The Déploration as Musical Idea

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ABSTRACT

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Hitherto unidentified as such, the déploration as musical idea forms the subject of this study.

With a canon of thirty works spanning the late-fourteenth to the late-sixteenth centuries, the déploration tradition provides the historian with unique insight on composerly self-understanding during this era. Long mischaracterized as a mode of individual lament, the déploration may be more accurately defined as a mode of communal commemoration.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures, Examples, Appendices and Abbreviations \hspace{1cm} v

Dedication \hspace{1cm} xi

Introduction: Definition and Canon \hspace{1cm} 1

Chapter I: Mythic Origins of a Composerly Tradition

[1.1] The rhetoric of musico-poetic composition \hspace{1cm} 8

[1] Déploration of Machaut by Deschamps & Andrieu

[1.2] Machaut's conception of composerly vocation \hspace{1cm} 14

[1.3] Deschamps' transformation of Machaut's legacy \hspace{1cm} 20

[1.4] *Armes amours / O flour des flours* as discipular homage \hspace{1cm} 26

[1.5] Machaut as rendered tribute by Andrieu in the Chantilly Codex \hspace{1cm} 31

[2] Déploration of Binchois by Ockeghem

[1.6] Modes of musical lament and tribute \hspace{1cm} 41

[1.7] The composerly rhetoric of *Mort tu as navré + Miserere* \hspace{1cm} 50

[1.8] The dynastic rhetoric of musical homage \hspace{1cm} 62

[3 & 4] Déploration of Ockeghem by Crétin, Molinet, La Rue & Josquin

[1.9] Poetic agon as mode of commemoration \hspace{1cm} 67

[1.10] *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem* as emulatory tribute \hspace{1cm} 87

[1.11] *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* as agonistic homage \hspace{1cm} 99

[1.12] Origins of a musical idea \hspace{1cm} 108
Chapter II: Dynastic Legacies in France and the Netherlands

[II.1] Commemorating dynasties in poetry and music 110

[28] Déploiement of Sermisy by du Chemin & Cerpin

[II.2] The déploiement as dynastic homage (Part I): Musiciens chantres + Requiem 117

[12-14] Déploiement of Josquin by Susato, Avidius, Gombert, Vinders & Appenzeller

[II.4] Susato and the canonization of Franco-Flemish tradition 137
[II.5] Le Septiesme livre as collaborative memorial 141

[7] Déploiement of Ockeghem by Susato, Erasmus & Hellinck

[II.6] Ockeghem's Netherlandish commemorative community 167

[6] Déploiement of Févin by Antico, Crétin & Mouton

[II.7] Musical tradition at the French-royal chapel (Part II) 175
[II.8] Canon as composerly homage (Part I): Qui ne regrettroit le gentil Févin? 184
[II.9] Constructing legacies at court and in print 189

Chapter III: Vernacular Tributaries of Italy and England

[III.1] Vernacular composerly idioms 192

[23 & 24] Déploiement of Willaert by Gardano, Molino, Gabrieli & Willaert

[III.2] Il primo libro as collaborative memorial 197
[III.3] The déploiement as gregorica 200

[26 & 27] Déploiement of Willaert by Merulo, Scotto, Conforti & Benvenuti

[III.4] The déploiement as madrigale 214
[III.5] Willaert's composerly legacy (Part I) 226
[30] Déploration of Tallis by Byrd

[III.6] English musical culture and Franco-Flemish composerly tradition 234

[III.7] The déploration as consort song 242

[III.8] Insular and peninsular tributaries 249

Chapter IV: German *Humanismus* and a Tradition Reformed

[IV.1] The rhetoric of musical *Humanismus* 251


[IV.2] Othmayr's Nuremberger commemorative community 255

[IV.3] *In epitaphiis* as collaborative memorial 261


[IV.4] The déploration as Humanist *epitaphium* 269

[9 & 10] Déploration of Arthopius and of Sporer by Micyllus & Heugel

[IV.5] *Ars combinatoria* as composerly homage: *Parce hospes + Fortuna desperata* 280

[IV.6] Canon as composerly homage (Part II): *Tu ne cadis + Pie Iesu* 289


[IV.7] *Epicedion Thomae Sporeri* as collaborative memorial 309

[IV.8] The déploration as Humanist *apotheosis* 312

[IV.9] A commemorative tradition reformed 319

Chapter V: Peripatetic Tributaries of a Musical Dynasty

[V.1] Imperial tributaries 321

[V.2] The composerly rhetoric of *Musica quid defles*? 326

[V.3] Agricola as rendered tribute at Spanish-Habsburg court and in German print 333


[V.4] Baston, Lupi and the Netherlandish *ars perfecta* 339

[22] Déploration of Clemens by Berg & Neuber, Gardano & Vaet

[V.5] Clemens, Vaet and composerly tradition 349

[V.6] *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem* as traditionalist déploration 354

[25] Déploration of Willaert by Gardano & Rore

[V.7] The déploration as Humanist encomium 361

[V.8] Willaert's composerly legacy (Part II) 367

[29] Déploration of Vaet by Gardano & Regnart

[V.9] Gardano and the Austrian-Habsburg court 369

[V.10] Vaet, Regnart and the imperial chapel 371

[V.11] The déploration as dynastic homage (Part II): *Defunctum charites + Requiem* 374

[V.12] A peripatetic dynasty 386

Conclusion: The Déploration as Musical Idea 388

Works Cited 395

Appendices 420
# LIST OF FIGURES

[Fig. 1] The Déploration Tradition 2
[Fig. 2] French Poetic Déplorations (c1500-1600) 70
[Fig. 3] Canons in Susato's Cinquiesme and Sixiesme livres (1544-1545) 138
[Fig. 4] English Laments for Musicians (c1600) 237
[Fig. 5] Elegies Published by Berg & Neuber (1546-1564) 259
[Fig. 6] Gardano's Novus atque catholicus thesaurus musicus: Tomus V (1568) 370
[Fig. 7] Dynastic Genealogy of the Déploration Tradition 392

# LIST OF EXAMPLES

[Ex. 1] Andrieu, Armes amours / O flour des flour
[Ex. 2] Machaut, Messe de Nostre Dame – Gloria (mm. 31-45) 38
[Ex. 3] Plainchant Introit, Requiem aeternam 42
[Ex. 4] De Sarto, Romannor rex + Requiem (mm. 1-16) 42
[Ex. 5] Binchois, De plus en plus 46
[Ex. 6] Ockeghem, Missa De plus en plus – Kyrie (mm. 16-28) 47
[Ex. 7] Ockeghem, Mort tu as navré + Miserere 53
[Ex. 8] Ockeghem, Missa pro defunctis – Introit (mm. 61-67) 60
[Ex. 9] Plainchant Sequence, Dies illa (final phrase) 60
[Ex. 10] Ockeghem, Missa pro defunctis – Sicut cervus 91
[Ex. 11] La Rue, Missa pro defunctis – Sicut cervus 93
[Ex. 12] La Rue, *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem*  
94

[Ex. 13] Josquin, *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*  
100

107

[Ex. 15] Moulu, *Fiere atropos + Anxiatus est in me* (mm. 1-27)  
105

[Ex. 16] Certon, *Musiciens chantres + Requiem* (mm. 1-11)  
119

[Ex. 17] Sermisy, *Missa Ab initio – Agnus dei* (mm. 1-16)  
122

[Ex. 18] Certon, *Musiciens chantres + Requiem* (mm. 22-29)  
124

[Ex. 19] Certon, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-21)  
128

[Ex. 20] Sermisy, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-20)  
131

[Ex. 21] Gombert, *Musae Jovis + Circumdedertum me* (mm. 1-12)  
145

[Ex. 22] Plainchant Sequence, *Circumdedertum me gemitus mortis*  
147

[Ex. 23] Gombert, *Musae Jovis + Circumdedertum me* (mm. 94-107)  
150

[Ex. 24] Vinders, *O mors inevitabilis + Requiem* (mm. 1-28)  
152

155

[Ex. 26] Appenzeller, *Musae Jovis* (mm. 1-14)  
160

[Ex. 27] Josquin, *Domine exaudi orationem meam* (mm. 1-12)  
161

[Ex. 28] Appenzeller, *Musae Jovis* (mm. 29-36)  
162

[Ex. 29] Appenzeller, *Plangent Pierides + Cecidit corona* (mm. 1-14)  
164

[Ex. 30] Hellinck, *Ergone conticuit* (mm. 1-16)  
170

[Ex. 31] Hellinck, *Ergone conticuit* (mm. 144-164)  
171

[Ex. 32] Févin, *Missio pro defunctis – Sicut cervus* (mm. 1-26)  
176

[Ex. 33] Mouton, *Qui ne regrettroit le gentil Févin?*  
185

[Ex. 34] Willaert, *Dulce padrun* (mm. 1-15)  
200
[Ex. 35] Gabrieli, *Sassi Palae Sabbion* (mm. 1-19) 202
[Ex. 36] Gabrieli, *Sassi Palae Sabbion* (mm. 53-72) 204
[Ex. 39] Benvenuti, *Giunto Adrian* (mm. 1-20) 217
[Ex. 40] Benvenuti, *Giunto Adrian* (mm. 55-69) 219
[Ex. 41] Conforti, *S’hoggi son senz’honor* (mm. 1-21) 220
[Ex. 42] Conforti, *S’hoggi son senz’honor* (mm. 48-63) 223
[Ex. 43] Willaert, *Ricercar II* (mm. 1-29) 229
[Ex. 44] Conforti, *Ricercar VII* (mm. 1-21) 231
[Ex. 45] Tallis, *Ex more docti mistico* 239
[Ex. 46] Byrd, *Fantasia IV* (mm. 1-22) 240
[Ex. 47] Byrd, *Ye sacred Muses* 243
[Ex. 48] Puls, *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* (mm. 1-20) 263
[Ex. 49] Praetorius, *Harmonicae decus* (mm. 20-35) 264
[Ex. 50] Schwartz, *Grande decus Musis* (mm. 1-19) 265
[Ex. 51] Bucherus, *Grande decus Musis* (mm. 17-38) 266
[Ex. 52] Schwartz, *Prae reliquis quos nostra* (mm. 36-60) 267
[Ex. 54] Breitengraser, *Haud legem Christi sprevisi* (mm. 1-25) 270
[Ex. 55] Othmayr, *Non secus atque olim* (mm. 1-20) 272
[Ex. 56] Walter, *Helius e vivis* (mm. 1-14) 274
[Ex. 57] Othmayr, *Non secus atque olim* (mm. 55-92) 275
[Ex. 58] Arthropius, *Beatus qui intelliget* (mm. 1-20) 281
[Ex. 59] Anonymous, *Fortuna desperata* (tenor, mm. 1-17) 284
[Ex. 60] Heugel, *Parce hospes + Fortuna desperata* (mm. 1-39) 284
[Ex. 61] Heugel, *Tu ne cadis + Pie Jesu – I* (mm. 1-34) 291
[Ex. 62] Heugel, *Tu ne cadis + Pie Jesu – IV* (mm. 1-52) 296
[Ex. 63] Dietrich, *Quis hic chorus + Plangent eum – I* (mm. 60-100) 315
[Ex. 64] Anchieta, *Musica quid defles?* 309
[Ex. 65] Anchieta, *Domine Jesu Christe* (mm. 1-10) 318
[Ex. 66] Baston, *Spes mea* (mm. 1-18) 321
[Ex. 67] Lupi, *O florens rosa* (mm. 1-18) 323
[Ex. 68] Baston, *Eheu dolor + Requiem* (mm. 1-20) 326
[Ex. 69] Baston, *Eheu dolor + Requiem* (mm. 92-105) 328
[Ex. 70] Clemens, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-17) 332
[Ex. 71] Vaet, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-20) 333
[Ex. 72] Vaet, *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem* (mm. 1-19) 336
[Ex. 73] Vaet, *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem* (mm. 36-50) 339
[Ex. 74] Rore, *Concordes adhibete + Vive Adriane* (mm. 1-23) 343
[Ex. 75] Rore, *Concordes adhibete + Vive Adriane* (mm. 61-79) 346
[Ex. 76] Vaet, *Missa pro defunctis – Sicut cervus* 351
[Ex. 77] Regnart, *Defunctum charites + Requiem* 355
APPENDICES

[I] En triumphant de Cruel Dueil 420
[II] Omnium bonorum plena 420
[III] Mille quingentis 421
[IV] Mater floreat florscat 422
[V] Epitaphe sur la mort de M. C. Goudimel 422
[VI] Dum vastos Adriae fluctus 423
[VII] Grande decus Musis 423
[VIII] In funere M. Gasparis Othmari 423
[IX] Orpheus atque Linus 426
[X] Heu mihi 427
[XI] Qui canit observans 427
[XII] O dur mort 428
[XIII] In obitum Jacobi Vasi Caes. Max. Archiphonasci 429
[XIV] In funere Jacobi Vaeti Musici Caesari 429
ABBREVIATIONS

Acta musicologica = AM
Das Chorwerk = CW
Corpus mensurabilis musicae = CMM
Early Music = EM
Early Music History = EMH
Erbe deutscher Musik = EDM
Journal of the American Musicological Society = JAMS
Journal of Musicology = JM
Journal of Music Theory = JMT
Die Musikforschung = MF
Musica disciplina = MD
Musical Quarterly = MQ
Plainsong and Medieval Music = PMM
Proceedings/Journal of the Royal Music Association = P/JRMA
Revue de musicologie = RM
Revue belge de musicologie = RBM
Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis = TVNM
Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft = ZM
For Grampa Walt
INTRODUCTION:
DEFINITION AND CANON

One man's totality...
- Harris Feinsod

The entry for “Déploration” in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians begins thus:
“A poem lamenting someone's death, and by extension, any musical setting of it. However, the term is now normally confined to late Medieval and early Renaissance compositions inspired by a composer's death.”[1] The ambiguities constitutive of this definition raise questions hitherto unanswered in the scholarly literature. Are déplorations poetic laments or musical ones? Why are they “now normally confined to late Medieval and early Renaissance compositions”? Finally, what was it exactly that inspired composers to honor one another with déplorations? Ambiguities such as these are symptomatic of a wrongheaded approach to the déploration as historical phenomenon. This approach is, moreover, emblematic of scholarship on the subject in toto.

Herein the déploration has been long and unthinkingly thought a genre of lament most noteworthy for its posthumous celebration of exemplary individuality. And yet, the déploration ought not be evaluated according to the peaks and valleys of personal fortunes but rather understood as the collaborative product of a commemorative, composerly tradition. This is a study of the déploration tradition; its canon is enumerated chronologically in [Fig. 1]:

[1] Davitt Moroney, “Déploration,” in Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07582 (accessed July 5, 2012). Contrary to scholarly custom though true to its animating spirit, throughout this study I use the term “déploration” as a noun in two senses: First, with “of [name]” to refer to a general event (that is, the commemoration of an individual); second, with a possessive (e.g. “[composer/poet]’s déploration”) to refer to a specific composition and its maker.
## Fig. 1] The Déploration Tradition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Incipit(s)</th>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Deplored</th>
<th>Publisher(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Armes amoners / O flour de flours (a4)</td>
<td>Deschamps</td>
<td>Andreiu</td>
<td>Machaut (d. 1377)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mort ta as navré / Misereve (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>Binchois (d. 1460)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>En triumpant de Cruel Duel (a3)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Du Fay</td>
<td>?Binchois</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mille quingenis + Requiem (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>Obrecht père (d. 1488)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504) [as Requiem introit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ut heremita solus (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Flouer gemi crier + Requiem (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nymphes des bois + Requiem (a5)</td>
<td>Molinet</td>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>Petrucci (1508) [as Requiem introit] ; Susato (1545)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Absolve quasamus + Requiem (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Musica quid defles? (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Qui ne regrettst le gentil Fèvin? (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Mouton</td>
<td>Fèvin (d. 1512)</td>
<td>Antico (1520)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Absolve quasimus + Requiem (a7)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Recordare Domine (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tribulatio et angustia (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ergone conticuit (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ockeghem</td>
<td>?Busnoys (d. 1492)</td>
<td>Petrucci (1504)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Quis hic chorus + Plangent eum (a5)</td>
<td>Sapidus</td>
<td>Dietrich</td>
<td>Sporer (d. 1534)</td>
<td>Schoeffer &amp; Apriarius (1534)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tu ne cadis + Pie Jesu (a9)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Maciullus</td>
<td>Heugel</td>
<td>Sporer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Parce hospes + Fortuna desperata (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Maciullus</td>
<td>Heugel</td>
<td>Sporer</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Eheu dolor + Requiem (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Baston</td>
<td>Lupi (d. 1539)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Musae Jovis (a4)</td>
<td>Avidius</td>
<td>Appenzeller</td>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>Susato (1545)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>O moris inevitabilis + Requiem (a7)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Vinders</td>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>Susato (1545) ; Berg &amp; Neuber (1564)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Musae Jovis + Circumdecurant me (a6)</td>
<td>Avidius</td>
<td>Gombert</td>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>Susato (1545)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Non secus asuge olon (a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Venatorius</td>
<td>Othmayr</td>
<td>Breitengeser (d. 1542)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>E suoas Gaspar miserarum turbine (?a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Forster</td>
<td>Puls</td>
<td>Othmayr (d. 1553)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Harmonica decus (?a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Forster</td>
<td>Praetorius</td>
<td>Othmayr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Grande decus musis (?a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Forster</td>
<td>Bucherus</td>
<td>Othmayr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Prae religius quos nostra ferunt (?a4)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Forster</td>
<td>Schwartz</td>
<td>Othmayr</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Continuo lacrimas + Requiem (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Vae</td>
<td>Clemens (d. 1555)</td>
<td>Berg &amp; Neuber (1558) ; Gardano (1562)</td>
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<td>Sassi Palae Sabbion (a5)</td>
<td>Molino</td>
<td>Gabrieli</td>
<td>Willaert (d. 1562)</td>
<td>Gardano (1564)</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Pianta'l Grego Poeta (a5)</td>
<td>Molino</td>
<td>Willaert neveu</td>
<td>Willaert</td>
<td>Gardano (1564)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Concordeis adhibete + Vive Adrianse (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Stobius</td>
<td>Rore</td>
<td>Willaert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Glia销售 fr la anime beate (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Zucarino</td>
<td>Benvenuti</td>
<td>Willaert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>S'hogst son senhor honor (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Conforti</td>
<td>Willaert</td>
<td>Merulo (1567)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Misticiens chantres + Requiem (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Du Chesne</td>
<td>Sermsy (d. 1562)</td>
<td>Du Chemin (1570)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Defunctum chartes + Requiem (a7)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Regnart</td>
<td>Vae (d. 1567)</td>
<td>Gardano (1568)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sous le peoble faix (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Servin</td>
<td>Goudimel (d. 1572)</td>
<td>Pesnot (1578)</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Ye sacrèd Muses (a5)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>Tallis (d. 1585)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Hark alleluia (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Noel (d. 1597)</td>
<td>Short (1597)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Adieu thou court's delight (a6)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Weekes</td>
<td>Noel</td>
<td>Este (1600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Death hath deprived me (a6)</td>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>Weekes</td>
<td>Morley (d. 1602)</td>
<td>Weekes &amp; Barley (1608)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Indicates the work in question has been suggested as a déploration in the scholarly literature but does not participate in the tradition; **Boldface** marks work(s) published as part of a commemorative volume.
Granted, at a glance, [Fig. 1] might misleadingly suggest that, when seen through the lens of the déploration tradition, all composers are not created equal. This is because certain composers tower over the lot in quantity of déplorations devoted thereto—in particular, Ockeghem [3-4; 7], Josquin [12-14] and Willaert [23-27]. This fact is proportionally in keeping with the reputations enjoyed by these composers in historiography of the era's musical culture. Topping this tally, however, is Caspar Othmayr [16-21]—a fact that strikes a dissonant counterpoint to that composer's present-day anonymity. Ultimately, this dissonance speaks not simply to a quantitative but rather to a qualitative disjuncture in historiographical perception. Briefly put, to consider the déploration through the lens of individual glory is, paradoxically, contrary to the spirit that animates it. The déploration is not a genre of lament but rather a musical idea.²

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Nonetheless, individualism has long obscured—indeed obviated—historiographical understanding of the déploration tradition. This has not prevented relatively widespread familiarity with certain of its works. Indeed, in its historiographical guise as a genre of lament, the déploration occupies a prominent place in the history of Western music. This prominence is most evident in Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem, *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*. To musicians and historians alike has this work long served readily as emblem of the passing of a composerly torch from the greatest luminary of one generation to the next.³ While the symbolic adaptation of this déploration as composerly rite of passage has—as we shall see—some basis in historical fact (Josquin and Ockeghem were indeed recognized in their day as nonpareil and the former may have been the latter's student), its scholarly afterlife has been fueled for the most part by mytho-poetic tendencies. Furthermore, analogously to the mortmain that Josquin has long exerted on the musico-historical imagination, his déploration of Ockeghem has led scholars to conceive of the déploration tradition in overly-individualistic terms.⁴ In so conceiving of it, scholars have not simply overlooked the diverse communities whose collaborative fruits collectively comprise the déploration tradition; they have fundamentally misconstrued the essence of the déploration as musical idea. For example: The déploration has long been reflexively understood as strictly “musical” in the “modern” aesthetic sense of that term. This understanding, however, is

[3] For instance: “[T]his epochal work spans the ages: if the notation harks back to Ockeghem, and the use of *cantus firmus* connects it with medieval tradition, its melodic, harmonic, and emotional habit, the uncontested leadership of the soprano, and the subordinate character of the other voices make it appear as a choral prefiguration of the monodic style to appear one hundred years later—but a monodic style of a spontaneity of expression that it took a Monteverdi to recreate in the style of the emerging Baroque” (Edward Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518. A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke of Urbino* [Chicago & London: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968], 216).

misleading for two reasons. First, it (not uniquely) relies on an anachronistic conception of the “composer” as “autonomous artist.” Second, in its composerly aspect, the déploration is in fact both “musical” and “poetic” in the sense those aesthetic categories are now understand. Moreover, the déploration is, according to the beliefs of the poets and composers who upheld the déploration tradition, “musical” in a sense far more catholic than now customarily allowed.

Collectively taken, these cultural differences are the most plausible reason that the déploration as musical idea has thus far eluded scholarly comprehension. Likewise plausibly prohibitive in this respect is the heterogeneous terminology that contemporaneous sources employ in denoting the works of the déploration tradition. One paradox encountered in attempting to attain historical understanding of a tradition full of them: Only a small fraction of works of the déploration tradition were referred to as such by the poets, musicians and publishers who made them. Déplorations were first penned in name by French poets of the sixteenth century. The inaugural work of the déploration tradition, however, Deschamps and Andreiu's of Machaut, takes the form of a ballade—a form also adapted by the second extant déploration, Ockeghem's for Binchois. Paradoxically, Crétin's poetic déploration of Ockeghem, the first of its kind so named, was never set to music. In it, however, Crétin called out fellow poet Moline for not having himself duly deplored the departed composer. One of Moline's two responses, an épitaphe, Nymphes des bois, occasioned a setting to music by Josquin. As aforementioned, the type of tribute rendered Ockeghem by Josquin proved exemplary to historians, who have by convention come to refer to all such “composer's laments” as déplorations. Like the symbolic composerly relationship Nymphes des bois + Requiem embodies, this nomenclatural convention has some basis in historical fact. It finds justification in particular in two sixteenth-century sources that preserve Nymphes des bois + Requiem—specifically, the Medici Codex (c1518) and
Susato’s *Le Septiesme livre de chansons* (1545). Both refer to *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* as a déploration. Such nomenclatural unanimity is scarcely to be found, however, among the heterogeneous sources that preserve the other twenty-nine works of the déploration tradition. These employ a bevy of terms—by name, *apotheosis, epicedion, epitaphium, lamentatio, naenia,* and *monodia,* not to mention vernacular *greghesche* and *madrigali,* a French *complainte* and an English elegy.

These terms emblematize not simply aesthetic but, more fundamentally, social diversity. Accordingly, this study considers each déploration as the collaborative product of a unique commemorative community. In its epiphenomenal, historiographical aspect, then, its central questions are these: Of what nature is the relationship between the composer deplored and the one deploring? Between the author of the poem and composer who set it to music? Between poets and musicians and the publishers who collected, printed, and commissioned déplorations? Of these printers to the aristocratic patrons to whom such publications were dedicated and these poets and musicians lived in service? Finally, between all these individuals, regardless of origin, and the déploration as musical idea?

Briefly to survey the historical territory to be covered in this study: In its formative stages, the social foundation for the déploration tradition was the court culture of the French and Burgundian aristocracy. Thereafter, in addition to being upheld at French-royal and Habsburg-imperial courts, the déploration tradition ramified into four distinct tributaries—those are, Italian, English, German and Netherlandish. Chapter I treats the déploration as inaugurated and first cultivated by fifteenth-century composers and poets in French-royal and Burgundian-ducal service. Chapter II treats those déplorations that are the products of sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers rendering tribute to dynastic musical legacies at court and in print. Chapter
III chronicles the Italianate and singular English tributaries of the déploration tradition—déplorations that stand apart on account of the vernacular elegies they set and composerly idioms those settings adapt. Chapter IV treats the German branch of déploration tradition, chronicling its adaptation to civic culture and adaptation to Humanism. Finally, Chapter V traces the déploration tradition as upheld by peripatetic tributaries of a Netherlandish composerly dynasty.

Throughout this study, a question the historian of the déploration tradition must continually confront, is this: What unites these thirty works, spanning as they do two centuries and the whole of Europe? In short, all testify to the déploration as musical idea. What does this mean? For the moment, may it suffice to observe that the geographical and temporal breadth of the déploration tradition dictates that its unity must be sought in the demonstrable cohesion of the communities that upheld it. For these diverse communities déplorations served many different ends. Each also, at the same time, served one and the same end. It is this teleological unity that, historical particularity notwithstanding, assures the coherence of the déploration as musical idea.
CHAPTER I:
MYTHIC ORIGINS OF A COMPOSERLY TRADITION

[I.1] The rhetoric of musico-poetic composition

In order to understand the historical significance of the déploration tradition we must first understand its origins. This is, in part, not difficult. Like every commemorative tradition, the déploration tradition originated from a communal desire to honor the memory of a departed individual. What sets the déploration tradition apart is that the communities who upheld it were at once concerned with rendering tribute to a composerly legacy and pledging homage to a vocational dynasty. Chronicling the makeup of these communities will be the central historiographical task of this study. A theoretical question that must first be addressed before delving into historical specifics, however, is this: What is the nature of composition as understood by the poets and musicians who inaugurated the déploration tradition?

In the interest of ascertaining the nature of composition as understood by those who forged and upheld the déploration tradition in its earliest stages, it will be of use to explore the content of two concepts as they then related to its theory and practice—those are, mousike and ars rhetorica. The significance of the first, mousike, has primarily to do with the metaphysically-enhanced status that music enjoyed in the West from its mythic prehistory through the “Renaissance.”[1] The significance of the second, ars rhetorica, has to do with a particular

[1] I place the term “Renaissance” here in quotation marks (and will continue to do so, along with its correlative “Middle Ages” and other binary oppositions not immanent to the déploration as musical idea) in order to qualify it as denotative of a chronological span only. For the rationale in doing so, cf. Richard Taruskin, Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music: Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009), 380-385.
understanding of the craft of verbal composition as practiced and theorized over the course of that same period. While particular socio-cultural forces determine the scope of these two concepts at any given historical moment, generally speaking, one cultural constant over this longue durée is that theory and practice were, however abstractly, inextricably entwined. In reconstructing the matrix of theories and practices from which the déploration tradition emerges, then, some intellectual-historical context will be useful.

By the late-fourteenth century in France—that is, at the time and place of the origins of the déploration tradition—both mousike and ars rhetorica derived meaning most immediately from the tradition of the seven liberal arts—those are, trivium and quadrivium, comprised respectively of the artes of discourse (i.e. grammar, logic, rhetoric) and number (i.e. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music). This sevenfold taxonomy was the product of a pedagogical and scholarly tradition elevating music to privileged status among all disciplines of knowledge on account of its embodiment of perennial truth. Musica to the Latin “Middle Ages,” the locus classicus for mousike as an emblem of cosmic truth is the philosophy of Plato, who was influenced above all in his thinking on the subject by Pythagoras. In Plato's Pythagorean view, sounding concord as phenomenal emanation of noumenal harmony (from armonia or “fitting-together,” a carpenter's term) serves as metaphor for the primacy of kosmos (translatable as both “order” and “ornament”) subtending all creation. That order is, for Plato as for all Pythagoreans, numerical proportion. Indeed, a basic Pythagorean tenet holds the same ratios governing the disposition of the universe to govern the division of the monochord into consonant intervals.  

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Such reasoning by analogy forms the basis for the fabled the music of the spheres—a doctrine that finds its geometric counterpart in the *tektraktys*, a triangle made of ten elements that are arranged in successive rows of one-two-three-four, which, according to Sextus Empiricus, one of the earliest Pythagorean commentators, constitutes nothing less than the “fount and root of ever-flowing nature.” Upon the death of Pythagoras his followers are said to have divided into two groups; *mathematikoi* (“the dividers”) and *akousmatikoi* (“the listeners”). The former labored to develop Pythagoras' insights into the fields of geometry and arithmetic; the latter insisted on the singular import of cosmic integration as spiritual practice. Over the course of the next two millennia theory and practice were likewise divergent for composers, as Pythagorean doctrine was of more relevance to *musica speculativa* than to the actual craft of composition. To be sure, certain aspects of composerly tradition from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries derive identifiably and directly from Pythagorean principles—for instance, the technique of composing isoperiodic structures that organize rhythmic patterns into strata governed by symbolic ratios. On the whole, however, composition then took its cues more frequently from the exigencies of actual performance than it did the abstract dictates of theorists. Thus, though still quadrivial in all essentials that formed the basis for theorizing sound as such as musical, the actual craft of composition then equally if not more practically required of the would-be composer a refined verbal aesthetic sensibility.

As such, it naturally allied with the craft of versification, as well as the art of rhetoric. Like *Musica*, *ars rhetorica* was of central importance to the seven liberal arts. Unlike *Musica*, its


origins were pragmatic. Rhetoric was first practiced to noteworthy effect in Athens, where it fulfilled a crucial function in the public sphere of the agora. Here rhetoric was first and foremost oratorical, consisting in verbal ornamentation employed to exhortatory effect. It was not, however, practiced uncontroversially. Plato and Aristotle debated the value of rhetoric along traditional idealist and pragmatist lines, weighing the ethical implications and epistemological limits of doxa (“opinion”) versus episteme (“knowledge”). Characteristically, Roman adaptation of this Greek tradition moved its focus away from theoretical debate and toward practical implementation. In the writings of Cicero and Quintilian, taxonomies of rhetorical devices begin systematically to be formulated and rhetoric to be thought of not only as an art of legal disputation but a discipline teaching the invention and formalization of verbal structures construed generally. Over the course of the next millennium, Scholastic philosophers sharpened this Roman understanding of rhetoric by codifying its pedagogical function as endowing the student with tools for the embellishment of language. In this way, rhetoric came gradually to have ever more in common with poetics, or the craft of versification. Accordingly, by the fourteenth century, rhetoric was understood variably and sometimes simultaneously according to two complementary yet distinct paradigms: First, as a metalanguage of analysis; second, as practical instruction in verbal composition. By the fifteenth century, these two paradigms begin to mix with theories of rhetoric from antiquity resurrected by disciples of the then-nascent studia humanitatis. Humanism accented two aspects of the Scholastic rhetorical tradition in particular—on the one hand, rhetoric's public function as an art of elevated speech; on the other, its general role in education. Accordingly, Humanists novelty divided rhetoric into three categories; the ars

poetica of versification, the ars dictaminis of letter-writing and the ars praedicandi of preaching. At root of all three, however, was the same basic principle of a discipline teaching its students how to give form of expression to a thought—an discipline likewise applicable to the craft of musical composition.

On account of the elliptical bent of theorists of the era, the specificities of the relationship between music and rhetoric remain vague. The conceptualization of rhetorical devices as correlative to formal aspects of music is not to be found in theoretical treatises before about 1500, which, up to this point, tend to focus, if at all, on general stylistic categories.⁶ And yet, though theories systematically linking music and rhetoric are not found until later in history, there is nonetheless already during the “Middle Ages” demonstrable evidence of a tradition relating rhetorical ideas to musical structures by virtue of their mutual relationship to versification. Such relations were encouraged by a synthetic mode of reception characteristic of “Medieval” and “Renaissance” theorists alike that entailed an ecumenical embrace of ancient philosophy and its reconciliation with theological doctrine. Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (c400), for instance, is an allegorical exposition of the seven liberal arts that casts them as disciplines enabling the intellect incrementally to ascertain the kosmos governing creation. Music is accorded pride of place in Capella's schema as the last of the seven arts treated, here under the more catholic rubric of “Harmony.”⁷ Harmony, for Capella as for Plato, sits atop a hierarchical schema ultimately consubstantial with theological doctrine. In a similarly-synthetic spirit, the formal aspects of versification were construed along musical lines

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by Cassiodorus (c470-570). In Cassiodorus' aesthetic schema, *musica* is tripartite. More specifically, *musica harmonica* governs relationships of pitch, whereas *metrica* and *rhythmica* govern those dimensions of poetry construable as musical. 

Thus was the relationship between music, rhetoric and poetry complicated and variable yet essential. Certainly, determining the specificity of this relationship as understood by each individual who participated in the déploration tradition is outside the scope of this study. Nonetheless, the institutional continuity of education in the seven liberal arts throughout the “Middle Ages” and “Renaissance” at aristocratic and ecclesiastical institutions where musicians and non-musicians alike learned their craft provides sturdy foundation for the hypothesis that rhetoric then fundamentally influenced the conceptualization of musico-poetic composition. Apart from such general relevance for aesthetics of the era, these connections between music, poetry and rhetoric have been dwelt on at length here because arguably the strongest evidence that these *artes* were bound together in the minds of “Medieval” and “Renaissance” poets and musicians alike is found in the works of the déploration tradition in its formative stages. However variable the specificities of its relationship to particular techniques, it is clear that the art of rhetoric was crucial to the self-understanding of the poets and musicians who inaugurated the déploration tradition, and the prominent role it plays therein provides a key to unlocking the unique composerly origins of the déploration as commemorative practice.

[1] Déploration of Machaut by Deschamps & Andrieu

To consider the first déploration as such is to encounter a number of paradoxes. The first and most general of these paradoxes is that the makers of this déploration of Machaut, Andrieu and Deschamps, were, quite naturally, unaware of the fact that, in so making it, they were inaugurating a tradition. As much might be said of the inaugural work of any tradition, recognizable as they often are only in hindsight. And yet, the first déploration exhibits an even more paradoxical relationship to the tradition it inaugurates. To understand why we must first determine the stakes of Machaut's legacy as rendered tribute by Deschamps and Andrieu.

[I.2] Machaut's conception of composerly vocation

That the death of Machaut occasioned the inaugural work of a commemorative musico-poetic tradition is fitting in light of the status he at present enjoys in histories of both poetry and music. As he has been ever since, Machaut was seen immediately upon his death as an innovator in both fields of artistic activity. Specifically, today Machaut stands as most eminent practitioner of the then-fledgling art of mensural polyphony while simultaneously crowning the poetic tradition of the troubadours and trouvères. Easy to forget when faced with his posthumous reputation, however, is the fact that Machaut was also but one member of a socio-cultural world whose customs form the basis for his own works as well as those of the déploration tradition. To wit, Machaut's professional identity is inextricably related to his activity as musico-poetic craftsman as well as his aesthetic self-understanding—those are, the practical and theoretical stakes, respectively, of his composerly legacy. Furthermore, it is within that socio-cultural world and by means of its symbolic codes that Machaut articulates his conception of composerly vocation—a conception of central interest to the historian of the déploration tradition.
The arc of Machaut's professional career, itself typical of both poets and musicians treated in this chapter, is thus worthy of brief discussion. Born in Champagne, Guillaume de Machaut (c1300-1377) spent his professional career in aristocratic and ecclesiastical service as a *clerc-écrivain.* His qualifications for this career are obscure. Not known to have attained any university-bestowed distinction, Machaut is nonetheless named among a group of “magistri” in a Reims document of 1342, and Deschamps frequently refers to him as “maistre,” though this may have been a figurative honorific. Regardless of educational circumstances, by 1323 Machaut is in service to Jean de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, in which capacity he would remain for the next seventeen years. In 1340 Machaut was appointed canon of the cathedral at Reims. After the death of Bonne de Luxembourg, daughter of Jean (whom he continued to serve after Jean's death), Machaut gained favor with King Charles II of Navarre, at whose court he served for most of the 1350s. During the following decade Machaut served at a number of other courts, including those of Charles de Normandie, Duke Jean de Berry and King Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus.

At these institutions Machaut's abilities were pressed into service in the interest of quotidian business. Reciprocally, the customs of these courts simultaneously served as forge for Machaut's aesthetic self-understanding. What, then, is the nature of this aesthetic self-understanding, and how does it relate to Machaut's professional service? Most obviously determinant in this respect is the relationship of the chivalric ideals governing the aristocratic culture of Machaut's day to the principal theme of his poetry, courtly love. Though an innovator in other ways, this subject-matter Machaut treats entirely within the confines of tradition. *Inter alia,* that tradition dictated that veneration of the muse is always to be undertaken with a higher

purpose in mind. Accordingly, Machaut's long-form poetry is allegorical à la Roman de la rose and filled with exempla glossed for content in the tradition of Ovide moralisé. Likewise conventional for his era, intimately interwoven in Machaut's works are aesthetic theory and composerly practice. His Remede de Fortune, for instance, a romance modeled on Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, also serves as a de facto ars poetica by virtue of its comprehensive generic and technical scope. Indeed, contrary to received wisdom concerning the self-consciousness of “Medieval” artists, Machaut expounded often and explicitly on the techniques of his craft as writer of poetry and composer of music. Attentiveness to the nuances of Machaut's aesthetic formulations reveals a complex aesthetic hierarchy that determines the horizon of reception for his composerly legacy. And yet, to call Machaut a “writer of poetry and composer of music” is misleading. In fact, Machaut relentlessly sought the union of poetry and music. Unfettered by modern aesthetic categories, Machaut's own term for himself as musico-poetic craftsman is “fayseur” or (roughly) “maker of artistic material in French”—that is, specifically “maker” and not “creator,” a distinction consequent of the fact that creation is by nature out of nothing, a miraculous labor of which only divine agency is capable. For Machaut, the formal determinants of this making are “Scens, Retorique et Musique.” This Machaut elaborates upon most explicitly in the prologue to his Dit dou vergier (c1372). Here the reader encounters Machaut's conception of composerly vocation in its most literal etymological sense of a “calling.” Specifically, the poet is visited by “Nature” allegorically personified and charged thereby with the duty of devoting himself to the craft of composition. In charging him thus, Nature presents the poet with the three aforementioned composerly determinants and defines the function of each:
Machaut's conception of composerly vocation, as we might say, privileges nature over nurture.

Specifically, Nature relates that she formed Machaut “a part” (4) and especially for the task of making “fait” (19; “compositions” or, more generally, “deeds” or “things made”). It is tempting to discern here an embryonic version of the “artist-as-genius” idea that would later come to dominate musical life in particular and aesthetic theory in general. And yet, the difference between that idea and Machaut's conception of composerly vocation is crucial and instructive.

Machaut's prologue understands the poet-musician not, as the artist-as-genius would later in

history be understood, as possessing creative talent on the order of divinity. Rather, he is conceived of as divinely-chosen to serve as medium for Nature, herself the true artist. In short, for Machaut as for every poet and musician who participates in the déploration tradition, composition ought not to be understood as ex nihilo creation by an autonomous artist but rather as craftsman-like elaboration of divinely-ordained material undertaken in service to benefactors both worldly and celestial.

Consequent of the hierarchical relationship between Nature and the poet-musician outlined in the prologue of the Dit dou vergier is an aesthetic hierarchy conditioning Machaut's understanding of the craft of composition, atop of which sits “Scens.” “Scens” governs both “Retorique” and “Musique”—that is to say, these latter are subservient tools for giving form of expression to the former. In particular, “Musique” furnishes the “chans,” consisting of melody and harmony (those are, the pitch-determined aspects of composition). “Retorique,” on the other hand, governs meter and rhyme (those are, formal properties of verbal material traditionally held to distinguish poetry from prose). Later on in the prologue, Machaut expounds further on the function of Rhetoric in the composery process:

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Retorique versefier
Fait l'amant et metrefier,
Et si fait faire jolis vers,

Noviaus et de metre divers,
L'un est de rime serpentine,
L'autre equivoque ou leonine,
L'autre croisie ou retrograde,
Lay, chanson, ronde, ou balade;

Aucune fois rime sonant,
Et quant il li plaist, consonant.
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Rhetoric causes the lover
To versify and to metrify,
And thus makes him compose pretty verses,

New and of varied meter;
One is in serpentine rhyme,
Another equivocal or leonine,
The other acrostic or retrograde,
Lai, chanson, rondeau or balade;

With sounding rhyme in every case,
And, when it pleases him, harmonizing.
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Et li aourne son langage
Par maniere plaisant et sage.  

Thus it adorns his language
In a pleasing and discerning manner.

In Machaut's account, “Scens” is subjected by the craftsman by means of “Retorique” to a
transformative “maniere” of “aourner” or “manner of adornment.” As formulated by Machaut,
this manner of adornment encompasses both particular methods of composition (153; “croisie ou
retrograde”) as well as general ones producing results he defines in more fanciful terms (152;
“serpentine” or “leonine”). Thus does Rhetoric give linguistic form to Sense through specific
structural devices like poetic forms (154; “lay, chanson, rondel ou balade”) as well as, more
generally, the formation of aesthetically-pleasing sound-patterns (i.e. principally, though not
exclusively, end-rhyme). The aesthetic product, what we would nowadays call poetry, is to
Machaut the result of Rhetoric and Music plied in consort in order to give pleasant form of
expression to Sense, immanent to language but not exhausted thereby and of divine inspiration.

To conclude this consideration of Machaut's conception of composerly vocation:
Regardless of genre or modern aesthetic divisions, the subject-matter or “Scens” of Machaut's
works is conditioned socially by his professional activity as a *clerc-écrivain.*  
This activity is
inseparable in turn from Machaut's conception of composerly vocation. This conception of
composerly vocation is predicated upon an aesthetic hierarchy that determines the form of his
works. According to this aesthetic hierarchy, Sense is given form through language by means of
Music and Rhetoric, both composerly tools for the embellishment thereof. These two tools are


equally essential components of the composerly process, which, in Machaut's account, does not
distinguish in the end between musical and poetic aesthetic objects. Indeed, the true nature of
Machaut's craft cannot be defined by means of modern aesthetic categories such as these but
rather only within an understanding of art as the elaboration of divinely-ordained material.

[1.3] Deschamps' transformation of Machaut's legacy

The conception of composerly vocation detailed above constitutes the theoretical dimension of
Machaut's legacy as rendered tribute in the first déploration. Before proceeding to observe how
“Retorique” and “Musique” give form of expression to “Scens” in the déploration of Machaut,
however, it will be useful to consider the relationship between Machaut and the author of its
poem Deschamps. For not only do these two “fayseurs” exhibit an exemplary relationship vis-à-
vis the déploration tradition in toto; additionally, Deschamps transforms Machaut's legacy in a
manner especially illustrative of the finer aesthetic aspects of his déploration thereof. How so?
To answer this question, we must first consider Deschamps' life and works.

While the lacunary biographies of most who feature in the déploration tradition make
determining the precise nature of the relationship between composer deplored and the one
deploring difficult, in this earliest of déplorations such is, paradoxically, not the case. Eustaches
Deschamps (c1340-1404) was, like Machaut, from Champagne, in particular the region of
Vertus. The hypothesis, long entertained, that Deschamps may have been Machaut's relative
(specifically his nephew) comes from the former’s Balade 447, wherein Deschamps refers to

[14] For Deschamps’ biography, cf. the introduction to Eustaches Deschamps, Selected Poems, ed. Ian Laurie &
Machaut as he “Qui m'a nourri et fait maintes doucours.” Possibly figurative, the verb “nourri” ("nourished,” by extension, “raised”) has been interpreted literally by subsequent historians interested in ratifying artistic filiation by means of the biological. There is, nonetheless, demonstrable evidence of acquaintance between the two. Though not always a trustworthy source concerning his own exploits, Deschamps, in his Balade 127, tells of the delivery of Machaut's Voir dit to Count Louis III of Flanders—a task entrusted him by the poet himself. Such a duty was quite the honor for Deschamps, of humble origins. Like Machaut, it is unlikely that Deschamps had any significant formal training. This unlikelihood suggests that Deschamps' success at his various courtly posts was due to his innate talents exclusively. These got him far. From 1368 Deschamps was in service to Charles V, to Duke Philip of Orléans from 1375, and, during the last decades of his life, to Charles' successor, Charles VI.

In these professional capacities Deschamps' most eminent predecessor was Machaut. Archetypically embodying a dynamic to recur consistently throughout the déploration tradition, the relationship between Machaut to Deschamps was that of master to disciple. As is typical in such relationships, Deschamps developed his own artistic practice and aesthetic theories immanently from those of Machaut, while simultaneously transforming them in the process. Most significantly with respect to Deschamps' transformation of Machaut's legacy, both generally and for the purposes of the déploration tradition in particular, is his distinction between “musique naturele” and “musique artificiele.” This distinction Deschamps formulates most explicitly in his L'Art de dictier (c1392), a treatise on versification modeled directly on Machaut's Remede de Fortune and the prologue to the Dit dou vergier. To understand

[15] It is, moreover, in this Balade that the first attested use of the term “poète” as applied to a vernacular rather than a classical author occurs; cf. Brownlee, Poetic Identity, 7.
Deschamps' distinction between these two types of music, however, we must first understand his conception of the relationship between music and poetry. We may begin to observe Deschamps' conception of the relationship between music and poetry in the structural division of his treatise, which is comprised of two parts; the first, a discourse on the seven liberal arts; the second, a discourse on poetics. That these two topics are given equal weight in Deschamps' treatise testifies to the waning practical influence of the latter and waxing importance of the former. Traditionally, music figures most prominently in the first part of *L'Art du dictier*; the section Deschamps devotes to it dwarfs those devoted to the other six liberal arts. And yet, while the pride of place Deschamps accords music is traditional, his theoretical understanding of its relationship to poetry is less so, and knottier. To begin: Whereas Scholastic thinking considered music exclusively as part of the *quadrivium* and therefore essentially as a branch of arithmetic, Deschamps insists on the autonomy of music from arithmetic while simultaneously asserting its more natural kinship to—indeed ultimate subsumption under the rubric of—poetry. That Deschamps does so adumbrates his discipular relationship to Machaut, consistently concerned as the latter was with the fundamental unity of the two. To understand how Deschamps does so, however, we must have further recourse, specifically to *Musica*. Metaphysically, Deschamps, like Machaut, remains entirely within Pythagorean tradition. This Pythagoreanism is most evident in Deschamps' attitude toward rhythm. Not uniquely, Deschamps holds rhythm to determine the musicality of poetry. Rhythm itself is determined by number. The essence of number, providing the very possibility of all rhythm, is what Boethius calls “the same.”

same” is, for a Boethian and a Pythagorean like Deschamps, a formal essence immanent to the soul of the poet and thus not something that can be learned. Thus do we arrive at the crux of the matter. Deschamps distinguishes between the two aforementioned types of music, “artificial” and “natural,” as follows:

L'artificiele est celle dont dessus est faicte mention; et est appellee artificiele de son art, car par ses vj notes, qui sont appellees us, re, my, fa, sol, la, l'en puett aprandre a chanter, acorder, doubler, quintoiyer, tiercoier, tenir, deschanter, par figure de notes, par clefs et par lignes, le plus rude homme du monde … L'autre musique est appellee naturelle pour ce qu'elle ne peut estre aprinsee a nul, se son propre couragement ne s'i applique, et est une musique de bouche en proferant parroules metrifiques, aucunefoiz en laiz, autrefoiz en balades, autrefois en rondeaux cengles et doubles, et en chancons baladees.17

The artificial one is that of which mention is made below; and it is called artificial after its art, because by its six notes, which are called ut, re, mi, fa, sol and la, one can learn to sing, harmonize, double, fifth, third, tenorize, discant, by figure of notes, by clefs and lines—even the most uncultured man of the world … The other music is called natural because it cannot be learned by anyone, if their own spirit isn't naturally inclined thereto, and is a music of the mouth offering forth metrified words, sometimes in lais, other times in ballades, other times in rondeaux single and double, and in balladed songs.

It is clear from this passage that Deschamps' distinction between “artificial” and “natural” music is not simply one separating “instrumental” from “vocal” music or “abstract” from “language-based” approaches to composition, though such distinctions are indeed here pertinent.18 Rather, by “artificial” music Deschamps means to group under one term all musical phenomena that are

[17] Deschamps, L'Art de dictier, 60-62. And yet: “Et aussi ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une aveques l'autre, que chascune puett bien estre appellee musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcées et pointoyees par doucour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsois comme un mariage en conjunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieux seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy” (ibidem, 64); cf. Machaut: “Musique est une science / Qui veut qu'on rie et chante et dance” (Machaut, Oeuvres: Vol. 1, 9; V:85-86).

[18] While not an “artificial musician” per se, there are ways of construing Deschamps' poetry as rhetorically musical, and it is in this metaphorical aspect that his transformation of Machaut's practical composerly legacy may be most clearly observed. In particular, Deschamps' variety of enumerative techniques, his multiplicity of narrative voices (unmarked as such diegetically in the poetry) and propensity for mixing linguistic registers may all be construed, when considered in consort, as type of “rhetorical polyphony.” On Deschamps as rhetorical musician, cf. Brownlee, Poetic Identity, esp. 211; Catherine Jewers, “L'Art de musique et le gai sentement: Guillaume de Machaut, Eustaches Deschamps and the Medieval Poetic Tradition,” in Eustaches Deschamps, ed. Sinnreich-Levi: 163-179, esp. 164-168 and I.S. Laurie, “Verbal polyphony in Deschamps,” ibidem: 97-107.
quantifiable and thus subject to systematic theoretical formulation. Although Deschamps distinguishes qualitatively between formal properties proper to “artificial” and “natural” music, then, what ultimately distinguishes the two for him is learnability. A theoretical understanding of music can be taught; the craft of composition cannot. Such “natural” music “cannot be learned by anyone”—one's spirit must be inclined to it, which amounts to saying one must be called upon to the task.

As in Machaut, Deschamps’ insistence on “natural” composerly ability is predicated on a conception of vocation as of divine ordainment. It thus gives rise to an aristocracy of talent. And yet, contrary to what might be imagined upon encountering such rhetoric, this is not talent to be plied in the name of l'art pour l'art but rather in service to the moral good. Here is where rhetoric comes into play, where, in Deschamps, it plays a much more multifaceted role than it does in Machaut. Essentially, to serve the common good by means of dutiful reportage is for Deschamps the principal task of the poet, whose craft is determined above all in this respect by the art of rhetoric.\footnote{On this dynamic in Deschamps, cf. Laura Kendrick, “Rhetoric and the Rise of Public Poetry: The Career of Eustache Deschamps,” \textit{Studies in Philology} 80/1 (1983): 1-13 and, as it pertains to the next generation of French poets (esp. Crétin and Molinet), cf. François Cornilliat, “\textit{Or ne mens}”: \textit{Couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les \textit{Grands Rhétoriqueurs}” (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1994), esp. 483-560.} This understanding of poetic duty as fulfilled through rhetoric is expounded upon by Deschamps most explicitly in his Balade 1367, which is devoted to “Comment tout homme de pratique doit parler selon rethorique.” It opens as follows:

\begin{quote}
Qui bien šçavoit veult l'art de theorique, He who wants to know well the art of theory,
Avant qu'il soit bon rethoricien, Before he becomes a good rhetorician,
JIii. poins fault avoir en sa pratique: Must have four points in his method:
Parler briefment, en substance et en bien To speak briefly, substantively and well
5 Hardiement, saigement, et que rien Boldly, wisely, and such that nothing
Ne soit obmis qui a son faict affiere; Be omitted which has to do with his subject;
Par membres doit diviser sa matiere, He must divide his material into parts,
\end{quote}
En tout moien moustrer s'entencion
Par douce voix et par seure maniere:

10 Rethorique a en ce parfection.

Qu'il soit fonde en gramaire, en logique,
Qu'il ait veu maint acteur ancien,
Valerium, Tulle et Policratique,
Tite Live, Seneque et Pricien,

15 Virgile aussi, Socrates, Lucien,
Qui de parler a droit furent lumiere;
Sanz dire mot ne devant ne derriere,
Fors que tous jours faire vraie oraison:
En tous leurs diz s'il est qui bien y quiere,

20 Rethorique a en ce parfection.²⁰

To show his intention in every manner
By sweet voices and by sure manner:
Rhetoric has herein perfection.

That he be founded in grammar, in logic
That he has observed many an ancient poet,
Valerium, Tully and Policrat
Titus Livy, Seneca and Prician,
Vergil too, Socrates, Lucian,
Who were luminaries of speaking rightly;
Without saying a word neither before nor after,
Who in public every day made a real speech:
In all their poems, if anyone who looks there for it,
Rhetoric has herein perfection.

Ultimately closer in spirit to the classical theories of Cicero and Quintilian than to those of Machaut, Deschamps understands rhetoric not simply the art of persuasion but rather nothing less than the science of articulating thought per se. Beyond this general formulation, that rhetoric is of specific fundamental importance to Deschamps' professional understanding of composerly vocation is evident in a number of details in the passage above. For instance, grammar and logic, traditionally autonomous disciplines within the seven liberal arts, here appear (11) cast as lower realms of knowledge propaedeutic to rhetoric. Significantly for any overly-schematic historiographical model that would confine such instances of emulation to the “Renaissance,” Deschamps insists that observation of “ancient” predecessors is for the poet a sure path to rhetorical perfection. Such an emulatory dynamic should not be construed, however, in a purely aesthetic sense; nor is the material which is to be emulated for Deschamps primarily aesthetic. Rather, for Deschamps as for his ancient models and indeed for all those who feature in the déploration tradition, rhetoric—not uniquely among crafts and disciplines of knowledge—is first and foremost ethical and never merely aesthetic.

To review: Deschamps transforms Machaut's legacy in a number of significant ways. To begin: Implicit in Machaut, Deschamps makes explicit the idea of composerly vocation as a unique, innate talent. “Natural music,” as Deschamps calls it, cannot be learned, though disposition thereto ought not on this account to be conceived of as an outcome achievable through individual effort but rather as bestowable only by divine grace. Furthermore (and further complicating matters from a definitional point of view), Deschamps' aesthetic schema demonstrates that, although a poet, he understood his craft musically, ultimately founded as both *artes* are on metaphysical structures of singular divine ordainment. Finally, Deschamps' understanding of rhetoric as a discipline of knowledge teaching the poet how to structure thought generally construed as well as his ethical understanding of it as a tool to be plied dutifully in service to the common good at once develops Machaut's conception of composerly vocation and provides crucial context for *Armes amours / O flour des flours*, which we shall now consider.

**[1.4] Armes amours / O flour des flours as discipular homage**

The archetypal déploration, *Armes amours / O flour des flours* is simultaneously a personal lament and a tribute to a composerly legacy. Moreover, it, like every déploration, pledges homage to an ecumenical musical tradition. How does it do all these things? To answer that question we will now turn to Deschamps' double ballade *in memoriam* Machaut:

1:1 Armes, amours, dames, chevalerie, Arms, love, ladies, chivalry, Clers, musiciens, faîtières en français Clerks, musicians, craftsmen in French; Tous sophistes, toute poëtrie, All sophists, all poetry, Tous ceuls qui ont melodieuse voix, All those who have melodious voices; Ceus qui chantent en orgue aucune fois Those who sing in harmony sometimes, Et qui ont chier le doulz art de musique, And who hold dear the sweet art of music;
Demenez dueil, plourez, car c'est bien droit,  
La mort Machaut le noble rhetorique.

Give forth grief, deplore, for it is well proper,  
The death of Machaut, noble rhetorician.

Onques d'amours ne parla en folie,  
10 Ains a esté en tous ses diz courtois;  
Aussi a mout pleu sa chanterie  
Aux grans seigneurs, a Dames et bourgeois.  
Hé! Orpheus, assez lamentier doiz  
Et regreter d'un regart autentique,  
15 Arethusa et Alpheus, tous trois,  
La mort Machaut le noble rhetorique.

Never did he speak madly of love,  
But was courteous in all his poems;  
His song also much pleased  
Great lords, Ladies and burgheirs.  
Ah! Orpheus, you must lament indeed  
And regret with an authentic regret;  
Arethusa and Alpheus, all three,  
The death of Machaut, noble rhetorician.

Priez por lui si que nul ne l'oublié:  
Ce vous requiert le bailli de Valois,  
Car il n'en est au jor d'ui nul en vie  
20 Tel comme il fut, ne ne sera des mois.  
Complains sera de princes et de Roys,  
Jusqu'à longtemps pour sa bonne pratique.  
Vestez vous noir; plourez tous, Champeons,  
La mort Machaut le noble rhetorique.

Pray for him so that no one forgets him:  
This the bailly of Valois requests of you;  
For today there is none alive  
Such as he was, nor will there be for months.  
He will be lamented by princes and Kings  
For a long time on account of his good practice.  
Clad yourselves in black; deplore, all Champagne,  
The death of Machaut, noble rhetorician.

II:1 O fleur des fleurs de toute melodie,  
Tresdoulez maistres qui tant lustes adrois,  
O Guillaume, mondains dieux d'harmonie,  
Apres voz faiz, qui obtendra le choiz  
5 Sur tous fazeurs? Certes, ne le congnoys.  
Vo noms sera precieuse relique,  
Car l'en plourra en France et en Artois  
La mort Machaut le noble rhetorique.

O flower of flowers of all melody,  
Very gentle master who was so skillful;  
O Guillaume, earthly god of harmony,  
After your deeds, who will obtain the choice  
Among all makers? Certainly, I do not know.  
Your name will be a precious relic,  
For people will deplore it in France and in Artois;  
The death of Machaut, noble rhetorician.

Le fons Circé et la fonteine Hélée  
10 Dont vous estiez le ruissel et les dois,  
Ou poeetes mistrent leur estude  
Convenit laire, dont je suis mout destrois.  
Las! C'est par vous qui mort gisez tous frois  
Qui de tous chans avez esté cantique.  
15 Plourez, harpes et cors sarrasinois,  
La mort Machaut le noble rhetorique.

The Circean spring and the Helicon fount,  
Of which you are stream and ducts,  
Where poets learn their art  
Must fall silent, about which I am much distressed.  
Alas! It is because of you who lie dead all cold,  
You who were singer of all songs.  
Deplore, harps and saracen horns,  
The death of Machaut, noble rhetorician.

Rubebes, leuths, vielles, syphonie,  
Psalterions, trestous instrumens coys,  
Rothes, guiterne, flaustes, chalemie,  
20 Traversaines, et vous, nymphes de boys,  
Tympanne aussi, metez en euvre dois,  
Et le choro n'y ait nul qui replique,  
Faictes devoir, plourez, gentilys Galois,  

Rebecs, lutes, viols, syphons,  
Psalteries, each and every tranquil instrument;  
Rothes, gitterns, flutes, shawms,  
Transverse flutes, and you, nymphs of the woods;  
Drums also, set fingers to work,  
And in the chorus may there be none who don't reply;  
Do your duty, deplore, gentlemen of Gaul,
Avant la lettre does Deschamps' lament for Machaut encapsulate the archetypal idea animating the déploration in its original poetic form—that is, a call to communal mourning. Although neither the term “déploration” nor its root verb “déplorer” appear herein, Deschamps uses the related (indeed virtually synonymous) “plorer” (“to cry; lament”) to express the idea. Beyond its connotations of personal grief, as a transitive verb, “plorer” means “to mourn,” a process conventionally construed (as distinct from grieving) as a communal act. In his proto-déploration of Machaut, this act, at once processual and eventual, is construed by Deschamps as the duty (II:23; “devoir”) of the sundry and diverse communities dear to the departed. These run the gamut from the composerly (I:2; “Clers, musicans, faititres en français) to the provincial (I:23; Champagne, II:7; Artois and France, II:23; the Gauls); from the allegorical (I:1; “Armes, amours”) and mythological (II:13-15; Orpheus, Arthusea and Alpheus; II:20; “nymphes des bois”) to the instrumental (II:15-20). Prevailed upon all, Deschamps' request to preserve the memory of the departed Machaut—“Priez por lui si que nul ne l'oublie” (I:17)—epitomizes the spirit of the work as a whole. This is not to say, however, that its discrete parts do not serve particular functions. Whereas the first of Deschamps' ballades is concerned with the communal dimension of this commemorative dynamic, the second focuses on Machaut as exemplary individual craftsman. Reflective of the aristocratic provenance common to all artists who forged the déploration tradition, Machaut is praised herein as much for his courtly virtues (I:9-12) as for

his composerly prowess. “Le noble rethouroque,” the honorific occupying pride of place as refrain of Deschamps' lament, is significant for its focus on the rhetorical dimension of Machaut as musico-poetic craftsman. Meanwhile, the epithet “mondains dieux d'amour” (II:3) reflects esteem for Machaut's “artificially-musical” (to follow Deschamps' distinction) prowess. Finally, by means of an aquatic metaphor itself of a piece with others employed by later tributaries of the déploration tradition, Deschamps describes Machaut as a fountain from which other poets draw inspiration (II:9-12). This type of poetic inspiration accounts for both the form of Deschamps' lament and may be discerned in its content as well. By the turn of the fifteenth century, the ballade, definable by its refrain and the rhyme-scheme ABAB CDCD / ABAB CDCD / CDCD CDCD, had acquired its status as the most ceremonial of formes fixes. It is on this account in this case a fitting mode of posthumous tribute. Furthermore, Machaut played a leading role in the codification of the ballade's formal conventions; thus it is doubly-fitting that Deschamps adapts it poetically to memorialize his master. Testament to Machaut's inspirational influence is further observable in allusions to his poetry made by Deschamps in Armes amours / O flour des flours. For instance, the prologue to Machaut's Remede de Fortune ranks “armes” and “amours” as the noblest of human endeavors. Likewise, Deschamps' imperative “Vestez vous noir” (I:23), here

[22] That subsequently rhetoric was persistently and by poets other than Deschamps associated with Machaut may be observed in an anonymous treatise composed c1411-1432 which designates “maistre Guillaume de Machault” as “le grant rethorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles et les parfaits lays d’amour” (M. E. Langlois, ed., Recueil d’Arts de seconde Rhétorique [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902], 12).

[23] This epithet appears first applied to Philippe de Vitry by Jehan de le Mote in his Meditations of 1350. Vitry, pen-pal of Petrarch and widely hailed in his day as a modern-day Orpheus, was, more so than Machaut, the most famous poet-musician of the fourteenth century; cf. Margeret Bent & Andrew Wathey, “Vitry, Philippe de,” in Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29535 (accessed June 29, 2012).

[24] “Einsi est il cernemen / De vray humein entendemen / Qui est ables a recevoir / Tout ce qu’on veut et concevoir / Peut tout ça quoy on le vuett mettre, / Armes, amours, autre art ou lettre” (Machaut, Oeuvres: Vol. 2, 2; I:35-40).
directed at Machaut's countrymen, alludes to the refrain of the latter's Ballade 162 ("Vestez vous de noir pour my") the opening line of which ("Plourez, dames, plourez vostre servant") finds iterative echo in Deschamps' use of the imperative "plourez."

With these allusions, Deschamps clearly renders tribute to Machaut the individual by repurposing his verse. More than merely rendering individual tribute, however, Deschamps, by citing previous work possessing auctoritas, pledges homage to a composerly tradition. This distinction between tribute and homage is crucial to the déploration as musical idea. Tribute is individual; homage is communal. That is to say, homage ought to be understood here following its original feudal meaning of a vassal pledging allegiance to a lord. While particular individuals naturally serve as the constitutive agents of this dynamic, the bonds that bind them are communal and universal. Analogously, for Deschamps as for every tributary of the déploration tradition, while composerly tribute may serve to articulate a discipular relationship to the deplored as individual, implicitly or otherwise, every déploration pledges homage and thus fidelity to a perennial and ecumenical musical community. Taken collectively, the homages pledged in the déploration tradition add up to a musical dynasty. This dynamic aspect of the déploration tradition presents composerly and commemorative aspects. Both these aspects are already observable in Armes amours / O flour des flours. Specifically, Deschamps' call of duty upon communities dear to the departed to honor Machaut encapsulates the commemorative spirit that animates the déploration for two centuries. Moreover, in their emulatory aspect, the techniques employed by Deschamps in his déploration of Machaut (preemptively) answers that call of duty by engaging in agonistic competition over the composer's legacy. Thus is Armes amours / O flour des flours Deschamps' own essay to "obtenir le chois" (to paraphrase II:4-5) left up for

grabs on Machaut's death. This circuitously-staked claim to the composer's mantle finds oblique reinforcement in certain of Deschamps' references which allude to Machaut's poetry and set a specific composerly scene. In particular, Alpheus and Arethusa, mentioned by Deschamps in *Armes amours / O flour des flours* in consort with Orpheus (I:15), are mentioned only once by Machaut, specifically, in his ballade *Je pren congïé* from the *Loange de dames*. In this ballade, Arethusa, a nereid or sea-nymph, dissolves from her tears into a spring while her pursuing lover, Alpheus, metamorphoses analogously into a river. This story comes from Book V of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, wherein Ceres tells it as framed within a song of Calliope (Orpheus' mother) as she participates in agonistic song-competition with the Pierides, the human daughters of Pierus and Euippe. The nymphs choose Calliope the winner.

[I.5] **Machaut as rendered tribute by Andrieu in the Chantilly Codex**

In summation and to reiterate: For the purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition, the definitive feature of Deschamps' lament for Machaut resides in its commemoration of a composerly legacy. Here we encounter yet another paradox. Deschamps' lament for Machaut, as considered thus far, is not in fact a déploration. This is not simply because it is poetically a ballade, or because Deschamps does not expressly use the term “déplorer” expressly therein. Rather, it is because we have yet to consider it in its musical setting. To consider Deschamps’

déploration as on this score incomplete is furthermore paradoxical as it is unlikely the poet ever intended his lament for Machaut to be set to music. Indeed, in light not only of its considerable composerly dimension but the synthetic aesthetic theory subtending it as well, Armes amours / O flour de flours stands as a self-sufficient testament to Machaut's legacy as a poet and claim to his vocational mantle as “natural musician.” And yet, as it would develop over the course of the following two centuries, the déploration tradition was in fact a musical one in the modern—to Deschamps “artificial”—sense of that term. To begin to resolve this paradox of how Deschamps' déploration of Machaut finds completion only in its musical setting, we must answer the following question: Of what nature is the relationship of the composer of this déploration to Machaut's composerly legacy?

The composer who set Deschamps' lament for Machaut to music, one “F. Andrieu,” is unknown outside of the Chantilly Codex, the sole source preserving the musical déploration of Machaut. Apart from the fact that he was active in or around Avignon at the turn of the fifteenth century, nothing is known of Andrieu's life. Thus is it difficult to hypothesize as to what specifically may have spurred Andrieu to render Machaut tribute in such a manner. In light of the considerable spatial and temporal distance separating them, personal acquaintance between the two is virtually impossible. This rules out sentimentality. It also makes general esteem for Machaut's composerly legacy the only reliable motive for the historian of the déploration tradition to suppose. If “F. Andrieu” is identical with one “Magister Franciscus,” whose music features in the Chantilly Codex, familiarity with Machaut's music may be presumed, making such a supposition more reliable. Specifically, the codex contains two works ascribed to

Franciscus, one of which, Philton philton, opens by citing and proceeds to rework Machaut's Ballade 38, Phyton le mervelleux serpent.\textsuperscript{28} Regardless of the identity of its composer, when considered as part of this codex, Andrieu's déploitation of Machaut takes on a more illuminated aspect. Dating from the mid-1390s, Chantilly Musée Condé Ms. 564 was copied in or around Avignon from a French exemplar.\textsuperscript{29} Testifying to the widespread renown it enjoyed even at this early a stage, Machaut's music features prominently in the codex despite the brief temporal interval (less than two decades) and considerable geographical distance (the length of France in a peripatetic era) separating its production from the time and place of the composer's death. Testifying to a unity of purpose, in addition to Armes amours / O flour des flours, the Chantilly Codex contains a number of commemorative works, including, notably, Fuions de ci by Selenches, a lament for Eleanor I of Aragon, Queen of Castile (d. 1382). This ballade, one of seventy in the codex (by far the most common musico-poetic form therein) is similar in spirit to the déploitation of Machaut. Taken together, works such as these suggest a concerted function for the manuscript as a whole. Indeed, the Chantilly Codex may be seen as a commemorative collection with contents that exhibit a particular interest in composerly tradition. This interest is emblematized by allusive relationships between the déploitation of Machaut and other works contained in the codex. For instance, “Armes, amours, dames, chevalerie,” the opening line of Deschamps and Andrieu's déploitation, was a motto associated with the King of Aragon, and the


ballade *En sumeillant m'avint une vesion*, by Trebor and in the Chantilly Codex, has the line “Armez amors damez chevalerie” as a refrain. Surpassing Trebor (second-best represented composer in the codex) and even Machaut, Solage is the best-represented composer of the codex; furthermore, his works encapsulate most clearly its composerly dimension. Three ballades by Solage copied into the Chantilly Codex identify their dedicatees with visual puns; one does so with a rebus, two by means of acrostics. The Chantilly Codex thus exhibits demonstrable interest in preserving a musico-poetic repertory of a self-consciously composerly nature.

In this respect it finds its most fitting emblem in Andrieu and Deschamps' déploration of Machaut [Ex. 1]:

[Ex. 1] Andrieu, *Armes amours / O flour des flour*
For four voices, Andrieu's setting, with its refrain and ouvert-clos endings, hews in all essentials to the conventions of the late-fourteenth-century ballade. Unconventional, however, is that

Armes amours / O flour des flours is in imperfect (i.e. duple) mensuration throughout, with the noteworthy exceptions of [Ex. 1; mm. 38-40]—a hyper-mensural grouping of one-four-one—and the opening of the refrain at [Ex. 1; mm. 43-44]. Harmonically, the movement of a sixth expanding outward to an octave at cadences—e.g. at [Ex. 1; mm. 14-15] between Cantus II and Tenor—is typical syntax for the era.\(^{33}\) The medial cadence on e at [Ex. 1; m. 42] and final on d at

[Ex. 1; m. 53] impart a Dorian modal feel to the work as a whole. Melodically conventional is
Andrieu's setting of melismata at the beginning of words, not, as later on in history, at their ends.
To hypothesize from the melodic idiom of its individual voices, the ideal performing ensemble
for Andrieu's déploration would be to have instruments carry the lower voices and human voices
the upper. This much is most clearly suggested by the instrumental character of the Contratenor
vis-à-vis the more lyrical Cantus parts—a character most evident at [Ex. 1; mm. 15-19] where
the Contratenor has a syncopated eighth-note figure ill-suited to vocal rendition. Likewise
suggestive of composerly concerns other than singability, the Tenor exhibits in Andrieu's
déploration basic isoperiodic organization. Although not properly isorhythmic, at the outset of
the work, the Tenor's color is a seven-pitch scalar pattern \(g - a - g - f - e - d - c\) repeated once;
the rhythmic pattern that sets it (though not quite a talea) is palindromic, consisting of a
semibreve followed by six breves. While simple, this type of organization may be construed as
an imitation of—and thereby a tribute to—Machaut, who was known for using such devices.\(^{34}\)
Similarly suggestive of an instrumental idiom as well as tributary imitation of Machaut are the
syncopated rhythms heard throughout Andrieu's déploration, observable especially at [Ex. 1;
mm. 1-7] in the Cantus I, which are particularly reminiscent of Machaut's style.\(^{35}\) Other aspects
of Andrieu's composerly idiom that conform to principles codified in the music of Machaut

\(^{34}\) For instance: Setting a poem that describes its composerly process, Machaut's \(Ma\ fin\ est\ mon\ commencement\) is
the earliest extant canzicrains canon. Its Tenor retrograde furnishes its Cantus; its Contratenor doubled back on
itself completes the four-voice texture; for a modern edition, cf. Guillaume de Machaut, \(2\ Rondeaux\ for\ 3\ voices\)
the singer on how to realize an un- or partially-notated part) were often so symbolically imbricated with the texts
they set, as, for example, in Selences' \(Je\ me\ merveil\ / J'ay\ plusieurs\ fois\), a work also copied into the Chantilly
de l'Ars Nova,” in \(Canon\ and\ Canonique\ Technique.\ 14\textsuperscript{th}-16\textsuperscript{th}\ Century:\ Theory, Practice and Reception History,

\(^{35}\) Leach (“Dead Famous,” 65) remarks that Andrieu's déploration presents a sound-world similar to Machaut's \(De\ fortune\), a work also copied into the Chantilly Codex.
include the relatively-limited ambitus of each voice (Cantus I and Cantus II move within the
range of a tenth) and contrary motion between structural voices (those are, Tenor and Cantus I).
Brief use of imitation at [Ex. 1; mm. 33-37] mimics the manner in which this technique is used
by Machaut—that is, sporadically and never structurally. The Contratenor's leap of a tritone at
[Ex. 1; m. 43], however, is of a kind scarcely found in Machaut's oeuvre. The overall impression
given by Andrieu's déploration of Machaut, then, is that of a student imitating a master. More
specifically, whereas the composerly relationship embodied by Deschamps poetic lament for
Machaut is a personal one of disciple to master, Andrieu's relationship to Machaut is one of
imitation from afar. Nevertheless, beyond the basic stylistic level at which Andrieu's imitative
tribute is rendered, there is further evidence in this déploration of allusion to specific of
Machaut's compositions. As aforementioned, Andrieu sets the refrain of Deschamps' double
ballade (“La mort Machaut, le noble rethouryque”) to a hyper-mensural passage characterized by
a minor third moving outward to a major sixth at [Ex. 1; mm. 43-44]. Set amidst an idiom more
characteristic of Machaut's “secular” style, this passage not only gives rhetorical emphasis to the
proclamation of the composer's death; it also recalls the syntax of his Messe de Nostre Dame.
Indeed, certain passages from the Gloria of Machaut's mass—[Ex. 2], for instance—suggest a
model for the idiom of Andrieu's refrain:

[Ex. 2]37 Machaut, Messe de Nostre Dame – Gloria (mm. 31-45)

[36] The Chantilly Codex may have been compiled expressly for pedagogical use; on this possibility, cf. Guillaume
The mensural shifts and modular rhythmic groups abundantly on display in [Ex. 2] would seem a plausible model for emulation by Andrieu. Austere, the predominant homorhythm in [Ex. 2] reflects an overriding composerly concern for musical decorum. Such a concern may also have motivated Andrieu's like setting of the opening of the refrain of his déploration of Machaut. Composed in 1352, Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame* was performed as an obit mass at the Reims cathedral for the composer and his brother until at least the fifteenth century.38

Functionally analogous in this respect to Machaut's long-form poetic works, the stylistic

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diversity of the *Messe* presents a compendium of contemporaneous composerly techniques.  
Thus, in addition to its symbolic intercessory resonance, Machaut's *Messe* would be an  
appropriate composition for Andrieu to allude to as a manner of rendering tribute.  

By way of concluding this consideration of Andrieu and Deschamps' déploration of  
Machaut: *Armes amours / O flour des flours* constitutes the archetypal déploration.  
Paradoxically, however, it is not designated as such by either poet or composer. And yet, when  
taken in consort, the respective tributes of Deschamps and Andrieu form distinct yet  
complementary aspects of the déploration as musical idea. Specifically, only in answering  
Deschamps call to composerly commemoration does Andrieu consecrate *Armes amours / O flour  
des flours* as a déploration. Thus is this déploration, most importantly for the purposes of the  
historian of the déploration tradition, the product of an *ad hoc* community commemorating a  
composerly legacy.  

[2] Déploration of Binchois by Ockeghem

To reiterate: The déploration of Machaut inaugurates the déploration tradition and establishes its  
archetypal dynamic of disciples rendering tribute to a master. The *ad hoc* commemorative  
community that produced it is exemplary for its collaborative character. Whereas the  
commemorative aspect of the déploration tradition remains functionally unchanged over its two  
century lifespan, far more mutable is the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition.  

techniques, specifically the concepts of *ratio* and *sensus* as applied in Machaut's rondeaux, cf. David Hahn,  
“Numerical Composition: A Study of Pythagorean-Platonic Ideas in the Making of the Rondeaux of Guillaume  
de Machaut” (PhD diss., Stanford Univ., 1993), esp. 18-58.
While towards its end a set of symbolic formal conventions are eventually codified such that an identifiable composerly mainstream emerges, in the fifteenth century, the early stages of the déploration tradition, such is scarcely to be found. This is because the déploration tradition was, at this point, still emerging from a matrix of composerly and commemorative practices. Accordingly, the déploration's most salient features during this period exhibit much in common with musical conventions characteristic of modes of lament and tribute. Before considering Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois, then, it will be of use to identify, compare and contrast certain composerly practices closely related to the déploration tradition in its formative stages.

[I.6] Modes of musical lament and tribute

The first place to look for context for the composerly techniques and aesthetic conventions drawn upon by musicians of the déploration tradition in its formative stages is the music of lament and mourning. Within this context, the most fruitful place to look is occasional laments for individuals. Indeed, the tradition of composing a lament on the death of an illustrious individual had by the fifteenth century a long history. Inaugurating it, both Charlemagne and his son (d. 814 and 844, respectively) were honored with a planctus, a “Medieval” genre of Latin monophonic lament; Gaucelm Faidit's Galician planh for Richard I (d. 1199) attests to a parallel vernacular lament tradition as well. Though analogous in commemorative function and furnishing subsequent of its poets with certain conventional turns of phrase (in particular the stereotyped exclamation of grief “[e]heu”), such monophonic laments are of no consequence on

the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition. By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, composers of occasional laments had begun to employ certain techniques in a way that would prove influential for those of the déploration tradition. Most saliently, the earliest known occasional lament to use a symbolic cantus firmus, specifically the Introit from the *Officium defunctorum* [Ex. 3], is *Romanorum rex + Requiem* [Ex. 4]:

[Ex. 3]⁴¹ Plainchant Introit, *Requiem aeternam*

[Ex. 4]⁴² De Sarto, *Romanorum Rex + Requiem* (mm. 1-16)

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This lament, for Albrecht II, Holy Roman Emperor (d. 1439) by Johannes de Sarto (fl. c1430-1435), is a ceremonial motet in the commemorative tradition. This ceremonial character is most evident in its cantus prius factus structure, typical of mid-fifteenth century composerly practice. In *Romanorum rex + Requiem*, the cantus firmus moves glacially throughout in the Tenor,
whereas the other voices move around it more briskly and in a decorative manner. Consequently, the texture of de Sarto's lament is extremely hierarchical. Though it bears, as we shall see, scant resemblance to the déplorations of the fifteenth century, de Sarto's lament for Albrecht is significant to the historian of the déploration tradition precisely for this dissimilarity between related practices. It is further significant for the déploration tradition insofar as the texture it embodies would ultimately serve as template for many a déploration composer. Indeed, at the risk of putting the cart before the horse, the texture of de Sarto's lament, with its occasional lament in counterpoint to a symbolic cantus prius factus, is the closest thing there is to an “official” texture of the déploration tradition.

And yet, in its formative stages, the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition resonates sympathetically with other modes of tribute in a way less immediately obvious than in the case of Romanorum rex + Requiem. Instructive in this distinction is a lament by Guillaume Dufay (1397-1474), specifically the rondeau En triumphant de Cruel Deuil. It has been suggested that Dufay composed this work as a lament for Binchois. The most compelling evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that the two stanzas it sets to music begin “Deuil angoisseux” and “Triste plaisir” respectively—those are, the incipits of two Binchois chansons. Granted, there is sound biographical evidence for supposing Dufay may have been moved thus to render posthumous tribute to Binchois. The two musicians spent their careers in the same region


(Dufay was canon at St Donatian, an institution of significance to Binchois) and are mentioned together frequently as colleagues and friends in contemporaneous literature. Insomuch as it is plausibly a lament for a composer, then, *En triumphant de Cruel Deuil* would seemingly participate in the déploration tradition. Nevertheless, even if the work was in fact intended to lament Binchois, it does not. Posthumous tribute of a composerly nature may well be here rendered—as we shall see, more obscure manners of tribute are identifiable in fifteenth-century music generally as well as in the déploration tradition in particular. If so, however, such tribute is not rendered in order to commemorate a member of a musical community but rather to lament a personal loss. For the purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition, this distinction between individual and communal perspective makes all the difference.45

One more facet of fifteenth-century composerly practice remains to be considered before turning to Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois—specifically, the technique of modeling a new composition on a pre-existing one. Granted, phrased as such, this description could arguably characterize all music composed from 1200 to 1600, underpinned as it is by an understanding of composition as the elaboration of pre-existing material. Nonetheless, musical “borrowing” is a composerly practice with identifiable modalities. The reasons composers had for basing new compositions on old ones are as many and diverse as the compositions themselves.46 In order to

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45 A communal counterpart to the type of individual tribute hypothetically evident in *En triumphant de Cruel Deuil* may be found in the so-called “singers' prayer,” of which Compère's *Omnium honorum plena*, roughly contemporaneous to Dufay's lament and Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois, is the earliest extant example. Loyset Compère (c1445=1518) was, like Ockeghem, from Hainault. Possibly composed to commemorate the dedication of the Cambrai cathedral in 1474, *Omnium honorum plena*, based on cantus firmus drawn from Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine*, is a prayer on behalf of musicians undertaken in their professional capacity as intercessory singers. In this intercessory function, Compère's *Omnium honorum plena* and works like it are inspired by a spirit of collegial commemoration itself fundamental to the déploration tradition. For Compère's biography, cf. Joshua Rifkin *et al.*, “Compère, Loyset,” in *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06205 (accessed July 15, 2012). For the text of *Omnium honorum plena*, cf. Appendix [II].

be able to distinguish between conventional composerly modeling and symbolic allusion, then, it will be useful to first observe this process at work in a comparatively neutral work. To this end, we will do well to examine Binchois' rondeau De plus en plus [Ex. 5] and part of the Kyrie from the mass [Ex. 6] Ockeghem based thereupon:

[Ex. 5] Binchois, De plus en plus

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[Ex. 6] Ockeghem, Missa De plus en plus – Kyrie (mm. 16-28)
*De plus en plus* [Ex. 5] is exemplary of Binchois' idiom, which may be generally characterized as propelled by a tension between proportional phrasal balance offset by occasional effusive melismata. Such a tension is evident at [Ex. 5; mm. 2-4 and 18-20] in the phrasing of the
Discantus. Furthermore, smooth, conjunct motion is typically characteristic of all voices in Binchois' music, with the uppermost never losing its place in the spotlight. Correlatively, Binchois' composerly idiom is marked by contrapuntal hierarchy resulting in a textural flow constantly moved along by syncopations and hemiola. Imitation is, in Binchois as in Machaut, used sparingly, and never structurally; that is, typically in the manner of the motive taken up in succession by Contratenor then Tenor at [Ex. 5; m. 16]. All these composerly features Binchois' music shares, more so than with any other composer's, with Ockeghem's. Instructive in this respect will be a consideration of how Ockeghem treats Binchois' chanson as point of departure in [Ex. 6]. Each movement of Ockeghem's Missa De plus en plus begins, in the Tenor, with a literal quotation of the Tenor of Binchois' rondeau in augmented note values. As each movement proceeds, however, Ockeghem takes increasing liberties with his model (superscript numbers in [Ex. 6] indicate pitches of the borrowed melody). As a result, the melody is eventually paraphrased so freely as to assimilate it seamlessly to the idiom of composition as a whole.

Thus is Binchois' rondeau both faithfully adhered to as a model by Ockeghem while simultaneously woven, indeed almost inaudibly, into a new musical environment. That in basing a mass on the Tenor of Binchois' rondeau Ockeghem intended to render the composer tribute is not immediately self-evident. This is for two reasons. First, familiarity with the audience, specifically musical considerations or other concerns altogether are equally plausible reasons at this point in history to choose a particular work as basis for a new composition. That in so doing Ockeghem here intended to render Binchois tribute requires knowledge of the biographical relationship between the two composers. Second, even when armed with this knowledge, the type of composerly tribute rendered Binchois by Ockeghem in his Missa De plus en plus is difficult to discern, as it occurs at an architectonic structural level and not at all in the manner of
a quotation foregrounding indebtedness to its source. This it does typically of music of the era. Thus does the relationship between Binchois’ chanson and Ockeghem's mass demonstrate how, for every legible composerly reference in the musical repertory presently under consideration, there are surely twice as many illegible. With respect to the déploitation tradition, this means that no exhaustive history of it could ever be written. Such a composerly relationship as evident in these two works also, however, throws into relief the configuration of commemorative and composerly features that combine to define the déploitation as musical idea—features discernible only once the territory just surveyed has been taken into account. To begin to illustrate this point, we will now turn to Ockeghem's déploitation of Binchois.

[1.7]  The composerly rhetoric of Mort tu as navré + Miserere

Though both served courts stocked with illustrious poets, the author of Mort tu as navré, the ballade set by Ockeghem in his déploitation of Binchois, is unknown. Whether it was written independently of its musical setting or in collaboration with Ockeghem is therefore also unknown. At any rate, whoever wrote it was likely either a personal acquaintance of Binchois or


[49] Ockeghem himself has been proposed as author, though he is not known to have written any lines of verse; cf. André Pirro, Histoire de la Musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVe (Paris: H. Laurens, 1940), 120.
an associate of the courtly circles he frequented, considering the biographical detail it contains:

Mort, tu as navré de ton dart  
La pere de joyeuseté  
En deployant ton estandart  
Sur Binchois, patron de bonté.  
Son corps est plaint et lamenté  
Qui gist soubz lame  
Helas! Plaise vous en pitié  
Priez pour l’ame.

Death, you have wounded with your arrow  
The father of joyousness  
By unfurling your standard  
Over Binchois, patron of kindness.  
His body is grieved over and lamented  
That lies beneath the tombstone.  
Alas! May it please you for pity’s sake  
To pray for his soul.

Retoricque se dieu me gard  
Son serviteur a regretté.  
Musicque par piteux regard  
[A] fait deuil et noir a portée.  
Pleuez hommes de feaulté  
[L’omme sans blame].  
Veuillez, vostre université  
[Priez pour l’ame].

Rhetoric, so God keep me,  
Has lost her servant.  
Music, out of piteous regard,  
Has put on black and made mourning.  
Deplore, ye men of fealty,  
The blameless man.  
May your community  
Pray for his soul.

En sa jonesse fut soudart  
De honnorable mondanité,  
Puis a esleu la meilleur part,  
Servant dieu en humiliété  
Tant luy soit en christienté  
Son nom et fame  
Qu’i demoment grant voulonté.  
Priez pour l’ame.  

In youth he was a soldier  
Of honorable worldliness.  
Then he chose the better portion,  
Serving God in humility;  
So great may be in Christendom  
His name and fame  
That they betoken great will.  
Pray for his soul.

Granted, “detail” is a relative characterization. Most “details” here are vague. For instance, this lament celebrates Binchois’ “nom et fame” (22). He is styled “patron de bonté” (4) and “pere de joyeuseté” (2). The author further praises his “honnorable mondanité” (18) and the fact that he served God “en humiliété” (20). Most specific among these details is the poem's mention of Binchois' military service (17). This lament is the only source for this biographical tidbit.

Individualistic concerns notwithstanding, as in the case of Deschamps' for Machaut, the

definitive aspect of this ballade for Binchois is as a call to communal mourning. Beyond its analogous function, certain details of Mort tu as navré further suggest the possibility that the poet was familiar with Armes amours / O flour des flours. Particularly, the refrain “Priez pour l'âme” bears a remarkable similarity to Deschamps' refrain “Priez pour lui si que nul ne l'oublie.” More important than any hypothetical influence, however, is the fact that whoever wrote this ballade was clearly an adherent of the same aesthetic beliefs as were Deschamps and Machaut. Specifically telltale is how “Musicque” is here said to have clad herself in black in mourning Binchois, whereas “Rhetoricque” is said to have lost her servant (9-12). In light of the views of Machaut and Deschamps detailed above, it is clear that the author of Mort tu as navré was drawing upon the same understanding of song as “Scens” expressed by means of “Musicque” and “Retoricque.” Furthermore, the prominent role played by “Musicque” and “Retoricque” in this lament for Binchois raises a hitherto-unconsidered possibility concerning the “université” mentioned thereafter (15). Binchois is not known to have obtained an academic degree, so the precise nature of this “université” has remained obscure to historians. It has been sensibly interpreted as referring to a literal corporation—for example, the countrymen of the deplored.51 More plausible, however, is a reading that takes “hommes de faulté” (13) as individual members of the collective “université” (15) apostrophized thereafter, and that to which they collectively owe allegiance the personifications “Retoricque” and “Musicque”—that is to say, a “université” of “faititres en francoys” (to borrow Deschamps' phrase).

As to be expected from the aesthetic beliefs adumbrated in this lament for Binchois, an intimate alliance of music, poetry and rhetoric is evident in Ockeghem's Mort tu as navré + Miserere [Ex. 7];

[Ex. 7] Ockeghem, *Mort tu as navré* + *Miserere*

1. Mort, tu as na - vré de ton
2. En des - ploy - ant ton es - tan -
4. Re - to - ric - que se dieu me
5. Mu - sic - que par pi - teux re -
7. En sa jo - nes - se fut sou -
8. Puis a es - leu la mil - leur

dart Le pe - re de joy - yeu - se-
dart Sur Bin - choix, pa - tron de bon-
gard Son ser - vi - teur a re - gre-
gard A fait deul et noir a por-
dart De jon - no - ra - ble mon - da - ni-
part Ser - vant dieu en hu - mi - li-
corps est plaint
rez hommes
luy soit en

et la menanté
de feaulanté
chrestienté enanté
Before examining the particulars of Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois, let us consider first what it represents generally. *Mort tu as navré + Miserere* is one of the latest extant ballades and Ockeghem's only known essay in that form. By the mid-fifteenth century, the ballade was linked strongly to ceremony and thus coded as archaic and solemn—solemnity that is further reflected in the deep sonorities of this déploration's prevailing-low tessitura. Conventionally, Ockeghem's déploration is divided into two *partes*, though, unconventionally, each is in different mensuration; the first in perfect [Ex. 7; mm. 1-19], the second imperfect [Ex. 7; mm. 20-60]. This formal bifurcation maps directly onto the structure of the poetry. Ockeghem sets the first half of each stanza as alternating couplets in the *prima pars* and the second quatrain of each stanza recurrently in the *secunda*. As for the details: Though not structured on a cantus prius factus, Ockeghem's déploration incorporates melodic material from other works, monophonic and polyphonic alike, for symbolic purposes. Specifically, in *Mort tu as navré + Miserere* the
Contratenor's opening melody at [Ex. 7; mm. 1-3] is identical to that of the Discantus near the end of Introit of Ockeghem's own Missa pro defunctis [Ex. 8]—a melody itself modeled closely on plainchant (here again notes marked with an “x”):

[Ex. 8]\(^{53}\) Ockeghem, Missa pro defunctis – Introit (mm. 61-67)

Furthermore, in one of its two manuscript sources, Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois sets, in its lowest three voices, a composite of Latin texts—those are, “miserere pie Jesu Domine” and “quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine.”\(^{54}\) Beginning at [Ex. 7; m. 49] Ockeghem paraphrases the last phrase of the Sequence Dies irae [Ex. 9], “Pie Jesu Domine,” with a motive taken up in imitation by each of those three voices:

[Ex. 9]\(^{55}\) Plainchant Sequence, Dies irae (final phrase)

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\(^{54}\) The text is not carried in the score here reproduced. For the hypothesis that it is not original to Ockeghem's composerly intent but in fact a scribal interpolation, cf. van Benthem, ed., Johannes Ockeghem: Vol. 2/1, xiv.

\(^{55}\) From Liber usualis, 1813.
In so paraphrasing, Ockeghem alters the liturgical prayer from plural to singular (“Pie Jesu Domine dona ei[s] requiem”)—a line that synchronizes, fittingly, with the vernacular prayer “Priez pour l'ame” [Ex. 7; mm. 54-60] at the end of his déploration of Binchois. Thus is strict adherence to pitch and rhythm of a cantus prius factus, hitherto customary in ceremonial music contemporaneous as well as déplorations subsequent to it, foregone by Ockeghem in Mort tu as navré + Miserere in favor of shaping every voice according to an overarching composerly idiom. In addition to these melodic allusions, there is another composerly dimension to Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois, one more subtle and effectuated at a more profound level. This dimension may be observed in the general style of each pars. Overall, the secunda pars, with its broader harmonic rhythms, is more uniform in texture than the Discantus-driven prima. This lends the secunda a more concerted feel, appropriately so for the spirit of the intercessory prayer it sets. The contrastive idiom of the prima, on the other hand, serves as a tribute to Binchois. It
does so by emulating his composerly idiom. This emulation is evident throughout, though especially at [Ex. 7; mm. 11-19], where the Discantus sings a tortuous yet cantabile line that, with its juxtaposition of f-sharps and b-flats, recalls Binchois' melodic idiom. As a composerly technique, such emulation of the deplored composer's style is, as we observed, used to tributary effect in Andrieu's déploration of Machaut. Unlike Andrieu, however, here, Ockeghem, Binchois' composerly worthy, fully adapts the deplored's idiom as his own.

The form of Mort tu as navré + Miserere results from a synthesis of various composerly idioms. Although Ockeghem does not use melodic citation as a way of rendering Binchois tribute, allusion to his own Requiem mass calls to mind a pre-existing musical context of mourning, as does paraphrase of a liturgical cantus prius factus at its end. Of most fundamental importance to the spirit animating Ockeghem's déploration, however, is that Mort tu as navré + Miserere is an emulation of Binchois' style. This emulation, effectuated as composerly tribute, musically instantiates the aesthetic beliefs articulated in the poem Ockeghem sets. Indeed, of greatest significance to the historian of the déploration tradition is how Ockeghem's déploration, like that of Machaut, calls upon an “université” of “hommes de feaulté” in their capacity as “serviteurs” of “Retorique” and “Musicque” to commemorate a composerly legacy.

**[1.8] The dynastic rhetoric of musical homage**

Insofar as they are commemorative tributes to composerly legacies, already in the first two déplorations may we discern an incipient dynasty. In its individually-vocational aspect, that dynasty is composerly. In its perennially-communal aspect, that dynasty is musical. The déploration, by definition, exhibits both aspects. What does this mean? And how does it do so?
To begin with the former question: The individually-vocational dynastic aspect of the déploration tradition must be understood as part and parcel of the aristocratic culture that sustained it. This culture was inherently dynastic. Whereas in the case of political dynasties relationships between individuals are familial and hereditary, in the case of the composerly dynasty presently under consideration, they are based on declarations of influence and solidarity. Seen in this light, we may reformulate the composerly relationships instantiated by the déploration of Machaut as not only embodying an archetypal dynamic of disciples rendering tribute to a master but also thereby laying the foundation for a composerly dynasty. The déploration of Binchois, by contrast, results from a different kind of composerly relationship. That is to say, whereas Deschamps and Andrieu stand in a subservient relationship to their master Machaut, Binchois and Ockeghem were composerly equals, of the same generation and like professional rank. The relationship emblematized in Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois thus embodies a collegial spirit that testifies to a different, complementary modality of tribute in the déploration tradition. To better appreciate this modality, it will be useful to consider the biographies of Binchois and Ockeghem.

As adumbrated above, relationships of filiation are observable both in the aristocratic succession of rulers at the courts these poets and composers served as well as patterns of aesthetic influence among them. Indeed, artistic servants of Burgundian-ducal and French-royal courts upheld the professional and vocational traditions inaugurated by Machaut and Deschamps. The fifteenth-century Burgundian court in particular employed, among others, Christine de Pizan and Jean Froissart, both express disciples of Machaut and Deschamps. This continuity of tradition is constitutive of the circumstances underpinning the lives and works of both Binchois and Ockeghem. Gilles de Bins dit Binchois (c1400-1460) was born at Mons; Johannes
Ockeghem (c1410-1497) was born at Saint Ghislain, in Hainault, near Mons. Among the establishments that served as educational institutions in the area of Mons are the cathedrals of St Germain and St Waudru— institutions that shared singers. Thus Binchois and Ockeghem may have known one another from a young age. Binchois served as organist at St Waudru in 1419 before moving on to courtly service. While never ordained a priest, he was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Burgundy in his twenties and subsequently held many prebends, including one at St Donatian in Bruges from 1430. Binchois remained in Burgundian service until his death in 1460. Ockeghem, on the other hand, was in French royal service from the 1440s, and as maître de chapelle from 1451. In this capacity, he served three consecutive French monarchs: First Charles VII, then Louis XI, and, finally, Charles VIII. Thus both composers were, unusually for the peripatetic era, lifelong servants of a single institution.

Accordingly, the type of tribute rendered Binchois by Ockeghem must be considered through the lens of relationships between servants of rival political dynasties. Indeed, France and Burgundy had by the mid-fifteenth century maintained a longstanding rivalry. This rivalry presents both cultural and political aspects. On the one hand, it was driven by competition for political dominance. On the other, it entailed mutual respect for members of like aristocratic rank. This dual dynamic is evident in the musical products of their respective chapels. In order better to understand the socio-aesthetic dynamic inherent in Mort tu as navré + Miserere, then, let us consider another product of the relationship between members of these two chapels— Busnoys' In hydraulis. Antoine Busnoys (c1430-1492), a poet-musician in the tradition of

Machaut, was associated with French royal courts in the Loire valley from the 1450s. Here he had occasion to meet often with Ockeghem. Specifically, Busnoys held a chaplaincy at the cathedral of St Gatien, where Ockeghem also held an appointment; in 1465, Busnoys moved to church of St Martin, where Ockeghem was treasurer. Such was the basis for a relationship well-known to contemporaries.\textsuperscript{57} Busnoys' \textit{In hydraulis}, from the mid-1460s, employs dynastic rhetoric to render Ockeghem tribute and pledge homage to an ecumenical musical tradition:

\begin{quote}
In hydraulis quondam Pithagora
Admirante melos, phthongitates
Malleorum secutus equora
Per ponderum inequalitates
Adinvenit muse quiditates.

Epitritum ast hemioliam
Epogdoui et duplam perducent
Nam tessaron penthe concordiam
Nec non phthongum et pason adducunt,
Moncoridum dumb genus conducunt.

Hec, Oggeghen, cunctis qui precinis
Galliarum in regis latria
O practicum tue propaginis
Arma cernens quondam per atria
Burgundie ducis in patria

Per me, Busnois, illustris comitis
De Chauroloiis Indignum musicum
Saluteris tuis pro meritis
Tamquam summum Cephas tropidicum
Vale, verum instar Orpheicum!\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

Ockeghem is here cast as father of a generation of composers; Busnoys' declares himself a...

\textsuperscript{57} For instance, Ockeghem and Busnoys are associated by Tinctoris, who dedicated his \textit{Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum} of 1476, in which he holds them up as models worthy of composerly emulation, jointly to both. On this relationship, cf. Paula Higgins, “Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy” (PhD diss., Princeton Univ., 1987), esp. 125-160.

follower of Ockeghem's composerly practice. Both composers are referred to in their professional capacities as servants to political dynasties. Most significant to the historian of the déploration tradition, however, is In hydraulis' association of dynastic musical relationships with Pythagorean composerly practice. That such relationships should obtain between musicians in service to the rival political dynasties of Burgundy and France is not surprising. To emphasize factionalism, however, is to obscure the more fundamental community uniting these musicians. Though servants to rival institutions, Busnoys and Ockeghem are explicitly united in In hydraulis, as are Ockeghem and Binchois implicitly in Mort tu as navré + Miserere, as colleagues in service to allegorical lords.

[3 & 4] Déploration of Ockeghem by Crétin, Molinet, La Rue & Josquin

Thus far, ontologically speaking, we have considered the déploration as a type of composition. That we have done so is paradoxical in two ways. First, insofar as the déplorations thus far considered were not conceived of to begin with by their makers as unified aesthetic objects and, second, insofar as they were not referred to as such by them. Furthermore, that we have done so at all is thrice paradoxical because, ontologically speaking, the déploration is not definable according to stylistic criteria but rather only eventhood. This eventhood consists essentially in the death of a composer who is conceived of as a member of a perennial musical community.

The simultaneously commemorative and composerly dynamic occasioned by this event is most apparent in the déplorations occasioned by the death Ockeghem. The relationships these works exhibit to one another, mutually to Ockeghem's composerly legacy and ultimately to the ecumenical musical tradition forming the basis for both would collectively serve as touchstone for subsequent generations of déploration composers and thus embody its essential spirit.

[I.9] Poetic agon as mode of commemoration

That spirit is, in part, agonistic. We have already identified the agonistic spirit constitutive of the déploration in its archetypal form as the one prompting Deschamps' question, posed following the death of Machaut: “Apres voz faiz, qui obtendra le chois / Sur tous faiseurs?” Moreover, though not mentioned explicitly in the poetic déploration of Binchois, the type of composerly emulation by means of which Ockeghem renders him tribute may be construed agonistically. Following in the footsteps the poets and composers of these first two déplorations, this agonistic strain was taken up in a poetic exchange between Crétin, poet in French-royal service, and Molinet, poet in Burgundian-ducal service, following Ockeghem's death.

Like Deschamps and Machaut, Crétin and Molinet spent their entire careers in aristocratic service, in which capacity they plied their vocational abilities to professional ends. Jean Molinet (1435-1507) was born in northern France, specifically Devres; Guillaume Crétin (c1460-1525) was likely from Blois, though possibly Paris. 60 Starting in his twenties, Molinet served as chroniqueur- and poet-in-residence to Duke Philip of Burgundy until 1467; then, following

Philip's death, to his successor, Charles the Bold, until 1477. Following the death of Charles, Burgundy and France were at war until 1483—that is, until the death of King Louis XI. Crétin served Louis XI, who appointed him “chaplain perpétuel” in 1476 and secured the poet canonries at Evreux and Vincennes. Following the death of Louis XI, Crétin served the French-royal court for the rest of his life. Meanwhile, Molinet remained in Burgundian-ducal, and, later, Habsburg-imperial, service, specifically serving Philip the Fair, Habsburg regent of the Low Countries, from 1494 until 1504, and, thereafter, at the courts of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria. The practical circumstances of Molinet and Crétin's professional careers were thus essentially the same as those of their predecessors Machaut and Deschamps. Moreover, like Machaut and Deschamps, Molinet and Crétin saw themselves vocationally not only as poets but musicians in the higher sense of that calling. Such a self-understanding was not merely metaphorical. Crétin was a singer in the royal chapel, where he sang under Ockeghem. Molinet, trained in the rudiments of music at the University of Paris where he received his magister artium, was a musician too, exchanging verse by mail with the composers Busnoys and Compère. Likewise in keeping with the French musico-poetic tradition inaugurated by Machaut and Deschamps, both Molinet and Crétin saw rhetoric as central to their craft.

Indeed, these two poets have long been linked together by tradition under the rubric of “grands rhétoriqueurs,” a French poetic school of the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. Despite its ex post facto historiographical origins, there is some historical basis for the term. As epithets describing themselves as craftsmen of verbal material, the terms rhétoricien and rhétorique are both used, along with the related rimeur and versifieur, by French writers of the era, though less frequently than others. Indeed, true to the nomenclatural customs of the era, poets then used a vast diversity of terms to describe their craft. Nevertheless, there emerges from
literature of the period a distinct preference for a constellation of terms derivative of the Latin *factitor*, specifically the French *facteur*, *faiseur* and *faititre*, the latter which we have already encountered in Deschamps' déploration of Machaut. Analogously derived from the Latin *agere* are the French *acteur* and *auteur*, and *ouvrier* appears occasionally as a gloss of the Greek *poietes* (from the verb *poiein*, “to do, make”). However vague to a modern aesthetic sensibility, these terms positively prioritize the act of artistic making over and against stylistic properties of the object made as the definitive aspect of the composerly process. The tie that binds them together, then, is a consciousness oriented toward action. Conceptualized thus by Molinet and Crétin, this action sought to combine music and poetry as now understood distinctly into a single aesthetic object. In so doing, as crucial to both as it was to Machaut and Deschamps was the art of rhetoric. As much is most clearly evident in Molinet's *L'Art de Rhétorique* (c1493), which belongs to a tradition of vernacular treatises on versification inaugurated by Deschamps' *L'Art de Dictier*. Here Molinet's defines “Rethorique vulgaire” or “vulgar (i.e. vernacular) rhetoric” as “une espece de musique appélé richmique, laquele contient certain nombre de sillabes avec aucune suavité de equisonance.” Although Molinet's definition conflates conceptual distinctions tended to assiduously by Machaut and Deschamps, it nonetheless testifies to the continuing imbrication of music, poetry and rhetoric as plied in the craft of French versification. Moreover, and in the spirit of Deschamps especially, the craft of rhetoric was at the same time understood by in Molinet's day as an oratorical art to be plied in service of glorifying the institutions the poet


served. Thus, as in the case of Deschamps and Machaut, for Molinet as for Crétin, rhetoric, music and poetry, whatever the finer details of their aesthetic relationship to one another, stood collectively united in service to a higher purpose.

Within this aesthetic schema, the déploration may be understood as an exemplary forum in which these three *artes* were plied in consort. Both in its *avant la lettre* form and as a poetic genre expressly named, they were here plied in responding to a call of duty to commemorate an individual. That the déploration served this function is evident in [Fig. 2]:

[Fig. 2] French Poetic Déplorations (c1500-1600)

- Crétin, *Déploration ... sur le trespas de feu Okecgan trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours* (c1500)
- Lemaire, *Déploration* on death of Louis de Luxembourg (1503)
- Bouchet, *Déploration de l’égelle militante* (1512)
- Marot, *Déploration de Florimont Robertet* (1527)
- Anon., *Déploration sur la mort de duc Daurenges messire René de Chalon* (1543)
- Cusson, *Déploration du trépas de François Ier* (1547)
- Anon., *Déploration de la France sur la mort de monsieur de Guise* (Louvain: Bigard 1563)
- Mondin, *Déploration ... sur la mort de monseigneur le duc de Guise* (Paris: Michel Jouin, 1583)

With the exception of Crétin's of Ockeghem and Bouchet's déploration on behalf of the church


militant, all of the poems in [Fig. 2] commemorate members of the aristocracy. This provides the strongest evidence that the déploration was conceived of then essentially as a response to a call of duty to commemorate an exemplary individual. Though unique in this function, as a poetic genre the déploration was closely related to three French others of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that are worthy of consideration; those are, the *complainte*, the *élégie* and the *épitaphe*. The differences between these three have to do alternately with form, subject-matter, point of view of speaker and addressee. In his *Art Poétique Françoys* (1548), poet Thomas Sebillet writes: “Complaintes, et déplorations sembleroient estre comprises soubz l'élégie, qui ne les sonderoit au vif.”

*Complaintes*, like déplorations, are conventionally written from the point of view of a community (e.g. a nation, religious corporation, *etc.*) whose collective voice the poet takes on. They are, however, not necessarily laments for a deceased person but rather often express general grief at a generally-lamentable situation. In addition to its amorous connotations, *complainte* is also the most commonly-used term for a funerary eulogy. The *élégie*, on the other hand, was an fluid category in fifteenth-century French poetics, which deals generally with posthumous tribute. The *épitaphe*, finally, strives for brevity and is written in the third person.

With these distinctions in mind, let us now turn to the poetic déploration that inaugurated the tradition as such, Crétin's of Ockeghem:

---


Chargie de deuil par desmesuré faiz,
Considérant les très dangereux faiz,
Et grans assaulx des déessez fatales,
Du genre humain enemynes capitalles,
Et mesmement de la fière Atropos,
Qui frappe, fiert, et rué à tous propos
Sur Papes, Roys, Empereurs, Ducs et Contes,
Pensant aussi qu'elle met en ses comptes
Tant Clercs que Layez, tant Nobles que Villains,

5

Tant grans Prélatz, que paovres Chapellains.

Foible, estonnè, lasche, remis, et las
Pour le récit plain d'immortelz hélas
Du cas fatal n'aguères advenu,
D'angoisseulx deuil me veiz circonvenu,

10

Posé que avant susse congenu gens mains
Payant le deu et tribut des humains;
Lors sur ung liet du dur travail tendu,
Par grant courrouz me mys plat estendu,
Où je receuz d'ennuy si lourde somme,

15

Que fus contransct dormir et prendre somme.

En ce dormir pour repos j'euz mesaise,
L'homme dormant ne sera jamais ayse,
Se du travail dont il aura veillé,
En son dormir se treuve travaillez,

20

Mais néantmoins souvent advient nouvelle
Sur jour, que après la nuit se renouvelle.

Ainsi m'advint, car à ung seul moment
Feuz transporté devant le monument
Du bon Seigneur que franchement amoye,

25

Dont à present mon cœur pleure et larmoyez;
Nommer le fault, mais se pourra il faire?
Possible n'est sans premier satisfaire
Et contenter le devoir de nature.

Le pas cruel qui vivans desnature,

30

L'a prins, ravy, et saisy en ses lacz;
Il est donc mort? C'est mon; mais qui? Hélas!
C'est Okergerne le vaillant Trésorier
De Saint-Martin, qui eust grant trésor hier,
Et huy n'a riens fors le mérite seul

35

Que ores emporte aveuces un linceul.

En ung vergier peuple de beau cyprés,
Que Zéphirus avoit planté cy près
Avec sa soeur Flora très favorable,
Estoit le corps du Seigneur vénérable;

40

Mais Borréas en fauchant la verdure,
Feist tout couvrir de noire couverture.

Filled with grief by excessive burden,
Pondering very dangerous matters,
And great attacks of fatal goddesses,
Capital enemies of the human race,
And likewise of proud Atropos,
Who strikes, surely, and pounces in like manner
On Popes, Kings, Emperors, Dukes and Counts,
Also considering how she takes into her accounts
Equally Clerics as Laymen, equally Nobles as Vassals
Equally great Prelates as poor Chaplains;

Feeble, stunned, slack, set aback and weary
On account of the story full of immortals, alas,
About the fatal case occurring not long ago,
By anguished grief you see me overcome,
Poised just as before it was known to many folk
Paying debt and tribute to humans;
When, stretched out on a bed after hard work,
Having with great ire placed myself stretched out flat,
I received such a heavy dose of weariness,
That I was constrained to sleep and take a nap.

In this sleep I was ill-at-ease for rest;
The sleeping man will never be at ease,
If, of the work of which he will have supervision,
In his sleep he finds himself worked;
But, nonetheless, news often arrives
At dawn, after which night renewes itself.

Thus it came to me, for in a single moment
I was transported before the monument
Of the good Master who was frankly loved,
For whom at present my heart cries and weeps;
He must be named, but if it could be done?
It is impossible without first satisfying
And fulfilling the duty of nature.

The cruel step that denatures the living
Has taken him, ravished and seized him in his snare;
Is he dead then? He's mine, but who? Alas!
It is Ockeghem, the worthy Treasurer
Of Saint-Martin, who yesterday was a great treasure,
And today there is no one who merits it more
Than he now carried away with a shroud.

In a grove populated with beautiful cypresses
That Zephyrus had planted thereabout
With his very lovely sister Flora,
Lay the body of the venerable Master;
But Borreas, in trimming the greenery,
Had covered the whole orchard in a black cover.
Les grans soupirs et chauldes larmes d'oeil,  
Se feirrent lors par si extrême dueil,  
Que oncques de Roy, ou de Pape de Rome  
N'ouy parler avoir veu tant plaindre homme.

Caliopée et toutes les neuf Muses  
Sonnerent cors, flutes, et cornemuses  
Par chantz piteux à l'entour du cercueil.

Musique aussi, en luy faisant recueil,
55 Vint au devant, qui de coste un vie arbre  
Feist entailler son sépulcre de marbre,  
Auquel il feist tantost mis et posé;  
Quant c'eust esté pour son propre espousé  
Plus n'en sceu faire qu'elle faisoit.

En complaignant aux assistans disoit:  
Cueurs advieillez en tristesse conftitz,  
Approchez vous, venez plorer mon filz,  
Plorez celluy qui tant a décoré  
Mon bruyt et lotz que par luy encor ay

Plorez celluy qui m'a tousjours aymée  
Sery de cuer au doigt et à l'oeil, si que  
On l'appelloit la perle de musique.

La Dame adonc regardant çà et là,  
Fainct son parler pour le grand dueil qu'elle ha,  
Puis en l'istant la compaignie assemble,  
Et instrumentz fitait accorder ensemble;

Harpes et luz, orgues, psaltérions,  
Musettes, cors et manicordions,

Fleutes, flajolz, cymbales bien sonantes  
Parmy les voix d'organnes résonantes.

Ung Libera en doux chant et piteux  
Fut si bien dit, que l'honneur despitieux  
Tant dur soit-il, eust par compassion

Plongé son cueur en dueil et passion;  
Tous les présens tendrement souspiroient  
Très fondamment, et ensemble ploroyent,  
Comme remplyz d'excessive douleur;  
Arbres et fleurs en changèrent couleur,

Petits oyseaux en muèrent leurs chantz,  
Les préaux verdz en devindrent seichans.

Musique après ceste douce armony,  
Feit ordonner pour la cérémonie,  
Torches, flambeaux, sumptueux luminaire,

Manteaux de deuil, l'armoirie ordinaire,

Great sighs and ardent tears of eyes  
Ensued there by such extreme grief,  
That never of a King, or a Pope of Rome  
Have I heard spoken of a man seen so lamented.

Caliopée and all nine Muses  
Soundéd horns, flutes, and pipes  
With piteous songs around the coffin.

Music also, in welcoming him,

Came forward, who, from the side of an ancient tree,  
Had hewn her sepulcher of marble,  
Near which he was presently placed and posed,  
As if it had been for her own spouse;  
There was no more to know to do than what she did.

While lamenting, she said to those present:  
Attentive hearts conjoined in sadness,  
Approach, come, deplore my son,  
Deplore him who so decorated  
My sound and prizes that thanks to him I still have,

A flowered wreath of good repute.

Deplore him who always loved me  
Serving from his heart with eye and finger such that  
He was called the pearl of music.

The Lady looking here and there thus  
Made her speech for the great grief that she had,  
Then at once the assembled company  
Made their instruments attuned together;

Harpes and lutes, organs, psalteries,  
Oboes, horns and clavichords,

Flutes, pipes, well-sounding cymbals  
Among the resonant voices of instruments.

A Libera in soft and plaintive song  
Was so well spoken, that a pitiless man  
However severe he might be, by compassion had  
His heart plunged into grief and passion;  
All those present were tenderly sighing,  
Profoundly moved, and weeping together,  
As though filled with excessive grief;  
At this trees and flowers changed their hue,  
At this little birds mused their songs  
At this green fields became desiccated.

After this sweet harmony, Music  
Made to order for the ceremony  
Torches, candles, sumptuous lights,  
Coats of arms and cloaks for mourning;
Donner pour Dieu, accomplir voeux, promesses,  
Chanter psaumiers, vigiles, et prou messes,  
Tant en effect selon ordre et raison,  
Qu'il appartient à homme de maison.

Gifts for God to fulfill vows and promises;  
To sing psalms, vigils and a lot of masses,  
All in effect according to order and reason,  
As befits a man of the household.

95  Ce fait pria tous les Musicien  
Qui furent là, mesmes les anciens,  
Que sur le corps, par manière de laïz  
Feissent dictez, rondeaux et virelais  
En complaignant son fils, et que chacun

This done, she beseeched all the musicians  
Who were there, even the ancients,  
To, around the body, by manner of lais,  
Make songs, rondeaux and virelais  
In lamenting her son, and that everyone

100  De piteux son luy en donnast quelc'un.  
Alors Tubal le bon père ancien  
Qui sur marteaux trouva sons et accordz,  
Ses orgues print, se joignoit près du corps,  
Et à voix saincte, avec son instrument,  
Ce présent dict profera proprement.

Then Tubal, the good old father,  
Said and held to be the first musician  
Who discovered on his hammers sounds and chords  
Took up his organ, drew it near his body,  
And in a saintly voice, with his instrument,  
Offered at once this present song.

Tubal. Rondeau.

C'est Okergan qu'on doibt plorer et plaindre,  
C'est luy qui bien sceut choisir et attaindre  
Tous les secretz de la subtilité

It is Ockeghem we must deplore and lament,  
It is he who knew well how to choose and attain  
All of the secrets of subtlety

110  Du nouveau chant par sa subtilité,  
Sans ung seul point de ses reigles enfraindre  
Trente-six voz noter, escripre, et paindre  
En ung motet; est-ce pas poir complaindre  
Celluy trouvant telle novalité?  
C'est Okergan.

Of new song by his subtlety,  
Without infringing on a single point of his rules,  
Could notate, write and figure thirty-six voices  
In one motet; is it not compulsory to lament  
He who discovered such novelty?  
It is Ockeghem.

115  Musicien se doibvent huy contraindre,  
Et en grandz pleurs leurs cuesrues baigner et taindre,  
En le voyant ainsi mort allité,  
Disantz; son nom par immortalité  
A tousjours doibt demourer sans extaindre;  
C'est Okergan.

Musicians must be restrained today,  
To bathe and stain their hearts with great tears,  
At seeing him thus, dead abed,  
As they sing; his name by immortality  
Must always remain without being extinguished;  
It is Ockeghem.

L'Acteur.

120  Lors se leva David Royal psalmiste,  
Des Muses droit servaut commensalmiste,  
Qui promptement a sa harpe accordée,  
Et sans avoir sa leçon recordée,  
En soy monstrant soubdain et prinsaultier,  
Ces motz chanta en tenant son psaumier.

Then arose King David the psalmist,  
The Muses' welcome guest and loyal servant,  
Who quickly tuned his harp,  
And, without having rehearsed his lesson,  
Showing himself suddenly and on impulse,  
Sang these words while playing his psalter.

David. Rondeau.

125  En chant de pleur doibt bien psalmodier  
Tout bon esprit, et bien estudier  
A lamenter ce Trésorier notable,  
Que mort a huy convoyé à sa table;
130 Puis que autrement n'y peult remédier.  Since no other way can this be remedied,
   C'est ung edict qui n'est fait d'hui ne d'hier,  It is an edict drawn up neither today nor yesterday,
   Quand l'heure vient force est expedier  And, when the hour comes, it is necessary to expedite
   La partement qui est fort lamentable  The parting that is much lamentable
   En chant de pleur.  In tearful song.

Dieu le scavra très bien stipendier,  God will know very well how to task him,
135 Car en son temps s'est voulu desdier  For in his lifetime he dedicated himself willingly
   A faire chant devot et délectable  To making devout and delectable song
   Pour esviter le gouffre espoventable,  In order to avoid the odious abyss,
   Dieu ne le veult des cieuxx repudier  God will not wish to repudiate him from heaven
   En chant de pleur.  In tearful song.

L’Acteur.  Then Orpheus, in harmonious song,

Puis Orpheus en chant armonieux,  Without showing himself excessively formal,
140 Sans soy monstrer fort cérémonieux,  Of calm heart and honest desire,
   De cueur rassis et honnest voulvoir  Took up his harp, and, to fortify the mourning,
   Sa harpe print, et pour plus fort douloir,  As well as to see grief in augmentation,
   Et le deuil veoir en augmentation,  Sang this work of lamentation.
   Se dictie faict de lamentation.

Orph. Rondeau.  Musicians think all to lament;
145 Musiciens pensez de lamenter,  You must let anguished mourning into your entire soul
   Dueil angoissieux debvez en l'ame enter,  And show yourself withdrawn by sadness,
   Et vous monstrer par tristesse remis,  When you see him laid in earth,
   Quand vous voyez celluy a terre mys  He who knew of your art how to lament.
   Qui de vostre art a sceau parlamentier.

Orph. Rondeau.  You must torment your hearts with ire
150 Voz cœurs debvez en courroux tourmenter,  And augment your sorrows with regret,
   Et de regretz vos ennuyx augmenter,  For today you lose the flower of your friends,
   Car huy perdez la fleur de vos amys  Musicians all.
   Musiciens.

De chantz plaisans ne fault plus guermenter,  Occupy yourselves no more with joyful songs
155 Mais en douleurs vous experimenter,  But experiment instead with griefs,
   Ainsi que gens de tous plaisirs remis,  So that people withdrawn from all pleasures,
   Tristes, perplex, pesans, et endormis,  Sad, perplexed, sluggish and asleep,
   A plaintz et pleurs se fault tous presenter.  Will dedicate themselves all to plaints and cries.
   Musiciens.

L’Acteur.  Musicians all.

Chiron Centaure es montz de Thessalie  Chiron the Centaur came up from Thessaly,
160 Laisse Achilles, prent sa harpe et sa lye,  Leaving Achilles; he took his harp and lyre,
   Aux assistens fort contristez du cas,  And, to those present, strongly saddened by the affair,
   De voix tremblant resonnant ung peu cas,  With trembling voices resounding a little tale,
   Piteusement la matièrie poursuyt,  Piteously pursued the matter,
   Et en plorant dit le mot qui s'ensuyt.  And, while crying, sang the speech that follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>165</th>
<th>Qui par escript a touché maintz passaiges,</th>
<th>We must deplore this good singer so wise,</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Et si très-bien de la gorge a passé.</td>
<td>Who by writing made many passages of music,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hélas! Enfans, or est-il trespassé,</td>
<td>Which so very well passed from his throat.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Trop importun nous en est le message.</td>
<td>Alas! Children, he has died now,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tant beau, tant net de corps et de visage</td>
<td>The message is too much for us.</td>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Fut en son temps, et jamais n'eust usaige</td>
<td>So handsome, so fine of body and of face</td>
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<td></td>
<td>De consentir ung fait mal compassé.</td>
<td>He was in his time, and never was it his custom</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Plorer le fault.</td>
<td>To consent to something poorly crafted.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C'est grand meschef quant ung tel personnange</td>
<td>We must deplore him.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Avant cent ans accompliz perd son aage,</td>
<td>It is a great misfortune when such a person</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Et qu'on le voit entre les vers tassé;</td>
<td>Dies before reaching the age of a hundred years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Son esperit est lassus in pace,</td>
<td>And one sees him packed in among the worms;</td>
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<td>Mais quo! Le corps pourrit qui est dommaige,</td>
<td>His spirit is above at rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plorer le fault.</td>
<td>But what! The body rots, which is a shame.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**L'Acteur.**

| Dame Saph de Pan belle amoureuse,  | The beautiful lover of Pan, Lady Sappho,  |
| Contre Atropos austère et rigoureuse  | Against stern and unflinching Atropos  |
| Feit et chantra ung dictie plain d'argus  | Composed and sang a song full of anger  |
| 180  | Mercure aussi qui endormit Argus  | Mercury also, who sent Argus asleep,  |
|      | Là se trouva sans gueres demourer,  | Found himself there without staying long  |
|      | Pour le deffunct de son jeu honnorer.  | In order to honor the departed with his playing.  |
|      | Pareillement Pan, le Dieu d'Arcadie,  | Likewise Pan, God of Arcadia,  |
|      | Lors s'esforça et mit son estudie  | Then endeavored and made it his care  |
| 185  | A suader pastours et pastourelles  | To persuade the shepherds and shepherdesses  |
|      | Abandonner loges, brebis, tourelles,  | To abandon their huts, their sheep and their turrets,  |
|      | Pour regretter ce pillier de musique.  | In order to lament this pillar of music.  |
|      | Et promptement feit ung dict heroiqique,  | And he promptly composed a heroic song  |
|      | Que sur le corps luy et ses gens chantèrent.  | For him and his people to sing over the body.  |
|      | Puis Arion que les dauphins portèrent,  | Then Arion, whom the dolphins bore,  |
|      | Dont evada le péril de la mer,  | By which means he avoided the peril of the sea,  |
|      | En son jeu dict que mout faict à blasmer  | Declared in his playing that he would greatly blame  |
|      | Quiconques est amy de la science,  | Whoever is a friend of the science  |
|      | Et là ne vient pour veoir la pacience  | And did not come there to witness the suffering  |
| 190  | De Musique ore ainsi fort désolée.  | Of Music now so strongly desolate.  |
|      | La personne est en son deuil consolée,  | For a person is consoled in his grief  |
|      | Quant aucun voit qui compaignoir la vueille,  | When he sees someone accompany him in mourning;  |
|      | Ung cueur dolent quiert qu'ung aultre se dueille.  | A heart in pain wants another to grieve.  |
|      | Son dict finy, tous instrumentz cessèrent,  | When his song ended, all instruments ceased,  |
|      | Et sur ce pointz les chantres commencèrent.  | And at this moment the singers began.  |
| 200  | Là du Fay, le bon homme survint,  | The good man Du Fay arrived there,  |
|      | Bunoyz aussi, et aultres plus de vingt,  | Busnoys also, and more than twenty others;  |
|      | Fede, Binchois, Barbingant et Doustable,  | Fede, Binchois, Barbingant and Dunstable,  |
|      | Pasquin, Lannoy, Baziron très-notable,  | Pasquin, Lannoy, Basiron the very well-known,  |
|      | Copin, Regist, Gille Joyce et Constant.  | Copin, Regist, Gille Joyce and Constant.  |
Maint homme fut auprès d'eulx escoutant,
Car bon faisoit ouyr telle armonye,
Aussi estoit la bende bien fournye.

Lors se chanta la messe de *My My*
*Au travail suis*, et *Cius vis toni*,
La messe aussi exquise et très-parfaicte
De *Requiem* par ledict défunct faitce;
Hame en la fin dict avecques son luctose
Ce motet, *Ut heremita solus*;

215
Que chascunt tint une chose excellente.

Musique, lors la Dame très-dolente,
Non connoissant qu'esusse du duel ma part,
Pour ce qu'estions dessoubus ung arbre à part,
Hastivement me feit venir vers elle,

220
Et quant congueut mon couraige et bon zèle,
Me commanda estre prest et pourveu
D'enregistrer tout ce que j'avoieu.

Oultre me dict et chargea par exprès,
De publier et dire loing et près

225
Aux chantres tous sa doctrine ensuyvans,
Que du défunct tant que seroient vivans,
En leur façon et composition,
Feissent tousjours commémoration.
En ce disant par ung cry qu'el ouyt,

230
Subdainement du lieu s'esvanouyt,
Elle et ses gens feirent ung si grand sault,
Que de frayeur m'esveillay en sursault.

O dur réveil, piteux à réciter!
Comment pourray sans me necessiter

235
En ce papier coucher dictz ne escriptz?
Veu que ne puis cueur ne bouche inciter,
Langue ne voix esmouvoir, n'exciter
A prononcer fors pleurs, plaintes et cryz.

A peine scay si je liz ou escriptz,
Plaisir m'est duel, plus me sont pleurs que riz,
Mon corps se voit à la terre citer;
Je suis perplex; en l'affaire qu'y ay pris

240
Besoing me fust que aultre acteur mieuxx apris
Vint à présent mon sens ressuciter.

Que n'ez la lors l'éloquence de Tullie,
Ou de Virgile, ou ceulx qu'on intitulie
Grands orateurs et poëtes laurezz;
Boèce où est-il? Qui ne me congratule;
Où est Propere et Tibure ou Catulle,

245
Pour recueilir tous leurs escriptz dorez,
Affin d'avoir tous les faitz honorez

And many a man stood near them listening,
For it was good to hear such harmony,
So well furnished was the group.

Then they sang the masses *Mi mi,*
*Au travail suis* and *Cius vis toni,*
Also the exquisite and perfect
Mass on *Requiem* made by said departed;
And at the end Hayne sang with his lute
The motet *Ut heremita solus*;

Which everyone held to be an excellent thing.

Then the very doleful Lady Music,
Unaware I had my part to play in the grieving,
For that we were set apart beneath a tree,
Summoned me to herself in haste,

And, having ascertained my courage and good zeal,
Commanded me to be ready and prepared
To write down all that I had seen.

She spoke further and expressly charged me
To make known and tell of far and near

To singers, all followers of her doctrine,
That of the departed they must while they live
In their manner and composition
Make always commemoration.

While saying this, by a cry that she heard,
Suddenly vanished from the place;

She and her coterie jumped up so high,
That in fear I awoke with a start.

Oh bitter waking, piteous to recite!
Without forcing myself, how can I

Inscribe on this paper words as yet unwritten?
Seeing as I can incite neither heart nor mouth,

Neither tongue nor voice move nor excite
To pronounce aloud cries, laments and tears.

I hardly know if I read or write,
Pleasure is pain to me, cries more to me than smiles;

My body sees itself summoned toward the earth;
I am perplexed; in the matter I have undertaken

I have need for another poet, best instructed,
Arriving here to restore my senses.

Would that I had now the eloquence of Tully
Or of Vergil, or those whom we call
great orators and poet laureates;

Where is Boethius? Who would not congratulate me;
Where are Propertius, and Tiburtius or Catullus,

To collect all their golden writings
In order to have honored all the deeds.
Du bon Seigneur, qui tant a decorez
Et embelliz les livres de musique,
Et de sa main nous en sont demourez
D'ouvrage exquis, si tres bien labourez,
Qui semble ouyr ung droict chant angelique.

Hey! Chastelain et Maistre Alain Chartier,
Où estes-vous? Il me fust bien mestier
Avoir de vous quelque bonne leçon;
Simon Greban, qui feustes du mestier,
Que n'avez-vous laissé pour héritier
Ung Meschinot, ung Milet, ung Nesson,
Pour hault louer le mélodieux son,
La voix, le chant, et subtile façon
De ce vaillant renommé Trésorier?
Hélas! Faut-il qu'ainsi nous le laisson?
La raison veult que mémoire en façon,
Mais ad ce suis trop inutile ouvrier.

Come Molinet; dormez vous, ou rezez?
Vos sens sont-ils si pressez ou grevez,
Que ne pouvez prendre papier et plume?
A quoi tient-il que aujourd'hui n'estrevez
Contre la mort, et soudain n'escripez
De Okergan quelque petit volume?

Ardent désir ad ce mon coeur allume,
Mais mon gros sens dur comme fer d'anclume,
N'approche en riens le don que vous avez;
Si toutesfois quelque chose en resume,
Excusez moy si de tant je présume,
Affection m'esmeut, vous le savez.

My heart lights up with ardent desire at this task,
But my gross sensibility is hard as the iron of anvil,
It does not approach in any way the gift that you have;
If, however, I must attempt something
Do not blame me if I presume too much,
I am moved by affection, as you know.

Considering that you have skill and practice,
And seeing also that Lady Rhetoric
Supports and favors you in all your deeds,
You should compose a canticle for him very soon,
Instead of I, who am meager in elegance
And knowledge which authorizes the hand.

If I have fallen short in carrying out this task
And with good reason one blames and scorns me
For my provincial and mechanical writing,
You must nonetheless not let go the task
Of exalting him, for he is worthy that one praise him
And is well worthy to be put in chronicle.

O! Reverend orator Saint Gelais,
There is need now that you be poet,
To sweeten my laments with some lai;
In this I do not wish to be your flatterer,
But hold that such a zealot for virtue as you
Would have pity for he whom I lament.
De vos escripzs les livres sont tous pleins,

300 Votre bon bruit volle par champs et pleins,
Chacun le sait, de ce ne suis menteur;
Hélas! Seigneur, recueillez mes complaints,
Ne tenez pas mon dict assez ample, ains
Plaignez la mort de ce vaillant Docteur.

305 Docteur le puis nommer en la science,
Et prens tesmoings tous musiciens, se
Jamais en fut ung autre plus parfait,
Pour en juger en saine conscience
Mortz et vivans prendront en pacience
Tous exceda et par dictz et par faict.

310 En son vivant a maint ouvragea fait
En style hault, où n'a riens imparfaict,
Comme on le saict par vraye experience;
C'est grant douleur le veoir par mort defaict,
Veue qu'il estoit personnaage d'effaict,
Comblé d'honneur et de bonne prudence.

Il a vecu si tres honnestement,
Et haultement son estat maintenu,
Riens n'a gasté par fol gouvernement,

320 On voit coment son oeuvre et bastiment
A proprement et bien entretenu;
Maint paovre nul a vestu, soustenu,
Nourry, tenu à sa propre despense,
Pour Dieu a faitz beaouth plus qu'on ne pense.

325 Humble aux petitz, aux grandz se monstrait grant,
Honneur querant sans vaine ambition,
Et qu'il soit vray, son loz m'en est garant,
Au demou rant son cuer fut labourant,
Vertus querant; par augmentation
D'affection mainte fondation
Fonda si on en veult estre recordz;
Ung bien pour l'ame en vault bien cent au corps.

Par quarante ans et plus il a servy
Sans quelque ennuy en sa charge et office;

335 De trois Roys a tant l'amour desservy,
Que aux biens le vis appeller au convy,
Mais assouvy estoit d'ung béneffice;
Quant aux service et divin sacrifice
Sans aulcun vice eut cuer fervent et plain,
A droit nommé le premier chappellain.

Gens du Clergé et Collège notable,
Chant lamentable en Cuer e et en Chapitre
Faire devezur puetz homme loulable,
Tant amyable humain, doux, et traictable

Books are all full of your writing,

Your good sound travels by fields and plains,
Everyone knows it, of this I am no liar;
Alas! Master, collect my complaints,
Do not hold my poem to be enough, thus
Lament this most worthy Doctor's death.

Doctor one can call him in the science,
And take all musicians as witnesses that
Never was there another more perfect
To judge in good conscience;
Those dead and alive will take him in patience,
He excelled them all in words and in deeds.

During his lifetime he composed many a work
In the high style, where there is nothing imperfect,
This we know by true experience;
It is a great sorrow to see him undone by death,
Seeing that he was a man of consequence
Crowned with honor and good prudence.

He lived his life very honestly,
And augustly maintained his estate,
He wasted nothing by foolish government
One sees how his work and his building
He well properly maintained;
He clothed many a naked poor and sustained them,
Nourished and kept at his own expense,
He did more for God than one can imagine.

Humble to the small, to the great he proved great,
Seeking honor without vain ambition,
And, that he is trustworthy, his praise is sure to me,
His heart was laboring for endurance
Seeking virtue; by augmentation
Of affection he maintained foundation.
Founded such that one wishes it to be recorded;
One boon in soul is well worth a hundred to the body.

He served for forty years and more
Without any weariness in his duty and office;
He so deserved the love of three Kings,
That one imagines him called to a banquet of riches;
But he was satisfied with a benefice,
As with service and divine sacrifice
Without any vice, he had a fervent and plain heart,
Righly was he named the first chaplain.

Men of the Clergy and the notable College,
Plaintive chant in Choir and Chapter
You must make for this praiseworthy man,
So amiably humane, sweet and amenable.
345       Assez capable d'obtenir crosse ou mitre,
Oncques tel tiltre il n'emprint faire tistre,
Mais au pulpitre alloit tout le premier,
De Dieu servir estoit bon costumier.

Jamais ne fut ingrât de son scâvoir,
Pour le scâvoir ay largement tesmoings,
De bien chanter a fait son plain devoir,
De son avoir a bien voulu pourvoir. 
Luy vif pour voir a vuidé ses mains,
A ses germains indigens et humains,
L'ung plus, l'ung moins, tous ses biens a fait prendre
C'est ung nota que chascun doit apprendre.

A demostrer qu'on doit fort detester
La lasceté des faulx exécuteurs,
Vous qui vivez prenez de bien tester,
Et encontre eulx devant Dieu protester,
Car ilx seront voz grans persécuteurs
Lors qu'ilz devroyent estre solliciteurs,
De votre fait, ilz suyvront leur affair;
Qui veult donner soy mesme le doibt faire.

Ainsi l'a fait et bien s'en est trouvé,
Comme j'entens et croy certenement,
Ses biensfais l'ont de tout pêché lavé,
Et Saint Martin de perdre l'a sauvé,
Qu'il a requis et servy loyalement;
De tous ses layz il a fait le payement
Sans en charger ne parent, ne affin;
La bonne vie attraict la bonne fin.

Seigneurs de Tours et peuple regrettez
Celluy qu'on doit plus plaindre que ne dys,
En son vivant vous a si bien traitez,
Soyez devoz, enclins, et apprestez
A prier Dieu qu'il lui doint paradis;
Pour ung seul bien il vous en payera dix,
Se luy prestez, tout vous sera rendu;
Oncques bien faict, dict on, ne fut perdu.

Chantres plorez ce notable seigneur,
En visitant ses doux chantz angéliques;
Il a esté de vertu enseigneur,
L'appuy, l'apport, le seul pilier d'honneur,
Et clary myrourer des Ecélésiastiquestes,
Le vray guydon de tous bons Catholicques,
Des simples gens familiier exemplaire,
Plaisant à tous, à Jésus puist il plaire.

Agricolla, Verbonnet, Prioris,
Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compère
Ne parlez plus de joyeux chantz ne ris,
Mais composez un *Ne recorderis*,
Pour lamento notre maistre et bon père.
Prevost, Ver Just, tant que Piscis Prospère
395 Prenez Fresveau pour vos chantz accorder,
La perte est grande et digne à recorder.

He maistre Everard vous estes successeur
D'ung excellent Docteur, bien le sçavez,
Je vous requier, quant serez possesseur,
400 Faictes bastir orgues de grant douceur,
Il m'est advis que faire le debvez;
Et tous les jours, si l'aisement avez,
Quelque motet sonnez qui à Dieu plaise
Pour le deffunct, il en sera bien aise.

Enfans de cuer ne faictes plus leçons
De fleuretiz, mais note contre note
Sur *Requiem* en doucettes façons,
Puis accordez voz chantz et piteux sons,
Sans ce que aulcun riens y adjoute ne oste,
410 Et priez Dieu qu'il reçoye à son hoste,
Le Trésorier dict Okergan, affin
Qu'en Paradis chante à jamais sans fin.

Mieux que pis.\textsuperscript{67} \hfill For better than worst.

Before turning to the many details worthy of note in Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem, let us consider first its totality. Crétin's déploration is, in essence, a necrological drama. This is evident in both its form and content. The news of Ockeghem's death comes to Crétin in a dream (25-28). The rhetorical question-and-answer structure by means of which this death is announced (36-37) is a convention that will be followed by many a subsequent déploration author. Crétin is commissioned in this dream with commemorating the loss of Ockeghem by Lady Music herself (216-232). The manner in which he is called upon to do so recalls the encounter between the poet and Nature depicted in Machaut's prologue to the *Dit dou vergier*. The drama of Crétin's

déploration is a consequence not only of such premises but the fact that, within its diegetic flow, the poet intersperses a number of rondeaux delivered by venerable musicians of antiquity. Thus does Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem draw upon a narrative strategy typically characteristic of epic poetry—most notably, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Thus construed, such issues of genre, however, are not relevant to the déploration as musical idea. What defines Crétin's lament for Ockeghem as a déploration is the event it depicts. That event is a musico-poetic ritual of communal commemoration. This event, conceived of by Crétin as a response to a call of duty to commemorate an exemplary servant of Lady Music, is the implicit frame of reference for every work of the déploration tradition. As depicted in Crétin's déploration, Ockeghem's ritual commemoration was well-attended. In addition to Lady Music, the cast of *dramatis personae* here include Orpheus, Chiron, Pan, Tubal, and “L'Acteur” or the Poet. That is not nearly all. Ockeghem's mourners also include natural elements such as the winds “Zéphirus” and “Borréas” (41-46), the Muses who play instruments lamenting the composer (51-53), and two groups of musicians listed litany-style by Crétin (201-205 and 389-390). Du Fay heads the first list with Busnoys, Binchois and other lesser known (save Dunstable) musicians. The second list, “Agricolla, Verbonnet, Prioris, Josquin Desprez, Gaspar, Brunel, Compère,” packs more of a composerly punch. In allocating pride of place to musicians in French and Burgundian service, Crétin testifies to the dynastic aspect of the déploration as composerly tradition. More significant than this courtly musical community for the commemorative dimension of Crétin's déploration, however, is the perennial one. Indeed, all singers and musicians are cast here as having a duty to

[68] The same form is used in Crétin's *Plaïnte sur le trespas du saige et vertueux Chevalier feu de bonne memoire messire Guillaume de Byssipat*, where the interlocutors are “L'acteur,” Clyo, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsicore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania and Calliope; cf. Crétin, *Oeuvres*, 73-93. That Crétin titles this work a *plaïnte* testifies to the non-definitional force of generic nomenclature as related to aesthetic ideas in this era.
deplore Ockeghem, and Crétin advises them always to keep Ockeghem in mind (227-228). According to Crétin, the reasons why Ockeghem merits such commemoration are many and impressive. Ockeghem is heralded as “pilier de musique” (187) and an eminent doctor (304-310). Crétin makes frequent mention of the composer's worldly post as treasurer (365-380) on which the poet puns (37-38). Further esteem for this professional dimension of Ockeghem's legacy is evident in how Evrard, Ockeghem's successor as treasurer of St-Martin of Tours, is reminded by Crétin of the size of shoes he's to fill (397-404). As befits a musician of his stature, Crétin also demonstrates a keen interest in commemorating Ockeghem's composerly legacy. Ockeghem's subtilitas is praised in a not-so-subtle rhyme (109-110; “subtilité” and “subtilité”). This, combined with Crétin's reference to composerly “secrets,” reflects a guildic mentality common to all participants in the déploration tradition. Specific works of Ockeghem's mentioned by Crétin (209-215) include the Requiem mass and (if it is indeed by the composer) the motet Ut heremita solus.69 Certain passages in Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem are also revelatory of the poet's aesthetic self-understanding as composerly laborer. Central to this self-understanding is Crétin's relationship to the auctoritas of his predecessors. Wishing he were as good as they, Crétin wonders (245-268) where the poets of antiquity are at such a time as this. This passage is followed by an agonistic calling-out of Molinet in particular (269-274), accused of sleeping on the job and urged to compose a lament for Ockeghem on account of the fact that he enjoys greater favor with Lady Rhetoric. Once again we encounter the definitive fact that Crétin's

déploration is predicated upon the prescriptive idea that to deplore a musician of such stature was to fulfill a communal duty.

This fact is attested to not only by Crétin's poem itself but by the responses, both poetic and musical, occasioned thereby. Whatever the reason for his initial lapse in duty, Crétin's agonistic call eventually occasioned two responses by Molinet. One is entitled *Famosissimi musici Johannis Obghem regis Franciae capellani Epitum*. That this “epithum” is in Latin suggests that choice of language may have played a role in Molinet's understanding of poetic commemoration as composerly agon. Furthermore, the title is notable for its foregrounding of Ockeghem's professional service (“regis Fanciae capellani”) as well as for designating him a “famosissimus musicus.” That Molinet designates it an “epithum” or epitaph is further fitting in light of its laconic style:

Qui dulces modulando
Nostis reddere cantus,
Presso corde gemendo,
Tristes pandite fletus:
Cantorun pater almus
Linquens sec[u]la, Johannes
Obghen, fit quasi summus
Sol lucens super omnes.

Est aler fabricando
Musas Orpheus altus;
Est divus jubilando,
Saca vesta togatus.
Busnois, Regis amenus
Stelle sunt renitentes;
Est Obghen velut ortus
Sol lucens super omnes.

Virtutes cumulando
Vixit semper honestus;
Afflictis miserando,
Dispersis sua vivus;
Musarum venerandus
Doctor, celicus hospes,
Fulgebic renovatus,

You who, by measuring, sweet
Song know how to give forth,
Moaning, and with pressed string,
Lay out sad tears:
The kind father of singers,
Leaving behind the world, Johannes
Ockeghem, made as if on highest,
A sun shining over all.

There is another making
Muses, lofty Orpheus;
There is a divinity rejoicing,
Toga-clad with sacred vestment.
Busnoys, Regis, out of mind,
Are rebellious stars;
Ockeghem is like the sunrise,
A sun shining over all.

Accruing virtues
He lived honestly always;
Pitying those afflicted,
He shared his things while alive;
To be venerated by the Muses,
Doctor, heavenly guest,
He will shine renewed,
Sol lucens super omnes.  
A sun shining over all.

25 Princeps trinus et vivus  
Sanctas det sibi sedes,  
Ut sit clarificatus  
Sol lucens super omnes.  
Prince triple and lively,  
Grant him holy throne,  
So that he may be made famous,  
A sun shining over all.

In comparison to Crétin's déploration, this epitaph of Molinet's dwarfs. The poet's metaphors here are traditional and conventional: A patriarchal conception of Ockeghem is evident in the phrase “Cantorum pater almus” (5)—a conception reinforced by the astronomical metaphor of the “Sol lucens” refrain (8, 16, 24, 28). Busnoys and Regis are mentioned as stars “renitentes” (presumably in protest to the death of their center of gravity) in the Ockeghemian orbit (13). What specific details are here present in Molinet's poem seem to have been adapted directly from Crétin's déploration; the praise of Ockeghem's magnanimity in particular (17-20) recalls a passage of Crétin's déploration (317-332). Thus Qui dulces modulando is not so much a lament as it is a eulogy. The second of Molinet's responses to Crétin, however, entitled Épitaphe de venerable seigneur de bonne memoire Okgma trésorier de Tours, draws more directly upon rhetoric of the lament:

Nymphes des bois déesses des fontaines  
Chantres expers de toutes nations,  
Change vos vois tant clerces et haultaines  
En cris trenchantz et lamentations  

5 Car Atropos tres terrible satrapre,  
A vostre Okgam atrapè en sa trape  
Vray tresorier de musique et chef d'oeuvre,  
Grand domaige est que la terre le coeuvre  
Accoutrez vo[u]s d'habit de doeul  
Nymphs of the woods, goddesses of the fountains,  
Expert singers of all nations,  
Change your voices so clear and high  
Into trenchant cries and lamentations.  

For Atropos, very horrible satrap,  
Has trapped your Ockeghem in her trap,  
True treasure of music and masterpiece,  
It is a great shame that earth covers him.  
Dress yourselves in clothes of mourning

10 Josquin perchon brumel compere  
Et pleurez grosse larmes d'oeil  
Perdu avez vostre bon pere  
Josquin Perchon Brumel Compère  
And cry great tears from your eyes  
You have lost your good father

Quintessentially in the spirit of the déploration is Molinet's opening apostrophe (1-4) of singers and mythological figures. Molinet's phrase “Chantres expers de toutes nations” (2) pithily encapsulates the ecumenical nature of this call to mourning. As in *Qui dulces modulando*, the composers called to put on mourning dress by Molinet, “Josquin perchon brumel compere,” are, with the exception of “perchon,” certainly lifted directly from Crétin's déploration. In a manner reminiscent of Ockeghem's allusion to his *Missa pro defunctis* in the déploration of Binchois, Molinet alludes to other of his own poetry in *Nymphes des bois*. Apart from these allusions and one pun (5), however, there is not much of a composerly dimension to Molinet's *épitaphe* for Ockeghem. In light of the demonstrable relationship between decorum and formal experimentation elsewhere observable in Molinet's poetry, this simplicity suggests that duty was indeed the principal driving force behind his composition of this lament.

Aesthetics notwithstanding, most important to the historian of the déploration tradition is the agonistic spirit animating the exchange between Crétin and Molinet that produced these laments for Ockeghem. That poets would compete with one another on the occasion of a death

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of a musician demonstrates how strongly the ideas of legatine commemoration and composerly agon were linked in the minds of fifteenth-century “fayseurs” of all stripes. Indeed, in their call upon musicians and poets alike to commemorate the loss of Ockeghem, Molinet and Crétin occasioned a commemorative ritual, the musical dimension of which we will now consider.

[1.10] Plorer gemir crier + Requiem as emulatory tribute

The two musical déplorations of Ockeghem embody the agonistic spirit sparked by Crétin and Molinet's exchange by engaging with his composerly legacy as a mode of tribute. How do they do so? We will consider them one at a time. As we have already observed, Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem setting Molinet's lament has long since been adopted by historians as the aesthetic lodestar of the tradition. Before turning to Josquin's, however, let us consider the déploration of Ockeghem by the “Perchon” named in Nymphes des bois—that is, Pierre de la Rue.

Indeed, la Rue's Plorer gemir crier + Requiem forms a crucial node in the composerly network of the déploration tradition, exhibiting as it does similarities to both Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois and Josquin's of Ockeghem. To term this lament of la Rue's a déploration is, however, not without its problems. This is because the upper voices of Plorer gemir crier + Requiem set a fragmentary text that runs as follows: “Plorer, gemir crier et braire / Me commant grant desplaisir / Quant la mort …” At this point in the only source preserving it the poem breaks off. How, then, are we to be sure it is for Ockeghem? In short, there is no way to be sure. And yet, the circumstantial evidence arguing for la Rue's lament as a déploration of Ockeghem is compelling. First of all, the source that preserves Plorer gemir crier + Requiem also contains Jacob Obrecht's Mille quingentis + Requiem, a lament for his father, Willem Obrecht. Like la
Rue's lament, Obrecht's appears in this source with the name of its lamented edited out.\(^{75}\)

Precisely this same logic may be observed in the publication of Obrecht's lament, as well as Josquin's *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* (though this latter in 1508) by Petrucci in 1504, both as anonymous motets with the text of the *Requiem* Introit in all voices. Therefore it is plausible La Rue's *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem* was, like and alongside Obrecht's, copied into its source anonymously in order to make it more widely applicable to different contexts. Assuming *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem* was intended to commemorate an individual, the question becomes: For whom might la Rue have composed it?

In light of his lifelong service thereto, members of the Habsburg-Burgundian household first come to mind as likely candidates.\(^{76}\) From 1492 to 1506, Pierre de la Rue (c1452-1518) was in service at the chapel of Philip the Fair. After Philip's death while traveling in Spain, la Rue remained there in service in Princess Juana's chapel from 1506 to 1508. From 1508 to 1516 the composer was back in the Netherlands in service at the courts of Charles V and Marguerite of Austria. As one would expect from such service, la Rue's music features prominently in one of Marguerite's *chansonniers*, Brussels 228, which contains numerous occasional laments commemorating members of the Habsburg-Burgundian family.\(^{77}\) It is thus possible that *Plorer*


\(^{77}\) Foremost among the composers represented in Brussels 228 is la Rue, followed by Compère, Agricola, Josquin and Ockeghem. On this manuscript, cf. Martin Picker, *The chanson albums of Marguerite of Austria. MSS. 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1965).
gemir crier + Requiem was composed to honor a member of that family.

And yet, when the composerly dimension of la Rue's lament is taken into consideration, an argument for Ockeghem as deplored therein appears all the more convincing. Consider, first, the fragmentary poem set by la Rue. It would seem plausibly a response to the opening apostrophe of Molinet's poem that urges “Chantres expers de toutes nations” to “Changer voz vois tant cleres et haultaines / En cris trenchantz et lamentations.” Furthermore, apart from the fact that both la Rue and Molinet served the same institution—or, rather, precisely because of that fact—la Rue's presence in Molinet's poem is odd. This is for two reasons. First, no other mentions of la Rue occur subsequently to the one in *Nymphes des bois* until Moulu's *Mater floreat florescat* (mid-1510s), suggesting that he would not yet have built the reputation to make Molinet's litany on merit. Secondly, Molinet, a musician's poet, does not mention la Rue anywhere else in his writings. That la Rue appears here named neither as personal friend nor famous composer but simply in his capacity as musician in residence at the Burgundian court thus makes it all the more plausible that he would have taken notice and responded accordingly by fulfilling his duty to deplore Ockeghem. Even more convincing than such hypothetical reasoning, however, is the musical evidence supporting the idea that *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem* was intended as a tribute to Ockeghem. To tell from his music, la Rue was acutely aware of Ockeghem's composerly legacy. Manuscripts from the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex preserve much of Ockeghem's music, and Ockeghem is, alongside Josquin,

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[78] For this rationale, and the further hypothesis that la Rue deliberately did not set Molinet's *Nymphes des bois* in his déploration of Ockeghem because Josquin's setting of it was too good, cf. Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, esp. 181. I see no reason for assuming that la Rue's déploration was composed subsequent to Josquin's. The dates of Molinet's poems sharing material with *Nymphes des bois* (1505-1506) suggest that Molinet's epitaphe, and, thus, Josquin's setting of it, postdates Ockeghem's death by as many as ten years. Molinet most likely wrote his lament in 1507; the *terminus ante quem* for Josquin's setting is 1508, when it was published by Petrucci as a motet with the *Requiem* text in all voices. It seems just as likely that it was either contemporaneous with la Rue's déploration or that la Rue's was first in light of his overlapping service at the Habsburg court with Molinet.
demonstrably the most influential composer on la Rue. Suggestively, la Rue based cantus-firmus masses on at least three different Ockeghem chansons, and mensuration canons of the type most famously found in the latter's Missa prolactionum are to be found throughout the former's output. It is evident in these works that the Burgundian-duecal composer la Rue was emulating his elder French-royal counterpart. Most compellingly suggestive of an emulatory relationship, however, are the sui generis characteristics shared by Ockeghem's and la Rue's Missae pro defunctis.

Throughout this study we will have occasion to consider a number of polyphonic settings of the Missa pro defunctis as it was, like the déploration, a Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Around forty-five polyphonic Requiem masses date from prior to the seventeenth-century; Ockeghem's, the first extant, may have been composed for the funeral of Charles VII (d. 1461) or Louis XI (d. 1483). Polyphonic settings of the Missa pro defunctis seem to have been slowly embraced by composers, and, when compared to contemporaneous composerly idioms, the style of these settings appears anachronistic, likely on account of a concern for liturgical decorum. In light of the exceptional nature of such settings, then, that la Rue set the Requiem polyphonically in the first place is suggestive of Ockeghem's influence. More specific instances of an emulatory


[80] Polyphonic settings of the Lamentations wax in popularity at the same time as those of the Requiem mass and likewise testify, through their anachronistic style, to a concern for decorum. Two early Petrucci prints are devoted exclusively to the Lamentations; on these, cf. Peter Scott, “Ottaviano Petrucci’s Lamentationum liber primus and liber secundus (1506/1 and 1506/2): A Bibliographical, Contextual and Analytical Study” (PhD diss., Univ. of Durham, 2004). Toward mid-century a number of volumes devoted exclusively to the music of Lamentations were published by Berg & Neuber (1549), Le Roy & Ballard (1557) and Rampazetto (1564); on these, cf. Glenn Watkins, “Three Books of Polyphonic Lamentations of Jeremiah, 1549-1564” (PhD diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1953). For an anthropological approach to the repertory in toto, cf. Sister Mary Jane Klimisch, “The Music of the Lamentations: Historical and Analytical Aspects” (PhD diss., Washington Univ., 1971).
composerly dynamic are discernible in their two settings. In both la Rue's and Ockeghem's settings the scoring is variable, with full textures alternating with duets and trios. In Ockeghem's plainchant structures the entire work, as melodies are lightly embellished in the uppermost voice à la settings of hymns and psalms. La Rue's setting proceeds in precisely the same manner. Moreover, both composers set the liturgical prayer Sicut cervus as Tract. Sicut cervus (Ps. 42:2-4) comes from the liturgy of Easter. Sung during the baptism of catechumens, it carries connotations of a rite of passage.\textsuperscript{81} It is is unique to the Sarum rite and set rarely in the rare tradition of setting the Missa pro defunctis polyphonically. Ockeghem sets Sicut cervus [Ex. 10] as a duo:

[Ex. 10]\textsuperscript{82} Ockeghem, Missa pro defunctis – Sicut cervus (mm. 1-51)

\textsuperscript{81} On these connotations, cf. Elders, Symbolic Scores, 123-124.

\textsuperscript{82} From van Benthem, ed., Johannes Ockeghem: Vol. 1/4, 13. As in [Exx. 6 & 7], an “x” above a note indicates a pitch derived from plainchant.
From a composerly perspective, remarkable in [Ex. 10] is the rhetorical *varietas* Ockeghem achieves with extremely economical means.\textsuperscript{83} La Rue's setting [Ex. 11] follows closely in the

footsteps of Ockeghem’s:

[Ex. 11] La Rue, Missa pro defunctis – Sicut cervus (mm. 1-37)

La Rue's composerly idiom here on display, with its constant maintenance of contrapuntal variety without sacrificing melodic interest, is in spirit that of Ockeghem.

Such an emulatory relationship as evident in these two settings of *Sicut cervus* is likewise evident in la Rue's déploration of Ockeghem, *Pleror gemir crier + Requiem* [Ex. 12]:

**[Ex. 12]** La Rue, *Pleror gemir crier + Requiem*

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Requiem
La Rue's déploration is rhetorically constructed to produce a clear-cut effect. It is in this rhetorical aspect that we may begin to observe the similarities between his and Ockeghem's déplorations that argue most strongly in favor of *Plorer gemir crier* + *Requiem*’s status as such. The first and most obvious commonality between Ockeghem's and la Rue's déplorations is their mutual “motet-chanson” form. More specific a commonality is that la Rue's is, like Ockeghem's, divided into two *partes* of contrasting mensuration. La Rue's movement from imperfect to perfect mensuration is, however, the reverse of what Ockeghem does in *Mort tu as navré* + *Miserere*. Nonetheless, the effect is analogous. Further allying it with the composerly rhetoric of Ockeghem's déploration, the duet structure of the *prima pars* of la Rue's déploration contrasts texturally with the *secunda*, which is largely homorhythmic. Though the text is lost, such homorhythmic declamation may be inferred, at [Ex. 12; mm. 40-42], for instance, though it likely broke at the pedal point [Ex. 12; mm. 45-48], itself offset formally by cascading scalar descents in the upper voices. More generally reminiscent of Ockeghem's composerly idiom is the harmonic one of *Plorer gemir crier* + *Requiem*, with its juxtaposition of hexachords, for instance at [Ex. 12; mm. 18-20] where the *f-sharp* in the Discantus is followed by a *b-flat* in the Cantus. And yet, there are substantive differences in Ockeghem's and la Rue's déplorations. Most immediately audible of these is the Hypolydian feel of la Rue's déploration, “brighter” in modality than Ockeghem. That la Rue employs the *Requiem* chant as cantus prius factus makes him likely the first to do so in the déploration tradition. Not only does he do so; he does so (quasi-)canonically. This, as we shall see, makes the déploration of Ockeghem by la Rue also the first in a distinguished line that employ the composerly technique of canon to tributary effect. At

[86] Meconi (*Pierre de la Rue*, 182) notes that such a shift between *partes* is nowhere else to be found in la Rue's oeuvre.
this point in history—that is, the turn of the sixteenth century—imitative texture has yet to be elevated to the structural status it would later acquire in Franco-Flemish music by mid-century. While used widely by Josquin, imitation is used sparingly by Ockeghem and other fifteenth-century composers. This composerly technique nonetheless had a very special function in the musical culture of the French-royal chapel, as the formal constraints to which imitative writing gives rise served a special pedagogical purpose.

These dimensions of this composerly tradition will become clear in the next chapter; for the moment, suffice it to observe that the imitative dimension of la Rue's Plorer gemir crier + Requiem makes it all the more plausibly a commemoration of Ockeghem's composerly legacy. In this it reinforces the commonalities it shares with Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois. By alluding to Ockeghem's composerly legacy as a manner of emulatory tribute, la Rue's Plorer gemir crier + Requiem resonates sympathetically with Josquin's Nymphes des bois + Requiem, to which we will now turn.

[I.11] Nymphes des bois + Requiem as agonistic homage

Whereas la Rue emulates general aspects of Ockeghem's elegiac music as a mode of tribute, Josquin engages more agonistically with his composerly legacy. How does he do so? That he does so is in keeping with the reputation the Josquin accrued over the course of a peripatetic cosmopolitan career. Josquin des Prés (c1450/5-1521) spent time at Aix-en-Provence, Milan, Rome, and Ferrara, finally retiring at Condé-sur-l'Escaut.\(^\text{87}\) Though hypothetical, there is good

reason to suppose that Josquin maintained a relationship to the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex, as a number of his compositions, in addition to *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*, set the work of poets that served it. Likewise, a conjectural personal (in addition to a demonstrable composerly) relationship between Josquin and Ockeghem is likely in light of their mutual connections to the French royal court.\(^{88}\) Indeed, like so many subsequent composers would be of him, Josquin is mentioned as a student (be it literal or rhetorical) of Ockeghem by numerous contemporaneous commentators. Regardless of biographical circumstance, esteem for Ockeghem is evident in how Josquin modeled his own works on the elder composer's music.\(^{89}\)

*Nymphes des bois + Requiem* [Ex. 13] is thus an emblem of a discipular composerly relationship:

[Ex. 13]\(^{90}\) Josquin, *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*

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\(^{89}\) Noteworthy are four early works on Ockeghem's chanson *D'ung autre amer* (a mass, a *Sanctus* and the motets *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia* and *Victimae paschali laudes*) and Josquin's later motet *Alma redemptoris mater / Ave regina caelorum*, which cites Ockeghem's *Alma redemptoris mater*; cf. Macey et al., “Josquin.”

\(^{90}\) From van Benthem, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: Vol. 1/4*, 27-30. Sources for the work include *Motteti C* (Venice: Petrucci, 1508; as aforementioned with the *Requiem* Introit text in all voices); the Medici Codex and *Le Septiesme livre de chansons* (Antwerp: Susato, 1545). The manuscript source of Molinet's lament (Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. fr. 24215 folio 95r) presents a number of variants from text set by Josquin. Of the sources for his setting, the Medici Codex adds, between lines 7 and 8, “Doct elegant de corps et non point trappe.” Susato adds, at the same spot, “Qui de tropes desormais plus neschappe.” For a summary of the textual variants between Susato and Medici versions (and speculation as to the former's motivation in altering the text), cf. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex*, 213-214. Also noteworthy: *Fletus date et lamentamini ululate* (in a private library, cf. Meconi, “Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson,” 401), consists of the Superius of Josquin's déploration for Ockeghem transposed down a fourth and with a newly-devised text commemorating the composer.
Like la Rue's déploration of Ockeghem, the structure of Josquin's déploration is clearly rhetorically articulated. Part one, musically in triple mensuration and setting decasyllabic poetry, sets lines 1-8 [Ex. 13; mm. 1-37]. Part two, musically in duple mensuration and setting octosyllabic poetry, sets lines 9-12 [Ex. 13; mm. 38-45]. Part three, musically in triple mensuration, sets line 13 [Ex. 13; mm. 46-50] as a *peroratio*. In addition to these rhetorical correspondences between musical and poetic structure, the composerly rhetoric of Josquin's setting may be conceived of as an interplay between textures—specifically, the alternation between Superius-driven melody, homorhythm and imitative polyphony. Such a balance between these three textures in a single work is nowhere else to be found in Josquin's music, which tends to focus, composition by composition, on the idea at hand. It is in this rhetorically-crafted balance that emulation as a mode of composerly tribute rendered Ockeghem may be observed. Significantly in light of Ockeghem's own composerly idiom, at no point in *Nymphes des bois* + *Requiem* does the Tenor serve its traditional role of texture-guiding or motive-furnishing voice. Josquin's déploration may be read therefore as an emulation of the rhetorical
varietas then as now held to be characteristic of Ockeghem's music.  

Further dimensions of composerly tribute in *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* remain to be noted. The most immediately-striking feature of the work from a visual point of view, in both the Medici Codex and Susato's *Le Septiesme livre* Josquin's déplication of Ockeghem appears in all-black notation. Such *Augenmusik* is not simply symbolic of mourning; it also has mensural implications—specifically, such coloration was a conventional way of designating a shift between perfect and imperfect mensuration. From a composerly perspective, consider also the canon of the Tenor: “Pour éviter noyse et débat / Prends ung demy ton plus bas” (“To avoid noise and discord / Take [it] a half-step lower”). This canon instructs the singer to resolmize the *Requiem* cantus prius factus. This process entails not simply melodic transposition but reinterpretation of each intervallc relationship of the melody. It consequently alters the modality of the work to the Phrygian, certainly done by Josquin for expressive symbolism. Likewise striking from a visual point of view: A lack of clefs in Josquin's notation of *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* recalls famous clefless works of Ockeghem's. Moreover, this feature of his déplication works in consort with another aspect of Josquin's composerly tribute in *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*—that is, melodic citation of Ockeghem's *Missa cuiusvis toni* [Ex. 14]:

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[91] As well as, by extension, a dialogue between musical styles—those are, “learned counterpoint” and “Humanistic clarity”—a dialogue that has been read in turn as symbolic of the transition from second to third generations of Netherlandish composers (and, by extension, “Medieval” to “Renaissance” music). For this interpretation, cf. Ens, “Josquin Desprez' 'Déploration'.” For an analogous reading of Josquin's déplication as dialogue between *melos* (i.e. cantabile melody) and *scientia* (i.e. rational disposition of structure), cf. Coeurdevy, “Josquin des Prés' *Nymphes des bois,*” 64-68.

[Ex. 14] Ockeghem, Missa cuisvis toni (Phrygian) – Kyrie (mm. 1-7)

Ockeghem's Missa cuisvis toni is notable for being singable in any mode—that is to say, it makes good counterpoint regardless of modality. The Missa cuisvis toni thus teaches singers not only

[93] From Houle, ed., Ockeghem's Missa cuisvis toni, 34. In the Phrygian mode (that is, on mi, normally e when do is based on c); the Kyrie is here transposed down a fifth to a.
how to navigate the difficulties encountered in the process of solmization; it also showcases
Ockeghem's compositional skill in devising multivalent musical structures. More than rendering
him tribute, then, in Nymphes des bois + Requiem Josquin engages in composerly agon with
Ockeghem by citing and reworking one of his most virtuosic compositions. 
Thus, considered as
a whole, the déploration of Ockeghem presents a paradoxical commemorative aspect. Neither la
Rue nor Josquin are known to have known Ockeghem personally. This makes personal grief
unlikely as the driving force behind his dual déploration. Positively put, both these works testify
strongly to the déploration as fulfillment of a call to duty.

[I.12] Origins of a musical idea

Though each déploration treated in this chapter expresses it in a different way, all are the
products of the same musical idea. What is it? This question is not yet answerable, as the
déploration as musical idea is discernible only as that which connects all thirty of its works into a
single constellation. From this chapter, however, two foci emerge as principles guiding us to a

[94] Such virtuosity takes even more esoteric form in Nymphes des bois + Requiem. Specifically, in his déploration,
Josquin encodes Ockeghem's name by means of gematria into the last iteration of the Requiem cantus firmus. For
a detailed list of other gematria symbolism in Josquin's déploration, cf. van Benthem, “La magie,” 126-132. This
same technique may have been used by Josquin in other music of posthumous tribute. Specifically, Absolve
quaesumus + Requiem, for six voices and ascribed to Josquin in Toledo Ms. 21, contains the initial “N” for
“Nomen” in lieu of a name. The text is a liturgical prayer for the dead. Like Nymphes des bois + Requiem,
Absolve quaesumus + Requiem employs all-black notation. Its Requiem cantus firmus is in canon. And the same
phrase that encodes Ockeghem's name via gematria in Josquin's déploration here adds up to a gematria cipher for
Obrecht's full name. Personal acquaintance between the two composers is hypothetical, though Obrecht and
Josquin both served at the Este court in Ferrara. Reinforcing the hypothesis that this is Josquin's tribute to
Obrecht: An anonymous seven-voiced lament for Josquin (only three of which survive) preserved unicum in
Piacenza, Archivo del Duomo, sets the same text. For this argument, cf. Willem Elders, “Josquin's 'Absolve,
Kistner & C.F.W. Siegel, 1922-1969), 109-113. While gematria enjoyed a vogue with certain composers around
the turn of the sixteenth century, its relationship to the déploration as musical idea is epiphenomenal.
preliminary understanding of the déploration as musical idea. First is the notion of composerly
vocation—specifically, the idea of innate disposition to musico-poetic craft is that to which the
déploration as composerly tradition renders tribute. The second is the dynastic nature of the
communities called upon to commemorate the composer deplored.
CHAPTER II:
DYNASTIC LEGACIES IN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS

[II.1] Commemorating dynasties in poetry and music

In Chapter I we traced the origins of the déploration tradition as forged by poets and musicians in French-royal and Burgundian-ducal service. Mindful of this aristocratic provenance, this chapter, along with its companion, Chapter V, considers déplorations by Franco-Flemish musicians with an understanding of composerly tradition that was forged within this institutional context. Further uniting the déplorations treated in this chapter is the fact that five of the six of them are concerned, be it directly or obliquely, with the composerly legacies of Ockeghem and Josquin. These two composers, lodestars of Franco-Flemish tradition, were rendered, with déplorations and otherwise, tribute as principes musicorum or “princes of musicians.” As we saw in Chapter I, professionally servants to aristocratic dynasties, the poets and musicians who forged the déploration tradition drew upon the rhetoric of political dynasties to commemorate one another. Accordingly, the déploration as commemorative practice is in its earliest stages closely related to the tradition of composing laments on the death of illustrious individuals. In order to gain some preliminary perspective on déplorations treated in this chapter, then, it will be illustrative to consider the lament as cultivated at the French-royal court at the turn of the sixteenth century. Here, as elsewhere, it played a crucial role in articulating dynastic relationships through the ritual of communal mourning. Let us consider specifically three laments occasioned by the death of Queen Anne de Bretagne of France (1477-1514). As befit an aristocrat of her stature, Anne was lamented widely in poetry and music. Two musical elegies for her set the same text:
Quis dabit oculis nostris fontem lachrimarum, et plorabimus die ac nocte coram Domino? Britannia, quid ploras? Musica, cur siles? Francia, cur inducta lugubri veste, moerore consumeris? Ergo eiulate pueri, Plorate sacerdotes, Ululate senes, Lugete canores, Plangite nobiles, et dicite; Anna, requiescat in pace.¹

Who will give a fountain of tears to our eyes, And will we deplore day and night before God? Brittany, what do you deplore? Music, why are you silent? France, why, clad in garments of mourning, Are you consumed with grief? Therefore ululate children, Deplore priests, Bewail elders, Mourn singers, Bemoan nobles, and say; Anne, requiescat in pace.

Though in Latin instead of French, this elegy for Queen Anne presents a distilled essence of the poetic déploration as socio-aesthetic idea. This is because it is a call to mourning. A series of rhetorical questions structure the first half of Quis dabit oculis; the poet's apostrophe of regional communities (3; “Britannia” and 5; “France”) particularly recalls the rhetoric of French déploration poetry in its original form. Foreshadowing a trope of much sixteenth-century Latin déploration poetry, Musica, here allegorically personified, is said to go silent (4) out of respect for the worldly loss. By contrast, in the second stanza, the poet directs a series of imperatives to lament at specific communities, thus giving rhetorical variatio to the core message of the elegy—that is, all are duty-bound to deplore Anne. While not expressly titled a déploration, Quis dabit oculis is therefore nonetheless animated by the same spirit. So too is a third elegy for Anne,

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¹ From Stephen Bonime, “Anne de Bretagne: (1477-1514) and Music” (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975), 99; for Anne's exequies and the musical component thereof, cf. ibidem, 95-104. One setting of Quis dabit oculis is by Jean Mouton; the other is by Constanzo Festa (c1485/90-1545), an Italian who sang in and composed for the cappella sistina in Rome. Festa's lament for Anne is his earliest datable composition, suggesting that it may have had the character of a debut work. And yet, Festa is not known to have served the French court; For Festa's biography, cf. James Haar, “Festa, Costanzo,” in Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09554 (accessed August 2, 2012). Festa's lament was later repurposed as funeral music for Maximilian I (d. 1519) and published in 1538 by Ott with an attribution to Senfl; cf. Alexander Main, “Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet” MQ 48/2 (1962): 173-189.
Fiere Atropos, which indeed appears titled as such in the Medici Codex, where it is preserved in its musical setting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiere Atropos, maudictie et inhumaine,</th>
<th>Proud Atropos, accursed and inhuman,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grant enemyme de toute vie humaine,</td>
<td>Great enemy of every human life,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu nous as mis en grant perplecite</td>
<td>You have put us in great perplexity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quant per envye as en tes pletz cite</td>
<td>For by envy you have in your selections taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostre maistresse et dame souveraine.</td>
<td>Our mistress and sovereign lady.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Que te nuysoit en ce siecle et demaine                     That it may harm you in this century and tomorrow
La noble dame dont France grant deul maine                  The noble lady for which France has great mourning
Comme prive de sa felicite.²                                As though deprived of its happiness.

As in Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem and Molinet's Nymphes des bois, “Atropos” (1) is cast as a personification of death. Fiere Atropos is in this respect a conventional complainte. In contrast to the vernacular laments of Molinet and Crétin as well as to Quis dabit oculis, however, the communal dimension of mourning is here comparatively understated. Nonetheless, France is said to have been deprived of “sa felicite” (8), obliquely reinforcing the function of this lament as communal ritual. More richly symbolic than the poem is the musical setting of Fiere Atropos, anonymous in the Medici Codex though attributed elsewhere to Pierre Moulu (c1484-c1550).³ Moulu's style is often compared by contemporaries with Josquin's, who mention him frequently (though hardly uniquely) as Moulu's teacher. Be it literal or rhetorical, Moulu's déploration of Anne provides evidence for this claim. Indeed, Fiere Atropos + Anxiatus in me [Ex. 15] may be

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modeled on Josquin's déplication of Ockeghem:

[Ex. 15]a Moulu, *Fiere atropos + Anxiatus est in me* (mm. 1-27)

As was customary in such laments (recall Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois and la Rue's of Ockeghem), we encounter in *Fiere Atropos* + *Anxiatus est in me* extremely low scoring.

Specifically, of the five voices of Moulu's déploration, three are scored for basses. Also customarily, Moulu employs a cantus prius factus for its symbolic valence, specifically the Good Friday antiphon *Anxiatus est in me*. Unlike the composerly idiom on display in the déplorations by Josquin, la Rue and Ockeghem, however, wherein pre-existing melodic material is assimilated to uniform textural effect, in Moulu's déploration the cantus firmus moves at the relatively-slow pace of breves and semibreves, resulting in a more hierarchical texture.

Not just a matter of taste, the stylistic contrast between Moulu's déploration and those of the early Franco-Flemish tradition adumbrates a shift in composerly tradition that we will have occasion to observe in this chapter. Over the course of the sixteenth century, cantus prius factus composition gradually became less of a living composerly idiom and more a texture employed for its symbolically-archaic flavor. And yet, Moulu's lament for Queen Anne not only provides context for assaying the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition as it develops over
this period; it also demonstrates, insofar as it is indistinguishable stylistically therefrom, the insufficiency of stylistic criteria alone in discerning the déploration as musical idea. As we have encountered it thus far, the déploration is the product of a composerly tradition equally musical and poetic. Certain features of the déploration tradition in its fifteenth-century form adumbrate subsequent developments of its composerly dimension. For instance, albeit to varying degrees, each déploration treated in Chapter I renders tribute to the deplored in part by emulating the composerly idiom thereof. Although essential to the the déploration tradition in its earliest stages, this emulatory dynamic is not constitutive of the déploration as musical idea. It does, however, testify to the dynastic dimension of the déploration, which is in fact constitutive thereof. This dynastic dimension is particularly discernible in the divergence of the commemorative and composerly aspects of the déploration tradition. This divergence is observable in those déloration treated in this chapter. Central to these déloration, as well as to this process of divergence in general, are the figures of Ockeghem and Josquin, whose composerly legacies were throughout the sixteenth century rendered tribute by poets, musicians and publishers alike.

It is this composerly influence, exerted across generations of musicians linked through discipletship both literal and rhetorical, that provides the logic for proceeding retrograde chronologically through the works of this chapter. Though composed some three-quarters of a century after *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*, the first déploration treated herein, that by Cerbon of Sermisy, is directly modeled thereupon. So too is Gombert's déploration of Josquin, one of three printed alongside *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* in Susato's *Le Septiesme livre de chansons*. These three déloration of Josquin are treated, as a group, collectively second herein. Also printed by Susato, treated next in this chapter is Hellinck's déploration of Ockeghem, composed decades after the deplored composer's death. Finally, Mouton's déploration of Févin renders
tribute not only to an individual legacy but a composerly tradition cultivated at the French-royal chapel. Taken together, these works testify to a musical dynasty forged across decades, at aristocratic courts and in the public sphere of print.

[28] Déploration of Sermisy by du Chemin & Certon

We begin with the last déploration composed within the institutional context of the French-royal chapel—Certon's of Sermisy. As such, this déploration is the culminating emblem of over a century of musical tradition and testifies to the persistently-dynastic conception of musical relationships at that institution. How so?

[II.2] The déploration as dynastic homage (Part I): Musiciens chantres + Requiem

As we observed in Chapter I, at French and Burgundian courts of the fifteenth-century, a close, collaborative relationship obtained between musicians and poets. A century later, such was still the case. One Léger du Chesne (d. 1588), editor of the texts of Certon's Les Meslanges (1570), the sole source preserving the déploration of Sermisy, is the most likely candidate for author of the poem set to music therein:5

Musiciens, chantres melodieux
En piteux chants jettez larmes des yeulx,
Pour ce grand maistre, expert et magnifique,

Musicians, melodious singers
Pour forth tears from your eyes in pitiful songs,
For this great master, expert and magnificent,

This poem is rich in allusions to déplorations past. Its opening gesture is a call to mourning that directly recalls Molinet's *Nymphes des bois*. Moreover, the *planctus*-style exclamations of grief (5) recall, intentionally or otherwise, those of Deschamps' *Armes amours / O flour des flours*. The honorific “Compositeur, le thresor de Musique” (4) recalls Molinet's line “Vray tresorier de musique et chef d'oeuvre” (7) as well as its source of inspiration, Crétin's déploration, wherein Ockeghem is designated likewise (37-38; “C'est Okergan le vaillant Trésorier / De Sainet-Martin, qui eust grant trésor hier”). Likewise reminiscent of Crétin's déploration (165; “Qui par escript a touché maintz passaiges”), Sermisy is here said to have composed “Plusieurs Mottets, et Messes par escrit” (7). Both poets request that a liturgical prayer is sung on behalf of the departed composer, specifically a *Libera*. By calling déplorations past to mind by means of such allusions, the poet of *Musiciens chantres* places both composers, deplored and deploring, in a dynastic lineage of French-royal musicians.

Analogously-dynastic rhetoric may be discerned in Certon's musical setting of this poem. And yet, while the poetry it sets draws upon the rhetoric of the déploration tradition in its formative stages, Certon's setting [Ex. 16]—on the surface, at least—occupies a very different sound-world than does its model:
[Ex. 16]° Certon, *Musiciens chantres + Requiem* (mm. 1-11)

[6] [Exx. 16 & 18] from Rice, “Tradition and Imitation,” 56-62. Only five of the six part-books of *Les Meslanges* have survived; the Quintus is lost; Rice reconstructs it from the five extant voices.
The motive that animates the opening of Certon's déploration of Sermisy, characterized as it is by a falling minor third followed by an upward-leaping fourth, is taken up in succession through paired imitation by every voice of the texture save the Tenor. In addition to its symbolic valence (to be considered shortly), this motive—or, more specifically, the texture that results from its use as a point of imitation—is consonant with Certon's composerly idiom in general. The goal of this idiom, as for that of mainstream Franco-Flemish music in his day, is not so much cantabile lyricism but a contrapuntal flow animated by complementary levels of rhythmic activity. Accordingly, the melodic strands of Certon's six-voiced texture fade in and out over the course of
his déploration of Sermisy. On the surface, Certon's composerly idiom here bears little resemblance to Josquin's, as evident in *Nymphes des bois + Requiem* or anywhere else. And yet, Certon's debt to Josquin in his déploration of Sermisy is not so much a matter of audible modeling but rather of rhetorical emulation. In a gesture that recalls Josquin's citation of Ockeghem's *Missa cuivis toni* at the outset of *Nymphes des bois + Requiem*, the opening motive of Certon's déploration cites that of the *Agnus dei* of Sermisy's *Missa Ab initio* [Ex. 17]:

[Ex. 17] Sermisy, *Missa Ab initio – Agnus dei* (mm. 1-16)

In Sermisy's *Agnus dei*, the motive of a downward-leaping minor third followed by the upward leap of a fourth is extended in the Superius all the way up to $c$ at [Ex. 7; m. 3]—movement
mirrored in the Superius of Certon's paraphrase thereof at [Ex. 16; m. 3] that develops it freely. In addition to its symbolically-tributary spirit, this composerly aspect of Certon's déploration dovetails with his composerly modus operandi in general, which is characterized by the continual development of pre-existing thematic material. Another aspect of Certon's déploration that both marks it as traditionalist and specifically recalls Nymphes des bois + Requiem is his treatment of the cantus firmus. Like Josquin and la Rue do in their déplorations of Ockeghem, Certon uses the Requiem text in the Tenor to add liturgical symbolism to his setting of a vernacular lament. Unlike Josquin, who transposes the Hypolydian cantus prius factus to Phrygian (though like la Rue), Certon preserves the original mode of the Requiem melody. The melody itself to which Certon sets the Requiem, however, is of uncertain origin. Regardless of origin, Certon's treats the cantus firmus as though it were derived from a cantus prius factus. Specifically, the melody to which Certon sets the Requiem text occurs in three statements; the first and third at pitch-levels c – a – c – d – c – a – b-flat – a – f and the second a fifth higher at g – e – g – a – g – e – f – c. The first half of this second statement occurs amidst acclamatory exclamations of grief at the proclamation of Sermisy's death [Ex. 18]:

[Ex. 18] Certon, Musiciens chantres + Requiem (mm. 22-29)

de Musique: Hélas! Hélas! [Hélas! Hélas! Hélas!]

le trésor de Musique: Hélas! Hélas! Hélas!

thésor de Musique: [le thésor de Musique:] Hélas! Hélas!

Requiem æternum

le thésor de Musique: Hélas! Hélas!
The mimetically-sighing motive that sets “hélas” here at [Ex. 18; 23-24] is followed by a contrastive homorhythmic texture in which declamation is undertaken by all voices in consort. When considered in the context of the archaic composerly techniques elsewhere on display in Certon's déploration, this passage embodies a relatively modern attitude toward the relationship between music and poetry.

Despite such modern aspects, however, on the whole, Certon's of Sermisy is a traditionalist déploration. Such traditionalism is most evident in its emulatory relationship to Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem. To recapitulate: Musiciens chantres + Requiem exhibits
three main commonalities with Nymphes des bois + Requiem—those are, a vernacular lament (one that alludes, no less, to Crétin and Molinet's déplorations of Ockeghem), a Latin-texted cantus firmus employed for its liturgical symbolism and the melodic citation of a composition by the deplored. In so modeling his déploration of Sermisy on Josquin's of Ockeghem Certon testifies to how strongly Josquin's music influenced subsequent generations of composers. And yet, the emulatory rhetoric on display in Certon's déploration is of a different character than that characteristic of the déploration tradition in its earliest stages. That is to say: Emulation in Musiciens chantres + Requiem is no longer simply a mode of commemorating a fellow musician by means of composerly tribute but, in its capacity as allusion to the auctoritas of an eminent predecessor, also more clearly homage to a musical dynasty. In this way it testifies to a shift in the modality of composerly rhetoric that occurs over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century, a shift of central importance to the déploration as composerly tradition.

[II.3] Musical tradition at the French royal chapel (Part I)

As will become increasingly evident over the course of this study, conceptualization of the musical past in general and of composerly tradition in particular both find exemplary expression in the déploration. In order better to appreciate the unique composerly dimension of Certon's déploration of Sermisy as well as more clearly to identify the aforementioned shift in rhetorical modality central to the tradition in toto, we must answer the question: What was Certon and Sermisy's relationship to each?

To begin to answer this question, let us consider their biographical circumstances. Like Ockeghem, Mouton and Févin before them, Certon and Sermisy were both lifelong servants of
the French-royal court. Claudin de Sermisy (c1490-1562), associated with French courts as early as 1508, had by 1514 there earned a permanent post. Initially serving the chapel of Queen Anne, Sermisy later served Kings Francis I and Henry II. By the 1530s he had been appointed sous-maitre of the royal chapel, a position he would retain for the rest of his career. In 1532, Pierre Certon (c1510-1572) was appointed clerk of the chapel of canon Odon de Colligny. Four years later Certon was appointed maître de chapelle to Francis I. He retained that post for the rest of his career.

On account of their royal service, Certon and Sermisy's careers are intimately bound up with one another as well as with composerly tradition at the French-royal chapel. To give a sense of each composer's relationship to the composerly idioms of previous generations, a comparison of Sermisy's and Certon's Requía will be useful. As we have observed, setting the Missa pro defunctis polyphonically was a Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Whereas the settings of the Tract Sicut cervus by Ockeghem and la Rue exhibit composerly virtuosity, however, by the mid-sixteenth century decorum had become the overriding concern in this tradition. Evidence of this fact may be observed in the Kyrie of Certon's Missa pro defunctis [Ex. 19]:

[Ex. 19] Certon, Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie (mm. 1-21)


In Certon's *Kyrie*, the plainchant melody is paraphrased, lightly, in the Superius. Certon's setting of the text is predominately homorhythmic. Consonant motion between voices is the norm. Such austerity befit the solemnity of the occasion. In Sermisy's *Requiem* [Ex. 20] decorum is likewise the driving composerly concern:
[Ex. 20] Sermisy, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-20)

The parallel motion heard throughout Sermisy's *Kyrie*, for example at [Ex. 20; m. 4], is evidence of deference to a composerly tradition dictating that light embellishment is what is required by decorum. So too is Sermisy's use of melodic paraphrase. In contrast to Certon's, in Sermisy's *Kyrie* the plainchant melody is paraphrased in the Tenor. In addition to their divergent modes of paraphrase, Sermisy's *Requiem* is marked by less rhythmic stratification. These features endow it with a more traditional feel. Sermisy and Certon's *Requiem* masses are thus emblematic approaches to cantus-prius-factus composition as practiced at the French royal chapel during the second half of the sixteenth century. The relationships between composerly technique and
musical tradition as evident herein are the result of a court culture common to both composers. Such relationships were transformed, in addition to by the general passage of time, by the advent of music printing.

An increasingly close relationship between composers and publishers obtained in France over the course of the latter half of the sixteenth century. This development added a new dimension to the historicity of French musical life while simultaneously and correlatively giving rise to qualitatively-new types of collaborative musical relationships. This phenomenon may be observed both in the composerly relationship between Certon and Sermisy as well as these composers’ mutual relationship to the institution of French music publishing. For instance, royal service afforded both composers a relationship with printer Pierre Attaingnant in the 1540s. Certon dedicated his second book of motets, published by Attaingnant in 1542, to the elder composer Sermisy. Later in his career, Certon also maintained a relationship with Nicolas du Chemin (c1515-1576).[^13] Active as a publisher in Paris from 1549 to 1568, du Chemin maintained relationships with a number of composers associated with the French-royal chapel. In addition to those by his French contemporaries, du Chemin also published works by composers of previous generations, especially those by Josquin, Mouton, Richafort, Certon, Gombert and Sermisy. Increasingly typical of the era, du Chemin often collaborated directly with composers who themselves oversaw the publication of their music.[^14] This kind of collaborative relationship was the driving force behind Les Meslanges de Maistre Pierre Certon, published by du Chemin at Paris in 1570. That Les Meslanges holds special significance for both publisher and composer is evident in its significant place in the oeuvre of each. Specifically, it is Certon’s last publication

and du Chemin's penultimate. It seems, moreover, that the two desired to break new musical
ground (at least titularly) with the volume. The term “meslanges” was at that point in history a
neologism as applied to a collection of music. Less concerned with novelty are the contents of
this volume. Certon's Les Meslanges shows a marked concern for the musical auctorialitas of
preceding generations. It contains ninety-six works for five to eight voices, plus two canons
appended at the end of the Bassus. Of these, almost all are parody chansons—those are, chansons
based not simply on a cantus prius factus but rather an entire pre-existing polyphonic structure.
For all but one of the eighty-four chansons of Les Meslanges are there identifiable models. The
models on which Certon bases these chansons are drawn from a lengthy period of music history
stretching all the way back to the composers Arcadelt and Janequin. Of the twenty-two
composers whose works serve as models for Certon in Les Meslanges, Sermisy is far and away
the most frequently modeled-upon, with twenty-one examples. Moreover, the Sermisy parodies
are, of all the chansons in Les Meslanges, those most closely related to their models.\footnote{[15]}
Certon's
Les Meslanges thus constitutes a de facto historical anthology of French music with Sermisy at
its forefront. At the same time, however, Certon and du Chemin intentionally avoided reprinting
material already published elsewhere. In this respect, we may characterize Les Meslanges as

\footnote{[14] Many of du Chemin's prints were edited by Claude Goudimel (1514/20-1572), a composer who was honored
posthumously with the épitaphe Sous le penible faix, published in La Fleur des Chansons at Lyon by Bavent in
1574. This lament was set to music by Jean Servin (c1530-c1595) and published in Le Premier livre de chansons
nouvelles at Lyon by Pesnot in 1578. Though a lament for a composer, it does not participate in the déploration
tradition because the element of a perennial musical community called upon to commemorate the composer is
lacking. For Goudimel's biography, cf. Paul-André Gaillard & Richard Freedman, “Goudimel, Claude,” in Grove
(accessed July 7, 2012) and François Lesure & G. Thibault, “Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par
Nicolas Du Chemin (1549-1576)” Annales Musicologiques 1 (1953): 269-373, esp. 274-275. For Servin's
biography, cf. Richard Freedman, “Servin, Jean,” in Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online,
and 455-456. For the épitaphe of Goudimel, cf. Appendix [V].}

rendering tribute to composerly tradition while also staking claim to new musical territory
developed therefrom.

This dynamic is also observable in the preface to Certon's Meslanges. Written by the
composer himself and dedicated to Nicholas LeGendre, “Seigneur de ville-roy et Prevost des
marchans de la ville de Paris,” it is likewise interested in the auctoritas of eminent predecessors:

Or donc, à bon droit toute ame ayme Musique, car l'ame de l'univers qui anime toute créature, a prins son
origine de Musique, que les grands Dieux (comme Apollo, et Mercure) ont inventée et exercée. Et pour
faire fin quand nostre Redempteur Jesus fut nay, les Anges en chantant melodieusement, annoncerent aux
pasteurs sa nativité, affin qu'entendions que Dieu nous a voulu annoncer ceste joyeuse nouvelle par la plus
noble et plus joyeuse des disciplines liberalles. Lesquelles causes et commodités ont incité in finis
Philosophes à traicter la Musique, comme sont Tamyras, Ismenias, Terpander, Lycaon, Prophrastus,
Estiacus, Timotheus, Nichomachus, Ptolemeus, Eubolides, Aristoxenus, Hippasus, Philolaus, Architas,
Albinus, Pythagoras, Mydas, Corebus, Hyagmis, Marsias, Plato, Aristoteles, D. Severinus Boetius, oultre
Mercure, Orpheus, Linus, Amphion-Arion. A l'exemple desquels je m'y suis adonné et ay composé (selon
ma tenuit) ce petit oeuvre, duquel humblement et affectueusement je vous fay un present comme a celuy
qui l'a mieulx merité par vertu et erudition, et auquel je suis plus obligé et tenu par juste occasion.16

Now therefore for good reason every soul loves music, for the soul of the universe, which animates every
creature, took its origin from Music, which the great Gods (like Apollo and Mercury) invented and
practiced. And to do right when our Redeemer Jesus was born, the Angels sang of it melodiously,
announcing to the pastors his nativity, so that we could hear that God wanted to announce this joyous news
by the most noble and joyous of liberal disciplines. These causes and affordances incited countless
Philosophers to discourse on Music, like Tamyras, Ismenias, Terpander, Lycaon, Prophrastus, Estiacus,
Timotheus, Nichomachus, Ptolemeus, Eubolides, Aristoxenus, Hippasus, Philolaus, Architas, Albinus,
Pythagoras, Mydas, Corebus, Hyagmis, Marsias, Plato, Aristoteles, D. Severinus Boethius, also Mercury,
Orpheus, Linus, Amphion-Arion. To the example of these I have devoted myself and have composed
(according to my tenuity) this little work, of which I humbly and affectionately make a present to you as
though to he who best merits it by virtue and erudition, and to whom I am further obliged and beholden by
proper occasion.

Certon's preface, like the musical contents of Les Meslanges, embodies a tension between
upholding tradition as a continuous set of practices and imitating past masters necessarily
conceived of as discontinuous with the present. In his music, parody technique is employed as
both a composerly mode of rhetorical modeling and a manner of calling to presence a perennial

community of musicians. In his preface, Certon invokes the auctoritas of ancient philosophers to elevate the tone of his encomium while simultaneously holding those invoked up as models worthy of emulation. True to the spirit that animated Certon and Sermisy's musical world, the contents of this preface present a melange of Christian theology and the philosophy of antiquity. This dual heritage is evident in Certon's seamless transition from mention of the Annunciation to the enumeration of venerable philosophers, all of whom testify to the consubstantiality of music with the soul of the universe. For Certon and Sermisy—indeed for every composer of the déploration tradition—the auctoritas of these predecessors testified to a perennial truth.

[12-14] Déploration of Josquin by Susato, Avidius, Gombert, Appenzeller & Vinders

Dynastic legacies commemorated in print and composerly influence exerted across considerable distance are both things Certon's déploration of Sermisy has in common with the three déplorations of Josquin. Whereas allusion to Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem was for Certon a way of rendering tribute to his colleague Sermisy as well as musical tradition at the French-royal chapel, the déplorations of Josquin, printed together, along with Nymphes des bois + Requiem, by Susato in Le Septiesme livre de chansons of 1545, instantiate composerly relationships that were not forged in a courtly institutional context but rather formed as an ad hoc commemorative community mediated through print. Moreover, they testify most strongly of all déplorations to the shift in rhetorical modality identified in Certon's déploration of Sermisy.

[17] Certon's Les Meslanges is in this respect similar in spirit to Le Roy & Ballard's 1572 Mellange de chansons. Like Certon and du Chemin's print (and adopting its neologism), the Mellange is a retrospective musical anthology printing works modeled on those of past masters conceived of as of an “ancient” past; on this volume, cf. Kate van Orden, “Imitation and 'La musique des anciens': Le Roy & Ballard’s 1572 Mellange de chansons,” RM 80/1 (1994): 5-37, esp. 5-13.
[II.4] Susato and the canonization of Franco-Flemish tradition

Publisher of the three déplorations of Josquin, Susato played a crucial role in the continental dissemination of Franco-Flemish polyphony. That he did so is fitting in light of his background. In addition to his professional activity as a publisher, Tielman Susato (c1510/15-c1570) was a musician of considerable talent.18 A trombonist, Susato served as member of the Antwerp stadsspeellieden from 1531 to 1549.19 Susato started printing music in 1542.20 Reflecting his socio-cultural position in mid-century Antwerp, the repertory printed by Susato consists mainly of music by musicians holding ecclesiastical posts in the Netherlands as well as peripatetic Netherlands composers in Habsburg-imperial service. Fittingly, a quarter of Susato's prints are dedicated to individuals, usually in their capacity as potential patrons. A considerable number of Susato's prints, however, are dedicated “aux lecteurs”—that is, to a then-nascent market of amateur musicians. Reflecting an interest in catering to this market, Susato's output, like that of other Franco-Flemish printers of his era, shows a distinct preference for omnibus anthologies (Susato devoted entire editions singularly only to compositions by himself, Crecquillon, Lassus, Clemens and Josquin).


Reflecting a relationship between this market and the repertory cultivated at aristocratic courts, Susato's anthologies show a marked interest in products of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. This interest in composerly tradition is evident in, *inter alia*, a didactic character common to many of Susato's publications. This didactic character is most evident in the many publications Susato devoted to two- and three-voiced chansons.\(^{21}\) The textural simplicity of and well-known melodies paraphrased in these chansons made them ideal for amateur musicians interested in honing their craft—a goal often expressly professed by Susato in his prefaces to these publications.\(^{22}\) For Susato, the pedagogical value of such didactic publications was as important as furthering the reputations of the composers contained therein. Interest in Franco-Flemish composerly tradition as such is further evident in the special interest Susato took in its more obscure strains. Especially illustrative of this interest is the repertory published in Susato's fifth and sixth books of chansons, the latter of which was to be followed within a year by *Le Septiesme livre* commemorating Josquin. These two publications contain a combined twenty-three canonic chansons, listed in [Fig. 3]:

[Fig. 3]\(^{23}\) Canons in Susato's *Cinequiesme and Sixiesme livres* (1544-1545)

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\(^{22}\) “... veullant ausditz amateurs & apprentiz de ladicte science subuenir, donner aide, & inciter a plus grand amour, & moindre labeur d'icelle user, en chantant ou iouant par accord entre petite compaignie (car chantant ou iouant sans accord personne ne peut de legier devenir expert, en ladicte science ne pareillement y prendre grant plaisir) le me suis auanche de composer” (quoted in Bernstein, “The Cantus-Firmus Chansons,” 217).

\(^{23}\) Adapted from Meissner, *Der Antwerper Notendrucker: Vol. 2*, 33-42.
**Le Cinquiesme livre contenant trente & deux chansons (1544)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nesse pas ung (a5)</td>
<td>Iosquin de Prees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faulte dargent (a6)</td>
<td>Adrian Vuillard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douleur me bat (a6)</td>
<td>Adrian Vuillard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par faulke dargent (a5)</td>
<td>Io. Gallus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De retournier (a6)</td>
<td>Adrian Vuillard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le prens en gre (a6)</td>
<td>Io. Baston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconfortez (a5)</td>
<td>Cor. Canis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gens qui parlez (a5)</td>
<td>Cor. Canis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tous mes amis (a5)</td>
<td>Cor. Canis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je ne scay pas (a6)</td>
<td>Benedictus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Le Sixiesme livre contenant trente & une chansons (1545)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Si ie la tiens (a5)</td>
<td>Larchier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En douler en (a5)</td>
<td>Noel Baulduyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sy des haulx (a5)</td>
<td>Io. Le Cocq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon coeur mon (a6)</td>
<td>Adrian Vuillard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La rouse du moys (a5)</td>
<td>Io. Mouton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si par souffrir (a5)</td>
<td>Ien. le Cocq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contre raison (a6)</td>
<td>Tylman Susato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dueil &amp; ennuy (a5)</td>
<td>Ien. le Cocq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le pers espoir (a5)</td>
<td>Benedictus</td>
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Susato's first publications were, quite naturally, concerned with marketability, as it was then essential for the printer to get his business off the ground. In light of the amateur audience at which they were in large part marketed, the publication of so many canons in these two chanson publications confirms a connection between canon and pedagogy, the origins of which are traceable to composerly relationships between members of the French-royal chapel that we will have occasion to consider at the end of this chapter. Such relationships between composerly tradition and music publishing form the composerly context for the repertory printed in Susato's **Le Septiesme livre**. This repertory is unique in a number of ways. Twenty-three of the twenty-six

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works in *Le Septiesme livre* are ascribed to Josquin. Indeed, not just to Susato's, Josquin had been central to the repertory published by music printers from the outset of the enterprise. Somewhat strange, then, is the fact that the repertory of *Le Septiesme livre* presents very few concordances. Moreover, Susato's sources are obscure. This obscurity is compounded by the nature of Josquin's music in *Le Septiesme livre*. When understood in its original sense of a rubric instructing a singer in how to realize an un- or partially-notated voice, twenty-one of Josquin's chansons in *Le Septiesme livre* may be designated as canonic. This remarkable fact reflects a more general dynamic, embodied above all in Susato's music prints, of codifying a composerly repertory for pedagogical purposes.

This fact finds expression in turn in the preface of *Le Septiesme livre*, addressed to one Lazarus Doucher, to whom the volume as a whole is dedicated:

> A TRESHONNORABLE ET VERTVEVLX SEIGNEVR Lazarus Doucher, Tylman Susato son treshumble seruiteur, Salut & tout humble seruice. Combien trescher seigneur, qu'assez longuement iay attendu a uous desdier quelque ouure de mon impression, ce na pas este par faulte de bon uouloir & affection de m'employer au service de uostre seigneurie, aines que pour faire chose plus aggreable, je lay laisse iusques a ce que ieusse matiere & besoingne de grande reputation & estime, affin de la desdier a uostre seigneurie,


[26] Noteworthy are the facts that Petrucci devoted pride of place in many of his publications to Josquin, Le Roy and Ballard published a volume of motets devoted exclusively to the composer, and the Germans anthologized him widely. Furthermore, Susato's *Le Septiesme livre* was republished, with a few additions and without the three déplorations, some five years later by Attaingnant in his *Trente sixiesme livre contenant xxx. chansons* (1550). Why were the déplorations removed? It is unclear, though we may hypothesize that Attaingnant intended to make the volume more widely appreciable by making it less particular. On this volume, cf. Bonnie Blackburn, “Josquin's Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources,” *JAMS* 29/1 (1976): 30-76, esp. 54-56.


TO THE VERY HONORABLE AND VIRTUOUS LORD Lazarus Doucher, Tylman Susato, his very humble servant, [offers his] Hello and totally humble service. How much, very dear lord, and for how long I have waited to dedicate some work of my press to you; [that I have yet to do so] is not by lack of good will and affection to employ myself in the service of your lordship, in order to make the most agreeable thing, I left it until I had material and need for great reputation and esteem, in order to dedicate it to your lordship; as to that which among these to my knowledge and good years merit it, it is the present book of chansons for five and six parts, composed by the deceased of good memory Josquin Despréz, in his time very excellent and super-eminent in musical knowledge, and I wanted to begin to print these works, such as he deserves.

Among other things, Doucher was procurator of musical instruments in service at the court of Mary of Hungary. He is, more so than Josquin, the focus of Susato's preface. That is to say: The tone of Susato's preface is less adulatory than a modern reader might expect from the first printed volume devoted exclusively to Josquin's music. Granted, Josquin is certainly spoken of here as an exemplary composer; and yet, the emphasis in Susato's preface is neither on lamenting him nor even celebrating his individual glory. This is no doubt partly on account of a certain historical distance separating the publisher from Josquin, evident in Susato's phrase “par feu de bonne memoire … en son temps treseexcellent & supereminent au scauoir musical.” We thus encounter commemoration at a degree of historical remove. Accordingly, emphasis is placed by Susato on the volume's potential usefulness and fulfilling his duty to do right by the dedicatee as well as the memory of the composer it commemorates.

[II.5]  *Le Septiesme livre as collaborative memorial*


The process of canonization—that is, formalizing and preserving a repertory conceived of as possessing \textit{auctoritas}—transforms the relationship of those who canonize it thereto. Specifically, it transforms the historicity of that repertory. This process of transformation, effectuated particularly by the publications of Susato, may be witnessed in finer detail in the three déplorations of Josquin. How? Each of the three déplorations of Josquin present a unique composerly aspect. Before considering these unique composerly aspects, however, first let us consider the poem set by two of them, \textit{Musae Jovis}.

\textit{Musae Jovis} is by Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus \textit{dit} Avidius of Nijmegen (1482/3-1541/2).\textsuperscript{31} Avidius was a prolific writer who led an active career as a servant at aristocratic courts. Specifically, Avidius was in service at the court of Duke Philip of Burgundy in Utrecht from 1517. As did Machaut, Deschamps, Molinet and Crétin for their patrons, for Philip Avidius wrote poetry to commemorate important occasions as well as conduct diplomatic correspondence—addressees of his letters include Pope Leo X and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.\textsuperscript{32} For this career Avidius was prepared both by formal education and extracurricular study. Avidius lived at Strasbourg from 1529 to 1532, where he attended university and studied Vergil, Cicero and Caeser. Avidius was then pen-pals with Erasmus, whose influence on the poet's style is demonstrable. Avidius' \textit{magnum opus}, the \textit{Vita Philippi Burgundi}, he published at Strasbourg in 1539. It is a biography of his patron that includes poetry addressed to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. Similarly-spirited works from Avidius' pen include the \textit{Historia Batavica cum appendice de vetustissima nobilitate regibus ac gestis Germanorum}, published in 1530, and the

\textsuperscript{31} For Avidius' biography, cf. Jacob Prinsen, \textit{Gerhardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus: Bijdrage tot de Kennis van zijn Leven en Werken} (s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1898), esp. 8-14 and 33-63.

\textsuperscript{32} For Avidius' letters to Leo X and Charles V, cf. \textit{ibidem}, 139-142 and 144-147, respectively.
Pompa exequiarum Catholici Hispaniarum regis, published in 1516. As in the case of his predecessors in the déploration tradition, then, Avidius' professional service and his vocational activity were inextricably entwined. Accordingly, Avidius' professional activity sheds illustrative light on the commemorative dimension of his lament for Josquin. Avidius' poem, Musae Jovis, is printed independently of its two musical settings in Le Septiesme livre immediately following Susato's preface. In light of the prominent place it occupies in the print, it was likely commissioned by Susato. The dynastic conception of musical relationships inherent not only in this lament but the déploration tradition in general is apparent in its title, *Gerardi Auidy Noutiomagi in Iosquinum a Pratis Musicorum Principem Naenia:*

Musae iouis ter maximi
Proles canora, plangite
Comas cypresses comprimit
Josquinus ille ille occidit

5 Templorum decus
Et uestrum decus,
Saeuera mors & improba
Quae templa dulcisbus sonis
Priaus, & aulas principum

10 Malum tibi quod imprecer,
Tolleni bonos,
Parcenti malis?

Apollo necem tibi
Minatur, heus mors pessima,
15 Instructus Arcu & spiculis,
Musasque ut addant commonet,
Et laurus comis,
Et aurum comis
Josquinis (inquit) optimo

20 & maximo gratius lovi
Triumphant inter coelites,
Et dulce carmen concinit
Templorum decus,
Musarum decus.

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Like *Quis dabit oculis* for Queen Anne, though an *epitaphium* in form, this poem encapsulates the socio-aesthetic idea of the déploration in its original Franco-Flemish practice. The first such lament to be treated thus far, that Latin is used as the language for Avidius' poem as set in two of the déplorations of Josquin speaks to the catholic ambitions thereof. Specifically, it marks them as the products not of a courtly tradition common to all involved in the commemorative act but rather as addressed by an *ad hoc* community to an at-large audience through the medium of print. Despite this linguistic fact, Avidius' *naenia* exhibits much in common with the French poetic déplorations of the fifteenth-century. The chief commonality between them leads to a paradox. That is to say: *Musae Jovis*, rhetorically a lament for Josquin, whom Avidius certainly did not know. To be sure, not every lament need be personally-inspired; that this one is not, however, is novel for the déploration tradition as it has been considered thus far. In this respect, Avidius' *naenia* registers a broad shift observable in the déplorations treated in this chapter—that is, the divergence of the original dual function of the déploration as an expression of mourning and commemoration of composerly legacy. And yet, the manner in which Avidius' *epitaphium* uses the rhetoric of the lament to commemorate Josquin testifies to the unity of the déploration as musical idea. Specifically, Avidius calls upon the Muses of Jove “Ter maximi” (*scilicet* in his capacity as Hermes Trismegistus) to mourn Josquin. Novelly absent, however, is an actual community, of singers or otherwise, called upon to mourn the composer. Whereas the déploration in its original form calls upon musicians both literal and mythological for this purpose, in *Musae Jovis* only the latter are apostrophized. It thus speaks to the more fundamental importance of a perennial musical community as that which lends coherence to the déploration as musical idea. Following his conventional address of a community of mourners, a rhetorical question addressed to death itself (11-12) brings the first half of Avidius' lament to culmination. “Decus” appears
four times, repeated in pairs (5-6; 23-24) and each time praising Josquin as the glory of those and that which he served. A *planctus*-style exclamation of grief (14) demonstrates the persistence of that trope. Apart from the “ille ille” pleonasm (4) and the oxymoronic threatening of death with murder (13), however, there is not much of a composerly dimension to Avidius' *naenia*.

The formal austerity on display in Avidius' lament is reflected in both of its musical settings. Printed last in Susato's memorial volume to Josquin is Gombert's setting of *Musae Jovis*. Like Avidius, Nicolas Gombert (c1495-c1560) spent his career in Habsburg-imperial service. A singer in the chapel of Charles V from 1526, he served as its *de facto* composer-in-residence, composing much ceremonial music for the court. Dynastic rhetoric, evident musically in Gombert's composerly idiom to be considered shortly, is evident in the title of his déploration, *In Josquinum a Prato musciorum principem Monodia*. Characteristically, it opens with a short motive permeating the texture in pervasive imitation [Ex. 21]:

![Ex. 21] Gombert, *Musae Jovis* + *Circumdederunt me* (mm. 1-12)

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The pan-imitative manner of composing evident in [Ex. 21] is typical of mid-sixteenth century Franco-Flemish counterpoint, a style of which Gombert is an exemplary representative. Though ultimately deriving from the composerly idiom of Josquin and Ockeghem, it bears no substantively-audible relationship thereto. The motive pan-imitated in Gombert's *Musae Jovis* + *Circumdederunt me*, however, does. Specifically, Gombert's déploration renders tribute to Josquin by alluding, through this opening motive, to a network of other laments. To begin with
the most significant allusion: The opening motive of *Musae Jovis* + *Circumdederunt me*, spanning a minor sixth from $e$ to $c$, first in the Tenor and then Superius at [Ex. 21; mm. 1-5], cites Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* + *Requiem*—itself, as the reader will recall, a citation of Ockeghem's *Missa cuiusvis toni*. By incorporating the opening motive from Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem into his déploration of Josquin, Gombert upholds the agonistic aspect of the déploration as a composerly tradition as well as stakes further claim to its dynastic legacy. Other commonalities shared by the déplorations by Gombert and Josquin testify to such a dynastic relationship. As does Josquin in *Nymphes des bois* + *Requiem*, Gombert's déploration employs a cantus prius factus. Rare by mid-century, the historicity of cantus firmus composition was at this point in history different than in Josquin's era. Specifically, at this point, it was coded as an archaic texture employed chiefly for symbolic purposes. The cantus prius factus [Ex. 22] employed by Gombert, *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis* (Ps. 17:56), *Requiem* Sequence from the Sarum rite, has further symbolic resonance:

[Ex. 22]\(^{37}\) **Plainchant Sequence, Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis**

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Specifically, *Circumdererunt me* has in Gombert's déploration the symbolic valence of an emblem drawn from Josquin's œuvre. Josquin used the same tune as cantus firmus in his chanson *Nymphes nappés + Circumdererunt me*, a lament of unspecified subject:

| Nymphes, nappés, nérédiads, driadés, Venez plorer ma désolation; Car je languis en telle affliction Que mes esprits sont plus morts que malades. | Nymphs, sylphs, nereids, driad, Come deplore my desolation For I languish in such affliction That my spirits are more dead than ill. |

Although not a déploration *per se*, this lament conveys the same idea as does this former in its original Franco-Flemish poetic form—that is, a call to mourning. Josquin's setting of this poem, like Gombert's déploration, is for six voices. Unlike Gombert, though suggestively in light of the symbolic use of this composerly technique in other contexts, Josquin employs the *Circumdererunt me* cantus prius factus in canon. Further enriching the symbolism of this cantus firmus: A network of compositions contemporaneous to Gombert's déploration incorporate *Circumdererunt me* as a cantus firmus, all of them referring symbolically to Josquin's lament.

Of these, particularly noteworthy is Richafort's *Requiem* (1532). Jean Richafort (c1480-c1550),

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[38] Exhibiting an analogous composerly relationship, Verdelot's *Recordare Domine* has been suggested as a tribute to Obrecht, based as it is on a cantus firmus drawn from the latter's *Missa pro vitanda mortalitate*. Published by Attaingnant in 1534 where superstitied “contra pestem,” Obrecht's mass was likely inspired by the Florentine plague of 1527, which has been long hypothesized to have claimed the composer's life. For this hypothesis, cf. Elders, *Symbolic Scores*, 145-146 and Norbert Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot* (Köln: Bothmann, 1967), 93-94; for a modern edition of *Recordare Domine*, cf. Philippe Verdelot, *Opus omnia: Vol. 2 (Sine loco: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 17-21.


[40] For instance: Contrafact versions of *Nymphes nappés + Circumdererunt me* include *Videte omnes populi, Haec dicit Dominus, Sic deus delixit* and *Christus mortuus*. In addition to these contra facta, Heugel composed a motet on the text, and it enjoyed a vogue in Spain, where two settings are preserved in the library of the Valladolid Catedral Metropolitana. On these works, cf. Just, “Josquins Chanson 'Nymphes, Nappés,'” esp. 307-308.
native, like Ockeghem, of Hainault, was in service to Marguerite of Austria from 1507 to 1509. According to the poet Ronsard a student (though likely only rhetorically so) of Josquin's, Richafort was, later in life, in French-royal service with Mouton and Sermisy. In his Requiem as in a traditional déploration, Richafort employs a mixture of “sacred” and “secular” modes of lament and tribute. More uniquely, it exhibits mosaic-like composition, with large sections citing material directly from Josquin's Nymphes nappés + Circumdederunt me, as well as another of his canonic chansons, Faule d'argent. During the Introit and Kyrie of Richafort's Requiem in particular the Circumdederunt me canon is cited extensively. Richafort's Requiem and the network of compositions it emblematizes thus demonstrate how citation and allusion operate in this musical culture on two levels. First, by virtue of invocation of the auctoritas of past masters, such allusions legitimate the ambitions of the composer rendering tribute; second, they may also (though not always) serve as point of departure for composerly agon. In addition to the melodic allusions it instantiates and the agonistic spirit it embodies, the symbolic dimension of Circumdederunt me in Gombert's déploration is further evident in the composerly technique applied to it. As does Josquin in Nymphes des bois + Requiem, Gombert resolmizes the cantus prius factus from the Hypolydian to the Phrygian mode. Unlike Josquin, however, Gombert treats the cantus firmus isoperiodically, structuring the rhythmic durations of its four statements according to the ratio 4:2:1:3. In Gombert's music, such composerly devices are rare. In this


instance, then, isoperiodic structuring of the cantus prius factus was surely intended both as a tribute to Josquin as eminent predecessor and, more fundamentally, homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Another feature of Gombert's déploration that draws upon that composerly tradition is the mensural shift that occurs at [Ex. 24; m. 99]:

[Ex. 24] Gombert, *Musae Jovis + Circumdederunt me* (mm. 94-107)
This mensural shift—a feature Gombert's déploration shares, as the reader will recall, with those by Ockeghem, la Rue and Josquin—occurs dramatically at the mention of the deplored composer's name. Intentionally a reference to these déplorations prior to it or not, this mensural shift effectuated in media res was surely intended as a marked composerly gesture. Thus despite the lengthy interval separating the two works from one other, Gombert's déploration of Josquin is undertaken in the same spirit of agonistic emulation animating the déploration as composerly tradition in its original Franco-Flemish practice.

A testament to the unanimity of the volume as a whole, like Gombert's, the déploration of Josquin by Vinders also entails emulation of the deplored composer and symbolic dimensions of tribute. Jheronimus Vinders (fl. 1525-1545), of south-Netherlandish origin, spent his career as zangmeester at the guild of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-op-de-rade in Ghent. Consonant with the austere tone set by Avidius' naenia, Vinders' déploration of Josquin sets a memento mori style

epigram, titled *Lamentatio super morte Josquin de Prés* in Susato's *Le Septiesme livre*:

O mors inevitabilis,  
mors amara, mors crudelis,  
Josquin Despres dum necasti,  
illum nobis abstulisti, qui suam  
5 per harmoniam illustravit ecclesiam.  
Propterea tu Musice, dic:  
Requiescat in pace. Amen.\(^{45}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O inexorable death</th>
<th>O inexorable death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bitter death, cruel death,</td>
<td>so you have killed Josquin Despres;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from us you have taken that one who</td>
<td>through harmony illuminated the church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For this reason, you, Music, say:</td>
<td>For this reason, you, Music, say:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is Avidius' *naenia*, this epitaph is a conventional *complainte* against death. *Musica* personified is instructed (6-7) to pray intercessorily on Josquin's behalf. Indeed, this request for intercessory prayer on behalf of the departed is the only dimension of this laconic lament that performs the déploration's traditional commemorative function. Emphatic at the opening [Ex. 24] of Vinders' déploration is the address of “mors” itself:

[Ex. 24]\(^{46}\) Vinders, *O mors inevitabilis* + *Requiem* (mm. 1-28)

\(^{45}\) Lost during the Reformation, this epigram appeared as an inscription on a work of sculpture once held in the Gudulae Cathedral of Brussels; cf. Geary, “An introduction,” 50.

\(^{46}\) From Smijers, ed., *Werken: Vol I. (Klaagliederen)*, 1-3. In addition to *Le Septiesme livre*, Vinders' déploration was printed in Berg & Neuber's *Thesauri musici* of 1564 and is preserved in a late manuscript source, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Ms. Mus. 1536 (c1583), where it appears under the rubric “Epitaphium Josquini.”
Compared to Gombert's *Musae Jovis* + *Circumdederunt me*, wherein the cantus firmus is resolmized to the “somber” Phrygian mode, Vinders' déploration is full of “bright” Hypolydian harmonies consequent of the modality of its *Requiem* cantus firmus. And yet, although the *Requiem* text is carried by two voices (specifically the Tenor primus and Sexta pars), the liturgical melody original to the chant itself is present only in one of these voices (specifically
the Sexta pars) as the other sings a harmonically-static melody, apparently of Vinders' own devising, that opens by outlining a triad on $f$ at [Ex. 24; mm. 3-5], and proceeds to hover around $c$ for a while before finally settling on $a$. In its setting of a liturgical text to a non-liturgical melody, Vinders' déplication is reminiscent of both Ockeghem's déplication of Binchois and Certon's déplication of Sermisy. As in these two previous works, although with a different degree of historicity, in *O mors inevitabilis + Requiem*, cantus prius factus composition, while a traditionalist composerly gesture, is nonetheless assimilated to the prevailing idiom of the work. Other dimensions of Vinder's déplication resonate sympathetically with composerly tradition. For instance, while Gombert's déplication renders Josquin tribute through citation of his music, Vinders' does so in a more generally symbolic way; specifically, by means of the number of voices for which he scores his déplication—seven. Seven-voiced music is at this point in history extremely rare. For instance: Of the nearly 1,400 pieces published by Susato from 1543 to 1561, Vinders' déplication is the only work for seven-voices. Significantly, the most notable precedent for Vinders' déplication in this respect is *Proch dolor + Pie Jesu*, a lament on the death of Maximilian I (d. 1519). Anonymous in Maximilian's daughter's Marguerite's *chansonnier* Brussels 228, this lament [Ex. 25] has long been attributed to Josquin:


lor! a - mis - sum ter - ris Ger - ma - ni - ca tur - ba

-e Jhe - su Do

Pi - o Jhe - su

Pi - e

lor, proch do - lor! a -

do - lor!

lor! a - mis - sum ter - ris Ger - ma - ni -
Magna nimum regem defeat! Ilmi ne,

Domine,

Jhesu Domine,

Mis-sum terris Germanica turba

amis-sum terris Germanica turba
c turba, Germanica turba
In Josquin's lament for Maximilian, the cantus firmus, drawn from the same cantus prius factus as paraphrased by Ockeghem in his déploration of Binchois, is presented in a three-voiced canon. Taken together, Proch dolor + Pie Jesu and O mors inevitabilis + Requiem testify to an association of both canon and seven-voiced scoring with ceremonial modes of commemoration. Thus did Vinders surely intend to render Josquin's composerly legacy tribute by scoring his
déploration for seven voices. On account of its harmonically-static character and “bright”
sonorities, Vinders' déploration sounds a relatively easy-breathing musical eulogy. In this respect,
it contrasts with the third déploration of Josquin printed in Susato's commemorative volume,
another setting of Avidius' Musae Jovis, this one by Appenzeller.

Like Vinders, Benedictus Appenzeller (1480/8-1558) was of south-Netherlandish
origins. Appenzeller began his career as singer and was later promoted to choirmaster at the
cathedral of Saint Jacob in Bruges. He then served as maître de chapelle for Marie of Hungary
from 1537 to 1551. Reflective of this service, Appenzeller is the best-represented composer in
Mary of Hungary's manuscripts. As aforementioned, Susato maintained a relationship with both
Appenzeller and Mary. It is on account of this relationship that Appenzeller surely had the
opportunity of publishing—indeed, was likely commissioned by Susato to compose—his
déploration of Josquin. In Susato's Le Septiesme livre Appenzeller's déploration of Josquin is,
like Gombert's, titled, dynastically, In Josquinum a Prato musciorum principem Monodia. Set in
a like prevailingly-“somber” tone, the opening of Appenzeller's setting [Ex. 26] further
resembles Gombert's déploration in its structural organization according to paired imitation:

[Ex. 26] Appenzeller, Musae Jovis (mm. 1-14)

[49] That Vinders was otherwise familiar with Josquin's music is evident in his parody mass, Missa Stabat mater,
based on a motet of Josquin's. For modern editions, cf. Jheronimus Vinders, Missa Stabat mater, ed. Willem
Elders (Rijswijk: Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis, 1972) 2-3 and Josquin Desprez, Stabat

biographical composerly relationship between the two, Vinders' Missa Myns liekens bruyyn ooghen is based on a
song by Appenzeller, and his psalm-motet Laudate pueri Dominum is modeled on Appenzeller's Corde et animo.

[51] [Exx. 26 & 29] from Smijers, ed., Werken I (Klaagliederen), 4-7. Before its publication in Le Septiesme livre,
this work was copied into a Netherlandish manuscript (Cambrid Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 125-128; ca. 1542)
where it is designated “Nenia in mortem Judoci de Pretis (quem vulgo Josquinum des Pres vocant) cantoris
suavissimi.”
Further allying it with Gombert's setting in particular and the déploration tradition in general is the fact that in [Ex. 26] Appenzeller cites Josquin's music as a mode of tribute. Specifically, he cites the opening motive of Josquin's motet *Domine exaudi orationem meam* [Ex. 27]:

[Ex. 27]52 Josquin, *Domine exaudi orationem meam* (mm. 1-12)

[52] From Smijers, ed., *Werken: Vol. 52 (Motetten XXV)*, 184-197. This allusion is noted in Elders, “‘Absolve, quaesumus, domine,’” 20-21. In their common motivic aspect, these works also recall the opening of the motet *Tribulatio et angustia* published in 1526 by Giunta in his *Fior de motetti e canzoni*, where attributed to Verdelot. Based on this motivic similarity, Elders hypothesizes that *Tribulatio et angustia* is Verdelot's tribute to Josquin. This may be so, though it is difficult to make a secure attribution, as in publications of Grappeus (1537) and Berg & Neuber (1559) the same motet is attributed to Josquin. At any rate, it is definitely not a déploration on account of its entirely-private character. For a modern edition, cf. Josquin Desprez, *New Josquin Edition: Vol. 15*, ed. Willem Elders (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1987-), xiii.
The pan-imitative flow of Appenzeller's déploration is temporarily interrupted as acclamatory calls to mourning ("plangite") are set homorhythmically in [Ex. 28]:

[Ex. 28] Appenzeller, *Musae Jovis* (mm. 29-36)
Consideration of another of Appenzeller's laments sheds light on his déploration of
Josquin, throwing the composerly rhetoric on display in [Ex. 28] particularly into relief.

Compare, specifically, Appenzeller's *Plangite Pierides + Cecidit corona*, a lament on the death
of Erasmus. This lament was likely born of a personal relationship; Erasmus was a familiar at the
court of Mary of Hungary (he dedicated his *Vidua Christiana* in 1530 to her) whereat, the reader
will recall, Appenzeller was in service.\(^5\) Elements reminiscent of the déploration are to be found
in the rhetoric of the Latin lament, *Epitaphium D. Erasmi Roterodami*, set by Appenzeller:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Plangite, Pierides, dulcique Heliconte relict} & \quad \text{Lament Pierides, and sweet Helicon left} \\
\text{Plangite doctiloqui funera acerba viri} & \quad \text{Lament the bitter death of a learned man,} \\
\text{Artes cui dederat cunctas ter magnus Apollo} & \quad \text{To whom thrice-great Apollo gave all arts,} \\
\text{Contentus vestro deluitisse choro,} & \quad \text{Content to lay hidden within your choir,} \\
5 & \quad \text{Bewail your glory; they cease songs aside,} \\
\text{Flete decus vestrum neglecta carmina cessent} & \quad \text{And Music lies mournfully alone in black:} \\
\text{Et iaceat pullo Musica moesta solo:} & \quad \text{Belgium deplores the death of its patron Erasmus,} \\
\text{Belgica patroni deplorat funus Erasmi,} & \quad \text{Lament, Castalians, the fate of this man also.} \\
\text{Plangite Castalii vos quoque fata viri.} & \quad \text{ } \\
\end{align*}
\]

For instance, the same word as used in *Musae Jovis*—“plangite”—is here used prominently (1-2)
to implore the communities apostrophized to mourn Erasmus; “ter magnus Apollo” is in both
poems called upon as mourner; a chorus of singers is called upon to “flete decus” (*i.e.* Erasmus),

and “Belgica” as well as the “Castalii” are called upon to fulfill their duty to do so as well.

Equally consonant with déploration conventions is Appenzeller’s musical setting of this lament [Ex. 29] which employs a cantus prius factus drawn from Lamentations 5:16:

[Ex. 29]⁵⁵ Appenzeller, Plangite Pierides + Cecidit corona (mm. 1-14)

The composerly idiom here on display, specifically the hierarchical texture consequent of the functional differentiation between voices, is more clearly an outgrowth of fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish musical practice than that observable in Appenzeller's *Musae Jovis*. Especially composerly, though not evident in [Ex. 29], is how Appenzeller subjects the cantus firmus in his lament for Erasmus to proportional transformation, specifically in sections of *tempus perfectum*, *imperfectum diminutum* and *proportio dupla*, by a ratio 6:2:1. In this archaic aspect, Appenzeller's composerly technique functions here symbolically as evocative of *gravitas* befitting the subject-matter.

We are therefore presented with a paradox. Based on what we have learned thus far, the reader might expect that Appenzeller's déplication of Josquin would present the more composerly aspect *vis-à-vis* his lament for Erasmus. Why is this not the case? Perhaps Appenzeller set Avidius' *naenia* in such a manner in order to provide rhetorical contrast within
the volume alongside Gombert's and Vinders' déplorations. Perhaps he did so because the poetry struck him as requiring a more rhetorically-direct setting. Regardless of intentionality, the impression given by Appenzeller's déploration of Josquin is that of the “Humanist” motet rather than of an archaic cantus-firmus composition. In this respect it resonates sympathetically with those subsequent, non-Franco-Flemish Latin-texted déplorations, in particular the German works to be treated in Chapter IV. More broadly, it testifies to an opening-up of the déploration as composerly tradition to encompass rhetorical modalities of tribute beyond those of its original Franco-Flemish commemorative practice. True to that original practice: The divergent composerly techniques employed by these three composers in commemorating Josquin collectively suggest that *Le Septiesme livre* was taken as an occasion for composerly agon. Both Appenzeller and Gombert set the same *naenia* to music. Like Josquin did before them, both Gombert and Vinders structure their déplorations on a cantus prius factus, by the 1540s an antiquated composerly technique. Gombert's, moreover, not only alludes by means of its cantus firmus to a lament of Josquin's but also symbolically recalls, in its isoperiodic treatment thereof, fifteenth-century Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Analogously symbolically, Gombert and Appenzeller both cite Josquin's music as mode of composerly tribute. Vinders, on the other hand, composes his déploration for seven voices, likely in symbolic tribute to a previous essay in that composerly task by Josquin himself. Thus are these déplorations unconcerned with lamenting Josquin as individual *per se* but rather with rendering him tribute as well as—most importantly for the purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition—homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Within the context of a study of the déploration tradition, then, to designate Susato's *Le Septiesme livre* as a collaborative memorial for Josquin is, in other words, to insist on the paramount importance of the ecumenical source of the memory it cultivates.
To reiterate: Susato took a keen interest in both Franco-Flemish composerly tradition in general and the déploration tradition in particular. He published five déplorations: Those of (and by) Josquin he published as in a single commemorative volume; the fifth, that of Ockeghem by Hellinck setting a naenia of Erasmus, he printed in 1547 as part of an omnibus volume. As in the case of the déplorations of Josquin, a lengthy interval here separates the death of the deplored and the composition of this déploration. Whereas the déplorations of Josquin were composed some two decades after the his death, however, the terminus ante quem for Ergone conticuit is almost thirty-five years after Ockeghem's death. The principal questions raised by this déploration, therefore, are these: How did Hellinck conceive of his relationship to Ockeghem? What relationship did each have to Erasmus? Finally, what relationship had they all to Susato and, most importantly, to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition?

[II.6] Ockeghem's Netherlandish commemorative community

As a poem, Ergone conticuit was published at Paris by the firm of Petit and Badius in Erasmus' Adagia-Epigrammata of 1506. Erasmus and Ockeghem are not known to have known one another personally, though they may well have met in a courtly-aristocratic context. Erasmus' writings contain many laments; among those so honored by the poet is one of his patrons, Henri

[56] Were such the case, however, unusual is the fact that Erasmus never mentions Ockeghem in his letters; cf. Clement Miller, “Erasmus on Music,” MQ 52:3 (1966): 332-349, 343.
de Berges, Bishop of Cambrai (d. 1502). Indeed, Erasmus may have written this *naenia* for Ockeghem at the request of Henri, who may have wished to commemorate his countryman.\(^{57}\) In his *Adagia-Epigrammata* Erasmus titles his *naenia* for the composer *Johanni Okego musico summo epitaphium*. More than just titularly, Erasmus' *naenia* draws extensively upon dynastic rhetoric to honor the departed composer:

| Ergone conticuit | So has fallen silent |
| Vox illa quondam nobilis | that voice, once noble, |
| aurae vox Okegi? | the golden voice of Ockeghem? |
| Sic musicae extinctum decus? | Is the glory of music thus extinguished? |
| Die age, dic fidibus | Speak out then, sing to the faithful, |
| tristes Apollo naenias. | Apollo, your sad dirges. |
| Tu quoque, Calliope | And you too, Calliope, |
| pullata cum sororibus; | dressed in black with your sisters, |
| funde pias lachrymas; | pour forth pious tears; |
| lugete, quotquot musicae | mourn, as many of you of music |
| dulce rapit studium | as are taken by the sweet pursuit, |
| virumque ferte laudibus. | and bring your praises to this man. |
| Artis Apollineae | Of the art of Apollo, |
| sacer ille Phoenix occidit. | Sacred, that Phoenix is dead. |
| Quid facis, invida mors? | What are you doing, hateful death? |
| Obmutuit vox aurea, | The golden voice has become silent. |
| aurae vox Okegi | the golden voice of Ockeghem |
| per sacra tecta sonans. | resounding through the sacred buildings. |
| Demulsiit aures caelitum | It honeyed the ears of heavenly dwellers |
| terrigenumque simul | and of earthly ones at the same time, and |
| penitusque movit pectora | moved our hearts in their innermost part. |
| Quid facis, invida mors? | What are you doing, hateful death? |
| Vel hoc iniqua maxime | As if this great iniquity is |
| Aequa quod omnibus es. | equal as you are to all. |
| Sat erat tibi promiscue | It was enough for you indiscriminately |
| tollere res hominum; | to carry away mortal things; |
| Divina res est musica; | music is a divine thing; |
| numina quor violas?\(^{58}\) | why do you outrage the gods? |

\(^{57}\) For this hypothesis, cf. Margolin, *Erasme et la musique*, 82-83. Encouraging this association, though perhaps incidental, is the fact that Erasmus' *Epitaphium Henrici Episcopi Cameracensis* appears directly following the *epitaphium* for Ockeghem in a later print; cf. Desiderius Erasmus, *Epigrammata* (Basel: Io. Frobenium, 1516), 319-320.

\(^{58}\) From *ibidem*, 173.
As in the case of the French déplorations treated in Chapter I and Avidius' *naenia* for Josquin (itself clearly modeled on *Ergone conticuit*), Erasmus here calls (5-12) upon mythological figures to mourn the departed composer in song. (Momentarily to cast a retrospective glance: The opening of Avidius' *naenia* [1-2; “Musae iouis ter maximi / Proles canora, plangite’] as well as his description of Josquin [5-6; “Templorum decus / Et uestrum decus”] are the two instances in which his emulation of Erasmus is most readily apparent). Erasmus' casting of Ockeghem as “deus” of music (4) is the *locus classicus* of this epithet in déploration poetry. “Decus” derives from the Greek *doxa* meaning “opinion.” It is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *kosmos* in its sense of “ornament.” As we have already observed in the case of Avidius, this formulation would prove influential to many other subsequent déploration poets. Of further interest in *Ergone conticuit*, and less easily imitated, is Erasmus' composerly rhetoric. To begin: Its meter is unique. Specifically, each pair of verses is made up of a dactyl followed by an iamb save the last (that is, scanning “long-short-short / long-short-short / long” and “short-long / short-long / short-long / short-long”) with the first and third pairs fungible with spondees or anapests.59 Particular rhetorical devices used by Erasmus include chiasmus, which is used by the poet to both linguistic (16-17; “vox aurea” / “aurea vox”) and conceptual (23-24; “iniqua” / “aequa”) effect. Albeit only hypothetically so, Crétin's composerly rhetoric in his déploration of Ockeghem seems to have exerted an influence on Erasmus' in *Ergone conticuit*. In particular, the rhetorical question (3, 4, 15, 22, 28) is a device that directly recalls Crétin's déploration, as does the fact that Erasmus makes much of Ockeghem's voice (in addition to 16-17, 3; “aurea vox”) as well as apostrophizes death itself (15; 22-28).

Erasmus' *naenia*, like Deschamps' lament for Machaut, was likely never intended to be

[59] It is a *hapax legomenon* in Latin literature (*i.e.* Horace, Epode 11); cf. Margolin, *Erasme et la musique*, 87.
set to music. That it was in fact so set testifies, as does, archetypically, Andrieu's setting of Deschamps' double-ballade, to the inherently-communal nature of the déploration as musical idea. In dynastic rhetoric especially reminiscent of the déplorations of Josquin printed in Le Septiesme livre, the musical setting of Ergone conticuit is titled In Ioannem Okegi Musicorum principem Naenia in Susato's Liber tertius sacrarum contionum of 1547, where it is attributed to "Jo. Lupi." It is tempting to go along with this attribution by Susato in light of Ockeghem's associations with the city of Cambrai, where Lupi was active as a composer. Lupi was also, however, of the same generation as the like-named composer Lupus Hellinck. Collectively comprising the so-called “wolf-pack” (“lupus” is Latin for “wolf”), the two composers have long been confused by historians, though were less so by contemporaries. Although Susato, himself a musician, is generally reliable in matters of attribution, all stylistic evidence in Ergone conticuit points to Hellinck as composer.

The opening of Hellinck's déploration of Ockeghem [Ex. 30] recalls those of Josquin by Appenzeller and Gombert in its structural use of imitative duets:

[Ex. 30]\(^{60}\) Hellinck, Ergone conticuit (mm. 1-16)

The texture on display at the outset of Hellinck's déploration, that of densely-woven polyphony in a narrow tessitural range, is typical of 1530s Franco-Flemish counterpoint, specifically that found widely in the music of composers like Gombert and Clemens. Here as elsewhere, it entails much motivic repetition. At the outset of the peroratio [Ex. 31] of Hellinck's déploration, however, this pan-imitative texture lightens up for a moment at the address of “mors” itself:

[Ex. 31] Hellinck, *Ergone conticuit* (mm. 144-164)

[61] It also leads to cross-relations. The opening measures of Hellinck's déploration present a problem of *musica ficta*—specifically, the choice between *e-natural* and *e-flat* [Ex. 30; 6-8]. On this aspect of *Ergone conticuit*, cf. Peter Urquhart, “Cross-Relations by Franco-Flemish Composers after Josquin,” *TYNM* 43/1 (1993): 3-41, 4-11. Urquhart notes the similarity of the opening of *Ergone conticuit* to motets by Gombert, suggesting that this melodic formula was a stylistic commonplace.
The question may here be posed: How are we to be sure this déploration is in fact by Hellinck?

The most compelling evidence for this attribution is to be found in *Ergone conticuit's* macroscopic structure. Hellinck's déploration, one of the longest works of the tradition, is divided into two *partes*. Both are the same length. Rational division of sections is a definitive
feature of Hellinck's music. Such consistency may be found emblematically in and across his mass output: All of Hellinck's masses are in *tempus imperfectum*—even when basing a parody mass on a motet in *tempus perfectum*, Hellinck will switch it to *imperfectum*. Moreover, he rarely employs antiquated composerly devices like cantus firmus and canon. Consequently, Hellinck's music makes him seem to have been especially interested in thematic unity. This it shares with the idiom of Johannes Lupi, deplored in a déploration himself, which we will consider in Chapter V. For the moment, suffice it to observe that Lupi's contrapuntal idiom is livelier and less dependent on structural imitation than is Hellinck's

Such aesthetic regularity may be interpreted as related to Hellinck's professional service. Born at Utrecht, Lupus Hellinck (c1494-1541) served as choirboy at St Donatian in Bruges from 1506 to 1511. In 1513, he appears in its records as “virgifer chori” in which capacity Hellinck served until 1515. From 1515 to 1519 Hellinck studied for the priesthood in Rome, where he sang as well. Hellinck is identical with “Lupus” named in the papal household in 1518 and 1519 and whose music was copied into Ferrarese, Bolognese and Florentine manuscripts. From 1519 Hellinck was back at St Donatian. In 1521 Hellinck was appointed succentor at the Church of Our Lady in Bruges. In 1523 he was appointed succentor at St Donatian, where he would serve in an administrative capacity and as chapel-master and teacher of composition until his death. Hellinck may have been a student of Jean Richafort (his brother Joachim sung in the choir at St


[64] On this part of Hellinck's career, cf. Lewis Lockwood, “Bruhier, Lupus, and Music Copying at Ferrara: New Documents,” in *Essays on music and culture in honour of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Hagggh (Paris: Minerve, 2001): 150-160. Apart from his studies in Rome, the only other time Lupus left home was in 1539 for a trip to Ghent with his choir accompanying the guild of St Esprit to a rhetoric competition.
Donatian); a number of parody masses of Hellinck's are based on music by Richafort. Moreover, at St Donatian, Hellinck worked alongside (and may have taught) Antonius Willaert, brother of Adrian, as well as Jacobus Clemens. Reflective of the esteem with which Hellinck was regarded by his contemporaries, the chapter minutes of St Donatian, shortly thereafter, note that “the prince of all musicians in the whole world is dead.”

Based on strict chronology, it is impossible that Hellinck knew Ockeghem personally. Furthermore, unlike the déplorations of Le Septiesme livre, Erasmus' lament, its musical setting by Hellinck and that setting's publication by Susato seem likely to have been undertaken independently. What, then, is the logic subtending the origins of this déploration? Like those of three of Josquin, this déploration of Ockeghem is, despite its rhetoric, not a personal lament but rather a tribute to composerly legacy. As such, it is, however, abstractly related to the composerly legacy of the deplored. Ockeghem was by the mid-sixteenth century not primarily a composer of widely- and specifically-known works but rather an exemplary representative of a musical dynasty. Accordingly, Ockeghem's music has nothing substantively to do with the idiom of Ergone conticuit. The déploration of Ockeghem by Hellinck thus constitutes a tribute rendered to an “ancient” master in the sense understood in Certon's and Susato's prefaces to their commemorative volumes. Ergone conticuit may therefore be construed as first and foremost an homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition.

[6] Déploration of Févin by Antico, Crétin & Mouton


The object of oblique tribute in Erasmus and Hellinck's déploration, the French-royal chapel forms the institutional context for the final déploration treated in this chapter, Mouton's of Févin. As in the case of the déploration of Sermisy by Certon treated first herein, this déploration is the fruit of a relationship between musicians who spent their lives in service to a single institution. Certon's déploration, as will be recalled, renders Sermisy tribute partly by means of allusion to Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem and partly by drawing symbolically upon French-royal composerly tradition. Mouton's déploration of Févin also renders the deplored tribute by means employment of composerly techniques associated with that tradition. How so?

[II.7] Musical tradition at the French royal chapel (Part II)

To answer this question we must have some idea of musical tradition as it was current at the French-royal chapel at the time of the composition of the déploration of Févin. To this end, let us consider the biographies of the composers involved. Little is known about Févin; a bit more about Mouton.\footnote{For Févin's biography, cf. Howard Brown & T. Herman Keahey, “Févin, Antoine de,” in \textit{Grove Music Online}: \textit{Oxford Music Online}, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09569 (accessed August 2, 2012). For Mouton's biography, cf. Howard Brown & Thomas MacCracken, “Mouton, Jean,” in \textit{Grove Music Online}: \textit{Oxford Music Online}, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51872 (accessed August 2, 2012).} From a noble family, Antoine de Févin (1470-1511/2) was a priest who served in the chapel of Louis XII. Jean Mouton (1459-1522) was a singer in the French-royal chapel from 1501. Specifically, he served as \textit{maître de chapelle} to Queen Anne from 1510. After her death in 1514 Mouton was transferred to the chapel of Louis XII; after his death in 1515, to that of François I. Although never promoted to head of the \textit{chapelle royale} (from 1515 until Mouton's
death a position held by Antoine de Longueval), Mouton functioned hereat as *de facto* court composer, writing music to commemorate important events.

In addition to Moulu's *Fiere Atropos* + *Anxiatus est in me* for Anne, considered at the outset of this chapter, a work by Févin will serve to illustrate what type of commemorative music composed at this chapel, as well as its relationship to composerly tradition. Févin's polyphonic *Requiem*, roughly contemporary to la Rue's and likewise following in the footsteps of Ockeghem's, sets the Tract *Sicut cervus* [Ex. 32]:

![Ex. 32](image)

[Ex. 32]²⁸ Févin, *Missa pro defunctis − Sicut cervus* (mm. 1-26)

serrat ad fontes aquarum, aquam: quorum:

Ita desiderat, anima mea:

s a ad te, Deus,
As evident in its similarity to the idiom of the settings of *Sicut cervus* by Ockeghem and la Rue, the counterpoint on display in [Ex. 32] is particularly characteristic of the musical traditions upheld at the French-royal chapel. At the same time, Févin's counterpoint is here more animated than that found in la Rue's and more similar to Ockeghem's idiom, though not as in his setting of *Sicut cervus* specifically, exhibiting Févin's does a far greater variety of rhythmic activity than this latter. Indeed, this setting of *Sicut cervus* is unusual in this respect within Févin's oeuvre, as it is more contrapuntal than most other of his music. Though historians have yet to confirm a dedicatee, Févin's *Requiem* was in all likelihood an occasional work composed to commemorate a member of the French-royal court.

Another testament to his lifelong service to that institution is Créatin's déploration of Févin and Jean Braconnier, *Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault*, *chantre*. Little is known about Braconnier. He was singer in the royal chapel who held appointments at the churches of St-Martin in Tours and Condé.\[^{69}\] Herein Créatin deplores the

\[^{69}\] Braconnier became a canon in Condé in 1504, the same year as did Josquin, and may have supplied the composer's music to the Habsburg-Burgundian court; cf. Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue*, 173 and André Pirro, “Notes sur Jean Braconnier, dit Lourdault,” *Revue musicale* 9: 250-252. Also noteworthy: Braconnier served with Mouton and Richafort; cf. John Brobeck, “The Motet at the Court of Francis I” (PhD diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1991), 25-26 and Richard Sherr, “The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths,” *JM* 6/1 (1988): 60-82. Finally, “Joannes Braconnier” and “Pierchon de la Rue” are both listed in an inventory of singers of Philip the Fair's chapel in March of 1497 at Brussels (Georges van Doorslaer, “La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau,” *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art* 4 [1934]: 21-57; 139-65, 44-45) and are on the same list three years later in 1500 (*idem*, 46-47) as well as six years later in 1506, in a list drawn up at Valladolid.
musical losses of Févin and Braconnier in a single poem:

Ung seoir tout tard, a l'heure que lasse homme
Le pesant faiz de differens propos,
Et que travail apres veiller le assomme,
Le constraingnant mettre en oublly la somme
De ses ennuyctz pour prendre aulcun repos,
En mon dormir vy la fiere Atropos,
Et Accident, dur et cruel souldeart,
Qui fierement tenoit en main son dart,
Duquel disoit avoir occis ce jour
Un corps fort plaintgt au grant royal sejour.

Considerant la fierté de ces deux
Ainsi vers moy arrivez de plain sault,
Je m'eshabhy voir monstres si hydeux:
Et doubtay fort que feusse envahy d'eulx,
Car prestz estoient de me livrer l'assault.
De la fraier m'esveillay en sursault.
Lors pour reprendre ung peu mes esperitz
Du cas soubdain par fantasies espirs,
Au lict me tins actendant ce mon songe
Rapporeroit verité ou mensonge.

Sur ce propos senty mon cuer battant
En l'estoumac qui me rendit perplex,
Fasché, pensif, fort craintif, et doubtant
Que ung cas fatal dont chascun double tant
Eust en hault lieu assigne jour de plectz.
Si m'en allay droict au chasteau de Blois,
Et m'enquis fort s'il estoit survenu
Aulcun meschief de nouvel advenu.
Lors me fut dict que la mort avoir pris
Par accident ung chantre de hault pris.

“Qui vois je dire? Esse pas ce gentil
Musicien maistre Anthoyne Fevin?
Esse celuy qui par art tressubtil
Si bien faisoit, et composer sceut il
Chant d'armonye en l'office divin?”
“Non, c'est celuy vray parent et affin
Des chantz nouveaux, qu'on ne sceut estancher
De melodie, on le tenoit tant cher,
Car voix avoit tresbelle, bas et hault.”

“Nommez le done.” “Las! C'est...”
“Et qui?” “Lourdault.”

Or demandez se melencolieux
Je me trouvay, croire ne fault de non.
Par le sien chant doux et armonieux
Bon passetemps et plaisir en tous lieux

One night, very late, at the hour that one is wearied by
The heavy burden of sundry affairs,
And when work overcomes him after staying awake,
Constraining him to put in forgetfulness the sum
Of his troubles in order to take some rest,
In my sleep I saw the fierce Atropos,
And Accident, hard and cruel soldier,
Who proudly held in hand his arrow,
With which he said he killed that day
A body well mourned on the grand royal trip.

Reflecting upon the fierceness of these two,
Thus they came toward me in full leap,
I was stunned to see monsters so hideous:
And feared strongly I would be overtaken by them,
For they were ready to deliver me an assault.
From terror I awoke in a jump.
Then, in order to regain a bit my spirits
From the sudden affair [caused] by fantastic spirits,
In bed this dream of mine held me waiting,
Should it return truth or lie.

On this subject I felt my heart beating
In my stomach, which made me perplexed,
Upset, pensive, very timid, and fearful
That a fatal case which everyone fears so
Was on high assigned a day of choice.
So I went straight to the castle of Blois,
And asked directly if he had come to pass
Some misfortune of recent occurrence.
Then it was told me that death had taken
By accident a singer of high prize.

“Whom do I see mentioned? Is it not that gentle
Musician master Antoine Fevin?
Is it he who by very subtle art
So well made [things], and knew how to compose
Songs of harmony for the divine office?”
“No, it is he who is true parent and friend
Of new songs, whom one knew not how to stem
From melody, we held him so dear.
For he had a very beautiful voice, low and high.”
“Name him then.” “Alas! It's...”
“Who then?” “Lourdault.”

Now [if you were to] ask how melancholy
I found myself, you would not believe how much.
By his sweet and harmonious song
Good leisure and pleasure in all places
45 Donnoit au roy ce Lourdault de renom.
Je dictz qu'on doibt perpetuer son nom,
Et ne croy point que bassecontre on voye
Telle qu'estoit. Si cela contrevoye,
Ung point seroit, mais on scet que ce vault.
50 Jamais ne fut ung si gentil Lourdault.

Donnoit au roy ce Lourdault de renom.
Je dictz qu'on doibt perpetuer son nom,
Et ne croy point que bassecontre on voye
Telle qu'estoit. Si cela contrevoye,
Ung point seroit, mais on scet que ce vault.

55 Lourdault eut nom par vng epitethon
Qu'on lay donna d'une chanson chantee.
Toujours fut prest quand on disoit: Chanson!
Et n'eust-on sceu prendre en si meschant ton

Lourdault was named by an epithet
That we gave him of a sung song.
Always he was ready when we said: Song!
And we knew not how to take in in such mean tone

50 Prins plume en main pour estre disposee
Mettre en escript ceste complainte expresse,
Blasmand la mort dont tellement oppressed
Ce corps deffunct qui n'avoi reiis meffait.
J'aymasse mieuxz qu'elle eust pris et deffaict

Prins plume en main pour estre disposee
Mettre en escript ceste complainte expresse,
Blasmand la mort dont tellement oppressed
Ce corps deffunct qui n'avoi reiis meffait.
J'aymasse mieuxz qu'elle eust pris et deffaict

60 O dur regret, quel Chantre aboly esse!

O dur regret, quel Chantre aboly esse!

65 La vision congeneue et exposee,
Je voulu bien me tirer de la presse.
Et des ce jour, sans nulle reposee,

La vision congeneue et exposee,
Je voulu bien me tirer de la presse.
Et des ce jour, sans nulle reposee,

70 Le Prestre Jehan, le Turc, ou le Souldan.
Mais on dict vray, qui porte mal son dam.

Le Prestre Jehan, le Turc, ou le Souldan.
Mais on dict vray, qui porte mal son dam.

Cruelle Mort, annuyeuse et perverse!
Que te nuysoit ce bon corps sur la terre?
Tu monstres bien aux humains estre adverse,

Cruelle Mort, annuyeuse et perverse!
Que te nuysoit ce bon corps sur la terre?
Tu monstres bien aux humains estre adverse,

75 Quant le tien dart ainsi navre et traverse
Ung corps si jeune, et aux cendres l'atterre.
Qu'as tu gaign la chasser de grant erre,
Veu qu'il estoit si bon et si honnest?

Quant le tien dart ainsi navre et traverse
Ung corps si jeune, et aux cendres l'atterre.
Qu'as tu gaign la chasser de grant erre,
Veu qu'il estoit si bon et si honnest?

80 Te fort blasmers, dont ung tel personaige
Par ta rigueur desvyte et pert son eage.

Te fort blasmers, dont ung tel personaige
Par ta rigueur desvyte et pert son eage.

Dame Clotho qui fillez et vuydez
Le fil de vie et le tenez en main,
Et vous sa seur, Lachesis qui guydez

Dame Clotho, qui spins and unravels
Le fil de vie et le tenez en main,
Et vous sa seur, Lachesis, who guides

85 Tant jour que nuyz ce fil et desvuydez
En l'extendant de demain a demain,
Trop avec cueur et regard inhumain
Que n'empeschiez la fureur d'Atropos
D'ainsi saisir tel homem sans propes:

Tant jour que nuyz ce fil et desvuydez
En l'extendant de demain a demain,
Trop avec cueur et regard inhumain
Que n'empeschiez la fureur d'Atropos
D'ainsi saisir tel homem sans propes:

90 Veu qu'on vous tient sur les auttres fatalles
Estre vous deux deesses capitalles.

Veu qu'on vous tient sur les auttres fatalles
Estre vous deux deesses capitalles.

Dictes pourquoi, et quelle raison a
D'avoir si tost mys en terre ce corps:

Dictes pourquoi, et quelle raison a
D'avoir si tost mys en terre ce corps:

This Lourdault of renown gave to the king.
I say that we must perpetuate his name,
And believe that one will nary see a contrabass
Such as he. If this goes against the grain,
It will be one point, but we know what its worth.
Never was there one as kind as Lourdault.

Lourdault was named by an epithet
That we gave him of a sung song.
Always he was ready when we said: Song!
And we knew not how to take in in such mean tone

That air that was not split by his silver voice.
His voice rendered every ear enchanted,
And in hearing him everyone had envy.
Alas! Why has he not remained in life,
Since he gave so much joy to the King.

O harsh regret, that such a Singer has been lost!
The vision received and laid forth,
I well wanted to remove myself from the crowd
And from this day, with no rest;
Take pen in hand in order to be disposed
To put into writing this very complaint,
Blaming death by which so oppressed
Is this dead body who did nothing wrong.
I would prefer that she would have taken and undone

The Priest John, the Turk, or the Sultan,
But one says it truly, who poorly carries his burden.

Cruel Death, odious and perverse!
What bothered you of this good body on earth?
You show yourself to be well adverse to humans
When your arrow thus wounds and traverses
A body so young, and bring it to earth in ashes.
What have you won hunting him in grand journey,
Since he was so good and so honest?
Grief compels me and regret admonishes me
To blame you strongly, for such a personage
By your rigor leaves life and loses his age.

Lady Clotho, who spins and unravels
The string of life and holds it in hand,
And you, her sister, Laschesis, who guides
This string both night and day and unfurls it
In extending it from tomorrow to tomorrow,
With heart and regard too inhumane
That the furor of Atropos does not stop you
From thus seizing such a man without discussion,
Since one holds you to be fatal above the others;
You two are both capital goddesses.

Explain why, and what reason you have
To have so soon buried this body:
Ce fut celuy dont la voix resonna
De telle sorte et si trésaurt sonna
Que tuyau d'orgue onc ne fist telz accordz;
Ce fut celuy dont les piteux recordz
Doibvent mouvoir organes, cœurs et yeux;
Ce fut celuy qu'on doibt juscques aux cieux
Plaindre en doux chantz, et les voix accorder
Pour telle perte a tousjours recorder;

C’estoit le seur pillier et fondement
De chanterrie et musique joieuse;
C’estoit celui qui si profondement
La demenoit que de l'entendement
Faisoit jetter fantasie ennuyeuse;
Puisseante voix doule et armonieuse
Avoit sur tous, sans les aultres blasmer;
C’estoit celuy qu'on debvoit estimer

Le paragon pour une contrebasse.
Helas! Fault il que tel homme trespasse?

C’estoit celuy qui tresbien devisoit,
Et plaisamment sans riens entretailler
Joieux propos souuant au roy disoit,
Et de nully jamais ne mesdisoit,
Pour y vouloir le bruyt d'aultre tailler.
Pere Bacchus vous debvez batailler
Contre Accident et la faulse Atropos.
Si quelque foiz il enfoncza trop potz,

C’estoit pour vous faire honneur et service:
On ne doibt pas pourtant y penser vice.

Tubalcayn, aussI Pitagoras,
Qui la musique avez premiers trouvée,
Et toy, dieu Pan qui l'art tant decoras,

Que bruyt, renom et credit encor as
D'avoir jadis la science esprouvee,
Tesmoignez tous, comme chose approuvee,
Se tel Lourdault regna de vostre temps.
Je dictz que non, n'en soiez mal contens.

Doncques fault il combien que le corps meure
Que los et nom immortel luy demeure.

Caliope et vous, Muses, musez
Sur les regret et plaingetz de vostre filz:
Autour des eaues et fleuez amusez

Dame driade, et toutes l'amé usez
De sons piteux en dolentz pleurs confitz.
Je vous supply d'aussi bon cœur que onc fiz
Baignez vos yeux en la sourse de larmes,
Et regrettez les dommaigneux alarmes

Que fol et fier Accident nous faict huy
En extaingant vie et voix de cestuy.
Nymphes et dieux residen des haultz bois,  
Et vous Eque qui au son respondez,  
Faictes amastz de plainctes ceste foiz.

Cessez vos chantz, et par piteuse voix  
Jectez souspirs et regretz desbondez;  
En pleurs profondz et complaintz habondez;  
Signe de joie ores ne monstrez pas,  
Mais lamantez le doloreux trespas

De vostre amy, qui voix avoix sonnante  
Comme buycne ou cloche en cest affaire.

Nostre bon pere et maistre Prioris,  
Prenez lardoyse et de vostre faczon  
Composez cy ung "ne recorderis"

En chant qui n'aie ung seul record de ris  
Mais ung remors de lamentable son.  
Josquin des Prez, ne faicte plus chanson,  
Ains baptissez la piteuse complainte  
De ceste mort en maintz lieux beaucoup plainte.

Vous Longuval, et Mouton, pour parfaire  
Je vous requier, vacz qne en cest affaire.

Chantrez plaignez ces deux corps decedez,  
Qui la science ont tresbiem embelie.  
Puis qu'en cest art apres eux succeedez,

C'est bien raison que parplaintz procedez  
Les regreter si quon ne les oublye.  
Leur trespas rend vostre bende affoiblye,  
L'ung pour chanter, l'aultre pour composer.  
Plorez Fevin et sans vous reposer:

Plorez Lourdault: brief, regretez ces deux,  
Et a tousjours faicte memoire d'eux.

Singers, lament these two deceased bodies  
Who so well embellished the science.  
Since you succeed after them in this art,

It is for good reason that you proceed by plaints  
To lament them such that one never forgets them.  
Their death makes your band enfeebled,  
The one for singing, the other for composing.

Deplore Fevin without taking rest;  
Deplore Lourdault: In brief, lament these two  
And forever make memory of them.

These two were members in the chapel  
Highly regarded, and they served it very well,  
Even though Death, who truncates and caps off all,

Has taken her pick, and Accident her pell,  
To take life from them of such a sort.  
The angels have, this I believe, become envious  
Of their sweet songs, making prayers to God  
To make of one flight their spirits in place

Where music has serious ceremony  
To augment celestial harmony.

Musicians who serve our master,  
Prince and good king, it will not bother you  
If I implore you in mourning dress to be

True and loyal to me, to lament in this low manner  
These two departed. And also if it pleases you  
Some motet instead of Libera  
To say and sing, pray to God that he makes for them  
Grace and pardon once he sees them face to face.

And I, the poet, before the day passes,

As in Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem, his déploration of Lourdault and Févin opens with a dramatic mise-en-scène. The news of these two deaths is, here as there, announced to the poet in a dream. The appearance of “Atropos” (6) and the “dart” of death (8; 75) recall Crétin's déploration of Ockeghem and the poem set in that of Binchois, Mort tu as navré (de ton dart). Rhetorical question-and-answer (31-32; “Qui vois je dire? Esse pas ce gentil / Musicien maistre Anthoyne Fevin?”) is used to announce Févin and Lourdault's deaths, as it is in the déploration of Ockeghem. In addition to Tubal, “Pitagoras” (122) appears herein. Other conventional aspects of note in Crétin's déploration of Lourdault and Févin include the “blaming” of death (67, 80), itself demonstrative influence of complainte's rhetorical modality on the déploration. Molinet's Nymphes des bois is evoked explicitly (142-146; 184); incidentally, certain of Crétin's rhetoric herein (72-73; “Cruelle Mort, annuyeuse et perverse! / Que te nuysoit ce bon corps sur la terre?”) recalls Fiere Atropos, suggesting his authorship of that lament for Anne. Common to both this and his déploration of Ockeghem—indeed, definitive of the déploration in its formative stages—is Crétin's call to mourning (169-170). Johannes Prioris (1485-c1512), maître de chapelle for Louis XII, is called upon specifically (152); so too are Josquin, Longueval and Mouton.

[70] Crétin, Oeuvres poétiques, 210-216; it is also published as “Une poésie de Guillaume Crétin (vers 1500) sur la mort d'un chanteur de la chapelle royale,” in La Tribune de St-Gervais 21 (1919): 4-7, 35-38. This déploration of Févin and Lourdault is copied right after Molinet's Nymphes des bois in BNF fr. 24315; cf. Dragan Plamenac, “Deux pièces de la Renaissance tirées de fonds florentins,” RBM 6/1 (1952): 12-23, 20.

Interestingly for the déploration as a composerly tradition, Crétin explicitly distinguishes in his déploration of Févin and Lourdault between “chanter” and “composer” as musical modalities (168). And yet, contrary to what a modern aesthetic sensibility might expect as consequent from such a distinction, Lourdault is far and away more the focus of this work than Févin.

What does it mean that a singer is more the focus of this déploration than a composer? It demonstrates that composition was not prized as the alpha and omega of musical activity. More importantly to the historian of the déploration tradition, it demonstrates that of paramount importance is the fact that Lourdault and Févin were members of the same community.

[II.8] Canon as composerly homage (Part I): Qui ne regrettroit le gentil Févin?

Mouton is called upon in Crétin's déploration to commemorate the defunct composer; this call of duty certainly inspired his déploration, which sets a lament tilted Complaine d’Antoine de Févin:

While Crétin's poetic déploration of Févin closely resembles that of Ockeghem, Mouton's musical déploration of Févin takes a unique composerly form. What is it? Let us first consider the poem it sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qui ne regrettroit</th>
<th>Who would not lament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le gentil Févin</td>
<td>The kind Févin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bien villain seroit.</td>
<td>Would be a great villain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treshabille estoit</td>
<td>He was very capable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si doux et beginn.</td>
<td>So sweet and benign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dont en nostre endroit</td>
<td>For whom in our place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prions de coeur fin</td>
<td>We pray with delicate heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu'en peradis soit</td>
<td>That he be in paradise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ou souvent pensoit</td>
<td>Where often he thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Pervenir en fin.</td>
<td>To end up in the end.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The idea expressed in this anonymous lament, while periphrastic, is clear—all are duty-bound to deplore Févin. Mouton's setting of this *complainte* likewise strives for clarity [Ex. 33]:

[Ex. 33] Mouton, *Qui ne regretteit le gentil Févin?*

doux et benignin.

Tres habille estoit, si doux et benignin. Dont

Dont en nostre endroit

Dont en nostre endroit prions de coeur fin

Qu'en paradis

Qu'en paradis soit
Of all of the tradition, Mouton's déploration of Févin exhibits the most economical construction. Specifically, it is built around two canons conducted simultaneously, with voices paired Tenor and Superius, Bassus and Altus. Both are “in diatessaron” or canons at the fourth, which run the course of four melodic points of imitation each over the course of the déploration. In all these respects, *Qui ne regretteroit le gentil Févin?* is representative of Mouton's musical output in toto. This output is characterized above all by a radical equality of voices and the frequent use of voice pairings. Correlatively, it contains many canons. As is the case with other composers of his generation though few after, purely musical structure nearly always supersedes rhetorical poetic structure in Mouton's music as the overriding determinant of form.

The question may here be posed: In what way is this déploration a tribute to Févin? Whereas Josquin's déploration of Ockeghem set the déploration template followed by the composers of the déplorations printed in *Le Septiesme livre*, that template is not followed here. Rather, Mouton draws upon a composerly tradition of the French-royal chapel to render Févin tribute—that is, canon. Canon, defined strictly as imitative polyphony, is in fact a subset of its
more catholic original meaning of a rule instructing the singer how to realize an un- or partially-notated part.\textsuperscript{73} Tinctoris defines it thus: “Canon est regula voluntatem compositoris sub obscuritate quadam ostendens” (“Canon is a rule putting forth the will of the composer under some obscurity”).\textsuperscript{74} For musicians of the French-royal chapel, composing canons (those are, works governed by strict imitation between voices) as well as realizing canons (those are, compositions generated partially by a canon or verbal rule) were two longstanding traditions.\textsuperscript{75} As we have observed, Ockeghem was in both these traditions a pioneer. The earliest composer to write canons at intervals other than the unison, octave, fourth and fifth, Ockeghem is also the first of very few known composers of \textit{katholica} canons, or canons that may, in the manner of his \textit{Missa cuisvis toni}, be sung in any mode (\textit{e.g.} the chanson \textit{Prenez sur moy}).\textsuperscript{76} Like Ockeghem's \textit{Missa cuisvis toni}, object of composerly tribute, as the reader will recall, in Josquin's \textit{Nymphes

\begin{flushleft}


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des bois + Requiem, such works were to composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries both
didactic exercises in musicianship as well as composerly achievements to be emulated.

“Canon” thus further merits here the full force of its dual valence as designating both a
composerly technique and an authoritative repertory. Justification for this claim may be found in
the pride of place that canons were accorded by sixteenth-century music printers. Indeed, these
compositional *tours-de-force* were recognized as such by publishers. To wit, Mouton's
déploration for Févin was published by Antico at Venice in the *Motteti novi e chanzoni franciose
a quatro sopra doi* of 1520. Mouton's music occupies pride of place in the prints of Antico.
Using a different method than his contemporary Petrucci, Andrea Antico (1480-c1538), from
Istria was an *intagliatore* of music into wood. He published music at Rome from 1510 to 1518.
In 1516 Leo X gave Antico an exclusive decade-long privilege for large folio printing. As semi-
official printer of Rome, Antico, by virtue of a relationship to the Pope, enjoyed a relationship
with composers of the French royal court.77 Mouton travelled widely through Italy in 1515 (three
years after Févin's death) in the entourage of Francis I, leading to the wide dissemination of his
music on the peninsula.78 It was in this capacity that Antico surely obtained Mouton's déploration
of Févin. That Antico published it in this capacity demonstrates the substantive relationship, at
least for musicians of the French-royal chapel, between political and composerly conceptions of
dynastic relationships.

[II.9] *Constructing legacies at court and in print*

Offering: Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein*, ed. E.H. Clinkscale & C. Brook (New York: Pendragon Press,

[78] On Mouton in Italy, cf. Lewis Lockwood, “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and
For musicians and aristocrats treated in this chapter alike, commemorative music, déplorations or otherwise, served as both a mode of individual tribute and affirmation of communal bonds. Thus, as did the occasional lament serve as medium for commemorating political dynasties, so too did the déploration serve to mediate dynastic relationships between musicians. The déplorations treated in this chapter, however, demonstrate how such dynastic relationships were not simply musical versions of political ones. Specifically, unlike the déplorations of Chapter I and the first and last treated in this chapter, those four uniquely published by Susato are not the products of individuals who shared a literal community. What unites them, then? In short, what unites them is a perennial musical community. Commemorative universality apart, the works treated in this chapter collectively testify to how the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition shifts, over the course of the sixteenth century, from a unified musico-poetic aesthetic to a modernly-understood musical one. Correlatively, this period also witnesses the divergence of conceptualizations of the déploration as a mode of lament and as commemoration of a composerly legacy. That is to say: Even though all the works treated in this chapter adopt the rhetoric of lament, only Certon's of Sermisy and Mouton's of Févin are actually the products of personal relationships. The rest are the products of \textit{ad hoc} commemorative communities. Nonetheless, the social dynamic constitutive of the déploration tradition in its original practice still provides the model for those déplorations of this chapter not born of personal relationships; those are, the three of Josquin and Hellinck's of Ockeghem. These works, like those of Susato's publications in general, testify to the canonization of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. When seen in this light, Susato's publications may be characterized as functioning analogously to the institution of the French-royal chapel, wherein composerly traditions like the writing canons
and the déploration exemplarily connected generations of musicians in dynastic lineage. In sum: It is in the déplorations of this chapter that rendering tribute to a composerly legacy and pledging homage to an ecumenical musical community come to serve most expressly as a manner of solidifying dynastic relationships among composers. Despite the unique professional circumstances of each, all of the composers herein are members of the same “université”—except the products of this “université” are no longer “en francoys” but linguistically in Latin and musically in an idiom conceptualized as essentially a Franco-Flemish tradition.
CHAPTER III:
VERNACULAR TRIBUTARIES OF ITALY AND ENGLAND

[III.1] Vernacular composerly idioms

As we observed in Chapter I, originally, the déploration was, for poets and musicians in French
and Burgundian aristocratic service, a mode of communal mourning that furthermore entailed
commemoration of a composerly legacy and homage to a musical dynasty. As we observed in
Chapter II, over the course of the sixteenth century, the déploration, still a Franco-Flemish
province, came more explicitly to function, in addition to commemorating a composerly legacy,
as a mode of pledging homage to a ecumenical musical tradition. Thus did the déploration serve
as a medium for articulating dynastic relationships between composers across generations. As we
will observe in this chapter, the déploration was, in the second-half of the sixteenth century,
adapted to local use in Italy and England. Somewhat counterintuitively for the medial component
of a study ostensibly historiographical, this chapter treats the déploration tradition in extremis—
that is, in its latest-chronological and geographically-remotest tributaries. Specifically treated
herein are four Italianate déplorations of Willaert by Gabrieli, Willaert, Benvenuti and Conforti,
as well as the only English work of the tradition, Byrd's déploration of Tallis. These déplorations
collectively form complementary case-studies in ascertaining the déploration as musical idea.
Apart from this fact, uniting them superficially is the fact that all five déplorations treated in this
chapter set poetry in the vernacular; two in a hybrid dialect of Greek and Venetian, two in Italian,
and one in English. In this common vernacular aspect these déplorations are unique as the only
non-French vernacular laments set in the déploration tradition. The vernacular idiom of each
these five déplorations is further reflected in the musical genres adapted by their composers; respectively, *greghesche*, madrigals and a consort-song. Such differences notwithstanding, all five are the products of local composerly traditions that adapt the original Franco-Flemish déploration in order to render individual tribute and pledge homage to a musical dynasty.

Also uniting them is the fact that all the déplorations treated in this chapter, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees, testify to the transformative impact that publishing had on composerly tradition over the course of the sixteenth century. As we observed in Chapter II, music printing provided a forum for the canonization of Franco-Flemish composerly traditions. It also encouraged, increasingly so over the course of this period, the conceptualization of composer as individual artist. This former dynamic—the canonizing one—is most characteristic of music publishing in the north; this latter—of the conceptualizing the composer as individual artist—of publishing in Italy. Accordingly, four of the five déplorations treated in this chapter, the products of composers, poets and publishers all resident in Venice where Willaert spent his career, uniquely render tribute to his composerly legacy. That legacy was shaped by cultures of print. Indeed, music printing transformed economies of cultural and literal capital alike, first in Venice, where it began, and subsequently across the continent.¹ Conceptual transformations were, however, slow to emerge. For the first few decades following Petrucci's invention of movable type in 1501, high production costs made music prints luxury items affordable only by the aristocracy. Accordingly, they were marketed to a musically-literate audience with performance foremost in mind.² It was not until Attaingnant's single-impression method was widely adopted in the 1530s that music printing transformed from an artisanal into a commercial

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venture. By lowering costs of production, this technological development led to more efficient means of production that in turn engendered new markets for music prints. In the Netherlands, for instance, in addition to the traditional markets of professional musicians in aristocratic and ecclesiastical service, there soon emerged a civic laity interested in purchasing religious music as well as a group of amateur musicians interested in “high-art” repertories. In Venice, on the other hand, the market for music prints remained by and large bifurcated along the lines of “popular” music consumers (in particular of villanesche) and professional musicians. No mere economic fact, this distinction reflects shifting cultural attitudes toward the relationship between musical style, the composer as individual artist, and the broader socio-cultural matrix conditioning the conceptualization of both. To wit: Whereas in the north music was customarily published in anthologies, in Italy publications devoted to a single composer had become, by the 1530s, the norm. Here the very concept of patronage was transformed by the institution of music printing. Specifically, the new markets to which it provided access enabled composers, who were by mid-century often dealing directly with printers, to address a wider, more diverse audience. Arguably nowhere are such collaborative relationships between musicians and publishers more directly observable than in sixteenth-century Venice. The three decades from 1540 to 1570 were exceptionally stable politically for the Republic of Venice—stability resulting in a boom of cultural activity, a boon for music in particular. During this period, Scotto and Gardano, publishers who figure prominently in this chapter, themselves alone issued over two thousand


music prints—more, during this period, than the rest of all other European printers combined. Distributed via networks of procuratori whose job it was to maintain relationships aristocratic courts, ecclesiastical institutions and educational corporations like academies and universities, these prints circulated not only within city walls but through all of Europe. The diversity of markets for these prints—and the aesthetic hierarchies they conditioned—is further reflected in the symbolic economy of dedications. In contrast to the north, of all Italian music prints issued from 1536 to 1572, the plurality are dedicated to miscellaneous personages such as members of the lesser nobility, minor churchmen, men of letters, even other musicians. In other words, dedications were in Italy not always made in the interest of cultivating relationships of patronage; other types of symbolic advancement and prestige were sought. This fact is also reflected in the system of printing privileges, unique in Venice vis-à-vis the rest of Europe. Specifically, beginning around 1530, no printing monopolies were granted by the Venetian government, as was still done in England, France and within the Holy Roman Empire. Rather, the Venetian government granted limited privileges for specific prints only. In part this was to prevent piracy, though, as the privilege held no sway extramurally, such imprimaturs seem to have been sought only in cases where the quality of the print might accrue glory by association. As such, the privilege was, in large part, an imprimatur of aesthetic value.

All these facets of Italian print culture converge in the relationship between Willaert and Venice. Beginning in 1527, Willaert served as maestro di cappella at San Marco, a post he would hold for the rest of his life. On account of the symbolic prestige of this office as well as his


composerly prowess, Willaert was, during the 1540s and 1550s, doyen of the Venetian music printing industry. This was on account of his uniquely symbolic relationship thereto. In Willaert, Venice had more than just a composer and chapel-master; it had, rather, an exemplary individual whose music it adopted as vehicle for articulating its socio-cultural values.\(^6\) Though it does not explicitly inform the forms his four Italianate déplorations take—a paradoxical fact that we will have occasion to consider below—this alliance between composer and city must be kept perpetually in mind when evaluating Willaert's composerly legacy. For, as do those by poets and musicians in service to French and Burgundian aristocrats treated in the first two chapters, the déplorations treated in this chapter render tribute to an individual whose identity as was inextricably bound up with the institution he served. One more preliminary observation is in order. As we have observed, every work of the déploration tradition pledges homage to a perennial musical community. Of all the works in the déploration tradition, such homage is most abstractly-mediated in the five here under consideration. That is because such homage is pledged in these five déplorations at a level of stylistic remove. Another way of putting this fact is that, insofar as the composerly idiom of these déplorations is vernacular, their relationship to the original déploration as Franco-Flemish composerly tradition is obscured.\(^7\) Nonetheless, the social dynamic they embody and the rhetoric evident in their poetry and music mark these works as traditional through and through.


[23 & 24] Déploration of Willaert by Gardano, Molino, Gabrieli & Willaert

As we observed in the case of Susato's Le Septiesme livre, the déploration, especially as part of a memorial volume, testifies to how the medium of print came over the course of the sixteenth century to function, analogously to the institution of aristocratic court culture, as a forum for composerly commemoration. Le Septiesme livre further demonstrated that, somewhat paradoxically, such a memorial need not be concerned with the celebration of individual glory. Such a dynamic is also observable in Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche, published by Gardano at Venice in 1564, as, at least in part, a commemorative tribute to Willaert.

[III.2] Il primo libro as collaborative memorial

Il primo libro contains two of the four Italianate déplorations of Willaert. Unlike Le Septiesme livre, which is devoted, apart from its déplorations, otherwise exclusively to the music of Josquin, Il primo libro is devoted mostly to other kinds of music, and that of other composers. No other commemorative works appear published herein, and only one work is by Willaert. How, then, are we to construe it as a commemorative tribute to the composer?

Biographical fact is in this case a reliable place to start. Both déplorations printed in Molino's Il primo libro are by composers in Willaert's inner circle. Alvise Willaert (c1525-1575),
the deplored's nephew, lived in Venice along with his uncle and in the employ of San Marco. The deplored's nephew, lived in Venice along with his uncle and in the employ of San Marco. 8 Though not a family member, Andrea Gabrieli (1532/3-1585) was a student of Willaert's. 9 The déplorations by these two composers were therefore motivated, at least in part, by personal sentiment. The fact that both were published in the same volume suggests further a concerted effort to memorialize Willaert. Further consideration of those individuals involved in the production of Il primo libro also demonstrates that the relationships embodied by these déplorations Willaert were not simply personal; they were also professional. The confluence of the personal and the professional is particularly observable in the roles of a poet, Antonio Molino, and a publisher, Antonio Gardano, in the collaborative production of Il primo libro. Antonio Garden né Antoine Gardane (1509-1569) was a French musician and publisher active at Venice. 10 Gardano was, like Susato, a composer of no small talent whose chansons, motets and masses were published in the prints of Moderne, Berg and Neuber, du Chemin, Attaingnant, and Le Roy and Ballard. Not uniquely, many of Gardano's prints were commissioned by individuals who underwrote publication costs. As might be surmised from the prominent place of his pseudonym in the title, Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle Grehesche con la Musiche disopra comosta da diversi Autori a 4, a 5, a 6, a 7 & a 8 voci was underwritten by Molino or “Manoli


Blessi.”¹¹ Antonio Molino dit “Manoli Blessi” and “il Burchiella” (1495/7-1571) spent some
time early in life as a trader in the east, where he acquired a taste for art and the means for its
patronage.¹² Molino subsequently settled in Venice where he began staging theatrical works of
his own authorship written in the dialects of nearby cities. A crucial figure to the development of
the commedia dell’arte, Molino was, like so many poets whose verse was set in the déploration
tradition, also a musician. Specifically, he played the viol and was additionally a composer of no
small talent. Molino also founded an academy for music in Venice with his brother Armonio,
himself sometime organist at the cathedral of San Marco. The music of Il primo libro was edited
by Gabrieli, six of whose works appear in the volume. All told, Il primo libro contains thirty-nine
works. Most of these works are settings of greghesche for four and five voices, a few dialoghi are
for seven and eight, and a single battaglia stratiotesca is for six. The composers represented
herein are not only Venetian (Gabrieli and Alvise Willaert, Merulo and Rore) but from all over
Italy, including Padua (Porta), Ferrara (Fiesco), Mantua (Wert) and Milan (Taglia). All
composers represented herein were associated with Molino’s academy in Venice.¹³ Dedicated to
the musicians Paolo Vergelli, Claudio da Currezo (that is, Merulo) and Francesco Bunalidi, the
preface to Il primo libro, by Molino, draws upon the Humanist rhetoric of “vecchi” and
“moderni” to lend auctoritas to his publication.¹⁴ In a similar spirit, the repertory of Gardano's

[11] This volume was to be followed five years later by a sequel, Il secondo libro de madrigali, published by
Gardano. Molino’s first book of poetry, in Stradiota, was I Fatti e le Prodezze di Manoli Blessi Strathioti, was
published at Venice by Ferrari in 1561; on this volume cf. Paolo Fabri, “Fatti e prodezze di Manoli Blessi,”


prints during the 1560s—that is, subsequent to Willaert's death—is marked by an influx of composers vying for his legacy. It is this composerly legacy that serves as the stakes of the *greghesche* déplorations of Willaert printed together in *Il primo libro*.

**[III.3] The déploration as *greghesca***

The relationship of the two déplorations of Willaert published in *Il primo libro* to the ecumenical musical tradition to which all pledge homage is not immediately evident. To begin: The language and form of these two déplorations as *greghesche* is singular; nor do they exhibit rhetorical strategies of tribute typical of the déploration tradition's Franco-Flemish phase. And yet, these déplorations are entirely traditional in spirit. How so?

These *greghesche* déplorations of Willaert set poetry by Molino in a hybrid dialect called Stradiota spoken on a Greek island that was a Venetian colony in the sixteenth century. Less unprecedented is the composerly idiom of the musical settings of Molino's *greghesche*. To provide some context for Gabrieli's and Alvise Willaert's déplorations as *greghesche*, let us consider Adrian Willaert's only extant *greghesca* [Ex. 34], which appears immediately preceding the two déplorations of him in *Il primo libro*:

**[Ex. 34]**\(^{[15]}\) Willaert, *Dulce padrin* (mm. 1-15)

---

Dulce padr'n — Mi xe stà chel
Seconda apparizione del Cagnolo del Mese d'Agosto.
Overall, we encounter in Willaert's *Dulce padrun* a madrigal-esque composerly idiom. Such is particularly evident at its opening, which is marked by rhetorical variety, evident particularly in the alternation between homorhythmic declamation at [Ex. 34; mm. 1-6] and florid scalar passages at [Ex. 34; mm. 7-9]. In its cultivation of rhetorical variety, Willaert's *greghesca* finds a counterpart in Gabrieli's déploration as *greghesca, Sassi Palae Sabbion* [Ex. 35]:

[Ex. 35][16] Gabrieli, *Sassi Palae Sabbion* (mm. 1-19)

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The opening of Gabrieli's déploration is animated by a motive marked by a descending minor third imitated at the interval of a breve by every voice of the texture. This imitative texture soon gives way to melismatic passages in undulatory parallel tenths at [Ex. 35; mm. 5-9], which give way in turn to homorhythm at [Ex. 35; mm. 1-14], where the composer sets the apostrophe of “alleghè” (“algae”) and “zonchi” (“reeds”) in alternating in groups of three and four voices. Here especially, the composerly idiom of Sassi Palae Sabbion is in keeping with Gabrieli’s general style, as the composer is best known for his cori spezzati settings. The seconda parte of Gabrieli’s déploration opens [Ex. 36] by calling upon specific bodies of water—those are, the rivers “Piave,” “Ladese,” “Po,” “Sil,” “Brentae” and “Ogio”—to mourn Willaert:

[Ex. 36] Gabrieli, Sassi, palae, sabbion (mm. 53-72)
This call is made homorhythmically. In general, the seconda parte of Gabrieli's déploration is more homorhythmic than prima. On the whole, with its employment of word-painting and piquant harmonies as well as its rhetorically-varied construction according to contrastive contrapuntal and homorhythmic sections, Gabrieli's Sassi Palae Sabbion is, while nominally a
greghesca, like Willaert's, otherwise indistinguishable from a madrigal-esque composerly idiom. In this respect, it bears scant resemblance to the idioms characteristic of the déploration tradition in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish practice.

Such stylistic features as evident in Sassi Palae Sabbion are also to be found in Pianzal' Grego Pueta. As they are in Gabrieli's déploration, the structural divisions of Alvise Willaert's déploration as greghesca are regular, comprised of two partes of equal length. Its opening [Ex. 37] is also similar to Gabrieli's:

[Ex. 37]\(^7\) Willaert, Pianzal' Grego Pueta (mm. 1-20)

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\(^7\) [Exx. 37 & 38] from Cisilino, Grechesche, 65-73.
On account of its “somber” harmonies—in particular, the d-minorish sonorities at [Ex. 37; mm. 1-4] that set the opening portion of the poem where Molino relates how great poets of antiquity bewail the death of Willaert—Alvise Willaert's déploration sounds more conventionally mournful than does Gabrieli's. Similarly-mournful composerly rhetoric may be observed at the point of imitation at the poet's exclamation “Ah, perchè no xe andà anga mi cun esso?” (“Ah, why did I not go with him?”), set to a mimetically-sighing motive in [Ex. 38]:

[Ex. 38] Alvise Willaert, Pianza'l Grego Pueta (mm. 106-115)
To sum up: Though an intimate kinship between music and poetry is evident in these déplorations by virtue of the madrigal-esque devices used to illustrate certain imagery of the text, there is in these works no real substantive relationship between the composerly techniques used by Gabrieli and Willaert and those typical of the déploration tradition as we have encountered it
thus far. Nor can any of the stylistic particulars evident in these two déplorations as \textit{greghesche} be said to render tribute to Willaert's composerly legacy in any significant way, beyond the fact that the composer wrote some music in a similar style. In this respect, however, Willaert was not at all unique, nor is the madrigal-esque style of these déplorations that for which he was or is principally known. In what way are these two déplorations of Willaert traditional then?

To answer that question, we must turn to the poetry. The commemorative spirit of the déploration tradition—indeed that animating it at its earliest origins—finds entirely traditional expression in Molino's poetry. This is not so much evident in their form: Both déplorations as \textit{greghesche} set \textit{sonetti caudati} or “sonnets with tails”—that is, the fourteen lines of a traditional sonnet with an extra three-line coda (they are the only \textit{sonetti} in \textit{Il primo libro}, most \textit{greghesche} of which set poetic \textit{madrigali}). The \textit{sonetto} set by Alvise Willaert runs as follows:

\begin{tabular}{ll}

Pianza'l Grego Pueta e'l Mantuan, & The Greek poet cries, as does the Mantuan, \\
La Fiorenti e tutto canto'l mondo, & The Florentine and the whole world, \\
Da puc chie la xe morte chel profundo & Because the greatest is dead \\
Mastorâ della Musica, Adrian & Master of Music, Adrian. \\

5 Chie la tirà cha in terra, in munte in pian & Who on earth, on mountains and in valleys \\
Chell'armonia del cel chie zira in tundo, & Made the music of the spheres turn, \\
Cul modo bel à tutti ha mustra'l fundo, & Who, by his beautiful manner, showed all \\
Tal cho'oogni cor malao xe turnà san. & How every sick heart is healed. \\

Fra tondi chie lo piane el pianzo angora & Among all those who lament, \\
10 Mi, Blessi, chie privao la sun adesso, & I also deplore him, me, Blessi, who am today deprived \\
D'un chie cul canto la mio verso honora. & Of he who honored my verses with his song. \\

Esso xe in celo e ved'el sol appresso, & He is henceforth in heaven and sees the sun up close, \\
E mi xe in terra, d'ogni luse fora & And I on earth am deprived of all light; \\
Ah' perchie no xe andá anga mi cun esso! & Ah! Why did I not go with him? \\

15 Cando sarà cuncesso, & When will it be granted \\
Vederi in chesta vita un'altro lu, & To see in this life someone like him \\
Chie no la xe sta mai gnel sarà piu.\(^\text{18}\) & Who is not there and will never be again.\(^\text{19}\)
\end{tabular}


\(^{19}\) Based partly on the translation in Schiltz, “Giunto Adrian,” 13.
Molino's opening enumeration (1-2) of poets by provenance—those are, Homer (Greek), Vergil (Mantuan), Dante (Florentine)—provides the clearest instance in all déploration verse of the tradition as rendering tribute to a musico-poetic legacy of mythic origins. Molino casts himself (10), as does Crétin in his déploration of Ockeghem before him, as member of the community of mourners, noting that Willaert did him the honor of setting his verse to music. Other reasons Willaert merits such commemoration: The composer is said to have made move the music of the spheres (6); he is, moreover, declared “Mastorà della Musica” (4)—presumably the Stradiota equivalent of the Scholastic distinction musicus. Finally, the coda (15-17) to Molino's sonetto, wondering as it does if ever there will be another like Willaert, recalls the spirit of Deschamps' double ballade for Machaut (I:20; “Tel comme il fut, ne ne sera des mois”).

It is not known for certain whether Molino intended his two greghesche for Willaert to be considered in consort as in the manner of Deschamps' double ballade for Machaut, though this is certainly plausible. Regardless, whereas the greghesca set by Willaert focuses on individual grief, then that set by Gabrieli complementarily focuses on the communal dimension of the déploration as commemorative practice. The sonetto Gabrieli sets is as follows:

Sassi, Palae, Sabbion del Adrian lio, Alleghi, Zoncchi, Herba zi chiie la ste'u Velime, Palui, Barene chie scund'e'u L'Ostregha'l cappa e'l Passarin polio,

Rocks, stones, sand of the Adriatic shore, Algae, reeds, grasses located there, Serpents, sea birds, whales that come ashore Oyster, mussel, and polished scallop,

5 E vui del valle pesci e d'ogni rio, E del mar grandi e pizuli chie se'u Scombrì, Chiepppe, Sardun, chie drio tire'u Le Syrene dunzell'e ch'a marlo.

And you fishes of the inlet and of every stream, And of the sea, be you large or small, Mackerel, herring, sardines that trail behind you, Sirens both unwed and married.

E vu fiumi chie de'u tributo' al Mari,

And you rivers who give tribute to the seas,

10 Piave, Ladese, Po, Sil, Brenta et Ogio,

Piave, Ladese, Po, Sil, Brenta et Ogio
That *Sassi Palae Sabbion* is in spirit a déploration is most readily observable in its call to communal mourning. In a manner reminiscent of Molinet's *Nymphes des bois*, in the first eleven lines of his poem Molino enumerates elements of nature called upon to deplore Willaert. This maritime community of mourners includes sea creatures, rivers, as well as sirens, who are the nymphs of the sea. Equally in the spirit of the déploration tradition in its French poetic practice is the pun on the Adriatic shore (1; “Adrian lio”) and Adrian Willaert. The central metaphor of *Sassi Palae Sabbion*, that casting Willaert's mourners as “fiumi chie déu tributo al mari” (9), serves as an apt metaphor for the dynastic dynamic inherent to the déploration as musical idea. The final lines—“Chy sarà mo chello? / Chie in armonia del par vaga cun ello?” (17)—raises the question of who will assume Willaert's composerly mantle. In this agonistic aspect, Molino recalls yet again the archetypal déploration of Machaut by Deschamps, wherein the same agonistic question is posed.

To conclude: Despite their idiosyncratic language, poetic form and composerly idiom, the déplorations of Willaert by Gabrieli and Alvise Willaert are entirely traditional in spirit. Specifically, they are true to its original spirit of a musical community commemorating one of their own. And yet, although a call to composerly agon is made by Molino as the valedictory


gesture of *Sassi Palae Sabbion*, there is no evidence that Willaert and Gabrieli considered themselves to be engaging therein over Willaert's legacy. Correlatively, specific techniques, be they cantus firmus composition, citation, allusion, or others, are not, as they have been thus far for Franco-Flemish composers, here constitutive of Gabrieli and Willaert's understanding of the déploration as composerly tradition. This is not to say that these composers were unaware of such techniques, or that such awareness did not figure in their understanding of Willaert's composerly legacy in general. Only, rather, that in composing their déplorations of Willaert, these composers opted to adapt vernacular idioms to render him tribute. Why they did so will be the subject of speculation at the end of this chapter.

**[26 & 27] Déploration of Willaert by Merulo, Scotto, Conforti & Benvenuti**

The vernacular aspect of Willaert and Gabrieli's déplorations as *greghesche* is something they share with the other two Italianate déplorations of Willaert's. Unlike those of *Il primo libro*, however, these déplorations as *madrigali* are not the products of a commemorative community working in consort. Like those of *Il primo libro*, on the other hand, both are of the same genre and the products of an analogous social dynamic.

**[III.4] The déploration as madrigale**

Let us consider the poetry first. Though *madrigali* in musical genre, both these déplorations are, like those of *Il primo libro*, *sonetti* in form. The one set to music by Conforti runs as follows:
S'hoggi son senz'honor le nostre sponde
Già si fiorite, fortunate et belle;
S'hoggi contro di noi sono le stelle
Rivolte e'l lor favor si muov'altronde;

If today our shores are without honor,
Once so flourishing, happy and beautiful;
If today the stars have against us
Turned, and their favors moved elsewhere;

5   S'hoggi del nostro mar si veggon l'onde
Andar fremendo in questa part'en quella,
Con viso che minaccia atre procelle
Senz'aiuto sperar d'auere seconde;

If today one sees the waves of our sea
Go forward shaking hither and thither,
With a countenance that menaces with somber grains,
Without any hope of favorable wind;

S'hoggi s'acheta ogni amoroso accento,
10  Né s'ode piú chi esprim'in dolci note
Gli effetti ch'ogni cor facean beato;

If today all amorous accent is quiet,
If no one expresses anymore in harmonious sounds
The effects that make every heart happy;

S'hoggi si ferman le celesti rote
et tace l'armonia per ogni lato,
E che'l grand'Adrian di vit'è spento.

If today the celestial wheels stop
And harmony goes quiet on all sides,
It is because the great Adrian has breathed his last.

We do not immediately discern herein the déploration as musical idea. This is because the call to mourning, hitherto central to its characteristic manner of expression, is absent. There is, in fact, no vocative address at all in *S'hoggi son senz'honor*, nor even an exhortation of specific communities to mourn Willaert. And yet, this is not because spirit of the déploration tradition does not animate this lament but rather because it expresses it indirectly. Specifically, the four-fold iteration of the conditional rhetorical structure with which each stanza begins tells of the scene of communal mourning occasioned by the death of Willaert. Despite this dissimilarity, commonalities with previous déplorations may also be observed. As do Molinet and Molino, the poet of *S'hoggi senz'honor* draws upon natural imagery in his depiction of this scene. The emphasis on bodies of water, stars and wind specifically recall Molino's *greghesche*. Poetic is the idea that, upon the death of Willaert, celestial music goes quiet.

*Giunto Adrian fra l'anime beate*, set by Benvenuti in his déploration of Willaert, also
exhibits analogous features. It runs as follows:22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giunto Adrian fra l'anime beate,</td>
<td>As Adrian has joined the blessed souls,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si raddoppiar nel ciel novi concenti,</td>
<td>So in the heavens do new concords redouble,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et in suo honor le sfere e gli elementi</td>
<td>And in his honor the spheres and the elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fer sentir armonie più non usate.</td>
<td>Have made heard harmonies not customarily used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Cadde un nembo di fior da le dorate</td>
<td>A cloud of flowers has fallen from golden stars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stelle nel suo passar, tacquero i venti,</td>
<td>On his passing, the winds have gone silent,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temprò Febo gli aurati raggi ardenti</td>
<td>Phoebus has tempered the ardent golden rays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E l'ornò de le frond'un tempo amate.</td>
<td>And adorned him with foliage of lovely weather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di qua i grandi del mondo pianser tutti,</td>
<td>Here all the greats of the world have lamented,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E la Regina d'Adria a chiome sciolte</td>
<td>And the Queen of Adria, with hair undone,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L'accompagnò con mille nimfe a canto;</td>
<td>Accompanied by a thousand singing nymphs;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nè la limpida Scalda tenne asciutti</td>
<td>Even the limpid Escaut has poured forth tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G'occhi fra suoi cristalli, chè sepoltè</td>
<td>From its crystalline eyes, which, though enshrouded,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vide insieme con lui le voci e'l canto.</td>
<td>Witness with him together the voices and song.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we encounter further evidence of the shift in rhetorical perspective first discerned in S'hoggi son senz'honor. As therein, herein, rather than a call to mourning, recounted indirectly is the scene of mourning. The toponyms mentioned by the poet—those are, “Adria” (10) and “Escaut” (12)—testify to an interest in celebrating the Netherlandish origins of the composer deplored. More poetically, the first stanza relates that, upon Willaert's reception, “le sfere e gli elementi” (3) made harmonies “più non usate” (4) heard. This reflects an interest in a certain aspect of Willaert's composerly legacy—specifically harmonic “innovation”—which finds musical expression in its setting by Benvenuti.

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[22] Mentioned in the preface to Scotto's Il Secondo libro delle fiamme where it is published, Battista Zuccarino is a hypothetical author for this lament; cf. Einstein, The Italian Madrigal: Vol. 1, 323. The passage from the preface runs as follows: “Mancando adunque questo, qual cosa crederò che le sia grata, & compositioni? Queste adunque con ferma speranza che le siano grate con tutto il core le offero, & così come offerendo questa picciol cosa alquanto (benche poco) esco di obbligo, così ancho apresso il Magnifico Meser Battista Zuccarino, come quello, che è stato sa della causa cho'io sono entrato in debito, del quale se non morte ne potrà sciogliere, & la mi dono, & offero” (quoted in Jane Bernstein, Music printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto press (1539-1572) [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998], 721).
It may be observed particularly in the opening of Benvenuti's *Giunto Adrian* [Ex. 39], which also features the motive of a rising minor third:

[Ex. 39]<sup>23</sup> Benvenuti, *Giunto Adrian* (mm. 1-20)

Even more extreme chromaticism than this, and thus better illustrative of the aspect of Willaert's composerly idiom mentioned in the poetry, is to be found in the descending semitone movement in both Canto and Alto that opens the *seconda parte* [Ex. 40] of Benvenuti's déploration:
[Ex. 40] Benvenuti, *Giunto Adrian* (mm. 55-64)
It is clear from such chromaticism as evident in [Ex. 40] that Benvenuti's composerly treatment of the poetic lament's mention of harmonic novelties was intended as both “text-painting” and, possibly, a specific dimension of Willaert's music rendered tribute. In general, Benvenuti's déploration is more contrapuntal than the two *greghesche* déloration. It nonetheless remains within the madrigal-esque stylistic parameters of Italian music contemporary to it.

In these respects it is similar to Conforti's déploration of Willaert. Conforti's setting of *S'hoggi senz'honor* opens [Ex. 41] with the motive of an ascending minor third taken up in imitation by all voices save the Basso:

[Ex. 41] Conforti, *S'hoggi son senz'honor* (mm. 1-21)

In [Ex. 41] we observe an imitative polyphonic texture, though not one as strict as in mid-century Franco-Flemish polyphony, as Conforti employs variable intervals of entry for motives both temporally and pitch-wise. Interest in the maintenance of rhetorical variety is evident in the alternation of texture between sections. For instance, after the contrapuntal opening of Conforti's déploration cadences on g at [Ex. 41; m. 7] there follows a contrastive homorhythmic section. Similar alternation of texture leads to the next section in homorhythmic coordination at the declamation of “sono le stelle” at [Ex. 41; m. 15]. Other aspects of S'hoggi son senz'honor suggest concern with more macroscopic coordination. For instance, the opening of seconda parte [Ex. 42] of Conforti's déploration, like the first, also sets the motive of rising minor third:

[Ex. 42] Conforti, S'hoggi son senz'honor (mm. 48-63)
Insomuch as the motive here set recalls the *prima parte* of his déploration, it suggests that Conforti was interested in thematic unification. This hypothesis finds reinforcement in other aspects of Conforti's music and, more specifically, its relationship to Willaert's composerly legacy. Whereas the musical dimension of the déplorations as *greghesche* exhibit no particular relationship to his composerly legacy, these *madrigali* ones exhibit stylistic features that suggest
a more sophisticated relationship to Willaert's composerly legacy.

[III.5] Willaert's composerly legacy (Part I)

As we observed at the outset of this chapter, Willaert's legacy is inseparable from the institution of San Marco as well as, more generally, the culture of mid-sixteenth century Venice. At this point, a more detailed consideration of the relationship between these three is in order.

Although Willaert spent his mature career in Italy, his musical sensibilities are Franco-Flemish through and through. According to Zarlino, the composer's disciple, as a youth Adrian Willaert (c1490-1562) went to Paris to study law but there took up music under the tutelage of Mouton instead. Willaert's studies with Mouton deeply influenced the composer's style. This influence is evident in Willaert's “sacred” and “secular” music alike. Indeed, less a matter of supposed sacrality of subject-matter, the distinction, rather, between “public” and “private” styles determines the relative weightiness of the composerly idiom of Willaert's music. For instance, Willaert's madrigals that were anthologized in publications, first composed beginning in the mid-1530s, are of the type to be found by contemporaneous composers both Franco-Flemish and Italian. The idiom of these anthologized madrigals is “lighter” and more eclectic. Towards the end of his career, however, Willaert's idiom was uniform in its attentiveness to declamation, thick textures and use of composerly devices such as canon. Willaert's composerly rhetoric towards the end of his career thus reflects the tastes of contemporary literary theorists, most notably Bembo. Particularly emblematic of this influence are Willaert's madrigals of the 1550s, especially those of the privately-circulated Musica nova, which set serious texts of Petrarch in densely-woven
polyphony modeled closely on the rhetoric of the poetry set. In Venice, rhetoric was a matter of pedagogical and “high-artistic” concern alike to both poets and musicians. Oratory and poetry were here as they were in antiquity intimately connected; analogously, imitation was in both cultures the guiding aesthetic principle. In sixteenth-century Venice, the ultimate goal of this aesthetic program was the elevation of the vernacular to a status equal to Latin. Equally a testament to Venetian adaptation of idioms imported from without is how the Franco-Flemish polyphonic idiom was there adapted to vernacular literary practices, particularly in the music of Willaert. The synthesis between the two, Bembist rhetoric and Franco-Flemish composerly technique, as evident above all in his late madrigals, is the principal content of Willaert's composerly legacy as it has been canonized by historians.

At this point, two related paradoxes may be observed. First: The style just described for which Willaert is best known is decidedly not the aspect of his composerly legacy rendered tribute in these four déplorations. Why is this the case? Second: There are many composers who would seem likely candidates for rendering Willaert posthumous tribute with a déploration. Over the course of his thirty-five years at San Marco Willaert mentored many composition students, including, most notably Parabosco, Cambio and Donato. Why these four, then? As we have observed, for Willaert and Gabrieli, such tribute was surely born first and foremost of personal sentiment. However, it also had a professional dimension. Gabrieli, more so than any of Willaert's disciples, assumed upon his death the mantle of Venetian musical doge. Further reinforcing this network: Molino and Gabrieli were associates. Specifically, Gabrieli served

Molino for some time as musical assistant, referring to him as his “fatherly patron.” 27 And yet, while Gabrieli and Alvise Willaert are known associates of Willaert's, Conforti and Benvenuti are not known to have been. Taken together, however, and considered in consort with the publishers who printed their déplorations, these two composers may be seen as tributaries of his composerly legacy as mediated through print. Benvenuti's déploration of Willaert was published in *Il secondo libro delle fiamme* by Scotto at Venice in 1567. Like Susato and Gardano, Girolamo Scotto (c1505-1572) was a musician and amateur composer. 28 Willaert's music features prominently in Scotto's early output; none of it, however, features in *Il secondo libro*. *Il secondo libro*, an omnibus volume, contains madrigals by a number of composers; Benvenuti's only work in the print is his déploration for Willaert. Thus, on the whole, it gives the impression of an anthology in which the déploration *per se* held no particular symbolic function. In the social dynamic it instantiates between composer and publisher, then, *Giunto Adrian* most closely resembles Hellinck's déploration of Ockegehm published by Susato, and seems likely to have been analogously motivated as a general tribute to an eminent master of composition.

More interesting for the purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition are the circumstances surrounding Conforti's déploration of Willaert. *S'hoggi son senz'honor* was published in 1567 by Claudio Merulo in *Madrigali di Giovan Battista Conforti*, a volume devoted exclusively to the composer's music. Merulo we have already encountered as one of the three dedicatees of Molino's *Il primo libro*. Trained as organist at cathedral of Brescia, Claudio

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Merulo da Correggio (1533-1604) may have studied music as a youth with Willaert or Zarlino.\(^\text{29}\) Merulo began publishing music in 1566. Initially allied with Scotto, who underwrote Merulo's first prints, the publisher issued thirty-five volumes over the next five years. At the outset of his enterprise, Merulo was, as was Susato when he published *Le Septiesme livre*, concerned with augmenting his prestige as publisher. He accordingly sought out “first editions” of works by composers such as Giaches de Wert, Philippe de Monte and Orlando di Lasso, all while cultivating the image of a refined, courtly musician and publisher.\(^\text{30}\) Such considerations may well have informed his publication of Conforti's déploration of Willaert. There are other, more specifically composerly aspects of the relationship between publisher, deplored and deploring. As a musician, Merulo was known for his compositions for keyboard. So too was Giovanni Battista Conforti (fl. 1550-1570).\(^\text{31}\) Conforti's first book of instrumental *ricercare*, published in 1558, shows the demonstrable influence of Willaert. Consideration of instrumental works by the two composers will be instructive with respect to the composerly relationship embodied in *S'hoggi son senz'honor*. Willaert's *Ricercar II* [Ex. 43], for instance, opens with motive incidentally reminiscent of Appenzeller's déploration [Ex. 26] of Josquin:

[Ex. 43]\(^\text{32}\) Willaert, *Ricercar II* (mm. 1-29)

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Here as elsewhere in Willaert's music, regardless of ensemble for which it was intended, melodically-neutral motivic material is spun into a constantly-varied texture by means of continual imitation and development. Light employment of semiminima beginning in the Tenor at [Ex. 43; m. 16], and then sparsely in the other voices throughout, add bits of micro-momentum to the texture as a whole.

Conforti's Ricercar VII, by comparison, opens [Ex. 44] with a more elaborate motive, one marked by an ascending minor third that ultimately spans a minor sixth and is taken up at broader intervals of imitation:

[Ex. 44] Conforti, Ricercar VII (mm. 1-21)

In [Ex. 44] we observe the development of Willaert's idiom as composer of instrumental music. Conforti's motive, taken up in regular imitation as Willaert does in [Ex. 43], is lengthier and more rhythmically diverse than that of Willaert's *Ricercar II*. Ultimately, however, the cumulative effect of both works is the same: An imitative polyphonic texture that maintains perpetual momentum generated by a composerly process of ultimately Franco-Flemish origins.

In retrospect, the fourfold Italianate déploration of Willaert may be characterized as follows: Whereas Gabrieli, Willaert and Molino uphold the social dynamic of the déploration as a commemorative tradition, Benvenuti and Conforti shed light on the development of its specifically composerly dimension. Benvenuti's déploration, in both its poetic and musical
aspects, focuses on harmonic innovation, likely as a significant aspect of Willaert's composerly legacy. Furthermore, Conforti, with his focus on thematic unification as evident in his déploration of Willaert and, more generally, development of the latter's legacy as a composer of instrumental music, suggests that the adaptation of the déploration tradition to Italian soil was not fundamentally altered in spirit thereby.

[30] Déploration of Tallis by Byrd

Chronologically the last work of the tradition, Byrd's déploration of Tallis, Ye sacred Muses, would seem to have little to do with the déplorations of Willaert. Indeed, these English composers inhabited a very different musical world than did their Venetian and continental contemporaries.

[III.6] English musical culture and Franco-Flemish composerly tradition

English musical culture of the late-sixteenth century—that is, the context for Ye sacred Muses—is the result of a unique confluence of both insular composerly traditions and idioms imported from abroad. While this latter dynamic would ultimately culminate in the English madrigalist schools of the early-seventeenth century, Franco-Flemish composerly tradition enjoyed a swansong during the late-sixteenth century in the music of Byrd. It is this composerly dimension of Franco-Flemish musical tradition that forms the ultimate inspiration for Byrd's déploration of Tallis. To appreciate both, however, we must first have an idea of the musical world within which both operated.
English composerly tradition had by the sixteenth-century as august a pedigree as did Franco-Flemish. Fifteenth-century English music, source of inspiration for composers like Binchois and Dufay, is characterized above all by effusive, free counterpoint, particularly in the music of Dunstable and Power, chief exponents of Martin le Franc's *contenance angloise*. Following in this tradition, turn-of-the-sixteenth-century English composers like Fayrfax and Taverner continued to compose free-flowing counterpoint rather than employ structural imitation in the continental manner. Over the course of next three decades, however, English music was increasingly influenced by the Franco-Flemish chanson of the fifteenth century. Furthering this trend, by the middle third of the century, English music is marked by an opening up of insular traditions by virtue of the Reformation. By 1560, Italian madrigals were circulating in England, eventually to become the dominant style of its most eminent composers.

During this period of assimilation of vernacular idioms imported from abroad, stalwarts of English tradition were Tallis and Byrd. This is a consequence of their traditional education and professional service. Thomas Tallis (c1505-1585) began his career as *joculator organorum* at the Benedictine priory of Dover in 1530. From 1540 he was in service at the Canterbury Cathedral, whence he earned a promotion to court. Tallis served the royal chapel for the rest of his life, specifically four consecutive monarchs: Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth I. In this capacity Tallis maintained a lifelong friendship with William Byrd (c1540-1623). Byrd's professional career follows an arc similar to that of Tallis. In 1563 Byrd was appointed organist


and magister puerorum at Lincoln Cathedral.\textsuperscript{36} He joined the royal chapel in 1572. While the possibility that Tallis was Byrd's teacher here is hypothetical, circumstantial evidence arguing in favor of this possibility is strong.\textsuperscript{37}

Regardless of influence, the two collaborated, most notably in publishing music for a then-fledgling English market. Specifically, in 1573, Tallis and Byrd jointly petitioned Queen Elizabeth for a printing privilege. Elizabeth responded two years later with letters-patent granting them said rights for the first time in England.\textsuperscript{38} This resulted in Cantiones quae argumento sacrae vocantur of 1575, an anthology of motets containing seventeen works apiece by Tallis and Byrd. That the title and preface to this volume are in Latin speaks to its continental ambitions, and the Cantiones took on, for both composers, the nature of a debut publication. Published by French printer Thomas Vautrollier, the dedicatory poems to the volume invoke the Franco-Flemish composers Lasso, Gombert and Clemens, and declare that it will popularize English music on the continent.\textsuperscript{39}

That in England printing was central to the articulation of composerly relationships is also evident in English laments on the deaths of musicians published subsequent to Byrd's Ye sacred Muses [Fig. 4]:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Good for twenty-one years, Byrd and Tallis didn't use the patent for long, as they were losing money on the venture. Morley would negotiate a better deal in 1598; cf. Donald Krummel, English Music Printing: 1553-1700 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), esp. 10-33.
\end{itemize}
[Fig. 4] Polyphonic English Laments for Musicians (c1600)

Morley for Noel (d. 1597), Hark alleluia
Morley, Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Six Voices (London: Peter Short, 1597)

Weelkes for Noel (d. 1597), Adieu thou court's delight
Weelkes, Madrigals of Six Parts (London: Thomas Este, 1600)

Weelkes (and Davies) for Morley (d. 1602), Death hath deprived me
Weelkes, Ayeres or Phantasticke Spirits by Three Voices (London: Weelkes & Barley, 1608)

Henry Noel, though not a composer, was a singer in the royal chapel. He was lamented by English composers Weelkes and Morley, as was this latter by the former. At a glance, the laments listed in [Fig. 4] would seemingly constitute further nodes in the English branch of the déploration tradition. They do not. Consideration of why they do not will prove illustrative of the traditional nature of Ye sacred Muses. Consideration of Morley's career in particular is illustrative in this respect. Thomas Morley (1557/8-1602) was a member of the royal chapel from 1592.40 His Plaine and Easy Introduction to Musick, published in 1597, is dedicated to the “Most Excellent Musician Master William Byrd.” This treatise is an introduction to contemporary world of musical practices, and it contains pastiche examples by Morley in styles dating back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Moreover, it contains musical examples drawn directly from the music of composers like Josquin, Ockeghem, Mouton, Richafort, Févin, Dietrich, Gombert and Clemens.41 Book II of Morley's treatise deals exclusively with counterpoint against a “canto

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fermo.” Morley displays composerly prowess by using the same “canto fermo” for all his examples. Not merely composerly, the rules for making counterpoint against plainchant, as is consistently emphasized throughout Morley's treatise, are the same for singing, performance being inseparable in his view from the art of composition. None of this musical heritage, however, is evident in the lament for Morley composed by Thomas Weelkes. For his lament, Weelkes adapts a poem of John Davies’, originally written as a lament for the Earle of Pembroke:

Death hath deprived me of my dearest friend,  
My dearest friend is dead and laid in the grave,  
In grave he rests until the world shall end,  
The world shall end, as end must all things have.

All things must have an end that nature wrought,  
That nature wrought, must unto dust be brought.

Exclusively about personal loss, this poem exhibits no communal dimension whatsoever. Analogously, the musical dimension of Weelkes' lament bears no significant relationship to Franco-Flemish tradition. Published as “A remembrance of my friend Mr. Thomas Morley,” it is set in the idiom of the English madrigal. Thus does composerly idiom in this instance demonstrate the constitutive relationship between musical tradition and the déploration as musical idea.

Such a relationship may also be observed by comparing the composerly idioms of Tallis and Byrd. In addition to vocal polyphony, Tallis wrote much instrumental music, much of it in a

contrapuntal idiom that displays the influence of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition.\(^{43}\) Tallis' keyboard hymn *Ex more docti mistico* [Ex. 45], however, suggests the greater influence of an insular composerly idiom:

[Ex. 45]\(^{44}\) Tallis, *Ex more docti mistico*

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Though the musical phrases in [Ex. 45] periodically begin with imitation of a brief motive, in general the composerly idiom here on display is that of free counterpoint. Steady minim motion in the inner voices is typical of a keyboard idiom. Of particularly English character are the harmonies heard throughout. Moreover, in comparison to that of the contemporaneous Franco-Flemish idiom that uses imitation in a structural manner, the texture on display in [Ex. 45] is denser and its voices less functionally distinct. In comparison to Tallis' hymn more reminiscent of a Franco-Flemish composerly idiom, consider Byrd's *Fantasy IV* [Ex. 46]:

[Ex. 46] Byrd, *Fantasia IV* (mm. 1-22)

By contrast with Tallis' hymn, Byrd's composerly idiom in [Ex. 46] exhibits the style of imitative polyphony in the continental tradition. This is in keeping with general stylistic differences.
between his and Tallis' music. Specifically, Byrd begins using imitation in a systematic manner in the 1550s. Beginning in this decade, Byrd engaged in “friendly aemulation” with the Italian expatriate composer Ferrabosco, particularly in the writing of canons, including the employment of more advanced contrapuntal techniques like inversion and retrograde.  

Moreover, and most significantly for the purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition: Willaert's *Musica nova* of 1559, a copy of which is preserved in the Nonesuch library, may have served as source of inspiration and model for emulation in Byrd's essays in canonic writing. When considered in the context of both Tallis' music in particular and the English composerly idiom contemporary to his in general, then, Byrd's idiom shows the influence of Franco-Flemish tradition.

[III.7] The déploration as consort-song

This composerly tradition forms the stylistic backdrop for Byrd's déploration of Tallis. The anonymous poem set to music by Byrd is entirely traditional:

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Ye sacred Muses, race of Jove,
Whom Music's lore delighteth,
Come down, from crystal's heav'n's above
To earth, where sorrow dwellmeth,
5 In mourning weeds with tears in eyes:
Tallis is dead and Music dies.
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Here we encounter a call upon a community to mourn the loss of Tallis; specifically, the Muses of Jove. Reinforcing its traditional character, this elegy exhibits a number of antiquated features,

including half-rhyme and iambic meter. The iambic meter that prevails in the first five lines sets up a dramatic reversal of prosody at “Tallis is dead” (6), an appropriate climax.

Also traditionally, Byrd's setting [Ex. 47] exhibits a close alliance of music and rhetoric:

[Ex. 47] 4th Byrd, *Ye sacred Muses*

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race of Jove
Whom Music's lore de-

light-eth,
Come down, come

down from crystal heavens above
To
earth where sorrow dwelleth

mourning weeds. in mourning weeds with tears
C  

30

in eyes,

Tallis is dead,

Tallis is dead and Music dies,

C

35

M

Q

T

B
Let us begin by considering the composerly particulars of Byrd's déploration. The opening section at [Ex. 47; mm. 1-6] is scored for viol consort, as each voice takes up the opening theme sung by the Cantus in imitation before it enters. In this it resembles, albeit most certainly incidentally, Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois. Byrd's melodic idiom is in this work reserved yet he employs certain techniques at choice moments to dramatic effect. Repetition of text for rhetorical emphasis is employed twice at the imperative “Come down” [Ex. 47; mm. 15-17] as well as the proclamations “Tallis is dead” at [Ex. 47; mm. 31-33] and “and Music dies” at [Ex.
47; mm. 34-39]. Word-painting may be observed in Byrd's setting of “Come down” to a double-leap that is followed by a dramatic ascent by the Cantus at [Ex. 47; mm. 17-19]. The melismata on “Music” of the second ending at [Ex. 47; mm. 45-46] are particularly affective, as is the semitone movement setting “sorrow” at [Ex. 47; mm. 21-22]. More generally, Byrd's déploration of Tallis may be characterized as propelled by a tension between harmonic and contrapuntal considerations. This much is evident in the consistent employment of overlapping cadences and melodic imitation at odds with harmonic rhythm. Likewise resistant to schematic analysis is Byrd's perpetual shifting between duple and triple meter. Finally, a high degree of thematic unification may be observed throughout, which, along with more general rhetoric of repetition and variation, marks his idiom in Ye sacred Muses as ultimately of Franco-Flemish origin.49

In this respect it is seemingly at odds with the genre of Byrd's déploration of Tallis; that is, the consort song. “Consort song” is not a term in use in Byrd's era; the first contemporary use of it denotes an instrumental ensemble of viols.50 Its essential stylistic properties, according to historiographical criteria, are that it is set for solo voice and obbligato instruments, usually viols. An outgrowth of the verse anthem, the cultivation of the consort song stretches back to Fayrfax, Cornish and Newark. It therefore constitutes a native musical tradition as opposed to imported genres like the Italian madrigal. While they do not figure largely in his printed music, the majority of Byrd's “secular” music is comprised of consort songs. Ye sacred Muses may be seen as an exemplary instance of these works. In Byrd's consort songs, strophic settings of poetry are the rule, as are syllabic melodies with melismata occurring typically at the end of phrases. Moreover, the prosody and form of the poetry serve in these works as primary compositional

determinants. In general, a non-literalistic relationship between music and poetry obtains in Byrd's consort songs, which might be characterized as emblematizing a relationship of similes rather than metaphors—that is, not of word-painting but music as an intensification of poetic rhetoric. Byrd's choice of genre for his déploration of Tallis may in conclusion be read as a traditionalist gesture. At the same time, in addition to adapting the déploration to the autochthonous consort song, Byrd's composerly idiom constitutes an homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition that, by extension, pledges homage to an ecumenical musical community.

[III.8] Insular and peninsular tributaries

In conclusion: The works treated in this chapter all adapt the déploration tradition to vernacular idioms both poetic and musical. They therefore constitute vernacular tributaries of the déploration tradition in the sense that they are branches off its Franco-Flemish mainstream. And yet, while not related directly to the stylistic features characteristic of the déploration tradition in its formative stages, consideration of the déploration tradition in Italy and England serves to illuminate two facets of its Franco-Flemish practice. Specifically, the Italian branch sheds light on the déploration as a mode of commemoration, whereas the English branch sheds light on the déploration as composerly homage. To begin with the former: Willaert's music, though Franco-Flemish in provenance, served as epitome of Venetian identity. A consequence of his relationship to that city, Willaert's music was implicated, both generally and in its stylistic particulars, in a much larger socio-cultural context that determined the stakes of his composerly legacy.

Conspicuously, however, these four déplorations do not render tribute to Willaert as an exemplary representative of orthodox Venetian identity. Indeed, the *sui generis* language of Molino's déplorations as *greghesche* is at odds especially with this orthodoxy, suggesting deliberate circumvention of its symbolic codes. Accordingly, although Willaert's Venetian service and his relationship to the city's self-image has dominated his posthumous persona to historians, the idiom on display in these déplorations render him tribute in a different capacity. Moreover, in their composerly aspect, the déplorations of Benvenuti and Conforti render tribute to specific musical aspects of Willaert's composerly legacy. Despite these individualistic concerns, however, all four of these déplorations of Willaert pledge homage, in adapting the tradition to Italian soil, to an ecumenical musical community. On the one hand, the *greghesche* déplorations of Willaert embody the traditional déploration dynamic of rendering tribute to a personal friend and teacher. The two *madrigali* déplorations, on the other hand, render tribute to Willaert in his more specifically composerly persona. With respect to this latter, obliquely rendered tribute in Conforti's déploration is Willaert's legacy as a composer of instrumental music. Willaert's instrumental music is furthermore a testament to the migration of the Netherlandish polyphonic vocal idiom to a more abstract musical context. This dynamic may likewise be discerned in Byrd's déploration of Tallis, where the imitative idiom of the viol consort accompaniment constitutes homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition.
CHAPTER IV:
GERMAN HUMANISMUS AND A TRADITION REFORMED

[IV.1] The rhetoric of musical Humanismus

The German musicians who feature in this chapter have yet to figure in mainstream histories of the era. Nor have the German déplorations that constitute the subject of this chapter been studied as such. Nevertheless, these German tributaries of the déploration tradition constitute vital nodes in its continental network of composers, poets and publishers. Indeed, the individuals who animate this chapter engaged directly with the composerly techniques and aesthetic ideals that animated the Franco-Flemish déploration tradition.¹ At the same time, however, one cultural factor in particular distinguishes the déplorations treated in this chapter from all others of the tradition—that is, German Humanismus.

German Humanismus presents both exoteric and esoteric aspects. Each of these aspects derives its character from the institutional context of Reformation-era Lateinschule and German civic universities.² The exoteric aspect of Humanismus finds emblematic expression in the life and works of Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), chief architect, along with Luther, of the Reformed church. Melanchthon converted to Humanism long before he did Lutheranism during his days at the Lateinschule of Pforzheim, where his great-uncle, Johannes Reuchlin persuaded


him to change his name from the barbaric “Schwarzerdt” to its more noble Greek equivalent. Melanchthon enrolled at age twelve at the University of Heidelberg and, by age twenty-one, had attained the professorship of Greek at Wittenberg. Here Melanchthon began to ply his knowledge of ancient languages and philosophy in the interest of reforming the German educational system. In so reforming it, theology and Humanism were for Melanchthon complementary. Melanchthon modeled his Loci communes of 1521, the first systematic formulation of Reformation theology, on the Dialectica of Humanist Rudolf Agricola, a compendium of oratory based on Valla and Cicero. As a Latin stylist Melanchthon was renowned. In 1519, Erasmus wrote a Hymnus in angelos Graecus wherein he discerns in Melanchthon the spirit of Orpheus.\(^3\) As revamped by Melanchthon, both poetry and rhetoric were crucial to the curricula of German civic educational institutions. These not only instilled respect for the classics—they also prepared students for careers conducting discourse in the sphere of print. Here, for Humanist scholars and theologians alike, the lingua franca of Latin served a crucial function. This fact is particularly evident in the rhetoric of elegiac poetry set in the German déploration tradition, which is uniformly in Latin and peppered with topoi drawn from an ancient corpus then recently-unearthed by philologists.

The first point to be made here, then, is that Humanismus is inseparable from the socio-cultural context of civic educational institutions in Reformation-era Germany. And yet, at the same time, the philological branch of German Humanismus presents an esoteric aspect, one less consonant with doctrinaire theology. This esoteric aspect was indebted particularly to the philosophy of Marsilio Ficino. As did many German Reformers, Ficino believed the wisdom of antiquity to be as equally-inspired an expression of universal truth as holy scripture. Such an

ecumenical embrace of ancient philosophy served as foundation for, *inter alia*, Reuchlin's speculative philological pursuits.\(^4\) Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) was a disciple of Ficino's disciple Pico della Mirandola whom Reuchlin met during a trip to Florence in 1490. Pico believed the Hebrew Kabbalah to be divinely-revealed. Unable to undertake a proper study on account of his more-pressing vocational duties, he delegated the project to Reuchlin. Upon his return to Germany, Reuchlin did as much as anyone to establish philology as an autonomous field of scholarly research into biblical texts in their original languages. His research soon bore fruit. Dedicated to the chancellor of the University of Heidelberg, Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* of 1494 explores the musicality of language as medium of revelation. Such interests also proved for Reuchlin a lifelong interest. His *De arte cabalistica* of 1517, dedicated to Pope Leo X, proclaims Pythagoreanism and the Kabbalah of a single mind.\(^5\)

Although drawing upon material made newly available by German Humanists, such beliefs as these of Reuchlin were in fact entirely traditional. According to the tradition of the seven liberal arts, *musica speculativa* constitutes a *summa* of human knowledge, as number,

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\(^{4}\) The esoteric aspect of *Humanismus* is likewise observable in the tradition of allegorical emblems, which were of particular interest to German Humanists. For instance, the *Hieroglyphics* of Horapolon were collaboratively translated and illustrated by philologist Willibald Pirkheimer (1470-1530) and Albrecht Dürer—a project undertaken at the behest of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, who was an avid admirer of ancient iconography. Ficino once ventured in relation to the *Hieroglyphica* that such symbols are superior to language because they are capable of incarnating abstract thought without mediation. For an introduction to the work, cf. George Boas, trans., *The Hieroglyphics of Horapolon* (New York: Pantheon, 1950): 17-54. On theories of the emblem and emblem-aesthetics in the era, cf. Denis Drysdall, “Authorities for Symbolism in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory, 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Daly & John Manning (New York: AMS Press, 1999): 111-124 and Daniel Russell, “Perceiving, Seeing and Meaning: Emblems and Some Approaches to Reading in Early Modern Europe,” *ibidem*: 77-92.

substrate of music, constitutes the substrate of the universe. To apprehend its essence was to know truth of the highest order. For Franco-Flemish composers as for the German ones treated in this chapter, *musicus*, by means of synecdoche, also designated one learned in the quadriivial arts of number. This term finds its definitional *locus classicus* in the final chapter of Book I of Boethius' *De musica*, entitled “Quid sit musicus?” Herein Boethius subordinates music “in operé efficiendi atque actu” (“at the work of making and performance”) to a rational understanding of its underlying principles. In so doing, he prioritizes the sovereignty of speculation over the practical business of making music.

Such collectively forms the cultural context for the German déplorations of this chapter. Not only did *Humanismus* govern the educational circumstances of the individuals treated herein and thus condition their understanding of *Musica*—it also shaped the personae that German composers and poets cultivated in collaboration with publishers. And yet, each German poet, composer and publisher who participated in the déploration tradition exhibits a unique relationship both to *Humanismus* and Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. As we did in Chapter II, we will proceed retrograde chronologically through the déplorations of this chapter. This is because the latest group chronologically of German déplorations display the clearest relationship to the musical culture treated in Chapter III, while the earliest ones are more closely related—indeed were likely inspired directly—by the déplorations that remain to be treated in Chapter V.

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[6] In this respect it was distinct from the term “cantor” which carried practical rather than theoretical connotations. On this distinction in Germany in particular, cf. Erich Reimer, *Musics und Cantor: Beiträge zurGattungs- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Köln: Dohr, 2008), esp. 7-40.


In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari was published at Nuremberg by Berg and Neuber in 1554. Like Susato's Le Septiesme livre before it, In epitaphiis is a memorial volume devoted to commemorating a composer. Like Le Septiesme livre, it contains music of the composer so honored. Distinguishing In epitaphiis from all other publications of the era is its high preponderance of déplorations. Specifically, following two works by Othmayr (first, Justi praeripiuntur; second, Mit frid und freud ich fahr dahin) In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari contains six déplorations, making him quantitatively the most deplored composer in the tradition.

[IV.2] Othmayr's Nuremberger commemorative community

Assaying the composerly dimension of this memorial volume for Othmayr is difficult as only the Bassus of In epitaphiis survives. In its dismembered aspect, this lone part-book emblematises by inversion the fate ascribed to the composer on its title page. Here an anonymous nineteenth-century annotation quotes a nebulous authority identifying Othmayr as a Protestant beheaded by the King of Poland. While apocryphal, this anecdote has the ring of truth. Though no martyr, Othmayr was in fact posthumously canonized by a commemorative network of composers, poets and publishers. Most of the composers who appear In epitaphiis are likewise of obscure origin. By name, they are Nicolaus Puls (?1500-?1560), Konrad Praetorius (c1515 1555), Johannes Bucherus (1483-1541), and Andreas Schwartz (?1500-?1565). We will have brief occasion to

consider what little biographical information is known of each below. In addition to Berg and Neuber, exclusive publishers of the composer's music during his lifetime, Othmayr's principal champion was Georg Forster (c.1510-1568).9 Though not so named in the monophonic remains of In epitaphiiis, Forster, composer of one of its six déplorations, likely served as editor of Othmayr's memorial volume. Forster had edited music for Berg and Neuber before, a partnership that resulted in five volumes of Frische Teutscher Liedlein published from 1539 to 1556.10 In his capacity as editor, Forster served as intermediary between the publishers and the musical communities of Nuremberg and its environs. Forster received his bachelors' degree in ancient languages from the University of Heidelberg at age eighteen. He began studying medicine in 1531. Forster moved to Wittenberg in 1534, where he studied Greek philosophy and literature with Melanchthon.11 He there befriended Luther. Forster also there befriended the music publisher Georg Rhau, who later printed many of Forster's own compositions. By 1539 Forster was the town doctor of Amberg; he would later serve as physician at the court of Count Wolfgang of the Palatine in Heidelberg. Continuing all the while to pursue his education, in 1544 Forster received his doctorate at the University of Tübingen. He moved to Nuremberg around 1548, living there for the last twenty years of his life.

At Nuremberg Forster surely met often with Othmayr, who then lived in nearby Ansbach. The two went way back. Both were from Amberg, and both had served in their youth in the chapel of Ludwig V von der Pfalz (1478-1544) at Heidelberg. Along with Jobst vom Brandt and

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Stephan Zirler, Othmayr and Forster form a quartet of composers who studied music with Ludwig's Kapellmeister Lorenz Lemlin (c1495-c1549). It was here that Othmayr began to study music. Caspar Othmayr (1515-1553) received his bachelor's degree from the University of Heidelberg in 1534, where he was honored with distinction “insignis musicus.” In 1543 Othmayr was appointed rector at the monastic seminary of Heilsbronn, near Ansbach. Two volumes of Othmayr's were designed precisely for such an institutional context; his Tricinia of 1549 set maxims of St John of Damascus (c675-749) translated into German from the Greek by Pirckheimer, whereas his Bicinia of 1547 set German maxims in duets. These works provide musical context for the déplorations of In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari. As were those of Le Septiesme livre by Susato, these six déplorations for Othmayr were likely commissioned by Berg and Neuber. Not only were Berg and Neuber the exclusive printers of Othmayr's music; they also took a particular interest in the déploration as a mode of musical commemoration.

This interest may be attributed to Berg. Johann vom Berg (c1500/15-1563) was a Fleming born at Ghent. He was educated at the University of Paris, where Berg converted to Lutheranism at a young age. Berg founded his firm at Nuremberg with Neuber in 1542. A relationship then obtained between printers of Nuremberg and reformers in Wittenberg. This is evident in the breadth and scope of Berg and Neuber's output. In addition to music, Berg and

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Neuber published over 150 miscellaneous titles, including doctrinal writings of Luther and Melanchthon, as well as the *opera omnia* of Viet Dietrich (1506-1549), theologian of St Sebald. In Reformation-era Nuremberg, music, politics and religion were intimately related, and publishers like Berg and Neuber operated in a tumultuous environment. From 1525 to 1537, for instance, a citywide ban on Franco-Flemish polyphony was in effect at Nuremberg, enforced by the city council. During these twelve years, no such music was published within city limits. Religious winds changed quickly, however. The Augsburg Interim imposed Catholicism on Nuremberg by the will of Emperor Charles V from 1548 to 1553. In 1549, Berg and Neuber published the *Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae*, a collection of polyphony symbolizing lament on behalf of the oppressed.  

From 1551 to 1552, the city was under siege, despite professed neutrality, by Protestant Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach (1522-1557)—a war that did not end until 1554. That same year, Berg and Neuber published the *Evangelia Dominorum et festorum*, dedicated to the Nuremberg city council and containing 247 motets sequenced for the Protestant church year.

In Reformation-era Nuremberg, music prints such as these served, at least in part, as declarations of solidarity. The musical elegy served as an exemplary vehicle for such declarations. As it did at aristocratic courts, in the German civic sphere the elegy solidified relationships among communities by articulating allegiances through ritual mourning. The many musical elegies published by Berg and Neuber in [Fig. 5] thus stand both as individual commemorations and declarations of communal solidarity:

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[16] Jackson, “Berg and Neuber,” 171. This volume is prefaced with an elegy by Caspar Bruschi that synthesizes Orphic mysticism with Christian allegory.
Musicin Elegies Published by Berg & Neuber (1546-1564)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit &amp; Volume</th>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Elegized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| *Non secus atque olim*  
*Selectissimae Symphoniae* (1546) | Othmayr | Wilhelm Breitengraser (d. 1542) |
| *Per quem salvefici*  
*Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri* (1546) | Othmayr | Martin Luther (d. 1546) |
| *Mein himmlischer Vater + In manus tuas*  
*Epitaphium D. Martini Lutheri* (1546) | Othmayr | Martin Luther (d. 1546) |
| [Six dèplorations]*  
*In epitaphis Gasparis Othmari* (1554) | Forster et al. | Caspar Othmayr (d. 1553) |
| *Continuo lachrimas + Requiem*  
*Novum at insigne opus musicum* (1558) | Vaet | Jacobus Clemens (d. 1555) |
| *Cur Fernande pater*  
*Secunda pars magni operis musici* (1559) | Crecquillon | Elizabeth of Austria (d. 1545) |
| *O quam moesta dies*  
*Secunda pars magni operis musici* (1559) | Clemens | Philippe de Croy (d. 1549) |
| *O mors inevitabilis + Requiem*  
*Thesaurus musici tomus secundus* (1564) | Vinders | Josquin Desprez (d. 1521) |
| *Pierides moesto suffundite*  
*Thesaurus musici tomus tertius* (1564) | Meiland | Johann vom Berg (d. 1563) |
| *Occubuit clarus patriae*  
*Thesaurus musici tomus quartus* (1564) | Schwartz | Viet Dietrich (d. 1549) |

In addition to *In epitaphii*, of particular interest in [Fig. 5] to the historian of the dèploration tradition is Berg and Neuber's last publication, the *Thesaurus musici* of 1564. This publication consists of five volumes containing a total of 229 motets, mostly by Franco-Flemish composers.

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[18] Berg died in 1563; the *Thesaurus musici* were published under the supervision of Berg's widow, Katherina, who assumed control in her husband's stead. On Katherina, cf. Jackson, “Berg and Neuber,” 30-36.
In general, Berg and Neuber's publications allocate pride of place to composers associated with Austrian-Hapsburg aristocrats, including, in addition to Emperor Charles V, his father Maximilian I (1459-1519) and brothers Maximilian II (1527-1576) and Ferdinand I (1503-1564). The *Thesaurus musici* is no exception. Collectively dedicated to Duke Albert V of Bavaria, each volume of the *Thesaurus musici* closes with an occasional motet; the last four with elegies. The second volume closes with Vinders' déploration for Josquin, both in tribute to the composer as well as his music as emblem of Franco-Flemish tradition. The third closes with Jacobus Meiland's lament for Berg, *Pierides moesto suffundite*. The fourth closes with Schwartz's *epitaphium* for Dietrich, *Occubuit clarus patriae*. Despite the partisan bent evident in many of their publications, the market for Berg and Neuber's prints was ecumenical. Accordingly, Berg and Neuber's music publications blend the music of Franco-Flemish composers with that of local Germans. The Franco-Flemish repertory of Berg and Neuber's prints covers a wide swath of music history, extending from the music of Obrecht to that of Lassus. Berg and Neuber were also among the most enthusiastic anthologizers of Josquin, attributing a total of fifty-one motets to him in their prints. Indeed, Josquin played a central role then in German musical imagination. As early as 1520 (when the composer was still alive), his music was anthologized by German printers, specifically in the *Liber selectarum cantionum*, published at Augsburg by Grimm and Wyrsung. Edited by Senfl, Josquin's works herein tend toward the virtuosic end of the composerly spectrum, with many employing canon, isoperiodic structures and ostinato. The *Liber selectarum* closes with a magic square canon by Senfl that serves as colophon.\(^\text{19}\) This historical anthology, therefore, like Berg and Neuber's later prints that include déplorations,

canonizes Josquin as composer as well as techniques of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. Othmayr, who served as de facto house composer for Berg and Neuber, was duly honored by these publishers and a community of local Nuremberger musicians.

[IV.3] *In epitaphiis as collaborative memorial*

The six déplorations of *In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari* collectively comprise a single *epitaphium* set in discrete sections by five different composers. This *epitaphium* runs as follows:

---

**E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine rerum est**
Othmar sublatus Marte furente pius.
Angelicus nunc ipse choris bene cantat in aevum
Suavibus o laetus perpetuisque sonis.

**5**
Harmoniae decus et column lumenque Camoenae
Othmar et ingenio clarus et arte potens
Ultima nunc capit hic placidum post fata soporem
Corpore cum Christo mens colit astra pia.

**10**
Grande decus Musis mundo praeclarus inampo
Aeterna Othmarus laude perennis erit.
Summis Praepositi decoratus honoribus
Parcarum invidia, tollitur ante diem.

**15**
Grande decus Musis mundo praeclarus inampo
Aeterna Othmarus laude perennis erit.
Dulcis cantu; Amphion, Germanus et Orpheus,
Regibus et Charitum lae charus ab arte choro.

**20**
Defunctus vita lustris non octo peractis
Subdicit et tibi se Christe animamque suam.
Angelicus nunc ipse choris bene cantat in aevum
Suavibus o laetus perpetuisque sonis.

**25**
Prae reliquis quos nostra ferunt haec tempor
Clarus ingenio et natus Musicus Othmar erat
Quem nunc e medio sublatum fata vocarunt
Ut canat in Christi carmina blanda sinu.

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From the savage eddy of miserable things
Pious Othmayr is lifted up with Mars raging.
Now he sings well eternally with angelic choirs
O one blessed with sweet and unending sounds.

Glory of harmony, zenith and light of the Camenae,
Othmayr, famous for talent and powerful in craft,
Now takes up peaceful sleep following ultimate fate,
Body with Christ, his pious mind cultivates the stars.

Great glory to the Muses, illustrious the world over,
Othmayr will be perpetually with eternal fame.
Decorated by leaders with the highest honors
Spite of Fates, he is taken away before [his] day.

Great glory to the Muses, illustrious the world over,
Othmayr will be perpetually with eternal fame.
Sweet in song; an Amphion, the German Orpheus,
Dear to Kings and to the chorus of Graces by this art.

Done in life before five by eight [years] completed,
He devoted himself and his soul to you, Christ.
Now he well sings eternally with angelic choirs,
O one blessed with sweet and unending sounds.

Beyond all others whom our times bring forth,
Othmayr, famous for innate talent and a born *Musicus*
Whom, lifted up mid[-life], is now called by fate
To sing pleasant songs in Christ's bosom.

There is a place, Elysium to the ancients; we believe
With pious faith that [it] is the kingdom of Christ,
... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
Atypically for the déploration as thus far considered, we do not encounter in *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* a call to mourning *per se*. Nor can this Latin *epitaphium* in any real way be construed as a lament. We are thus confronted with a central paradox of the déploration tradition: While inherently bound up in its earliest stages with the rhetoric of lament, the déploration is, *strictu sensu*, not necessarily a lament *per se*. Rather, as we encounter here, it is a commemorative tribute. Specifically, encountered in *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* is a depiction of Othmayr's reception into the heavenly choir. This rhetorical shift in dramatic perspective is characteristic of Latin déplorations mid-century. Commonalities with déplorations past may nonetheless be discerned herein. For instance, similar mythological figures as encountered in Avidius' *naenia* for Josquin and Erasmus' for Ockeghem are to be found in Othmayr's *epitaphium*: Particularly, “columnum lumenque Camoenae” (5) and “Charitum hac charus” (16). Moreover, Othmayr is compared to Amphion (15); regional pride is evident in the epithet “Germanus et Orpheus” (15). The phrase “ingenio clarus et arte potens” (6) reflects esteem for Othmayr's innate (“ingenio”) artistic ability, as does the expression “Clarus ingenio et natus Musicus” (22). Othmayr is repeatedly hailed in this *epitaphium* as “Grande decus Musis.” As the reader will recall, “decus,” meaning “ornament” or “glory,” connotes a hierarchical

[20] I would like to thank Susan Boynton for her help with this translation.

[21] *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* is not the only epitaph for the composer; others draw upon similar rhetoric. His actual epitaph designates him a “weit berümt Componist und Musicus Herr Magister Caspar Othmayr” (Theodore Böttcher, “Zweiter Nachtrag zu Caspar Othmayr,” *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 7/4 [1876]: 33-35, 34). Other noteworthy posthumous tributes include Johannes Aupich, *In funere M. Gasparis Othmari ad Albertum Hartungum (sine loco, 1553)* as well as an epitaph etched into a desk in the church of St Gumbrecht in Ansbach that adapts phrases of *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* into an acrostic. For these two poems, cf. Appendices [VII & VIII].
aesthetic schema in which individual talent is valued only insofar as it is in the service of a higher power. That higher power is, in Othmayr's case, not only worldly (11; “Praepositi,” 16; “Regibus”) but perennial. The valedictory stanza, beginning, “Est locus Elisyum veteres, nos coelica Christi” (25), encapsulates the ecumenical embrace of ancient philosophy and its synthesis with Christian doctrine typical of German *Humanismus*.

The composers of *In epitaphii* set this *epitaphium* piecemeal. Of Nicolaus Puls, composer of *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine*, the first déploration of the volume, almost nothing is known. He may be identical with Nicolaus Politius, who is mentioned in the letters of Melanchthon as a *Lateinschule* rector of Nuremberg. The emphatic leaps of a fifth and fourth that open Puls' déploration [Ex. 48] imply a strong harmonic foundation for the lost voices:

*[Ex. 48]*\(^{23}\) Puls, *E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine* (mm. 1-20)

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\(^{23}\) [Exx. 48-52] transcribed from Forster et al., *In epitaphii Gasparis Othmari*. 
Born at Windsheim in Bavaria, Conrad Praetorius was vocationally a poet and the composer of the second déploration of *In epitaphiiis*. He studied at Ansbach and later served as a *Lateinschule* rector there from 1549 to 1555, during which period Othmayr was also in residence. Praetorius' *Harmonicae decus* [Ex. 49] shows greater range than Puls' though seems to have been equally harmonically-emphatic:

[Ex. 49] Praetorius, *Harmonicae decus* (mm. 17-45)

Of Andreas Schwartz, composer of two déplorations of Othmayr, nothing biographical is known.
His first, *Grande decus Musis*, is, however, of all in the volume, both the lengthiest and suggestive of greatest interest. First, it is in the Phrygian mode, known to students of Franco-Flemish tradition as well-suited to mourning. Second, albeit in different modes, the contours of the opening motives of Schwartz's déploration of Othmayr [Ex. 50] and Hellinck's of Ockeghem [Ex. 30] are identical:

[Ex. 50] Schwartz, *Grande decus Musis* (mm. 1-24)

Though this melodic formula appears widely in Franco-Flemish music of the sixteenth century, Schwartz's *Grande decus Musis* may conceivably have been inspired in its motivic aspect by Hellinck's *Ergone conticuit*. Susato's omnibus anthologies (one of which, the reader will recall, published in 1547, prints Hellinck's déploration) were widely disseminated, and it is certainly possible that Schwartz, whose music appeared alongside that of Franco-Flemish composers in the publications of Rhau, Berg and Neuber and Gardano, could have encountered the work.

Regardless of hypothetical influence, the Phrygian character of *Grande decus Musis* draws upon
the symbolism that mode accrued through use in laments within the Franco-Flemish tradition. Vocationally a poet, Johannes Bucherus, composer of the third déploration of Othmayr’s memorial, was an associate of Humanists and Reformers at the University of Wittenberg. He may be identical with Johannes Buechmeyer, cantor of Regensburg, originally from Nuremberg. In his Grande decus Musis, “Germanus et Orpheus” at [Ex. 51; mm. 33-35] appears to have been singled out for rhetorical emphasis:

[Ex. 51] Bucherus, Grande decus Musis (mm. 17-40)

The e-flats at [Ex. 51; m. 24, m. 34, m. 37] allude to mournful harmonies. To hypothesize from its remains, occupying the other end of the textural spectrum from Bucherus’ Grande decus Musis is the second of Schwartz’s déplorations for Othmayr, Prae reliquis quos nostra ferunt. The Bassus of this déploration is notably melismatic. Set off from florid melody, however, are the words “et natus musicus,” repeated in [Ex. 52] in a sequence of three:
Forster's déploitation [Ex. 53] closes the memorial volume. Shortest of all six, it suggests a particularly harmonically-emphatic setting:

[Ex. 53] Forster, *Est locus Elysium*
To review: The six déplorations of *In epitaphiiis* are the collaborative work of a commemorative community who adapted the ecumenical déploration tradition to local use. In so doing, they were not so much rendering tribute to the composerly dimension of Othmayr's legacy but rather commemorating him as exemplary individual of a musical community.


The six déplorations of Othmayr were surely inspired by *Non secus atque olim*, the déploration of Breitengraser by Othmayr. In this way, the composers who rendered Othmayr posthumous tribute in *In epitaphiiis* were upholding the déploration tradition in its original spirit as a dynastic mode of communal commemoration.
[IV.4] The déploration as Humanist epitaphium

That Othmayr rendered Breitengraser tribute with a déploration is fitting in light of the biographical commonalities between the two. Indeed, the course of Breitengraser's musical education and his professional career mirrors that of his tributary Othmayr. Born in Nuremberg, Wilhelm Breitengraser (1495-1542) studied at Leipzig University from 1514, though did not get his degree. From 1520, Breitengraser served as rector at the Lateinschule of a Benedictine monastery in Nuremberg. In addition to these professional duties, Breitengraser's vocational talent for composition was recognized by patrons and publishers alike. The Nuremberg city council counted itself among Breitengraser's patrons, paying him for masses commissioned for town use, as well as, in 1529, for music it presented as a gift to a visiting Emperor Charles V. Such recognition is likewise evident in the circulation of Breitengraser's music in print, much of which was published by Hans Ott, whose dedications single out Josquin, Isaac and Senfl as musicians to be emulated.

Non secus atque olim was published in Berg and Neuber's Selectissimae symphoniae of 1546. This omnibus volume is comprised of seventeen Latin-texted motets by composers including Willaert, Manchicourt and Crecquillon. It was also copied as fifteenth of forty-four works in the Schalreuter manuscript (Zwickau Ms. 73). This manuscript contains eight works by Breitengraser—more works than by any other composer therein. It is likely, then, to have been intended, at least in part, as a memorial to the composer. Specifically contained in the Schalreuter


manuscript is Breitengraser's motet *Haud legem Christi sprevisti* [Ex. 54], which is representative of his style and thus useful for context in assaying the stylistic dimension of Othmayr's tribute:

**[Ex. 54]** Breitengraser, *Haud legem Christi sprevisti* (mm. 1-25)

Breitengraser's cultivation of rhetorical contrast is evident in [Ex. 54] in the alternation between contrapuntal sections, such as found in the opening measures, with its variety of proportional rhythmic relationships, and the duet between Altus and Bassus at [Ex. 54; 12-16] that follows, of comparatively sparse character. The stepwise scalar passages on display throughout are of a particular Franco-Flemish character. In general, in this motet of Breitengraser's we encounter what was by the 1540s an antiquated style—that is, more specifically, counterpoint as it developed out of late-fifteenth century Franco-Flemish idiom of composers like Agricola and would ultimately feed into the idiom of composers like Baston and Lupi.

In this respect it contrasts with the Humanist rhetoric of Othmayr's déploration of Breitengraser. The *epitaphium* set by Othmayr in his déploration of Breitengraser is by Nuremberger Thomas Venatorius (c1488-1551). Published in 1553 in a volume of commemorative poetry by Hessus, it forms one node in a commemorative network of poets who collectively commemorated Breitengraser. In it, Venatorius strives for brevity:

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Non secus atque olim studuit Delphinas Arion
mulcere et sumpta flectere monstera lyra.

5 Sic studuit tristes
Guilielmus sistere curas
duraque plausibili
ducere corda sono.
Nunc coelo illatus

liber terrena triumphat
et canit immenso
carmina digna Deo.

Not at present but in the past
Arion strove Dolphins
to soothe, and, having taken up
[his] lyre, to pacify monsters.

So wished sad
troubles to arrest Guilielmus
and to draw forth pleasing sound
from his hardy string.
Now brought into heaven

he triumphs on earth unchained
and ceaselessly sings
songs worthy of God.28

The opening line, “Non secus atque olim,” is a turn of phrase of Vergil's.29 Venatorius thereafter develops two principal ideas. First, he draws an analogy between Breitengraser's necromantic powers and a locus classicus from antiquity, that of Arion and the dolphins. Second, he presents a spiritual vision of Breitengraser's immortality. This focuses on the composer's reception into the heavenly choir. This recalls E saevo Gaspar miserarum turbine—so too lines 10-12 (“et canit immenso / carmina digna Deo”) which recall the valedictory line of Othmayr's epitaphium, “Et canit Othmarus carmina grata Deo.” These, in addition to the reference to Arion-Amphion, most clearly suggest direct modeling.

The composerly rhetoric of Othmayr's déploration of Breitengraser [Ex. 55] draws upon the that of the Franco-Flemish tradition:

[Ex. 55]30 Othmayr, Non secus atque olim (mm. 1-20)

[28] I would like to thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his help with this translation.

The low tessitura on display in Othmayr's déploration of Breitengraser is, as the reader will recall, a traditional device of mourning. Equally conventional is the opening motive of an ascending minor third. Othmayr's setting of Venatorius' elegy is primarily syllabic, reinforcing

the rhetorical clarity of the déploration. The paired imitation of the opening measures—first Tenor and Bassus, then Altus and Discantus—demonstrates the influence of Franco-Flemish tradition on Othmayr's style. In all these respects, *Non secus atque olim* is remarkably similar to Walter's *Helius e vivis*, an epitaphium for Eobanus Hessus (1484-1540) [Ex. 56]:

[Ex. 56][31] Walter, *Helius e vivis* (mm. 1-14)

Circulating in print before the déploration of Breitengraser, Walter's elegy for Hessus may well have served Othmayr as a model for emulation. Regardless of influence, however, comparison of the two is instructive with regard to the unique composerly features of the latter. Specifically, whereas Walter adheres closely and throughout to the pan-imitative idiom most characteristic of mid-century Franco-Flemish polyphony, Othmayr sets Venatorius' epitaphium sectionally, rhetorically varying the texture for different segments of poem. This is most evident at the rhetorical climax of Othmayr's déploration, which reaches its melodic apex at [Ex. 57; m. 78] in the f of the Superius:

[Ex. 57] Othmayr, *Non secus atque olim* (mm. 55-92)
This climax derives its rhetorical force from the preceding section. At [Ex. 57; mm. 64-74]
Othmayr shifts to perfect mensuration, under which sign first Tenor and Superius, then Bassus
and Altus, and, finally, all together, declaim “ducere corda sono” homorhythmically. Othmayr
subsequently switches back to imperfect mensuration, at which point the drama is heightened by
a point of imitation at [Ex. 57; mm. 74-78] that culminates in the aforementioned climax on $f$. 
This section is followed by another in homorhythm on “liber” at [Ex. 57; mm. 83-84] that restores formal balance to the work as a whole.

Such rhetoric is musically emblematic of Othmayr's composerly persona, dutifully cultivated in print, as a learned Humanist. Othmayr was recognized as such by his contemporaries. Viet Dietrich, who wrote the preface to Othmayr's *Cantilenae* of 1546, called him therein an “eruditus Musicus.”32 For Othmayr, this image was a crucial aspect of his professional aspirations. To better appreciate the Humanist dimension of Othmayr's déploration for Breitengraser, then, let us consider another type of musical tribute for which the former was especially known: The *symbolum*. Indeed, German *Humanismus* finds its most emblematic musical expression in Othmayr's *Symbola illustrissimorum virorum*, published by Berg and Neuber in 1547. Suggestively, the title page of Othmayr's *Symbola* declares them “musicis numeris explicata.” They are settings of personalized mottos devised by the composer. Each aims to encapsulate the ideals of the individual musically so emblematized. The volume contains thirty-four works, including *symbola* for the “Septemviri Norici” or seven members of the Nuremberg city council, Luther, Melanchthon, Berg and Joachim Heller. Regardless of individual emblematized, each *symbolum* revolves around a so-called *cantus gravitatis* or “song of seriousness”—that is, a *de facto* cantus firmus. Not derived melodically from a cantus prius factus but rather devised anew by the composer, most are eight measures long and repeated multiple times musically verbatim throughout the composition.33 Further insight into the

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[33] This type of emblematic *de facto* cantus firmus was emulated by Rore in his déploration for Willaert, to be treated in the next chapter, as well as by Lasso in several of his occasional motets; cf. Edward Lowinsky, “Matthaeus Greiter's 'Fortuna': An Experiment in Chromaticism and in Musical Iconography,” *MQ* 42:4 (1956): 500-519, esp. 511.
Humanist persona cultivated by Othmayr may be found in the preface to his *Symbola*, written by the composer himself. In this preface, Othmayr blends quadrivial rhetoric with Humanist attitudes toward the relationship between music and poetry:

Non enim aures tantum demulcet haec ars illo suavissimo ac divino vocum concentu, sed pectoris quoque fibras tanquam chordas tangit, ac motus excitat in mentibus, Symphoniae ac sententia illis coniunctis, consentaneos. Haec est viva illa Musices energia, qua si qui non afficiuntur, eos saxis ac stipitibus (cantu Orpheí, ut perhibent antiquae fabulae, quondam commotis) duriores ac stupidiores gerere animos haud iniuria dixerim, Imo prorsus eos destitui sensibus ac animis facile crediderim, cum omnium Philosophorum consensu, mirabilis quaedam sit animae cum numeris & harmonia cognatio. Porro ut Apophthegmata, sive praeclare dicta excellentium virorum nostri seculi potissimum Musicis concentibus adumbranda susciperem, duplici ratione adductus sum, vel quod ea ipsa scit dignissima videbantur, quae de pietate, honestate, aut Republica a prudentibus viris non minus breviter, quam sapienter dicta sunt, vel quod arbitrabar haec numerorum ac symphoniarum quasi alis addita, altius posse illabi, & penetrare in animo.\(^{34}\)

In fact, this art charms not only ears with that sweetest and divine concord of voices, but touches also the fibers and strings of the heart, and arouses emotion in minds, these *Symphonia* and *sententia* conjoined in harmony. This is that lively energy of *Musica*; be there anyone who is not moved by it, by no means with offense I would have to tell those more inflexible and stupider minds with rocks and sticks (once stirred, as ancient fables hold, by the song of Orpheus). Indeed, I would in short readily believe them destitute of spirit and senses, in light of the consensus of all Philosophers [concerning] how marvelous that affinity of the soul with numbers and harmony is. Thus in selecting *Apophthegmata* or sayings of excellent and most powerful men of our age to be sketched with musical concord, I was guided by a dual rational: Both those sayings that, no less briefly than wisely, seemed by the knowledge itself most worthy, those are, concerning piety, honesty and the Republic, and those which I judged might be helped by *numeri* and *symphonia* as by wings, the more profoundly to flow and penetrate the soul.

Othmayr uses two related terms to describe the musical dimension of his *symbola* in this preface—specifically “numeri” and “symphoniae.” The first refers to the “numbers” or ratios underpinning musical and cosmic harmony; the second to the rhetorical aspect of composition. The relationship between them is, in Othmayr's view, symbiotic. Othmayr's Humanist *epitaphium* is thus reflective of his composerly persona. In Othmayr's déploration we encounter the prioritization of an idiom then-current in Franco-Flemish “secular” music but having little to do with the composerly tradition characteristic of the déploration in its original practice.

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\(^{34}\) From Caspar Othmayr, *Symbola illustriorum virorum* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1547).
Nonetheless, by adapting the déploration to local use, Othmayr rendered tribute to his professional colleague in the civic sphere of Reformation-era Nuremberg as well as homage to an ecumenical musical community.

[9 & 10] Déploration of Arthropius and Sporer by Micyllus & Heugel

As demonstrated by the déplorations of Chapter III and those by and of Othmayr, the composerly techniques central to the Franco-Flemish déploration tradition were not adapted everywhere by all of its tributaries. In Germany, this fact is consonant with the fact that, by the 1540s, more recondite types of contrapuntal elaboration (canon, retrograde, inversion, etc.) were by and large forgone by doctrinaire Lutheran composers mindful of moral injunctions to textual intelligibility. That such was not the case for all German composers, however, may be observed in the déplorations by Heugel, which are decidedly traditionalist.

[IV.5] Ars combinatoria as composerly homage: Parce hospes + Fortuna desperata

The traditionalism of the two déploration by Heugel is, like the Humanism on display in Othmayr's déploration of Breitengraser, a consequence of the socio-cultural circumstances in which the composer lived and worked. Specifically, whereas Othmayr spent his life trying to advance his professional career in the civic sphere, Heugel, by contrast, lived his life securely within a traditional system of patronage. Born at Deggendorf, Johannes Heugel (1500/10-1585)
matriculated in 1515 at the University of Leipzig, where he most certainly knew Breitengraser.35 By 1535 Heugel was in service to Landgrave Philipp von Hessen dit “der Großmütige.” By 1547 he had been promoted to Kapellmeister. For the following four decades, at Philipp's court Heugel directed the choir and served as organist, trumpeter, music copyist and composer-in-residence.

In this professional capacity Heugel finds a kindred spirit in Arthropius, one of two composers whom he honored with a déploration. Balthasar Arthropius (c1480-1535), born at Besigheim, matriculated at Heidelberg University in 1498.36 He was appointed organist at the cathedral of Weissenburg in Alsace in 1527. Three years later Arthropius was installed as organist at the Speyer Cathedral, in which capacity he served the rest of his life. Arthropius' composerly legacy is slim. The totality of his extant music is four Tenorlieder and five Latin motets. His Tenorlieder are, typically, rhetorically-clear, traditionally placing the main melody in the tenor and deriving motivic material for the other parts therefrom. A Netherlandish style is evident in his Latin-texted music, however; for instance, Beatus qui intelliget [Ex. 58]:

[Ex. 58]37 Arthropius, Beatus qui intelliget (mm. 1-30)


Arthopius' counterpoint is in [Ex. 58] placid on account of its relative lack of proportional rhythmic variety. The repeated pitches observable in the melodic idiom of all voices in the texture also lend it a sense of placidity. On Arthopius' death, fellow University of Heidelberg alumnus and professor Jacob Micyllus wrote an epitaph for him, *Parce hospes*, which was set to
music by Heugel. Micyllus was a literary associate of Hessus and Melanchthon. The poet was also a familiar of Albert Hartung, to whom the poet Aurupach dedicated a lengthy déploration-style epicedion on Othmayr's death. Micyllus' epitaphium for Arthopius hews to the conventions of the genre:

Parce hospes tumulto sacer est locus iste Camoenis
Et circum tacita plangit Appollo lyra.
Artocopi tegit hoc Balthassaris ossa sepulchrum
Artis qui melice totius instar erat.

Quo neque ventosis melior cantare cicitis,
Nec dare multiplici voce canenda fuit.
Et poterat dulci modulamente flectere divos.
Invidiante tantis misera fata bonis.

Visitor, spare this grave, place sacred to the Camenae,
And around which, lyre silent, Apollo mourns.
This sepulcher covers bones of Balthasar Arthopius
Who was the image of total art in melodiousness,
Than he none sang better with winded hemlock flutes,
Nor gave multiple voices to be sung.
He could also soften the gods with sweet modulations.
The miserable fates begrudge such goods.

Here the poetry, as it does in Avidius' lament for Josquin, assumes the conventions of the epitaph. The Camenae (1) also appear in Othmayr's epitaphium. “Flectere divos” (7) recalls Venatorius' line in Non secus atque olim, “flectere monstra lyra” (4). In his poetic idea that Apollo goes silent at the death of Arthopius, Micyllus' epitaphium testifies to the rhetorical transition in déploration poetry from a call to mourn the departed in song to the observation of silence out of deference to the solemnity of the occasion.

Despite the relative simplicity of Arthopius' composerly legacy, a distinctly composerly dimension may be observed Heugel's déploration thereof. To begin: Heugel uses the Italian tune Fortuna desperata [Ex. 59] as a symbolic cantus firmus in his déploration of Arthopius:

[38] Parce hospes was not the only such work written by Micyllus; on the death of Prince Frederick II, Micyllus lamented him with Huc lacrymas Nymphae lacrymas huc fundite Musae, the style and substance of which recall conventions of the déploration tradition. On this poem, cf. Joannes Hautz, Jacobus Micyllus Argentoratensis, Philologus et Poeta, Heidelbergae et Rupertinae Universitatis olim Decus: Commentatio Historico-Literaria (Heidelberg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1842), 35. For Micyllus' biography in general, cf. ibidem and Johannes Classen, Nachträge zu der Biographie des Jacob Micyllus (Frankfurt-am-Main: H.L. Brönner, 1861).
[Ex. 59]\textsuperscript{39} Anonymous, *Fortuna desperata* (Tenor, mm. 1-17)

In its use of a non-*Requiem*-derived cantus prius factus, Heugel's déploration of Arthopius has five counterparts in the déploration tradition—in addition to his déploration of Sporer (to be considered shortly), those are, specifically, Ockeghem's of Binchois, Gombert's of Josquin, Rore's of Willaert (to be treated in Chapter V) and Dietrich's of Sporer, which, as we shall see, in all likelihood inspired Heugel to compose both his déplorations. Like Gombert and Josquin before him, Heugel transposes the Lydian tune to Phrygian in his déploration [Ex. 60]:

[Ex. 60]\textsuperscript{40} Heugel, *Parce hospes* + *Fortuna desperata* (mm. 1-39)

\begin{center}
\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ex59}
\end{figure}
\end{center}


\textsuperscript{40} Transcribed from Kassel Landesbibliothek 4\textdegree{} Ms. Mus. 118 (Nr. 47). Originally for five voices, the Superius part-books of the Kassel manuscripts that preserve Heugel's déplorations is missing.
The opening of Heugel’s déploration of Arthopius is marked by dramatic homorhythm that gradually fragments into free counterpoint. At [Ex. 60; mm. 12-15] a simple ascending scalar
motive is taken up in imitation by each of the surviving voices. Homorhythmly is subsequently used to dramatic effect at [Ex. 60; mm. 18-21] as the voices sing “Et circum tacita” in consort. The entry of the Fortuna desperata cantus prius factus immediately thereafter at [Ex. 60; m. 24] coincides with the point in the occasional lament that declares Apollo to remain silent in deference to Arthropius.

The composerly features of Heugel's déploration of Arthropius raise the question of the precise nature of the tribute here rendered. Evidently, Heugel's déploration of Arthropius has little to do with the deplored's individual composerly legacy. Rather, in pledging homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition by virtue of employing one of its characteristic textures, the ars combinatoria, Parce hospes + Fortuna desperata renders Arthropius tribute. This dynamic is likewise observable in Heugel's déploration of Sporer.

[IV.6] Canon as composerly homage (Part II): Tu ne cadis + Pie Iesu

For perspective on Heugel's déplorations, consider the totality of his musical output. Of the 730 works copied into manuscript at Kassel by Heugel, some 500 are by the composer himself. Of these, German-texted compositions are extremely rare, as are long-form masses. In other words, almost all of Heugel's extant works are Latin-texted motets. Such uniformity does not, however, correlate to monotony. Heugel's music is composed in a range of styles—stylistic heterogeneity attributable to his autodidact musical education as well as a Humanist interest in the cultivation of rhetorical variety. Nonetheless, over the course of his career, Heugel's composerly idiom

demonstrates a clear development. His early compositions are highly contrapuntal, whereas his later music is homorhythmic, consequent of a greater concern for textual intelligibility.

Moreover, Heugel's early works contain many occasional motets commissioned by his patron Landgrave Philipp. For instance, Heugel composed two epitaphia for the Reformation theologian Huldrych Zwingli (d. 1531). Both set poems by Micyllus. These epitaphia for Zwingli, from 1534, are among Heugel's earliest datable works and contemporaneous to his déplorations of Arthopius and Sporer.

The poem set by Heugel in his déploration of Sporer runs as follows:

Tu ne cadis Thoma medio Sporere sub aevo, Do not die in middle age, Thomas Sporer,
Dignus eras Pylios qui numerare dies. You were worthy of Pylios, who numbers the days.
Hoc quia dexteritas horis accomoda cunctis, Dexterity arranges this accommodating all time;
Debet ut et candor promeruisse tuus He must, to have merited your candor,
5 In primis tamen ars uni cui contingit Even in the first art that extends to one alone
Inter omnes a Musis nomen habere piis. To have fame among all sacred Muses.

Qua tu tantus eras si possent fata moveri In which capacity you were so great as to move fates;
Mota quidem, solabas, ne movere fovent. Moved indeed, as was your habit, nor incited to move.
Namque ferunt te Stxygmonium Now the Stygians carry you
velut Orpheus quondam, as Orpheus formerly;
10 Omnia concenctu detinuisse tuo. All was restrained by your harmony.
Ablicet Ambrosio modulamine flexeris ipse. This much you persuade by Ambrosian modulation;
Quicquid terra, polus, punctus et aura tenent. Whatever holds the earth, pole, sea and wind.

Una tamen non flexa Stygis At the same place remains yet unmoved Stygian
Mors incola quin ius fuit usa suum. Resident Death, as law was its custom.

Sed quorum haec fragiles But whither these fragile
ut saeva peremerit artus limbs, to have destroyed beasts;
Ast animam et famam non abolere quita est Yet soul and fame are not quieted to be destroyed
Hac veberis totum non interituere per orbem By you, not to go into the whole world,
Illa coelesti iungis in arce manes You are to join and remain in that high celestial place

Iam quisquis numeri genialia sacra canori For with sacred generations of harmonious numbers
20 Et colis ista levi firmula plectra manu And with light hand you cultivate those strong strings,

Sporeri monumenta tui plane aurea cantus
Quos clario tactus numine foecit ama
His animum fac de liris pascaris optimis
Phoebus et Aonides nil melioris habent

Monuments to Sporer, wholly golden with your song,
Love what he moved more famously than divinity;
Make so you have nourished with these fertile plows
Such that Phoebus and Aonides have nothing better.

This lament, an epitaphium in spirit, is augmented by Humanist erudition. It addresses Sporer directly, praising his virtues as a musician, his composerly prowess and his fame, undiminished by death.

Heugel's setting of this poem, originally for nine voices, is in four partes—those are, specifically, I: Tu ne cadis; II: Qua tu tantus; III: Una tamen non flexa; and IV: Iam quisquis numeri genialia. Throughout, Heugel uses the Sequence Pie Jesu as a cantus firmus—the same melody paraphrased at the end of Ockeghem's déploration of Binchois. The prima pars of Heugel's déploration opens [Ex. 61] in perfect mensuration:

[Ex. 61]\textsuperscript{44} Heugel, Tu ne cadis + Pie Jesu – I (mm. 1-34)

\textsuperscript{44} Transcribed from Kassel Landesbibliothek, 4° Ms. Mus. 118 (Nr. 17).
Hoc qui-a dexteritas horis accommoda
da omnis Debuít et candor promeru-
em quiem

Hoc qui-a dexteritas horis accommoda
The first movement is the only one of the four movements of Heugel's déploration of Sporer that is in perfect mensuration. It opens imitatively with a motive characterized by a narrow tessital range and the affective movement of a semitone. This motive is taken up in paired imitation, first by Vagans and Bassus, then Altus and (presumably) the lost Superius. At [Ex. 61; m. 3] the tritone between Vagans and Bassus is a particularly harsh dissonance befitting the subject-matter. The cantus prius factus, entering at [Ex. 61; m. 15], moves steadily through the middle of the texture as the other voices move in free counterpoint around it. Overall, the texture in this first movement of Heugel's déploration of Sporer is evenly-balanced. The melodic idiom of the individual voices, with the frequent repetition of pitch to be found in each throughout, is far removed from the part-writing characteristic of Franco-Flemish music contemporary to Heugel's two déplorations. The minima movement in the Vagans at [Ex. 61; 29-30] in particular, with its repeated $a-b-a-b$ figure, is in contrast thereto. Contributing chiefly to the composerly dimension
of Heugel's déploration of Sporer: Its *quarta pars* presents the cantus firmus in canon among three parts. Accordingly, the *quarta* [Ex. 62] is more dramatic than the *prima pars*:

[Ex. 62] Heugel, *Tu ne cadis + Pie Jesu* – IV (mm. 1-52)
Et colisista le-
Et colisista
Et colisista
Et colisista
Et colisista
Et colisista le-
is-ta le-vi
firmula plectra manus
levi

vi

vi
Spa-ri re-ri mo-nu
Spo-ri re-ri mo-nu-men-ta
Pi-e Je-su
Pi-e Je-
Pi-
nu Spa-ri mo-nu-men-ta
nu Spa-ri
Can-tus Quos cla-ri-o tac-tus Quos cla-ri-o
do-na
dono
ne
Quos cla-ri-o tac-tus Quos cla-ri-o
fac de li-ris
fac de li-ris pars

His a-ni-mum fac de li-ris
The motives taken up in imitation in this fourth movement of Heugel's déploration of Sporer are characteristically short—for instance, at [Ex. 62; mm. 17-19] between the bottom three voices. The bustling texture that follows is filled with minima and sets up the dramatic entry of the cantus firmus. Once the cantus firmus enters in canon at [Ex. 62; m. 20] the surrounding voices space out texturally, setting up the dramatic homorhythmic declamation of “monumenta” between Vagans and Primus bassus at [Ex. 62; m. 23].
By employing the composerly technique of canon, Heugel, as he does by means of the *ars combinatoria* texture of his déploration of Arthropius, renders Sporer composerly tribute by means of pledging homage to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition.\(^{45}\) Such composerly techniques were for Heugel, a self-stylized *Bauschreiber* who signed his compositions with the lingo of architecture (*e.g.* “aedificat” and “A Johanne Heugelio aedificatore”), more than just a manner of tribute.\(^{46}\) Indeed, when considered together as early works, these déplorations suggest that such traditionalism was for Heugel not only a manner of rendering posthumous tribute but of completing a composerly rite of passage.


Chronologically the eighth extant déploration, *Epicedion Thomae Sporeri* was published by Schoeffer and Apiarius at Strasbourg in 1534. Its singular contents are the déploration of Sporer.

[IV.8] *Epicedion Thomae Sporeri* as collaborative memorial

Of Thomas Sporer (c1490-1534) little is known.\(^{47}\) He studied at the University of Freiburg from 1506. Sometime in the late 1520s Sporer moved to Strasbourg, where he made acquaintance with


\^[46]\ Nagel, “Hofkomponist,” 357.

his eventual commemorators. His surviving musical output, though slim, displays the influence of the French chanson, uniquely so among German composers of the time. Sixt Dietrich (c1494-1548) was a choirboy at Konstanz from 1504 to 1508. He was later granted a prebend and ordained priest at its cathedral in 1522. Dietrich's education began at the University of Freiburg in 1508. Here he studied poetry and rhetoric with Humanist Hieronymus Baldung and music with Sporer. At Freiburg music and poetry were taught together under the traditional rubrics of the trivium, though quadrivial lectures were also given in musica speculativa. Not uniquely, Dietrich saw a direct connection between his speculative Pythagorean studies and the practical craft composition. Suggestive of a collaborative relationship, Dietrich's Magnificat octo tonorum of 1535 was published by Schoeffer and Apiarius; Rhau printed at Wittenberg the Novum ac insigne opus musicum in 1541. His German-texted music is chordal, though many of his hymns employ cantus firmus technique and display the influence of the Franco-Flemish style.

[48] Excerpts of Sporer's music appears published in theoretical treatises such as those of Zanger. Johann Zanger (1517-1587) studied music under Hermann Finck and Arnold von Bruck at Ferdinand I's imperial Hofkapelle and, later, the University of Erfurt. His treatise of 1554, Practicae musicae praecptas, contains examples drawn from the repertory of Franco-Flemish masters, including such examples as Oekeghem's Missa prolacionum, Josquin's Missa Fortuna desperata and a four-voice canon by Pierre de La Rue; cf. Johann Zanger, Practica musicae praecptas (Leipzig: Hantsch, 1554) and, thereon, Hans Moser, “Johannes Zanger's Praecptas,” MD 5 (1951): 195-201.


Epicedion Thomae Sporeri is Dietrich's first published work; it is also Schoeffer and
Apiarius' first collaboration. Like Berg and Neuber in Nuremberg, in Strasbourg Schoeffer and
Apiarius played a significant role in the dissemination of the Franco-Flemish repertory. Peter
Schoeffer (1475/80-1547) was born at Mainz.52 His father was a printer whose publications of
the 1510s include mainly Tenorlieder. From Mainz Schoeffer moved to Strasbourg where he
began printing in 1529. Epicedion Thomae Sporeri features two portraits by Hans Baldung
(1476-1545), who was a student of Dürer's. Alongside Baldung's self-portrait appears that of
Johann Rudolphinger (d. 1550), Strasbourg humanist who financed the printing of Sporers
Epicedion.53 Vicar of the Strasbourg cathedral, Rudolphinger belonged to the sodalitas litteraria
Argentinensis, the first Humanist academy of Strasbourg. In this respect, he was following in the
footsteps of Ur-Humanist Conrad Celtis, who founded the Sodalitas litteraria Rhenana at
Heidelberg in 1495.54 He commissioned poet and scholar Sapidus to write the epistola
dedicatoria to the Epicedion. Johannes Sapidus (1490-1561) was from 1510 teacher of Greek at
the University of Schlettstadt, and, from 1538, professor of ancient languages at the University
of Strasbourg. In his preface, Sapidus speaks of a certain inner affinity of word and tone:

and Christoph Reske, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der
Schoeffer's collaboration with Apiarius lasted from from 1534 to 1537; for Apiarius' biography, cf. Jürg Stenzl,

[53] The print was made with metal, an expensive manner that required underwriting; cf. Raimund Redeker,
Lateinische Widmungsvorreden zu Meß- und Motettendrucken der ersten Hälfte des 16 Jahrhunderts (Eisenach:
Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1995), 140-141.

[54] On Celtis, his sodalitas, and its patronage of Latin odes in emulation of Horace that were inspirational to Senfl,
Nusquam enim Harmonia sententiam verborum negligit, nusquam rerum affectus in sonos non eliciuntur, imo singuli modulationis apices ad singulas carminis syllabas quam aptissime quadrant et concinnunt ita ut versus prorsus in naturam cantionis abierint, & rursum idem plane sit cantio quod versus, atque iam sic coaelescant partes in toto, quasi corpus & anima, quorum alterum absque corruptione totius abstrahere non possis.

Nowhere in fact does Harmony neglect the meaning of the words, nowhere are the emotions of things not elicited in sounds; on the contrary, the apices of each modulation square most suitably and symmetrically to the single syllables of the song, such that the verse transforms into the essence of the song, and the same in return plainly the song the verse, and now all parts coalesce into a totality as if body and soul, the former of which, corruption notwithstanding, you will not be able separate from the whole.55

Music and poetry, as in the original Franco-Flemish déploration tradition, are here conceived of by Sapidus as of the same essence. The cumulative effect he describes is an artistic totality in which parts combine to form a whole greater than their sum.

[IV.8] The déploration as Humanist apotheosis

Epicedion Thomae Sporeri is, like Le Septiesme livre and Il primo libro, the two other memorial volumes treated in this study, the collaborative work of poets, composers and publishers.

Poetically, this Epicedion for Sporer is actually an apotheosis. The apotheosis is a unique poetic form in the déploration tradition. Its structuring idea, however, is entirely traditional:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APOTHEOSIS SEU CHORUS MUSARUM</th>
<th>APOTHEOSIS OR CHORUS OF MUSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomae Sporero Musicorum Principi Sacer.</td>
<td>For Thomas Sporer, Sacred Prince of the Musici.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloquio Dietterichi, Sporeri, Clius &amp; Chori</td>
<td>Colloquy between Dietrich, Sporer, Clio and Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOANNE SAPIDO autore</td>
<td>Johannes Sapidus author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIET Quis hic Chorus? forsan puellae sunt? ita est.</td>
<td>DIET What is this chorus? Perhaps boys? So it is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adibo, colloquar, sed o Deum fidem,</td>
<td>I will approach and converse, and yet, o faithful Lord,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qual plena sunt divinitatis omnia,</td>
<td>How full everything is with divinity;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quin fugio, ne Deas videndo, accersero</td>
<td>Why not flee, lest looking at goddesses, I invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mihi malum, ceu qui Dianam viderat.</td>
<td>Misfortune on myself, just as he who saw Diana.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it is in every déploration, an ecumenical musical community is here called upon to commemorate the departed composer. Sapidus presents a dramatic dialogue between Dietrich, Sporer, the Muse Clio and Chorus of mourners. Dietrich is approached by Clio and the Chorus—

he turns to run, but Sporer has Clio stop him. Initially mistaking him for Apollo, Dietrich is told
that Sporer has been immortalized by the Muses, who have claimed him as their “decus” and
installed him in the throne of Apollo (whose plate is full). This *apotheosis* closes with Sporer
charging Dietrich with the task of relating that which he has witnessed to Rudolphinger,
commissioner of the volume (cf. Deschamps' double-ballade for Machaut: “Priés por li si que
nulls ne l'oublie, / Ce vous requiert le bayli de Valois”). To tell from the form of Sapidus'
*apotheosis* for Sporer, the poet was plausibly here emulating Erasmus' *epitaphium* for
Ockeghem, in addition to *Musica quid defles*? (the déploration of Agricola to be treated first in
the next chapter).\(^{57}\)

While the stylistic façade of *Epicedion Thomae Sporeri* is an emulation of “ancient”
drama, its music resonates strongly with Franco-Flemish tradition. Of the original five voices of
Dietrich's déploration, only Tenor, Tenor secundus and Altus survive. Certain details are
nonetheless gleanable from the remains. Dietrich's déploration for Sporer is in three *partes*: The
*prima pars* revolves around *d* and the final *g*; the *secunda pars* around *d* and the final *a*; the
*tertia pars* *g* and the final *d*, giving the work, as a whole, a Hypodorian modal character. Sporer
notations a different mensuration for the Tenor (perfect) than the other two voices (imperfect).
While not systematically subjected to an isoperiodic process, each section of the Tenor, moving
within the ambitus of a minor sixth, is progressively shorter than the last, exhibiting a
proportional relationship of 12:6:3.\(^{58}\) The periods of rest found throughout *Epicedion Thomae

\[^{57}\] Sapidus elsewhere emulated Erasmus, and wrote an *apotheosis* in homage thereto; cf. Martin Herrick, “The
Erasmus returned the favor, publishing a quatrains dedicated to Sapidus in his *Epigrammata*; cf. Erasmus,
*Epigrammata*, 290.

\[^{58}\] Hermann Zenc (Sixtus Dietrich: *Ein Beitrag zur Musik und Musikanschauung im Zeitalter der Reformation*
[Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hörtel, 1928], 29) notes that the melody of this cantus firmus derives from the liturgy of
Lauds on Sunday.
Sporeri’s remains suggest lengthy passages during which the lost parts, Bassus and Superius, engaged in duet. Positively, they imply that the *dramatis personae* of Sapidus' *apotheosis* were set in phrasally-distinct ways. This is evident in [Ex. 63]:

[Ex. 63]59 Dietrich, *Quis hic chorus* + *Plangent eum – I* (mm. 60-100)

Alternately staggered and homorhythmic, the declamation of the Altus and Secundus tenor are throughout [Ex. 63] closely coordinated by Dietrich in a manner suggestive of how dramatic the full-textured musical setting must have been. Once the Tenor enters, these two voices become more active; for instance, the minima in the Secundus tenor at [Ex. 63; mm. 72-74]. Other noteworthy details: Simple imitation between the two at [Ex. 63; mm. 65-68] occurs at the
question of whether it is Apollo who is seen among the chorus of mourners. Most remarkable from a composerly perspective is the fact that Dietrich's déploration employs a *cantus gravitatis* in the manner of Othmayr's *symbola*. The text to which its melody is set, “Plangent eum universi musici,” proclaims that all musicians mourn Sporer. It thus calls upon a transcendental community of musicians to commemorate the composer in a manner most exemplary of all works in the déploration tradition.

That composerly techniques of the Franco-Flemish tradition are used prominently in both Heugel's déplorations of Sporer and Arthropius as well as Dietrich's of Sporer despite the scant musical legacy of the two composers deposed is especially revelatory for the historian of the déploration tradition. Specifically, it means that, in its capacity as a commemoration of a composerly legacy, the déploration does not, somewhat counterintuitively, necessarily commemorate the deposed composer's individual legacy. Rather, as do Heugel and Dietrich most explicitly, it draws upon the rhetoric of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition, increasingly conceived of as an ecumenical musical heritage, in order to render the deposed individual tribute. In this way do these three German works of the déploration tradition make explicit that dimension implicit in the déploration's Franco-Flemish practice, hitherto obscured by the illustriousness of the individual composers involved in its earliest stages. Otherwise put: Of most fundamental importance to the déploration tradition is homage pledged to an ecumenical musical community, not tribute rendered to an exemplary individual.

**[IV.9] A commemorative tradition reformed**

To return to the opening question of this chapter: Of what nature is the relationship between the
German tributary of the déploration tradition to its Franco-Flemish mainstream? As we have demonstrated, these German participants in the déploration tradition constitute crucial members of its commemorative community. Just as musical volumes published by German printers preserve an integrated canon of local and Franco-Flemish masters, so too did these printers canonize German composers by printing and commissioning déplorations by and of them. Moreover, the rhetoric of German poets and musicians makes explicit those elements of the Franco-Flemish tradition hitherto only implicit. For instance, “deacus” appears in the epitaphium of Othmayr as designating the composer as ornament or glory of the Muses in precisely the same sense as it does in déploration poetry honoring Franco-Flemish composers. Furthermore, the six déplorations of In epitaphiis, along with Othmayr's déploration of Breitengraser, demonstrate the influence of professional concerns unique to German civic culture as well as Humanismus on the déploration tradition. Also here noteworthy: In Germany, déplorations, more often than in the Franco-Flemish tradition detailed in Chapters I and II, constituted composers' debut works and publications. The déplorations by Heugel and Dietrich of Sporer in particular testify to this function of the déploration as rite of composerly passage. On the one hand, this testifies to the fundamental importance of the déploration's function as an homage to an ecumenical tradition. As articulated in these German déplorations, that homage is pledged to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition as well as a perennial community of musicians—“universi musici”—called upon in Dietrich's déploration of Sporer to commemorate the composer for Musica.
CHAPTER V:
PERIPATETIC TRIBUTARIES OF A MUSICAL DYNASTY

[V.1] Imperial tributaries

The déplorations that form the subject of this last chapter have, like those of the preceding two, attracted scant attention from historians. This oversight is no doubt largely on account of the relative anonymity of most individuals here involved. Collectively, this anonymity strikes a dissonant counterpoint to their aristocratic pedigree. Like those of Chapters I and II, the déplorations of this chapter are the collaborative products of musicians and poets who served aristocratic courts. Whereas Chapter II traced those French and Netherlandish tributaries of a tradition the origins of which were chronicled in Chapter I, this chapter (with one exception) chronicles the déploration tradition as upheld by Habsburg tributaries. More fundamentally uniting them, however, is that the five déplorations treated herein collectively emblematize a dynasty of peripatetic musicians that dominated European musical life for two centuries.

Preliminary context for the déplorations of this chapter may be found in music and poetry commemorating members of the Habsburg-imperial family. Especially of interest in this regard is the lament as cultivated at the court of Marguerite of Austria (1480-1530), granddaughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1477) and Habsburg regent of Netherlands under Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (then Archduke) from 1507. The manuscript Brussels 228, as aforementioned, particularly foregrounds elegiac music as a commemorative practice at Marguerite's court. Indicative of symbolic association of formal anachronism with a commemorative spirit—a phenomenon widely observable in the déploration tradition—there is a
distinctly-retrospective character to much of the poetry set to music in Brussels 228, consisting as it does mostly of the (by-then archaic) *formes fixes*. In addition to a number of generic “motet-chanson” laments, Brussels 228 contains three for members of the household: Josquin's *Proch dolor + Requiem* for Maximilian I (d. 1519), the anonymous (though perhaps by Marguerite) *Se je souspire + Ecce iterum* for Philip the Fair (d. 1506), and *Cueurs desolez + Plorans ploravit* for Louis de Luxembourg (d. 1503).¹ At the Habsburg-imperial as at the French-royal court, then, the occasional lament served as a vehicle for communal mourning as well as a way of commemorating dynastic lineage.²

Worthy of particular consideration in this context on account of its relevance to the déploration tradition is Lemaire's *Plainte du Désiré* for Louis de Luxembourg. Vocational successor in spirit if not literal professional office to Molinet, Jean Lemaire (1473-c1525) served as *secrétaire*- and poet-in-residence to Habsburg aristocrats, including, in addition to Marguerite, Archduke Charles at Mechelen from 1504 to 1512. Originally dedicated to Queen Anne of France and subsequently upon its publication to Marguerite, Lemaire's *Plainte* references, both formally and in its content, earlier works of the déploration tradition. As does Crétin's of Ockeghem, Lemaire's déploration of Louis opens with a dramatic *mise-en-scène*. Strolling along on a winter's day, the poet, attracted to a crowd, happens upon the deceased, the Comte de Ligny. Among those assembled thereabout he finds Nature, Painting and Rhetoric. Painting steps

¹ Another lament on the death of Philip in Brussels 228, uses Lamentations 1:12, *O vos omnes*, as cantus firmus. La Rue also composed a lament for Philip, *Delicta juventutis*; on these, cf. Picker, “Musical laments,” 2691.

forward to mourn the Count. Instead, a discourse on the art of painting follows, during which Painting enumerates both the specific techniques of her art as well as its most eminent practitioners. This discourse ends with Painting admitting futility in the face of the forces of Nature. Nature remains stoic. At first feigning powerlessness, Rhetoric steps forward and proceeds to reflect on how properly to compose a *complainte*. In Stanzas XI-XIV, Rhetoric calls Music into service for this task:

**XI**

Autre moyen je n'ay, dont puisse atайдdre  
A ce grief dueil gemir, plourer et plaindre,  
Se vous trestous la main ne m'y prestez,  
Et pour garder de confuse y remaindre  

145  
Et l'ardeur grant de mon desir estaindre.  
Musiciens, vous ne vous devez faindre  
Que pour le feu bien voulu ne chantez!  
Et s'on disoit que le chant ne duit mye  
A deplorer la mort tant ennemie  

150  
De cil qui fut si tresplain de bonte,  
Si fait aumoins la musique endormie,  
Ainsi qu'on dit les threnes Jeremie:  
Car advis est qu'on pleure et qu'on larmie  
En recordant telz chantz peu floureze.

**XII**

155  
Ung grave accent, musicque larmoiable,  
Est bien seant a ce dueil piteable  
Pour parfourmir noz lamentations.  
A toy, Josquin, en priere amiable  
Le defunct mande estre tant serviable  

160  
Qu'on puist chanter sa complaincte louable  
Sur tes motetz et compositions.  
Fais doncq ung chant ainsi que de tenebres,  
Sans mignotise et sans point d'illecebrez,  
Remply de dueil en ses proporitions:

165  
Comme on faisait [d]es grains pompes funebres  
Jadis a Romme, ou aux festes celebres  
D'Isis, querant par troux et par latebres  
Son mary mort, aumoins par fictions.

**XIII**

Bien finery pour ung tel chant produire  
I would do well to produce such a song
170  D'Agricola, dont musique fait luire  From Agricola, whose music makes glisten [and]  
    Le nom pluscler cent foys que fin argent.  His name shine a hundred times as much as fine silver.  
    J'auray aussi, pour le mieulx faire bruire,  I would also have, for best to make noise,  
    Hilaire, Evrart, qui bien s'vouldront dure:  Hilaire, Evrart, who would like to devote themselves,  
    Conrad, Pregent, n'auroir vouloir de fuire,  Conrad, Pregent, who would not want to flee,  

175  Ny autre maint qui chante part art gent.  Nor many others who sing with gentle art.  
    Tous bons espritz, toutes gens de science,  All good spirits, all men of science,  
    Doivent icy monstrer l'expérience  Must here display the experience  
    De leur scavor, par exploit diligent:  Of their knowledge, by diligent action:  
    Car tant aqquis de leur benvolence  For so much gained of their benevolence  

180  Le bon seigneur, qui fut sans insolence,  The good master, who was without insolence,  
    Et tant prisa leur haute prevalence,  And took so much from their lofty prevalence  
    Que souvien leur en doit a present.  That he must be remembered to them at present.

Quel autre plus en toute art vertueuse  What furthermore in every virtuous art  
    Se delicta, sans forme impetuuse,  Pleased him, without impetuous form,  

185  Suivant le train des bons nobles anciens?  Following in the footsteps of good ancient nobles?  
    Qui ayma plus paincture sumptueuse,  Who loved more sumptuous painting,  
    L'art de bien dire, histoire fructueuse,  The art of speaking well, fruitful history,  
    Musique aussi, doulce et voluptueuse,  Music also, sweet and voluptuous,  
    Ou qui mist plus son estude en tous biens?  Or who put his study more to these goods?  

190  Certes tous cureurs a qui Dieu donne grace,  Certainly all hearts to whom God gives grace,  
    Qui tirent fruct de bonne et droite rasse,  Who take fruit from good and just reason,  
    Poetes bons, et bons musiciens,  Good poets, and good musicians,  
    Doivent icy, par bonne et meure audace,  Must here, by good and mature boldness  
    Prester du sucre ung chacun de sa casse,  Lend each one some sugar from his container,  
    Pour adoulcir ce dueil qui autre passe,  To soften this grief which overflows,  
    Et pour aider mes rhetorienciens. 3  And in order to help my rhetoricians.

In this déploration of Louis we encounter an archetypal scene. Lemaire depicts a call to  
communal mourning. That this call is made upon “musicians” in the ecumenical composerly  
sense is evident in Lemaire's phrase “Poetes bons, et bons musiciens” (192). Both groups are  

Crétin:  

Les a suivy: si croy que Rhetorique  These followed: Thus I believe that Rhetoric  
    Finalement avec eulx se mourra.  Finally died with them.  

120  Ung bien y a que encor me reste et dure  There was there one good that remained strong for me  
    Mon Molinet, moulant fleurs et verdure,  My Molinet, giving forth flowers and greenery,  
    Dont le hault bruit jamais ne perira:  Whose high sounds will never perish:  
    Et ung Cretin, tout plain de floriture,  And a certain Cretin, full of floridity,  
    Que je conserve en vigueur et nature:  Whom I conserve in vigor and nature:  

(-Based on, 80).
requested to help Lemaire's rhetoricians serve their duty to mourn Louis. Composers called upon specifically for this task include Agricola, Hilaire, Conrad, Pregent and Evrart (170-174).

“Rhétorique” calls upon Josquin in particular to compose a lament based on the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Thus we observe in Lemaire's lament how the déploration was part and parcel of the aristocratic culture that served as its social basis. True to this latter, the dynamic of dynastic relationships forged across generations characteristic of ruling families analogously holds true for musicians commemorated in the déploration tradition.


While anonymity marks number of works in the déploration tradition, none is of more anonymous provenance than the déploration of Agricola. Agricola died while traveling in Habsburg service with the chapel of Princess Juana at Valladolid in Spain in 1506; the déploration of Agricola is preserved anonymously and unicum in a German print from 1538. Who wrote the poem, who set it to music and how it made its way to a German printer are all matters of speculation. As the basis for such speculation, the historian of the déploration tradition must have recourse to the stylistic features of the work. Fortunately, Musica quid defles? presents a number of sui generis features both poetic and musical that suggest a likely provenance and pattern of influence.

[4] This in the published version of Lemaire's déploration (1509), which is different from the manuscript version, wherein Lemaire calls upon Hilaire for this task. It is this reference that provides grounds for speculation that Cueurs desolez + Plorans ploravit was in fact composed as Josquin's response to Lemaire's call of duty; cf. Picker, “Josquin and Jean Lemaire,” 449 and Yabsley, preface to Lemaire, Plainte du Désiré, 9-14.
[V.2] The composerly rhetoric of *Musica quid defles?*

Like all those treated in this chapter, Alexander Agricola (1445/6-1506), from Ghent, was a peripatetic musician. The circumstances surrounding his education are unknown. He is often referred to by his contemporaries as “maistre,” though this may well be a figurative honorific. Agricola's documented career begins with an ecclesiastical appointment at Cambrai in 1475. Agricola was subsequently in service at the French-royal court sometime between 1486 and 1491, at which point he left for Italy, eventually finding work at Florence. From the mid-1490s Agricola is documented in Habsburg service at the court of Philip the Fair—the court he would serve for the rest of his life. Agricola's death occurred during a tumultuous period for the Habsburgs. Specifically, it followed closely on the heels of Philip the Fair's death. As befit an aristocrat of his stature, Philip was lamented widely in poetry and music; so, too, was Agricola.

The Latin poem set to music in the déploration of Agricola, titled *Epitaphion Alexandri Agricolae symphonistae regis Castiliae*, runs as follows:

Musica, quid defles? perit mea cura decusque. estne Alexander? is meus Agricola.  

Say then, how was he? Skilled in voice and hand. What place took him? The field of Valladolid.  
Who carried this Belgian? Great king Philip himself. When died he of illness? In febrile February.  
What was his age? Already almost sixty years. Where stood the sun then? Height of Virgo.

When considered in light of its chronological position (fifth) in the déploration tradition,

preceded only by those Franco-Flemish déplorations treated in Chapter I, the *sui generis* character of this *epitaphium* is more readily appreciable. Its focus on biographical detail is in keeping with the conventions of the epitaph. These focus in particular on the circumstances of Agricola's death; “virgineo in capite” (5), for instance. Analogous in function are the toponyms; “Vavoletanus ager” (4) conveys that Agricola died at Valladolid, while the epithet “Belgam” (5) reflects an interest (common, implicitly or otherwise, to all déplorations treated in this chapter) in commemorating the composer as of Netherlandish extraction. Finally, mention of “magnus rex Philippus” (5) as he who kept Agricola in service is evidence of the hierarchical aesthetic schema underpinning his glory. On account of such biographical details, it may be hypothesized that the poet of this epitaph, although anonymous, was in Habsburg-Burgundian service.\(^6\) It may be furthermore hypothesized that the poet was here emulating Erasmus. The year of Agricola's death, 1506, is the same as the publication of Erasmus' *naenia* for Ockeghem, a volume that was continentally distributed. Beyond mere synchronicity, the formal similarities between these two *epitaphia* suggest direct influence, in this respect joining Sapidus' *apotheosis* of Sporer and Avidius' *naenia* for Josquin in the déploration tradition. Particularly reminiscent of Erasmus' rhetoric is the rhetoric touting Agricola's skill and fame as a musician. “Decus” (1) is used here, as in *Ergone conticuit*, to commemorate the composer as the glory of “Musica” (1). Agricola's musicianship is singled out for praise particularly in the phrase “clarus vocum manumque” (3), also reminiscent of the like valuation by Erasmus of Ockeghem's singing abilities.\(^7\)

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\(^6\) One candidate suggested in the scholarly literature is Juana's chaplain, Diego Ramirez de Villaescusa. Villaescusa was author of a similarly-structured *Dialogi quatuor super auspicio Hispaniarum principis*, published at Antwerp in 1498. For this hypothesis, cf. Knighton, “Music, why do you weep?” 434-435.

\(^7\) Another epitaph for Agricola, this one in French, references death's arrow (“dard”), recalling Ockeghem's déploration for Binchois, and “Les seraines et les niymphes des bois,” recalling Molinet's poem set by Josquin. For this lament, cf. Appendix [XII].
In light of its obscure origins, it is unclear whether this *epitaphion* for Agricola was written independently of its prospective musical setting or in direct collaboration with a composer. Regardless, the style of *Musica quid defles?* exhibits a close alliance of poetic and musical rhetoric [Ex. 64]:

**[Ex. 64]** Anchieta, *Musica quid defles?*

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Quo morbo interit? Febre fervente

Te abit. Aetas quae fuerat? Jam

Te abit. Aetas quae fuerat, aetas quae fuerat? Jam

Sexagesimus ann.

Sexagesimus ann.

Sexagesimus ann.
Like those of Binchois by Ockeghem and of Ockeghem by la Rue before it, this déploration of Agricola is divided into two partes. The prima pars [Ex. 64; mm. 1-53] opens with an exordium [Ex. 64; mm. 1-11] that sets the poem's first question-and-answer section. Specifically, the music of [Ex. 64; mm. 1-5] homorhythmically poses the question, while [Ex. 64; mm. 6-11] declares the answer contrapuntally. Following this is a rhetorically-contrastive point of imitation at [Ex. 64; mm. 12-21], with entries spaced three breves apart and taken up in the order of Discantus, Tenor, Altus, Bassus. Question-and-answer proceeds to structure the next six musical phrases. Consistent with the prevailing style of the work—and distinguishing it from previous
déplorations—these phrases are short. Monotony is avoided, however. Specifically, the musical tension is ratcheted up at [Ex. 64; mm. 34-39] in a passage that culminates in a melodic sequence in the Discantus and Bassus presented in four iterations and closing with cadence on a. The *secunda pars* [Ex. 64; mm. 54-83], like the *prima*, opens homorhythmically. Its first phrase ends with a caesura in all voices, which is followed by another homorhythmic section, itself followed by contrastively-florid contrapuntal passages in the Discantus and Bassus. At [Ex. 64; mm. 58-70] there begins a particularly dramatic progression of overlapping phrases in the Discantus and Bassus that cumulatively form the impression of extended cascading descent. The caesura at [Ex. 64; m. 73] is followed by a *peroratio* concluding with a final cadence marked by semiminimina in parallel fourths [Ex. 64; m. 82] that close the work and give it an anachronistic feel.

Poetry and music are more closely united in *Musica quid defles*? than in any other subsequent déploration save perhaps Rore's of Willaert, to be considered later in this chapter. The musico-poetic rhetoric of *Musica quid defles*? thus sets it apart from the composerly idioms of both contemporaneous déplorations as well as subsequent essays in the tradition. In particular, though composed less than a decade before it, it occupies the opposite end of the textural spectrum from Mouton's déploration of Févin, *Qui ne regrettroit le gentil Févin*? The rhetoric of this déploration further serves as stylistic basis for hypotheses concerning its composer and why it was published in a German print published over thirty years after the Agricola's death.

[V.3]  Agricola's legacy as rendered tribute at Spanish court and in German print

The unique features of *Musica quid defles*? raise a number of questions concerning authorship—questions compounded by its obscure provenance. Before considering the latter, however, it will
be useful to consider the former. *Musica quid defles?* was published at Wittenberg by Rhau in 1538. Like publishers Susato and Berg, Georg Rhau (1488-1548) was not only a printer but a musician as well as a man of letters.⁹ Rhau studied at the University of Wittenberg from 1512 to 1514 and later in life lectured in music theory at the University of Leipzig. He also led an active career as a practicing musician. A “cantor” of considerable talent, Rhau succeeded Johann Walter in his capacity as *Kapellmeister* at Torgau. Rhau's first forays in the 1510s were confined to theoretical treatises; it was not until relatively late in his career that he began to publish musical compositions. Once he started, however, he took the task up with gusto. From 1538 to 1545 Rhau issued fifteen prints of polyphony. *Musica quid defles?* appears anonymously in one of Rhau's first publications, the *Symphoniae jucundae*. An omnibus volume containing fifty-two Latin-texted motets, it is prefaced by Luther's famous encomium of music.¹⁰ No other music of Agricola's appears in this (or any other) print of Rhau's, suggesting that esteem for the composer in particular was not his primary goal in publishing the déploration. Rather, its rhetorical style would have been ideally suited to the amateur market for Rhau's music.

The question remains of how this déploration of Agricola found got to Rhau. Hitherto unconsidered in the scholarly literature is the following hypothesis: In light of a strong resemblance evident in their mutually-principal features, the chronological and geographical position of Dietrich's *Quis hic chorus + Plangent eum* (published, as the reader will recall, at

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[10] An associate of Luther's, Rhau also published, beginning in the 1520s, numerous volumes of theology as well as philological exegeses of sacred texts. Though the repertory of the *Symphoniae jucundae* may have be drawn in part from music composed for and performed at meetings of Luther's Wittenberg *cives academici*, the preface itself has nothing to do with the contents of the volume in particular and can be traced directly to a Greek *encomion* of music of his written eight years earlier; for Luther's preface, cf. Albrecht, preface to *Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545*, xii and, thereon, Redeker, *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden*, esp. 209-217.
Strasbourg in 1534) suggests the influence of this déploration of Agricola. Stylistically, like Dietrich's *epicedion*, this *epitaphion* for Agricola is a dramatic dialogue between *Musica* and a chorus of mourners. Suggestively, Rhau published two volumes devoted exclusively to the music of Dietrich. This is compelling circumstantial evidence that Dietrich could have been familiar with Agricola's *epitaphium* were it in fact in Rhau's possession sometime prior to its publication in 1538, or vice versa. Strasbourg is known to have been visited by the Habsburg court; thus the déploration of Agricola could have passed from the court to Dietrich, and then to Rhau.

But who composed it? Traditionally proposed as a candidate is Heinrich Isaac. The basis for this hypothesis is that Isaac's *Nil prosunt lachrimae*, a Latin-texted lament of unspecified subject, follows *Musica quid defles?* directly in Rhau's print. This latter, striking some as incomplete on account of its brevity, would in this construal constitute the *prima pars* of the déploration and the former the *secunda*.\(^{11}\) Granted, Agricola and Isaac may have known one another personally; both worked for a time at Florence. And yet, *Nil prosunt lacrimae* is, as to be expected of a work of Isaac's, Franco-Flemish in the mainstream. Its structural use of imitation in general and the greater variety of proportional rhythmic relationships on display in particular distinguish it clearly from the uniform idiom of *Musica quid defles?*\(^{12}\) Where, then, is the historian to turn for other candidates? In light of Agricola's service, the Spanish-Habsburg chapel is a logical place to start looking, and one of its composers-in-residence has been suggested as the composer of *Musica quid defles?* In particular, Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523) seems a likely candidate. Anchieta served as a singer in the chapel of Queen Isabella from 1489, and,

\(^{11}\) For this hypothesis, cf. Picker, “Musical laments,” 2689.

subsequently, that of her son Juan from 1495 to 1497.13 Upon the death of Isabella in 1504, Anchieta became chapel-master to now-Queen Juana, then betrothed to Philip the Fair. In this capacity did the composer travel widely with the Castilian household. Anchieta was in fact in the royal retinue for the trip of Philip's court through northern Spain in January 1505 during which Agricola died. Through his service to the Habsburg household, Anchieta was well-versed in the composerly traditions of Franco-Flemish masters. Specifically, he is known to have incorporated some Franco-Flemish tunes into his own compositions (for instance, *L'homme armé* in his *Missa quarti toni*). On the whole, however, Anchieta's style is less Franco-Flemish than that of his contemporaries, *e.g.* Basurto. The most compelling evidence that Anchieta was, along with Basurto and other of his Spanish colleagues, a disciple of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition is to be found in their relationship to the polyphonic *Requiem* tradition. As in the case of *organa* composers at Notre Dame in Paris nearly four centuries prior, in the turn-of-the-sixteenth-century Spanish polyphonic *Requiem*, only certain sections of the mass were sung polyphonically; most were sung in plainsong. It is a novelty, then, that Basurto's *Missa in agendis mortuorum* (c1510) is a composite mass with its Tract, *Sicut cervus*, interpolated from Ockeghem's *Requiem*, and a Communion likewise interpolated from Brumel's *Requiem*.14 Basurto and his fellow Spanish composers most certainly came into contact with Ockeghem's *Requiem* through the Chigi


Codex.\textsuperscript{15} This manuscript was then traveling through the Iberian peninsula with Philip the Fair. Unlike Basurto's, Anchieta's \textit{Requiem}, possibly composed for the funeral of Prince Juan (d. 1497), does not exhibit as direct a relationship to Franco-Flemish composerly tradition.\textsuperscript{16} Nonetheless, it demonstrates familiarity with its practices, of which the déploration is exemplary.

Even stronger evidence of Anchieta's authorship of the déploration of Agricola is the musical resemblance of it to other of his music. Especially reminiscent of \textit{Musica quid defles?} is Anchieta's motet \textit{Domine Jesu Christe}. Its opening measures [Ex. 65] are, like the déploration, rhetorically-clear:

[[Ex. 65]\textsuperscript{17} Anchieta, \textit{Domine Jesu Christe} (mm. 1-10)]

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ex65.png}
\end{center}

[\textsuperscript{15}] That is, Rome, Biblioteca vaticana, Chigiana, Ms. CVIII.234, source of Ockeghem's \textit{Requiem}. For Basurto's mass as an homage to Netherlandish tradition, cf. Russell, "The 'Missa in agendis mortuorum,'" 16.


[\textsuperscript{17}] From Juan de Anchieta, \textit{Opera omnia}, ed. Samuel Rubio (San Sebastián: Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Guipúzcoa, 1980), 78-82.
Homorhythmic motion in large note-values is the prevailing idiom of [Ex. 65]. The chordal texture here evident bears scant resemblance to the idiom of Anchieta's Franco-Flemish contemporaries but a strong one to that of *Musica quid defles*. Beyond circumstantial biographical evidence, such similarities as evident between Anchieta's *Domine Jesu Christe* and the déploration of Agricola are thus the most compelling evidence of his authorship.

As servants of the same court, Anchieta and Agricola surely knew one another. If Anchieta is indeed the composer of *Musica quid defles*, it seems this relationship did not musically influence the composerly dimension of his déploration of Agricola. Regardless of style and personal influence, *Musica quid defles* testifies to the dynastic dimension of the déploration as commemorating tradition. Finally, the question posed at the outset of the déploration—"Music, why do you weep?"—encapsulates the spirit of the original Franco-Flemish déploration as call to mourning.

[11] **Déploration of Lupi by Baston**
Almost as obscure as the circumstances surrounding the déploration of Agricola are those surrounding the déploration of Lupi by Baston. Little is known about these two composers.

**[V.4] Baston, Lupi and the Nederlandish *ars perfecta***

Both are Nederlandish.¹⁸ Baston (fl. 1542–63) is identifiable with his namesake listed as a “compositor cantus” in the service of King Zygmunt August of Poland. He is further known to have served at courts in Vienna, Saxony, Denmark and Sweden. It is unknown (if likely) whether Baston knew Lupi personally. Born at Cambrai, Johannes Lupi (c.1506-1539) served as choirboy at the cathedral there from 1514 to 1521. From 1522 to 1526 he studied philosophy at the University of Leuven, after which he returned to Cambrai and took up an administrative post at that same cathedral.

However limiting hermeneutically, the lack of biographical information surrounding these two composers may be taken as an opportunity to consider the typicality of their relationship to Franco-Flemish tradition. By the mid-sixteenth century, Franco-Flemish composerly tradition had ramified into three branches. On one are grouped French composers, whose music is characterized by a clarity of texture and the increasing use of homorhythm in the interest of clear declamation. The second may be termed the Nederlandish pan-imitative branch,

epitomized by composers like Gombert and Hellinck, whose music is marked by a concern for maintaining a constantly-imitative texture superseding of any consideration of poetic rhetoric as structural determinant. The third might be termed the incipient species-counterpoint style, also Netherlandish of origin and based partly on structural imitation, yet employing fewer points thereof and correlatively exhibiting greater contrapuntal variety. The aesthetic of this last branch may be most clearly observed in music of lesser-known mid-century Netherlandish composers like Baston and Lupi. Baston's extant output consists entirely of small-scale genres like chansons and motets. Representative of his idiom is the motet *Spes mea* [Ex. 66]:

![Ex. 66] Baston, *Spes mea* (mm. 1-18)

a Domine, Domine, Domine,

Do Domine, Domine,

Spes mea Domine, Domine,

mea Domine, spes mea

Domine, Domine a iuventute mea,

spes mea Domine a iuventute mea, mea

Domine, Domine a iuventute

a, a iuventute mea,

a, a iuventute mea

mea, a iuventute mea, a iuventute mea,
In this motet we may observe mid-century Netherlandish counterpoint of the aforementioned incipient species-counterpoint style at its most conventional. Stepwise motion is herein the norm, and leaps are always balanced by subsequent motion in the contrary direction. While imitation plays an important role in Baston's motet, it is not blindly adhered to; for instance, note the inexact imitation by the Bassus of the Altus at [Ex. 66; mm. 2-3]. Typical of the manner by which mid-century Netherlandish composers maintained a seamless textural flow, Baston defers the first definitive cadence of the piece all the way to [Ex. 66; m. 12]. Incipient species-style counterpoint is evident particularly in the variety of proportional rhythmic values on display, employed such that the texture is constantly yet imperceptibly bustled along. Such features may be just as clearly observed in the work of Lupi. Consider his motet *O florens rosa* [Ex. 67]:

[Ex. 67]³⁰ Lupi, *O florens rosa* (mm. 1-18)

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As it in Baston's motet, imitation is here used by Lupi as structurally constitutive of the texture, yet it is not the *sine qua non* of the counterpoint. That is to say: The same motive is taken up by each voice in succession, and yet, on account of its more internally-heterogeneous nature, there is more musical space for it to accommodate counterpoint in the other voices. Correlatively, we
may observe in [Ex. 67] an even greater variety of proportional relationships between rhythmic values—variety that results in an even more heterogeneous texture than found in Baston's motet.

Taken in consort, these two works serve as prime examples of Netherlandish counterpoint as practiced by master craftsmen like Baston and Lupi. Theirs is an austere style. As such, it strikes a dissonant counterpoint to the melodramatic poem set in the déploration of Lupi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eheu dolor! dire o dolor!</td>
<td>Alas, grief! O harsh grief!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o lachrjmae! o luctus novus!</td>
<td>O tears! O recent sorrow!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o flebilis necessitas</td>
<td>O lamentable fate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah! quid facis mors improba</td>
<td>Ah! What are you doing, wicked death,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostrum Lupum illum non lupum</td>
<td>That Lupus of ours, not a wolf,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sed innocentem agnum horridis</td>
<td>but an innocent lamb, with your horrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorare es ausa faucibus.</td>
<td>mouth you have dared to devour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at jam vora ut velis</td>
<td>But now devour as you wish,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vorare non totum potes</td>
<td>you cannot devour him completely;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>the great glory of Lupus lives,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vivt Lupi ingens gloria</td>
<td>now Lupus lives everlasting,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jam vivt aeternum Lupi</td>
<td>the name stands renowned for all ages,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stat nomen inclyta omnibus</td>
<td>the fame of Lupus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vel saeulis erit Lupi</td>
<td>and his music will be celebrated;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fama et celebris musica;</td>
<td>the proclamation Lupus, Lupus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>will sound in the mouths of all as long as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praecoonium Lupus Lupus</td>
<td>all over this worldly globe sweet music is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonabit omnium in ore</td>
<td>pleasing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dum toto in hoc mundi globo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulcis placebit musica.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rhetoric of *Eheu dolor* verges on the tragicomic. Its opening series of *planctus*-style exclamations of grief strike the modern ear as hyperbolic. In addition to grief, the hyperbole in this poem focuses on Lupi's posthumous fame, which, it is said, death cannot be devour completely. In other of its features, however, *Eheu dolor* is entirely traditional. The rhetorical question addressed to “mors improba” (4) recalls Erasmus' “Quid facis, mors improba?” and suggests that the anonymous poet modeled his lament directly on *Ergone conticiuit*. This poet, though no Erasmus, was also no mean stylist. Particularly noteworthy are instances of alliteration (9-10; “vora ut velis / vorare non totum potes”), as well as puns on the name of the deplored (5;
“nostrum Lupum illum non lupum”) which recall, in spirit if not in letter, the fifteenth-century poetic practice of the French déploration tradition. Baston's déploration is, save those of Heugel and Dietrich, the longest of all in the tradition, consisting of two partes, each of ninety measures. Among other things, such regularity reflects a prioritization of musical structure over the rhetoric of the poetry as compositional determinant. A massive contrapuntal edifice, Baston's déploration displays Franco-Flemish composerly technique in abundance [Ex. 68]:

[Ex. 68]²¹ Baston, *Eheu dolor + Requiem* (mm. 1-20)

Baston's déploration of Lupi opens with evenly-spaced, paired imitation in four of its six voices. As it has done in so many previous laments, the opening motive of a falling minor third here serves as a suitably-mournful contour for the symbolic expression of grief. Mirroring this grief are the melismata in both Altus and Superius [Ex. 68; 2-7] on “do-” of “dolor.” The end of this outpouring of grief coincides with the evasion of a cadence at [Ex. 68; m. 8] which also imperceptibly introduces the entry of the Requiem cantus firmus. Baston's treatment of the cantus
firmus is significant. Whereas Josquin and Gombert transposed the cantus firmus in their déplorations to Phrygian, Baston, like la Rue before him (and Certon, Clemens and Vaet after him), retains the original Hypolydian mode of the chant. Immediately after the entrance of the cantus firmus, an idiomatic Franco-Flemish cadential formula in the Altus at [Ex. 68; m. 10] is reinforced by the Bassus, there leaping up a fourth from c to f. Here the voices collectively bring the musical momentum accrued over the course of the first ten measures of Baston's déploration to an apex. And yet, the sense of culmination engendered thereby is immediately undercut by a scalar descent from c to f in the Superius, paralleled in sixths in the Tenor triplum and continuing to cascade throughout the texture for the full duration of [Ex. 68; mm. 9-18]. Not only does this seamless flow epitomize mid-century Franco-Flemish counterpoint in general; it also serves to disguise, here particularly, the entrance of the Requiem cantus firmus in canon. Six times the cantus firmus is presented canonically by Baston throughout his déploration of Lupi, and always at the same pitch levels: Dux at f, comes at c. Consequent of its “classical” style, there is comparatively little particularity of note in Baston's déploration of Lupi. A notable exception, however—and one made all the more dramatic by the surrounding placidity of its counterpoint—is the beginning of its secunda pars [Ex. 69] which informs death, in a contrastingly homorhythmic idiom among the non-cantus-firmus voices, that it cannot take all of Lupi away:

[Ex. 69] Baston, Eheu dolor + Requiem (mm. 92-105)
Subsequent to this homorhythmic opening passage, Baston sets the proclamation “vivt Lupi ingens gloria” to a steady, repeated figure taken up in staggered fashion among the six voices of the texture. The most significant aspect of Baston's déploration for Lupi is its contrapuntal idiom. Moreover, it is one of four, along with Heugel's of Sporer, Mouton's of Févin and (though not strictly so) la Rue's of Ockeghem, using canon as a mode of composerly homage. Whereas in the
case of la Rue and Mouton the symbolic resonance of canon derives from musical traditions of
the French-royal chapel, its presence in Baston's déploration of Lupi demonstrates the
Netherlandish canonization of this composerly technique. That Baston, as does Heugel,
combines the techniques of cantus firmus and canonic composition demonstrates that the two
were considered by both as in the same composerly spirit. Eheu dolor + Requiem thus
demonstrates, as clearly as any other work in the tradition, how the déploration is not simply
about rendering tribute to an individual composer but rather homage to an ars perfecta.22

[22] Déploration of Clemens by Berg & Neuber, Gardano and Vaet

The déploration of Lupi by Baston has much in common with that of Clemens by Vaet. Like
Baston and Lupi, Clemens and Vaet were Netherlanders born, bred and musically educated. And
yet, Clemens and Vaet exhibit a different relationship to composerly tradition—a relationship
that must be considered before assaying that dimension of Continuo lacrimas + Requiem.

[V.5] Clemens, Vaet and composerly tradition

Educated in his youth at Courtrai, Jacobus Clemens dit “non Papa” (c1510/15-1555/6) spent
most of his career in the Netherlands. His first known ecclesiastical post was as succentor at the
cathedral of Bruges, which he held from 1544 to 1545.23 From 1545 to 1550 he was likely in

service as choirmaster to Philippe de Croy, Duke of Aerschot, military general to Charles V. Beginning in the early 1550s, Clemens appears as a “sanger ende componist” in the chapter acts of the Marian Brotherhood in s'Hertogenbosch. From 1543 to 1546 Jacobus Vaet (c1529-1567) served as a choirboy at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Courtrai.\(^{24}\) An institution steeped in tradition, many musicians trained at the church went on to serve at Habsburg courts. Following this trend, Vaet was in service at the chapel of Emperor Charles V by 1550. By 1554 he had been promoted to Kapellmeister at the court of Charles's nephew, Archduke Maximilian of Austria. Upon the death Emperor Ferdinand in 1564, Maximilian acceded to the throne and moved it from Prague to Vienna, taking Vaet and his chapel in tow. The relationship between Vaet and Clemens and the musical institutions of the Netherlands finds emblematic expression in the composerly relationships they cultivated. Clemens composed two masses on motets by Hellinck, suggesting Hellinck may have been Clemens' teacher; one of Vaet's known teachers was Barbion, upon one of whose tunes Vaet based a motet.\(^ {25}\) In addition to Continuo lacrimas + Requiem, other evidence of a composerly relationship between Clemens and Vaet—specifically, that Vaet wrote a mass on Clemens' exceptional motet Ego flos campi—suggests the possibility that the latter was the former's student.\(^ {26}\) Clemens' music is, more so than Vaet's, dependent on social function and performing ensemble for which it was intended. His “secular” music is typically for four voices, homorhythmic in texture and closest in style to his French contemporary Sermisy. Clemens' music for more than four voices, however, is more linearly-conceived and thus closer to the mid-century Netherlandish idiom of Baston and Lupi.


\(^{25}\) Those are, in name, the Missae Panis quem ego dabo and Spes salutis; cf. Albrecht, “Lupus Hellinck und Clemens non Papa,” 157-158.
In order to appreciate the composerly dimension of Vaet's déploration of Clemens, it will be useful first to consider movements from these two composers' polyphonic settings of the *Missa pro defunctis*, which will prove instructive in the idiosyncrasies of their individual styles as well as the relationship of each to that composerly tradition. The *Kyrie* of Clemens' *Requiem* [Ex. 70] paraphrases the plainchant in the uppermost voice:

[Ex. 70]\(^{27}\) Clemens, *Missa pro defunctis – Kyrie* (mm. 1-17)

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Clemens' Requiem is not composed on a cantus firmus per se.\textsuperscript{28} Consequent of its employment of paraphrase technique—itself lightly-applied at that; melodic decoration of the chant is in [Ex. 70] reserved almost exclusively for cadences—it exhibits very little rhythmic stratification.

Homorhythmic motion is the norm; compared to Certon's and Sermisy's settings of the Requiem,

\textsuperscript{28} In this respect, it is similar only to one other work in the polyphonic Requiem tradition, that of Manchicourt. Pierre de Manchicourt (c1510-1564), from Béthune, held cathedral appointments at Tours (1539), Tournai (1545) and Arras (1556). He served Habsburg aristocrats, specifically as choirmaster for Philip II from 1559-1564. From dedications to his works we know he was an associate of Susato and Sermisy. His early compositions are indebted to Ockeghem and Josquin, and his later works are closer in style to the idiom of Gombert and Clemens. For Manchicourt's biography, cf. John Wicks & Lavern Wagner, “Manchicourt, Pierre de.” In Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17588 (accessed July 3, 2012). For a modern edition of his Requiem, cf. Pierre de Manchicourt, Opera omnia: Vol. 4, ed. John Wicks & Lavern Wagner (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971-1999), 95-103.
these a decade or so subsequent to it, Clemens' *Requiem* seems the more retrospective in style.

The *Kyrie* of Vaet's *Requiem* [Ex. 71], by contrast, is less austere:

[Ex. 71]²⁹ Vaet, *Requiem – Kyrie* (mm. 1-20)

A handful of features on display in [Ex. 71] are noteworthy. Vaet's *Requiem* is scored for five voices—a novelty for the Franco-Flemish *Requiem* tradition. Of those five, three are in the Bassus-range. Thus does Vaet draw upon the association of low tessitura with mourning, one traceable to Ockeghem and la Rue's *Requiea*. Homorhythmic parallel motion between the Tenor parts and the Bassus in [Ex. 71; mm. 9-11] recall fifteenth-century settings of hymns and adhere conventionally to concerns for decorum. Compared to Clemens' setting, this expanded texture allows for greater rhetorical contrast and variety of proportional rhythmic relationships.

[V.6] *Continuo lacrimas* + *Requiem* as traditionalist déploration

To tell from their respective *Requiea*, then, Vaet may be said to have been more interested in Franco-Flemish composerly tradition than was Clemens. This interest in tradition is likewise evident in his déploration for the latter, which may be designated a traditionalist one. It is “traditionalist” rather than “traditional” because at this point in history the composerly
techniques on display in Continuo lacrimas + Requiem operated at one level of remove from the living tradition of which they were first part.

Before observing these techniques in Vaet's déploration of Clemens, however, let us consider the poem set therein to music:

Continuo lacrimas cantores fundite fluxu
Nam perit vestri lausque decusque chori
Est minis inclemens vis ac violentia fati
Quae tam clementi parere dura negat.

5
Clementam tamen omnipotens Deus ipse juvabit
Ut mortem vincat qui nece victus erat.

O singers pour forth tears in a continuous stream
For the glory and grace of your choir has perished
It is the strength and ferocity of menacing fate
That harshly refuses to spare one so gentle.

Yet almighty God himself will help the clement one
Conquer death, he who was never conquered.

The opening of this anonymous Latin lament calls upon an group of “cantores” to mourn Clemens as “lausque decusque chori” (1-2). Mythological tropes are notably absent from the poem, lending it a more “sacred” flavor than other works of the déploration tradition. Though anonymous, the poet proves himself worthy of the occasion—“fundite fluxu” (1) is a particularly composerly bit of alliteration. Poetic license is also taken in puns on Clemens' name—“inclemens” (3) and “clementi” (4)—opposing the inexorability of fate with the composer's innocence, and “clementam” (5), signifying both Clemens himself as well as his merciful nature. In this respect, Continuo lacrimas, like the poem set in Baston's déploration of Lupi, recalls, in spirit if not in letter, fifteenth-century poetry of the French déploration tradition.

Like the epitaph it sets, Vaet's déploration [Ex. 72] draws upon the composerly rhetoric of the déploration in its original form:

[Ex. 72]10 Vaet, Continuo lacrimas + Requiem (mm. 1-19)

The Hypolydian feel of Vaet's déploration, evident at the cadences on $f$ at [Ex. 72; m. 10] and at [Ex. 72; m. 13] on $d$, is consequent of his use of the Requiem Introit as cantus firmus. Compared to Baston's déploration, in Vaet's the Requiem cantus firmus moves at twice the rate of quickness—a testament to the obsolescence of that composerly technique occurring the period separating
the two works. As he does in his *Requiem* mass, Vaet employs a notably-low tessitura in his déploration of Clemens—for instance, the Bassus descends all the way to *d* at [Ex. 72; m. 14]. This cantus-prius-factus approach to composition is what marks Vaet's déploration of Clemens most clearly as traditionalist. The polyphonic texture he weaves around it, by contrast, hews to the declamatory conventions of a mid-sixteenth century Humanist composerly idiom. Vaet sets the poem by and large syllabically, save a few melismatic flourishes on appropriate words; for example, the rising scalar figure in the Tenor on “fluxu” at [Ex. 72; mm. 14-15]. Moreover, stereotypical and of particularly Franco-Flemish character is the cadential passage that Vaet employs at [Ex. 73; mm. 39-41], one of a type also heard throughout *Eheu dolor + Requiem*:

*[Ex. 73] Vaet, *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem* (mm. 36-50)*
Although by mid-century marked as archaic and to be found infrequently in music of that era, there is some precedent for the type of composerly technique on display in *Continuo lacrimas* + *Requiem* within Vaet’s oeuvre. In particular, Vaet’s early compositions show a marked interest in
“old-fashioned” composerly devices such as cantus firmus, ostinato and canon. This is contrastive with his later works, which, like Heugel's, tend to follow the rhythms inherent in the prosody of the poetry they set. In light of this fact, Continuo lacrimas + Requiem may be construed as a self-consciously archaic tribute rendered by adapting composerly rhetoric of the Franco-Flemish tradition. The traditionalist elements of Vaet's déploration of Clemens thus testify to a fundamental shift in the composerly dimension of the déploration tradition. What we encounter in Continuo lacrimas + Requiem is an idiom that has little to do with Clemens as individual composer and everything to do with the ecumenical Franco-Flemish composerly tradition. It may be considered, then, like Baston's déploration of Lupi, an homage to an ecumenical ars perfecta. And yet, it is traditionalist, where Eheu dolor + Requiem is not.

Traditionalism, in distinction to tradition, designates a resistance to change—that is, the upholding of tradition in counter-current to its obsolescence. The traditionalism of this work is thrown into relief by the publications in which Vaet's déploration for Clemens appeared. Continuo lacrimas + Requiem was published twice: First, in the second volume of Berg and Neuber's Novum et insigne opus musicum at Nuremberg in 1558; second, by Antonio Gardano in Modulationes 5 V. Liber I & II, published at Venice in 1562. The former, an omnibus volume, was published the same year Vaet attained the position of imperial Kapellmeister. It is thus suggestive of professional considerations. Moreover, the Novum et insigne opus musicum


contains thirty-seven motets by Clemens, suggesting that symbolic commemoration (in addition to mere anthologization) of the composer was a potential goal of his countryman Berg's.

Gardano's *Modulationes*, on the other hand, is Vaet's debut solo publication. That Vaet had a “debut solo publication” at all is itself noteworthy evidence of novel interest in cultivating a composerly persona. Vaet wrote the preface thereto; an epigram that follows it dubs him “Rhodopeius Orpheus.”

To tell from its contents, Vaet hoped to advance his standing in the eyes of the powers that were through his *Modulationes*: The first volume opens with four works in honor of prominent aristocrats, specifically *Cesaris Ferdinandi, Regis Maximiliani, Ducis Bavariae, and Reginae Poloniae*. The second contains *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem*, sequenced sixteenth of twenty-one.

[25] **Déploration of Willaert by Gardano and Rore**

The professional considerations largely implicit in Vaet's déploration of Clemens are more explicit in Rore's déploration of Willaert, also published by Gardano. *Concordes adhibete animos + Vive Adriane* is furthermore characterized by a uniquely-Humanist mode of composerly tribute. And yet, at the same time, it is an entirely-traditional déploration, one furthermore shedding crucial light on Netherlandish composerly self-understanding. How so?

[V.7] **The déploration as Humanist encomium**

The *naenia* set by Rore is noteworthy for its encomiastic tone:

Concordes adhibite animos, Musae, inclita turba 
Aetherei patris sacra propago Iovis: 
Laude Panomphenum summa decorate Adrianum, 
Intuit ut vestro munera summa choro. 

Harmonicos magis ac suaves nemo edidit unquam 
Cantus, per quem nunc Musica vera viget. 
Ergo aetas omnis colat hunc, laudetur origo: 
Felix quae hunc genuit Flandria in orbe virum.  

Extend souls in harmony, Muses, illustrious crowd 
And sacred offspring of ethereal father Jove: 
Praise, Panompheus, Adrian with highest honor, 
Brought into your choir as greatest gift.

No one ever brought forth more harmonious or suave 
Song than by whom Music now truly holds in esteem. 
Thus honor him for all ages, let his origin be praised: 
Happy Flanders who put this man into the world.

“Choro” (4) here refers to the choir of singers; they sing Willaert's praises. Also assembled at the scene here are the “Musae” (1) of “Iovis” (2), recalling Avidius' *naenia* for Josquin. As are Othmayr in the déplorations of *In epitaphiiis Gasparis Othmari*, Breitengraser in that by Othmayr and Willaert in *Giunto Adrian* by Benvenuti, Willaert is said to have joined the heavenly choir. Thus in this déploration as in those Italian ones of Willaert do we encounter an explicit interest in the Netherlandish pedigree of the deplored: “Felix quae hunc genuit Flandria” (8). This interest is reinforced by the general rhetoric of the poem, which is otherwise concerned with origins—“laudetur origo” (7)—and lineage—“sacra propago” (2).

Rore's setting [Ex. 74] is distinct in composerly rhetoric from other essays in the déploration tradition:

[Ex. 74]**Rore, Concordes adhibete + Vive Adriané (mm. 1-23)**

[34] This poem is possibly by the Flemish poet Nicolaus Stoopius. Stoopius wrote an encomium *In laudem Adriani Wylaert*, similar to *Concordes adhibete* and published in 1555 in the volume *Panegyricum Nicolai Stoopii*. Stoopius was an associate of Duke Albert V who spent time often in Venice; further suggestive is that Rore set one of his poems, *Mirabar solito*, in honor of Albert, to music. For this poem and an argument for Stoopius’ authorship of *Concordes adhibete*, cf. Schiltz, “‘Harmonicos magis ac suaves nemo edidit unquam cantus,‘” 118-123.

Rore's déploration of Willaert opens with a gradual outward expansion of texture. In [Ex. 74; mm. 1-7] homorhythmic declamation prevails, fitting for the exhortatory text it sets, as the Cantus rises from c to a while the Bassus cycles from f through c to f, a pitch pattern repeated in that same voice. Sophisticated composerly tribute is rendered Willaert by Rore at [Ex. 74; mm. 22] as the “-ba” in Cantus, the “-a-” in Quintus and the “-ta” in Tenor all coincide. Such phonemic coordination is emblematic of a close relationship between poetic and musical rhetoric observable throughout Rore's déploration of Willaert—a particular stylistic feature characteristic of the deplored's composerly idiom.\(^{35}\) \textit{Concordes adhibete} + \textit{Vive Adriane} occupies a similar sound-world to \textit{Continuo lacrimas} + \textit{Requiem} and other déplorations using the \textit{Requiem} cantus prius factus and keeping its Hypolydian mode in tact. At the beginning, this is sound-world is attributable to the motive in the Cantus, Tenor and Bassus, which collectively paraphrase a Spanish \textit{tonus lamentationis} from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.\(^{37}\) Subsequent to this initial

\[\text{[35] For an analysis of \textit{Concordes adhibete} + \textit{Vive Adriane} that foregrounds in detail the many instances of such phonemic coordination, cf. Schiltz, “Harmonicos magis ac suaves nemo edidit unquam cantus!,” esp. 129-131.}\]

paraphrase, the modal character of Rore's déploration no longer derives from a pre-existing melody but rather those of a newly-devised one—specifically, the *cantus gravitatis* that enters at [Ex. 80; m. 14] on \(c\) as the fifth of a cadence on \(f\). Composition with a *cantus gravitatis* may be seen as a Humanist update of cantus firmus composition. It preserves the *ars combinatoria* aspect of this composerly aesthetic but does away with the melodic constraints imposed by that technique. As a new melody in the manner of a *soggetto ostinato* to which a new text is set, the most direct precedent in the déploration tradition is Dietrich's *Quis hic chorus* + *Plangent eum*. Whereas Dietrich's *cantus gravitatis* proclaims that “universi musici” deplore the loss of Sporer, Rore's presents an exhortation—“Vive Adriane decus Musarum, vive Adriane”—that jussively perpetuates Willaert's legacy.\(^{38}\) In this respect it serves as an apt counterpart to Dietrich's, emphasizing alternately as they do the communal and individual aspects of the déploration as mode of musical commemoration. Moreover, when coupled with the invocation of the Muses of Jove in the *naenia*, the phrase “Musarum decus” in Rore's *cantus gravitatis* directly recalls Avidius' *Musae Jovis* (24). The *secunda pars* of Rore's déploration of Willaert is more madrigal-esque than first. And yet, the mensural shift from imperfect to perfect at [Ex. 75; m. 65] initiates a dramatic *peroratio*:

[Ex. 75] Rore, *Concordes adhibete* + *Vive Adriane* (mm. 61-79)

\(^{38}\) The lack of overt mourning in the text of this *cantus gravitatis* suggests divergence from tradition; cf. Schiltz, ““Harmonicos magis ac suaves nemo edidit unquam cantus’,” 123.
Such a shift in mensuration Rore's déploration of Willaert shares with Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré + Miserere*, la Rue's *Plorer gemir crier + Requiem*, Gombert's *Musae Jovis + Circumdederunt me* and Othmayr's *Non secus atque olim*. The comparatively homorhythmic texture of this final section in perfect mensuration, however, sets it apart from the more contrapuntal idioms of these others. It is this *peroratio* that most strongly gives Rore's *Concordes adhibite + Vive Adriane* the overall stylistic feel of a Humanist déploration.

[V.8] *Willaert's composerly legacy (Part II)*

As in the case of the four Italianate déplorations of Willaert, Rore's is concerned with rendering tribute to the deplored's composerly legacy. Moreover, as in the case of those Italianate ones, Rore's understanding of that legacy is inseparable from Willaert's persona as it was bound up with Venetian civic identity. It is here that we can begin to observe the differences between Rore's déploration as Humanist encomium of Willaert and those of his vernacular tributaries. The relationship between Rore and Willaert has long been shrouded in obscurity. Though mentioned in a master-disciple context in print as early as 1548, this reference is anomalous. 39 Rore and Willaert, in Venice of the 1540s, were part of the same musico-poetic project. 40 Rore's first publications, dating from early in that decade, are notably of single-author composition. In 1563, a year after Willaert's death, Rore spent a year as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco, before returning to Parma to serve the Farnese.

Thus it would seem that this déploration is at least in part a professional tribute to Willaert. Published by Gardano in his *Di Cipriano Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (1566), *Conordes adhibete animos + Vive Adriane* appears in a collection devoted mostly to madrigals. Almost all of its works are by Rore; a few are by Sabino, one is by Palestrina. The first work of the print is dedicated to the Prince and Princess of Parma; also published therein are two *emblemas* of one Cardinal Granvelli, one by Willaert and Rore each, both reminiscent of Othmayr's *Symbola*. Beyond the promotion of Rore through quantity of music published, in the dedication to the volume, to Duke Ottavio Farnese, a patron of Rore's, Gardano, the author, shows himself interested in historicizing the composer's position with respect to Franco-Flemish tradition:

> Percio che si come i piu periti di questa arte Musicale, hano giudicato essere veramente stati tre soli, che hano dato vero esempio di qualche parte di perfettione in questa professione, attribuendo a Josquino la deletereole inventione della modulatione & il bel cantare, a Moutone la vera arte della variatione de Contrapunti, & ad Adriano Vuillaert et la continuatione della dolce harmonia, pare che i cieli habbiano voluto dotare l'Unico Cipriano di tutte tre queste Virtu unitamente insieme, conciosia cosa che nelle sue compositioni si trova e l'uno e l'altro, tanto ben osservato, & con tanta arte posto, che avanti di lui, non sia stato alcuno, & che per l'avenire si dubita che alcuno vi possa arrivare.\(^{41}\)

For, as those most expert of this art of Music, they have judged it to have been truly three who gave the true example in every part of perfection in this profession, attributed to Josquin the delightful invention of modulation and beautiful singing, to Mouton the true art of variation of Counterpoint, and to Adrian Willaert the continuation of sweet harmony, it appears as though the heavens wanted to provide the Singular Cipriano with all three of these Virtues unified together, conscious thing that in his compositions there is to be found both the one and the other, so well observed, and with such art placed, that before him, there was no one, and for the future it is to be doubted that any will possibly arrive.

Here Rore is placed within a dynastic lineage as heir to the composerly mantle of Josquin, Mouton and Willaert. As we have observed, the composerly relationship between Mouton and Willaert serves as the mediating link between the French royal chapel and Byrd's relationship to

Franco-Flemish tradition. In light of this preface, Rore's déploration of Willaert takes on a more illuminated aspect. It is not only a professional tribute but a vocational homage one that stakes claim to a dynastic musical heritage.

[29] Déploration of Vaet by Gardano & Regnart

Dynastic composerly lineage as rendered tribute in a publication by Gardano is something Concordes adhibete + Vive Adrianè has in common with Regnart's déploration of Vaet, Defunctum charites + Requiem. This latter may rightly be seen as the culminating work of two centuries of composerly tradition.

[V.9] Gardano and the Austrian-Habsburg imperial chapel

Regnart's déploration for Vaet was published in the fifth volume of Gardano's Novus et catholicus thesaurus musicus at Venice in 1568. Dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor, it is the most elaborate publication of Gardano's entire run as a printer. Edited by Pietro Giovanelli, Italian merchant and go-between for Gardano and the imperial chapel, the Novus et catholicus thesaurus musicus emblematizes the musical institution of the Austrian-imperial chapel of the second half of the sixteenth century. The commemorative spirit of the fifth volume is apparent in [Fig. 6]:

[Fig. 6] Gardano's *Novus atque catholicon thesaurus musicus: Tomus V* (1568)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[#]</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td><em>Quis dabit oculis nostris</em></td>
<td>Michael Deiss</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td><em>Quis dabit oculis nostris</em></td>
<td>Jean de Chayné</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td><em>Austria Danubii + Requiem</em></td>
<td>Johannes de Cleve</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td><em>Qui gerit Augusti diademata</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5]</td>
<td><em>Ascendetis post filium meum</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6]</td>
<td><em>Aurea nunc tandem rutilanti</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7]</td>
<td><em>Ut vigilium densa silvam</em></td>
<td>Jacobus de Brouck</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8]</td>
<td><em>Ut vigilium densa silvam</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Regnart</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9]</td>
<td><em>Nobile virtutum culmen</em></td>
<td>Christian Hollander</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[10]</td>
<td><em>Quicquid Graeca loguax</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Regnart</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[12]</td>
<td><em>Carole, caesareae princeps</em></td>
<td>Antoine de la Court</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Charles of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[13]</td>
<td><em>Carole, qui lato similem</em></td>
<td>Jacobus de Brouck</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Charles of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[14]</td>
<td><em>Quid sibi valt haec clara</em></td>
<td>Michael Desbuissons</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Charles of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[15]</td>
<td><em>Carole, ter foelix</em></td>
<td>Johannes Castileti</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Charles of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[16]</td>
<td><em>Currite foelices, diversum cura</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Rudolph of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[17]</td>
<td><em>Qui rebus claris mensuram</em></td>
<td>Jacobus de Brouck</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[18]</td>
<td><em>Austriaci colles nemora</em></td>
<td>Georg Prener</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[19]</td>
<td><em>Austria virtute aquilas</em></td>
<td>Christiaan Hollander</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>House of Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[20]</td>
<td><em>Caesaris ad bustum</em></td>
<td>Henri de la Court</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Alphonso d'Este</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[21]</td>
<td><em>Dic modo Phoebis</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Regnart</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Alphonso d'Este</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[22]</td>
<td><em>Antevenis viridis raris</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Albert of Bavaria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[23]</td>
<td><em>Arma manusque Dei</em></td>
<td>William Formellis</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Maximilian II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[24]</td>
<td><em>Quod mitis sapiens</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Regnart</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Johannes Trautson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[25]</td>
<td><em>Vos mea magnanimi proceres</em></td>
<td>Christiaan Hollander</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[26]</td>
<td><em>Casta novenarum iceat</em></td>
<td>Christiaan Hollander</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[27]</td>
<td><em>Lucida ceu fulvo resplendet</em></td>
<td>Andrea Gabrieli</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Ferdinand I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[28]</td>
<td><em>Defunctum charites + Requiem</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Regnart</td>
<td>epitaphium</td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[29]</td>
<td><em>Egressus Jesus secessit</em></td>
<td>Giaches de Wert</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[30]</td>
<td><em>Deus miseratut nostris</em></td>
<td>Andrea Gabrieli</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[31]</td>
<td><em>Aurea dum rutilis surgens</em></td>
<td>Henri de la Court</td>
<td>encomium</td>
<td>Pietro Giovannelli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[32]</td>
<td><em>Te deum laudamus</em></td>
<td>Jacobus Vaet</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It opens with three epitaphia for Ferdinand I. The first two set the same text while the third uses the Requiem plainchant as cantus firmus. Twenty-eighth of thirty-two works in the fifth volume is Regnart's déploration for Vaet; a work of Vaet's, the *Te deum laudamus*, concludes the volume. By so doing, it symbolically crowns a musical dynasty.

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[V.10] Vaet, Regnart and the imperial chapel

Gardano maintained a special relationship to the Austrian imperial court, one evident in his monumental tribute to its chapel. Vaet and Regnart, both members of that chapel, maintained a special relationship to Franco-Flemish tradition. For Vaet, this relationship to Franco-Flemish tradition is evident not only in his déploration of Clemens but in his participation in the composerly tradition of setting the Missa pro defunctis polyphonically. In comparison to Clemens' Requiem, which uses the prayer Absolve domine as Tract, Vaet's Requiem, as do Ockeghem's, la Rue's and Févin's before him, sets Sicut cervus [Ex. 76].

[Ex. 76] Vaet, Requiem – Sicut cervus

[44] The “parody” mass was far and away the most popular genre thereof at the Habsburg court, both during Vaet's tenure and subsequently. Meanwhile, the Requiem was a rare and special kind of occasional mass; cf. Carmelo Comberiati, Late-Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court (New York: Gordon & Breach, 1987), esp. 103-104.

Here minim motion is almost exclusively scalar. Such scalar motion is the most salient feature of the second half of Vaet's *Sicut cervus*, especially from [Ex. 76; m. 21] on. The imitation between Cantus and Altus at [Ex. 76; mm. 5-10] is especially reminiscent of la Rue and Ockeghem's settings of this Tract. Here, unlike as in Vaet's déploration of Clemens, there is no disjunction between the composer and the historicity of composerly technique. [Ex. 76] demonstrates that, while in the case of his déploration of Clemens cantus-firmus texture is used to traditionalist effect, a truly traditional relationship to Franco-Flemish practice stretching back to Ockeghem was still maintained by Vaet. This dynamic likewise characterizes Regnart's déploration for Vaet. This déploration is that of a disciple for his master. Jacobus Regnart (1540/45-1599) was educated at Douai.\(^{46}\) By 1557 he was in Habsburg service, at first as a chorister under the direction of Vaet in the Prague chapel of Archduke Maximilian.\(^{47}\) Regnart studied in Italy from

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[47] Baston served this court as well, although during the decade prior. From 1543 to 1564, the chapel, under Kaiser Ferdinand I looked like this: “Cappelsinger 10 fl. monatlich: Johann Baston (vom 1 mai 1548 bis 1549), Johann Regis (idem), Johann de Cleve (1 okt 1542-31 aug 1549, 15 marz 1553-31 marz 1564.” From 1564-1576 under Maximilian II, (145): “Obrister cappelmaister jacob vaet (1564-1567), Obrister cappelmeister philippus de monte (1568-1603).” From 1577-1600 (149): “Obrister cappelmeister philippus de monte (1568-1603), Vice-cappelmaister jacob regnart (vom 1580-1582)” (Albert Smijers, “Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 6 [1919]: 139-86, 142-143).
1568 to 1570. In 1574 he published his first book of music, all of it in Italian. In 1576 Regnart was made member of the *Hofkapelle* under Emperor Rudolf II. In 1579 Regnart was promoted to vice-*Kapellmeister*.

[V.11] The déploration as dynastic homage (Part II): *Defunctum charites* + *Requiem*

The poem set by Regnart follows in the tradition of *Continuo lacrimas*:

Defunctum charites Vaetem maerore requirunt mittentes duplices ore gemente manus. musicus huncque chorus deplorat Caesaris, ehe, ulterius Cloto si tenuisset onus, qui vario praestans virtutis nomine Musis, orbis in extremo climate notus erat. hunc et jure pius Caesar sibi luget ademptum, languet enim rapto musica praesidio. 48

The graces seek with grief the dead Vaet, throwing up their twofold hands with signing mouth. And the musical chorus of Caeser laments him, alas if Cloto had held the burden longer, He, excelling the Muses in manifold name of virtue, was known in the farthest region of the earth. Good Caeser rightly mourns he taken away from him, for music languishes with her help snatched away.

Whereas the poem set in Vaet's déploration calls upon a general group of “cantores” to mourn Clemens, that set in Regnart's calls upon the “Charties” or “Graces” of antiquity. Moreover, this epitaph places a distinct emphasis on the role of “Caeser” Maximilian II in the mourning process. His chapel is called upon to mourn as a community (“chorus deplorat”). *Musica* languishes.

Regnart's déploration [Ex. 77] maintains a perpetual ratcheting-up of the musical tension:

48 The spirit of the déploration tradition is evident in another Latin lament for Vaet by poet Paul Melissus Schede. Schede (1539-1602) was born at Melchrichstadt and studied at a number of German universities. Musically trained, he served as cantor from 1559 to 1560 at Königsberg. He was named poet laureate by Emperor Maximilian II the same year he published his *Elegia in obitum d. Ferdinandi invictiss. Et potentiss. Roman. imperatoris* (Vienna, 1564). Schede wrote a Latin epitaph for Vaet—*Adeste vates hue adeste musici*—that Lassus may have set to music; cf. Appendix [XIV].
[Ex. 77] Regnart, *Defunctum charites + Requiem*

Qui vario praestans virtutis nominet Munus.

Requiem
extremo clima-te notus e-rat.

e-rat, notus e-rat, e-rat.

e-rat.

doma

clima-te notus e-rat.

to

Hunc et ju-re pi-ius Caes-ar,

Hunc et ju-re pi-ius Caes-ar,

Hunc et ju-re pi-ius Caes-ar,

Hunc et ju-re pi-ius Caes-ar,
C: si - bi luget ad - em - ptum:
Q: (si - bi luget ad - em - ptum):
A: lan - guet e -
S: em - ptum, ad em - ptum:
T: si - bi luget ad em - ptum, si - bi luget ad em -
SP: et lux per - pe -
B: em - ptum, (si - bi luget ad - em - ptum), si - bi luget ad - em -
How does Regnart maintain this perpetual ratcheting-up of momentum? At the opening, selective use of semiminima, first at [Ex. 77; m. 13], then at [Ex. 77; m. 19], add little bits of momentum. Minim motion is almost exclusively scalar, as it is in the case of Vaet's setting of *Sicut cervus*, with the exception of stereotyped decorative melodic flourishes such as that in the Altus at [Ex. 77; m. 44] The pseudo-sequential motion in the Quintus at [Ex. 77; mm. 16-17] provides preparation for re-entry of the Cantus immediately thereafter and its subsequent melodic descent. Avoiding cadences, like the one in the middle of [Ex. 84; m. 21], vitiated by the Bassus dropping out for a minim, is a technique Regnart uses throughout the setting. At [Ex. 77; mm. 48-50] Regnart could take cadence built into the *Requiem* plainchant; instead, he defers it to [Ex. 77; m. 50]. Overlapping imitative entrances are at this moment momentarily foregone in favor of free counterpoint, with most voices engaged in desultory leaps (a downward fifth in the Cantus primus, an octave in Cantus secundus) and the Altus primus pours forth a florid melisma expressive of the poetry. In Regnart's déploration of Vaet the cantus firmus moves in semibreves
—that is, twice as quickly as in Vaet's *Continuo lacrimas + Requiem* (itself twice as quickly as in Baston's *Eheu dolor + Requiem*). Indeed, in Regnart's déploration it moves more or less at the pace of the rest of the voices and is thus virtually integrated into the texture. In general, the texture is not structurally based on imitative polyphony. It is therefore most closely related in spirit to the Franco-Flemish idiom evident in Baston's of Lupi. As does Vaet, Regnart sets the poem syllabically with occasional melismatic flourishes. He changes texture at crucial junctures to dramatic effect; for instance, the setting of “eheu” at [Ex. 77; mm. 42-46]. After a section where the Septima pars (carrying the *Requiem* cantus firmus) drops out for a while at [Ex. 77; mm. 54], its re-entry into the texture coincides at [Ex. 77; m. 58] with a rare moment of homorhythmic declamation between the middle three voices at “praestans virtutis.” In general, however, the texture is animatedly-bustled along by staggered declamation among the seven voices. That Regnart writes for seven voices in his déploration of Vaet is surely in the symbolic tradition of Vinders' *O mors inevitabilis + Requiem* and Josquin's *Proch dolor + Pie Jesu*.

[V.12] A peripatetic dynasty

The déplorations of this chapter testify all to the dynastic nature of Franco-Flemish composerly tradition as it was continuously upheld over the course sixteenth century at the Habsburg courts of Spain, Netherlands and Austria, as well as, most fundamentally, by Nederlandish composers in peripatetic service. While writing in an idiosyncratic idiom at odds with Franco-Flemish orthodoxy, that the Spanish composer Anchieta rendered his fellow composer Agricola tribute with a déploration testifies to the enduring strength of the tradition at the Habsburg court. This strength propels the déploration tradition onward at that court throughout the sixteenth century,
evident above all in Vaet's déploration of Clemens and Regnart's déploration of Vaet. It is also
evident in Baston's déploration of Lupi, though in a different way, and one that is especially
significant for the dynastic aspect of the déploration as a commemorative tradition. Specifically,
that Lupi, a lifelong servant to Netherlandish musical institutions and not aristocratic courts, is
honored by Baston with a déploration testifies to the more fundamental importance of
Netherlandish bonds for these composers. So too Rore's déploration of Willaert. For although the
two composers both lived in Venice and spent their professional careers in overlapping service,
the implications of this fact to Rore's déploration of Willaert is of less fundamental importance
than their mutual Netherlandish origins. By celebrating the composer as both specifically
Flemish and traditionally as the glory of the Muses, Rore demonstrates how these two
communities are definitively called upon in the déploration: Communities worldly and celestial.
CONCLUSION:
THE DÉPLORATION AS MUSICAL IDEA

To return, by way of conclusion, to the definitional ambiguities noted at the outset of this study:

[1] Are déplorations poetic laments or musical ones?

The answer, in short, is both. Or, more fundamentally, neither. To begin: Contrary to received historiography, the déploration is not necessarily a lament. As we observed in Chapters I and II, the déploration was, in outward practice, originally rhetorically a mode of lament cultivated by a continuous line of “fayseurs.” Though a poetic genre in name at this stage, these French “makers” who inaugurated the déploration tradition sought a higher union of poetry and music as we now understand those terms distinctly. As we observed in Chapters III and IV, as a musical practice, the déploration, over the course of the sixteenth-century, superseded its origins as primarily a mode of lament. The two non-greghesche Italianate and German works of the déploration tradition (as well as Rore's of Willaert) in particular do not take the form of laments but rather of posthumous tributes and homages. More fundamentally, throughout the déploration tradition, regardless of the rhetorical mode its individual works adopt, we may conclude that the déploration tradition is simultaneously musical and poetic, as every work that participates in it is the product of a collaborative artistic community. At the same time, we may conclude that the déploration tradition is more broadly musical than now customarily understood in that the metaphysical foundations of the déploration as musical idea entail an understanding of all aesthetic material as of one and the same divine ordainment.
[2] To what historiographical era does the déploration belong?

To be fair, this is a loaded, leading question. And yet, a persistent historiographical relationship between the “Renaissance” and “modernity” as a intellectual-historical construct justifies brief consideration of this question.¹ Specific justification for consideration of such matters may be found in the fact that the traditional stakes of the epochal distinction between the “Middle Ages” and the “Renaissance” are of central importance to the socio-aesthetic implications of the déploration tradition on received historiography. Specifically, it is to the “Renaissance” that birth of “modern” subjectivity, artistic and otherwise, is customarily dated. This birth is discerned variably in particular features of its cultural products and, more generally, in an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and optimism. This atmosphere is held to be in contrast to the contemporaneous culture of the north, which historians have long characterized as diametrically opposed to that of the south. Specifically, in the north, pandemic nostalgia for the chivalric ideals of the past is discerned and a cultural lag invoked to account for “Medievalisms” that persist beyond epochal boundaries.² And yet, recent historiography has done much to undo these stereotypes, specifically by drawing attention to cultural developments demonstrating that those features traditionally held to be characteristic of the “Renaissance” were already present in the “Middle Ages”—for instance, individual glory, which has long been traditionally understood as a stereotypically “Renaissance” cultural trait. When viewed in this historiographical context, a rise

¹ For the original formulation of this idea, cf. Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (New York: Phaidon, 1951).

in frequency of commemorative artistic practices or the emergence of a qualitatively-new one—
such as the déploration tradition—would seemingly testify to broader shifts in cultural attitudes.³
This has been interpreted furthermore as evidence of a new conceptualization of individuality
correlative to such cultural shifts. To note the persistence of such historiographical stereotypes is
not to make observation that all periodizations make for Procrustean beds. At the same time,
such periodizations, by their very nature, overemphasize cultural discontinuity and obscure the
substantive beliefs shared by musicians of these two ostensibly-distinct cultural ages.⁴ For the
purposes of the historian of the déploration tradition, then, the point is this: Though
historiographical tradition has long emphasized a novel concern for individual fame and glory
consequent of a qualitative cultural shift occurring in the “late Middle Ages” and “Renaissance,”
what is most remarkable about the déploration tradition is how it testifies to precisely the
opposite phenomenon. That is to say: Paradoxically, though the advent of a cultural tradition
celebrating the posthumous fame of individual composers would seemingly reflect a novel status
of and symbolic prestige enjoyed by the composer as individual, it actually testifies more
strongly to the persistence of a fundamentally-communal understanding of music—a community
united by its common conceptualization of mousike.⁵

[3] Indeed, historians have drawn attention to a rise in commemorative practices consequent of the stimulating effect
that the dogmaticization of purgatory had on intercessory musical rites, chief among them masses for the dead
and votive masses; cf. Barbara Haggh, “Foundations or Institutions? On bringing the Middle Ages into the
History of Medieval Music,” AM 68/2 (1996): 87-128. On the more general cultural process driving this musical

[4] On the distorting effect intervening historiography has had on understanding of music of the era, cf. Jessie Anne
Owens, “Music Historiography and the Definition of ‘Renaissance’,” MLA Notes 47/2 (1990): 305-330 and

[5] The temporal scope of this study generally aligns with that of Jesse Anne Owens, Composers at Work: The Craft
of Musical Composition 1450-1600 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), wherein a fundamental unity of
composerly practice, spanning the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, is likewise asserted; cf. esp. ibidem, 5-7.
[3] What inspired composers thus to commemorate one another?

As we have observed throughout this study, the motivations for rendering a composer tribute with a déploration are as sundry as the individuals who upheld the déploration tradition. Before reflecting on the more fundamental inspiration common to all déplorations, let us consider the implications of particular inspirations driving the déploration tradition in other areas of musical practice crucial to it. In its commemorative aspect, the déploration tradition testifies to a desire to honor an individual composer through posthumous tribute and musical homage. Serving a particularly prominent role in this process, and one hitherto under appreciated as such by historians, is music printing, which, as we have observed, had a transformative effect on the conceptualization of composerly tradition. Moreover, for the déploration tradition in particular, music prints served as forum in which composerly legacies were rendered tribute and agonistically contested. Additionally, music publishing amplified one aspect of the déploration tradition in particular—that is, as a commemorative practice. In this it served, especially during its latter half, as a mode of reinforcing the dynastic dimension of the déploration as commemorative practice. As we have observed throughout this study, the occasional lament, déploration and otherwise, served as both a mode of individual commemoration as well as of articulating communal unity. Correlatively, we may now cast a retrospective glance and survey the composerly dynasty [Fig. 7] collectively emblematized by the déploration tradition:

[Fig. 7] Dynastic Genealogy of Déploration Tradition

French

Burgundian & Habsburg

Netherlandish

German

Andrieu — MACHAUT

BINCHOIS

La Rue

AGRICOLA

Anchieta

Hellinck

LUPI

Baston

Appenzeller

Vinders

JOSQUIN

Gonhbert

CLEMENS

ITALIAN

WILLAERT

Regnart

Rore

Willaert

Gabrieli

Benvenuti

Conforti

Cerion — SERMISY

TALLIS — Byrd

Mouton — FÉVIN

SPORER

ARTHOPIUS

Heugel

BREITENGRASER

OTHMAYR

Puls

Practorius

Schwartz

Bucherus

Forster
What exactly is dynastic about the déploration tradition? It is not analogous to a political
dynamic of rulership: Rather, dynastic about the déploration tradition is the glue that holds its
social bonds together. Whereas in its commemorative aspect the déploration tradition ostensibly
testifies to concerns likewise constitutive of political dynasties, its composerly aspect presents
another inspirational dimension, one that sheds light on the more communal nature of its
dynastic dimension. That is to say: The déploration tradition is marked by a composerly interest
with commemorating musicians self-consciously in their capacity as musicians. This interest is
particularly observable in the practice of rendering the deplored tribute by means of employment
of symbolic composerly techniques. Precisely how such symbolic composerly tribute is
effectuated varies, quite naturally, over the course of the déploration tradition. In its early stages,
this dynamic consists of rendering tribute to masters through imitation and emulation. Though
not characteristic of the tradition throughout its lifespan, this dynamic further entailed an
agonistic dimension testifying to a desire not only to emulate but to surpass.⁷ Over the course of
the déploration tradition, however, a gradual transformation of composerly relationships occurs,
leading to the case that emulation ceases to be first and foremost agonistic and becomes
secondary in importance to rendering tribute to individuals by means of pledging homage to
composerly tradition. Thus did the déploration gradually acquire the function of a discipular rite
of passage. Regardless, though taking on different features in different historical instances,
throughout the tradition, a certain brand of composerly self-understanding serves as the
continuous conceptual basis for composers of the déploration tradition. Thus is the inspiration
behind every déploration not to be found in individual sentiments but rather communal tradition.

All composers and poets who participated in the déploration tradition fundamentally considered their craft in the spirit of *mousike techne*, or the craft of the Muses. It is the *sine qua non* of the déploration as musical idea. This raises one more question.

**[4] What does it mean to call the déploration a musical idea?**

The essence of the déploration as musical idea resides in its dual aspect as commemoration of a composerly legacy and homage to a musical dynasty. That is to say: Every déploration dynastically commemorates a composerly legacy. This definition allows us to formulate the greatest paradox of a tradition full of them: Dynasties are hereditary, continuously-successive and comprised of rulers. The musical dynasty emblematized by the déploration tradition is vocational, synchronically-inclusive and comprised of servants. Servants to what? Servants to *Musica*. Reformulated, every déploration is a response to a call of duty to commemorate a servant to *mousike*—music understood as universal harmony. The authority on which this universality rested stretches to time immemorial. Each déploration cultivates a singular memory. The unity of this memory assures the coherence of the déploration as musical idea.
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APPENDICES

[I]\ En triumphant de Cruel Dueil

En triumphant de Cruel Dueil
Dueil Angoisseux est mon accueil,
Et tout mon bien n'est que martire,
Et ne saroie mon mal descriptre

5 Ne dire ce dont je me deuil.

En triumphant de Cruel Dueil
Dueil Angoisseux est mon accueil,
Et tout mon bien n'est que martire,

5 Triste Plaisir, mon seul recueil,
Me compaignera a son vueil
Et me fera plorer pour rire.
En triumphant de Cruel Dueil

10 Dueil Angoisseux est mon accueil,
Et tout mon bien n'est que martire,

La mort sera mon seul escueil,
Maiz que je soie en ung sercueil
Prestement bouté, sans plus dire;

15 N'autre ne quiers je avoir pour mire,
Pour m'avancer ce que plus vueil.

En triumphant de Cruel Dueil
Dueil Angoisseux est mon accueil,
Et tout mon bien n'est que martire,

20 Et ne saroie mon mal descriptre
Ne dire ce dont je me deuil.

[II] Omnium bonorum plena

Omnium bonorum plena
Virgo parensque serena,
quae sedes super sidera, 
pulchra prudensque decora.

5 Assistens a dextris Patris,

caeli terrae plasmatoris
investitutu deaurato nullius
manu formato

Nullus tibi comparari potest certe
10 nec aequari, cui voce angelica dictum est
Ave Maria.

Turbata parum fuisti,
sed consulta respondisti,
cece ancilla Domini
15 sicut refers fiat mihi.

Dulcis fuit responsio data
caelesti nuntio, per quam
statim concepiisti natum Dei
et portasti illum nec non peperisti
20 et post partum permanisti Virgo
pura et nitida, Virgoque immaculata.

Omnium bonorum plena peccatorum medicina,
cuius proprium orare est
atque preces fundare,

25 Pro miseric peccantibus a Deo recedentibus
fundre preces ad filium pro salute canentium.

Et primo pro Guillaume Dufay
pro quo me mater exaudi,
luna totius musicae, atque
30 cantorum lumine.

Pro Johannes Dussart, Busnoys, Caron,
magistris cantilenarum
Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,
cimbalis tui honoris,
35 ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet, Hémart,
Faugues et Molinet, atque Régis
omnibusque canentibus simul et me Loyset.

Compère orante pro magistris pura menta,
quorum memor Virgo vale semper Gabrielis Ave. Amen

[III] Mille quingentis

Mille quingentis verum bis sex minus annis

Virgine progeniti lapsis ab origine Christi,  
Sicilides flerunt Muse, dum fata tulerunt  
Hobrecht Guillermum, magna probitate decorum,

5   Cecilie ad festum, qui Ceciliam peragrat  
Oram; idem Orpheicum Musis Jacobum generavit,  
Ergo dulce melos succentorum chorus alme  
Concine ut ad celos sit vecta anima et data palme.

[IV]⁴ Mater floreat floriscat

Mater floreat florescat modulata musicorum melodia. Crescat celebris Dufay cadentia, prosperetur praeclarus regis;  
Busnois, Baziron subtiles glorientur. Triumphet Alexander Magnificus, congaudeant Obrecht, Compère, Eloy,  
Hayne, La Rue memorabiles. Josquin incomparabilis bravium accipiat. Rutilet Delphicus de Longueval tanquam sol  
inter stellas. Lourdault, Prioris amenus. Nec absint decori fratres de Févin, Hilaire hilaris, Divitis felix. Brumel,  
Isaac, Nynot, Mathurin Forestier, Bruhier facundi, Mouton cum vellere aureo; date gloriam regi et reginae in cordis  
et organo.

[V]⁵ Epitaphe sur la mort de M. C. Goudimel

Sous le penible faix de ce poudreux tombeau,  
Du milleux Goudimel la cendre se repose,  
Surmonté par la mort qui doute toute chose,  
Mais non ce qui estoit d'iceluy le plus beau;  
5   Car son esprit gentil, qui lut comme un flambeau  
Par tout cest univers, pour la douceur enclose  
Dans ses tons musicaux, par cil qui tout dispose,  
Est ores ousissant d'un repos tout nouveau.  
Et comme, estant icy, d'une douce musique  
10  Il louangeoit son Dieu, mariant maint cantique  
Du Roy-prophete hebreu à ses plaisants accords,  
Ainsi estant aux cieux avec joie et liesse,  
Il rend graces à Dieu pour ce que de largesse  
Il l'a fait ousissant des celestes thresors.

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[VI]\(^6\) *Dum vastos Adriae fluctus*

Dum vastos Adriae fluctus rabiemque furentis 
Gurgitis atque imis stagna agitata vadis 
Scyllamque et rapidas Syrtes miratur Iacchus 
Monstraque non ullis cognita temporibus, 

Candida pampinea redimitus tempora fronde, 
Haece cecinit prisco carmina docta sono: 
Josquini antiquos, Musae, memoremus amores, 
Quorum iussa facit magni regnator Olympi 
Aeternam praeter seriem et moderamina rerum, 

Dum stabat mater miserans natumque decoris 
Inviolata manens lacrimis plorat iniquo 
Judicio extinctum. Salve, o sanctissima, salve 
Regina et tu summe Deus miserere quotannis 
Cui vitulo et certis cumulabo altaria donis. 

Dixerat. Argutae referebant omnia cannae 
Mincius et liquidis annuit annis aquis.

[VII]\(^7\) *Grande decus musis*

Grande decus musis mundo praeclarus in amplO 
Altera Othmarus laude perennis eriT 
Summis praepositi … Noribus … H 
Parcarum invidiae scandit in orcuM 

Antiqua fide viri … A 
Regibus et ducibus clarus et amplus honoR 
Vincere nec potuit dulci nec flectere cantU 
Saevas o fera mors nec cohibere manuS

[VIII]\(^8\) *In funere M. Gasparis Othmari*

IN FUNERE M. GASPARIS OTHMARI PRAEPOSITI ONOLSBACHINAE ad S. Gumbertum ecclesia, 
musici excellentißimi Epicedion Scriptum à Iohanne Aurpachio Altathaeno ad Albertum Hartungum

\[6\] From Dunning, “Josquini antiquos,” 110. 
\[7\] From Böttcher, “Zweiter Nachtrag,” 34. 
\[8\] From Aurpach, *In funere M. Gasparis Othmari*. 
Unde sed incipiam iustos, Hartunge, labores?
Quò teneram ponat nostra Thalia pedem?
Cuius acerba rogas, pullato vertice tristis,
A me funereo carmine fata cani,

Hic mihi vir tantum volitantis nomine famae
Notus, dum nostro vixit in orbe, fuit:
Nec tamen, à nobis ut vero iure petisti,
Officium ratio prostrahet alla meum.
Eius deflebo lugubri carmine mortem,

Quem non viderunt lumina nostra, viri.
Scilicet hoc ipsum coniunctio nostra meretur,
Protinus ut, quicquid iusseris ipse, feras.
Unde sed incipiam iustos, Hartunge, labores?
Quaqué hanc ingrediari commoditate viam?

Omnes Parnaso lugent in monte sorores,
Nec pulsum Clario pectine clanget ebur.
Latous citharam viles abiecit in herbas,
Ac, animo tristi quo? meditetur, habet.
Quod meditetur habet, quod moesto lugeat ore,

Et sub acerbato pectore vulner alat.
Inferias querula meditatur voce, dolorem
Vult hoc officio significare suum.
Scilicet hunc illis hoc numen praestat honorem,
Haec illis pulchro munere dona vehit,

Sacrae militiae blandíssima castra secuti
Qui clausère suae temporae longa morae,
Ingeniis animum, formosae laudis amantes,
Et qui doctrinis excoluère suum.
Qualis adhuc viridi cultu crescentibus annis

Othmarus clara non sine laude fuit.
Ingenii multi fulgebant dotibus, ipso
Principibusque viris nomine charus erat.
Magnanimae fortis pollebat robore mentis,
Veram nolubat deferuisse viam.

Quaçe decet Christi gravitas integra fideles,
Fertur in hoc constans emicuisse viro.
Hinc sacra totius rexit collegia coetus,
Qui superis offerit candida nota diis.
Hic, ubi Regnesus vicino monte profectus

Urbis Onolbachii florea prata rigat,
Curusas per valles longo lapsusque meatu
Foeundat largo flumine ruris agros.
Imperii commendatus moderatus habenas
Officio nunquam defuit ille suo.

Omnes ergo gravi crudelia fata dolore,
Ad quos haec bonitas venit amica, gemunt.
Hic moesti plorant vidua cum coniuge nati,
Ac praebent luctus tristia signa sui.
Inter qui sese civilia bella relictos,

Dirum saevus ubi Mars fremit, esse vident,
Esse vident miseram, sublato remige, puppim
In nullo tutam, quà furit unda, loco.
Illic incedit moestus diademate cinctum
Atque gerit nigro musicus ordo caput
55 Quos inter tu conspicuo numeraris honore,
Praecipuaeque locum conditionis habes.
Vincula quod vestros animos magis arcta ligarant,
Affinique tibi foedere iunctus erat.
Ipse tibi pleni monumenta reliquit amoris,
Scilicet ingenii munera docta sui,
Quae validis munita feris tua continet arca,
Non secus, ac magnas claudit avarus opes.
Te rogo per sacras coelestia numina, Musas.
Per sociam nostri foederis atque fidem,
Effice ne cariae pereant, sed lumine clarum
Protinus aspicient liberiores diem.
Debita virtuti reddantur praemia tantaes,
Nec solide lateat splendidus artis honor.
Laudibus haec etiam reliquis accedio fiat,
Ut fieri iusta conditione potest.
Omnibus hoc in opus debes incumbere nervis,
Ne meriti non sit gratia plena tui.
Ut, quia defuncti laudes meditaris amici,
Non habeat precium gloria nulla suum.
65 Crede mihi, grate referet tibi maxima turba,
Quos iuvat harmonico musica pllda sono.
Quos iuvat Orpheo perrumpere Tartara cantu,
Duraque desertis tollere saxa iugis.
Quos iuvat, ut fertur quondam Citharoeudos Ariott,
Intempestivum per mare pisce vehi,
Dulcique harmonia rigidos coniungere muros,
Olim Thebanae qua colere domus,
Dum pelago scopulos eduit, montibus ornos
Amphion doctae cognitio lyrae,
70 Ac opus Haemonio concentu iungit in unum,
Agerestes cultum tollat ut inter agros.
Huius curriculi laudes, Othmare, petebas,
Hunc pius optabas tangere posse scopum:
Ac metam nunc acer equus currebat ad istam
Raptus pernici mobilitate tuus,
Cum venit in medio cursu, frenumque retardat,
Falcato culto loraque Parca secat.
Non aliter, subito tempestas horrida vento
Quam si velivolam sternit oborta ratem,
90 Non procul à viso cum tortum littore funem
Porrigit ad siccos nautica turba locos,
Ac laeta in patrios, emensis fluctibus, agros
Sperat se tumultum ponere posse pedem.
Fallitur, et frustra ventos oppugnat, et altas
100 Expirat Ponti languida subter aquas.
Tam levis humanos regit inconstantia casus,
Qui pede firmato se putat esse, cadit.
Culminis ascendit qui iam fastigia summii,
Adde moram parui temporis, itrius erit.

Quae tamen infidae posset mutatio sortis
Ob nostrae ferri debilitatis onus,
Si nos in medio non tanquam flore iuventae,
Obrueret subita mors violenta manu.
Cum validae sano vernant in corpore vires,

110 Officium faciunt omnia membra suum.
Divitiae crescent, magni tribuuntur honores,
Spargitur, et clari nominis aura viget.
Omniaque invitant ad longae tempora vitae,
Quae sic optata commoditate cadunt,

115 Atqui verborum longis ambagibus utor,
Liberioris erit temporis iste labor.
Nunc igitur paucis ornata versibus urna,
Quae celebris claudit mortua membra viri,
Finiet inceptum defessa Camoenas laborem,

120 Grataque securis ocia rebus aget:
Hic, ubi Mygdonio conclusa est marmore fossa,
Gasparis Othamri corpus inane iacet,
Uno quem plorant Plimlaeades ore puellae,
Quique sacro studio musica plectra colunt.

125 Epitaphium sepulchro additum.
Hac Gaspar iacet Othmarus tumulatus in urna,
Praepositus quondam clarus Onolspachii,
Marchio sub miti ditione Georgius urbe
Brandenburgensis quam Fridericus habet.

130 Illum faelici partu produxit in orbem
Urbs Amberga, suo maenia clara loco,
Cumque Machaoniae lenimen quaereret artis,
Ad muros cecidit, Noricaberga, tuos.
Sic homines miseris caligine volvimus atra,

135 Cum speramus opem, tristia damna nocent.

Obit Norimbergae, Anno Domini, M.D.LIII. pridie Nonas Februarii. Sepultus est Onolsbachii in templo S. Crucis.

[IX] Orpheus atque Linus

THOMAS VENATORIUS G. BREITENGRASERO MUSICO NOREBERGENSI

Orpheus atque Linus quondam traxisse feruntur
Cum sylvis montes, flumina, saxa, feras.
Scilicet hi rectis studiis civilia tantum
Munera iungentes nil ea praeter habent.

5 Tu trahis et superos et coelos alacis ipsos
Et sequitur numeros Phoebus Apollo tuos.
Nam tua sunt aris et templis apta Deorum,
Quae tibi concessit carmina sanctus amor.

Nec traxisse aures satis est, mentem facis ipsam

10 Saepe per aethereas ire redire plagas.
Quo Deus est igitur maiior mortalibus, hoc tu
Threitio vati maiori es atque Lino.

[X]¹⁰ Heu mihi

Heu mihi, cur perii tam nobilis artis amator,
Qui vel perpetuum vivere dignus erat?
Non illum cantu doctus vicisset Apollo,
Non Orpheus dulci Thratius ipse lyra.
5 Non Linus hoc maior fidibusque canor Arion,
Suavior aut Triton Pieridesque novem.
Ergo iaces, Guilielme, decus patriaeque tuaeque
Eximium gentis sydus honorque, iaces.
Et tam vilis humus tantum—proh!—laudis et artis
10 Obruitt, o nimium fata inimica bonis!
Sed iaces, sic fata iubent, dulcemque quietem,
Breitgrasere, tuae maxime gentis, habe!
Mors odiosa modo tibi debile corpus ademit,
Nominis ampla tui fama perennis erit.

[XI]¹¹ Qui canit observans

LEON. KETNERUS IN MUSICORUM GERMANORUM CATALOGO DE G. BREITENGRASER

Qui canit observans, quae Musicus exiguit ardor,
Numina vel certum totius artis iter,
Inter honorandos, qui Musica regna sequuntur,
Hunc sinet autorem nomen habere, viros.
5 Multa alii nunquam cantata poëmata nunquam
Visa, Magistratus Noridos urbis habet.
Pro quibus (ut fas est) laudata laboribus illi
Dona dedit tantum gratus ab officium.

[¹⁰] From ibidem, 463.
[XII] O dur mort

O dure mort quy les phisiciens
Renverse embas ou ton dard fais depandre,
Tu as frappe dessus maistre Allexandre,
Chantre excellent sur tous musiciens.

5 Tu as mis bas le comble musical,
Le recreer des seigneurs et des dames,
Le frequenteur de maintz diners reaulmes,
Large du sien et le tout liberal.

Tu as cassé la triumpante voix,
10 Quy excedoit et passoit les driades,
Les dieux d'amours, et les aucadriades,
Les seraines et les niymphes des bois.

Tu as rompu et contrainct de morir
La bouche exquisse en musicque famée,
15 Laquelle doibt estre oien embasnee
Pour le garder sans le laissier pourrir.

Tu as conchiet le sens ingenieux,
Le perdessus de joie melliflue,
Du quel par tout la memoire en afflue,
Jour les accordez des tons armonieux.

20 Tu as mis bas les concordations,
Dictz, et motetz par vemure irradiueus,
Et composez sur voix melodieuse
Comme il appert aux recordations.

Tu as quy fut de musicque allume,
25 Et quy tant bien la composé par ordre,
Qui pour son temps personne na sceu mordre,
Et est dedens Veldoli inhumé.

Et as celluy dont musicque poursuit
Vous quelque amy pour en bonne ortographe

30 Faire pour luy une breve epitaphe,
Par quy soubit fut mis ce quy senssuytic:

EPITAPHE

Icy gist que mort accolla
Ung Ganthois jadis appellé
Maistre Alexandre Agricola

35  Dont en musique est bien parlé.

   Et fut par la mort desolé
   En my-aoust, mil cinq cens et six,
   Dieu vouelle qu'il soit consolé.
   Et ou nombre des bons assis.
40  Amen.

[XII] In obitum Jacobi Vasii Caes. Max. Archiponasci

Siccine te nobis vis immaturior auffert,
Cui tribuit primum musica sacra decus?
Siccine te Vasi? Phonascri, fundite vestro,
Fundite lugubres musica turba sonos!
5  Occidit, heu! Vegetis etiamnunc firmus in annis
Vasius ille Orpheus, qui velut arte suas
Caesareas demulsit, olor novus, haud semel aures.
At nunc muta sonat vox ea dulce nihil.

[XIV] In funere Jacobi Vaeti Musici Caesari

Adeste vates, hue adeste musici:
Manes Vaeti prosequamur naenia,
Manes beatos ille dum vixit, pie
Vixit, potentum cura regum et Caesarum;
5  Attemperata voce doctus fundere
Dulcesque cantus et modos suavissimos.
Nunc inter ipsos coelitum laetus choros
Summi Tonantis alma cantat munera,
Deique nato blanda figit oscula.
10  Salve o Vaeti noster haec tuus tibi
Orlandus, haec tibi Melissus carmina
Munus supremum donat eia, ave et vale.14
