

Reflections on the Concept of Authorship in Musicians' Motets

Abstract

In this chapter, a new research approach is evaluated, which proposes how the concept of multiple authorship can help to better understand the musicians' motets and how new impulses for concepts of multiple authorship can be drawn from them. On the basis of two selected examples, *Apollinis eclipsatur* by Bernard de Cluny and *Mater floreat* by Pierre Moulu, it is shown that different levels of authorship – from the composition process to the interpretation and reception process – can be found in the musicians' motets and must be understood in relation to each other. The first example, *Apollinis eclipsatur*, shows how the compositional design not only names several authorial instances but also incorporates attributed characteristics of these authors into the composition's structure. In *Mater floreat*, the focus is on the establishment of a community, which is not only connected by the shared sphere of employment and genealogical references but also on the collective process of creating. In addition to the detailed aspects of the individual examples, new perspectives on the conception of authorship are revealed with the help of an analytical-systematic model. This new approach shows that the musicians' motets involve not only the self-referential naming and genealogical linking of musicians but rather multiple connections of authorial entities, which must be analyzed and considered very precisely.

Keywords

Early Modern Period, Franco-Flemish Polyphony, *Auctor*, Authority, Composer, Cooperation, Group Awareness, Multiple Composition

While the genre of the motet has been considered in many detailed works of scholarship, one sentence in the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Music in History and the Present) is rather surprising: "Finally, the peculiarity of the self-referential composer motet – which remains completely unexplored as regards its intentions and use, and which, with different functional accents, remained important well into the

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16th century (musicians' motet) – needs to be mentioned.”¹ This assessment is bewildering, for one, because it claims that the composer or musicians' motet, despite many existing disputes regarding its “intentions and use,” has not been sufficiently explored in its peculiarity. Moreover, the self-referential allusion to the composer is emphasised as an essential feature of the musicians' motet, even though other characteristics also appear central to it; in addition to self-referentiality, the reference to other musicians and composers, which can be embedded in various ways in the musicians' motets, is, in any case, equally relevant. In a newly weighted research approach, the following contribution will hence investigate whether the concept of multiple authorship can help us better understand the notion of musicians' motets. It will also attempt to derive new ideas for concepts of multiple authorship on the basis of the musicians' motets. The first section will look into the significance of the musical author in the compositions of the late Middle Ages and during the early modern period, highlighting the degree to which the musicians' motet occupies a particular position in this context. Following this, I would like to single out two musicians' motets – namely, B.² de Cluny's motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* from the 14th century and Pierre Moulu's motet *Mater floreat* from the beginning of the 16th century – in order to pursue the question to what extent both these compositions can complement discourses of multiple authorship.³ While in the first example the composer names himself in the musical score and thus positions himself in relation to other authorial entities, the composer of the second example refrains from naming himself in the score, and instead shapes a group consciousness through the authorial entities mentioned in the work. Finally, I will show in the third section what a potential systematic approach may look like in relation to this work, and which ideas can be taken up for further discussions of multiple authorship in the (musical) culture of the early modern period.

1. The General Significance of Multiple Authorship in Music

The transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period generally brings with it new approaches to authorship, which express themselves not only through the

1 Kügle/Lütteken/Forchert 1997, col. 525.

2 The full first name of the composer is not clear from the sources; most likely it is Bernard. The composer is not to be confused, however, with other monks from Cluny who bear the same name, e.g. the author of *De Contemptu Mundi*.

3 In delimiting the analysis to these examples, many further aspects of other musicians' motets are omitted that would also be interesting in relation to discussing concepts of multiple authorship; the limitation, however, enables a more detailed investigation into the two examples and systematic considerations. For an overview of different musicians' motets, see Hatter 2019, pp. 54 and 60; Calella 2014, pp. 85–102.

nascent print culture⁴ but also, in the specific context of music, in the 'emergence of the composer.'⁵ The works of the Middle Ages, which are for the most part anonymous, are increasingly contrasted with compositions that allow inferences to be made about their composer on the basis of references in the work or its paratext but which require a careful differentiation regarding the concept of the author. The modern use of the term 'author' thus differs from the musical-historical starting point, in which the author (more precisely, the *auctor*) is primarily associated with the devisers of music or the authors of texts on music theory.⁶ In any case, the terms *cantor*, *auctor*, and *musicus* are contrasted with one another, while these are not homogenous nor strictly separated concepts; for instance, a composer and author can also make an appearance as a performing musician.⁷ The composer of a work acts primarily as *cantor*, *magister capellae*, *magister puerorum*, etc. and combines a creative and performative function. By contrast, the *musicus* is most often a theoretician, characterized by his knowledge of the numerical and rational aspects of music.⁸ And whereas the term *compositor* is already attested in the Middle Ages, it is to be understood in that context as the description of an activity rather than the fixed outline of a profession.⁹ To derive a starting point for discussing

- 4 The attribution of authors is often given through the paratext, which generally emerges with print culture and does not yet exist in manuscript culture. Janz 1995, among others, provides additional reflections on the relevance of earlier attributions of authors.
- 5 The emergence of the composer at this time has been treated in musicology in great detail. The aim is not to substantiate notions of a transfiguration or the mythical birth of the composer but rather to effect a differentiated consideration. The primarily sociohistorical approach of Finscher 1975 has been widely received; see also Huck 2012. Calella specifically points out the interweaving with the emergence of the concept of the work and gives a useful overview of the various scholarly approaches to the emergence of the composer in musicological discourse. See Calella 2014, p. 34: "Authors who attempt to explain this phenomenon either draw on models from the history of ideas or social history, or they strive for a compromise between both perspectives."
- 6 On the differentiation of the term *auctor*, see Calella 2014, p. 137; Calella 2011, pp. 145–147. On the functions of an author and the anonymity of works in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, see also Calella/Schmidt 2013, pp. 10f. The division into composer, music theorist, and authority, however, is not to be regarded as clear-cut, because both theorists and composers are named as authors or *auctores*. See Schmidt 2004, pp. 41–52.
- 7 Erich Reimer provides general as well as detailed reflections on the terms *musicus* and *cantor*. See Reimer 1972 or Reimer 1978.
- 8 This terminological distinction between *musicus* and *cantor*, which can be traced back to Boethius, is not to be understood as clear-cut in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period; yet, it always resonates on different levels. On the distinction between *musica theórica* and *musica practica*, see also Haas 2007, pp. 13–15.
- 9 The term *compositor* is already attested from the 9th or 10th century, as e.g. Calella 2014, p. 49, shows. Nonetheless, the role and the occupational image of the composer are not yet as clearly outlined as in the late modern period. Only from ca. 1470/1480 does it become apparent that a designation of status and occupation is connected to the word *componista* as the precursor of the German word *Komponist*; see Fuhrmann 2019, p. 45. In addition, it is worth paying attention to its connection to

concepts of (multiple) authorship and to avoid terminological confusion, I will use the term ‘author’ to refer to the composing entity¹⁰; yet, it must always be kept in mind that this is an especially precarious term in musical studies which is not congruent with the use of the term in textual research.¹¹

Looking into the musicians’ motets reveals that their particularity in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period can be traced back, among other things, to a concrete attribution of authorship.¹² This attribution of authorship is usually not only evident from additional information – that is, from a paratext¹³ – but, in the case of many musicians’ motets, can be ascertained directly from the work itself or the text of the work.¹⁴ An unmistakable feature of musicians’ motets is, first of all, the self-reference to the composer and the attribution of the work to its author. The author not only names himself as the creator of a work but also positions himself within the work and within the direct message of the work.¹⁵ This self-reference or self-naming has already been examined from different perspectives in scholarship; a reduction of musicians’ motets to self-referentiality or biographical details, however, falls short.¹⁶ Analysis of the musicians’ motets cannot only align the mention of the composer’s name with possible biographical self-references¹⁷ but can also reveal relationships with other authorial

the *ingenium* – the emergence or designation of the genius and composer. See Calella 2014, p. 199, as well as Wegman 1996.

- 10 The equivalence ‘musical author = composer’ also refers to Callela’s remarks; see Calella 2014, p. 243.
- 11 For further considerations on the discourse of authorship, see also the introduction to this volume, pp. XVI–XXIII.
- 12 Another approach to be considered critically is the assumption of Mark Everist and Sylvia Huot that anonymity can be interpreted as a sign of multiple authorship and that the lack of authors’ names in the 13th-century motet indicates an inseparable collaboration of several authors. On this subject, see Calella 2014, p. 56.
- 13 For information on paratexts and on the function of music prints and manuscripts ca. 1500, see also Schmidt-Beste 2010.
- 14 See Calella 2014, p. 85: “Especially in manuscript culture, in which the omission of an attribution in the scriptographic transmission is highly probable, the insertion of the names of composers in the text set to music serves both to signal and concurrently secure a closer bond between author and work.”
- 15 This need not always be the case with the musicians’ motets, however, as is apparent in the example *Mater floreat* by Pierre Moulu.
- 16 Jane Hatter also points out in her monograph that the focus in scholarship is increasingly directed toward biographical details, rather than toward aspects of multiple authorship or the collectives of musicians in the motets: “Fifteenth-century musicians’ motets are more commonly used in discussions of the biographies of individuals, rather than explored for their implications as expressions of corporate identity.” Hatter 2019, p. 56, note 7.
- 17 The degree to which the critical examination of a composer’s self-references and intertextual references can be enlightening is apparent in many examples; see, among others, Lütteken 2000. Yet it is critical to take into account the controversial connection between work and biography, which must be differentiated.

entities connected to these works.¹⁸ Of course, the reflection of discourses of multiple authorship is only possible when the authors involved and their connections to each other can be revealed. As will be shown in the following examples, the author must position himself in the text or in the context of the work,¹⁹ and thus has a double status from the start: the author is verified as the named originator of the work and simultaneously takes on a role or a position in the work itself. In addition, vocal compositions are for the most part works of multiple authorship, as the composer is often joined by a separate lyricist. In the case of musicians' motets, few clear statements can be made on the basis of the source material about the nature of the relationship between lyricist and composer, but the naming or positioning of the composer is usually provided through self-referentiality.²⁰ Through the relationship of text to sound, the motet thus entails the potential for collective or collaborative authorship that is inherent in the creation process of all vocal genres.²¹

Finally, aside from these basic considerations of authorship, we must also take into account performance and musical interpretation, which affects not only musicians' motets or other vocal compositions but all musical works. Music is invariably the pairing of composition (*factum*) and interpretation (*fieri*); it must therefore be sounded in order to be constituted, and musical actors are necessary for this sounding. In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, the figures of the composer and the musician may coincide in the same person, and thus we cannot necessarily assume a separation in the production and interpretation of the work.²² In the case of the motets as polyphonic works, however, it is evident that several performers are required for the overall tonal constitution of the work.²³

18 Bessler 1978, p. 249: "Through this [the musicians' motet], one learns something of the convivial activities of that college, in which the musician could feel secure for a long time."

19 As the focus in this chapter is on musicians' motets by male composers as known, male pronouns will be used for reference.

20 Some works, however, such as the motet *Argi vices Poliphemus/Tum Philemon rebus paucis*, also reveal both who was the librettist and who was the composer, based on the arrangement of the text. In this frequently described motet, the two authors sign in the motet's text "Hec Guillelmus dictans favit / Nicolao qui cantavit / ut sit opus consummatum." See Calella 2011, p. 153 and Calella 2014, p. 88.

21 I understand multiple authorship as a general umbrella term where several authorial entities are involved in the production process. When authors intentionally collaborate as individuals independently from one another in the process of aesthetic production, this is to be considered as collaborative authorship. If multiple authorship is characterized by independent processes of production by different persons who do not significantly interact as individuals in the process, one can speak of collective authorship. On this topic, see also the introduction to this volume, pp. XXVIII f.

22 Here, the division of musical authorship into composer and performer is not as strongly separated as in the late modern period.

23 This seems especially relevant to the conception of sound when we are speaking of a period in which there were no musical scores in the modern-day sense. Neither the part books nor the choir books represent the voices in vertically aligned scores, and it is difficult to experience the work as

2. Concepts of Multiple Authorship in Musicians' Motets

A look at the motet *Apollonius eclipsatur*²⁴ by Bernard de Cluny from the middle of the 14th century offers concrete access to the characteristics of the musicians' motet:

TRIPLUM

Apollinis eclipsatur
numquam lux cum peragatur
Signorum ministerio
bis sex, quibus armonica fulget arte
basilica musicorum collegio
multiformibus figuris
e quo nitet J. de Muris
modo colorum vario
Philippus de Vitriaco
acta plura vernant a quo
ordine multiphario
noscit Henricus Helene
tonorum tenorem bene
Magno cum Dionisio
Regaudus de Tiramonte
Orpheico potus fonte
Robertus de Palacio
actubus petulancia
fungens gaudet poetria
Guilhermus de Mascaudio
Egidius de Morino
baritonans cum Guarino
quem cognoscat Suessio
Arnaldus Martini iugis
philomena P. de Brugis
Gaufridus de Barilio
vox quorum mundi climata
penetrat ad agalmata
Doxe fruuntur bravo!

The light of Apollo is never eclipsed as it passes through in its service the twice-six signs of the zodiac, with whose harmonic art the church shines through the community of musicians in diverse figures. From it shines forth Johannes de Muris through the manner of his colours [decoration], rich in variety, [and likewise] Philippe de Vitry, from whom all kinds of works spring in manifold arrangements. Henri d'Helene, along with Denis le Grand, knows well the course of the tones. Regaud de Tiramont has drunk from the Orphic fountain. Robert du Palais performs his work with boldness. It rejoices in the poetry of Guillaume de Machaut. Gilles de la Therouanne, together with Guarin, sings low, so that Soissons comes to know him. Arnaud of Saint-Martin-du Ré, the inexhaustibly singing nightingale. Pierre de Brügge [and] Godefroy de Baralle. The voice of these men advances to the poles of the world, to their honour. May they enjoy the prize of fame!

a whole because of this depiction in the notation. Only through performance can the work constitute itself and a complete audio impression emerge simultaneously.

- 24 The motet is transmitted for both three and five voices, and it can be assumed that two further voices were later added to the edition for three voices. In the following remarks, I will concentrate on the version for three voices, which is available in the edition of Harrison 1968. For more detailed explanations and an edition of the version for five voices, one should refer to Gómez, who also gives an overview of the arrangement of the sources; see Gómez 1985, pp. 9–12. I will also not consider at this point the later instrumental versions in a Viennese source. On this topic, see Strohm 1993, pp. 116 and 260.

DUPLUM

Zodiacum signis lustrantibus
 armonia Phebi fulgentibus
 musicali palam sinergia
 Pictagore numerus ter quibus
 adequatur preradiantibus
 Boecii basis solercia
 B. de Cluni nitens energia
 artis practice cum theoria recommendans
 se subdit omnibus presencia per salutaria
 Musicorum tripli materia
 noticiam dat de nominibus.

As the signs of the zodiac illuminate and shine out with the harmony of Phoebus in evident musical synergy, the three-fold number of Pythagoras made equal with the artistry of Boethius' foundation through their illumination, B. de Cluni, who shines through the power of practical art connected with theory, commends himself to all most humbly with these present greetings. The content of the *triplum* makes known the names of the musicians.

TENOR

In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre verba eorum.²⁵
 Their sound has gone out into all lands and their words to the ends of the earth.

Although it cannot be determined to whom the lyrics trace back, this motet for three voices from the 14th century is astonishing in its musical references, intertextual connections, and further points of reference to various works.²⁶ In the Triplum, besides the eternal light²⁷ of Apollo, a commendation is formulated for the musicians, all of whom were contemporaries of Bernard de Cluny. Almost all the musicians mentioned can be identified with names and approximate dates of birth and death.²⁸ It is unclear

25 I rely on the edition of Harrison 1968, here pp. 50–53. My thanks go to Katharina Ost for her assistance with the translations from Latin to German that has served as the basis for the English version of the text.

26 Hatter 2019, p. 60, note 26, refers to the lecture by Wolfgang Fuhrmann ("Musicians Motets and Musicians' Motets in the Late Middle Ages: Notation, Self-Reflexion and Social Identity" on 29/30 May 2014 in Tours) and points out as an example that there is a musical connection between the two motets *Alma polis religio* and *Apollinis eclipsatur*. Likewise, Gómez 1985, pp. 16f., assumes there are connections between two passages in the tenor of *Apollinius eclipsatur* and *Sub Arturo*. Yet these compositional references to other works and to other voices used in different arrangements, e.g. *cantus firmus* arrangements or parodic modes, can be addressed only peripherally in my observations, as these are compositional techniques, rather than functions of authorship.

27 Desmond 2018, pp. 2f. and 16, highlights particularly the metaphors of light in the duplum and triplum in relation to *subtilitas*.

28 Gómez 1985, p. 18, lists the names with biographical dates in the sequence of the motet, namely Jehan des Murs (Johannes de Muris), Philippe de Vitry (Philippus de Vitriaco), Henri d'Helene (Henricus Helene), Denis le Grand (Dionysius Magnus), Regaud de Tirlémont (Regaudus de Tiramonte), Robert de Palais (Robertus de Palatio), Guillaume de Machaut (Guilhermus de Mascaudio), Gilles de Therouanne (Egidius de Murino), Guarin (Garino/Guarino), Arnaud de Saint-Martin-du Ré (Arnaldus Martini), Pierre de Bruges (Petrus de Brugis), and Godefroy de Baralle (Gaufridus de Barilio). Despite some biographical obscurities, all the musicians named were active in the middle of the 14th century, to which period the motet can also be dated.

why Bernard de Cluny directed his focus precisely on these twelve musicians, as no connection of the musicians or their epithets with the signs of the Zodiac is clearly evident.²⁹ The stipulation of the number twelve, however, has given rise to different explanatory approaches in scholarship.³⁰ Juxtaposed with this collective praise, typical of the musicians' motet, is the duplum, in which Pythagoras and Boethius, two authorities on *ars musica*, are named and later accompanied by Bernard de Cluny, the composer of the motet. He is thus doubly anchored in the text (and not only in the paratext): as a performing musician and composer, he stands in relation to his 14th-century contemporaries; at the same time, he sets himself apart from them by not immortalizing himself in the triplum but in the duplum with Pythagoras and Boethius.³¹ Although the specification of a work's intention must be undertaken with caution, especially in discourses of authorship, the composer's purpose in naming the two authorities seems relatively clear in this case: the composer groups himself with the two *auctores*³² of *musica speculativa*, who are distinguished from the contemporary musicians³³ of the triplum. As David Howlett points out in his extensive analysis, Bernard de Cluny shapes his composition in the balanced relationship of three voices between musical practice and musical theory.³⁴

- 29 It is quite possible that the composer intended a connection between the individual signs of the Zodiac and the musicians mentioned, but due to the sparse information on the works and life dates of these musicians, no attribution can be made at present.
- 30 Among other things, Gómez 1985 points to the number twelve in connection with the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the multiplication of the number four as an important Pythagorean number. Howlett 2005 provides extensive numerological interpretations.
- 31 With this configuration, it is thus not a matter of a patrilineal connection to father figures (an image of musical parenthood or *paterfamilias*), as it also often appears in compositions of the time, but rather a listing of contemporaries and a self-integration in the vicinity of Pythagoras and Boethius; see Higgins 1997, pp. 171–173. A chiasmus, in which Bernard de Cluny situates himself opposite Boethius, appears in the duplum; see Howlett 2005, p. 155.
- 32 As Hüschen 1973, p. 226, already shows, two basic trends can be determined among the *auctores* as *inventores musicae*: 1) classical-antique (Pythagoras) or 2) biblical-antique (Jubal). The motet *Apol-linis eclipsatur* accordingly is an example of the classical-antique tradition, in which Pythagoras is depicted as the inventor of music. On the differentiation of *auctor* and *auctoritas*, see also Lütteken 2005, pp. 9–18.
- 33 The twelve persons mentioned are not to be seen distinctly as performing musicians in contrast to music theorists, as certain of the musicians, such as Egidius de Murino, were also verifiably active as music theorists. The classical authors (Pythagoras and Boethius) are to be distinguished from the twelve musicians of the 14th century primarily through dignity and tradition. See Desmond 2018, pp. 4f.
- 34 See Howlett 2005, pp. 158f. In the triplum and duplum, the harmony of the voices is precisely coordinated in a compositional manner; shortly before the first syllable of *signis* is sung in the duplum, the first syllable of *signorum* is sung in the triplum. Likewise, *armonica fulget* in the triplum follows after *armonia Phebi fulgentibus* in the duplum and *musicorum collegio* in the triplum shortly after *musicali* in the duplum. Johannes de Muris, as the first contemporary of the composer in the triplum, is immediately followed by the first classical *auctor* in the duplum.

The motet can be analyzed through multi-layered points of reference that underpin the concept of *musica mundana* and *humana* with cosmological allusions (Apollo and the signs of the Zodiac), as well as with the *auctores* (Pythagoras and Boethius) and the twelve musicians.³⁵ In the process, the possibilities for the design of the musicians' motet become apparent, in which an affiliation and hierarchization is made possible through the division and demarcation of the text and the configuration of the voices.³⁶ Several personal entities occur in this motet, but this alone is not sufficient to speak of multiple authorship. Only through the existing connections between these personal entities does this attribution become possible. The performing musicians and composers praised form a collective that belongs together,³⁷ whereas the composer Bernard de Cluny, by integrating himself alongside Pythagoras and Boethius, concurrently places himself in another collective, namely the collective of the *auctores* of *musica speculativa*. In the motet, two collectives are created as a result which are separated from one another and in which the composer situates himself; Bernard de Cluny, who could in fact be assigned to the contemporary collective of the triplum, positions himself within the duplum in a triad of Pythagoras, Boethius, and himself.³⁸ As a consequence, two possibilities of assignment arise here: Bernard de Cluny, "who gleams through the power of practical art associated with theory," ranks himself as an authority who admittedly sympathizes in some way with the collective of performing musicians and composers, yet who consciously integrates himself in the collective of the *auctores*.³⁹ The analysis of the motet shows that not only are several authorial entities named through the compositional design, but that their characteristics as authors are also taken into account.⁴⁰ Even though Bernard Cluny is the (individual) composer of the work, he not only legitimizes himself through the placing of his name in the collective of the named authors of *musica speculativa*, but he also takes up characteristics attributed to these authors in his

35 The implementation of Pythagoras' 'triple number' in the composition for three voices becomes apparent, among other things, in the proportion 3:2:1 in the units of movement. In the duplum, there are three movements divided into six, four, and two lines; in the triplum, there are two movements; and in the tenor, only one movement. Boethius' 'base' is related to the number twelve, which is not only taken up with the twelve signs of the Zodiac but also in the triplum with the twelve musicians who are named in twelve lines; see Howlett 2005, pp. 158 f.

36 While the voices are superimposed and sound simultaneously in the interpretation of the motet, a separation of the voices is evident in the material representation of the text on the page.

37 Alternatively, as Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl 2004, p. 24, puts it, one can speak of a "group signature," which refers to the "mention by name of a group of singers, musicians, or composers."

38 The establishment of this precise triad is an arbitrary, personal choice of the composer, which, however, can be placed in a wider context. Other musicians' motets exhibit a variety of references, ranging from Jubal and Gregory the Great to significant writers of *musica mensurabilis*.

39 It is important here to note that the composer Bernard de Cluny does not depict himself in isolation as an individual author but rather integrates himself into a group consciousness.

40 See note 35 on this.

composition: a form of multiple authorship is thus conceived by the composer in order to lend himself and his work greater impact.

The second example is the motet *Mater floreat* by the composer Pierre Moulu from the beginning of the 16th century, which has typically been categorized in scholarship through its connection between the Italian and French royal courts, but whose genesis has thus far not been clearly resolved.⁴¹ As in the first example, neither the lyricist nor the process of the text's creation can be unambiguously determined.

Mater floreat, florescat modulata musicorum melodia, Crescat celebris dufay cadentia, pros-pere-tur preclaris Regis busnoys Baziron, subtiles glorientur, Triumphet alexander magnificus. Congaudeant Obreth compere Eloy hayne la Rue memorabiles, Josquin incomparabilis brauium accipiat. Rvtilet delphicus de longueval tanquam sol inter stellas, Lourdault prioris amenus, Ne absint decori fratres de Fevin Hilaire hilaris, Diuitis felix, Brumel isaac nynot mathurin Forestier, Bruhier facundi mouton cum vellere aureo date gloriam, Regi et regine in cordis et organo.⁴²

May the mother bloom, may the modulated melody of the musicians blossom, may the cadence of the famous Dufay rise up, may the illustrious Regis prosper, may Busnoys and Baziron delicately praise themselves, may Alexander triumph magnificently. May the memorable Obrecht and Compere, Eloy, Hayne, and La Rue rejoice with them, may the incomparable Josquin receive the prize of victory. May the Apollo de Longueval shine red-gold like the sun among the stars, [as well as] Lourdault [and] the lovely Prioris, and may the brothers de Fevin not be far from fame, the serene Hylaire, the fortunate Divitis, the eloquent Brumel, Isaac, Nynot, Mathurian Forestier [and] Mouton with the Golden Fleece. Let this pay homage to the king and the queen with the [play] of strings and organ.

In the motet for four voices, which introduces the final period of the musicians' motets, a formal difference from the first motet described can be seen. As a result of the text being identical in all four voices, there is no possibility of allocating a hierarchization of the textual messages among the individual voices. This is not necessary, however, as all the persons mentioned were more or less contemporaries⁴³ of the composer Pierre Moulu and not *auctores* of *musica speculativa*. Yet the example is equally a praise of or homage to the musicians in question, who seem to be arranged according to a chronology: Guillaume Dufay is praised at the beginning as the oldest composer for his cadenza, followed by the somewhat younger Johannes Regis and Antoine Busboys and another

41 Shephard 2010 takes a closer look at the relationship between Italy and France, which is reflected in the Medici Codex of 1518 in which the motet is included. The genesis of the motet has often been linked to important events relating to the French royal court, e.g. by, among others, Meconi 2003, p. 206. By contrast, Fallows 2012 makes a case for the milieu of the motet's genesis being situated in the private sphere of the composer Pierre Moulu.

42 I rely on the edition of Lowinsky 1968.

43 The composers and musicians mentioned were for the most part born in the middle of the 15th century; only Dufay and a few others belong to an older generation.

twenty musicians.⁴⁴ In its musical design, the motet is divided into two sections. In the first part, with the exceptions of Josquin des Prez and probably also Loyset Compère and Pierre de la Rue, only musicians are named who were already deceased. In the second part, which begins with the mention of Antoine (Apollo) de Longueval, different musicians are named who have an extensive connection to the orchestra of the French court, with the exception of Heinrich Isaac. While the compositional arrangement of the motet contrasts two groups of people, the relationship and the association of the musicians mentioned must be considered in a more clearly differentiated way.⁴⁵

The composer Pierre Moulu admittedly does not mention himself in the text of the motet but still joins the ranks of this group consciousness.⁴⁶ The dignification, or the praise, culminates in the mention of the Golden Fleece, which on the one hand is awarded to the musicians⁴⁷ and on the other hand leads over into the praise for the ruler addressed to the royal couple.⁴⁸ Although no obvious numerological references or compositional attributes can be established when compared to the first example, a concept of multiple authorship nevertheless emerges in the interaction of the different skills and qualities of the composers. The focus is thus primarily on group consciousness

44 A number of scholarly approaches grant increasing attention to these two groups of musicians; see, among others, Meconi 2003, p. 206 and Fallows 2012, p. 328. This dichotomy is guided by the arrangement of the composition and divides the college mentioned into musicians who had already died ca. 1510 and musicians who were still alive and musically active in the 1510s. Although there is a dichotomy in the layout of the work, the sequence of the composers is not chronological and can therefore also be analyzed for its wider context apart from this dichotomy.

45 Especially the first part of the motet with the older composers can be regarded in terms of a genealogy of musicians, but this still prompts questions from a strictly chronological perspective, where between Obrecht and Eloy, for example, the composer Compère is mentioned, who was somewhat older and outlived the other two by around ten years. In the second part, the sequence of the musicians does not follow any chronological order at all, and the connection was often established through the affiliation with the orchestra of the French court – yet here it remains debatable why Heinrich Isaac, for example, who had no direct connection to the orchestra of the French court, is also mentioned.

46 The group consciousness is related to how the musicians named are connected with each other. Robert Jean Knecht and Honey Meconi note an affiliation of the musicians with the French region and the French musical chapel, respectively. According to their considerations, it is likely that *Mater floreat* was composed for Queen Claude's entry into Paris in May 1517; see Knecht 1994, p. 460 and Meconi 2003, p. 206. Fallows 2012 disagrees with this proposition and sees the motet as being situated in Moulu's private sphere. In addition, the considerations of Shephard 2010 regarding the Medici Codex should be taken into account.

47 The mention of the Golden Fleece is to be understood here as an equivocal allusion: it is – quite playfully – linked by name with the musician Mouton (Fr. *mouton* = sheep) but moreover stands as a badge of dignity.

48 It is noteworthy here that the praise and collective esteem are attributed not to the *auctores of musica speculativa* but to the music-making composers, who thus gain in dignity.

as a surrogate for a missing sort of representation of interests.⁴⁹ Because the genealogy of musicians does not follow a strict chronology due to the arrangement of the musicians, and because the affiliation of all the musicians mentioned to the French royal court must be reflected upon critically,⁵⁰ it should be asked whether considerations of a concept of multiple authorship can be helpful in being able to understand better the relationships among the musicians.

Despite the bipartite division of the composers in the arrangement of the work, the musicians named in *Mater floreat* must be analyzed in terms of their affiliation or their relationships to each other, as they are named in a sequence, but no prioritization of the authors as in *Apollinis eclipsatur* arises from the distribution of the same text among the four voices. The homage in the form of the praise of Mary⁵¹ is, on the one hand, directed to the royal family, to whom the praise with organ and instruments is assigned, but this praise, on the other hand, also refers to the musicians themselves. It thereby concerns not only a representation of interests but also the generation of a created community that composes in similar ways and that jointly creates something. A concept of multiple authorship can here be related to the notion that not only the common sphere of employment and a genealogical connection exist, but that a collaborative creative process is also central. Their activities are understood as a kind of collective, possibly also collaborative creation, which is defined not only by the common sphere of employment but also by the adherence to a communal process of creation and work: the “modulated melody of musicians” blossoms into a collective musical ideal through the contributions of individual composers.⁵²

49 As Wolfgang Fuhrmann 2019, p. 42, notes, a corporation or guild in the early modern period was in place among musicians in cities at most; among ecclesiastic singers, one can at best speak of informal associations. ‘Representation of interests’ is thus not to be understood from a modern perspective or as an anachronistic construct but should rather be read as a sign of a growing professional self-image of composers in the early modern period – both as individuals and as a group.

50 On this topic, see Calella 2014, p. 96. Unlike in *Apollinis eclipsatur*, this concerns not only musicians from the same region but rather worthy personalities whose places of activity range from Florence to the French royal court.

51 “*Mater floreat*” is doubtless intended as a praise of Mary (*Mater Dei*), which, in the intercession of Mary, can be related both to the musicians – with Mary as the patron saint of musicians – but also to the French royal family. In addition to “*Mater floreat*,” there are certain other similarly conceived works that incorporate various musicians or communities of musicians in intercessions to Mary. Among others, a well-known example is the motet *Omnium bonorum plena* by Loyset Compère; after attributions to Mary, the intercession or prayer in the second part of the motet is directed concretely at Dufay and other musicians, which has often been related to the milieu of Cambrai Cathedral in scholarship but which leaves unresolved some uncertainties; see Rifkin 2009, pp. 57f.

52 Collective authorship is characterized here as a parallel production by persons who do not interact synchronously as individuals in the process but who collaborate with one another as an ideal community.

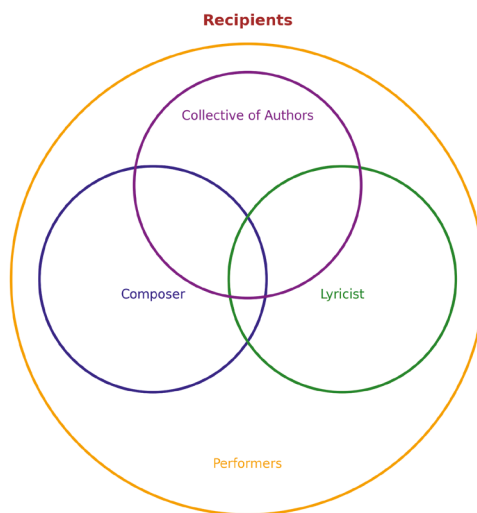


Fig. 1. Systematic model.
Source: author's own design.

3. A Systematic Approach

While the limitation to two examples can only partially reflect the potential of the various musicians' motets, I would nonetheless like to suggest a systematic approach that attempts to connect musicians' motets to concepts of multiple authorship. Musicians' motets are primarily works in which the composer uses his creative power strategically in the production process to position himself in the work and to determine his relationship to a collective of authors. Based on a descriptive approach, a model can be developed to determine the various levels of authorship, from the inner, overlapping circles of the production and composition process to the outer circles of interpretation and reception (Fig. 1). In the case of musicians' motets, the production process should be distinguished from the process of interpretation, each of which can be regarded as a different form of multiple authorship.

If one focuses on the inner structure of authorship in the production and composition process, one can distinguish between three authorial entities, namely the composer, the lyricist, and the collective community of musicians. The collaborative or collective teamwork between composer and lyricist is a fundamental aspect of vocal works rather than a specific quality of the motet or of musicians' motets. What is specific to musicians' motets, however, is that composer and lyricist attach their signatures to the work together, thereby manifesting their collaboration in a clear and obvious manner. In the two examples selected here, the lyricist and his relationship to the composer are not explicitly clarified, but, from a systematic perspective, different variants may emerge. Sometimes the roles are assigned to two different persons; sometimes they are taken on by the same person, which means there is complete

congruence between both circles. In terms of the authorship of text and music in the musicians' motets, this may concern a form of collaborative or collective authorship, but singular authorship is also possible.⁵³ In the relationship between composer and collective community of musicians, it is not a matter of collaborative or collective authorship but rather of a community of composers or musicians in which the composer wants to locate himself with his work.⁵⁴ As is apparent in the two examples and also in other musicians' motets, the composer positions himself toward this collective and thereby attempts to consolidate the value of his status.⁵⁵ The discourse of authorship thus presupposes a plural approach in which the previous or contemporary authors who are named are linked by tradition – without actually collaborating together on a work. In terms of the three inner circles, it thus has to do with a model of multiple authorship that explores the relationship between the composer and a community of musicians, as well as the relationship between the composer and the author of the text, and which can be examined as to whether it can be described in terms of collective or collaborative authorship.⁵⁶

In addition to the process of production or composition, the process of interpretation must also be considered, which I will indicate as an outer circle. The particular relation that emerges from the character of the music in terms of performance practice is the one established with the performers in a process of communication and recep-

53 The strategic and mutual collaboration of a librettist and a composer would be thought of as a form of collaborative authorship, while a production in which composer and librettist do not interact significantly constitutes a form of collective authorship – for example, the composer draws on a text that has already been written. In the examples chosen, however, and also in other musicians' motets, the question from whom or from where the text of the motet originates cannot straightforwardly be answered. An example of the explicit designation in the musical score of the collaborative authorship of librettist and composer is, for instance, the motet *Argi vices Poliphemus/Tum Philemon rebus paucis*, in which both authors sign their names at the end. The question also arises here as to whether this concerns a balanced, collaborative endeavour or rather a form of collective authorship in which the two do not interact significantly.

54 Another starting point is to understand the composer's self-reference and the reference to the collective of musicians as a musical prayer for the musicians and community of musicians; see Hatter 2019, pp. 53–57.

55 In the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur*, Bernard de Cluny positions himself in the text together with Pythagoras and Boethius; in the motet *Mater Floreat*, Pierre Moulu does not mention himself by name but, through his work, positions himself with the chosen composers as peers in the canon to which they all belong.

56 In addition, one can also make a division following synchronic or diachronic aspects. The text and the composition are formed one after the other and not simultaneously; likewise, the related community of authors mostly stands in a consecutive sequence, in a continuous tradition. Only the performers, specifically three in the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* and four in the motet *Mater Floreat*, have to perform music synchronously, and they thus bring the work to sound all at once.

tion.⁵⁷ If one refers to the two examples, we are dealing with works for three voices⁵⁸ and for four voices, which means at least three or four performers are needed for the tonal constitution of both works.

The reception process of a work is not necessarily to be regarded as a component of authorship, and the collaborative interpretation of the work appears as a matter of course; nonetheless, in the case of the musicians' motets, the relationship and interaction of the entities should, in my view, be considered more closely. The listeners of the vocal polyphony hear the superimposed voices of the text, but it is extremely difficult for them to distinguish or to understand the individual words and textual coherence.⁵⁹ From the point of view of the recipients, it is not entirely clear which musicians' names appear, how the sequence of these musicians is designed, or even how the differentiation and prioritization of the individual musicians takes place – as is the case in *Apollinis eclipsatur*. The audience recognizes that this concerns vocal polyphony and, accordingly, that there is collaborative, communal action implied in the interpretation, but, at the same time, the deeper structure of the text recedes into the background in a purely receptive perspective. This is central, especially in the comparison of performer and recipient: what the recipient can by no means perceive in such detail, the performer realizes all the more clearly, because he must articulate the text, the musicians' names, and he thereby also clearly perceives the implied praise in the form of the collective of musicians.⁶⁰ This is a factor that should not be discounted, that underlies these musicians' motets and is often neglected in the critical engagement with them. The singers articulate the names of the musicians, who are raised up to a collective, and, especially for the contemporary performers who still knew the musicians named, another aspect of belonging arises: the performers make these collectives of musicians audible, possibly perceiving themselves as a performing part of this collective or recognizing at least the plural approach of collective belonging in their declamation of the text.

57 The relationship between the reading and performance of music as a "subject fraught with pitfalls" is included here, as Haar 2013, pp. 27–32 (quotation p. 27), describes it. This goes along with the question of whether music requires performance or is also intended for self-study and intellectual insight in the sense of the quadrivium.

58 In the case of *Apollinis eclipsatur*, there is even a version for five voices, on which, however, I will not expand. See note 24.

59 It is not for nothing that this problems appears in different debates of the time, which are later reflected in the *prima* and *seconda prattica*.

60 Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl 2004, p. 23, also points to this aspect: "In practice, this means that the singers 'pronounce / speak out' the name, immediately transforming the word into sound, concretizing it in a sensory manner, and thus giving a particular significance to the person named. In this way, one can 'make a name' for oneself (or indeed others) with his work, as it is still aptly put today in a turn of phrase."

In summary, the following can be noted with regard to discourses on multiple authorship. One sees that different levels of concepts of authorship – from the process of production and composition to the process of interpretation and reception – prevail in the musicians’ motets and must be viewed as related to one another.⁶¹ Depending on one’s perspective, different aspects can be taken up in this concept of the authorship of the musicians’ motets: What is the relationship of the author of the text to the composer? What is the relationship of the composer to the collective of musicians, and which qualitative evaluations can be made in this respect? What does the collaborative interpretation of the musicians’ motet signify for the singers and the listeners? The systematic model suggested here provides a set of tools that, in addition to the more minute aspects of the individual examples, enables a comparison of the musicians’ motets from the perspective of a concept of authorship.⁶² This focus therefore not only seizes on previously neglected aspects of concepts of multiple authorship but simultaneously offers new approaches to the definition of musical authorship in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. In this way, a new awareness can be created for the fact that, in the musicians’ motets, it is a matter not only of self-referential namings of musicians but moreover of plural connections between authorial entities, each of which must be analyzed and considered very precisely.

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- 61 The definition of the relationship also means that the circles that I have chosen in my model must be weighted differently according to each case and are not intended as standard dimensions. Any attempt at systematization is, of course, open to attack and can provide only approximate parameters.
- 62 Of course, this does not mean that the musicians’ motets should all be systematically and abstractly reduced to their authorial entities – which would be a fatal misunderstanding – but rather that an additional possibility should be provided to bring concepts of authorship into play more than has been the case in musicological analyses thus far.

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