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## Agnese Pavanello

### Weerbeke at Rome – The Making of a Papal Composer \*

When Gaspar van Weerbeke joined the Papal Chapel as *cantor capellanus*, in the autumn of 1481, he already had behind him ten years of professional experience at the Sforza court of Milan. He had held a leading position there – not only in an organizational capacity, as *viceabate*, charged with the task of expanding the chapel, but as the musician responsible for building a suitable repertory. The transmission of Weerbeke's works in the Milanese Gaffurio codices points clearly to his important role as a composer at the Sforza court, and to his contribution to the conception and realisation of motet cycles that served liturgical functions, yet were freely composed.<sup>1</sup>

Weerbeke's entry into the Papal Chapel meant not just membership in an institution – the court of the first apostle's successor, the Pope, that was in

\* I wish to express my deepest thanks to Rob C. Wegman (Princeton) for translating my German/Italian text and to Leandra Scappaticci (Genova) for helping me with the transcriptions of the documents mentioned below which I found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (one of which is here completely published). I also thank Kerstin Rahn (Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom) and Martin Steinmann (Basel) for their advice concerning some points of the documentation, and Carlo Bosi (Salzburg) for his careful reading of the final text.

1 On Weerbeke in Milan, see the documentation assembled in Paul A. and Lora L. M. Merkle, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court* (Studi sulla storia della musica in Lombardia, 3), Turnhout 1999, and several earlier studies of the chapel cited there; for the responsibilities entrusted to Weerbeke in connection with the formation of the chapel and the recruitment of its singers, see *ibid.*, esp. pp. 77–80; regarding the repertory of the so-called *motetti missales*, see *ibid.*, pp. 341–353. Concerning the assembly of a specific repertory for the chapel of the Sforza, see the study of Patrick Macey, »Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin«, in: *Early Music History* 15 (1996), pp. 147–212. On Gaspar's cycles of Milanese motets, see Gerhard Croll, *Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke*. Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen 1954, pp. 179–238. The problems discussed in relation to the cycles of Milanese motets, especially by Thomas L. Noblitt, »The Ambrosian ›Motetti missales‹ Repertory«, in: *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), pp. 77–103, and Lynn Halpern Ward, »The ›Motetti Missales‹ Repertory Reconsidered«, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986), pp. 491–523, are summarized in Ludwig Finscher, »Motetti missales«, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, second edition, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil, vol. 6 (Kassel / Stuttgart 1994–99), pp. 549–552. For the questions raised by the transmission of the Gaffurio codices, and for a summary of the state of research on the Milanese motets, see the important contribution by Joshua Rifkin, »Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet. Dating Josquin's *Ave Maria ... virgo serena*«, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003), pp. 239–350: pp. 245–264.

many ways unparalleled –, but also the prestigious status of Papal *familiaris*, opening up new opportunities and perspectives for his ecclesiastical career. The bull issued *motu proprio* by Pope Sixtus IV on 6<sup>th</sup> November 1481 officially confirmed Weerbeke's appointment in the chapel and detailed the privileges that were due to him in this position, benefices *cum* or *sine cura* which he would be able to accept despite his *defectum natalitium* (see Document 1 in the Appendix). To be a *continuus commensalis* of the Pope, and to work in his chapel as *cantor cappellanus*, meant also to accept new tasks and undertake new obligations, of which to date we do not know nearly as much as we would like.<sup>2</sup>

Weerbeke joined the Papal Chapel at a time when many of the art and building projects commissioned by Sixtus IV were under way or nearing completion. This included, of course, the construction of the new chapel (*cappella magna*) in the Vatican palace, which just at that time was being decorated by the foremost artists of Italy, and whose consecration, in August 1483, Gaspar would be able to witness at first hand; but also – and more importantly with a view to Weerbeke's activities – the construction of the new building of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia, whose frescoes were to immortalize the life and works of the pope.<sup>3</sup> Since Sixtus intended

- 2 The bull of 6<sup>th</sup> November 1481 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, RV 675) formalized the favours and benefices granted to Weerbeke in his capacity as singer and papal familiar (*specialibus favoribus et gratiæ*), with which Sixtus placed the composer under protection against possible ecclesiastical punishments, such as interdict and excommunication, granting him a kind of absolution for all pending matters both present and future (see Appendix, Doc. 1.). In a previous bull, Sixtus had already conferred on the singer an indult for the defect of his birth, or the »irregularity of the familial situation«, as is apparent from the documents discovered by Merkley, Music and Patronage (cf. fn. 1), pp. 6–7, 13–14, 16, 29, 285–288.
- 3 On the role of Sixtus IV as an art patron, see the various contributions published in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471–1484)* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi storici, 154–162. Littera Antiqua 5), ed. Massimo Miglio, Francesca Niuitta, Diego Quagliioni, and Concetta Ranieri, Città del Vaticano, 1986; *Sisto IV. Le Arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento*, ed. Fabio Benzi, Rome 2000. For a comprehensive overview of his papacy and the initiatives patronized by him, cf. Ludwig F. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. II: *Von Pius II. bis Sixtus IV (1458–1484)*, Freiburg <sup>13</sup>1955 (orig. ed. 1886–1933), pp. 451–710. Concerning the significance of papal patronage of the Ospedale di S. Spirito, and regarding the construction of the new Sistine aisle of the Ospedale, see Pietro de Angelis, *L'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, vol. II: *Dal 1301 al 1500* (Collana di studi storici sull'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia e sugli ospedali romani), Rome 1962; on the frescoes in particular, see pp. 379–513; Eunice D. Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*, New York, 1978, pp. 93ff. and 322–416; id., *Art and Culture at the Sistine Court. Platina's »Life of Sixtus IV« and the Frescoes of the Hospital of Santo Spirito* (Studi e Testi, 422), Città del Vaticano 2005, especially pp. 101–105 and 207–257.

to raise the prestige and public image of the papacy, the *collegium* of Papal singers was expanded in an effort to promote the display of Papal magnificence.<sup>4</sup> Weerbeke arrived at the very time when this Papal institution was being restructured through novel recruitments, all of which lent a new profile to the chapel. In the inaugural year of the Sistine Chapel, nine new singers joined the Papal college, among them Bertrandus Vacqueras and Marbrianus de Orto.<sup>5</sup> Weerbeke's service also falls exactly in the period when the earliest extant Cappella Sistina codices were being copied – that is, in which the first purposive copying efforts for the preservation of the chapel's polyphonic repertory were initiated.

It was during the pontificate of Sixtus, as Adalbert Roth, more than anyone else, has emphasized in a number of studies, that the systematic compilation and archiving of the chapel repertory was undertaken. The attempt to preserve the musical corpus (or at least the polyphonic repertory specifically suited to the chapel) can be witnessed also in connection with the foundation of the Vatican Library, whose directorship Sixtus entrusted to the humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi, alias Platina.<sup>6</sup> Under Innocent VIII many of the initiatives commissioned by Sixtus were to be continued; among the

- 4 On the role played by Sixtus in the consolidation and expansion of the Papal Chapel, see the studies by Adalbert Roth, »Zur ›Reform‹ der päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471–1484)«, in: *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen. Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes in Tübingen 1984*, ed. Joerg O. Fichte, Karl Heinz Göller and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, Berlin and New York 1986, pp. 168–195; id., »*Primus in Petri aede Sixtus perpetuae harmoniae cantores introduxit*: Alcune osservazioni sul patronato musicale di Sisto IV«, in: *Un Pontificato ed una città* (cf. fn. 3), pp. 217–241.
- 5 In November and December 1483, respectively. Cf. Franz Xaver Haberl, *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom* (Bausteine für Musikgeschichte, 2), Leipzig 1888, pp. 53–55; Ernst Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, Bd. 1, München 1901, pp. 663–665 (documents edited by Heinrich Pogatscher); Richard J. Sherr, *The Papal Chapel ca. 1492–1513 and its Polyphonic Sources*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University 1975, pp. 62–63, 74–76, passim.
- 6 See Adalbert Roth, »Zur Datierung der frühen Chorbücher der päpstlichen Kapelle«, in: *Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit* (Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 2), ed. Ludwig Finscher, Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 239–268; Adalbert Roth, »Liturgical (and Paraliturgical) Music in the Papal Chapel towards the End of the Fifteenth Century: A Repertory in Embryo«, in: *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford 1998, pp. 125–137: p. 131. – In 1475 Platina was named *gubernator et custos* of the Vatican Library in the bull *Ad decorem militantis Ecclesiae*. On the importance of his appointment, see Carmela Virtillofranklin, »Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo: The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship«, in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002), pp. 363–384: pp. 373–377.

surviving manuscripts of the Papal Chapel, Capp. Sist. 35 was the first to be written specifically for the chapel at Rome.<sup>7</sup>

Weerbeke's first Roman stay thus coincided with a period that witnessed a great many new artistic initiatives and impulses, which immediately affected the Papal *collegium*. Still, Weerbeke left the Papal Chapel during the pontificate of Innocent VIII, in the spring of 1489, not to return until a decade later.<sup>8</sup> Although his second appointment would be much longer, and lasted probably until the end of his life, those of Weerbeke's works that can be connected with Rome all date back to his first Roman period. His compositional activity for the chapel seems to be concentrated, then, in the 1480s. Yet the transmission of his works raises numerous questions, of which the following will be explored in the present context: What did he compose specifically for the Papal Chapel in Rome, at what time and under what circumstances?

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Five manuscripts from the Fondo Cappella Sistina include works attributed to Weerbeke (see Table 1). The earliest, Capp. Sist. 14 and 51, transmit under Gaspar's name the Masses *Ave regina celorum* and *O Venus bant*, as

- 7 Adalbert Roth, »Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches mit polyphoner Musik der päpstlichen Kapelle: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Ms. 35«, in: *Gestalt und Entstehung musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance, 2), ed. Martin Staehelin, Wiesbaden 1998, pp. 43–63.
- 8 Possibly Weerbeke left Rome in 1489 also to take formal possession of new benefices. In May of the same year we already find him in Milan, where notarial acts indicate that he permutated a number of benefices obtained in Bruges, Nivelles, and Utrecht. See Lora L. Matthews, »Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of *Clientage* at Court«, in: *Liber amicorum Albert Dunning in occasione del suo LXV compleanno*, ed. Giacomo Fornari, Turnhout 2002, 202–203 and 228–230 (regarding some benefices of Weerbeke, see below). Perhaps Weerbeke left the Papal Chapel also because of the financial problems of Innocent VIII. The singers' stipends for December 1485 and January 1486, as reconstructed by Roth, were to be paid only in December 1488. See Adalbert Roth, »La storia della cappella pontificia nel Quattrocento rispecchiata nel Fondo Camerale I dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma«, in: *La musica a Roma attraverso le Fonti d'Archivio, Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4–7 giugno 1992* (Strumenti della Ricerca Musicale, 2), ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, Lucca 1994, pp. 453–454. Weerbeke was to return to the Papal Chapel in 1500 under Alexander VI and is documented there at least until 1517. See Richard J. Sherr, *The Papal Chapel* (cf. fn. 5), pp. 26–42, 76–77. According to the data assembled by Sherr and made available online, Weerbeke was still in the chapel in 1521: <http://sophia.smith.edu/~rsherr/singlist.htm>. That the singer never left Rome, and that he saw the end of his days in the city, is suggested by the undated document cited in n. 51, where the singer is referred to as no longer in good health.

well as one Credo. Although these two manuscripts were apparently not compiled in Rome, they do contain works that were performed by Papal singers before the repertory was to be expanded or replaced.<sup>9</sup>

Table 1:

Transmission of Weerbeke's Works in the Cappella Sistina-Codices

CS 14	fol. 14 <sup>v</sup> -27:	[ <i>missa</i> ] <i>Ave regina caelorum</i> (Gaspar)
CS 51	fol. 132 <sup>v</sup> -145:	[ <i>missa</i> ] <i>O venus bant</i> (Gaspar)
	fol. 180 <sup>v</sup> -183:	<i>Credo</i> (anonymous)
CS 35	fol. 137-148:	[ <i>missa</i> ] <i>Se mieulx ne vient</i> (Gaspar)
	fol. 158 <sup>v</sup> -170:	[ <i>missa</i> ] <i>Princesse d'amourettes</i> (Gaspar)
CS 41	fol. 156 <sup>v</sup> -174:	[ <i>missa</i> ] <i>Se trop penser</i> (Gaspar)
CS 15	fol. 148 <sup>v</sup> -153:	<i>Magnificat [octavi toni]</i> (Gaspar)
	fol. 201 <sup>v</sup> -204:	<i>Ave regina caelorum</i> (Gaspar)
	fol. 204 <sup>v</sup> -208:	<i>Dulcis amica Dei</i> (Gaspar)

The first manuscript copied under Innocent VIII, the codex Capp. Sist. 35 mentioned earlier, preserves in its central corpus the Masses *Se mieulx ne*

9 The hypothesis of the Neapolitan origin of the two manuscripts, proposed by Adalbert Roth in *Studien zum frühen Repertoire der Päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV. (1471-1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Capellae apostolicae Sixtinaeque collectanea acta monumenta, 1), Città del Vaticano 1991, has been called into question by several scholars. Flynn Warmington, in particular, has proposed their origin in Venice on the basis of the style of the illuminations in the manuscript (in an unpublished paper presented at Glasgow in 1994 entitled »Abeo Semper Fortuna Regressum: Evidence for the Venetian Origin of the MSS Cappella Sistina 14 and 51«). Recently Richard Sherr, in his edition of Capp. Sist. 14, has declared himself in favour of the hypothesis formulated by Emilia Talamo, of a possible origin of Capp. Sist. 14 and Capp. Sist. 51 in Ferrara. See Emilia Talamo, »Schede«, in: *Liturgia in figura*, ed. Giovanni Morello and Silvia Maddalo, Rome 1995, pp. 174-178. For a summary of the entire discussion on the origin and the compilation of the manuscripts, see Sherr's edition *Masses for the Sistine Chapel*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, MS 14 (Monuments of Renaissance Music, 13), ed. Richard Sherr, Chicago 2009, pp. 8-18.

*vient* and *Princesse d'amourettes*.<sup>10</sup> These probably represent works that Weerbeke wrote specifically for the Papal Chapel in the 1480s (that is, not just works that happened to be performed by Papal singers). Another Mass ascribed to Gaspar whose composition falls in the same period, *Et trop penser*, is found in Capp. Sist. 41 and was copied, probably from some older fascicle, by Johannes Orceau, a scribe active at a later time.<sup>11</sup>

Capp. Sist. 15, which was compiled around the middle of the 1490s, also includes works by Weerbeke that go back to his first Roman stay and are thus datable to the years 1481–1489: the *Magnificat Octavi toni*, whose polyphonic design without *alternatim* sections matches the use of the Papal Chapel; and the five-part motet *Dulcis amica Dei*, for which Jeremy Noble has proposed a dating in 1486.<sup>12</sup> The third Weerbeke composition in this manuscript, the motet *Ave regina celorum*, could conceivably be a much older composition which became part of the chapel repertoire at a later date.<sup>13</sup>

Weerbeke's works in the Cappella Sistina codices point to compositional activity that was dedicated largely – as one would expect – to the realisation of polyphonic cycles of the Mass Ordinary for the festal liturgy, but also to polyphony for Vespers – as exemplified by the *Magnificat* – as well as to music for special occasions and events that were celebrated in public, or in special ceremonies – as in the case of *Dulcis amica Dei*.<sup>14</sup> Yet the surviving compositions most likely offer only a partial view of the music composed and performed by Papal singers in various services and events. An impression of the broader repertory is provided by documents such as diaries, which record the Pope's visits to various churches in Rome, or his official appearance at a variety of occasions at which, in the presence of the Papal singers, performances of polyphony did presumably take place.<sup>15</sup> This

10 On Capp. Sist. 35 see Roth, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches* (cf. fn. 7), pp. 174–178.

11 For the dating of the fascicle, see Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, American Institute of Musicology 1996, pp. 73 and 155.

12 Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts* (cf. fn. 11), pp. 112–113, 122–123. On *Dulcis amica Dei*, see fn. 14. Concerning Capp. Sist. 15 see also the contribution in this volume by Thomas Schmidt-Beste.

13 See especially the observations made by Eric Fiedler, *Die Messen des Gaspar van Weerbeke* (Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 26), Tutzing 1997, pp. 23–28.

14 See Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette. 1480–1555*, Utrecht 1970, p. 331. On the genesis of the motet, see Jeremy Noble, »Weerbeke's Motet for the Temple of Peace«, in: *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Warren / Michigan 1997, pp. 227–240.

15 Among the diaries and chronicles for this period, and in particular for the papacy of Sixtus, see

concerns especially the music which Mitchell Brauner has characterized as the »hidden repertory« of the Papal Chapel,<sup>16</sup> a repertory that was not copied in the choirbooks that survive today, and of which we find no trace in the chapel's repositories, but whose existence we can infer from other sources; works, for example, whose survival we owe to non-Roman transmission, yet which can nevertheless be traced back to Rome and the Papal Court.

In the case of Weerbeke this seems to be true of the motet cycle *In honorem sancti spiritus*, which was printed in Ottaviano Petrucci's *Motetti Libro Quarto* (1505) along with two more motets, *Ave mater omnium* and *O beate Sebastiane*.<sup>17</sup> Until the appearance of the most recent study of this cycle, it was assumed that this work, which consists of six interrelated motets, had been composed in Milan since it is found also in the fourth Gaffurius codex, albeit incompletely (only four out of the six motets), and especially because it has always been brought in relation to the two Marian motet cycles by Weerbeke, which originated in Milan and were copied in the second Gaffurius Librone.<sup>18</sup>

However, the recently proposed arguments concerning the composition of this cycle lead to the conclusion that the cycle must have originated in Rome, specifically in connection with the numerous initiatives which Pope Sixtus undertook for the benefit of the *Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, acting as a direct patron of this institution. Within two years, namely at

Gaspare Pontani, *Il diario romano di Giacomo Pontani* (Rerum Italicarum scriptores, 3,2), ed. Diomede Toni, Città di Castello 1907–1908; Jacobus Volterrannus, *Il diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra: dal VII settembre MCCCCLXXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV* (Rerum Italicarum scriptores, 23,3), ed. Enrico Carusi, Città di Castello 1904.

16 Mitchell Brauner, »Traditions in the Repertory of the Papal Choir in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries«, in: *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford 1998, pp. 167–174: p. 174.

17 See the description and inventory of the collection in Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci. A Catalogue Raisonné*, Oxford 2006, pp. 584–591.

18 Indicative especially is the presentation of Weerbeke's three cycles as Milanese products in the edition by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl; see Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, vol. 3: *The Motet Cycles*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, American Institute of Musicology 1998. This presentation takes account of the hypothesis put forward by Halpern Ward, that the cycle of the Holy Spirit originally consisted of eight motets like the Marian cycles and that it must therefore be incomplete in Petrucci (Halpern Ward, *The »Motetti Missales*, cf. fn. 1, pp. 508, 520–22). For further discussion, and for a completely different position regarding the significance of the structural systems of the cycle, see Agnese Pavanello, »Il ciclo di mottetti *In honorem sancti Spiritus* di Gaspar van Weerbeke: Un'ipotesi sulla sua origine«, in: *Musica disciplina* 54 (2009), pp. 147–180.

Pentecost 1483 and 1484, all Papal singers would join the Confraternity of the *Ospedale*. On the Monday after Pentecost, Mass was festively celebrated in the Church of *Santo Spirito* in the presence of the pope and his court.<sup>19</sup> The designation of the cycle as it appears in the Petrucci print, »in honorem sancti spiritus«, may be taken to apply directly to this institution, whose special significance and position in the Pope's theological vision was made visible in Botticelli's fresco opposite the papal throne in the Cappella Sistina.<sup>20</sup>

The design of the motet cycle could be understood as an extended Proper of the *Missa de Sancto Spirito* (see Table 2). The use of liturgical texts from the Introit, Gradual, Communion, and Offertory of the *Missa de sancto spirito*, in the same liturgical order as in the Mass celebration itself, and the partial quotation of the associated melodies after the Roman rite (namely, those in the seventh and eighth modes, in which the cycle was conceived), point to a direct connection with the liturgy *de Sancto Spirito* and *de Pentecoste*, though they appear to be interrupted by two additional texts from the Office *de Sancto Spirito*, that is, texts not belonging to the Mass.

Table 2:

»Gaspar in honorem sancti spiritus« (Petrucci, *Motetti Libro Quarto*, 1505)

1.	<i>Spiritus Domini replevit</i>	Introit (missa de Pentecoste / de S. Spirito)
2.	<i>Veni sancte Spiritus</i>	Antiphon (off. Pentecoste)
3.	<i>Beata gens</i>	Gradual (missa de S. Spirito)
4.	<i>Confirma hoc Deus</i>	Offertory (missa de Pentecoste / de S. Spirito)
5.	<i>Loquebantur variis linguis</i>	Responsory (off. Pentecoste)
6.	<i>Factus est repente</i>	Communio (missa de Pentecoste / de S. Spirito)

Even if this amplification of the Proper by means of two Office texts could be related to a specific ceremony in the church of the *Ospedale*, on the

<sup>19</sup> For detailed references, see the article cited above (ibid., pp. 165–171).

<sup>20</sup> For a reading of this fresco as a tribute to the Pope, see the monumental and still admirable work of Steinmann, *Die sixtinische Kapelle* (cf. fn. 5), pp. 244–251.

Monday after Pentecost in the presence of the Pope and the Papal singers (on the occasion of the General Chapter of the Order of Santo Spirito, and of the enrolment of the singers in the Confraternity in 1483 and 1484),<sup>21</sup> these motets could also be associated more generally with the custom, well attested in later periods, of performing motets on Office texts at certain places of the Mass, for example, after the Offertory. This custom is documented for the Papal Chapel in the sixteenth century, but can be postulated in that context already at the end of the fifteenth.<sup>22</sup> Thus, *Loquebantur* could be viewed as a motet after the Offertory, and would thus represent an early example of this practice. In a similar way, taking into account customs documented at a later date, *Veni sancte Spiritus* could have fulfilled the function of a motet after the Epistle (in the *Missa de Sancto Spirito*), or have functioned possibly as an alternative to the Gradual – that is, »loco Alleluia« – in the *Missa de Pentecoste*.<sup>23</sup>

The cycle *in honorem Sancti Spiritus* raises important questions about the function of motets within the liturgy, and points more generally to the performance during Mass of polyphonic, cyclically conceived music, not consisting of Ordinary movements, which can be understood both as the completion and, possibly, as an alternative to the performance of Ordinary cycles. This cycle occupies an important position within Weerbeke's output,

21 This hypothesis is put forward and argued in Pavanello, *Il ciclo di mottetti* (cf. fn. 18), pp. 168–171.

22 Especially significant in this regard is the testimony of Burckhard in 1492 concerning the proposal of papal singers to perform a motet by Tinctoris in honor of Pope Alexander after the Offertory. See Johann Burckard, *Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI* (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 32), ed. Enrico Celani, vol. I, Città di Castello 1907, p. 376. The singer's proposal, not accepted by the Pope (who wanted to hear the motet in his chambers instead), suggests that the singing of motets at the Offertory must already have been a regular practice in the chapel; see also the observations of Helmut Hucke, »Die Musik in der Sixtinischen Kapelle bis zur Zeit Leos X«, in: *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen* (cf. fn. 4), pp. 154–167 and 161–163. Burckard's testimony is cited, among others, by Sabine Žak, »Cappella – castello – camera. Gesang und Instrumentalmusik an der Kurie«, in: *Collectanea II: Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle. Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1989*, ed. Bernhard Janz, Vatican City 1994, p. 204. On the use of motets for the Offertory or the Elevation, well-documented in the *Diari sistini* available from the year 1534 onwards, see the documentary evidence published by Cumming, which underlines that it was a regular practice for motets sung at the Offertory to be set to texts taken from the Office for the feast. See Antony M. Cumming, »Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet«, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), pp. 43–59. See also Jörg Bölling's contribution in this volume.

23 Further on this, Pavanello, *Il ciclo di mottetti* (cf. fn. 18), p. 170.

then, and is relevant also to general problems of the function and context of motet, and to the history of polyphonic settings of the *Proprium missae*.

A Roman origin for this motet cycle would have implications on several levels: on the one hand, those implications concern the appreciation of his compositional activity and its relevance to the Papal Chapel altogether; on the other hand, they bear on individual, concrete works and the question of their function, and of the context in which they originated – for the motets specifically also the question of their functional connection with the liturgy, as suggested by the cycle *de Sancto Spirito*. And, last but not least, our understanding of the transmission of Weerbeke's works.

With regard to this latter point, one of the concrete implications concerns the question whether among the Weerbeke motets printed by Petrucci, which are largely without concordances in other sources, there might not lurk other works composed in the context of the activities of the Papal Chapel. For the two motets by Weerbeke in the *Motetti Libro quarto*, that is, *O beate Sebastiane* and *Ave mater omnium*, one could plausibly suggest a connection with Rome, and suspect that they either originated there or had reached Petrucci through Roman sources.<sup>24</sup> Roman origin actually seems quite plausible for the motet *O beate Sebastiane*, despite the fact that this work has always been considered a product of Weerbeke's Milanese years. In its sheer expansiveness the motet resembles the composer's cantus firmus-based motets in Capp. Sist. 15; indeed it might well be based on a hitherto unidentified cantus firmus;<sup>25</sup> and it is quite different from the shorter

24 This second possibility would seem to apply to *Ave mater omnium*, a motet that probably represents an early composition of Weerbeke, but which for its subject matter – especially the reference made to the Immaculate Conception by the parallelism between Mary and Eve – could have found numerous occasions of performance at Rome, considering that Sixtus promoted the worship of the Immaculate Conception and institutionalized the feast on 8<sup>th</sup> December. See Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters: Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Thronbesteigung Pius' II. bis zum Tode Sixtus' IV.*, Freiburg 1894, pp. 573–575. Curiously the incipit of the motet *Ave mater omnium*, in addressing Mary as the »Mother of All«, seems to allude to S. Maria del Popolo, the church in which Sixtus regularly attended the Saturday Marian Service (in 1480 on the day of the Immaculate Conception after the Mass for St Peter). See Jacobus Volterranus, *Il diario romano* (cf. fn. 15), p. 29 and passim.

25 The cantus firmus has been reconstructed by Croll, *Das Motettenwerk* (cf. fn. 1), p. 116, and by John G. Brawley, *The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets, and Secular Compositions of Johannes Martini*, PhD. Diss. Yale University, pp. 69–70. See also the recent article by Remi Chiu »Music, Pestilence and two Settings of *O beate Sebastiane*«, in: *Early Music History* 31 (2012), pp. 153–188: pp. 165–172. On the basis of analogies with Martini's motet on the same text, Chiu places the origin of Weerbeke's setting in Milan, attributing the common features to a meeting of the two composers that would presumably have taken place in Milan (as was already

Marian motets in imitative style that appeared in *Motetti A*, as well as from the homophonic motets printed in *Motetti B*.<sup>26</sup> With regard to the origin or the original function of this motet, it should be noted that St Sebastian was Rome's third patron saint after Sts Peter and Paul, and that his feast day, on 20<sup>th</sup> January, was celebrated with festal Masses in the Basilica of San Sebastiano fuori le mura.<sup>27</sup> Thus one could quite plausibly associate this motet

hypothesized by Croll on the basis of a restrictive interpretation of the text's meaning in connection with a reference to Lombardy, in addition to the similarities between the two motets). The correlation between the two works can however be explained in different ways, without the necessity to use the argument of an encounter between the two composers, without the need to surmise that the motets would have been composed around the same time, as well as without the assumption that this contact must have taken place in Milan – as suggested also by Rifkin, Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet (cf. fn. 1), p. 312, n. 155. It is well known that Johannes Martini visited Rome at least twice during the 1480's, opening up the possibility that direct contact between the two composers, if indeed we must assume this with regard to the two motets, could have taken place elsewhere. For this, see also the observations made in Gaspar van Weerbeke, *Collected Works IV, The Motets* (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 106/4), ed. Agnese Pavanello in collaboration with Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, American Institute of Musicology 2010, pp. XXVII–XXVIII.

- 26 All the motets cited here are edited in Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, 4 (cf. fn. 25). For inventories of the two collections of motets, see George Warren J. 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): *A Critical Study and Complete Edition*, Ph. Diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1972; see also, by the same author, the edition of the *Motetti B: Ottaviano Petrucci, »Motetti B de passione, de cruce, de sacramento, de beata Virgine et huiusmodi«*, Venice 1503 (Monuments of Renaissance Music, 11), ed. George Warren J. Drake, Chicago 2002. In addition see Boorman, Petrucci (cf. fn. 17), pp. 473–477 and 496–503.
- 27 The participation of the Pope is documented in 1482 when the feast fell on a Sunday: »Vigesimo ianuarii die, qui dominicus fuit et quo Sebastiani et Fabiani martirum solemnia celebratur, mane profectus est pontifex ad Sebastiani ecclesiam, extra porta eiusdem nominis, quam veteres ... appellabant. Patres pontificem sunt prosequuti et curialium frequens admodum numerus. Ea in ede aris pro more veneratis, reversus est in Urbem pontifex«, cf. Jacobus Volterranus, *Diario di Roma*, (cf. fn. 15), p. 86. On the possible origin of the motet it is perhaps not without significance that the task of *sacrista* of the Papal Chapel was entrusted, in October 1483, to Johannes Pauli De Bossis, Cistercian Abbot of San Sebastiano *fuori le mura*. See Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle I* (cf. fn. 5), p. 663. We know from Burckhard that this prelate, who was of Milanese origin, wanted to introduce certain customs from his place of origin in the Papal Chapel, such as, for instance, having specific colours for the dress of the singers. See Burckardi *Liber notarum*, I. (cf. fn. 22), pp. 139, 226, 302, *passim*; cited by Marc Dykmans, *L'œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial papal de la première renaissance*, 2 vols. (Studi e Testi, 293), Vatican City 1980, vol. II, p. 190. Interesting to note in this connection is that the reform bull regarding the chapel formulated under Alexander VI (see Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle I*, fn. 5, p. 655) has a paragraph »De honestate cantorum« which includes the specification, referring to the dress of the singers, »togatus incedat«, which prescribes the use of

with the feast of St Sebastian, and envision its performance within a festive liturgical service – rather than just a general setting of a prayer to St Sebastian against the plague.<sup>28</sup>

Certainly there would have been plenty of occasions to perform this work at a time in history when the plague regularly broke out, occasions not just in the context of liturgical and devotional services, but also in a more private ambience – such as, for example, the Pope’s dining table or his private chambers. In any case, the composition bears the hallmarks of an extraordinary, even festive music, composed presumably for a special public occasion.

If we assume that this motet originated in Rome, why was it not included in the repertory of the Papal Chapel? As a matter of fact, why has none of the motets in the Petrucci collections *Motetti A* and *Motetti B* and *Motetti Libro quarto* survived in Roman sources? Is this merely a matter of fragmentary transmission, or did other factors play a role as well?

If we consider Weerbeke’s works that do survive in the Papal repertory in the context of the composer’s transmission as a whole, they indicate that the efforts of preservation were focussed, on the one hand, on compositions of high stylistic or representative rank, and on the other, on more functional works that belonged to the chapel’s repertory, and which had a place within the festive Papal liturgy (such as, for example, the Magnificat in Capp. Sist. 15). Taking this into account, the performance of *O beate Sebastiane* outside the liturgical customs and rituals of the Papal ceremony in the Vatican palace could possibly explain why the piece never reached the collected

a distinctive dress, non yet specifically required during the period of Sixtus. (The bull also includes a reference to keeping hair short and not long down to the neck – »capillos non gestet collum tegentes« –. In a fresco at the Palazzo Belvedere which represents a choir of singers that can be identified with the Papal Chapel, painted by Pinturicchio or by his school during the pontificate of Innocent VIII – see the contribution in this volume by Philine Helas – one can observe that neither the gowns nor the haircuts were regulated as yet.)

- 28 Hypothesizing that this motet was destined for the Festive Mass for St Sebastian (but also in votive Masses against the plague), one might entertain the hypothesis that its performance took place after the Graduale. This connection is suggested by the text of the motet, which turns out to be a paraphrase of a verse of the Gradual of the Mass for St Sebastian, in the transmission of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ars. 620 (see Sarah Ann Long, *The Chanted Mass in Parisian Ecclesiastical and Civic Communities, 1480–1540: Local Liturgical Practice in Manuscripts and Early Printed Service Books*, PhD Diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 2008, pp. 231 and 500; the text is printed also in Weerbeke, *Collected Works IV*, cf. fn. 25, p. LVI). However the text represents a variant of the prayer *O magne fidei sancte (beate/sanctissime) Sebastiani*, circulating, to judge from a first survey, in prayer books from the late fifteenth century, thus leaving ample possibility of use in a devotional context (a more detailed enquiry will be presented in another context).

repertory of the chapel. This hypothesis may also, and indeed more convincingly, apply to the motets that have a simpler structure, and are shorter and less ambitious in their design, that were printed in *Motetti A* and *B*.<sup>29</sup>

It would be attractive if this reading of the transmission could explain everything. But since the motives for the preservation of older repertory are not at all transparent and easy to interpret (at least from a present-day perspective), and since the survival of sources and repertories often appears to have been a matter of chance, it is necessary to exercise extreme caution in making general statements. At the end of the day, only two motets under Weerbeke's name are found in the surviving repertory of the Papal Chapel, and their transmission here seems due to specific circumstances (that is, to the specific circumstances leading to the compilation of the final section of Capp. Sist. 15).

In this connection it may be useful to consider the transmission of Weerbeke's *Dulcis amica Dei*. As Jeremy Noble has argued convincingly, this motet was composed for *S. Maria della Pace* and very probably performed for the dedication of its altar in 1486.<sup>30</sup> Yet this prompts the question why the motet was included in a manuscript that was copied ten years later and which largely contains music for use by the Papal Chapel. Does its inclusion there mean that the work continued to be performed in extended contexts beyond the immediate occasion for its composition? Or was it included for the sake of preservation? Further use of the music is suggested by the fact that the moment at which the Pope is addressed, his name – originally that of Innocent, as established by Gerhard Croll<sup>31</sup> – there is an empty space. As a prayer for peace this motet could easily have been performed on other occasions; the use of the antiphon *Da pacem Domine* as cantus firmus leads one to suspect that the motet could have served the same function as other *Da pacem* settings.<sup>32</sup>

29 For a description of these motets see Croll, *Das Motettenwerk* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 155–178. Croll rules out that pieces printed in the collection *Motetti B* would have been composed during his first Roman stay, but this hypothesis is based essentially on the absence of concordances in Roman sources – an argument that is weak by itself, considering the general absence (with one exception) of any concordances for pieces in the collection (*Das Motettenwerk*, pp. 245–246).

30 Noble, Weerbeke's Motet (cf. fn. 14), pp. 227–240.

31 Croll, *Das Motettenwerk* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 27–28.

32 In Capp. Sist. 15, for example, there are three anonymous *Da pacem Domine*-motets included at the end of the codex. See Sherr, *Papal Manuscripts* (cf. fn. 11), p. 131. In the *cerimoniale papale* of Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini the chant of the antiphon *Da pacem Domine* is mentioned among solemn announcements, for the announcement of peace, with the indication that it must be performed after the reading of the chapters and after the chant *Te deum laudamus*; »da pacem

In that case, certain aspects of the transmission of Capp. Sist. 15, and especially the French heraldry in its third section, might offer indications to explain why the motet was inserted in the manuscript also from the point of view of its representational function. Richard Sherr has connected that section of the manuscripts with the presence of King Charles VIII in Italy, more specifically his stay in Rome in January 1495.<sup>33</sup> *Dulcis amica Dei* could have been copied there for the same reason that had guided the inclusion of Compère's motet *Quis numerari quaeat*, a work whose textual alterations in Capp. Sist. 15 Sherr brought in relation with the Peace of Vercelli between the King of France and the Sforza, concluded in July and October 1495.<sup>34</sup>

Bearing this in mind one could perhaps also explain why the earlier motet *Vidi speciosam*, based on a melody from the Paris Use, and transmitted anonymously, was copied in the manuscript as well.<sup>35</sup> The concordance in Lucca 238 points to an earlier date of origin for this work, and indeed argues for probable origin in Flanders, or at least in a location where the liturgical use of Paris was adopted.<sup>36</sup> In this connection, it is particularly notable, on the one hand, that the motet is copied immediately before

Domine in diebus nostris« as a section of the Responsory *Tua est potentia, tuum regnum Domine* is instead cited among the Responsories for the reception of a king before the recitation of the Gospel. See Marc Dykmans, *L'œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini* (cf. fn. 27), pp. 185 and 197. In his work on the music of the papal chapel at the time of Josquin recently published, Jesse Rodin suggests instead that the *Da pacem*-motets could have served for everyday use during Vespers. See Jesse Rodin, *Josquin's Rome: hearing and composing in the Sistine Chapel* (AMS Studies in Music), New York 2012, p. 174. This study became available just after redacting this article, so that I could not take full account of it. Rodin devotes an entire chapter of his book to the analysis of some of Weerbeke's compositions preserved in the archive of the papal chapel at the pp. 134-170, mainly dealing with aspects related to Weerbeke's musical style and compositional choices. – On the use, evidently quite flexible in relation to the context of insertion, of antiphons for the peace (like *Da pacem Domine*) or against epidemic diseases, it is instructive to report a deliberation by the Synod of Cologne of 1536, signalled by Helmut Hucke, in which it was established that these antiphons – sung in some places after the Elevation –, should be sung instead at the end of the Mass. See Hucke, *Die Musik in der Sixtinischen Kapelle* (cf. fn. 22), pp.157–158. See also the contributions by Jörg Bölling and Thomas Schmidt-Beste in this volume.

33 Sherr, *Papal Manuscripts* (cf. fn. 11), pp. 64-65.

34 *Ibid.*

35 Capp. Sist. 15, fols. 199–201.

36 Lucca, *Archivio di Stato*, MS 238, fol. 54. For the dating and repertory of Lucca 238, see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford 1985, pp. 120–135 and 192–198, and *The Lucca Choirbook: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Ms 238; Lucca, Archivio Arcivescovile, Ms 97; Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Biblioteca Maffi, Cartella 11/III*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (*Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, 2), Chicago 2008, pp. 1–34.

Weerbeke's *Ave regina celorum* and *Dulcis amica Dei* (scribe, paper, and codicological details are identical for these motets), and, on the other, that the same melody serves as a cantus firmus in Weerbeke's *Stabat mater* – a melody which is otherwise found in no other motet from this period.<sup>37</sup> It is worth entertaining the possibility that this anonymous motet was also by Weerbeke, perhaps representing one of his youthful compositions.<sup>38</sup> Sherr's hypothesis concerning the genesis of the third part of Capp. Sist. 15 would also provide a plausible explanation for the inclusion of this older piece in the manuscript. For it seems unlikely that the *Vidi speciosam* setting, reflecting the Use of Paris, could have had a practical function in the Papal ritual beyond the presence of King Charles VIII, even if it does appear in a manuscript that brought together repertory for use in the chapel.

The inclusion of *Vidi speciosam* and *Dulcis amica Dei* in Capp. Sist. 15 indicates that these pieces were available to the chapel – even at a time when Weerbeke was not in Rome – or that they were possibly in the possession of one of the singers of the chapel (in case they cannot be traced back to the presence of Weerbeke, which is however improbable in view of the current dating of Capp. Sist. 15). This means that the chapel could also make use of music which did not have the good fortune of being copied another time, like these two impressive motets, which were evidently included in the new choirbook for very special reasons. So the chapel must have possessed much more music than can be documented in its codices today, and we can only speculate what kind of music this might have been. If King Charles VIII had not invaded Italy, and if there had thus been no motive for copying those motets in the codex, the third part of Capp. Sist. 15 never having been copied at all, we would have had no indication of the composition of any motets at Rome by Weerbeke, and one might conceivably have considered *Dulcis amica Dei* a composition written for the Doge of Venice – scratching our heads over what could have been the occasion for its composition.<sup>39</sup>

37 Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, IV (cf. fn. 25), pp. LXVIII; Agnese Pavanello, »*Stabat mater / Vidi speciosam*: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex«, in: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek-geschiedenis* 60 (2010), p. 3–19.

38 The quotation of a melody in use in Flanders and in France suggests that the motet was composed before Weerbeke left for Italy, that is, before 1471/72. This hypothesis is supported also by the evidence concerning the provenance and dating of Lucca 238, whose principal corpus was copied in Flanders in the early 1470s, with additions from the early 1480s (see fn. 36), as well as the stylistic profile of the composition.

39 The only concordance for the motet is in fact the version printed by Petrucci in *Motetti a cinque*

With regard to a possible Roman presence of other motets by Weerbeke it is useful to consider each of the motets that appeared in *Motetti A* and *Motetti B* by itself.<sup>40</sup> For some of these printed pieces it is easy to establish a connection with the Sforza court, and thus to assign the compositions to Weerbeke's Milanese period of activity.<sup>41</sup> For others a Roman origin is conceivable, as in the case of *Ave domina sancta Maria*, which could well be one of the earliest polyphonic settings of this prayer of the Immaculate Conception, whose recitation Sixtus promoted by awarding indulgences.<sup>42</sup> Even if it is difficult, in view of the numerous forms of Marian veneration in the liturgical and devotional spheres, to find compelling arguments for a more precise contextualisation and application of Weerbeke's Marian motets, the pieces printed in *Motetti B* do at least show a clear connection with liturgical usage.

*Ave verum*, *Verbum caro*, *Panis angelicum*, and *Anima Christi* are Elevation motets, and belong to the group of settings which are summed up, in the collection, with the title »de sacramento«. The bare homophonic writing of these pieces, which may go back to improvisatory practices, seems

(Venice 1508) in which we find a slight textual modification. In place of the syllables that were left blank, and which were reserved for the declamation of the Pope's name, one reads the name of Leonardo, Doge of Venice. Cf. Croll, *Das Motettenwerk* (cf. fn. 1), p. 27; Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, IV, (cf. fn. 25), pp. LXV–LXVI.

- 40 It is to be noted that in the collection of the *Motetti A* of Petrucci, Weerbeke is the composer represented with the most settings; in *Motetti B* he shares this position with Josquin.
- 41 This is true of the cycle with the three motets *Christi mater ave*, *Mater digna dei* and *Ave stella matutina*, which are transmitted also in the first Librone of Gaffurio, where we find allusions to the Duke of Milan; Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, IV (cf. fn. 25), pp. XLIX–L. One could perhaps also trace to Milan the composition of *Virgo Maria non est tibi similis*, a motet composed on a Dominican processional antiphon, considering the links between the Sforza and the Dominican Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan (see Macey, Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage, cf. fn.1, p. 160), as well as the concordances with the codex Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS K. I.2: this manuscript does in fact include *Virgo Maria* and also another motet by Weerbeke of certain Milanese provenance, *O virginum praeclara*, part of the cycle *Ave mundi Domina*. On the Siena manuscript see Timothy J. Dickey, »Rethinking the Siena Choirbook: a New Date and Implications for its Musical Contents«, in: *Early Music History* 24 (2005), pp. 1–52: p. 40.
- 42 For this prayer and for references on the activities of Sixtus in relation to the Immaculate Conception, see Bonnie J. Blackburn, »The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer attributed to Sixtus IV«, in: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124/2 (1999), pp. 157–195; further, Camilla Cavicchi, »Osservazioni in margine sulla musica per l'immacolato concepimento della Vergine al tempo di Sisto IV«, in: *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques, Revue électronique du CRH* 10 (2012), URL: <http://acrh.revues.org/4386/DOI:10.4000/acrh.4386>.

directly to reflect their function.<sup>43</sup> The questions whether, to what extent, how and when music of this type would have resounded at the Papal court can only be bound to speculation. Still, it is – as Stanley Boorman has emphasized – precisely this collection of Petrucci which shows in its choice of compositions a clear connection to Rome and the Papal Chapel.<sup>44</sup>

Brief mention must be made of Weerbeke's Lamentations, which are transmitted uniquely in Petrucci's *Lamentationum Jeremie prophete liber secundus* (1506) together with examples of the same genre by Tromboncino and Erasmus Lapidica.<sup>45</sup> We do not, at present, have exact criteria to establish when and where they were composed; they are part of the polyphonic tradition of singing Lamentations whose origin is difficult to trace, but which was cultivated particularly in the Papal Chapel in the sixteenth century. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that they were composed in Rome.<sup>46</sup>

- 43 On the connections between musical style and function it is particularly instructive what the transmission of the Milanese motet cycles by Weerbeke attests, by including sections for the Elevation in chordal setting. See Weerbeke, *Collected Works*, III, p. 11 and p. 30; cf. also the observations and the references presented by Rifkin, *Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 258–260.
- 44 This collection includes motets by De Orto, Vaqueras, Josquin, De Stappen – all composers who were active at the Papal Chapel. See Boorman, *Petrucci* (cf. fn. 17), p. 273. That this type of motet was performed also in Papal contexts is suggested by the transmission of Josquin's *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia* in Capp. Sist. 41. See *New Josquin Edition 22, Motets on non-biblical texts: De domino Jesu Christo*, Critical Commentary, ed. Bonnie Blackburn, Amsterdam 2003, pp. 37–42. We know that the motet was used for the Elevation in the sixteenth century, as indicated, for example, by the Sistine Diaries of 1561, cited by Cumming, *Toward an Interpretation* (cf. fn. 22), p. 52.
- 45 See Boorman, *Petrucci* (cf. fn. 17), pp. 626–630; *Il libro primo di lamentazioni* printed by Petrucci contains Lamentations by Tinctoris, Ycart, Agricola, De Orto and De Quadris. For the Lamentations by Weerbeke, see Croll, *Das Motettenwerk* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 86–108; for an overview of the production of Lamentations in this period, see Markus Grassl, »Hic incipit lamentatio: Vertonungen der Klagelieder des Propheten Jeremias im Umkreis des burgundisch-habsburgischen Hofes«, in: *Tod in Musik und Kultur: zum 500. Todestag Philipps des Schönen* (Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte, 2), ed. Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, Tutzing 2007, pp. 245–276.
- 46 We know that Pope Leo X commissioned Carpentras to compose the Lamentations that subsequently remained in use in the Papal Chapel until the end of the sixteenth century. See Richard Sherr, »Ceremonies for Holy Week, Papal Commissions, and Madness (?) in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome«, in: *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts* (cf. fn. 14), pp. 391–403: pp. 396–398. We possess no information on the chants for the Lamentations in the period of Sixtus and Innocent, nor in what form it was performed (whether in *cantus planus*, or in improvised *falsobordone*), nor if there were prior polyphonic realisations already. For Holy Week we have not only the Lamentations by Weerbeke, but also a motet on the text of the Matins

Despite the many gaps in our knowledge, Weerbeke's works in the collections of the Papal Chapel do point to intensive compositional activity during his first Roman appointment at the Papal court. His contribution to the repertory of the chapel is amply documented by the transmission of his settings in the Cappella Sistina codices. Indeed, among the composers who were active in the 1480's before Josquin, he is the one represented with the most Masses, compared to De Orto and Vacqueras (see Table 3). The imprint of the various aspects and demands of Papal life is palpable throughout his entire output. His works, considered as a totality, cover a broad spectrum of compositional techniques and registers, which can be associated with a variety of functions and performance constellations in the Papal context.

Table 3

Weerbeke	De Orto	Vacqueras
CS 14 Missa Ave regina	CS 35 Missa ad fugam	CS 51 Credo I
CS 51 Missa O venus bant	CS 35 Ave Maria	CS 51 Credo IV
CS 51 Credo	CS 35 Da pacem	CS 35 Domine non secudum
CS 35 Missa Se meiulx	CS 35 Domine non secundum	CS 35 Missa Ave regina
CS 35 Missa Princesse	CS 15 Salve Regis mater	CS 49 Missa L'homme armé
CS 15 Magnificat	CS 15 Verses of Lucis creator/Ut queant laxis	CS 49 Missa Du bon cœur
CS 15 Ave regina	CS 64 Missa L'homme armé	CS 63 Rex fallax miraculum
CS 15 Dulcis amica		
CS 15 Vidi speciosam (?)		
CS 41 Missa El trop penser		

Responsory of Good Friday, *Tenebre facte sunt*, on whose origin the hypotheses must remain open. Since it is printed in *Motetti B*, and it shows stylistic affinity with motets for the Elevation in the same collection, the possibility of a link with Rome may be entertained for this work as well. (This would suggest caution in associating the homophonic style of motets such as those in *Motetti B* with Northern Italy without a differentiation and interpretation that takes into account the fragmentary musical transmission – cf. fn. 44.)

In many respects Weerbeke's compositional activities remain to be investigated and evaluated, yet the study of the origins and dating of his work allow his role as Papal composer to become ever more prominent. This raises the question whether he was also directly involved in the material transmission, or acquisition, of the first Cappella Sistina codices. In view of the dates of transmission, and bearing in mind Roth's work on the importance of Sixtus' pontificate for the creation of the polyphonic repertory of the chapel, it cannot be ruled out that Weerbeke was at least one of the first singers to be entrusted with that task – at least with respect to the transmission of the first Cappella Sistina codices with polyphony, which took off with Capp. Sist. 14 and Capp. Sist. 51. From this perspective it may not have been a coincidence that of all composers, Weerbeke was the one who provided, so to speak, the connecting link between Capp. Sist. 14 and Capp. Sist. 51, on the one hand, and the later Capp. Sist. 35, on the other (see Table 4).<sup>47</sup> Those sources could therefore be studied also from this perspective, the first (Capp. Sist. 14 and Capp. Sist. 51) inviting a reconsideration of the possibility that they were compiled specifically for the inauguration of the Sistine Chapel, with repertoire selected *ad hoc* to represent it; and clarifying for Capp. Sist. 35 why, amongst its folios, we find names of singers not documented in the Papal Chapel yet identifiable with singers who had worked in Milan alongside Weerbeke in 1476.<sup>48</sup> As far

47 This observation should be considered with caution, given the numerous works that were transmitted anonymously. Still, on the basis of what we know about the manuscript, Weerbeke is indeed the only composer who is represented in all three codices. For a detailed inventory of the manuscripts, see Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/>. The following manuscripts are available in a modern edition: for Capp. Sist. 14 cf. fn. 9; for Capp. Sist. 51 see *Liber missarum An Editorial Transnotation of the Manuscript Capella Sistina 51, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano: Liber Missarum*, vols. 1–6: Collected Works (Institute of Mediaeval Music, 17), ed. Rex Eakins, Ottawa 1999–2005. Moreover interesting to remark in this context is that both in Capp. Sist. 14 and Capp. Sist. 51 and in Capp. Sist. 35, Weerbeke's masses are those presenting the highest number of corrections (in Capp. Sist. 14 only Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* exceeds Weerbeke's mass in this respect). For this information see Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter 1380–1513*, Berkeley etc. 1995, p. 193.

48 Among the pages of the manuscript one finds at c. 51 »verte Regnault« (Mass *La Martinella* by Johannes Martini), at c. 102<sup>r</sup> and 103<sup>r</sup> »verte Tibault« and »lavante Tibault« respectively (Mass *L'homme armé* by Tinctoris), at c. 78 »verte Montauben (?)« (Mass *O beate pater Donazione* by Jacobus Obrecht). As John Bergsagel has observed, Tibault and Ranault, cited here as the page turners, can be identified with singers who were active for some time in the chapel of the Sforza in Milan. See John Bergsagel, »Tinctoris and the Vatican manuscripts Cappella Sistina 14, 51 and 35«, in: *Studien zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Kapelle*, Vatican City 1994, pp. 497–528:

Table 4:  
 Attributions in the Sistine Manuscripts 14, 51 and 35

<u>CS 14</u>	<u>CS 51</u>	<u>CS 35</u>
Busnois	Busnois	Compère
Caron	Caron	De Orto
Domarto	De Clibano	<b>Gaspar</b>
Dufay	Fauges	Isaac
Eloy	Heyns	Josquin
Fauges	<b>Gaspar</b>	Martini
<b>Gaspar</b>	Martini	Obrecht
Ockeghem	Obrecht	Ockeghem
Regis	Philippon	Philippon
Vincenet	Vincenet	Prioris
Wreede		Tinctoris
		Vaqueras

p. 517. In one of the two surviving lists of 1476 relative to the Sforza chapel we do in fact encounter the names of »Raynaldino« and »Thebaldo« (the first is cited also in a previous Milanese list). See Merkley, *Music and Patronage* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 101–102. These references would be difficult to explain in a manuscript that was compiled in Rome, to judge both from the paper, where in some places the watermark of a lily in a circle is clearly visible, and the presence of scribal hands also to be found in other Sistine codices (for details on the manuscript composition, see Roth, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Chorbuches*, cf. fn. 7). The names do in fact occur in the principal corpus of the manuscript, which would seem to suggest the presence of the singers at a performance of the Masses in question. This possibility would seem unrealistic if the fascicles of the codex had actually been copied in Rome and were in use at the Papal Chapel. However the presence of these names calls for specific and detailed research on their precise identification, also in order to follow their respective movements, and on the possible use of the codex or of its fascicles in a different context – evaluating at the same time all the aspects tied to the compilation of the manuscript. (On a »Rainaldus cantore« active at San Pietro, and on the presence of this name with reference to this or another singer, in other Italian cities, see Reynolds, *Papal Patronage*, cf. fn. 47, p. 117n.) Moreover, the hypothesis should also be considered that the names cropped up in the exemplars for Capp. Sist. 35 and would thus have been copied, along with the music, together with other indications in the manuscript which do not mention specific names (like, for example, »Tournes il se brule«, in the Mass *Princesse d'amourettes* by Weerbeke at c. 164<sup>r</sup>). But this hypothesis does not seem convincing: why copy the names of singers who were not present?

as the older Sistine codices are concerned, it should be underlined that, in the light of the paradigmatic aspects revealed by the collecting and selection of the repertory by recent studies,<sup>49</sup> and considering the retrospective nature of the repertory represented there, the inclusion of Masses by Weerbeke, especially *Ave regina celorum* in Capp. Sist. 14, could well be explained in direct connection with Weerbeke's presence in Rome, and with the inauguration of the new Papal Chapel.<sup>50</sup>

Over and above this, the possibility exists that Weerbeke had a hand in the recruitment of new singers in the chapel during the 1480s, since several of his former colleagues from the court of Milan, such as Antonio Baneston, Petrus de Holi, Egidius, Innocentius Cosse, and Daniel Schach, joined the Papal Chapel not long after his own arrival.<sup>51</sup> Weerbeke must have main-

49 Sherr, Masses for the Sistine Chapel (cf. fn. 9), pp. 5–7.

50 This argument was invoked by Haberl in order to propose a dating of the manuscript in the early 1480s, after the entry of Weerbeke in the chapel. See Franz Xaver Haberl, *Wilhelm Du Fay* (Bausteine für Musikgeschichte, 1), Leipzig 1885, pp. 73–74; id., *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikcatalog* (cf. fn. 5), pp. 6–7 and 21. This dating has since been refuted by Roth, who has dated the copying the manuscripts in the 1470s. See Roth, *Studien zum frühen Repertoire* (cf. fn. 9), pp. 328–388: p. 347. Haberl's dating turns out, in the end, to be close to the datings around 1480 more recently proposed by Flynn Warmington, Talamo (cf. fn. 9) and Sherr. See Sherr, Masses for the Sistine Chapel (cf. fn. 9), pp. 8–10. Payment records kept in the Papal Archives show that various books were prepared specially for the inauguration of the new *cappella magna* (Sistine chapel) in August 1483, which may also have included books of music: for 4<sup>th</sup> June we find, under the rubric »Pro ligatura librorum capelle«, a payment to »reverendo domino episcopo Castelli magistro capelle pro ligatura diversorum librorum ad usum dicte capelle«. Document in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Intr. et Exod. 508, f. 176, cited by Steinmann, *Die sixtinische Kapelle*, I (cf. fn. 5), pp. 638–639.

51 If regulations for the recruitment of singers were already in existence, such as those of the *Constitutiones Capellae Pontificiae* of 1545 (capitoli II–IV, see Haberl, *Die Römische »Schola Cantorum« und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1888, pp. 96–97), then of course Weerbeke would have had at least the right to vote for the admission. The situation at the time of Sixtus or Innocent is not documented, but that his role may have been significant is suggested also by the list of November 1483, where, among the nine new singers of the cappella, the singers who had previously been his colleagues, are cited at the beginning of the list as a group, including Petrus de Holi, Egidius, Innocentius Cosse and Daniel Schach. They joined Antonio Baneston, whom we find already in the list for April of the same year (ibid., p. 54). For staff in the ducal chapel of Milan see Merkle, *Music and Patronage* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 242–243 and passim. Innocentius Cosse does not appear in the lists of ducal singers, but his name is found in a Milanese document of 1480 attesting to his presence in Milan along with Egidius who must have been a relative of his (ibid., p. 249); Baneston, Schach and Cosse were active at the court of Ferrara between 1477 and 1481, following the size reduction of the Milanese chapel after the death of Giangaleazzo Maria (1476). See Lora Matthews, »Reconstruction of the Personnel of the Ducal Choir in Milan 1480–1499«, p. 299. In connection with the *Constitutiones* of 1545 it has been established that they must be based

tained close and trusted connections with some of them, given that their names feature, reciprocally, in acts concerning benefices and various financial transactions in the Milanese period.<sup>52</sup> And especially taking into account the movements in those years of singers previously active in Milan, one might also reconsider the problem surrounding the origin of the earliest polyphonic Cappella Sistina-codices (14 and 51), as well as the separate issues of Capp. Sist. 35, in the main corpus of which a number of folios show signs of folding, suggesting that they might have travelled independently before being incorporated in the manuscript (such as the final added fascicle with the Obrecht Mass in Capp. Sist. 51).

A few months after Weerbeke's arrival at Rome, in October 1482, Sixtus issued a bull granting him a canonry and prebend in the Church of St Géry at Cambrai.<sup>53</sup> Further bulls secured his right to win other provisions, in 1484 concerning benefices in the Church of St. Sauveur in Arlon, St Michiel in Ghent in the diocese of Tournai, and the Benedictine Abbey of Afflighem in the diocese of Cambrai. Innocent VIII added new provisions, in a bull of May 1487: an annual pension deriving from a canonry and prebend in the diocese of Utrecht, and, in a subsequent bull of April 1488, from a canonry and prebend in the Church of St Omer in the diocese of Théroutanne. These acts, which document the granting or promise (expectative) of benefices, provide a clear indication of the consolidation of his position at the Papal court, and can be viewed as the concrete recognition of his musical services in those years.

Perhaps Weerbeke had brought to Rome much more from his Milan experience than it has been possible to recognize so far. A more detailed reconstruction of his biography, in conjunction with the analysis and the

on older statutes of which today only fragments remain. In one of these, however, Weerbeke is cited, along with Matheo de Alzate, as a singer who, though ill, still enjoyed the right to receive a duty for the admission of a new singer. See Rafael Köhler, *Die Cappella Sistina unter den Medici-Päpsten 1513-1534*, Kiel 2001, p. 25.

52 Merkley, *Music and Patronage* (cf. fn. 1) pp. 238, 250, 291, 293–5 and passim.

53 This can be deduced from documents which I have found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, respectively: *Registri Vaticani* 623, fols. 175<sup>v</sup>–177<sup>v</sup> (4<sup>th</sup> October 1482), 647, fols. 264<sup>v</sup>–266<sup>r</sup> (17<sup>th</sup> July 1484), 721, fols. 157<sup>v</sup>–159<sup>v</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> May 1487), 732, fols. 181<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>v</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> April 1488). The RV 721 has already been cited by Noble, but the references to the papers and the dates are not correct. See Noble, *Weerbeke's Motet* (cf. fn. 14), p. 230. Among the supplications, I have been able to find the act of resignation of the canonry of St. Omer with the request for permutation with a benefice in the church of S. Gertrudis Nivelensis in the diocese of Liège (R.S. 898, f. 65<sup>v</sup>). Concerning benefices Weerbeke was awarded with during his Milanese stay and the permutations of some of them, see Matthews, *Weerbeke in Milan* (cf. fn. 8), pp. 190–230.

contextualisation of his works, could help define more concretely his role as a singer and papal familiar, and contribute new elements to the global evaluation of his compositional activity in the musical chapel at the time of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. The study of his music promises new perspectives also in the context of other studies of the last few decades, not least the new biographical picture that has emerged for the figure of Josquin des Prez. From the musical transmission, his key role in the conception and realisation of motet cycles does however seem to emerge clearly, limited not solely to his Milanese service, but extending also into his activity in Papal Rome.

If musical compositions from his first Roman stay are still extant that invite further paths of enquiry, the last twenty years of Weerbeke, which saw uninterrupted service in the Papal Chapel, are veiled in near-total obscurity. There remains much to be understood about his later life as a *cantor cappellanus*, by then probably no longer involving compositional ambitions or responsibilities, but still witnessing his daily participation in the papal ritual and the privilege to sit at his table. A singer who, it is worth noting, enjoyed the distinction not just of outliving five successive popes, and perhaps even six, but also of witnessing, during his best years, the activities of Botticelli, Perugino and Pinturicchio, and, in the new century, of Raphael and Michelangelo.

Appendix

Document 1:

Bull of Sixtus IV (6 November 1481) for Gaspare Weerbeke

[c. 271<sup>v</sup>] Sixtus etc.<sup>54</sup>, dilecto filio Gaspari Weerbeke cle(ri)co | Tornacen(sis) di-  
oec(es)is) familiari n(ost)ro, salut(em) etc.<sup>55</sup>. Grata | familiaritat(is) obsequia, que  
nobis hactenus im|pendisti et adhuc sollicitis studiis impendere non | desistis necnon  
vite ac mor(um) honestas aliaq(ue) lau|dabilia probitat(is) et virtutum merita, qui-  
bus per|sonam tua(m) tam familiari experientia qua(m) etia(m) | fidedignor(um)  
testimoniis iuvari percepimus, nos | inducunt ut te specialibus favoribus et gratiis |  
prosequamur. Dudum siquidem tecum<sup>56</sup> cum | quo ut asserebas super defectu nata-  
lium, quem | pateris de soluto genitus et soluta, ut eo non | obstante ad minores  
promoveri etc.<sup>57</sup>, unum | sine cura obtinere valeres ordinaria fuerat | auct(or)itate  
dispensatum et postq(uam), vigore dispensationis, | h(uius)mo(d)i te feceras  
cl(er)icali caractere rite insigniri, | ut ad omnes etiam sacros ordines<sup>58</sup> pro|moveri, et  
quecumq(ue), quotcumq(ue) et qualiacumq(ue) | beneficia eccl(es)iastica cum cura  
vel sine cura, | se invicem com|patientia, etiam si canoni|catus et prebende, dignita-  
tes, personatus, || [c. 272<sup>r</sup>] administrationes, vel officia in cathedralibus etiam |  
metropolitanis vel collegiat(is) eccl(es)iis, et dignitates ip(s)e | in eisdem cathedrali-  
bus etiam metropolitan(is) post | pontificales maiores, aut in collegiatis eccl(es)iis |  
h(uius)mo(d)i principales essent et ad dignitates, personat(us), | administrationes vel  
officia h(uius)mo(d)i consuevissent, | qui per electionem assumi, eisq(ue) cura  
i(m)mineret | animar(um), si tibi alias<sup>59</sup> canonicè conferentur, aut | p(re)se)ntar(er)is,  
eligereris vel assumereris ad illa recipere | et retinere illaq(ue) simul vel successive,  
simpliciter | vel ex causa permutationis, quotiens tibi pla|ceret dimittere et loco  
dimissi vel dimissore, aliud | vel alia, simile vel dissimile aut similia vel dissimilia,  
beneficium seu beneficia, eccl(es)iasticum | vel eccl(es)iastica, recipere et quo adiuve-  
res reti|nere valeres per alias n(ost)ras li(tte)ras gratiose | dispensavimus prout in illis  
plenius contine|tur. Nos nu(n)c<sup>60</sup> volentes te qui etiam co(n)tinu(us)  
co(m)men|salis n(oste)r et in capella n(ost)ra cantor capellanus | existis  
premissor(um), obsequior(um) et meritor(um) tuor(um) | intuitu favore prosequi  
gratie potioris. Teq(ue) | a quibusvis exco(m)municationis, suspensionis | et  
interdicti, aliisq(ue) eccl(es)iasticis sententiis, censuris | et penis a iure vel ab  
homi(n)e quavis occasio|ne vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet | innodatus  
existis, ad effectum p(re)se)ntium | dumtaxat consequendum har(um) serie absol-  
ventes et | absolutum fore censentes, motu proprio, no(n) | ad tuam vel alterius pro  
te nobis super hoc | oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de no(st)ra mera | liberalitate  
tibi q(uo)d in quibusvis l(itte)ris et impetra|tionibus gratiam vel iustitiam concer-

54 etc. *is for* servus servorum Dei.

55 etc. *is for* et apostolicam benedictionem.

56 tecum unclear reading.

57 etc. *is for* et beneficium ecclesiasticum obtinere.

58 ordines in the original is erroneously repeated.

59 alia beneficia *is implied*.

60 nunc in interline.

nentibus || [c. 272<sup>v</sup>] a Sede Ap(osto)lica vel alias quomodolibet per te<sup>61</sup> et  
 no(m)i(n)e | tuo obtinendis seu tibi pro tempore faciendis | provisionibus nullam de  
 defectu et dispensa|tionibus predictis mentionem facere tenearis | nec propterea  
 littere, impetrationes et provi|siones ip(s)e de surreptionis vitio notari seu | alias  
 invalide reputari possint et debeant, | sed perinde valeant ac alias roboris firmitate(m)  
 | obtineant ac si in eis de defectu et dispensa|tionibus h(uius)mo(d)i plena et  
 expressa mentio facta | foret defectu predicto ac constitutionibus | et ordinationibus  
 ap(osto)licis ceterisq(ue) contrariis, qui | nequaqua(m) obstantibus auct(or)itate  
 ap(osto)lica | tenore p(rese)ntium de specialis dono gratie con|cedimus pariter et  
 indulgemus. Nulli ergo etc.<sup>62</sup> n(ost)re absolutionis, concessionis et | indulti  
 infringere etc.<sup>63</sup>. Si quis autem etc.<sup>64</sup> | Dat(um) Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno  
 | incarnationis dominice millesimo quadrin|gentesimo octuagesimo primo, sexto  
 id(us) | novembr(is), pontificatus n(ost)ri anno undecimo.

Grat(is) de man(da)to s(anc)ti(ss)imi d(omi)ni n(ost)ri p(a)p(e)

P. de Valle

P. Bertrandi

61 per te in interline.

62 etc. *is f̄or* hominum liceat hanc paginam.

63 etc. *is f̄or* vel ei ausu temerario contraire.

64 etc. *is f̄or* hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursum.