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COSTANZO FESTA'S (?)
MOTET *O ALTITUDO DIVITIARUM* RE-EXAMINED:
NEW SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ITS SOURCE CONTEXT,
ATTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION

For Kenneth Kreitner

According to José M. Llorens's catalogue, two anonymous works in the manuscript AVatS 38 (scribe: Johannes Parvus), copied around 1550–63, should be ascribed to Costanzo Festa: *Gaude felix ecclesia* (fols. 114v–122r) and *O altitudo divitiarum* (fols. 122v–126r) (Table 1).¹ Both are included in Festa's *Opera omnia*, although its editor, Albert Seay, admitted having some doubts about these ascriptions,² being unable to determine on what basis Llorens had made them.³ Nevertheless, the origin of *Gaude felix ecclesia* appears to be quite clear and secure. What Llorens and Seay apparently missed is the fact that this same motet, with the text *Gaude felix Florentia* and an ascription to Andreas de Silva, appears in the manuscript RomeV Sr. 35–40 (olim: Vall.S.Borr.E.II.55–60; no. 59).⁴ The motet was thus included in Andreas de Silva's *Opera omnia*.⁵ In the foreword

1 Josephus M. Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae codices, musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (= Studi e testi 202), pp. 76–79. It is important to note that, as Klaus Pietschmann demonstrated, Llorens's ascriptions in the Cappella Sistina catalogue are by Laurence Feininger. See Klaus Pietschmann, 'Laurence Feininger's Späterungen von geistlicher Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Analecta Musicologica*, vol. 36, *Vanitatis fuga, aeternitatis amor. Wolfgang Witzemann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Markus Engelhardt, pp. 697–703. Their status as anonymous works in the manuscript might explain why Alexander Main did not discuss them in his dissertation: *Costanzo Festa: The masses and motets*, New York University 1960 (unpubl. diss.).

2 For modern editions of the motets *Gaude felix ecclesia* and *O altitudo divitiarum*, see *Costanzo Festa: Opera omnia*, ed. Albert Seay, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology 1962–79, see vol. 5, pp. 132–147 and 148–156 respectively.

3 *Ibid.*, p. xi.

4 For a description of the source and its contents, see Edward E. Lowinsky, 'A newly discovered sixteenth-century motet manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3 (1950), pp. 173–232. Although its Florentine provenance is generally accepted, Anne-Maria Bragard suggested that it might have been produced in Rome. On the origin of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, pp. 195–196; for an overview of Lowinsky's and Bragard's interpretation, see H. Colin Slim, *A gift of madrigals and motets*, vol. 1, Chicago 1972, pp. 56–65; see also *Census-Catalogue of manuscript sources of polyphonic music, 1400–1550*, eds. Herbert Kellman and Charles Hamm, vol. 3, Middleton 1984, pp. 119–120.

5 For its edition, see *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, ed. Winfried Kirsch, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology 1970–71, vol. 2, pp. 65–82. Still an indispensable work on Andreas de Silva's motets is

to the edition, Winfried Kirsch says that ‘the historical motet *Gaude felix Florentia* in honor of Pope Leo X, [was] composed probably on the occasion of his election in the year 1513. This motet has also come down with a text parody in honor of the Holy Virgin (*Gaude felix ecclesia*) in a later source [VatS 38]’.⁶ If it was really Festa who made textual and musical changes in de Silva’s work, can the work be attributed to Festa? I think that whoever it was actually made only small retouches to adjust de Silva’s work to the different performance circumstances; it is clear that a new text in VatS 38 needed some rhythmic adjustments to produce better declamation.⁷ I think that the motet was not composed as a new work on the basis of the pre-existing one but that somebody just ‘musically interfered’ in the final shape of de Silva’s work.

It is worth taking a closer look at Andreas de Silva’s motet. It consists of three *partes*; the two outer movements are for six voices, the middle one for four.⁸ The movements are roughly the same length; the first has 104 bars, the second 98 and the last 111. The entire *prima pars* is written in cut-C mensuration; the *secunda pars* begins with C2 but later changes to *proportio tripla* (cut-C3; bar 168) and arrives at *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (bar 187). The last *pars* adheres to *tempus imperfectum* throughout.

The motet opens with a long duo of the two upper voices (bars 1–23), after which three other voices come in (bar 23). Within this opening duo, there are five musical-textual phrases that are separated by rests and create points of imitation. They run as follows: ‘*Gaude felix Florentia / Que verum Christi vicarium / Ac indubitatum Petri successorem / Obtinere meruisti*’. The cantus firmus-ostinato *Gaude felix Florentia* is first stated in bar 30, at the place where the other voices intone the words ‘*Leonem decimum*’. It is stated three times in the *prima pars*. While the five other voices share some melodic material and rhythmic structure among themselves, the cantus firmus does not seem to be integrated with them.⁹ The *secunda pars*, written for four voices, does not employ a cantus firmus. It is mainly based on the imitation of the musical-textual

Winfried Kirsch, *Die Motetten des Andreas Silva. Studien zur Geschichte der Motette im 16. Jahrhundert*, Tutzing 1977 (= Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2).

- 6 *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. ix. It is generally agreed that the motet with the text *Gaude felix Florentia* in the Vallicelliana manuscript was originally intended for Pope Leo X’s election in 1513; see e.g. discussion on the motet in Lowinsky, op. cit., pp. 175–177. Sherr reinforced and elaborated this hypothesis by demonstrating that the use of a cantus firmus and the number eleven used in the motet as a structural element might refer symbolically to Pope Leo X, see Richard Sherr, ‘The Medici coat of arms in a motet for Leo X’, *Early Music* 15 (1987), pp. 31–35. See also facsimile of the alto and bass parts (beginning of the first movement), where the part of the text with the words ‘*Leonem decimum*’ is visible, in: *Andreas De Silva: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. xxii. The texts of the two versions of the motet are given in Lowinsky, op. cit., pp. 201–202; see also *ibid.*, p. 175.
- 7 The musical and textual differences between the two versions of the motet are included in the modern edition of the work, in: *Andreas de Silva: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 65–82.
- 8 This description of the motet refers to its modern edition in: *Andreas de Silva: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 65–82.
- 9 The cantus firmus cannot be identified with any pre-existing melodies. It has been suggested that the composer may have written it himself. Sherr hypothesised that the shape of the cantus firmus might be associated with the shape of the Medici coat of arms or stemma. See R. Sherr, op. cit., p. 32.

phrases between voices and the repetition of the same phrase within one voice (e.g. bars 116–121 B, 134–139 S). Strict imitation usually concerns only a few initial notes. It is clear, nevertheless, that the melodic and rhythmic material of individual voices is mainly dependent on its exchange between voices. In two places, the full texture of the four voices moving simultaneously is interrupted by duo imitation: first in bars 153–167 and then in bars 174–183. These two places are separated by a seven-bar homorhythmic passage on the words ‘Gubernaturus enim illam piscatoris navim’. The contrast is additionally strengthened by the introduction of a different mensuration (♩₃). In the *tertia pars*, the composer returns to the six-voice texture; unlike the two previous *partes*, this one begins with all the voices moving homorhythmically. After three bars, some of the voices become more or less independent rhythmically; this is especially noticeable in the two upper voices. The distinct ending of the opening passage and a sort of break comes in bar 214, where the voices reach a cadence on *G*. The separation of this introductory part from the rest is probably caused by the fact that all the voices here present the text – *Salve pater sanctissime* – that is later repeated as a cantus firmus motto only in a tenor voice (it is repeated seven times throughout).

Table 1. The contents of VatS 38¹⁰

No.	Fols.	Composer	Name	vv.
1.	1v–8	Josquin des Prez	In principio erat Verbum	4
2.	8v–18	Josquin des Prez	In exitu Israel	4
3.	18v–25	Josquin des Prez	Qui habitat in adiutorio	4
4.	25v–29	Anonymous	Laudamus fortissimum Christi martyrem	5
5.	29v–31	Josquin des Prez	In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus	4
6.	31v–35	Firmin Lebel	Ave verum corpus	5
7.	35v–39	Melchor Robledo	Simile est regnum coelorum	5
8.	39v–40	Jean de la Fage	Partus et integritas	5
9.	40v–41	Jean Mouton	Per lignum salvi facti sumus	5
10.	41v–50	Josquin des Prez	Miserere mei Deus	5
11.	50v–52	Jean Mouton (Josquin?)	Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus	6
12.	52v–54	Jean Mouton	Benedicam Dominum in omni tempora	6
13.	54v–56	Jean Richafort	Veni sponsa Christi	5
14.	56v–60	Anonymous	Qui sunt isti	5
15.	60v–63	Philippe Verdelot	Si bona suscepimus	5

¹⁰ The list of the works in VatS 38 was adapted from Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae codices*, op. cit., pp. 76–79, and the CMME project online, <http://www.cmme.org/database/sources/157> (accessed 15 December 2016). Inconsistencies were found in both sources and corrected in the table. The spelling of composers' names was changed to agree with *The New Grove*. Also, in some cases where an attribution was found, anonymous motets were assigned to composers according to Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'A dying art: Canonic inscriptions and canonic techniques in the sixteenth-century Papal Chapel repertory', in: *Canons and canonic techniques, 14th and 16th centuries: Theory, practice, and reception history*, eds. Katalijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn, Leuven 2007, p. 352 and the CMME. See also http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Capp.Sist.38.

16.	63v–73	Josquin des Prez	Planxit autem David	4
17.	73v–76	Clemens non Papa	Me oportet minui	5
18.	76v–78	G.P. da Palestrina	Beatus Laurentius	5
19.	78v–82	Cristóbal de Morales	Pater noster–Ave Maria	5
20.	82v–87	Anonymous	Deus misereatur nostri	5
21.	87v–92	Pierre Moulu	Vulnerasti cor meum	5
22.	92v–97	Andreas de Silva	In te Domine speravi	5
23.	97v–101	Jacquet of Mantua	Aspice Domine	5
24.	101v–106	Jacquet of Mantua	In die tribulationis	5
25.	106v–110	Josquin des Prez	De profundis	5
26.	110v–114	Anonymous	O panem vere sacrum	6
27.	114v–122	[Costanzo Festa?]	Gaude felix ecclesia	6
28.	122v–126	[Costanzo Festa?]	O altitudo divitiarum	6
29.	126v–129	Anonymous	Simile est regnum coelorum	4
30.	129v–133	[Josquin des Prez?]	Inter natos mulierum	6
31.	133v–137	Philippe Verdelot	Congregati sunt inimici	6
32.	137v–141	Philippe Verdelot	Attende Domine ad me	6
33.	141v–144	[Philippe Verdelot]	Sancta Maria Virgo Virginum	6
34.	144v–146	[Adrian Willaert]	Beatus Laurentius	6
35.	146v–148	Andreas de Silva	Cruce, clavis coronae spinarum	6
36.	148v–151	Jean Maillard	Fratres mei elongaverunt se a me	6
37.	151v–152	Jean Mouton	Salva nos Domine	6
38.	152v–155	G.P. da Palestrina	Estote fortes in bello	6
39.	155v–159	Firmin Lebel	Puer natus est nobis	6

The ascription of *Gaude felix Florentia* to Andreas de Silva in the Vallicelliana manuscript might raise only one doubt: since the manuscript was compiled around 1530 and contains mainly works related to the latest historical events, why was this motet, composed in 1513 for Leo's election, inserted in this manuscript several years after the pope's death in 1521? Yet this obstacle is by no means insurmountable: according to Lowinsky, 'the authenticity of *Gaude felix Florentia* cannot be doubted on such grounds as that the attribution is made in a manuscript written ca. 1530, that is, at a time when Leo X was already nine years dead and seventeen years after his election. Nor is this a very small time span indeed, particularly by sixteenth-century standards'.¹¹ Moreover, if such criteria against the attribution of the motet were accepted, then we would need to reconsider the authorship of another motet – *Cruce, clavis coronae spinarum* (6vv).¹² Ascribed to Andreas de Silva in VatS 38 (fols. 149v–151r), this motet appears in

11 *The Medici Codex of 1518: A choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky, vols. 1–3, Chicago 1968, see vol. 1, p. 142, fn. 32.

12 Besides *Gaude felix ecclesia* and *Cruce, clavis coronae spinarum*, there is one more work by de Silva in this manuscript, the motet *In te, Domine, speravi* (5 vv.), but with concordance in the manuscript PadBC A 17 (Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS A 17).

the manuscript as a *unicum*, and around thirty years after de Silva's death.¹³ In any case, however, the problem lies not with Llorens's attribution of the motet *Gaude felix ecclesia* – this now seems satisfactorily solved in favour of de Silva – but with his attribution of the next motet in VatS 38, *O altitudo divitiarum* (fols. 122v–126r) to Festa. In other words, does the disproof of one hypothesis put forward by Llorens cast serious doubt on his other hypothesis? The possibility that *O altitudo divitiarum* (also an anonymous work in the manuscript) may be by Festa clearly needs to be re-examined.

Who then was the composer of *O altitudo divitiarum*? What influences on the work can be traced? Are there any works that might share some similarities with *O altitudo divitiarum*? Since the motet *Gaude felix ecclesie* was composed by de Silva and since the two motets appear next to each other in the manuscript VatS 38, one may be tempted to suggest that *O altitudo divitiarum* is by the same composer. A large span of time between Andreas de Silva's activity (he probably died in the late 1520s) and the compilation of VatS 38 does not seem to stand against his possible authorship of *O altitudo divitiarum*. It was mentioned before that de Silva's motet *Crux clavis corone spinarum* (146v–148r) in VatS 38 appears there as a *unicum*, and another motet of his in the manuscript, the five-voice *In te, Domine, speravi* (fols. 95v–100r), has its concordances with the manuscript PadBC A17 (fols. 133v–135r), produced in Padua in 1522. Also, de Silva's *Gaude felix Florentia*, written for the election of Leo X in 1513, first appears in the manuscript RomeV 35–40 ('Vallicelliana manuscript'), probably copied around 1530–31, and it was later included in VatS 38 with a different text.

In de Silva's output, there are eight five-voice and four six-voice motets. Some of these motets are bi-textual (see the list of motets in Table 2).

Table 2. Five and Six-Part Motets by Andreas de Silva

Motet Name	Cantus firmus	Number of Voices
Ave regina caelorum (I)		5 vv.
Ave regina caelorum (II)		5vv.
Alma Redemptoris mater		5vv.
In te, Domine speravi	In te, Domine, speravi non confundar in aeternum	5vv.
Nigra sum, sed formosa	Nigra sum, sed formosa	5vv.

13 It can be only supposed that de Silva was still alive after *c.* 1522, as the payment record from the Duke of Mantua indicates; extant sources suggest that he was still alive and in Italy at the end of the decade. See Winfried Kirsch, 'De Silva, Andreas', in: *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie, London 2001, vol. 7, pp. 238–239. The motet *Crux, clavis corone spinarum* does not appear in the composer's *Opera omnia*, possibly because *The New Grove* indicates that the motet is incomplete.

Omnis puchritudo Domini	Elevatis minibus, ferebatur in caelum et benedixit eis. Alleluia	5vv.
Puer natus est nobis	Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. Alleluia	5vv.
Surrexit Pastor bonus		5vv.
Crux clavis coronae spinarum		6vv.
Gaude felix Florentia (Gaude felix ecclesia)	Gaude felix Florentia (Gaude felix ecclesia)	6vv.
Illumina oculos meos		6vv.
Regina caeli	Antiphon Regina caeli	6vv.

From Table 2, it may be seen that de Silva was familiar with five- and six-voice texture and the use of a different-texted cantus firmus. In his motets *In te Domine speravi*, *Omnis pulchritudo Domini* and *Gaude felix Florentia*, the first entry of a cantus firmus is preceded by a point of imitation by the other voices; *Gaude felix Florentia* begins with a long imitative duo between two upper voices. Yet this cannot be interpreted as a characteristic exclusively associated with de Silva's music, because, as we shall see later, the anticipation of the entry of a cantus firmus by an imitative duo or a point of imitation involving other voices is quite common in the music of the first half of the sixteenth century: it appears in numerous motets and can be deemed typical of many of the axial motets with differently-texted cantus firmus. For example, Verdelot's motet *Congregati sunt* has a cantus firmus based on the antiphon/prayer *Da pacem Domine*, the entry of which (bar 23) is preceded by a point of imitation involving five other voices (bars 1–22).¹⁴ Similarly, Verdelot's setting of the psalm *In te, Domine, speravi*, probably inspired (like some other settings of this psalm) by Savonarola's meditations, is constructed in almost the same way: the entry of a cantus firmus in a tenor with the words *Divitias et pauper tuam* (bar 28; in the *secunda pars*, *Divitias et paupertates ne dederis mihi, Sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria*) is introduced by a four-voice imitation. One of many other composers to employ such constructional means was Costanzo Festa (e.g. in his motets *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Florentia*, *Exaltabo te*, *Deus venerunt gentes* and *Vidi speciosam*). What is important in the context of *O altitudo divitiarum* is that de Silva never varies mensuration signs between a cantus firmus (of a tenor) and the remaining voices; all his motets for five and six voices use cut-C mensuration

¹⁴ For its edition, see *Philippe Verdelot: Opera omnia*, ed. Anne-Marie Bragard, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology, 1966–79, vol. 2, pp. 88–94, and *Adrian Willaert: Opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology 1950, vol. 4, pp. 111–117.

in the *prima pars*. In this respect, then, *O altitudo divitiarum* would be a unique work in de Silva's output.

The VatS 38 *O altitudo divitiarum* does not seem to have been the first work based on the text from Romans, as there are two other motets with the text *O altitudo divitiarum* that appear to have been written before the compilation of VatS 38. The four-voice motet attributed to Dominique Phinot (c. 1510–c. 1556) appears in three prints (RISM 1538⁵, RISM 1540⁶ and RISM 1555¹¹); in one further source – RISM 1535⁵ – it is ascribed to Rogier Pathie (c. 1510–after 1564).¹⁵ The other work, a five-voice motet by Cipriano de Rore, was published in Gardane's *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore* of 1549 (RISM 1549⁸).¹⁶ The text of these motets is derived from Romans, 11:33–36 (Epistle for Trinity Sunday), and goes as follows:¹⁷

O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae,
et scientiae Dei:
quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus
et investigabiles viae ejus.

Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini?
Aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?
Aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei?

Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum,
et in ipso sunt omnia:
ipsi honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

O the depth of the riches of the wisdom
and of the knowledge of God
How incomprehensible are his judgments,
and how unsearchable his ways!
For who hath known the mind of the Lord?
Or who hath been his counsellor?
Or who hath first given to him,
and recompense shall be made him?
For of him, and by him,
and in him, are all things:
To him be honour and glory, for ages of ages.
Amen.

The text of the VatS 38 motet is shorter, as the composer only used the first part of the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11:33–34). The Tenor II carries a cantus firmus derived from the antiphon *Da pacem*. In the first part, the verse 'Da pacem

15 For a modern edition of this motet, see *Treize livres de Motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, eds. Albert Smijers and A. Tillman Merritt, Paris–Monaco 1934–66, vol. 12, pp. 1–6. On the attribution of this motet to Phinot, see Glenda G. Thompson, 'Music in the court records of Mary of Hungary', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), pp. 132–173 at 147 and 162, fn. 94.

16 For a modern edition of this motet, see *Cipriano de Rore: Opera omnia*, ed. Bernhard Meier, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology 1959–77, vol. 1, pp. 122–127. In the late sixteenth-century manuscript ParisBNC 851, there is also a setting of the same text by Rore but for four voices (fols. 53–54). I did not manage to determine if this is a different work (it is not listed in *The New Grove*) or an arrangement of the setting for five voices, or else if the manuscript ParisBNC 851 is incomplete; see <http://www.cmmme.org/database/sources/156> (accessed 15 December 2016). The other settings of the text are by Francisco Guerrero (1528–99), Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612), Matthias Hermann, Orlando di Lasso (1532–94), Claudio Merulo (1533–1604), Ascanio Trombetti (1544–90), Alexander Utendal (b. 1530–40; d. 1581), Girolamo Vespa (c. 1540–after 1596), Matthias Werrecore (d. after 1574) and Giaches de Wert (1535?–96).

17 *Liber Usualis*, p. 910. As I was unable to see some of the other motets with this text by the composers listed in fn. 266, I do not know if they are based on exactly the same text.

Domine in diebus nostris' is repeated twice. In the second part, the rest of the text appears once, with a repetition of the verse 'nisi tu Deus noster' at the end of the composition.

The complete text goes as follows:

I.
O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae, et scientiae Dei:
quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus
et investigabiles viae eius.

II.
Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini?
Aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?

Cantus firmus:
Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris
quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis
nisi tu Deus noster.

I.
O the depth of the riches of the wisdom
and of the knowledge of God
How incomprehensible are his judgments,
and how unsearchable his ways!

II.
For who hath known the mind of the Lord?
Or who hath been his counselor?

Cantus firmus:
Give peace, O Lord, in our time
Because there is no one else who will fight for
us if not You, our God.

Let us look more closely at the motet. The entry of a cantus firmus (bar 14 TII) is preceded by a point of imitation among four voices (S, A, TI, BI). The shape of the melodic phrase shared by these four voices is pretty conspicuous; it begins with a third leap up and a return to the initial note, after which there is a fifth leap up to *d*" followed by a descending phrase, moving in second steps down to *d*'. This phrase reminds one of the opening phrases from Gaspar van Weerbeke's motet *Adonay sanctissime*, first published in Petrucci's *Motetti A numero trentatre* (Venice 1502, fols. 7v–8r).¹⁸

Ex. 1. Costanzo Festa (?), *O altitudo divitiarum* (bars 1–10).

Prima Pars

O al - ti - tu - do di - vi - ti - a -

- - - rum, di - vi - ti - a

¹⁸ It also appears in FlorBN Panc. 27 (early sixteenth century), fols. 70v–71r; SGalls 463 (c. 1540), fols. 35v; SGalls 530 fols. 83v–84r. For a modern edition, see *Motetti A numero trentatre* (Venice, 1502), ed. Richard Sherr, New York 1991, vol. 1, pp. 21–26.

Ex. 2. Gaspar van Weerbecke, *Adonay sanctissime* (bars 1–9).



This similarity of the beginning of *O altitudo divitiarum* to Weerbecke's *Adonay sanctissime* is curious: it is too precise, I think, to be ignored or dismissed as coincidental, yet there is no obvious connection between the motet texts. It may simply be that the author of *O altitudo divitiarum* (whoever he may be) was familiar with Weerbecke's motet from the popular Petrucci print and unconsciously imitated it; if the imitation is conscious, its meaning is hard to discern.

The beginning of the *secunda pars* employs almost the same schematic procedure as the *prima pars*. Before the cantus firmus comes in (bars 90), four voices (A, S, TI, BI) take part in imitation of a phrase on the words *Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini*. The sequence of entries of individual voices participating in the imitation is changed, as the opening phrase is introduced by an alto – unlike in the *prima pars* – and then taken over by the top voice.

The most striking feature of the motet is the inclusion of a cantus firmus with the text of the antiphon *Da pacem Domine*. The presentation of a tenor in long notes, in different mensuration, in the middle of the texture suggests that the work follows an old tradition of writing axial motets. The tenor is presented in the first part in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*, while the remaining voices are written in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta*. In the second part, all the voices, including the tenor carrying the cantus firmus, are written in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. The use of different mensurations in various voices – 3, 2 in the tenor against 2, 2 in the other voices – was common in the masses and motets of earlier Flemish composers.¹⁹ Moreover, the use of different mensurations in the cantus firmus in two different parts of the motet seems to have been uncommon around the time when the manuscript VatS 38 was compiled.²⁰ For example, none of the

19 Willi Apel, *The notation of polyphonic music, 900–1600*, Cambridge MA 1961, p. 101.

20 It is important to note, however, that in many works, including by Festa, such as *Ave nobilissima creatura* and *Vidi speciosam*, a change to the mensuration of a cantus firmus is introduced towards the end of the second part, or in one-part motets toward the end of the work, e.g. in *Jesu Nazarene*, *Super flumina Babylonis* and *Inclitae sanctae virginis Catharinae*.

fifteen cantus firmus motets by Lasso examined by James Haar, all probably written after 1550, has an alteration of the mensuration in the cantus firmus; moreover, all the voices, including the voice carrying the cantus firmus, conform to the same mensuration. One of the motets with a different mensuration of the cantus firmus in each of the two parts, composed around the time when VatS 38 was compiled, is Cipriano de Rore's *Quis tuos presul – Quin tenes legum* (6 vv.). Published in *Dialogo della musica* of 1544 (RISM 1544²²), this motet was dedicated to Cristoforo Madruzzo, Cardinal of Trent, with whom Rore may have been acquainted, as the motet refers to Madruzzo who was to receive the Cardinal's hat.²¹

It is also possible that the use of a cantus firmus written in different mensuration (*tempus perfectum* in the case of *O altitudo divitiarum*) has a symbolic meaning. I shall demonstrate later that by means of perfect mensuration in a voice carrying a cantus firmus a composer may have intended to refer to the dogma of the Trinity; it should be remembered that the main motet text – *O altitudo divitiarum* – is a part of the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11:33–34). I shall also suggest that the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* may have been composed for the peace talks between Pope Paul III, Emperor Charles V and the French King Francis I at Nice, which lasted from 15 May to 20 June 1538. The Truce of Nice ultimately ended a war of almost three years between the emperor and the French king.²² The war began after Francesco Maria Sforza's heirless death on 1 November 1535, which reopened the troublesome question of Milan. As a result, Francis demanded Milan for his second son, Henry, Duke of Orléans; but Charles preferred to offer Milan to the king's third son, the Duke of Angoulême. Meanwhile, French troops invaded Italy and, together with their Swiss allies, quickly overran Savoy and seized Turin, capital of Piedmont, in February 1536. Yet because Duke Charles III of Savoy-Piedmont was the emperor's brother-in-law, as their wives were daughters of Portugal's John III, Charles took Francis's action as an affront, and in response the imperial armies invaded Provence. Charles was planning to capture well-fortified Avignon, but at some point his troops were lacking food and were getting sick, so he decided to withdraw. Meanwhile, the idea of a combined attack against the Turks was becoming more necessary and real. The announcement of a Holy League against the Ottomans on 8 February 1538, involving Venice, the pope and the Habsburg brothers, forced Francis to participate in the peace talks in Nice. Because Charles and Francis hated each other and did not want to sit in the same room together, the negotiations were carried out by Pope Paul III, who shuttled between them. Eventually, the pope convinced both to sign a ten-year truce on 18 June 1538.

21 The motet was probably composed after 1542, when it was revealed that the bishop Madruzzo was elected a cardinal. See *Cipriano de Rore: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. xi; for an edition of the motet, see pp. 176–184.

22 The following paragraph is largely based on James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, impresario of war: Campaign strategy, international finance, and domestic politics*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 158–166, and R.J. Knecht, *Francis I*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 274–92.

It is known that Paul III brought to Nice a group of musicians – singers and instrumentalists. As Robert Stevenson put it, ‘convinced that music might somehow soothe the principals to a peace treaty, the pope brought along twenty of his own singers: all richly garbed in new velvet cassocks and silk surplices (the cost of these sumptuous garments having been paid for out of his private discretionary funds). En route to the conference he added several instrumentalists – trombonists from Bologna, violinists from Milan, and trumpeters, drummers, and bombard players from Genoa’.²³ It is well known that Cristóbal de Morales was among the musicians accompanying the pope on his trip to Nice, and one of Morales’s works, his six-voice motet in two movements *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, was specifically written for the peace celebrations in Nice in 1538.²⁴ Published in Moderne’s *Quintus liber mottetorum ad quinque, et sex, et septem vocum* of 1542 (RISM 1542⁵) and Scotto’s *Il primo libro de motetti a sei voce...* of 1549 (RISM 1549³), this motet might be counted among Morales’s most popular compositions. Besides the printing of vocal parts, the motet was also arranged for two vihuelas by Enríquez de Valderrábano (pub. Valladolid, 1547) and later for one vihuela by Fuenllana (pub. Seville, 1554).²⁵ Apparently its popularity lasted until 1576, since Victoria then borrowed extensively from Morales’s *Jubilate Deo* for his own six-voice *Gaudeamus Mass*.²⁶ The main text of Morales’s motet, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*, contains the names Paulus, Carolus and Franciscus, indicating the occasion for which it was intended: the peace treaty in Nice in 1538; all three figures took part in the peace talks. Tenor I of the motet carries a six-note cantus firmus/motto based on the word *Gaudeamus* (the melody is derived from the plainsong incipit); this motto is repeated eighteen times throughout the work: eight times in the *prima pars* and ten times in the *secunda pars*. Stevenson seems correct in suggesting that Morales must have been fond of this unifying device, since he employed it in his most important works: *Veni Domine et noli tardare*, *Gaude et laetare Ferrariensis civitas*, *Tu es Petrus* and *Emendemus in melius*.²⁷ In addition to these, there are two other works that use ostinato: *Exaltata est Sancta Dei Genitrix* and *Virgo Maria*.²⁸ The text of the motet *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* reads as follows:

23 Robert Stevenson, *Spanish cathedral music in the golden age*, Westport, CT 1976, p. 18.

24 For a modern edition of Morales’s motet, see *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, ed. Higinio Anglés, [Rome] Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952-, vol. 13, pp. 184–191.

25 For these two instrumental publications, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental music printed before 1600: A bibliography*, Cambridge, MA 1965, pp. 99–104, esp. 102, and pp. 153–59, esp. 156.

26 R. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

27 Ibid., p. 19.

28 The last work, *Virgo Maria*, is preserved only in Fuenllana’s arrangement for vihuela published in *Orphenica lyra* of 1554 in Seville. Its modern edition is in *Cristóbal de Morales: Opera omnia*, op. cit., vol. 34, pp. 117–126.

I.
 Jubilate Deo, omnis terra
 cantate omnes, jubilate et psalite
 quoniam suadente Paulo,
 Carolus et Franciscus
 Principes terrae convenerunt in unum
 et pax de caelo descendit.

II.
 O felix aetas, o felix Paule, o vos felices Principes
 qui christiano populo pacem tradidistis.
 Vivat Paulus, Vivat Carolus, Vivat Franciscus
 Vivant, vivant simul,
 et pacem nobis donent in aeternum.

I.
 Sing joyfully to God, all the earth
 sing you all, sing joyfully and make music
 for persuaded by Paul, Charles and Francis,
 the princes of the world
 have met and agreed, and peace has come
 down from heavens.

II.
 O happy age, o happy Paul
 O you happy princes, who have given peace
 to the Christian people. Long life to Paul,
 long life to Charles, Long life to Francis,
 long may they all live and may they give us
 peace for eternity.

It is clear that the text was written for that special occasion. The first verse – *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra* – implies that the text could have been at least inspired by one of two psalm texts – Psalm 65 or 99 – as both begin with *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra* (however, the rest of the motet text does not match either of the psalms). According to the *Liber Usualis*, the text of Psalm 65 with the first verse *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra* was probably sung on 12 May 1538 (as it is prescribed for the introit for the Third Sunday after Easter). So given that the meeting between Pope, Charles V and Francis I began on 15 May 1538, I suggest that Morales may have been inspired by the psalm text that was performed just three days before the meeting. Following this lead, one may note that the use of the text *O altitudo divitiarum* can also be placed within the period of the peace talks. Prescribed for the reading for Trinity Sunday (Romans, 11:33–34), which in 1538 was on 16 June, and so two days before the Truce of Nice was concluded (18 June), the motet would have been perfectly suited to the celebration of the Truce. Of course, the use of the text prescribed for Trinity Sunday may be regarded as accidental, but its combination with a cantus firmus *Da pacem Domine* should be considered and interpreted as an important clue. Also, the use of a *tempus perfectum* mensuration for a cantus firmus, not very common at the time, may be seen as planned and intended for some symbolic purposes. In the context of the Nice negotiations, not only may it be interpreted as a musical representation of the dogma ‘one God in three Persons’;²⁹ as it is used exclusively for a cantus firmus *Da pacem*, it may symbolically refer to the three persons participating in the meeting: Paul III, Charles V and Francis I.

29 Willem Elders says that ‘the number three can be expressed in the rhythmic movement of the composition, for example by means of perfect mensuration or *proportio sesquialtera*’. See Elders, ‘Symbolism in the sacred music of Josquin’, in: *The Josquin companion*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford 2000, p. 534.

Since Morales, who was just a member of the papal chapel, wrote a monumental motet for this important and significant event, it is hard to imagine that such a prominent papal composer and member of the Cappella Sistina as Costanzo Festa, who composed at least a few occasional works, would not have been present in Nice. Stevenson points out that later, on 4 March 1543, Festa was not among the twenty-two able-bodied singers who set out for the encounter between the pope and Charles V. Since the emphasis is put on Festa's absence from the meeting of 1543, one may suppose that he may have taken part in the pope's previous travels. In a study on Festa's motet *Ecce advenit dominator*, which may have been composed for the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530, Klaus Pietschmann states that Festa 'can be placed in Bologna in the service of the pope by the end of 1529, and it can be assumed that he not only took an active role in the coronation ceremony [of Charles V], but was also intimately involved in its preparations'.³⁰ One may gain the impression that Festa was very often a member of the pope's entourage.

Interestingly, a characteristic of the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* already discussed here – the use of a C mensuration in the first movement, unusual in the works of most composers of the post-Josquin generation – can be found in some of Festa's works, including *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Ecce advenit dominator*, *Video in hac crucis* and *Vidi speciosam*. All but *Vidi speciosam* may be cautiously dated to around the 1530s.

Table 3. Costanzo Festa's motets with C mensuration in the first movement and their sources

<i>Deus venerunt gentes</i> (5 vv.)	RomeV 35-40, VatS 20
<i>Ecce advenit dominator</i> (6 vv.)	VatS 20
<i>Video in hac crucis ara</i> (4 vv.)	VatS 20
<i>Vidi speciosam</i> (6 vv.)	PadBC A17, VatS 20

Two of the manuscripts in the table – RomeV 35-40 and VatS 20 – were copied between 1530 and 1540; the former *c.* 1530–31, the latter around 1539. The manuscript PadBC A17 was copied in Padua around 1522. It is well known that the first work, the motet *Deus venerunt gentes*, was probably composed – as Lowinsky suggests – to mark the Sack of Rome in 1527; the next work – *Ecce advenit dominator*, may have been intended – as Pietschmann proposes – for the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna in 1530; *Video in hac crucis*, a work included in VatS 20, may be considered to have been composed around the 1530s, but its style suggests an early work, composed *c.* 1520.³¹ The last of the four motets, *Vidi speciosam*, must have

30 Klaus Pietschmann, 'A motet by Costanzo Festa for the coronation of Charles V', *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002), pp. 319–54, at 325.

31 I have noted some general similarities between this motet and Mouton's *Domine, salvum fac regem*

been composed before 1522, as that is the compilation date of the Paduan manuscript. The dissemination of Festa's four works with C mensuration in the first movement does not help much to establish at least an approximate date for the motet *O altitudo divitiarum*. The case of *Vidi speciosam* shows that Festa employed this mensuration even before 1520.

What conclusions about *O altitudo divitiarum* may be drawn from all this? The picture emerging is that the motet could be the work of Costanzo Festa and may have been composed by him for the Nice peace talks in 1538; the work possesses some elements and compositional features that can be found in motets transmitted under Festa's name: the use of a differently-texted cantus firmus, the use of a C mensuration in the first movement in some of his motets, the use of an opening imitative duo and his practice of writing ceremonial compositions celebrating important events (e.g. *Super flumina Babylonis*, *Ecce advenit dominator*, *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Exaltabo te*, *Florentia*). Interestingly enough, if we assume that the motet was indeed composed for the Nice negotiations, I would consider – on stylistic grounds – that Festa was the only composer who could have musically contributed to the talks (besides Morales).³² Are there any other possible conclusions? Yes, probably. We are dealing with a motet transmitted and ascribed to Festa in a single late source. The ascription by Llorens does not seem to be secure, since his other attribution, of *Gaude felix ecclesia* (*Gaude felix Florentia*), appears to have been mistaken. One may easily argue that since there is no evidence providing a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the motet, and since the *terminus ante quem* is the Vatican manuscript from 1550–63, the motet *O altitudo divitiarum* could have been easily composed much earlier, for a different occasion (not for the Nice treaty), and by an unknown composer. The case of de Silva's two works – *In te, Domine, speravi* and *Gaude felix Florentia* – shows that although inserted in the late manuscript VatS 38 they were actually composed much earlier, the former at least in the 1520s (Silva died probably

(4 vv.) first published in Antico's *Motetti novi libro tertio*, no. 11 (RISM 1520²) and later in Glareanus's *Dodecachordon* of 1547 (RISM 1547¹). The opening of Festa's work is to some extent analogous to the opening of Mouton's motet. For a modern edition of Mouton's work, see *The Medici Codex*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 142–150.

32 At the time of the Nice talks, Palestrina (born 1525–26) was too young to compose a motet for such an important event. Nicolas Gombert was a singer in Emperor Charles V's court chapel from 1526, *maitre des enfants* from 1529, accompanied the emperor on his trips (Spain, Italy, Austria and Germany) and wrote several works for special occasions, but he avoids cantus firmus, ostinato and double texts. To my knowledge, the only work by Gombert with a double text is *Musae Jovis*, his tribute to Josquin, where he uses *Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis* as a cantus firmus in long notes, see George Nugent and Eric Jas, 'Gombert, Nicolas', in: *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd ed, ed. Stanley Sadie, London 2001, vol. 10 p. 120. A modern transcription of *Musae Jovis* is given in *Nicolas Gombert: Opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, [Rome] American Institute of Musicology vol. 9, 1974, pp. 119–126. In addition, Gombert does not use C mensuration in the first movement in any of his motets, and his works almost never appear in both Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia manuscripts. I managed to find only one motet by Gombert in the manuscript VatG XII.4: his *Sancta et immaculate* (4 vv.).

in the late 1520s) and the latter in 1513 for the coronation of Pope Leo X. I think that *O altitudo divitiarum* could easily have been composed even as early as around the time of Leo X's pontificate. The combination of the text from Romans and the prayer *Da pacem* reminds one to some extent of Heinrich Isaac's motet *Optime pastor / Da pacem Domine / Sacerdos et pontifex*, written to celebrate the meeting between Maximilian I's chancellor, Cardinal Lang, and Pope Leo X in December 1513.³³ Yet if one assumes that *O altitudo divitiarum* is by Festa, why was the motet not copied into at least one of the two manuscripts, RomeV 35-40 and VatS 20? The former is a very important source of ceremonial works written, in general, not long before 1530; the latter is believed to have been entirely dedicated to Festa himself. The fact that this motet does not appear in VatS 20 makes all we have said so far even more complicated, because it neither proves Festa's authorship nor supports the idea that the work was composed for the Nice talks of 1538 (remember the manuscript was compiled around 1539).³⁴ However, I think that although all these suggestions, hypotheses and questions seem inconclusive, they are at the same time inescapable; taken out of the Vatican manuscript and shown in a broad stylistic and historical context, the motet *O altitudo divitiarum*, whether written by Festa or not, seems to be an interesting example of the Renaissance bi-textual ceremonial motet.

33 For a general description of the motet, see Stephanie E. Schlager, 'The *Liber selectarum cantionum* and the 'German Josquin Renaissance'', *Journal of Musicology* 29 (2002), pp. 564–615, at 574–575. The motet text and its English translation are given in liner notes accompanying a recording of *Heinrich Isaac, Missa de Apostolis*, The Tallis Scholars, directed by Peter Philips, Gimmel Records CDGIM 023. For its modern edition, see *Vier Staatsmotetten des 16. Jahrhunderts von Heinrich Isaac, Antoine Brubier, Jachet de Mantua, Johannes de Cleve*, ed. Albert Dunning, *Das Chorwerk* 120 (1977), pp. 1–22.

34 However, the reason this motet was not included in VatS 20 may be that Festa's intention was to provide Parvus with 'perfect' copies of his motets. As Brauner observed, some of the motets in VatS 20 have concordances in the earlier manuscript VatG XII. 4 (copied c. 1536). The differences in readings between VatG XII.4 and VatS 20 motets in some cases seem to be extensive; see Mitchell P. Brauner, 'Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Cappella Giulia', *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984), pp. 287–311, at 305. It is possible that the copy of *O altitudo divitiarum*, which I suggest was written for the Nice peace talks in 1538, very close to the time when the manuscript started to be compiled, was not good enough to be included in VatS 20 and Festa did not want to rush with its inclusion in the manuscript.

MOTET COSTANZA FESTY (?) *O ALTITUDO DIVITIARUM*:
NOWE SUGESTIE DOTYCZĄCE JEGO KONTEKSTU ŹRÓDŁOWEGO,
ATRYBUCJI I PRZEZNACZENIA

W rękopisie VatS 38, sporządzonym w l. 1550–63, znajdują się dwa anonimowe motety – *Gaude felix ecclesie* (ff. 114v–122r) i *O altitudo divitiarum* (ff. 122v–126r). Joseph Llorens w swoim katalogu rękopisów muzycznych kapeli sykstyńskiej uznał je za kompozycje Costanza Festy (c. 1490–1545) i obydwa zamieścił w jego *Opera omnia*. Llorens pominął jednak fakt, że pierwszy z utworów – z tekstem *Gaude felix Florentia* i przypisany Andreasowi de Silva (zm. ok. 1530) – został prawdopodobnie skomponowany z okazji wyboru papieża Leona X w 1513 r. i znajduje się w rękopisie RomeV 35–40 (rękopis Vallicelliana). Z drugiej strony, analiza motetu *O altitudo divitiarum*, jego cechy stylistyczne, konteksty liturgiczny i historyczny skłoniły mnie do postawienia hipotezy, że motet – jeśli faktycznie Festy – być może został skomponowany na uroczystości towarzyszące podpisaniu traktatu pokojowego w Nicei w 1538 r. z udziałem papieża Pawła III, cesarza Karola V i francuskiego króla Franciszka I. Byłaby to zatem druga – obok powszechnie znanego szczęśliwego motetu Cristóbal de Moralesa *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* – kompozycja skomponowana na tę właśnie szczególną okoliczność.

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