To Begin, Continue and Complete:
Music in the Wider Context of Artistic Patronage by Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) and the Hymn Cycle of CS 15

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List of Music Manuscript Abbreviations

BolBU 2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216.
Bol Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q15.
CS 14	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 14.
CS 15	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 15.
CS 23	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 23.
CS 35	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 35.
CS 41	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 41.
CS 49	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 49.
CS 51	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 51.
CS 63	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 63.
CS 197	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 197.
Flor 107bis	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Magliabechi XIX. 107bis.
Flor BN Magl. 176	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Magliabechi XIX. 176.
Flor BN Magl. 178	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Magliabechi XIX. 178.
ModB	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.X.I.11.
MunBS Lat 14274	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14274.
NHavY 91	New Haven, Beinecke Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 91 (Mellon Chansonnier).
SPB80	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80.
TrentC 92	Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1379.
VerBC 759	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CDDLXI.
VerBC 761	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLXI.

List of Archive Abbreviations

BAV Lat.	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Vaticani Latini.
BAV SPAC	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, Armaria 41-42, Censualia, Introitus et Exitus.

All archive documents are provided with their reference in printed sources.

Abstract

This thesis takes as its area of exploration the papal chapel choir and its repertory, alongside the papacy and its patronage of the arts at the end of the fifteenth century. It draws on previous research concerning the singers, polyphonic manuscripts and artistic culture of the Vatican, but places Pope Alexander VI as the central figure of the thesis, showing schemes of patronage that shaped his reign.

The research presents a transcription and analysis of the hymn cycle contained within the manuscript Cappella Sistina 15, alongside an assessment of the polyphonic music collection and places these against accounts of music making and evidence of music copying at the papal chapel during Alexander's reign. The thesis also considers the environment of secular music making at Alexander's court. In order to provide a context in which to understand this information, the life of Alexander VI is examined, tracing his artistic patronage and involvement with music both prior to his election and afterwards. Of particular note is the engagement of the artist Pintoricchio to decorate the papal apartments. Here, the artist's representation of music as part of the seven liberal arts is analysed, providing a unique, contemporary and important insight into music practices in Alexander's court.

Three classifications of patronage are identified for Alexander's reign, while also showing that these were strategies that he had used before he became pope. The music culture at the papal chapel is shown to be part of this strategy, through the consolidation of old music and the introduction of new music into the repertory, ending a task that had taken approximately 60 years. It shows that Alexander's reign was an important period musically, that instituted new musical traditions and created an environment that prepared the way for the golden ages of patronage of Julius II and Leo X.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in the support of an application for another degree of qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Since the Vatican Library closed its doors for restoration at the start of my research, I have been at the mercy of many who have kindly lent microfilms and other materials. Chief among these has been Dr. Jeffrey Dean, who kindly supplied a copy of CS 15 that was used in the transcription central to this thesis. The ladies of the University of Manchester's Document Supply Unit must also be mentioned, having spent many hours chasing obscure publications across continents for me. I do not forget either, the librarians of the John Rylands' Special Collections at Manchester, the Royal Academy of Music, the National Art Library at the V&A and the British Library. Finally, one library that has become very close to a second home for my research and an inspirational hub of creativity for my work has been that of the Warburg Institute. It has been an honour to have been granted access to its collections and distressing that it faces an uncertain future.

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Er Cof Am Dillwyn Raymond Thomas

Chwefror 14 Mawrth 2010

Athro o cerddoriaeith.

Chapter 1: Introduction

> There has never been a man who asserted anything with more effectiveness, nor whose affirmations rested upon greater oaths, who observed them less.
> (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1513)[1]

> Thus first with golden bribes he did corrupt
> The purple conclave: then by devilish art
> Satan transfigured like a Protonotary
> To him makes offer of the triple Crown
> For certain years agreed betwixt them two.
> The life of action shall express the rest.
> (Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil's Charter*, 1607)[2]

The historical portrayal of Rodrigo Borgia, later known as Pope Alexander VI, has not particularly changed since the time of his death. The 'material of Faustian legend', 'an epitome of immorality' and 'the reason for God's punishment for a church in decline' are all comments relating to the second and last Borgia pope made by commentators from all periods, such as those that appear above.[3] A Venetian contemporary, writing of Alexander's death in 1503, believed that he 'had given his soul and body to the great devil of hell'.[4] So much has this figure been steeped in historical legend, that even a recent survey of the history of Western music is less than neutral, describing Alexander as 'rapacious', before confusing the pope with a later namesake.[5] Roland Barthes' characterisation of the 'bastard wrestler', although relating to a general concept of a

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[1] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. and trans. Peter Bondanella, Oxford, 2005, 61.
[2] Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil's Charter*, ed. R.B. McKerrow, Louvain, 1904, 4.
[3] Volker Reinhardt, *Der unheimliche Papst: Alexander VI. Borgia 1431-1503*, Munich, 2005, 11; Eulàlia Duran, 'The Borja Family: Historiography, Legend and Literature', *Catalan Historical Review*, Vol. I (2008), 63-79.
[4] Girolamo Piruli, *I Diarii*, Vol. II, ed. R. Cessi, Rome, 1941, 284. Trans. in J.N. Hillgarth, 'The Image of Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. LIX (1996), 119.
[5] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, Oxford, 2005, 457.

world far removed from the papacy, seems to be a most apt description of Alexander's historical characterisation:

> Essentially someone unstoppable, who accepts the rules only when they are useful to him and transgresses the formal continuity of attitudes. He is unpredictable, therefore asocial. He takes refuge behind the law when he considers that it is in his favour, and breaks it when he finds it useful to do so. Sometimes he rejects the formal boundaries of the ring and goes on hitting an adversary legally protected by the ropes, sometimes he re-establishes the boundaries and claims the protection of what he did not respect a few minutes earlier.[6]

The figure of Alexander VI has proved a complex image for many historians. There have been few other characters in history who have given rise to such impassioned writing. Some 20th-century historians have presented a more balanced description of Alexander, including some very passionate and ardent attempts to expunge the traditional Borgia reputation.

For all the attention placed on political intrigue and despotic actions in which Alexander was involved, little investigation has been devoted to understanding the cultural and artistic elements of his reign. Research has shown that the papal court was a veritable hub of notable artists, scholars and musicians at the end of the fifteenth century. However, few studies have placed the patron of the papal court at the centre of a study. Indeed, even in musicology, studies of the singers, composers, musical institutions and their manuscripts have relegated Alexander to the role of a passing character, rather than as an important patron of the arts.

Alexander VI's papacy involves the support and patronage of many notable and important figures of the arts, including: Donato Bramante, Josquin des Prez, Marbrianus de Orto, Pico della Mirandola, and Bernardino di Betto, better known as Pintoricchio. Much is known about the other famous patrons that these men served, such as Lorenzo

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[6] Roland Barthes, 'The World of Wrestling', *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers, New York, 1972, 22.

de' Medici, the Sforzas and Pope Julius II, but to what extent Alexander's life, actions or cultural preferences may have affected or developed these artists and musicians is little understood. This thesis seeks to present an investigation of Alexander's artistic patronage, providing a context in which musical culture during his papacy may be understood. At its centre, it will concentrate on a collection of music that was compiled and used during Alexander's pontificate. The context provides a perspective through which those present at the Vatican during this period and their work may be understood.

Related Literature

Concepts of patronage permeate the subjects of arts in many different histories. The primary concern of many studies is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'the action of a patron using money or influence to advance the interest of a person, cause, art, etc'.[7] Interpretations of this definition are wide, including those within the field of musicology. In some cases, groups of people, towns and cities have become a 'patron', where in others, one central figure binds the exploration of several different art forms together.

Approaches to the study of music in Rome have generally taken an institution, personality and material orientated focus and rarely do they go beyond acknowledging the reigning pope of the research period. However, papacies such as those of Sixtus IV and Leo X are acknowledged for being important periods of musical life in Rome before the Counter Reformation.[8] Other great patrons of the arts such as Nicholas V, Pius II, Alexander VI and Julius II are practically overlooked in relation to their own contribution to the music, the choirs and the musical culture of the Vatican palace. Studies of these

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[7] 'Patronage', *Oxford English Dictionary*, prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, Oxford, 1989, Vol. XI, 352.

[8] Christopher Reynolds, 'Rome: a City of Rich Contrast', *Man & Music: The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Baisingstoke, 1989, 67.

papacies concern the singers of the choirs in the Roman precinct of Vatican City. The approach to cataloguing and investigation originated in the work of F.X. Haberl at the end of the nineteenth century.[9] Josephus Llorens made another study that followed this in 1972.[10] Although biographical studies of composers briefly intersected the study of the papal chapel, little new was contributed to Haberl's original research until the doctorate of Richard Sherr who studied the papal chapel between the papacies of Innocent VIII and Julius II.[11] This was followed by the work of Jeffrey Dean who overlapped with Sherr in the study of work by scribes in the Papal Chapel.[12] Within the work of Dean and Sherr, the palaeographic studies concerning the papal chapel music manuscripts form a sizable quantity of research. Similar research also includes the work of other writers such as Adalbert Roth, who has written on the music manuscripts of the reign of Sixtus IV.[13] A separate line of research in the music and choir of St. Peter's Basilica was taken by Christopher Reynolds, who followed a similar approach to that of Sherr by placing the

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[9] F.X. Haberl, 'Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatican zu Rom' *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* Vol. II, Leipzig, 1888; 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, Vol. III, Leipzig, 1888; both reprinted, Hildesheim, 1971.

[10] Josephus M. Llorens, *Cappellae Sixtinae codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi*, *Studi e Testi* Vol. CCII, Vatican City, 1972.

[11] Richard Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513 and its polyphonic sources*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1975. This was followed by Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Neuhausen, 1996.

[12] Jeffrey Dean, *The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501-1527*, PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984.

[13] Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus IV. (1417-1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Capella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1991; idem, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches mit polyphoner Musik der päpstlichen Kapelle: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, MS 35', *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Staehelin, Weisbaden, 1998, 43-63; idem, 'Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel Towards the End of the Fifteenth Century', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1998, 125-137.

musical institution and its music at the centre of the investigation.[14] A more recent study by Jesse Rodin has placed emphasis on the period of Josquin's tenure at the papal chapel, turning away from the palaeographic approach and studies of choir membership that dominate the work of Sherr, Dean and Reynolds. Rodin particularly shows the importance of the music and repertory of the papal chapel and its influence on the work of Josquin and Marbrianus de Orto.[15]

Composer-centric research associating itself with the papal chapel is also numerous, especially around the figure of Josquin. Possibly the most important article to have changed the biographical status of the composer was Pamela Starr's 'Josquin and a Case of Mistaken Identity'.[16] In her article, Starr presented new research showing how Josquin des Prez had been confused in papal chapel records with Jo. de Pratis, who was actually Johannes de Stokem. This altered the information originally published by Haberl and used in many publications such as Helmuth Osthoff's biography of Josquin.[17] In providing new dates for Josquin's period at the papal chapel, Starr's work then had a subsequent effect on Josquin's chronology, both of his life and works. David Fallows's recent biography of Josquin highlighted his period at the papal chapel and the difficulty in fixing the date when he left that ensemble.[18] This calls attention to one of the main issues regarding knowledge of the membership of the papal chapel during the last decade of the fifteenth-century: the lack of records from April 1494 to November 1500 relating to the

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[14] Christopher Reynolds, *The Music Chapel at San Pietro in Vaticano*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1982; *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513*, Berkeley CA, 1995.

[15] Jesse Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass in the Sistine Chapel*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007; '"When in Rome…": What Josquin Learned in the Sistine Chapel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. LXII (2008), 307-372; 'Finishing Josquin's "Unfinished" Mass: A Case of Stylistic Imitation in the "Cappella Sistina"', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. XXII (2005), 42-453.

[16] Pamela Starr, 'Josquin, Rome and a Case of Mistaken Identity', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. XV (1997), 43-65.

[17] Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 Vols., Tutzing, 1962.

[18] David Fallows, *Josquin*, Turnhout, 2009.

singers' pay (*Mandati*), meaning that clarification of the membership of the ensemble between these two dates is impossible. The movement of Josquin around Europe has, however, slowly been accounted for, resulting in a likelihood that he left the papal chapel around the autumn of 1494.[19] The establishment of a later date for Josquin's entry into the papal chapel has led to a re-evaluation of the music that he composed whilst there, confronted in part in *The Josquin Companion*, and continued by Fallows.[20]

Alexander VI's reign has provided the background to these issues and will be used in the future in the research of other composer-singers at the papal chapel, such as Marbrianus de Orto.[21] It is, therefore, due time to provide an understanding of the patron who facilitated these developments, who has, even in most recent surveys of western musical history, been confused with successors of the same name.[22]

Studies of the life of Alexander VI began already in his lifetime. Almost daily accounts of the life of the papal court are provided by the papal Master of Ceremonies, Johannes Burchard.[23] His main preoccupation is with the hierarchical and bureaucratic issues within the court rather than as an emotional commentator of the daily life within it. Burchard's commentary on Alexander's life is much less judgemental than other

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[19] Ibid. 173 and 191.
[20] Richard Sherr (ed.), *The Josquin Companion*, Oxford, 2000; Fallows, *Josquin*.
[21] The recent completion of Nigel Davison's edition of De Orto's Latin-texted compositions as well as Jesse Rodin's forthcoming edition will surely lead to a plausible biographical study of the composer in future years. Nigel Davison, *Marbriano de Orto*, 9 Vols, Salisbury, completed 2009; Rodin, 'Marbrianus de Orto in Rome', *Early Music*, Vol. XXXVII (2009), 149.
[22] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. I, 457-58. Taruskin suggests that the Chigi Codex was bought by Agostino Chigi for the collection of Alexander VI. However, the Chigi codex was brought to Rome in the collection of Fabio Chigi who was later elected pope Alexander VII in 1655. *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Vol. IV, Neuhausen, 1988,13. This was first confused in Stanley Boorman & Herbert Kellman, 'Sources, MS. § IX.16: Renaissance Polyphony, Presentation MSS', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XVII, London, 1980, 690. This was then repeated without alteration in Stanley Boorman & Herbert Kellman, 'Sources, MS. § IX.16: Renaissance Polyphony, Presentation MSS', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XXIII, London, 2001, 916.
[23] Johannes Burchard, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* Vol. XXXII.1-2, Città di Castello, 1907.

contemporary chroniclers. For example, Raffaele Maffei, a resident in Rome and a humanist theologian, writes acidic comments about Alexander's weak morality.[24] It is not obvious from whence his hostility arose, but his friendship with the papal private secretary Adriano Castellesi or Corneto did allow him to have direct knowledge of the pope's life.[25]

Other diarists of the age also documented certain events within Alexander's life such as his election and coronation. These figures include: Stefano Infessura, Jacopo Gherardi, Bernardino Zambotti and Gaspar Pontani, who were all present early in Alexander's pontificate.[26] Each diarist focuses on his own details of Alexander's coronation, with Pontani providing a pseudo-Burchard list of those involved and Infessura, a scenic description. Neither provides any polemical discourse of the papal election, just description and commentary of events. The nearest contemporary study of the pope's entire life was given as an anonymous appendix to Platina's *De Vita et Moribus Summorum Pontificum*, published in 1529.

The first modern study of Alexander came in the form of Ludwig Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*.[27] Pastor, although aiming to be an objective historian in the most vigorous German tradition, shows the distaste for Alexander that had originated after the pope's death amongst many and which

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[24] Raffaele Maffei, *Raphaelis Volterrani commentariorum urbanorum liber I*, Rome, 1506.
[25] Ibid. fol. 318.
[26] Stefano Infessura, *Diario della Città di Roma*, ed. Oreste Tommasimi, Rome, 1890; Jacopo Gherardi, *Il Diario Romano*, ed. Enrico Carusi, Città di Castello, 1904; Bernardino Zambotti, *I Diario Ferrarese dall' anno 1476 sino al 1504,* ed. Giuseppe Pardi, Bologna, 1937; Gaspare Pontani, *Il Diario Romano*, ed. Diomende Toni, Città di Castello, 1907.
[27] Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 16 Vols., Freiburg, 1891-1930. English edition: *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. F.I. Antrobus, London, 1891-1940. The life of Alexander is split over Vols. V and VI.

permeated literary portrayals.[28] Pastor does, however, rely on primary source documents from the Vatican Secret Archive that produced an informed outline of Alexander's papacy. This study was followed in 1924 by that of Peter De Roo, who presented five volumes of information pertaining to the life, papacy and times of Alexander.[29] Alongside many documents, De Roo offers a narrative that contradicts Pastor's biographical agenda. However, in championing a Borgia history, De Roo omits documentation that presents Alexander in a 'less than positive light', leaving the reader with a saccharin account of his subject.[30]

Michael Mallett's *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* concentrates on the lives of both Borgia popes as well as those of Alexander's children.[31] Although there is little new evidence, it presents a healthy balance between Pastor's severity and De Roo's sentimentality. Although Mallett emphasises the eleven years of Alexander's pontificate rather than his earlier years, outlining the complex political problems that surrounded the papacy at this time, the work calls attention to the way in which Alexander wielded and manipulated papal power to maintain authority over papal lands and the Church. Susanne Schüller-Piroli gave a similarly balanced study in 1979,[32] revisiting an earlier study by her on the whole Borgia family.[33] Here, Schüller-Piroli provides an insight into Rodrigo Borgia's cardinalate, while forcibly highlighting the change in morality between the Renaissance and the twentieth century.

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[28] Examples of which can be found in Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil's Charter*; Victor Hugo, *Lucrèce Borgia*, Paris, 1833; Alexander Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1844-46.
[29] Peter De Roo, *Materials for a History of Pope Alexander VI*, 5 Vols., Bruges, 1924.
[30] Frederic C. Church, 'Reviewed Works: *Materials for a History of Pope Alexander VI., his Relatives and his Times* by Peter De Roo', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI (1925), 118.
[31] Michael Mallett, *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty*, New York, 1969.
[32] Susanne Schüller-Piroli, *Die Borgia Päpste Kalixt III. und Alexander VI.*, Munich, 1979.
[33] Susanne Schüller-Piroli, *Borgia. Die Zerstörung einer Legende: Die Geschichte einer Dynastie*, Freiburg, 1963.

Pastor, like Ferdinand Gregorovius before him, briefly outlined Alexander's patronage of the arts.[34] The publishing of documents relating to Alexander's patronage has also appeared in publications such as those by Eugène Müntz, as well as the sporadic documentation in Peter De Roo's biographical study.[35] A conference in 1992 marking 500 years since Alexander's election reignited interest in the figure of Alexander as a patron. One particular paper presented by Marià Carbonell I Buades drew parallels between Alexander and the Roman patron of the arts, Gaius Maecenas (70 BC - 8 BC).[36] A study undertaken by Ximo Company brought together the architectural and artistic patronage of Alexander VI in Rome in *Alexandre i Roma*.[37] Here, an overview of Alexander's patronage is given, relying primarily on secondary literature to provide a guide to Alexander's patronage before and during his pontificate, with many images of the relevant architecture, art and fortifications.

Studies of individual projects under Alexander's patronage have primarily centred on the employment of Pintoricchio to decorate the Borgia apartments of the Vatican Palace. Friedrich Saxl drew attention to the programme that Pintoricchio executed, showing that the rooms followed the schematic design of medieval cathedrals.[38] Alongside this, Saxl continued the criticism of Alexander, heavily influenced by the previous commentary by Pastor. A major study of Pintoricchio's decoration was undertaken by Sabine Poeschel, culminating in a volume dedicated to the study of the

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[34] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 8 Vols., Stuttgart, 1859-72. English translation: *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Hamilton, 8 Vols., London, 1894-1902.
[35] Eugène Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes: Innocent VIII, Alexandre VI, et Pie III (1484-1503)*, Paris, 1887.
[36] Marià Carbonell I Baudes, 'Roderic de Borja. Un exemple de mecentage renaixentista', *Afers*, Vol. XVII (1994), 109-134.
[37] Ximo Company, *Alexandre i Roma: Les empreses Artistiques de Roderic de Borja a Italia*, Valencia, 2002.
[38] Friedrich Saxl, 'The Appartamento Borgia', *Lectures*, Vol. I, London, 1957, 174-188.

design and content of the frescoes.[39] The Pintoricchio study is particularly hampered by the lack of any contract outlining the agreement between the artist and pope, although attempts to construct such a document are based on contracts that still exist for other projects.[40]

An attempt to reconcile Alexander's artistic and musical patronage was first made in a paper by Maricamen Gómez Mutané at a conference marking the fifth centenary of Alexander's son, Cesare's, death in 2007.[41] Here, Alexander's impact on music was shown to be as important to an understanding of his reign as the rest of his patronage. The short essay seeks to inform disciplines outside of musicology of the musicological research of the past forty years, incorporating previous work on the Borgia family by Vincent Ros.[42]

Studies of Alexander rarely connect his time as a cardinal and his later life as a pope in order to show the ways in which any of his preferences or attitudes as cardinal may have continued at the papal court. With an understanding of the political, biographical and circumstantial information of Alexander's early life and pontificate, it is now possible to provide an assessment of both the secular and sacred forms of music that Alexander's court contained. Studies that should have shown Alexander's importance in founding a Spanish cultural centre within Rome have virtually dismissed his presence as

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[39] Sabine Poeschel, 'Age itaque Alexander das Appartamento Borgia und die Erwartungen an Alexander VI.', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. XXV (1989), 129-165; 'Pinturicchios Fresken im Appartamento Borgia: Die Gestaltung einer Papstwohnung', *Die Renaissance-familie Borgia: Geschichte und Legende*, ed. E. Schraut, Sigmaringen, 1992, 28-50; *Alexander Maximus. Das Bildprogramm des Appartamento Borgia im Vatikan*, Weimar, 1999.

[40] Evelyn March Phillipps provided a mock-up of a probable contract in her book, *Pintoricchio*, London, 1901, 67. Recent studies of artists' contracts for such works can be found in: Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*, London, 2005; Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, London, 2005.

[41] Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, 'Musica en tiempos Alejandro VI' *Revista Borja*, Vol. II (2009), 529-540. A paper presented as part of the *Els fills del senyor papa. Cinqué centenary de la mort de César Borja (1507-2007)*, Valencia, 21-23 November, 2007.

[42] Vincent Ros, 'La Música I els Borja', *Els temps del Borja*, Valencia, 1996, 1-35.

an innovator, preferring to highlight the involvement of the Catholic monarchs in Rome as an important factor.[43]

Examinations of papal reigns, outside of those focussing on architectural history, have rarely highlighted overarching projects of patronage to be completed by successors.[44] In musicology, however, authors such as Roth and Dean have shown that the repertory of the papal chapel choir developed over several papacies.[45] The formation of this repertory has not yet, however, been considered a part of cycle renewals in later papacies, as outlined by Thomas Schmidt-Beste.[46] Indeed, it appears in many studies connected to the papal chapel choir that nothing existed before the polyphonic music that was built from the pontificate of Sixtus IV. The methodology used in the study of architectural history to show the gradual addition, refinement, consolidation and completion of projects is particularly important in the following study of Alexander's pontificate across many areas of patronage.

A prime example of the addition, refinement, consolidation and completion of projects within Alexander's patronage of the papal chapel choir is to be seen in the manuscript Cappella Sistina 15 and the hymn cycle that is contained within its first seventy folios. Assessment of the cycle itself has been contained within larger studies of hymns within the fifteenth-century. Rudolf Gerber first presented assessments of the

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[43] Thomas Dandelet, *The Spanish in Rome: 1500-1700*, London, 2001.

[44] The nearest examples of this are the studies of the architectural vision that Nicholas V had for Rome, outlined in C.W. Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Albert, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome 1447-1455*, University Park PA, 1974; Christopher L. Frommel, 'Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome during the Renaissance', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. XVII (1986), 39-65.

[45] Roth, 'Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel Towards the End of the Fifteenth Century'; Dean, 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, 611-636.

[46] Schmidt-Beste, 'The Repertoire of the Papal Chapel after the Council of Trent: Tradition, Innovation, or Decline?', *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, Turnhout, 2009, 113.

hymns used in Rome.[47] The ceremonial context of the hymns, their performance and their manuscripts were explored in a study by Masakata Kanazawa in 1966.[48] Here the contents of CS 15 were listed and the cycle of Du Fay within it highlighted in relation to earlier concordances. The doctoral thesis of Thomas Ward also provided a brief description of the manuscript and its contents, followed by his catalogue of polyphonic hymns from the fifteenth century.[49] Richard Sherr provided information in his descriptive catalogue of the polyphonic manuscripts of the fifteenth century. His prime concern with the music of CS 15 became the motets preserved in the third layer of the manuscript as they include heraldic motifs.[50] These issues, primarily concerning the presence of the royal French court in Rome for one month at the start of 1495, have overshadowed an understanding of other parts of the manuscript. Furthermore, issues of ink corrosion and bleed-through have frustrated attempts to decipher its music, consequently leading to dismissal of its hymn contents as merely a collection of hymns with additional afterthoughts.[51]

Study Outline

Chapter two combines the study of Alexander's biography and artistic patronage both before and during his papacy. It provides a contextual background for the rest of the

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[47] Rudolf Gerber, 'Römische Hymnenzyklen des späten 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. XII (1955), 40-73.
[48] Masakata Kanazawa, *Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1966.
[49] Tom R. Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century Until the Early Sixteenth Century*, PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969; 'The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth Century Italy', *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. XXVI (1972), 161-188; *The Polyphonic Office Hymn 1400-1520: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Neuhausen, 1980.
[50] Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*.
[51] An example of this has been Tom Ward's assessment of hymns for the 2001 *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, where he succinctly dismisses the cycle as nothing more than an attempt to gather together old and new compositions to complete a hymn cycle. Tom R. Ward (with John Caldwell), 'Hymn § III Polyphonic Latin, 1. 15th Century', *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. XII, 25.

study. The chapter summarises the changing political circumstances of Alexander's reign and argues that certain aspects of Alexander's style of patronage were formed from his time as a cardinal. It outlines the broad spectrum of his patronage of the arts, which also built on previous papacies by completing unfinished projects. A summary of Alexander's court is presented, alongside an outline of the palace budgets under his rule. Particular emphasis is given to the study of Pintoricchio's fresco of *Musica*, painted as part of the decoration of the Borgia apartments, as this provides a unique insight and commentary into the understanding of music theory and practices during the period.

Chapter three specifically concerns secular music at the Borgia court. It examines information pertaining to the performance of secular music and music performed within a secular setting. It asks what particular music may have entertained Alexander and how performers may have entertained him. It draws on Pintoricchio's depiction of music-making to provide commentary on possible ensembles within the court.

Chapter four outlines the sacred musical institutions located at the Vatican: the papal chapel choir and the choir of St. Peter's basilica. It shows the contrasting states of each choir, their membership and the way in which Alexander's presence as pope contributed to an influx of Hispanic musicians for each ensemble. The polyphonic repertory believed to have been copied during Alexander's pontificate is then examined. Here, the work of Sherr, Dean, Rodin and Reynolds is consolidated. From here, three period groupings are identified, leading to the identification of large gaps within the repertory. This leads on to a discussion of music that is recorded by figures such as Burchard, but not present within the surviving material of the papal chapel. Of particular note is the issue of missing repertory that was brought by Spanish singers who seem to have been attracted to the choir during Alexander's papacy.

Chapter five looks at the hymns of CS 15. It establishes the foundation of the cycle as rooted in the cycle composed by Guillaume Du Fay sixty years previously. It examines additions attributed to composers present at the papal chapel during the consolidation of the cycle in Alexander's reign. It identifies techniques used by composers to assimilate and cannibalise previous compositions in order to develop new settings. Where possible, the hymns of the cycle are transcribed and analysed. The cycle is then taken in its entirety to show compositional processes evident within the music.

The sixth chapter draws together the major themes identified through the thesis: the processes of continuing patronage, completing patronage and the beginning of new forms of patronage. It shows that music was an integral part of Alexander's programme of supporting the arts. Furthermore, it shows the contribution to music that Alexander facilitated in the course of his pontificate.

This thesis sets out to place music in the context of Alexander VI's pontificate. It aims to contribute to an understanding of why certain aspects of the papal chapel repertory were developed as part of a wider programme active in the patronage of Alexander's pontificate. It identifies styles that were popularised under the Spanish pope's reign and the reasons for their popularity. The thesis aims to give an impartial appraisal of Alexander, neither to eulogise him nor to denigrate him as some studies have done. Rather, the study attempts to show that, like Barthes' wrestler, Alexander went 'exactly through the motions that [were] expected of him' and indeed were necessary at the time.[52]

[52] Barthes, 'The World of Wrestling', 14.

Chapter 2: Rodrigo Borgia and Alexander VI: The Origins, Cardinalate and Papacy of an Artistic Patron

2.1 Origins, Cardinalate and Early Patronage

The Borgia family was a noble and influential clan from the Valencian peninsula with palaces and land in Xàtiva and Valencia City. Rodrigo was born around 1 January, 1432, the youngest son of the family of two boys and four girls born to Jofre and Isabella Borgia. As was custom of the period, the youngest son was destined for the church, and Rodrigo enrolled in the diocese of Valencia at the earliest possible age, which at this period was seven years old. At this time, it is likely that he was taken into the care of his uncle, Alfonso de Borgia, the Bishop of Valencia and counsellor to the king.[53] In 1441, Rodrigo's father died, causing Isabella and her family to move from Xàtiva to Valencia, to the palace where her brother Alfonso resided. This move was propitious for Rodrigo, as it enabled him to attend the city's academy and thus begin his formal education.

By 1448, Rodrigo was appointed canon of the collegiate church of Xàtiva and the Sacristan of Valencia Cathedral. The city of Valencia at this time was reputed to have been decadent and one of the most 'pleasure loving cities in Europe.'[54] Whether this hedonistic society was the foundation for the Borgia passion of excess that has become associated with Alexander in particular is difficult to ascertain. Rodrigo only stayed in the city for one year, as he was granted leave *in absentia* from his ecclesiastical positions to travel to Rome. This appears to have stemmed from Alfonso's influence, as while in

[53] Peter de Roo, *Materials for a History of Pope Alexander VI*, Vol. II, 12.
[54] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 83.

Rome, Rodrigo came under the tutelage of Gaspar da Verona, who kept a school at the Vatican for young relatives of high prelates.[55]

Records relating to Rodrigo show that he was staying at the Gregorian School at Bologna University in 1455.[56] Although some suggest that he was in attendance as early as 1449, there is insufficient evidence for this aside from the degree that he achieved in 1456, a doctorate of canon law, which took between four and seven years to achieve.[57] The University of Bologna was the oldest university in Italy and had great support at this time from Nicholas V, who had completed a doctorate there in 1420, as well as having been Bishop of Bologna. Innovative in its educational system, it was the first to add a professor of music to its faculty in 1450, although nobody filled the post for many years.[58] The presence of Rodrigo at Bologna suggests that he had been groomed by his uncle to follow in the footsteps of the reigning pope, Nicholas V. While at Bologna, Rodrigo's uncle, Alfonso, an obscure cardinal from Valencia, was elected pope on 8 April 1455, taking the name of Calixtus III. Rodrigo completed his study in Bologna during October 1456, whereupon he travelled to Rome to see his uncle. In March 1456, Rodrigo had been

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[55] Ibid. 84. Gaspare da Verona was a renowned grammarian, who emphasised spelling and syntax in Latin. Gaspare was professor of rhetoric in Verona from 1419 until 1429 and then appears to have settled in Rome by 1445. The school in Rome taught many notable figures of the fifteenth century including the printer Aldus Manutius. See Eva Matthews Sanford, 'Gaspare Veronese, Humanist and Teacher', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. LXXXIV (1953), 196-98; Paolo Viti, 'Gaspare da Verona', *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, Vol. LII, Rome, 1999, 466-67.

[56] Marta Pavón, 'La formación de Alonso y Rodrigo Borgia', *Los Borgia: Del Mundo Gótico al Universo Renacentista: Museu de Belles Artes de Valencia, 22 de dicembre de 2000 al 16 de marzo de 2001*, Valencia, 117.

[57] Peter de Roo suggests that Rodrigo left for Bologna as soon as the school of Gaspare da Verona disbanded in 1449; De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. II, 20. On the university system of Europe during the mid-fifteenth century, see Jaques Verger, *Histoire des universités en France*, Toulouse, 1986, 35-36; Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore & London, 2002, 4-5.

[58] Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studiolo dal 1348 al 1799*, Vol. I, Bologna, 1888, 32; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500*, Cambridge, 1993, 293.

elevated to the position of cardinal *in absentia*, only receiving it upon his return to Rome on 17 November 1456.[59]

Cardinal Borgia and his Patronage

Rodrigo's first assignment as cardinal was a diplomatic mission as papal legate of the March of Ancona. After leading a military campaign and his successful restoration of order in the fortress of Ascoli, the new cardinal earned much respect and admiration.[60] The triumph of the campaign in Ascoli, through the use of both force and persuasion, gained Rodrigo the most influential appointment, that of Vice-Chancellor, upon his return to Rome in 1457.

This role was the most powerful position after that of pope. Essentially an administrative post, the Vice-Chancellor was directly responsible for the day-to-day running of the papacy. In addition, Rodrigo was made president of the Sacred Rota, the highest court of the Holy See. These two very influential positions allowed the cardinal to accumulate wealth, as the position of Vice-Chancellor, in particular, allowed him to become aware of numerous benefices that had become vacant. As one of the wealthiest cardinals in the College, Rodrigo quickly contributed to the common view that a prince of the church was 'expected to live in a relatively lavish fashion, supporting a retinue which seemed to have numbered… between sixty and eighty members'.[61]

Rodrigo purchased the buildings of the old papal mint and surrounding land from Calixtus III for 2000 ducats in 1458 with plans to build a palace.[62] The site of the Cancelleria Vecchia was chosen because of its relative proximity to the Vatican palace. It

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[59] De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. II, 35.
[60] Susanne Schüller-Piroli, *Die Borgia Päpste Kalixt III. und Alexander VI.*, 91.
[61] Evelyn Welch, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, 1997, 246.
[62] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 87.

is situated on what is now the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, on the opposite side of the Tiber from the Castel Sant'Angelo and is now known as the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini. Once built, the palace consisted of four wings enclosing a rectangular courtyard, with a three-storey loggia at one end opening onto the courtyard from the west wing.[63] Fig. 1 shows the remaining fifteenth-century structure as presented by Giuseppe Tilia, omitting the South structure that was destroyed and cannot currently be reconstructed.[64] The palace was described by a contemporary, Jacopo Gherardi, as 'no less ornate than it was comfortable'.[65] Pius II, when passing the palace upon his coronation, likened it to the Golden House of Nero, a comment that suggests a display of luxury and wealth.[66] The full extent of the palace's theatricality is described by Ascanio Sforza in a letter to Ludovico Sforza on 22 October 1484:

> The palace is splendidly decorated; the walls of the great entrance hall are hung with tapestries depicting various historical scenes [ornate de tapezarie historiate in cercho et dreto]. A small drawing room leads off this, which was also decorated with fine tapestries; the carpets [tapedi] on the floor harmonised with the furnishings which included a sumptuous day bed upholstered in red satin with a canopy over it, and a chest on which was laid out a vast and beautiful collection of gold and silver plate. Beyond this there were two more rooms, one hung in fine satin, carpeted, and with another canopied bed covered with Alexandrine velvet [veluto Alexandrino]; the other even more ornate with a couch covered in cloth of gold. In this room the central table was covered with a cloth of Alexandrine velvet and surrounded by finely carved chairs.[67]

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[63] Carroll William Westfall, 'Alberti and the Vatican Palace Type', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. XXXIII (1974), 114.
[64] Giuseppe Tilia, Fig. 30 in Torgil Magnuson's *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, Stockholm, 1958, 231.
[65] Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, *Diario Romano*, ed. E. Carusi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* XXIII, Città di Castello, 1904, 48.
[66] *Commentaries of Pius II*, trans. F.A. Gragg, Vol. VIII, Northampton, Mass. 1936-57, 535-36. 'At omnium sumptus atque conatus, et omnium ingenia longe superavit Rodricus Vicecancellarius, qui aedes suas, quas in solo veteris monetae altissimas et amplissimas construxit; divitibus et admirabilibus pannis operuit; tum caelum sublime erexit in quo multa et varia suspendit mirabilia; nec suas tantum domos, sed vicinas etiam adoravit, ita ut platea circumducta paradisus quidam videretur suavibus plena sonis, et cantibus, sue plurimo fulgens auro domus, sicut Neronis fuisse perhibetur..'.
[67] Trans. In Mallett, *The Borgias*, 88; after Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 528-29. The original is in the State Archives, Milan: Carta generale fasc. 1438-1490.

Ascanio Sforza's description of Rodrigo's dwelling shows that the furnishings and decorations were lavish displays of wealth.[68] Construction, design and decoration fit neatly into the description of a cardinal's ideal palace as outlined by Paolo Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu* written nearly 50 years later: the orientation, close proximity to the Vatican and use of fashionable devices in the ornamentation mimic Cortesi's assessment of the ways in which a palace should be built and decorated.[69]

In the same year that Rodrigo bought the land and buildings to construct the Cancelleria Vecchia, Calixtus III died, leaving the cardinal in a city where an anti-Catalan campaign of revenge was led by the Orsini family, creating much animosity between the Romans and the Spanish.[70] Furthermore, Rodrigo had lost his mentor of 27 years. Throughout his cardinalate, Rodrigo spent much time cultivating relations between the Vatican and the Spanish, as well as the Italian states, with particular emphasis on the two vital states of Florence and Naples.[71]

Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia is portrayed, in 1459, as a favourable and influential character by the diarist Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra:

> A man of versatile intellect, and great sense of imagination; an eloquent speaker and well read in a rather [mediocre] way; he has a warm nature but above all is brilliantly skilled in conducting affairs. He is immensely wealthy and in great favour with many kings and princes.[72]

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[68] Evelyn Welch highlights the display of lavish stock held by the Porro brothers of Milan in 1500, including the presence of Spanish crimson velvets displayed. Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, London, 2005, 160.

[69] See Kathleen Weil-Garris & John F. D'Amico, 'The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. XXXV (1980), 70-85.

[70] Frederick Baron Corvo, *A History of the Borgias*, New York, 1931, 57-59.

[71] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 92-99.

[72] Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, *Diario Romano*, 48-49. 'Vir est ingenii ad quecumque versatilis et animi magni, sermo ei promptus est et in mediocri literatura valde compositus. Natura est calidus, sed ante omnia mire ad res tractandes industrie. Claret mirum in modum opibus; regum et principum plurimorum clientelis admodum clarus'. Translation given in Mallett, *The Borgias*, 82.

This somewhat balanced description agrees with the character that Gaspare da Verona described as someone who was 'gifted with a honeyed and choice eloquence'.[73] Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pius II, also commented that although Rodrigo may be young, 'he is old in judgement.'[74] The association between Rodrigo and Pius II grew into a strong bond, as, soon after Rodrigo's completion of the Cancelleria Vecchia, Pius invited Rodrigo to build an Episcopal palace in Pienza, and dedicate it to the Virgin Mary, on the site of the old magistrate's court.[75] Rodrigo, however, did not follow the plan as Pius had intended. Instead of building within the new architectural style that Pius II had chosen for Pienza, Rodrigo improved upon the already standing structure by adding an extra floor and renovating the existing building, suggesting some frugality on the cardinal's part. The Palazzo Vescovile (previously called the Palazzo Borgia), was donated to the Bishop of Pienza by Rodrigo soon after the death of Pius II, [76] the action suggesting that he may have had little interest in the project and that he only took it on to please the pope.

As one of the few Spanish cardinals in the curia, Rodrigo accumulated a number of benefices connected to that country. It is unsurprising that he became bishop of Valencia, a position once held by his uncle, and he also became Legate to Spain. In 1472, Rodrigo made his first visit to the diocese since leaving in 1449 to begin his formal education in Italy. He was accompanied by two artists in his *brigata* from Rome, Leocadio de Reggio and Francesco Pagno, who were employed to decorate the cathedral of Valencia with frescoes. It is not clear in what ways either artist was familiar with Rodrigo, however, it

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[73] 'Formosus est, laetissimo vultu aspectuque iocundo, lingua ornata atque melliflua..'. Gaspare de Verona, *Le Vite di Paolo II*, ed. G. Zippel, Città di Castello, 1904, 39; trans. Mallett, *The Borgias*, 84.
[74] A. Leonetti, *Pape Alessandro VI secondo documenti e carteggi del tempo*, Bologna, 1880, Vol. I, 106. Quoted in Mallett, *The Borgias*, 89.
[75] Charles R. Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City*, London, 1987, 108.
[76] Ibid. 108-112.

appears that the cardinal was familiar enough with their work to entrust the commission to them. Little is known of Pagno, except that he was active between 1471 and 1489, came from Naples and once he had completed his Valencian engagement, returned there. San Leocadio was born in Reggio Emilia in September 1447, dying in Valencia around 1520. Having trained with the Padua-Ferrara school, his earliest known work is the decoration of Valencia cathedral.[77] The commission was to paint the high altar of the cathedral with themes on the *Life of the Virgin*, which were also to be extended to other parts of the cathedral, including the vaulted roof. The contract is in the Valencia cathedral archives, signed and dated 26 July, 1472.

The decoration of the ribs between the vault is of significance in their depiction of twelve angels playing woodwind and string instruments and the organological perspective they present [Fig. 2]. The detailed representations of the instruments provide an unparalleled insight into their construction at that period.[78] The frescoes, in the *all'antica* style, are the earliest examples of Italian Renaissance painting in Spain and are considered to have influenced the use of such technique in that country.[79] Depictions of angels playing musical instruments were commonplace, suggesting that these are not distinct elements of programmatic design, but merely programmatic convention for the decoration of churches.[80]

This period marks Rodrigo's start as a serious patron of the arts, not only abroad, but also in Rome. One example of this patronage is the engagement of Andrea Bregno to create the high altar of S. Maria del Popolo. Bregno was the most popular and prolific

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[77] Ximo Company, 'Paolo [Pablo] da [de; di] San Leocadio', *Oxford Art Online*, accessed 07/07/08, www.oxfordartonline.com.
[78] Recently explored in Jordi Ballester, 'An Unexpected Discovery: The Fifteenth-Century Angel Musicians of the Valencia Cathedral', *Music in Art*, Vol. XXXIII (2008), 11-29.
[79] Company, 'Paolo da San Leocadio'.
[80] See Emanuel Winternitz, 'On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting', *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, London, 1979, 137-49.

sculptor of his day, whose main output was the decoration of tombs of Roman dignitaries connected with the papal court.[81] The marble tabernacle for the high altar, dating from 1473, depicts four saints surrounding an image of the Virgin Mary holding Jesus, with the words "Ave Maria Gratia Plena" below. The classical decorative style of Mino da Fisole heavily influences the design.[82] The style was popular in Rome and consequently shows the fashionable leanings of the commission.

In 1483, Rodrigo was made dean of the College of Cardinals, making him *primus inter pares* of the College. In the same year, he became the arch-priest of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and the cardinal-protector of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Rodrigo's time at Santa Maria Maggiore marks a crucial period in his interest in music: while there, the cardinal instituted a school of music in the basilica in order to enhance the music. In a Bull of Innocent VIII, permission is given to Rodrigo to open a school to 'teach five or six or more boys chant and music'.[83] Although no more information can be found associated with this school at present, it shows that Rodrigo took a personal interest in the quality of music that was performed in the services and his desire to improve such facilities through education.

Rodrigo was an established member of Roman society and as an influential and rich cardinal was able to employ fashionable and notable artists for commissions. What Rodrigo's own court consisted of, with relation to artists, is, however, difficult to work out. Members of the *familia* contributed to the social and intellectual life of a cardinal's court. Upon the death of Cardinal Pietro Riario, it is understood that the court humanist

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[81] Giovanna Cassese, 'Bregno: (2) Andrea (di Cristoforo) Bregno', *Encyclopaedia of Italian Renaissance and Mannerist Art*, Vol. I, London, 2002, 266.
[82] Company, *Alexandre VI I Roma*, 100.
[83] ASV RV 746, fol. 372: '…quinque vel sex aut plures si videbitur clerici pueri ac unus eorum eruditus et magister in cantu et arte musice…' Given in De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. II, 451-53.

and poet, Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, entered into Rodrigo's household.[84] Riario's *familia* included architects, painters, singers, physicians, astrologers, philosophers, orators and poets and it is likely that Rodrigo also supported such an array of people. The cardinal was certainly associated with many learned men of the time through his position in the *Camera Apostolica*, but how far these may be associated with Rodrigo is questionable.[85]

By the time Rodrigo Borgia entered the conclave of 1492, he was one of the richest cardinals of the curia, with control over a great deal of land and dioceses around Rome as well as in Italy and Spain including Albano, Valencia, Porto, Majorca and Sorino and strategically placed fortresses that protected Rome from the North: Nepi, Civita Castellana and Via Flamina. To the South of Rome, he owned the lordships of twenty-five villages around the route to the Abruzzi and held the *commenda* of the Abbeys of Subiaco and Fassanova.[86]

2.2 Election and Papacy

On the fifth morning of the conclave to elect a new pope, 11 August, 1492, Rodrigo Borgia had a majority vote of two thirds from the College of Cardinals. Biographical studies have long disputed whether Rodrigo was a favourite for the papacy in contrast to Ascanio Sforza and Giuliano della Rovere, and I see no need to spend

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[84] John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanists in Papal Rome*, London, 1983, 54.
[85] Such men include Adriani Castellesi of Corneto, who would become Rodrigo's private secretary during his papacy and, in turn, was in close contact with more notable figures such as Raffaele Maffei. See Ibid. 16-18; D. Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1977, 104. Ludovico Podocatharo, the Cypriot physician, also educated Rodrigo's children, but was a member of the court of Queen Charlotta of Cyprus, situated in the Borgo. Gregorovius also associated Lorenz Behaim with the court, who was a member of the Roman academy of Pomponius Laetus and also Rodrigo's household manager. To what extent these may have contributed to the cardinal's court is, however, questionable. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia. Nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit.*, Stuttgart, 1875. English edition, *Lucrezia Borgia: A Chapter from the Morals of the Italian Renaissance*, trans. & ed. John Leslie, London, 1948, 15-17, 32-33; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 248.
[86] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 86.

further time on this oft confusing and muddied area of Rodrigo's election.[87] As Rodrigo emerged from conclave, he took the name of Alexander, the sixth elected pope to do so. As was traditional, many of those who voted for Alexander were rewarded with gifts and titles held by the elected cardinal, some of which may well have been promised during conclave. Some of these are shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Known gifts presented by Alexander upon his election as pope[88]

Cardinal	Gifts
Giambattista Orsini	Vice-chancellor's palace of San Lorenzo in Damaso; fortified buildings of Soria and Monticelli; revenue of Cartagena Cathedral (Spain) worth 5,000 ducats; legislation of the Mark of Ancona.
Ascanio Sforza	Cancelleria Vecchia; Town of Nepi; Revenue of Agria Cathedral (Hungary) worth 10,000 ducats; named Vice-Chancellor of the Church.
Giovanni Colonna	Abbacy of Subiaco and its adjoining buildings and rights of patronage.
Raffaele Riario	Trastevere palace previously owned by Ascanio Sforza; Spanish benefices amounting to 4,000 ducats; position of Cardinal-Chamberlain.
Giovanni Savelli	Legations of Perugia and Civita Castellana equalling 22 towns and a revenue of 3,000 ducats.

Alexander VI's coronation on 26 August 1492 was a lavish occasion, including a triumphal procession through Rome, leading one commentator to suggest that 'Anthony was not received with as much splendour by Cleopatra as Alexander by the Romans'.[89] Records have shown that the people of Rome shouted with welcome and praise for the new pope as the quasi-pagan parade processed through Rome.[90] The Borgia Bull, a heraldic device

[87] On the conclave of 1492, see: Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 375-419; Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. VII, 320-23; W. Schweizer, 'Zur Wahl Alexanders VI.', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXX (1909), 809-832; Ferdinand La Torre, *Del Conclave de Alessandro VI, papa Borgia*, Florence, 1933, 88-106; Schüller-Piroli, *Die Borgia Päpste*, 132-143; Mallett, *The Borgias*, 109-20.

[88] Based on Frederick Baron Corvo, *A History of the Borgias*, 97-98.

[89] Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. VII, 330.

[90] Cries of 'Spain, Spain, and long live Pope Alexander the Roman' and 'Rome was great under Ceasar, greater far under Alexander' have been highlighted in studies that mention the

found on items associated with the Borgia family, was in prominent use throughout the ceremony, including its association with a personification of Rome as a queen and a verse by the humanist Hieronymous Porcius:

> Long live the bull, long may he be praised through the ages,
> The highest glory among the circle of popes![91]

Michael Ferno and Hieronymous Porcius described the event by elevating Alexander virtually to the status of divinity in their veneration of the new pontiff.[92] The extensive documentation of Burchard, the Master of Ceremonies, is, sadly, missing as he was absent for the period of the election, hence little is known about the celebration aside from sporadic mentions in other sources. It is believed, however, that a motet that appears twice in the earliest manuscript to be copied by the Sistine Chapel Choir, was written specifically for the coronation by Marbrianus de Orto: *Salve regis mater / Hic est sacerdos*.[93]

A Coronation Motet for Alexander VI and a Musical Gift

Salve regis mater / Hic est sacredos is found in the polyphonic music manuscript Cappella Sistina 35. It is a five-voice *cantus firmus* tenor motet, where the text of *Salve regis mater* is placed in the superius, contratenor and two bass voices, while the tenor voice has an independent text, repeated twice – Hic est sacerdos Alexander quem coronavit Dominus. Alleluia [This is the priest Alexander whom the Lord has crowned. Alleluia]. It is from this text that Wolfgang Stephan established that the motet was

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procession. See Alfred von Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, Vol. II, Berlin, 1870, 202-3; Miquel Batllori, *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sull' età aragonese*, Bari, 1968, 592.

[91] 'Vive diu bos, vive diu celebrande per annos / Inter Pontificem Gloria prima choros!' Trans. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia: A Chapter from the Morals*, 28.

[92] Michael Ferno, *Historia nova Alexanderi VI ab Innocentii obitu*, Rome, 1493; Hieronymous Porcius, *Commentarius de creatione et corinatione Alexandri VI*, Rome, 1493.

[93] The most recent association of the motet with de Orto has been in the biographical study by Jesse Rodin in *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass of the Sistine Chapel*.

written for Alexander's coronation.[94] Successive writers have also assigned the composition to Marbrianus De Orto, a singer at the papal chapel at the time of Alexander's coronation, on the grounds of style and musical treatment.[95] The writing of coronation anthems was commonplace, evidenced in Du Fay's *Ecclesie militantis* for the coronation of Eugenius IV in 1431 and Isaac's *Optime pastor* for the ascension of Leo X in 1513.

The five-voice tenor motet originated in the Burgundian-Netherland area of Europe and was established by the composer Johannes Regis.[96] Richard Sherr highlights the compositional characteristics of Johannes Regis, while also asserting that they are attributes of the tenor motet. His points are that:

- They are in two parts, the first in tempus perfectum, the second in tempus imperfectum diminutum.
- The fifth voice (the Tenor) is drawn from chant, and is not derived by canon.
- The entry of the Tenor is delayed by an introduction, usually as a shifting three-voice texture, but often containing extensive duets.
- In the first part of the motet the Tenor remains separate from the other voices. To this can be added a tendency for the other voices to have "wide-spanned melodic lines" with complicated rhythms and some use of sequences.[97]

It has been shown by Henrietta Straub that these characteristics can be found in the five-voiced motets that are collected into the third section of the manuscript CS 15, which includes compositions such as Regis, *Clangat plebs*; Compère, *Quis numerare queat*; Weerbeke, *Dulcis amica Dei* and Josquin, *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*.[98] These characteristics are all present in *Salve regis mater*/*Hic est sacerdos*.

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[94] Wolfgang Stephan, *Die Burgundisch-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, Kassel, 1937; Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*, Utrecht, 1976, 28-30.
[95] Martin Picker, 'The Career of Marbriano de Orto (1450-1529)', *Collectanea II: Studien zur Geschichte der Päpstlicjen Kapelle*, Vatican City, 543.
[96] Wolfgang Stephan, *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems*, 24.
[97] Richard Sherr, '*Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman Style' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XLI (1987), 444.
[98] Henriette Straub, *The Motets in Cappella Sistina 15: The Motet in the Fifteenth Century*, Mus.M Thesis, University of Manchester, 1993.

The motet is copied into the manuscript twice, once at fols. 188v-191, and again at fols. 196v-200. Each copy is by a different scribe, who have very different hands from each other. The second copy of the music in the manuscript shows a hand that appears more accustomed to copying music than the first, using much larger notation in a style similar to the scribal hands found in other manuscripts prepared by the papal chapel choir. The text is also positioned in different places, suggesting no uniform interpretation from one source to the other, although the first copy appears to have more deliberate attention to text underlay.[99] Each source is plagued with ink bleed-through and differences between the sources.[100]

The four voices separate from the tenor sing text addressing the Virgin Mary, asking for her to hear the prayers of the people (Largos atque humiles preces effundimus) and to have mercy on their souls as she ministers to the new pope (Nostris misereri animis ut quam usas clavigeri ministrare celestis Alexandro). Finally, it asks for her protection over Alexander's reign (Pronoscemus hilari, protegens Virgo, intuitu ut que felix investitus per curiam terminet annos, te favente, certos. Talis enim, Virginum gemma, dignus est honoris). Such sentiments are echoed in the accounts of Alexander's coronation from Hieronymous Porcius and Michel Ferno.[101] The two copies of the text present two different textual styles, one in traditional Latin and the second in Italianate Latin.[102] This begs the question of where the lyrics originated from, as they are not Biblical or liturgical in origin. It presents the possibility that one of the scribes either copied directly from the source of text for the composition, was trained in traditional

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[99] On the scribes, see This Thesis, Chapter 4.2.2.
[100] The only edition and that to which I refer is Nigel Davison, *Marbriano de Orto: Latin Compositions IX*, Salisbury, 2010.
[101] Michael Ferno, *Historia nova Alexanderi VI ab Innocentii obitu*, Rome, 1493; Hieronymous Porcius, *Commentarius de creatione et coronatione Alexandri VI*, Rome, 1493.
[102] Davison, *Marbriano de Orto: Latin Compositions IX*, xvi.

Latin, or both. It further presents the possibility that the text was a collaboration between a humanist, possibly from within the Curia, and the composer.[103] De Orto was certainly very active in acquiring benefices throughout his time at the papal chapel choir.[104] It is, therefore, possible that the text may have been provided by a colleague employed from the Curia.[105] Further research is required on De Orto before any conclusion can be made.

In December 1492, Burchard documented a motet rehearsed by the papal chapel choir, for which he gives the full text, entitled *Gaude roma vetus*.[106] Urged by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the choir had prepared a performance of the work that had been written by Tinctoris (at least the text had; Burchard does not say if the music had also been composed by him). The text, like the oratorical fireworks of Porcius and Ferno, instructs Rome to rejoice at Alexander's election. Burchard goes on to say that Alexander did not wish for the motet to be performed during Mass, preferring to listen to it later in his chambers. There are many possible reasons for this, including the inappropriate content of the motet for use in a liturgical ceremony and that the music was a gift from the Aragonese court of Naples and was a device to obtain papal favour.[107] If, as Sydney Robinson Charles has shown, the motet was seen as a gift to Alexander, it is likely that he saw this for what it was and opted for a more private performance. This interpretation is supported by the presence of Prince Federigo of Naples at the Mass. Sadly, the music does not survive.

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[103] Hay has shown that many members of the Curia were active humanists throughout the fifteenth-century. D. Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1977.
[104] Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass of the Sistine Chapel*, 158-60.
[105] It is possible that De Orto may have even composed the text himself. However, the small knowledge that currently exists concerning De Orto's life and training does not provide sufficient evidence for this to be certain. See Ibid.
[106] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. I, 376.
[107] Sydney Robinson Charles, 'Letter from Sydney Robinson Charles', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XXXV (1982), 372.

The Political Situation

From Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra's account of Alexander in 1459, it may be thought that political relations would be amicable during his reign. The death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 led to political instability and uncertainty in the Italian peninsula. French claims to the Neapolitan throne and encouragement from Ludovico 'il Moro' Sforza of Milan, encouraged Charles VIII of France to enter Italy in 1494, leading to complex political manoeuvring by Alexander between the French and Aragonese ruled court of Naples. Threats from the Ottoman Empire were kept at bay by the imprisonment of Sultan Byazit's brother, Prince Jem, in the Castel Sant'Angelo. Although prisoner, Jem was free to indulge his taste for musical entertainment, fine dining and walks around Rome until in the captivity of Charles VIII in 1495.[108]

Although not part of the turmoil in Europe, it is difficult to overlook the impact of the discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus in October 1492. The claim of ownership over the land between Spain and Portugal led Alexander to divide the continent between the two powers, influencing the balance of the world to this very day.[109]

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[108] Study of Prince Jem, or Jem Sultan as he is known in some histories, is rather lacking in the Western world, even though he has recently become a relevant topic for discussion, albeit briefly, in some musicological writings in relation to one of Josquin's compositions. The primary sources for information about Jem are Arabic, namely the anonymous *Vikiat-i-Sultan Cem* written by a close companion of Jem during his lifetime and Sadüddin's *Tacü-i-tevarih* of 1520. Modern study, including extensive use and translation of these sources in the Western world, can be found in Nicolas Vatin, *Sultan Djem, Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XV siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines: Vakıatı Sultan Cem, Oeuvres de Guillaume Caoursin*, Ankara, 1997. The only biographical study providing a notable introduction to the study of Jem in English is John Freely, *Jem Sultan: The Adventures of a Captive Turkish Prince in Renaissance Europe*, London, 2004.

[109] See H. Vander Linden, 'Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXII (1916), 1-20.

The return of the papacy from Avignon under Martin V in 1420 found Rome in a state of neglect and ruin. The formal plan of rebuilding the city was only instituted under the reign of Nicholas V in 1447, but would occupy the following 50 years before completion. Nicholas's vision, compared by Charles Mack to Alberti's idea of the perfect city in *De re aedifictoria*,[110] had three main aims: 'to rebuild the city walls and restore the aqueducts and bridges; to repair the forty churches of the stations; to rebuild the Vatican Borgo, the Papal Palace and the Church of St. Peter's'.[111] Nicholas's vision and ambition were monumental, setting a precedent for all those that followed, but he insisted on his deathbed that the reasons for the project were: 'Not for ambition, or pomp, nor vainglory, nor fame, nor the eternal perpetuation of my name, but for the greater authority of the Roman church and the greater dignity of the Apostolic See'.[112]

Attempts to match and contribute to the Nicholine vision were made by Pius II and Paul II, primarily in the first two project aims, although it was Sixtus IV who saw a way to combine such a programme with his own intentions. For instance, the building of the Sistine Chapel combined both a papal chapel with a space in which conclaves could be held. The chapel's function was not fully taken advantage of until the election of Alexander VI, due to Sixtus's desire to use S. Maria del Popolo as the site for many papal ceremonies.[113]

Innocent VIII did not leave any contribution of note to the Nicholine plan. Instead, the patronage of a new villa in the papal palace vineyard took precedence, costing 60,000

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[110] Mack, *Pienza*, 30.
[111] Giannozzo Manetti, *Vita Nicolai V. summi pontificis ex manuscripto codice Florentino*, ed. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* Vol. III, Milan, 1734, 930; Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. II, 169; Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise*.
[112] Charles L. Frommel, 'Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome During the Renaissance', 41-42.
[113] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. IV, 456.

ducats for construction alone.[114] The decoration of the Villa Belvedere was undertaken by Mantegna and Pintoricchio, who used a combination of popular styles including landscapes of Italian cities on some walls and *all'antica* style in other areas.[115] This set a standard for villa design in Rome for the next century and also incurred a considerable cost. It thus set a precedent for the expense that a pope might incur for a project that would only be of use for his own pleasure.[116]

The resulting situation at the start of Alexander's papacy was a need to continue and complete projects that had been previously started, falling under the Nicholine programme of *renovatio Urbis*; alternatively, he had the option to break free of this project and start a completely new one, or to ignore it completely, like Innocent VII. Alexander's actions embraced two particular strategies: to finish the programme set out by Nicholas V and followed by some of his successors and to create projects that were an exclusive product of Alexander's own attitude towards the arts.

Early Patronage of Alexander VI

The earliest project of Alexander's papacy was to complete the benediction loggia at the front of St. Peter's basilica, begun by Pius II, but originally a part of Nicholas V's regeneration plan. The state of construction at the time of Alexander's election can be clearly seen in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* [Fig. 3]. Designed by Francesco del Borgo, it was left unfinished until, on 20 September 1492, the architect Graziadei was paid 500 ducats to complete it.[117] The completed loggia was used as a place from which

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[114] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes Innocent VIII, Alexandre VI, Pie III*, 78.
[115] On the Villa Belvedere, see Sven Sandström, 'The Programme for the decoration of the Villa of Innocent VIII', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, Vol. XXIX, 35-75.
[116] On the design legacy, see David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton, 1979, 70.
[117] Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, 194.

the pope could greet the crowd in the piazza throughout the year, as shown in Raphael's fresco, *Incendio di Borgo* in the Vatican Palace [Fig. 4]. From Raphael's depiction, the structure appears to be supported by composite columns, both circular and square. There are two additional floors to the structure which do not appear in Schedel's woodcut that, in turn, obscures part of the façade of the basilica.

Alexander's own plans for defence were seen early in his papacy. Fortifications were built around the Vatican palace and the surrounding Borgo, including the Torre Borgia, which became part of the Borgia apartments. The Castel Sant'Angelo was also built up in its fortifications, as well as a 'secret' passage that was designed to connect the palace and the Castel Sant'Angelo, building on a structure dating from the reign of Nicholas III (1277-80).[118] Burchard records that the initial idea for such fortifications was first mooted on 2 May, 1493.[119] The payment for such works did not appear, however, until the following year.[120]

Alexander's early actions also incorporated the overturning of decisions made by his predecessor. In 1487, Innocent VIII excommunicated the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the grounds that the contents of his 900 theses, published in 1486, were heretical. Pico had been favoured and encouraged by his patron, Lorenzo de'Medici, in his dedication to the reconciliation between the ancient and Christian worlds. The 900 theses included topics on theology and philosophy that particularly attracted attention from the church. A commission set up by Innocent VIII found thirteen of the theses

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[118] Company, *Alexandre VI I Roma*, 194.
[119] Burchard, *Liber Notarum*, Vol. II, 418.
[120] Payments are made to Antonio de Frosino on 11 September (100 florins) and Antonio Florentino on 7 November (100 florins), both for work on a passage between the palace and Castel Sant'Angelo. Final payments of 50 ducats were made to Alexander Tiburtino on 30 December 1494 for the completion of the passage. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, 200. Quoting ASAV, Vol. 527, fols. 133, 148v and 160v.

objectionable and three heretical.[121] Upon Alexander's election, Pico sent a congratulatory letter that led to a reconciliation between the philosopher and the church. Following the death of his patron and having been in exile, Pico returned to Florence and fell under the influence of Savonarola's sermons. In 1493, Alexander granted Pico absolution in an autograph Brief that also included an assurance that he had never 'been guilty of heresy'.[122] Alexander's actions suggest that he possessed a much more liberal attitude than his predecessor towards contemporary scholarship that looked outside the confines of the Church's teachings.[123]

In his 1676 history of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Paolo de Angelis suggested that the gold used in the ceiling by Alexander VI was from the Americas.[124] The Borgia family had a strong connection to this basilica: Calixtus III had sponsored the ceiling, possibly the only artistic commission of his pontificate, and Rodrigo Borgia had been arch-priest at the time. A continuing Borgia interest in the basilica is therefore understandable. Burchard records Alexander visiting the basilica to inspect work on the ceiling as early as 27 February, 1493.[125] The Bishop of Perugia, Juan Lopez, listed the grand projects underway at the basilica in the month later, when writing to Enrique Enriques, the papal emissary in Gandia, including the basilica ceiling and the benediction

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[121] William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola Symbol of his Age: Modern Interpretations of a Renaissance Philosopher*, Geneva, 1981, 48.
[122] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 344-45.
[123] This further suggests that Alexander did not agree with the thesis he himself had completed under the direction of Innocent VIII entitled *Clipeus Defensionis fidei Sanctae romanae Ecclesiae*, which contained material that attacked the neo-pagan interest shown by contemporary scholars. Once again, it suggests that Rodrigo Borgia worked to please the popes of the time, as in Pienza, rather than his own personal desires. See Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, Vol. VII, 325.
[124] 'Alexander Sextus perfecit (et quidem si nonnullis credimus) ex primo auro quod Indiae tranmiserint'. Paolo de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Maria Maggiore de Urbe… descriptio et delineatio*, Rome, 1621, 94.
[125] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. I, 400. '… se visurum que pro structura illius ecclesie sive supercaelo parata errant…'.

loggia.[126] Burchard notes that the project was still in the process of completion in April 1498.[127]

What this project actually was, is difficult to ascertain actually. Phillip Jacks suggests that the earlier work in 1493 was a 'preliminary framework onto which the coffers would eventually be installed'.[128] A contract from 1498 lists the employment of two German goldsmiths and an architect from Florence and in August 1503 payments stop to a presbyter of the basilica who appears to have overseen the project.[129] Whether any of Angelis's gold of the Americas was used, is quite impossible to tell. Certainly, the relationship between the Catholic monarchs was mixed, especially in the realms of artistic patronage.[130] Columbus had only reached the New World sixteen days after the start of the project in Santa Maria Maggiore, so to believe that the use of American gold was planned, if indeed it was finally used, is highly circumstantial. As the stemma of both Alexander VI and Calixtus III appear, it is more plausible that the project was undertaken as a repair, which concluded in a complete renovation of the ceiling. This would fit into

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[126] R.P. Fidel Fita, *Estudios Históricos. Colección de Artículos*, Vol. IV, Madrid, 1886, 126. 'Labra en Santa Maria la mayor una muy insigne obra, aqui en el palacio de San Pedro, en la benediccion, en Campo formio y en muchos otros lugares'.

[127] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. II, 89. 'ad vivendum opus supercoeli illius basilicae fieri ordinavit'.

[128] Phillip Jacks, 'Alexander VI's Ceiling for S. Maria Maggiore in Rome', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. XXII (1985), 67.

[129] Ibid. 68, 70, 74.

[130] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera noted that the Catholic monarchs turned pale at the news of Alexander's election. Vasari noted the appearance of Queen Isabella in the frescoes of Pinturicchio that decorated the Castel Sant'Angelo, alongside other friends of Alexander's papacy. Deborah Howard has most recently outlined the possible facilitation that Alexander played in the introduction of Bramante to the Catholic monarchs, resulting in the *Tempietto.* However, the assessment of Bramante's style by Arnaldo Bruschi suggests a much later maturity of design that places the architect's commission at a later date after Alexander and Isabella's death. Felipe Ferdinandez-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, London, 1975, 135; Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Bondanella & Bondanella, Oxford, 1991, 254; Deborah Howard, 'Bramante's Tempietto: Spanish royal patronage in Rome', *Apollo*, Vol. CXXXVI (1992), 215; Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, Bari, 1969, 992.

the actions of Alexander both repairing the churches, as in Nicholas V's plan, and also preserving the legacy of the Borgia family.

The French Invasion, Organ Patronage and Church Reform

In September 1494, with support from Ludovico Sforza and dissident cardinals led by Giuliano della Rovere, Charles VIII, king of France, crossed the Alps into Italy in order to claim Naples for French rulership.[131] Alexander had previously recognised Alfonso II of Naples as ruler of the region, in return for support for defending the papal states.[132] When the French army entered Rome on 31 December 1494, Alexander moved from the Vatican Palace to the more secure Castel Sant'Angelo. Negotiations took place between Charles and Alexander, with specific issues relating to the investiture of Charles to the throne of Naples being a central theme. On 15 January, 1495, terms were agreed upon to allow the French passage through the papal states, accompanied by cardinal Cesare Borgia, Alexander's son, as papal legate and hostage, and also Prince Jem, whose presence was a possible sign of support for Charles's plans to invade the Ottoman Empire.[133]

This probably occured around 1495 when plans were drawn up to renew the organ of St. Peter's basilica. The first record of an organ at the basilica was from the

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[131] The French claim to Naples had been established in 1266, when Charles of Anjou and Provence conquered the land. This claim had been absorbed by Charles VIII on the death of René of Anjou who died in 1480. Naples had, however been conquered by Alfonso V of Aragon in 1434, leading to the establishment of Aragonese rulership, even though the French still laid claim to the land. See Alan Ryder, 'The Angevin bid for Naples, 1380-1480', *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, ed. David Abulafia, Aldershot, 1995, 55-69.

[132] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 133.

[133] Mallett suggests that Prince Jem was given to Charles as a ploy to gain support from the Ottoman Empire for the papacy, showing that they were powerless against the French. Ibid. 137-38.

pontificate of Calixtus III, in 1455.[134] In the forty years between then and 1495, it appears that the basilica owned up to five organs, sometimes having two at a time, whilst at other points none at all. A notice in the Vatican archives from 1496 shows that the building of an organ was being undertaken by Domenico di Lorenzo da Lucca (1452-1525), whose work was to be reviewed by Isacco Argyropulo, Lorenzo de Corduva and the 'master of the organs' Stefano da Salerno.[135] The organ builder was the foremost Italian one of the period, with notable instruments by him installed in Lucca, Pisa and Padua.[136] No payment records exist for the building of the organ, but there are records for its decoration, which was funded by the basilica. The organ was decorated by Giovanni Aspertini and probably also by his son Amico Aspertini (later engaged by Alexander VI to decorate rooms in Civita Castellana) with two other family members as well as the goldsmith, Sigismondo Conon, and cost a total of 530 ducats. In 1619 Giacomo Grimaldi described the decoration of the organ as portraying the crucifixion of St. Peter, a scene from the life of Simon Magus and the beheading of St. Paul.[137] Little is known of the organ's construction, but it was renovated in 1624-26 and then rebuilt in 1720 due to dry rot, its longevity testifying to its quality in contrast to its predecessors. It was finally dismantled in 1891-92.[138]

Another organ was paid for by Alexander in S. Salvatore in Lauro. The early structure of the church was destroyed in a fire in 1591, taking the organ and the records

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[134] Christopher Reynolds has published the archival references to organs at the basilica in 'Early Renaissance Organs at San Pietro in Vaticano', *Studi Musicali*, Vol. XV (1986), 55-57.
[135] Ibid., 50.
[136] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's,* 67.
[137] Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: Codice Barbarini latino 2733*, *Codices e vaticanis selecti* Vol. XXXII, ed. Reto Niggl, Vatican City, 1972, 167ff.
[138] Reynolds, 'Early Renaissance Organs', 52, 53.

pertaining to it up in flames.[139] A third organ has also been associated with Alexander's patronage in S. Maria del Popolo; Ambrogio Landucci first attributed that instrument to the patronage of Alexander VI based on the appearance of the pope's stemma on the decoration of the organ in 1646.[140] However, Tommaso Valenti later showed that the pope was not involved in the commissioning of the instrument when it was built by Don Giuseppe Testa in 1499.[141] The organ was subsequently rebuilt and then replaced, leaving only the decoration that had been completed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1655.[142] If Alexander was not involved in the building of the organ, the appearance of his stemma on the decoration may suggest that he at least sponsored its decoration.

What function these instruments served at the time of their building is difficult to comprehend. The surviving polyphonic music manuscript from St. Peter's basilica, SPB80, does not contain any indication of an organ being used in performance.[143] The number of new organs built in the fifteenth century suggests that there was a particular need for the instrument at the basilica. It is likely that the instruments were used on high-feast days within the churches and basilicas of Rome, being used for the entry of prelates, dignitaries and celebrants as well as their use for the embellishment of chant.[144] The presence of an organ was certainly a status symbol for a church or basilica, showing its

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[139] Brief descriptions of the church are presented in C. Astolfi, 'Storia del convento e chiesa di San Salvatore in Lauro oggi Santa Maria di Loreto di Marchigiani', *Rassegna Marchigiana*, Vol. XI (1933), 173-88, 210-31, 252-72; On the organ specifically, see E. Fanano, *San Salvatore in Lauro del Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni*, Rome, N.D., 42-43.

[140] Ambrogio Landucci, *Origine del tempio dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Madre di Dio Maria presso alla Porta Flaminia, detto hoggi del Popolo*, Rome, 1646, 24.

[141] Tommaso Valenti, 'Il contratto per un organo in S. Maria del Popolo a Roma (1499)', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, Vol. X (1933), 289-96.

[142] Furio Luccichenti & Oscar Mischiati, 'L'Organo Bernini di D. Maria del Popolo a Roma', *L'Organo*, Vol. VII (1969), 159; George Bauer & Linda Bauer, 'Bernini's Organ-Case for S. Maria del Popolo', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXII (1980), 155-123.

[143] See chapter 4 on the manuscript SPB80.

[144] Edmund A. Bowles, 'The Organ in the Medieval Liturgical Service' *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, Vol. XVI (1962), 23-24.

importance and wealth.[145] The basilicas of St. Peter's and S. Maria del Popolo were already favoured places of worship by popes: St. Peter's through its historical importance and S. Maria del Popolo through the patronage and favour that Sixtus IV had lavished upon it during his own reign.[146] It is likely therefore, that these particular spaces relied upon an organ more as a component of their liturgical practice, rather than as a status symbol. The anomaly here is the church of S. Salvatore, which was described by Mary Vaccaro as 'nothing more than the organ and marble pavement'. [147] It was not within Alexander's general pattern of patronage to support a small church with such a large gift but Fanano suggests that the community of canons that served at the church boasted of their 'great music' or "de'buoni musichi".[148] This particular case illustrates Alexander's encouragement of an already flourishing musical establishment. The very nature of these acts of patronage show Alexander continuing his dedication to the improvement of music within the church, as he had done at S. Maria Maggiore while a cardinal.

An event was to occur on 15 June, 1497, which was to affect Alexander's private life and which could have led to a very different outcome for his courtly life and artistic patronage during the second half of his reign: his eldest son, Juan Borgia, was found dead on the bank of the river Tiber.[149] The circumstances of Juan's death suggested that he was murdered rather than the target of robbery: his body was left with nine stab wounds, with his purse and expensive clothing left intact. The grief-stricken pope withdrew to his chambers for days upon hearing of the death, while accusations concerning the identity

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[145] Arnaldo Morelli, 'Per ornamento e servicio: Organi e sistemazioni architettoniche nelle chiese toscane del Rinascimento', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, Vol. VII (1997), 281.
[146] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. IV, 456.
[147] Mary Vaccaro, 'Documents for Parmigianino's "Vision of St Jerome"', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CXXXV (1993), 22.
[148] Fanano, *San Salvatore in Lauro del Pio Sodalizio dei Piceni*, 43.
[149] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 494.

of the murderer proliferated.[150] The range of suspects included the families that opposed the pope, such as the Sforza, but also extended closer to the pope, with accusations centred on Juan's brother, Cesare, who had been the last person seen with him.[151]

The aftermath of the murder drove Alexander to make a change in both personal life and public role, by initiating constitutional reforms for the church. A Bull was released in July 1497 outlining the proposed reform programme, which included not only theological issues but matters that reached across the papal household.[152] Even the papal chapel choir was listed as under consideration for reform by cardinals Costa and Caraffa, who were leading the reformation plans. Further reaching were the consideration of dietary requirements for cardinals and particularly the fact that they would have to disband musical entertainment in favour of scripture reading at the dining table.[153] These reforms, however, were never passed due to the direct effects on the College of Cardinals and such issues as the selling of curial offices.

Towards 1500 and the re-shaping of the Vatican Borgo

The papal jubilee, celebrated every 25 years, was a period of pardon, remission of sins and a time when pilgrims flocked to Rome and flooded the curia with petitions of plenary indulgences to secure papal grace.[154] Plans for the celebration in 1500 began in a consistory on 26 November, 1498, where an agreement was reached that outlined the building of a new road to accommodate the pilgrim route to St. Peter's basilica. The

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[150] Detailed descriptions of these days are given in Sanuto, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Vol. I, ed. F. Steffani, Venice, 1879, 654-55; Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. II, 42-45.
[151] Outlines of the accusations are presented in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 497-511; Mallett, *The Borgias*, 154-57.
[152] The texts of the Bull are presented in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. V, 558-63; Michael Tangl, *Die Päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen von 1200-1500*, Innsbruck, 1984, 402-21.
[153] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 157-58.
[154] Pamela F. Starr, 'Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Music Patronage', *Early Music History*, Vo. XI (1992), 233-24. On its origins, see Herbert Thurston, 'Holy Year of the Jubilee', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. VIII, New York, 1910, 532.

concept for this was part of Nicholas V's *renovatio Urbis* project, which had never been started. The project was overseen by Cardinal Raffaele Riario, who engaged architects in order to begin it between February and April of 1499.[155]

The project was a bold statement of Alexander's papacy, in which ancient monuments were removed, such as the Meta Romuli – believed to have been the mausoleum of Romulus – as well as the demolition of the Borgo housing, which required occupants to rebuild within two months or forfeit their land to the Camera Apostolica.[156] The road was completed in time for the opening of the jubilee on 24 December, 1499, when Alexander ceremonially broke through a bricked-up doorway with a silver hammer. The pomp and circumstance of the ceremony are outlined by Burchard. The completion of the new road, called the Via Alessandrina, connected the triptych of papal rulership: the seat of temporal power, the Vatican Palace; the seat of spiritual power, St. Peter's basilica; and the seat of military defence, the Castel Sant'Angelo, clearly shown in Leonardi Buffalini's depiction of the area in 1551 [Fig. 5]. The project, although envisioned fifty years previously by Nicholas V, has been used to reflect the ways in which Alexander's 'ruthless' nature surfaced in his artistic patronage, although it is more a completion of Nicholas's vision and a continuation of the work that Pius II had begun in

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[155] The exact date of the work's commencement is not known. Christopher L. Frommel suggests the earlier date of February, while Pastor quotes a letter of the Ferrarese envoy Manfredi who wrote in April of 1499 'El papa ha facto dare principio ad una strata che da la porta del palacio se ne va a filo a la porta del castello che sera una bella cosa, quando sera fornita' (Modena State Archives, 8-VI-1499). Frommel, 'Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome During the Renaissance,' 50; Pastor, *History of the Popes,* Vol. VI, 167.

[156] Loren Partridge, *The Art of Renaissance Rome 1400-1600*, Upper-Saddle River, 1996, 25; Frommel, 'Papal Policy', 50. Also see M.L. Madonna 'Una operazione urbanistica di Alessandro VI: La Via Alessandrina in Borgo', in Maurizio Calvesi (ed.), *Le arti a Roma sotto Alessandro VI*, Rome, 1981, 4-9. A short list of payments for the land by the Camera Apostolica is provided in Müntz, *Les Artes à la Cour des Papes*, 186-87.

clearing the area directly in front of the basilica during his own reign.[157] It was the largest project of Alexander's pontificate, and the completion of the *renovatio Urbis* plan.

The jubilee year attracted many pilgrims with events such as that on Easter Sunday, when 200,000 pilgrims knelt before the basilica of St. Peter's in order to receive a blessing from Alexander.[158] The demand was so great by pilgrims travelling to Rome, that the Holy Year was extended until Epiphany of 1501 in order to allow those who were still en-route to complete their pilgrimage. It has been suggested that on this particular occasion, when the Holy Door was once again bricked up, the polyphonic hymn of *Hostis Herodes*, found in SPB80 (264v-249), was performed by the St. Peter's basilica choir.[159]

Final Years

The final years of Alexander's pontificate have been the focus of commentators wishing to show the extent of his corruption. Certainly, Alexander poured a great deal of effort into securing a future for his children, most notably Lucrezia and Cesare. The pope's final years were not devoid of patronage though.

In 1499, Donato Bramante arrived in Rome. This date is frequently used to note the start of the 'High Renaissance' period and the initiation of Bramante's last and greatest phase of work.[160] Bramante had left Milan after the invasion of the French and the fleeing of the city by his patron, Ludovico Sforza. Bramante found favour in Rome from the papal circle, including Cardinals Oliviero Carafa and Raffaele Riario as well as from Alexander himself. Bramante quickly became popular with the Spanish as he shared

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[157] Frommel, 'Papal Policy', 50.
[158] Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, Vol. VII.II, 458.
[159] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's,* 106.
[160] Paul Davies and David Hamsoll, 'Bramante, Donato', *Encyclopaedia of Italian Renaissance & Mannerist Art*, Vol. I, Ed. Jane Turner, London, 2000, 261.

with them a disdain for the French.[161] Bramante received small commissions from Alexander, including a painting of the papal arms over the main entrance of S. Giovanni in Laterano and two fountains for piazzas in Rome.[162] These were placed in front of St. Peter's basilica, and the second in Travestere. Only parts of the fountain of the piazza in St. Peter's survive, as part of another constructed by Carlo Maderno in 1614. It is not clear whether Bramante was commissioned to build anything else by Alexander, or indeed whether Alexander facilitated the commission to build the *Tempietto* of S. Pietro.[163]

In June 1501, Alexander placed a censorial edict on German printers, ordering them to obtain Episcopal approval for all new printed books.[164] Pastor presents extracts of the text showing that the censorship primarily guarded against the dissemination of information that contradicted doctrine.[165] The introduction of censorship in printing was an inevitable consequence of the process that made materials more widely accessible. Why Alexander took this action is difficult to understand. One suggestion has been that it was a continuation of Innocent VIII's own mandate to censor unorthodox ideas.[166] Had it been earlier, it could have been associated with Alexander's plans for reform of the church. Mallett suggests that Alexander's 'mind was not entirely on worldly matters', as

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[161] Deborah Howard, 'Bramante's Tempietto: Spanish royal patronage in Rome', 215.
[162] Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, 821, 837-41.
[163] See footnote 130 above.
[164] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 214.
[165] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. VI, 154-56.
[166] Hans J. Hillerbrand, 'On Book Burnings and Book Burners: Reflections on the Power (and Powerlessness) of Ideas', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. LXXIV (2006), 598. Alexander had written publications earlier in his life to satisfy the ideas of Innocent VIII, much in keeping, as I have shown, with his work under other papacies produced in order to satisfy other people, rather than himself. See Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, Vol. VII.I, 325; De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. II, 275-76.

his earlier support of the neo-Platonic philosopher Pico della Mirandola's work shows that this censorship was completely out of character.[167]

2.3 Alexander's Papal Apartments

The following section will look specifically at Alexander's patronage of the Borgia apartments in the Vatican palace, a space that was used daily for conducting business and entertaining. It will first provide an overview of the decoration of the apartments and then provide an analysis of the *Sala delle Arti Liberali*, with specific focus on the depiction of Music within the room.

It is hardly surprising that the extravagant living conditions and lavish surroundings that had been established by cardinal Rodrigo Borgia in the Cancelleria were continued in his new residence as pope. Like many of his predecessors and successors, Alexander created this space in the palace which was used to conduct official state business in a way that was distinct to his taste and time. The extensive decoration of the apartment was the first of its kind in the Vatican palace, setting a precedent for those papacies that followed. The Borgia apartment occupied four rooms that were part of those occupied by Nicholas V, with an extra two rooms added by Alexander as part of the newly built Torre Borgia. The apartment was in a 'traditional' formation, in which there is a string of rooms, each with its own function, but in this case without a corridor between each area [Fig. 6]. This allowed the occupant to have some control over the distance that a guest might enter: the further into the apartment a guest was received, the greater the importance of the visitor.[168]

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[167] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 214.
[168] Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600*, London, 1997, 300.

The decoration of the apartment could be considered as a visual representation of the way in which Alexander wished to be portrayed. Its programme draws together elements of Judeo-Christian traditions alongside pagan mythology, showing an influence of Annius of Viterbo, who was a prominent member of Alexander's court as a historian, in the loosest sense of the term.[169] Bernardino Pintoricchio and his studio were given the task of decorating the apartments, which began in 1493, alongside rooms in the Castel Sant'Angelo, which were destroyed in 1497.

Pintoricchio had been employed by popes to decorate parts of the Vatican spaces since Sixtus IV, where, as an assistant to Perugino, he contributed to frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Innocent VIII engaged Pintoricchio alongside Mantegna to decorate the Vatican Belvedere with landscapes of Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Venice and Naples. After the patronage of Alexander VI, Pintoricchio was also engaged by Julius II, highlighting his popularity during his lifetime, a contrast to the comments made about him posthumously. A notable example of this latter is that Vasari's most complimentary tone could only stretch to praise the speed in which Pintoricchio completed projects for patrons, rather than the quality of the work delivered:

> … who among other things, greatly satisfied many princes and lords, since he quickly delivered his finished works, as they desired, even though such works perhaps lack the quality of those done slowly and with greater deliberation.[170]

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[169] Also known as Giovanni Nanni (c.1432-1502), Annius was a Dominican priest who translated and published 'ancient' texts, most notably his *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium*, Rome, 1498. On Annius's reception as a historian, see Christopher R. Ligota, 'Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. L (1987), 44-56.

[170] Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 254-55. A recent assessment of Vasari's attitude towards Pintoricchio shows the similarities between Vasari's and Pintoricchio's working styles. It notes further that the similarities between the artists was used by Vasari to project psychologically his own failure on to another artist, resulting in Vasari's acerbic tone towards Pintoricchio. See Jan L. de Jong, 'The Success of Pintoricchio and the Problems of Vasari: Fortune and Reputation of an Umbrian Painter in Rome on the Threshold of the High Renaissance', *Fragmenta: Journal of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome*, Vol. I (2007), 173-196.

The success that Pintoricchio enjoyed during his own lifetime can simply be shown in the fact that the artist enjoyed more papal patronage than Raphael and comes close to equalling that of Michelangelo.[171]

Pintoricchio's painting techniques imitate the style of painting that decorate the *Domus Aurea*, also known as the Golden House of Nero (c. 64-68 AD), which had been discovered on the Esquiline Hill in Rome around 1480. The decoration of stucco, gilding and painting had a unique impact on the fashions of the end of the fifteenth century, developing into the *all'antica* style that Pintoricchio uses in the Borgia apartments.[172] The ornate affectation of painting shown in the decoration of the papal apartments, led Konrad Oberhuber to call it the 'Alexandrine style', paralleling the 'Clementine style' identified by André Chastel in connection with the papacy of Clement VII thirty years later.[173] Led by Sebastiano Luciani (Sebastiano Del Piombo), keeper of the Papal Seal, the Clementine style was born out of the Sack of Rome in 1527 and is most typified in the work of Parmigianino.[174] One particular difference that contrasts Oberhuber's Alexandrine style with Chastel's Clementine style, is that Clement VII never engaged any of the artists that are associated with the style.[175] Alexander VI, however, did employ Pintoricchio and, therefore, could certainly be associated with the *all'antica* style and its promulgation.

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[171] de Jong, 'The Success of Pintoricchio and the Problems of Vasari', 175.
[172] See J. Schulz, 'Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. XXV (1962), 35-55; Hetty Joyce, 'Grasping at Shadows: Ancient Paintings in Renaissance and Baroque Rome', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXXIV (1992), 219-20.
[173] Konrad Oberhuber, 'Rome and the Art of the Court of Northern Europe in the Sixteenth Century', *"Il se rendit en Italie" Etudes offertes à André Chastel*, Paris, 1987, 72.
[174] See in particular André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. Beth Archer, Princeton, 1983, 149-178.
[175] Linda Wolk-Simon, 'Competition, Collaboration, and Specialization in the Roman Art World, 1520-27', *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, Aldershot, 2005, 256.

The papal apartments of Alexander VI dedicated a theme to each room [Fig. 6]. Each had a set of main frescoes set above head height, complemented by decorative grotesques with abstract patterns above them on the ceiling. A renaissance visitor would have entered the apartment in the Torre Borgia, finding the depiction of twelve Sibyls and Prophets in lunettes (Sala delle Sibille). This room drew together both pagan and Old Testament characters who foretold the coming of Christ. The next room depicted the twelve Apostles, again in lunettes, alongside the articles of the Creed (Sala del Credo). From here, a visitor would enter the rooms that once formed part of Nicholas V's apartments. The Sala delle Arti Liberali was used by Alexander as his study, and depicted the seven arts: arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, grammar, logic, music and rhetoric. Next, the Sala dei Santi portrays scenes from the lives of seven saints: The martyrdom of St. Sebastian; The Disputation of St. Catherine of Alexandria; St. Anthony and St. Paul; St. Barbara; Susanna, and finally St. Elizabeth in the Visitation. Like the Sala delle Sibille, the Sala dei Santi juxtaposes Judeo-Christian figures with pagan figures, however, this time more heavily symbolic in nature, with the Egyptian deities Apis the bull (drawing on parallels with the Borgia bull) and Osiris. The next room a visitor would enter was the Sala dei Misteri della Fede, or Room of Seven Joys, which depicts scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ including: The Annunciation; The Nativity; The Adoration of the Magi; The Resurrection; The Ascension; The Assumption and also Pentecost. As with many other areas of Alexander's patronage, there is no surviving contract for the decoration of the apartments. Attempts at reconstructing a contract have been made, which do not differ greatly from other contracts studied in recent times.[176] It is unlikely that the

[176] One example of the reconstructed contract is in Evelyn Phillipps, *Pinturicchio*, London, 1901, 67. Recent research directly relevant to the reconstruction of artists' contracts and the cost of materials may be found in: Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and*

contract for Pintoricchio and his studio differs from any other project of this size at this period. It appears that the project was well under way when Alexander wrote to the Commune of Orvieto demanding that Pintoricchio should return to finish the project on 29 March, 1493.[177] As the decoration of the Castel Sant'Angelo included a depiction of Charles VIII, we must expect that Pintoricchio was in Rome during January 1495, although the Borgia apartments in the Vatican palace may well have been completed, as the last date to appear within these frescoes is 1494.[178] The programme of decoration within the Castel Sant'Angelo harkens back to the tapestries that adorned the walls of the Cancelleria Vecchia from Alexander's cardinalate.

Pintoricchio's decoration of the rooms in the Castel Sant'Angelo do not survive. The subject of these frescoes focussed specifically on the life of Alexander, presenting as part of this, depictions of friends and visitors to the papal palace. Some of these were destroyed in an explosion caused by a lightning bolt hitting a gunpowder magazine in 1497 but some figures in the frescoes were listed by Vasari. One aspect of the papal apartments that Vasari does mention, that has only come to light recently, is the appearance of Alexander's mistress, Giulia Farnese, depicted as the Madonna holding Jesus.[179] History suggests that when Fabio Chigi took the name Alexander VII (1655-67), he removed the offending fresco from the Borgia apartment. In 2006, the fragments of a

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Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy, London, 2005; Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*.

[177] Document of Archivio del Comune di Orvieto, published in L. Luzi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, Florence, 1866, 461, Doc. CXI.

[178] Claudia La Malfa, *Pintoricchio a Roma: La seduzione dell'antico*, Milan, 2009, 122.

[179] Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 253 and 552. This comment was originally believed to be considered an error on the part of Vasari, as it would directly imply an idolatrous worship of Giulia by Alexander.

fresco likened to Vasari's description surfaced in Rome and were later attributed to be the very same depiction, now entitled 'Bambin Gesù delle Mani'.[180]

Fritz Saxl first showed that the overall programmatic design of the apartment was not greatly different from that found in medieval cathedrals: the twelve Jewish and pagan prophets, the twelve apostles, the seven Liberal Arts, seven Virtues and the seven Joys of the Virgin.[181] Much of this programme is, however, embellished with a Borgia genealogy, which was constructed by Annius of Viterbo, in order to show a direct lineage between the Etruscan rule of Italy and the modern rule of the Borgia family. The genealogy has been neatly paraphrased by Thomas Dandelet:

> Osiris was the son of the biblical Noah, also known as Janus. Having made his way from Italy from Egypt with his son Hercules, Osiris succeeded in civilizing the tribes inhabiting Italy before he returned to Egypt. Back home, Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, but was resurrected as the bull Apis. Meanwhile, Hercules and his mother, Isis, defeated Typhon, and Hercules went on to wage war against Typhon's followers and various others in North Africa and Europe. Significantly for Spanish and Italian connections, Hercules became king of Spain, succeeding his uncle, Tubal, another son of Noah and the first king of Spain. He then moved on to Italy to make various conquests there… the kings of Spain thus traced their lineage back to Tubal and Hercules and were related to the founder of the Borgia line, Osiris… To add one more sacred connection, Noah, or Janus, was also credited with first settling the Janiculum Hill of Rome, thus founding the popes and presumably providing yet another reason for Spanish patronage on the hill.[182]

The magnificently designed story enabled Alexander to establish himself and his family, as direct and absolute rulers in their own right. For Emanuela Kretzulesco, this genealogy was propaganda and was responsible for the attempt to turn the rule of the Vatican over Christendom into a theocracy, based on the models of Solomon, Hermes and Ramesses

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[180] Richard Owens, 'Fragment of scandalous fresco comes to light', *The Times*, June 20, 2006; Idem, 'Borgia Pope's "Baby Jesus" recovered after four centuries', *The Times*, June 21, 2006.
[181] Saxl, 'The Appartamento Borgia', 177.
[182] Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome: 1500-1700*, New Haven & London, 2001, 23-24.

II.[183] As Brian Curran has shown, there was a strong interest not only in the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations, but in the Egyptian civilisation too, which was used by Annius of Viterbo.[184] These themes were then used in the programmatic design of the apartments, as in the Sala dei Santi, where Saxl believed that the Saints' personifications of the virtues (Anthony related to Faith; Paul with Charity; Catherine - Prudence; Barbara - Fortitude; Susanna - Justice; Elizabeth - Hope and Sebastian - Temperance) were directly complemented by the Egyptian deities.[185] Such devices are also found in the symbolic fusion between the double crown of Aragon, the triple crown of the papacy and the use of rays of light, which Saxl translates as Alexander's assertion of his lineage to the kings of Aragon and that 'from his exalted position, rays spread to the earth as from the sun' [Fig. 7].[186] Although Saxl does not make the connection, the rays of light can easily be seen to be an example of depictions of Ra or the Aten in Egyptian iconography [Fig. 8]. Thus, as the Egyptian kings before him, Alexander became high-priest to the sun, reasserting his own role as the Vicar of Christ.

This complex synthesis of thematic material in the Borgia apartment is difficult to explore in its entirety, and outside the scope of the present study. Of significant interest to this thesis though is the Sala delle Arti Liberali, and in particular, its depiction of music.

The seven Liberal Arts: Arithmetic, Astronomy, Geometry, Grammar, Logic, Music and Rhetoric are the fundamental elements of Classical education, as outlined by Aristotle in his *Politics*. As Saxl previously showed, the depiction of the Seven Liberal Arts is a recurring theme in medieval churches, an example of which may be seen on the Royal

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[183] Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les jardins du songe: Poliphile et la mystique de la renaissance*, Paris, 1986, 299.
[184] Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*, Chicago & London, 2007, 121-22.
[185] Saxl, 'The Apartamento Borgia', 177.
[186] Ibid. 178.

West porch of Chartres Cathedral (c.1350). The migration of these into a secular setting in Italy appears only to begin in the fifteenth century, where the seven Liberal Arts are depicted alongside portrayals of planets in the Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.[187] The earliest depiction of the seven Liberal Arts on their own is probably in the Federigo da Montefeltro's Studiolo in the ducal palace of Gubbio (c.1476). Here, paintings of the Liberal Arts by Joos van Gent are believed to have hung, the survivors of which are now in the National Gallery, London. These surviving oil on canvas paintings depict Rhetoric and Music as female personifications. Rhetoric is seated on a throne, pointing a kneeling youth's attention to a passage in a book. Music, like Rhetoric, is seated on a throne with a book in hand, although this figure points in the direction of a portative organ placed in front of a kneeling youth who gazes at the instrument [Fig. 9]. It is difficult to know what is contained in the book that Music holds; it could be a partbook of music, or a book of theoretical musical information. Information regarding the other Arts shows them to have all held books and it is likely that the book held by Music is one relating to the theoretical aspect of the liberal art as the portative organ represents its practical element. This was not the first time that the Liberal Arts had been depicted in the Vatican, as they appeared on the tomb of Sixtus IV, executed by Antonio Pollaiuolo and completed in 1493.[188] The Belvedere of Innocent VIII, decorated by Pintoricchio in the previous decade, also contained a room that David Coffin has associated with the Liberal Arts.[189] However, this programme does not contain any female personifications of the Arts, rather, they are

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[187] In Carolingian France, the seven Liberal Arts had been part of a fresco within Charlemagne's palace at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), although it was later destroyed. John Beckworth, *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottanian, Romanesque*, London, 1964, 13-17.
[188] On the tomb, its construction, dating and analysis, see L.D. Ettlinger, 'Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. XVI (1953), 239-73. Of particular note is the appearance of three extra figures amongst the Liberal Arts: Prospectiva, Philosophia and Theologia. See in particular pp. 250-65 for Ettlinger's analysis.
[189] David R. Coffin, 'Pope Innocent VIII and the Villa Belvedere', *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Paintings in Honour of Millard Meiss*, ed. Irving Lavin & John Plummer, New York, 1977, 94.

represented by men associated with particular Arts. The cycle is not complete within the one room, as music is presented in an adjacent room.[190]

The layout of the Sala delle Arti Liberali places the frescoes on all four walls of the room, above head height [Fig. 10]. On the north wall, in a lunette above a window is Astrologia. On the east wall are seated Grammatica (above a door to the Sala dei Santi) and Dialectica in their own separate arch with pointed apex. On the south wall are seated Rhetorica and Geometrica (above a door to private papal rooms), each in their own separate arches, but contained within a larger lunette, mirroring the opposite wall. Finally on the west wall are seated Arithmetica and Musica (above a door to the Sala del Credo). The programme groups the Trivium (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) and the Quadrivium (geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy) together. This is not dissimilar to the grouping in the Studiolo of Gubbio, where the Trivium are grouped together on one wall and the Quadrivium are then grouped together on opposite walls adjacent to the Trivium [Fig. 11].[191]

Pintoricchio's decoration of the Sala delle Arti Liberali, although part of the same tradition of depicting the seven Liberal Arts as found in the Gubbio Studiolo and its predecessors, takes a radical step, seemingly venerating the Arts to a status where they might be considered sanctified. In the Sala delle Arti Liberali, Pinturicchio surrounds each personification with up to ten adult men in contemporary clothing that hold or use objects associated with the art form depicted. Some surrounding figures have, in some cases, become associated with members of Alexander's court or those who had an association

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[190] Ibid.

[191] The design for the Studiolo of Gubbio is based on the reconstruction of the room presented in Olga Raggio, *The Gubbio Studiolo and its Conservation: 1. Federico da Montefeltro's Palace at Gubbio and its Studiolo*, Vol. I, New York, 1999, 164-65.

with it.[192] These particular identifications, which continue Vasari's naming of associates of the Borgia court in other parts of the apartments, need not concern this study. By including a large number of figures, Pintoricchio moves the fresco into the much more familiar iconographical tradition of an altarpiece, with the Virgin at the centre, surrounded by saints, an example of which may be seen in Sandro Botticelli's *Sant'Ambrogio Altarpiece*, c. 1437-70 [Fig. 12]. The sanctification of the Arts into Marian images is a process of reconciliation between pagan and Christian iconography, paralleling such work as Annius's genealogy of the Borgia family that equates Noah with Janus.

Musica

Musica is contained in an arch with a pointed apex in the same way as six of the seven Liberal Arts. The fresco contains twelve figures, including four *putti* and the central figure personifying music [Figs. 13 & 14]. Upon first glance, the collection of figures that appear in *Musica* may appear to play together in concert, such as an angel concert, a traditional iconographical device found in churches.[193] However, they are not one complete ensemble but rather three ensembles and one solo performer assembled within the fresco. Before going any further, each individual will be examined.

1. Figure playing a Vihuela

Placed at the far left side of the foreground as perceived by the viewer, a figure in red and navy robes and red hat plays a string instrument under his right arm, supporting

[192] See Adriana Capriotti, 'Umanisti nell'apartamento Borgia: Appunti per la Sala delle Arti Liberali', *Strenna dei Romanisti*, Vol. LI (1990), 77-88; Sabine Poeschel, 'A Hitherto Unknown Portrait of a Well-Known Roman Humanist', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. XLIII (1990), 146-54; Idem, *Alexander Maximus. Das Bildprogramm des Appartamento Borgia im Vatikan*, Weimar, 1999, 190.

[193] On the angel concert, see Emanuel Winternitz, 'On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in sacred Painting', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. IL (1963), 450-63.

its neck with his left hand. The right hand fingers pluck the instrument's strings while the left hand is placed on the fingerboard in order to finger notes [Fig 15].

The vihuela that he holds has been described by Hiroyuki Minamino as having an 'elliptical body with a distinctive incurving waist, a flat side, a long fingerboard capable of carrying a dozen frets, a sickle-shape peg-box, several strings, and about a dozen pegs that imply six double-courses'.[194] As noted by Woodfield in 1976, the presence of the vihuela is important as it has a Spanish origin and connects directly to the presence of the Borgia in power.[195] Frequently linked to the history of the viol, the vihuela was probably part of the secular entertainment to be found at the Borgia court, which included a large percentage of Spanish musicians.

2. Figure behind vihuela player

The figure appearing in yellow clothing, standing behind the vihuela player's left side, stares towards the harp at his own immediate left [Fig. 15]. With mouth ajar, left hand on the left hip and no visible instrument, the assumption may be that he is a singer. As the figure looks towards the harp, it is likely that Pintoricchio is depicting the singer accompanied by the harp and vihuela.

3. Harpist

The third figure from the far left side of the fresco is seated upon the middle step of the crepidoma, right foot placed on the first step and left foot on the ground with a harp between his legs [Fig. 16]. The harp has 26 (countable) strings, which is consistent

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[194] Hiroyuki Minamino, 'The Spanish plucked *viola* in Renaissance Italy, 1480-1530', *Early Music*, Vol. XXXVI (2008), 180.
[195] Ian Woodfield, 'The Early History of the Viol', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. CIII (1976-77), 143.

with instruments of the period.[196] The fingers are placed upon adjacent strings, poised to pluck them. The shape of the instrument is also consistent with harp shapes of the period.[197]

The iconographical convention of the harp is usually associated either with King David, with nobility or prestige.[198] Whether or not Pintoricchio uses the instrument in any of these ways is difficult to say. As there is so much detail shown in the harp and it is possible to compare it to a contemporary surviving instrument, it is likely that the fresco was painted using an actual instrument as reference.

4. Two *putti* at the feet of *Musica*

The two winged *putti* that flank the feet of *Musica* play pipes. The *putto* on the left plays with only one hand, where the one on the right plays with two [Fig. 17]. The presence of these figures is by no means unusual if consideration is given to my earlier suggestion that Pintoricchio's depiction of the Liberal Arts is close to the Marian altarpieces of the period. Giovanni Bellini's Frari Triptych (1488) [Fig. 18], for example, shows two angels at the foot of the Virgin, one playing the pipe, the other a lute.

As both *putti* turn inwards towards *Musica*, the representation implies that they play along with her own musical performance, although they do not face her, but play with their eyes towards the ground. Their use as an artistic device to reverence the sitting Art, is in keeping with iconographical conventions of depictions of the Virgin from before, during and after the fifteenth century.

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[196] Rimmer, Evans and Taylor note that the earliest surviving harp from the Renaissance, now held in Eisenach, is from the late 15th century and has 26 strings. Joan Rimmer / Robert Evans & William Taylor, 'Harp § V. Europe and the Americas 1. The Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance', *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. X, 899.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Michael Morrow, 'The Renaissance Harp: The Instrument and Its Music', *Early Music*, Vol. VII (1979), 504.

5. Singer to the right of *Musica*

In symmetry to the harpist that sits on the left side of *Musica* appears a figure seated on the second step of the crepidoma, with the left foot on the first step and the right foot apparently on the floor [Fig. 19]. In the hand of the figure appears an object that would seem to be a piece of music written on oblong octavo format paper [Fig. 20]. The use of oblong format as a music book is an interesting example of the shape pre-1500. The only existing manuscript prior to 1500 showing this design is the Glogauer Liederbuch Berlin MS. Mus. 40098, dating from c. 1480, the three partbooks of which appear to have been prepared for music-making in a church institution, but do not contain sacred music.[199]

The music is positioned in a way to suggest that the figure is singing from it. The figure also appears with mouth open and the gaze focussed upon the music, suggesting that a performance is taking place. It is difficult to ascertain the gender of the singer, although, as the rest of the frescoes in the Sala delle Arti Liberali only have men surrounding the female Arts, it must be concluded that the singer is male too.

6. Two standing figures to the far right of *Musica*

To the right of the seated singer stand two men. The first one, wearing a hat akin to a turban, holds in his left hand another oblong octavo book or page, although it is not possible to see what is written upon it. The far right figure peers over the shoulder of the hatted figure towards the page in his left hand. This mirrors the singer opposite, on the left of *Musica*, who stands behind the vihuela player. As the turbaned figure has his mouth

[199] Ludwig Finscher & Jessie Ann Owens, 'Stimmbuch § 2. Nicht liturgische Sammlungen', MGG2, Sachteil Vol. 8, 1998, col. 1769-1770.

open, like the seated singer to his right, and the bearded figure stares intensely at what is held, it could be that the book is a second piece of music, perhaps part of the same composition as that held by the seated singer. An alterative reading may suggest that the figure in blue is Pythagoras, as he appears with a beard, an iconographical device to denote a philosopher. This might then imply that he is teaching the second figure from the paper that they both read from. This has an alternate reading on figure seven, which would lead to his identification a Tubal, not Pythagoras. However, if these were theorists, it is more likely that they would be holding quarto format books akin to those found in other frescoes of the room rather than something that looks like the performing seated singer.[200] There is further discussion below on why figure seven may possibly be Pythagoras.

7. Pythagoras

At the front of the right side of the fresco stands a man with two hammers in striking motion, the right hand raised, the left lower [Fig. 21]. It is unclear what the figure is striking with the hammers. This is a common figure associated with the appearance of *Musica*, and may be found in the depiction of *Musica* at Chartres Cathedral [Fig. 22] and Domenico di Michelino's *Seven Liberal Arts* [Fig. 23]. The iconography directly relates to a story presented in Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Manual of Harmonics*, Vol. VI, which cites that Pythagoras, upon passing a blacksmith's shop, heard hammers of different weights striking consonant and dissonant intervals.[201] From here, Pythagoras discovered the system of musical ratios through the striking hammers and the plucking of strings. Another

[200] The complex iconography of both these figures is explained in James W. McKinnon, 'Jubal vel Pythagoras, quis sit inventor musicae?', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. LXIV (1978), 1-28.
[201] André Barbera, 'Pythagoras', *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XX, 642.

possibility may be the Biblical figure of Jubal, who appears in *Genesis* 4:21. However, this figure is not as prominent as Pythagoras, who had been promoted by Boethius in *De Musica*, whereas Jubal was further overlooked.[202] Furthermore, Jubal is not associated with the use of hammers as is Pythagoras. If this were a biblical figure, it would be more akin to Tubalcain, a metalworker.[203] As Tubal was written into the Borgia genealogy by Annius of Viterbo as first king of Spain, it would be more convincing if he were presented in a more prestigious position. As the frescoes of the Sala delle Arti Liberali do not contain biblical figures, it is more credible to see this figure as Pythagoras.

8. The central figure of *Musica*

Centrally, upon a three-step crepidoma, *Musica* is seated in a shell-headed niche. This is not unusual, the style having been used to show the seated Virgin (as in Domenico Veneziano's *Santa Lucia dei Magnoli* altarpiece of 1440, now of the Uffizi gallery), or depictions of personifications of the Liberal Arts as found in the earlier *Musica* of Joost van Ghent (1480). Under the lip of the predella, the word "MVSICA" identifies the Art [Fig. 24]. *Musica* is flanked by two *putti* supporting green drapery with a red reverse and gold motifs on the border above, while two standing *putti* below play pipes. The only other time that four *putti* are used to flank a Liberal Art in the room is with *Rhetorica*. Four *putti* appear in *Astrologia*, although only two of the *putti* flank the Art. Two personifications (*Grammatica* and *Dialectica*) have only two *putti*, while another two have none. The link between the arts of rhetoric and music is not a coincidence. The Roman rhetorician Quintilian (ca. 35-100 AD) identified the link between music and rhetoric as the fact that

[202] See McKinnon, 'Jubal vel Pythagoras, quis sit inventor musicae?', 3.
[203] *Genesis* 4:22.

both have the 'power to excite or assuage the emotions of mankind'.[204] As his *Institutio Oratio* had been printed in Rome during 1470, it is possible that this symbolic connection between *Musica* and *Rhetorica* in Pintoricchio's fresco programme was influenced by Quintilian's writing. For the connection between astronomy and music, one need only think of Ficino's writings about music and its influence over the stars.[205] How the disciplines of rhetoric and astronomy are linked with each other is more difficult to ascertain.

The figure of *Musica*, dressed in blue, red and green, plays a three-stringed lira da braccio. The instrument is supported by the left hand and rests against the left clavicle [Fig. 25]. The neck of the instrument is supported between the thumb and the index finger of the left hand, while the index finger is placed on the second string, with the middle finger and ring finger placed on the third string. The little finger is curled behind the ring finger. In the right hand, *Musica* holds a bow. This is approximately the same size as the length of the lira da braccio and appears to rest on top of the two highest strings of the instrument. The bow is supported by the thumb and index finger. The index finger does not appear to affect the bow, neither does the little finger.

This technique is very different from that used to play the lira da braccio by Apollo in Raphael's *Parnassus*, painted just a decade later (1510-11) in the Vatican palace [Fig. 26]. Here the instrument is larger, having nine strings; it is placed almost behind the neck of the performer and the bow is held within the clasp of the hand. This apparent style of playing is repeated in Giovanni Bellini's San Zaccaria altarpiece (1505) [Fig. 27]. A 'half-way house' between these two depictions of the performance of the lira da braccio is found in

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[204] Marcus Fabius Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler, Vol. I, London, 1921, 177.
[205] See Michael J.B. Allen, *Synoptic Art: Marsilio Ficino on the History of Platonic Interpretation*, Florence, 1998; Angela Voss, '*Orpheus redivivus*: The Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino', *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J.B. Allen & Valery Rees, Leiden, 2002, 243-256.

the angel consort in Zanobi Machiavelli's *Coronation of the Virgin* (1474) [Fig. 28].[206] How far Pintoricchio is actually depicting the playing style of this smaller instrument is unclear.

Musical Groupings

As previously suggested, I identify three different ensembles in the fresco. These can easily be seen if the fresco is split into three equal parts, creating a triptych: the performers at the left of the fresco with instruments; Musica and the two *putti* and the three singers at the right, leaving the lone Pythagoras as a symbol of the mathematical aspects of music.

The musicians on our left represent secular entertainment, with the inclusion of the vihuela as a fashionable instrument of Alexander's court. The instrumental ensemble is absolutely realistic. The size of the vihuela is large enough in order to supply a tenor range, lower than the viols of Germany and Italy in the fifteenth century,[207] but more than happily fits into the range that may have been demanded for a tenor instrument to perform music of the period.[208] A surviving vihuela of the period suggests a string length of approximately 60-65 cm, a probable size for the strings depicted by Pintoricchio.[209] The harp size suggests a larger range. The Eisenach harp stands at 104 cm, much the same size as that shown by Pintoricchio, and has a range of around 4 octaves.[210] Such a duo is more than capable of accompanying a male voice as depicted in the fresco, thus suggesting that they probably portray secular music-making.

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[206] These images were first mentioned together in Winternitz, 'On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century'.
[207] Keith Polk, 'Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century', *Early Music*, vol. XVIII (1990), 182.
[208] John Bryan, '"Verie sweete and artificiall": Lorenzo costa and the earliest viols', *Early Music*, Vol. XXXVI (2008), 11.
[209] Donald Gill, 'Vihuelas, Violas and the Spanish Guitar', *Early Music*, Vol. IX, 1981, 457.
[210] Joan Rimmer / Robert Evans & William Taylor, 'Harp § V. Europe and the Americas 1. The Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance', *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. X, 899.

The singers on the right of the fresco contrast with the ensemble on the left being a group of singers, probably representing sacred music. Patricia Egan suggests that the three singers also symbolise the idea of music as a temporal art:

> Standing behind Pythagoras who beats out his intervals with his proportioned mallets, the three figures see in their part books the principles, metrical and special, that give proportioned order to their existence. In the most unexpected manner, the humanist interpretation of music has taken human form.[211]

Egan continues to suggest that the three characters here represent the three ages of man: youth, maturity and old age and this may well be true. The seated singer does have the appearance of being much younger than the two singers to the left. The two men who read from the same page seem to be almost straining to read what is on it. Is the music that they read from the same line or two individual parts? If they are individual ones, why do they not have their own partbook, unless they are singing *fauxbourdon*? As they are reading from the same page, what effect does this have on Egan's reading of the singers? Does it mean that middle age and old age are followed closely together? Finally what are the three singers singing? If it is indeed sacred music, to contrast with the left side of the fresco, *fauxbourdon* parts were still in use by the Papal Chapel choir as will become evident later in the discussion of the hymns of the polyphonic music manuscript CS 15. The separation of the singers avoids the mass grouping of singers, as had already been portrayed in the Vatican Belvedere by Pintoricchio in the previous decade.

The last group, placed at the centre of the fresco, shows *Musica* playing what I have established as a lira da braccio, with the accompaniment of two *putti* playing pipes. As with the rest of the instruments that appear in the fresco, the lira da braccio appears to be a plausible instrument from those actually in existence. I estimate that it is about 55 cm

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[211] Patricia Egan, '"Concert" Scenes in Musical Paintings of the Italian Renaissance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XIV (1961), 190.

in length, comfortably corresponding to the size of the lira da braccio that survives in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, dated to 1511, which has a length of 51.5 cm.[212] The strings from the fresco could suggest a length of c. 35-40 cm long, a credible span for the instrument. The bow is approximately the same size, if not slightly smaller. The bow hold, as discussed above, is unusual. However, it is a perfectly plausible way of holding the bow, if slightly haphazard in technique. As the bow appears to be thin (and by result perhaps light in weight) and also approximately the same length as the instrument, it is feasible that the instrument could be played in such a way, without the index finger directly supporting the bow.

As to the inclusion of the pipe-playing *putti* and their relationship to the ensemble they form with *Musica*, this appears to be more a matter of convention in the construction of an angel concert rather than depiction of a real-life performance. The lira da braccio fulfilled much more of a role of a solo instrument during the fifteenth century, as exemplified by the playing of Aurelio Brandolini and Serafino dell Aquila.[213] It appears that only in the sixteenth century did the instrument become more of an ensemble member.[214]

Background Landscape and Deeper Symbolism

The landscape scene forming the background to the fresco is symbolic in its relationship to the representations of music in the foreground. At the left of *Musica*, two large medieval buildings dominate the landscape with towers and spires [Fig. 29]. These man-made elements on the landscape are symbolic of the man-made instruments that the musicians play in the foreground on the left of *Musica*. The background to the right of

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[212] Howard Mayer Brown & Sterling Scott Jones, 'Lira da Braccio § 1. The instrument and its playing technique', *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XIV, 743.
[213] See chapter 3.
[214] Brown & Jones, 'Lira da Braccio § 1. The instrument and its playing technique', 743.

Musica's throne has large rock formations, the symbolism of which will be explored further [Fig. 30]. This juxtaposes the man-made structures of the left side, just as the musicians on the right foreground juxtapose the musicians on the left.

In the context of the use of landscape in the programme of the room, *Musica* is unique. *Grammatica* sits in front of a formally decorated structure, which blocks much of the pastoral scene behind it, a partial view of which is seen on the left of the fresco. The five other allegories of the Liberal Arts all have pastoral scenes surrounding them. From this, it appears that there is a possible extra layer of symbolism in the painting that is hidden in the placement of the figures and their background.

In *De institutione musica,* Boethius considered music as three distinctive elements: *musica mundana* (music of the universe); *musica humana* (music of the body and soul) and *musica instrumentalis* (music that used instruments and the voice). As the fresco is also broken up into three distinct sections, it is conceivable that the structure of the composition also contains the Boethian interpretation of music too.

The ensemble at the left of the fresco, entertaining the viewer (as the vihuela player stares out at the viewer inviting him/her to listen) contains the elements of *musica instrumentalis*. As the lowest form of music in Boethius's classification, they are totally audible in the fresco. This is supported by the man-made structures of the landscape. The ensemble to the right of the fresco contains singers who do not look out to the viewer, rather, their gaze is fixed within the confines of the fresco. If a sacred piece of music is being performed, they are perhaps performing 'for the glory of God'.[215] They use their bodies and souls for worship in the music they perform, taking no interest in who looks on, suggesting *musica humana*. Placed against a natural landscape, made by their Creator, they perform for that glory, rather than the glory that an entertainer may seek in

[215] Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'For Whom Do the Singers Sing?', *Early Music*, Vol. XXV (1997), 594.

performance. Finally, the third ensemble contains an allegory and winged *putti*, none of which are creatures of the natural world. This ensemble is contained against a cloth background, detaching it from earthly surroundings; the central figure placed as the Virgin Mary, a heavenly figure, playing a lira da braccio, used by Ficino as a device to draw down the influence of planets. This is the music of the universe performed by the ensemble, *musica mundana*.

The depiction of *Musica* in the Sala delle Arti Liberali is a complex and important insight into music at the end of the fifteenth century. It shows instruments of plausible construction and size in ensemble arrangements that are believable in performance as groupings as are the techniques that the instrumentalists employ. The fresco balances both realism with symbols and allegory in order to show the differences between music that was performed and the theory of music that was integral to the basis of music as a Liberal Art.

2.4 Alexander's Court and Expenses

The Borgia myth of opulence and excess is, in fact, just a myth. The expenditure of Alexander's court was practically frugal in comparison with other popes, with him spending approximately 20,000 ducats a year, in contrast to Leo X his successor, who spent 100,000 ducats a year during his pontificate.[216] A Ferrarese ambassador described to the court at Ferrara the frugality of the pope at meals, with him only serving one course, a detail which led to cardinals avoiding dining with Alexander.[217] Mallett notes

[216] Mario Menotti, *Documenti inediti sulla famiglia e la corte di Alessandro VI*, Rome, 1917, 120-35. Expenses are only known for 1501-03: 1501 – 21583 duc. 51 ½ bol.; 1502 – 19096 duc. 4 bol.; 1503 – 14901 duc. 23 bol.

[217] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia: A Chapter from the Morals*, 59; Alessandro Luzio, 'Isabella d'Este e I Borgia', *Archivio storico Iombardo*, Vol. XLI (1914), 447.

that there were about sixty members of the papal court, with only around twenty ducats spent each day, while supplies were bought in bulk.[218]

Alexander's court was made up of many Spanish members, many of whom were Catalans, who had been attracted to Rome when Alexander became pope. These may be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: Known Members of Alexander's Court and their Nationality[219]

Name	Occupation	Nationality
Pedro d'Aranda	Master of the Sacred Palace / Bishop of Calahorra	Catalan
Diego Melendez de Valdes	Master of the Sacred Palace / Bishop of Zamora	Catalan
Giovanni Nanni (Annius of Viterbo)	Master of the Sacred Palace	Italian
Juan Marrades	Chamberlain	Catalan
Francesco Troche	Chamberlain	Catalan
Jacopo de Casanova	Chamberlain	Catalan
Francesco Cabaynes	Chamberlain	Catalan
Pedro Caranza	Chamberlain	Catalan
Juan Lopez	Datary	Catalan
Jauan Ortega	Datary	Catalan
Giovanbattista Ferrari	Datary	Italian
Pedro Pintor	Doctor	Catalan
Bernardino di Bonioanne	Bishop of Venusa / Doctor	Italian
Gaspare Torella	Doctor / Vatican Librarian	Catalan
Pedro Garsias	Vatican Librarian	Catalan
Juan de Fuensalida	Vatican Librarian	Catalan
Francesco Borgia	Household Treasurer	Catalan
Bartolomeo Flores	Secretary	Catalan

[218] Mallett, *The Borgias*, 229-30.
[219] Based on Mallett, *The Borgias*, 233.

Name	Occupation	Nationality
Paolo Cortesi	Secretary	Italian
Adriano Castellesi	Confidential Secretary	Italian
Gabrielletto	Fool	Catalan

Gianandrea Boccaccio described the arrival of the Spanish in Rome when writing to the Duke of Ferrara: 'Ten papacies would not be sufficient to satisfy this swarm of relatives'.[220] There was already a sizable community of Spanish Jews in Rome by 1492.[221] Dandelet asserts that the attraction to Rome for many Spaniards was the interest of the Catholic monarchs in Rome as a centre for patronage.[222] However, it is quite clear that some Spanish were attracted directly by Alexander's presence as pope. There were many roles that the Spanish found to fill at the papal court and these included membership of the papal choir, an area further explored in chapter four.

2.5 Alexander's Artistic Taste, his Death and Legacy

The historical reputation of Alexander's artistic taste has typically pointed to the excess and vulgarity believed to accompany the Borgia lifestyle. In the twentieth century Fritz Saxl attacked this belief with the statement that 'We endeavour to learn more from the frescoes than the fact that the Borgias showed second-rate taste in employing Pinturicchio and his pupils at a time when Leonardo and Botticelli were available'.[223] These sentiments echo Vasari's attitude to Pintoricchio about 400 years before, when he described the artist as someone who had been aided by fortune while not having much

[220] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, 49.
[221] Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Madison, 1995, 217-316.
[222] Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500-1700*, 16-33.
[223] Saxl, 'The Appartamento Borgia', 174.

talent and who 'enjoyed a much greater reputation than his work deserved'.[224] The patronage of Pintoricchio is, however, a strong pre-cursor to the patronage of Raphael and Michelangelo in the following century. Indeed, the regard for Pintoricchio has changed since Saxl's comments on the Borgia apartments. This is evidenced by the acknowledgement of influence that Pintoricchio had on the style of Raphael.[225]

Alexander's artistic taste is characterised by the lavish and magnificent aspects of Roman or Italian fashion which were present in the decoration of his palace as a cardinal and were repeated in the decoration of the papal apartments. Alexander continually favoured the *all'antica* style throughout his life, which was used in public and private commissions. Alexander's patronage of artists who used this *all'antica* has led him to be credited with championing its spread, along with the introduction of the Italian fashion of painting into Spain when he visited Valencia 1472. This is, however, just an unintentional by-product of an action that was conceived as an act of patronage and civic duty which Rodrigo was obliged to fulfil as bishop of Valencia. In many ways, Alexander's papal patronage was the product of the papacies that he had seen first hand since living in Rome. He continued the completion of the Nicholine plan for Rome, but also used his patronage to gain favour with others, which he had begun in his cardinalate under Pius II.

Oberhuber's concept of an Alexandrine style has a credible basis for consideration in his patronage of the arts.[226] Had Alexander retained the relationships that he had cultivated while a cardinal and, by so doing, had ruled within a more stable Italy, one

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[224] Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 250.

[225] Some of the earliest recognition is in Konrad Oberhuber, 'Raphael and Pintoricchio', *Raphael Before Rome, Studies in the History of Art* Vol. XVII, ed. James Beck, Washington, 1986, 155-75. This has, however, become a much more established part of the literature, as both were students of Perugino, and it appears that Pintoricchio certainly influenced Raphael's early work. See Nicholas Penny, 'Raphael § I. Life and Works: 1. Paintings and Drawings (i) Urbino, to 1504', *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, www.oxfordartonline.com, accessed 27 May, 2010.

[226] Oberhuber, 'Rome and the Art of the Court of Northern Europe in the Sixteenth Century', 72.

might have expected a papacy that produced works to rival those produced under Sixtus IV or Leo X. Alexander's role in patronage worked on two particular fronts. In the first instance, he brought to the close projects that had dominated the papacies of the fifteenth century, by completing what had been left unfinished by previous popes and fulfilling the vision of Nicholas V. Secondly, he laid the foundation for the patronage that would follow his papacy in the reigns of Julius II and beyond.

Saxl's harsh criticism of Alexander's artistic taste is fuelled by nineteenth-century concepts of aesthetic and genius, structures that did not include Pintoricchio in high regard after the early criticisms of Vasari. Who Alexander employed, though, is quite telling of his attitude towards patronage. Botticelli was considered antiquated in the style of painting he produced towards the end of his life. He had returned to Florence from Rome quickly after completing a fresco in the Sistine Chapel for Sixtus IV and his status fell into decline, further accelerated after the fall of the Medici in Florence following the death of Lorenzo de'Medici.[227] Leonardo Da Vinci was notorious in his inability to complete works[228] and the figures of Raphael and Michelangelo were unknown and were merely apprentices when Alexander was searching for a painter. Pintoricchio was considered fashionable in Rome, having completed extensive fresco decoration in S. Maria del Popolo, while executing the commission in a speedy fashion. It is of no surprise therefore, that he was the logical choice for Alexander's patronage.

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[227] See Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 226-31; The financial situation of Botticelli and the difficulties that he faced in the 1490s are explored in Andrew C. Blume, 'Botticelli's family and finances in the 1490's: Santa Maria Nuova and the San Marco altarpiece', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Vol. XXXVIII (1994), 154-64.

[228] See Martin Kemp, *Leonardo Da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man*, London, 1981, 68, 92, 93-94, 180-81, 199, 214, 223, 237, 238.

Eleven years and eight days into Alexander's reign, on 18 August, 1503, the pope died, though whether of poisoning or natural causes is of no relevance here.[229] The legacy that he left as an artistic patron was quickly overshadowed by the contempt for his reign by Julius II, who was elected after the short 26-day reign of Pius III. Although Julius did not do anything to wipe away the presence of Alexander's actions in the Vatican, even living in the Borgia apartments for many years before he moved to his own suite, he did nothing to stop the mythological demonization of the Borgia family that was to continue for centuries afterwards.[230]

Alexander's legacy in the artistic sphere has not only been overshadowed by historical attitude and the patronage of his successors, but has also been the subject of oversight through the loss of documentation and re-appropriation of his patronage by later popes. As shown above, Alexander was interested in the music that he heard and appears to have taken steps to improve and support music through the training of musicians and the patronage of organs. The figure of Musica that appears in the Borgia apartments suggests the presence of musical performance within his court particularly through the appearance of the vihuela, even though it is a component of a wider iconographical schematic.

The following chapters will investigate the musical culture of the Borgia court during Alexander's papacy. They will show his strategy of artistic patronage in two ways: that of continuing the work of his predecessors, whilst also developing and fostering music making. These approaches would leave their own legacy in the papal chapel and in the general provision of entertainment within the papal household.

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[229] See R. Garnett, 'The Alleged Poisoning of Alexander VI', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. IX (1894), 335-39.

[230] See, for example, Hillgarth, 'The Image of Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', 119-29.

Chapter 3: Entertaining the Bull – Secular Music at the Court of Alexander VI

> Then Bianca turned on the pipes of the organ that King Alfonso [of Naples] had given to maestro Antonio [Squarcialupi]… Once the organ was tuned, [Bianca's] sister [Lucrezia], who was about eleven years old, began to pump the bellows of the organ, and not knowing what would please Monsignor [Borgia], I had [Bianca] perform two songs for him: "Fortuna" and "Duogl'angoseues" and then she did another, highly unusual one.[231]

So wrote the Apostolic Protonotary Teodoro da Montefeltro, describing to Marchesa Barbara of Brandenburg a stay in Florence of Pope Pius II and his entourage during 1460. It describes an event where the two daughters of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici were called upon by cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to perform songs for him with the accompaniment of an organ. The central question that I am concerned with here emanates from uncertainty about the performances: what music would have given Rodrigo Borgia pleasure to listen to? Although historical commentary has continuously depicted the Borgia papal court as a centre of decadence and festivity, very little attention has ever been directed to the content of such occasions. Drawing on the writings of Gregorovius, the recent studies of Volker Reinhardt and all those between, it appears that music occurred in abundance at the Borgia court.[232] The issue, however, is that any mention of musical entertainment is often vague and unclear. The absence of commentary by Johannes Burchard on the secular life of the pope also leaves a gap in the development of a clear picture of the papal court's secular entertainment. There are no records of payments that indicate that specific persons or ensembles were paid for such entertainment. What follows is an

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[231] Letter from Teodoro da Montrefeltro to Barbara of Brandenburg. Siena 6 February 1460. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 1099, fols. 603-604. Transcribed and translated in William F. Prizer, 'Games of Venus: Secular Vocal Music in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento' *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. IX (1991), 4 & 53-54.

[232] Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vol. VII pt. 1-2; Reinhardt, *Der unheimliche Papst*.

attempt to piece together the information that survives, in order to provide a glimpse into the Borgia court and the secular music that Alexander listened to.

3.1 Known Ensembles and Musicians

Previous research on the secular entertainment of the papal court has drawn attention to the sixteenth-century papacies, particularly the court of Pope Leo X (1513-21).[233] The extensive and lavish musical entertainment of the Medici pope is unlikely to have been equalled by his predecessors, although, like any other court in Europe, popes were still expected to have had some kind of musical entertainment. This would have taken the form of several different ensembles that performed in private for the pope and a few guests, a larger gathering at banquets and on occasions for great public celebrations.

Haberl first identified musicians who provided entertainment in the private papal chambers of Leo X, calling them the *musici secreti*.[234] The term concerns both skilled singers and instrumentalists employed by the papal household to provide entertainment for the pontiff. Johannes Burchard identifies one figure called Thomaso da Forli as 'musicus pape', who is charged with an attempt to poison the pope in November 1499.[235] Had Thomaso been a member of the papal chapel choir, Burchard would have assigned him the title of 'cantor capelle' as he does others. The absence of payment records for the papal chapel choir for this period cannot confirm whether Thomaso was a member of the ensemble, but there is another factor that must be considered. To get close enough

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[233] André Pirro, 'Leo X and Music', trans. Gustave Reese, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI (1935), 1-16; Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: A Venetian View', *Early Music History*, Vo. IX (1992), 1-37.

[234] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum"', 67.

[235] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. II, 177. The text identifying Thomaso is as follows: In sero ejusdem diei, quidam Thomasinus de Forolivio, musicus pape, cum socio suo capti fuerunt et ad Castrum sancti Angeli ducti et incarcerati… Quasi si papa accepisset, eum venenavissent et intoxicavissent, adeo quod sine spe remedii post modicos dies vel horas recidisset mortus.

to the pope to poison him, Thomaso would have needed to be near him, and therefore would have had to have been in the papal household. Thus, it is more likely that Thomaso was part of the *musici secreti*, although his position and actual purpose within the ensemble is unknown.

Richard Sherr suggested two possible members of the *musici secreti* in his doctoral thesis, but these were also members of the papal chapel choir. The reason behind his connection of them with the *musici secreti* is because of the extra pay they received, equalling that of the private papal servants.[236] The first is Marturiano Prats, who appears in a 'motu proprio' of November 1499 with a brief hiatus, followed by an appearance from January 1501 until 1503.[237] A letter addressed to Marturiano in 1501 describes him both as 'cantor capellanus' and 'cubicularius noster secretus' – the name given to the servants of the private papal household.[238] A similar term was given by Raffaele Brandolini in his *Opusculum de musica et poetica* of 1513 for the private musicians at the Aragonese court of Ferrante I, which referred to singers, string players and keyboard players as 'cubicularios musicos'.[239] As it appears that the singer Marturiano was in the private service of the pope, Sherr adds both details together to suggest hesitantly that Marturiano was a member of the *musici secreti*. The name Prats is a common one and other musicians of the name are found in other courts such as Naples, where a Catalan by the name of Luys Prats, for example, is present during 1480.[240] Atlas does not see any

[236] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 113.
[237] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum"', 58-59.
[238] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 65. Quoting ASV RV 848, fol. 293.
[239] Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge, 1985, 105.
[240] Ibid. 47. Atlas continues, noting that there is no obvious connection between Marturiano and Luys, as it was a common Valencian name. 95.

connection between either of the two musicians and Sherr places Marturiano from the diocese of Gerona.[241]

The second figure to be associated with the *musici secreti* is Martinus Scudero from the Spanish diocese of Tarazona, listed as a chaplain of the papal chapel between January 1501 and April 1502.[242] A figure with a similar name is listed by Haberl as having been a singer in the papal chapel choir in 1499, although this Martinus Scruderus hailed from the German diocese of Augsburg.[243] This is, however, different to Sherr's Scrudero from Tarazona who is named in three documents of the Registri Lateranensi and Registri Vaticani at a period later than Haberl's Scruderus.[244] The payments made to Scudero are three ducats more than the five ducats than would usually be received by a chaplain of the papal chapel. Three letters addressed to Scudero between September 1492 and November 1501 refer to him as 'continuus comensalis' and 'cubicularius' with no mention of his duties.[245] With the three extra ducats in payment, which may have been part of a payment for singing with the papal chapel choir and the titles associated with Scudero in earlier correspondence, Sherr suggests the possibility of Scudero's involvement in the *musici secreti*.

However, it seems unlikely that either of these figures could have been members of the *musici secreti*. As Spaniards, and with Alexander VI's predilection for supporting his own countrymen, it is certainly understandable that they could have held another position within the papal court, and likewise that they could have received money for such a position. Contemporary courts of Europe show that musicians who provided

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[241] Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521', *Early Music*, Vol. XX (1992), 602.
[242] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 71 & 114.
[243] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum"', 59.
[244] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 71.
[245] Ibid.

secular entertainment fulfilled services within the household where they may also have used their musical knowledge. Andrew Ashbee highlighted the point that the services rendered by servants who maybe considerd as 'just' musicians, fulfilled many other roles such as sewers and meal attendants at the Tudor courts in England.[246] Social treatises of the period depict musicians who provided secular entertainment for households and celebrations as a lower class than those they entertained. James Haar has shown that Baldassare Castiglione emphasized in his treatise *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) that a courtier should perform music only when urged to, lest they become seen as akin to professional musicians who were part of a lower class.[247] Haar continues by showing that the status of musicians in society was influenced to some extent by the writings of Aristotle (*Politics*) and the consequent impact in the writings of Plato (*The Republic*), in which Plato shares a distaste for the virtuosic performance of music.[248] It seems incomprehensible that papal chapel choir singers, as skilled polyphonists, would 'moonlight' by performing secular music for entertainment.

An account of secular musicians associated with the papal court comes from a Florentine Ambassador to Rome, writing to Machiavelli in 1501, concerning festivities surrounding a Mass in honour of St. Louis, who was the patron saint of the newly crowned king of France, Louis XII, with whom Alexander sought to align himself:

> The papal chapel was there [at the church of St. Louis], which was marvellous, [Alexander's] *pifferi* who announced the entrance of each cardinal, all of the trumpets and other most delicate instruments, that is, the papal harmony, which is something of very sweet sound, almost divine. I don't know the names of any

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[246] Andrew Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c. 1495-1558', *Early Music*, Vol. XXV (1997), 185-197.
[247] James Haar, 'The Courtier as a Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music', *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert Hanning and David Rosand, New Haven and London, 1983, 170.
[248] Ibid., 171. Haar refers to Aristotle, *Politics*, 8.5.1339b; Plato, *The Republic*, 3.

> of the six instruments; I don't think Boethius makes mention of them since they came from Spain.[249]

According to the ambassador's account, the celebration displaced the celebration of the Apostle St. Bartholomew, in favour of St. Louis. However, these saints' celebrations do not fall on the same day – Bartholomew on 24th August and Louis on 25th August. Alexander's choosing to celebrate a saint who is of less importance than an apostle shows the pope directly aligning him with the new king.

Alexander's *pifferi* are likely to have been the ensemble that was based at the Castel Sant'Angelo, used to announce, along with the sound of cannons, the approach of a cardinal across the Tiber river on his way to the Vatican.[250] They had been a familiar sight in the everyday life of Europe, having been used in various guises for entertainment, announcement and warfare for centuries, and were a frequent component in Roman and Vatican processions. The six other instruments, of 'l'armonia papale' that he mentions, are interesting, as they seem to exhibit a connection to Alexander's own origins in Spain. This 'papal harmony ' could fit various theories: the very mention of the instruments having been Spanish in origin suggests that there may have been at least two different types of instruments, but of what kind we cannot be certain. The ambassador's description, first grouping the *haut* instruments (the trumpets) together, suggests the possibility that the 'armonia papale' may have been of the *bas* variety, such as stringed instruments.

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[249] In Pasquale Villari, *Nicolo Macchiavelli e I suoi tempi*, Florence, 1877, Vol. I, 577. Trans. In Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 115. Original text: 'Fuvi la Capella del Papa, che è cosa mirabile; li sua pifferi che ad ogni cardinale arrivando, il faceano lor dovere; tutti il trombecti; altri delicatissimi instrumenti, *id est* l'armonia papale, che è cosa dulcisona et quasi divina; non so per hora nominare nissuno de' sei instrumenti per nome, di che non Boetio facci mentione, *quia ex Hispania*', Citing *Carte de Machiavelli*, casetta III, no. 39.

[250] Christopher Reynolds, 'Rome: A City of Rich Contrast', *Man & Music: The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Basingstoke, 1989, 76.

Accounts referring to the 'sweet sound' of instruments during this period appear to surround one particular instrument, the viol. For instance, Ian Woodfield has pointed out that when a group of Spanish musicians were sent from Rome to Milan to play viols for the birth of Ludovico Sforza's son in 1493, the musicians were reported by the Ferrarese chancellor, Bernardino Prospero, to have played 'sweetly rather than artfully' ('il sonare suo è più presto dolce che de multa arte').[251] A similar account is found in the diary of the Venetian Marino Sanuto from 1503, where two musicians from Sicily played 'two large viols with great elegance and universal pleasure' ('due viole grande da archetto, con grandissima suavità et gratitudine di tutti') in Rome at the house of Cardinal Grimani.[252] A majority of Woodfield's quotations regarding the viol from Alexander's period make reference to the viol's 'sweet' sound.

It is no coincidence that the viol or *vihuela de arco* should be mentioned at this particular point, as the viol itself seems to have originated in Spain. It had begun to infiltrate Rome during Alexander's pontificate as Spaniards settled there.[253] Woodfield suggests that the viol, or *vihuela de mano* was introduced at the same time, as both instruments are inter-linked.[254] The appearance of the vihuela in Pintoricchio's depiction of *Musica* in the Borgia apartments attests to the introduction of this particular instrument, or at least its presence at the Borgia court [Fig. 15].

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[251] Iain Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, Cambridge, 1984, 81. The complete text is as follows: 'Heri anche il prefato Duca de Barri gli condusse Madama & tuta la turba e poi se presono a fare sonare quelli sonadorj spagnoli che mandò el Reverendissimo Monsignore Ascanio da Roma, qualj soano viole grande quasi come mj, & invero il sonare suo è più presto dolce che de multa arte... Vigelani vj martij 1493, E de vostra Illustrissima, servitor devotus, Bernardinus Prosperus'. Mantua, Archivo di Stato, Busta 1630, fol. 183-184.
[252] Ibid. 82. Translated from *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Vol. VI, Venice, 1881, col. 175.
[253] Lockwood also notes the presence of Andrea Della Viola from 1467, a possible viol player from Parma, whose descendents also used the same name Della Viola. They are associated with the close ties between Ferrara and the Aragonese court at Naples from the 1440s onwards, presenting the possibility that the viol may have been present in Italy earlier than thought. Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 144.
[254] Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 81-82.

The likelihood that this 'l'armonia papale' is a group of viols is also supported by similarities to another instance: the six unnamed instruments of the ensemble may correspond to the six viols played at the wedding of Alfonso d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia in 1502, one of them being played by Alfonso himself.[255] This establishes the number of instruments in such an ensemble. The ambassador's reference to the unnamed ensemble and Boethius is rather archaic for the period. A more reliable reference point was Tinctoris's *De inventione et Usu Musicae* of 1487, in which he indeed mentions a 'viola cum arculo'.[256] Boethius, however, was certainly still a point of reference for people in the fifteenth century, as may be attested by his treatises still being translated and printed in the late fifteenth century.[257] The Florentine ambassador may have been attempting to engage Machiavelli in the subject and to elicit a response, by referring to a book that he would be familiar with, as the book was used as a core text of study in the liberal arts curriculum.[258]

The term 'papal harmony' suggests that the ensemble is directly under the pope's patronage. The evidence that has been gathered suggests that it is highly likely that 'l'armonia papale' was an ensemble of viols. Whether or not all of the players were from Alexander's Spanish homeland remains uncertain. As the *pifferi* were frequently multi-instrumentalists, it would make financial sense that they also played the softer *bas* instruments that were favoured in the papal household.[259] The patronage of a larger group of musicians would, however, not be unusual, as shown by Bonnie J. Blackburn

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[255] Ibid. 87-88.
[256] Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione et Usu Musicae', *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. III (1950), 24.
[257] For instance, the Venetian printers Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori printed a copy of Boethius's collected works in 1492: Boethius, *Opere*, Venice, 1492.
[258] Claude V. Palisca, 'Boethius in the Renaissance', *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. André Barbera, Notre Dame Ind., 1990 259.
[259] Keith Polk, 'The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance', *Early Music*, Vol. XVII (1989), 391.

when referring to the court of Pope Leo X, which kept ten possible string players amongst his 29 musicians. It should be no stretch of the imagination to conclude that similar, if smaller, ensembles were kept by Leo's predecessors.[260]

3.2 Speculation Concerning Performers

Performances of declamation accompanied by music at the papal court can be traced to the papacy of Pius II. Raffaele Brandolini states that Pius II took delight in hearing 'poetic verses accompanied by the lyre' and that he himself was also a skilled performer.[261] F. Alberto Gallo suggested that Raffaele is referring here to his older brother, Aurelio Brandolini, playing for Pius II although I cannot see any evidence of this in Raffaele's text.[262] However, Raffaele does state later in his treatise that his brother played for Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, before leaving Rome, once again to return a year before his death in 1497.[263] This appears to have led some historians to believe that Aurelio Brandolini performed for Alexander VI, leading to statements such as:

> [Alexander] was not incapable of intellectual pleasures; he had his court minstrels and poets. The famous Aurelio Brandolini, who died in 1497, was wont to improvise to the strains of the lute during banquets in the Vatican and in Lucrezia's palace. Cesare's favourite, Serafino of Aquila, the Petrarch of his age, who died in Rome in the year 1500, still a young man, aspired to the same honour.[264]

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[260] Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X: A Venetian View', 8.
[261] Raffaele Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, ed. Ann E. Moyer, Tempe Arizona, 2001, 18. 'Pius II Pontifex Maximus usque adeo poeticis numeris ad lyram est delectatus, ut unum hoc voluptatis genus caeteris omnibus anteferret lyramque non solum libenter audire, sed iucundissime interim attingere non gravaretur.'
[262] F. Alberto Gallo, *Music in the Castle*, trans. Anna Heklotz, London, 1995, 77.
[263] Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, 110.
[264] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia: A Chapter from the Morals*, 79. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia: Nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit*, 117: 'Ihr Vater war nicht Unempfänglich für geistige Genüsse. Er hatte sogar seine Hofsänger und Hofdichter. Der gefeierte Aurelio Brandolini improvisirte zur Laute bei Gastmälern im Vatican, und ohne Frage leiß er sich auch im Palast Lucrezia's hören. Er starb im Jahre 1497. Dieselbe Ehre suchte der Liebling Cäsars, Serafino von Aquila, der Petrarca jener Zeit. Er starb jung zu Rom im Jahre 1500'. Also quoted in De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. IV, Bruges, 1924, 445-46. With regard to the

Such entertainment was indeed popular in the courts of Italy, such as that of King Alfonso of Aragon in Naples.[265] These performances were, however, not for the entertainment of large groups of people at banquets. Instead, Raffaele's treatise *De musica et poetica* shows that these performances were for intimate surroundings:

> …But perhaps someone faults the quality of the song and practice of extemporaneous speaking, claiming that elegiac song, which I have been accustomed to use often with the lyre, is by nature mournful and soft, and not appropriate for the cheerfulness of banquets; and that an improvised song is not capable of capturing notice and attention.[266]

Raffaele's primary concern in his treatise is to elevate his position from one of an entertainer to that of a humanist. As has been mentioned, social treatises of the period present musicians in a lower class than those they entertained. The Brandolini brothers were, however, notable orators and humanists in their own right. Raffaele makes an attempt in his treatise to show that Leo X aligned his own form of entertainment with his humanist background. The instrument that he and his brother used, the lyre, was considered by Plato to have fostered 'soberness, courage, liberality and high-mindedness', which were attributes needed by those who were 'guardians of the city'.[267] Although Raffaele makes no direct mention of his brother entertaining Alexander VI, he does suggest that he himself entertained the pope. Towards the end of his treatise, Raffaele mentions that he was in Rome 'under the pontificates of Alexander VI and Julius II'.[268] Burchard indeed records him delivering orations to the papal court on several instances in 1497-98.

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death of Aurelio, there are two dates which Gregorovius gives: 1497 as given above and 1498 in *History of the City of Rome*, Vol. VII, pt. II, 647.

[265] Outlined in Perkins and Geary, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, Vol. I, 34.

[266] Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, trans. Moyer, 81-83.

[267] Plato, *The Republic*, ed. Paul Shorley, Vol. I, London, 1930, 261 (3.402c); Edith Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of the Italian Renaissance: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Image*, Cranbury, 1998, 28-29.

[268] Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, trans. Moyer, 114.

Another figure who is mentioned by Gregorovius above, who may have also entertained Alexander VI is Serafino d'Aquila. His biographer, Vincentio Calmeta, does not note any connection to the pope, but provides information about his time at the court of Cesare Borgia at the end of his life.[269] At the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia to Giovanni Sforza in 1493, an Ecologue by Serafino was performed. It is not clear if it was performed by Serafino.[270]

If any of these three figures had performed for Alexander, what may have been played? Such performance may be likely as there was a precedent for such a tradition in the papal apartments. When Raffaele wrote about the performance of the *improvisatore* in *De musica*, he outlines two forms of declamation: those in Latin and those in the vernacular, with the use of Latin being the more superior to the common tongue.[271] Raffaele's description of the melancholic nature of the text may suggest the use of Phrygian and Mixolydian modes that were associated with sadness.[272] Furthermore, songs of a lugubrious style were considered as a purgative for the soul and it is therefore understandable that these songs were unsuitable for the dining table if they had a cathartic effect upon the listener.[273] Such performances were believed by Raffaele to be most effective in the afternoon and for delivery to a small audience who may listen carefully to the words and the accompanying improvisation.[274] Aurelio Brandolini's texts prepared for use in the papal chambers under Sixtus IV were in hexameter and referred

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[269] Vincentio Calmeta, *Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Seraphino Aquilano*, as part of *Le rime di Serafino de'Ciminelli dall'Aquila*, ed. Mario Menghini, Bologna, 1894, 1-22.
[270] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. I, 443, n1. With thanks to David Fallows for drawing my attention to this diplomatic correspondence of Gianandrea Boccaccio to the Duke of Ferrara.
[271] Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, Trans. Moyer, 94-99.
[272] Claude V. Palisca, 'The Alternati of Florence, Pioneers in the Theory of Dramatic Art', *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, Oxford, 1994, 422.
[273] Ibid. 420-22.
[274] Brandolini, *De musica et poetica*, Trans. Moyer, 80-81.

to as the *Pontificas Laudes*.[275] Examples of what Serafino may have performed are much more accessible, due to his popularity and the success of his works; there were twenty reprints of his books within sixteen years of his death.[276]

The presence of Raffaele Brandolini at the Vatican during Alexander's pontificate certainly shows the possibility that such events took place. Whether these figures were engaged just for their humanist skills in oratory is, however, another possibility. Since the tradition of *improvisatore*s at the papal chapel had been formed under Pius II, to whom the young Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia was close, it is likely that such events took place as a continuation of established practices, which were still continued through to the reign of Leo X.

3.3 Probable Entertainment

Picking up from Raffaele Brandolini's writing against the use of music at banquets, the proposed reformation Bull of 1497 after the Duke of Gandia's death offers another glimpse of entertainment at the time. De Roo's transcription of the Bull shows that it stipulated the following:

> In regard to the cardinals it was proposed: That the banquets given by them, should consist of one boiled meat and of one roasted, commencing with some pastry and ending with some pie or fruit. During the repast, Holy Scripture should be read, but there should be no music, no secular songs and no tales from historians.[277]

This stricture against the performance of music during a meal is interesting, as it provides evidence that this practice did exist. Moreover it is possible to conceive that, at one time, a similar situation may have occurred in the papal household itself. What the document

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[275] See Giuseppe de Luca, 'Un umanista fiorentino e la Roma rinnovata da Sisto IV', *Larinascita*, Vol. I (1938), 79-80.
[276] James Haar, 'Serafino de Ciminelli dall'Aquila', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XXIII, 109.
[277] De Roo, *Materials*, Vol. III, 177.

shows is that during the middle of his pontificate, Alexander began to mould convictions not only concerning the way that he himself should live, but also the way of life for other members of the curia, including points concerning their own private entertainment. Had this plan been successful, it is likely that it could have destroyed the cultural patronage of secular music in Rome at the end of the fifteenth century, leading to a very different picture of Alexander's successors and their patronage of secular music, as is the case with Leo X.

A treatise on household management of the ducal court of Urbino from the late fifteenth century provides an insight into the sort of entertainment that may have been provided at other courts at this time. The manuscript Urb. Lat. 1248 of the Vatican Library, also referred to as the *Ordine et officii de casa lo Illmo S. duca de Urbino*, was probably written by the *maestro de casa* of the Urbino court around 1482-1489.[278] Although the court of Urbino was smaller than the papal court, the treatise does offer an insight into the musical entertainment employed in a courtly setting:

> The players should live at court and should consist at most of two or three [excellent] musicians who sing softly with sweetness and, for my taste, in the Castilian style, and they should know how to play lutes and harps, and a good organist for the chapel should not be left out, and so any other instrument which might please His Highness.[279]

The description here evokes a parallel to Pintoricchio's depiction of *Musica* in the Borgia apartments, where three musicians are present on the left hand side of the fresco: one singing, one playing the harp and another playing the vihuela [Fig. 13]. What is most

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[278] Jason Easton Law, 'The *Ordine et Officij*: Aspects of Context and Content', *Ordine et Officij de Casa de lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca Urbino*, ed. Sabine Eiche, Urbino, 1999, 13-55; esp. 16-18.

[279] Trans. Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 112. After Bramante Ligi, 'La Cappella Musicale del Duomo d'Urbino', *Note d'Archivio*, Vol. II (1925), 4, n.2. The original is as follows: Li sonatori vogliono essere in casa et excellenti, e maxime doi o tre che cantino sotto voce e cum dolceza et al mio gusto ala castigliana, e che sapessino sonare liuti et chetere. E non voria manchare uno organista excellente per la capella et cusì acadendo qualche altro instrumento che piacesse al signore. Taken from *Ordine et Officij de Casa de lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca de Urbino*, ed. Sabine Eiche, Urbino, 1999, 125.

interesting here is the mention of 'Castilian style' singing ('ala castigliana'). This style is likely to have been that which Paolo Cortesi refers to in *De Cardinalatu* of 1510 as a Spanish style:

> The Lydian one [manner of singing] can be considered to be of two kinds, one that is called complex, and the second simple. Complex is the one in which the souls are induced to weeping and compassion by a mode inflected towards sorrows; such may be considered the one in which the papal *novendilia* or the senatorial *parentalia* are customarily celebrated. Of this lugubrious manner of singing did the nation of Spaniards always make use.[280]

Cortesi had been present at the Vatican under Borgia rule, and based his treatise on the life of the Vice-Chancellor of the Church, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who in turn had based much of his life on the style in which Alexander VI lived. It is therefore likely that this Spanish manner of singing had been introduced by the Spanish at Alexander's court. The *novendilia* and *parentalia* are both mourning services: the first being that used in the nine-day period of mourning for a pope and the second, the commemoration service for dead cardinals. The fashion of Castilian or Spanish singing may refer either to actual songs or to a style of performance in the Lydian mode.

The two main courts of the southern Italian peninsula, the papal court of Alexander VI and the Aragonese court of Naples, are both likely to have been points at which Spanish song was introduced to the peninsula. The Spanish influx to Rome outlined in the previous chapter aided in the dissemination of their own culture into the Italian lifestyle. The Spanish presence in the papal court, accompanied by the appearance of Spanish instruments in Pintoricchio's fresco, implies that there was a Spanish musical presence at the court too.

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[280] Paolo Cortesi, *De Cardinalatu Libri Tres*, 1510, trans. Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Culture in 15th-Century Italy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XIX (1996), 154.

Chapter 4: Sacred Music under Alexander VI – Institutions, Personnel and Manuscripts

The following chapter will examine the two choral institutions active in the Vatican during Alexander's reign. It will identify the responsibilities of the choirs, show how they served each institution and also highlight the stark differences between them. This will lead onto an exploration of the personnel of the choirs and the ways that the ensembles changed in numbers during Alexander's reign. Finally, the surviving materials of the choirs will be examined. Here, it will be shown what music was used and actively collected for performance during Alexander's reign. Through an assessment of the contents of the manuscripts, a clearer picture will emerge of the choirs and the materials they used at the end of the fifteenth century. Of particular importance will be the Spanish influences that emerged during Alexander's reign through increase in Spanish membership of the choirs and the musical traditions that they brought with them. This will in turn show that there was a repertoire performed by the choir for which there is no musical record.

4.1.1 Institutions: The Papal Chapel

A choir specifically associated with the role of performance at papal ceremonies can be traced back to the reign of Pope Sergius I (687-701).[281] Considerable changes had taken place during the nine hundred years between Sergius's creation of the *schola cantorum* and Alexander VI's reign. The choir had undergone radical change only ten years before Alexander became pope, during the reign of Sixtus IV with the building of the Sistine Chapel, which provided a new performance space for the choir. This was an

[281] Joseph Dyer, 'Schola Cantorum (i)', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edition), ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XXII, 606.

additional venue to the chapel of Nicholas V, used for daily mass.[282] This larger venue allowed the ensemble to increase its membership to twenty-four.[283] Haberl suggests that this increase was a result of news that the choir of the royal court of Hungary numbered twenty-four, and that thus the membership of the papal choir was increased to match it.[284] The number of singers fell rapidly during the reign of Innocent VIII (1484-1492), beginning in the second month of his reign in October 1484.[285] In December 1488, the membership dropped to its lowest of fourteen singers. There is no obvious reason for the sudden drop in membership during Innocent's reign, but there does appear to have been a slow rise in numbers in the penultimate year. There is a loss of documentation between September 1491 and June 1492, but during this time the choir had risen from sixteen and settled at twenty by July 1492.

The reign of Alexander VI appears to have provided the choir with a stability that allowed its membership to stay around twenty, although there is a break in the payment records between March 1494 and January 1501. Graph 1 shows the number of singers in the choir from the period between its enlargement in 1484 and Alexander's death in 1503.[286] What this shows is that the choir enjoyed a sustained period of stability under

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[282] Richard Sherr draws attention to the diary entries of Paris de Grassis, where the 'parva capella superiore' is used by the pope and the choir for daily worship. Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513*, 92.

[283] J. Otten, 'Sistine Choir', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XIV, New York, 1912, 30. Otten describes a Bull dated November 1483 that 'fixed the number [of singers] at twenty-four, six to each part'. There is, however, no document reference given for this Bull. Reynolds notes that this number had already increased by the dedication of the new chapel on the 15th August, 1483, although there is no evidence for this in the lists of the choir membership until November. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 49.

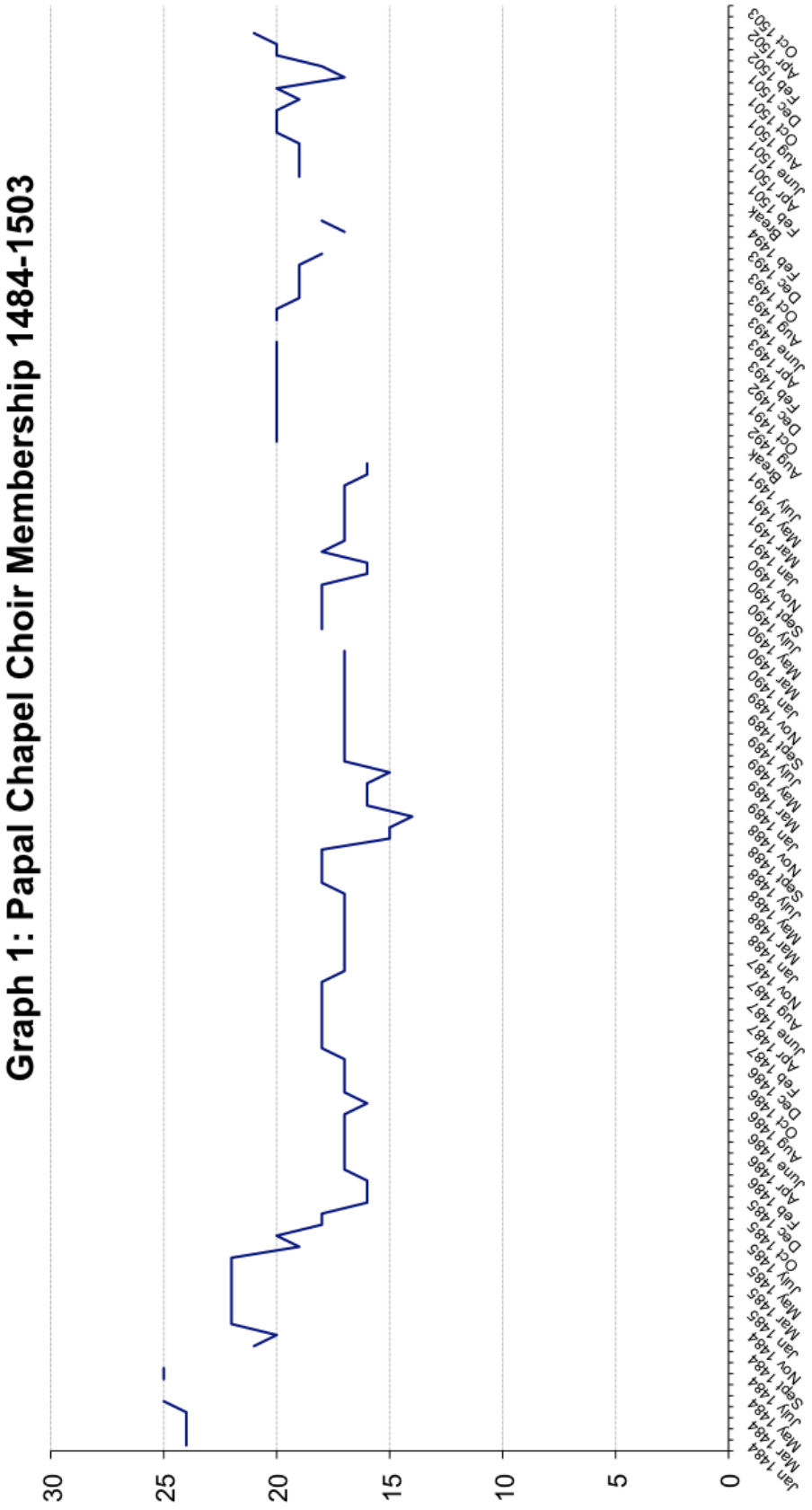
[284] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola cantorum"', 54. Previous records show the papal chapel choir to hover around sixteen to eighteen singers in size. *Idem*, 53.

[285] There are no records for September of that year, and August shows a membership of twenty-five members, with a drop to twenty-one in October. The trend may well have started in September, although this can only be speculative. Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513,* 26.

[286] Based on the numbers presented in Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513 and its Polyphonic Sources*, 26-39.

Alexander's early reign, despite the previously mentioned records of 1494. When the records return in 1501, the number of singers has not changed, but it fluctuates towards the end of his reign.

The choir had a core membership of ten that had carried over from the choir of Sixtus IV's reign, stayed through the eight years of Innocent VIII's reign (some members having intermittent absences) and into the early years of Alexander's reign. This membership was: Johannes Monstruel; Johannes Radulphi; Archangelo Blasi; Remigius de Mastaing; Antonius Baneston; Innocentius Cossee; Johannes Meruen; Bertrandus Vaqueras; Marbrianus de Orto and Petrus le Franch.


Graph 1: Papal Chapel Choir Membership 1484-1503
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Jan 1484
Mar 1484
May 1484
July 1484
Sept 1484
Nov 1484
Jan 1485
Mar 1485
May 1485
July 1485
Oct 1485
Dec 1485
Feb 1486
Apr 1486
June 1486
Aug 1486
Oct 1486
Dec 1486
Feb 1487
Apr 1487
June 1487
Aug 1487
Nov 1487
Jan 1488
Mar 1488
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July 1488
Sept 1488
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Mar 1489
May 1489
July 1489
Sept 1489
Nov 1489
Jan 1490
Mar 1490
May 1490
July 1490
Sept 1490
Nov 1490
Jan 1491
Mar 1491
May 1491
July 1491
Break
Aug 1492
Oct 1492
Dec 1492
Feb 1493
Apr 1493
June 1493
Aug 1493
Oct 1493
Dec 1493
Feb 1494
Break
Feb 1501
Apr 1501
June 1501
Aug 1501
Oct 1501
Dec 1501
Feb 1502
Apr 1502
Oct 1503

Table 3: Payment Register of the Papal Chapel Choir: March 1494 & January 1501[287]

March 1494	January 1501
Johannes Radulphi	**Regimus Mastaing**
Regimus Mastaing	**Antonius Baneston**
Antonius Baneston	**Bertrandus Vaqueras**
Innocentus Cossee	**Christoforus Rosseaux**
Johannes Meruen	**Johannes Barbe**
Bertrandus Vaqueras	**Johannes Baltazar**[288]
Marbriano de Orto	**Philippus de Primis**
Johannes Barbe	**Johannes Hillanis**
Johannes Baltazar	**Donato Felix**
Georgius di Duno	**Hieronymus de Verona**
Josquin des Prez	**Crispinus de Stappen**
Christoforus Rosseaux	Augustino de Negris
Philippus de Primis	Jacobus Walpot
Johannes Hillanis	Antonius Walthier
Donato Felix	Alfonsus de Troia
Hieronymus de Verona	Paulus de Trottis
Crispinus de Stappen	Marturiano Prats
Johannes de Balloviso	Gaspar Weerbecke
	Bono Radulphi
	Johannes Gruter

Although there can be no certainty that those who were present at the papal chapel in 1494 did not move and return by 1501, there are eleven members of the chapel that appeared to remain in it (those given in bold in Table 3) and nine extra members once the chapel documents return. If the singers did stay throughout the period for which records

[287] Given in the order they are presented in the payment records, given in Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola cantorum"', 58 -59.
[288] Crossed out, but counted in the record payment under the name Jo. Le Petit.

are missing, it suggests a stability and continuation in the choir membership during these years.

Biographical research on individual members of the chapel has provided important information for understanding the choir, but some of the most insightful points have come when the choir has been taken as a whole entity. Sherr's study of the Spanish singers at the papal chapel not only showed how the presence of a Spanish pope attracted Spanish singers to the chapel but also showed that the singers influenced ceremonial practices of the papal chapel as a whole.[289] By the end of Alexander's reign in 1503, there had been eight Spanish members of the papal chapel choir as seen in Table 4:

Table 4: Dates of Entry for Spanish Singers of the Papal Chapel[290]

Name	Date of Entry
Johannes Hillanis	1492
Alfonsus Troya	1497
Martinus Scudero	1499
Marturianus Prats	1499
Garsias Salinas	1502
Alfonsus de Frias	1502
Johannes Palomares	1503
Johannes Scribano	1503

Although the number of Spanish entrants rose considerably towards the end of Alexander's papacy, the Northern singers (French / Flemish) were still the predominant nationality in the choir, something that had been inherited from previous papal reigns.

[289] Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel', 601-09.
[290] Sherr lists the singers by either the earliest date that they entered the papal chapel on the payment register or by the earliest benefice records they received *in absentia*. Ibid, 602.

Table 5: Northerners inherited from the previous papacies and those who joined in Alexander's pontificate[291]

Northerners already at the Chapel	Those who entered after August 1492
Johannes Monstruel	Donato Felix (Sept. 1493)
Johannes Radulphi	Robertus de Lignoquerci (Feb. 1493)
Archangelo Blasi	Crispinus de Stappen (Jun. 1493)
Remigius Mastaing	Matheao Bras (Jul. 1493)
Antonius Baneston	Johannes de Balloviso (Jul. 1493)
Innocentius Cossee	Jacobus Walpot (Pre-Jan. 1501)
Johannes Meruen	Antonius Walthier (Pre-Jan. 1501)
Bertrandus Vaqueras	Augustino de Nigris (Pre-Jan. 1501)
Marbriano de Orto	Weerbeke (Pre-Jan. 1501)
Petrus le Franch	Bono Radulphi (Pre-Jan. 1501)
Johannes Barbe	Johannes Gruter (Pre-Jan.1501)
Johannes Baltazar	Johannes Pocquetoy (Feb. 1502)
Georgius de Duno	Thomas Jacobi (Feb. 1502)
Josquin des Prez	
Johannes Juvensis	
Re. de Odena	
Christoforus Rosseaux	

In relation to the small number of Italians in the choir, only one was inherited from the previous papacy and only a further two joined the choir in Alexander's reign:

Table 6: Italian membership of the chapel[292]

Italians already in the papal chapel	Italians who entered post August 1492
Philipus de Primis	Hieronymus de Verona (Sept. 1492)
	Paulus de Trottis (Pre-Jan. 1501)

[291] Identified by Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola cantorum"' with corrections in Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1503*, 43-46.
[292] Ibid.

The above tables highlight two important points: singers of a Northern origin were predominantly favoured in the choir and there was a gradual swell in numbers of singers from Spain, the pope's home country.

The role of the choir was to observe each Office of the day in the papal chapel, even if the pope was not in attendance.[293] On many occasions, this could mean that the choir members formed the majority of the few members of the papal chapel that were in attendance. At forty-two festal days through the year, there were fifty services where the Pope as well as the Curia and the Papal Court were present. These were known as *coram papa* (in the presence of the pope) and many of these services required the use of polyphony. These included five Matins, ten Vespers and thirty-five Masses that were laid out by the Master of Ceremonies, Paride de Grassis, the successor of Burchard and the man who worked under Burchard during Alexander's pontificate.[294]

Table 7: Occasions of *coram papa* (De Grassis)[295]

Feast	Matins	Vespers	Mass
All Saints	X	X	X (SP) (CC)
All Souls		X	X (CC)
Advent 1			X (NP)
Advent 2			X (NP)
Advent 3			X (NP) (CC)
Advent 4			X (NP)
Christmas Eve	X		X (SP)
Christmas Day		X (SP)	X (SP) (P)
St. Stephen			X (NP) (CC)

[293] Jeffrey Dean, 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500', *Early Music*, Vol. XXV (1997), 618.
[294] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513*, 89-90.
[295] Compiled from Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513*, 89-91 and Dean 'Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500', 619-20. This does not take into consideration the additional dates that were added by the Papal Master of Ceremonies, Patrizi, later in the 16th century that Dean incorporates into his study.

Feast	Matins	Vespers	Mass
St. John the Evangelist			X (NP) (CC)
Circumcision		X (NP)	X (CC)
Epiphany		X	X (SP) (CC)
Purification of the BVM			X (CC)
Ash Wednesday			X (CC)
Lent 1			X (NP)
Lent 2			X
Lent 3			X (NP)
Lent 4 (Leatare or de Rosa)			X (NP) (CC)
Palm Sunday			X (Card)
Passion Sunday	X		X (NP)
Wednesday of Holy Week	X		
Maunday Thursday	X		X (CC)
Good Friday			X (CC)
Holy Saturday			X (CC)
Easter			X (P)
Easter Monday			X (NP) (CC)
Easter Tuesday			X (NP) (CC)
Saturday in Albis			X (NP)
Ascension		X	X (SP) (CC)
Pentecost		X	X (CC)
Trinity Sunday		X	X (CC)
Corpus Christi		X	X (SP) (CC)
SS. Peter & Paul		X (SP)	X (SP) (P)
Anniversary of the death of the preceding pope			X
Creation of the present pope			X (CC)
Coronation of the present pope			X (CC)

(NP) = No Polyphony; (SP) = Saint Peter's

(CC) = Cardinal Celebrant; (P) = Celebrated by Pope

Although the pope would have been present at all the ceremonies, he would only officiate at a few, inviting cardinals to celebrate masses at particular points through the year.

It is difficult to understand what the role of a papal chapel choir member entailed at the end of the fifteenth century. No constitution survives from before 1545, from the pontificate of Paul III.[296] In this document, the role of the singers is explicitly outlined, including the form of examinations taken to join the choir, the conduct of choir members and the process of the way in which music became part of the choir's repertory. For instance, an entrance examination for the papal chapel had five aspects: to be of perfect voice, to sing good *cantus figuratus* (polyphony), to sing sufficient counterpoint; to sing plainchant and to have good reading skills.[297] Although these are prerequisites in 1545, the skills they assess were very much in use fifty years earlier.[298] It may then be expected that use of *cantus figuratus* and note-against-note counterpoint were in use during the time of Alexander VI in services that required polyphony.

Among the activities that some singers engaged in whilst employed at the Sistine Chapel was the copying of music. The process of such copying changed during Alexander's pontificate with the introduction of a dedicated scribe for music, Johannes Orceau in 1497, discussed in detail below. Before Orceau, music was copied in a variety of hands, most of which are likely to have been members of the papal choir, if only because other members of the papal household would have been incapable of copying sophisticated polyphony. Composition was a pursuit that some singers engaged in, although this was out of personal motivation rather than any contractual obligation that came with the

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[296] Printed in Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum"', 96-108.
[297] Ibid. 96. 'habeat bonam et perfectam vocem; secundo, si cantet bene cantum figuratum; tertio si cantet sufficenter contrapunctum, quarto, si cantet cantum planum; quinto, si sciat bene legere.'
[298] Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'The Repertoire of the Papal Chapel after the Council of Trent' 112.

post. Roger Bowers has shown that composition was a 'windfall' for a church or patron of a choir when the ability manifested itself in one of the singers and was not an expectation of a post as a choir member, except in a few, rare cases.[299] The choirbooks in the chapel archives contain music by notable composers who were members of the chapel, including Josquin des Prez (53 pieces), Marbriano de Orto (7 pieces), Bertrandus Vaqueras (7 pieces), Gaspar Weerbecke (9 pieces) and Hillianis (one piece).

The benefits of a place in the papal chapel choir were manifold. Choir members were able, like all papal household members, to apply for three absentee ecclesiastical benefices that contributed to their wealth. Christopher Reynolds classes these as a form of papal patronage.[300] These various benefices were awarded for the monasteries, churches and cathedrals near to the musician's place of birth and would provide a lifelong income. Dispensation was also given in lieu of the responsibilities that were connected to the awarded benefices whilst in the service of the papal household.[301]

It is possible that the singers may have been provided with lodgings, or had access to rooms that were built under the Sistine Chapel by Sixtus IV for members of the chapel's ceremonial staff.[302] The situation is somewhat reminiscent of the group of papal servers or *capellani commensales* under Pope Clement V (reigned 1305-1314), some of whom sang at daily services and were accommodated in a room called the *capellania*,

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[299] Roger Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency, and *Laissez-Faire*: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England', *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Cambridge, 1981, 11-14.

[300] Christopher Reynolds, 'Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XXXVII (1984), 50.

[301] An outline of the process of obtaining the various benefices can be found in Sherr, 'A note on the Biography of Juan del Encina', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, Vol. XXXIV (1982), 160

[302] Suzanne B. Butters and Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Il palazzo dei Tribunali, Via Giulia e la giustizia: strategie politiche e urbane di Giulio II', *Il Palazzo Falconieri e il palazzo barocco a Roma: Atti del convegno indetto all'Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, Rome 24-26 Maggio 1995*, ed. Gábor Hajnóczi and Lázlo Csorba, Soveria Mannelli, 2009, 141-42. Also see Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Nuovi documenti sulla costruzione della Cappella Sistina', *La Cappella Sistina: La volta resturata: Il trifono del colore*, Novara, 1992, 256-61. Many thanks to Prof Butters for both sharing an unpublished essay and directing me to this information.

where they lived and devoted themselves to daily services.[303] The requirement for the Sistine Chapel choir to perform each of the daily Offices suggests that the singers may have been required to live in close proximity, or have their own accommodation near the Sistine Chapel like the *capellania*. The logistics, therefore, of having lodgings so close to the performance space appear a viable option for members of the papal chapel, as they were for other members of the papal household.[304]

4.1.2 Institutions: The Basilica of St. Peter's

In a situation similar to that of the papal chapel choir, the presence of the choir of St. Peter's Basilica was erratic during the fifteenth century, but in a much more pronounced way, as it was attached to a site of worship rather than to a court. The movement of the papal court to Avignon in the fourteenth century had shifted focus away from Rome, thereby leaving structures such as St. Peter's Basilica to ruin. The absence of the papacy in Rome had directly affected the music that was performed at the basilica, and although records are sparse, payments do appear to have been made to singers towards the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century on major feasts.[305] Payments were made in the form both of money and wine.[306]

There is little evidence to show that the return of the papacy in the fifteenth century under Martin V had any effect on the basilica's day-to-day running. There are

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[303] Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403*, Ann Arbour, 1983, 47-48.

[304] For a further example: the cooks of the papal household were provided with lodgings in close proximity to the kitchens in the palace. See Butters and Pagliara, 'Il palazzo dei Tribunali', 141.

[305] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 19.

[306] Reynolds drew attention to this through the publication of a record from the Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, showing that a singer was paid both in wine and seven soldi and six denari for singing at the mass of SS. Peter and Paul: 'solvimus per mandatus domini Antonii Lelli certis cantoribus forensibus qui cantaverunt in choro nostre basilice, videlicet in missa Apostolorem Petri et Pauli, videlicet pro vino… sold. 7, den. 6.' BAV SPAC 3, int. 4 (1409), 31v, 29 June, published in Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 316.

numerous instances in Bulls from this period until the reign of Nicholas V showing that clergy were unruly, as well as the fact that the basilica suffered from periods of looting and vandalism.[307] The period of Nicholas V's reign restored the choir to respectability. Within weeks of his election, one particular change of note occurred where singers of the basilica were paid regular salaries, in contrast to the receipt of a meal after each service.[308] It is at this point that the choir becomes a recognised and established entity within the basilica. Their payment of eight *carlini* (eight-tenths of a ducat) contrasts with payment to the papal chapel choir of eight ducats, showing a 90% pay gap between the two institutions.[309] The rate for the basilica choir is also low in comparison to other basilicas, with St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, for instance, paying upwards of 2.5 ducats a month for a singer.[310] By the Jubilee of 1450, with an established payment system in place, the basilica choir consisted of twelve members. Nicholas V further supported it by extending its members' rights to claim benefices, the same benefit that had only been enjoyed previously by members of the papal household.[311]

On certain occasions, the basilica was served by choirs other than its own. Records show, for example, that the choir of Alfonso V of Naples performed several times

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[307] An example of a Bull from the period is issued by Eugenius IV on 23 July, 1437 with an ultimatum to excommunicate clergy members who entered the basilica improperly dressed. See *Collectionis bullarum, brevium aliorumque diplomatum Sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae*, Vol. II, 1750, 91.

[308] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 34-35.

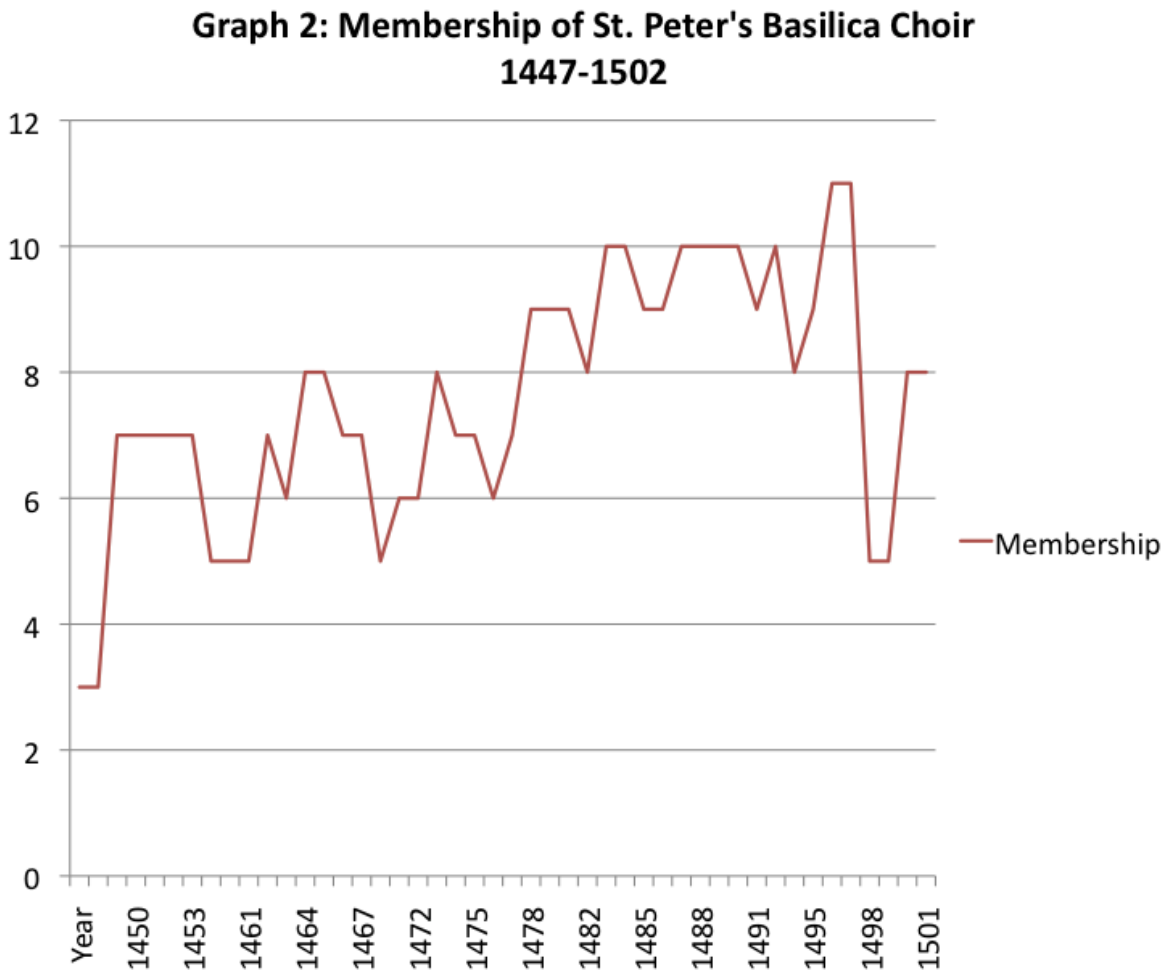
[309] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola Cantorum"', 50; Roth, '"Zur Reform" der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontificat Sixtus' IV. (1471-1484)', *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen: Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, ed. J.O. Fichte, K.H. Göller & B. Schimmelpfennig, Berlin, 1986, 181; Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 34-35.

[310] Giuliano Ongaro, 'Sixteenth-Century Patronage at St. Mark's, Venice', *Early Music History*, Vol. VIII (1988), 85.

[311] Pamela Starr, *Music and Music Patronage at the Papal Court, 1447-1464*, PhD, Yale University, 1982, 146. Here, Starr refers to the document Reg. suppl. 452, fols. 76v-77.

between 1447 and 1455.[312] On another occasion, during the time of Alexander VI, the basilica looked to the neighbouring institution of Santo Spirito in the Borgo, to supply singers in order to swell the choir for the celebration of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul on 27 June, 1495. This happened once again on 28 October of the same year, but there is no record of it happening on a regular basis.[313]

The size of the choir fluctuated considerably during the fifteenth century, although generally it grew steadily in size over the century, as shown in Graph 2.[314]



The stability that the choir had gained through the second half of the fifteenth century was slightly disrupted for two different reasons during the reign of Alexander VI. Firstly,

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[312] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol. II, 34 and 152-57; Starr, *Music and Patronage at the Papal Court*, 254-56; Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 40 and 319.
[313] BAV SPAC, 15 (1495), fol. 50 and 68v. Published in Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 52.
[314] Based on Reynolds, *Papal Patronage,* Table 5.

the singers until this point had been a combination of native Italians and a mixture of French, Flemish and Germans (northerners). There were very few times when there were singers of other nationalities such as Spanish or English. During Alexander's reign, there is a notable influx of Spanish singers to the detriment of singers from the northern countries. The number of Italians stayed constant, however. Table 8 shows such membership in greater detail.

Table 8: Nationalities of the basilica singers during Alexander's reign[315]

Year	Italian	Northerner	Spanish	Unknown
1492	7	6		1
1493	4	5		2
1494				
1495	6	1	3	2
1496	6	3	3	
1497	6	3	3	
1498	6	1	3	1
1499	9	2	2	1
1500	4	4	1	
1502	5	5		1
1502	5	5		1
1503				

N.B.: Records for 1494 and 1503 are lost. Records for the years 1493 and 1498 have data for only three months or less.

Although a majority of the singers remain Italian, the rise in Spanish singers, the first since 1477, is probably connected to the increasing number of Spaniards that travelled to Rome when Alexander became pope. The choir based at the basilica, in contrast to the papal chapel choir, appears to have had a greater turnover of singers.

[315] Information adapted Reynolds, *Papal Patronage,* Table 5.

The second instance that had an impact on the choir was the desertion of Rome by the papacy for two and a half months during 1495. The return of Charles VIII to Rome after his conquest of Naples had Alexander fleeing to Orvieto and subsequently Perugia after being pursued by Charles VIII. During this period, a time when there was no direct papal authority in Rome, the membership of the basilica choir fell from eight members to three. Reynolds highlights this as one of the worst periods for the choir in the fifteenth century.[316] This is, however, clearly missing the success of Alexander's reign, as only two years later, in 1495, the choir rose to 12 members, a fifty-year peak of membership.

It is not clear what the requirements were to become a member of the basilica choir. In a few instances, the basilica can be seen as an entry point for the singers into the papal chapel choir, as shown by the figures in table 9.

Table 9: Singers that had been taken straight from the basilica choir into the papal chapel choir during Alexander's reign[317]

Name	Years at St. Peter's	Years at the papal chapel
Remigius Mastaig	1475-77	1477-1509
Bertrandus Vaqueras	1481-83	1484-1507
Johannes Juvenis	1487-90	1490-93
Hieronymus de Verona	1490-92	1492-1501
Matheus Bras	1488-93	1493
Anthonius Waltheri	1495-97	1497-1505

The few that did make the transition from basilica to papal chapel choir usually stayed on for a number of years after the appointment. This would suggest that the singers at the basilica were just as experienced and capable as those in the papal chapel, or they would never have moved between choirs. However, the basilica operated a somewhat 'revolving

[316] Ibid. 51-52.
[317] Adapted from Ibid. Table 9.

door' policy on membership, as it would appear that forty new singers became members of the basilica choir during Alexander's reign, while for the papal chapel it was about half that number. Furthermore, the payment received at the basilica suggests that the choir members may have needed to hold employment in another form in order to make a decent living.

4.2.1 Polyphonic Music Manuscripts

The earliest polyphonic manuscripts identified as having been used by the papal chapel choir date from the last two decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest sources, CS 14 and CS 51, contain both cyclic masses and separate mass sections for the Mass Ordinary by Du Fay, Ockeghem, Martini, Regis and Weerbeke amongst others. This initial collection may have been copied for the papal chapel choir. Richard Sherr places the copying of the manuscripts between the middle 1470s to ca. 1480, although the music that it contains may have been up to twenty years older.[318] He further suggests that the manuscripts were not copied for the use of the papal chapel, but had become part of the collection by 1487.[319] These manuscripts mark a starting point for modern conceptions of the repertory of this period and place. Although it is likely that there were earlier collections of music, these two manuscripts are the earliest survivors. Their dating suggests that they may have been part of the Sistine Chapel project.

The first polyphonic manuscript that was definitely prepared 'in-house' by the papal choir is CS 35, a collection of cyclic masses, mass sections and motets. Begun during the reign of Innocent VIII, it continued to be added to into the early reign of Alexander VI.

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[318] Richard Sherr, *Masses for the Sistine Chapel: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 14*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* Vol. XIII, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Chicago, 2010, 10.
[319] Ibid., 15-16.

The three: CS 14, CS 51 and CS 35 are examples of the main staple diet of the choir, music for the Mass. Outside this, there were many other musical components needed for daily worship such as Magnificats and hymns, but these were aspects of the church calendar that needed to be changed daily or weekly. Adalbert Roth has suggested that there were numerous other pieces that the choir used that were copied into single-quire manuscripts that have not survived.[320]

The preparation of the manuscript CS 35 shows a shift in the performance practice and attitude towards music by the papal chapel choir. Jeffrey Dean has highlighted the point that music that was copied into manuscripts was 'deemed worthy of being sung again'.[321] Indeed, such a situation is reflected in the stipulation issued on 24 July, 1564, by the Dean of the Chapel who insists that all music copied by the scribes had to be approved by the college of singers first.[322] It is plausible that such practice was in use at the end of the fifteenth century, as the expense of materials when preparing music was costly.[323] The beginning of the collection shows that the choir favoured music by composers of the North, an unsurprising fact as a majority of the choir were from the North. Such fashions for nationalist leanings would continue to dominate the collection into the sixteenth century.

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[320] Adalbert Roth, 'Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1998, 132.
[321] Jeffrey Dean, 'The Evolution of a Canon in the Papal Chapel: The Importance of Old Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1998, 139.
[322] Klaus Pietschmann, *Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition und Reform: Die päpstliche Sängerkapelle und ihr Repertoire im Pontifikat Papst Paul III. (1534-1549)*, Vatican City, 2007, 183 and 362.
[323] See Dean, 'The Evolution of a Canon in the Papal Chapel', 138-39. Here, Dean shows that in 1540, a typical mass of fourteen pages would cost 4 scudi (equivalent to 4 ducats from Alexander's reign), which was approximately 36% of a singer's monthly payment in the Sistine Chapel choir.

The surviving choirbooks of the Sistine Chapel are complex volumes assembled from diverse materials that were copied onto single sheets. Thus, even within a single mass cycle, certain leaves may have been copied by different scribes at different times. Quite often, the bound choirbook has on it a date or the arms of the pope under which it was assembled, but the material that it contains can be from up to twenty years earlier. Attempts to identify music copied at any period must, therefore, be read with caution. The polyphonic music manuscripts to be discussed in the following section, have all been associated with the period of Alexander VI's reign. The manuscripts dating from this period in particular may well represent a project to compile music associated with Vespers. As well as this, further cyclic mass settings were collected alongside groups of motets and Marian antiphons for various Offices of the day.

One recurring theme associated with this particular period of the papal chapel has been the issue of what music has been lost since the manuscripts were copied and compiled 500 years ago. Bernhard Janz suggested that as many as 70 manuscripts no longer survive from the 15th and 16th centuries,[324] with Jesse Rodin suggesting that the situation cannot be as large as this.[325] Rodin's premise is based on examples of the use of music in the 16th and 17th century that were composed decades earlier, the Panuzzi catalogue of 1568 and the 'traditionalist music culture' that held onto music rather than discarding it.[326] Rodin acknowledges the possibility of a collection of loose fascicles while identifying possible contents through a 'shadow repertory' contained in the manuscript VerBC 761. [327] Rodin's hypothesis is based on his argument that much of the music used

[324] Bernhard Janz, *Der Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Studien zur Geschichte des Bestandes*, Paderborn, 2000, Chapters 1-2.
[325] Jesse Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass*, 141.
[326] Ibid. 139-40.
[327] Ibid. 140 and 141-145.

by the papal chapel choir was not unique and was transmitted from outside the ensemble.[328]

The surviving collection brings together a mixture of old and new music. This included both distinguished, standard pieces of repertory for a polyphonic choir as well as more recent compositions. The surge of activity in the copying of music during the 1490s would continue into the sixteenth century and this suggests that there was a marked and conscious decision both to collect music and to expand the repertory at the start of Alexander's reign.

4.2.2 Scribes

A particular line of investigation by Sherr, Dean, Roth and Reynolds has been the identification of each hand that contributed to the copying of the music. This has led to speculation concerning the dates when particular pieces were copied for the choirs and has also shown a number of instances where one particular scribe for the papal chapel may be identified at least three times under a different name in different studies.[329] There are further complications that impinge on this study: scribes are identified within the basilica choir book SPB80 by various commentators, using alphabetical labels. However, the same letters are used for different scribes within the papal chapel by other commentators. For this reason, the following identifications will be used in this study, based on the model devised by Sherr:

[328] Ibid.
[329] These are Dean, *The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel*; Roth, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches…'; Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts.*

Table 10: Scribal identification table

Robb	Sherr	Dean	Roth	Reynolds
A	A	15		
B	B	197	G	
C	C	2	D	
D	D	3		
E	E	4	A	
F	F	5	E	
G				D
H				F
I			C	
J			F	
de Furnis				de Furnis
Orceau	O	Orceau		

The above table and those following are only concerned with the scribes that appear to have been active during the reign of Alexander and discount hands that contributed to the copying of the repertory for each choir outside this period. The following section will briefly outline the work of each scribe, each of which will be followed by a table of his identified work. This information will be used later in a quantitative analysis of music copying at the Vatican. This analysis will provide a different perspective on the work of the scribes and the music that they copied. It is the intention of the analysis to provide a new approach to understanding the surviving repertory and the possibility of lost music.

Scribe A

The work of scribe A is predominantly associated with the manuscript CS 15, although his work may be found in several other manuscripts:

Table 11: Work of Scribe A

Manuscript	Folios
CS 15	2v-10; 12v-37; 48v-269
CS 23	21v-227
CS 41	87v-103
CS 49	36v-55; 69v-93; 129v-140
CS 63	39v-44; 65v-70

Sherr suggests that the majority of the copying took place c. 1494-95, and certainly before 1500.[330] The amount of copying completed by the scribe suggests that he was a principal copyist while at the Vatican choir, and it has been suggested that he was a forerunner of Orceau.[331]

Scribe B

Scribe B is an interesting example of a scribe who copied numerous pieces but only added a name to music by two composers: Josquin and de Orto. Active at approximately the same time as Scribe A, Scribe B shows an intimate knowledge of the works of those two composers, leading to the possibility that he may be one of the two composers himself. Scribe B's working period is dated at around 1495, although this may be earlier, due to the collaboration with Scribe E in CS 41 as well as his presence in CS 35.[332] The dates have not been reconsidered since it became clear that Josquin did not enter the papal chapel until 1489.

[330] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 191.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Sherr, *Papal Music*, 68.

Table 12: Work of Scribe B

Manuscript	Folios
CS 15	10v-12; 38-48
CS 35	204v-206
CS 41	50v-54v; 185v
CS 197	All

Scribe C

Sherr has suggested that the copyist worked between c.1495-98.[333] Sherr places the scribe's work in this period as he connects the majority of music copied to the presence of Charles VIII in Rome.[334] Roth also notes that he is a brief contributor to the rather earlier choirbook CS 35.[335] The significance the appearance of this hand in CS 35, is not known.

Table 13: Work of Scribe C

Manuscript	Folios
CS 35	16-18
CS 41	38v-49
CS 49	56v-68
CS 63	71v-75

Scribe D

Scribe D copied only three masses, two by Ockeghem and one anonymous, all three appearing in one manuscript (CS 63). Scribe D's work was completed or altered by the scribe Orceau.[336]

[333] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 192.
[334] Sherr, *Papal Music*, 69.
[335] Roth, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuchs...', 56.
[336] Dean, *The Scribes of the Papal Chapel*, 251.

Table 14: Work of Scribe D

Manuscript	Folios
CS 63	14v-38v

Scribe E

Scribe E copied a majority of the music found in CS 35, which dates from the reign of Innocent VIII. The scribe also appears in CS 41, copying just one page of the Credo in collaboration with Scribe B.

Table 15: Work of Scribe E

Manuscript	Folios
CS 35	2v-13; 23v-178
CS 41	186-186v

Scribe F

Scribe F was responsible for additions to two manuscripts, CS 35 and CS 41, although only in collaboration with another scribe.

Table 16: Work of Scribe F

Manuscript	Folios
CS 35	15v
CS 41	55-61

Scribe G

Scribe G's position is unusual as he is identified as having copied pieces in manuscripts used both by the papal choir and the basilica choir; however, only one of these manuscripts originated from within the institutions: the addition of Josquin's *Domine non secundum* to SPB80, a piece that is also present in CS 35, probably comes after its addition to the papal chapel repertory and may well date from Alexander's pontificate, a point which will be discussed later. Reynolds suggests that the hand also appears to copy

the Kyrie movement of Caron's *Missa Jesus autem transiens* in the earlier choirbook CS 51 (fols. 46v-47r).[337]

Table 17: Work of Scribe G

Manuscript	Folios
SPB80	32v-35
CS 51	46v-47

Scribe H

Within the discussion of the scribes, scribe H is rather inconsequential, but one who needs to be noted none the less. He wrote a fragment of a setting of *Veni creator spiritus* in SPB80 that corresponds to the setting found in CS 15 fol. 30.[338] Why this was left incomplete is unknown, but it appears to have been begun as an afterthought to fill in a blank page within a Mass section within the manuscript. The scribe is unique in having a humanistic script or *lettera antiqua* in contrast to the styles used in the rest of the manuscript.[339]

Table 18: Work of Scribe H

Manuscript	Folios
SPB80	49

Scribes I & J

Scribes I and J only contributed a small quantity of music to the papal chapel collection, although their additions are particularly interesting for the purpose of this thesis. Scribes I and J both copied the same music into the same manuscript, with one version having been added to. The piece, probably by de Orto, was written for Alexander's coronation, which may suggest that, while one copy of the piece was quickly added to the manuscript

[337] Reynolds, *The Music Chapel at San Pietro*, 87.
[338] Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn 1400-1520*, 269.
[339] See Dean, *The Scribes of the Papal Chapel*, 35; Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 104.

in preparation for the coronation, the second scribe returned later to add the improved piece to the collection. Scribe I also copied two other pieces by De Orto.[340]

Table 19: Work of Scribes I & J

Scribe	Manuscript	Folios
I	CS 35	192v-200; 206v-208v
J	CS 35	188v-191

de Furnis

Nicholas de Furnis made the final additions to the manuscript SPB80 in the late 1490s or early 1500s. A singer at the basilica from mid-October 1499 until April 1501, he was paid 3 ducats for 'notating other quinterns for the chapel' on 1 December 1499 and then 20 carlenos on 26 March 1500.[341] De Furnis copied five anonymous hymns into the manuscript SPB80.

Table 20: Work of de Furnis

Manuscript	Folios
SPB80	1, 31v, 38-38v, 246v-48

There are certain aspects of de Furnis's style that identify the works copied in his hand in contrast to those in the rest of the manuscript. The appearance of lines between the notation and text in the instance of *Vexilla Regis* leads Reynolds to conclude that they are 'not a scribal aid for copying the notes or words in SPB80, because they clearly came after both were already in place. And more than a singer reading from the manuscript, the person most likely to benefit from them would have been the scribe using SPB80 as a source for another copy, a copy in which the placement of the text was an important

[340] Roth, 'Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches...', 56.
[341] BAV SPAC #16, int. 5, 1499, fol. 79 and 89v. Published in Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 326.

consideration'.[342] This suggests that the pieces may have been copied at a later point from the manuscript for another source that no longer exists.

Orceau

Johannes Orceau is an important figure in the area of papal chapel scribes as he is the first identifiable full-time scribe of the Sistine chapel. A supplication from 1512 declares that he had been a scribe for the papal chapel for 'fifteen years and more'.[343] This places Orceau in the chapel's employment in 1497, and Sherr has shown that the payments for the chapel increased by 2 ducats from February of that year, equalling the salary of the scribe.[344] The only visible contribution to the copying of music by him that survives from Alexander's period is found in CS 41. Orceau's later work is substantial, as the sole copyist of two manuscripts (CS 42 and CS 44), with contributions as principal copyist of six other papal chapel choir manuscripts.

Table 21: Work of Orceau

Manuscript	Folios
CS 41	2-14; 104v-128; 156v-174

4.3 Dating the repertory

The following section will deconstruct the manuscript collection into smaller periods of copying. The construction of the manuscripts is a long and complex process which has been described numerous times. It is codified neatly by Fallows thus: the music of the Sistine chapel is 'copied onto single sheets, later collected into gatherings and

[342] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 108.
[343] ASV RS 1388, fol. 229, supplication dated June 23, 1512. Published in Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 29.
[344] Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 30; Document published in Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 275.

booklets and eventually bound into choirbooks'.[345] The choirbooks were the subject of major restoration in the eighteenth century and were also trimmed at some point, eliminating the name of the composer in certain cases. Studies of the manuscripts place great emphasis on the dating of specific pages in the manuscripts, rather than the dating of complete choirbooks. The dating of them has been achieved in two particular ways: identification of scribes and certain evolutions in scribal hands and through paper watermarks.[346] However, studies up until now have concentrated more or less on the choirbooks as single entities, separate from each other. By arranging surviving polyphonic music into periods in which they may have been copied, a new picture will emerge of the repertory of the choirs and the way it was collected during Alexander's pontificate. The dating used in the following pages is taken primarily from Sherr's *Papal Music Manuscripts* unless otherwise stated, this being the latest published source of dating, although work by Jeffrey Dean that is currently taking place revises some of Sherr's dates.

Prior to the accession of Alexander, there were three principal manuscripts in use by the chapel: CS 14, CS 51 and CS 35. The manuscripts CS 14 and CS 51 were perhaps prepared outside of the Vatican, but probably for the papal choir. CS 35 was apparently the first manuscript prepared in-house by the Sistine Chapel that survives. These manuscripts are a collection of masses and mass sections. What other polyphonic music was in use can only be left to speculation. The requirements of the papal chapel choir would indicate that there was a body of music containing items such as hymns and Magnificats, like CS 15. The preparation of CS 14 and CS 51 suggests that the founding of a new performance space for the choir brought with it a desire to cultivate a reviewed repertory.

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[345] Fallows, *Josquin*, 145.

[346] These have been used in the work of Richard Sherr, Jeffrey Dean and Adalbert Roth in the case of the manuscripts of the Sistine Chapel polyphonic manuscripts.

c.1490-95

This section begins with a starting point just prior to Alexander's pontificate to allow for an overlap of influence from the previous papacy and to indicate the earliest addition of Josquin's music to the papal chapel's surviving repertory. It will also account for the circumstances that many of the received dates are guesses that could easily be wrong by two or three years.

Table 22: Music copied ca. 1480-95

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 35	5v - 7	Domine non secundum	Josquin	4	c.1490	E	Motet
CS 35	188v - 191	Salve regis mater sanctissima	[de Orto]	5	c. 1492	J	Motet
CS 35	196v - 200	Salve regis mater sanctissima	[de Orto]	5	c.1492	I	Motet
SPB80	32v - 35	Domine non secundum	Josquin	4	post-1490	G	Motet
CS 41	185v - 187	Patrem De tous biens plaine	Josquin	4	1480s / Late 15th C	B / E	Credo
CS 63	14v - 20	Missa [Au travail suis]	Ockeghem	4	1480s (Dean)	D	Mass
CS 63	20v - 30	Missa [Mi mi]	Ockeghem	4	1480s (Dean)	D	Mass

Domine non secundum is believed to be the earliest datable composition for Josquin and is directly connected with his time at the papal chapel. Since 1997, when Pamela F. Starr showed that Josquin was present only from 1489, and not from 1486, the date of composition of this piece has been suggested as 1490 at the earliest.[347] The motet, which uses a text associated with Ash Wednesday, is considered to have been exclusively written for the papal chapel due to the accommodation of the papal chapel performance

[347] Pamela F. Starr, 'Josquin, Rome and a case of mistaken identity', 58, n. 38, where the suggestion is credited to Joshua Rifkin's unpublished paper 'Josquin in context', 1978.

practice outlined by the later Master of Ceremonies Paris de Grassis, in which the pope moves to a footstool, removes his mitre, kneels and genuflects and returns to his throne during the performance of the piece.[348] Markers, such as mensuration changes, providing a signal to the pope to leave his throne are present in Josquin's motet, thus directly connecting the piece, like settings of the same text by Vaqueras and De Orto, with the celebration of Ash Wednesday in the papal chapel. The piece was also copied into the choirbook of the basilica soon after. There is no indication from the diaries of Burchard when this piece may have first been used. The presence of the piece in SPB80 does not indicate that the service was celebrated with the pope in the basilica, but merely provides evidence that there was an exchange of music between both institutions.

The Josquin Credo *De tous biens plaine* deserves special mention, as it creates a number of problems for dating the copying of the piece. The first and last pages of the Credo are copied by Scribe B, who is associated with the copying of work by Josquin and de Orto. The middle opening is, however, copied by Scribe E, noted for his extended contribution to CS 35. As a majority of Scribe E's hand dates from the 1480s, and the work of Scribe B dates from c. 1495, the dating for the coping of the Credo is difficult to place.[349] Furthermore, the lack of any visible watermark on the page leaves very little scope for further insight. One possibility is that the work was created in collaboration between the two scribes. It is certainly considered to be one of Josquin's earliest contributions to the papal chapel repertory.[350]

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[348] De Grassis, *Ceremoniale*, 1505, Vatican Latini 5634/II, fols 231-14; De Grassis, Diary, Vatican Latini 5635, fol. 80v; De Grassis, Vatican Latini 12304, new fols. 140-140v. The argument is fully laid out in Sherr, '*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman Style', at pp. 460-61.

[349] Rodin suggests that it could have been copied in 1492. Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass*, 135.

[350] Sherr, 'Mass Sections', *The Josquin Companion*, 219.

1495-1497

This short time span incorporates a large surviving body of music, including the contents of one entire manuscript. There are many reasons for this, which will be approached in due course.

Table 23: Music copied ca. 1495-97

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 15	2v - 5	Conditor alme siderum	(Du Fay verse 6)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	5v-8	Christe redemptor omnium... Ex patre	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	8v-10	Hostis Herodes impie	(Du Fay verse 4)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	10v - 14	Lucis creator optime	(De Orto verses 2 & 4)	4	1495 – 97	B	Hymn
CS 15	14v - 16	Audi benigne conditor	(Du Fay verse 4)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	16v - 20	Aures ad nostras	(Du Fay verse 6)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	20v - 23	Vexilla regis prodeunt	(Du Fay verses 2 [modified] & 6)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	23v - 27	Ad coenam agni providi	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	27v - 29	Jesu nostra redemptio		4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	29v - 32	Veni creator spiritus	(Du Fay verse 2 [modified])	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	32v - 34	O lux beata trinitas	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	34v - 37	Pange lingua	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	37v - 39	Ut queant laxis	(Du Fay verse 2) De Orto verse 4	4	1495 – 97	A / B	Hymn
CS 15	39v - 42	Aurea luce et decore roseo	(Du Fay verses 1 & 4)	4	1495 – 97	B	Hymn
CS 15	41v - 46	Ave, maris stella	(Du Fay verse 2) Josquin verse 4	4	1495 – 97	B	Hymn

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 15	46v - 47	Nardi Maria pistici	Josquin	4	1495 – 97	B	Hymn
CS 15	47v - 48	Petrus beatus		4	1495 – 97	B	Hymn
CS 15	48v - 50	Tibi Christe splendor patris		4	1495 – 97	B / A	Hymn
CS 15	50v - 53	Christe redemptor omnium... Conserva	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	53v - 56	Exultet coelum	(Du Fay verses 2 [modified] & 6)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	56v - 58	Deus tuorum militum	(Du Fay verse 2 [modified])	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	58v - 62	Sanctorum meritis	(Du Fay verse 2)	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	62v - 66	Iste confessor	(Du Fay verse 2 [modified])	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	66v - 68	Jesu corona virginum	(Du Fay verses 2 [modified], 4 & 5 [modified]	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	68v - 70	Urbs beata Jerusalem	(Du Fay verses 2 [modified], 4 & 6 [modified]	4	1495 – 97	A	Hymn
CS 15	71v - 76	Magnificat [primi toni]	Loyset Compère	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	77v - 84	Magnificat [primi toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	85v - 91	Magnificat [secundi toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	91v - 95	Magnificat [tertii toni]	(Martini)	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	95v - 99	Magnificat [tertii toni]	(Du Fay)	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	100v - 107	Magnificat [quarti toni]	(Martini)	4	1495 – 97	A	Magnificat
CS 15	108v - 117	Magnificat [quarti toni]	(Agricola / Brumel)	4	1495 – 97	A	Magnificat
CS 15	118v - 126	Magnificat [quinti toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 15	127v - 133	Magnificat [sexti toni]	(Brumel)	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	134v - 140	Magnificat [sexti toni]	(Martini)	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	141v - 144	Magnificat [sexti toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	144v - 147	Magnificat [septimi toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	148v - 153	Magnificat [octavi toni]	Gaspar	4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	154v - 160	Magnificat [octavi toni]		4	ca. 1495	A	Magnificat
CS 15	161v - 163	O beata infancia		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	163v - 166	Clangat plebs flores	(Regis)	5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	166v - 168	Flos de spina procreatur	(Pullois)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	168v - 170	Ave regina coelorum		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	170v - 173	Angelorum decoratrix		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	173v - 176	Salve virgo	(Isaac)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	176v - 178	Anthonio turma fratum		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	178v - 179	Crucem sanctam		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	179v - 181	Crux triumphans	(Compère)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	181v - 183	Ego dormio	(Antoine de Vigne)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	183v - 185	Sile fragor	(Compère)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	185v - 187	Ave Maria	Loyset Compère	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	187v - 191	Humilium decus		6	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	191v - 193	Alma redemptoris mater	(Josquin)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 15	193v - 196	Propter gravamen	(Compère)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	196v - 199	Quis numerare queat	(Compère)	5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	199v - 201	Vidi speciosam		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	201v - 204	Ave Regina coelorum	Gaspar	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	204v - 208	Dulcis amica dei	Gaspar	5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	208v - 212	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	212v - 215	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	215v - 219	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	219v - 222	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	222v - 224	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	224v - 229	Salve Regina		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	229v - 231	O felix urbs Aquentium		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	231v - 235	Virgo praecellens		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	235v - 238	O pulcherrima mulierum		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	239v - 241	Anima mea liquefacta est	(Busnoys)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	242v - 246	Gaude coelestis domina	(Busnoys)	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	246v - 250	Illibata dei Virgo nutrix	(Josquin)	5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	250v - 252	Inviolata integra et casta es	(Basiron)	5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	253v - 255	Alma redemptoris mater		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	256v - 259	Regina coeli		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 15	259v - 261	Regina coeli		5	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	216v - 263	Regina coeli		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	263v - 265	Regina coeli		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	265v - 266	Petrus apostolus	(Du Fay [modified])	4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	266v - 267	Da pacem		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	267v - 268	Da pacem		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 15	268v - 269	Da pacem		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 23	218v - 227	Missa A qui diralle sa pensee		4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 41	38v - 49	Missa Lesse faire a mi	Josquin	4	1495 – 98	C	Mass
CS 41	87v - 103	Missa Victime [paschali laudes]	Brumel	4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 49	36v - 55	Missa [L'homme armé]	(Du Fay)	4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 49	56v - 68	Missa		4	1495 – 98	C	Mass
CS 49	69v - 83	Missa [Comme femme desconfortée]	(Isaac)	4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 49	84v - 93	Missa [Tmeiskin]	(Isaac)	4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 49	129v - 140	Missa [Ad fugam]	(Josquin)	4	1495 – 97	A	Mass
CS 63	39v - 44	Magnificat		4	1495 – 97	A	Magnificat
CS 63	65v - 68	Regina coeli		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 63	68v - 70	Regina coeli		4	1495 – 97	A	Motet
CS 63	71v - 75	Rex fallax miraculum	Vaqueras	5	1495 – 98	C	Motet
CS 197	1v - 12	Missa L'homme armé [super voces musicales]	Josquin	4	ca. 1495	B	Mass

There are many possible reasons why such a large body of music is copied in these two short years. The main argument has been put forward by Sherr and relates to the time spent in Rome by the court of Charles VIII.[351] This is derived from Sherr's interpretation of CS 15 and the resultant identification of the heraldic decoration that appears in the motet layer of the manuscript (fols. 161v-269). The short period that was spent in Rome by the French court, though (January 1495), could surely not have been the sole reason for the bulk transmission of music and the industrious period of copying that followed. Certainly, it has been shown that the composer Compère travelled with the French court, but there is no evidence showing that any other singer of the court was present, stayed or left a gift to the papal chapel.[352] This is not to deny that the presence of the French court in Rome for the short period of 28 days had an effect on the papal court, but the extent of this is debatable.

CS 15 has three distinct layers: hymns (fols. 2v-70); Magnificats (fols. 71v-160) and motets (fols. 161v-269). The hymn collection essentially comprises the Du Fay hymn cycle composed apparently in the 1430s that was updated and expanded,[353] probably by members of the choir, contemporary with the copying of the manuscript. As a hymn cycle was in use by St. Peter's Basilica choir that is present in SPB80 from decades before, it must be assumed (with some certainty) that one similar was in use up to this point and that it was discarded at the introduction of the newly copied cycle. The Magnificats are the first instance in which a French heraldic symbol appears in the decoration (fol. 78v), described as an open crown with a group of three *fleurs de lys* above it and a group of

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[351] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel*, 200-01.
[352] Lewis Lockwood, 'Music at Ferrara in the period of Ercole I d'Este', *Studi Musicali*, Vol. I (1972), 129. Compère is named in a letter from Ferrante d'Este to his father, Ercole d'Este, who mentions that the composer is in the retinue of Charles VIII as he marched towards Naples.
[353] Fallows, *Dufay*, 135.

three below'.[354] What it initially suggests, is that there was an apparent break from the copying of masses and an active interest taken in rejuvenating the wider repertory during the first part of Alexander's reign.

The manuscript CS 15 is an important focus in the study of the repertory copied at this time. It is the first apparent instance that deviates from manuscripts devoted to music for the Mass and, in this instance, includes music specifically for the use of Vespers. As Alexander had been in very close proximity to the papal chapel celebrations for several decades as Vice-chancellor, it may well be that he felt the need to update the repertory. Alternatively, it could be that the encouragement given by Alexander to the arts and the number of fine composers that were present as choir members, encouraged the latter to contribute to the manuscript in some way. Additionally, it could have been that there was a presence of over-eager, industrious, self-promoting singers who were attempting to get noticed and gain favour within the choir structure and beyond.

The nine masses copied in four manuscripts also show an attempt to revitalise the repertory. The elaborate decoration of CS 197, containing just Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* along with the fact that it is not bound with other music, is a unique instance in the manuscripts of the time. There is no obvious reason why this was done and speculation must continue. The addition of the Du Fay *Missa L'homme armé*, suggests that the repertory was now focused on collecting the complete settings of the mass, as it was already present in CS 14 (compiled in the previous decade), but then only consisted of the Kyrie and Gloria. It would appear also that there was a desire to collect *L'homme armé* masses during the late period of Innocent VIII's reign and through Alexander VI's reign. During this time, eleven masses enter the surviving repertory:

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[354] Sherr, *The Papal chapel*, 158.

Table 24: Collection of *L'homme armé* Masses in Cappella Sistina manuscripts to c. 1500[355]

Composer	MS
Pipelare	CS 41
Josquin	CS 41 (Sexti toni)
Vaqueras	CS 49
Du Fay	CS 49
Brumel	CS 49
Busnois	CS 63
Josquin	CS 197 (Super voces)
Compère	CS 35
Tinctoris	CS 35
Basiron	CS 35
Ockeghem	CS 35

Here, many of the composers are not connected with the papal chapel in any way, and this suggests an 'out-of-house' sourcing strategy for the collection.[356] Flynn Warmington has suggested numerous uses for such masses and reasons why they may have been important for the papal chapel. These include their use in ceremonies concerning the blessed sword, central to Christmas celebrations at the Vatican.[357] Burchard's predecessor, Agostino Patrizi, in his ceremonial of 1486-88 places Christmas services in

[355] There are earlier *L'homme armé* masses that are discounted here, such as the Busnois that appears in CS 14. For discussion of the earlier masses, see Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus IV (1471-1484). Die Chorbüch 14 and 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1991.

[356] On the origins of the *L'homme armé* mass, see Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses in Naples*, *Biblioteca Nazionale,MS VI E 40,* Stuttgart, 1968; Lewis Lockwood, 'Aspects of the *L'homme armé* Tradition', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. C (1973-74), 97-122; Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the "L'homme armé" Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological society*, Vol. XXXIX (1986), 255-93; Alejandro Planchart, 'The Origins and Early History of *L'homme armé*', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. XX (2003), 305-357.

[357] Flynn Warmington, 'The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the *L'homme armé* Mass', *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning and Context in Late Medieval music*, ed. Paula Higgins, Oxford, 1999, 115-117.

the basilica rather than the papal chapel.[358] One would therefore expect a large deposit of *L'homme armé* masses in the basilica repertory rather than the papal chapel, unless it was the papal chapel choir that sang at these services.

The masses of Isaac could have found their way into the repertory earlier in numerous ways: during Isaac's visit to Rome upon the election of Alexander VI, with his patron Piero Medici; during the progression of the French through Italy or even with the contact between the papal court and Maximillian I after Isaac joined the court in 1496.[359]

1497-1503

The following section includes music copied during the second half of Alexander's reign. During this time, the earliest work of Orceau is identified. Unusually, even though an identifiable scribe is present and apparently employed at this time, and despite the likely special needs of the Jubilee year of 1500, there is little surviving from the era.

Table 25: Music copied ca. 1497-1503

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
CS 41	2 - 14	Missa Gentilz gallans	Pintelli	4	1497 - 1503	Orceau	Mass
CS 41	104v - 113	Missa Au travail suys	Ockeghem	4	1497 - 1503	Orceau	Mass
CS 41	114v - 128	Missa Quarti toni [Mi mi]	Ockeghem	4	1497 - 1503	Orceau	Mass
CS 41	156v - 174	Missa Trop penser	Gaspar	4	1497 - 1503	Orceau	Mass
SPB80	1	Vexilla regis		4	1499 - 1501 (R)	de Furnis	Hymn
SPB80	31v	Ut queant laxis		4	1499 - 1501 (R)	de Furnis	Hymn

[358] See Table 7: Occasions of *coram papa*.
[359] Reinhard Strohm & Emma Kempson, 'Isaac, Henricus', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XII, 577.

MS	Folios	Title	Composer	Voices	Dating	Scribe	Type
SPB80	38	Petrus apostolus / Da pacem		4	1499 - 1501 (R)	de Furnis	Hymn
SPB80	246v - 248	Hostis Herodes		4	1499 - 1501 (R)	de Furnis	Hymn

The truth of the matter is that it is not possible to say whether this did indeed happen. The only surviving evidence is a few pieces in CS 41, two of them copied directly from an earlier source, CS 35. From the evidence that remains, it was the basilica choir that appears to have prepared for the celebrations of 1500.

Examples continue of compositions by singers at the papal chapel, as in the case of Gaspar van Weerbeke. The appearance of a work by Pintelli (*Missa Gentil gallans*) during this period tentatively suggests the presence of the composer in Rome prior to his association with the papal chapel shortly before his death in 1505 as it is the only surviving copy of a sacred work by him.[360]

The last additions to SPB80 are of interest, as they are possibly the only pieces from this period that might be linked to particular occasions. Reynolds notes that at least one of the pieces copied by Nicholas de Furnis was probably for the Epiphany Vespers service of 1501, *Hostis Herodes*.[361] It would appear that all the final additions to SPB80 were for the celebrations of the Papal Jubilee of 1500. As the basilica was the focus of the Jubilee celebrations, the choir may have been compelled to add updated (and fashionable) music to its repertory at the time. As can be seen from the instance of CS 35, music appears to have been copied into choirbooks rather than loose-leaf parchments for special occasions. However, the choir may have also possessed other books that were much lighter than SPB80. Burchard's only reference to the choir singing in the basilica was

[360] See Frank A. D'Accone, 'Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine Chapels, ca. 1475-1525', *Viator*, Vol. I (1970), 227.
[361] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 106.

when Alexander attended to view the Spear of Longinus on 12 January 1500, where the choir 'were proceeding… singing *Pange lingua gloriosi*'.[362] As the choir was processing, it is hard to believe that members would have been carrying a manuscript the size of SPB80 in front of themselves from which to read. If *Pange lingua gloriosi* was a polyphonic setting, it is likely to have been either sung from memory (as indeed it would have been done if chanted), or on smaller and much lighter documents such as sheets of paper for both logistical and practical purposes. As SPB80 had been bound for thirty years, and may have been in constant use during this period, it is no leap of the imagination to presume that there were other, or unbound materials in their possession that were later discarded or lost.

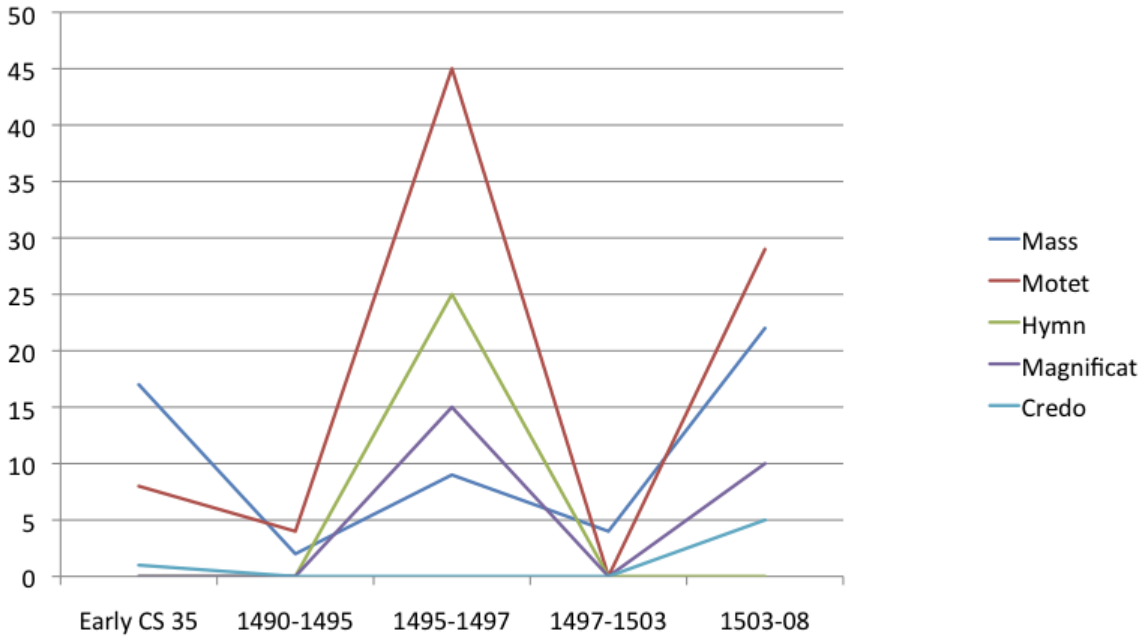
4.4 Lost repertory

Certainly, with the payment records of the papal chapel choir missing from 1494-1501, it is only right that a question should be asked relating to the music prepared around that period. If Orceau was present and in active employment of the papal chapel as a scribe from 1497, why are there only four masses that survive from this period? If music is copied from CS 35 into CS 41 directly, might this not suggest that the former manuscript has been retired from service and is defunct? Graph 3 shows the music that was copied from the time of CS 35's copying and the work of Orceau in the first period of Julius II's papacy (1503-1508). This is, however, a slightly misleading picture of the actual work that was completed during this period. A mass, because of its size, takes up much more time in composition, copying and the amount of paper used in a manuscript. If one takes ten pages as an approximate length of a mass, this then may be described as one

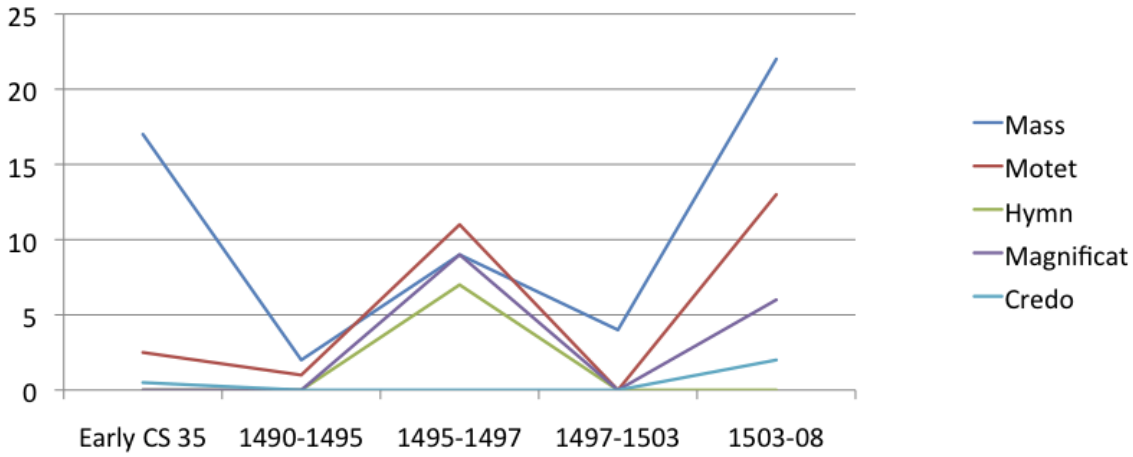
[362] Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. II, 198. Translated in Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 109.

'unit'. Using this baseline measurement and applying it to the copying, the results are easier to compare, as may be seen in Graph 4.

Graph 3: Music copied between CS 35 - 1508

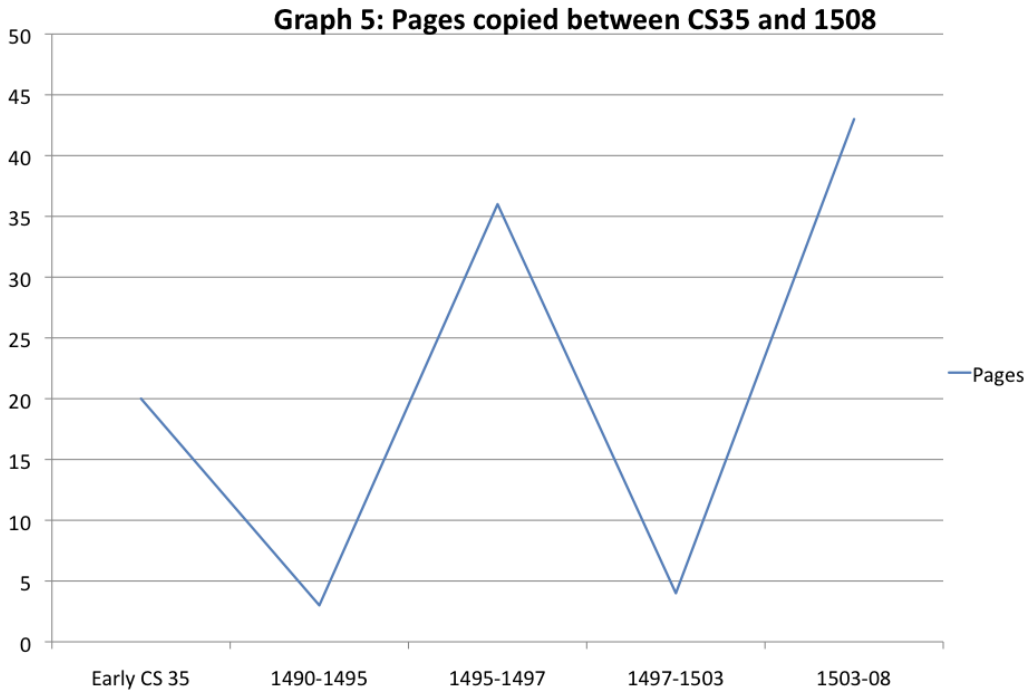


Graph 4: Pages copied between CS 35 - 1508



The graphs show that there is a steady practice of copying masses throughout the period and a marked rise in the copying of hymns, Magnificats and motets. There is an absence of the copying of separate Credo movements until the end of Alexander's pontificate. A graph that presents an interesting perspective is found below in Graph 5. Here, the units used in Graph 4 have been used, while each genre has been added together to provide an overall picture of the copying trend during the almost 30 year period. The graph shows

that for the earliest point when the papal chapel has a scribe, there is virtually no output for that period.



Schmidt-Beste outlines a repertoire renewal cycle that begins with the reorganisation of the papal chapel repertory in the 1520s and 1530s which added the work of Festa, and again in the 1580s and 1590s with the works of Palestrina.[363] Although Schmidt-Beste outlines this as a somewhat composer-centric endeavour, the repertoire renewal process can be projected back to coincide with Alexander's pontificate. Why then, in the middle of such a practice would the copying stop? If Orceau joined the chapel in 1497, why did he only begin to start industrious copying during the reign of Julius II? The only logical answer to this problem, in lieu of the belief that Orceau was not present at the papal chapel as a scribe until later on, is to suggest that there is work that he carried out, which is now lost (CS Ω). The sporadic additions to CS 41 might be considered as residual intended components from a now lost manuscript, CS Ω.

[363] Schmidt-Beste, 'The Repertoire of the Papal Chapel after the Council of Trent', 113.

The fairly consistent copying of masses through the period suggests that CS Ω would have contained them, especially after the focus on the copying of the music for Vespers between 1495 and 1497. There is no new hymn cycle for the papal chapel until the 1520s or 1530s with the compositions of Constanzo Festa.[364] The glut of motets supplied in CS 15 suggests that there would not have been many, if any motets in CS Ω. Rodin's 'shadow repertory' manuscript, VerBC 761, contains a Te Deum by Binchois, also found in SPB80, and there is certainly a mention of the performance of Te Deums by the choir in the constitution of 1545.[365] If reference to Burchard's diary is made, one particular musical context appears for which there is no surviving music dating from Alexander's period, the musical settings used in Holy Week.

4.5 The lost repertory of Holy Week

In contrast to the lack of musical examples, the performance of music during Holy Week is possibly the most documented practice of music-making by Burchard during Alexander's pontificate. The lack of any surviving music from the period, is, however, an issue that suggests a history of lost repertory that began when Alexander first became pope and continued well into the 16th century.

Paris de Grassis noted in his *De Caeremoniis Cardinalium* and *Ordo* that the period of Holy Week traditionally called for the use of monophony:

> And note that the singers from today [9 March, 1505] until Easter, with the exception of Maundy Thursday, sing Gregorian chant, with no figural music, and the pifari, tubae, and tibiae of the Castello cease to play.[366]

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[364] Ibid. 112.
[365] Haberl, 'Die römische "Schola cantorum"', 108.
[366] 'Et nota quod cantores ab hodie usque ad pascha praeterquam in die Jovis Sancti cantant gregorianum & nullo modo figuratum, & pifari, ac tubae, & tibiae Castelli cessant'. Vat. Lat. 5635, fol. 89v. Translated in Sherr, 'The Singers of the Papal Chapel and Liturgical Ceremonies in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P.A. Ramsey, New York, 1982, 257.

Alexander's pontificate, however, appears to have created an exception, using polyphony for the performance of Lamentations on the Wednesday in Tenebrae Matins and Passion Sunday. The *Lamentations of Jeremiah* is a set of texts from the Old Testament outlining God's rejection of Jerusalem and the city's downfall, repentance, sin and finally restoration and renewal. When used in Tenebrae Matins, three of the nine lessons were set polyphonically from the fifteenth century onwards.[367] In the first Tenebrae Matins of Alexander's pontificate, Burchard notes an unusual style in which the first Lamentation is sung:

> Four singers of the chapel stood by the altar rather than in their usual place in the cantoria to perform. The performance was in the Spanish style.[368]

Another instance in 1499 indicates that the 'second and third lesson was sung by four Spanish alone',[369] an entry which Sherr argues suggests that this practice of four Spaniards singing in a Spanish manner had become accepted in the papal chapel.[370] In 1518, de Grassis noted a practice that probably developed out of the performance practice of Lamentation settings, where each national identity within the papal chapel choir took one of three sung lessons:

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[367] John Caldwell, 'Tenebrae', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XXV, 282; Günther Massenkeil, 'Lamentations', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XIV, 189.

[368] 'Primam lectionem sive trenum dixerunt IIII, videlicet d. Raphael, cubicularius SS. D. N. subdiaconus capelle nostre, et quidam alius ac duo ex cantoribus capelle nostre stantes in presbyterio in loco ubi credentia poni solet pro celebrante, libro sive foliis in pulpito ibidem per clericum capelle posito, more hispanico cantantes. Alias octo dixerunt cantores in loco eorum consueto'. Burchard, Vol. I, 414.

[369] 'Dicte fuerunt matutine tenebrarum more solito: ubi est prima, secundam lectionem sive tertiam cantaverunt soli hispani per quatuor voces, laudabiliter; alia observata sunt more solito'. Burchard, Vol. II, 132.

[370] Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521', *Early Music*, Vol. XX (1992), 602.

> Three lamentations were sung, the first by the Spanish singers being filled with pathos, the second by the French being learnedly sung, and the third by the Italian singers being sweetly sung.[371]

The group performance presents the possibility of polyphonic settings in use. If so, this contradicts de Grassis's earlier remarks about the absence of polyphony during Holy Week and suggests that the Tenebrae Lamentations were performed polyphonically, unless such a practice was discarded during the pontificate of Julius II and reinstated during Leo X's reign. The description of the 'Spanish singers filled with pathos' may allude to the performance style of the Spanish manner that Burchard first notes.

A similar description of another area of music during Holy Week relates to the *Exultet*, performed on Holy Saturday, when in 1499, Burchard recorded that 'A solo singer sang the Exultet in Spanish style'.[372] Here, one singer performing in the Spanish style reflects a situation similar to that in which the papal singer Francisco de Peñalosa performed in 1518 for Leo X when singing what appears to be a solo performance of the Passion:

> The performance was sung by Pignalosa the Spaniard in a Spanish style… after which the pope was moved to donate 50 gold ducats and 100 julios to the Cross.[373]

The performance of the solo Passion, once again in the Spanish manner, was clearly a moving moment for the pope, Leo X. The singing of the Passion during Alexander's pontificate was the first time in which such a style was used in performance. Manfred Schuler points out that Burchard's entries for the performance of the Passion were 'stereotyped' before the year 1499. In these earlier performances, the three parts of the

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[371] Paris de Grassis, *Il Diario de Leone X*, ed. Pio Delicati and M. Armellini, Rome, 1884, 66. Translation given in Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, The Hague, 1960, 122, n. 48.

[372] 'Hispanus ille qui dominica palmarum et veneris sanctam passionem sub voce evangeliste cantaverat, cantavit *Exultet iam* more hispanico,.'. Burchard, Vol. II, 133.

[373] 'Passionem cantat solus cantor Pignalosa hispanus more hispano cum alias semper tres cantores consueuerint cantare. Papa cruci obtulit quinquaginta auri et centum julios'. Grassis, *Il Diario di Leone X*, 66.

passion were taken by a deacon, performing the role of evangelist, a subdeacon, performing the role of Christ and usually a singer from the papal chapel who sang the part of the crowd.[374] In such a setting, the part of Christ was traditionally sung as the lower part of the ensemble, while the parts of the Evangelist and crowd were taken by higher voices.[375] The 1499 Palm Sunday performance of the passion is singled out by Burchard as having been performed by three Spaniards, with certain parts of the performance sung in polyphony:

> Passion Sunday, three Spanish, one taking the part of the evangelist, one the Jews and Raphael de Arena, deacon of the chapel, taking the part of Christ; they were all good singers and, if they observed the accents and chant of the chapel simply, they would have sung very well, but where they mixed the Spanish style with ours, it sounded bad.[376]

Sherr describes this style, outlined by Burchard, as having been of Iberian origin.[377] The tradition certainly continued throughout Alexander's pontificate, as de Grassis outlined the format in 1505, crediting the introduction of the style to Alexander himself:

> However Pope Alexander VI, who was Spanish, decreed that his singers of Spanish nationality, who, singing naturally, seem to weep rather than chant, in some verses or parts of the passion should sing all three together throughout in polyphony the following parts as if they were lamenting: namely: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; Item Mi Pater si possibile est etc. usque ad finem clausule; Item Pater mi, si non potest etc.; Item Flevit amare; Item Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid etc.; Item emisit spiritum and similar parts of the passion, which in this performance roused the nobles hearing it to piety. He also retained the singers for performing the passion the following Good Friday.[378]

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[374] Manfred Schuler, 'Spanische Musikeinflüsse in Rom um 1500', *Anuario Musical*, Vol. XXV (1970), 29.
[375] Theodor Göllner, 'Unknown Passion Tones in Sixteenth-Century Hispanic Sources', *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XXVIII (1975), 50.
[376] 'Passionem dixerunt tres hispani, quidam novus senex in voce evangeliste, alius cantor capelle nostre in voce judei, et d. Raphael de Arena, diaconus capelle in voce Christi; bene vociferanti erant omnes, et si accentus et cantum capelle observassent simpliciter, cantassent optime; sed ubi morem Hispaniarum miscebant nostro, male sonabat'. Burchard, *Liber notarum*, Vol. II, 132.
[377] Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521', 602.
[378] 'Verumtamen Alexander papa VI a qui fuit hispanus statuit quod cantores sui indigene hyspani, qui naturaliter cantando magis flere viderunt quam vociferari, in aliquibus clausulis sive partibus passionis simul tres omnes per cantum figuratum pientissime quidem ac

The description directly connects Alexander with the decision to introduce a Spanish manner of performance for the period of Holy Week. Furthermore, it shows that there were very specific directions on how the music should be performed and which texts should be sung (here, from the Gospel of St. Matthew).

The lack of any music to support these accounts is a prime example of general gaps in the knowledge of repertory that may once have existed within the papal chapel. The popularity of Lamentations during the late fifteenth century clearly resulted in the two-volume collection of Petrucci in 1506. Any sample of music for Holy Week appears to have been lost. The earliest surviving piece, *Passio Domini nostri*, found in CS 42 (fols. 81v-87) is attributed to Jo a la Venture in the Vatican manuscript, but attributed to Longaval, Obrecht and La Rue elsewhere in the 39 manuscripts that contain it.[379] Although the Vatican copy is possibly the earliest copy of the piece, it is contained in a manuscript associated with the reign of Julius II, rather than from the period of Alexander.[380] The passion setting does not bear any resemblance to the tradition described by Burchard and de Grassis that was used in the time of Alexander VI.

A particular feature associated with these pieces is the manner in which they were performed. The Spanish manner of singing appears to have become an integral part of

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devotissime cantarent quasi lamentarentur hec partes videlicet: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; Item Mi Pater si possibile est etc. usque ad finem clausule; Item Pater mi, si non potest etc.; Item Flevit amare; Item Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid etc.; Item emisit spiritum et similes passionis partes, quae notabiles ad pietatem in hoc actu excitant audientes. Idem etiam servabat ipse cantores in parasceve sequenti inter passionem decantandam'. BAV Lat. 5634, ii, 238r. Quoted in Sherr, 'The Singers of the Papal Chapel and Liturgical Ceremonies in the Early 16th Century: Some Documentary Evidence', *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P.A. Ramsey, Binghampton, 1982, 263.

[379] On the Longaval attribution, see Rainer Heyink, 'Die Passionsmotette von Antoine de Longueval Herkunft, Zuschreibung und Überlieferung', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. XLVII (1990), 220-26. On Obrecht, see Rob C. Wegman, 'Obrecht §Works', *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. XVIII, 305. Eric Jas, *Jacob Obrecht Collected Works*, New Obrecht Edition Vol. 18, ed. Chris Maas, Utrecht, 1999, xxxvii.

[380] Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 164.

the style of singing for Holy Week, although unfortunately, there is no specific account that illustrates the style so that it could be replicated in modern performance. Burchard associates the Spanish pathos, that was later described by de Grassis, with the origins of the Spanish nation from a Jewish genesis:

> Others said that the Spanish were better than others of that sort in reciting the Passion, as their ancestors had been present at the crucifixion.[381]

This is described by Sherr as an insult, as many of the Spanish living in Rome at this time were referred to as *marrani*, meaning a Spanish Jew who had converted to Christianity but secretly practised Judaism.[382] The expulsion of the Jewish people from Spain in 1492 had driven many to seek refuge in Rome. Sherr's interpretation of Burchard here goes nowhere to discover the style in which they performed. Robert Stevenson notes a lack of understanding concerning the meaning of Spanish style in performance as far back as the thirteenth century with clear references to it then.[383] The closest one may come to understanding this style in the context of the papal chapel choir performance of Holy Week music is through the pathos in the choir's singing of Lamentations and subsequently the moving performance of the Passion by Francisco de Peñalosa. It suggests emotional performances of music that focussed particularly on magnifying the aspects of grief and anguish reflected in the text of the settings. This would certainly concur with Burchard's reason for pointing out the origins of the Spanish singers in such a way.

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[381] 'Alii dixerunt Hispanos posse melius ceteris huiusmodi et passionem recitare, cum eorum antecessores passioni Christi interfuerunt'. Burchard, *Liber notarum* , Vol. II, 133. Trans. Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521', 603.
[382] Sherr, 'The "Spanish Nation" in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521', 603.
[383] Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, 44.

4.6 Conclusions

The choirs of St. Peter's Basilica and the papal chapel heavily relied upon a constant flow of singers from the North. However, after the election of Alexander VI, Spaniards began to take up positions within both choirs. The size of the basilica choir during the period is surprising: at the very moment one expects the size of the choir to have been increased, during the papal jubilee of 1500, it actually shrinks. The papal chapel had a strong core membership that served for many years, with many of the members probably staying with the choir through the break in payment records between April 1494 and January 1501.

The surviving music of both institutions is difficult to interpret. While there is no evidence of any substantial polyphonic tradition for the basilica aside from the manuscript SPB80, the papal chapel's polyphonic music collection is extensive, showing an explosion of collecting, composing and copying at the end of the fifteenth-century. Plainchant was certainly an important, and pre-requisite, part of Offices and ceremonies for both institutions, although it would appear that the papal chapel gravitated more towards polyphonic music. The cultivation of a new repertory, which had begun at the institution of the choir at the Sistine Chapel in 1484, flourished in Alexander's pontificate.

The introduction of the Spanish to the choir, given impetus by the presence of a Spanish pontiff, shaped the repertory for certain festivals. It appears, through de Grassis's documentation, that Alexander decreed that the Spanish should sing in a particular way. It would appear from this that the pope took a particular interest in some aspects of music performance within his chapel, particularly how it was sung and performed. How far this was extended to other forms of music can only be guessed.

Chapter 5: The Hymns of CS 15

5.1 Introduction

As established in the previous chapter, the core surviving polyphonic music manuscript compiled during Alexander VI's reign is Cappella Sistina 15 (CS 15). The music was copied by two papal choir members probably around 1495-1497.[384] As a product of internal assembly, the music becomes a commentary on the performance practices and on the pieces that were considered important (or good enough) to record for continued use over a number of years by the choir.[385]

The manuscript CS 15 is the earliest surviving example of polyphonic music that is not primarily dedicated to the music of the Mass from the Cappella Sistina fondi. Instead, the manuscript contains settings of hymns, Magnificats and motets, showing that it was prepared for use at Vespers. Within its 268 separate folios, there are 81 pieces: 28 hymns, 14 Magnificats and 41 motets, which are organised into three distinct sections.

The object of this chapter is to present the music contained in the first section of the manuscript, the hymns. Previously, only 30 of the 75 hymn strophes have been available as part of the collected editions of recognised composers within the hymn cycle.[386] This chapter presents 33 transcriptions of anonymous, previously unpublished hymn strophes. It identifies the way in which the compositions of Du Fay are adapted for use by the papal chapel choir, while also showing how new compositions were gathered to create a unique collection of music for use by the choir.

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[384] See this thesis Chapter 4.
[385] Dean, 'The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel', 139.
[386] Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* Vol. I.5, ed. Henrich Besseler, Rome, 1966. De Orto, *Marbriano de Orto Latin Compositions IX Motets II*, ed. Nigel Davison, London, 2009. Josquin, *Werken: Supplement* Fasc. LV, ed. Myroslaw Antonowycz and Willem Elders, Amsterdam, 1969.

The hymn cycle is the epitome of the wish to craft a repertory that embraced both old and new works of musical composition together. The Magnificat section includes several popular polyphonic settings found in manuscripts of the late fifteenth century. The content is not unique to the papal chapel choir.[387] The motet collection is made up of music that appears to have very little, if anything, to do with the papal chapel, including works by composers such as Brumel, Isaac, Martini and Regis.[388] This would also suggest that some wider influence was exerted when compiling the collection of motets to include 'must have' or fashionable items, rather than it emerging as an organic collection of music that had been carefully formed. Indeed, the organisation of the contents of the motet collection has no obvious arrangement, which is in great contrast to the two other sections of the manuscript.[389]

In contrast to the rest of the manuscript's contents, the assembly of the CS 15 hymn cycle appears to have had much more consideration. As will be shown, the

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[387] The papal chapel choir did differ from St. Peter's basilica choir in the format of the canticles performed. The basilica used an *alternatim* style, rather than the through-composed setting used in the papal chapel. See Christopher Reynolds, 'Rome: A City of Rich Contrast', 87.

Ludwig Finscher has shown that the organisation of the cycle that covers all eight tones is a standard method in use around 1500; Ludwig Finscher, 'Liturgische Gebrauchsmusik', *Musik im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert*, *Neues Handbuch für Musikwissenschaft* III.2, Laaber, 1990, 376.

None of the settings has attributed composers, although many of them have been identified through concordant manuscripts: Agricola, Brumel, Compère, Du Fay, Martini and Weerbeke. Many of the manuscripts with concordant pieces are dated from around the same time or later than CS 15 and are primarily of Italian provenance, as the polyphonic setting appears to have appealed primarily to the Italian peninsula rather than elsewhere in Europe; Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 95-116; Edward R. Lerner, 'The Polyphonic Magnificat in 15th Century Italy', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. L (1964), 47.

[388] Previous suggestions have connected the layer with the presence of Charles VIII in Rome during January 1495. Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts*, 11; Joshua Rifkin, 'Compère, Loyset', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Vol. IV, London, 1980, 596; Jennifer Bloxam, '"La Contenance Italienne": The Motets on "Beata es Maria" by Compere, Obrecht and Brumel', *Early Music History*, Vol. XI (1992), 73.

[389] The motet section of CS 15 has previously been transcribed and examined in Henriette Straub, *The Motets in Cappella Sistina 15: The Motet in the Fifteenth Century*, Mus. M. Thesis, University of Manchester, 2 Vols., 1993.

collection brings together compositions by several people, many anonymous, that were composed over a period of approximately 60 years. These were then organised and copied in the order of the annual liturgical season. For each hymn, alternate verses are set to different polyphonic music, where settings of the widely disseminated Du Fay cycle are placed alongside compositions by Josquin and other composers, which are unique to the manuscript. It is for this reason that the study of the hymn cycle is of importance; the assembly of the cycle and the music it contains provides a unique insight into the moulding of old and new musical styles into a complete whole – a reflection of Alexander's own attempt to balance the completion of his predecessors' artistic projects, whilst pursuing his own patronage.

The following sections will begin by presenting a brief history of the hymn cycle. From here, the most popular hymn cycle of the fifteenth-century and the fundamental building-blocks of the CS 15 cycle, the Du Fay hymn cycle is outlined. Then, the compositions with identified composers in the manuscript are discussed, followed by an analysis of the anonymous hymns that are found in the cycle. At each instance, identifications of vocal range, use of chant, compositional devices such as imitation, harmonic progressions and the relationship between voices are considered, leading to a larger discussion of these features and their significance in the last section of the chapter.

Previous editions have been referred to for music already transcribed. These include Du Fay examples 1-6, 8 and 13, from Henrich Besseler, 9, 10 and 12 from Nigel Davison, 14 from David Fallows and 15-17 from Myroslaw Antonowycz and Willem Elders.[390] All other examples present previously unpublished material, with an editorial

[390] Dufay, *Opera Omnia, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* Vol. I.5, ed. Henrich Besseler, Rome, 1966; De Orto, *Marbriano de Orto Latin Compositions IX Motets II*, ed. Nigel Davison, London, 2009; Fallows, *Josquin*, Turnhout, 2009; Josquin, *Werken: Supplement* Fasc. LV, ed. Myroslaw Antonowycz and Willem Elders, Amsterdam, 1969.

commentary presented at the end of this chapter. Editorial principles are presented in Appendix II of this thesis.

5.2 Historical Overview of the Hymn Cycle

The hymn as a genre is central to the daily Office of Vespers. Unlike the main liturgical celebration of the day, the Mass, which was driven by its set text (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, and so on) and rubric, Vespers relied upon a wide selection of texts that would change on an almost daily basis depending on the ecclesiastical cycles of the liturgical year. With the changing text structure and its lack of ceremonial pomp, the driving force of the Office was the hymn and, by the fifteenth-century, the polyphonic settings that were the associated with each text.

Tom Ward has shown that hymns were mainly 'performed polyphonically only… on feasts of semiduplex or higher rank'.[391] These are liturgical feasts that predominantly fell on Sundays of the year, as well as high annual feasts, where Vespers was celebrated on its preceding day.[392] However, feasts outside this cycle but considered to be part of local tradition were also treated with polyphonic settings, although these differed between dioceses. A large percentage of the occasions on which the papal chapel met *coram papa* [Table 7 in Chapter 4] were feasts such as these.[393] Most feasts that commemorated saints within the 'archetypal' Italian cycle used one hymn for many occasions, and thus the cycle that was in widespread use on the peninsula comprised only

[391] Tom R. Ward, 'The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth Century Italy', 163.
[392] Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, Cambridge, 1989, 105.
[393] The *coram papa* meetings of anniversaries are the only celebrations to be left out of the *Ordo Brevarii* list of semiduplex and duplex feasts.

twenty three texts.[394] The ordinance of hymns was a combination of rules from the papal court of Nicholas III (1276-80) and the writings of the Franciscan Haymo of Faversham (d. 1243) who revised the Franciscan liturgy in the *Ordo Breviarii*.[395] By the fifteenth century, the standard content of a hymn cycle was as follows:

Table 26: Standard contents of a hymn cycle of the fifteenth century

Feast	Hymn
Sundays of Advent	Conditor alme siderum
Christmas	Christe redemptor omnium / Ex Patre
Epiphany	Hostis Herodes impie
Weekdays of Lent	Audi benigne conditor
Sundays of Lent	Aures ad nostras
Passion Sunday	Vexilla regis
Octave of Easter	Ad coenam agni providi
Ascension	Jesu nostra redemptio
Pentecost	Veni creator spiritus
Trinity Sunday or Saturdays throughout the year	O lux beata trinitas
Sundays throughout the year	Lucis creator optime
Marian Feasts	Ave, maris stella
St. John the Baptist	Ut queant laxis
Sts. Peter and Paul	Aure luce
All Saints	Christe redemptor omnium / Conserva
Common of Apostles	Exultet celum laudibus
Common of One Martyr	Deus tuorum militum
Common of Many Martyrs	Sanctorum meritis
Common of Confessors	Iste confessor
Common of Virgins	Jesu corona virginum

[394] Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century until the Early Sixteenth Century*, 3.
[395] S.J.P. Van Dijk & Joan Hazelden Walker, *Origin of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, London, 1960, 411.

The earliest surviving polyphonic setting in the Italian style from the late fourteenth century is the Apt, Cathédrale Ste Anne, MS Trésor 16 bis [Apt], which contains anonymous settings of ten hymns.[396]

The manuscript of Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q15 (Bol Q15), is a large collection of 323 compositions, amongst which is a cycle of 25 hymns set polyphonically, 18 of them by Guillaume Du Fay. Another manuscript, of just a little later, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Ms. α. X. I. 11 (ModB), also contains many of Du Fay's hymns from Q15, but also includes one extra addition to the cycle by the composer. The Du Fay cycle forms the cornerstone of the hymn cycle repertory for the rest of the fifteenth-century. The hymn cycle is also found in part or whole in numerous other manuscripts of the fifteenth century. The Du Fay hymn cycle was copied in part or its entirety for a wide array of musical institutions performing sacred repertory on the Italian peninsula and beyond. The latest manuscript to be copied containing any part of the Du Fay hymn cycle is CS 15, which is of primary concern here.

The Formation of a Vatican Hymn Cycle

Adalbert Roth has outlined the formation of a new repertory for the papal chapel choir between the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Alexander VI. This was the result in part of the newly built Sistine Chapel and the new *Ceremonial* that had been compiled in 1488 by Agostino Patrizi and Johannes Burchard, the two masters of ceremonies.[397] As highlighted in the previous chapter, the foundation of this repertory were the masses and motets contained in CS 35, and this was expanded to include polyphonic music for Vespers during

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[396] Transcribed in Amadée Gastoué, *Le Manuscrit de musique du Tresor d'Apt*, Paris, 1936.
[397] Adalbert Roth, 'Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1998, 127-29.

Alexander's reign. Like CS 35, CS 15 contained material that was a mixture of old and new music, using the collection of the Du Fay hymns as its fundamental starting point. This is in keeping with the attitude towards the collection and performance of music by the papal chapel choir that Jeffrey Dean has shown to be a mixture of new music, repertory proper and old music.[398]

The surviving manuscripts that contain the Du Fay cycle show that the hymns were widespread through Italy and thus the collection may be termed as 'repertory proper'; although their age may suggest that they can also be termed 'old music'.[399] The presence of the hymns in the collection of SPB80 highlights the fact that the music was already being used in Rome. Reynolds's dating of the basilica manuscript layers suggests that the hymn collection of SPB80 was part of a collection that predated the manuscript's creation, thus suggesting that the hymn cycle was in use by the basilica choir as early as c. 1450.[400] It would be short-sighted to believe that there was nothing before the music that survives in the papal chapel archives. As the Du Fay cycle was such a popular component in the standard repertory for so many choirs of the fifteenth century, I have no issue with a strong assertion that the Du Fay cycle was in use by the papal chapel choir before it became a foundation for the cycle in CS 15. Indeed, as will become evident in the following pages, the Du Fay settings were performed in various guises for some years before their earliest appearances in the surviving papal chapel repertory.

Some musicologists have considered that Du Fay's hymn cycle was created for use by the papal chapel while the composer was a singer there between 1428 and 1433. The

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[398] Jeffrey Dean, 'The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel', 138-39.
[399] 'New music': Music that is newly available to the singers, not necessarily newly composed. 'Repertory proper': pieces that were performed frequently over a long period, so that their became standard pieces in performance. 'Old music': Music that had once been part of the repertory, but had been retired from use. Ibid.
[400] Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, 98-99.

first to make this suggestion was Rudolf Gerber, who, in his introduction to the first published transcription of the cycle, suggested that the cycle originated in Rome before 1433.[401] This dating was supported by Heinrich Besseler in 1958 when considering Du Fay's compositions whilst in Rome.[402] An examination by Charles Hamm in 1964 of the mensural signs used by Du Fay led to a consideration of the hymns' composition as dating from between 1433 and 1474, with the main corpus of the cycle between 1433 and 1435.[403] This particular two-year period in Du Fay's life was spent at Cambrai and Savoy. Tom Ward went on to highlight the fact that 'The liturgical tradition of Cambrai and northern France is very different from that found in the Dufay cycle, using different texts in many cases. Thus, the possibility of an origin in Savoy with its active musical establishment must be given very strong consideration'.[404] This dating was also arrived at by David Fallows, who characterised Du Fay's compositions during this time as 'an attempt to refine his technique, almost to return to first essentials with the most economical means'.[405] Alejandro Planchart once again revived controversy in 1998, in his Appendix on Du Fay's hymns in which he argued that the cycle was composed by Du Fay while in Rome and specifically for the Papal chapel choir.[406] Planchart's dating is based on Du Fay's use of chant that is associated with the Italian tradition of hymns.[407] He does not include the three hymns *Sanctorum meritis, Iste confessor domini* and *Jesu corona*

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[401] Rudolf Gerber in *Guillaume Dufay: Sämtliche Hymnen*, ed. Rudolf Gerber, *Das Chorwerk* Vol. IL, Wolfenbüttel, 1937, 2.
[402] Heinrich Besseler, 'Dufay in Rom', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 15 (1958), 9-10.
[403] Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay: Based on a study of Mensural Practice*, Princeton, 1964, 86-149. Hamm originally presented a dating for the hymns of what he called Group 5 (1433-35) in Hamm, 'Dating a Group of Dufay works', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. XV (1962), 69.
[404] Ward, 'The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth Century Italy', 185-86.
[405] David Fallows, *Dufay*, London, 1982, 135.
[406] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Music for the Papal Chapel in the Early Fifteenth Century appendix: The Hymns of Guillaume Du Fay', *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1998, 117-19.
[407] Ibid. 117.

virginum, as they do not use chant traditionally associated with Italian hymns. Furthermore, he suggests that those who prepared CS 15 believed that the music was composed specifically for the papal chapel by Du Fay, which is why it continued to form the basis of the manuscript's hymn cycle.[408] More recently, Michael Phelps has shown an implication that many of Du Fay's hymns contained in the manuscript ModB were composed for use by the papal chapel.[409]

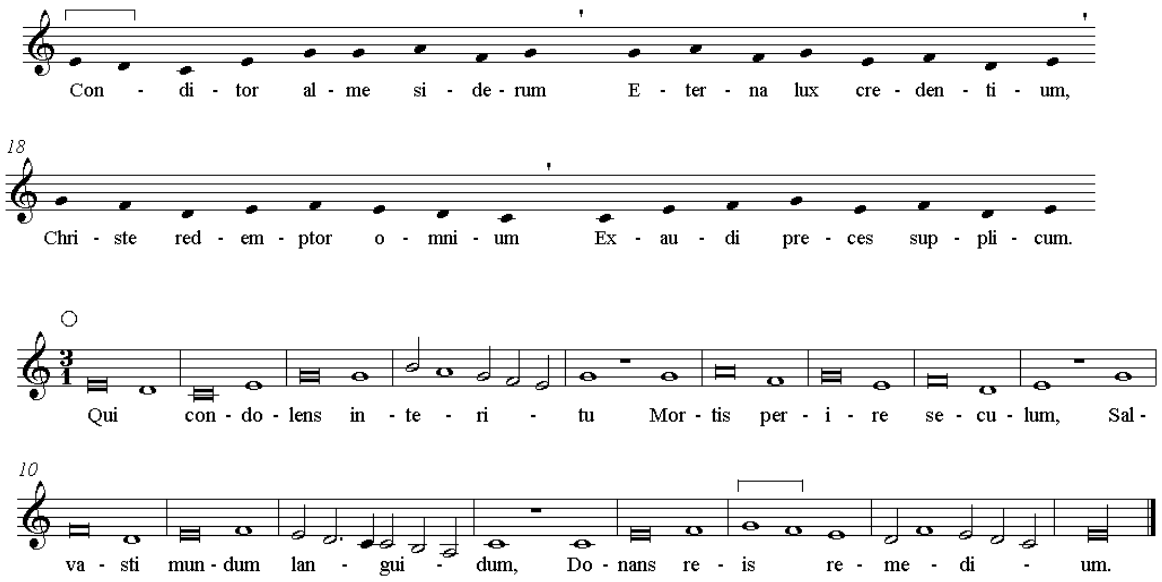
It is not my intention here to add further to the debate of dating the cycle. It is enough to note that the cycle was in existence and in wide circulation through Italy by 1450, whenever and wherever it was composed in the decade around 1430.

5.3 The Du Fay Hymn Cycle

Du Fay's nineteen hymns are three voice *alternatim* settings of plainsong, mostly in triple time, using either four or six phrases of chant. The chant is always set in the discantus voice with minor elaborations, although he keeps strictly to the shape of each chant.

[408] Ibid. 119.
[409] Michael Phelps, *A Repertory in Exile: Pope Eugene IV and the MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria*, α.X.1.11, PhD thesis, New York University, 2008, 72-88; 'Du Fay's Hymn Cycle and Papal Liturgy during the Pontificate of Eugene IV', *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. LIV (2009), 75-118.

Example 1: *Conditor alme siderum* – chant and Du Fay discantus melody setting

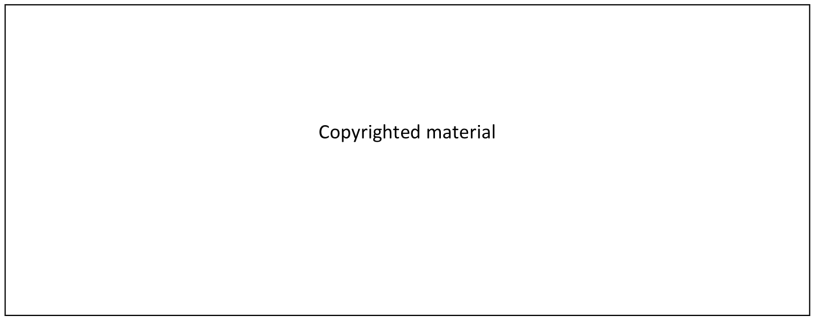


As the above example serves to highlight, there is very little elaboration of the chant in Du Fay's setting. The main point of elaboration in the case of *Conditor alme siderum* is when the chant cadences in its third phrase by moving down, which is contrary to the standard cadential resolution of the period, which usually resolved upwards. It is at these cadential points, more often than not, where the rhythmic movement of the setting becomes more agitated, to allow for the phrase structure of the chant to be kept in temporal proportion with the rest of the piece, while allowing for the preparation of the cadential progression upwards. This is a particular device used by Du Fay throughout the hymn cycle whenever the chant resolves a phrase downwards. Another device that characterises Du Fay's hymns is that at the end of each phrase of the discantus, a rest is given, to show the end of a phrase quite firmly.

The accompanying voices to the discantus are set in two different ways: fauxbourdon and fully composed. Fauxbourdon was a popular device in the setting of hymns in the early fifteenth century possibly as a result of its short and repetitive nature, which incorporated the pre-composed chant and that consequently allowed the retention

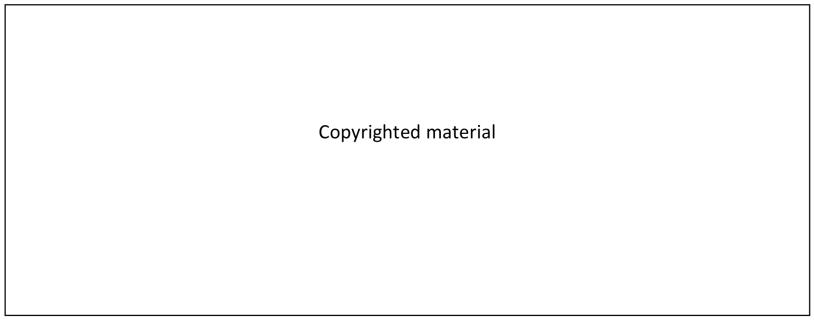
of the structure and melody while providing a simple accompaniment.[410] The placement of the fauxbourdon voice a fourth below the discantus leads to a series of 6/3 chords that conclude in a 8/5 at the cadence.

Example 2: Du Fay, *Jesu corona*, Vs. 4 *Te deprecamur,* fol. 67v, bars 1-6 (taken from Besseler edition)



The tenor voice of the fauxbourdon settings moves against the homophonic movement of the top voices, providing off-beat punctuation during less rhythmically complex passages, and also providing a simple harmonic accompaniment during more rhythmically energetic moments. This is shown in the difference between bars 1-3 and bar 5 of Example 3.

Example 3: Du Fay, *Christe, redemptor omnium, ex patre*, Vs. 2 *Tu lumen tu splendor patris*, fols. 5v-6, bars 1-6 (taken from Besseler edition)

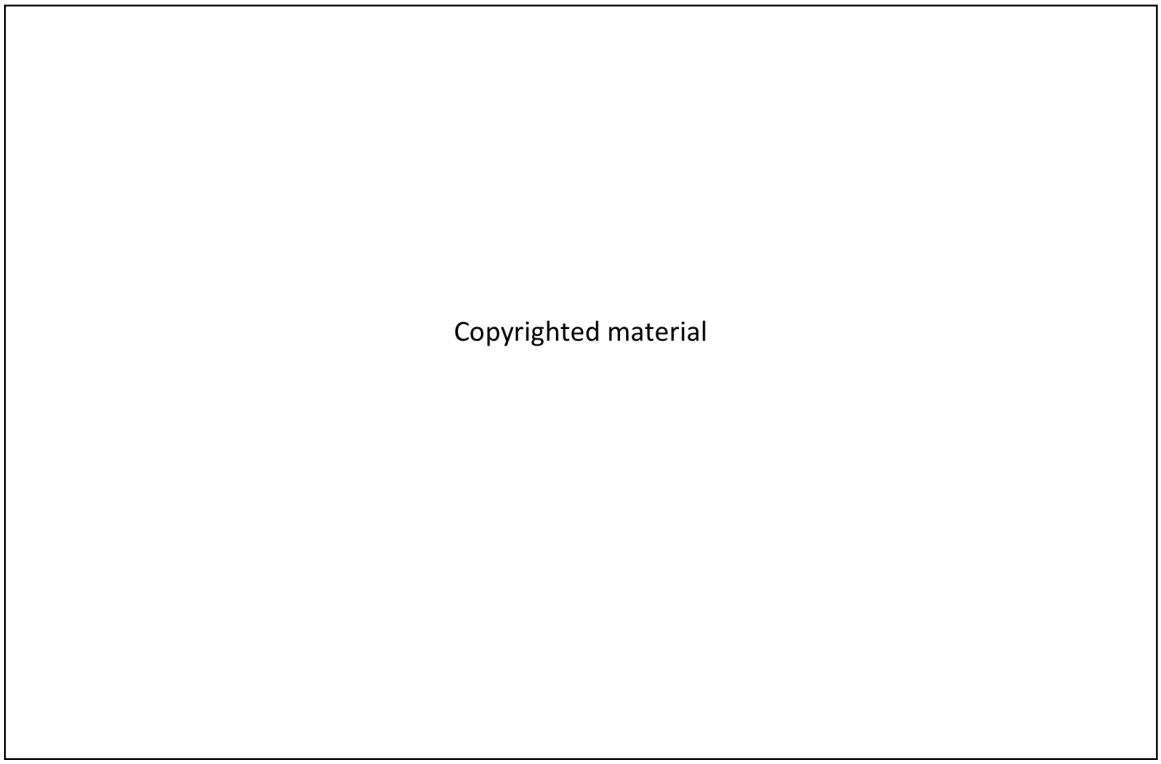


The consequence of fauxbourdon technique ultimately results in a chant- and text-centric composition because of the homophonic emphasis added by two out of the three voices.

[410] Ernest Trumble has shown that there were forty six hymn settings that used fauxbourdon settings in the fifteenth century. Ernest Trumble, *Fauxbourdon: A Historical Survey*, Brooklyn, 1959, 70-71.

When the settings are fully composed, the contratenor and tenor voices work in a similar style to the tenor voice function in the fauxbourdon settings. Each voice is set melodically in its own right, but, as Fallows has shown, Du Fay did not produce melodic lines that worked when separated from their contrapuntal settings.[411] In some instances, the accompanying voices become more angular and less melodic, as in the case of *Hostis Herodes impie* [Ex. 4], where they become fragmentary and angular in design. In bars 1-4 of the contratenor and tenor of *Hostis Herodes impie*, the leaps of fourths and fifths create these less melodic, more angular moments.

Example 4: Du Fay, *Hostis Herodes impie*, Vs. 4 *Novum genus potentie*, fols.9v-10, bars 1-7 (taken from Besseler edition)



This is a stark difference to the fluidic movement that is used to construct the accompanying voices elsewhere in the cycle. In this particular instance, the leaps of fourths and fifths are alluding to the angular movements contained in the chant.

[411] Fallows, *Dufay*, 144.

One particular recurring motif within the cycle is a figuration which usually occurs three semibreves (three crotchets in my transcriptions) before a cadence. When the music is transcribed at a quarter of the original note values, this would be clearly shown as a 6/8 rhythmic grouping that is presented in one or two of the voices against the 3/4 emphasis of the third voice. Even *Aures ad nostras*, the only hymn to be in duple time, alludes to the 6/8-3/4 configuration in the preceding bar to cadences, suggesting that it is a particular stylistic device of Du Fay's hymn cycle. This can be seen in examples 2, 3, 4, and in *Aures ad nostras*, example 5 below:

Example 5: Du Fay, *Aures ad nostras*, Vs 6 *Insere tuum, petimus, amorem*, fols. 18v-19, bars 1-7 & 19-22 (taken from Besseler edition)

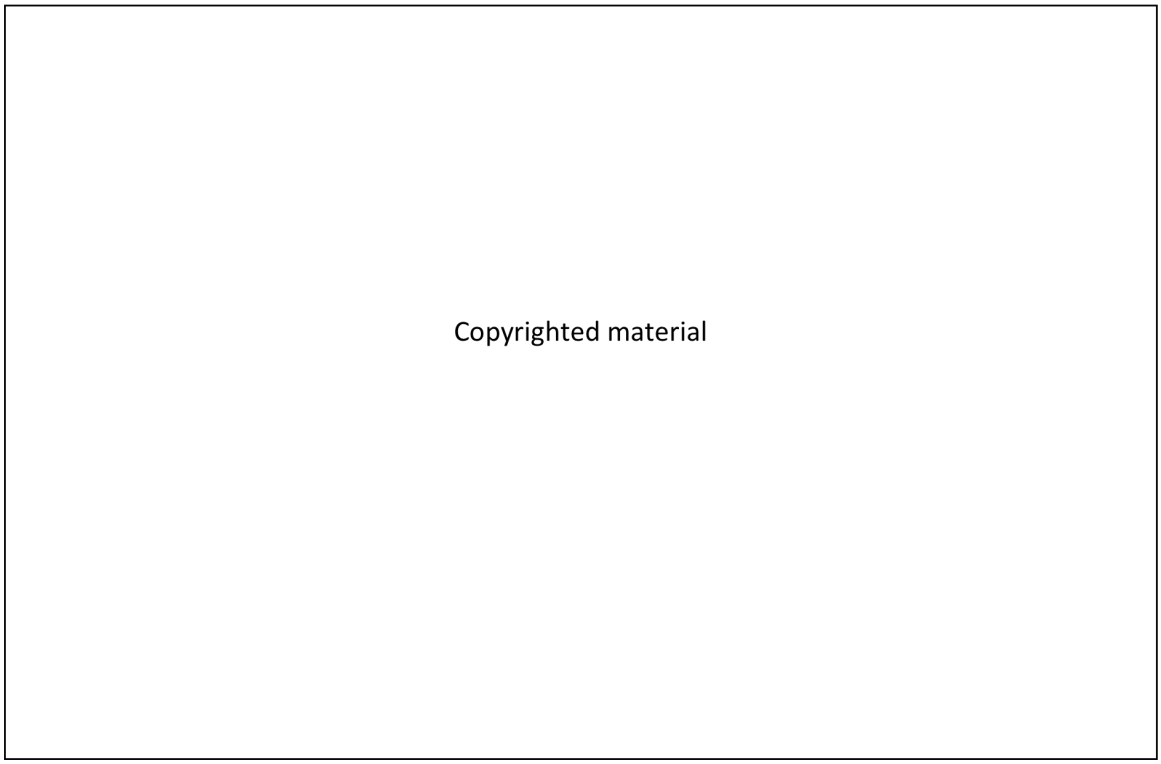


Table 26 highlights the occasions when this pattern is executed in the music, showing in which voice it comes.

Table 26: Du Fay's use of 6/8 against 3/4 in the hymns of CS 15

	Phrase 1	Phrase 2	Phrase 3	Phrase 4	Phrase 5	Phrase 6
Conditor alme siderum	D	-	D	D		
Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre	D	D	D & T	-		
Hostis Herodes impie	D	D	D & T	Ct & T	Ct	D
Audi, benigne conditor	D & Ct	D	-	D		
Aures ad nostras	D	-	-	D		
Vexilla regis proderunt	D	D, Ct & T	D & Ct	Ct		
Ad coenam agni providi	D	D, Ct & T	D	D, Ct & T		
Veni creator Spiritus	D, Ct & T	T	D & Ct	D		
O lux beata	D	-	D	D		
Pange, lingua gloriosi	D	D	D	T	-	T
Urbs beata Jerusalem	D	D	-	D, Ct & T	D & Ct	D
Aurea luce	-	D	D	D		
Ave, maris stella	-	T	Ct	D & Ct	D & Ct	
Christe redemptor omnium, conserva	D & T	D	D & T	-		
Exultet coelum	D & T	-	D	D		
Deus tuorum militum	D	D & T	D & T	D & T		
Sanctorum meritis	T	D & Ct	D	Ct		
Iste confessor	D	D & T	D	D & T		

When the device of fauxbourdon has been used, it has only been noted for the discantus voice. When the 6/8 against 3/4 is not used, this is usually when the chant approaches its cadence from below, rather than above.

Du Fay in the CS 15 Hymn Cycle

Out of the nineteen hymns of the standard Du Fay hymn cycle that was in circulation during the fifteenth century, only eighteen are present in the manuscript CS 15. This is only one small issue in comparison to the different ways in which the cycle as a whole is treated in CS 15. Like many other sources of the Du Fay's hymn cycle, the compositions are placed alongside hymn settings by other composers. The settings of the hymns in other sources, however, are left unmodified, where the same music is kept for the strophe of each hymn setting. In the case of the hymn cycle of CS 15, Du Fay's compositions are not used as settings for the entire hymn. His settings only appear as single verses, becoming a small component in the construction of a larger cycle, but, in essence, providing the main foundation for the cycle as a whole. Furthermore, parts of Du Fay's cycle are cannibalised into new compositions of others, as well as the new composer's style, sometimes leading to cautious allusions that Du Fay composed them.[412] It was not uncommon for this form of composition to be used in chansons of the fifteenth-century and earlier, where composers emulated and imitated others in order to compete or pay homage to them.[413] This process is also found in the definition of the term *imitatio* that Rob C. Wegman proposed in 1989 as: 'the process of learning musical composition by studying and imitating the works of established masters'.[414] This may, however, suggest that imitating a work is not the same as copying it. Many instances in the hymn cycle of CS 15 where elements of Du Fay's compositions are copied to build other hymn strophes, are more mechanical and haphazard in construction than Du Fay's

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[412] Fallows, *Dufay*, 145.
[413] See Howard Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance*', Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. XXXV (1982), 10.
[414] Rob C. Wegman, 'Another "Imitation" of Busnoys's "Missa L'Homme armé" – And Some Observations on "Imitatio" in Renaissance Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. CXIV (1989), 198.

originals, leading to my use of the term 'cannibalise'. In the following section, these ideas will be expanded.

Table 27 shows the contents of the hymn cycle of CS 15, broken down verse by verse:

Table 27: Layout of CS 15 Hymn Layer

Folio	Hymn	Verse	Composer	Voices	Usage	Example
	Conditor alme siderum				Sundays of Advent	
2v-3	Qui condolens interitu	2		5		18
3v-4	Cujus forti potentie	4		4		*
4v-5	Laus, honor, virtus, gloria	6	[Du Fay]	4		[1]
4v-5	Te deprecamur agie	5		FB 3		*
	Christe redemptor omnium, Ex patre				Christmas	
5v-6	Tu lumen, tu splendor	2	[Du Fay]	FB 3		3
6v-7	Sic presens testatur dies	4		4		19
7v-8	Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo	6	[Du Fay]	3		20
	Hostis Herodes				Epiphany	
8v-9	Ibant magi, quam viderant	2		4		21
9v-10	Novum genus potentie	4	[Du Fay]	3		4
	Lucis creator optime				Sundays through the year	
10v-11	Qui mane junctum veperi	2	De Orto	4		9
11v-12	Celorum pulset intimum	4	De Orto	4		10
12v-13	Qui mane junctum veperi	2		FB 3/4		11
13v-14	Celorum pulset intimum	4		4		*
	Audi benigne conditor				Weekdays of Lent	
14v-15	Scrutator alme cordium	2		4		22
15v-16	Sit corpus extra conterit	4	[Du Fay]	3		
	Aures ad nostras				Sundays of Lent	
16v-17	Respice clemens solio de sancto	2		FB 3/4		23
17v-18	Te sine tetro mergimur profundo	4		4		*
18v-19	Insere tuum, petimus, amorem	6	[Du Fay]	3		15
19v-20	Procul a nobis perfidus absistat	8		4		
	Vexilla regis proderunt				Passion Sunday	

20v	Quo vulneratus insuper	2	[Du Fay Frag]	FB 3/3		6
20v-21	Quo vulneratus insuper	2	[Du Fay]	FB 3/3		6
21v-22	Arbor decora et fulgida	4		FB 3/4		7
22v-23	O crux, ave, spes unica	6	[Du Fay]	3		
	Ad coenam, agni providi				Octave of Easter	
23v-24	Cujus corpus sanctissimum	2	[Du Fay]	3		
24v-25	Jam pascha nostrum Christus est	4		4		24
25v-26	Consurgit Christus tumulo	6		4		25
26v-27	Gloria tibi domine	7		4		26
	Jesus nostra redemptio				Ascension	
27v-28	Que te vincit clementia	2		4		27
28v-29	Ipsa te cogat pietas	4		4		28
	Veni creator spiritus				Pentecost	
29v	Qui paraclitus diceris	2	[Du Fay]	3		
29v-30	Qui paraclitus diceris	2	[Du Fay Frag]	FB 3		29
30v-31	Accende lumen sensibus	4		4		30
31v-32	Per te sciamus de patrem	6		4		31
	O lux beata				Trinity Sunday	
32v-33	Te mane laudum carmine	2	[Du Fay]	3		
33v-34	Deo patri sit gloria	3		4		32
	Pange linua				Corpus Christi	
34v-35	Nobis natus, nobis datus	2	[Du Fay]	3		
35v-36	Verbum caro panem verum	4		4		33
36v-37	Genitori genitoque	6		3		34
	Ut queant laxis				St. John the Baptist	
37v-38	Nuntius celso veniens Olympo	2	[Du Fay]	3		
38v-39	Ventris obstruso recubans	4	De Orto	4		12
	Aure luce et decore roseo				Sts. Peter & Paul	
39v-40	Exultet celum laudibus	1	[Du Fay]	3		
40v-41	Deo patri sit gloria	6		4		*
41v-42	Quorum celum verbo claditis	4		3		*
	Ave, maris stella				Marian Feasts	
42v-43	Sumens illud ave	2	[Du Fay]	3		13
43v-44	Monstra te esse matrem	4	Josquin	4		14
44v-45	Vitam presta puram	6		4		15

45v-46	Sit laus deo patri	7		4		16
	Nardi Maria pistici				Mary Magdalene	
46v-47	Honor, decus, imperium	2	Josquin	4		17
	Petrus beatus				St. Peter in Chains	
47v-48	Quodcumque vinclis super terram	2		4		*
	Tibi, Christe, splendor Patris				St. Michael	
48v-49	Tibi, Christe, splendor Patris	1		4		*
49v-50	Quo custode procul pelle	3		3		*
	Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva				Ordinary Sundays	
50v-51	Beata quoque agmina	2	[Du Fay]	3		
51v-52	Martyres dei incliti	4		5		*
52v-53	Gentem auferte perfidam	6		4		*
	Exultet coelum				Common of the Apostles	
53v	Vos secli justi judices	2	[Du Fay Frag]	3		35
53v-54	Vos secli justi judices	2	[Du Fay]	FB 3		
54v-55	Quorum precepto ubditor	4		4		36
55v-56	Deo patri sit gloria	6	[Du Fay]	3		
	Deus tuorum militum				Common of One Martyr	
56v-57	Hic nempe mundi gaudia	2	[Du Fay]	3		
56v-57	Hic nempe mundi gloria	2	[Du Fay Frag]	FB 3		37
57v-58	Ob hoc precatu supplici	4		4		38
	Sanctorum meritis				Common of Many Martyrs	
58v-59	Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit	2	[Du Fay]	3		
59v-60	Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit	2		4		39
60v-61	Cenduntur gladiis, more bidentium	4		3		40
61v-62	Te, summa deitas unaque, poscimus	6		4		*
	Iste confessor				Common of Confessors	
62v	Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus	2	[Du Fay]	FB 3		
62v-63	Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus	2	[Du Fay Frag]	3		41
63v-64	Unde nunc noster chorus in honore	4		3		*
64v-65	Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus	2		FB 3/4		42
65v-66	Unde nunc noster chorus in honore	4		4		43

	Jesu corona virginem				Common of Virgins	
66v-67	Qui pascis inter ilia	2	[Du Fay Frag]	3		8a
67v	Te deprecamur, largius	4	[Du Fay]	FB 3		2
67v-68	Laus, honor, virtus, gloria	5	[Du Fay Frag]	4		8c
	Urbs beata Jerusalem				Dedication of Church	
68v-69	Nova veniens e celo, nuptiali thalamo	2	[Du Fay Frag]	FB 3		44
69v-70	Tunsionibus, pressuris expoliti lapides	4	[Du Fay]	3		
69v-70	Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo	6	[Du Fay Frag]	4		45

*= Not transcribed

The organisation of the hymns is what Ward terms as the 'Italian archetype', which lists the temporal cycle first, followed by the sanctoral cycle.[415] The cycle contains two hymns that were not part of the standard fifteenth-century cycle, but were part of the original *Ordo: Petrus beatus* and *Nardi Maria pistici*. Each of the 25 hymn texts used is set in *alternatim* style, with between one and four strophes set polyphonically. In all, the cycle outlines what appears to be seventy one different settings, although five of these may be performed in more than one manner: two as either three-voice settings or fauxbourdon settings and three as fauxbourdon or four-voice settings. Six of the settings also appear twice, therefore, making a total of 75 settings in all.

Many of the settings are for three or four voices, although the first hymn strophe of the manuscript is written in five parts. Josquin is identified as the composer of two polyphonic strophes, while De Orto is identified in three compositions. Du Fay's nineteen contributions are not attributed to him in the source; however, despite this, it is only the

[415] Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century until the Early Sixteenth Century*, 77. Temporal cycle refers to the Proper of the Seasons, while the sanctoral cycle refers to the Proper of the Saints.

starting point of Du Fay's involvement. Du Fay's contribution to the cycle is made further through vocal lines incorporated in other compositions. This occurs on ten occasions in the manuscript: in two places where settings are provided with alternate versions, giving a total of twelve different settings that use music from Du Fay's original settings. At each instance, the discantus is separated from its original setting and provided with alternative accompaniment, two of which are examined below.

Vexilla regis prodeunt (fols. 20v-23) *& Jesu corona virginum* (fols. 66v-68)

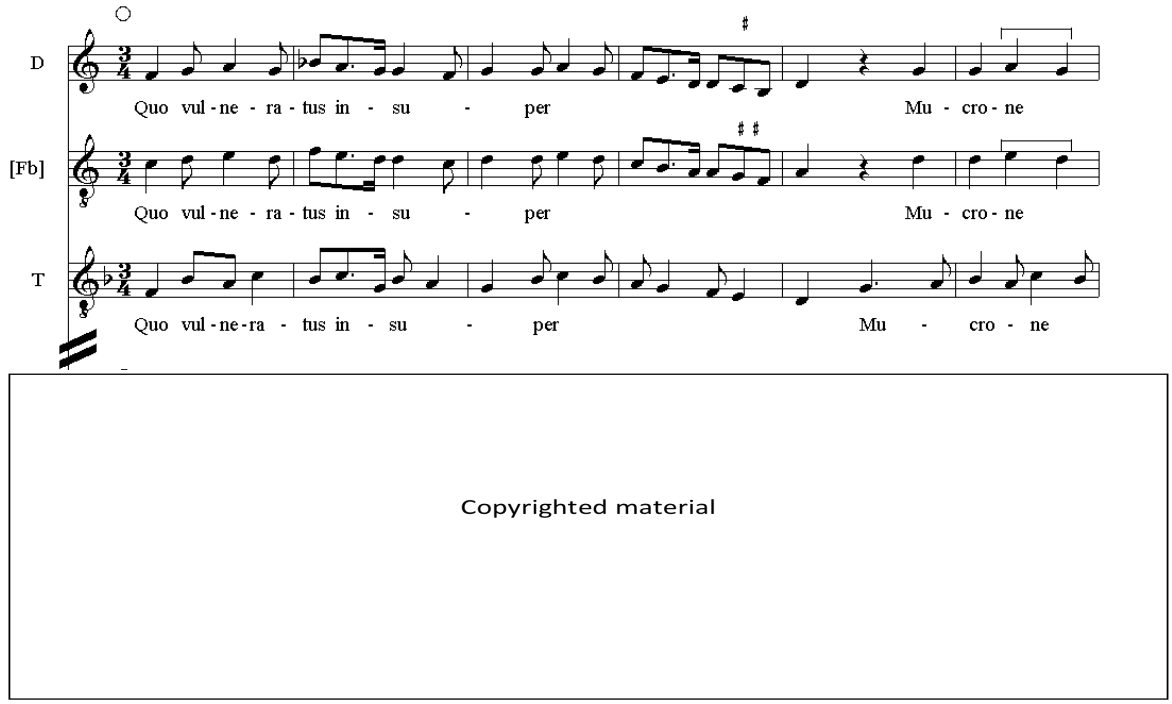
The hymns *Vexilla regis prodeunt* and *Jesu corona virginum* are two examples of places in which Du Fay's settings were cannibalised in CS 15 to produce alternative settings. Each hymn illustrates a different treatment of the Du Fay setting.

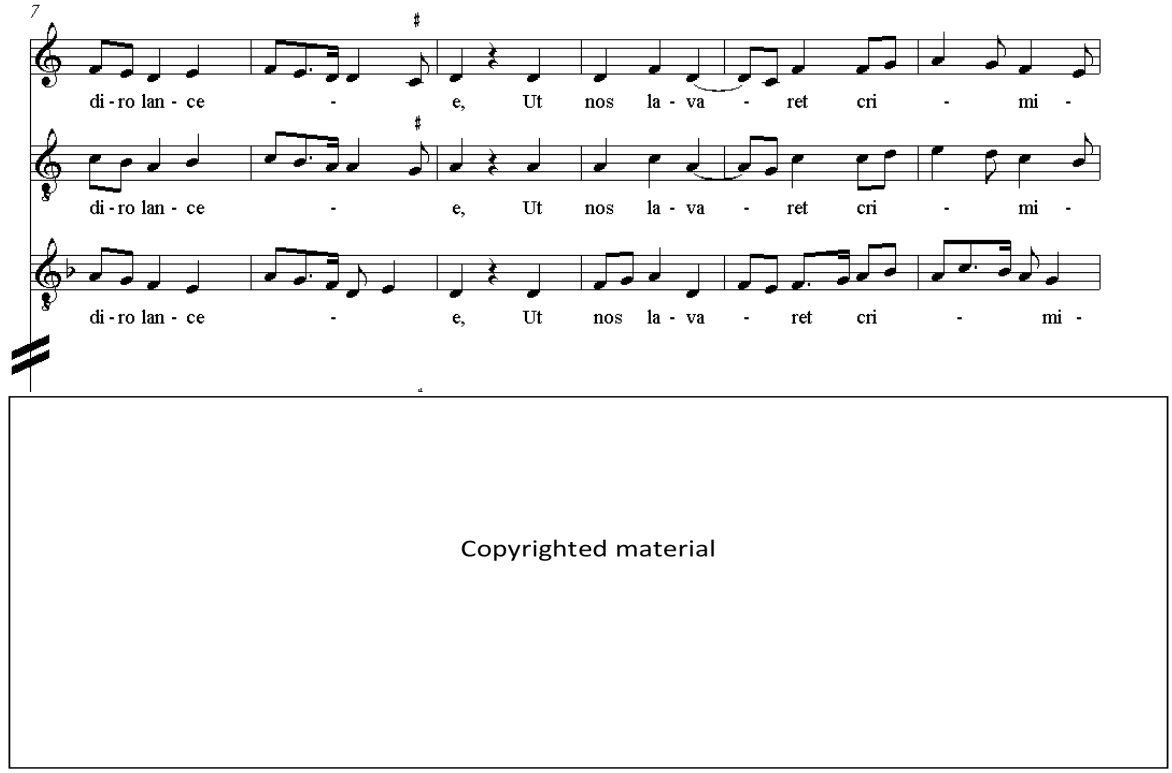
Vexilla regis prodeunt (fols. 20v-23) [Ex. 6] provides three different musical settings for three strophes of text. The second strophe is given two settings, the fourth is a separate composition and Du Fay's work is repeated from strophe two for the text of strophe six. In the settings of the second strophe of text, Du Fay's setting (20v-21) is used, while the other setting uses the discantus voice of Du Fay's composition in order to form a new work. Du Fay's strophe presents three separately composed voices, which includes many examples of 6/8 against 3/4 rhythms, with the 6/8 predominantly in the discantus voice for the first phase, then moving to the contratenor and tenor voices for the final three phrases.

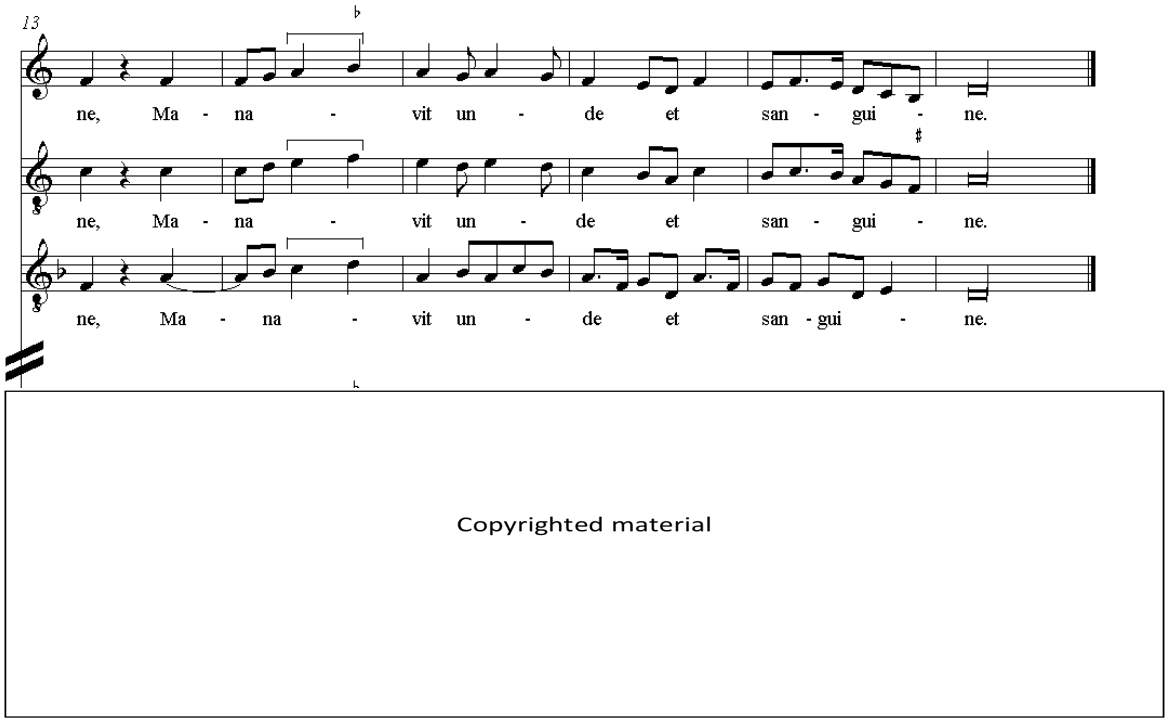
Du Fay's discantus voice on fol. 20v presents it in a fauxbourdon setting. The movement is predominantly homophonic, letting the discantus voice dictate the rhythmic patterns to the composed tenor. This synchronisation is far removed from Du Fay's setting which places opposing rhythms against each other. The harmony is the typical 6/3

– 5/8 progression found where fauxbourdon is used and the vocal range is kept within Du Fay's span of an octave for all voices.

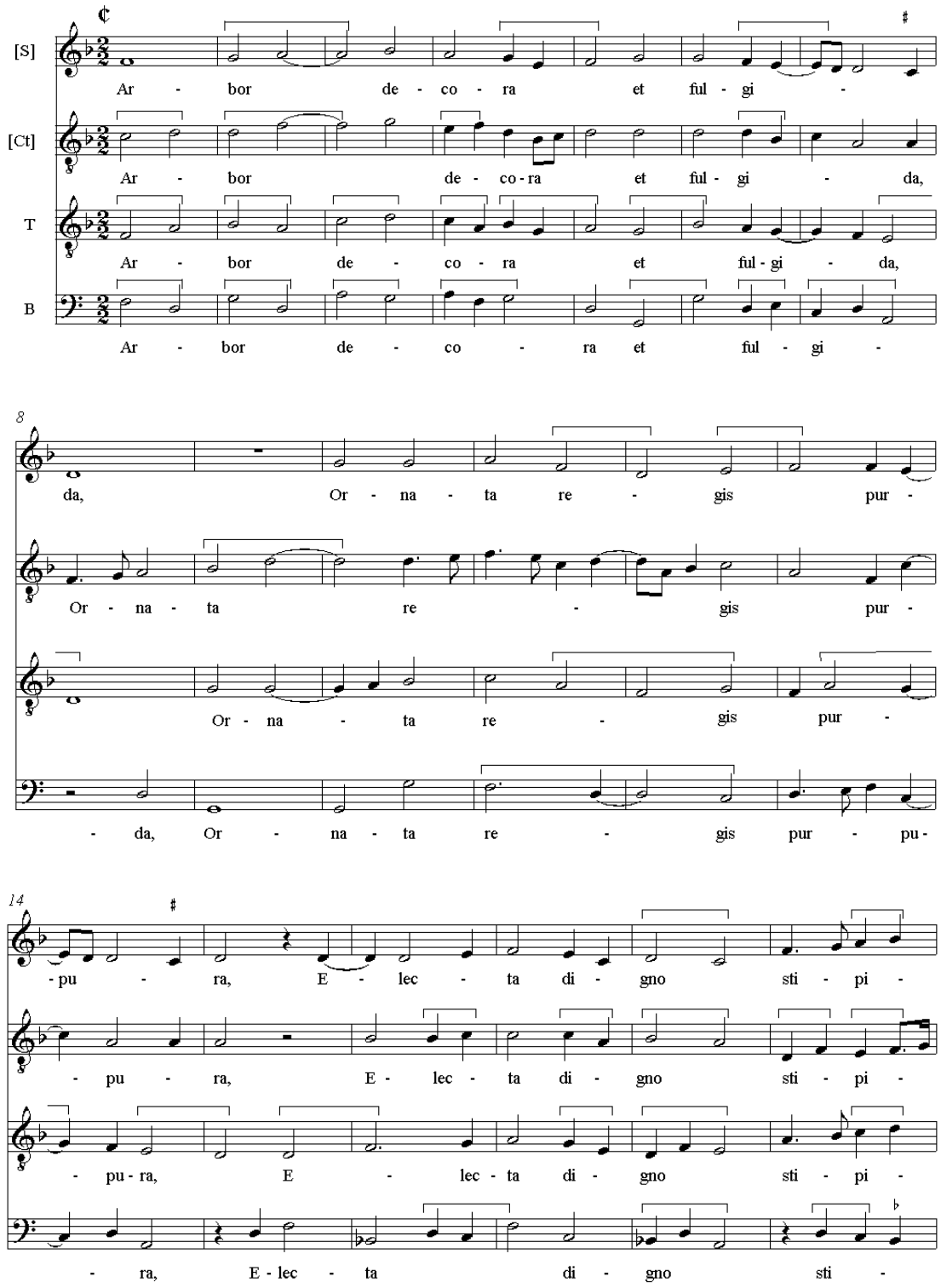
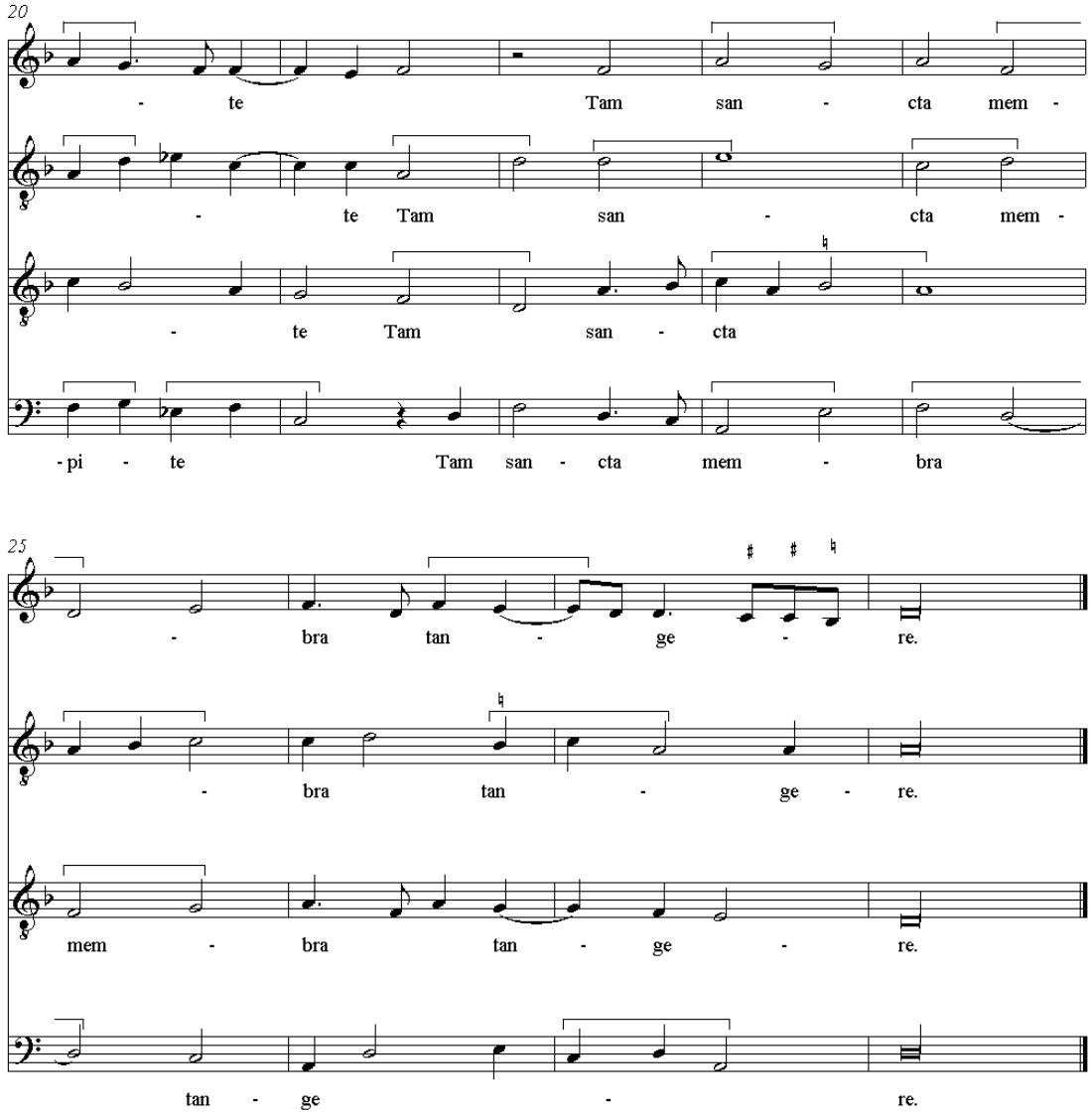
Example 6: *Vexilla regis prodeunt* Vs. 2a & 2b, *Quo vulneratus insuper Mucrone*, in parallel, fols. 20v-21 (taken from Bessler edition / Robb)







The fourth strophe of *Vexilla regis prodeunt* has an alternative setting for performance (fols. 21v-22), where Du Fay's arrangement is not used. Instead, the chant is set in duple time and used to produce a four-voice and fauxbourdon composition. The interesting point for this particular design is that the tenor and the superius are used for both settings. Here, the superius and tenor voice stay in the confines of Du Fay's vocal range of an octave; while the contratenor and bassus voices have a wider range of an eleventh and a ninth. In this example, there is a greater amount of flexibility between the vocal relationships: staggered entry of voices after cadential points and loose allusions to the pairing of voices (superius and tenor, contratenor and bassus) in the rhythmic movement. There is a suggestion of imitation between the tenor and superius at the start of the second and third phrases of the music, although this only lasts for two or three notes [Ex. 7, bars 9-10 and 15-16].

Example 7: *Vexilla regis prodeunt* Vs. 4, *Arbor decora et fulgida*, fols.21v-22

The sixth and final strophe of the hymn text repeats Du Fay's composition (fols. 22v-23). In this version, a key signature is given in all three voices (one flat), unlike its first copying, when it only appeared in the tenor voice. There is also a concluding 'Amen' section added to the conclusion, a great deal of which, in the discantus, has been obliterated by ink corrosion.

Jesu corona virginum (fols. 66v-68) appears at first to be in the same vein as *Vexilla regis*, but, in actual fact, is a very different piece. Here, it is Du Fay who has prepared a fauxbourdon setting (used as the setting for the fourth strophe). The second strophe uses just the discantus voice from Du Fay's composition but the fifth strophe uses

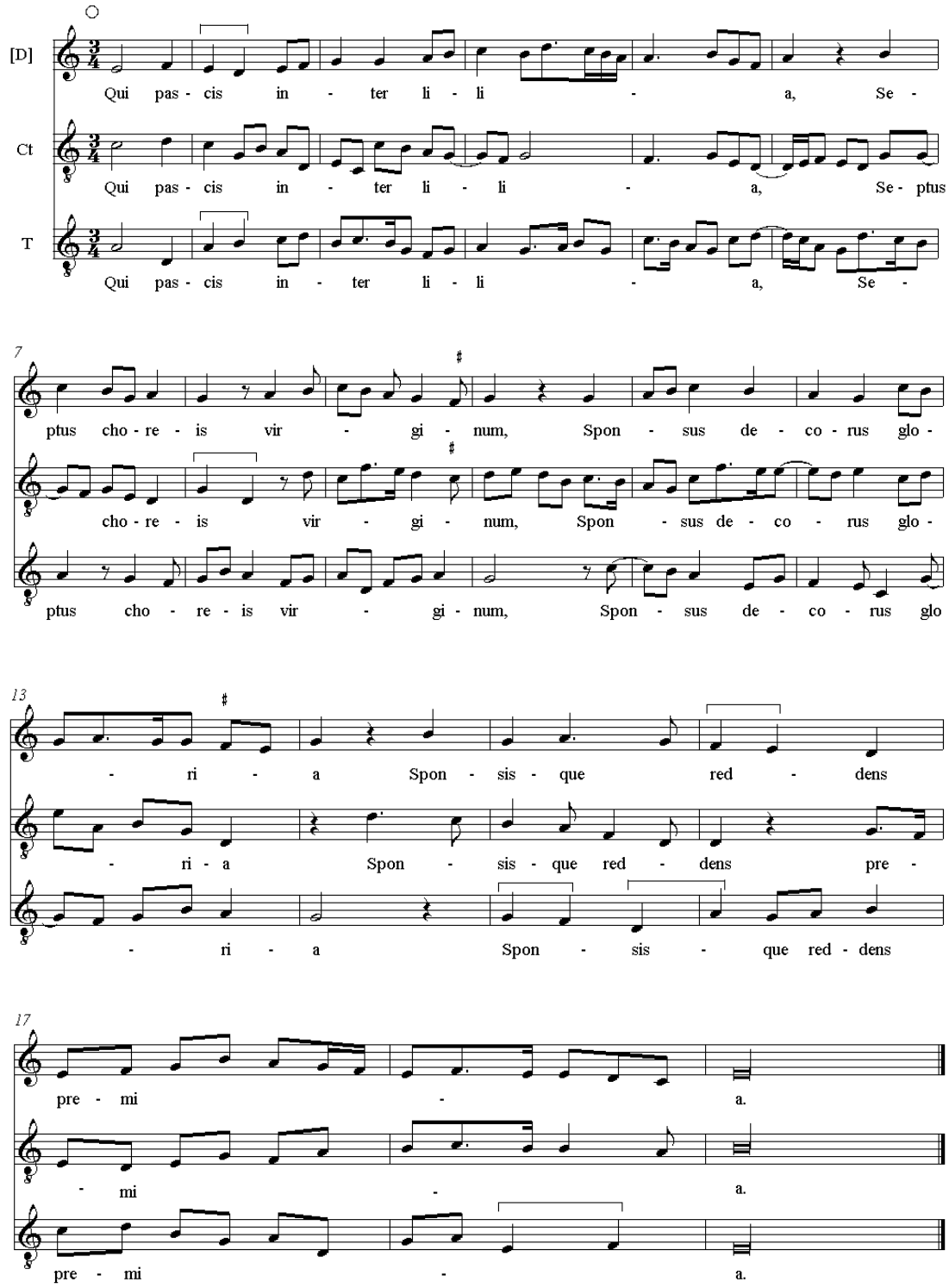
both Du Fay's discantus and tenor voice in order to create a four-voice setting with a new contratenor and bassus part.

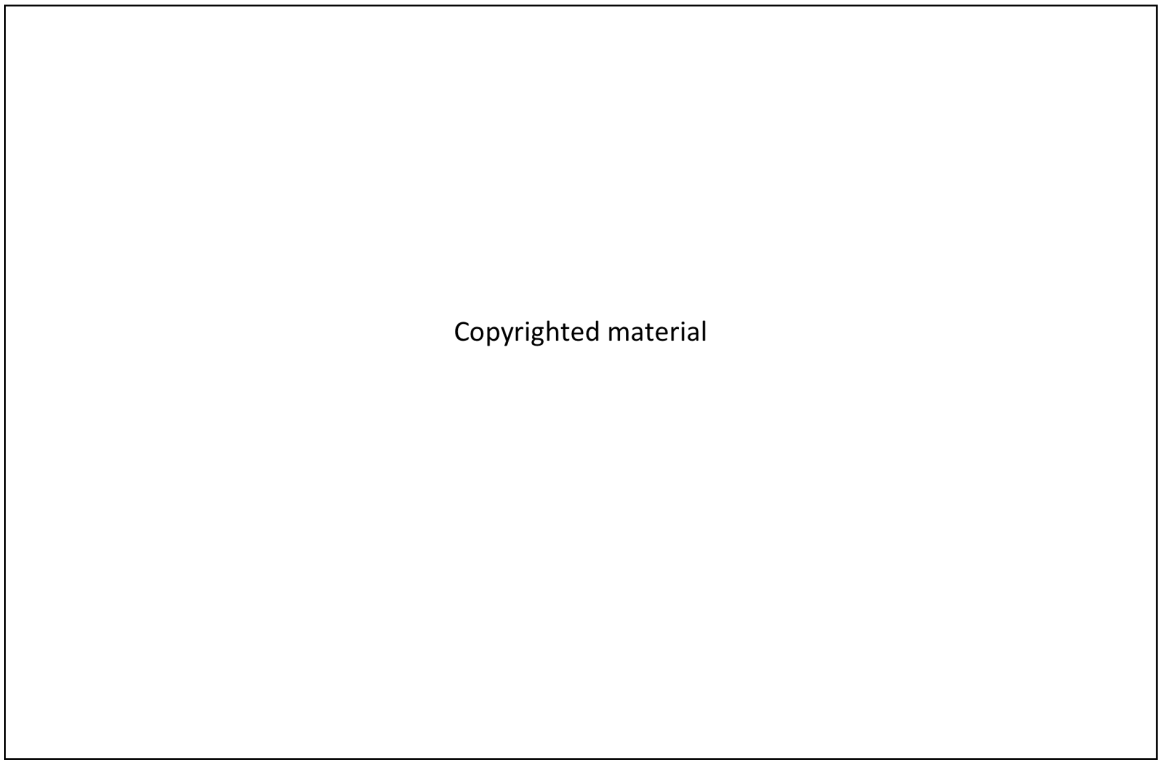
Du Fay's arrangement presents the chant with minimal melodic elaboration. It is used in instances to produce a 6/8 – 3/4 rhythmic pattern between the discantus and the tenor, although it is infrequent in comparison to many other Du Fay hymns. The rhythmic variety is, however, held back by the use of fauxbourdon that reduces two of the parts to homophonic movement. But, the composition avoids the homorhythmic texture that is present in the alternative fauxbourdon setting of *Vexilla regis*.

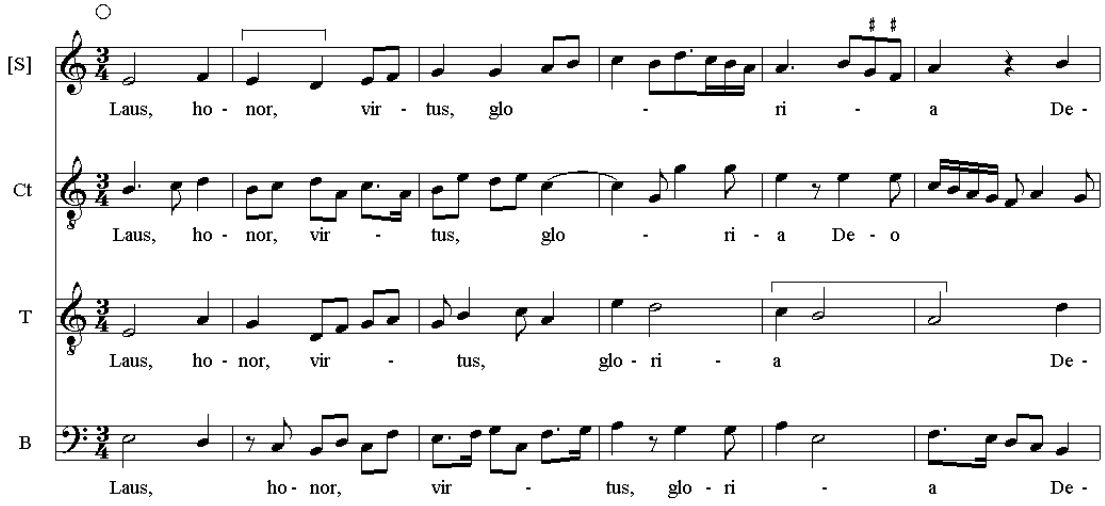
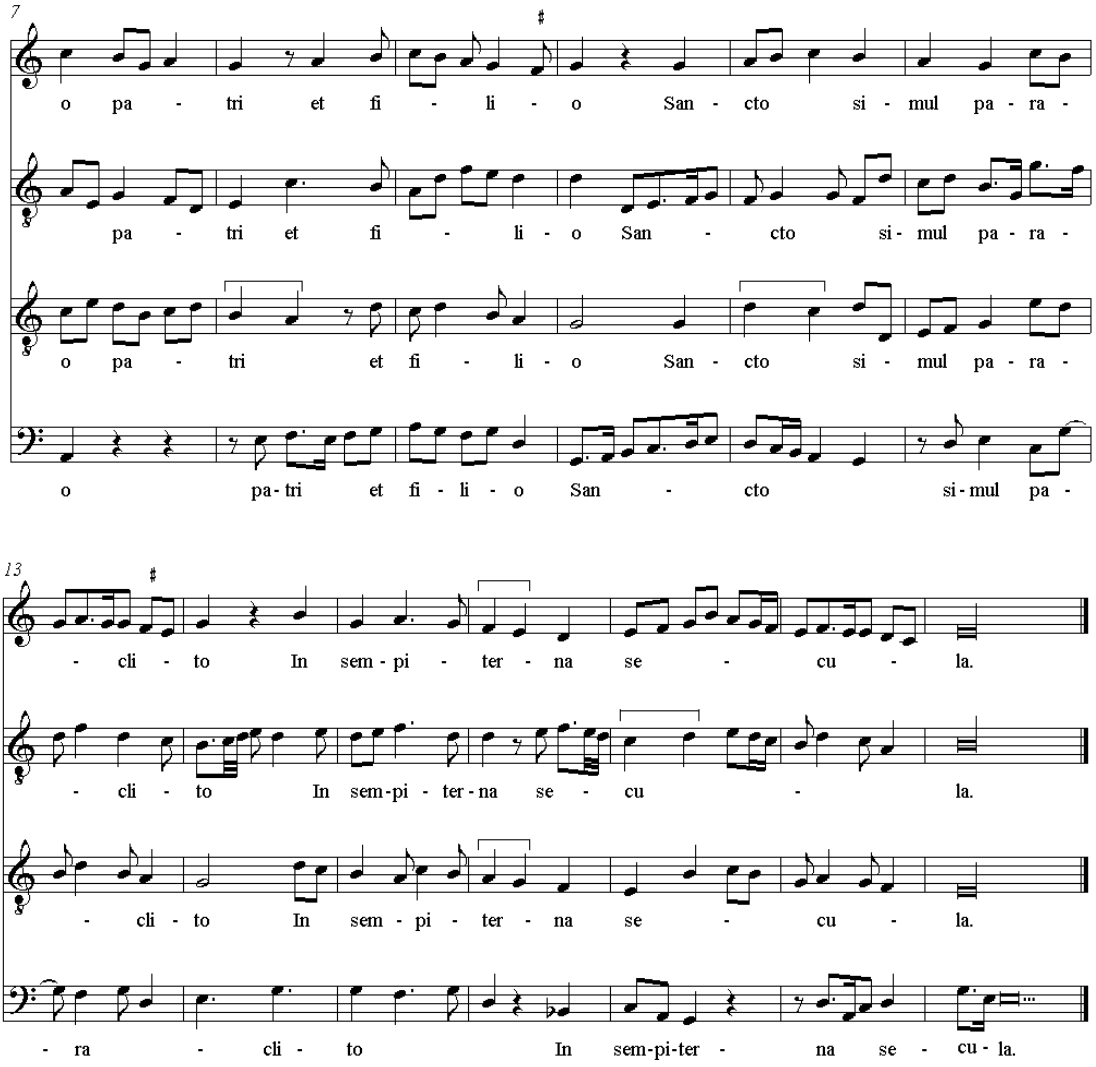
The anonymous three-voice arrangement of *Jesu corona virginum* uses the devices associated with Du Fay's setting of *Vexilla regis* much more than his fauxbourdon adaption of *Jesu corona.* The three-voice setting includes many more varieties of rhythmic combinations between the voices, as well as a faster moving tenor voice. While the vocal range of the contratenor is extended to an eleventh, the tenor and discantus remain the same.

The four-voice setting takes Du Fay's arrangement to another level of appropriateness, where the two composed lines are taken and provided with a different accompaniment. The contratenor voice is angular, creating erratic movement throughout its range of an eleventh. The bassus appears to outline its own range of an eleventh in an almost scale-like way throughout the strophe. Like the second strophe, the voices that are not composed by Du Fay are less fluid in movement. The second and fifth strophes also have more in common harmonically in their progressions and cadential points. The vocal relationships found in the second and fifth strophe settings are independent from each other, much like the style that is found in Du Fay's hymns, suggesting that the composers of these pieces are either contemporaries of Du Fay, or that his compositional style was still extremely influential in the period when they were written.

Example 8: *Jesu corona virginum* Vs. 2, 4 & 5, fols. 66v-68

(a) *Qui pascis inter lilia*, Du Fay's discant with new lower voices.

(b) *Te deprecamur*, Du Fay's fauxbourdon setting (taken from Besseler edition)



(c) *Laus, honor, virtus, gloria*, New 4vv setting, using Du Fay's discantus and tenor line.

The techniques in the music examined above are used once again when Du Fay's discantus is set in *Veni creator spiritus*, *Exultet coelum*, *Deus tuorum militum*, *Iste confessor* and *Urbs beata Jerusalem*. Taking into account these compositions that use material from a work already composed as well as Du Fay's original contributions to the hymn cycle of CS 15, the collection as a whole has a fundamental reliance on his contribution. This is contrary to Tom Ward's assertion that the Du Fay hymn adaptions are merely added as afterthoughts to the cycle.[416] Indeed, the Du Fay cycle is what binds the hymn cycle together and is a cardinal element in its construction.

[416] Tom R. Ward (with John Caldwell), 'Hymn § III Polyphonic Latin, 1. 15th Century', *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 25.

5.4 Josquin and De Orto in the Hymn Cycle

Out of the 75 stanzas in the hymn cycle of CS 15, only five of the compositions have a composer named in the manuscript. These five compositions are the work of two people: Marbrianus De Orto (three works) and Josquin des Prez (two works). Tom Ward has suggested that these two singer-composers of the papal chapel not only composed these works for the repertory whilst working there, but also that they were responsible for the updating of the hymn cycle contained in CS 15; this is based on the belief that the compositions are supplements of missing stanzas and settings of texts not already represented in the cycle.[417] It is only in one instance, *Nardi Maria pistici,* that a text setting does not have an alternate setting by Du Fay. *Petrus Beatus* is the only other text setting with two stanzas, with only one of those set to polyphony. Both hymns are particularly special in the liturgy used in the city of Rome, providing the possibility that Josquin's contributions were composed specifically while in Rome.[418] De Orto's compositions pre-1500 are linked to his lengthy period of employment at the papal chapel. [419] It is possible that his compositions were created for use while at the papal chapel, but the only evidence to suggest this is their presence in the manuscripts used by the choir. However, to consider that they were 'responsible' for the updating of the hymn cycle in CS 15 is far beyond what the available evidence suggests.

Lucis creator optime (fols. 10v-14)

De Orto's *Lucis creator optime* (fols. 10v-12) presents strophes two and four, alongside another setting of the same verses (fols. 12v-14). Practically, this layout would

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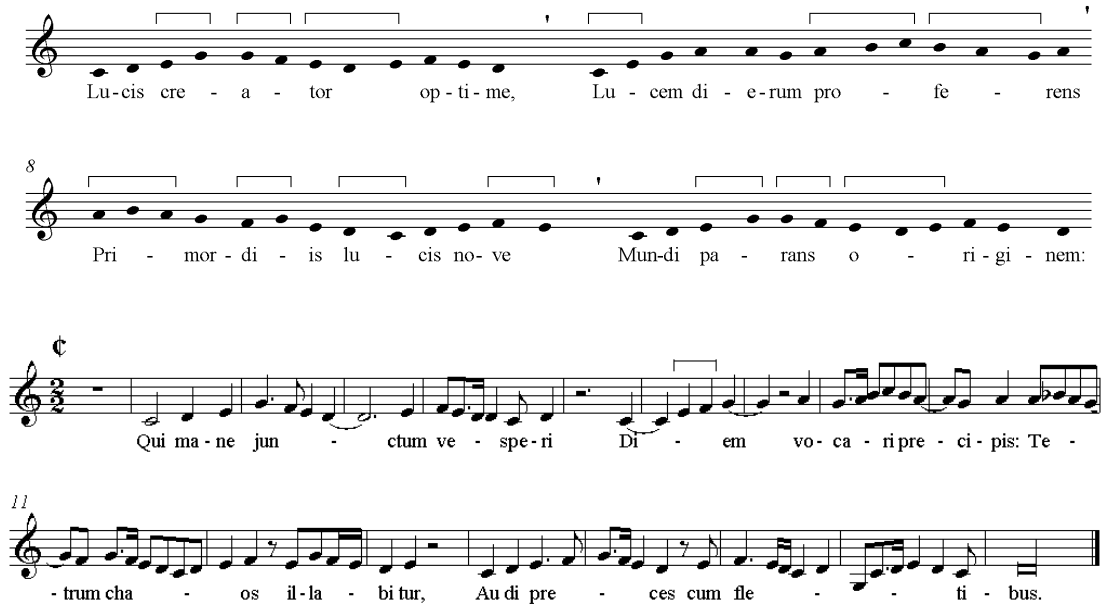
[417] Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century until the Early Sixteenth Century*, 77.
[418] Ward, 'The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth Century Italy', 171.
[419] Martin Picker, 'The Career of Marbriano de Orto', 538.

suggest that De Orto's setting of strophes two and four were intended to be performed together rather than possibly being broken up and mixed with the alternative setting. Strophe two (*Qui mane junctum vesperi*) is a four-voice setting with the bassus created out of a canon from the superius voice, sung an eleventh below and displaced by two breves [Ex. 9, bar 3 onwards]. The chant is outlined in the superius voice (and by consequence the bassus), although it is approached in less strict terms than Du Fay's use of the chant.

Example 9: Chant and De Orto setting of *Lucis creator optime* Vs.2, *Qui mane junctum vesperi*, fols. 10v-11 (taken from Davison edition)

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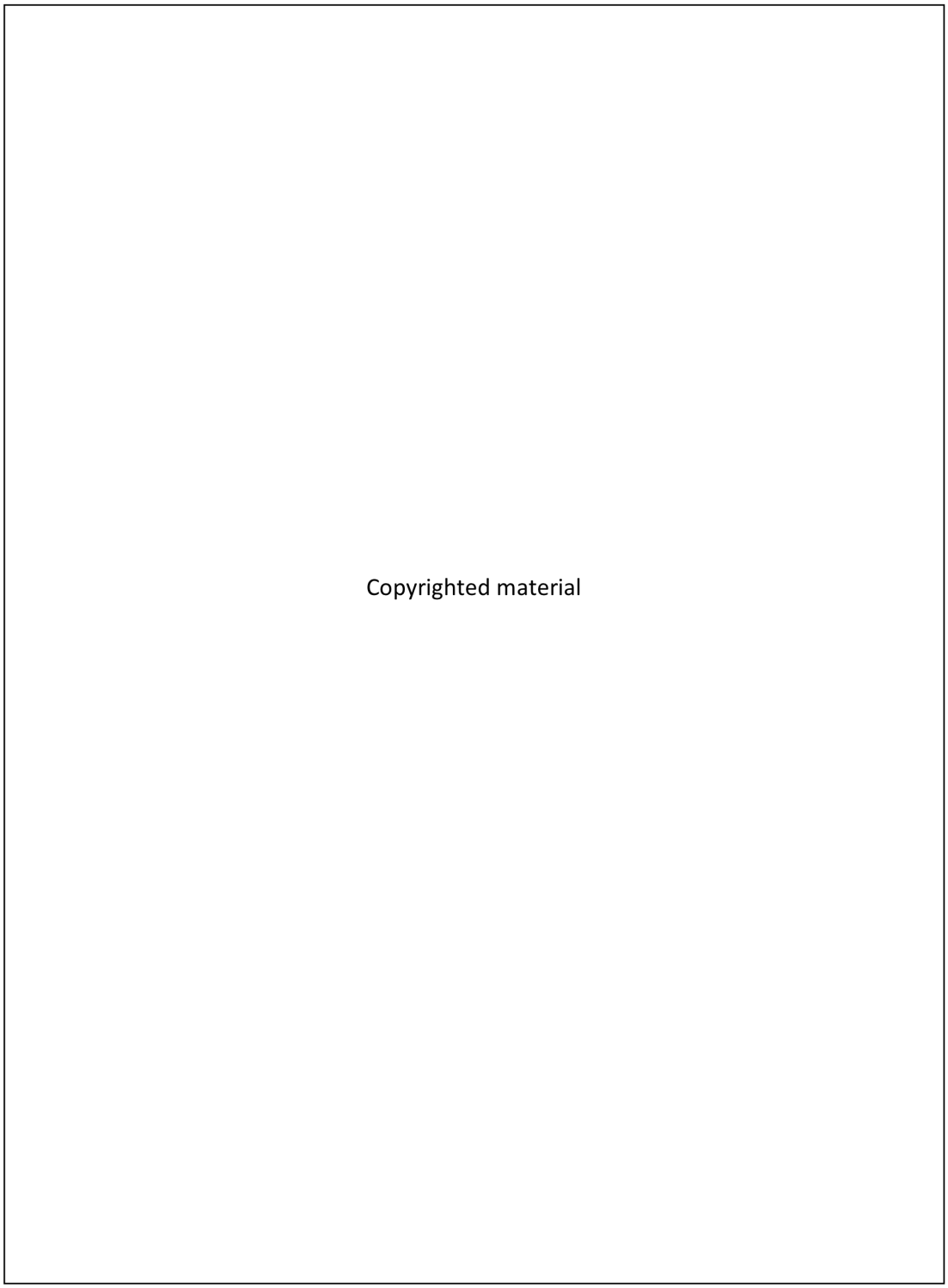

Once again, the use of compound time figurations in the approach to the cadence in bar five and seventeen is an element that characterises the chant setting; a subconscious nod, perhaps, to the style of Du Fay's hymns. The entry of the voices uses the first five notes of the chant in melodic imitation [Ex. 9, bars 1-4], although the use of different rhythmic settings somewhat distorts this compositional device. This technique is a

consistent element of De Orto's compositional technique, also found in his larger works.[420] The contratenor and tenor have frequent points of rhythmic imitation [Ex. 9, bars 3, 5-7 and 13], although these are too short to be considered anything but passing moments of similarity. Both voices move in fast and sporadic motion against the much slower superius and bassus voices. The most rhythmically busy of these voices is the contratenor, although it covers the smallest vocal range of all four voices.[421]

This range of voices is reduced in the fourth strophe of the hymn, *Celorum pulset intimum*, giving the contratenor the largest vocal range.[422] Once again this is a four-voice setting, although this time, the tenor voice is created through a canon with the superius an octave lower and displaced by two breves [Ex. 10, bars 2-3]. The chant again becomes an opening point of imitation between all voices as they enter in staggered formation. The contratenor vocal line moves in a busier rhythm than the other voices, although there appears to be very little, if any correlation with other parts this time by means of rhythmic synchronicity or melodic / rhythmic imitation, the bassus voice having much more in common with the superius for the two phrases. The third and fourth phrases do, however, become more angular in movement, that is, they have intervals of a fifth or more quickly succeeding each other and are rhythmically dense.

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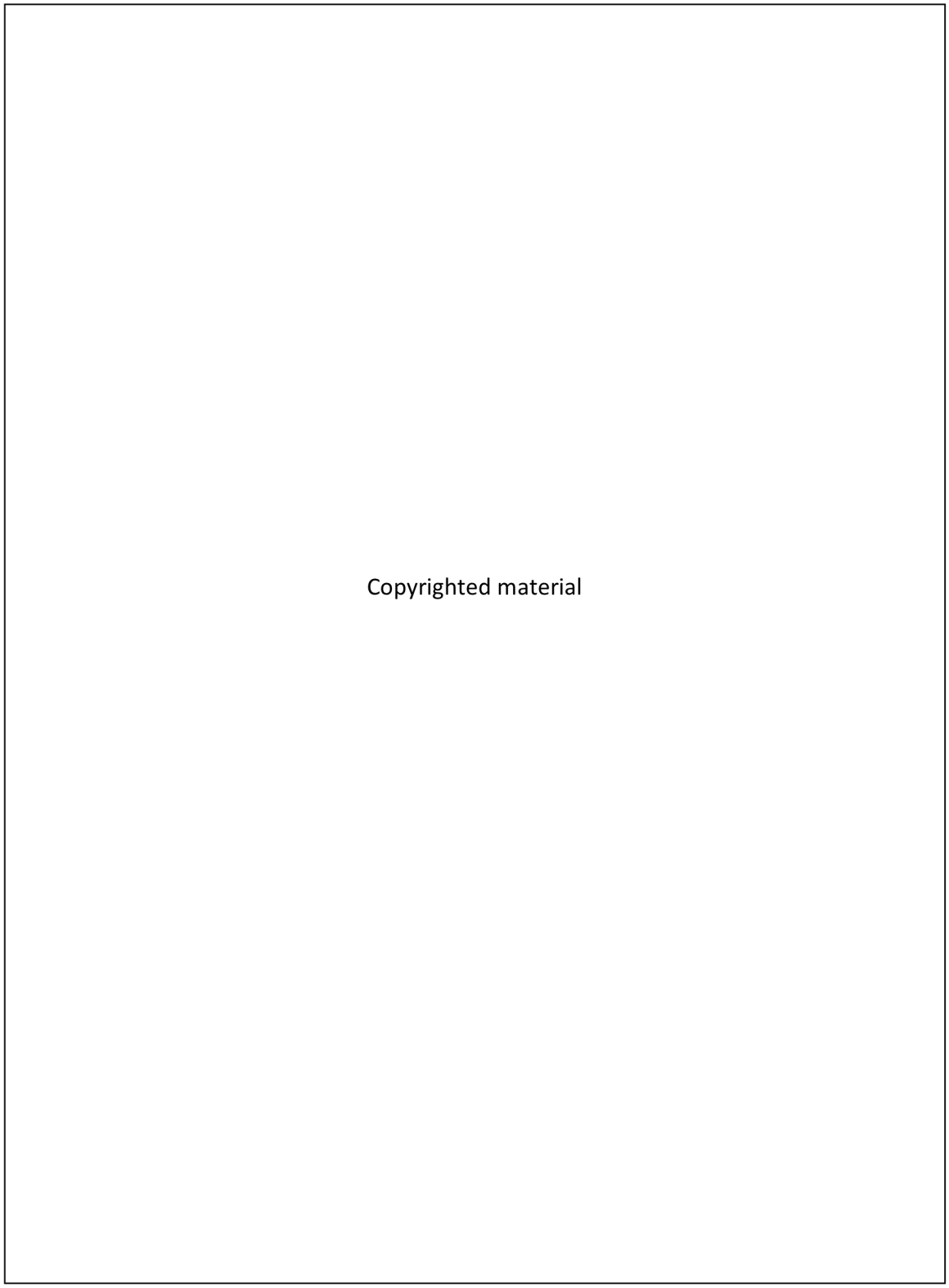
[420] Nigel Davison, 'Marbriano de Orto (c. 1455-1529): personal thoughts and some surprises', *Early Music*, Vol. XXXVI (2008), 437.

[421] The superius covers an eleventh, the contratenor a tenth, the tenor a twelfth and the bassus a tenth.

[422] The superius covers a tenth, the contratenor an eleventh, the tenor a tenth and the bassus a ninth.

Example 10: De Orto, *Lucis creator* Vs. 4, *Celorum pulset intimum*, fols. 11v-12 (taken from Davison edition)



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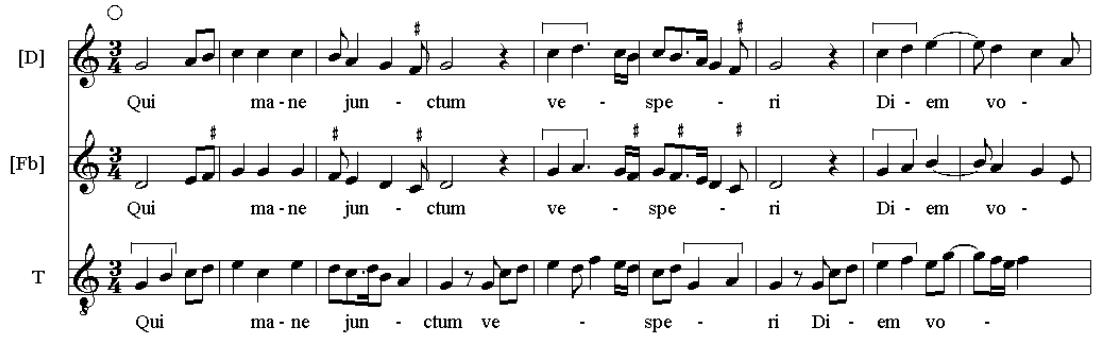
The alternate setting, not ascribed to De Orto, uses a different chant, which means that the two are not interchangeable. The anonymous setting does, however, offer its own options for performance of the second strophe. Here, it is possible either to use a four-voice or three-voice setting that is created from the superius, a fauxbourdon derived from it and the tenor. This particular system harks back to the earlier modifications of Du Fay's hymn settings, the superius and tenor voices being quite like Du Fay's own hymn style.

Example 11: Anon., *Lucis creator* Vs.2, *Qui mane junctum vesperi*, fols. 12v-13, bb. 1-9
Fauxbourdon setting



At first glance it might seem that this retains many of Du Fay's hallmark styles of hymn composition, although the similar motion of the voices [Ex. 11, bars 1-5], as well as the almost clumsy parallel motion of the tenor, would suggest otherwise. Ink smudging and corrosion do not allow a full transcription of the four-voice setting of the strophe, although the technique of adding the extra voices is not at all dissimilar to that found in

other treatment of strophes throughout the cycle, such as that discussed in relation to *Vexilla regis* earlier.

The anonymous setting of *Celorum pulset intimum* presents another interesting fragment for study, as the four-voiced arrangement provides an example of a contratenor part as rhythmically busy as that in De Orto's compositions. The part writing has, however, more breaks in between sections than those of De Orto, with a clear pairing between the tenor and bassus voices.

Ut queant laxis (fols. 37v-39)

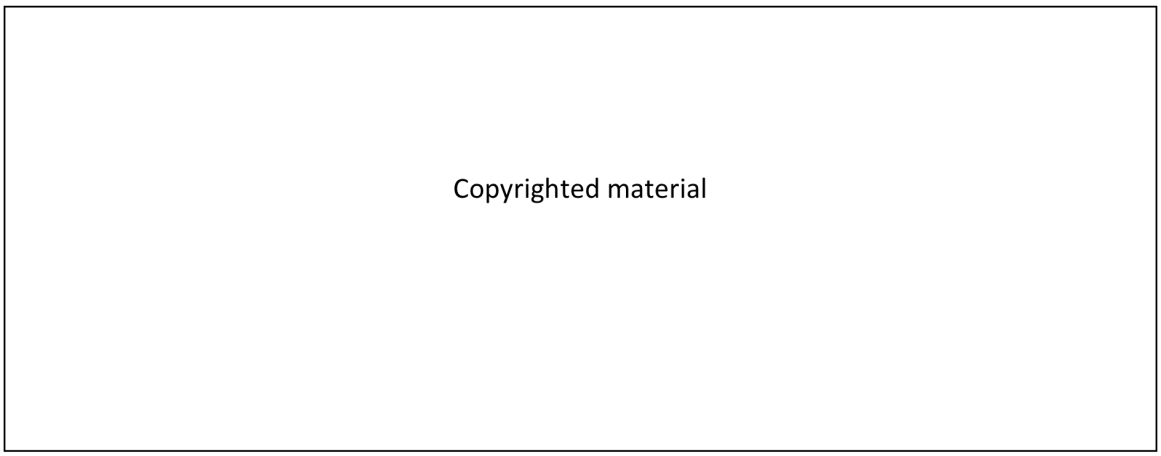
De Orto's other attributed contribution to the hymn cycle is the fourth verse of *Ut queant laxis*. This time, the second verse is Du Fay's composition, suggesting that there is a conscious decision within the compilation of the hymn cycle that the Du Fay setting would be used for at least one strophe of each hymn for which he composed music. De Orto, however, discards Du Fay's setting to create a strophe of complete contrast.

Du Fay's *Nuntius celso veniens Olympo* is typical of his hymns. It is a three-voice composition that sets the seven rather short phrases of chant with his usual musical formula for hymns. The short chant strophes, coupled with Du Fay's setting of the chant without much elaboration, leaves the polyphonic arrangement lacking the fluidity of other hymns which only have three or four phrases to set.

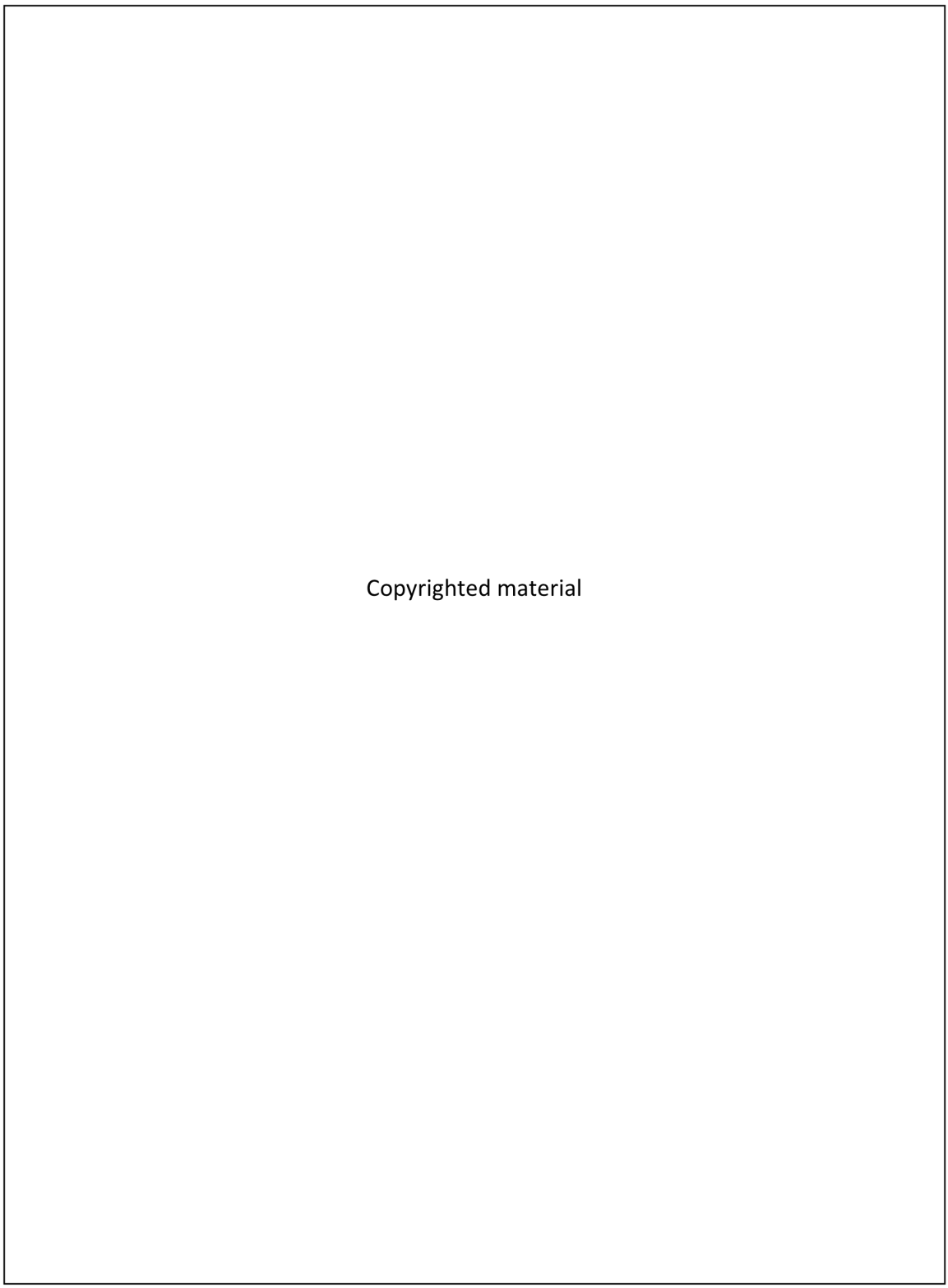
The fourth strophe, *Ventris obstruso positus cubili*, uses the short phrases of the chant to advantage. Here, the chant is presented in the superius, but this is preceded by imitation in the bassus, which partially outlines the chant at an eleventh below at irregular periods of time before the superius enters [Ex. 12, Bars 1-3 and 5-8]. These two slower moving voices are accompanied by the pairing of the contratenor and tenor voices which, once again, contrast the top and bottom voices with faster rhythmic pulse, moving

in a general contrary motion to each other. The final phrase of the superius voice becomes much more like the contratenor and tenor voice, as it enters before the bassus. Without this sudden change in style, the voice would be kept within the range of a sixth, like the bassus, rather than the ninth that it actually covers. The vocal range in this particular setting is much smaller than other compositions of Josquin's generation.[423] This is, however, much more to do with the range of the chant that is used, as it only spans a sixth, where many others span approximately an octave. Aside from following the outline of the chant in the superius, De Orto's composition is totally different from Du Fay's use of it. De Orto uses cut-C mensuration in contrast to Du Fay's circle time and uses the chant to construct a composition which is nearly a third longer.[424]

Example 12: De Orto, *Ut queant laxis* Vs. 4, *Ventris obstruso positus cubili*, fols. 38v-39 (taken from Davison edition)



[423] Howard M. Brown & Rebecca Stewart, 'Workshop IV. Voice Types in Josquin's Music', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol. XXXV (1985) *Proceedings of the Josquin Symposium. Cologne, 11-15 July 1984*, 113.
[424] Based on the total length of each composition in semibreves.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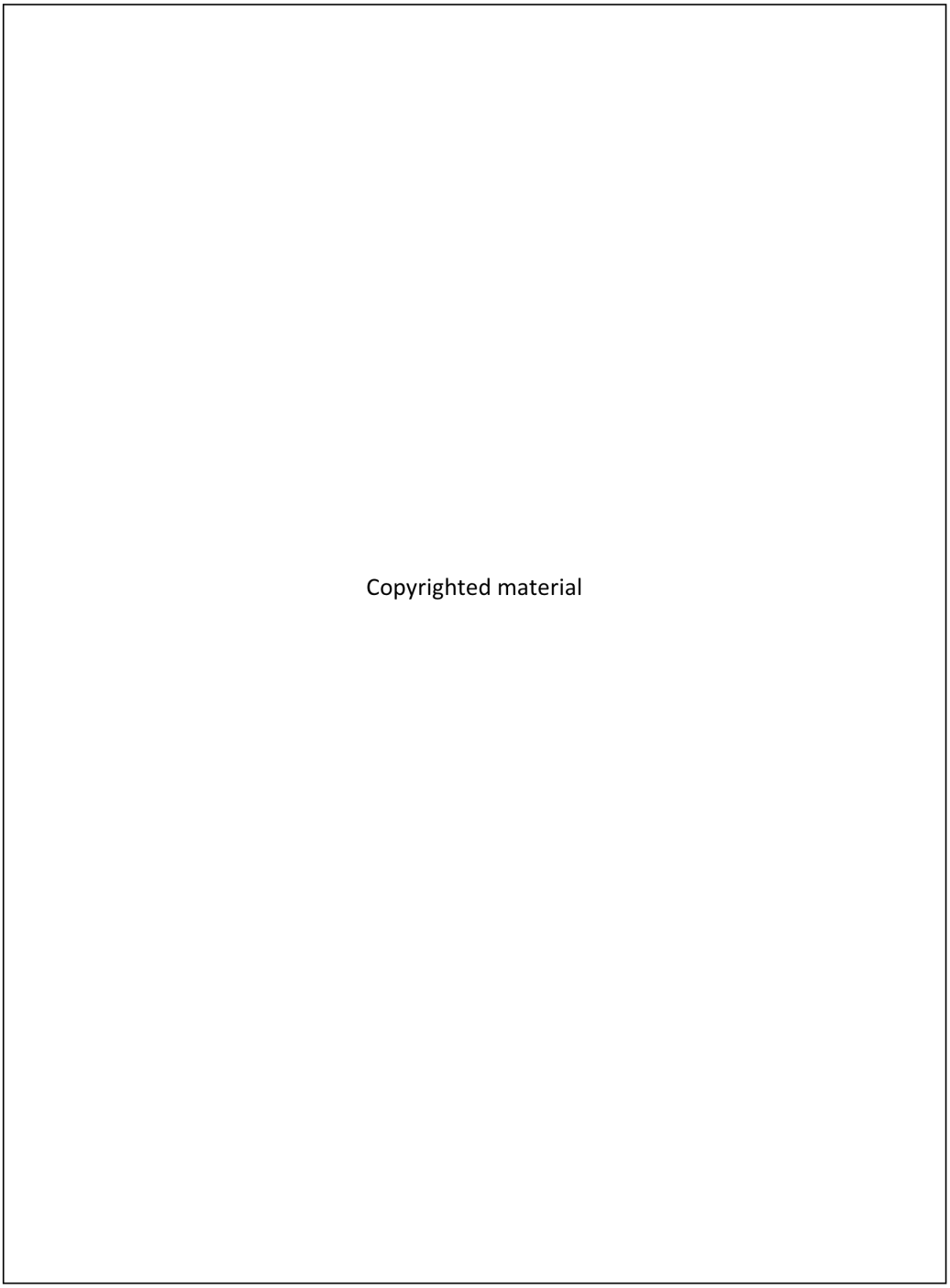
Ave, maris stella (fols. 41v-46)

Like *Ut queant laxis*, *Ave, maris stella* is a composite collection by at least two composers, Du Fay and Josquin, consisting of four polyphonic strophe settings. From the sanctoral cycle, this is the largest setting of different strophe texts within the group.

The second strophe, *Sumens illud ave* (fols. 42v-43) is Du Fay's three-voice setting. As usual, it is in circle time, placing the chant in the superius with only minor elaboration which is particularly centred around cadential points. Other sources of the setting are presented with the option of using a fauxbourdon, and it is surprising that it is not presented in this particular instance, owing to the many times that Du Fay's work is modified to be used in two different ways in CS 15.[425]

[425] Appearances in BolQ15 present the two versions of the hymn; BolBU 2216 and MunBS Lat. 14274 present only the fauxbourdon setting; TrentC 92 presents a completely different tenor and contratenor part to any other source. Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, 87.

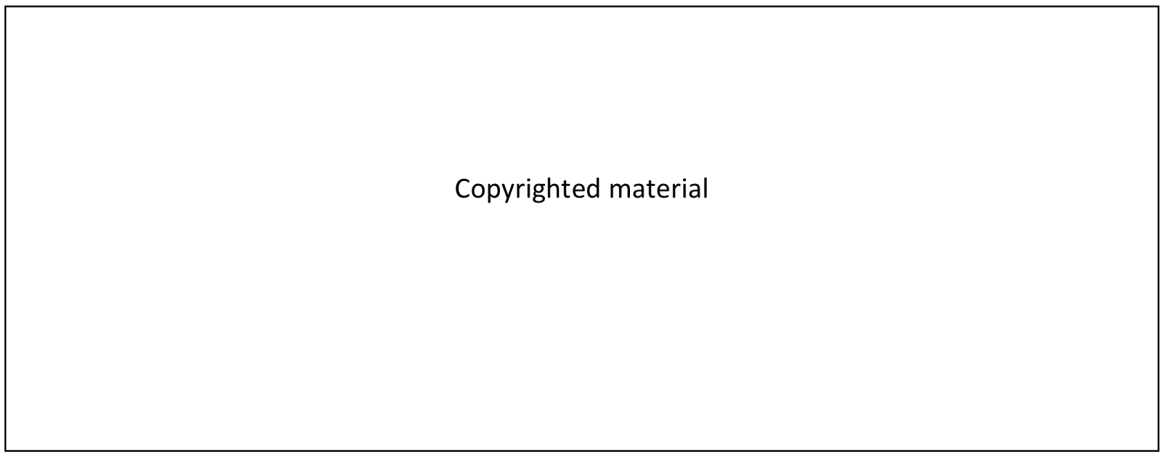
Example 13: Du Fay, *Ave, Maris Stella*, Vs. 2 *Sumens illud ave*, fols. 42v-43 (taken from Besseler edition)



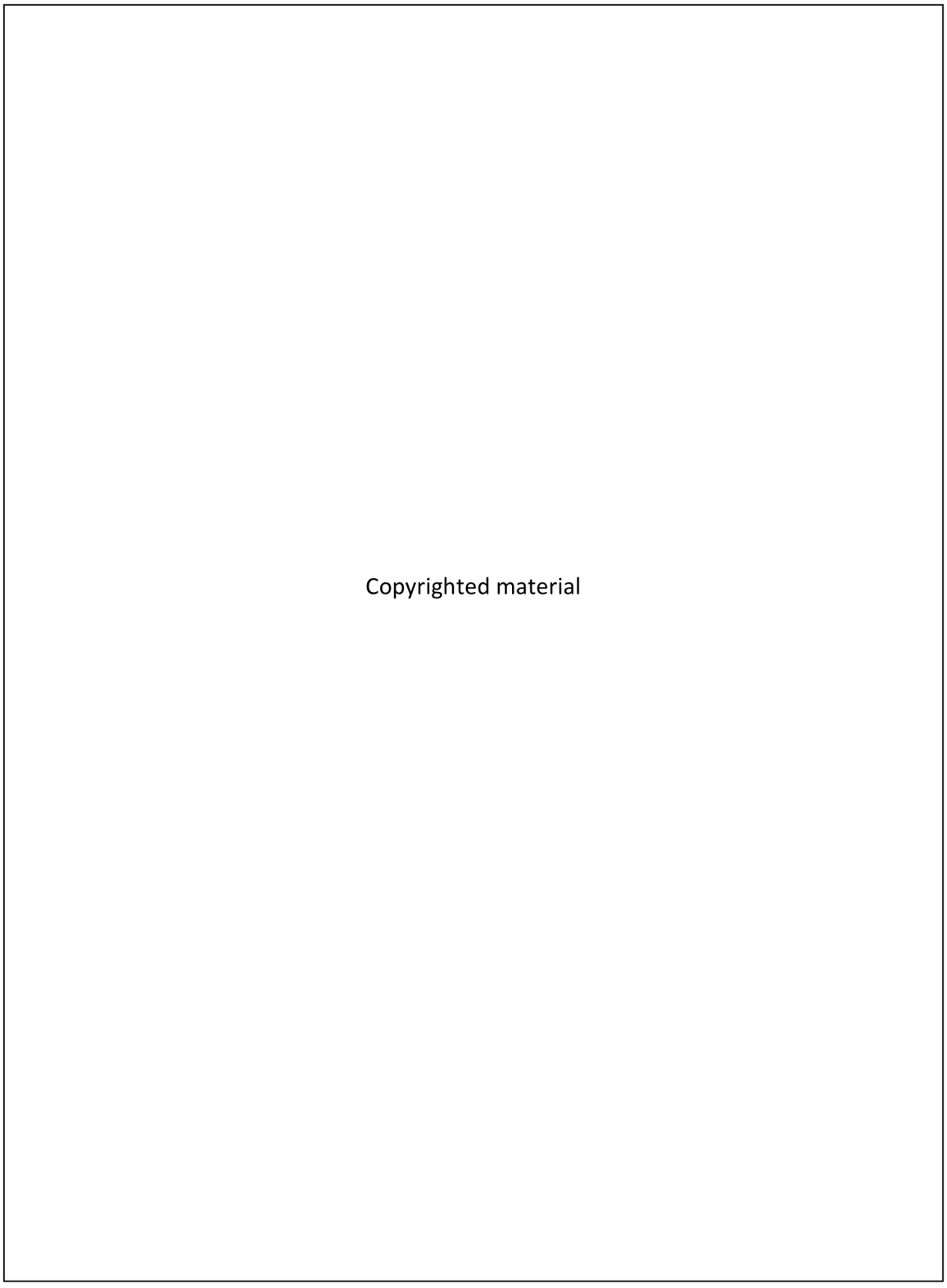
Strophe four, *Monstra te esse matrem* (fols. 43v-44) is attributed to Josquin on the top centre of folio 43v. The four-voice composition uses a different chant to the one presented in the chanted *alternatim* verses. Richard Sherr points out that when the first phrase of the chant is copied each time in the manuscript, Du Fay's falls on a G, while the

fourth and sixth strophes composed by Josquin cadence on an A.[426] Sherr argues that this is an example of a place in which a composer did not carefully observe the melodies used by the institutions in which they worked.[427] However, the change seems to be much more than a slip in the composer's mind. In Josquin's *Missa Ave, maris stella*, probably composed around 1502 or 1503,[428] he cadences each time on the fifth of the scale of the first phrase, except for the final movement, the *Agnus Dei*, where he cadences on the fourth of the scale at the end of the first phrase. The use of the chant by Josquin is to construct lines of strict imitation between the voices at the octave and the fifth. The chant is characterised by the leap of a fifth at the start of the first phrase, instantly lending itself to easy manipulation for imitation or canonic treatment at the octave or the fifth. The lead is taken by the tenor voice, and the superius derived from it. The tenor is accompanied by a faster moving contratenor voice, not as erratic in movement as that constructed by De Orto in his hymns, but nevertheless busy in comparison to other voices.

Example 14: Josquin, *Ave, Maris* Stella, Vs. 4 *Monstra te esse matrem*, fols. 43v-44 (taken from Fallows *Josquin*)



[426] Richard Sherr, 'Two Hymns and Three Magnificats', *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, 1999, 322-23.
[427] Ibid., 323.
[428] Fallows, *Josquin*, 119.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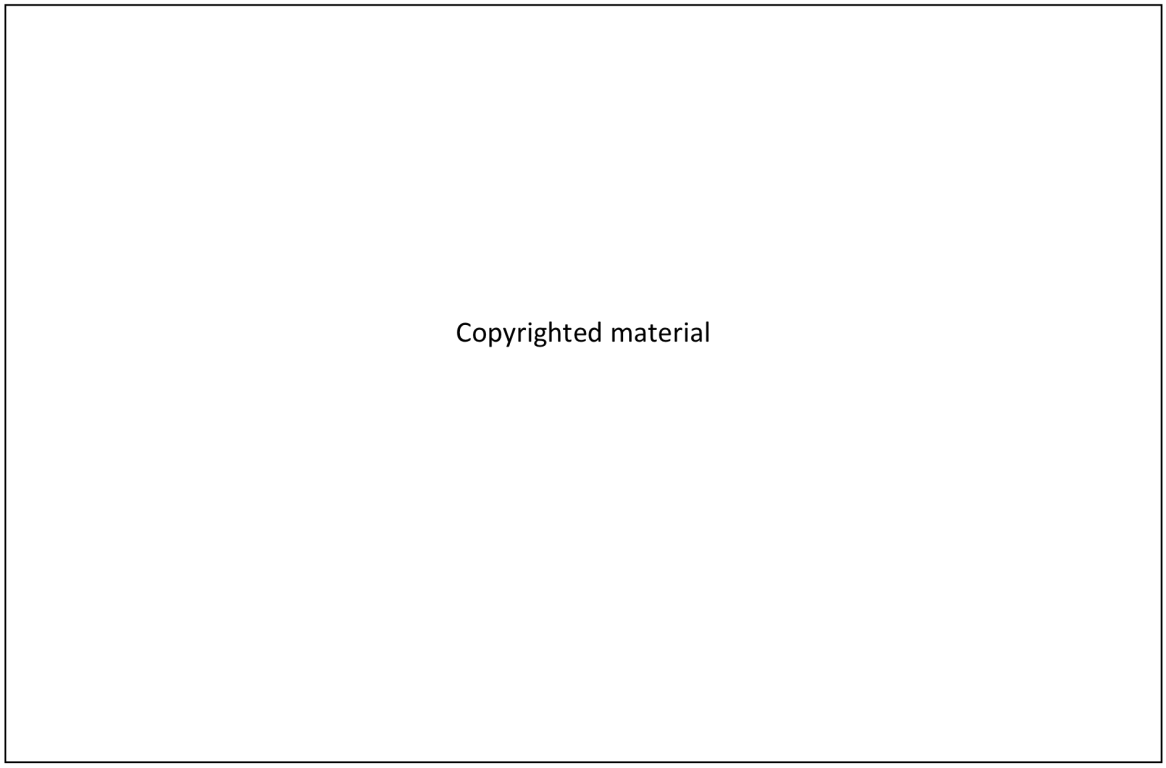
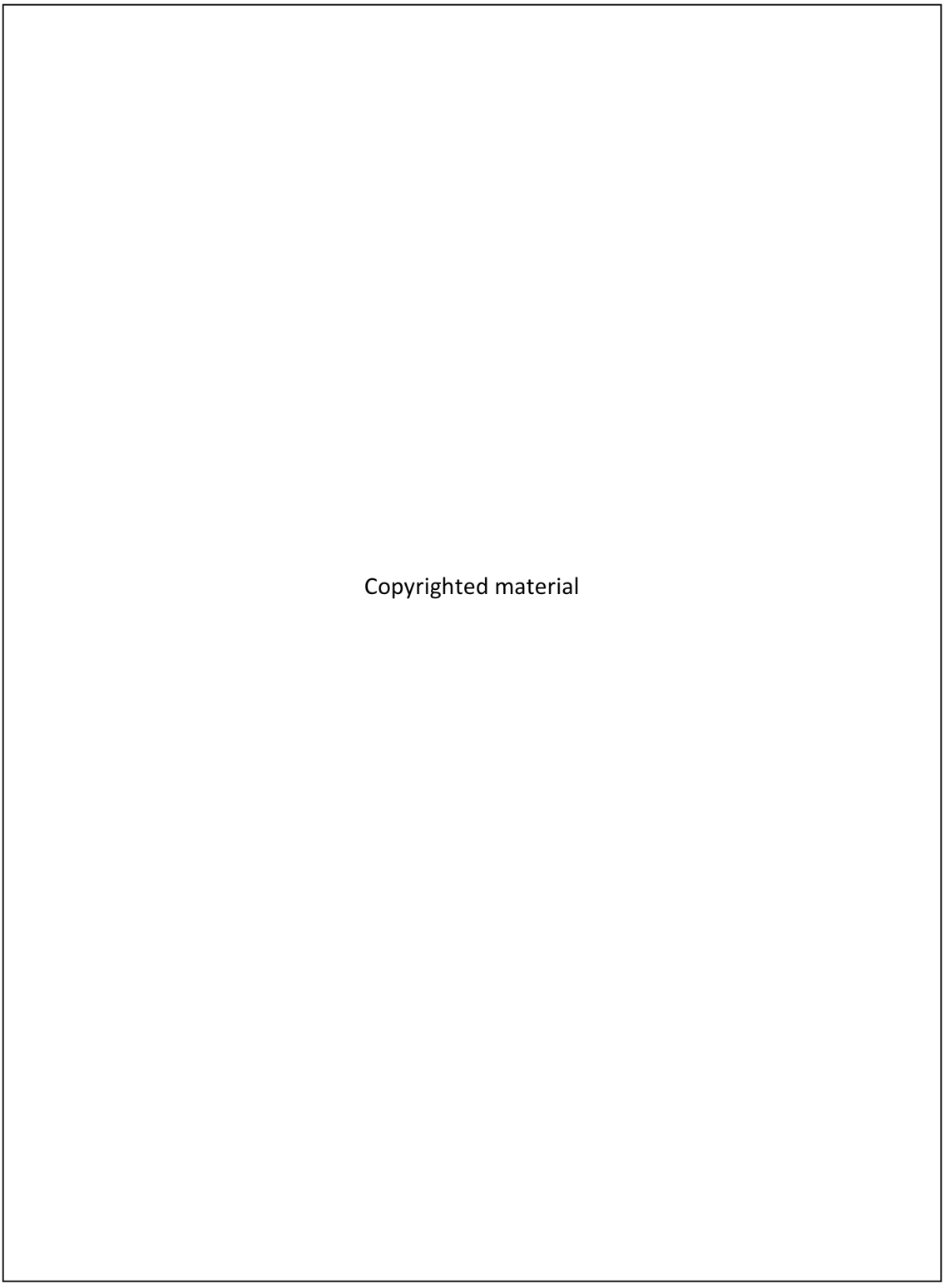


The sixth strophe, *Vitam praesta puram* (fols. 44v-45) is set for four voices, but in a different style to Josquin's offering. While the chant is placed in the superius and is slightly elaborated on, the end of the first phrase once again falls to an A, like Josquin, rather than the G in the chant and as used by Du Fay. The contratenor, tenor and bassus contribute to a dense texture underneath the superius, which is given an independent role against the other voices. At no point is there any attempt to use imitation or any coupling of vocal parts and this setting appears to have more in common with a hybrid Du Fay and De Orto style of hymn setting than with Josquin's setting. The parallel fifths created between the superius and countertenor in bar one are a rarity within this repertory. It is unlikely that such details would be found in a composition by Josquin, and is not the only detail to suggest that it is by a composer of less experience than Josquin.[429]

[429] I am grateful to David Fallows for highlighting this to me while analysing these pieces.

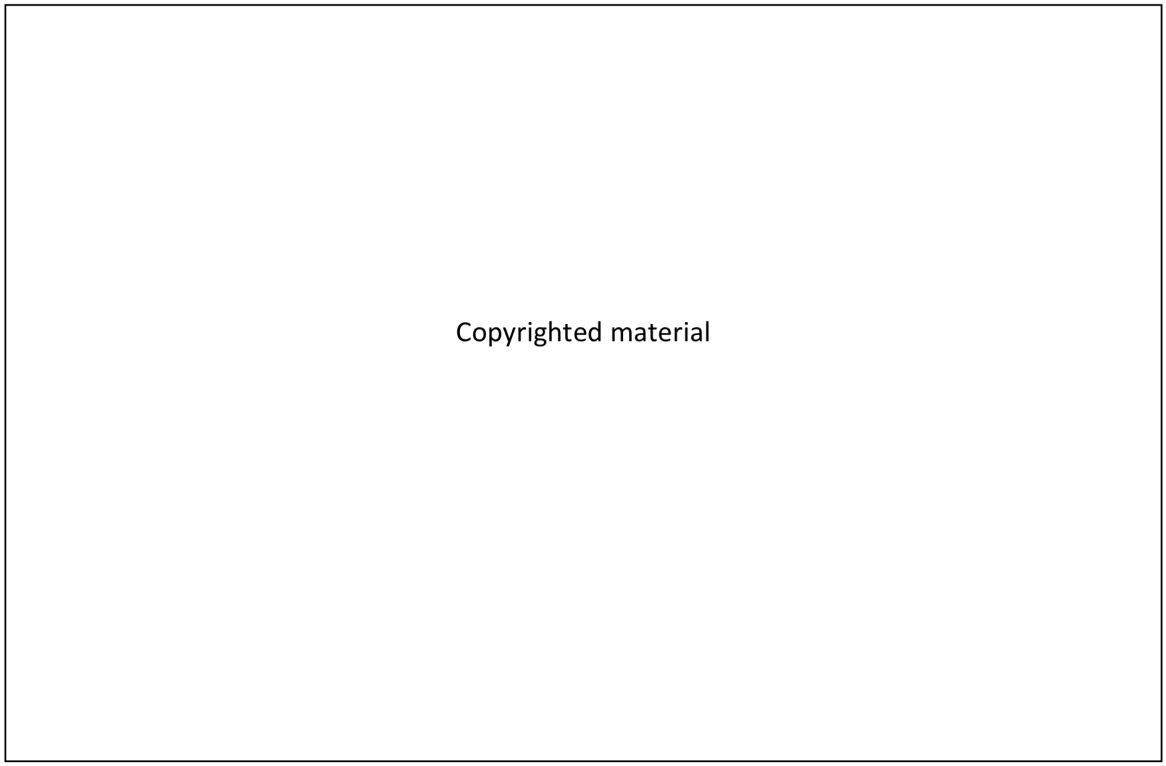
Example 15: *Ave, Maris Stella*, Vs. 6, *Vitam presta puram*, fols. 44v-45
(taken from Antonowycz / Elders edition)



The final strophe set polyphonically is verse seven, *Sit laus deo patri* (fols. 45v-46). Once again, it uses the 'Josquin A' on the close of the first phrase in the superius where the chant is set. Like Josquin's setting, it uses imitation between the voices, most

prominently between the superius and the bassus at an interval of an eleventh in the opening bars, continuing in bars 8-9 and 14-15 [Ex. 16]. The textural clarity of the music displays a restrained attitude towards the use of complex rhythm structures against each other, echoing Josquin's composition in its use of dovetailing sections.[430]

Example 16: *Ave, Maris Stella*, Vs. 7 *Sit laus deo patri* fols. 45v-46 (taken from Antonowycz / Elders edition)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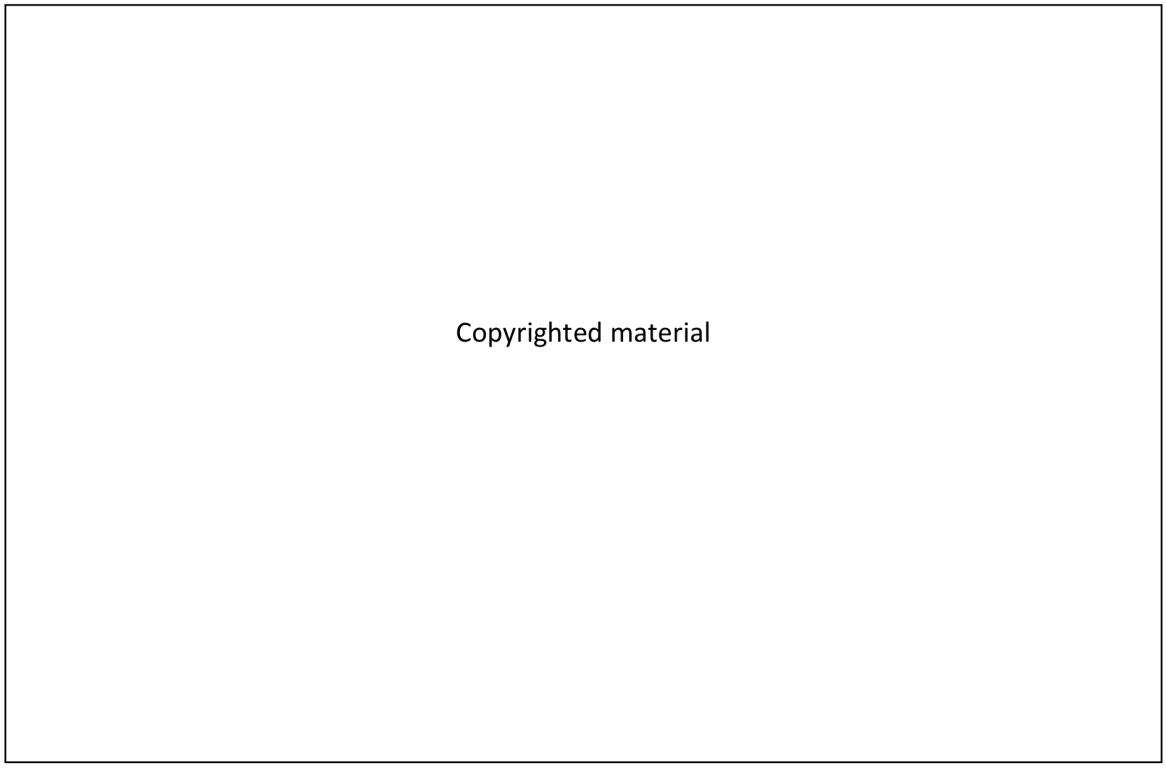
[430] By which I refer to the consecutive rest and entry of voices whilst overlapped by several other voices that are either beginning or ending phrases.



Nardi Maria pistici (fols. 46v-47)

Josquin's second contribution to the hymn cycle is a polyphonic setting of the second strophe of *Nardi Maria pistici*, which is *Honor, decus, imperium*. There are no other strophes that accompany Josquin's composition. The hymn is not included in the Du Fay cycle or any other, and is the only one of its kind from the fifteenth century, leading Tom Ward to assert that it was composed 'to order'.[431] The hymn text celebrates the feast of Mary Magdalene, a feast that would usually use the text for the Common of the Saints. In Rome, or more specifically, the papal chapel, the celebration used a unique text and chant. The only other appearance of this text and chant was noted by Haberl in CS 6, a temporal antiphonal prepared for the use of Cardinal Pietro Barbo and donated to the

[431] Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn 1400-1520*, 197.

papal chapel upon his election as pope Paul II in 1464.[432] The text has two strophes, both of which are found in fols. 46v-47 of CS 15.

The second strophe sets the chant in the superius voice, using the opening interval of a third (F-A) to be used in all four voices as a point of imitation. There are further points of melodic imitation between the tenor and superius [Ex. 17, Bars 9-12 and 16-17], however there is no strict use of melodic and rhythmic imitation as found in Josquin's other hymn settings. The chant is elaborated on in only a small way, staying completely in the chant's range of a seventh, much like Du Fay's treatment of chant. Josquin also includes Du Fay's use of 6/8 against 3/4 at the cadential points. This is further emphasised by the 'Josquin triplets' which appear here and also in *Monstra te esse matrem*, which have simple time, simple time with triplets and compound time against each other [Ex. 17, Bars 17-18].[433] The Du Fay similarities do not stop at the use of chant and cadential rhythmic approaches; Osthoff and Sherr have noted the archaic use of octave leaps in the bassus voice in the cadences, parodying Du Fay's compositional techniques further.[434] Indeed, without the points of imitation and the use of the contratenor voice, arguments could be made for the composition to be by Du Fay on grounds of the vocal writing and range, rhythmic patterns and the stylised setting of the chant.

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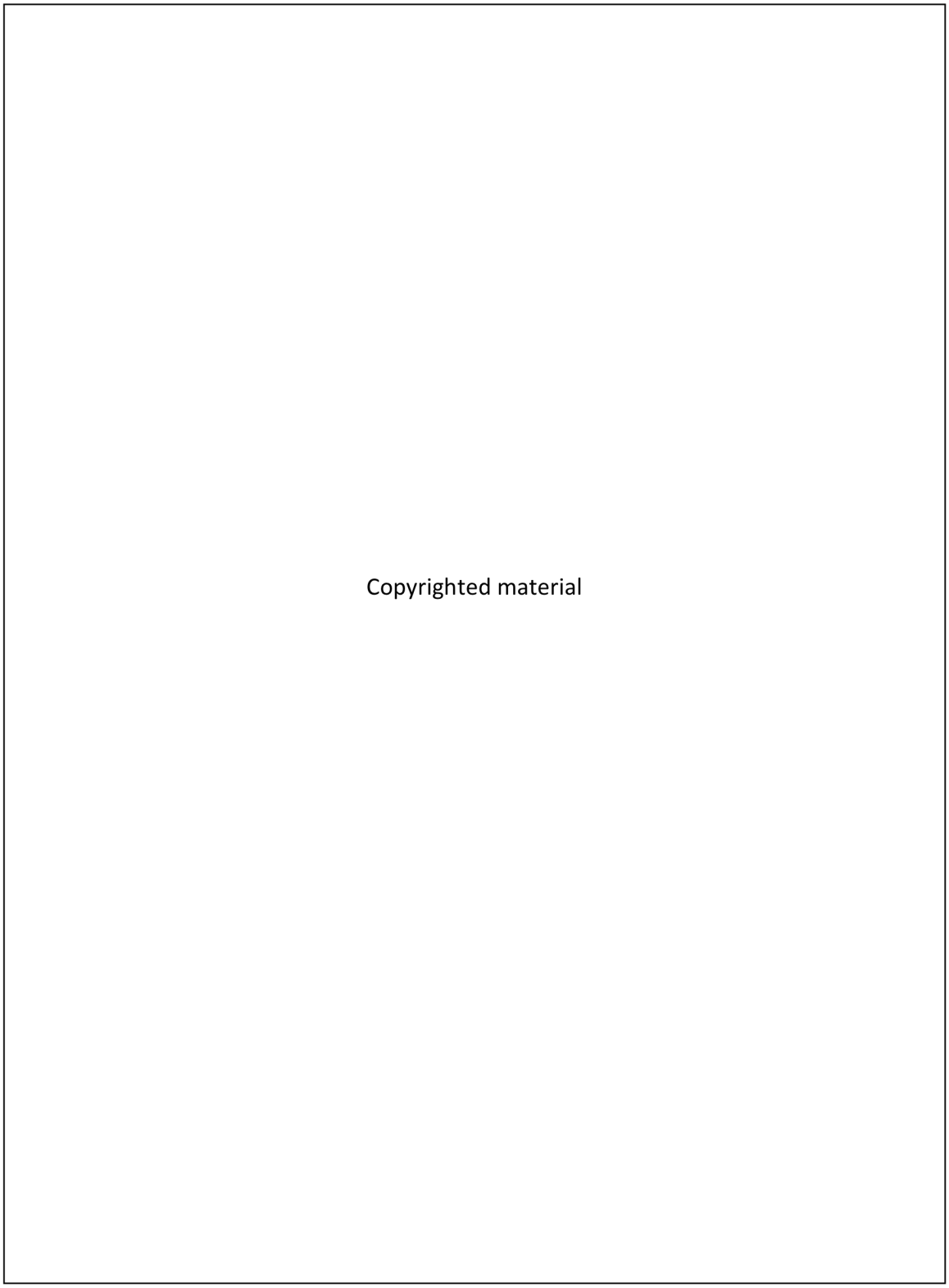
[432] First noted by Haberl in 1888, the manuscript was included for documentation by Llorens. They both suggest that the manuscript was created in the mid fifteenth-century. The title page names Cardinal Pietro Barbo as the owner, showing that it was created before his election to the papacy. It contains hymns, psalms and antiphons for Vespers and Lauds and is one of only three books in the Cappella Sistina Archives to contain chant from the fifteenth century; the two others, also donated by Barbo, are CS 5 and CS 12. As CS 6 is the only other appearance of the chant, it would suggest that the manuscript CS 6 was prepared in Rome for particular use in the celebration of the Offices by Barbo with the papal chapel. F.X. Haberl, 'Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom', 4 & 66; Josephus Llorens, *Cappellae Sixtinae codices*, 6-7.

[433] The term 'Josquin triplets' was coined by Robert Stevenson in *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Berkeley, 1961, 50. This was again used by Fallows in *Josquin*, 148.

[434] Osthoff, *Josquin des Prez*, Vol. II, 68-69; Sherr, 'Two Hymns and Three Magnificats', 325.

Example 17: Josquin, *Nardi Maria Pistici*, Vs. 2 *Honor, decus, imperium*, fols. 46v-47 (taken from Antonowycz / Elders edition)



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Notes on the contributions of Josquin and de Orto

As Josquin and de Orto are the only two acknowledged contributors to the hymn cycle, I feel it only right to look at some common points between their settings in order to establish an understanding of the compositional styles that were in effect at the time, if only to draw some points of comparison with many of the anonymous hymn settings that will be explored next.

The most prominent compositional device that appears in common between Josquin and de Orto is the use of imitation, leading in some instances to full canonical treatment. The points of imitation are used primarily at the start of new phrases and are mainly melodic in nature. De Orto uses imitation less strictly than Josquin, as can be seen in a comparison between *Ventris obstruso positus cubili* [Ex. 12] and *Honor, decus, imperium* [Ex.17], where neither is able to implement a canon, but relies on use of imitative points where possible. This is probably an important reason why so few composers set hymns: the chant did not always lend itself to elaborate imitative passages. Each strophe was only part of a larger structure, therefore each setting needed to be short. Wherever possible, the use of the chant as a point of imitation is included, making the polyphonic setting a self-generating composition from its monophonic foundation as a chant.

With the use of imitation and canon also came the pairing of voices. Here, two or more of the voices may be paired up for moments of rhythmic synchronicity, an example being the relationship between the tenor and contratenor in De Orto's *Ventris obstruso recubans* [Ex. 12] and the superius and bassus in *Caelorum pulset intimum* [Ex. 10]. The pairing of voices can be seen much more clearly in the motets of composers in the late fifteenth- century, where the design of the motets can give way to extensive passages of voice pairing, most clearly shown in examples such as Josquin's *Illibata Dei virgo* and *Memor esto verbi tui*.

Wider vocal ranges are used in many instances in comparison to those of Du Fay. This is a common element in all compositional genres, as clearly illustrated by Howard Mayer Brown and Rebecca Stewart in 1985.[435] For the superius voice, which frequently contains the chant setting, the vocal range may only extend to a seventh; but this is only when the chant is strictly adhered to as in *Honor, decus, imperium* [Ex.17]. In other instances, as in *Ventris obstruso positus cubili* [Ex. 12], the superius is suddenly extended with a flurry of movement at the end of a strophe. The voice with a generally wider range than other voices is the contratenor. This erratically moving voice, seen most clearly in De Orto's compositions, adds a textural density to each strophe through fast moving rhythms that play against other voices [See Exs. 9 & 10]. Furthermore, there are very few instances where the voice has any motivic or rhythmic connection to the three other voices; when they do occur, they are only momentary. I am unaware of other examples where the contratenor voice is used in a manner of prolonged rhythmic animation against other voices in other genres of sacred music.

[435] Howard M. Brown & Rebecca Stewart, 'Workshop IV. Voice types in Josquin's Music', 111-12.

When Josquin and De Orto have composed strophes that join other compositions using the same text, there appears to be a direct attempt to provide a contrast to the other settings. To begin with, in *Ut queant laxis*, the mensuration used by Du Fay and De Orto is different. Furthermore, De Orto produces a composition that is longer than Du Fay's and treats the chant in a very different manner. Josquin's contribution to *Ave, Maris stella* is again markedly different in its comparison with Du Fay's setting. It appears that there might have been a conscious decision for the compositions to contrast with Du Fay's settings and to stand out as such. Whereas there are several attempts within the hymn cycle of CS 15 to adapt and continue to include parts of Du Fay's setting, additions by Josquin and De Orto disregard this setting and produce strophes that are in contrast to the older settings that were used for the two hymns in question. In the case of *Nardi Maria pistici* and *Lucis creator optime* though, it is interesting to see devices of Du Fay's compositional style still present. Could this be because these chants had not been set by Du Fay and thus the composers had no compositions to 'compete' with in these cases?

The genre of the hymn was difficult to approach in comparison to other sacred music genres. There were fixed expectations that compositions had to include: a pre-written chant placed prominently in the superius which was unequal in length for each line of text and an acknowledgement that each strophe needed to be short, as there were several other strophes to get through within one hymn. This left very little time or scope for indulgent moments of contrapuntal exhibition. The final coffin-nail which might discourage many composers to contribute to the polyphonic settings of hymns was that there was an almost universally accepted cycle of hymns in use throughout Europe, Du Fay's. It is these reasons that lead to the concentrated settings of Josquin's and De Orto's polyphonic strophes that use dense textures and contrast stylistically to the older cycle with hostility.

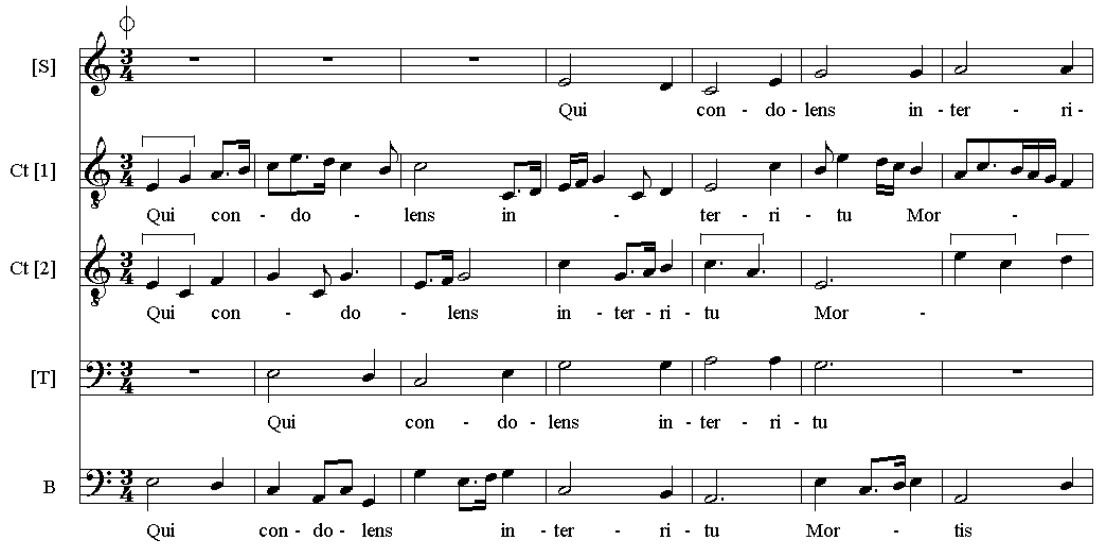
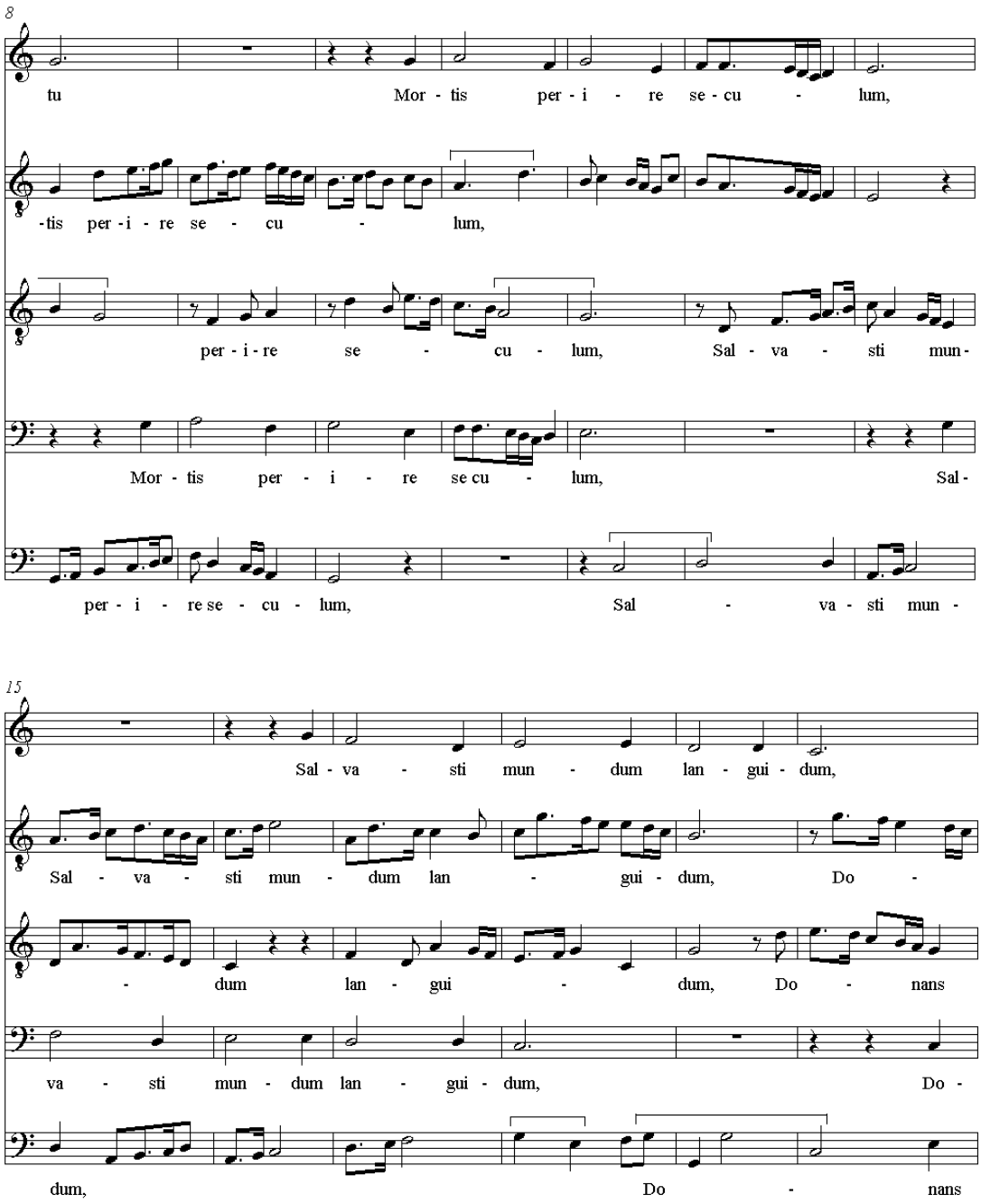
5.5 The Anonymous Hymns of the CS 15 Hymn Cycle

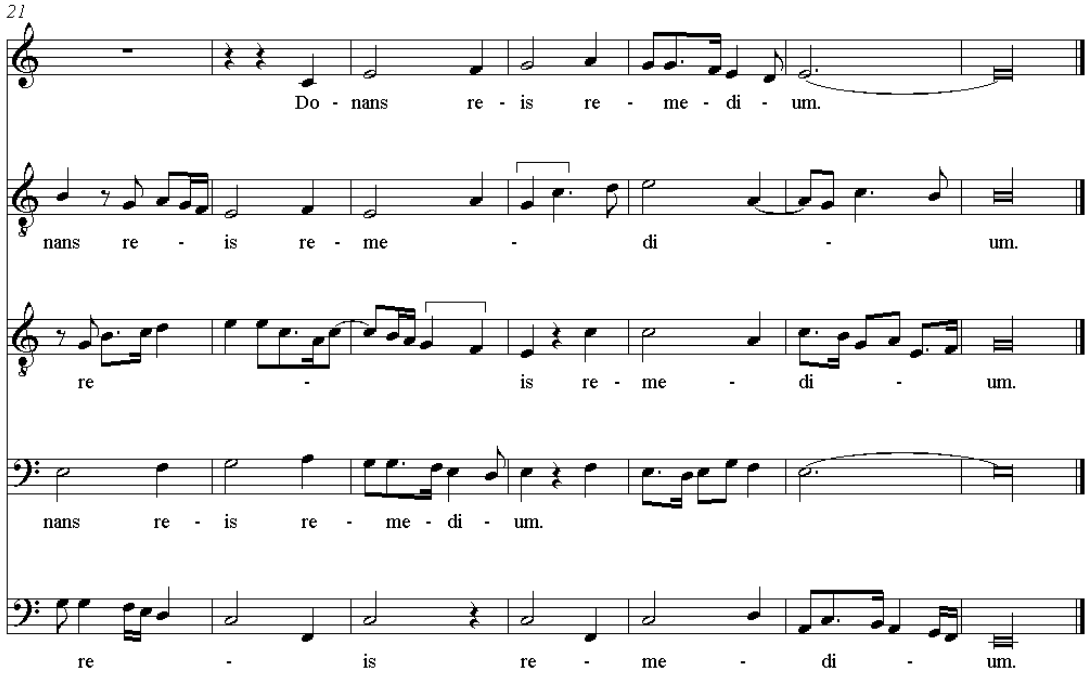
What follows here is an examination of the rest of the hymn cycle contained within CS 15. The cycle contains many compositions previously unpublished, and, like the hymns discussed above, has received very little attention aside from generalisations in passing commentary. The order will follow the cycle structure in the manuscript.

Conditor alme siderum (fols. 2v-5)

Conditor alme siderum opens the manuscript and the hymn cycle, setting four of its six strophes polyphonically. The second strophe, *Qui condolens interitu* [Ex. 18] is a five-voice setting within the hymn cycle. Here, the tenor derives a second voice through canon and, by consequence, the strophe quotes the chant in two voices separated by six crotchet-beats [Ex. 18, Bars 2-4]. The lower-three voices function as an accompaniment to the top duo. While the contratenor moves in a rhythmically-driven, angular manner, the second contratenor and bassus parts would not look out of place in a Du Fay three-voice hymn setting.

Example 18: *Conditor alme siderum*, Vs. 2 *Qui condolens interitu*, fols. 2v-3

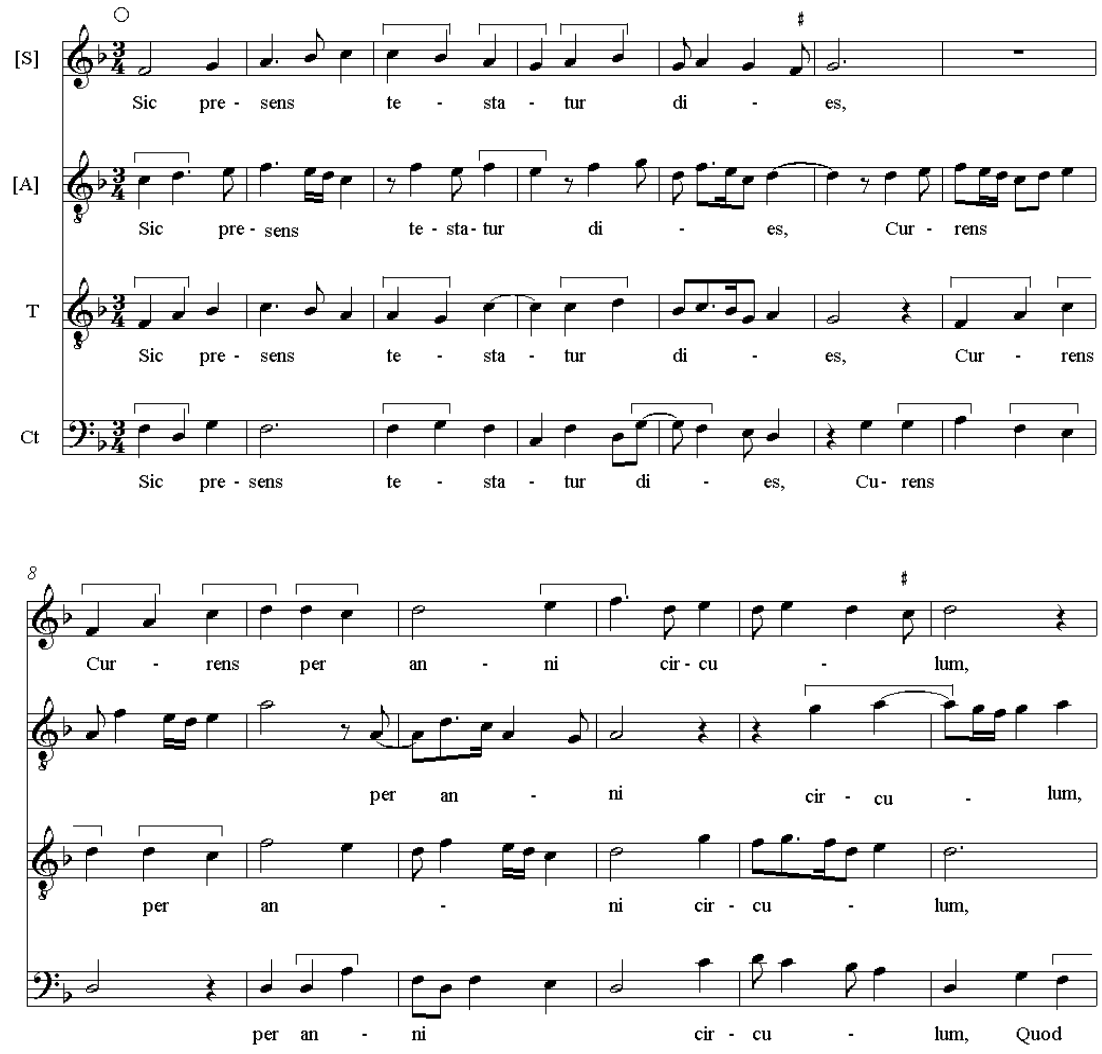
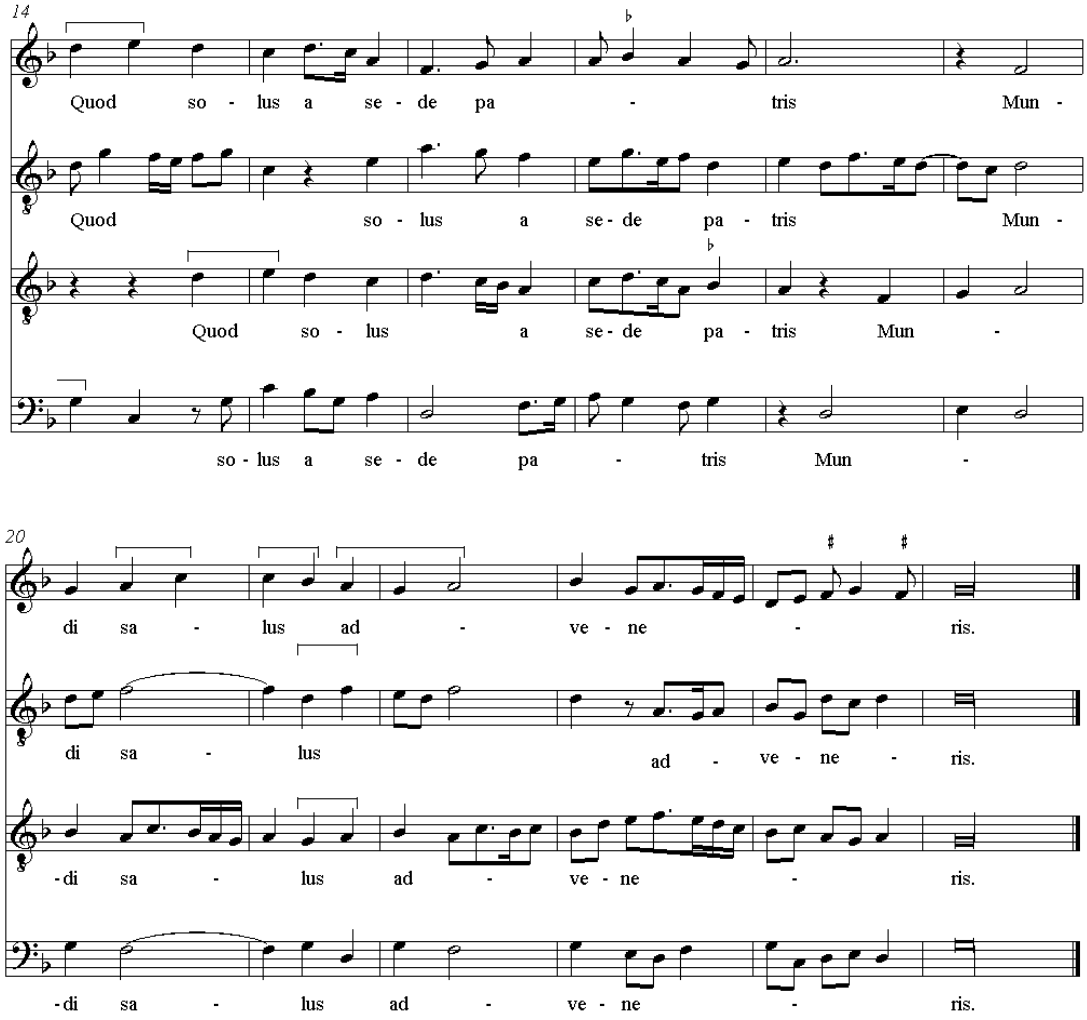


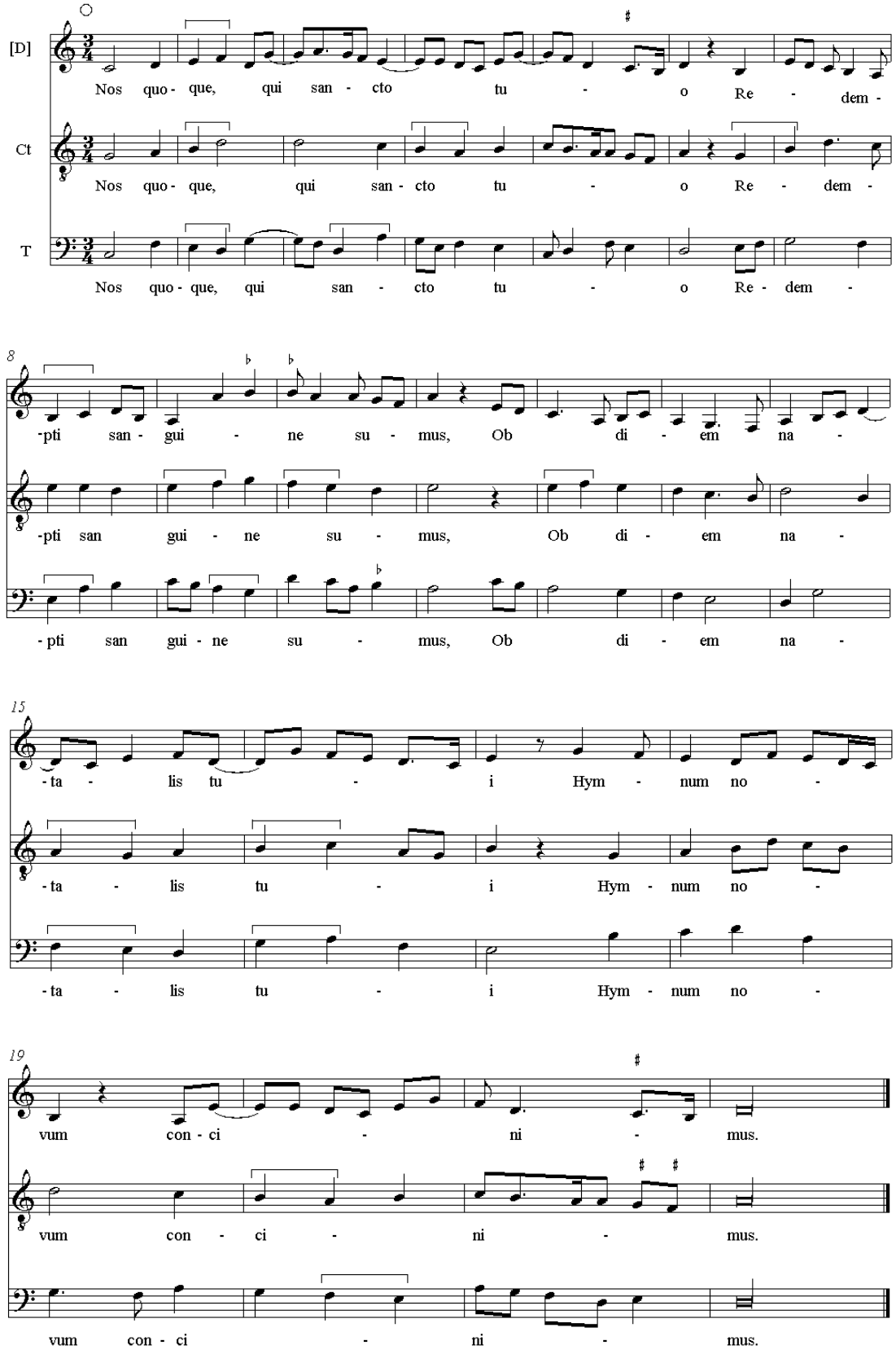
8
tu Mor - tis per - i - re se - cu - lum,
-tis per - i - re se - cu - lum,
per - i - re se - cu - lum, Sal - va - sti mun -
Mor - tis per - i - re se cu - lum, Sal -
per - i - re se - cu - lum, Sal - va - sti mun -
15
Sal - va - sti mun - dum lan - gui - dum,
Sal - va - sti mun - dum lan - gui - dum, Do -
- dum lan - gui - dum, Do - nans
va - sti mun - dum lan - gui - dum, Do -
dum, Do - nans

Strophe four, *Cujus forti potente*, is a four-voice setting in common time that sets the chant with much more elaboration than in the second strophe. Here, the rhythm is driven in all the voices, without any correlation between them, in much the same way as the lower three voices of *Qui condolens interitu*. The fifth strophe, *Te deprecamur agie*, is a four-voice setting that is set in cut-C3 time. The chant is in the superius voice and is less elaborately embellished, as in *Cujus forti potente*, although it keeps a similar texture. The sixth strophe, *Laus, honor, virtus, gloria*, is Du Fay's three-voice fauxbourdon setting of the chant.

Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre (fols. 5v-8)

The polyphonic setting of verses two and six of *Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre* present Du Fay's two different settings of the chant as well as an anonymous four-voice setting. Verse two, *Tu lumen, tu splendor lumis*, presents Du Fay's fauxbourdon setting of the chant. Verse four, *Sic presens testatur dies*, is a four-voice setting of the chant, transposing it up a fourth. This transposition is unusual within the collection: although it occurs in the case of the second setting of *Conditor alme siderum* and also in

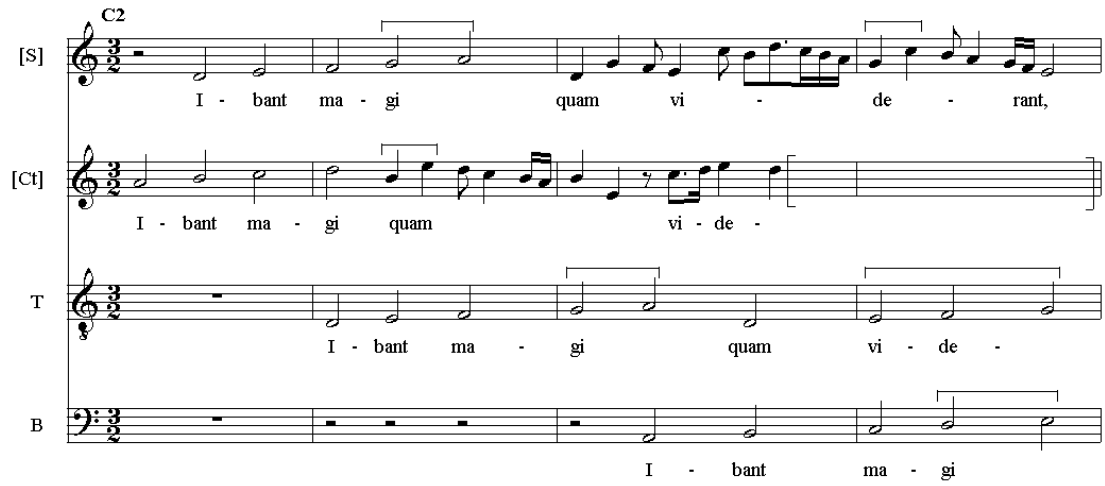
De Orto's *Ut queant laxis*, these are instances in which the polyphonic settings set the chant entirely in that transposition. The transposition of the chant for one verse suggests that there is a modulation in the larger structure of the hymn. There are moments of imitation between the tenor and superius voices [Ex. 19, Bar 7-9], and also an instance where imitative points are used [Ex. 19, Bar 13-15]. Another point of imitation is made at bb. 19-20, although this is in the melody only.

Example 19: *Christe redemptor omnium*, *ex patre*, Vs. 4 *Hic presens testatur* fols. 6v-7

Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo (verse six) uses the Du Fay setting of the *Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva* chant transposed down a fourth to present a different three-voice setting. The part-writing is certainly very close to the melodic writing that Du Fay uses in his own compositions, however, the usual 6/8 against 3/4 is sometimes lacking at the end of phrases. The setting uses a wider vocal range than *Tu lumen, tu splendor Patris* and all three voices are closely woven together with frequent rhythmic doubling between at least two parts.

Example 20: *Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre*, Vs. 6 *Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo*, fols. 7v-8

Hostis Herodes (fols. 8v-10)

Hostis Herodes impie is a setting of text for the feast of Epiphany. The chant itself begins with an outline of a five-note motif rising by step which lends itself to imitation and use of a point at both an octave and a fifth. The second strophe, *Ibant magi, quam viderant*, uses this imitative style in the opening moments of the setting. Here, the rising scale is set first in the superius and contratenor [Ex. 21, Bars 1-2]. This is then used in the tenor and bassus voices, creating a pairing of the two upper and two lower voices, which act as duos between themselves. From what can be made out, the hymn continues in this manner, with the tight pairing of the upper and lower voices. Outlines of the chant are found in the tenor voices in particular [Ex. 21, Bar 2-4], including the repetitive semiquaver figurations found in the superius voice.

Example 21: *Hostis Herodes impie*, Vs. 2 *Ibant magi, quam viderant* fragment, fols. 8v-9

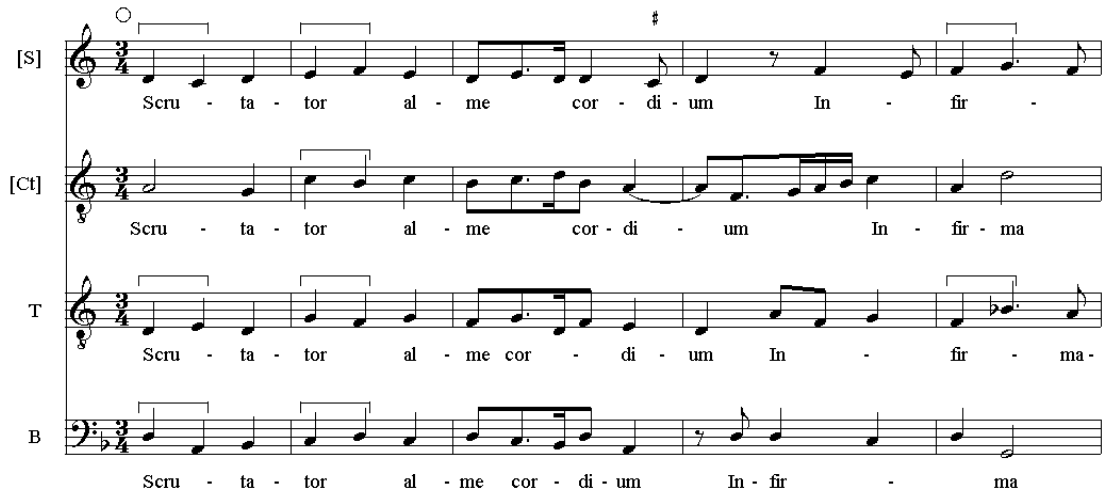
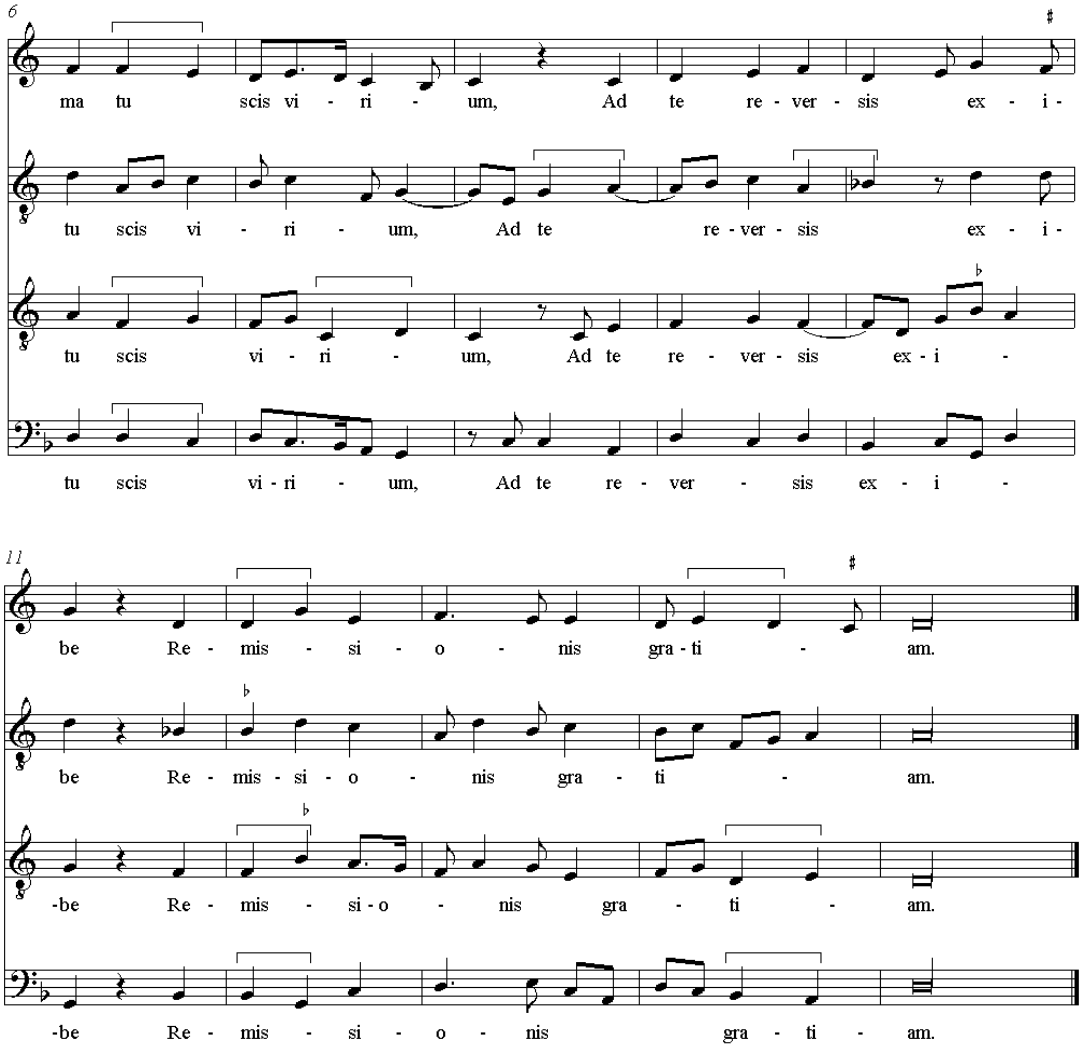


The fourth strophe, *Novam genus potentie*, is Du Fay's three-voice setting of the hymn. The accompaniment of the contratenor and tenor voices are characterised here by frequent octave leaps in the writing, making for an angular accompaniment.

Audi benigne conditor (fols. 14v-16)

Verses two and four are set polyphonically, the second, *Scrutator alme cordium*, being an anonymous four-voice setting, while the fourth verse, *Sic corpus extra conterit*, is by Du Fay. Unusually for a Du Fay setting, the chant is placed in the contratenor voice, rather than the discantus. This device is also used in the second verse, although this does not use Du Fay's setting of the chant. One melodic point of imitation exists between the superius and tenor voices [Ex. 22, Bar 8-9]. *Scrutator alme cordium* is rather unusual as, although the chant has a range of an octave, the bassus and superius voice have only the range of a fifth, while the inner voices span an octave. The dorian on D scale is used and the structure follows an overall chordal pattern of D-G-C-G-D, with a cadence on E at bar eight. Associations between voices are interchangeable, with rhythmic synchronicity wavering between voices as well as allusions to points of imitation.

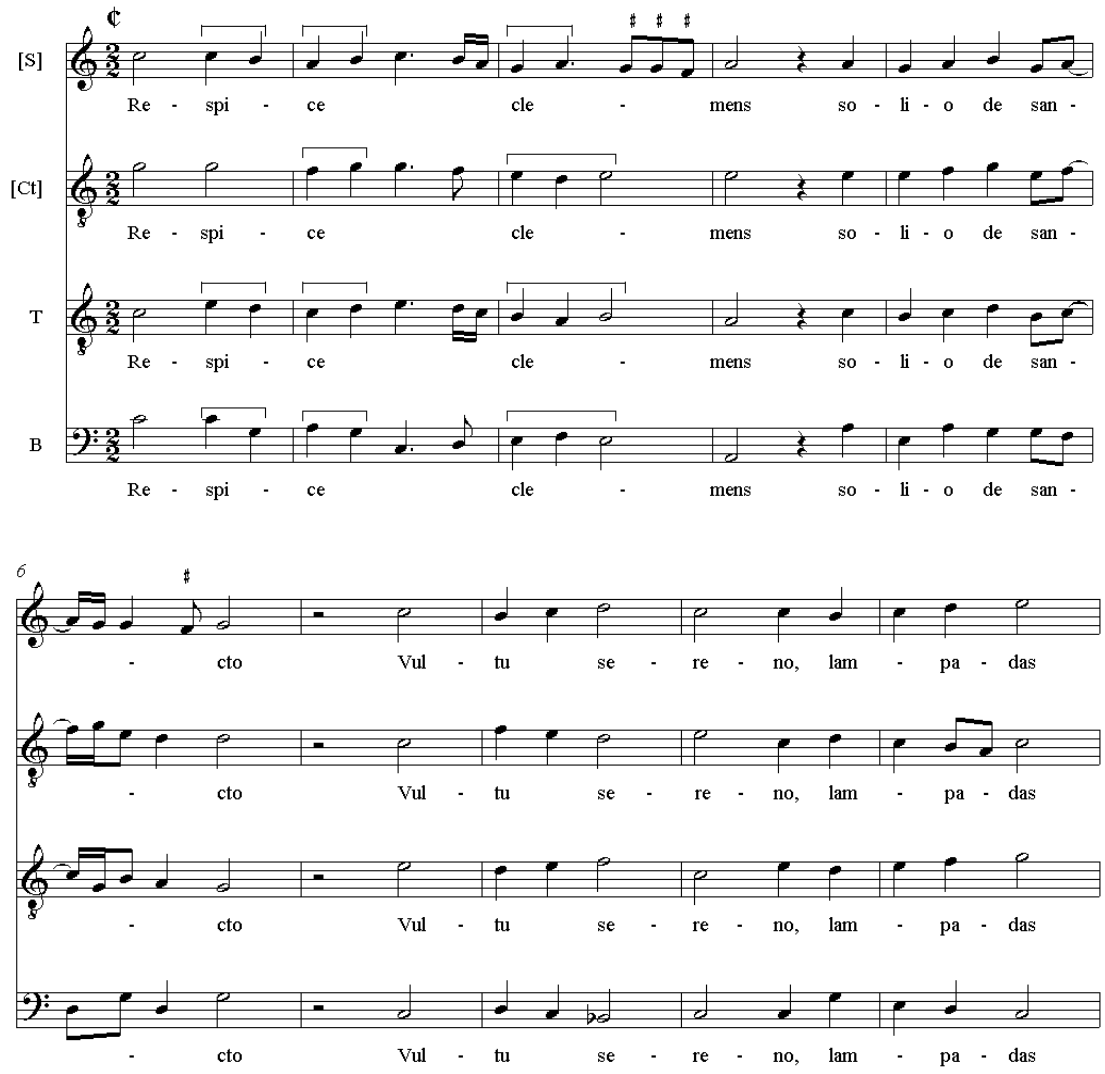
Example 22: *Audi benigne conditor*, Vs. 2 *Scrutator alme cordium*, fols. 14v-15



Aures ad nostras (fols. 16v-20)

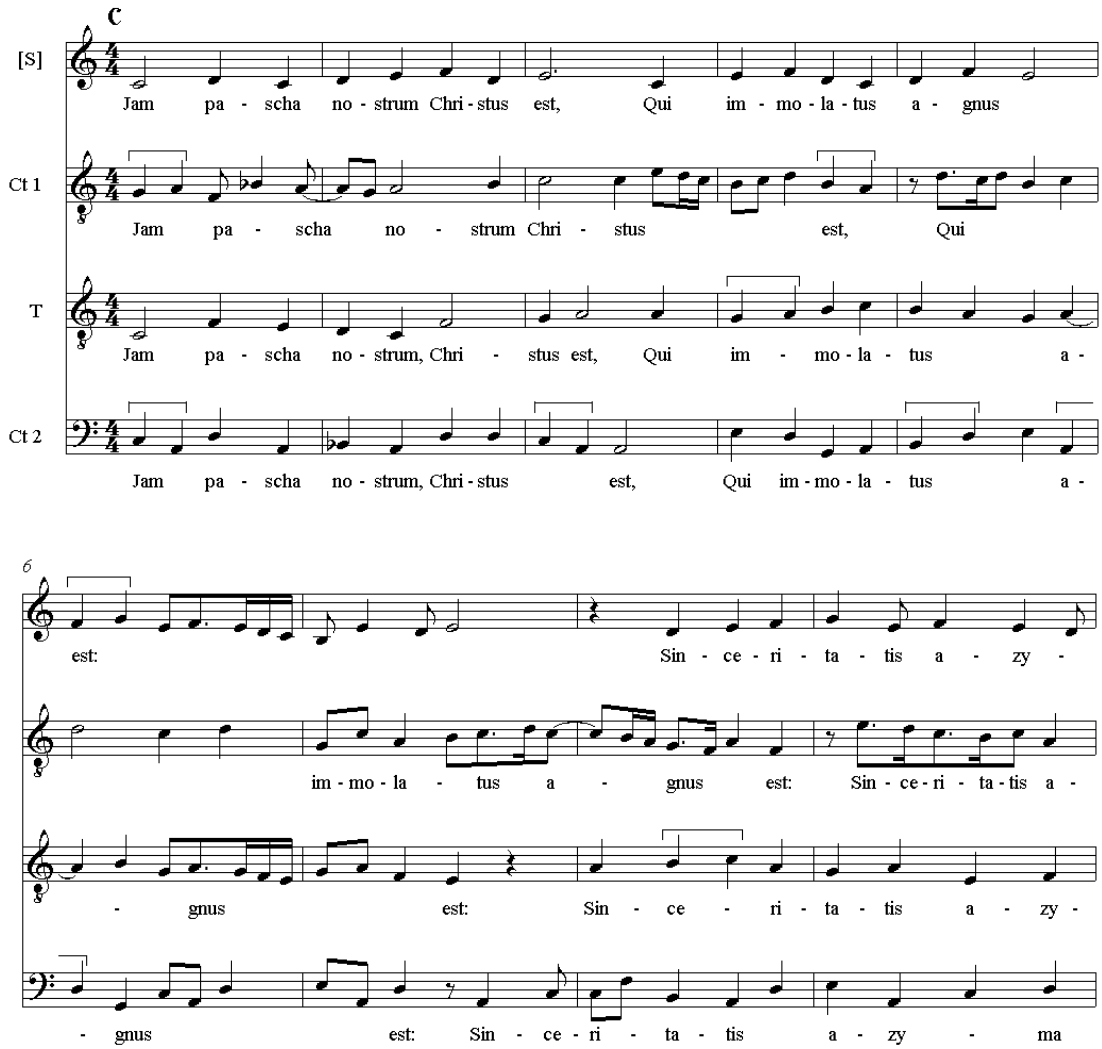
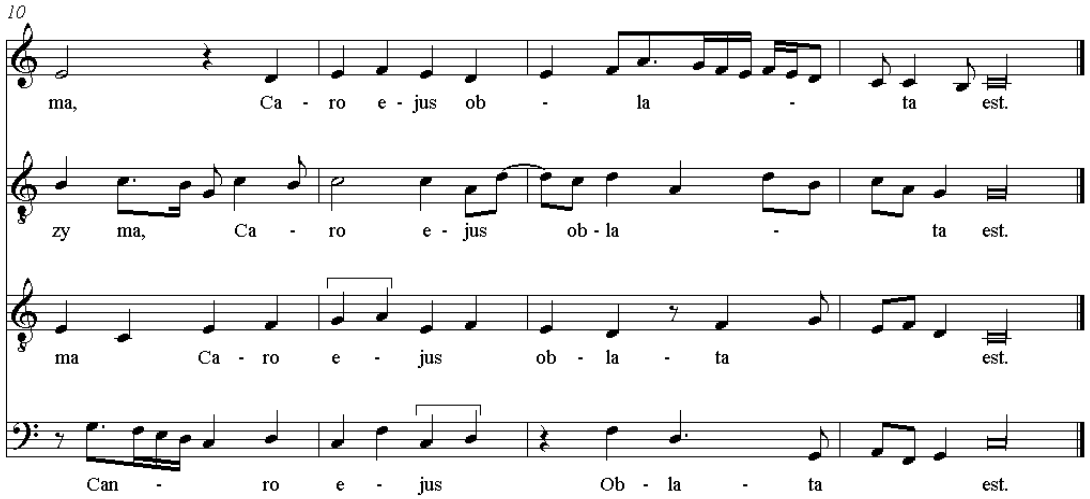
Aures ad nostras uses three polyphonic settings to set four of the eight text strophes. Verse six, *Insere tuum, petimus amorem*, presents Du Fay's hymn composition. Unusually for Du Fay's settings, it is in cut-C mensuration, unlike a majority of the cycle that uses circle-time. The fourth strophe, *Te sine tetro mergimur profundo*, is a four-voice setting that pairs the superius with the contratenor and the tenor with the bassus voices in accompaniment, much like *Ibant magi, quam viderant*, verse of *Hostis Herodes*. The similar usage of C2 mensuration is another parallel between the settings. The second strophe, *Respice clemens solio de sancto*, and verse eight, *Procul a nobis perfidus absistat*, use the same polyphonic music to set the text. Here, the tenor voice is closely linked with the superius voice and for a majority of the time the two voices shadow each other at an

interval of a sixth, almost like a fauxbourdon. The contratenor and bassus voices also contribute to the almost declamatory nature of the hymn setting, reminiscent of the first section of Josquin's motet *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*.

Example 23: *Aures ad nostras*, Vs. 2 *Respice clemens solio de sancto* fragment, fols. 16v-17

Ad coenam,agni providi (fols. 23v-27)

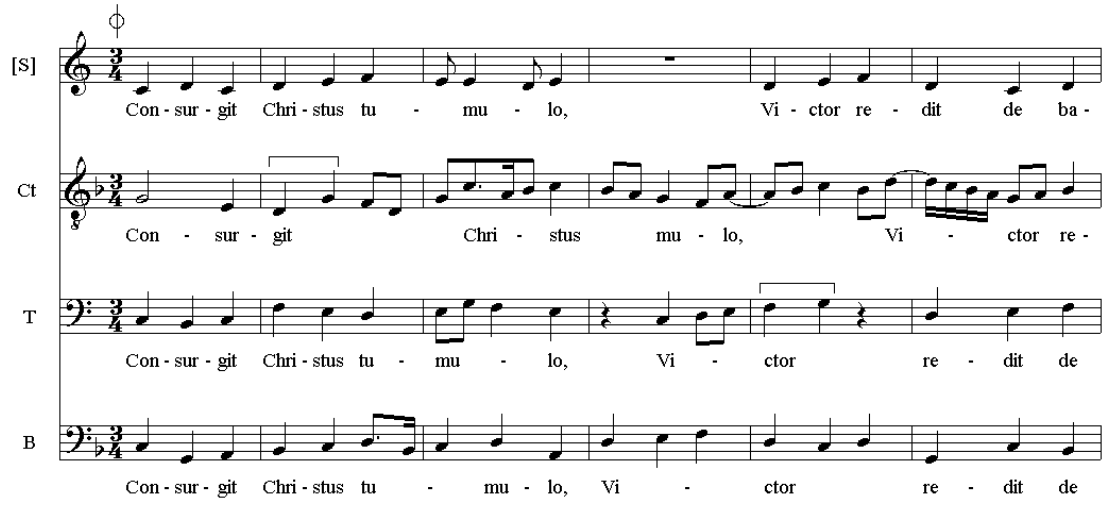
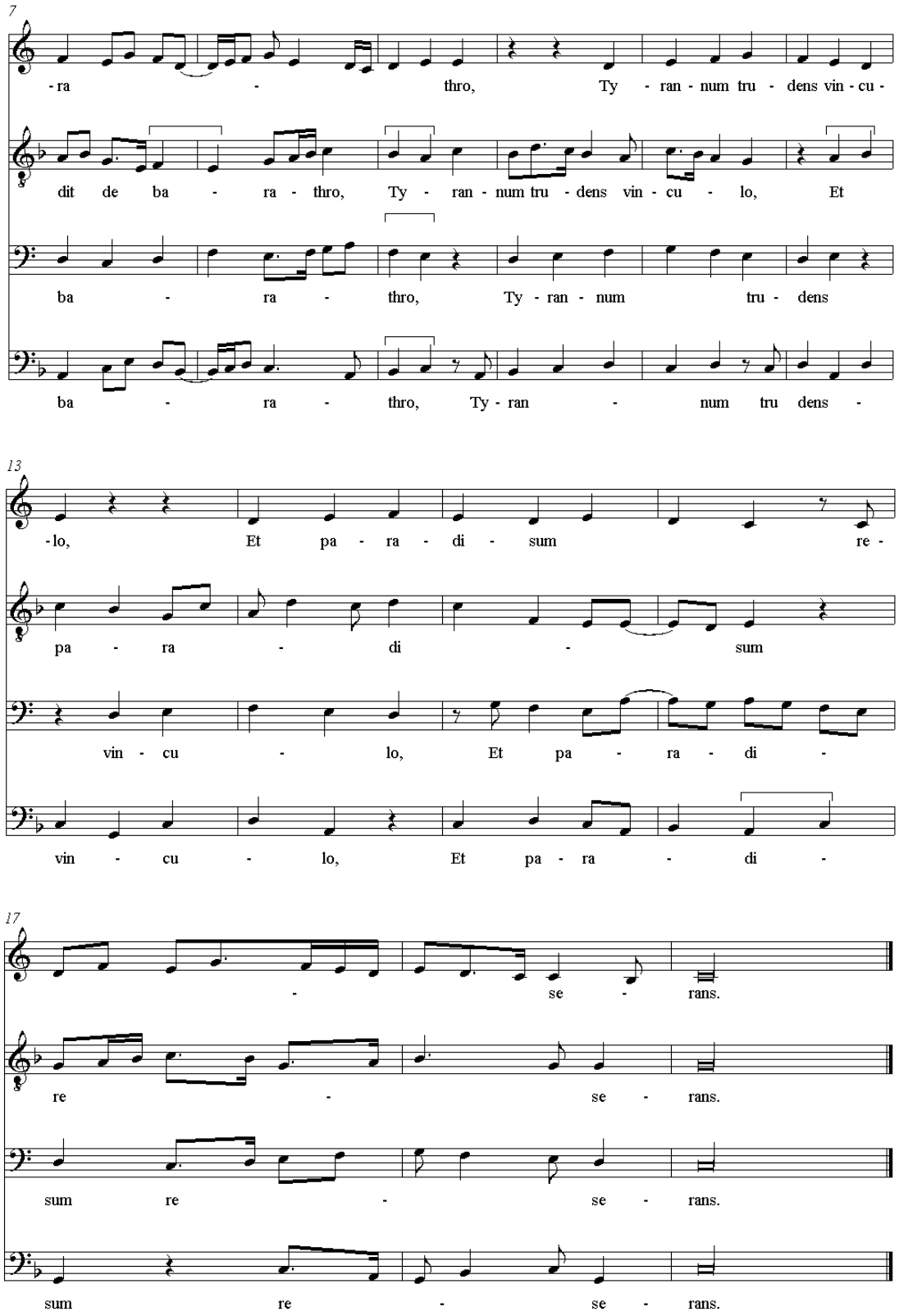
Ad coenam, agni providi, for the Octave of Easter, provides a number of very interesting settings alongside Du Fay's setting of the second verse, *Cujus corpus sanctissimum*. Du Fay's setting is typical of the three-voice settings by the composer, where the chant is placed in the superius with a contratenor and tenor accompaniment. The three other polyphonic strophes do not rely on Du Fay's setting.

The fourth strophe, *Jam pascha nostrum Christus est*, is a four-voice setting in common time. It places the chant in the superius voice and has a tenor voice that closely follows it in rhythm and melodic shape. At bar eight, a 3-note point of imitation between the tenor and superius can be seen at a fourth apart and separated by one crotchet beat. The contratenor provides a rhythmic syncopation to the setting, while the second contratenor provides a steady, if not at times angular and declamatory accompaniment to the superius and tenor voices.

Example 24: *Ad coenam, agni providi*, Vs. 4 *Jam pascha nostrum Christus est*, fols. 24v-25



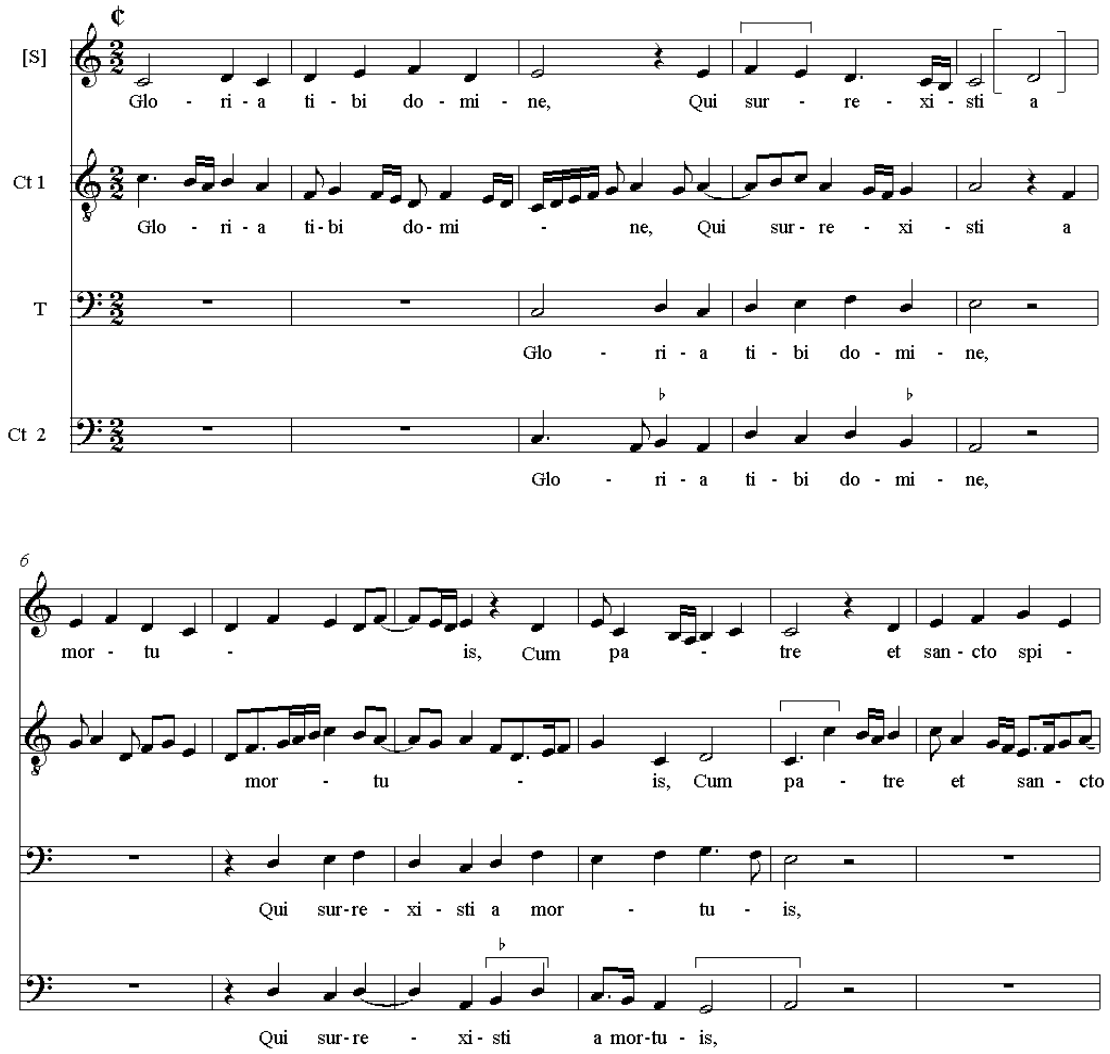
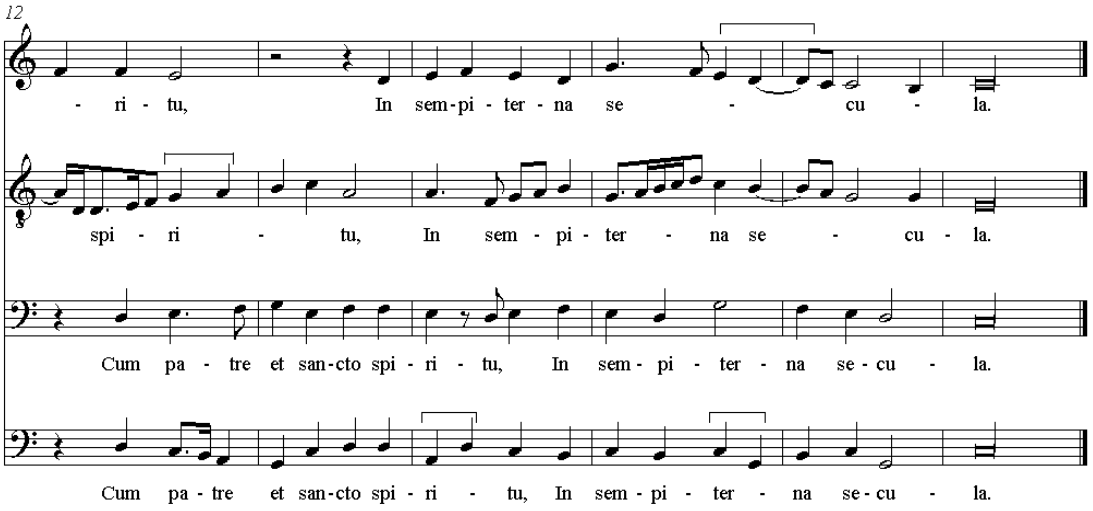
Consurgit Christus tumulo, the sixth strophe, opens, like verse four, with all four voices together. The superius contains the chant while the tenor closely follows it, the contratenor and bassus voices providing a simple accompaniment. This is, until the second phrase begins. At this moment, points of imitation begin to occur between the tenor and superius voice, each taking it in turns to lead. This imitation is both melodic and rhythmic in nature, although the rhythm is sometimes, as in the last phrase, sacrificed for the sake of keeping the melodic imitation as far as possible [Ex. 25, Bars 16-18]. The attempt to keep the melodic line between both voices is not averse to breaking away and then re-joining the use of the melody, as seen in bb. 13-16, where the tenor voice has a momentary lapse in following the superius, but rejoins quickly after its hiatus.

Example 25: *Ad coenam, agni providi*, Vs. 6 *Consurgit christus tumulo*, fols. 25v-26



Verse eight, *Gloria tibi domine*, is one of the most interesting hymns within the collection. Here, there is a strict pairing of the voices, superius and contratenor, tenor and second contratenor. However, the tenor voice also imitates the superius. The first contratenor provides an elaborate rhythmical accompaniment to the superius much like

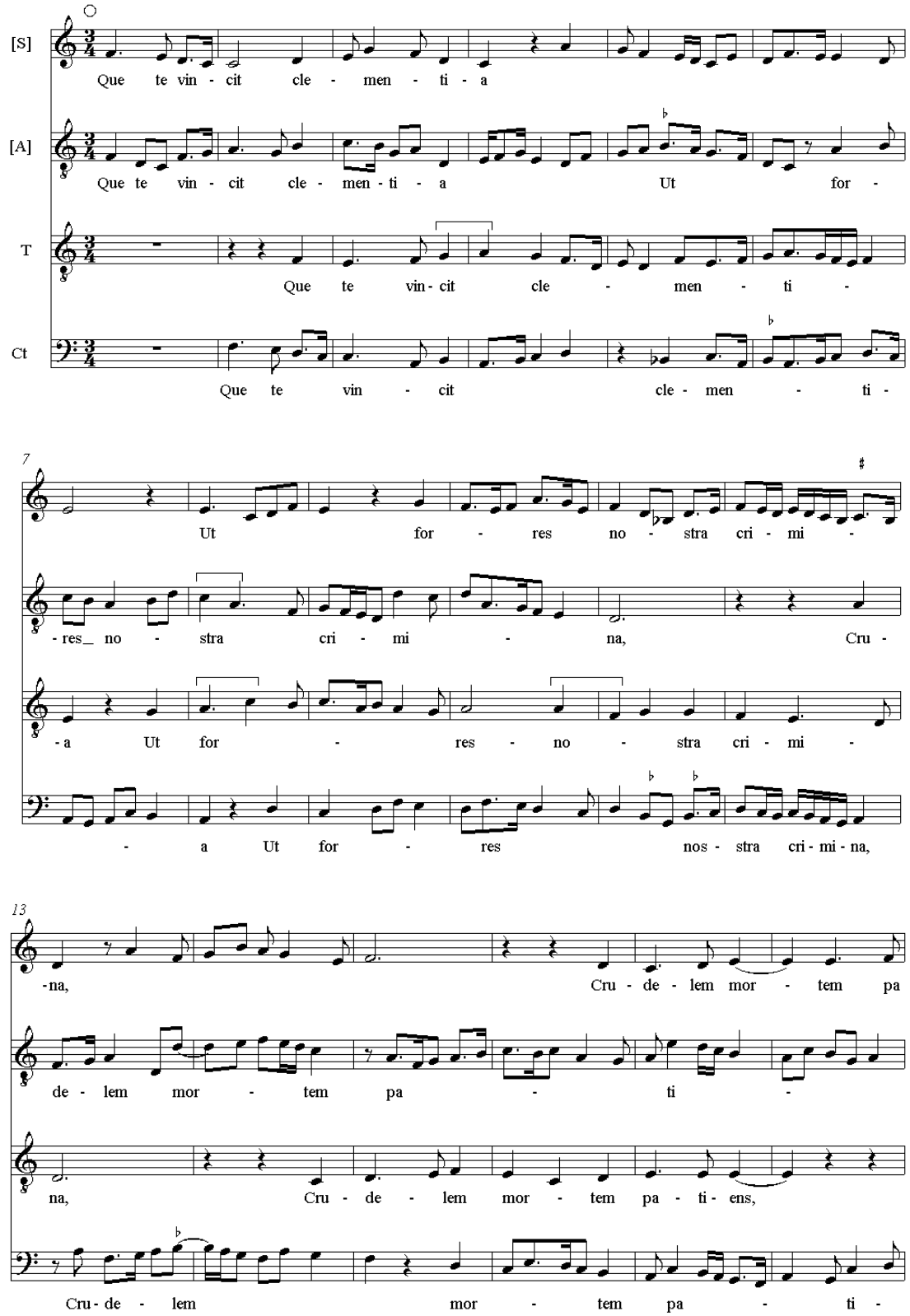
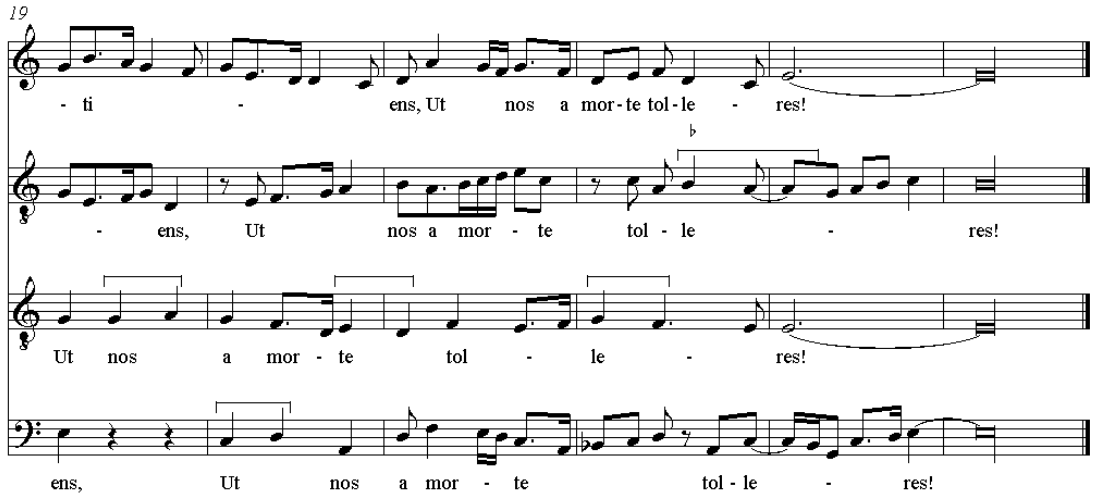
the part-writing found in the work of De Orto, while the second contratenor provides a steady accompaniment to the tenor. The design of this strophe is reminiscent of many of Josquin's motets on a much smaller scale with the pairing of voices; the intermittent punctuation of duos with a second duo, the imitation and use of melodic points. This is the most experimental of the hymns in the cycle, combining textural combinations of other sacred musical genres into the form of a hymn. The vocal ranges are small in comparison to many other hymns that include the compositional attributes outlined above, which suggests a controlled approach to the setting of the strophe in comparison to many others such as De Orto's settings.

Example 26: *Ad coenam, agni providi*, Vs. 8 *Gloria tibi domine*, fols. 26v-27



Jesu nostra redemptio (fols. 27v-29)

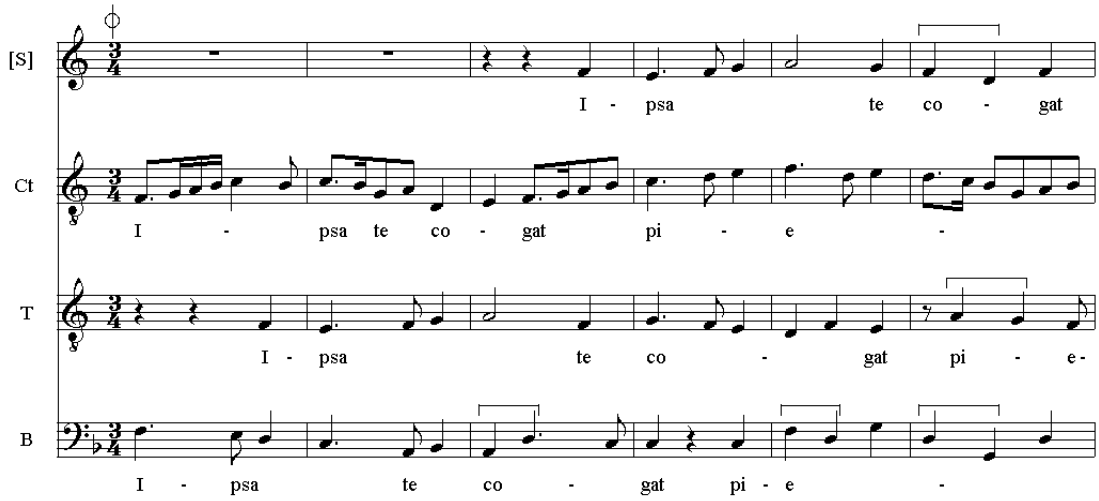
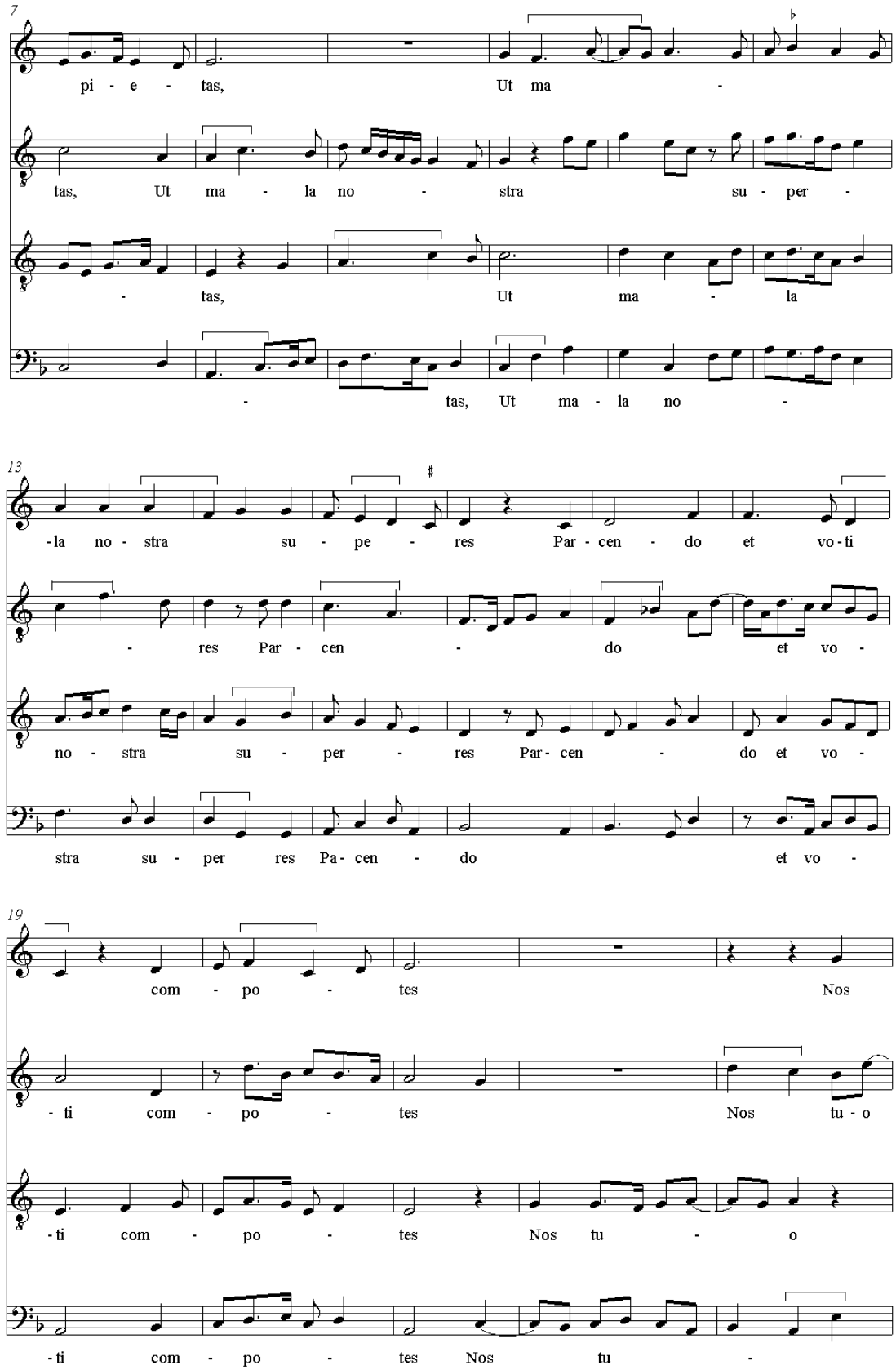
The settings of strophes two and four of *Jesu nostra redemptio* are four-voice settings of the text performed at the celebration of the Ascension. Although a Du Fay setting exists for this particular text, it is not used in this case.[436] Verse two, *Que te vincit clementia*, sets the chant in the tenor voice. This is unusual in the hymns contained within the cycle, where the superius voice usually carries the chant. This voice does, however, always contain the first and last tone of the four chant phrases. The superius, bassus and tenor all follow the two note F-E point in the opening bars, but this is as far as any imitation goes within the strophe setting.

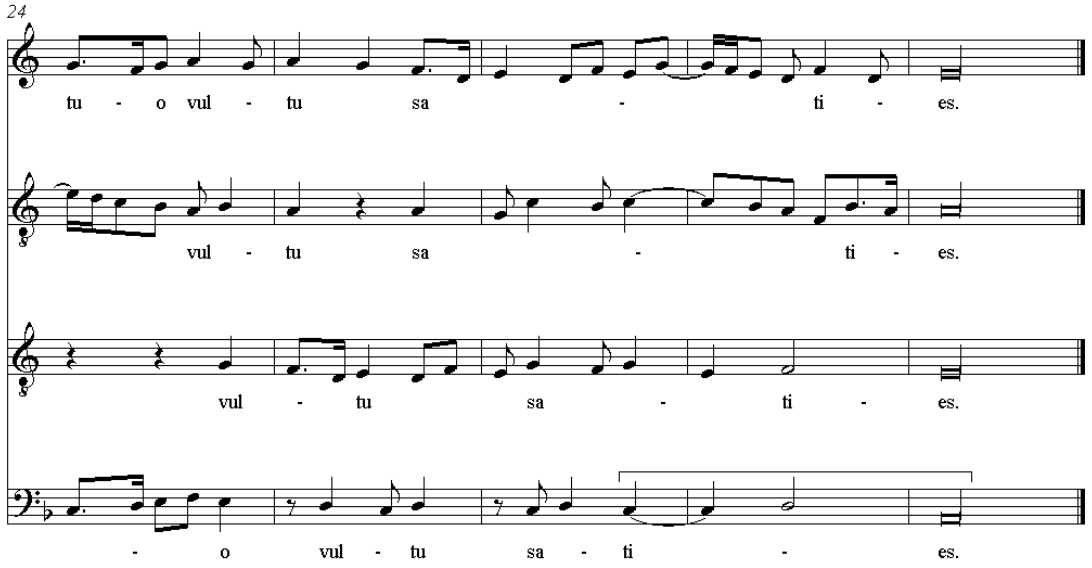
[436] Only Mod-B and BolQ15 contain copies of Du Fay's setting.

Example 27: *Jesu nostra redemptio*, Vs. 2 *Que te vincit clementia*, fols. 27v-28



The fourth verse, *Ipsa te cogat pietas*, is a more standard use of four-voice hymn format within the cycle. The chant is placed in the superius voice, although the tenor paraphrases this quite closely for much of the first phrase. The chant is used as a point of imitation in the first phrase between the tenor and superius and once again for the fourth phrase. The contratenor has the largest range of an eleventh and is the rhythmic driver of the strophe. The bassus is consistently angular in its composition and doubles many of the notes already present, holding the harmony of the other voices in root position.

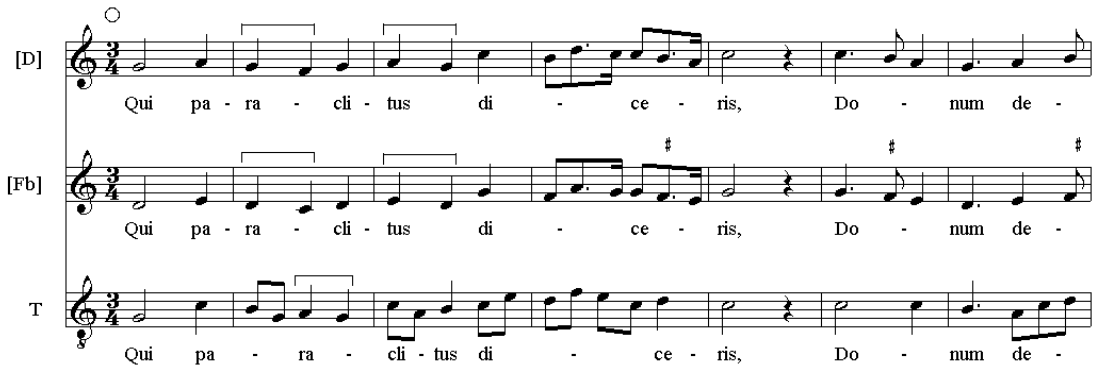
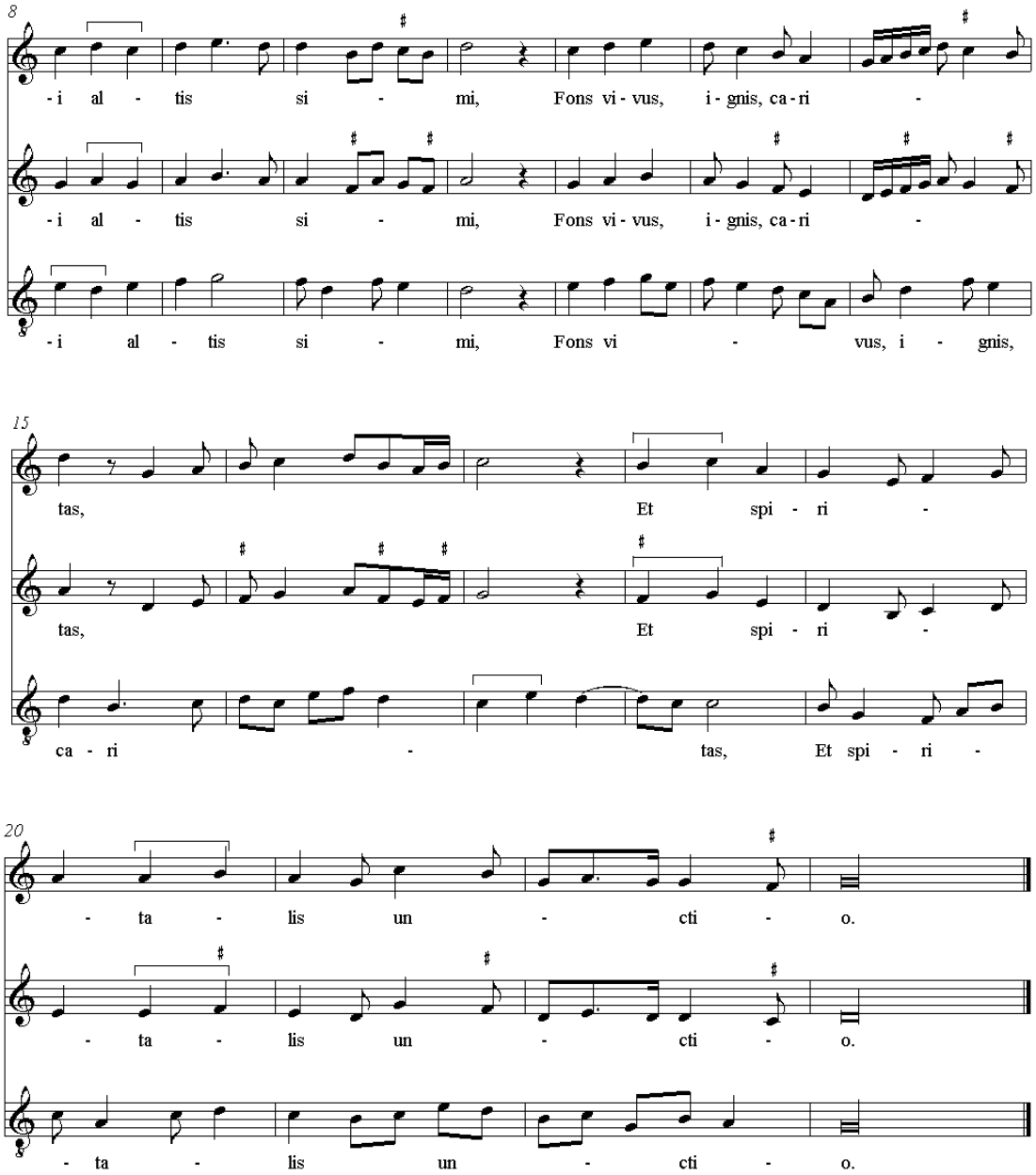
Example 28: *Jesu nostra redemptio*, Vs. 4 *Ipsa te cogat pietas*, fols. 28v-29



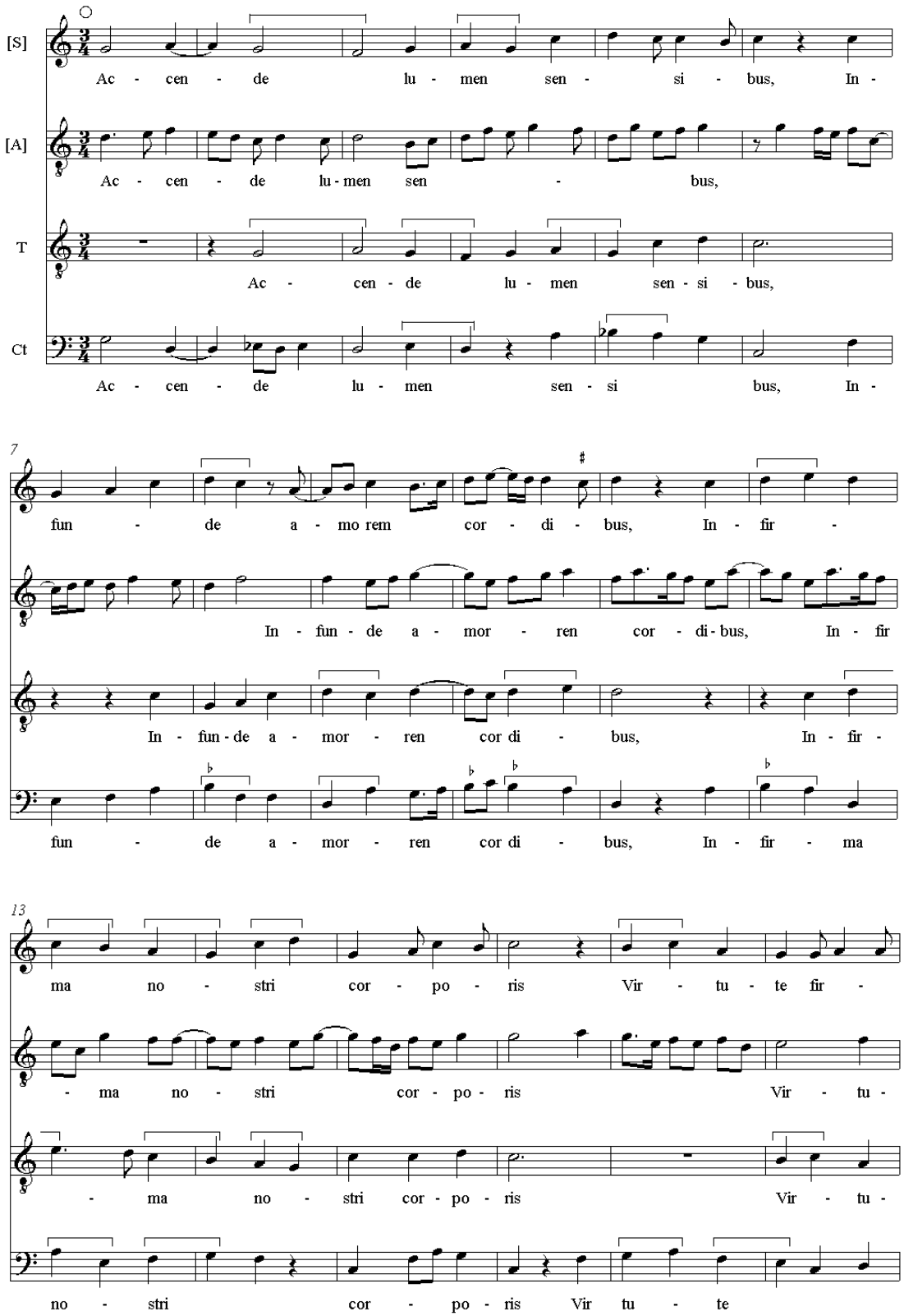
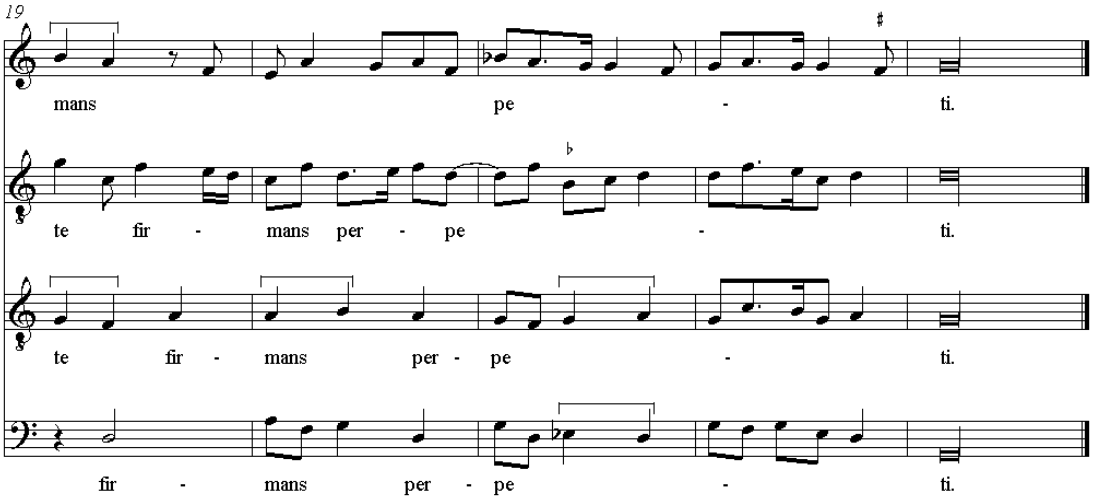
7
pi - e - tas, Ut ma -
tas, Ut ma - la no - stra su - per -
- tas, Ut ma - la
- tas, Ut ma - la no -
13
-la no - stra su - pe - res Par - cen - do et vo - ti
- res Par - cen - do et vo -
no - stra su - per - res Par - cen - do et vo -
stra su - per res Pa - cen - do et vo -
19
com - po - tes Nos
- ti com - po - tes Nos tu - o
- ti com - po - tes Nos tu - o
- ti com - po - tes Nos tu -

Veni creator spiritus (fols. 29v-32)

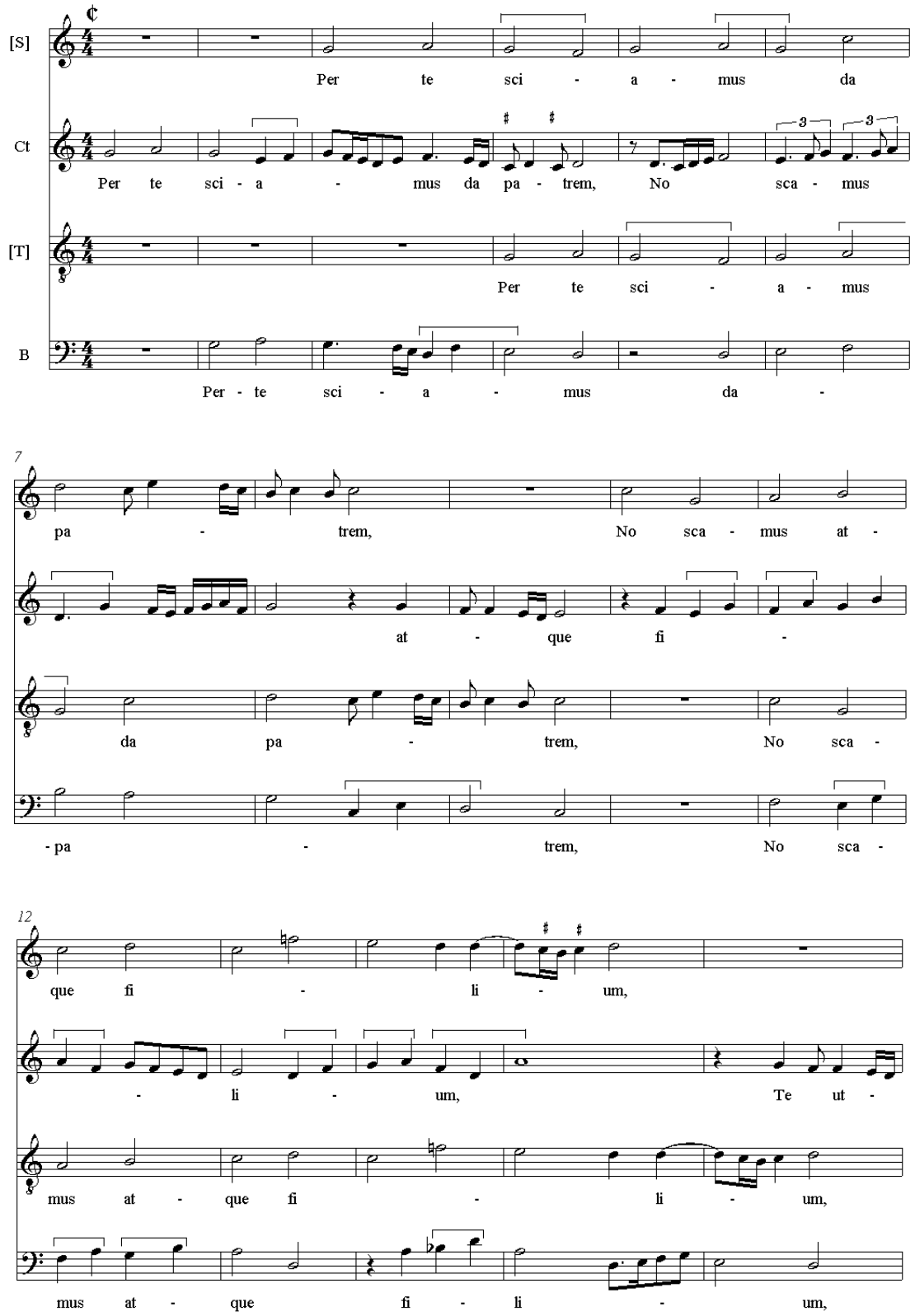
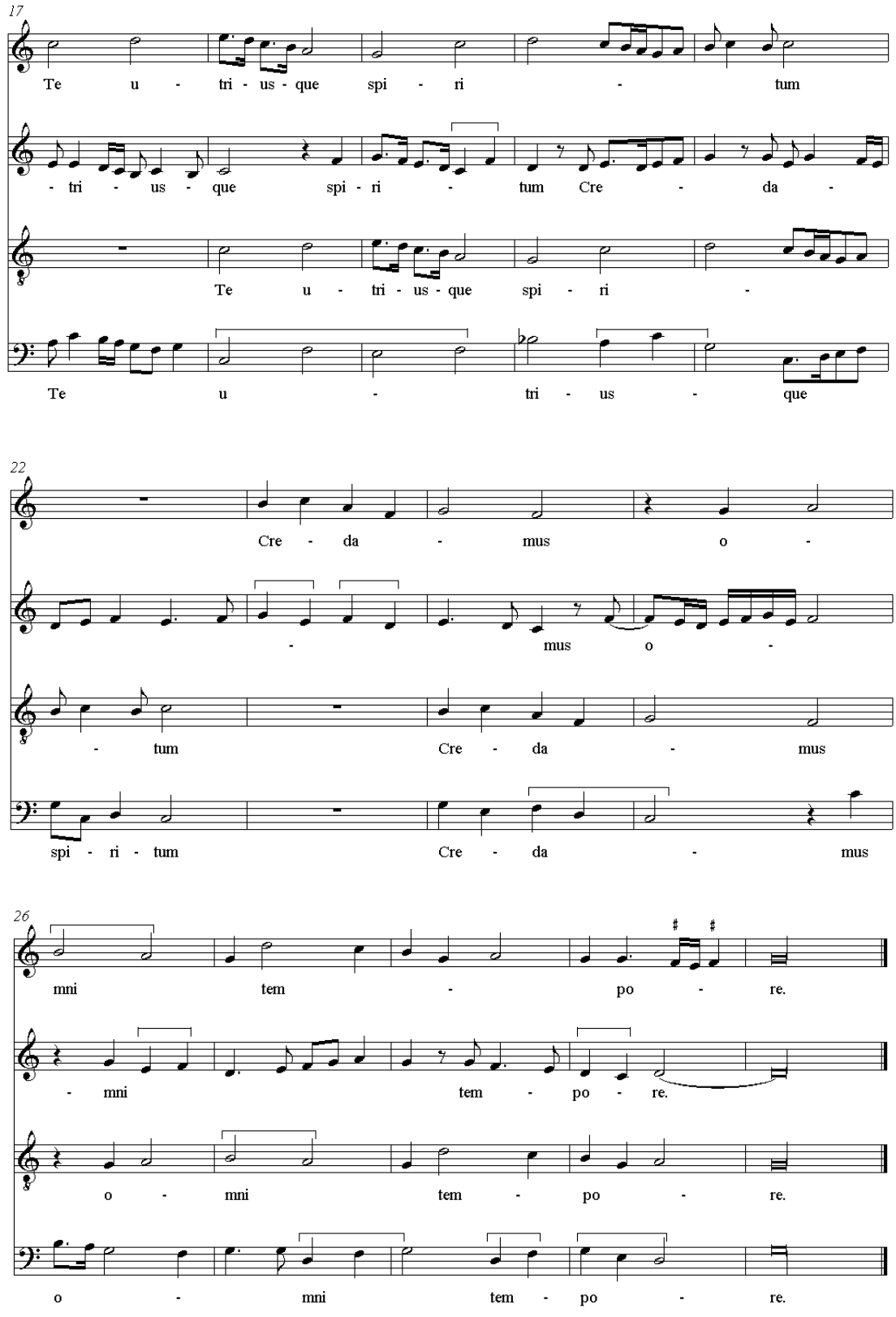
The hymn setting that commemorated Pentecost is split into six different strophes, three of which are set polyphonically. There are two versions of the second strophe, *Qui paraclitus diceris*, one by Du Fay and the second using Du Fay's discantus voice as the basis for a fauxbourdon setting.

Example 29: *Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 2 *Qui paraclitus diceris* fauxbourdon version, fol. 29v



The fourth strophe, *Accende lumen sensibus*, is for four voices and sets the chant in the superius voice, with points of melodic and rhythmic imitation from the tenor voice. Like *Consurgit Christus tumolo* (*Ad coenam, agni providi* Vs. 6), rhythmic interest is sacrificed in order to retain melodic imitation between the parts, resulting in the vocal entries between the superius and tenor voice being far from uniform. The altus voice once again has a faster-moving line than the three other voices in the piece.

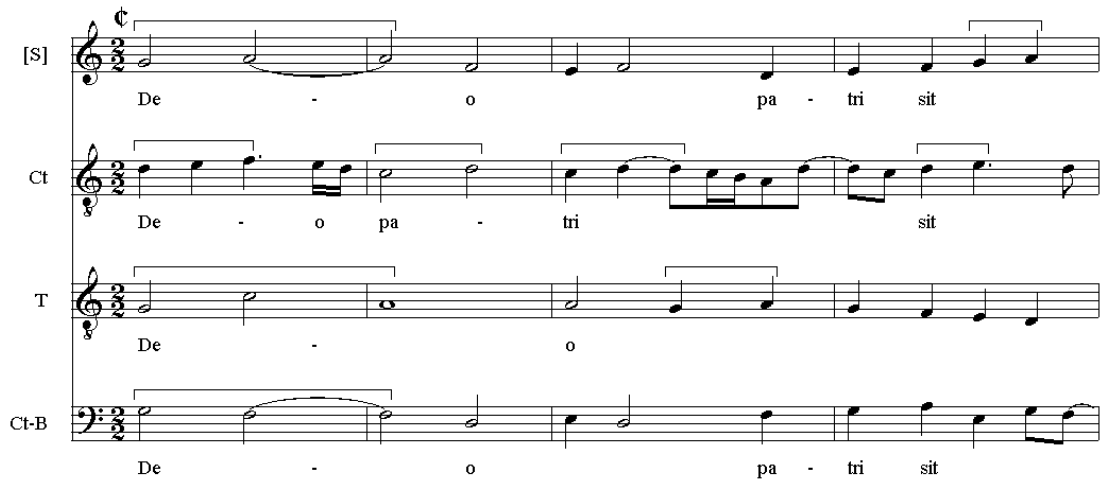
Example 30: *Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 4 *Accende lumen sensibus*, fols. 30v-31

The sixth strophe of the hymn presents a much more interesting setting to study in comparison to those that came before it. *Per te sciamus da patrem* is in four voices, with the tenor voice derived from the superius by canon at an octave below. All voices open with the G-A-G point of imitation, although they do not go any further. The contratenor provides much of the rhythmic diversity within the piece, extending to the appearance of 'Josquin triplets' in bar six. The voice is often joined by the bassus in rhythmic movement, although the bassus is also found to synchronise with the tenor voice, as seen in bb. 24-25. A rhythmic gesture is repeated several times within the piece, first appearing in the contratenor in bar three, consisting of quaver – crotchet (sometimes dotted) – semiquaver – semiquaver – quaver . This pattern is given a number of permutations and is finally found in the penultimate bar in the superius voice.

Example 31: *Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 6 *Per te sciamus da patrem*, fols. 31v-32

The setting of the sixth strophe is as controlled as Josquin's own contributions to the hymn-cycle and retains many of the same compositional devices that are found in his additions.

O lux beata trinitas (fols. 32v-34)

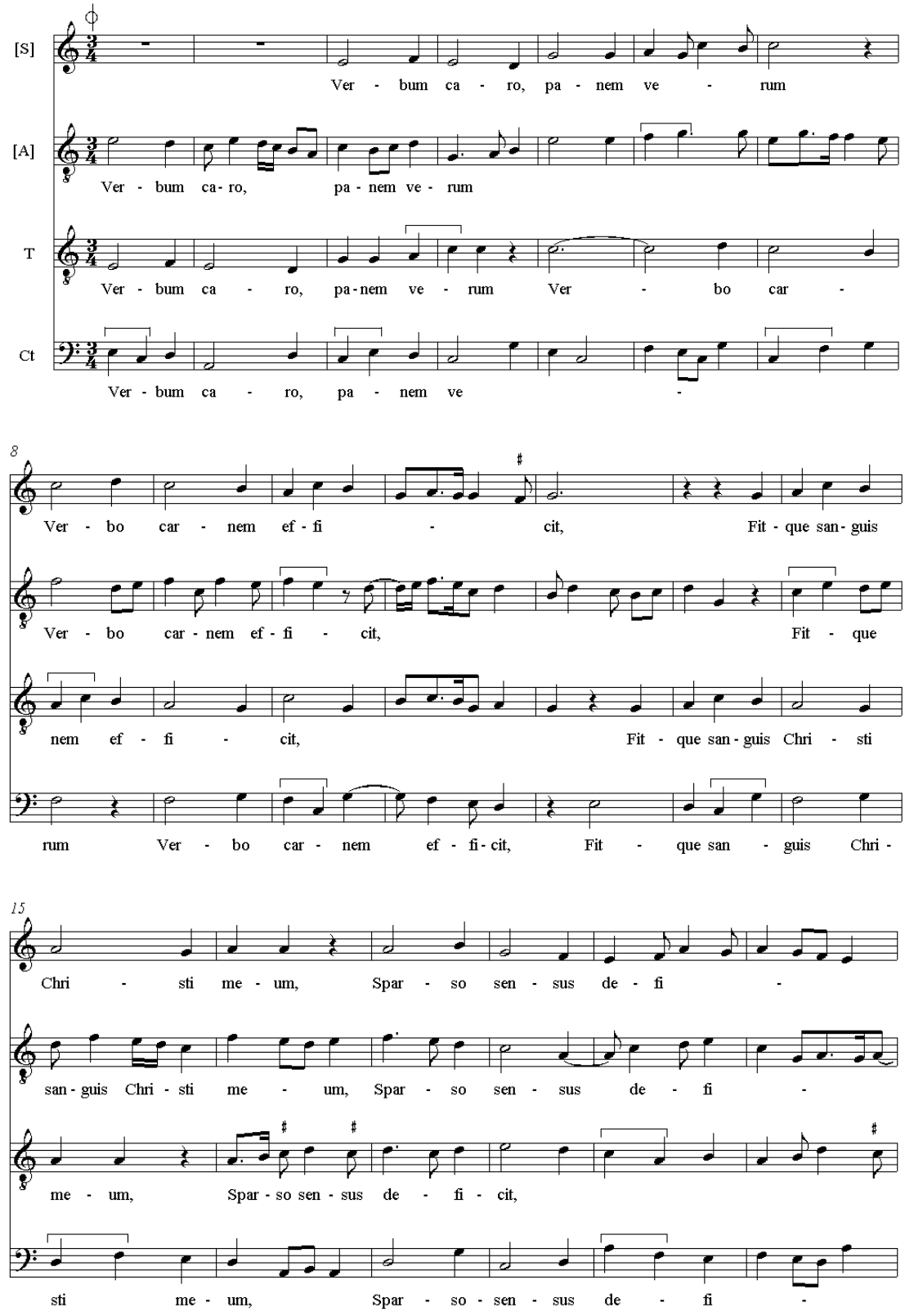
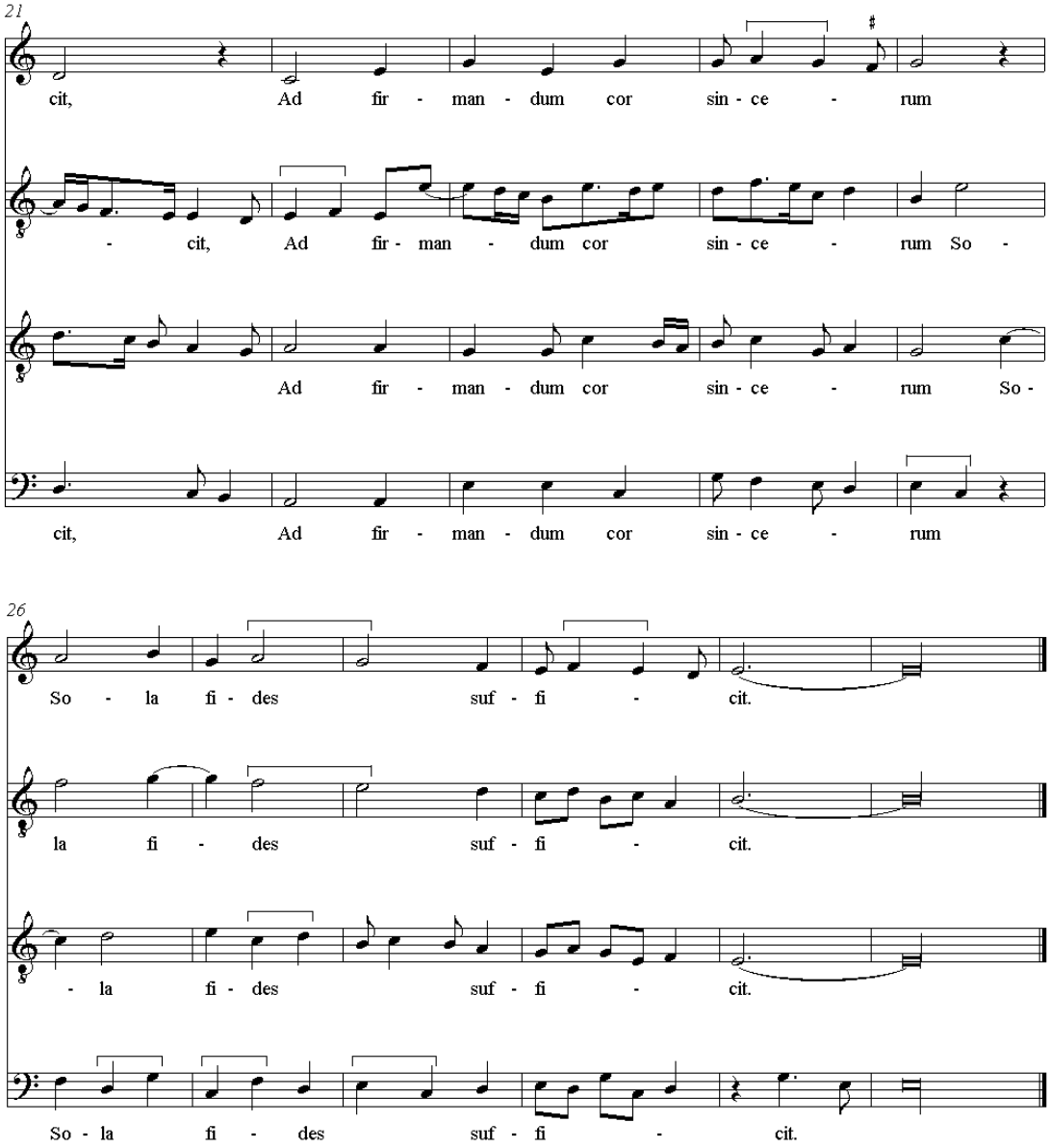
This hymn is used to commemorate the feast of the Trinity; the second verse uses Du Fay's three-voice setting of the chant. The third strophe, *Deo patri sit gloria*, is in four voices and opens with a tight texture of homophonic movement between the superius, tenor and contra-bassus.

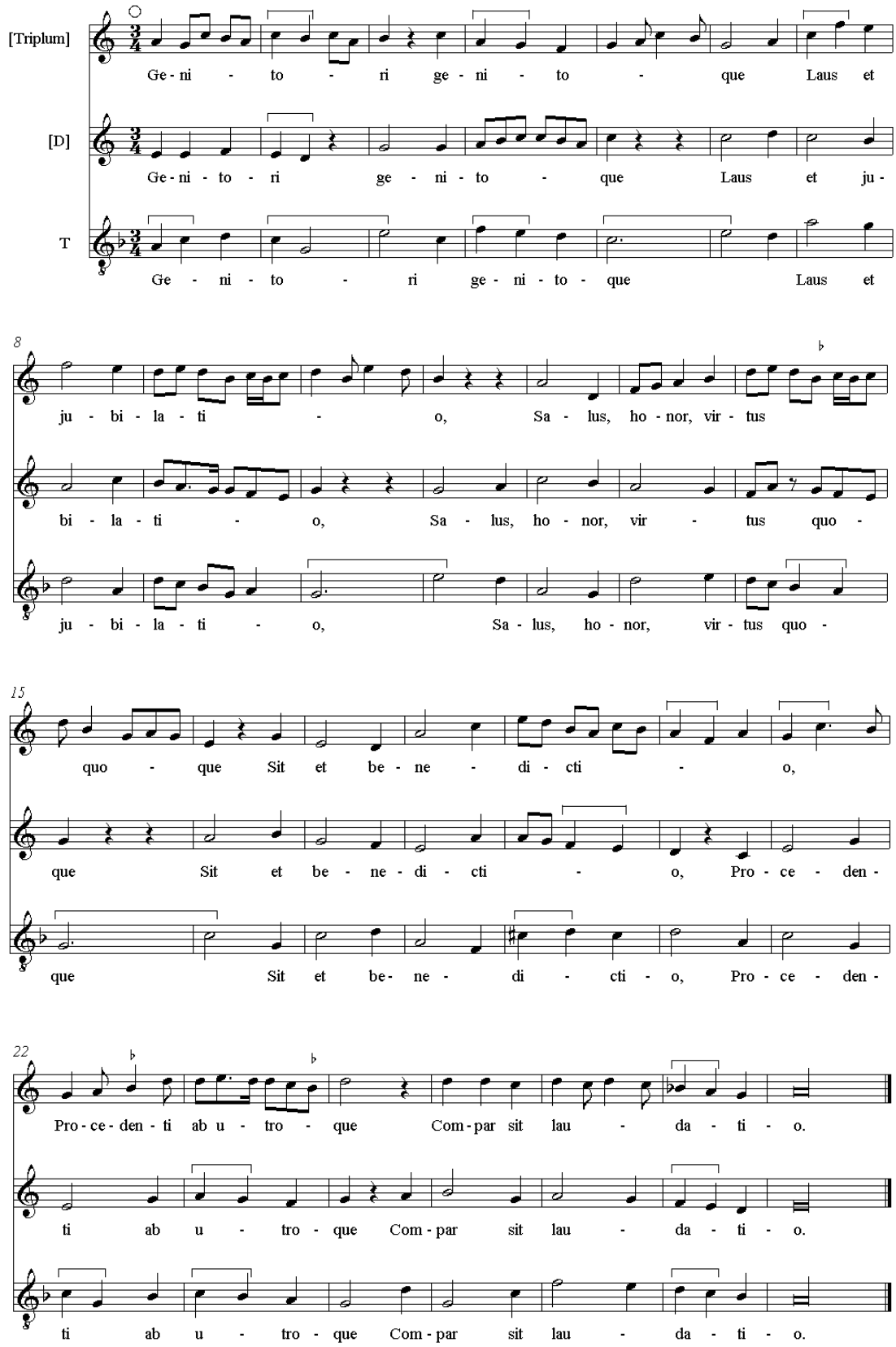
Example 32: *O lux beata trinitas*, Vs. 3 *Deo patri sit Gloria* fragment, fols. 33v-34



Pange lingua (fols. 34v-37)

Here, the second, fourth and sixth strophes of the hymn for Corpus Christi are set polyphonically. The second strophe, *Nobis natus, nobis datus*, is Du Fay's three-voice setting of the chant. The fourth strophe, *Verbum caro panem verum,* is a four-voice setting. Here, points of imitation exist between the tenor and superius voice which includes a simplified version of the chant.

Example 33: *Pange lingua*, Vs. 4 *Verbum caro panem verum*, fols. 35v-36

The sixth strophe, *Genitori genitoque*, is a three-voice setting in the style of Du Fay. The discantus breaks up the chant phrases and does not elaborate on the chant, except for the few moments before the end of the phrase. In some instances, the repetition of one tone in the chant is simplified to just one note. There is very little rhythmic independence within the strophe, a majority of the movement being confined to minim-crotchet-minim-crotchet formation. The triplum voice is higher than the discantus voice.

Example 34: *Pange lingua*, Vs. 6 *Genitori genitoque*, fols. 36v-37

Aurea luce et decore roseo (fols. 39v-42)

This setting is for the celebration of SS. Peter and Paul. It has polyphonic settings for the second, fourth and sixth verses, the second and fourth being Du Fay's setting of the chant for three voices. The sixth strophe setting, set between the second and fourth in the manuscript, is for four voices and is in cut-C mensuration. From what is possible to make out through the ink-blotting of the manuscript, the superius, contratenor and bassus enter together, with the tenor entering later. The mensuration changes to circle time part of the way through and once again returns to cut-C time in the last phrase of the strophe.

Petrus beatus (fols. 47v-48)

The four-voice setting of *Quodcumque vinclis super terram* celebrates the feast of St. Peter in Chains. The text is a shortened version of a larger hymn text, *Felix per omnes*. The rest of the text is used in rites preceding vespers.[437] This Petrine feast had particular significance for Rome, and this setting, in CS 15, is the only known polyphonic arrangement of the chant in Italy of the fifteenth century. As the personality of St. Peter figures prominently in Roman liturgy, it is unsurprising that a specific hymn for this feast is found in the manuscript. From what can be made out from the manuscript, the contratenor, bassus and tenor enter together, with the superius entering later. Like the sixth verse of *Aurea luce et decore roseo*, the piece begins in a cut-C mensuration, changing to circle time and returning to cut-C for the final phrase. Another such example is found in the fourth strophe of *Iste Confessor*. These are the only three instances within the hymn cycle that change metre mid-strophe. As the compositions (*Petrus beatus* and

[437] Carol Neuman de Vegvar and Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Introduction', *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Aldershot, 1988, 1.

Aurea luce) both focus upon the same important theme of St. Peter and are so close together in the manuscript, it is possible that, like the Josquin compositions that precede them, they are by the same composer. On the lower recto of fol. 48, a direction with text is given 'In Cathedra petri' with two written verses then following that are already set to chant and polyphony.

Tibi Christe splendor patris (fols. 48v-50)

The three-strophe chant text of *Tibi Christe splendor patris* is for the feast of St. Michael. Although Du Fay set the chant in his cycle, appearing as a unique source in Bol Q15, the CS 15 cycle has a setting of its own. Here, unlike the standard format of the cycle, the first and third strophes are set polyphonically, rather than the second and third. The first strophe, *Tibi, Christe, splendor patris* is a composition for four voices: superius, two contratenors and a tenor. This is yet again not the orthodox approach that the format of four-voiced pieces takes in the CS 15 cycle. The texture is dense, with the second contratenor voice as the most rhythmically active. The third strophe, *Quo custode procul pelle,* is a setting for three voices in cut-C3 time. The voices enter in a staggered formation, with the discantus in imitation of the contratenor. Like a great part of the folios between fols. 37-50, there is a considerable amount of smudging and ink bleed-through on the paper.

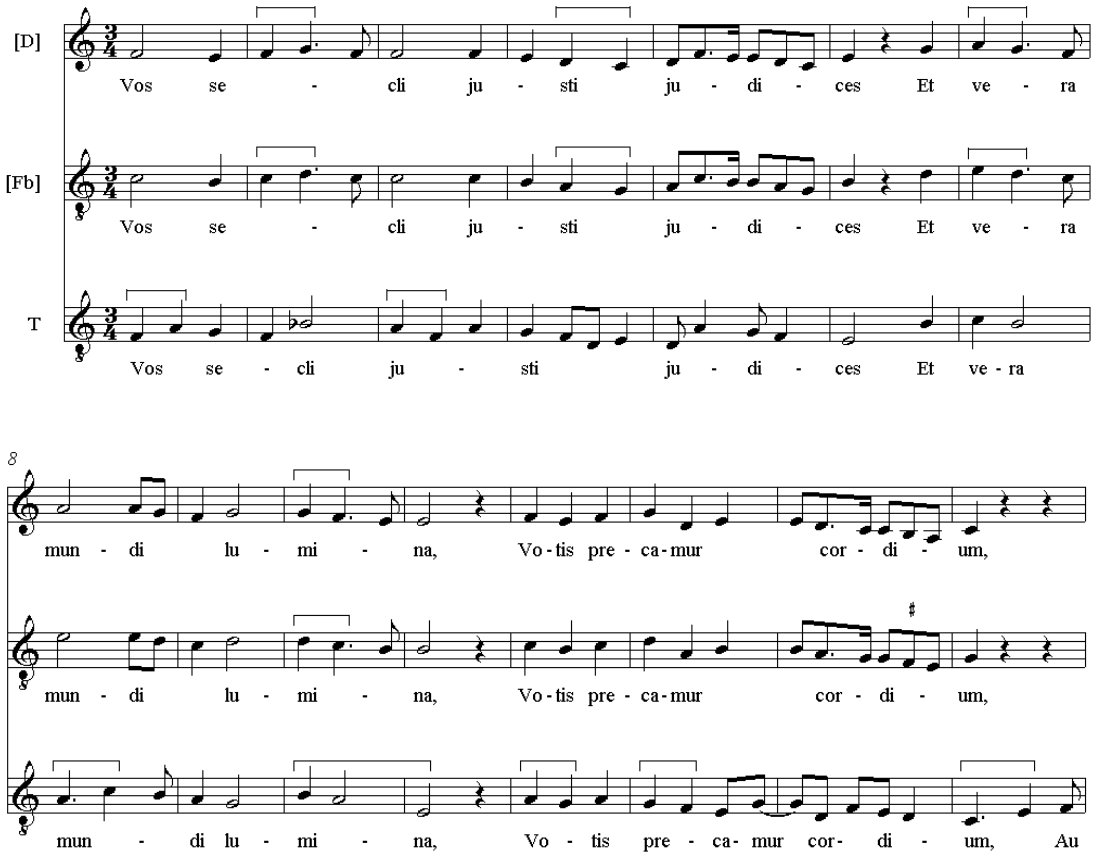
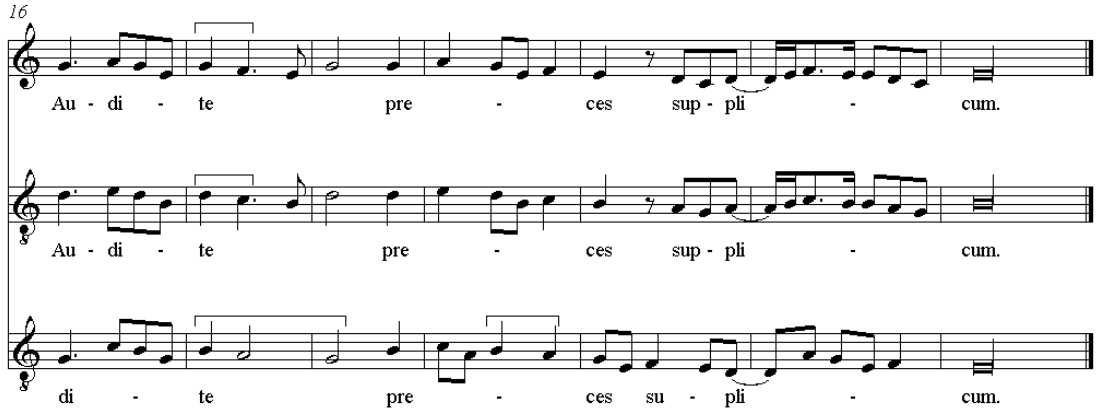
Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva (fols. 50v-53)

Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva sets a text of seven strophes for the fest of All Saints. Three of the verses are set polyphonically. The second strophe, *Beata quoque agmina*, uses Du Fay's setting of the hymn. The fourth, *Martyres dei incliti*, is a five voice setting, where the superius voice is derived from the first tenor at the octave, signalled by

a *signum congruentia*. The time signature of Cut-C contrasts with the Du Fay setting, much like the way that De Orto contrasts his compositions against Du Fay's in the cycle. The sixth verse, *Gentem auferte perfidam*, is a four voice setting in circle time. The texture appears to be much like that found in *Scrutator alme cordium* [Ex. 22] and *Sic presents testatur* [Ex. 19].

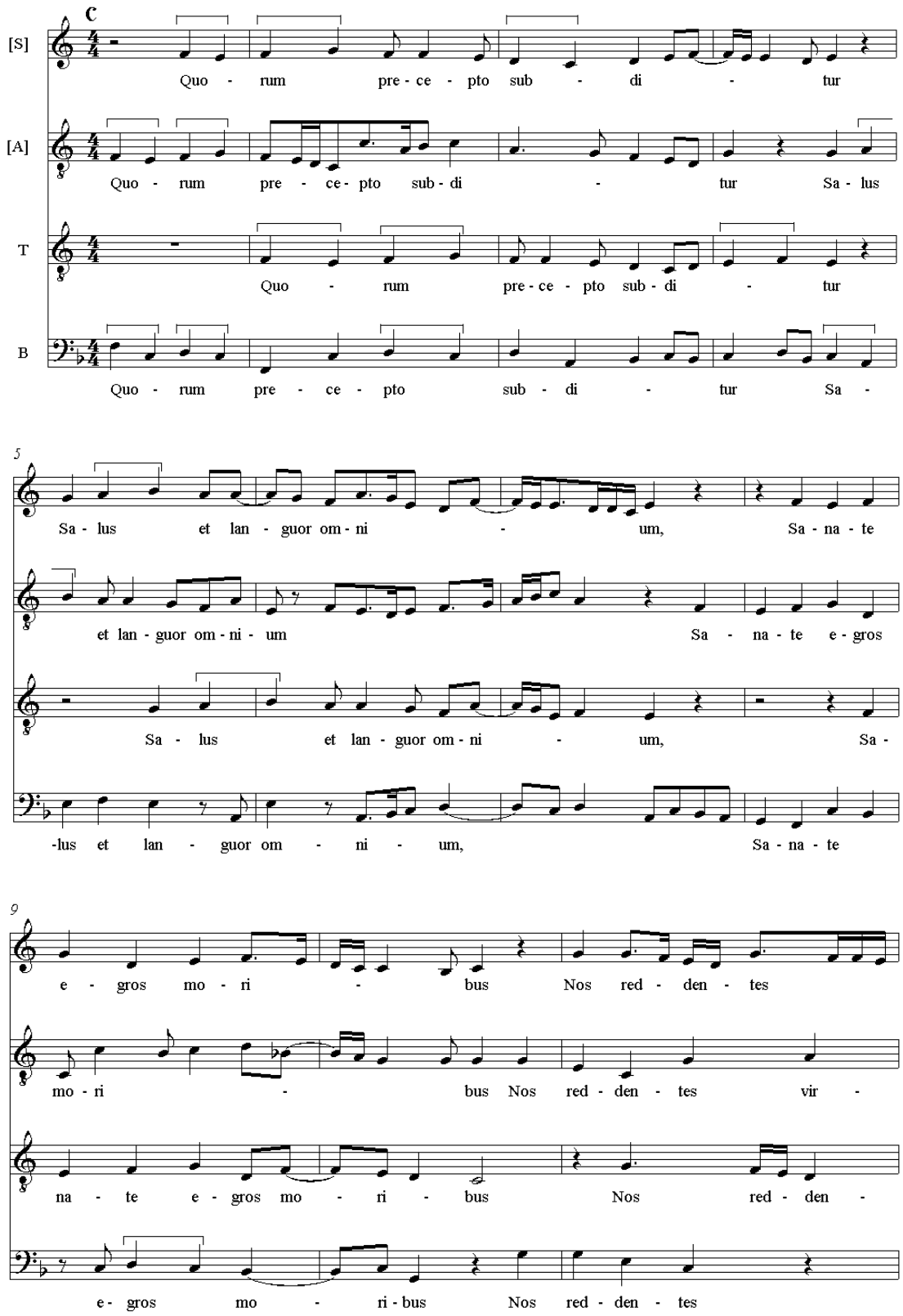
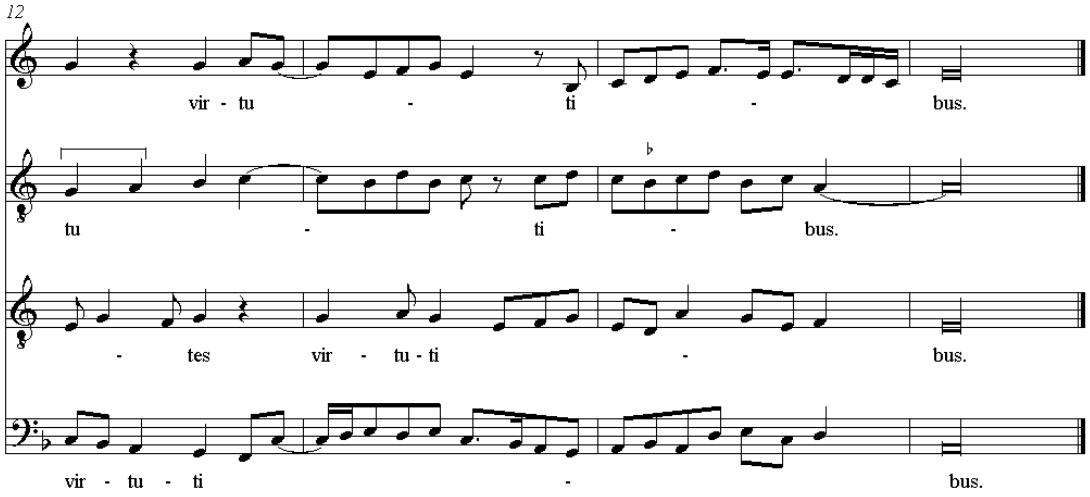
Exultet coelum (fols. 53v-56)

The four different settings of three verses of *Exultet coelum* are a typical example of the range of different styles that are found in the CS 15 hymns. The first setting of *Vos secli justi judices* (verse two) on fol. 53v takes the discantus of Du Fay's setting and turns it into a fauxbourdon setting while composing a new tenor voice.

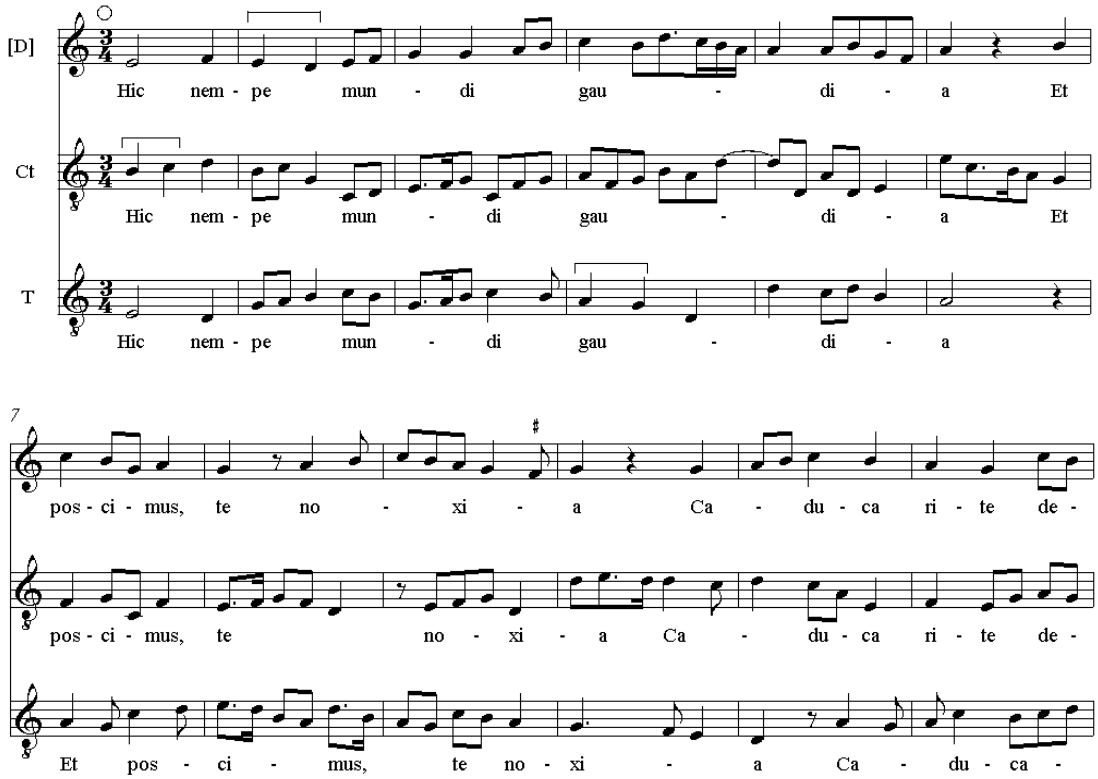
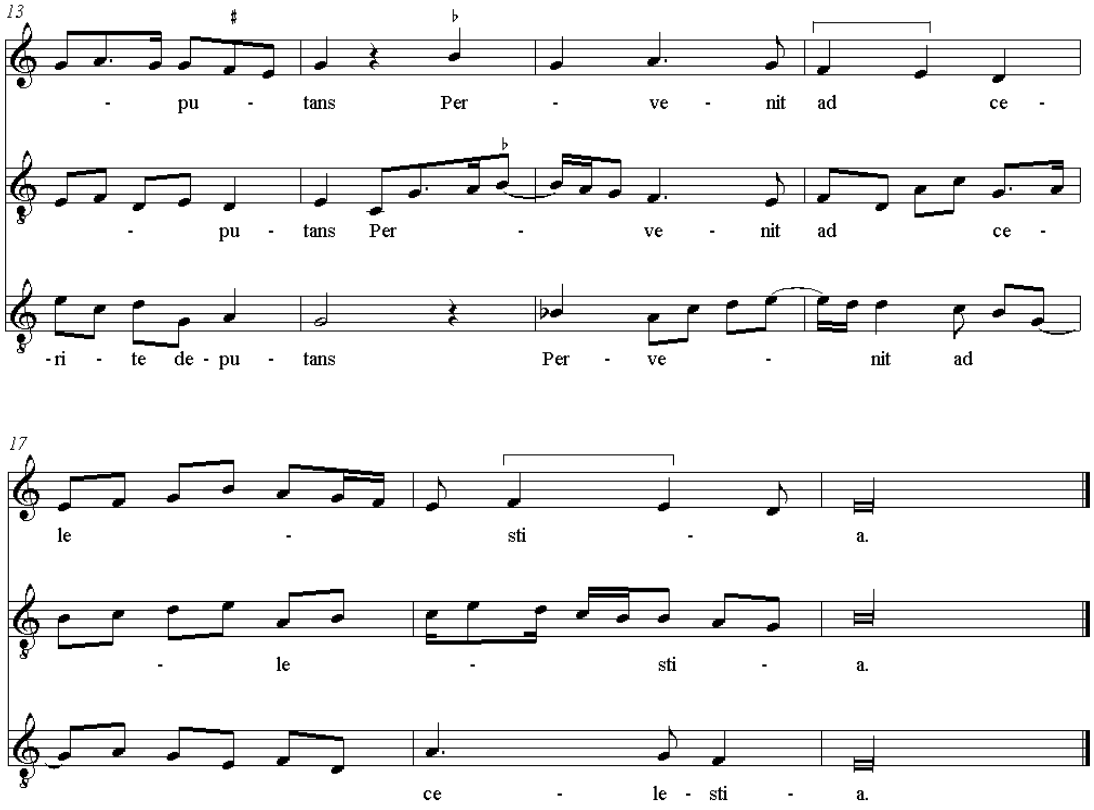
Example 35: *Exultet coelum*, Vs. 2 *Vos secli justi judices* version a, fol. 53v



Du Fay's composition is presented across fols. 53v-54, again with the text of *Vos secli justi judices*. This polyphonic setting is used for *Deo patri sit Gloria*, the sixth strophe of the hymn on fols. 55v-56.

Quorum precepto subditur, strophe four, is a four-voice setting that uses a number of compositional attributes associated with the work of Josquin and De Orto in the cycle. The chant is set in the superius voice, although in several instances the chant is used as a point of imitation between the voices. This can be seen first in bb. 1-2, where the F-E-F-G-F phrase appears in the altus, followed by the superius and finally by the tenor voice. Imitation is used once again between the altus and superius voice at the opening of the second and then third phrase of the chant. This third phrase [Ex. 36, Bars 8-9] is imitated at the octave by the tenor voice for five notes. The tenor takes the superius point in the fourth phrase [Ex. 36, Bar 13]. The composition of the tenor is such that it coincides with the superius voice several times in octave imitation. The voice paraphrases the chant throughout in a less elaborate approach than that taken by the superius, although the tenor does not contain the entire chant. Like the strophes set by Josquin and De Orto when placed alongside Du Fay's compositions in a hymn, *Quorum precepto subditur* uses a mensuration sign that is in duple time (C time), rather than triple time (circle time). The staggered entry of the voices and the attempt to keep strict imitation wherever possible shows the influence of Josquin on the composition.

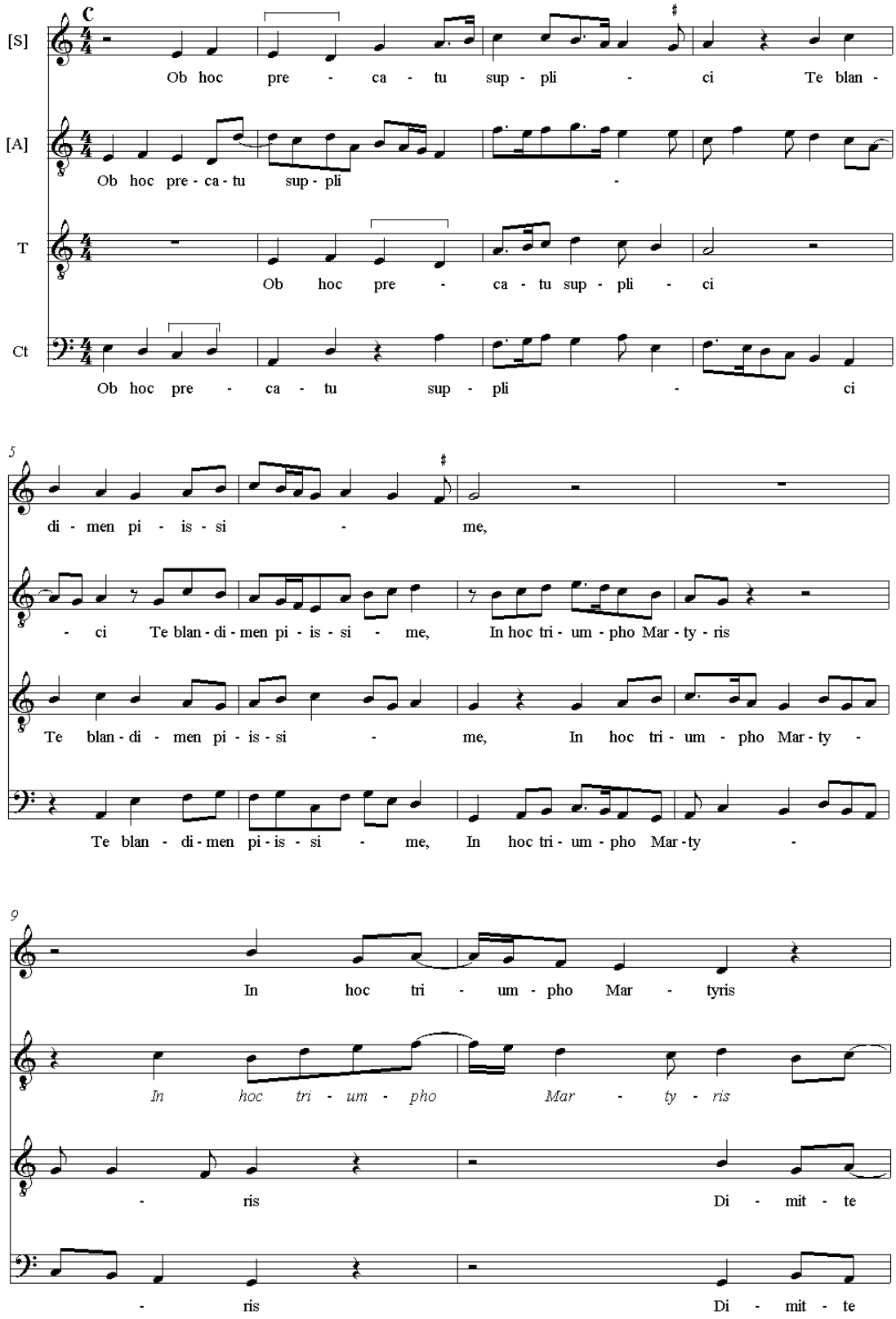
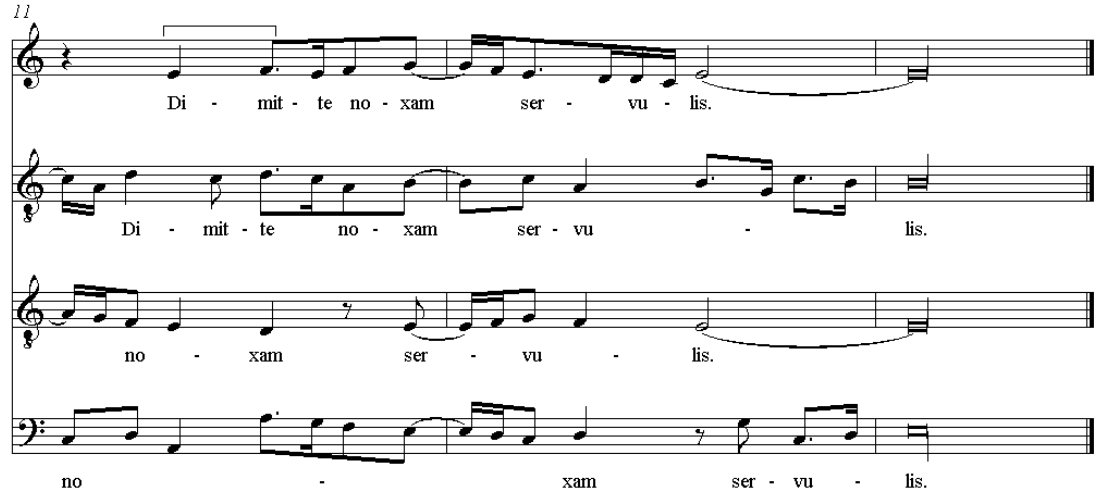
Example 36: *Exultet coelum*, Vs. 4 *Quorum precepto subditur*, fols. 54v-55

Deus tuorum militum (fols. 56v-58)

This five-strophe chant for the feast of one martyr includes a range of compositional styles to be found in the hymn cycle of CS 15. The second strophe, *Hic nempe mundi gaudia*, is Du Fay's three-voice fauxbourdon setting of the chant. This is then given in an alternative version with a new contratenor and tenor voice.

Example 37: *Deus tuorum militum*, Vs. 2 *Hic nempe mundi gaudia*, alternative version, fols. 56v-57

The accompaniment in this alternative version is angular in nature, characterised by the consistent octave leaps found in the altus part and leaps of a fifth in the tenor. The tonality is predominantly 8/5 in nature, with one note usually being doubled. The texture is dense, lacking the melodic flow of the lines constructed by Du Fay for all the voices.

The fourth strophe, *Ob hoc precatu supplici*, is different in that it uses the chant as a point of imitation between the superius, altus and tenor at the start of the strophe. From here, the second phrase is used as a point between the superius and tenor voice (bb. 4-5). The altus is the rhythmic driver of the verse, with an abrupt stop in bar 7, although it begins once again a bar later. The texture is more akin to Josquin's additions to the hymn cycle, where rests within the vocal writing leads to staggered entries not only at the start, but also at the beginning of each chant phrase. In the manuscript, it is interesting to find a second scribal hand with the addition of different text below each part, although the text itself does not appear to be connected with any of the strophes of the hymn text. The same hand appears in the chant setting at the top of fol. 57v,

suggesting that the setting was used for another purpose too, after the copying of the piece. Nowhere else in the hymn cycle have I found an addition like this.

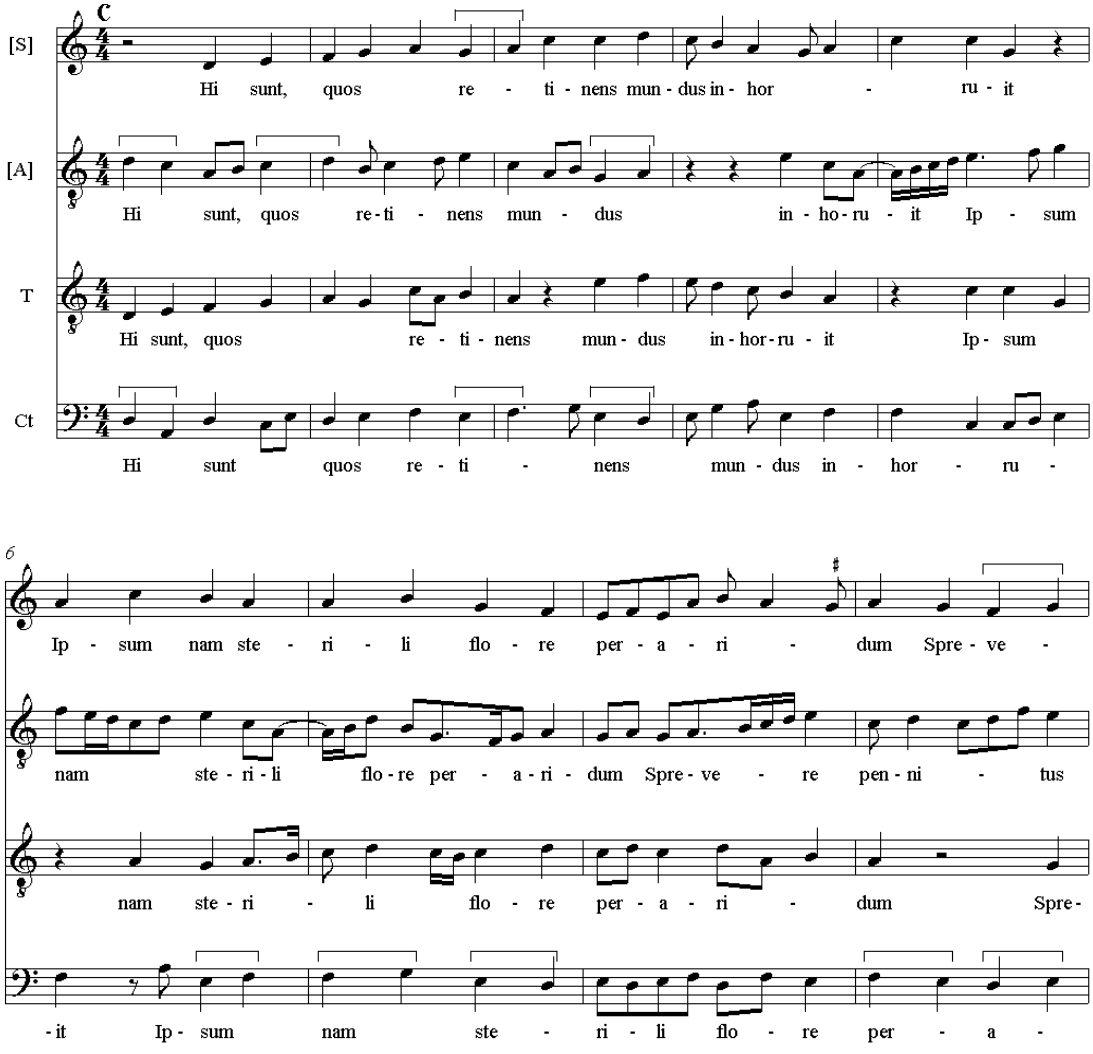
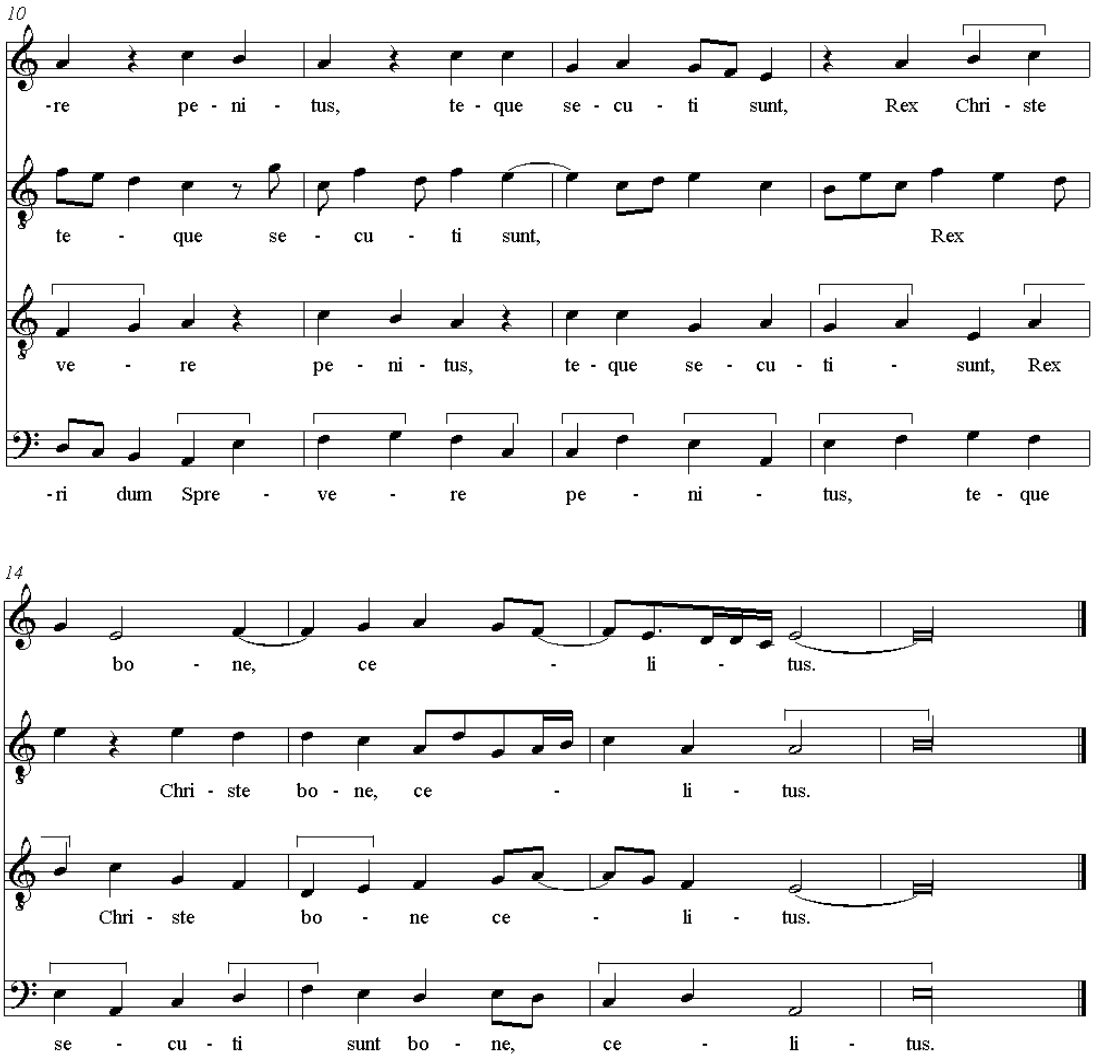
Example 38: *Deus tuorum militum*, Vs. 4 *Ob hoc precatu supplici*, fols. 57v-58

Sanctorum meritis (fols. 58v-62)

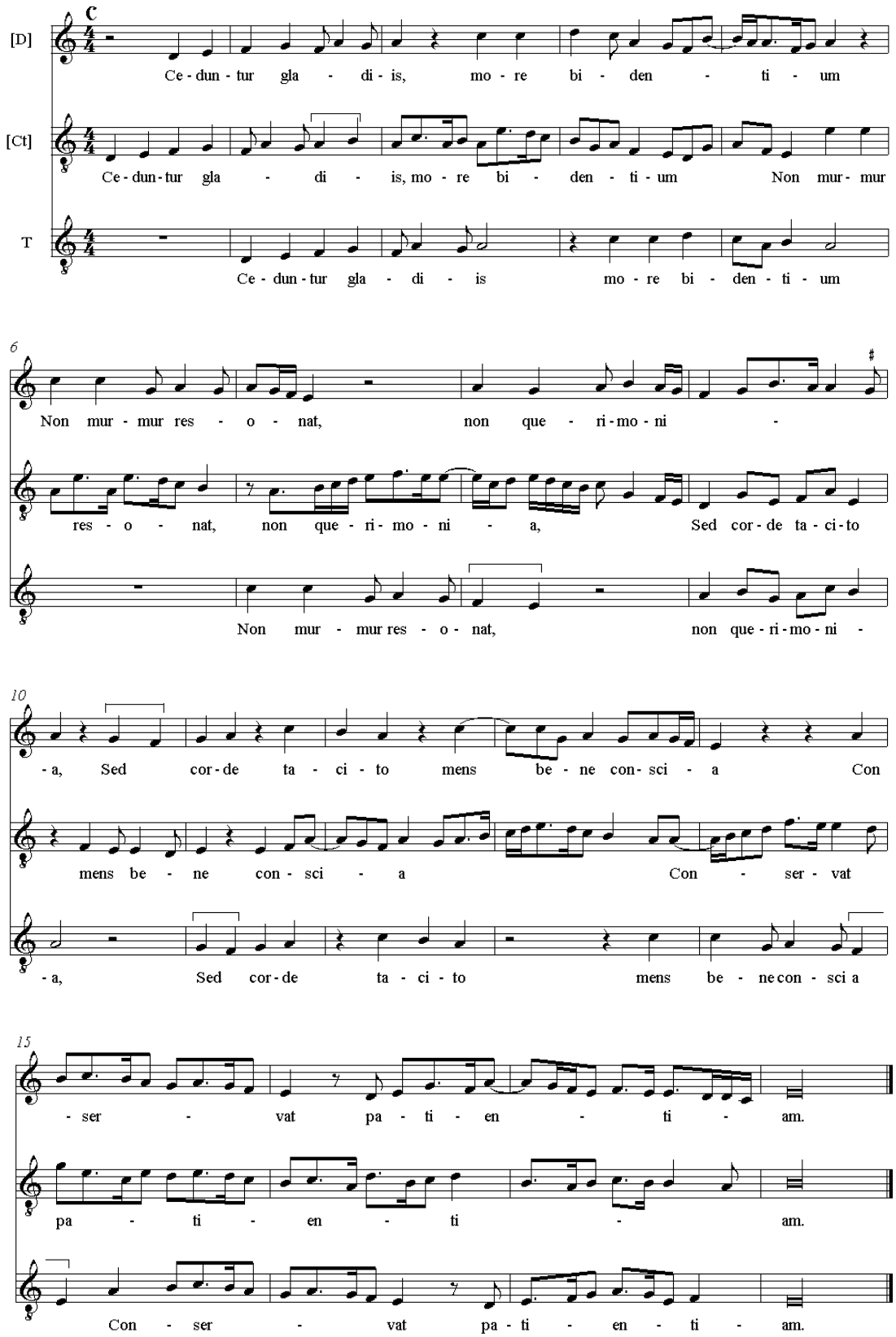
This six-strophe setting is used on the celebration of feasts of many martyrs. In the case of this setting, one of the settings for verse two, *Hi sunt, quos retiens mundus inhorruit* by Du Fay, is also used to set the text for the sixth verse, *Te, summa deitas unique, poscimus*. Du Fay sets a different chant to that presented in the monophonic chant strophes and in the alternative second strophe and in the fourth strophe. Du Fay's chant is only transmitted in his setting, while the alternative chant appears to be the more popular, as it is transmitted in eight sources, including those of relevance here.[438] It might appear that this difference between the settings did not concern either those who compiled the manuscript or those who performed from it.

The Du Fay polyphonic setting does not differ a great deal from those discussed earlier, aside from the final bars. Here, in the discantus, there are triplets instead of a 6/8 rhythmic formation in the run up to the cadence. This is the only instance of triplets within Du Fay's hymn settings and, contrary to expectation, enforces the idea of a 3/4 timing in the final moments of the strophes.

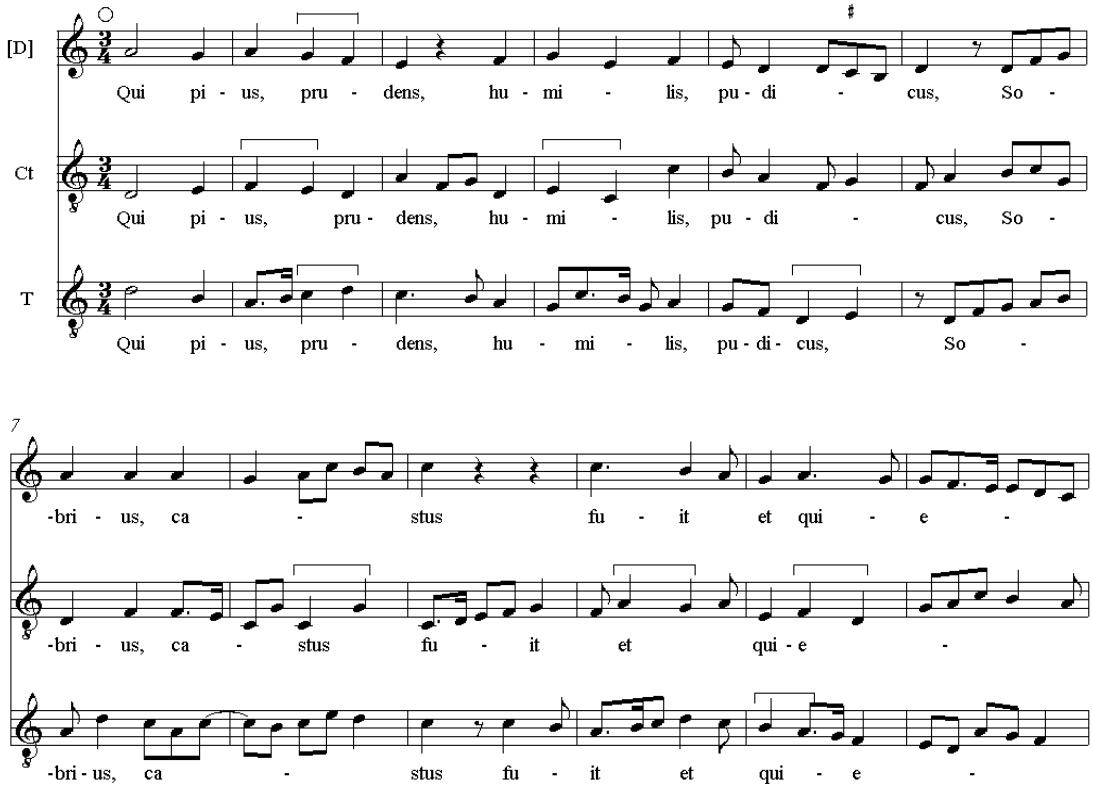
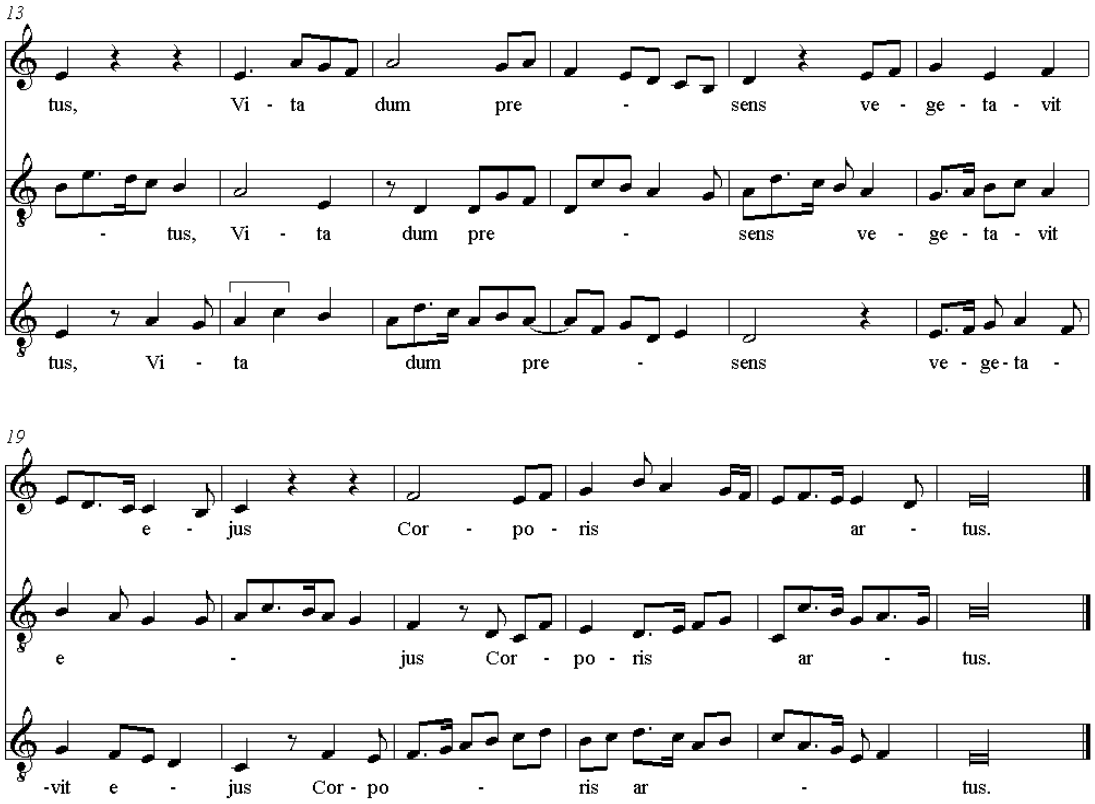
[438] Presented in Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn*, 437-41.

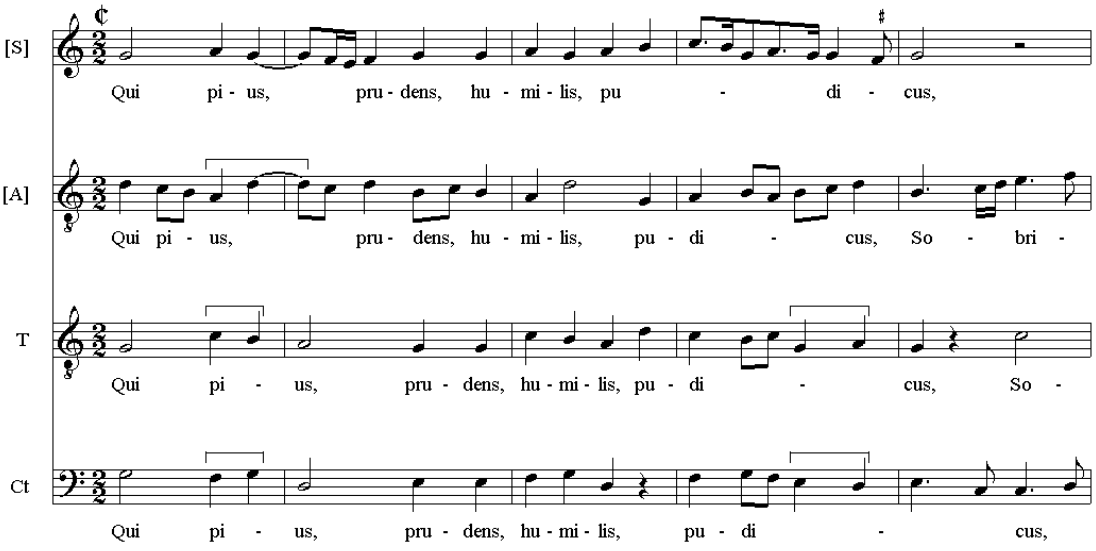
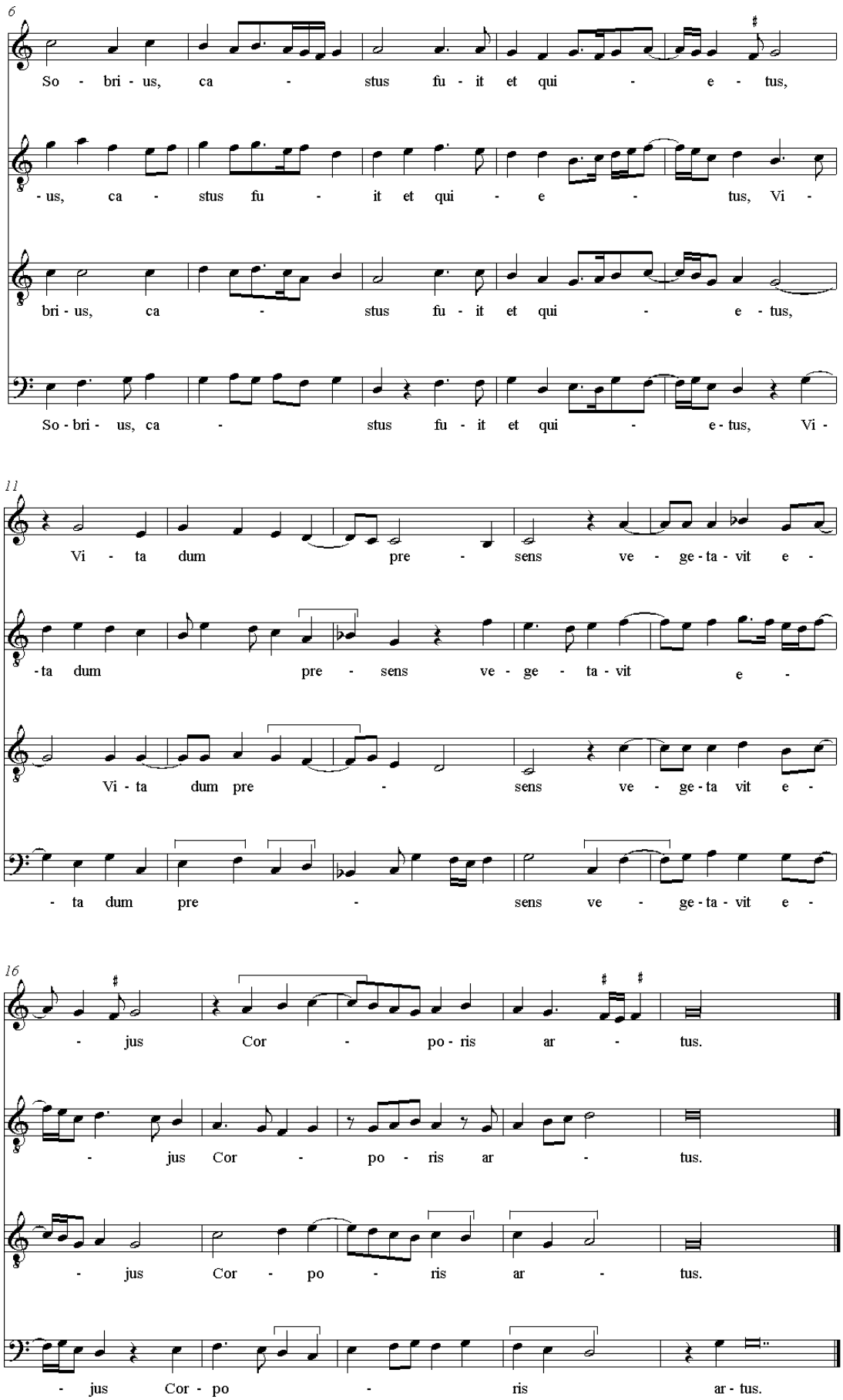
The alternative setting of *Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit* is interesting in its manipulation of the chant between the superius and the tenor voice. There are several instances of imitation between the voices, some of which do not take place at the start of a phrase (for instance bb. 9-10). The contratenor writing fluctuates between the steady pace of its pairing with the bassus to momentary interjections of rhythmic impudence. The tenor voice makes restless attempts to form moments of imitation wherever possible, fluctuating between the use of the superius line and fulfilling the role of harmonic accompaniment. The parallel unison between the altus and tenor voices in bar 15 is an unusual and rare occurrence within the music of the hymn cycle and the music of the fifteenth century.

Example 39: *Sanctorum meritis*, Vs. 2 *Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit*, fols. 59v-60

The fourth strophe, *Ceduntur gladiis, more bidentium* is a three-voice setting, but has more in common with some of the four-voice settings within the hymn cycle. It opens with all three voices quoting the opening notes of the chant at intervals of two beats. The contratenor consistently uses the discantus as a point of imitation, both rhythmic and melodic, wherever possible, although simplifications of the melody and rhythm are made where needed. The tenor voice acts in a way more akin to the contratenor writing of four-voice settings by De Orto, with a rhythmically driven agenda, moving to arrive at harmonising notes at the movement of the discantus and contratenor voices. Overall, the rhythmic texture of the strophe begins at a steady pace, although gradually changes from a crotchet-movement opening to a heavily dotted-quaver-semiquaver ending.

Example 40: *Sanctorum meritis*, Vs. 4 *Ceduntur gladiis, more bidentium*, fols. 60v-61

Iste confessor (fols. 62v-66)

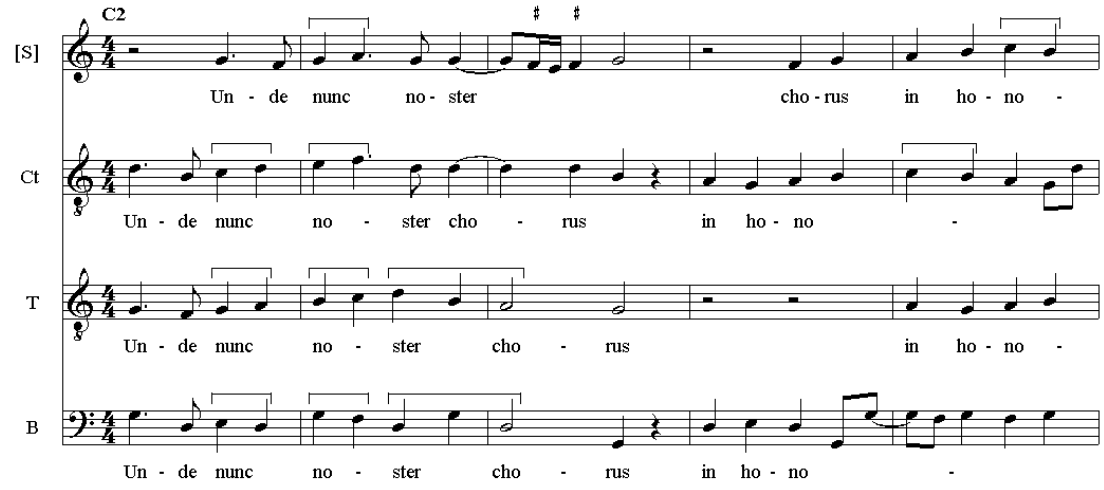
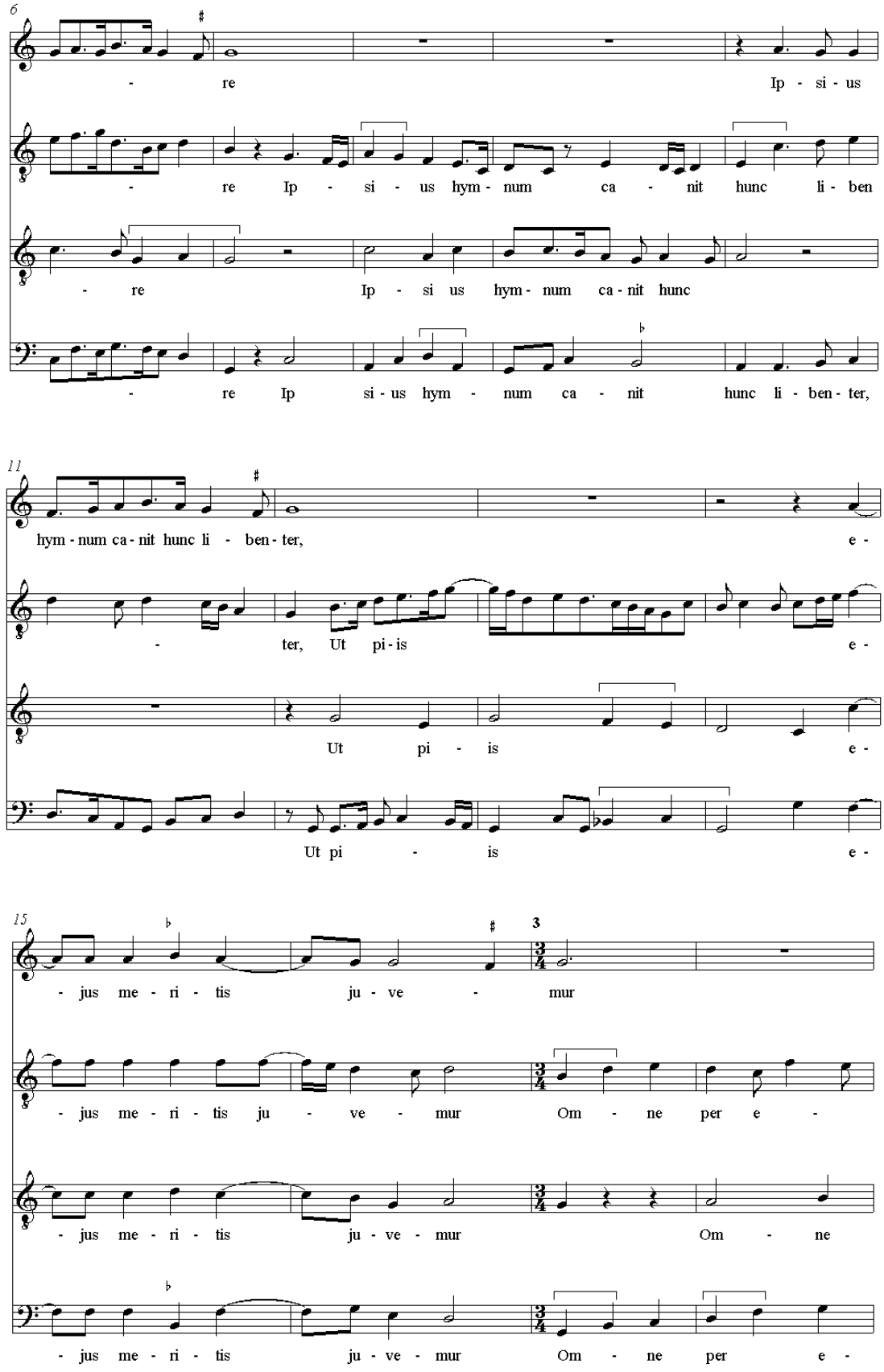
Iste confessor sets a text of four strophes for the Common of Confessors. In the CS 15 cycle, two different versions of the two polyphonically set verses are included. The first collection, fols. 62v-46, presents two alternative versions of the second verse, one by Du Fay and the second comprising Du Fay's discantus accompanied by a new contratenor and tenor. Like many of the compositions that take Du Fay's discantus, the additional parts of the contratenor and tenor are grouped together with many instances of similar rhythmic movement. Unlike many of the additions in this category though, the new voices are less angular and more melodic in shape.

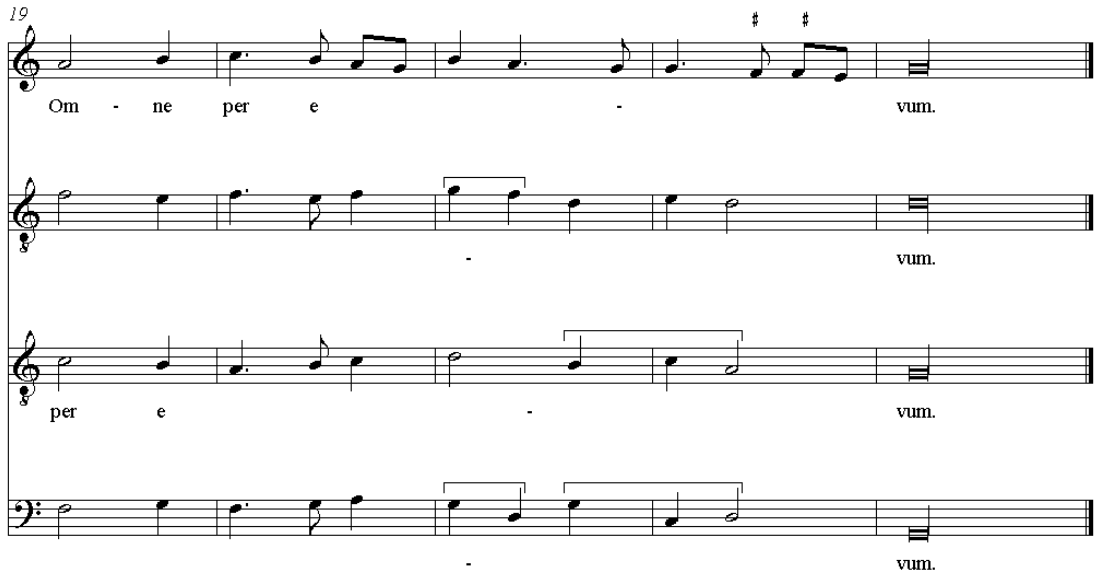
Example 41: *Iste confessor*, Vs. 2 *Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus*, fols. 62v-63

The second collection of *Iste Confessor* presents the strophes in four-voice settings. *Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus* is unremarkable except for the instances of four-voice declamations. These moments of synchronisation are not at the places that one might expect, being in the middle of phrases, rather than at the start or end of them (bb. 8-9 and 14-15).

Example 42: *Iste confessor*, Vs. 2 *Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus*, fols. 64v-65

6
So - bri - us, ca - stus fu - it et qui - e - tus,
- us, ca - stus fu - it et qui - e - tus, Vi -
bri - us, ca - stus fu - it et qui - e - tus,
So - bri - us, ca - stus fu - it et qui - e - tus, Vi -
11
Vi - ta dum pre - sens ve - ge - ta - vit e -
- ta dum pre - sens ve - ge - ta - vit e -
Vi - ta dum pre - sens ve - ge - ta vit e -
- ta dum pre - sens ve - ge - ta - vit e -
16
- jus Cor - po - ris ar - tus.
- jus Cor - po - ris ar - tus.
- jus Cor - po - ris ar - tus.
- jus Cor - po - ris ar - tus.

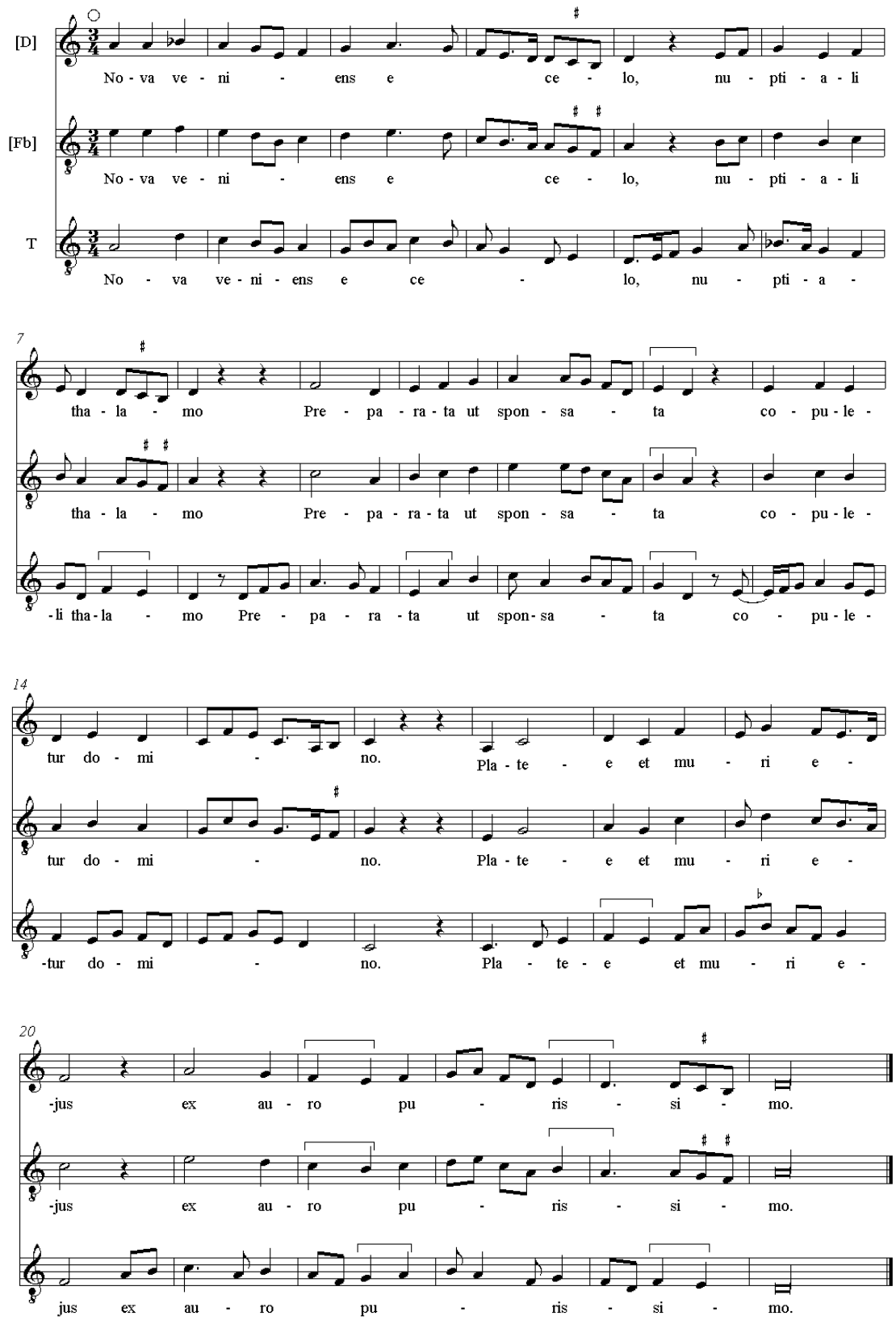
The fourth strophe, *Unde nunc noster in honore*, is set for four voices. It is unusual for the final line of text to change mensuration from circle-time to triple-time. This feature is also part of the compositions *Aurea luce et decore roseo* and *Petrus beatus*. Similar to verse two of *Iste Confessor*, the strophe also contains moments of declamation in all four voices [Ex. 43. bb. 15-16]. The chant appears more clearly in the tenor voice than the superius. Moments of imitation are found between the tenor voice with the contratenor [Ex. 43. bb. 5-6], the tenor and bassus [Ex. 43. bb. 7-8] and tenor and superius [Ex. 43. bb. 18-20], all at the octave or unison. The contratenor voice has the largest range (12th) and the most rhythmically active voice in the setting. This is followed by the bassus that joins the contratenor in several instances in rhythmic patterns. The final section of the strophe from bar 17 acts as a final coda after the declamatory figure from bb. 14-16.

Example 43: *Iste confessor*, Vs.4 *Unde nunc noster chorus in honore*, fols. 65v-66

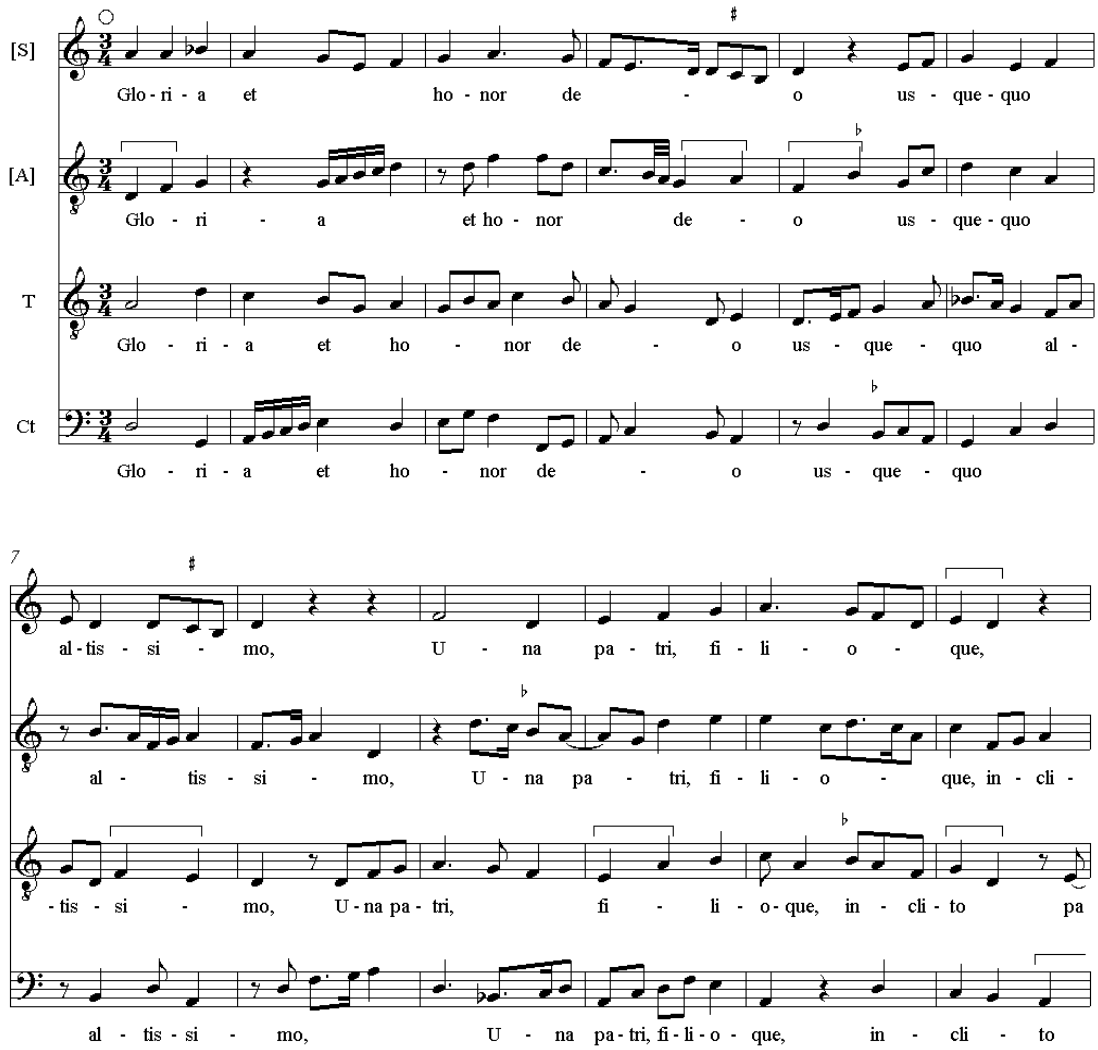
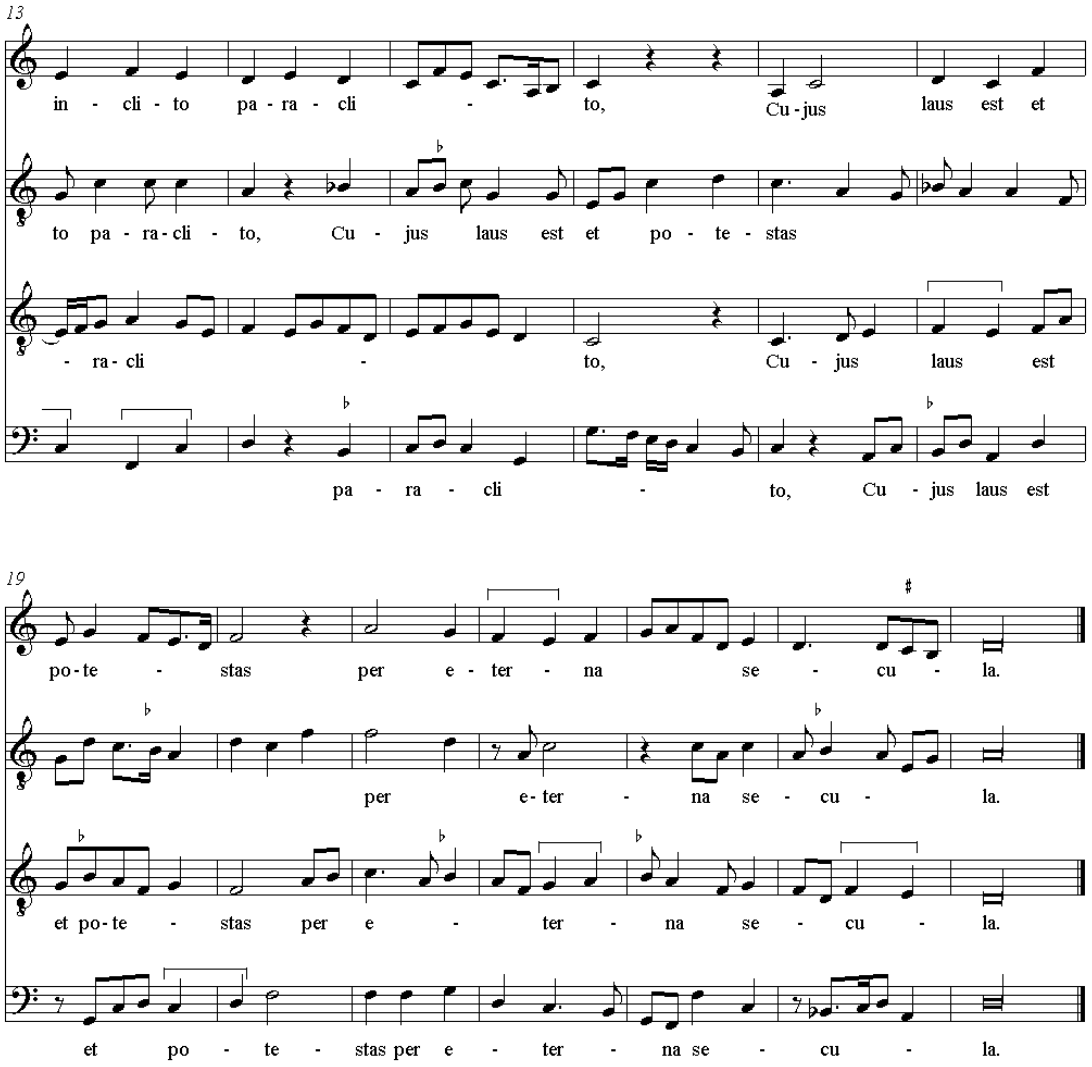


6
- re Ip - si - us
- re Ip - si - us hym - num ca - nit hunc li - ben
- re Ip si us hym - num ca - nit hunc
- re Ip si - us hym - num ca - nit hunc li - ben - ter,
11
hym - num ca - nit hunc li - ben - ter, e -
- ter, Ut pi - is e -
Ut pi - is e -
Ut pi - is e -
15
- jus me - ri - tis ju - ve - mur
- jus me - ri - tis ju - ve - mur Om - ne per e -
- jus me - ri - tis ju - ve - mur Om - ne
- jus me - ri - tis ju - ve - mur Om - ne per e -

Urbs beata Jerusalem (fols. 68v-70)

The final hymn setting in the cycle, *Urbs beata Jerusalem* is used for feasts that celebrate the dedication of a church. The polyphonic settings of strophes two, four and six include the Du Fay setting as well as appropriations of Du Fay's discantus voice for the creation of two other polyphonic settings. *Nova veniens e celo nuptiali thalamo* (verse two) takes Du Fay's discantus and places against it a new tenor voice, from which the third voice is derived through fauxbourdon. Although not uncommon, this technique is not as widespread as that in which the fauxbourdon is derived from the discantus voice. The discantus is given a different tenor and contratenor in the manuscript TrentC 92. Here, the tenor voice follows much the same shape as Du Fay's setting for the first phrase, although with elaboration.

Example 44: *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, Vs. 2 *Nova veniens e celo nuptiali thalamo* fols. 68v-69

The sixth verse, *Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo*, is particularly interesting in comparison with the other four-voice settings that accompany hymns that derive one

verse from Du Fay's setting. In the sixth verse, the composed tenor from verse two, *Nova veniens e celo nuptiali thalamo*, is used as well as Du Fay's discantus setting, with the addition of two newly composed parts. The four-voice setting creates a denser texture than the previous two verses, in which verse two had two voices that moved in homorhythm and verse four (*Tunsionibus, pressuris expoliti lapides*) had several instances of homorhythmic movement between all three voices. In verse six, the altus and contra consistently waver between compound and simple rhythmic groupings in opposition to the superius and tenor voices.

Example 45: *Urbs beata Jerusalem*, Vs. 6 *Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo*, fols. 69v-70

5.6 Towards an Understanding of the Hymn Cycle

There have been several general statements relating to the contents of the hymn cycle of CS 15 in earlier literature. At first, the cycle appears to be a farrago of music, thrown together in a haphazard fashion. However, the reality is far different. The manuscript is a retrospective compendium of works that is, in turn, a documented commentary of possibly 60 years of performing Du Fay's original hymn cycle. It shows how a choir developed a repertory by starting with an initial collection of music and then adapting and adding to it to suit the choir's need. Unlike other collections of Du Fay's hymn cycle, the CS 15 hymn cycle provides insight into the end result of how Du Fay's hymns may

have been shaped at other institutions, rather than how they initially entered the repertory.

Although it is tempting to provide a chronological outline of how the hymn cycle was put together, I believe that it is much more complicated than it first appears. Four-voice settings were not introduced as successors to their three-voice predecessors. For example, the four-voice setting of *Laus, honor, virtus, Gloria* [Ex. 8 (c)] is a strong example of the process of cannibalising Du Fay's compositions. It retains two of Du Fay's original voices, while haphazardly adding a third and fourth voice. Alternatively, the three-voice setting of *Canduntur gladiis, more bidentium* [Ex. 40] has many features that could place it nearer a composition style of De Orto or Josquin rather than many of the four-voice settings found in the cycle. As cannibalisation automatically takes on elements of the original piece of music, it is difficult in some cases to differentiate between two pieces that possibly could have been composed 50 years apart.

Analysis of individual vocal ranges is also a fruitless path of enquiry. The vocal ranges of individual voices do not particularly differ between Du Fay and later compositions. Du Fay uses a vocal range of up to eleven notes. The only place where this is surpassed is in the contratenor of *Qui condolens interitu* [Ex. 18] and *Unde nunc noster chorus in honore* [Ex. 43], which have a range of twelve notes. However, a discussion of the composite vocal range of the pieces contained in the cycle does provide more fruitful insight. One particular flaw with this line of investigation here is, however, a fundamental stylistic feature of the hymn: the top voice must contain the chant, thus containing it within a range that may have been exceeded, had the chant been in the tenor.[439] This can

[439] This is not the same when such an analysis takes place of motets or masses, where any pre-composed material is usually found in the tenor voice. Thus as a middle voice (usually with at least one counterpart found in the countertenor) the full span of the vocal range is

be seen in many examples of the transcribed music, where vocal range for the superius voice is under an octave.[440] Despite this particular issue, I believe the discussion of compound vocal ranges of different strophes to be the most useful method of grouping the hymns together for a discussion of the music contained within the hymn cycle of CS 15.

By taking Du Fay's compositions as the earliest parts of the cycle, a base range can be established for the composite vocal range of the earlier hymn cycles. Du Fay's hymns have a range of between thirteen and sixteen notes. Out of the 21 of Du Fay's hymns contained in the CS 15 cycle, nine have a range of 15 notes; five have a range of 13 notes; four of 14 notes and three of 16 notes. A generalisation of these numbers, already used in established literature, is to say that Du Fay's compositions have a range of, on average, two octaves.[441] Of the 13 anonymous pieces that fall into the range of 13-16 notes, several cannibalise the vocal writing of Du Fay's earlier compositions. These include music examples 6, 35, 29, 44, 34, 37 and 41. Another group of compositions also forms part of this category though. Like the contributions by named composers, they are located close to each other, exhibiting common compositional features between them. These are music examples 22, 24 and 25. The three four-voice pieces exhibit declamatory crotchet (semibreve) movement and are all approximately the same length of composition. Examples 22 and 24 show momentary imitative gestures between voices, where in Ex. 25 they are more pronounced between the superius and tenor. If contributions by composers were grouped together, there is a possibility that at least the compositions in examples 24 and 25 are by the same composer. This is shown by the arrangement of

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not affected. On vocal divides in mid-fifteenth century music, see David Fallows, 'Workshop II. The Performing Ensembles in Josquin's Sacred Music', 47.

[440] See example 18, 25, 26 and 43 for a superius with a range of six tones. Examples 17, 24, 28 and 29 have a superius range of seven tones.

[441] Rebecca Stewart, 'Workshop IV. Voice Types in Josquin's Motets', 113.

compositions by De Orto and Josquin, as well as by my earlier hypothesis about these compositions: *Aure luce et decore roseo*, *Petrus beatus* and *Tibi Christe splendor patris*.

Also falling into this range are two compositions that exhibit tight compositional manipulation of the music, to create imitative works of notable design: examples 26 and 42. These appear far removed from the other examples in this category of compositions with a range of around two octaves. The compositional style and construction of duos punctuated by another vocal pairing that use the same musical material shows far more skilled approach to the musical material than the rest of the compositions in this range.

The next range that seems sensible to place in one category of its own are those pieces that fall in between the range of 17 and 19 notes, a range of about two and a half octaves. Here, the compositions of Josquin and De Orto [Exs. 10, 12, 14 and 17] are found. This is shorter than the three octave range that Josquin uses in his motets as outlined by Stewart.[442] However, this point further supports my previous statement that the inclusion and adherence to the chant in the superius truncates the range used by the top voice.[443]

Many of the hymns within this range share some stylistic attributes with those compositions ascribed to Josquin and De Orto. No more is this clearly seen than in the compositions for *Ave, maris stella*, where Josquin is only named for one strophe, although another two strophes have also been included in modern editions of Josquin's compositions. Many of the stylistic features are associated with imitation between at least two voices (usually the superius and tenor). The points of imitation are frequently founded on the chant that forms the superius line, as in Exs. 30, 31 and 39. The tenor voice, as a vehicle for imitation, paraphrases the chant in several strophes [Exs. 28, 33 ad

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[442] Ibid.

[443] An approximate range for the Magnificat and motet section of the CS 15 manuscript shows many pieces to be in the range of 18-22 tones.

43]. Possibly most interesting of all is the role which the altus/contratenor voice takes in the strophes of this range.

The altus/contratenor in these ranges of 17-19 notes is the most functionally diverse of the voices. In many examples, the altus/contratenor provides a duet with another voice, predominantly the bassus, as in *Gloria et honore deo usquequo altissimo* [Ex. 45]. Andrew Hughes's assessment of the contratenor of the early fifteenth-century, after the fourteenth-century theorist Anonymous XI, codified the voice as 'grammatically unessential'.[444] Although this concerns three-voice compositions when two-voice compositions were 'complete' without the addition of a third voice, the same could be extended to many four-voice compositions in the CS 15 hymn cycle. A particular example of this is found in the lively, rhythmic altus writing of De Orto's *Ventris obstruso positus cubili* [Ex. 12]. Other examples include Exs. 28 and 38, where rhythmically frantic movement causes the voice to appear as an erratic waveform within the amplitude of the outer vocal parts.

The final range contains those pieces of a range of around 20-21 steps. Only two of the pieces transcribed in this chapter are found in this range: Exs. 9 and 30. Example 30, *Accende lumen sensibus*, is, however, only part of this category because of its final bass note. Had the final cadenced an octave above, the piece would have been in the previous category, where I believe it belongs. Example 9 also falls into this category, rather superficially as, if it were not for the canon between the superius and bassus, it would be placed in the previous range. The uncharacteristic sudden leap of a fifth downwards ensures that the work does not finish with the tenor and bassus unison.

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[444] Andrew Hughes, 'Some Notes on the Early Fifteenth-Century Contratenor', *Music and Letters*, Vol. L (1969), 377.

What the above has served to demonstrate is that the ranges of the hymns are not the same as for other genres of music. Had that been true, one may expect the ranges of Josquin's hymns to have been the same as his *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, which uses a range of 20 steps aside from the Sanctus that uses only 18. The hymn genre in this respect must be treated as a 'musical miniature' in comparison to the large-scale musical structures of the motet and mass. The hymn strophe was a condensed composition, although it could not forsake any technical skill in its construction. The polyphonic hymn strophe is an intense *amuse-bouche,* showcasing compositional ability and skill within a strict pre-formed structure. The CS 15 hymn cycle is an important document in this showcase, highlighting development of compositional style through the second half of the fifteenth century, and exhibiting the compositional techniques of the singer composers of the papal chapel choir.

5.7 Editorial Commentary

The following commentary is provided for pieces that are previously unpublished from CS 15. Previously published material of identified composers (Du Fay, Josquin and De Orto) can be found in their specific editions.[445] The editorial policy is outlined in Appendix II. The order of the entries conforms to the sequence that the hymns are presented in the manuscript.

***Conditor alme siderum,* Vs. 2 *Qui condolens interitu* [Ex. 18]**

Main Source: CS 15, 2v-3

Text: Qui condolens interitu
Mortis perire seculum,

[445] For examples 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, (6), 8, 9 , 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17, refer to their editions identified in n. 390.

Salvasti mundum languidum,

Donans reis remedium.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-Circle

Ct [Contra]: Cc3; Bar 10: 3-6 unreadable; Bar 24: 2 dot unreadable.

Ct 2 [Contra tenor]: Cc4.

T: Fc4; Bar 4: 1 signum congruentiae; Bar 24: 1 signum congruentiae.

B: Fc4.

***Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre,* Vs. 4 *Sic presens testatur* [Ex. 19]**

Main Source: CS 15, 6v-7

Concordant Source: VerBC 759, 96v-97, untexted.

Text: Sic presens testatur dies,

Currens per anni circulum,

Quod solus a sede patris

Mundi salus adveneris.

Text Commentary: The third line of the strophe in the manuscript reads 'Quo solus'.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

S: Cc1 Bar 10: 1, Gc2; Bar15: 2, Cc1.

A: Cc3.

T: Cc3.

Ct: Cc5.

***Christe redemptor omnium, ex patre*, Vs. 6 *Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo* [Ex. 20]**

Main Source: CS 15, 7v-8

Concordant Source: Discantus taken from Du Fay, *Christe redemptor omnium*, *Conserva*, transposed down a fourth.

Text: Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo

Redempti sanguine sumus,

Ob diem natalis tui,

Hymnum novum concinimus.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc3.

T: Fc3.

***Hostis Herodes impie*, Vs. 2 *Ibant magi, quam viderant* [Ex. 21]**

Main Source: CS 15, 8v-9

Text: Ibant magi, quam viderant
Stellam sequentes previam:
Lumen requirunt lumine,
Deum fatentur munere.

Mensuration Sign: C2

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc3; Bar 3: 6 onwards intermittent clarity between incomprehensible passages.

T: Cc4.

B: Fc4; Bar4: 3 onwards intermittent clarity between incomprehensible notes.

***Lucis creator,* Vs. 2 *Qui mane junctum vesperi* [Ex. 11]**

Main Source: CS 15, 12v-13

Text: Qui mane junctum vesperi
Diem vocari precepis:
Tenturum chaos illabitur,
Audi preces cum fletibus.

Direction: Contra a fauxbourdon.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc1.

T: Cc3; Bar 9 onwards: copy affected by bleed-through and smudging.

***Audi benigne conditor*, Vs. 2 *Scrutator alme cordium* [Ex. 22]**

Main Source: CS 15, 14v-15

Text: Scrutator alme cordium
Infirma tu scis virium,
Ad te reversis exhibe
Remissionis gratiam.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc2.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Cc4; Key signature appears only on first stave.

B: Fc4.

***Aures ad nostras*, Vs. 2 *Respice clemens solio de sancto* [Ex. 23]**

Main Source: CS 15, 16v-17

Text: Respice clemens solio de sancto
Vultu sereno, lampadas illustra
Lumine tuo, tenebras depelle
Pectore nostro.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1; Bar 10: 3 onwards bleed through obscures much of the music.

Ct: Cc3; Bar 10: 4 onwards bleed through obscures much of the music.

T: Cc3; Bar 10: 3 onwards bleed through obscures much of the music.

B: Cc5; Key signature of one flat appears on second stave only; Bar 10: 3 onwards bleed through obscures much of the music.

***Vexilla regis proderunt,* Vs. 2 *Quo vulneratus insuper* [Ex. 6]**

Main Source: CS 15, 20v-21

Concordant Sources: Discantus voice taken from Du Fay, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*.

Text : Quo vulneratus insuper
Mucrone diro lancee,
Ut nos lavaret crimine,
Manavit unda et sanguine.

Mensuration Signs: Circle

D: Cc1.

T: Cc4.

***Vexilla regis proderunt,* Vs. *4 Arbor decora et fulgida* [Ex. 7]**

Main Source: CS 15, 21v-22

Text: Arbor decora et fulgida,
Ornata regis purpura,
Electa digno stipite
Tam sancta membra tangere.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1; Key signature is only present on first stave.

Ct: Cc3; Bar 4: 3 sbC?

T: Cc4; Key signature is only present on first stave.

B: Fc4

***Ad coenam, agni providi,* Vs. 4 *Jam pascha nostrum Christus est* [Ex. 24]**

Main Source: CS 15, 24v-25

Text: Jam pascha nostrum Christus est,
Qui immolatus agnus est:
Sinceritatis azyma,
Caro ejus oblata est.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc2 Bar 12: 1 illegible from bleed through.

Ct 1: Cc4.

T: Fc3.

Ct 2: Fc4.

***Ad coenam, agni providi*, Vs. 6 *Consurgit christus tumulo* [Ex. 25]**

Main Source: CS 15, 25v-26

Text: Consurgit Christus tumulo,
Victor redit de barathro,
Tyrannum trudens vinculo,
Et paradisum reserans.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-Circle

S: Cc2.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Fc3.

B: Fc4; Bar 7: 1 sA?' Bar 17: 3 smB.

***Ad coenam, agni providi,* Vs. 8 *Gloria tibi domine* [Ex. 26]**

Main Source: CS 15, 26v-27

Text: Gloria tibi domine,
Qui surrexisti a mortuis,
Cum patre et sancto spiritu,
In sempiterna secula.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1; Bar 5: 1 to Bar 6: 1, illegible; Bar 8:4 to Bar 9:4. illegible.

Ct 1: Cc4.

T: Fc4.

Ct 2: Fc4.

***Jesu nostra redemptio*, Vs. 2 *Que te vincit clementia* [Ex. 27]**

Main Source: CS 15, 27v-28

Text: Que te vincit clementia
Ut ferres nostra crimina
Crudelem mortem patiens,
Ut nos a morte tolleres.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

S: Cc1.

A: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Fc4; Key signature of one flat appears on final stave.

***Jesu nostra redemptio*, Vs. 4 *Ipsa te cogat pietas* [Ex. 28]**

Main Source: CS 15, 28v-29

Text: Ipsa te cogat pietas,
Ut mala nostra superes
Parcendo et voti compotes
Nos tuo vultu saties.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-Circle

S: Cc1; Bar 20: 3 unclear; Bar 27: 4 mE.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

B: Fc4.

***Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 2 *Qui paraclitus diceris* [Ex. 29]**

Main Source: CS 15, 29v

Concordant Sources: Discantus voice taken from Du Fay, *Veni creator spiritus.*

Text: Qui paraclitus diceris,

Donum dei altissimi,

Fons vivus, ignis, caritas

Et spiritalis unctio.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc1; Bar 16: 2 unclear.

T: Cc3.

***Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 4 *Accende lumen sensibus* [Ex. 30]**

Main Source: CS 15, 30v-31

Concordant sources: Superius appears in SPB80.

Text: Accende lumen sensibus,

Infunde amorem cordibus,

Infirma nostri corporis

Virtute firmans perpeti.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

S: Cc1.

A: Cc3 Bar 10: 4- Bar 11: 1 Unclear.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Fc3.

***Veni creator spiritus*, Vs. 6 *Per te sciamus da patrem* [Ex. 31]**

Main Source: CS 15, 31v-32

Text: Per te sciamus da patrem,

Noscamus atque filium,

Te utriusque spiritum

Credamus omni tempore.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1; Bar 4: 1 signum congruentiae; Bar 11: 1 Gc2; Bar 20: 2 Cc1; Bar 29: 1 signum congruentiae.

Ct: Cc2.

B: Cc4.

***O lux beata trinitas,* Vs. 3 *Deo patri sit Gloria* [Ex. 32]**

Main Source: CS 15, 33v-34

Text: Deo patri sit gloria
Ejusque soli filio
Cum spiritu paraclito
Et nunc et in perpetuum.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc3.

T: Cc4.

Ct B: Fc4.

***Pange lingua*, Vs. 4 *Verbum caro panem verum* [Ex. 33]**

Main Source: CS 15, 35v-36

Text: Verbum caro panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit,
Fitque sanguis Christi meum
Et, si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-Circle

S: Cc1.

A: Cc3.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Fc4.

***Pange lingua*, Vs. 6 *Genitori genitoque* [Ex. 34]**

Main Source: CS 15, 36v-37

Text: Genitori genitoque
Laus et jubilatio,
Salus, honor, virtus quoque
Sit et benedictio,
Procedenti ab utroque
Compar sit laudatio.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

Triplum: Gc2

D: Cc1.

T: Cc3.

***Exultet coelum*, Vs. 2 *Vos secli justi judices* [Ex. 35]**

Main Source: CS 15, 53v

Concordant Sources: Discantus taken from Du Fay, *Exultet celum laudibus*

Text: Vos secli justi judices
Et vera mundi lumina,
Votis precamur cordium,
Audite preces supplicum.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc2.

T: Cc4.

***Exultet coelum*, Vs. 4 *Quorum precepto subditur* [Ex. 36]**

Main Source: CS 15, 54v-55

Text: Quorum precepto subditur
Salus et languor omnium,
Sanate egros moribus
Nos reddentes virtutibus.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc2.

A: Cc4; Bar 3: 1 dotted-sb?, Unclear.

T: Cc4.

B: Fc4.

***Deus tuorum militum*, Vs. 2 *Hic nempe mundi gaudia* [Ex. 37]**

Main Source: CS 15, 56v-57

Text: Hic nempe mundi gaudia
Et blandimenta noxia
Caduca rite deputans
Pervenit ad celestia.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc1.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

***Deus tuorum militum*, Vs. 4 *Ob hoc precatu supplici* [Ex. 38]**

Main Source: CS 15, 57v-58

Text: Ob hoc precatu supplici
Te poscimus, piisime,
In hoc triumpho martyris
Dimitte noxam servulis.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc1.

A: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Fc4; Bar 7: 4-6 reads G-A-B in manuscript.

***Sanctorum meritis*, Vs. 2 *Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit* [Ex. 39]**

Main Source: CS 15, 59v-60

Other Sources: Music appears in CS 15, 61v-62 with text for sixth strophe of hymn text: *Te, summa deitas unaque, poscimus*.

Text: Hi sunt, quos retinens mundus inhorruit,
Ipsum nam sterili flore peraridum
Spervere penitus teque secuti sunt,
Rex Christe bone, celitus.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc1; Bar 8: 5-7 Appears to read dotted-minima, semibrevis, semiminima.

A: Cc3; Bar 7: 2 reads C.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Fc4.

***Sanctorum meritis*, Vs. 4 *Ceduntur gladiis, more bidentium* [Ex. 40]**

Main Source: CS 15, 60v-61

Text: Ceduntur gladiis, more bidentium
Non murmur resonat, non querimonia,

Sed corde tacito mens bene conscia

Conservat patientiam.

Mensuration Sign: C

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc4; Bar 15: 1 Cc3; Bar 17: 1 Cc4.

T: Cc4.

***Iste confessor*, Vs. 2 *Qui pius, prudens, humilis pudicus* [Ex. 41]**

Main Source: CS 15, 62v-63

Concordant Sources: Discantus taken from Du Fay, *Iste confessor domini sacratus*.

Text: Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,

Sobrius, castus fuit et quietus,

Vita dum presens vegetavit ejus

Corporis artus.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc1.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

***Iste confessor*, Vs. 2 *Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus* [Ex. 42]**

Main Source: CS 15, 64v-65

Text: Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,

Sobrius, castus fuit et quietus,

Vita dum presens vegetavit ejus

Corporis artus.

Mensuration Sign: Cut-C

S: Cc1.

A: Cc3.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Cc5.

***Iste confessor*, Vs. 4 *Unde nunc noster chorus in honore* [Ex. 43]**

Main Source: CS 15, 65v-66

Text: Unde nunc noster chorus in honore

Ipsius hymnum canit hunc libenter,

Ut piis ejus meritus juvermur

Omne per evum.

Mensuration Sign: C2

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc3.

T: Cc4.

B: Fc4.

***Jesu corona virginum,* Vs. 2 *Qui pascis inter ilia* [Ex. 8 (a)]**

Main Source: CS 15, 66v-67

Concordant Sources: Discantus taken from Du Fay, *Jesu, corona virginum*.

Text: Qui pacis inter ilia

Septus choreis virginum,

Sponsus decorus Gloria

Sponsisque reddens premia.

Mensuration sign: Circle

D: Cc1.

Ct: Cc4.

T: Cc4.

***Jesu corona virginum,* Vs. 5 *Laus, honor, virtus, Gloria* [Ex. 8 (c)]**

Main Source: CS 15, 67v-68

Concordant Sources: Superius and Tenor taken from Du Fay, *Jesu corona virginum*.

Text: Laus, honor, virtus, gloria,

Deo patri et filio

Sancto simul paraclito

In sempiterna secula.

Mensuration sign: Circle

S: Cc1.

Ct: Cc3; Bar 6: 5 Cc4; Bar 11: 4 Cc3; Bar 19: 3 Cc4.

T:Cc4.

B:Fc4.

***Urbs beata Jerusalem*, Vs. 2 *Nova veniens e celo nuptiali thalamo* [Ex. 44]**

Main Source: CS 15, 68v-69

Concordant Sources: Discantus taken from Du Fay, *Urbs beata Jerusalem, dicta pacis visio*.

Text: Nova veniens e celo, nuptiali thalamo
Preparata ut sponsata, copuletur domino.
Platee et muri ejus ex auro purissimo.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

D: Cc3.

T: Cc4.

***Urbs beata Jerusalem*, Vs. 6 *Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo* [Ex. 45]**

Main Source: CS 15, 69v-70

Concordant Sources: Superius taken from Du Fay *Urbs beata Jerusalem.*

Text: Gloria et honor deo usquequo altissimo,
Uno patri filioque, inclito paraclito,
Cujus laus est et potestas per eterna secula.

Mensuration Sign: Circle

S: Cc2.

A: Cc4; Bar 24: 4 mF.

T: Cc4.

Ct: Cc4.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has set out to place the music from the reign of Alexander VI in the wider context of his programme of artistic patronage. It has aspired to present a context for a study of the cultivation of music at the papal court. It has shown the ways in which music formed a part of Alexander's wider remit of artistic patronage: completing the work of predecessors, continuing traditions and the introducing his own projects. All of these happened in both the sacred and secular arena of music during Alexander's papacy. By positioning music alongside other art forms, a wider framework has been provided through which to understand the musical culture supported and developed at the Vatican at the end of the fifteenth and start of the sixteenth century.

Alexander's papacy was a seminal period of history during which time the map of the world was enlarged through exploration and both the political boundaries and leadership of Europe changed. This was nowhere more evident than in Italy. Alexander's papacy was caught at a cross-roads at the end of the fifteenth-century. The Vatican music repertory reflects this particular issue, especially in the hymn cycle of CS 15, where the music of the previous generations underwent a process of consolidation, but is joined by compositions contemporary to Alexander's pontificate. In the course of this study, there have been three recurring themes associated with Alexander's artistic patronage as well as his support of music. The following headings amalgamate these themes, showing the osmotic exchange between music and the other arts during Alexander's papacy. These instances show that music was not separate from the papal court or the patronage that it practised, but was a symbiotic entity within it. The interaction between music and other arts was not always a product of Alexander's direct action, but an inadvertent result of his election as pope (as in the case of the coronation motet, for example) and his subsequent

endeavours. Some projects here fall into more than one category, highlighting the complexity of patronage during Alexander's reign.

6.1 To Complete and Continue

Alexander's papacy began with the completion of the inherited and unfinished projects of his predecessors. Such projects as the benediction loggia of Pius II at the front of St. Peter's basilica had remained unfinished for two previous pontificates and required completion. A larger perspective places Alexander's pontificate at a time when the vision of Nicholas V was brought to completion. For Alexander's successors, there appears to have been very little, if anything, left in need of completion. Like his predecessors, Alexander continued the patronage and renovation of the churches, part of the original project envisaged by Nicholas V. This also includes such repairs and renewals as the ceiling of the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. To some extent, this also incorporates Alexander's patronage of organs, whether the instrument or its decoration, where the instruments were part of a development of the beautification of the churches, both in aural and visual terms.

The main projects that Alexander continued were the development of the Vatican palace through the decoration of his papal apartment and the building of the Torre Borgia. By continuing investment in the palace, Alexander maintained and developed the papal court. Musically, this included the continued employment of the papal *pifferi* and the papal chapel choir, which were an essential part of courtly life long before Alexander's papacy, and it would have been unthinkable to disband such ensembles or adversely to change them in any way.

Support for figures such as the Brandolini brothers, if they did indeed perform at court, shows a continuation of patronage that had been instigated at the papal court

during Alexander's tenure as a cardinal under Pius II. This is an extension of the patronage of academics, humanists and historians that has only briefly been touched upon within this study and this area still has much scope for investigation.

Whilst following the example of his predecessors, Alexander developed the papal residence, although he primarily focussed on the papal apartments and the Castel Sant'Angelo. Like his previous projects as a cardinal in Pienza and Rome, he chose to work with and add to existing structures, rather than to begin the construction of new buildings. Alexander's choice of artist, although incomprehensible to some commentators such as Vasari and Saxl, was clearly influenced by the reliability of the artist who had proved himself in the completion of contracts and who was fashionably successful during his lifetime, Pintoricchio. The subsequent creation by Pintoricchio provides an insight into court life, as I have shown in the study of the fresco of *Musica*. Although these frescoes have been analysed by art historians, there is still much to contribute from the disciplines that the frescoes depict, which would contribute to the continuing commentary of Pintoricchio scholarship. For the history of music, Pintoricchio's *Musica* is important in the close depiction of instruments, showing techniques of playing and also instruments, like the vihuela, which were present and, in all likelihood, being used in performance at the papal court. The contribution of Alexander's patronage of artists is especially important for the representation of musical iconography as found both in this fresco and the frescoes on Valencia cathedral.

The papal chapel choir had already benefited from the patronage of Sixtus IV, who had created a new venue for performance and also increased the size of its membership. From the surviving payment records, fluctuations in membership during the reign of Innocent VIII appear to have stabilised under Alexander's pontificate. This subsequently

allowed the choir to expand its repertory, including compositions from composers within the choir, as well as from external sources.

The assembly of the papal chapel repertory made a distinct effort to adapt music to the institution's own traditions. Richard Sherr has already highlighted such distinctions in his discussion of pieces such as Josquin's *Domine non secundum* and the adaption of Ockeghem's *Missa L'homme armé* Credo.[446] In the instance of the hymn cycle, I have shown that this is a consistent feature, where, in a more radical adaptation than those shown by Sherr, Du Fay's original cycle is cannibalised over a period of sixty years, in order to create a larger and more varied number of settings for use in performance.

The papal chapel choir had developed the hymn cycle of CS 15 over several decades. The Du Fay hymn cycle formed its basis and was added to with arrangements of the composer's original work. From here, additions to the cycle appear to have accumulated until they were copied into a hymn cycle unique to the papal choir. The sixty years between inception and final consolidation, as well as the several versions of single strophe settings, hints that there may have been many more contributions of hymn strophes for the papal choir to sing, later discarded in the final production of CS 15. This is an example of a project that pre-dates the Nicholine plans of Vatican growth, finally completed during Alexander's pontificate. The consolidation of the cycle is a direct reflection of Alexander's artistic patronage in and around the Vatican to complete projects. It is also a comment on the state of the music collection at the time: the chapel choir music needed orgainsation.

The CS 15 hymn cycle is an important document showing the ways in which an original hymn cycle was moulded for use in a particular institution. There are no other examples of such manipulation of a cycle surviving and there is a possibility that the

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[446] Sherr, '*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman Style', 455-62.

treatment of Du Fay's hymns was unique to the papal chapel choir. The contents show how a cycle that was highly regarded and widely disseminated was at first tentatively adapted and then developed more aggressively, while also retaining vocal lines of the original composition. This led to older pieces becoming discarded as a basis for composition, but retaining aspects of their style and conventions.

The final additions to the cycle, such as those by Josquin and De Orto, are far removed from Du Fay's original cycle, sometimes showing a reaction to the compositional style of the older generation by providing a contrast to earlier settings. An example of this may be seen in De Orto's setting of *Ut queant laxis* [Ex. 11 & 12].

6.2 To Begin

Alexander's pontificate created a situation in the Vatican court that it had not faced for 45 years, that of having a non-Italian head of the church. In consequence, the court itself, as shown in Table 2, became cosmopolitan in nature by including many non-Italian members. More specifically, a Spanish element was introduced into the court. This also extended into the papal chapel choir, where Spanish membership of the choir gradually rose through Alexander's pontificate. With these new singers came new practices, observed by Burchard and at first considered alien, but gradually becoming standard practice. The introduction of the Spanish Passion performance at Eastertide, for instance, became a traditional method of performance during the season continuing to the later reign of Leo X.

In the discussion of both secular and sacred music, reference has been made to the concept of Spanish singing as a fashionable and emotionally-driven method of performance. According to de Grassis, Alexander was responsible for the introduction of this style. References to the Spanish style of singing are followed by the qualifying

descriptions of 'weeping', 'compassion' and 'pathos'.[447] The emotive performances were already present in Italy as documented in the *Ordine et Officij* from the decade preceding Alexander's pontificate. However, the introduction of it in a sacred context and the continued development of it therein appears to have been a direct consequence of Alexander's patronage of Spanish singers at the papal chapel. Moreover, it is likely that Alexander's election as pope acted as the impetus for its dissemination and popularity at the end of the fifteenth-century in Italy as he attracted Spanish people to seek patronage in the peninsula.

6.3 Alexander and Music

The final question of this thesis asks why Alexander is important for the history of music. Alexander is not a major innovator in the history of music, but was a facilitator; a leader who allowed music to flourish during his reign. In terms of the papal chapel choir, Alexander deserves much more consideration than he has previously been given. The core membership of the papal chapel choir continued to allow the group to flourish. The ensemble, as well as the basilica choir of St. Peter's, attracted singers from Spain, a nationality virtually unrepresented during previous papacies.

Alexander's papacy is a turning point in the history of the papal chapel choir's repertory. They move from being a choir that prepared manuscripts collectively and in collaboration with each other, to a choir with its own copyist. A key event is the introduction of Orceau, not as a member of the choir, but as a scribe to the choir, freeing the singers from an unwritten duty of employment. The dedicated role of a copyist shows

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[447] Paolo Cortesi, *De Cardinalatu Libri Tres*, 1510, trans. Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Culture in 15th-Century Italy', 154; Sherr, 'The Singers of the Papal Chapel and Liturgical Ceremonies in the Early 16th Century: Some Documentary Evidence', *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P.A. Ramsey, Binghamton, 1982, 263. Paris de Grassis, *Il Diario de Leone X*, 66.

that the papal chapel choir was considered important enough to have this facility for its organisation. This addition was an important vehicle in relation to the collection and copying of music for the choir, which until now has only been associated with Alexander's successors.

The new position of papal chapel choir scribe must have led to an increase in the copying of music, seen in the papacy of Julius II, but of which only traces appear to survive from Alexander's reign. The absent music from Lent and Eastertide attests to this. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the masses found in CS 35 were in constant use for around ten years without the addition of anything new to the repertory collection except for Josquin's *L'homme armé super voces musicales* in CS 197. I have identified that there are several genres of music performed by the papal chapel choir (Lamentations, Passions and Te Deums) that are absent from the surviving collection of music appearing only in the accounts of the papal master of ceremonies. What we can be sure of is that by 1501 Alexander had already established a scribe in the chapel whose prime function was to copy music from which the ensemble could perform.[448] Jesse Rodin's suggestion that the 'shadow repertory' present in the manuscript VerBC 761 may have originated from associations with the papal chapel choir and could provide a basis for future proposals for the contents of lost manuscripts from the repertory.[449]

From Alexander's commitment to the setting up of a singing school while cardinal at Santa Maria Maggiore, to the establishment of a scribe at the papal chapel to copy music, he has shown his continuing commitment to the advancement and improvement of the choral institutions of which he was patron. The stability of Alexander's papacy, as well as the cosmopolitan perspective added by his affiliations outside of the Italian

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[448] Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513 and its Polyphonic Sources*, 171.
[449] Rodin, *Josquin and the Polyphonic Mass in the Sistine Chapel*, 141-45.

peninsula, allowed the papal chapel choir to flourish, while attracting a large number of musicians from further afield than in previous years. Whatever effect Alexander had on the neighbouring choir based in St. Peter's was short lived, wiped away in the establishment of the Cappella Giulia by Julius II in 1513.

The surviving material from Alexander's reign shows that it was a supportive arena in which music could flourish. To some extent, Alexander better supported this art form than any other, as it benefited from an ongoing patronage, unlike architecture or art that finished at the last brick being laid or the last brush stroke administered. As music was both an integral part of daily life as an entertainment and an integral component of ceremonial worship, there was very little choice for Alexander but to support it. However, the atmosphere that he nurtured within his court directly benefitted music. He laid the foundation that allowed his successors such as Julius II and Leo X to engage in new programmes of artistic patronage that enabled them to be regarded as quintessentially renaissance. Alexander's colourful legendary status is best codified, if bluntly, by Francesco Guicciardini in his *History of Italy*:

> In Alexander VI there was industry and a singular wisdom, excellent judgement, a marvellous gift of persuasion and in all the business of serious care an unbelievable skill. But these virtues were greatly exceeded by his vices: obscene habits, lack of sincerity, lack of shame, lack of honesty, lack of faith, lack of religion, insatiable greed, unbounded ambition, cruelty that went beyond barbarism, and a burning desire to promote in any way possible his children, of whom there were many.[450]

But, despite this and perhaps more importantly, Alexander provided the stability needed by the papal chapel that had been lacking in previous papacies. This laid a strong foundation for the more musically famous reigns of Julius II and Leo X.

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[450] Francesco Guicciardini, *History of Italy*, in Fallows, *Josquin*, 171.

Appendix I: Figures

Fig. 1: Ground floor plans of the Cancelleria Vecchia from remaining 15th century structure (after Giuseppe Tilia)

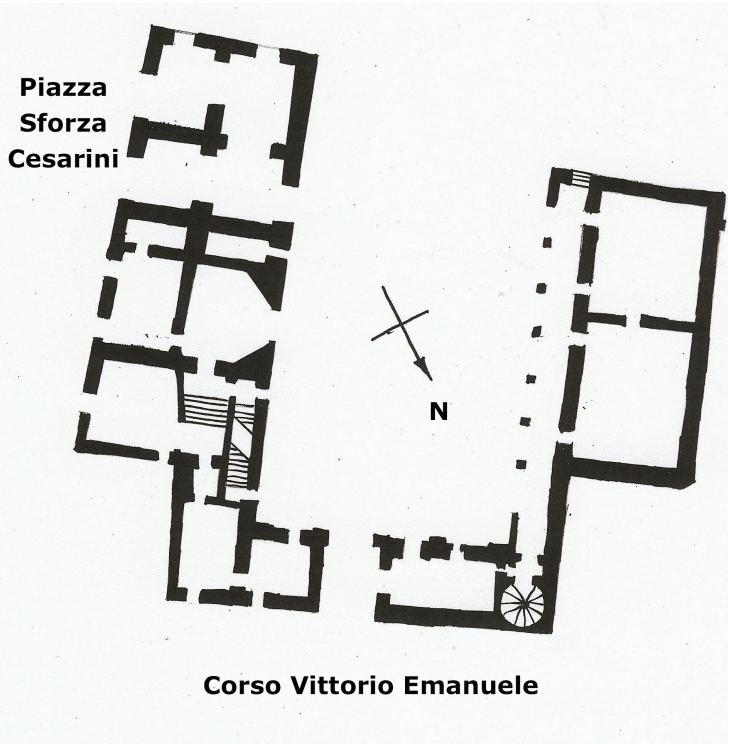

Fig. 2: Angel Frescoes of Valencia Cathedral (detail)

Fig. 3: Detailed view of St. Peter's and the Vatican Borgo from Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. LVIII.

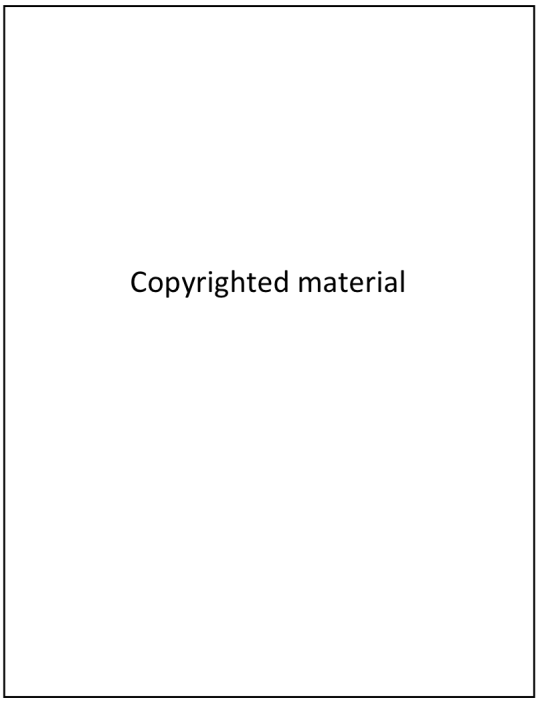

Fig. 4: Raphael, *Incendio di Borgo* (detail), Vatican Palace.

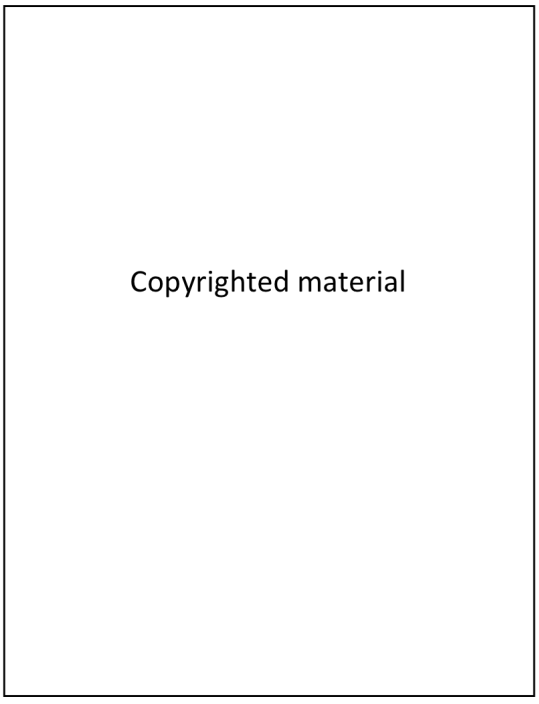

Fig. 5: Leonardo Bufalini, *Rome 1551* (detail of Borgo section)

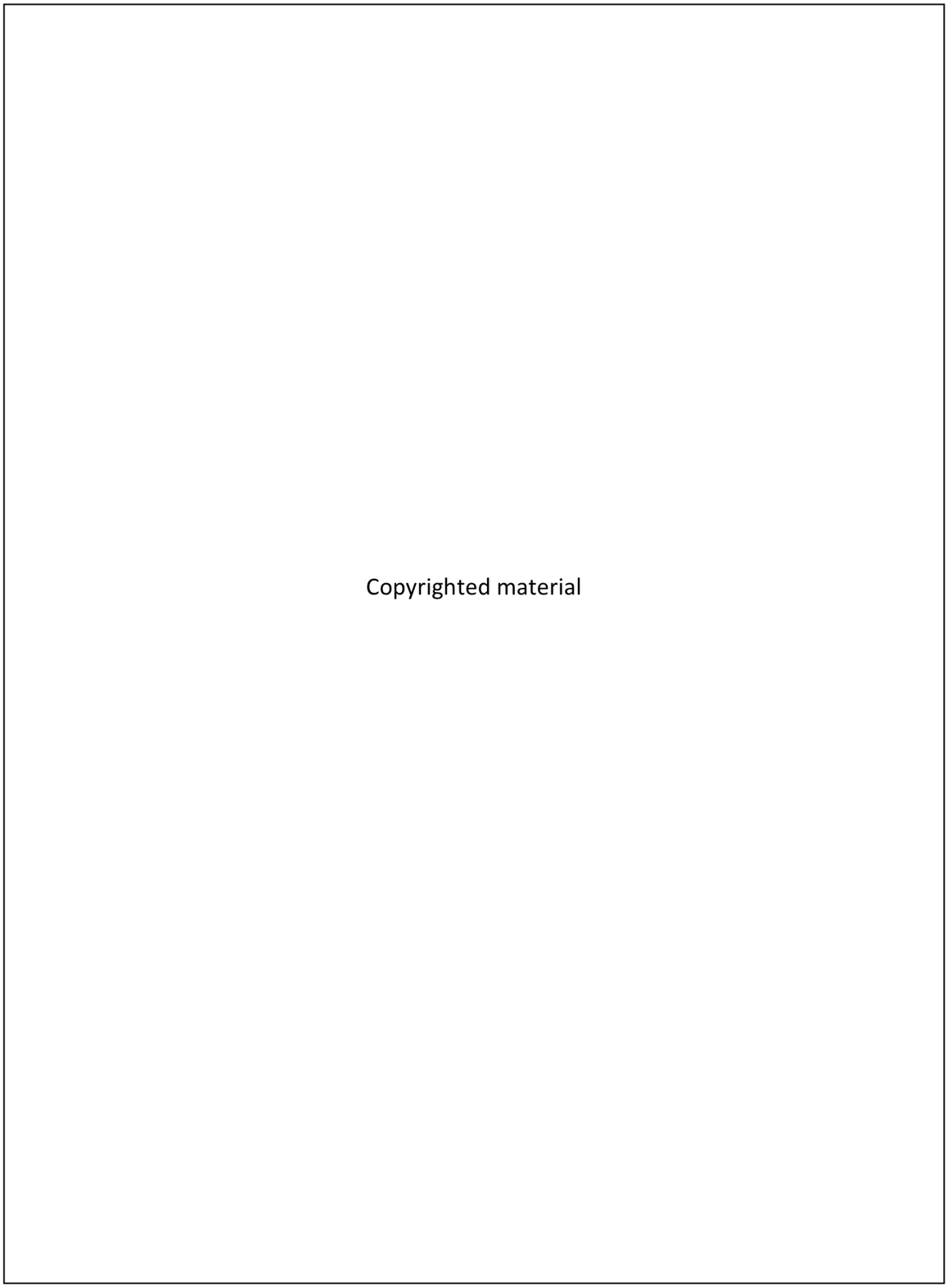
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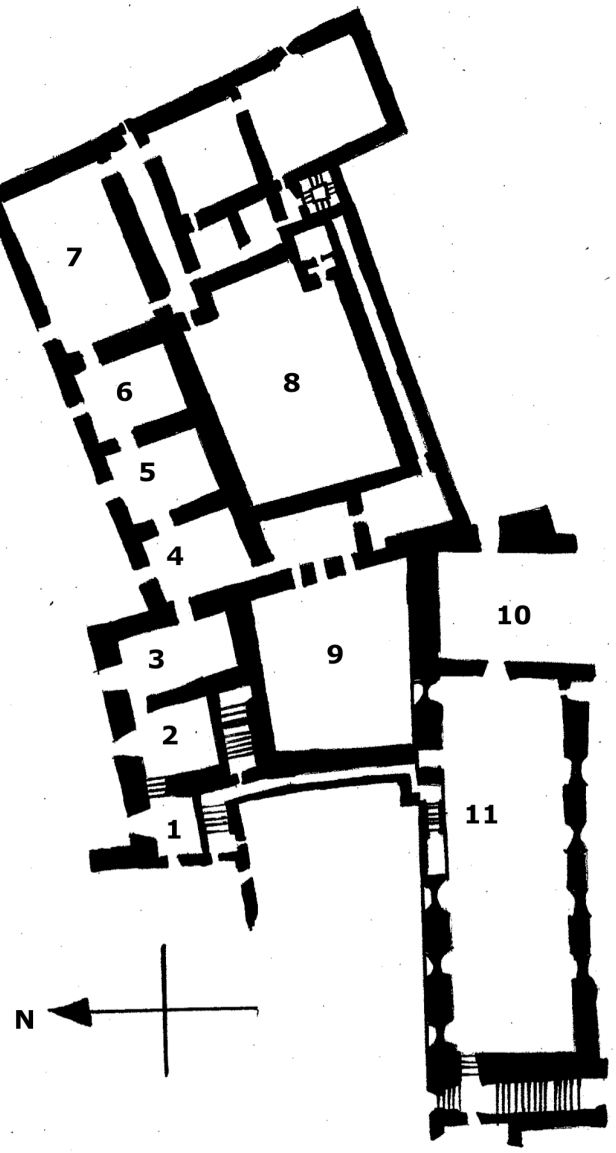
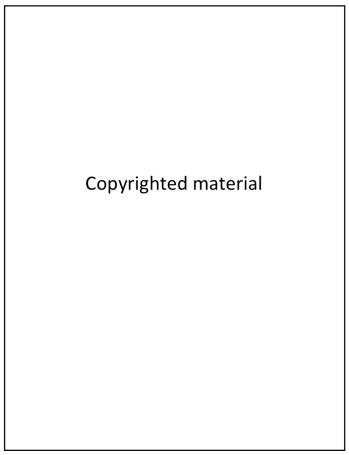
Fig. 6: Plan of the Borgia Apartments (after Ximo Company)



Key:

1. Torre Borgia
2. Sala delle Sibille
3. Sala del Credo
4. Sala delle Arti Liberali
5. Sala dei Santi
6. Sala dei Misteri della Fede
7. Sala dei Papi
8. Cortile del Pappagallo
9. Cortile Borgia
10. Sala regia
11. Sistine Chapel

Fig 7: Use of Aragonese Crown and Borgia Papal Arms in the papal apartment (Sala delle Arti Liberali and Sala del Credo), Pintoricchio, Vatican Palace.



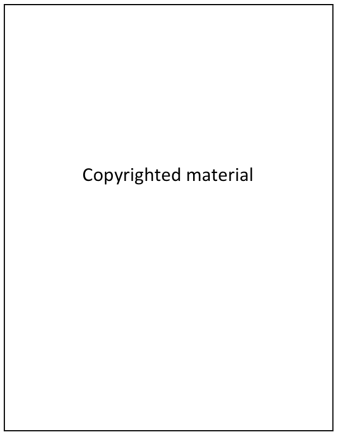


Fig 8: Aten, Detail of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the Royal Princesses: Aten, the Solar Disk, blessing the royal family ca. 1350 BC, Aegiptisches Museum, Berlin.

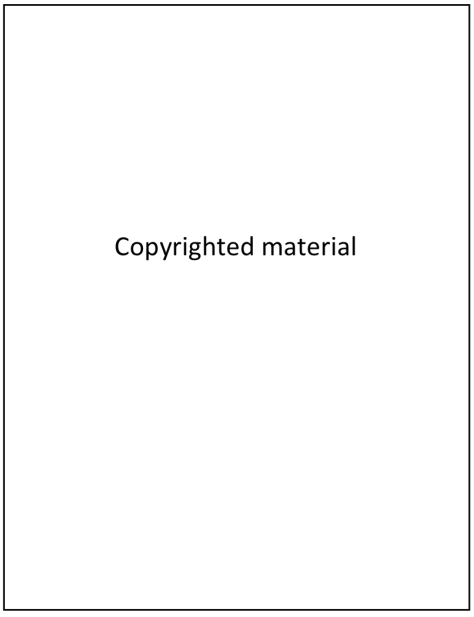


Fig 9: Joos van Gent, *Music*, c. 1476, National Gallery, London.

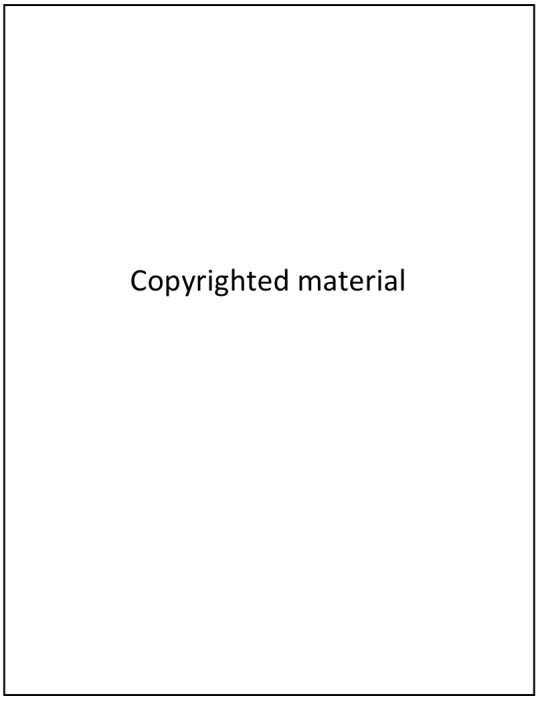
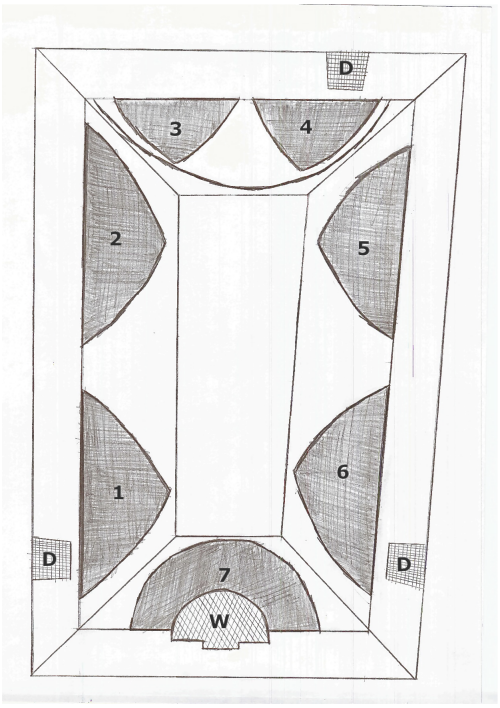
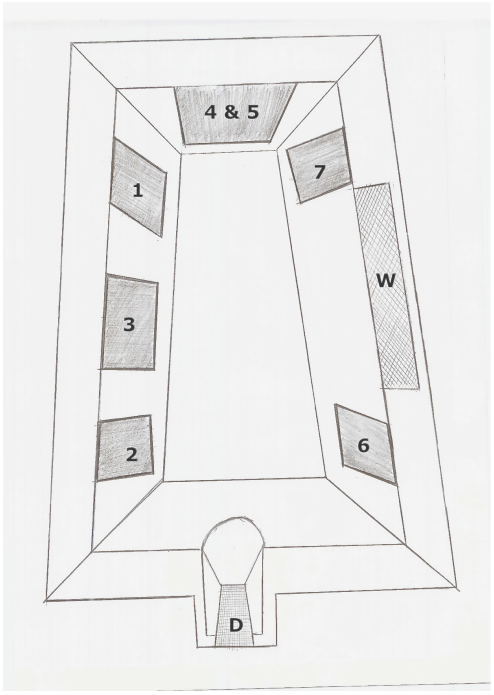


Fig 10: Programmatic Layout of the Sala delle Arte Liberali, Borgia Apartments, Vatican Palace and Studiolo of Gubbio from a floor perspective.



Plan of the Sala delle Liberali Arti Liberali



Plan of Studiolo of Gubbio

Key

1 – Grammar	6 – Music
2 – Dialectic	7 – Astronomy
3 – Rhetoric	W – Windows
4 – Geometry	D – Doors
5 - Arithmetic	

Fig 11: Groupings of the Liberal Arts at the Borgia Apartments and the Studiolo of Gubbio

Dialectic Rhetoric Grammar

Trivium

Quadrivium

Astronomy Music Geometry Arithmetic

Fig 12: Sandro Botticelli, *Sant Ambrogio Altarpiece*, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

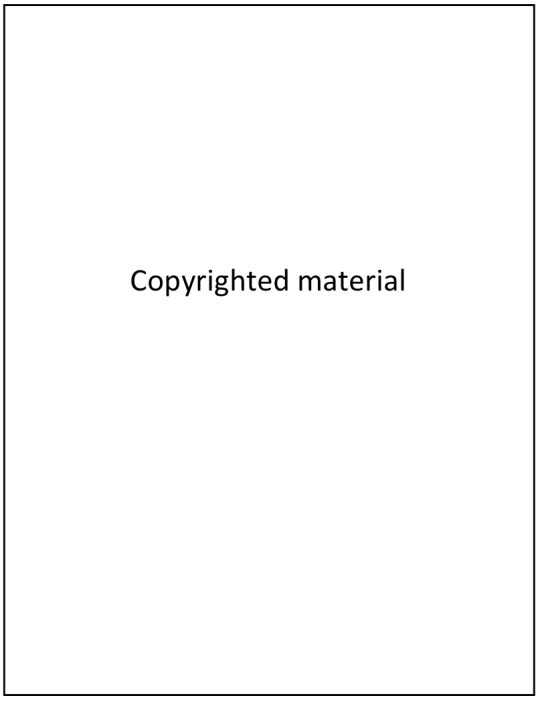


Fig. 13: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, Sala delle Arti Liberali, Vatican Palace.

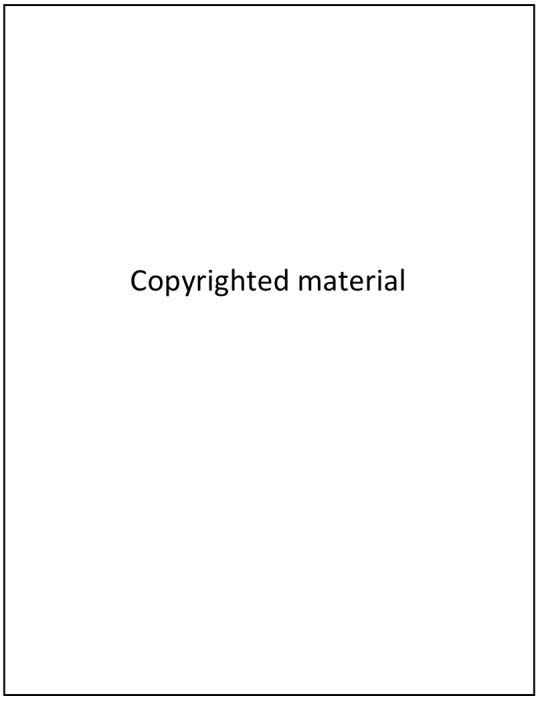


Fig 14: Diagram based on Pintoricchio, *Musica*.

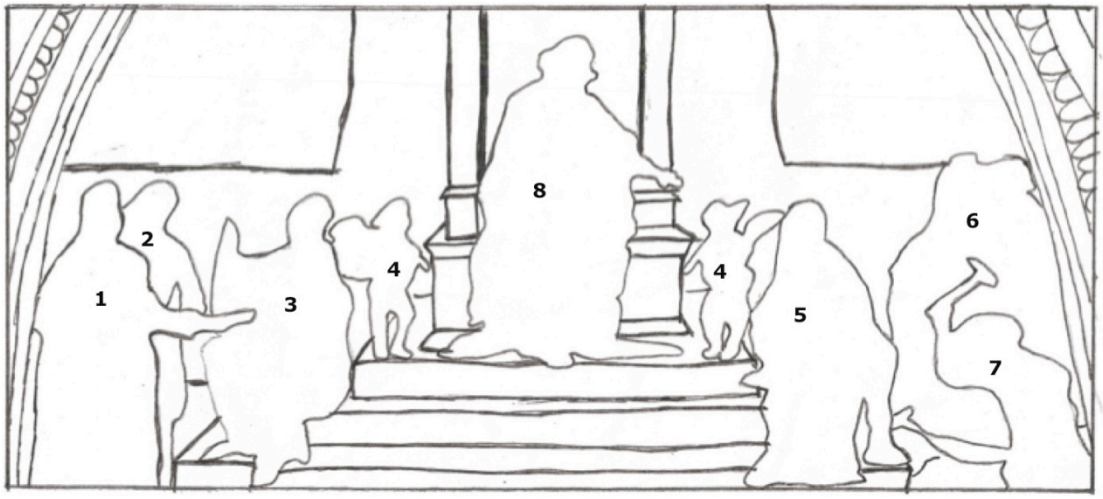


Fig 15: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of vihuela player

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Fig 16: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of harpist

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Fig 17: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of *Putti*

Fig 18: Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child* (Frari Tryptych), Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice, detail.

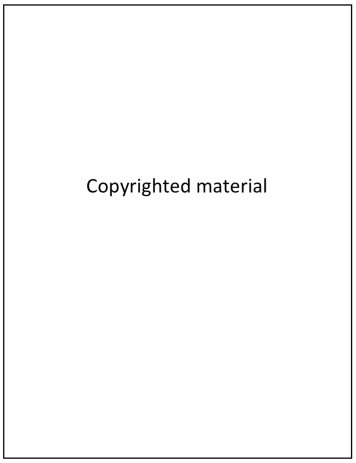

Fig 19: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of seated singer.

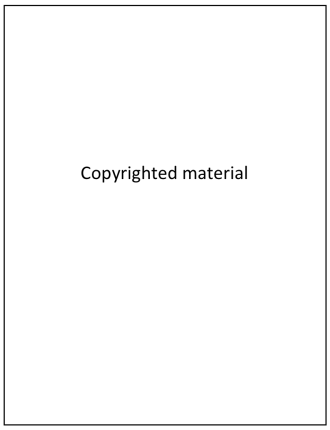

Fig 20: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of music.

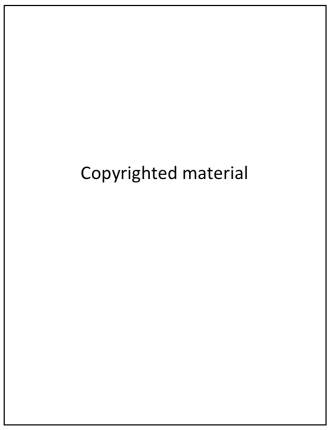

Fig 21: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of Pythagoras.

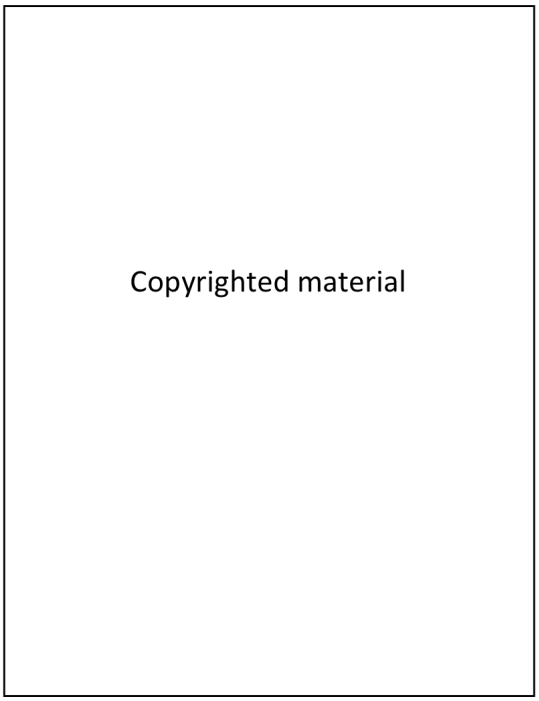

Fig 22: Royal West Porch, Chartres Cathedral, detail of Music.

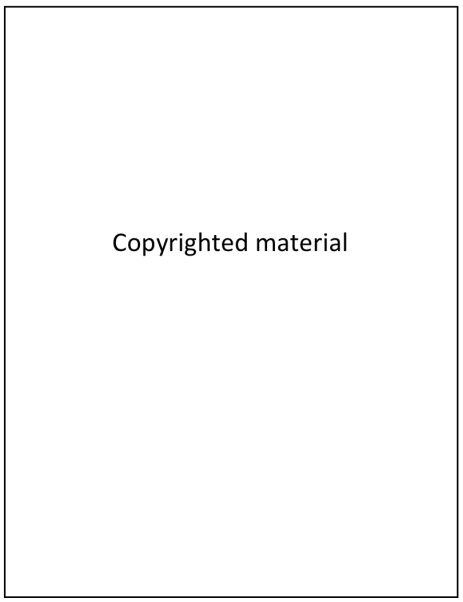

Fig 23: Domenico di Michelino, *Seven Liberal Arts*, detail of Music, Birmingham Museum of Arts, AL.

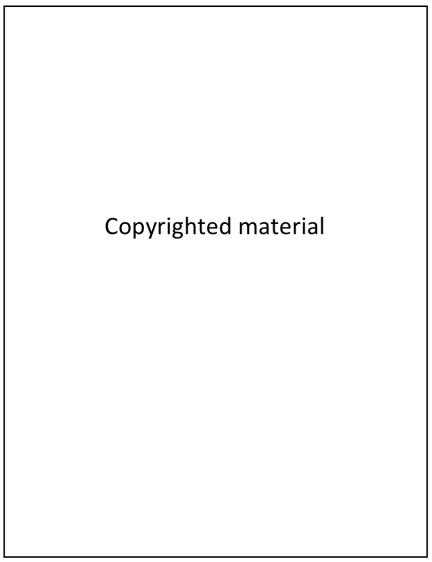

Fig 24: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of Musica.

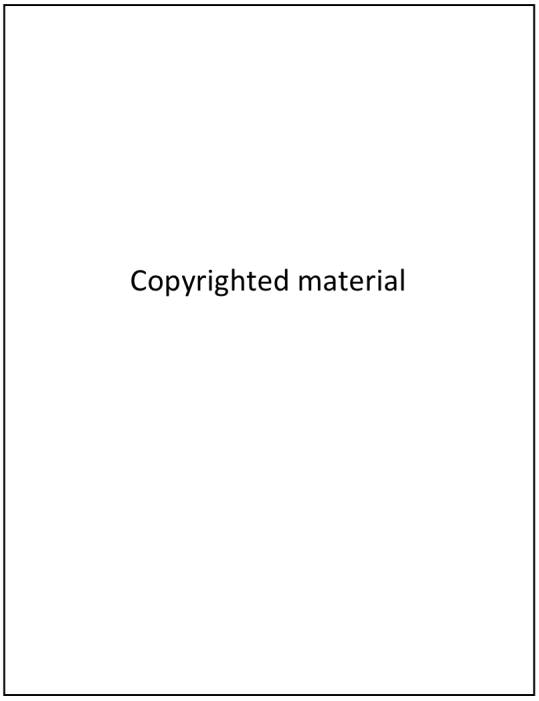

Fig 25: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail.

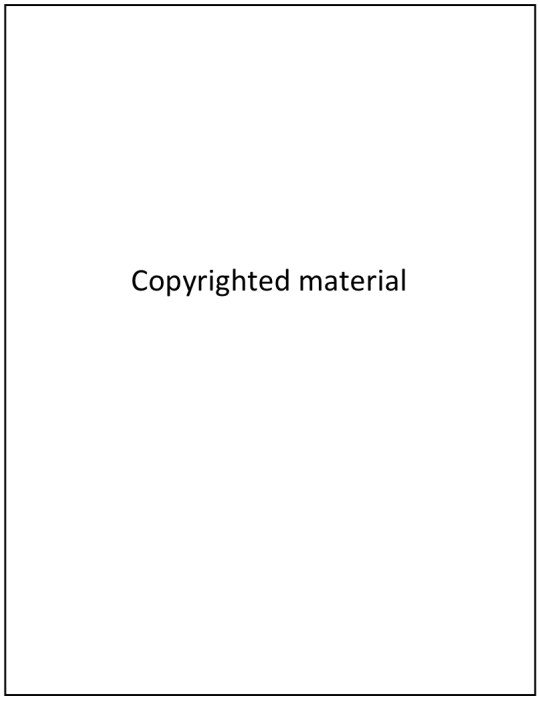

Fig 26: Raphael, *Parnassus*, detail of Apollo, Vatican Palace.

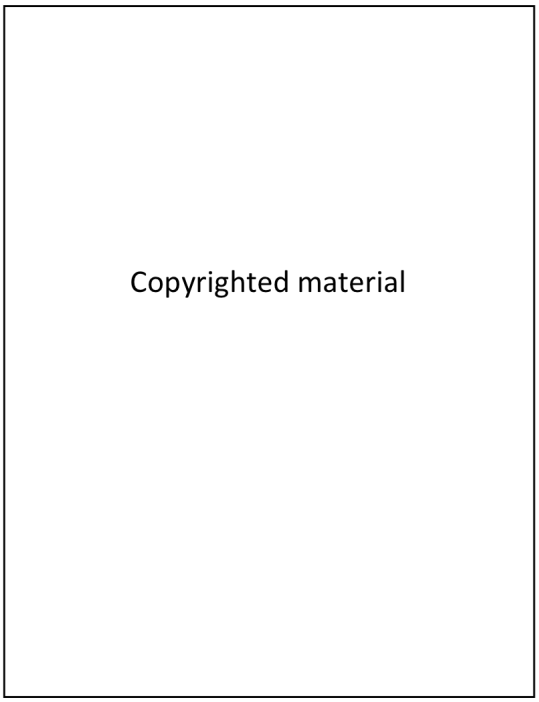

Fig 27: Giovanni Bellini*,Madonna and Child (*San Zaccaria Altarpiece), San Zaccaria, Venice.

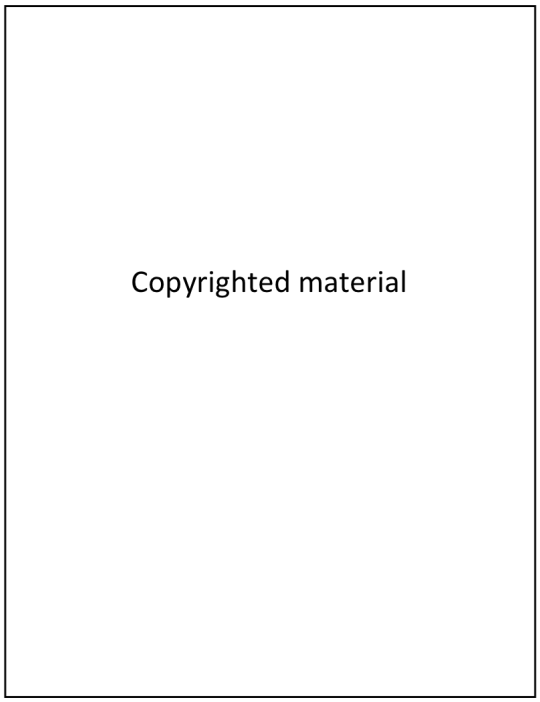

Fig 28: Zanobi Machiavelli, *Coronation of the Virgin*, Detail, Dijon Museum.

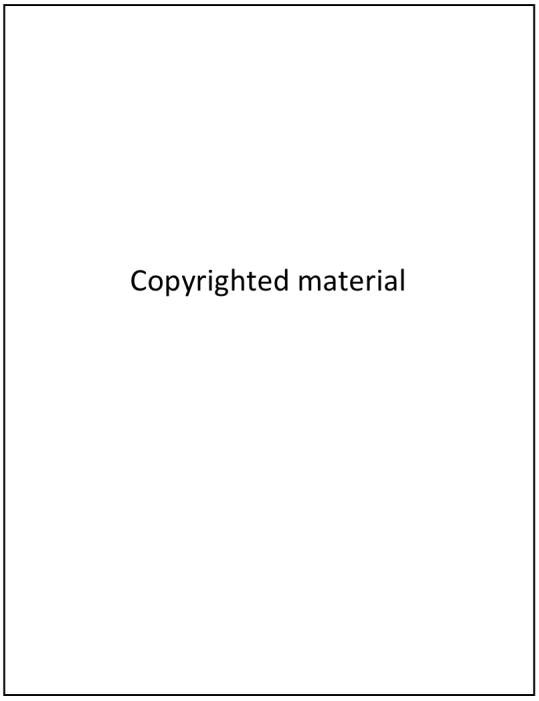
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Fig 29: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of left landscape.

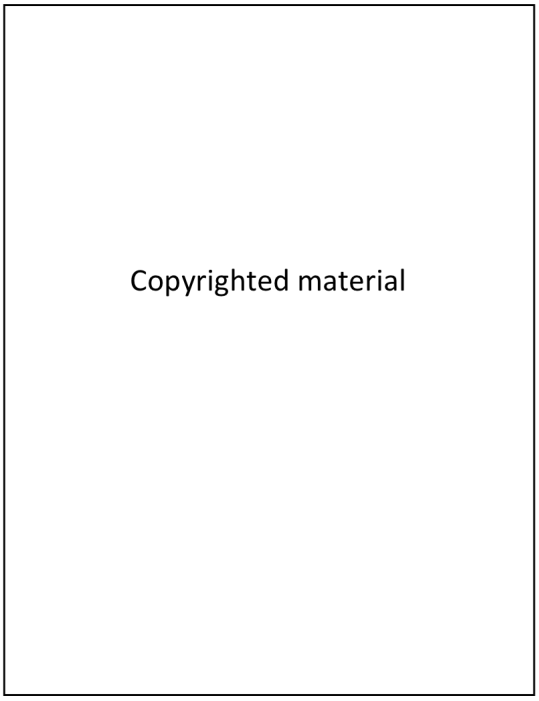
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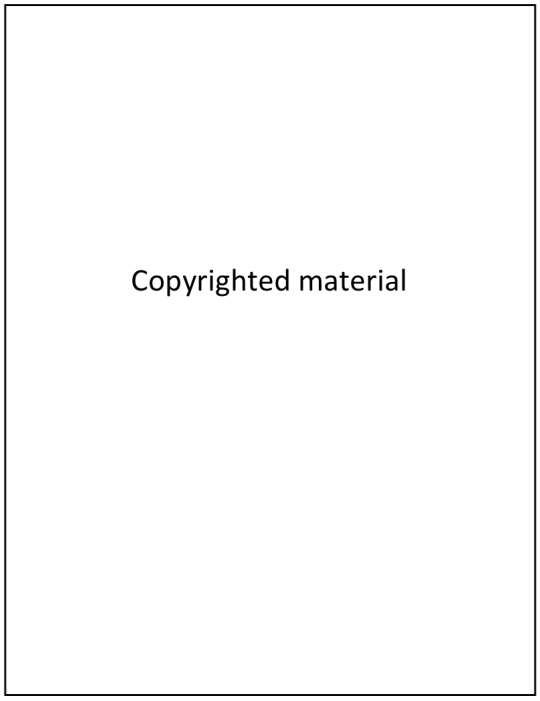
Fig 30: Pintoricchio, *Musica*, detail of right landscape.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Appendix II: Editorial Principles

All sources of music are from the manuscript CS 15. Concordant sources for vocal lines are noted, where available. In these instances, reference to Du Fay vocal parts refers the reader to the edition. Original note values are represented by quarter-note reductions. This is in order to allow the maximum amount of music to be presented within the shortest amount of space, in order for the music to be presented within the text. Mensuration signs O are transcribed as 3/4; Cut-C and C as 4/4. Cut-O is transcribed as 3/2. Original clefs are given at the start of each voice commentary, with their position on the stave numbered 1-5. Pitches are denoted by capital letters A-G. Variants are identified by their voice, bar number, and the number of the note within that bar; tied notes are not counted.

Standard modern notation is used, including ties. Final notes are written as longs wherever possible. Part names have been kept as they appear in the manuscript. Coloration is not shown. Accidentals and key signatures present in the source are shown on the stave. All other accidentals added appear above the notes. *Musica ficta* has been applied where required to avoid and prevent harmonic tritones and at cadences. Text underlay has followed, wherever reasonable, the source underlay. In instances where fewer notes than syllables occur, words have been separated across rests.

Abbreviations:

b: Brevis Cc: C-Clef Fc: F-Clef Gc: G-Clef m: Minima

mx: Maxima s: Semibrevis sm: Semiminima

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