40

Provenance: Austria (or Augsburg?)

Contains 14 conflicting attributions: Bauldeweyn 31, Jacquet 9, Josquin 150, 163, Le Brung 226, Richafort 107, 136, Senfl 123, Verdelot 221, anon. 34, 39, 84, 165, 218

NurGN 83795 Nuremberg. Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums. MS 83795

Date: ca. 1539-48

Provenance: Torgau

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Senfl 54, anon. 25, 59, 89, 107, 123, 228, 252

NurLA 28 Nuremberg. Landeskirchliches Archiv. MS St. Egidien 28

Date: 1574

Provenance: Nuremberg

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Clemens 135

OxfBT 1018 Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Tenbury 1018

Date: late 16th or early 17th c.

Provenance: England

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 228

PadBC A 17 Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS A 17

Date: 1522

Provenance: Padua

Contains 18 conflicting attributions: anon. 3, 7, 21, 44, 62, 91, 114, 136, 174, 182, 196, 211, 219, 223, 226, 238, 251, 261

PadBC D 27 Padua. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS D 27

Date: ca. 1541-50

Provenance: Padua

Contains 9 conflicting attributions: anon. 34, 67, 130, 169, 201, 203, 209, 210, 265

ParsiBNC 851 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique. Fonds du Conservatoire. MS Rés. Vma. MS 851

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Parma or Ravenna?

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Animuccia 149, Morales 204, Verdelot 228, Willaert 188

ParisBNN 1817 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits. Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises. MS 1817 (see CorBC 95-6)

Date: 1515-6

Provenance: Florence

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 155, 229

PiacD (2) Piacenza. Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale. MSS s.s. (2)

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Piacenza?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 17

PiacD (3) Piacenza. Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale.
MSS s.s. (3)

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Piacenza?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 209, 226

PiacD (4) Piacenza. Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale.
MSS s.s. (4)

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Piacenza?

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: anon. 9, 18, 226

PiacD (5) Piacenza. Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale.
MSS s.s. (5)

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Piacenza

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: anon. 12, 107, 109,
123, 130, 152, 221, 238

RegB 786-837 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 786-837

Date: 1569-78

Provenance: Regensburg

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Clemens/Manchicourt
260, Jacquet/Jacotin 224, Josquin 245, Mouton 203,
Richafort 102, Verdelot 133

RegB 838-43 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 838-843

Date: 1571-3

Provenance: Regensburg

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Isaac 139, Mouton
169, 203

RegB 849-52 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 849-852

Date: 1569-75
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Cleve 94, Gascongne
3, Josquin 44

RegB 853-4 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 853-854

Date: the second half of the 16th c.
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Berchem 159,
Clemens 187, Willaert 24

RegB 861-2 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 861-862

Date: 1577
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 234,
Crecquillon 97, Mouton 91

RegB 875-7 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 875-877

Date: 1568-79
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Gosse
171, Lasson 265, Rore 249, Verdelot 172, Willaert 188

RegB 878-82 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 878-882

Date: 1569-72
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Josquin 252, Isaac
205, Mouton 203

RegB 883-6 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 883-886

Date: 1573-9

Provenance: Regensburg

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Fevin 223, Lupi 34

RegB 891-2 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 891-892

Date: ca. 1570-80

Provenance: Regensburg

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Caen 107, Lupus 123, Phinot 111, Senfl 54, Vaet 86, Verdelot 228

RegB 893 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 893

Date: ca. 1570-80

Provenance: Regensburg

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Clemens 87, Verdelot 221

RegB 940-1 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 940-941

Date: 1557-9

Provenance: Wittenberg and Regensburg

Contains 26 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Crecquillon 46, Ducis 63, Fevin 223, Jacquet 41, Lhéritier 21, Lupi 201, Lupus 26, Manchicourt 189, 190, Mouton 80, 91, Richafort 107, 136, Verdelot 200, 228, 265, Walter 59, Willaert 188, anon. 44, 115, 174, 197, 211, 213, 239

RegB 1018 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
A.R. 1018

Date: the second half of the 16th c.

Provenance: south or central Germany?

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Verdelot 221, anon. 21, 44, 52, 59, 189, 228, 239

RegB B211-5 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
B. 211-215

Date: ca. 1538-43
Provenance: south Germany or Austria?
Contains 8 conflicting attributions: anon 145, Bruck 162,
Josquin ali H.F.[Finck] 153, Lupus 152, Mahu 89,
Werrecore 28, anon. 52, 148

RegB B220-2 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS
B. 220-222

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: Salzburg?
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Moulu 202, 261

RegB B223-233 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek.
MS B. 223-233

Date: second half of 16th c.
Provenance: Augsburg?
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Richafort 136

RegB C99 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS C.
99

Date: 1548
Provenance: Regensburg
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Lupus 123,
Richafort 136, 193, Willaert 188

RegB C120 Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. MS C.
120

Date: early 1520's
Provenance: south Germany?
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: anon. 53, 91 174,
239

RomeM 23-4 Rome. Palazzo Massimo. MSS VI.C.6.23-24

Date: ca. 1532-4

Provenance: Rome

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9,
Lhéritier 71, Lupi 200, Maistre Jhan 17, Willaert 24,
259, anon. 61

RomeSC 389 Rome. Biblioteca Musicale Governativa del
Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia. MS G.389

Date: 1617

Provenance: Rome

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 228

RomeSC 792-5 Rome. Biblioteca Musicale Governativa del
Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia. MS G.792-795

Date: ca. 1590-1620

Provenance: Rome

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Willaert 188

RomeV 35-40 Rome. Biblioteca Vallicelliana. MS SI 35-40

Date: 1530-1

Provenance: Florence

Contains 21 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, 183,
Conseil 17, 18, C. Festa 67, Jacquet 9, 20, 224,
Josquin 43, 258, Lhéritier 56, Lupus 107, 123, Verdelot
24, 130, 216, 221, 228, Willaert 176, 184, anon. 209

RosU 49 Rostock. Bibliothek der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität.
MS Mus. Saec. XVI-49 (1-6)

Date: 1566

Provenance: Hamburg

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Josquin 239

SaraP 34 Saragossa. Iglesia Metropolitana de la Virgen del
Pilar, Archivo Musical. Armario C-3, MS 34

Date: last third of 16th c.

Provenance: Saragossa?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Morales 223

Schmalt s.s. Schmalkalden. Turmbibliothek der St. Georg Kirche. MS s.s.

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: Germany?
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 221

SegC s.s. Segovia. Archivo Capitulare de la Catedral. MS s.s.

Date: 1500-03
Provenance: Toledo?
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Anchieta 72, 177, Brumel 10

SevBC 1 Seville. Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca del Coro. MS 1

Date: ca. 1550-4
Provenance: Seville
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Escobar 158

SevBC 5-5-20 Seville. Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca del Coro. MS 5-5-20

Date: early 16th c., or before 1507
Provenance: Seville?
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Anchieta 72, Escobar 158, Peñalosa 222

SienBC K.I.2 Siena. Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati. MS K.I.2

Date: ca. 1500
Provenance: Siena
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 181, 229

SionA 87-4 Sion (Sitten). Archives du Chapitre. MS 87-4

Date: ca. 1555-60
Provenance: Wroclaw or vicinity?
Contains 6 conflicting attributions: anon. 44, 59, 63, 107, 172, 189

SGalls 462 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 462

Date: 1510 and 1530

Provenance: Paris

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 223

SGalls 463 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 463

Date: ca. 1517-20, or ca. 1540

Provenance: ?

Contains 15 conflicting attributions: Barra 174, Craen 220, Josquin 35, 53, 153, 194, 244, 264, Moulu 115, 202, Mouton 160, 203, 215, Willaert 80, anon. 63

SGalls 464 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 464.

Date: ca. 1510-20

Provenance: Basel?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 215

SGalls 530 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 530

Date: 1512-31

Provenance: St. Gall

Literature: Nef, "Der St. Galler Organist," pp. 46-132

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Craen 220, Mouton 182, anon. 223

StuttL 3 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 3

Date: 1562

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 214

StuttL 8 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 8

Date: ca. 1570

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Vaet 86

StuttL 9 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 9

Date: 1571-2

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Clemens 234,
Crecquillon 65

StuttL 13 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 13

Date: ca. 1577

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Crecquillon 191

StuttL 24 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 24

Date: 1542-61

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 205

StuttL 25 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 25

Date: ca. 1542

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Fevin 223

StuttL 34 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 34

Date: ca. 1545

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Gombert 127, 236,
Jacquet 48, Lupo 123, anon. 44

StuttL 35 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 35

Date: ca. 1540

Provenance: Stuttgart

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 7, 9, 266,
Walter 59, anon. 116

StuttL 36 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 36

Date: ca. 1548-50
Provenance: Stuttgart
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Canis 40,
Crecquillon 235, Josquin 252, anon. 236

StuttL 43 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. MS
Musica folio I 43

Date: ca. 1540
Provenance: Stuttgart
Contains 4 conflicting attributions: anon. 28, 56, 228,
238

TarazC 2 Tarazona. Archivo Capitular de la Catedral. MS 2.

Date: early 16th c.
Provenance: Seville?
Contains 3 conflicting

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Escobar 158,
Peñalosa 222, Ribera 177

TarazC 5 Tarazona. Archivo Capitular de la Catedral. MS 5

Date: first half of 16th c. (Part II and III), second
half of 16th c. (Part I)
Provenance: Saragossa (Part I), Tarazona (Part II and
III)
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Peñalosa 72

ToleBC 10 Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral
Metropolitana. MS B.10

Date: 1544-5
Provenance: Toledo
Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9, Josquin
258, Le Brung 226, Verdelot 184, Moulu/Verdelot 202,
Verdelot 221

ToleBC 13 Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral
Metropolitana. MS B. 13

Date: 1553-4
Provenance: Toledo
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Clemens 189, Fevin
223, Josquin 225

ToleBC 17 Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral
Metropolitana. MS B. 17

Date: 1550-1
Provenance: Toledo
Contains conflicting attributions: Escobedo 112,
Lhéritier 266, Lupus 123, Morales 41, 241, Verdelot 228

ToleBC 21 Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral
Metropolitana. MS B. 21

Date: 1549
Provenance: Toledo
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Peñalosa 158, 222,
Willaert 188

ToleBC 22 Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral
Metropolitana. MS B. 22

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: Toledo
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Richafort 88

ToleF 23 Toledo. Catedral, Obra y Fabrica. MS Reservado 23

Date: ca. 1520-35
Provenance: Low Countries?
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Bauldeweyn 11

TorunK 29-32 Torun (Thorn). Ksiaznica Miejska Imienia
Mikolaja Kopernika. J. 4? 29-32

Date: ca. 1558-60
Provenance: Konigsberg
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 236

TourC s.s. Tournai. Chapitre de la Cathédrale. MS s.s.

Date: 16th c?

Provenance: Tournai?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 223

TrevBC 4 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 4

Date: 1559-69

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Rore 149

TrevBC 5 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 5

Date: 1559-72

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Berchem 6, C. Festa 223, anon. 116

TrevBC 6 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 6

Date: 1560-8

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 152

TrevBC 7 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 7

Date: 1558-71

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Jacquet/Willaert 259, Jaques du Pont 42, Lupus 26, anon. 39, 265

TrevBC 8 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 8.

Date: 1556-69

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Berchem 95, De Silva 142, Maistre Jhan 103, Mouton 110

TrevBC 29 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 29

Date: ca. 1570-5

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 11 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 230, Berchem 117, Contino 237, Danckerts 242, Gombert 241, 250, Jacquet 20, Maistre Jhan 13, Phinot 98, Willaert 12, 24

TrevBC 30 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 30

Date: ca. 1570

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 230, Jhan 243, Lupus 136

TrevBC 34 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 34

Date: late 16th c. and early 17th c.

Provenance: Treviso

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 188

TrevBC 36 Treviso. Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo. MS 36

Date: ca. 1530

Provenance: Ferrara?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Jacquet 9

TurBN IV.45 Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. MS
Riserva musicale IV.45

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Turin?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9, anon. 249

UlmS 236 Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, von Schermer'sche
Familienstiftung. MS 236 (a-d)

Date: second half of 16th c.

Provenance: ?

Contains conflicting attributions: anon. 59

UlmS 237 Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, von Schermer'sche Familienstiftung. MS 237 (a-d)

Date: ca. 1530-40

Provenance: central Germany

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: anon. 8, 78, 107, 123, 126, 236, 265

UppsU 76b Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76b

Date: ca. 1515?

Provenance: France, or Troyes or vicinity?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Forestier 252

UppsU 76c Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76c

Date: ca. 1530?

Provenance: France

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Fevin 223, Richafort 136, anon. 39

UtreH s.s. Utrecht. Private Library of Peter Hecht. MS s.s.

Date: ca. 1549-50

Provenance: Wittenberg?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Stoltzer/(Josquin/Verdelot) 73

VallaC 5 Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música. MS 5

Date: third quarter of 16th c.

Provenance: Valladolid

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Mouton 215, anon. 72

VallaC 15 Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música. MS 15

Date: second quarter of 16th c.

Provenance: Italy?

Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Conseil 17, Jacquet 9, 18, Verdelot 221, anon. 39

VallaC 16 Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música. MS 16

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Valladolid

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Jacquet 9

VallaC 17 Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música. MS 17

Date: last third of 16th c.

Provenance: Valladolid

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Jacquet 9

VallaP s.s. Valladolid. Parroquia de Santiago. MS s.s.

Date: the second half of the 16th c.

Provenance: Valladolid

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Willaert 188

VatC 234 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Chigi C VIII 234

Date: ca. 1498-1503

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Fevin 223, Regis 175

VatG XII.4 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Cappella Giulia MS XII.4

Date: 1536

Provenance: Rome

Contains 11 conflicting attributions: Gombert 218, Jacquet 42, 209, Josquin 163, Lhéritier 215, Lhéritier 110, Lupus 107, Maistre Jhan 17, Sermisy 7, Verdelot 228, Willaert 184

VatP 1976-9 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MSS Palatini Latini 1976-1979

Date: ca. 1528-31

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: anon. 11, 36, 39, 106, 160, 170, 188

VatP 1980-1 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
MSS Palatini Latini 1980-1981

Date: ca. 1518-23
Provenance: Rome
Contains 5 conflicting attributions: anon. 121, 144, 160,
214, 215

VatS 13 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 13

Date: ca. 1536-42
Provenance: Rome
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Escobedo 112

VatS 17 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 17

Date: ca. 1535-7
Provenance: Rome
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Maistre Jhan 17,
anon. 18

VatS 19 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 19

Date: ca. 1535-7
Provenance: Rome
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81,
Josquin 163

VatS 24 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 24

Date: ca. 1538-50
Provenance: Rome
Contains conflicting attributions: Brunet 258, De Silva
238, Jacquet 216

VatS 38 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 38

Date: ca. 1550-63
Provenance: Rome
Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Jacquet 9, Josquin
194, Mouton 43, 214, Verdelot 228, anon. 221

VatS 42 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 42

Date: ca. 1503-12
Provenance: Rome
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Mouton 225, Ninot
229, Viardot 150

VatS 45 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 45

Date: ca. 1511-4
Provenance: Rome
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Brumel/Brumes 14

VatS 46 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 46

Date: ca. 1508-27
Provenance: Rome
Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Carpentras 57,
Compère 181, Mouton 196, 203, anon. 226

VatS 57 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 57

Date: ca. 1535-77
Provenance: Rome
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 224

VatS 76 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS
Cappella Sistina 76

Date: ca. 1579-99
Provenance: Rome
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 225

VatVM 571 Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Vaticanani Musicali 571

Date: ca. 1520-30

Provenance: Rome

Contains conflicting attributions: anon. 3, 44, 123, 188, 214, 228

VerA 218 Verona. Società Accademia Filarmonica. MS CCXVIII

Date: ca. 1536

Provenance: Padua?

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Gombert/anon. 245, Gombert/Mouton 133, Gombert/Sermisy 128, Jacquet 224, Mouton/Lupus 255, Verdelot 102

VerBC 756 Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLVI

Date: ca. 1508

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 213

VerBC 758 Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLVIII

Date: ca. 1500

Provenance: Verona

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 225

VerBC 760 Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLX

Date: ca. 1520-30

Provenance: Verona

Contains 11 conflicting attributions: Danglon 155, Josquin 114, Lhéritier 23, Lupus 186, Sermisy 7, Willaert 188, anon. 63, 121, 182, 223, 225

VienNB 9814 Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung. MS Mus. 9814

Date: 1515-34

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Richafort 136

VienNB Mus. 15500 Vienna. Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 15500

Date: 1544

Provenance: Germany

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Josquin 153,
Willaert 188

VienNB Mus. 15941 Vienna. Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 15941.

Date: ca. 1521-31

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 9 conflicting attributions: Bauldeweyn 11,
Champion 53, 55, Fevin 182, Mouton 36, 90, 196,
Mouton/Ninot 106, Richafort 160

VienNB Mus. 16195 Vienna. Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 16195

Date: 1559

Provenance: Bantzen, or Meissen?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 221

VienNB Mus. 18825 Vienna. Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 18825

Date: 1515-34

Provenance: Brussels/Mechlin

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Le Brung 44, Mouton
39, 114

VienNB Mus. 19189 Vienna. Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. MS Mus. 19189

Date: last third of 16th c.

Provenance: Germany?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Clemens 125,
Crecquillon 173

WeimB B Weimar. Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Lutherischen
Kirchengemeinde. MS B

Date: 1540-4

Provenance: Torgau

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Senfl 123, Walter
59, anon. 89

WhalleyS 23 Whalley. Stonyhurst College Library. B.VI.23

Date: 1552

Provenance: Brussels or Antwerp

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Clemens 65

Wolfa 293 Wolfenbüttel. Herzog August Bibliothek. MS
Guelferbytanus 293 Musica Handschrift

Date: ca. 1560?

Provenance: Ferrara?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: Rore 249, anon. 248

WrocS 1 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 1

Date: second half of 16th c.

Provenance: ?

Literature: Bohn Die Musikalischen Handschriften, pp.
1-7

Contains 7 conflicting attributions: Caen 107, Jacquet
9, Josquin 221, 245, Lasson 265, Walter 59, anon. 189

WrocS 2 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 2

Date: 1573

Provenance: ?

Literature: Bohn, Die Musikalischen Handschriften, pp.
7-13

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Gascongne 3, Gombert
156, Josquin 44, 221, 245, Richafort 39, Verdelot 172,
Werrecore 238

WrocS 3 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 3

Date: second half of 16th c.

Provenance: ?

Literature: Bihn, Die Musikalischen Handschriften, pp. 13-15

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Fevin 223, Lasson 265, anon. 224

WrocS 5 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 5

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Wroclaw

Contains 10 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81, Fevin 223, Gascongne 3, Josquin 44, 221, 245, Lasson 265, Richafort 39, Verdelot 172, Werrecore 238

WrocS 6 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 6

Date: 1567

Provenance: ?

Literature: Bohn, Die Musikalischen Handschriften, pp. 22-26

Contains 6 conflicting attributions: Lupus 109, Mouton 169, 249, 255, anon. 159, 221

WrocS 8 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 8

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Wroclaw

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 44, 201

WrocS 10 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 10

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Wroclaw

Contains 4 conflicting attributions: Ducis 63, Guyot 94, Verdelot 81, 228

WrocS 12 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 12

Date: early 17th c.

Provenance: Wroclaw

Contains 8 conflicting attributions: Caen 107, Verdelot 81, 228, 265, Walter 59, anon. 52, 174, 242

WrocS 15 Wrocław. Former Stadtbibliothek. MS Mus. 15

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: Wrocław
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Mouton 169

WrocU 42 Wrocław. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów
Muzycznych. MS Brieger Musikalien-sammlung K.42

Date: last third of 16th c.
Provenance: Brzeg
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 63

ZwiR 33/34 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XXXIII, 34

Date: ca. 1580
Provenance: Zwickau
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 4

ZwiR 34/35 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XXXIV, 35

Date: second half of 16th c.
Provenance: Zwickau
Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Walter 59

ZwiR 46/120 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XLVI, 120

Date: last third of 16th c.
Provenance: Zwickau
Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 107, 212

ZwiR 73 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXIII

Date: mid 16th c.
Provenance: Magdeburg, or Wittenberg?
Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Josquin 256,
Verdelot 123, anon. 179

ZwiR 74/1 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXIV, 1

Date: late 16th c.
Provenance: Zwickau
Contains 5 conflicting attributions: Arcadelt 81,
Clemens 135, Josquin 83, Phinot 242, Verdelot 228

ZwiR 75/1 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXV, 1

Date: 1621-3

Provenance: Aue and Zwickau

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 107

ZwiR 79/2 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXIX, 2

Date: second half of 16th c.

Provenance: Zwickau?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: Verdelot 228

ZwiR 81/2 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXXI, 2

Date: mid 16th c.

Provenance: Wittenberg

Contains 3 conflicting attributions: Moulu 202, Stoltzer
58, Verdelot 236

ZwiR 94/1 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XCIV, 1

Date: late 16th c.

Provenance: Zwickau?

Contains 2 conflicting attributions: anon. 44, 139

ZwiR 96/1 Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS XCVI, 1

Date: second half of 16th c.

Provenance: Wittenberg?

Contains 1 conflicting attribution: anon. 221

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