

REVISITING THE WORKSHOP OF HOWARD MAYER BROWN [Josquin's] *Obsecro te domina* and the Context of Arrangement

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WHETHER HE WAS EDITING a Florentine chansonnier, publishing images of *trecento* angel musicians, or provoking cross-Atlantic furor for his cheeky observations about the 'English a cappella heresy', Howard Mayer Brown was convinced that performers held the secrets to understanding Renaissance music. Whether or not they offered conclusive answers, Brown felt that players – particularly instrumentalists – could tell us much about fundamental issues in Renaissance music, since performance was essentially a large repertory of *solutions*. Brown knew he had the answers; now, the task was simply to ask the right questions. 'My conclusions should suggest to musicologists', he wrote in his 1991 keynote address from Tours,

[...] that we should learn what we can about sixteenth-century music in general from the practices of instrumentalists as well as from the witness of singers and composers. We should, in short, begin to recognize more fully the fact that instrumentalists played a central role in the history of sixteenth-century

* A shorter version of this article was given at a session of the Sixty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Baltimore, Maryland, 1996, that was devoted to the work of Howard Mayer Brown. In writing this article, I had in mind not only the close friendship and mutual interests between Jean-Michel Vaccaro and H.M. Brown, but also Howard's many visits to the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours. This article 'remembers' the last of those occasions: the celebration of Howard's sixty-second and final birthday at Jean-Michel and Nathalie Vaccaro's house at Rochecorbon, Vouvray, 13 April 1992.

music; they did not merely function as a diverting peripheral phenomenon in opposition to the main action... lutenists and harpsichordists should understand that they should begin to teach us how to listen to sixteenth-century motets, madrigals and chansons arranged for instrumental ensemble or solo instruments [...]¹

Disagreeing with the conventional wisdom shared by most of the Renaissance musicologists of his generation, Brown argued that there were indeed common procedures among instrumentalists, singers, composers and theorists, for whom, in his opinion, musicology had regrettably mapped out separate itineraries. He believed that more serious study of how players played and what sources they used would raise the tough questions that we continue to grapple with today. That is, *how* should we be writing histories and making editions and from *whose* perspective should our histories originate? Throughout his career, Brown voiced his concern that modern editions of Renaissance polyphony have provided us with only one of many possibilities for performance. He knew that even a cursory look at the enormous repertory of intabulated arrangements of vocal music would show that more than one solution to performing a 'fixed' text was not only possible, but inevitable.

It was Brown's indispensable bibliography of instrumental sources² that first revealed the vast size of this repertory, listing hundreds of intabulations from every vocal genre, including frottola, chanson, madrigal, motet, Mass, villancico and canzonetta. The variety of approaches to intabulation is in itself remarkable. Sometimes a vocal model was arranged for voice and lute, as in Willaert's arrangements of Verdelot's madrigals (BrownI 1536_g), or if it was a particularly large work, it could appear as an intabulation for two instruments in which one of the players also sings one of the parts, which is a type that we will encounter later on in this study. Other solutions were possible as well: Vincenzo Galilei, basing his knowledge on the practices of the great Renaissance *improvisatori*, recommended singing the bass line of the vocal model while intabulating the other parts,³ a 'hybrid' practice that is also used in the large Florentine manuscript *Cavalcanti*.⁴ In all of these cases, intabulations transform multi-voiced vocal music into accompanied lute song, and this technique was crucial in the overall development of accompanied monody.⁵

1 Howard Mayer BROWN, 'The Instrumentalist's Repertory in the Sixteenth Century', in Jean-Michel VACCARO (ed.), *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1995), p. 32.

2 BrownI.

3 See Claude PALISCA, 'Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Solo Lute', in Gustave REESE and Robert J. SNOW (ed.), *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday* (Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 207-32.

4 See Victor COELHO, 'Raffaello Cavalcanti's Lutebook (1590) and the Ideal of Singing and Playing', in VACCARO (ed.), *Le concert des voix et des instruments...*, op. cit., pp. 423-42.

5 See Kevin MASON, 'Per cantare e sonare: Accompanying Italian Lute Song at the End of the Sixteenth Century', in COELHO (ed.), *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 72-107.

The most common species of intabulation, however, is the purely instrumental variety, in which the parts of a vocal model are re-notated in tablature for solo lute or vihuela. In the earliest lute books published by Petrucci (BrownI 1507₁, 1508₂), intabulations mostly of chansons and frottole make up the bulk of the contents, followed by ricercars and/or dances in that order. In France, most of the intabulations printed by Attaignant (BrownI 1529₃) were chansons by Sermisy and his contemporaries and by the 1530s in Italy, motets by Josquin and Compère began to be arranged for lute. In Spain, Luys de Narváez intabulated sections of five masses in his vihuela book (BrownI 1538₁), which initiated an important Spanish tradition for intabulating music of Josquin that reaches its culmination with the eight *complete* Josquin masses arranged for vihuela by Diego Pisador (BrownI 1552₇). Throughout most of the sixteenth century, intabulations still receive priority over so-called 'abstract' instrumental music such as fantasias and dances. Since intabulations are more common in prints rather than manuscripts, they were important in the overall marketing and distribution of printed lute and vihuela books. As Jane Bernstein has shown, the lute tablatures issued by the printer Girolamo Scotto were intended for the university market of Padua (BrownI 1546₂, 1546₁₅₋₁₆) thus saturating a foreign student body with an international intabulated repertory of chansons, madrigals, mass movements and motets by such composers as Mouton, Gombert, Willaert, Arcadelt and Rore, among many others.⁶ If Galilei's claim that he intabulated more than 14 000 works for his treatise on counterpoint is any indication (or is even only partially true), the main activity of sixteenth-century lutenists and vihuelists consisted of intabulating vocal music for performance, study and composition, not playing the pavan.

As musical descendants from vocal music, intabulations were accorded a place of distinction over abstract instrumental works, adding legitimacy to printed books of lute and vihuela music. They allowed the player to present himself as consummate musician and helped raise the status of the lutenist during the sixteenth century to the venerable title of *musico*, as opposed to a mere *pulsatore* – the term sometimes given to lutenists in sixteenth-century documents. The treatises devoted to the art of intabulation by Adrian Le Roy (BrownI 1574₂), Vincenzo Galilei (BrownI 1568₂/1584₂) and Pier Francesco Valentini (Ms Rome, ca. 1636-40) confirm the importance of this exercise as a part of musical pedagogy and leave no doubt that intabulators must be well-trained, well-read and well-rounded musicians. As in any repertory, intabulations vary in quality, ranging from brilliantly ornamented arrangements by professionals to elementary noodlings by amateurs. But they are almost never the result of some dumb plucker trying to place vocal music into tablature because he cannot read mensural notation. Obviously, to intabulate one must be able to read the original, understand its contrapuntal and formal structures, and arrange parts into score.

6 'Girolamo Scotto and the Venetian Music Trade,' in Angelo POMPILIO, Lorenzo BIANCONI, F. Alberto GALLO and Donatella RESTANI (ed.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* (Torino, 1990), p. 298.

The fantasy of Fantasies

If lutenists spent most of their time intabulating, what is the relationship between intabulations and what John Griffiths calls the 'instrumental motet' of this period, the fantasia?⁷ Is the fantasia really an 'abstract' genre, and are the categories of intabulations and fantasias mutually exclusive? Masses, motets, chansons, madrigals, and particularly the music of Josquin, were considered the worthiest models to imitate by instrumentalists and we are finding that upon closer examination (and a bit of luck) many fantasias are, in fact, based on subjects derived from vocal music. As a result, recent work on intabulations is forcing us to revise our notions about the Renaissance fantasia.⁸ We know that fantasias can be based on a cantus firmus, but the manner in which composers of lute fantasias relied on motivic material, melodic clichés, and even parodied contrapuntal textures they appropriated from chanson, madrigal and motet repertoires is still not widely known. We are on the verge of confirming what John Ward had hypothesized years ago by including the fantasia genre within the category of derivative works.⁹ Of course, the problem of finding borrowed material in the fantasia lies in the fact that the model is only rarely acknowledged by the composer. Francesco da Milano's *Fantasia de mon triste*, which cites as its model Richafort's *De mon triste desplaisir*, and the *Fantasia sopra* pieces by Jean-Paul Paladin (1560)¹⁰ are unique in that sense, since they do acknowledge the source. In both of these cases, an intabulation is employed as a middle ground, a process, or a kind of 'pseudo-score' that translates the mensurally notated vocal part-books to tablature notation in score. The intabulation essentially connects the vocal model and the fantasia. Of course, to find borrowed material in a fantasia that does not acknowledge its model in the title is difficult – unless one has memorized the subjects of every Mass, motet, madrigal and chanson – but not impossible. Recently Stefano Mengozzi has provided persuasive evidence of how borrowed material from madrigals and chansons is paraphrased and reworked in fantasias by Francesco da Milano and Albert de Rippe.¹¹ Here again, the fantasia draws its material from an *intabulation* of the model, not from the

7 See Griffiths' introduction to note 8, below.

8 A volume devoted to recent research in this area is COELHO and GRIFFITHS (ed.), *Une Fantaisie de la Renaissance: Compositional Process in the Renaissance Fantasia*, Essays for Howard Mayer Brown, *in memoriam*, *JLSA*, XXIII (1990).

9 'The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music', *JAMS*, V (1952), pp. 88-98.

10 On the derivative works of Paladino, see VACCARO, 'The *Fantasia sopra*... in the Works of Jean-Paul Paladin', in COELHO and GRIFFITHS, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-36; see also Paul MARTELL, 'Parody and Paraphrase in G.P. Paladino's *Fantasia* on "Alcun non puo saper"', *JLSA*, XIX (1986), pp. 1-12.

11 'Is this Fantasia a Parody?: Vocal Models in the Free Compositions of Francesco da Milano', in COELHO and GRIFFITHS, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-17; see also Stefano MENGOZZI, 'Vocal themes and Improvisation in Alberto da Ripa's Lute Fantasies', in VACCARO (ed.), *Le concert des voix et des instruments...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-87.

model itself. The intabulation is the preparatory work that reveals the interaction of the motivic threads in the model and essentially draws a map of the polyphonic relief by reassembling the original vocal parts in the picture format of tablature.

The relationship between fantasias and intabulations is thus very close and it is no coincidence that both disappear from the lute repertory by the beginning of the seventeenth century. We can extend our new definition by saying that intabulations are not just derivative *pieces*; they are indicative of larger musical *procedures*, including parody and paraphrase techniques. They are derived from a vocal model and they themselves become models for newer works like the fantasia. Consequently, intabulations play an important role in the ecology of compositional process.

Howard's end-run

Despite the wealth of perspectives – analytical, practical and contextual – offered by intabulations, surprisingly few people followed Brown in his quest to validate the study of these works, and with his own first writings on the subject he found himself swimming virtually alone against the current of not only established opinion, but scholarly *tradition*. Today, these works are no longer so undervalued, given the appearance of books like Robert Toft's admirable 1992 study about how intabulations can help solve issues of *musica ficta* (a topic that was originally launched by Brown)¹² and other recent work. But a quarter of a century ago when Brown's first studies of this repertory were published, Renaissance musicology was unprepared to consider the importance of his fundamental thesis that intabulations were the closest things to Renaissance performances 'frozen' in time, revealing how music in the sixteenth century actually sounded, as opposed to how it looked on paper. Intabulations captured players exercising the autonomy that was accorded to them as performers, and Brown's work implied that the whole notion of trying to publish an *Urtext*, which was a preoccupation of the field during this time, just might be fundamentally flawed.

But to editors of Renaissance music and to the more conservative streams of source-based musicology, it was the *intabulations* that were fundamentally flawed. After all, intabulations are still *arrangements* that are at least one or two generations removed from the original. They were disregarded as processed, not all-natural; tap water, not *eau de source*. More importantly, it was feared that these derivative works would undermine the established opinion and best efforts of historians to provide a cogent, unified, and air-tight history of Renaissance music. By revealing the plurality of approaches

¹² *Aural Images of Lost Traditions* (Toronto, 1992). See my review in the *Canadian University Music Review*, 13 (1993), pp. 145-53.

that were possible to arranging a single vocal model, intabulations threatened the notions of textual authority, of what is central and what is peripheral. They introduced the uncomfortable idea of the 'open score' that might eventually chip away at the *wissenschaftlich* editorial practices in making monuments that formed the bedrock of the musicologist's training. Intabulations were seen as little anarchists trying to overthrow the international editorial committee; as rioters looting the palace. And it was Brown who was empowering all of these previously undervalued Italian lutenists and peripheral Spanish vihuelists – not only the Francesco da Milanos and Diego Pisadors, but every Lorenzo di Pavia and Giovanni di qualcosa della tiorba as well, to whom he granted voting privileges on issues of musica ficta, ornamentation, paraphrase technique, compositional process, performance practice, and transmission of repertory. Shouldn't the instrumentalists have a say in how music actually sounded?

Brown inaugurated his intabulation campaign at the International Josquin conference in 1971, where he proposed intabulations as a guide to applying ficta in vocal music. Showing the common theoretical basis that existed between instrumentalists and composers,¹³ he concluded that

[...] it may well have been the puritanical attitude toward musicians who tamper with a master's work that has prevented us from looking closely at the plentiful arrangements for fretted and keyboard instruments of some of the greatest masterpieces of the sixteenth century.¹⁴

This was the first of many thinly veiled criticisms of a doctrinaire editorial tradition. The evidence that Brown produced was persuasive, but his argument crashed against an ideological wall: this is all very interesting, we can hear some of the panel saying, but no Simon Gintztler or Sebastian Ochsenkun is going to tell Josquin how his music should be sung, *vielen Dank!* So Brown took his intabulation show on the road.

- *London, 1973.* Invited by the Royal Musical Association, he chooses to speak on theories of Renaissance embellishment based on early sixteenth-century Italian intabulations. Before long he says sarcastically that

[...] modern scholars have by and large averted their eyes from this repertory since by modern standards it shows a regrettable lack of taste on the part of Renaissance musicians and because it violates the ideal that the highest goal of the performer (*and hence, too, of the editor* [my emphasis])—is to reproduce as accurately and self-effacingly as he possibly can the composer's original intentions.¹⁵

13 'Accidentals and Ornamentation in Sixteenth-Century Intabulations of Josquin's Motets', in Edward E. LOWINSKY (ed.), *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, New York, 1971* (London, 1976), pp. 475-522.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 522.

15 'Embellishment in early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 100 (1973-74), p. 50.

- *Tours, 1980*. At the second conference on *Le luth et sa musique*, Brown returns to the question of how intabulations can inform our thinking about musica ficta in vocal music by examining intabulations by de Rippe and Le Roy. He was now working his way, diligently and systematically, through the intabulated lute repertory. After a detailed presentation dealing with very specific instances of voice leading and cadences, Brown concludes that

[...] in our world of written traditions, we have the tendency to accept versions of pieces that we find published in expensive monuments edited by scholars as definitive. Perhaps the best antidote to this erroneous view is always to include the following disclaimer: a definitive text is impossible.¹⁶

- *Utrecht, 1986*. At Brown's next sortie (and speaking this time to an agreeable group of *pulsatori*), he showed how intabulations can be used in yet another fascinating way: as sources that can assist in the reconstruction of lost polyphonic models. Many intabulations are based on a vocal model that no longer exists, as we will see further on in this article, leaving the intabulation as the only trace of the model's existence. After his reconstruction of two such intabulations attributed to Josquin – which he, in this case, proved to be wrong – Brown turned once again to his favourite refrain: 'I see no reason why editors of 16th-century music should change what I think are their conservative ideals', he concluded in an apparently conciliatory tone,

[...] for they need to get as close to the composer's intentions as they possibly can (a chimera at best), while at the same time offering scholars and performers reasoned alternatives for those aspects of an edition about which no-one can be certain.¹⁷

- *Calgary, 1989*. Participating in a conference on Galileo and music, Brown spoke on how Vincenzo Galilei's choice of models for the intabulations in his 1563 lute book are important cultural markers in Vincenzo's evolving musical aesthetic during the crucial years prior to the Camerata.¹⁸ In addition, Vincenzo intabulated some of his own vocal models, which are now lost. Brown's reconstruction of these models from the intabulations show that Galileo's father

16 'La musica ficta dans les mises en tablature d'Albert de Rippe et Adrian Le Roy', in VACCARO (ed.), *Le luth et sa musique II* (Paris, 1984), p. 175.

17 'The Importance of Sixteenth-Century Intabulations', in Louis Peter GRIJP and Willem MOOK (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium, Utrecht 1986* (Utrecht, 1988), p. 13.

18 'Vincenzo Galilei in Rome: His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context', in COELHO (ed.), *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Dordrecht - Boston, 1992), pp. 153-75.

was expressing his close ties with the native Italian unwritten tradition by providing simple schemes for the singing of short arias.

- *Tours, 1991*: Charged with giving the keynote address for an important conference dedicated to the relationship between voices and instruments in the Renaissance, Brown uses the sixteenth-century lutenist's repertory as one of his case studies for bridging the two domains of musical activity. Wasting no time in attacking the 'far too narrow and compartmentalized a view of whatever aspect of sixteenth-century musical life interests us',¹⁹ Brown's paper is essentially a valuable summary of selected work by others and it serves to prove his thesis that

[singer and instrumentalist] spoke the same language, understood music in the same way, and to a large extent cultivated the same repertory.²⁰

Once again, intabulations are used as the model repertory for which to see these connections, and his last words challenge performers to play more of these works and less of the

[...] abstract instrumental music and dances that appear to have formed only a relatively small portion of the music actually cultivated by instrumentalists during the Renaissance.²¹

Howard Brown's workshop: reconstructing a model

Intabulations provided the ideal workshop for Brown and throughout his career he returned to these works for information about such issues as embellishment, compositional process, the application of *musica ficta*, local traditions and national styles, the transmission and dissemination of printed repertories, biography, and the procedures of using borrowed material. Brown saw intabulations as providing the crucial missing links between the composer and the performer, between the written and the played, the fixed and variable, and the theoretical and the practical. Most of all, intabulations provided hundreds of examples of how performers reacted to a borrowed model and their solutions run the gamut from absolute fidelity to the original, to ingenious paraphrases that transform the vocal model into a fantasia. In the remainder of this article, I shall return to Brown's

19 'The Instrumentalist's Repertory...', *op. cit.*, p. 21.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

21 *Ibid.*

intabulation 'workshop' and attempt to reconstruct one of Josquin's *opera dubia*, the motet *Obsecrate domina* which exists only as an intabulation for two vihuelas by the Spanish vihuelist Enriquez de Valderrábano (BrownI 1547₅).

Josquin was intabulated by lutenists and vihuelists more than any other composer during the sixteenth century, from Petrucci's first lute book of Spinacino 1507, which begins with a setting of *Ave Maria*, to about 1574 when Phalèse published a *Faulte d'argent* arrangement that is the last Josquin intabulation in print for lute or vihuela (BrownI 1574₇).²² A sprinkling of Josquin intabulations can be found in manuscripts as well up to the beginning of the seventeenth century.²³ His sacred music was a particular favourite of Spanish vihuelists, who contributed about 100 intabulations of his music. The printed vihuela tablatures, numbering seven in all and containing almost 700 pieces – 400 of these being intabulations – circulated within the broad context of the middle- and upper-class nobility. The vihuela was an instrument that was played mainly by amateurs and thus its role in the dissemination of Josquin's music in Spain cannot be underestimated. Most Spaniards in the sixteenth century probably came into contact with it through vihuela tablatures more than through any other means.²⁴ John Griffiths has given us some details about how successfully these books were marketed in sixteenth-century Spain: printing records reveal that the vihuela publications by Daza and Fuenllana enjoyed large print runs of 1500 and 1000 copies, respectively, pulling in a profit of around 400% to the printer.²⁵

In relation to Josquin's total output, intabulated settings as a whole draw on only a fraction of his works: eleven of the eighteen or twenty authentic Masses are used as models of which the lutenist or vihuelist generally intabulated the more intimate, lightly scored sections, such as the 'Qui tollis' from the Gloria or the 'Et incarnatus est' of the Credo; less than twenty out of the around 100 motets are intabulated; and of the approximately seventy secular pieces by Josquin, only sixteen can

22 The best bibliographical study of the intabulations of Josquin's music is still KWEE Him Yong, 'Sixteenth-century Printed Instrumental Arrangements of Works by Josquin des Prez: an Inventory', TVNM, XXII (1971), pp. 46-66.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52, to which should be added Bakfark's setting in German tablature of Josquin's *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, in PL-Kj, Mus. ms. 40598, f. 150v-151. This source has been dated to around 1575 in Dieter KIRSCH and Lenz MEIEROT (ed.), *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau: Beschreibender Katalog der handschriftlichen Tabulaturen für Laute und verwandte Instrumente in der Biblioteka Jagiellonska Kraków aus dem Besitz der ehemaligen Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin* (Mainz, 1992), pp. 258-80.

24 On the cultural context of the vihuela tablatures, see John GRIFFITHS, 'The Vihuela: Performance, Style, and Context', in *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela*, op. cit., pp. 158-79; 'At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de Mano', JLSA, XXII (1989), pp. 1-27.

25 John GRIFFITHS and Warren E. HULTBERG, 'Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain', in Maria Fernandes Cidraes RODRIGUES, Manuel MORAIS and Rui Veirey NERY (ed.), *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner* (Lisbon, 1992), pp. 355-58.

be found in tablature settings. But these settings do not tell the whole story behind Josquin's influence on lute and vihuela music, or, by extension, of how Josquin's music was disseminated by these players through the *technique* of intabulation, rather than just by intabulations themselves.

Buried in Book 4 of Valderrábano's 1547 vihuela tablature, *Silva de Sirenas*, is his intabulation of the motet *Obsecro te domina*. The piece is attributed to Josquin in the table of contents and listed as a five-voice work. Valderrábano intabulates it for two vihuelas *en quinta*, that is tuned a fifth apart, and also includes the text, which is to be sung to the notes in the tablature marked with a dot. BrownI lists the work without any indication of a vocal model and it remains a Josquin attribution for which the only source is this intabulation for two vihuelas. Josquin 'ghosts' like this frequently haunt lute and vihuela tablatures. Some of these are certainly worth investigating, for we know that players were within the loop of manuscript circulation and not always (or even mainly) dependent on printed music for their models. Vincenzo Capirola, for example, intabulated parts of Josquin's *Missa Pange Lingua* in his manuscript tablature of 1517, which is significant not only since it was made during Josquin's lifetime, but because it is one of the earliest sources of the work, intabulated some twenty years before the Mass was published. The motet *Fecit potentiam* that appears in Fuenllana's vihuela book *Orphénica lyra* (BrownI 1554₃) is another work attributed to Josquin of which the intabulation is the only known version; Osthoff leaned towards accepting it as a lost Magnificat setting by Josquin based on the veracity of Fuenllana's other intabulations attributed to the composer.²⁶ Using the same reasoning, *Obsecro te domina* can also be considered as at least a provisional Josquin work since every one of Valderrábano's other attributions to Josquin has turned out to be authentic. On the other hand, several intabulations attributed to Josquin have turned out to be inauthentic and we must of course always be wary of a composer hoping to gain instant prestige by hiding behind Josquin's name. But the vihuelists were disciples in their veneration for Josquin and they are highly reliable in their attributions; we must grant Valderrábano at least that much.

26 Helmuth OSTHOFF, *Josquin Desprez*, 2 vol. (Tutzing, 1962-65), vol. II, p. 67.

[illegible]

PLATE 1. – Enriquez de VALDERRÁBANO, *Obsecro te domina*, (*Silva de Sirenas* [Valladolid, 1547], f. 57v-58)
Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America, New York

The work is printed with the two vihuela parts, designated as *Vihuela mayor* and *Vihuela menor*, facing in opposite directions (one up, one down), so that the players can sit across from each other and play from the same opening of the book. We are fortunate that because this is an intabulation to play *and* sing, the entire motet text is printed under the tablature staff of *Vihuela mayor* (see Plate 1), which begins the piece. One of the most universally popular prayers to the Virgin, *Obsecro te domina* is found in nearly every Book of Hours, appearing just before another Virgin prayer, *O intemerata*, and the Hours of the Virgin (see Plate 2). This type of Marian text, with its popular, devotional appeal, is entirely appropriate as a text to which Josquin would be attracted, given his other settings from the Hours of Mary.²⁷ Our text is similar as well to the angelic salutation of *Ave Maria*, the connection of which is made by the quote *O mater dei memento mei*, that appears on the scroll in Plate 2 that links the Virgin and Child with the kneeling Isabella Stuart of Brittany, the owner of this Book of Hours. Brown has studied the relationship between devotional prayers and the context of the fifteenth-century motet and he has tentatively connected motets based on these Marian texts to repertoires in Milano and Ferrara,²⁸ both being stopping points on Josquin's Italian itinerary. Similarly, Bonnie Blackburn has shown that these first-person, non-liturgical prayers are characteristic of the Milanese and Ferrarese settings by Josquin, Weerbecke, Compère, and Ghiselin.²⁹ In short, the text of *Obsecro te domina*, its function, and its source all at least support rather than weaken the attribution to Josquin.

PLATE 2 (NEXT PAGE). – The Hours of Isabella Stuart, Duchess of Brittany, France
Angers, ca. 1417-18 (*GB-Cfm*, Ms 62, f. 20),
showing the first line of the prayer, *Obsecro te domina*

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- 27 See the list in Jacquelyn A. MATTFELD, *Cantus firmus in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Prez* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1959), pp. 126-7.
- 28 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life About 1500', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), pp. 744-73.
- 29 "Coram imagine": Personal Piety and the Late Fifteenth-Century Motet', paper given at the Sixty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Association, Baltimore, Maryland, 1996. This study is forthcoming in David CRAWFORD (ed.), *Encomium Musicae: Essays in Honor of Robert J. Snow* (Stuyvesant, New York, 1998).



Turning to the music itself, however, we will encounter some difficulty in trying to verify this attribution on stylistic grounds. The drawn-out manner in which the text is set in the tablature indicates that the model was most probably a long-note cantus firmus motet, the designated ciphers corresponding to the borrowed melody. While there is no chant that can be associated with this particular text, upon extracting the notes to be sung and eliminating repetitions, the resulting melody does paraphrase the beginning of the chant *Salve sancta parens*, which is the Introit for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a source of other Josquin motet texts.³⁰

The intabulation is somewhat more complicated to untangle. The many instances of unison doublings between the parts – there are nine in just the first nine measures – and the infrequency of diminutions other than cadential ornaments prove beyond a doubt that this is neither a literal transcription of a vocal model, nor an ornamented version of it. Rather, this appears to be a paraphrase, drawing on certain parts of the model, perhaps not always in their original order, rearranging and refashioning the motivic material, and connecting these borrowed sections with newly composed music. The result is less a strict intabulation in the conventional sense than it is a free arrangement, like a derivative fantasia. Paraphrase and parody technique are quite common in the vihuela repertory and nineteen of Valderrábano's thirty-three fantasias in *Silva de Sirenas* are, in fact, parodies of works by Josquin, Gombert, Mouton and Morales, among a few others.³¹ Moreover, Valderrábano's intabulations of Josquin's *Inviolata, integra et casta est, Maria* and the Credo from the *Missa L'Homme Armé sexti toni*, also for two vihuelas, are arranged in this general manner.

Therefore, in order to reconstruct the original version of this motet, one must first identify and then strip away the new material added by Valderrábano. Even then, it is doubtful as to whether the remaining material is substantial enough to reconstitute the model, and we would still need to decide what is original and what is not. A few of the obvious places where new material seems to have been added are as follows (please refer to the transcription of the motet given at the end of this article): assuming the model is indeed based on a long-note cantus firmus, such long notes are invariably divided or ornamented in lute and vihuela intabulations in order to sustain them, and can be seen in Valderrábano's use of pedal points (b. 16-29), repeated notes in the cantus firmus (b. 34-45), the avoidance of rhythmic cadences, and by repeating motives (b. 82-90). In fact, *Vihuela mayor*, with its canzona figure of long-short-short, its accompaniment-like texture consisting of many thirds, and an annoying reliance on square rhythms appears to be substantially composed by Valderrábano towards creating a true supporting part.

³⁰ For a discussion of Josquin's use of plainchant melodies, see Willem ELDERS, 'Plainchant in the Motets, Hymns, and Magnificat of Josquin des Prez', in LOWINSKY (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 523-42; for a list of motets that employ a paraphrased chant, see pp. 524-5.

³¹ The most extensive discussion of Valderrábano's fantasias is found in GRIFFITHS, *The Vihuela Fantasia: A Comparative Study of Forms and Styles*, 2 vol. (Ph.D. diss., Monash University, 1983), pp. 234-311.

Similarly, one can also identify some of the elements of the original model. The unadulterated presentation of the first subject when it appears at the beginning of *Vihuela menor* is probably close to its original version, and the stretto treatment of the voices in b. 40-46 along with the duets of parallel sixths in b. 73-76 are the most evocative Josquin passages in the entire work.

Whether or not this work is truly by Josquin (and I note that it will appear in the New Josquin Edition), it is the procedures involved in this piece that count since the work was probably authentic as far as Valderrábano was concerned. By trying to reconstruct this motet we can uncover crucial details about compositional process in the Renaissance. Josquin's music is the most frequently intabulated repertory of the sixteenth century, and we have already found many instances of unacknowledged borrowings in so-called 'abstract works' like fantasias, such as the anonymous *Ricercha sopra Benedictus es Co[e]lor[rum] Regina*, a parody ricercar based on Josquin's sequence motet that appears in the famous 'Siena Lute Book'.³² Valderrábano's book is full of them. I believe that further attempts to reconstruct models will show how Josquin's influence pervades into every area of the lute and vihuela fantasia through the possibilities that composers realized by using Josquin's works as models for entirely new compositions.

To return to Howard Brown's role in all of this, with his pioneering work on intabulations, he urged us to rethink not only some 'fundamental' theories about how Renaissance music is composed and performed, but also how we go about the business of being Renaissance musicologists: how we arbitrate difference and subjectivity; how widely we cast our nets; how willingly we listen to the voices that call to us from the subcultural worlds of the instrumentalist, the amateur and the apprentice; how persistent we are in looking for the fossilized remains of lost practices and works, and once we find them, how creatively we can build a convincing model and ask the right questions of it. Brown had planned to concentrate his energies at some point in his life to studying Josquin's music that appears in intabulated sources. These arrangements reveal significant information about the processes of borrowing, emulating, composing and arranging, which, when taken together, give us some of the most accurate measurements of the healthy and *interdependent* musical ecosystem that existed during the sixteenth century.

32 NL-DHmg, Ms 28 B 39, f. 67-v. A facsimile reprint has been published as *Tablature de luth italienne, dit Siena Manuscrit (ca 1560-1570)*, ed. Arthur J. NESS (Geneva, 1988); see my review in *Notes*, XLVI (1989-90), pp. 1060-3.

Enriquez de VALDERRÁBANO, *Obsecro te domina*
transcription: Vihuela 2 = *Vibuela mayor*.³³

The image displays a musical score for a vihuela ensemble, specifically for two parts: Vihuela 1 and Vihuela 2. The score is written in a system of four staves, with Vihuela 1 and Vihuela 2 each having a treble and bass clef staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into three systems, with measures 9 and 16 marked at the beginning of the second and third systems respectively. The lyrics 'Ob - se - cro - te - do - mi - na' are written across the staves, with the text 'Ob - se - cro' appearing in the first system, 'te - do -' in the second, and 'mi - na' in the third. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, indicating a complex polyphonic texture.

³³ In order to reconstruct the original model as closely as possible, I have arranged the vihuela parts by voice range so that they resemble a modern vocal score. Even though the cantus firmus migrates between both parts of *Vibuela mayor*, I have placed the text in the middle of the system for the sake of clarity.

I would like to thank Mr. Christophe Dupraz for allowing me to consult his unpublished transcription of *Obsecro te domina* while I was preparing my own version for the present study. Dupraz is presently writing a dissertation on the duet in lute and vihuela repertoires (Université François-Rabelais, Tours).

24

san - cta Ma - ri - a

32

ma - ter De - i ma -

40

ter glo -

48

ri - o - sis - si -

56

Musical score for measures 56-63. The score is written for four staves (two treble and two bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The melody is in the upper staves, and the accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are: ma - ter or - pha - no -

64

Musical score for measures 64-71. The score is written for four staves (two treble and two bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The melody is in the upper staves, and the accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are: - rum

72

Musical score for measures 72-79. The score is written for four staves (two treble and two bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The melody is in the upper staves, and the accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are: quem Fi - li - us

80

Musical score for measures 80-87. The score is written for four staves (two treble and two bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The melody is in the upper staves, and the accompaniment is in the lower staves. The lyrics are: tuus u - ni - ge - ni -

87

- - - tus sal - - -

94

- va me ho - no - ri - fi - -

102

- cen - ti a po - - -

110

- pu - - - li me - i