



The Life and Works of Matthaëus Pipelare

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MATTHAEUS PIPELARE *

RONALD CROSS

From the style of his music we may judge that Pipelare belonged to the generation of Josquin des Prez. We may also assume that he was Flemish, if only for the reason that some of his chansons have Flemish texts and that he worked at 's-Hertogenbosch. The only thing definitely known about his life, his residence at this town in Northern Brabant, was only rather recently uncovered, when Albert Smijers published the accounts of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady, attached to the Cathedral of St. John in that city¹.

Although musicologists have dug deep into the surviving documents concerning many Renaissance composers, examining their musical activity and throwing the light of inquiry upon it, there are, nonetheless, a few musicians of this group who possessed technical and artistic mastery but who have remained in the background. Pipelare is one of the composers who have remained unjustifiably obscure, for his music is well constructed and highly expressive.

The contrast of texture within Pipelare's works — which ranges from dense polyphony to lucid, frottola-like homophony, from over-florid and rhythmically prismatic sections to writing in which the voices glide suavely round a tenor-litany of a single reiterated note — is indeed striking, and it would be hard to find more perfect material for the examination of a highly evolving style, reflecting the general musical trends of a period, within the framework of so few compositions by any one musician. Almost as striking is the great variety of forms that Pipelare's works embrace. There are short, simple Masses for ordinary use alongside long and complex Masses, evidently for special occasions, which abound in treacherously difficult passages and ingenious manipulations. The motets range from the heroic and complex to the naive. The chansons include masterful settings in both Flemish and

* *Editor's Note:* The Collected Works of Pipelare are in preparation for publication in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*.

¹ "De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, Archivalia bijeengebracht", *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, XIII (1932), pp. 213-222 (for the references dealing with Pipelare). Further see fn. 9.

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French. In the succinct words of the eminent musicologist Charles van den Borren, Pipelare “. . . seems well entitled to claim a position in the first rank by virtue of his qualities of profundity, of power, and of delicacy, which relate him strongly to Pierre de la Rue. Without doubt, here is a musician whose works should not be neglected, since through them one may trace a general picture, though not a compendius one, of this marvellous epoch.”²

Andreas Ornithoparcus referred to Pipelare in his *Musice active Micrologus* (Leipzig, 1517) as one of several composers whose works “flow from the very fontaine of Art”³. Pipelare’s name is also found listed in the *Bellum musicale, inter plani et mensuralis cantus reges* (“War between the King of Plain Chant and the King of Measured Chant”), of Claudius Sebastiani, organist at Metz, published in 1563. Here (in Chapter XXVII) musicians are divided into four camps: *theorici*, *mathematici*, *pratici*, and *poetici*. Sebastiani reserves his praise for the third group (which includes) Pipelare, as well as Josquin, Pierre de la Rue, Brumel, Isaac, and others), for he says, “In the third place, [there are] the practical theorists, the Leaders of the others, who knew how to sing, and compose, and to judge compositions”⁴.

We do not find Pipelare listed again until the 18th century. Johann Walther, in his *Musikalisches Lexicon oder musikalische Bibliothec*⁵, merely refers to Pipelare as a composer mentioned by Ornithoparcus. Speaking of the *L’Homme armé* melody, Charles Burney includes the Mass by Pipelare in his list of works based on the tune⁶. Ernst Ludwig Gerber has substantially the same thing to say about Pipelare as did Walther⁷.

Suddenly, in the second half of the 19th century, almost every writer who mentions Pipelare refers to him as having been born in Louvain. The statement, which has been repeated over and over, is probably false. Maldeghem seems to have been the first to assign Pipelare’s birth to Louvain. In Volume I of the *Trésor musical, Musique profane*, 1865, page 8, he devoted several lines to Pipelare in reference to a chanson, given by him as

² *La Musique en Belgique du moyen âge à nos jours*, 1950, p. 91.

³ The quotation is from Book II, Chap. 8 (“Of Diminution”), pp. 49-50, of the English translation made by John Dowland, published in London in 1609 as *Andreas Ornithoparcus. His micrologus, or Introduction: Containing the Art of Singing*.

⁴ *Practici theorici, caeterorum Principes, qui canere et componere, et composita intelligere noverant*. The passage is printed in Léon de Burbure, “Etude sur un manuscrit du XVIIe siècle contenant des chants à quatre et à trois voix”, *Mémoires couronnés de l’Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts de Belgique, Tome XXXIII* (1882), pp. 37-38.

⁵ Leipzig, 1732.

⁶ *History of Music*, 1776ff, Vol. I, p. 740.

⁷ *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig, 1813.

Quand vers le soir (the chanson is actually *Fors seulement*), in which he begins, "Mattheus Pipelare. Born at Louvain towards the end of the 15th century . . ." ⁸.

It is interesting to note that in the article on Pipelare in the first edition of the monumental *Biographie universelle des musiciens* by Fétis — Volume VII, containing the entry on Pipelare, appeared in 1841 —, no mention is made of Pipelare's place of birth. "Pipelare (Mathieu), musicien belge, vécut à la fin du quinzième siècle . . ." The second and subsequent editions of the *Biographie* (Vol. VII of the second edition appeared in 1878) include the phrase *né à Louvain* after *musicien belge*.

Maldeghem thus appears to have been the first to state that Pipelare was born in Louvain. Perhaps he had access to documents that have since been lost or are no longer available. It is unfortunate, however, that such a statement was made without mention of its source. We must conclude that, at the present time, both the date and place are unknown.

As has been said, the records of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch provide us with the only biographical information about Pipelare definitely known at the present time ⁹. The town of 's-Hertogenbosch itself was an interesting and important musical center during the Renaissance and one that has perhaps not yet been sufficiently taken into account in discussions of the music of that period. Jacob Barbireau, Pierre de la Rue, Henry Bredemers, Crispin van der Stappen, Clemens non Papa,

⁸ "Mattheus Pipelare. Naquit à Louvain vers la fin du XVe siècle. Plusieurs compositions de cet artiste sont conservées dans la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles. Une messe à quatre voix de ce compositeur se trouve dans les archives de la chapelle pontificale à Rome, et porte pour titre: *L'Homme armé*. Nous avons trouvé la chanson que nous publions, dans une bibliothèque privée de Rome." This last statement of Maldeghem's is rather strange, for of the many sources that contain this chanson, we know of none in Rome or of Roman origin. There is, however, a *Missa Fors seulement* by Pipelare, and this is preserved in a Vatican Library Ms.; the *Missa L'Homme armé* also appears in several Roman sources. Perhaps through confusion Maldeghem had one of these in mind. In assigning Pipelare's birth to Louvain, Maldeghem may have been thinking of a Vienna Ms. (Nationalbibl., Ms. 11883), in which Louvain appears in an ascription (fol. 305r) that accompanies a fascicle containing two of Pipelare's Masses. The ascription reads: "This copy shall be given to Master Henrijk of Louvain and no one else." It would seem unlikely that Maldeghem was familiar with the Ms., however, for neither he nor any other writer mentions it in connection with Pipelare until a good deal later.

⁹ For further information about the Confraternity in general, see Albert Smijers, "Meerstemmige muziek van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch", *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, XVI (1940), pp. 1-30, and "Music of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch from 1300 to 1600", *Papers of the American Musicological Society*, 1939, p. 184ff. The two articles are similar in content, but are not identical.

and many others were connected in one way or another with the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady, and even singers from Italy came to work there. Nicasius and Jerome de Clibano, Hermannus de Atrio, and Nicolas Craen are all singers active at 's-Hertogenbosch who could profitably bear further investigation.

From the records¹⁰, we learn that Pipelare went to 's-Hertogenbosch in the second week of Lent, evidently in the year 1498. He left the Confraternity about the first of May, in what seems to have been 1500. His duty there was to direct the choir boys, and for this he was given 18 stuivers a week, the highest salary paid by the Confraternity. We learn further that Pouwels van Rode was sent to Antwerp and other places to find a *zangmeester* and a high-voiced singer. Rode evidently had to go no further than Antwerp, for it was there that he found Pipelare and the high-voiced singer called Chrispiaenen, who was perhaps Crispin van Stappen. The records seem to indicate that he was well liked, for when he thought that the money given to him to pay his travel expenses should not come from his own salary and threatened to leave if he had to pay it himself, the brothers willingly gave him the money as a present, "in order to keep him here".

Pipelare was preceded as *zangmeester* by Nicasius de Clibano, who died *in de weke post festum Dionisii* (in the week after October 9), 1498. Nicasius had a son, Jerome, who was a sworn brother — that is, a member — of the Confraternity and, during Pipelare's stay at 's-Hertogenbosch, a *zangmeester* at Antwerp. He had previously been *succentor* (choirmaster) at Bruges in 1491 and later joined the court chapel of Philip the Fair, accompanying the monarch to Spain¹¹.

If Pipelare followed in the footsteps of Nicasius de Clibano, Nicolas Craen followed in those of Pipelare. Craen became *zangmeester* at 's-Hertogenbosch after Pipelare had left and, following that, went to Bruges as a singer at St. Donatian. He seems to have based a Flemish chanson (*Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen*) on one by Pipelare, or perhaps Pipelare based his on Craen's. Pipelare probably wrote his St. John Credo and the *Missa Joannes Christi care — Ecce puer meus* for the 's-Hertogenbosch Cathedral.

Perhaps one of the most important facts that we learn from the records at 's-Hertogenbosch is that Pipelare was the son of Matthew. In these records we find the name given variously as Matheeusz. Pippelaer,

¹⁰ The entries pertinent to Pipelare will be found translated into English in the author's forthcoming *Investigation into the Works and Style of Matthaëus Pipelare*.

¹¹ For further information, see Ad. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et souvenirs*, 1910, p. 413, and Désiré van de Casteele and Edmond van der Straeten, "Maîtres de chant et organistes de St-Donatien", in the *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre. Bruges, Série III, Tome V* (1870), p. 114.

Matheussz. Pypeler, Matheus Pipelaer, meester Matheus Pipelair, Pypelaer, Matheus Pipelaere, Pypeler, Matheussz. Pypelair, or Matheussen Pypeler.

This means that "Matheus" does not appear to have been Pipelare's baptismal name. More than likely "Matheussen" is not the family name either. Perhaps also "Pipelare" (meaning "one who plays the flute and similar instruments") is a pseudonym rather than a family name¹².

We have used the spelling "Pipelare", since this seems to be the form preferred in the Ms. sources. In them the *lare* is sometimes written in musical notation; that is, in two notes indicating *la* and *re* of the hexachordal scale. Such jests were not uncommon at the time. The *la* of Pierre de la Rue was sometimes written in musical notation. However, the spelling "Pipelaer" seems to be closer to the Flemish language. We have also used the modern spelling of Matthaeus, rather than the spelling with one "t" that was current in Pipelare's time.

The "y" employed in the records at 's-Hertogenbosch is equivalent to the "ij" of modern Dutch spelling. This does not necessarily mean that the pronunciation of the diphthong should be the same as for the modern word *pijp* (= "pipe"). Depending upon the region, the pronunciation could also have resembled the "ee" sound of English. Perhaps the latter interpretation is the more likely. At any rate, "pipe" is preferred as the spelling, since that is the one found more often in the musical sources. Since "pipe" is also the French spelling, this makes the term more international and at the same time does not necessarily misrepresent the Flemish.

This discussion indicates that we do not really know what our composer's name is. What we do know, or do not know, however, may be summed up thus: "Matthaeus" may or may not have been the first name of our composer: "Matthaeuszone" (or "Matthaeussen") may have been either a patronymic or a family name; and "Pipelaer" may have been either a family name or a pseudonym. The solution to these problems might furnish us with a key to a great deal of biographical information at present unknown. However, at least at present, Pipelare's very name, as well as his life, seems to be a mystery more difficult to fathom than the obscure "canons" in some of his works.

From the records of the Illustrious Confraternity we have learned that

¹² Of course, our composer's name could have been Matthaeus Matthaeussen Pipelare. An interesting and perhaps similar case is pointed out by Van der Straeten when he discusses Christian Jansone Hollander: Christian is the baptismal name and Hollander is a pseudonym. *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, 1867-88, Vol. II, *Jansone (Chrétien)*, p. 107. From 1558 the composer was in the chapel of the King of Bavaria.

Pouwels van Rode was sent out to find a new *zangmeester* and bring him back to 's-Hertogenbosch to replace Nicasius de Clibano. From Antwerp Pipelare was brought back to be the new *zangmeester* and Chrispiaenen to be a singer. Antwerp was certainly one of the best possible places for Rode to find good talent, for it was renowned throughout the Occident for its brilliant musical life, especially at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the center of its musical activity. Here Ockeghem, Obrecht, and other masters had practiced their art, and many lesser musicians were eager to emulate them. *Zangmeesters* of the Grand Choir of the Cathedral included Jacob Barbireau (1448-1491), Jacob Obrecht (1492-1501), and probably Noel Bauldewyn (1513-1518). Pullois and Regis were also associated with the Cathedral. The Grand Choir, which contained as many as 69 singers in 1490, was divided into two groups, a *Chorus dexter* and a *Chorus sinister*.

Surviving records of the Antwerp Cathedral evidently do not mention Matthaeus Pipelare¹³. In the Ms. collection of the Chevalier Léon de Burbure (in the City Archives of Antwerp) entries may be found with the name Pipelare (or its equivalent). While none of these may be related to our composer, at least they do show that the name did exist as a family name. Among these, for example, there is a Jan Pipelaerts "oudestye" (oldest), married to Marie van Outerry. Both seem to have died by 1545. Among their children were Jan Pipelaerts (called "nurumberger" in 1556), Katlyne Pipelaerts, Goedele Pipelaerts, Joanne Pipelaerts (married to "Henrick de Ruytare alias van Lyboyen"), Marie Pipelaerts (married to Symon le Book), and . . . (name illegible, married to "Peter Scygere Wobvorcooper").

Burbure also provides entries concerning Clara Megane (d. 1574), whose first husband was . . . de Bruyne. They had three children. Her second husband was "Mter Servais van der Meulen, organist van de cathedr: Kerk van Antwerpen."¹⁴ The de Bruyne children were Maria de Bruyne (married Ambrosius Pypelaer, alive 1574), Franchoy de Bruyne (married Maria Pypelaer, daughter of Ambrosius, his brother-in-law), and Hans de Bruyne. Burbure also indicates that among the marriages at St. Walpurgis, on April 28, 1547, was that of Ambrosius Pypelare and Jsabel Taeftinghem, and that the records of the same church for 1567 yield the

¹³ Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Van den Nieuwenhuysen, archivist of the Antwerp Cathedral, for his help in examining the records.

¹⁴ A composition survives by him ("Servaes vander muelen"). It is No. 13 in *Dat ierste boeck vanden nieuwe duytsche liedekens . . .*, published in Maestricht by Jacop Baethen, 1554. The work has been reprinted by Van Duyse in *Een duytsche Musyck Boeck*, 1903, p. 27. "Duytsch" is the Brabant-Holland form for the Flemish word "Dietsch", and both terms mean "Netherlandish".

entry: "14 february solemnis Franchois de Bruyne, Maria Pypeleer. nostra. Yostis Ambrosius Pypeleere." ¹⁵

In the *Acta capitularia* of St. Donatian in Bruges, a document, dated March 27, 1493, indicates that a Johannes Pippelaere received payment as a tenor.

... Jeronimo de Clibano succentori huis ecclesie duas libras gross. monete Flandrie, et magistro Johanni Pippelaere tenoriste hujus ecclesie triginta solidis gross ¹⁶.

A Johannes Pippelart is found among the singers in the Papal Chapel in Rome from October 1499 to April 1502 ¹⁷. This Johannes Pippelart may be the same man as Johannes Pippelaere, who was at Bruges. Further examination of the records at 's-Hertogenbosch, however, will show that it is unlikely that Johannes Pippelart could have been the same man as Matthew's son Pipelaer.

Johannes Pippelart's pay at Rome began in October 1499, and Matthaeussen Pipelaer seems not to have left 's-Hertogenbosch until about the first of May 1500. This is the date of Pipelaer's departure, as given by Smijers ¹⁸. Actually, however, there is no precise date in the 's-Hertogenbosch records. In Smijers' transcription of them, the item giving Pipelaer's final pay is included in a large group of items that have the heading in brackets: "[Sint Jan 1499 tot Sint Jan 1500]." This heading is derived from the binding of the records. Pinchart has said that the year began in 's-Hertogenbosch on Easter ¹⁹. Examination of the records, however, does not indicate whether the year began on St. John's Day or on Easter. In deducing the following dates, we have assumed that the year began on Easter, a normal choice for the time, rather than on St. John's Day, which would not be normal. (Strangely enough, since the Cathedral is that of

¹⁵ For further information on music in Antwerp, see Charles van den Borren, "Antwerpen", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, and Léon de Burbure, "La Musique à Anvers aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles", *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie*, LVIII (1906), pp. 195-96.

¹⁶ From an extract printed in "Maîtres de chant et organistes de St-Donatien", Castele and Straeten, in the *Annales de la Société d'Emulation . . . Bruges. Sér. III, Tome V* (1870), pp. 114-15. Van der Straeten suggests (p. 115, fn. 1) that this may have been Pipelare's brother.

¹⁷ Franz X. Haberl, "Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte, Heft III*, 1888, p. 52. (published also in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, III [1887]).

¹⁸ "Meerstemmige Muziek van de Ill. L. Vr. Broederschap . . .," p. 2, fn. 4.

¹⁹ Alexandre Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, des Sciences et des Lettres. Documents inédits*, III, 1881, p. 167. The church year usually began at the Circumcisio; it was by no means rare, however, for the year to begin at other times.

St. John the Evangelist, the day in question is not that of this saint but of St. John the Baptist.)

We shall present a table, reconstructing the schedule of salary payments shown by the documents to have been made to Pipelare, and thus try to arrive at the length of his tenure ²⁰.

TABLE SHOWING PIPELARE'S SALARY AT 'S-HERTOGENBOSCH
AFTER HIS ARRIVAL ON MARCH 14, 1498

Length of Service	Amount	Presumptive Last Day of Period *
14 weeks	12 gl., 12 st.	June 20, 1498
...	3 pounds (extra, given to all the singers)	
52 weeks	46 gl., 16 st.	June 19, 1499
...	3 pounds (extra, given to all the singers)	
...	2 gl. ("a present, above his salary")	
22 weeks		November 20, 1499
	38 gl., 10 st., 1½ farthings	
23 weeks		April 30, 1500
<hr/>		
Total 2 years, 7 weeks	2040 st. (= 102 gl.), 1½ farthings	

²⁰ Some explanations are necessary in order to interpret the records correctly. The Sunday referred to as *Oculi* is the third Sunday in Lent. The term comes from the introit *Oculi mei semper ad Dominum* (Ps. 24:15), which is sung on that day. The Sunday referred to as *Laetare* is the fourth Sunday in Lent. Dionysius refers to October 9. *Lichtmesse* (= Candlemas, Purification of the Virgin Mary, or Presentation of Christ at the Temple) is February 2. *Sint Jansmisse* is June 24 (for St. John the Baptist) or December 27 (for St. John the Evangelist). Easter came on March 26 in 1497, on April 15 in 1498, and on March 31 in 1499. With these portions of the church calendar as points of reference, one may deduce the dates of many of the events mentioned in the records. The date of Pipelare's arrival is thus March 14, 1498 (*Woensdachs ante Oculi*).

The Rhenish guilder was used as the basis of payment at 's-Hertogenbosch. One guilder (or florin) was equal to 20 stuivers; 1 peter was equal to 18 stuivers; 1 pound was equal to 7 stuivers; 1 farthing (oord) was equal to 1/4 stuiver. Sometimes wine was also used as payment. Pipelare's salary was 18 stuivers (or 1 peter) a week.

* Deduced by the author from the date of Pipelare's arrival and the length of each period of service.

Thus, as all the foregoing evidence shows, unless the same man was on two payrolls at the same time, Johannes Pippelart and Matheeußen Pype-laer could not have been the same person, for the former was in Rome while the latter would seem still to have been in 's-Hertogenbosch.

The exact date of Pipelare's death is not known. However, in some of the Mss. at Jena, the death of several composers has been indicated by the sign "†". Although the precise date of most of the Mss. is unknown, Roediger has been able to date several of them approximately by means of these signs²¹. Chorbuch 2 indicates that Antoine de Févin was dead at the time it was copied out. Since Févin died in 1512, Roediger has drawn the obvious conclusion that the Ms. could not have been copied out before that year. The Ms., which includes the *Missa Fors seulement* of Pipelare, bears the sign "†" beside his name also. This, unfortunately, provides us with no really satisfactory indication regarding date of death, since all that it shows is that Pipelare was no longer living at the time of the inclusion of the Mass in question in a Ms. copied out in or after 1512; but it is the closest thing to evidence that seems to exist²².

* * *

The following pages list 1) the sources containing works by Pipelare and 2) Pipelare's works and where they may be found. The sources are divided into Mss., early prints, and modern prints. The works are divided into 1) Chansons (first Flemish, then French), 2) Motets, 3) Masses, and 4) Works no longer surviving. All groups are listed alphabetically.

The sources that preserve Pipelare's works anonymously are indicated. Only in cases of conflicting attribution are the composers' names given as they appear in the originals. When a source gives Pipelare's name by means of a rebus consisting of the first four letters and a ligature representing the musical notes *la* and *re*, this is indicated by "Pipelare". Where there are divergences in text, the incipits of the originals are given. Three dots indicate that the complete text is underlaid in the original. Folio numbers are given for the location of compositions in most Mss.; however, the number of the piece has been provided for part-books, most prints, and a few Mss. without foliation.

A word here should be said about spurious compositions. *Dulcis amica Dei*, a song-motet ascribed to Pipelare by Coussemaker²³, is anonymous in all sources (including Cambrai 124) but one, where it is found with an ascription to Prioris²⁴.

²¹ Karl Roediger, *Die geistliche Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena*, 1935, p. 61, fn. 7.

²² Chorbuch 20 (containing Pipelare's Magnificat) has the sign "†" beside the name of Josquin as well as beside Pipelare's, which would date the Ms. after 1521. The indication *Matheus Pipelare. pie memorie †* also appears in Ms. 215-261 of the Bibl. Roy. at Brussels. The date of that Ms., however, is not known.

²³ Ed. de Coussemaker, *Notice sur les collections musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai*, 1834.

²⁴ See Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 1954, p. 264.

The three-part *Hélas de vous* ascribed by Maldeghem to Pipelare ²⁵, but actually by Hayne van Ghizeghem (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, Ms. 2794, fol. 44v-45r), is the *residuum* of the *bergerette*, *Se je vous eslonge*, the first section being omitted by Maldeghem. The work is anonymous in the source used by Maldeghem, Brussels 228, fol. 60v-62r ²⁶.

Another composition attributed by Maldeghem to Pipelare ²⁷, *Sur tous regrets — Anima mea liquefacta est*, is attributed to Compère in the Basevi Codex and Bologna, Ms. 148. It is anonymous in Brussels 228, fol. 55v-56r, and Brussels 11239, fol. 27v-28r ²⁸. The original text is *Plaine d'ennuy — Anima mea liquefacta est*.

²⁵ R. van Maldeghem, *Trésor Musical*, XIII (1877), *Musique profane*, p. 35. Pr. from Maldeghem in *Das Chorwerk*, III (1930), p. 25.

²⁶ See Gustave Reese and Th. Karp, "Monophony in a Group of Renaissance Chansonniers", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, V (1952).

²⁷ Maldeghem, *op. cit.*, p. 37; *Das Chorwerk*, III (1930), p. 23.

²⁸ See Reese and Karp, *op. cit.*

MANUSCRIPTS

- Basel FX 1-4 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F. X. 1-4
Fors seulement (II), No. 118
- Basevi Firenze, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Cod. Basevi 2439
Fors seulement (I), fol. 21v-22r
Een vrolic wesen, fol. 26v-27r
- Bru 215-16 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 215-16
Memorare Mater Christi, fol. 33v-38r
- Bru 228 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 228
Fors seulement (II), fol. 17v-18r
- Camb 18 Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 18
Missa L'Homme armé, fol. 125v-137r
- Camb 125-8 Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 125-8
Ic weedt een molenarinne, fol. 123r
- Cortona Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 95-6 (S and A); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. n. a. fr. 1817 (T; B missing)
Vray dieu que pene, No. 35
- Fi 2442 Firenze, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Cod. 2442 (B missing)
Vray dieu, No. 48
- Fi XIX 164-7 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliab. XIX 164-7
Fors seulement (II), LXI
- Fi XIX 178 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, XIX 178
Vray diu, fol. 38v-39r
- Fugger 2 Music Library of Raimund Fugger d. J., 2 *Liber 22 Magnificat primj. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. et 8. Tonj diuersorum Author.*
(... Pipelaire...) ²⁹
- Fugger 4 Music Library of Raimund Fugger d. J., 4 *Liber 8 Missar. Trium vocum diuersis Author.*
(... math. Pipelaire...) ²⁹
- Giulia Roma, Città del Vaticano, Cappella Giulia, Ms. XIII 27
Quam diu che pen messe, fol. 94v-95r
- Jena 2 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 2
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 66v-79r
- Jena 4 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 4
Credo de Sancto Johanne evangelista, fol. 113v-117r

²⁹ An inventory made in 1566 of the enormous music library belonging to the wealthy banker, Raimund Fugger the younger, indicates that compositions by Pipelare were contained in the Mss. mentioned above. See Richard Schaal, "Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund von Fugger d. J.", *Acta Musicologica*, XXIX (1957), p. 128. A good deal of the library (bought by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria from the Fugger family) is now in the Bavarian State Library at Munich. The Ms. listed in the inventory 3 *Liber Salve Regina diuers. Author.* thus appears to now be Ms. 34 at Munich. See Mün 34.

- Jena 20 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 20
Magnificat, fol. 31v-37r
- Jena 21 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 21
Missa Mi mi, fol. 19v-30r
Missa de feria; fol. 59v-71r
- Jena 22 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 22
Missa L'Homme armé, fol. 116v-128r
- Jena 32 Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 32
Missa [sine nomine], fol. 233v-250r
- Malines Malines (Mechelen), Archives de la Ville (Stadsarchief), Liber Mis-
sarum
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 1v-15r
- Marburg Marburg/Lahn, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Mus. Ms. 40091 (*olim*.
Berlin Z 91)
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 38r-56v
- Modena Modena, Archivio Capitolare (Duomo), Ms. X
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 1v-15r
- Mün 34 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 34
Salve Regina, fol. 25v-29r
- Mün 210 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 210
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 100v-123r
- Mün 510 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 510
Missa Fors seulement, fol. 160v-179r
- Mün 1502 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1502
Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen, No. 38
- Mün 1516 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1516
Mein liefs kind, No. 137
- Paris 1597 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds fr. 1597
Fors seulement (II), fol. 60v-61r
- Cortona Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. n. a. fr. 1817 (See Cortona.)
- Pernner Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek (Bibliothek Proske), C. 120 (Pern-
ner)
Vray dieu damours, fol. 216
Ave castissima, fol. 270
Een vrolic wesen, fol. 282
Fors seulement (II), fol. 326
- Santa Maria Roma, Santa Maria Maggiore, JJ. III. 4
Missa L'Homme armé, fol. 1v-14r
- Segovia Segovia, Catedral, Archivo Musical
Missa [sine nomine], fol. 54v-63r
Exortum est in tenebris, fol. 92r
Morkin ic hebbe, fol. 119r
Mijns liefskins bruyn oghen, fol. 177v
- Sicher Lied St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 461 (Sicher Liederbuch)
Fors seulement (II), pp. 8-9
Vray dieu dammors, pp. 56-57

- Sicher Tab St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530 (Sicher Tablature)
Frolich wessen, fol. 34v
Hic est vere, fol. 65v
Vray dieu damor, fol. 66v
Vray dieu güel, fol. 67v
Fors seusement (II), fol. 97v
- Sistina 16 Roma, Città del Vaticano, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 16
Missa Fors seusement, fol. 20v-35r
- Sistina 34 Roma, Città del Vaticano, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 34
Patrem de Sancto Johanne evangelista, fol. 1v-6r
- Sistina 41 Roma, Città del Vaticano, Cappella Sistina, Cod. 41
Missa L'Homme armé, fol. 15v-27r
- Q 17 Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Cod. Q 17
Vray dieu, fol. 71r
- Q 19 Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Liceo Musicale), Cod. Q 19
 (Rusconi)
Fors seusement (II), fol. 1v-2r
- Tournai Tournai (Doornik), Bibliothèque de la Ville, Chansonnier de Tournai
 (monophonic)
Fors seusement (II), fol. 21v-22r (T only)
- Trento Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 1947-4
Ein frolich wesen (a 3, without S)
- Ulm Ulm, Bibliothek des Münsters, Ms. 237 (Schermar Sammlung)
Mijns liefshens bruyn ooghen, fol. D 23v-24r, A 24r, B 22v-23r
- Vat lat 11953 Roma, Città del Vaticano, Cod. Vat. lat. 11953
Vray dieu d'amour, fol. 16v-17r (B only)
- Verona Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Mus. DCCLVII
Vray dieu d'amours, fol. 63v-64r
- Wien 11883 Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 11883
Missa Dicit Dominus: Nihil tuleritis in via, fol. 164v-175r
Missa Joannes Christi care — Ecce puer meus, fol. 295v-303r
Missa Floruit egregius infans Livinus in actis, fol. 306v-315r
Missa [sine nomine], fol. 315v-325r
- Wien 18810 Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18810
Ain frölich wesen, fol. 21v-22r
- Wolffheim Berlin, Bibliothek Werner Wolffheim³⁰
Missa Omnium carminum, No. 6 (S and T lacking)
- Wroclaw Wroclaw (Breslau), Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 98
Missa [sine nomine], No. 13^{30a}

³⁰ The Ms., formerly in the private library of Werner Wolffheim, was sold at auction to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, and subsequently lost during the war. See *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Wolffheim*, 1928, Vol. II, and Dragan Plamenac, *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works*, I, 1959 (second edition), p. XV.

^{30a} According to a communication from Doc. Dr. Bronislaw Kocowski, Chief of the Wroclaw University Library Special Departments, the Ms. in question passed from the former Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau into the hands of the Biblioteka Uniwersyteca, but was unfortunately destroyed during the War.

EARLY PRINTS

- Aich *Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich* (4 part-books)
Fors seulement (II), D XIX-XX, A XII, T LXXIII, B XXXV
- Antico Antico, *Liber quindecim missarum electarum quae per excellentissimos musicos compositae fuerunt*, Rome, 1516
Missa L'Homme armé, LVIII-LXX
- Attaignant Attaignant, *Dix neuf chansons musicales reduictes en la tablature des orgues, Espinettes, Manicordions*, Paris, 1530³¹
Fors seulement (II) (A keyboard fantasy), 18v
- Canti B 1502 Petrucci, *Canti B N° Cinquanta*, Venice, 1502
Fors seulement (II) (Ascribed to Pierre de la Rue), 32
- Canti B 1503 Petrucci, *Canti B*, Venice, 1503 (second edition)
Fors seulement (II) (anon.), 32
- Canti C Petrucci, *Canti C*, Venice, 1504
Euray dieu que payne, cxxx
- Giunta Giunta, *Missarum decem a clarissimus musicis compositorum nec dum antea exceptis tribus aeditarum, Liber primus*, Rome, 1522 (4 part-books)
Missa L'Homme armé, No. IX
- Motetti a 5 I Petrucci, *Motetti a cinque voci, Libro 1°*, Venice, 1508 (5 part-books, SA₁TB, A₂ lacking)
Ave Maria . . . Virgo serena, No. 12
- Paris 504 Christian Egenolff, . . .
Fors seulement (II) (S only), I, XXXI
- Rhau 1541 Rhau, *Opus Decem Missarum quatuor vocum in gratiam scholarum atque adeo omnium musices studiosorum*, Wittemberg, 1541 (4 part-books)
Missa de feria, No. X
- Rhau 1542 Rhau, *Tricinia, tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum, Latina, Germanica, Brabantica et Gallica*, Wittemberg, 1542 (3 part-books)
Sensus carnis mors est, No. XII
- Rhau 1544 Rhau, *Postremum Vespertini opus, Cuius priores partes, iam antea typis nostris aeditae sunt*, Wittemberg, 1544 (4 part-books)
Magnificat, fol. 47r-48v
- Rhau 1545 Rhau, *Bicinia gallica, Latina, germanica, ex praestantissimorum monumentis collecta*, Wittemberg, 1545 (2 part-books)
Virga et baculus tuus, No. 43

³¹ Facsimile edition with commentary (Vol. V) by Edouard Bernoulli, *Pierre Attaignant: Chansons und Tänze, Pariser Tabulaturdrucke aus dem Jahr 1530 von Pierre Attaignant*, 1914, Vol. 1.

MODERN REPRINTS

- BerA Bernoulli, Eduard, *Pierre Attaignant: Chansons und Tänze. Pariser Tabulaturdrucke aus dem Jahr 1530 von Pierre Attaignant*, 1914. Facsimile.
Fors seulement (II) (keyboard fantasy), p. 36
- BerH Bernoulli, Eduard, *Aus Liederbüchern der Humanisten Zeit*, 1910
Fors seulement (II) (after Sicher Lied and Basel FX 1-4), p. 88
- Disertori Disertori, Benvenuto, "Il Manoscritto 1947-4 di Trento e la canzone 'i'ay prins amours'", *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XLVIII (1946), p. 3
Een vrolic wesen (after Trent), p. 4
- Giesbert Giesbert, F. J., *Ein altes Spielbuch aus der Zeit um 1500*, 1936
Fors seulement (II) (after Sicher Lied), p. 8
Vray dieu d'amours (after Sicher Lied), p. 66
- MaldP Maldeghem, R. van, *Trésor Musical, Profane, I* (1865)
Fors seulement (II) (after Bru 228, with the text *Quand vers le soir*), p. 12
- MaldP Maldeghem, R. van, *Trésor Musical, Profane, XIV* (1878)
Ic weedt een molenariniken (after Camb 125-6), p. 7
- MaldP Maldeghem, R. van, *Trésor Musical, Profane, XXI* (1885)
Fors seulement (II) (after Bru 228, transposed), p. 25
- MaldR Maldeghem, R. van, *Trésor Musical, Religieuse, XI* (1875)
Memorare Mater Christi (after Bru 215-16), p. 31
- Moser Moser, Hans Joachim, and Eduard Bernoulli, *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich*, 1930
Fors seulement (II) (after Aich), p. 126
- ObrechtW Wolf, Johannes, *Jakob Obrecht: Werken, 1912-21, Wereldlijke Werken*.
Fors seulement (II) (after Fi XIX 164-7), p. 88
- Seay Seay, Albert, *Pierre Attaignant, Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard, CMM 20*, 1961
Fors seulement (II) (after Fi XIX 164-7)
Fors seulement (transc. of keyboard fantasy), p. 43

WORKS

A. *Chansons*

1. *Een vrolic wesen (a 4)*

Basevi, fol. 26v-27r	Pipelare	<i>Een vrolic wessen</i> (S has <i>vrouwelic</i>)
Pernner, fol. 282	Pipelare	<i>Ain frolich Wessen</i>
Wien 18810, fol. S 23v-24r, A 21rv, T and B 21v-22r		
	petri.de.la.rue	<i>Ain frölich wesen</i>
Trent (anon.; a 3, without S)		<i>Ein frolich wesen</i>
Sicher Tab, 34r	(anon.)	<i>frolich wessen</i>
Disertori, p. 4 (after Trent)		
2. *Ik weedt een molenaarinne (a 4)*

Camb 125-8, fol. 123r		
MaldP XIV (1878), p. 7		
3. *Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen (a 3)*

Segovia, fol. 177v	pipelare	<i>Mijns liefskins bruyn ooghen</i>
Mün 1502, No. 38	(anon.)	<i>Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen ...</i>
Mün 1516, No. 137	(anon.)	<i>Mein liebfs kind</i>
Ulm, fol. D 23v-24r, A 24v, B 22v-23r		
	(anon.)	<i>Myn liefkens bruyn ooghen</i>
Voices begin respectively: e e' b'; d d' a'; A a e'; e e' b'		
4. *Morkin ic hebbe ter scolen ghelegghen (a 4)*

Segovia, fol. 119r		
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5. *Fors seusement (Version I) (a 4)*

Basevi, fol. 21v-22r		
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6. *Fors seusement (Version II) (a 4)*

Basel FX 164-7, No. 118	Mathias Pipilari	<i>Fors seusement</i>
Bru 228, fol. 17v-18r	(anon.)	<i>Fors seusement latente ...</i>
Fi XIX 164-7, No. LXI	(anon.)	<i>Forseusement latente ...</i>
Paris 1597, fol. 60v-61r	(anon.)	<i>Fors seusement latente ...</i>
Pernner, fol. 326	Pipelare	<i>forseusement</i>
Q 19, fol. 1v-2r	Piplare	<i>Fors seusement</i>
Segovia, fol. 92r	Matheus pipelare	<i>Exortum est in tenebris</i>
Sicher Lied, fol. 8v-9r	.M. pipelare	(vacant)
Sicher Tab, fol. 97v	pipalare	<i>fors seusement</i>
Tournai, fol. 21v-22r (T only)		
Aich, fol. 74	(anon.)	<i>Fors seusement</i>
Canti B 1502, 32	Pe.de.la.rue	<i>Fors seusement</i>
Canti B 1503, 32 (second ed.) (anon.)		
Paris 504, I XXXI (S only)		
Attaignant, fol. 18v	(anon.)	(A keyboard fantasy)
BerA, p. 36 (facsimile of Attaignant)		
BerH, p. 88 (after Sicher Lied and Basel FX 1-4)		
Giesbert, p. 8 (after Sicher Lied)		

- MaldP, I (1865), p. 12 (after Bru 228; with the text
Quand vers le soir by Ronsard)
MaldP, XXI (1885), p. 12 (after Bru 228; transposed a major sixth down)
MoserA, p. 126 (after Aich)
ObrechtW, p. 88 (after Fi XIX 164-7)
Seay, p. 43 (after Fi XIX 164-7 and transc. of keyboard fantasy)
7. *Vray dieu d'amours* (a 4)
Permner, fol. 216
Sicher Lied, fol. 56v-57r
Sicher Tab, fol. 66v
Vat lat 11953, 16v-17r (B only)
Verona, 63v-64r
Giesbert, p. 66
8. *Vray dieu que pene m'esse* (a 4)
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|--|
| Cortona, No. 35 | (anon.) | <i>Vray dieu che pene messe ...</i> |
| Fi 2442, No. 48 | Gaspart | <i>Vray Dieu quel paine</i> |
| Fi XIX 178, fol. 38v-39r | (anon.) | <i>Vray diu</i> |
| Giulia, fol. 94v-95r | (anon.) | <i>Quam diu che pen messe</i> |
| Q 17, fol. 71r | (anon.) | <i>Vray Dieu</i> |
| Sicher Tab, fol. 67r | Matheus pipalare | <i>Vray dieu güel 2^a pars Recordamini</i> |
| Canti C, cxxx | Compere | <i>Euray dieu que payne</i> |

B. *Motets*

9. *Ave castissima* (a 4)
Permner, fol. 270
10. *Ave Maria ... Virgo serena* (a 5)
Motetti a 5 I, No. VII
11. *Exortum est in tenebris* (a 4; = *Fors seulement II*)
Segovia, fol. 92r
12. *Hic est vere [martyr]* (a 4)
Sicher Tab, fol. 65v
13. *Magnificat (tertii toni, a 4)*
Jena 20, fol. 31v-37r
Rhau 1544, fol. 47r-48v
14. *Memorare Mater Christi* (a 7)
Bru 215-16, fol. 33v-38r
MaldS XI (1875) p. 31
15. *Salve Regina* (a 5)
Mün 34, fol. 25v-29r
16. *Sensus carnis mors est* (a 3; = *Agnus II of Missa Mi mi*)
Rhau 1542, No. XII
17. *Virga et baculus tuus* (a 2)
Rhau 1545, No. XLIII

C. *Masses*

18. *Credo de Sancto Johanne evangelista (a 5)*
Jena 4, fol. 113v-117r
Sistina 34, fol. 2v-8r (anon.)
19. *Missa de feria (a 4)*
Jena 21, fol. 59v-71r
Rhau 1541, No. X
20. *Missa Dicit Dominus: Nihil tuleritis in via (a 4)*
Wien 11883, No. 15
21. *Missa Floruit egregius infans Livinus in actis (a 4)*
Wien 11883, No. 29
22. *Missa Fors seulement (a 5)*
Jena 2, fol. 66v-79r
Malines, fol. 1v-15r
Marburg, fol. 38r-56v
Modena, fol. 1v-15r
Mün 210, fol. 100v-123r
Mün 510, fol. 160v-179r
Sistina 16, fol. 21v-36r
23. *Missa Joannes Christi care — Ecce puer meus (a 4)*
Wien 11883, No. 28
24. *Missa L'Homme armé (a 4)*
Camb 18, fol. 125v-137r
Jena 22, fol. 116v-128r
Santa Maria, fol. 1v-14r
Sistina 41, fol. 15v-27r
Antico 1516, pp. XVIII-LXX
Giunta 1522, No. 9
25. *Missa Mi mi (a 4)*
Jena 21, fol. 19v-30r
26. *Missa [sine nomine] (a 4)*
Jena 32, fol. 233v-250r
Segovia, fol. 54v-63r
27. *Missa [sine nomine] (a 4)*
Wien 11883, No. 30

D. *Works no longer surviving*

28. *Missa Omnium carminum (a 4)*
Wolffheim, No. 6 (S and T lacking)
29. *Missa . . . (a 8)*
Wroclaw, No. 13
30. *Missa . . . (a 3)*
Fugger 4
31. *Magnificat*
Fugger 2

