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Salve Jhesu summe bone: a recovered motet of Pierre de la Rue?

THE motets of Pierre de la Rue do not seem to constitute the part of his oeuvre where his musical genius most easily shines through. There are some masterful pieces that stand out, works such as the six-voice *Pater de coelis* and the four-voice *Considera Israel* and *Delicta juventutis*, but otherwise the group of motets is a mixed bag and rather difficult to grasp. The sheer number of works involved is limited; La Rue, like Obrecht, seems to have composed more Masses than motets. No more than 13 out of 24 surviving works appear with attributions in Habsburg-Burgundian court manuscripts, and many of the motets are known from only one or two, often posthumous, sources.[1] These circumstances, together with the fact that it took so many years before a good deal of La Rue's motets appeared in modern editions, probably explain why his motets have not been studied as ferociously as, for example, Josquin's—and why so much of the research that has been done on these compositions is the work of a single scholar.[2]

From this point of view it is most unfortunate that at least two motets by La Rue seem to have gone missing. The *Heidelberger Kapellinventar* of 1544 lists a four-voice motet in two sections, ascribed 'pe: De larue' and opening with the words 'Petre amas me'.[3] A quick search for this work among motets from the late 15th and early 16th centuries has thus far remained without result. Another work is listed in an inventory of manuscripts of Philip II of Spain, prepared in 1597. This inventory reminds us, to quote Honey Meconi,[4] that 'a depressing number of manuscripts that once contained La Rue's music have been lost'. The book containing an unknown motet by La Rue is described as follows:

otro libro grande de motetes de diversos autores el Primero salbe Jesu A seis boçes de Pedro dela Rue scripto en papel la primera hoja en pergamino yluminado y cortada la ymagen con cuchillo enquadernado en tablas y Cuero negro con cantoneras y Bollones. [no.] 61.[5]

Another large book of motets by different authors, the first [of which is] *Salve Jesu* for six voices by Pierre de la Rue; written on paper, the first leaf of parchment, and the image cut out with a knife; bound in wooden boards covered with black leather with corner pieces and buttons. [no.] 61.

Clearly this book, which opened with a six-voice setting of *Salve Jesu* by La Rue, no longer exists. As the motet could not be located in any of the Alamire manuscripts or in other sources containing La Rue's works, it figures as a lost motet in La Rue's works-lists, and as a footnote in the literature on the composer.[6]

Regardless of the fate of this book, things seem to be more rosy with respect to the motet by La Rue that it is said to have contained. A search for a six-voice composition beginning with the words 'Salve Jesu' resulted in a single, but promising candidate: an anonymous six-voice motet in the manuscripts 4° Mus. 91/1–5 at the former State Library in Kassel (henceforward KasL 91).[7] It is easy to explain why this motet, in this particular set of partbooks, has not previously been connected to La Rue. The partbooks were copied by Johannes Heugel for the court of Count Philip of Hesse. There is no copying date in the manuscript, but on the basis of the watermarks Clytus Gottwald suspects that the actual copying of the books did not begin before 1560.[8] Its repertory consists of 59 motets, the majority of which are by Heugel himself (17 pieces), by Clemens non Papa (12 pieces), Crecquillon (6 pieces) and Manchicourt

(5 pieces).[9] In short, not exactly the surroundings in which one would expect a piece by La Rue to turn up. Furthermore, a more general lack of interest in this manuscript may be accounted for by the fact that the partbook set has long been known to be incomplete. As Knierim established in 1943, the set must originally have consisted of six partbooks, and the book that has gone missing was no doubt a Discantus secundus.[10] By a stroke of luck, however, *Salve Jhesu* is not incomplete in the manuscript, as its sixth voice was not a second Discantus but a voice in the Tenor range. This extra voice was copied together with the Vagans in one of the surviving partbooks.

In scoring up this six-voice *Salve Jhesu* it soon became clear that this particular motet is not only a lengthy, impressive work, but also a piece that must date from earlier times than the mid-16th-century core repertory of the manuscript.[11] Judging from the style of the work, it would indeed seem to belong to the group of six-voice works that was composed in the first two decades of the 16th century—in short, it might very well be La Rue's missing motet. One might wonder, of course, if KasL 91 is not too unlikely a place to find such a work. As a matter of fact, the situation could have been worse. Heugel is known to have copied a lot of polyphony from the Low Countries. His best-known collection, the partbook set KasL 24, was probably copied in the 1540s and contains over 100 Latin psalm motets. Among the ascribed pieces in the collection are works by Isaac, Josquin, Moulu, Richafort and later composers. It also includes La Rue's *Laudate Dominum* with an ascription to him.[12] This work is not known from other sources and even though it may not be characteristic of La Rue, its style does not necessarily rule out his hand.[13] Another set of partbooks that was copied by Heugel, KasL 38, contains two secure multi-voiced pieces by La Rue: the six-voice Credo setting, which is also preserved in four other sources including the Chigi Codex and VatS 36,[14] and the eight-voice *Credo Angeli archangeli*, whose authenticity is confirmed by the 1597 inventory of manuscripts owned by Philip II.[15] In short, the manuscript KasL 91 may not be the ideal place to find a recovered La Rue motet, but it is certainly not an implausible one.[16]

The text of the *Salve Jhesu* setting in KasL 91 is a unique compilation of strophes drawn from a poem

that was well known in La Rue's time (see Table 1).[17] These seven strophes are taken from the so-called *Rhythmica oratio*, also known as the *Membra Jesu nostri* or as *Salve meum* [or: *mundi*] *salutare*: a collection of seven poems each meditating on one of the members of the crucified Christ. The complete text was widely spread throughout Europe both in manuscript and in print, and long attributed—as it was in La Rue's time—to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153).[18] In the early 20th century it became clear that the text was not by Bernard at all, but by Arnulf of Leuven, who was abbot of the Cistercian abbey in Villers-la-Ville (in Walloon Brabant) from 1240 until his death in 1248.[19] In the 15th and 16th centuries the text was available not only in its original Latin version, but also in Dutch and German translations.[20] It seems to have been used mainly for private devotional practices. In a Windesheim prayerbook from the mid 14th century and in a 15th-century devotional book from the Low Countries, the text is listed as one that could earn its reader an indulgence.[21]

As mentioned earlier, the seven poems are each devoted to one of Christ's bodily members. They are headed respectively 'Ad pedes' (To the feet), 'Ad genua' (To the knees), 'Ad manus' (To the hands), 'Ad latus' (To the side), 'Ad pectus' (To the breast), 'Ad cor' (To the heart) and 'Ad faciem' (To the face). Each poem contains ten strophes of five lines, except the poem 'Ad cor', which has 14 strophes. The seven strophes that are set in the six-voice motet are taken from the following parts of Arnulf's text:

I	Salve Jhesu summe bone	Ad latus, 1st strophe
II	O maiestas infinita	Ad genua, 4th strophe
III	Sanguis tuus abundanter	Ad genua, 3rd strophe
IV	Ecce fluit circumquaque	Ad manus, 3rd strophe
V	O quam large te exponis	Ad manus, 5th strophe
VI	Grates tante charitati	Ad pedes, 4th strophe
VII	Quidquid in nobis est confractum	Ad pedes, 5th strophe

Clearly the composer, or whoever made this selection of strophes, was not concerned with the larger poetical structure of the text. Arnulf's five-line strophes are constructed in pairs in such a way that

Table 1 Text of the motet *Salve Jhesu* in KasL 91

	Text of motet with deviations from Arnulf's original in italics	*Original reading of changed wordings*	
	Prima pars		
I	Salve Jhesu summe *bone*,	[bonus	Hail, Jesus, You highest goodnesss,
	ad parcendum nimis *prone*,	[pronus	so inclined to indulgence;
	membra tua macelenta,		Your tortured limbs are so
	quam acerbe sunt distenta,		horribly strained on the rough
	in ramo crucis *horride*.	[torrida	branch of the cross.
II	O maiestas infinita,		O infinite Majesty,
	o aegestas inaudita,		O unheard necessity;
	quis pro tanta charitate,		who for Your great love
	querit te in veritate,		seeks You in very truth,
	dans sanguinem pro sanguine.		and gives (his) blood for (Your) blood?
III	Sanguis tuus abundanter,		Your blood is abundantly
	fusus *est* incessanter,	[fluit	and incessantly spilled;
	totus lotus in cruore,		entirely stained by the blood stream
	pendens in maximo dolore,	[stas	are you standing in utmost pain,
	praecinctus vili tegmine.		covered by a shabby garment.
IV	Ecce fluit circumquaque,		Look, Your blood flows
	per corpus tuum membraque,	[manu tua de utraque	lavishly everywhere
	sanguis tuus copiose,		over Your body
	rubicundus instar rose,		and limbs, like red roses,
	magne salutis *premium*.	[pretium	the price of great salvation.
	Secunda pars		
V	O quam large te exponis,		O, how open-minded do You show Yourself
	promptus malis atque bonis,		towards man, both bad and good,
	trahis pigros pios vocas,		drawing the unwilling and calling the loyal ones,
	et in tuis ulnis locas,		taking them in Your arms,
	paratus gratis omnibus.		ready to welcome all.
VI	Grates tante charitati,		Thanks to this great love
	nos agamus vulnerati,		can we stand the injured,
	o amator peccatorum,		O You loyal friend of sinners,
	reparatur confractorum,		healer of broken man, and
	dulcis pater pauperum.	[o dulcis	dearest father of the poor.
VII	Quidquid *in nobis est* confractum,	[est in me	That which in me is broken,
	dissipatum aut distractum,		scattered or torn,
	Jhesu bone totum sana,	[dulcis Jesu	good Jesus, bring it again together,
	tu restaura tu complana,		restore and rebuild it all
	tam pio medicamine. *Amen*.	[–	through a sacred medicine. Amen.
			trans. Willem Elders

lines 1–2 (and 6–7) and 3–4 (and 8–9) are couplets and that the fifth line rhymes with the tenth (as, for example, in: aabbc / ddeec). Judging from the strophes that were chosen for the motet text, such a pairing was obviously not intended in this compilation. The strophes that were selected turn the motet into a personal prayer to Jesus on the cross.[22] This prayer may have been particularly useful in services in honour of the Holy Cross, such as those that were often celebrated on Fridays in the Low Countries,[23] or perhaps in the context of services in honour of the Holy Blood of Jesus.[24]

Before dealing with matters of authorship, let us first have a quick look at the motet. *Salve Jhesu* is an extensive work in two *partes*, amounting to a total of 273 breves. Both *partes* are in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, but the *secunda pars* also has an extensive section in triple time near the end.[25]

The *prima pars* of the motet is based on a canonic ostinato scaffolding in two Tenor voices. The canonic voice answers at the upper 5th and sets in after three breves. There are six statements of the ostinato, the last two of which are in diminution by half. The first entry of the ostinato is preceded by 10 breves of rest, and statements 2–4 by 11 breves. As the Tenor melody itself is also 11 breves long, this results in a highly regular structure for bars 1–98 (see ex.1).[26]
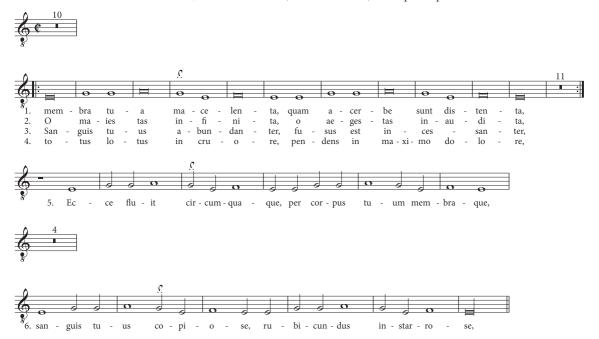
The ostinato melody consists of two almost identical halves and was clearly designed to accommodate a couplet.[27] The combination of its melodic outline (*e–g–a–g–e–f–e*) and its instant repetition gives the ostinato the character of a litany. It is difficult to be sure whether the ostinato melody was designed by the composer himself, or taken from a melody that was used to sing Arnulf's text. The complete text of *Salve mundi salutare* is not found in liturgical books and no standard chant melody for it is known to

exist. However, the poem—or at least some strophes of it—were apparently sometimes sung, as is testified by a fragment from a devotional manuscript dating from *c*.1480 that is presently housed in the Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht (illus.1). The ostinato melody was clearly not taken from this version, but more melodies may have circulated in the Low Countries.[28]

The Tenor melody is omnipresent in the *prima pars* of the motet. In addition to the six statements of the ostinato in the two Tenor voices, there is also a full canonic statement at the opening of the motet (bars 1–13, at the lower 5th), and an incomplete statement in bars 21–7 (Discantus and Vagans; see ex.2). All couplets from strophes 1, 3 and 4 are sung to the Tenor melody, as is the first couplet of strophe 2. It must have been a challenge for the composer to create as much variety within these self-imposed constraints as possible—a challenge he met with great virtuosity.

In the *secunda pars* the Tenor melody is no longer present. The movement begins with a three-voice canon at the upper 4th, but this turns out to be a feint as it is immediately followed by a short section of six-voice imitation (bars 133–44). After that

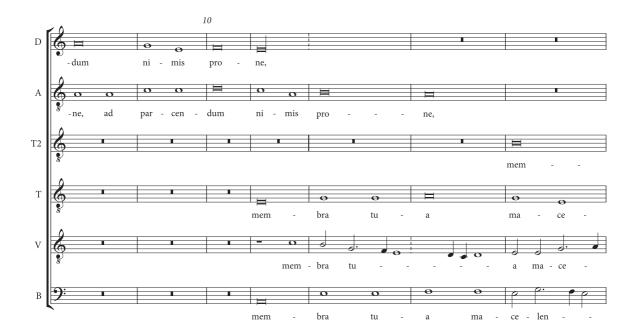Ex.1 *Salve Jhesu*, Tenor voice (canonic ostinato) of the *prima pars*

1 Manuscript fragment from *c*.1480, consisting of two bifolia and containing a melody for strophes 1 to 4 of *Salve meum salutare* (strophe 4 incomplete). The historiated initial shows St Bernard embracing the feet of Christ on the Cross (Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, ABM h111. Photo: Ruben de Heer).

the composer returns to the idea of alternating voice groups. While the groups remain the same, this time there is no canonic structure: throughout bars 143–89 the Altus, Tenor and Bassus alternate with Discantus, Tenor secundus and Vagans, each exchange bringing a new and inventive combination of imitation and new counterpoint. After that, the polyphonic texture becomes more dense and new ideas are introduced, such as the use of *cantus firmus*-like passages with full counterpoint (bars 171–5, 190–200). The

Ex.2 *Salve Jhesu*, bars 1–28

section in triple time begins at bar 213, and is followed (again in ¢) by a (mainly) homophonic declamation of the words 'Jhesu bone totum sana'. A final remarkable event is the setting of the words 'tam pio medicamine' (bars 260–67), referring to Christ's healing in the concluding prayer, to imitative chains of ascending minims in triplets. On the whole, the *secunda pars* is less clearly structured than the first,

but its imagination and variation show the hand of a confident and very competent composer.

Could this setting possibly be La Rue's six-voice *Salve Jesu* from the 1597 inventory? There are two motets for six voices in La Rue's oeuvre for comparison: *Ave sanctissima Maria* (the well-known opening piece of Manuscript 228 in the Royal Library at Brussels) and *Pater de caelis*. *Ave sanctissima* does

Ex.3 La Rue, *Pater de caelis*, bars 210–27; repeat indicated by arrows

Ex.3 *Continued*

not lend itself very well for comparison because it is entirely canonic (*6 ex 3*).[29] It would therefore seem most appropriate to compare *Salve Jhesu* to *Pater de caelis*.

Pater de caelis was first printed in the famous *Liber selectarum cantionum* of 1520 and, in the words of Nigel Davison, 'may well be considered La Rue's motet masterpiece'.[30] The text of this motet is a collection of responses associated with the Trinity to which an additional vocation is added.[31] The work is built around a *3 ex 1* canon at the 5th and the 9th (double 5th). Although La Rue did like to use canonic structures in his Masses and motets, it would seem that in this particular case the *3 ex 1* canon was especially chosen to represent the Trinity.[32]

The first thing one may notice is the thematic link between the two motets. The text of *Salve Jhesu* is concerned with Jesus's suffering on the cross, whereas *Pater de caelis* addresses him as part of the three Divine Persons. Like *Salve Jhesu*, *Pater de caelis* is a motet of considerable proportions with a section in triple time in the *secunda pars*. What is even more interesting is that both works are scored for voices in almost identical ranges (Table 2).[33]

Pater de caelis uses La Rue's favoured c2 mensuration sign; *Salve Jhesu* on the other hand, adopts *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. It would be rash, however, to draw conclusions from this. Besides the fact that several pieces by La Rue are found in Netherlandish sources with ¢ mensuration,[34] it is difficult to know how precisely the reading of the motet in KasL 91 reflects the composer's now lost autograph. In this respect it is interesting to note that Heugel's KasL 38 copy of La Rue's six-voice Credo has the same mensuration signs as the version in the Chigi Codex (including c2), whereas his copy of the eight-voice *Credo Angeli archangeli* in the same manuscript, which is not known from other sources, uses ¢ for the portions in duple time.

As discussed by Davison in his 1961 dissertation, one of the most remarkable aspects of *Pater de caelis* is that that many phrases of the canonic part, and sometimes of free parts as well, are repeated either approximately or exactly in the motet.[35] Actually, when La Rue repeats phrases from the three-voice canon, in most instances he also quotes its surrounding counterpoint. Example 3 may serve as a characteristic illustration. The repeats in the motet as a whole are quite overwhelming (see Table 3).

Table 2 *Pater de caelis* compared to *Salve Jhesu*

Pater de caelis			*Salve Jhesu*	
2 *partes*, 283 breves			2 *partes*, 273 breves	
mensuration: ¢2 ‖ ¢2 – 3			mensuration: ¢ ‖ ¢ – 3 – ¢	
clefs		vocal range	clefs	vocal range
C1		*c′–d″*	C1	*c′–d″*
C3		*e–g′*	C3	*e–g′*
C3		*f–g′*	C3	*e–g′*
C4		*c–d′*	C4	*c–d′*
C4		*B–c′*	C4	*B–d′*
F4		*D–a*	F4	*E–a*

Table 3 Phrase repetition in La Rue's *Pater de caelis*

Prima pars			Secunda pars		
4–15	=	16–27	132–9	=	138–45
36–47	=	45–56	145–54	=	154–63
51–62	=	60–71	166–74	=	172–80
87–92	=	92–6; 96–100	186–95	=	195–204
105–18	=	118–25	210–20	=	216–27
			233–46	=	246–58

It seems that this unusual approach, which is hardly to be found in other works by La Rue, was also very rare in comparable early 16th-century motets.[36] There is a limited amount of repetition in the six-voice motets of his contemporaries,[37] and most often this concerns either important words that are sung and immediately repeated to the same music or the repeat of the final bars of a *prima* or *secunda pars*.[38] Other types of repetition are found in Josquin's motets where sometimes music is repeated for new lines of text,[39] or where the same counterpoint is used for both *dux* and *comes* statements of a canon at the unison.[40] The only composer to do anything like La Rue is Mouton, who also repeats parts of his canon (without the surrounding counterpoint) in his *Benedicam Dominum*, and who twice repeats a section of polyphony in his *Confitemini Domino*.[41]

Salve Jhesu may not be as systematic with regard to its repetitions as *Pater de caelis*, where almost every phrase of the canon is repeated, but it clearly follows la Rue's procedure. What is interesting is that these repeats are not only found in the *prima pars*, where phrases of the canonic ostinato and its counterpoint are restated, but also in the *secunda pars* which has no such scaffolding (see Table 4 and ex.4).

This is not where the similarities between *Pater de caelis* and *Salve Jhesu* end. Davison also cites *Pater de caelis* as an example of La Rue's use of short motifs permeating some or all of the voice parts, leading to what he calls 'germinal development'.[42] Such motifs, that shift from one voice to another and back again, are also found in *Salve Jhesu*. One instance is illustrated in Example 4. Another one is found in bars 41–55, where a motif of four descending semiminims rushes from Altus to Discantus and back again and then moves to the Bassus and Vagans.

The musical material of *Salve Jhesu* is characteristic of La Rue in another way, too. As Davison already pointed out, La Rue's melodies do not often start with a striking rhythm or melodic shape and are consequently not often particularly memorable or forceful.[43] The theme beginning in the Bassus at bar 95 may serve as an example (see ex.4). Though not a momentous gesture, this theme is perfectly tailored to its function, which is to permeate the polyphonic structure. It is remarkable, and also
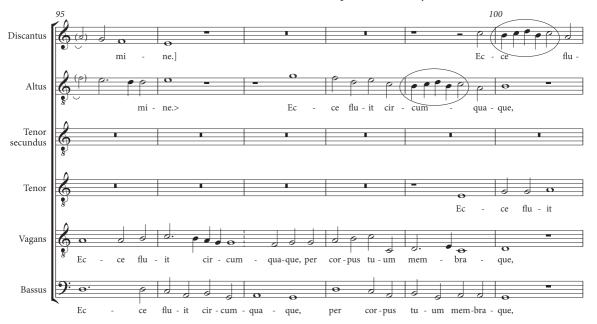
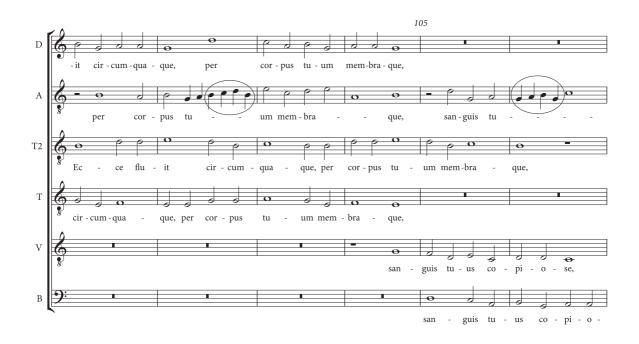**Table 4** Phrase repetition in *Salve Jhesu*

Prima pars			Secunda pars		
14–16	=	19–21	161–5	=	166–70
27–9	=	32–4	190–95	=	196–201
34–41	=	39–46	213–16	=	218–21
79–89	=	84–9	224–6	=	226–8 / 228–30
99–104	=	109–14	247–50	=	250–54

characteristic of La Rue, that the imitation and restatements of the theme are not at all along the lines one would expect in a six-voice motet by Josquin or Isaac. After its introduction in the Bassus the theme moves to the Altus (bar 97) and then immediately bounces back to the Bassus (bar 98). The Superius comes into play in bars 99–100, but first with a flourish borrowed from the Altus
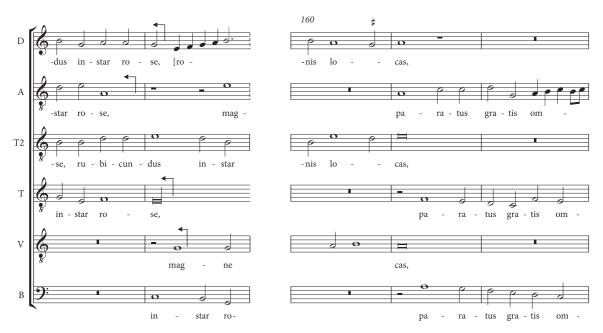
Ex.4 *Salve Jhesu*, bars 95–114 and 160–71, repeats indicated by arrows

Ex.4 *Continued*

(bars 98–9), and only in the second instance with the theme itself (from bar 102). After that the theme moves to the Vagans (bar 104) and back to the Bassus (bar 105). What is most interesting from a structural point of view is that the theme itself seems to be closely modelled on the ostinato in the two Tenor parts (the motif *a–g–e–f–e*). It is not difficult to find more passages in *Salve Jhesu* where the composer is, much in La Rue's style, moulding his counterpoint in identical ways without feeling

the need to mesmerize listeners with remarkable melodies.

Another interesting little parallel with *Pater de caelis* is the occurrence of a short passage in faux-bourdon. Passages featuring true 6/3 chords are not found that often in La Rue's motets,[44] which makes it all the more intriguing that two such short passages do occur in the six-voice *Pater de caelis* (bars 2–3, 71–3). Their parallel in *Salve Jhesu* is found in bars 68–72, which also clearly stand out in this otherwise richly scored piece.

The canonic structure of *Pater de caelis* is, of course, quite different from what happens in the *secunda pars* of *Salve Jhesu*. As mentioned earlier, the *secunda pars* opens with a nod to the *6 ex 3* canon technique, but soon turns into something new with alternating voice groupings that are neither based on canon nor a *cantus prius factus* (which is rather exceptional for a six-voice motet from the early 16th century). That such voice groupings in combination with free counterpoint are not alien to La Rue's six-part music is demonstrated by his six-voice Credo (see, for example, bars 71–9, 102–21).[45] The groupings in the Credo have more direct repetition and imitation, resulting in an ostinato-like passage. In *Salve Jhesu*, which is probably a later work, the imitation among the two groups is more concealed and interesting and also included in the phrase repetition scheme.[46]

But are there also characteristics in *Salve Jhesu* that are more difficult to reconcile with what we know of La Rue's motet style? It has been pointed out that La Rue was not fond of using homophonic passages including breves and fermatas in his motets,[47] and there is just such a passage in *Salve Jhesu* after the section in triple time, at the words 'Jhesu bone totum sana'. On the other hand, the four-voice *O salutaris hostia*, which substitutes for Osanna I in the *Missa de Sancta Anna,* shows—along with several other sections from his Masses—that La Rue could and did write such passages when needed.[48] In the case of *Salve Jhesu* the homophonic gesture was no doubt chosen by the composer to underline the supplication to Christ at the end of the motet.

Another interesting trait is the return to duple time after the homophonic passage in the *secunda pars*. *Pater de caelis*, by contrast, ends with the section in triple time, and this is what La Rue normally

does when triple time is used near the end of a motet.[49] Then again, at the end of the *Credo Angeli archangeli* La Rue does return to ¢ after the section under '3' for a final flourish, so this procedure was clearly not foreign to his style. The imitative chains of ascending minims in triplets in the final section of the motet seem to be new for La Rue and are not found elsewhere in his motets. On the other hand, the closing section of the Agnus Dei of the five-voice *Missa Incessament* shows antiphonal imitation of minim triplets that is not that far removed from what happens in *Salve Jhesu*.

The main point, however, would be that La Rue never quite used a canonic ostinato such as that in *Salve Jhesu*, and that we do not have multi-sectional motets by him (or indeed other liturgical pieces) of which only the *prima pars* is based on a scaffolding. This would indeed be unusual for a piece by La Rue. On the other hand, one might also wonder if *Pater de caelis* would have been so readily accepted as a work by La Rue if its ascription had not been found in the *Liber selectarum* of 1520, but only in, say, a peripheral manuscript of the 1560s. I suppose La Rue scholars would eagerly have pointed out that the only known six-voice motet by La Rue was entirely canonic and completely free of the remarkable polyphonic phrase repeats found in *Pater de caelis*. But as the ascription of 1520 does seem trustworthy, we are happy to accept that in the final stage of his career as a composer La Rue did try his hand at new things. It would have been just a short step further to try and compose something like *Salve Jhesu*. The canonic ostinato itself may be considered something new for La Rue, but it does combine two of his favourite procedures.

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Where does this leave us with respect to the authorship of *Salve Jhesu*? What we do know is that La Rue composed a six-voice motet beginning with the words 'Salve Jesu'. We now also know that a search for this motet has come back with only a single candidate: the *Salve Jhesu* setting in KasL 91. This motet is clearly a work from the beginning of the 16th century and sets a text that would have been easily accessible to La Rue. The work has most interesting parallels with La Rue's six-voice *Pater de caelis*, his 'masterpiece', to use Davison's characterization. *Pater de caelis* and *Salve Jhesu* are so much alike

in some of their external features that they resemble companion pieces: they are 283 (*Pater de caelis*) and 273 (*Salve Jhesu*) breves long, and scored for almost identical vocal ensembles. The most intriguing internal parallel between the two works is that they both make extensive use of repeats of polyphonic sections, a feature that was not used to such an extent in six-voice motets by any of La Rue's contemporaries. Other parallels add to this picture: the way in which themes that are not particularly memorable are imitated and woven into the polyphonic structure, the use of short motifs permeating some or all of the voice parts, and the occurrence of a short passage in fauxbourdon. The alternation between voice groupings using counterpoint that is not based on canon or a *cantus prius factus* in *Salve Jhesu* is similarly not unlike La Rue, and can be seen as a development of something that he had tried his hand at in the six-voice Credo. In short, it does seem to me that the six-voice setting of *Salve Jhesu* in manuscript KasL 91 is indeed La Rue's setting, that was previously reported lost.

APPENDIX 1 Cleffing and vocal ranges of La Rue's music for six voices

Pater de caelis		Salve Jhesu		Credo a6		Credo a8 (Et incarnatus est)		Magnificat primi toni (Fecit potentiam)	
C1	c′–d″	C1	c′–d″	C2	g–c″	G2	e′–g″	C2	c′–c″
C3	e–g′	C3	e–g′	C2	g–b′	G2	d′–f″	C3	a–g′
C3	f–g′	C3	e–g′	C4	d–e′	C1	b–d″	C4	c–e′
C4	c–d′	C4	c–d′	C5	c–d′	C3	f–a′	C4	d–d′
C4	B–c′	C4	B–d′	F4	G–a	C4	c–f′	F4	A–a
F4	D–a	F4	E–a	F5	D–e	F4	G–c′	F5	D–A

Ave sanctissima		Magnificat primi toni			
		(Sicut locutus est)		(Sicut erat)	
6 ex 3 canon at upper 4th		6 ex 3 proportion canon at unison		6 ex 3 canon at lower 5th	
*	c′–d″	*	b–c″	*	d′–c″
C2	g–a′	C2	b–a′	C2	g–f′
*	f–g′	*	d–d′	*	g–f′
C4	B♭–d′	C4	d–c′	C4	c–b
*	c–d′	*	D–a	*	A–a
F4	F–a	F4	D–a	F4	D–d

Missa Ave sanctissima									
All six-voice sections 6 ex 3 canon at upper 4th									
Kyrie		Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Agnus dei	
*	c′–d″	*	c′–e″	*	c–d″	*	c′–d″	*	c′–e♭″
C2	g–a′	C2	g–b′	C2	g–a′	C2	g–a′	C2	g–b♭′
*	d–d′	*	f–g′	*	f–g′	*	f–g′	*	f–g′
C4	a–b	C4	c–d′	C4	B♭–d′	C4	c–d′	C4	c–d′
*	B♭–c′	*	B♭–e′	*	B♭–d	*	B♭–d′	*	B♭–e♭′
F4	F–g	F4	F–b♭	F4	F–a	F4	F–a	F4	F–b♭

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1 As David Fallows reminds us, three out of these 24 motets can also be categorized, on the basis of the sources in which they appear, as secular works; see his 'La Rue's motets and Nigel St John Davison', *Die Tonkunst. Magazin für klassische Musik und Musikwissenschaft*, v/1 (2011), pp.3–4.

2 This scholar being Nigel St John Davison, whose work on the La Rue motets goes back to the 1950s when he started working on his doctoral dissertation ('The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1961)), which continued and broadened, in a sense, Jozef Robyns's slightly earlier discussion of this repertory in his *Pierre de la Rue (Circa 1460–1518). Een bio-bibliografische studie* (Brussels, 1954). Davison's work on the La Rue motets finally led to their publication in volume ix of Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, ed. N. S. J. Davison, J. E. Kreider and T. H. Keahey, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 97 (1996). After that the motets as a group did not receive much attention until the publication of Honey Meconi's *Pierre de la Rue and musical life at the Habsburg-Burgundian court* (Oxford, 2003), though the *Salve regina* settings were discussed by Martin Just ('Das *Salve-regina*-Repertoire von Pierre de la Rue in den Handschriften Brüssel,

Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 9126 und München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica Ms. 34', in *The Burgundian-Habsburg court complex of music manuscripts (1500–1535) and the workshop of Petrus Alamire*, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 5, ed. B. Bouckaert and E. Schreurs (Leuven, 2003), pp.337–48. Most recently a few short contributions by David Fallows, Honey Meconi, David Burn, Christiane Wiesenfeldt, Stefan Gasch, Jacobijn Kiel and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, all devoted to motets by La Rue, were published in the January 2011 issue already cited of the German journal *Die Tonkunst* (see n.1).

3 J. Lambrecht, *Das 'Heidelberger Kapellinventar' von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318). Edition und Kommentar*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1987), i, pp.153, 167.

4 *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, p.187.

5 F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Archivo Documental Español, tomo X: Inventarios reales bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II. Edición, preliminares e índices* (Madrid, 1956–9), i, p.148. See also A. Andrés, 'Libros de canto de la Capilla de Felipe II', *Musica sacro-hispana*, x (1917), p.124, no.87; E. Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXᵉ siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1867–88), viii, p.370. For the most recent modern edition of the inventory, which I have used here, see T. Knighton, 'La música en la casa y capilla del principe Felipe (1543–1556). Modelos y contextos', in *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, ed. L. Robledo Estaire *et al.* (Madrid, 2000), pp.35–97; the inventory is Apéndice 22 on pp.380–94 (see p.397, no.88). I would like to thank Juan Ruiz Jiménez and Tess Knighton for their kind help in translating this short passage.

6 See, for example, Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, p.324, and H. Meconi, 'La Rue, Pierre de la, *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 21 September 2018).

7 Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel—Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, Mss. 4° Mus. 91/1–5; the motet is no.5 in the collection.

8 C. Gottwald, *Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, vol.vi: *Manuscripta Musica* (Wiesbaden, 1997), p.588. Some twelve dates do appear in the manuscript (ranging from 11 April 1544 to 26 January 1571) but these cannot possibly be copying dates; according to Julius Knierim, they may relate to earlier exemplars that were used to copy the present book ('Die Heugel-Handschriften der Kasseler Landesbibliothek. Eine bibliographische Studie als Grundlage einer Monographie des hessischen Hofkapellmeisters Johannes Heugel (um 1500–1585)' (PhD diss., Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität Berlin, 1943), pp.32, 34, 109).

9 The remaining pieces are either anonymous or by Appenzeller (1), Bultel (1), Gombert (2), Lassus (2), Moreau (1), Moreau/Morales (1), Petit Jan (1), Tubal (2) and Wismes (1).

10 'Die Heugel-Handschriften der Kasseler Landesbibliothek', p.34.

11 A complete score of the motet can be found in Appendix 2 (online only).

12 The Discantus book has 'Pirson', the Tenor book 'P: de [la] rue'.

13 Wolfgang Fuhrmann is not convinced of La Rue's authorship, but the piece has been included in the *opera omnia* edition as an authentic

work; see Fuhrmann, 'Who composed Pierre de la Rue's Psalm-motets?', *Die Tonkunst*, v/1 (2011), pp.55–62.

14 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. Chigi c.viii.234 and Cappella Sistina 36.

15 Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, p.321. Both Credo settings are ascribed 'Pirson' in all Heugel partbooks.

16 For an overview of sources containing works by La Rue and emanating from the German-speaking part of Europe, see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, pp.191–4.

17 Evident copying mistakes, such as forgotten, misspelled and wrong words, have been left out of consideration. Leofranc Holford-Strevens informs me that the variant readings of the motet text give the impression of someone not quite remembering a text.

18 See, for example, the famous Venetian edition *Opuscula divi bernardi abbatis clarevallensis* of 1495. For other editions of this book, see P. L. Janauschek, *Bibliographia Bernardina qua Sancti Bernardi primi abbatis Claravallensis* (Hildesheim, 1959). I do not think anyone has yet collected all manuscript sources for the poem, but a quick search on the internet using short titles such as 'Ave mundi salutare', 'ad singula membra Christi', 'Oratio rhythmica', 'membra Jesu' and 'planctus beati Bernardi', identifies a number of 15th-century devotional manuscripts containing the text. Modern editions of the text are found, for example, in: *Sancti Bernardi abbatis clarae-vallensis opera omnia*, ed. D. Joannis Mabillo, ii, *pars altera* (Paris, 1839), pp.1778–82; F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, aus den Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt*, i (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853), pp.162–74; G. M. Dreves, *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung. Eine Blütenlese aus den Analecta Hymnica mit literarischen Erläuterungen*, nach des Verfassers Ableben revidiert von C. Blume, i: *Hymnen bekannter Verfasser* (Leipzig, 1909), pp.323–7.

19 Arnulf's presumable authorship of the text was first discussed in *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (on p.323). However, the case became rather complicated when Clemens Blume argued, purely on stylistic grounds, that Arnulf was probably not the author of the complete text, and that some parts were added later by the German Norbertine Hermann Joseph (*c*.1150–1241). Even though this hypothesis was strongly refuted by D. A. Stracke in 1950 and again in 1953 (see his 'Arnulf van Leuven, O. Cist. *versus* Gelukz. Hermann Jozef, O. Praem.', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, xxiv (1950), pp.27–50, and 'Gelukz. Hermann-Jozef versus Arnulfus Abbas Lovaniensis', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, xxvii (1953), pp.201–5), Joseph's name still turns up in recent discussions of the text; see, for example, G. Faithful, 'A more brotherly song, a less passionate passion: abstraction and ecumenism in the translation of the hymn "O sacred head now wounded" from bloodier antecedents', *Church History*, lxxxii/4 (2013), pp.779–811, esp. p.781. On Arnulf, see F. J. Worstbrock, 'Arnulf von Löwen', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin and New York, 1977/8), cols.500–502.

20 For translations in Dutch, see D. A. Stracke, 'Over het: Ave mundi salutare, in het Diets', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, xxiv (1950), pp.409–19, and also K. M. Rudy, *Rubrics, images and indulgences in late medieval Netherlandish manuscripts* (Leiden, 2017), beginning at p.96 (and the literature cited there). For the locations of some German translations, see www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/6543 (accessed 17 August 2018). A discussion of the contents of the original Latin poem may be found in F. Küenzlen, '*Membra Jesu nostri*. Rezeption und Transformation des Liedzyklus Arnulfs von Löwen bei Dietrich Buxtehude', in *Geistliche Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Festgabe für Rudolf Suntrup*, ed. V. Honemann and N. Miedema (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), pp.253–80.

21 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1296 Helmst., fols.17–26. For a concise description of this manuscript, see U. Hascher-Burger and B.-J. Kruse, 'Medien devoter Sammelkultur. Musik, Gebete und Andachtsbilder in zwei spätmittelalterlichen Rapiarien aus Stift Steterburg', in *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten. Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklostern*, ed. B.-J. Kruse (Wolfenbüttel, 2013), pp.91–4. I am indebted to Dr Hascher-Burger for this information. For the manuscript from the Low Countries, see the online *Guide to medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, Ellesmere manuscripts, Ms. hm 1249, fol.28 (http://bancroft. berkeley.edu/digitalscriptorium/ huntington/toc.html; accessed 17 August 2018).

22 I have not been able to find other settings of this text; as a matter of fact, polyphonic settings of strophes from *Salve meum/mundi salutare* are altogether hard to find. The strophe 'Salve mundi salutare' was set by Innocentius Dammonis in his *Laude libro secondo* (Petrucci 1508). 'Morti tuae tam amarae' and 'Dum me mori est' (both taken from the 'Ad faciem' section) were set, much later, for six voices by Christoph Thomas Walliser (and published in the *Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias* of 1611). The most famous selection of strophes that was set to music is that in Dietrich Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu nostri* of 1680.

23 For details on the Antwerp confraternity in honour of the Holy Cross, see K. K. Forney, 'Music, ritual and patronage at the church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *Early Music History*, vii (1987), pp.1–57, esp. pp.10, 22–5. Similar confraternities were active, for example, in Ghent; see P. Trio, *De Gentse broederschappen (1182–1582). Ontstaan, naamgeving, materiële uitrusting, structuur, opheffing en bronnen* (Ghent, 1990), pp.90–91.

24 On the Holy Blood, see, for example, P. Weller, 'Some ways of the motet: Obrecht and the paths of five-voice composition', in *The motet around 1500: on the relationship of imitation and text treatment?*, ed.

T. Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, 2012), pp.247–75, esp. pp.250–51.

25 *Prima* and *secunda pars* are respectively 123 and 150 breves long; bars 213–34 are under '3' and after that *tempus imperfectum diminutum* returns.

26 In the Kassel Tenor partbook all statements (including the rests) are always copied in full. There is no canon indication; the *resolutio* of the Tenor is given in the Vagans partbook. One has to wonder if this was the composer's original notation. One can easily imagine that the first four statements of the ostinato were notated much more concisely and that the diminution of the final two statements was not indicated by actually halving the note values of the ostinato, but either by a proportion sign ('2') or by a verbal canon.

27 The irregularity in the ostinato at the word 'maximo' results from a textual variant (see above) that seems to have crept into the transmission.

28 It is difficult to be sure about the use of a pre-existent melody. A possible argument against it was offered to me by John Milsom, who pointed out that the theme is used here in two different contrapuntal interlocks: as a canon at the lower 5th after two breves (opening bars) and as a canon at the upper 5th (after three breves) in the ostinato. This may indicate that the theme was devised with these possibilities in mind. An analysis of La Rue's music along the lines of Milsom's analytical work on Josquin would be most welcome, but is not something that could be undertaken in the context of this article.

29 When Davison started to work on the motets of La Rue, *Ave sanctissima Maria* was only known with conflicting ascriptions to Sermisy and Verdelot (the motet has no ascription in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 228). He was not convinced that it might actually be by La Rue and favoured the ascription to Sermisy ('The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), p.91). One year later he pleaded for Verdelot as the composer of the piece

(Davison, 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue', *Musical Quarterly*, xlviii (1962), pp.19–35, at p.34). From slightly later on it was commonly accepted that the piece was by La Rue (see Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, p.87 and *passim*), an assumption that is now confirmed by a recently discovered fragment from an Alamire choirbook that actually ascribes *Ave sanctissima Maria* to him (see H. Vanhulst, 'Un fragment inconnu d'un livre de chœur de Pierre Alamire', *Revue Belge de musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, lxviii (2014), pp.7–18, at pp.10, 12).

30 Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, ix, p.lxii; see also Ludwig Finscher's praise of the motet in 'Rue, Pierre de la', in *MGG2*, Personenteil 14 (Kassel, 2005), col.642.

31 Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, ix, pp.lxii–lxiii.

32 See W. Elders, *Symbolic scores: studies in the music of the Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), p.202.

33 La Rue composed only a handful of pieces for six voices. They are all listed in Meconi, *Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, on p.160 n.67, and include, in addition to *Ave sanctissima* and *Pater de caelis*, a six-voice Credo, the *Missa Ave sanctissima* (which is, like its model, completely canonic; mostly *6 ex 3*), the 'Et incarnatus est' of the eight–voice *Credo Angeli archangeli*, three sections from the *Magnificat primi toni* (two of which are *6 ex 3* canons) and a six-voice chanson that has been tentatively ascribed to La Rue (*Je ne dis mot*; also a *6 ex 3* canon). The cleffing and voice ranges of all authentic pieces are given in Appendix 1 of this article for comparison.

34 See, for example, N. Davison, '*Absalom fili mi* reconsidered', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, xlvi/1 (1996), pp.42–56, at pp.44–5.

35 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), pp.41, 78. This statement was later repeated (without the reference to the free parts) in 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1962), at p.11, and in Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, ix, p.lxii.

36 Davison found two similar instances of repeats in the canonic psalm motet *Laudate Dominum*. Other than that La Rue's motets show no sign of such a procedure, which seems to indicate that he developed this idea predominantly in *Pater de caelis*, a work that must have been composed late in his career (Davison dates it to 1506 or later; 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), p.61).

37 I have checked the following six-voice motets (27) and introits (11) that were composed before 1522: Jacob Obrecht (†1505): *Salve regina*; Antoine de Févin (†1511/12): *Ascendens Christus*; Johannes (*recte*: Dionisius) Prioris (†1514): *Da pacem*; Henricus Isaac (†1517): *Angeli archangeli, Christus surrexit, Optime divino, Qui paracletus diceris, Spiritus sanctus, Virgo prudentissima*, and 11 six-voice introits in *Das Chorwerk*, vols.lxxxi (1960) and cxix (1973); Josquin des Prez (†1521): *Absolve, quesumus, Ave nobilissima, Benedicta es, Huc me sydereo, O virgo prudentissima, O virgo virginum, Pater noster, Preter rerum seriem*; Jean Mouton (†1522): *Benedicam Dominum, Confitemini Domino, Da pacem Domine, O Maria piissima, Salva nos Domine*; Ludwig Senfl: *Sancte pater divumque*; Anonymous: *Humilium decus* and *Regina celi* (in VatS 15), *Ave rosa speciosa* (VatC 234), *Anima mea liquefacta est* (*Liber selectarum*, RISM 1520[4]).

38 See, for example, Isaac, *Angeli, archangeli* (bars 133–5 = 135–7: repeat of word 'laudat'); Josquin, *Absolve* (bars 32–5 = 36–9: repeat of 'ab omni vinculo delictorum'); Josquin, *O virgo prudentissima* (bars 55–9 = 60–64: repeat of 'regina mundi'); Josquin, *Pater noster* (bars 108–12 = 112–15: repeat of 'sed libera nos a malo' at end of *prima pars*).

39 See, for example, *O virgo prudentissima* (bars 65–72 = 73–80: 'Tu stella maris diceris, Quae nobis inter scopulos' = 'Inter obscuros turbines, Portum salutis indicas') and *Preter rerum seriem* (bars 140–54 = 161–75: 'Dei providentia Que

disponit omnia Tam suave' = 'Tua puerperia Transfert in misteria').

40   As in *Benedicta es* and in the *secunda pars* of the *Pater noster*.

41   For the two repeats in *Confitemini Domino*, see bars 76–81 = 82–7 ('a Domino factum est' / canon: 'et laudamus nomen tuum') and bars 100–104 = 105–09 ('et in seculum'). In his six-voice motet *O Maria piissima* Mouton restates phrases of the *cantus firmus*, but in different rhythmic statements and/or at different pitches and without repeating the surrounding voices. With regard to Mouton's six-voice motets it should be pointed out that they are all in one *pars* and considerably shorter than *Pater de caelis* and *Salve Jhesu*.

42   Davison, 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), p.35; Davison, 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1962), pp.25–7 (with an extended example from *Pater de caelis*).

43   Davison, 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), p.27.

44   Davison located a mere four such examples in all of La Rue's motets (see 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), p.49).

45   The six-voice Credo and the *Credo Angeli archangeli* are both edited in vol.vii of Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia* (1998).

46   J. Evan Kreider has suggested that the six-voice Credo might have been among La Rue's earlier works; see Pierre de la Rue, *Opera omnia*, vii, p.lv. This work aside, it seems that that six-voice structure in any motet is rare before about 1510 (see D. Fallows, *Josquin* (Turnhout, 2009), p.285); see also n.36 of the present article, concerning the dating of *Pater de caelis*.

47   See, for example, Davison, 'The motets of Pierre de la Rue' (1961), pp.43–4, and L. Finscher, 'Rue, Pierre de la', col.638.

48   For homophonic passages, some of them including breves and fermatas, see *Missa Almana* (Osanna), *Missa Cum iucunditate* (in the five-voice Credo at 'Et homo factus est'), *Missa De septem doloribus* (in the Gloria at 'Jesu Christe' and in the Sanctus at the second Osanna) and *Missa Nunca fué pena mayor* (in the Credo at 'Et homo factus est'). *Pourquoy non* is, as Honey Meconi reminded me, also a great example of La Rue's use of homophony, breves and fermatas, and clearly shows that these methods were part of La Rue's stylistic toolkit. There is also a short homophonic five-voice piece *Te decet laus* that is found in VatS 36 at the end of La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima*, with the heading 'loco do gracias'. Davison has included the piece in his edition, but according to Meconi La Rue's authorship is unlikely on stylistic grounds (*Pierre de la Rue and musical life*, p.332, and 'London Royal 8 G. vii and the motets of Pierre de la Rue', *Die Tonkunst*, v/1 (2011), pp.5–15, at p.7 n.7). On this little piece, see also C. Wiesenfeldt, 'Dedikationsmotette oder Messteil? Pierre de la Rues (?) *Te decet laus* zwischen Liturgie und Diplomatie', *Die Tonkunst*, v/1 (2011), pp.24–33, and Vanhulst, 'Un fragment inconnu', pp.16–18.

49   See, for example, *Gaude virgo*, *Lauda anima mea* and *Regina caeli*.