

**Auobiographical Constructions in
Josquin's Motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*:
*Evidence for a Later Dating***

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As published in the "ACDA Choral Journal" October, 1997
and
as presented to the Pacific Southwest and Pacific Northwest Chapters
of the
American Musicological Society
April 1997
based on paper written May 1995
presented at CSU Los Angeles Research Symposia, March 1996
and CSU 10th Annual Research Conference, May 1996

The machinations of modern musicologists regarding the fifteenth-century motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* have nearly eclipsed the piece itself. Through, and in spite of, all the analyses of motivic interpolation from or to other pieces both by the composer himself and by other composers and the twistings and interpretations to which the text and even its letters have been subjected, we must first acknowledge that Josquin des Prez wrote a miniature stylistic masterpiece.

Most of this analysis, however, has been concerned with the text and the music of only the first part of the motet. Difficult to classify stylistically, the *secunda pars* has been largely ignored. An attempt will be made here to reunify, as it were, the entire piece, reconcile some of these analyses and, perhaps, lend a new perspective to the analytical corpus. At the very least, some new theories regarding the circumstances appurtenant to its composition will be offered.

Early Analyses

Illibata Dei virgo nutrix is part of the complete works of Josquin des Prez which collection was begun by Father Albert Smijers in the early part of this century.¹ Beginning with Smijers, most published analyses have placed *Illibata* among Josquin's earliest works, a group largely comprised of motets composed before 1500.² It is a five-voice Tenor Marian motet built on two rhymed verses, which Josquin also authored.³ Brown admits that the group of compositions into which it is classified is the "least well defined" group which "includes prayers, poems of devotion, songs of praise, and the like, many of them addressed to or in honor of Christ or the Virgin Mary."⁴ The non-liturgical, non-Biblical verse may define the motet's usage as "intended for performance in ritual or votive services in royal chapels or collegiate churches."⁵ Smijers' two original sources for the motet do not differ dramatically in the music from one another.⁶

Prima Pars

The first section of the motet is comprised of two sentences each divided into six lines of two AAB rhyme patterns. The first six lines are "governed by the 'ix' rhyme," the "A" rhyme at which all cadences are on g.⁷ Although the phrasing remains clear, Josquin "elides the ends and beginning of [these] lines" after the initial

thematic statement.**8** "Extensive sequence" may be found in this section, especially in the *superius* and *contratenor primus* of measures 31 through 37.**9**

In the second six lines of the *prima pars*, the "ix" rhyme is no longer used and the "lines employ enjambment."**10** Gone also are the extensive vocal duets and "musical phrases corresponding to entire poetic lines."**11** "Short imitative groupings" are found at the beginnings and ends of these musical phrases whose sectionality grows "increasingly confused" as the *prima pars* concludes.**12**

The three-note *cantus firmus*, which will be examined in more detail later, is expressed in perfect longs, stated three times in the tenor--the first and third beginning on d, the second on g--in the first section of the motet which has a meter signature of *tempus perfectum*. Each entry is preceded by rests of six perfect longs' duration so that the rests equal three times the value of the *cantus firmus*.

One of the primary indicators of the correct chronological classification of the piece has been its long, opening lines in imitation between vocal pairs. Styled in the tradition of Dufay and Ockeghem, these initial, transparent "duos formed of long melismatic lines" are extremely reminiscent of the two earlier composers.**13** Such "Netherlandish" style has been suggested as having been coupled with a growing influence of the Italian style to which Josquin would have been exposed during his Milanese years of 1459-79.**14** Sparks also points out that the "constant hemiola" and "other rhythmic groupings which tend to cover the basic meter" are indicative of Josquin's earliest work.**15**

Antonowycz has provided extensive documentation of *prima pars* references to other des Prez' works.**16** These related works have been dated as follows:

TABLE 1

Dates of Josquin Works Quoted in *Illibata*

Work Quoted Approximate Composition Period

M. Di dadi 1459-1485

M. Faisant regretz 1485-1504

M. L'Homme armé s.v.m. 1485-1504

M. La sol fa re mi 1485-1504

M. Hercules Dux Ferrariae 1485-1504**17**

Memor esto verbi tui 1498-1503**18**

Secunda Pars

A relatively simple analysis is no longer possible when confronted with the *secunda pars* of the motet. It should be noted that Antonowycz found no examples of borrowed material in this section of the motet. The formal poetic structure of the motet changes in the *secunda pars*. While shorter phrases begin and end the *pars* with longer phrases in the middle, the sentences do not divide this section symmetrically. Rather than the two sentences found in the first part, this second part contains four. The first is set in four-measure, antiphonal phrases while the second is in irregular-length, polyphonic phrases. The third's more homophonic phrases are less widely separated. The fourth section has the character of a litany: There are four repetitions of the same musical material that lead to the final *Amen*.

This stanza begins in *tempus imperfectum diminutum* with the breve as the unit and the duration of the rests equal to each statement of the *cantus firmus* that follows. The *cantus firmus* is first stated four times in breves and six times in semibreves. At measure 125, the meter changes to triple, *sesquialtera* to the original, for sixteen measures, and the *cantus firmus* is stated eight times in semibreves. At measure 141, the meter returns to duple, *proportio dupla* to the original, as transcribed by Smijers, and the *cantus firmus* is stated eight additional times as breves, separated by rests of equal duration in this slower, final subsection.**19** These metrical and durational relationships may play an important part in correctly dating the motet as will be seen later.

The *secunda pars* is no longer in the Netherlandish style of the *prima pars*. Long duets are replaced by short imitative passages (m. 83 ff), with three- and four-part "answers," which presage the Venetian *cori spezzatti*.**20** Homophony is suggested at the change to triple meter, and there are complete *caesura*, in the "Italian style," at the ends of each sentence.**21** Additionally, Sherr contends that, while the first stanza's

music does not reflect the text, that of the second "served both the structure and the meaning of the text."²²

Later Analyses

Antonowycz, who continued Smijers' collection of Josquin's music, was, at one time, the only voice questioning the "early" classification of this motet.²³ His contention, that *Illibata* was an autobiographical work, was largely unexamined after his presentation at the Josquin Festival-Conference in 1971. He averred that the motet "represented a conscious borrowing of melodic fragments from works previously composed."²⁴ In 1988, Sherr published an article providing further support for a later dating by relating *Illibata* to the Roman, five-voice Tenor motet form which enjoyed a resurgence of interest among composers employed by the Papal Chapel with Josquin.²⁵ Among his arguments was a discussion of the wholly "different structure" employed by Josquin in the second part.²⁶ This disparity had been recognized by earlier musicologists who had dismissed it as a lack of technical capabilities from an immature composer.²⁷

Placed within the context of a work designed to display the composer's stylistic life, this "sudden change of character" becomes understandable.²⁸ Successive musicologists may have propagated and perpetuated an error when they based the "early" label on "examination of the musical style of the piece, coupled with the widely-held assumption that the existence of certain style characteristics in a piece of Renaissance music allows one to assume that its [*sic*] was written close to the time when those characteristics were current."²⁹ As Sherr observed, "being archaic is not the same thing as being old."³⁰ By extension, following Sherr's own *caveat*, these "Roman" characteristics merely preclude dating the motet earlier than Josquin's Roman period, but not *later*. Even the dates of this Roman period have been disputed as evidenced by Pamela F. Starr's address to the AMS Baltimore meeting last fall.³¹ As will be demonstrated later via new autobiographical constructions discovered in the motet, the caution should be issued back to those who would advance *Illibata* only as far as this middle period.

Brown provides an invaluable means with which to analyze *Illibata*. He classifies Josquin's motet *Ave Maria*. . *virgo serena* as having been written during Josquin's middle years in Rome and Ferrara (c. 1480-1504).³² Paraphrasing the points of his analysis of the later motet and applying it to the "earlier" motet, one may select the following from numerous examples:

TABLE 2

Illibata Analysis Using Ave Marie Parameters
Illibata Measure(s) in: *Prima Pars Secunda Pars*
each line has new music 1, 12, 18 83, 86, 89, 95
points of imitation 32-35 132-36
imitative paired duets 1-18 83-89
non-imitative paired duets 37-42 95-101, 150-58
homorhythmic style 57-67 125-28
overlapped entries of
interlocked imitative sections 18, 23, 37 86, 92
important cadences from V to I - 81-82³³ 124
sometimes after chordal sections 185-93

Thus, the very means by which Brown affirms the dating of *Ave Maria*. . *virgo serena* may be used to chronologically place *Illibata* within the same period.

Soggetto Cavato

The *soggetto cavato dalle vocali di queste parole*; "these words" being only one, *Maria*; unifies the motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*.³⁴ Carving the vowels from the Virgin's Name and assigning solmization syllables to them using the same vowels results in the melodic figure 6-3-6, transposed in the motet to d-a-d and g-d-g.³⁵ This three-note motive operates not only as a *cantus firmus* but also as an ostinato,³⁶ especially in the

secunda pars where its rhythmic diminution makes it more independently audible. Sherr states that the construction "recalls the old isorhythmic motet."**37**

The relationship between the *cantus firmus* and the other voices changes between the two parts of the motet. In the *prima pars*, the "traditional treatment"--notes of long duration in the tenor--differentiates the motive from the other voices. This type of long-note presentation may be found in countless compositions that both predate and antedate this one. The first and second phrases of text are completed in imitative vocal pairings before the tenor is presented in measure 19.

In the *secunda pars*, the "proportional diminution of the rhythmic values" results in the tenor becoming "more equivalent to the contrapuntal voices,"**38** at the same time less distinguished and more distinguishable from them. This treatment has been equated with "newer techniques."**39** When this second stanza is divided into four parts according to the four sentences within it (mm. 83-106, 107-124, 125-140, 141-193), one may see that the *cantus firmus* supports this division by being expressed in breves in sections 1 and 4 and in semibreves in 2 and 3. This sectionality is also supported by complete cadences at the end of each section, changes in the meter signatures at two of these junctures, and textural changes.

Sparks states that the tenor's relationship to the text is "intellectual and symbolic, not dramatic."**40** He goes on to state that the "mensural plan for the tenor would have come first and the text would have been subordinated to it; it [the text] would have been made to fit in as best it could."**41** Both the appearance of the score and its aural effect belie this statement. The delayed entrance of the *cantus firmus* in the *prima pars* relegates it to a subservient role. In the first section of the *secunda pars*, measures 83 through 106, the tenor functions mostly as the third voice of the homophony with the *contratenor primus* and bass in antiphony with the homophonic *superius* and *contratenor secundus*; in the final phrase it joins the upper parts.

In the polyphonic second section, measures 107 through 124, the tenor is treated as an individual voice in the polyphony, its entrances appropriately offset from all others. In the mixed homophonic and imitative third section, the tenor is the precipitator of the *la-mi-la* imitation; the *contratenor secundus* whose entrance is greatly delayed in this section takes over the character of the original long-note treatment of the *cantus firmus* by being expressed in *breves* and *longas*. The long fourth section, measures 141 through 193, pairs homophonic voices in imitation with other pairs under a more active *superius*. This texture and the complete sectional cadences have been termed the "Italian style."**42** In spite of the fact that the motet would have necessarily been constructed around the *cantus firmus*, it is obvious in this section that, without it, the relationship of the other voices would not only still be rational but also aesthetically appropriate for the era. It would be erroneous, however, to discount the importance of the *soggetto cavato*. In the *prima pars* it functions as a "pedal point"**43** in the quintet sections; it is not to be found in combination with less than all four of the other voices. Throughout the entire motet can be found numerous examples in the other voices mimicking the perfect fourth of the ostinato. Some are leaps of a fourth (mm. 158-61, 172-73, 179-80, 184-85), and some are "diatonically filled-in motives outlining a fourth" (mm. 61-70, 78-81).**44** The motive takes on additional importance when it is used in all of the other voices in rapid, overlapping imitation--a *stretto*--as part of Josquin's plea to the Virgin for the consolation of those singing *la-mi-la* (mm. 130-36).**45** As previously stated, the *soggetto cavato* has a dual character--being built on solmization syllables and also used as an ostinato. Antonowycz states that the former usage may be found in *M. Dux Ferraraie* and *M. La sol fa re mi* while the latter usage is present in both of these masses as well as *M. Faisant regretz*.**46**

Acrostic Theory

Very little historical or anecdotal material exists regarding Josquin des Prez. The fact that he was well known during his lifetime does not mean that more than snatches of information lending insight into his life still endure. Currently unknown, for instance, is when he took religious vows and even where he was for long periods of time. Most contemporaneous mention of the man, other than for his musical genius, was in reference to financial matters.**47** It can be established from this that, although a priest, he was not an ascetic. Given his obvious intellectual abilities and the already much-used tradition of puzzles in artistic works**48**, it is not difficult to imagine Josquin's delight at working his own biographical information into his music.

In 1925, over four hundred years after the composition of the piece, Smijers became the first to notice an acrostic in the *prima pars* of the motet.⁴⁹ This may be classified as an acrostic proper, one consisting of the first letters of successive lines read up or down, in this case, down. Other types of acrostics include mesostics which are read across; this, too, may be found, in the eighth line of the first stanza. Titcomb noted that the simultaneous usage of both acrostic and mesostic is common.⁵⁰ Thus, from the combination of the acrostic proper and the mesostic, the correct spelling of Josquin's name may be ascertained: *JOSQUIN DES PREZ*. It should be noted that the *Des* is segregated by an unusual comma in the text. It is not unreasonable to assert that it should be treated as a separate word and not elided, as has been a recent custom, to the following *Prez* which completes the acrostic proper.

Titcomb goes on to detail the history of the attempts to solve the acrostic in the *secunda pars* and provides another possible solution.⁵¹ In short, he constructs additional details of a place name by restructuring the first four lines of the *secunda pars* into six. While his theory is interesting, it seems to ignore an obvious modified mesostic that exists in the eighth line of the *secunda pars* as originally formatted; remembering that a mesostic exists in the eighth line of the *prima pars* supports retaining the original poetic structure. The eighth line of the second stanza is *Consola la-mi-la canentes in tua laude*, a 14-syllable line unequalled in length elsewhere in the motet. If one takes the first and last syllables of this line, the result is *Condé*, the site of his final position as provost. As Titcomb and other scholars have noted, one may be assured that the portion of the acrostic proper (vertical) which results in *ESCAU* refers to the Escaut River. No comment has as yet been made on the fact that the placement of the word *Condé* in relationship to *ESCAU* results in the former being on the latter or *Condé on ESCAU*" The correct name for this city is *Condé-sur-l'Escaut*. Spelling deviations common in the fifteenth century would account for the missing *t*. Should, however, the reader lend credence to Titcomb's reformatting, it is also interesting to note that the letters *E-S-C-AU* are to be found in his eighth line (*Electa ut sol, clarissima gaude.*), in the correct order, and nowhere else, horizontally, in the text of the motet. No completely satisfactory solution had been admitted for an acrostic that might exist in the remainder of the second stanza.

Titcomb had speculated on the meaning of the four remaining initial letter, *GDAM*, which result from his reformatting:

There remains unaccounted for only the last group of four letters, *GDAM*. This is simply a rearrangement -- quite acceptable since Latin, an inflected language, allows flexible word-order -- of the common abbreviation *A.M.D.G.*, which designates the standard motto officially adopted by the Jesuit order not long after Josquin's death. . . . In Josquin's sequence it would read *Gloriam Dei ad majorem*.⁵²

The Condé chapter house records, preserved in the Community Archives of Condé since the sale during the French Revolution and subsequent razing of the property in 1797, contain a hand-written document, dated 19 September 1521, a statement by two Condé officials of their visit to Josquin's bedside four days before his death.⁵³ The purpose of their visit was to ensure that Josquin's estate could be bequeathed to the chapter rather than escheating to the lordship of Condé as was customary for foreigners' estates. The document cites Josquin's birthplace as possibly having been in the Ardennes (and certainly not in Condé as had been speculated for centuries), uses the formal Christian name of *Josse* for which *Josquin* is a diminutive, and twice refers to him as *priest*. Albert Dehaine, author and town historian of Condé, supplied this writer with Josquin's given name: *Josse Lebloitte*.⁵⁴

Dehaine cites a 1523 record of a land sale which also provides a donation so that Josquin's *Pater noster* and *Ave, Maria* would be sung in his memory during certain hours of the Offices and at specific processions.⁵⁵ This *Ave, Maria* (*gratia plena*, not *virgo serena*) served as the second part to the *Our Father*.⁵⁶ As these are six-voice compositions cited by Brown as being late motets,⁵⁷ this real estate record confirms the ability of the Condé choir to sing in six parts.

Numerical Theory

The alphabetical puzzles exist amidst equally intriguing numerical constructions. Sherr provides an analysis of the Pythagorean proportions relating the meter signatures of the motet. He notes that these proportions match those in Busnois' *M. L'Homme armé*, not the Chigi edition but rather the lesser known Roman edition

which would have been available to the Papal singers by Josquin's arrival in 1486.⁵⁸ This mass is quoted extensively in *Illibata*. He also presents an intriguing argument that classifies *Illibata* as a five-voice Tenor motet in the mid-fifteenth-century style of Regis, which style was then again in vogue with Josquin's colleagues; singer-composers Weerbeke, de Orto, and Vaqueras; in the Papal Chapel.⁵⁹ This "Netherlandish" style was *au courant* in Rome in the 1480s and 1490s but not then in Milan; when the Papal composers created these compositions, they were all different from the composers' "normal" motet style."⁶⁰

Antonowycz recounts Elder's device of replacing the motet's letters in the Latin alphabet with numbers-*gematria*-to yield eighty-eight for *des Prez*. This number matches the number of notes in the *cantus firmus* of the motet.⁶¹ *Josquin* yields ninety-nine which may be translated into nine multiplied by nine. The *cantus firmus* consists of nine notes, three statements of the three-note motive, in the *prima pars*, each note lasting for nine breves. These nine notes multiplied by their duration equals eighty-one breves, nine multiplied by nine, again.⁶²

Condé Dating

A compilation of all of the above arguments for dating *Illibata* in a later period is supported by other events. The motet was published in Petrucci's 1508 volume of motets; prior to this it was largely unknown: ". . . [E]ven Glarean, who delighted in telling tales of Josquin's ingenuity, does not mention the acrostic motet. . ."⁶³ The *Gaffurius Codices*, volumes containing the repertory of Milan in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, do not contain any other examples of the five-voice Tenor motet genre.⁶⁴ Other Josquin motets and masses in the Milanese style do appear in the *Codices*, however: *Qui velatus facie fuisti*, *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*, and *M. D'Ung aultre amer*.⁶⁵ This lends credence to the argument that Josquin would not have written a piece that had no current "commercial" value. The puzzle lies in determining for what venue *Illibata* was composed.

Antonowycz asserts that a "lack of musical invention was not one of Josquin's shortcomings."⁶⁶ The musical quotations which occur in *Illibata* are too numerous and literal to be ignored. It seems unlikely that this one motet, and only its *prima pars*, was the source of important material for so many of Josquin's subsequent works. During an era when the use of a *cantus prius factus* was an honorable device, Josquin's unconscious use of so much of this material is not plausible. Antonowycz instead believes that Josquin intended *Illibata* as "a survey of his melodic, *cantus-firmus*, and contrapuntal techniques" and goes on to assert that "[t]his work may be taken as an exhibition, a display of his style."⁶⁷

Kellman notes that Josquin had arrived in Condé by 3 May 1504, remained in the cathedral's employ there until his death in 1521⁶⁸, that the choir at the church could sing in six-part polyphony and that, by the end of Josquin's life in 1521, may have numbered as many as twenty-two singers including boys.⁶⁹ Göller states that this cathedral followed the custom of "almost all the cathedrals in northern France and Belgium [and was] dedicated to 'Our Lady'."⁷⁰ However, an important hierarchical distinction must be noted: the church in Condé was not a cathedral but was rather a collegiate church.⁷¹ Thus, it falls into the category of places where *Illibata* -- with its peculiar textual reference to the pagan Muses -- could be performed.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that, in this locus, the puzzle of *Illibata*'s inappropriateness for cathedral worship is solved.

In analyzing whether *Illibata* could have been composed during this later period, 1504 to 1521, value may be found in the juxtaposition of the melodic quotations found in Josquin's own compositions at the end of the *prima pars* of the motet. Beginning at measure 65, they are: *M. La sol fa re mi*/*M. L'Homme armé s.v.m.*, *M. Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, and *Memor esto verbi tui*. Brown has noted a possible *soggetto cavato* in the first example; *la, sol, fa, re, mi* may derive from the consonants of *lesse faire a mi, leave it to me*.⁷² The next quotation names the Duke of Ferrara in whose service Josquin can be placed as late as 1504.⁷³ The final example has been designated as a reminder to King Louis XII of promises made to the composer.⁷⁴ Godt lists *Memor esto* as one of the motets having no identifiable *cantus prius factus* in spite of its inclusion in *Illibata*.⁷⁵ If this piece were already in existence, its function in *Illibata* could be as a reminder of a promise of release from Ferrara's service.

This speculation becomes useless if one is unable to date *Illibata* in the last era of Josquin's life. To accomplish this, one needs to return to a numerical analysis of the motet. While a reexamination of the original sources, the Vatican and Petrucci editions, might result in a somewhat different, "final" version of the work, Smijers' version has been utilized here. All other aspects of this motet seem to have been quantified, so the author performed a simple count of the audible notes of the motet, not including those "tied" notes which in any case would have been expressed as *breves* or *longas*, which yielded 1,505. If indeed the work is autobiographical to a certain point in Josquin's life, A.D. 1505 could be that point. Perhaps it is happenstance that the acrostic motet contains such a propitious number, but the numerical organization evident throughout *Illibata* makes relegating this number to mere coincidence nearly inconceivable.

Titcomb's reformatting of the text of the *secunda pars* to discover other alphabetical constructions results in the following possibility: *AD CA FLUV ESCAU GDAM* (at the head of the river Escaut and the acrostic phrase: *Gloriam Dei ad majorem*).⁷⁶ If one takes the letters above and assigns the value of the appropriate Roman numerals, the result is as follows:

A D C A F L U V | E S C A U G D A M

100 + 50 + 5 | 100 + 500 + 1000

155 - 1600

A.D. 1445

This manipulation, no more contrived than Titcomb's (or his construction resulting in *AUSI SAIA TOTA* "I have applied myself with all the wisdom at my command"),⁷⁷ may provide a clue to the date of Josquin's birth. By dividing the stanza into Titcomb's sixteen lines, one is left with first and second eight-line groupings subtotalling 155 and 1600, respectively. Since smaller Roman numerals subtract from those to their right (a fact being ignored in the arrival at the second subtotal), the construction becomes 155 less than 1600, or 1445. The first two letters of the entire construction are *AD*; for our purposes they are devoted to completing the line: **A.D. 1445**. If *Illibata* had indeed been written in 1505 with Josquin already safely in Condé, perhaps it was in honor of his own sixtieth *anniversaire*.

Conclusion

Satisfactory interpretations of some of the hidden messages of *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* make those whose definitive solution is still elusive even more tantalizing. Much research could be devoted to answering even the following:

1. Why, in the middle of the four hendecasyllabic lines (mm. 107-140) between *Vale* and *laude* did Josquin switch from duple to triple meter?
2. Is Smijers' placement of two *a* syllables on the bass notes at the beginning of measures 72 and 73 the best text for those notes which are *la* and *mi* in one of the hexachords of the *cantus firmus*?
3. Likewise, could Smijers' use of the final syllable of *humilius* for the lone *contratenor secundus* note in measures 104 through 106 be better replaced by *mi*, again, as used in the *cantus firmus*?
4. Why is the melody of the *la-mi-la* of the *superius* in measures 130 and 131 f-a g g-f#? Josquin has carefully placed all other occurrences on the same notes as those utilized by the tenor *cantus firmus*, one note for each syllable. Not only are these notes "wrong," both of the *las* are on two notes; is this a comment on the capabilities of his "soprano" singers? (Do we have an early case of "soprano-bashing" here?) Two measures after this "misstatement," the *superius* is to be found on an f# "pedal point" whose three-measure length (mm. 133-35) is equalled elsewhere in the motet only in the tenor *cantus firmus* and in the *contratenor secundus* of measures 104 through 106.

Illibata Dei virgo nutrix represents an extraordinarily complex level of interdependent musical and extramusical organization. Although the motet supplies missing biographical details, the biggest Josquin question remains unanswered: if Condé was not his birthplace, why did the Prince of Musicians spend his last years at this minor posting? Perhaps the knowledge of Josquin's given name will enable us to locate his place of birth. The answer to the last question remains elusive.

Whether one is convinced of the validity of a later dating of the motet or remains unpersuaded, the text and music of *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*, whatever their extra-musical import, are wholly that of Josquin. In this context, "it is a musical self-portrait by Josquin; in each stroke of the melody and in the tonal colour of each chord we recognize the rich creativity of this mind that belongs among the greatest of the great in the cultural history of Europe."⁷⁸

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Notes

1 Albert Smijers, ed., *Werken van Josquin des Prés*, "Motetten I," Series 2, Bundel V, #27 (Amsterdam: Vereniging Voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis, 1925), 140-46, and edition notes, pages x-xi.

2 Winfried Kirsch, "Josquin's Motets in the German Tradition," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 265; Edgar H. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 481; Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, 1976), 122.

3 Brown, 122.

4 Brown, 133.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Cappella Sistina, MS 15, ff. 243v-247v (C.S. 15) and Petrucci, *Motetti a cinque libro primo*, (Venice, 1508), n.p., cited in Richard Sherr, "Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 437.

7 Sherr, 437.

8 Sherr, 438.

9 Myroslaw Antonowycz, "Illibata Dei Virgo: A Melodic Self-Portrait of Josquin des Prez," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 550.

10 Sherr, 438.

11 Sherr, 438.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Brown, 122.

14 Sherr, 436.

15 Sparks, 393.

16 Antonowycz, 546-57.

17 Sparks, 476-77, in Note 2, citing the dating of the masses in Helmuth Osthoff, "Josquin Desprez," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. VII, ed. Fr. Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1949-), cols. 190-

214.

18 Kirsch, 268.

19 Sherr, 439.

20 Antonowycz, 556.

21 Sherr, 438.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Antonowycz, 558.

24 Sherr, 436.

25 See Sherr article.

26 Sherr, 437.

27 Sherr, 436.

28 Antonowycz, 555.

29 Sherr, 434.

30 Sherr, 436.

31 The author thanks Dr. Starr for providing a pre-publication copy of the article "Josquin, Rome, and a Case of Mistaken Identity" which appeared in the summer 1997 issue of *The Journal of Musicology* 15.

32 Brown, 123.

33 The cadence that Brown describes in measure 53 of the four-voice *Ave maria*. . . is exactly the same as that of the five-voice *Illibata* at measures 81-82 except with the fifth in the tenor *cantus firmus*.

34 Brown, 122.

35 Brown, 122.

36 Brown, 132.

37 Sherr, 438.

38 Antonowycz, 557.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Sparks, 393.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Sherr, 438.

43 Jürgen Jürgens, "Marian Motets," Jacket notes, *Marien-Motetten*, by Josquin Desprez, cond. Jürgen Jürgens, Monteverdi Choir Hamburg, Archiv, 2533 110, 1971.

44 Antonowycz, 557.

45 Sherr, 451.

46 Antonowycz, 557.

47 Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1954), 229.

48 Caldwell Titcomb, "The Josquin Acrostic Re-examined," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963): 47-49.

49 Albert Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin en Isaac," *Gedenkboek aangeboden aan Dr. D.F. Scheurleer* (The Hague, 1925):313-19 cited in Titcomb, 49.

50 Titcomb, 47.

51 For a complete discussion, see the Titcomb article.

52 Titcomb, 59.

53 Dehaine, "La trace de Josquin des Prés dans les archives de Condé," *Valentiana*, juin 1988: 12.

54 Dehaine, letter to author, 30 January 1996. This information is given to the reader just as M. Dehaine first communicated it to the author-as an aside not strictly relevant to the topic at hand. Devotees of the enigmatic composer, however, will appreciate this contribution to the minute *corpus* of confirmed biographical data.

55 Dehaine, "La trace," 13.

56 Brown, 130.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Sherr, 439-42.

59 Sherr, 434-35, 444.

60 Sherr, 444.

61 Willem Elders, "Josquin des Prez en zijn Motet *Illibata Dei virgo*," *Mens en Melodie*, XXV (1970): 141-44, cited in Antonowycz, 545.

62 Antonowycz, 545.

63 Sherr, 453.

64 Sherr, 442.

65 Sherr, 443.

66 Antonowycz, 558.

67 Antonowycz, 558.

68 Herbert Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources," in *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 207.

69 Kellman, 208-209.

70 Gottfried Göller, "The Adoration of Mary in the late Middle Ages and the texts of the Marian Motets," Jacket notes, *Marien-Motetten*, by Josquin Desprez, cond. Jürgen Jürgens, Monteverdi Choir Hamburg, Archiv, 2533 110, 1971.

71 Albert Dehaine, "La trace," 12.

72 Brown, 121.

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*

75 Irving Godt, "Motivic Integration in Josquin's Motets," *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977): 268.

76 Titcomb, 58-59.

77 Titcomb, 53.

78 Antonowycz, 558.

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