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SINGING THE KING'S MUSIC: ATTAINGNANT'S MOTET SERIES, ROYAL HEGEMONY AND THE FUNCTION OF THE MOTET IN SIXTEENTH- CENTURY FRANCE

This article examines Pierre Attaignant's motet series (1535–9), with special attention to the rubrics assigned to the titles of books and to individual motets. The role of the rubric as an organisational tool and its relation to contemporary liturgical and devotional practices is explored, revealing a strikingly cohesive series and connections to liturgical books and books of hours. A consideration of the use of the motet texts in other types of books and the uses suggested by Attaignant's rubrics reveals that the printer was promoting the use of Paris in his series. This study also revisits the issue of the function of the motet in sixteenth-century France. Finally, in the light of several connections between this series and the French royal court, the role of motets in the devotional life of Francis I and the possibility that this series served as an extension of the king's political influence are examined.

The reign of Francis I (r. 1515–47), king of France and patron of arts and letters, brought with it numerous changes and innovations, including the adoption of French as the language for all official records, the establishment of the Collège de France and the Royal Library, the creation of the five royal printers, including the Royal Printer of Music, and the overhauling of the musical court establishments. It was during this period that the Parisian printer Pierre Attaignant introduced the single-impression method for music printing and became the first Royal Printer of Music in 1537. One of his most striking achievements as a music printer was a fourteen-volume series of motet books, published between 1534 and 1539.¹

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¹ The series is historically important as one of the few surviving French sources of motets from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Motet printing prior to the mid-1530s generally involved the printing of a series of books: Petrucci had produced two series, the letter series (*Motetti A–C*, followed by two numbered volumes) of 1502–7 and the *Corona* series of 1514–19; Antico continued the trend with his four-volume *Motetti novi* of 1520–1; and Moderne released three volumes of his *Motteti del fiore* series in 1532.² Attaignant's series departed from the standards established by these three printers in several respects: the number of volumes was increased dramatically; the overall organisation and design of the series was standardised; and it included extra-musical information on the title pages and inside the books, what we shall call rubrics.³ In addition to the novelty of including such information in a book of motets, these rubrics have a significant bearing on the use and organisation of the series. While the choice of motets and rubrics is often general enough to have appealed to foreign markets, there are clear signs

² On Petrucci, see S. Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford and New York, 2006). On Petrucci's first motet series, see H. M. Brown, 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), pp. 744–73; G. Drake, 'The First Printed Books of Motets, Petrucci's *Motetti A. numero trentatre A* (Venice 1502) and *Motetti de passione, de cruce, de sacramento, de beata virgine et huiusmodi B* (Venice, 1503)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1972); *Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi B: Venice, 1503*, ed. G. Drake (Chicago, 2002); M. Mouser, 'Petrucci and his Shadow: A Study of the Filiation and Reception History of the Venetian Motet Anthologies, 1502–1508' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2003); M. Mouser, 'Petrucci and his Shadow: A Case Study of Reception History', *Fontes artis musicae*, 51 (2004), pp. 19–52. On Petrucci's *Corona* series, see D. Gehrenbeck, 'Motetti de la Corona: A Study of Ottaviano Petrucci's Four Last-Known Motet Prints (Fossombrone, 1514, 1519), with 44 Transcriptions' (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1971). On Antico, see *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, ed. M. Picker, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 8 (Chicago, 1987); M. Picker, 'The Motet Anthologies of Petrucci and Antico Published between 1514 and 1521: A Comparative Study,' in L. Finscher (ed.), *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, i: *Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquin Desprez*, Wolfenbüttel Forschungen, 6 (Wolfenbüttel, 1981), pp. 181–99; C. Chapman, 'Andrea Antico' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964). On Moderne, see S. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969); J. Duchamp, 'Motteti del fiore: Une étude des huit livres de motets édités à Lyon par Jacques Moderne (1532–1543) avec la transcription des pièces inédites' (Ph.D. diss., Université de Tours [François Rabelais], 2000).

³ The overall organisation of the books, including the visual aspects of the series, such as title pages, page format and size and page layout, is remarkably standardised for an early sixteenth-century printed series. The motet series printed in 1502–32 by Petrucci, Antico and Moderne have certain unifying elements, but are by no means as consistently uniform in appearance and organisation as Attaignant's motet series. A detailed comparison of these earlier printed motets series is given in G. Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaignant's Encyclopedia of Sacred Music: The 1534–1539 Motet Series' (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2013), pp. 49–96.

Singing the King's Music

that the printer was preserving local traditions of liturgical use, including the use of Paris, in his series.⁴

A consideration of the terminology of the rubrics and their use by Attaignant also provides new insight into the perennial issue of the function of the motet in the sixteenth century, a genre that was favoured by Francis I and figured prominently in his private and public devotions. Indeed, the king's singers composed a significant number of motets in Attaignant's series. The connections to the king and strong flavour of local traditions preserved in the series suggest a deliberate agenda on Attaignant's part, one which coincided with Francis I's efforts to extend his political influence through patronage of the arts and letters, political alliances and religious campaigns.

THE MOTET SERIES

The series contains 281 motets by sixty named composers including Jean Mouton, Philippe Verdelot, Adrian Willaert, Pierre de Manchicourt, Mathieu Gascongne, Jean Richafort and Claudin de Sermisy.⁵ Attaignant released the first thirteen books of his series over the course of a single year, at a pace of roughly one book per month, with the fourteenth book appearing in 1539 after a four-year hiatus.⁶ (See Table 1.)

⁴ On the use of Paris and Notre-Dame de Paris, see C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris (500–1550)* (Cambridge, 1989). On the use of Paris in civic liturgies, see S. Long, 'The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities, 1480–1540: Local Liturgical Practices in Manuscripts and Early Printed Service Books' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008). The use of the King's chapel, largely based on the use of Paris, is discussed below in connection with the texts of the motets and the composers featured in Attaignant's series.

⁵ A full list of the composers and their importance in the series is provided in Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaignant's Encyclopaedia', pp. 140–80. On the style of these motets in relation to a 'French court style' see J. Brobeck, 'Style and Authenticity in the Motets of Claudin de Sermisy', *Journal of Musicology*, 16 (1998), pp. 26–90; 'Some "Liturgical Motets" for the French Royal Court: A Reconsideration of Genre in the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Musica Disciplina*, 47 (1993), pp. 123–57; and 'The Motet at the Court of Francis I' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991). Brobeck sees an increase in homogeneity in the French court motet, moving inexorably towards the syntactic style favoured by Claudin de Sermisy. For a contrasting view of the evolution of the French court motet, see F. Lesure, 'La musique religieuse française au XVI^e siècle', *Revue musicale*, 222 (1953–4), pp. 61–8; and 'France in the Sixteenth Century (1540–1610)', in G. Abraham (ed.), *The Oxford History of Music*, iv: *The Age of Humanism (1540–1630)* (London, New York and Toronto, 1968), pp. 237–46.

⁶ The last book of the series contains motets by a single composer, Pierre de Manchicourt. This book also has the distinction of being the only single-composer edition in the series.

Table 1 *Title and printing date of the books in Attaignant's motet series*

Book title	Printing date
Liber I quinque et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos complectitur quorum nomina tabella sequens indicat.	April 1534
Liber II: quatuor et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos habet quorum nomina tabella sequens indicat.	May 1534
Liber III: viginti musicales quinque sex vel octo vocum motetos habet ut sequenti tabella demonstratur.	June 1534
Liber IV. xxix. musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulos habet. ut sequenti indice demonstratur.	June 1534
Liber V. xii. trium priorum tonorum magnificat continet.	August 1534
Liber VI. xiii. quinque ultimorum tonorum magnificat continet.	September 1534
Liber VII. xxij. trium quatuor quinque sex ve [<i>sic</i>] vocum modulos dominici adventus nativitatisque eius ac sanctorum eo tempore occurrentium habet. ut presens index tibi commonstrat.	November 1534
Liber VIII. xx. musicales motetos quatuor quinque vel sex vocum modulos habet.	December 1534
Liber IX. xviii. daviticos musicales psalmos habet.	January 1535
Liber X: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sancte: necnon lectiones feriarum quinte sexte ac sabbati hebdomade sancte: multaque alia quadragesime congruentia continet. ut palam videre licet.	February 1535
Liber XI. xxvj. musicales habet modulos quatuor et quinque vocibus editos: quorum index subsequitur.	March 1535
Liber XII. xvij. musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes habet. ut subscripto indice videre licet. Mense Martio. m.d.xxxv. post pascha.	March 1535 ^a
Liber XIII. xvij. musicales habet modulos quatuor quinque vel sex vocibus editos. opus sane totius armonie flos nuncupandum: ut indice sequenti palam est.	May 1535
Liber XIV. xix. musicas cantiones continet P. de Manchi-court insignis Ecclesie Turonensis prefecto auctore.	? 1539

^a The date included on the title page indicates that this book was printed at the end of March, after Easter, which fell on 28 March 1535.

The speedy and steady production pace of these books was unprecedented in Attaignant's workshop and the high degree of organisation that is evident in the assignment of rubrics to these books and motets indicates a lengthy period of preparation for this series. Indeed, there is documentary evidence suggesting that Attaignant

Singing the King's Music

was planning his series at least three years before it went to press. In the 1531 royal privilege granted to Attaignant, Francis I accorded him protection for music he had already printed, was printing and was planning to print, including future books of masses, motets and chansons.⁷ These three groups coincide with the three large series that Attaignant produced in the next several years, in exactly that order of production. The three years leading up to the release date of the first book of his motet series provided Attaignant with ample time to design his series, considering special issues like the type of anthology, the ordering of the books and the assignment of rubrics to his motets.

The books in the series appear in two types of anthologies. Books 1–4, 8, 11 and 13 are the standard anthology type produced by Petrucci and Moderne: books containing motets by many composers on a variety of subjects or topics, what we shall call here ‘mixed anthologies’. Starting with the fifth book of the series, Attaignant began to favour a different type of anthology, one which contained motets on a single topic or which set a single text-type.⁸ These special anthologies, which we shall call ‘uniform anthologies’, were atypical for the era and permitted the printer to organise the motets in a highly systematic manner and also lend greater cohesion to the books and the series.⁹ The uniform anthologies also gave Attaignant a unique marketing opportunity: the printing of books for specific liturgical seasons. The seventh book of the series, which contains music for Advent and the Nativity, has a printing date of November, coinciding with the start of the Advent season; while the tenth book of the series, which contains music for Lent and Holy Week, appeared in February 1535 at the start of Lent.¹⁰ Regardless of type, each book of the series advertised the titles of the motets on its title page in a detailed *tabula*, but the uniform anthologies also featured special rubrics that formed part of the book titles.

THE RUBRICS

Rubrics in liturgical books give specific directions for the performance of a liturgical item, or indicate the feast day and office at which the

⁷ The privilege is reproduced in D. Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant: Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969). Hertz also notes the sequence of production and its foreshadowing in the privilege, pp. 77–8, 174.

⁸ The last book of the series, book 14, is also a uniform anthology, preserving motets by a single composer, Pierre de Manchicourt.

⁹ Petrucci's *Motetti B* (1503) is the obvious predecessor for this type of anthology.

¹⁰ In 1535, Easter fell on 28 March. Lent would therefore have begun in mid-February, which coincides with the printing date.

chant or text is to be performed. These rubrics function as directives: do this for this chant; sing this chant at this time. Liturgical rubrics range from longer instructions to shorter 'headings', but rubrics were also common in private devotional books, such as books of hours, where they had a descriptive function, indicating the subject of the text which followed or the type of text (e.g., 'oratio' for prayer). Similar rubrics are also found in graduals or ordinals.

In many printed books of hours changes in font or size, special characters or initials, or customary placement of the rubrics at certain places on the page were used to distinguish the rubrics from the rest of the text. The rubrics included in Attaignant's series generally fall under the descriptive heading type, which identifies the subject and/or feast of the motets. Many of the rubrics bear a resemblance to those found in books of hours, but can also be found in the commons sections of some liturgical books, notably antiphonals, breviaries and graduals.

There are two types of rubrics in Attaignant's series: those which appear as part of the titles of specific books and those which are assigned to individual motets. While the title rubric does not conform to the visual elements of rubrics as described above, it does function in the same manner as a descriptive rubric, identifying a potential occasion for which the motets could be sung or the type of text which is set. In one instance, it also provides performance directions to the singer.

Six of the fourteen books in the series contain rubrics in their titles. These books are all uniform anthologies with rubrics that pertain to the subject of the texts of the motets, or to the text-type of the motets contained in the books. Although Petrucci used this type of rubric in the title of his *Motetti B* edition in 1503,¹¹ Attaignant's title rubrics and anthologies are remarkably homogeneous, with rubrics which refer to a single text-type or season. Apart from allowing the printer to capitalise on the marketing potential of specific seasons, this also gave the books appeal as stand-alone volumes, though as we shall see, Attaignant clearly expected and encouraged his market to purchase the entire series.

The first books in the series to contain title rubrics are books 5 and 6, which contain between them settings of the Magnificat on all eight tones. The rubrics on the title pages of books 5 and 6 identify the

¹¹ 'Motetti B De passione, De cruce, De sacramento, De beata virgine et huiusmodi'. Petrucci also included rubrics in a volume of laude by Innocentius Dammonis, printed in 1508. For a discussion of this edition and its rubrics, see J. Glixon, 'The Polyphonic Laude of Innocentius Dammonis', *Journal of Musicology*, 8 (1990), pp. 19–53.

Singing the King's Music

contents of the books as Magnificats, on the different Magnificat tones: book 5 contains settings on the first three tones; book 6 on the five remaining tones.¹² The pieces contained in these two books are incomplete settings of the text; most pieces set only half of the text of the Magnificat, requiring the addition during performance of either the odd- or even-numbered verses in chant.¹³

Books 9 and 12 also contain settings of a single text genre. Book 9 contains psalm-text settings and book 12 contains motets 'ad virginem christiparam salutationes', salutations to the Virgin, Mother of Christ.¹⁴ All of these rubrics are the short descriptive type: they simply tell us about the contents of the books and subjects of the motets. All three text-types in books 5, 6, 9 and 12 are also genres that were common in liturgical books, and the alternatim settings of the Magnificat would certainly indicate a liturgical context for the performance of these works. Indeed, the wording of the rubrics itself could also suggest a liturgical connection; the reference to the Magnificat tones could imply a liturgical use. But the rubric for book 9, 'daviticos musicales psalmos', presents a few problems when considered in relation to the contents of the book. The rubric implies that the contents of book 9 are polyphonic settings of psalms, which might reasonably lead the reader to expect complete settings of the psalms. Yet the motets of the ninth book do not all fulfil the promise implied by the rubric.

Book 9 contains eighteen motets, as shown in Table 2. Twelve of the motets are complete settings of psalms, but only three of them contain the Lesser Doxology. The remaining six motets set fragments of psalm texts. While they can function as stand-alone polyphonic works, they are not suitable for liturgical use in the manner of the Magnificat settings in books 5 and 6.¹⁵ Attaignant's terminology is therefore somewhat misleading from a liturgical point of view. If, upon opening the book, the singer expects to find liturgically sound or complete 'musical psalms of David', they will surely be disappointed. On the other hand, the motets would be appropriate for devotional use and in

¹² Book 5 'trium priorum tonorum magnificat continet' and book 6 'quinque ultorum tonorum magnificat continet'.

¹³ For a discussion of the original context of performance for these works, see Brobeck, 'Some Liturgical Motets'.

¹⁴ Book 9 'Daviticos musicales psalmos habet' and book 12 'musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes habet'.

¹⁵ These psalms, unlike the Magnificat settings in the fifth and sixth books, do not require additional music or text to complete the settings. They are simply settings of extracts of psalm texts.

Geneviève Bazinet

Table 2 *Contents of book 9 with composer name, title of motet and psalm number*
* indicates a setting of extracts from the psalm, not the complete text.

Composer	Motet title	Psalm number (Latin Vulgate)
Briant	<i>Dilexi quoniam</i>	Ps. 114* + Requiem
Guyon	<i>Fundamenta ejus</i>	Ps. 86
Gascongne	<i>Letatus sum</i>	Ps. 121 + Da Pacem
Maistre Gosse	<i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Ps. 116
Lupus	<i>In convertendo</i>	Ps. 125 + doxology
Mouton	<i>Confitemini domino</i>	Ps. 117*
Lupus	<i>In te domine speravi</i>	Ps. 30*
Jacotin	<i>Proba me domine</i>	Ps. 25*
Jacotin	<i>Credidi propter</i>	Ps. 115 + doxology
Vermont Primus	<i>In domino confido</i>	Ps. 10
Lupus	<i>Usquequo domine</i>	Ps. 12
Sermisy	<i>Beatus vir qui non abiit</i>	Ps. 1
Sermisy	<i>Domini est terra</i>	Ps. 23
Sermisy	<i>Benedic anima mea</i>	Ps. 102*
Sermisy	<i>Deus in adjutorium</i>	Ps. 69
Lhéritier	<i>Qui confidunt in domino</i>	Ps. 124 + doxology
Jacotin	<i>Inclina domine</i>	Ps. 85*
Le Heurteur	<i>Nisi dominus edificaverit</i>	Ps. 126

circumstances where reading or singing the complete psalm text was not required. The fact that all but one (Sermisy's *Deus in adjutorium*) of these eighteen psalms are part of the core sections of contemporary books of hours (referring here to the Hours of the Virgin and Hours of the Cross, and not to the ancillary psalters that are occasionally appended to the book of hours) could suggest a devotional use for these motets, either in the private home or by confraternities.¹⁶

The wording of the title rubric for book 12, 'ad virginem christi-param salutationes', corresponds effectively to the contents of the book, a collection of 'musical salutations to the Christ-bearing Virgin'. The phrase is clearly meant to evoke the idea of the *Salve* or *Salut* services that were conventionally celebrated after Compline and the

¹⁶ Although the complete psalm is not typical of books of hours, the opening line 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende, Domine adjuvandum me festina' does appear in books of hours at the start of the Hours of the Virgin.

Singing the King's Music

Table 3 Contents of book 12 with composer name and title of motet

Composer	Motet title
Sohier	<i>Ave regina caelorum</i>
Georget	<i>Ave regina caelorum</i>
Sohier	<i>Salve regina</i>
Sohier	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Moulu	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Willaert	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Rousée	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Gombert	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Vermont	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Bourguignon	<i>Regina caeli</i>
De Silva	<i>Regina caeli</i>
Josquin Desprez	<i>Salve regina</i>
Sermisy	<i>Salve regina</i>
Conseil	<i>Salve regina</i>
Lhéritier	<i>Salve regina</i>
Barra	<i>Salve regina</i>
Richafort	<i>Salve regina</i>

'salutations' or *Salve* included in books of hours after the Compline texts.¹⁷ But even here, the wording of the rubric and the contents are not as straightforward as they appear. Book 12 contains seventeen settings of the great Marian antiphons *Ave Regina caelorum*, *Regina caeli* and *Salve Regina*. (See Table 3.) All settings feature the chant in some form or other, making them suitable for a *Salve* service, and the rubric and the contents of the book suggest a specific local liturgical or devotional use, a hint at the context in which they were printed.

In the early sixteenth century, the *Salve* in many liturgical and devotional uses, including the use of Rome, featured one of the four great Marian antiphons. The choice of which antiphon to use depended on the time of year. Typically, *Alma Redemptoris Mater* was sung during Advent, *Ave Regina caelorum* was sung from Purification to

¹⁷ The most common antiphon featured in books of hours is *Salve Regina*, often signalled in the index simply as 'Salve'.

Easter, *Regina caeli* was sung from Easter until Trinity and *Salve Regina* was sung from Trinity until Advent. A slightly different function for these antiphons is preserved in books of hours prior to 1550, in which the four great Marian antiphons were included at various canonical hours: *Regina caeli* and *Salve Regina* appear after the texts for Compline, but also appeared at various other hours including Lauds, along with *Ave Regina caelorum* and *Alma Redemptoris Mater*.

Noticeably absent from Attaignant's book 12 are settings of *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, which points to a specifically Parisian use. In 1535, the year book 12 was printed by Attaignant, only three of the great Marian antiphons were part of the liturgy of the Office in Paris. At Notre-Dame de Paris, *Ave Regina caelorum* and *Salve Regina* were sung as part of the *Salve* service after Compline every Saturday and Sunday respectively, while *Regina caeli* was sung daily after Lauds.¹⁸ *Ave Regina caelorum* was also sung daily for the procession at Terce and High Mass.¹⁹ *Alma Redemptoris Mater* was not accorded the same status as these three antiphons, nor did it have a fixed place within the liturgy of Paris.²⁰ Similarly, in the use of the king's chapel, which was largely based on the use of Paris, only the three 'Regina' antiphons were sung on a regular basis.²¹ The situation was similar in books of hours for the use of Paris and the book of hours in general, which incorporated the three 'Regina' antiphons much more frequently throughout the hours than the contemporary liturgy. The fact that Attaignant included settings of *Alma Redemptoris Mater* in two earlier books of his series seems to suggest that they were deliberately excluded from book 12, perhaps in an effort to preserve (or promote) the use of Paris and to appeal to the Parisian market. Book 12 thus reflects local Parisian

¹⁸ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 108.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 340. It was used for various feasts at Notre-Dame de Paris, but not on a weekly or daily basis.

²¹ Surviving sources from the court chapel or Sainte-Chapelle rarely include the *Alma Redemptoris* antiphon, though it is present in a psalter and book of hours for use at the king's chapel (use of Paris, but more specifically the use of the Sainte-Chapelle) dating from c. 1364 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (hereafter BnF), Latin 1082). The antiphon is found in the section that lists which Marian antiphons should be sung daily after Compline (fols. 140^v–141^r). *Alma Redemptoris* is assigned to Sundays throughout the year. The place of the Marian antiphons in the liturgy of the king's chapel evidently changed significantly by 1535: MS Lat. 1082 assigns *Salve Regina* to Saturdays and *Ave Regina caelorum* to Mondays. On MS Lat. 1082 and the liturgy of the king's chapel, see B. Haggh, 'Binchois and Sacred Music at the Burgundian Court', in A. Kirkman and D. Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11–25, esp. 21. The antiphon is included in the general Marian section of the Processional of Saint-Martin-des-Champs à Paris, with the vague rubric 'De beata maria virgine', but followed by an 'alternate' antiphon, *Ave Regina caelorum* (BnF, Lat. 1124, fol. cxvii^r).

Singing the King's Music

liturgical and devotional practices, and more generally has strong links with books of hours, links that would no doubt have been recognised by the book of hours market. The term 'salutationes', however, neither forecloses use beyond Paris, nor does Attaignant suggest specific days on which the motets should be sung.

Two other instances of local use are reflected in the title rubrics and contents of books 7 and 10; however, the title rubrics of these two books differ from those previously discussed. The title rubrics used by Attaignant in books 5, 6, 9 and 12 all imply a single text-type and/or subject for the motets contained in the books: all are Magnificats, all are psalms or all are salutations to the Virgin. For books 7 and 10 the title rubrics refer to motets on more than one subject. The rubric for book 10 indicates that the book contains Lamentations and Passion settings for Holy Week and Easter, as well as other motets suitable for Lent. A study of the text sources for these motets found that not only did all the texts have a tradition of use for Lent and Holy Week, Attaignant actually ordered the contents within the book according to their function: lessons (Lamentations) are grouped according to the day on which they would be sung starting with Maundy Thursday ('Feria quinta in cena domini') and ending with Holy Saturday. The Kyrie divides the Lamentations from the Passions, which are also presented in calendar order: the Passion of Matthew (for Palm Sunday) followed by the Passion of John (for Good Friday). The remaining settings are generally ordered according to the use of Paris, starting with *In pace* for the Second Sunday of Lent and concluding with *Resurrexi et adhuc*, sung at the opening of Mass on Easter Sunday.²² (See Figure 1.) Attaignant's attention to local liturgy and devotional traditions is also evident in book 7 (see Figure 2.) Attaignant's rubric states that the book contains music for Advent and the Nativity and also motets for the

²² The first three items, *In pace*, *Ne proijcias* and *O rex gloriose*, appear in the Parisian breviary BnF, Lat. 15181, fols. 230^{r-v}, 235^r. *Gloria laus et honor* was sung in procession on Palm Sunday by the singers of Notre-Dame de Paris. See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 189 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 1799, fols. 31^v–35^r. *Resurrexi et adhuc* is included in the texts for the Mass on Easter Sunday in a missal from the king's chapel (Sainte-Chapelle) dated 1501–25 (BnF, Lat. 8890, fol. 7^r). *Domine non secundum* is not in any Parisian sources I was able to consult, though it is listed in *Cantus Database: Inventories of Chant Sources* (<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>) for the Sunday before Ash Wednesday. Given the care with which Attaignant organised his books, it seems plausible that this order represents a local Parisian use for the texts, or at least one that was generally applicable. Brobeck suggests that the majority of the motets in book 10 adhere to the performance practices of the royal chapel and could have been performed by the royal chapel singers as part of the Holy Week and Easter services. See Brobeck, 'The Motet', pp. 413–15.

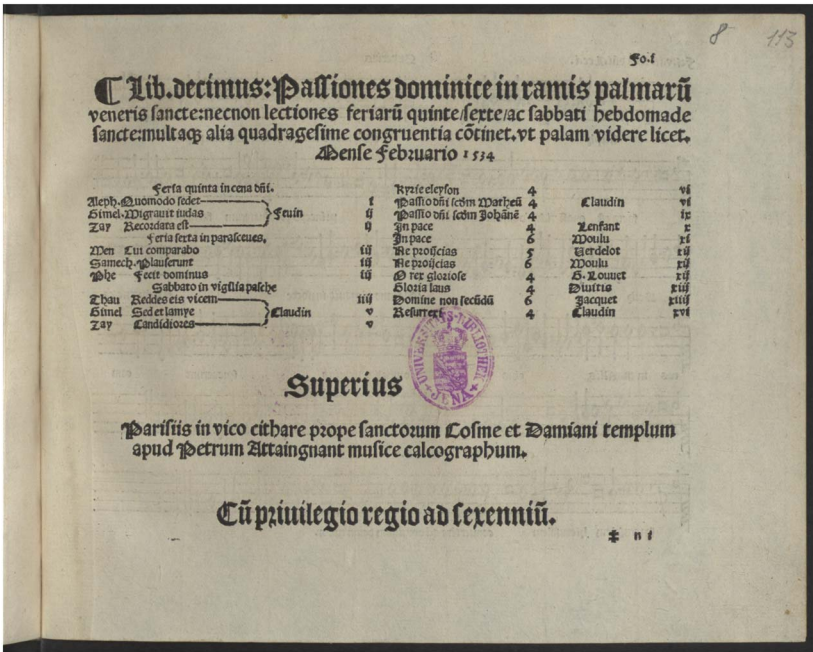


Figure 1 Title page of the superius partbook of Attainnant's tenth book of motets with title rubric indicating that the motets pertain to the Holy Week and Easter season (Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Mus.2a (5), Bl. 236)

individual saints' feasts which occur at this time. Rubrics inside the book more precisely identify some of the motets whose subjects were not immediately evident, and distinguish those for Advent and the Nativity from those for individual saints' feasts.

The title page of book 7 outlines the contents of the book. At the core are the nine 'O' antiphon settings: *O Sapientia*, *O Adonay*, *O Radix Jesse*, *O Clavis David*, *O Oriens*, *O Thoma Didime*, *O Rex Gentium*, *O Emmanuel* and *O Virgo Virginum*. These 'O' antiphons were sung with the Magnificat as part of the Vespers liturgy during Advent at Notre-Dame de Paris, a tradition dating back to the eighth century.²³ They were sung on the nine days leading up to Christmas and Attainnant preserved the local liturgical and devotional order when he printed

²³ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 106. The chants *O Thomas didime* and *O virgo virginum* date from a few centuries later in the use of Paris.

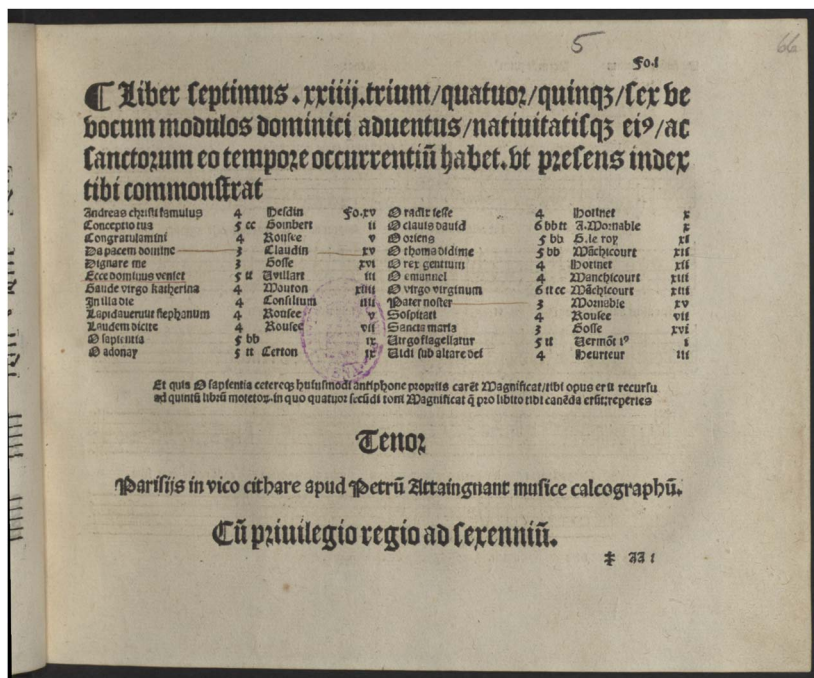


Figure 2 Title page of the tenor partbook of Attaingnant's seventh book of motets with title rubric indicating that the motets pertain to the Advent and Nativity season (Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Mus.2c(5), Bl. 140)

them in his book.²⁴ Evidently, the printer felt that the subject and use of these motets was sufficiently clear from the title rubric and that they needed no other identification. The remaining motets were apparently not as universally (or locally) familiar, and we see signs of Attaingnant's concern that the user of the book be able to quickly identify the subject of these motets and their place within the Advent season using the accompanying rubrics. Jean Rousée's *Sospitati dedit aegros*, for example, has no hint of its subject in the title. The subject and use would no doubt have been clear for those who sang the liturgy every day, but without the rubric 'De Sancto Nicolao' identifying one

²⁴ These nine antiphons are found in liturgical books and books of hours for the use of Paris. The order in Attaingnant's edition corresponds to that in both types of books, with a single exception: the placement of *O Emanuel* in the superius partbook is out of order, clearly an error in the printing process.

of the saints celebrated during Advent (6 December), the subject and relevance of the motet for the season is ambiguous. This suggests that Attaignant was catering at least in part to people who were not members of professional choirs or employed at one of the many churches and cathedrals in Paris. Indeed, the texts for these 'saints' motets were also common in books of hours.²⁵ The presence of motets to saints with a strong local connection, like St Catherine, St Andrew and St Denis, is an additional link to the liturgical and devotional traditions of Paris, and more generally France. However, these saints were also widely celebrated, thus ensuring a degree of versatility for the book, while still promoting the local use.

This clearly illustrates an intention on Attaignant's part to respect or even promote a specific tradition and to order the pieces according to the liturgical calendar.²⁶ This is perhaps not surprising when we consider the context in which the books were printed and sold, for in addition to printing large quantities of polyphonic music, Attaignant also produced liturgical books and sold books of hours in his Parisian bookstore.²⁷ He would certainly have been aware of the potential to appeal to these two groups with user-friendly books of polyphony organised according to local liturgical and devotional use.

The 'O' antiphon settings have another significance that speaks to the large scope of the series and Attaignant's intention that the books in his series be used together. On the title page of book 7, after the rubric stating the subject of the motets, Attaignant added this note: 'And since O Sapientia and the other antiphons of this kind lack their own Magnificat, you will need to go back to the fifth book of motets, in which you will find four second-tone Magnificats which can be sung at your pleasure.' Attaignant informs his reader/singer that the 'O' motets in book 7, which are all in the second mode, should or could be sung with Magnificats, and also refers them back to the fifth book in this series in order to find the appropriate Magnificat settings.²⁸ This is

²⁵ The saints included in book 7 are St Catherine, St Stephen, St Nicholas and St Andrew. Attaignant also included motets to St Denis, St Peter the Apostle, St Anne, St Philip, St Paul, St Anthony and St John the Baptist. Only St Philip was not regularly featured in books of hours.

²⁶ This was at the cost of the page layout of some partbooks and sometimes complicated the page turns.

²⁷ Hertz, *Pierre Attaignant*, p. 191. Shop inventories include a breviary in 1525, a missal in 1541 and a breviary and manual for the use of Noyon in 1546. His widow received a shipment of books of hours and liturgical books after Attaignant's death, presumably to sell in the shop.

²⁸ As mentioned above, book 5 contains the settings in modes 1–3, while book 6 contains settings in modes 4–8.

Singing the King's Music

significant on two fronts, one which pertains to the use of the books and the other (which I shall address below) which pertains to the function of the motet.

Attaingnant's note implies a degree of cohesion that was completely unprecedented in motet series printed prior to these books. He apparently expected his market to buy the entire series and to use the different books in conjunction with one another. Presumably this decision was geared towards those who might sing the Magnificats together with the antiphons, such as choirs at local churches and cathedrals. However, I would argue that a private devotional use can also be inferred from the rubric and the contents of the book. By explaining that the reader could find the appropriate Magnificats in book 5, Attaingnant was catering to the non-professional, the amateur singer, who would use this book for private observances and devotions and would not necessarily have a wealth of Magnificats at home from which to choose. Because the Magnificats lack alternate verses, the individual who purchased book 5 would still need an additional devotional book that could provide the missing text at the very least, assuming an extra-liturgical performance. The book of hours, which featured the complete Magnificat and occasionally the O antiphons, could have been used to fill in the missing texts, a fact which could point to a private, devotional use for these books. The possibilities of cross-marketing would surely have appealed to a businessman like Attaingnant, who in fact sold books of hours and liturgical books in his own bookshop along with books of polyphony.²⁹

The title rubrics in Attaingnant's series reflect the overall contents of the books, identifying the subjects or text genres of the motets, suggesting appropriate occasions for their performance. They also contribute to the cohesiveness of the series. These fourteen books were not simply printed in succession at random as new motets were collected, but were organised according to the texts which they set and were meant to be used together. If we turn our attention to the contents of those books without title rubrics, we find an equal attention to the subject of the pieces.

INDIVIDUAL MOTET RUBRICS: BOOKS ONE TO FOUR, SEVEN, EIGHT, THIRTEEN AND FOURTEEN

The 'individual' rubrics in the series appear principally in mixed anthologies. They are typically placed at the top of the page in the left-

²⁹ Hartz, *Pierre Attaingnant*, pp. 38–9, 42; Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaingnant's Encyclopaedia', pp. 229–32.

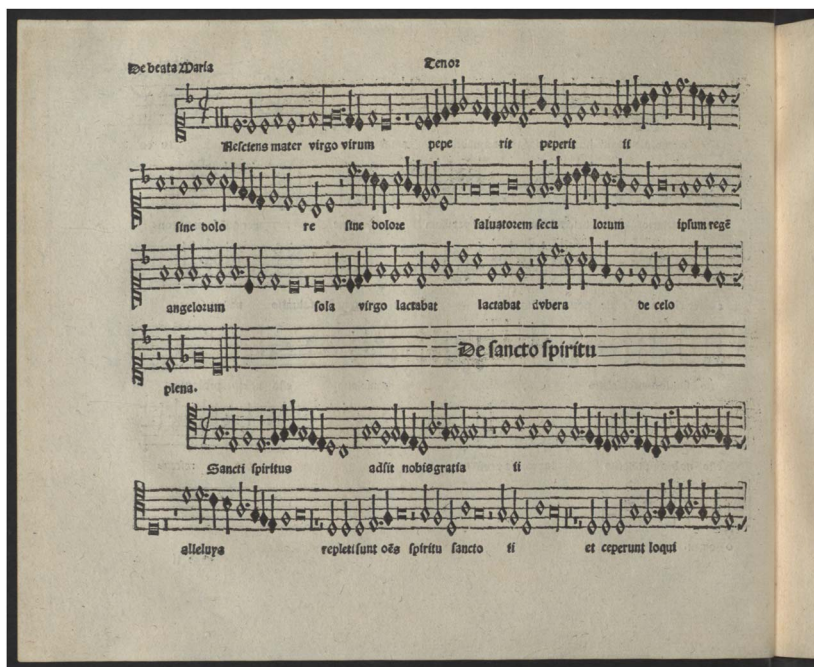


Figure 3 Folio 6^v from book 4 of Attaingnant's motet series (tenor partbook) with rubrics at the top of the page ('De beata Maria') and within the staff ('De sancto spiritu') (Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Mus.2c (5). Bl. 119)

hand corner of the running head, or if a piece begins part-way down the page, the rubric is found within the staff that precedes the new motet, in a larger font to distinguish it from the rest of the text. (See Figure 3.) Of the 281 motets in Attaingnant's series, 118 appear with an 'individual' rubric, totalling more than 40 per cent of the repertory, not including those in uniform anthologies without individual rubrics, such as the contents of books 5, 6, 9 and 12, which could conceivably have the rubric 'Magnificat', 'davideos psalmos' or 'ad virginem christiparam salutationes'. If we were to take into consideration all motets which appear with an individual or title rubric, the total would be 230 motets, more than 80 per cent of motets in the series.

The rubrics in Attaingnant's motet series which appear at the start of individual motets resemble those rubrics more commonly associated with the Commons sections of graduals and processions and books of hours. They indicate the subject, feast or occasion on which

Singing the King's Music

the motets could be sung. They range from rubrics for unspecified liturgical occasions to those which refer to a particular feast day. Most rubrics fall under three broad categories: Marian rubrics, rubrics related to feasts in the sanctoral cycle and rubrics related to feasts in the temporal cycle. A small group of rubrics, referred to here as 'miscellaneous rubrics', do not belong to any of these categories.

Marian rubrics refer either to the Virgin Mary or specific feasts associated with her and are by far the most common, accounting for forty-four of the 118 motets with an individual rubric. These Marian rubrics also represent the different degrees of detail given by Attaignant. More than half of the Marian rubrics (twenty-nine of forty-four) are simply 'De beata Maria', indicating that the motet is appropriate for any Marian feast throughout the year, or for any occasion on which the singer would like to pray to or celebrate Mary. These rubrics are commonly found in graduals and other liturgical books in sections of general Marian material. Other rubrics are more specific, like the rubric 'De assumptione beatae Mariae' for the motet *Virgo prudentissima*, which indicates that the piece could be sung for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, which fell on 15 August.³⁰

The miscellaneous rubrics category includes a broad range of subjects: 'Pro rege nostro', 'Contra pestem', 'Pro peccatis', as well as those relating to the Holy Spirit or the Blessed Sacrament ('De sancto Spiritu' and 'In festo Sacramenti'); three appearances of the rubric 'Oratio Dominicalis'; and one rubric stating that the piece is appropriate 'Pro quacumque tribulatione'.³¹

The rubric 'for the king' is found in both liturgical books and books of hours (especially French books of hours) and has a special place in the series. It is assigned to the motet *Christus vincit Christus regnat* by Mathieu Gascongne and is the only direct reference to the king included in the rubrics.³² The text is taken in part from the *Laudes Regiae*, a text commonly used for the coronation of kings, and includes a direct reference to Francis I, an important local connection.³³

³⁰ This reflects the use of Paris but was appropriate for other uses as well.

³¹ A full list of the rubrics and the motets they accompany is provided in the Appendix and in Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaignant's Encyclopaedia', pp. 469–72.

³² 'Christus vincit Christus regnat. . . Francisco serenissimo'. The motet was printed in book 2 of the series. Peter Gram Swing suggests, on the strength of documentation dated 1517–18 that identifies Gascongne as a singer in the French royal chapel, that this motet was composed for the coronation of Francis I in 1515. See P. Swing, 'Gascongne Mathieu Family', *Grove Music Online* (acc. 25 Feb. 2018), and Brobeck, 'The Motet', p. 475.

³³ There are six additional motets that reference the crown or French nobility in the series: *Anthoni pater* (Lasson), *Non nobis domine* (Gascongne [Mouton]), *Quousque non reverteris* (Sermisy), *Deus regnorum et christianissimi* (Gascongne), *Gaude francorum regia corona*

The rubric ‘Contra pestem’ (against the plague) appears twice in book 4 and is found in both books of hours and liturgical books. It reflects a specific, perhaps local, use for the motets, or at least the texts of the motets. *Recordare domine*, the first motet with this rubric, sets an Introit text that was part of the *Missa vitanda mortalitate*, a votive service that was used specifically in response to threats from the plague.³⁴ The text of the second ‘plague’ motet *Adjuva nos* was also connected to plague liturgies, as part of the gradual for the *Missa vitanda mortalitate*.³⁵ Both motets were composed by Philippe Verdelot and usually travel as a single motet.³⁶ The motets also feature a foreign cantus firmus taken from the solemn motet *Parce domine* by Jacob Obrecht, who famously died of the plague in 1505.

The use of the rubric ‘Contra pestem’ may thus be seen as a reflection of the liturgical uses for the two texts (both associated with votive services against the plague but apparently never in the same source) and the history of the motets and cantus firmus, which would have been less than a decade old when Attaingnant printed them in his series. Dividing the motet into two separate pieces allowed Attaingnant to reflect the liturgical uses of the texts and provided not one but two pieces that could be sung against the plague. Attaingnant’s rubric indeed does not restrict the use of the two motets to any one situation. It does not employ the phrase ‘*Missa vitanda mortalitate*’ or refer to a specific liturgical service; ‘against the plague’ simply means

(Févin) and *Bone Jesu dulcissime* (Gascongne). All but one of them refer to Francis I or the king. Lasson’s motet acknowledges Antoine, Duke of Lorraine, though Attaingnant’s rubric ‘De Sancto Antonio’ gives the motet a wider appeal. The other five motets were printed in book 11, the only book which does not contain rubrics. The lack of rubrics may be explained by several factors: most of the texts have a tenuous connection to the liturgy or devotional texts, the subject is evident from the titles of the motets, and the book was printed during a period of abnormally heightened activity at Attaingnant’s printing press, during which the printer produced five separate editions in less than three months. See Bazinet, ‘Pierre Attaingnant’s Encyclopaedia’, pp. 215–17, 267–8.

³⁴ Chris Macklin, private communication.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ The following sources contain both motets as a single piece: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS-VMI578.M91; Piacenza, Archivio del Duomo, Fondo Musicale, MS s.s. (5); Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS D 27; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS S¹ 35–40; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII. 4; and Jacques Moderne’s *Secundus liber cum quinque vocibus* [RISM 1532⁹]. On the Newberry manuscript, see H. Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago and London, 1972). Padua MS D 27 is discussed in J. G. Constant, ‘Renaissance Manuscripts of Polyphony at the Cathedral of Padua’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1975). On the MS Cappella Giulia XII. 4, see M. Brauner, ‘Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Cappella Giulia’, *Journal of Musicology*, 3 (1984), pp. 287–311; J. M. Llorens, *Le opere musicali della Cappella Giulia: I Manoscritti e edizioni fino al ’700*, Studi e testi, 265 (Città del Vaticano, 1971).

Singing the King's Music

'this motet is suitable for singing against the plague', for whomever the buyer might happen to be. It allows for use of these motets during votive services, but also in other events organised to ward off the plague, such as processions or private confraternal devotions, or even private familial gatherings.

As was the case in the books with title rubrics, all of the rubrics assigned to individual motets correspond either to the subject of the motet text, or to the traditional, liturgical or devotional use of the text. In many cases, motets with the same rubric within a book are grouped together, such as the two plague motets in book 4, or groups of Marian motets in numerous books of the series.³⁷ In one instance, Attaingnant ordered the contents of a single book according to the categories of the rubrics. The subjects and indeed some of the texts of the motets in book 2 are common throughout the series, but what sets this book apart is the deliberate grouping of motets according to rubric, resulting in distinct sections. Book 2 contains twenty-four motets on a variety of subjects ranging from Marian texts to settings of Paschal texts, and even sacred Latin poetry. The contents are divided into two parts: the first with rubrics predominantly from the temporal cycle; the second with a large number of rubrics that coincide with the sanctoral cycle. (See Table 4.) The two sections are further divided according to season or subject, with each grouping set off by a Marian motet. Reflecting the general treatment of Marian texts in the series, the rubrics here vary depending on the use of the text that Attaingnant wanted to promote. While the printer was not always consistent in his use of rubrics for a given text, we see that *Ave Regina caelorum* is here identified with the term 'salutatio', the same term used for the motets on the same text printed in book 12, though here the word 'communis' indicates that these motets are for general Marian use.³⁸

Book 2 succinctly reflects Attaingnant's organisational practices and overall use of rubrics, with general and specific rubrics for individual motets. Rubrics are assigned to motets with texts that had a traditional, liturgical or devotional use and for composite texts, but not usually for contemporary texts or those of a secular nature. In fact, an underlying trend in the series seems to be to omit rubrics for motets whose subject is God.³⁹ For example, the text of Richafort's *Christe*

³⁷ The groupings in books 4 and 8 are particularly striking.

³⁸ The terms are also assigned to the motet *Sancta Maria succurre*, a motet that was not accorded the same status as the great Marian antiphons in the use of Paris, either in liturgical books or books of hours.

³⁹ Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaingnant's Encyclopaedia', pp. 215–17.

Table 4 *Contents of book 2 with motet title, rubric provided in the print and the liturgical context*

Large sections are separated by a double line, internal sections by a single line.

Title	Rubric (as in print)	Liturgical context implied by rubric
Pater noster	Oratio Dominicalis	Not specific/Prayer at start of Office
Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	In Resurrectione Domini	Temporal cycle: Easter
Victimae paschali	De Resurrectione Domini	Temporal cycle: Easter
Gaudeamus omnes in domino	In Resurrectione Domini	Temporal cycle: Easter
Congratulamini mihi	De Resurrectione Domini	Temporal cycle: Easter
Sancta Maria succurre	Salutatio communis beatae Mariae	Not specific /any Marian feast
Christe totius dominator	No rubric	None; Latin poem by Šižgorić
Christus vincit Christus regnat	Pro rege nostro	None
Ave Maria gratia plena	Salutatio angelica	Not specific/prayer at start of Office
Egredere ab occidente	In die Epiphaniae	Temporal cycle, Epiphany
Noe magnificatus est rex	In Nativitate Domini	Temporal cycle, Christmas
Noe psallite	In Nativitate Domini	Temporal cycle, Christmas
Omnipotens sempiterne deus	De uno apostolo	Sanctoral cycle, Commons (not specific apostle: N instead of name)
Benedicta es caelorum	De beata Maria	Not specific/any Marian feast
O quam dulcis et beata	Plurimorum martyrum	Sanctoral cycle, Commons (not specific martyrs: N instead of name)

Table 4. (*Continued*)

Title	Rubric (as in print)	Liturgical context implied by rubric
O praesul egregie	De uno episcopo	Sanctoral cycle (not specific bishop: N instead of name)
O crux viride lignum	In festo sanctae Crucis	Sanctoral cycle May or September (not specific)
Ave regina caelorum	Salutatio communis beatae Mariae	Not specific/any Marian feast
Pater peccavi	Pro peccatis	No liturgical context
Aspice domine quia facta	None	
Spiritus ubi vult	In die Pentecostes	Temporal cycle (not specific)
Virgo Christi egregia	De communi unius virginis	Sanctoral cycle Commons (not specific virgin: N instead of name)
Patefacte sunt ianue	De sancto Stephano	Sanctoral cycle, December
Ave sanctissima Maria	De beata Maria	Not specific/any Marian Feast

totius dominator is a Latin poem by the Croatian poet Juraj Šižgorić and was printed as part of a collection of Latin poems on a variety of subjects.⁴⁰ In this instance, Attaignant respected the non-liturgical nature of the text and did not assign it a rubric.⁴¹ Interestingly, Attaignant does use rubrics, here and elsewhere in the series, for motets whose texts are compilations of two or more texts. In book 2 alone he assigned rubrics to nine motets with composite texts, which would therefore have been unsuitable for use within the liturgy, but could be used in other contexts, such as processions, votive or devotional services, or even corporate or private devotions.⁴² This leads us to a consideration of the use or function of these motets and the importance of the rubrics for our understanding of how Attaignant viewed this repertory.

The rubrics could evidently serve as a guide for performance, telling the singer when he or she might sing these motets. They were also no doubt useful as a more general reference tool: a means of identifying the subject of the piece without having to read through the Latin text. For modern scholars, they tell us about the relevance of the motet for personal prayer for specific issues; we can see that these motets had a place in praying to a patron saint, as suggested by the rubric 'De sancta Katherina', or praying against the plague because of rubrics like 'Contra pestem'. This suggests a private function for the motets and series, as well as a possible liturgical or paraliturgical function for the motets, or the use of these motets for votive services or special devotions. But to what extent was Attaignant indicating or promoting a liturgical function for these motets, or reflecting a court devotional practice? A liturgical function could be implied in the instruction to sing book 7 antiphons with the Magnificat in the rubric on the title page and in the inclusion of 'incomplete' Passion and Lamentation settings in book 10. Indeed, John Brobeck has argued that the style of

⁴⁰ J. Šižgorić (G. Sığoreus), *Georgii Sığorei Sibenicensis Elegiarum et carminum libri tres (1477)*, ed. N. Jovanovic. < <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.70:4.croala> > (acc. June 2018). The poem appears in book 3, no. 4, titled 'Carmen ad Christus'.

⁴¹ This practice also occurs in other books: Lhéritier's *Cum rides* in book 8 sets the Latin poem *Ad Batillam* by Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (printed in 1502). Conversely, the two versions of the Latin poem *Ad gloriosam virginem* written by Ercole Strozzi (printed in 1513) which appear in book 4 (by Josquin) and book 13 (by Jodon) are accompanied by a rubric, *De beata Maria*, here reflecting the subject of the text and perhaps the use of the motets in devotions to Mary, rather than a liturgical connection for the text.

⁴² The nine motets are *Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi*, *Gaudeamus omnes in domino*, *Egredere ab occidente*, *Noe magnificatus est rex*, *Noe psallite*, *O quam dulcis et beata*, *O praesul egregie*, *O crux viride lignum* and *Spiritus ubi vult*. On the function of the motet within the liturgy or in other circumstances, see the discussion below.

Singing the King's Music

these pieces, of the Magnificat and 'O' antiphon settings, is not what we currently consider a motet style and that they were more in line with serviceable music: that they were 'liturgical motets'.⁴³ But these pieces account for only a fraction of the motets in the series, and while Attaignant may certainly have thought of them as appropriate in a liturgical context, that this was the principle function of the series as a whole seems unlikely.

The inclusion of motets to individual saints and to Mary in book 7 suggests a more personalised, devotional approach. We do in fact find that the texts of some of these 'liturgical' motets, as well as the 'O' antiphons and Magnificats, are quite common in books of hours, and some of the motet texts in book 7 survive only in books of hours of the time.⁴⁴ They would no doubt also have been suitable for use at stationary liturgies or votive services in honour of the Virgin. The rubrics themselves support a non-liturgical use, or rather allow for multiple uses: those that exist in liturgical books are also usually present in devotional books or general sections of liturgical books, which often feature material for votive or special services. These rubrics are descriptive and thus fall equally in line with devotional books and with the miscellaneous sections of graduals and processions (this obviously includes the twenty-nine 'De beata Maria' rubrics).⁴⁵ From a visual perspective, the rubrics in Attaignant's series are often a closer match to those in books of hours than in liturgical books. Figures 4, 5 and 6 are from two liturgical books and a book of hours with rubrics for St Andrew. Comparing these to Figure 7 we can see that the book of hours rubric is a closer match for the Attaignant rubric, both in the placement of the rubric away from the text and in the wording.

That the Attaignant rubrics reflected a local tradition for these motets (or their texts) is clear in the contents of book 12 and the choice of which 'O' antiphons were printed in book 7. Nevertheless, the use which Attaignant assigned to these motets was not universally recognised, as is evident in the marginalia added to some motets by an owner of the series. The copy held at the Jena Thüringer- und

⁴³ Brobeck, 'Some Liturgical Motets'. These pieces resemble prescribed service music in their use of chant incipits, clear presentation of the chant in the polyphony and, in the case of many of the Magnificats, Passions and Lamentations, requiring additional music to complete the piece.

⁴⁴ The text for the St Catherine motet *Gaude virgo Katherina* is only preserved in books of hours. It is not featured in the Parisian liturgical books from the period which I consulted, nor is it included in the *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies* (<http://cantusindex.org/>) or *Cantus Database*.

⁴⁵ The Marian sections of graduals in particular contain the types of rubrics found in books of hours.

Andree. cccxlv.

319

enim piscatores et
ait illis. Venite. *lc. ii.*
Profil itaq; egres
 ans ciuitate ingress
 cepit repellere credentes xpm
 ad sacrificia ydolor. Cui
 occurrens scs andreas dixit.
 Oportet ut tu qui uider ho
 minū et nūisti: iudicē tu
 um qui ē in celo cognoscēs
 et agniti coleres et colendo
 cū qui uetus dōs ē ab hys q
 uerū dū nō sē animū tuo
 carēs. Egres dixit. Tu es an
 dreas qui dextris tēpla te
 or et suades hoib; supsticio
 sa sectam q̄ nup delatam
 romani p̄ncipes extirmina
 ri iulle. *lc. ii.*
 p̄nc. *lc. ii.* **N**ox ut uocem
 domini p̄dicantis audi
 ut beatus andreas iudic
 atib; quoz usu actu q
 p̄uebat. Ecce uic sequi
 tus est p̄ncipū largito
 rem. *lc. ii.* **A**ndreas
 xpi famulus dignus deo.
 apostolus germanus petri
 et in passio ne loc. us. *lc. ii.*
Andreas r̄ndit. *lc. ii.*
 Romani p̄ncipes n̄
 dum cognouerunt hoc qd
 pro salute hoim ueniens dī
 filius occidit ista ydola non
 solū deos nō ē. s; et demōta
 pessima et inimica hūano ge
 neri q̄ h̄c docent hoies unde

Figure 4 Breviary for use of Paris with rubric 'Andree' for St Andrew in red at the top of the page (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Lat. 15181, fol. 357^r)

Singing the King's Music



Figure 5 Parisian gradual with rubric for St Andrew (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Lat. 14452, fol. 204^r)

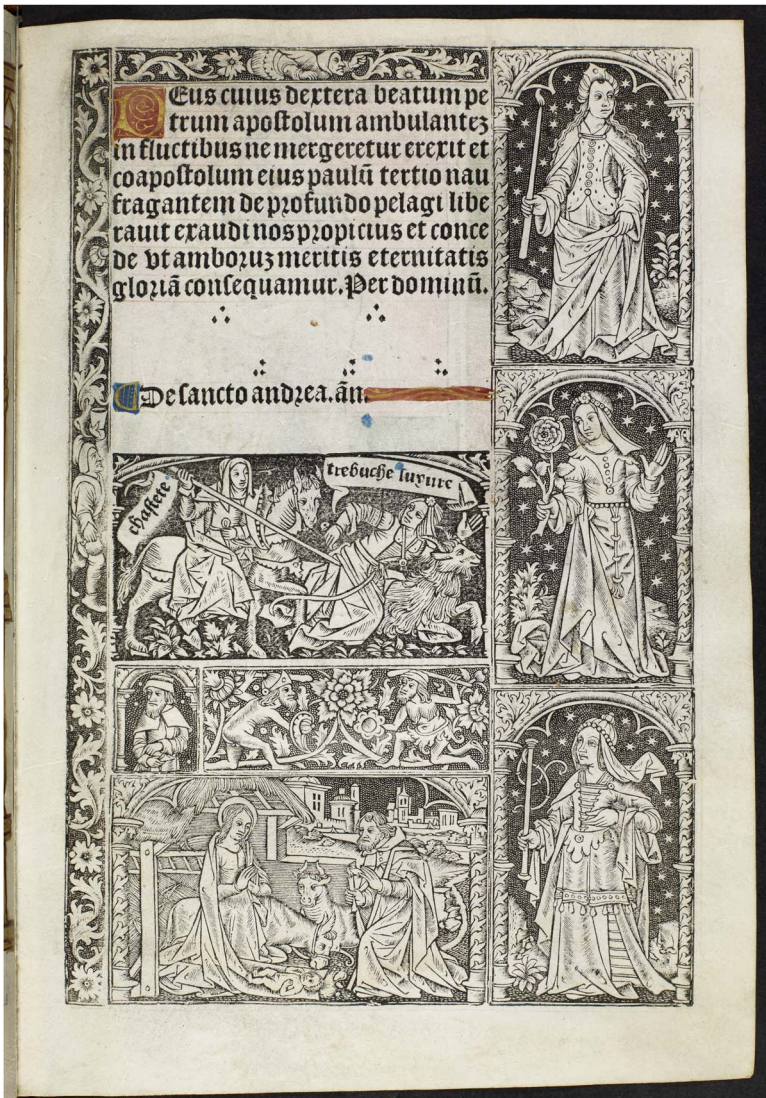


Figure 6 Manuscript-print hybrid book of hours with rubric for St Andrew. A. Vêrard, *Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Sarum* (c. 1505). Rubric for St Andrew 'De sancto andrea. an.' (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, CMB Pergament 19 4^o, fol. 44^{r-v})

Singing the King's Music



Figure 6 Continued

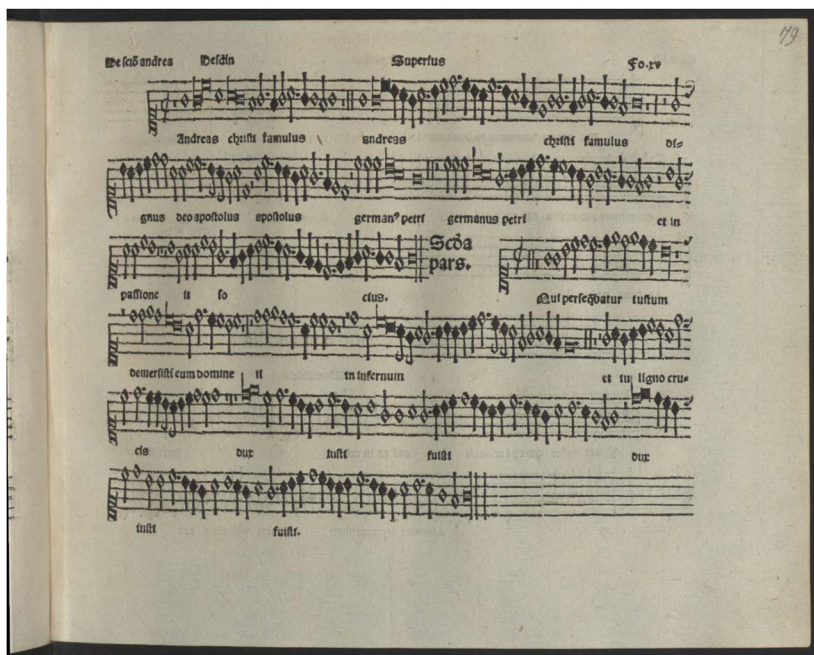


Figure 7 Rubric for St Andrew from book 7 of Attaingnant's motet series (superius partbook): 'De sancto andrea' (top left-hand corner) (Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Mus.2a (5), Bl. 168)

Landesbibliothek includes fifty-one additional rubrics written in a cursive hand in the running heads and margins of the superius partbooks of books 1–8.⁴⁶ In some cases, the owner filled in the rubric indicated in other partbooks, for example he added the rubric 'De S petro ap(os)to(lo)' to the motet *Argentum et aurem* by Hesdin, the same rubric Attaingnant included in the tenor partbook (fol. xv^v). He also assigned rubrics to motets which Attaingnant left undesignated, including sixteen additions to book 1, which contains only five printed rubrics (motets 1–5). The owner also filled in a rubric for Richafort's motet *Christe totius dominator* from book 2, despite the extra-liturgical nature of the text. 'De Christo' here might refer to a tradition of

⁴⁶ There appear to be two hands at work: the main hand who wrote out the majority of the rubrics and a second hand who wrote three rubrics in red ink. Only a few handwritten rubrics appear in the other partbooks: the name Verdelot (assigned to the motet in the superius partbook) is added in red to the motet *Ave sanctissima Maria* in the book 3 contratenor partbook (fol. xvi^r) and the name Claudin is crossed out; the owner also noted the continuation of the second tenor in the tenor partbook of book 12 (fol. vi^v).

Singing the King's Music

singing the motet for celebrations or devotions to Christ. In addition to filling in the blanks, the owner also added a number of rubrics in order to more precisely identify the subject of some motets, and in a few cases actually contradicted Attaingnant's suggested subject or use.

In two instances the owner of the Jena series made specific references to the French connections of the motets. For the rubric 'Pro rege nostro', which we saw in book 2 as assigned to the motet *Christus vincit Christus regnat* by Gascongne, the owner added the phrase 'Oratio pro Francisco I rege Gallorum'. The motet text refers to Francis by name, but the owner here specified the Gallic connection. A similar addition appears on fol. vi of book 3: the owner added the phrase 'De S Dyonisio Gallorum apostolo' to Attaingnant's rubric 'De Sancto Dyonisio', thereby identifying St Denis as a French apostle, a fact that would not have required explication for the Parisian or French market.⁴⁷

In ten instances, the later hand wrote in rubrics which contradict those printed by Attaingnant. He added an alternative rubric to six motets which Attaingnant described as 'De beata Maria'. The rubric for Josquin's *Virgo salufiferi* indicates that the motet is 'Salutatio angelica', referring to the use of the chant *Ave Maria gratia plena* as the cantus firmus of the motet, but still related to Attaingnant's rubric. The owner labelled the remaining five motets as 'De ecclesia Christi sponsa', clearly not a description covered in Attaingnant's rubric, but suggesting a non-Marian context for the performance of these motets. The texts of these five motets draw on the Song of Songs and the handwritten rubrics clearly emphasise the interpretation of these texts in the light of Mary (or the bride) as the Church. Since Attaingnant's rubrics coincide with the Parisian traditions for these texts (though they are more general than most liturgical sources, which specify, for example, the Feast of the Assumption, or Octave of the Assumption), and the liturgical and devotional use of the texts is almost universally connected to feasts for the Virgin (or a virgin), the owner may in this case have been recording an alternative use for the motets.⁴⁸ Considering the different assignments that the owner indicated for these ten motets (which includes using the second part of Gascongne's motet for Francis I as a motet 'De Christo'), and the references to the

⁴⁷ The comparatively ambiguous reference to 'our king' in the printed rubric seems to suggest that Attaingnant expected the purchasers of the books to know that this was the French king (their king), the same way they would recognise St Denis as a French saint.

⁴⁸ The *Cantus Index* lists the feasts for these texts as either Marian feasts, or feasts for other virgins (other female saints or unspecified virgins).

French king and apostle, we can surmise that he did not follow the use of Paris and that Attaignant's rubrics represent, to some extent, a local tradition.⁴⁹

Given that Attaignant was first and foremost a businessman, it is not surprising that his rubrics were often general enough to accommodate many different uses. The additions in the Jena copy of the series and the wording of some of the rubrics, and the contents of the books themselves, show us that they represented a specific local tradition, one which often coincided with the use of Paris, from liturgical to devotional, or even traditional use. The rubrics allow for many possible functions for the motets and actually provide some insight into the classification of pieces as motets in sixteenth-century Paris.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MOTET REVISITED

The question of what exactly constituted a motet in the sixteenth century and what function motets served has occupied modern scholars for several decades and has led to various and often competing theories. One theory, proposed by Jacqueline Mattfeld, gave the motet a liturgical function: the motet would be sung as part of the liturgy in place of the text that it set.⁵⁰ This view was largely supplanted in the 1980s when several scholars, notably Anthony Cummings and Jeremy Noble, proposed a paraliturgical function for the motet: where it would adorn the liturgy but was not essential to its performance.⁵¹ Within the paraliturgical function, we also find a use for motets in processions and at stational liturgies. Robert Nosow proposed that motets used in processions or stational liturgies served a ceremonial function, one which added drama and interest to the liturgy, and Noel O'Regan found that polyphony, and motets in particular, were standard components of processions in late sixteenth-century Rome.⁵²

⁴⁹ The identity of the owner is unknown. The series is part of the Bibliotheca Electoralis of Elector Frederick the Wise, held by the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (Jena). The copy contains the stamp and older emblem of the university, but no other indications of ownership. The series is available online at https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00019144.

⁵⁰ J. Mattfeld, 'Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 159–83.

⁵¹ A. Cummings, 'Towards an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 43–59; J. Noble, 'The Function of Josquin's Motets', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 35 (1985), pp. 9–22.

⁵² R. Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 44; N. O'Regan, 'Processions and their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome', *Recercare: Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica*, 4 (1992), pp. 45–80. On the use of polyphony during

Singing the King's Music

A third point of view gives the motet a devotional function, whereby it was performed in private or semi-private venues, like the home or confraternity. The view of the devotional function of the motet within a paraliturgical context was advanced by Howard Mayer Brown in his discussion of the first printed motet anthologies published by Petrucci.⁵³ He found that many of the texts of these motets were common in private devotional books. More recently, Julie Cumming found a high proportion of texts from these anthologies in books of hours.⁵⁴

The fifth view of the motet, which gives it a multipurpose function, was proposed by Julie Cumming after an extensive study of motet sources from the fifteenth century and the theoretical writings on the motet by contemporary theorists.⁵⁵ It allows for the functions described above, but does not limit the function of the motet to a single context. Instead, it gives the motet a flexibility of function. Cumming also accepts a distinction between liturgical polyphony, which has a prescribed function, and the motet, which has no prescribed function but rather many possible uses. This accommodates stories of motets being sung as entertainment, like the account in the diaries of the Sistine Chapel, which states that motets were sung at the pope's dinner table.⁵⁶

The title page of book 7 sheds light on what function motets served for Attaignant. In the instructions, he refers the reader back to the fifth book of motets ('ad quantum librum motetorum'), referring of course to book 5 containing Magnificats. Attaignant clearly thought of these pieces as motets, in naming them as such here and in including two books devoted exclusively to this type of setting as part of his numbered motet series. However the majority of these Magnificats were almost certainly composed for liturgical use at the French royal court, and the term motet was not typically associated with this kind of simple, alternatim polyphony. We could conclude from this and the relation of the rubrics to both liturgical and devotional books that for Attaignant at least, motets could encompass a wide range of pieces and could serve a variety of different functions; even prescribed

special processions against the plague, see R. Chiu, 'Music, Pestilence and Two Settings of *O beate Sebastianè*', *Early Music History*, 31 (2012), pp. 153–88.

⁵³ Brown, 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation'.

⁵⁴ J. Cumming, 'Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints', in P. Yachnin and B. Wilson (eds.), *Making Publics: People, Things, and Forms of Knowledge* (New York and London, 2010), pp. 96–122.

⁵⁵ J. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Dufay* (New York, 1999).

⁵⁶ Cummings, 'Towards an Interpretation', p. 45.

liturgical music, like Magnificats, could be used for devotions as well. The fact that he included motets on texts found exclusively in devotional books, or even in books of sacred and secular Latin poetry, attests that this was not just a collection of polyphonic works for liturgical use, but that it represented the full range of sacred Latin-texted music outside the Mass. The inclusion of rubrics throughout served a double purpose: to make evident the subject of the piece for the uninitiated, but also to indicate a specific occasion for the performance of the motets without limiting their performance to a specific context. The question remains as to which tradition of performance or use Attaignant was promoting in the series. Was he indeed reflecting and promoting the local Parisian use, or was he making the series more universally appealing? Interestingly, he appears to have done both.

SINGING THE KING'S MUSIC?

We saw that the title rubrics and organisation of certain books correspond to the use of Paris, particularly books 7, 10 and 12. Yet the connections to the use of Paris are not explicitly stated, nor do the rubrics preclude the possibility of using the motets for a variety of occasions. As we saw in the case of book 12 and the individual rubrics, most rubrics are quite general and unrestricting in their wording, even when they clearly represent local traditions. Indeed, there is no clear evidence that Attaignant was relying exclusively on the court or local composers for his repertory, and several of the motets were composed for specific events or patrons outside of the court network, thereby expanding the original context of the motets.⁵⁷ There is compelling evidence, however, to connect the series to the French royal court. While the rubrics themselves were probably coined by Attaignant (or someone in his atelier) and the wording of the rubrics in the series is generally similar to that found in books outside of Paris, many of the rubrics and the use which Attaignant suggests for the motets

⁵⁷ A significant number of motets were not composed for use at the French royal court or other Parisian institutions. For example, fourteen motets by Philippe Verdelot are featured in Attaignant's series. Similarly, Attaignant included twenty-four motets by Pierre de Manchicourt, a composer with no apparent connections to Paris, though the transmission of these motets and Manchicourt's dedication in book 14 of the series suggest that they may have travelled directly from composer to printer. See Bazinet, 'Pierre Attaignant's Encyclopaedia', pp. 140–80 for a consideration of the concordant sources of the motets in Attaignant's series and a discussion of the composers featured in the series, and pp. 123–8, 449 for a discussion of the Manchicourt motets.

Singing the King's Music

correspond to those found in liturgical books used by the royal chapel or other institutions frequented by the royal family, such as Notre-Dame de Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais.⁵⁸ Many of the texts of the motets were also included in royal chapel liturgical and devotional books.⁵⁹ Additionally, the fact that Attaignant's editions in general contain a large proportion of works by court composers, and that this series in particular features many works by court composers and those employed at other institutions which the king frequented, clearly links this series to the court and to Francis I.⁶⁰ Of the sixty named composers in Attaignant's motet series, twenty-five had clear ties to the French royal court, Sainte-Chapelle or Notre-Dame de Paris; 155 of the 281 motets in the series, more than 50 per cent, were attributed by Attaignant to these twenty-five men. Attaignant's own tie to the court was implicit at the time of printing, when he was the only printer of music in Paris and his editions were protected by royal privilege, a fact he advertised on the title pages of his series.⁶¹ His tie to the court was made explicit three years later when the king appointed him the first Royal Printer of Music. Perhaps then, part of the tradition preserved in the series is that of the French royal chapels. That motets and polyphony played an important role in the king's own liturgical

⁵⁸ Again book 12 stands out here, as does book 7, but so do more general rubrics, as illustrated by the additions in the Jena copy.

⁵⁹ Over 45 per cent of the texts were found in books belonging to royal institutions, despite the paucity of sources dated before 1535 which survive from the French royal court. Many were found in other Parisian sources.

⁶⁰ The six composers who served only at the Sainte-Chapelle are: Mornable, Penet, Cybot, Barra, Conseil and Manchicourt. The composer who only served at Notre-Dame de Paris was Mathieu Sohier. Additionally, five of the eighteen composers with ties to the court also had ties to either the Sainte-Chapelle or Notre-Dame de Paris: Certon, Longfant, Sermisy and Vermont Primus served at the Sainte-Chapelle and Certon and Longueval served at Notre-Dame de Paris. On music at the Sainte-Chapelle, see M. Brenet (M. Bobillier), *Les musiciens de la Sainte Chapelle du Palais* (Paris, 1910; repr. Geneva, 1973). On music at Notre-Dame, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*. On music at the French Royal court in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see in particular R. Sherr, 'The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding their Deaths', *Journal of Musicology*, 6 (1988), pp. 60–82; L. Perkins, 'Musical Patronage at the Royal Court of France under Charles VII and Louis XI (1422–83)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), pp. 507–66; F. Lesure, 'François I^{er}: Un roi-poète et ses musiciens', in F. Lesure and H. Vanhulst (eds.), *La musique, de tous les passe-temps le plus beau...*: *Hommage à Jean-Michel Vaccaro* (Paris, 1998), pp. 281–8; J. Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48 (1995), pp. 187–239; C. Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}* (Paris, 2002). More generally, on musicians in France in the sixteenth century, see F. Lesure, *Musique et musiciens français du 16^e siècle* (Geneva, 1976); M. Brenet (M. Bobillier), *Musique et musiciens de la vieille France* (Paris, 1978).

⁶¹ Each book of the motet series clearly advertises the privilege, usually with the phrase 'Cum privilegio regio' or 'Cum gratia christianissimi Francorum regis'.

and devotional observances is clear from the changes that he made at the important centres of sacred polyphony in Paris, specifically to the royal chapel, which is attested to by historical accounts of the court.⁶²

In the first decade of his reign, Francis I oversaw major changes to the organisation of the royal chapels, which visibly influenced the daily performance of music at the court. The queen's chapel had already been absorbed into the king's chapel following the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, bringing the total number of singers in the king's chapel to twenty-three.⁶³ By the late 1520s to early 1530s, the king's chapel was restructured into two entities: the *Chapelle en Musique* and the *Chapelle de Plain-Chant*.⁶⁴ The *Chapelle en Musique* was the larger of the two and often travelled with the king. It was responsible for the singing of polyphony at High Mass and Vespers on feast days and at various other times and unspecified locations. The smaller *Chapelle de Plain-Chant* was required to remain at the court and perform daily High Mass and Low Mass, as well as services for the canonical hours, whether the king was present at court or not.⁶⁵ By 1578, the chapel rule stipulated that the *Chapelle en Musique* was also responsible for singing at Vespers and Compline on Saturdays and Sundays, and in 1585, the rule stipulated that it was also responsible for the singing of the *Salve* service after Compline.⁶⁶

Historical accounts of Francis I's rule by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors highlight these changes and also mention public occasions on which the king's singers performed polyphony, and more specifically, motets. In the historic meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, the two rulers heard a private High Mass during which their singers performed.⁶⁷ At the

⁶² Wright notes that Francis I also ordered changes to the church and liturgy of Notre-Dame de Paris on several occasions. See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 218–21.

⁶³ Sherr, 'The Membership of the Chapels', p. 79. The membership of the queen's chapel totalled sixteen singers in 1514.

⁶⁴ Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François I^{er}*, p. 96; Brobeck, 'The Motet', pp. 20–53.

⁶⁵ Cazaux, *La musique*, p. 97.

⁶⁶ Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', pp. 217–18.

⁶⁷ There is substantial literature on the Field of Cloth of Gold. See in particular L. Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la Chapelle des Rois de France* (Paris, 1711); [J. La Caille], 'L'Ordre de l'entrevue et visitation des rois de France et d'Angleterre', in B. de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la monarchie française, qui comprennent l'histoire de France, avec les figures de chaque règne que l'injure des tems a épargnées*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1729–33), iv, pp. 177–80; A. Hamy, *Entrevue de François I^{er} avec Henry VIII à Boulogne-sur-Mer, en 1532: Intervention de la France dans l'affaire du divorce, d'après un grand nombre de documents inédits* (Paris, 1898); J. G. Russell, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520* (London, 1969); S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford and New York, 1997), pp. 137–69; R. J. Knecht, 'The Field of Cloth of Gold', in C. Giry-Deloison (ed.), *François I^{er} et Henri VIII* (Lille and London, 1996), pp. 37–51; R. J. Knecht, *Francis I and Sixteenth-Century France*

Singing the King's Music

conclusion of this service, the French singers sang several motets.⁶⁸ At the 1532 meeting between the monarchs in Boulogne, the French singers again performed several motets. According to Alfred Hamy and Louis Archon, separate Low Masses were said for each king inside Notre-Dame de Boulogne.⁶⁹ The French king arrived late and heard only one Low Mass, 'pendant laquelle les chantres chantoient des motetz'.⁷⁰

The singing of motets during Mass does not appear to have been limited to these occasions, but was apparently a staple of Francis I's daily observances. Claude Chappuys, librarian and valet de chambre of Francis I, mentions the singing of polyphony during Mass as a daily occurrence in his *Discours de la court* printed in 1543:

Le Roy ne fault ung seul jour d'ouyr messe,
En confermant la creance et promesse
Faicte au baptesme, et depuys tant juree
Et par plusieurs sacrementz asseuree
Chantres y sont qui ont voix argentines
Psalmodiantz les louenges divines
Et de David recitantz les chansons
Avec motetz de diverses facons,
Soit de Claudin pere aux musiciens:
Ou de Sandrin esgal aux anciens,
Ainsi le Roy qui porte au Createur
L'honneur que doit au maistre ung serviteur,
Reconnoist bien que dieu le fait regner,
Craindre, obeir, et sur nous dominer . . .⁷¹

(Farnham, Surrey, 2015); T. Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot, 2007; Abingdon, 2016); P. Kast, 'Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la chapelle de François 1^{er} au Camp du Drap d'Or', in J. Jaquot (ed.), *Fêtes et Cérémonies au temps de Charles Quinte* (Paris, 1960), pp. 135–46; H. Baillie, 'Les musiciens de la chapelle royale d'Henri VIII au Camp du Drap d'Or', *ibid.*, pp. 147–59; Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', pp. 201–2, 220–3.

⁶⁸ Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', p. 202.

⁶⁹ Hamy, *Entrevue de François I^{er} avec Henry VIII à Boulogne-sur-Mer*, pp. 66–7, xxxiv–xxxv; Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, pp. 514–15. Both sources are cited in Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', p. 202.

⁷⁰ Hamy, *Entrevue de François I^{er}*, p. xxxv. 'During which the singers sang motets'.

⁷¹ C. Chappuys, *Discours de la Court: présenté au Roy*. 1543. <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70314x>> (acc. July 2012), fols. 12–13. 'The king does not go one day without hearing Mass / confirming the faith and promise / made at baptism, and since then so affirmed / and assured by many sacraments / singers there are who have silver voices / who chanted the divine devotions / and of David reciting the songs / with motets in diverse styles / either by Claudin father of musicians / or by Sandrin equal of the ancients / thus the king who owes to the Creator / the honour that a servant owes to his master / recognises well that God makes him reign / fear, obey and dominate us.'

Chappuys indicates here that the singing of motets (and psalms) was a daily feature of the king's Mass. According to the rules for the two chapels, daily Mass for the court was performed by the *Chapelle de Plain-Chant*, which did not perform polyphony. The singing of motets would therefore have been performed by the *Chapelle en Musique*, but not as part of the daily Mass. Francis I's partiality for motets during Low Mass was observed at both Boulogne and the Field of Cloth of Gold; at the latter, Low Mass was read at the same time as the High Mass, but at a private altar for the king. According to Étienne Oroux's ecclesiastical history of the court, the 1585 chapel rule stated that every day the king is present at court, a High Mass is to be said, and at the same time two Low Masses should be said as well.⁷² This practice would seem to agree with the accounts we have of the simultaneous High Mass and Low Mass that Francis I heard at the Field of Cloth of Gold and would account for the daily singing of motets as part of the service for the king. Indeed, the performance in France of a public High Mass for the court, while a private Low Mass was read for the monarch, appears to date back to the fourteenth century.⁷³ It could very well be that while the *Chapelle de Plain-Chant* performed daily High Mass for the courtiers, the *Chapelle en Musique* performed motets for the king's Low Mass.⁷⁴ The fact that the king heard motets as a daily part of his observances would surely have been generally known before Chappuys's account in 1543, which mentions the fact as a matter of course. The fact that Claudin de Sermisy is lauded for his motets is significant; not only was he the *sous-maître* of the *Chapelle en Musique*, but of the composers featured in Attaignant's series, Sermisy is the most represented, with twenty-five motets.⁷⁵

If the singing of motets during Mass was performed exclusively for the king and not heard by the whole assembly, there were, however, several occasions where royal singers performed motets for a broad Parisian audience. At least two public processions were ordered by Francis I in the 1520s and 1530s, both of which featured the singing of

⁷² É. Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour de France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1776–7), ii, p. 183.

⁷³ G. Du Peyrat, *L'histoire ecclésiastique de la cour, ou les antiquités et recherches de la chapelle et oratoire du roy de France, depuis Clovis jusques à nostre temps* (Paris, 1645), pp. 51–2; Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, i, pp. 456, 554, and ii, pp. 64–5. See also Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', p. 201.

⁷⁴ Brobeck notes that more motets survive from composers under Francis I than from previous reigns: Mouton and Sermisy produced more motets than mass movements, and significantly more motets than previous French court composers. See Brobeck, 'Musical Patronage', p. 233.

⁷⁵ Attaignant attributed twenty-two motets to Sermisy.

Singing the King's Music

motets by the royal singers.⁷⁶ In response to an act of vandalism of a statue of the Virgin and Christ Child in Paris, the king ordered all ecclesiastic establishments in the city to lead processions against the sacrilege.⁷⁷ After Mass on 11 June 1528, on the feast of the Holy Sacrament, the king and his court went to the site of the damaged statue. Once there, the singers of the Chapelle en Musique performed the antiphon *Ave Regina*.⁷⁸

A second large-scale procession occurred in 1535, part-way through the printing of Attaignant's motet series, in response to the infamous Affair of the Placards on 18 October 1534.⁷⁹ On 21 January 1535, a general procession marched through Paris:

Tous les Couvents et les Chapitres s'y trouvèrent, avec les principales Reliques de leurs églises. Après les Religieux de Sainte-Geneviève et de Saint-Victor, marchant les uns à côté les autres, venoit le Chapitre de Notre-Dame, avec les églises qu'on appelle ses Filles, à main droite; le Recteur et l'Université à la gauche: puis, marchoient les Suisses de la garde du Roi, *les hautbois, violons, trompettes, etc.* Ensuite, *les Chantres de la Chapelle de Sa Majesté, tant les domestiques, que ceux de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, mêlés, et chantant cantiques et motets.* L'évêque de Paris portoit le Saint-Sacrement sous un dais, qui étoit soutenu par le Dauphin, les deux Princes ses frères, et le duc de Vendôme. Le Roi suivoit immédiatement, tenant une torche à la main, et édifiant tout le monde par les démonstrations de la plus tendre piété.⁸⁰

Here, as in the procession in 1528, the king and his singers participate in public processions where motets are performed.⁸¹ His singers

⁷⁶ On the use of music in processions in Paris in the sixteenth century, see G. Guiffrey, *Chronique du roy Francois, premier de ce nom* (Paris, 1860); M. Brenet, 'La musique dans les processions', *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 2 (1896), pp. 65–8, 81–4, 99–103; F. Yates, 'Dramatic Religious Processions in Paris in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Annales musicologiques*, 2 (1954), pp. 218, 251–8.

⁷⁷ Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ii, p. 31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁹ On the Affair of the Placards, see Guiffrey, *Chronique du roy Francois*, pp. 464–72; O. Douen, *Clement Marot et le psautier hugenot: Étude historique, littéraire, musicale et bibliographique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1878; repr. Amsterdam, 1967); R. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge and New York, 1982), pp. 248–50.

⁸⁰ Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ii, p. 33. Italics are mine. 'All the convents and chapters were found there, with the principal relics of their churches. After the clergy of St Geneviève and St Victor, marching side by side, came the chapter of Notre-Dame, with the churches which we call her daughters, on the right-hand side; the rector and university on the left, then marched the Swiss guard of the king, the oboes, violins, trumpets, etc. And then, the singers of the chapel of his Majesty, both the domestics and those of the Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, mingled, singing canticles and motets. The Bishop of Paris carried the Holy Sacrament under a dais, which was carried by the Dauphin, the two princes his brothers and the Duke of Vendome. The king came immediately after, holding a torch in his hand and edifying everyone with demonstrations of the most tender piety.'

⁸¹ The reference to the singing of motets by the singers from the king's chapel must refer to the Chapelle en Musique.

perform motets as they did during the king's daily Mass and at the meetings with Henry VIII. Surely some of these motets could have found their way into Attaignant's hands. Court and Parisian composers figure prominently in the series, and it is likely that some of these pieces would have been performed either at the daily services heard by the king, in the Sainte-Chapelle or in Notre-Dame de Paris, or during these public processions.⁸² If we accept that Attaignant was to some degree printing the king's music, an assertion proposed by Daniel Hertz and almost universally accepted, the function of the series and its motets takes on a different role. By allowing the populace to partake of the king's music and by allowing the public to participate and share his musical experience, Attaignant was perhaps acting to extend the reach of the king's influence beyond his court and beyond Paris. In addition to, or perhaps in spite of, its liturgical and devotional connections, the real point of the series may simply be this: here's how we do it in Paris. Here are the motets we sing at these times, that the king hears on these occasions. And now you can sing them at these times also, *cum gratia christianissimi Francorum regis*.

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⁸² Oroux states that there were annual events of public piety involving the king between 1528 and 1535 and that these resembled the procession of 1528 (ii, p. 32).

APPENDIX

Individual Rubrics in Attaignant's Motet Series

Rubric (standardised)	Book and motet number	Motet title	Composer
Contra pestem	4.11	Recordare domine testamenti	Philippe Verdelot
Contra pestem	4.12	Adjuva nos	Philippe Verdelot
De adventu Domini	7.03	Ecce dominus veniet	Adrian Willaert
De annunciatione beate Marie	4.14	Contremuerunt omnia membra mea	Jean Mouton
De apostolis	1.01	Clare sanctorum senatus	Claudin de Sermisy
De apostolis	4.02	Clare sanctorum senatus	Adrian Willaert
De apostolis	8.10	Gloriosi principes terre quomodo	Jean Mouton
De apostolis	8.19	Ecce nos relinquimus	Maistre Jhan
De apostolis	13.05	Virtute magna	Mathieu Lasson
De ascensione	13.02	Tempus meum	Cornesle Joris
De ascensione Domini	4.20	Tempus est ut revertar	Jean Conseil
De ascensione Domini	13.11	Non conturbetur cor vestrum	Florentius Villain
De assumptione beate Marie	3.10	Virgo prudentissima	Hilaire Penet
De assumptione beate Marie	8.04	Veni electa mea	Jean Richafort
De beata Maria	2.14	Benedicta es celorum	Jean Le Bouteiller
De beata Maria	2.24	Ave sanctissima Maria	Philippe Verdelot

Rubric (standardised)	Book and motet number	Motet title	Composer
De beata Maria	3.03	Ave virgo gloriosa stella	Pierre Vermont
De beata Maria	3.06	Nesciens mater	Jean Mouton
De beata Maria	3.13	Alma redemptoris	Andreas de Silva
De beata Maria	3.21	Ave Maria gemma virginum	Jean Mouton
De beata Maria	4.03	Veniat dilectus meus	Adrian Willaert
De beata Maria	4.04	Ave domina mea	Jean de La Fage
De beata Maria	4.05	Virgo carens criminibus	De Silva/Moulu
De beata Maria	4.09	Nesciens mater	Jean Courtois
De beata Maria	4.18	Veni in ortum	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
De beata Maria	4.23	Virgo salutiferi	Josquin Desprez
De beata Maria	4.24	Nigra sum	Jean Conseil
De beata Maria	4.25	Ave Maria gratia plena	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
De beata Maria	4.26	Surge propera	Matthias Hermann Werrecore
De beata Maria	4.27	Inviolata integra	Jean Courtois
De beata Maria	4.29	Sancta Maria mater dei	Jean Conseil
De beata Maria	7.23	Dignare me laudare	Maistre Gosse
De beata Maria	7.24	Sancta Maria mater dei	Maistre Gosse

De beata Maria	8.01	Nigra sum	Jean Lhéritier
De beata Maria	8.03	Hac clara die	Adrian Willaert
De beata Maria	8.08	Verbum bonum	Adrian Willaert
De beata Maria	8.14	Beata viscera	Willaert/Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.16	Cede fragor	Willaert/Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.17	Descendi in ortum	Willaert/Verdelot
De beata Maria	8.18	Sancta Maria regina celorum	Adrian Willaert
De beata Maria	13.03	Virgo salutiferi	Josquin Desprez
De beata Maria	13.09	Beata dei genitrix	Colin Margot
De beata Maria	13.18	Sancta Maria mater dei	Claudin de Sermisy
De beata virgine	4.28	Sancta et immaculata	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
82 De beata virgine Maria	14.04	Ave stella matutina mundi princeps et regina	Pierre de Manchicourt
De beata virgine Maria	14.08	Ave virgo gloriosa stella sole clarior	Pierre de Manchicourt
De communi unius virginis	2.22	Virgo Christi egregia	Jean Lhéritier
De cruce	4.08	O crux ave sanctissima	Jean Courtois
De epiphania	8.09	Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosam	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
De omnibus sanctis	3.07	Hi sancti quorum	Jean Courtois
De omnibus sanctis	7.08	Laudem dicite	Jean Rousée
De omnibus sanctis	13.14	Salvator mundi salva nos	Nicolas Gombert
De purificatione beate Marie	4.07	Adorna thalamum	Pierre Vermont
De purificatione beate Marie	8.06	Homo erat in Jerusalem	Nicolas Gombert

Rubric (standardised)	Book and motet number	Motet title	Composer
De purificatione beate Marie	8.11	Cum inducerent	Jean Conseil
De resurrectione Domini	2.03	Victime paschali	Philippe Verdelot
De resurrectione Domini	2.05	Congratulamini mihi	Adrian Willaert
De sacramento altaris	13.08	Ave verbum incarnatum	Johannes Lupi
De sancta Anna	4.16	Ave mater matris dei	Nicolas Gombert
De sancta Catherina	4.15	Virgo sancta Catherina	Nicolas Gombert
De sancta Catherina	7.01	Virgo flagellatur crucianda	Pierre Vermont
De sancta Catherina	7.19	Gaude virgo Catherina	Jean Mouton
De sancte Johanne Baptista	13.10	Gaude tu baptista	Johannes Lupi
De sanctissima trinitate	8.15	Benedictus es domine deus	Willaert/Verdelot
De sancto Andrea	4.13	Christum regem regum adoremus	Jean Mouton
De sancto Andrea	7.20	Andreas Christi	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
De sancto Anthonio	8.20	Anthoni pater	Mathieu, Lasson
De sancto Dionysio	3.08	Adest namque beati Dionysii	Pierre Vermont
De sancto Johanne Evangelista	7.05	In illa die suscipiam	Jean Conseil
De sancto Nicolao	7.09	Sospitate dedit	Jean Rousée
De sancto Paulo	8.07	Saule quide me	Jean Le Brung/Moulu
De sancto Petro apostolo	3.17	Argentum et aurum	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin

De sancto Petro apostolo	13.13	Surge Petre	Jacquet of Mantua
De sancto Philippo	4.19	Tanto tempore	Philippe Verdelot
De sancto spiritu	4.10	Sancti spiritus adsit	Jean Courtois
De sancto Stephano	2.23	Patefacte sunt ianue	Adrian Willaert
De sancto Stephano	7.07	Lapidaverunt Stephanum	Jean Rousée
De trinitate	13.01	O altitudo	Rogier Pathie
De uno apostolo	2.13	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	Adrian Willaert
De uno episcopo	2.16	O presul egregie	Jean Richafort
De virgine Maria	14.09	O intemerata et in eternum benedicta	Pierre de Manchicourt
In assumptione beate Marie	1.05	Hac clara die	Jean Richafort
In dedicatione ecclesie	13.16	Fundata est domus domini	Pierre Cadéac
In die ascensionis Domini	1.02	Viri Galilei	Couillart
In die epiphanie	1.03	Reges terre congregati	Jean Mouton
In die epiphanie	2.10	Egrederere ab occidente	Jean Conseil
In die nativitatis Domini	7.06	Congratulamini mihi	Jean Rousée
In die parasceves	8.13	Jerusalem luge	Caen/Lupus/Richafort
In die pentecostes	2.21	Spiritus ubi vult	Mathieu Gascongne
In die pentecostes	13.04	Factus est repente	Cornesle Joris
In festo innocentium	7.04	Vidi sub altare dei animas	Guillaume Le Heurteur
In festo omnium sanctorum	3.18	Angeli et archangeli throni	Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
In festo pasche	3.12	Congratulamini mihi	Guillaume Le Heurteur
In festo pentecostes	13.07	Sancti spiritus adsit	Claudin de Sermisy
In festo sacramenti	3.02	Parasti in dulcedine	

Rubric (standardised)	Book and motet number	Motet title	Composer
			Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin
In festo sacramenti	13.12	Caro mea vere	Pierre Manchicourt
In festo sacramenti	13.15	Respexit Elias	G. Jarsins
In festo sancte crucis	2.17	O crux viride lignum	Matthias Hermann Werrecore
In nativitate Domini	2.11	Noe magnificatus est rex	Claudin de Sermisy
In nativitate Domini	2.12	Noe psallite	Jean Mouton
In nativitate Domini	3.01	O beata infantia	Loyset Piéton
In ramis palmarum	1.04	Gloria laus	Jean Richafort
In resurrectione Domini	2.02	Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi	François Dulot
In resurrectione Domini	2.04	Gaudeamus omnes	Philippe Verdelot
In resurrectione Domini	14.03	Congratulamini mihi omnes	Pierre de Manchicourt
Oratio Dominicalis	2.01	Pater noster	Adrian Willaert
Oratio Dominicalis	3.14	Pater noster	Jean Richafort
Oratio Dominicalis	7.22	Pater noster	Antoine Mornable
Plurimorum martyrum	2.15	O quam dulcis et beata	Jean Richafort
Pro Defunctis	3.11	Peccantem me quotidie	Jean Mouton
Pro peccatis	2.19	Pater peccavi	Jean Conseil
Pro peccatis	3.15	Omnia que fecisti	Maistre Jhan

Pro quacumque tribulatione	13.17	Salus populi ego	Pierre Cadéac
Pro rege nostro	2.08	Christus vincit Christus regnat	Mathieu Gascongne
Salutatio angelica	2.09	Ave Maria gratia plena	Jean Lhéritier
Salutatio angelica	8.02	Ave Maria gratia plena	Jean Richafort
Salutatio communis beate Marie	2.06	Sancta Maria succurre	Philippe Verdelot
Salutatio communis beate Marie	2.18	Ave regina celorum	Adrian Willaert
