Introduction

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Mary, the Virgin Mother of Christ and Queen of Heaven, has been the object of veneration since the early days of the Christian Church.[1] The personification of purity and grace, and by virtue of her humanity, Mary was viewed as the ultimate mediatrix who could effectively intercede to God on behalf of mankind, as she did at Cana in the episode known as Christ's first miracle, the transformation of water into wine (John 2:1-11). Thus, a typical Marian prayer—including the four texts of this catalogue—begins with a recognition of her unique roles and virtues (usually in direct reference to the long list of metaphoric images that make up the Marian Litanies) and concludes with a request that she, in her position as "our advocate," may petition her Son for grace and forgiveness for all humans ("ora pro nobis").[2]

Mary's exalted status as a lady uniquely endowed with virtue and beauty, worthy of love, respect, and the highest praise from Christian believers, naturally aligned her with the idealized lady of the courtly love tradition. As David Rothenberg has recently argued, the repertory of poetic images and the rhetorical register of late-medieval Marian texts were indebted to the language of *fin amour* that defined love poetry from the troubadours to the fifteenth century and beyond. In particular, throughout its long history the genre of the motet frequently invited allegorical reinterpretations of the image of the courtly Lady "full of all goodness" (immortalized for instance in Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plain*) as the Virgin Mary.[3]

The precise origins of Marian devotion remain unclear, but evidence of a liturgical cult or at least veneration of, or devotion to Mary is confirmed by the end of the fourth century. One of the earliest images of the Nursing Mother comes from the Priscilla Catacombs in Rome, dating to ca. 250 AD.[4] By the beginning of the fifth century a fully developed cult of Mary had emerged as is evidenced by numerous images, prayers, feast days, processions and claims of miracles on her part. After considerable debate and resistance, the Council of Ephesus in 431 formally approved devotion to Mary as the God-bearer.[5] By the late seventh century the liturgical calendar included a core group of four Marian feasts: Purification (February 2), Annunciation (March 25), Assumption (August 15), and Nativity (September 8), though the first two were originally regarded as Christological, rather than Mariological feasts.

Two additional Marian feasts (Visitation, July 2) and Immaculate Conception (December 8) date to the late Middle Ages.[6]

Despite the relatively early origin of the Marian liturgical celebrations, the concept of Mary as a merciful mediator, the advocate for mankind, became well established no earlier than the late eleventh/early centuries As Barbara Haggh-Huglo has shown this key historical development is to be connected with the parallel rise of the notion of Purgatory in medieval theology, which paved the way to the belief that Christians could bargain for a better fate after death by appealing to Mary and the Saints, through the intercession of the Church, with endowments of money and goods.[7] A veritable market of "indulgences" quickly ensued, also in connection with the cult of relics. This widespread practice was a major factor leading to the breakup of the Western church into new evangelical denominations in the 16th century, which either greatly reduced or completely eliminated the cult of Mary and the Saints. Indulgences could be obtained also by engaging in certain devotional practices that could involve music: for instance, in the early 1500s the bishop of Zeitz granted an indulgence of 40 days for the mere act of reading or singing the song "Maria zart," also believed to protect from the devasting effects of the "French disease" (i.e., syphilis) that in those years began to spread across Europe.[8]

Of the twelfth-century theologians who stressed the role of Mary as *mediatrix* and dispenser of mercy, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was one of the most influential. In his *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, a staple of medieval homiletic literature, Bernard interprets the two lovers of the biblical text allegorically alternatively as the Soul and Christ or as the Mother and Child, fostering a conversation on Mary's femininity across Christendom that continues to this day.[9] In the eyes of some modern scholars, Mary's acquiescence to God's plan of salvation was a *de facto* endorsement of the image of the submissive and obedient woman in a male-dominated society. Yet, Mary acts as a woman in control of her destiny when she questions Gabriel's announcement that she will become the Mother of the Christ ("How can this be?"; Luke 1: 26-38); moreover, Renaissance iconography invariably portrays her in the act of reading the Bible (the theme of the so-called Reading Annunciate)—an allegory of Mary's place in the plan of salvation, but also an implicit endorsement of women's education and self-affirmation. It is also Mary who offers a cogent synthesis of the message of the Gospel in her Canticle, the Magnificat, with its eschatological vision of a new world-order

that turns on its head earthly—thus, male-centered—notions of power and hierarchy (Luke 1: 46-55).[10]

Mary's outsize presence as a devotional subject in the arts, music and architecture of early modern Europe is a testament to her central role in the communal life of the period. As Blake Wilson (among others) has shown, the urban phenomenon of lay congregations, widespread in Italy but to some extent also across the Alps (particularly Flanders), was a key catalyst toward the development of art forms tailored to the spiritual activities of late-medieval city dwellers, often inspired by the passionate preaching of members of the new mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Servites and others) that rapidly established themselves in urban areas beginning in the early 13th century.[11] The result was the rise of a markedly affective brand of devotion "from the bottom up" with an unmistakable political valence, as it aimed at reforming "in head and members" an institutional Church increasingly viewed as worldly and corrupt. The vitality of the devotion to Mary in pre-modern times is further confirmed by the constant stream of visitors to renowned Marian shrines, such as those of Walsingham in England, Altötting in Germany, and Loreto in Italy.[12]

The affective turn in late-medieval religious devotion hinged on the themes of the Suffering Mother and of Christ's Passion on the Cross. However, as Carol Schuyler has shown, its historical roots date to the beginning of Christianity. Its main scriptural justifications were John's Gospel, that places Mary at the foot of the Cross (John 19:25) and the episode of the Presentation of Jesus to the temple, when Simeon, holding the Baby, predicts Mary's future suffering ("a sword will pierce your soul, too," Luke 21:35).[13] But it was the renewed emphasis placed on the humanity of Christ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, notably in Anselm of Canterbury's meditations, that reimagined Mary in the key role of emotional conduit between Christ and the faithful: in a new alliance of faith and the emotions, Mary's suffering at the Cross came to exemplify the affective and spiritual response to Christ's sacrifice expected from every believer.[14] Indeed, Mary was a credible advocate to her Son on behalf of mankind precisely because in her lifetime she had shared the joys and pains of all women and men on earth, to the point of weeping over her Son's dead body. Further amplifying Simeon's speech, later books of hours will often depict the Virgin with seven ominous swords piercing her neck, a reference to the seven events of her life recalled in prayers by Christians who sought to find solace in the Lady of Sorrows.[15]

Spurred by the new mendicant orders, the visual artists from the 13th century onward sought to translate the new theological trends of Anselm's era for broader, urban communities by promoting an intimate relationship between common viewers and the two persons of Mary and Christ, increasingly portrayed as Mother and Child in human flesh and placed in physical settings reminiscent of the viewer's time and place. The counterpart of the new, naturalistic and emotional approach to the representation of the sacred introduced by Giotto around 1300 was arguably the fast-growing repertory of religious texts and songs—such as the Italian *laudae*, the English carols, and other forms of popular devotion promoted particularly by Franciscans across Europe—that had become widely ubiquitous by the 15th century. The use of vernacular languages in these forms of religious literature, exuding characteristic intimacy and emotionality through a rich repertory of metaphors, is a notable sign of the ongoing humanization of Mary in pre-Reformation times. Or this stanza from the monophonic lauda *Ave, donna Santissima* (from the Cortona laudario):

Tu se' porta, tu se' domo	You are the door, you are the house,
Di te nacque dio et homo	from you was born God and man
Arbore con dolze pomo	O tree with sweet fruits,
Che sempre sta florissima	always in full flower.

Significantly, however, the four traditional antiphons that are the object of this catalogue, likely dating to the 9th-11th centuries, refer to Mary as queen of heavens, a glorious virgin, and a mother of mercy, among other attributes, but not as a suffering mother: as the official expression of Marian theology, the antiphons refrain from the stark emotional tone of popular devotion.

It was particularly during the Renaissance that musicians sang Mary's praises through countless musical compositions that resulted in a large monophonic and polyphonic repertoire for various liturgical and extra-liturgical purposes, often customized for particular places and devotional organizations performed during ritual events of various kinds of visual, musical and oral media.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some churches instituted the singing of an antiphon to Mary as a devotional act in itself independent of, though often attached to one of the other services of the day. In Roman and Franciscan usage since the thirteenth century, each of the four antiphons,[16] *Alma redemptoris mater, Ave regina caelorum, Regina caeli* and

Salve regina became associated with that portion of the liturgical year for which its text is most appropriate. By 1254 the Franciscans had adopted the singing of all four Marian antiphons. The appropriate antiphon usually followed Compline; however, the seasonal antiphons were not exclusive to Compline but could conclude other Offices such as Lauds, None and particularly Vespers. Pope Pius V's *Breviarium Romanum* of 1568 extended a seasonal cycle of the four antiphons[17] to be sung after Compline.

Polyphonic settings of the Marian antiphons were presented in monasteries after Compline or other Offices and in cathedrals during, before, or after the Mass, or with other liturgical festivals. Antiphon settings became a part of the Mass in connection with the substitution Mass[18] as in the settings of Gaspar van Weerbecke. Members of the aristocracy heard the antiphons performed in private chapels and for privately endowed services. Evidence suggests that Marian antiphons were also employed within educational institutions. In fifteenth-century England, a Marian antiphon was often required to be sung at evening devotions honoring the Virgin Mary; *Salve regina* became the favored antiphon. According to one of the statutes of 1444 of Eton College, "Every day at a suitable time in the evening…all sixteen choristers of our Royal College…shall reverently go into chapel accompanied by the master of the choristers….They shall kneel before the crucifix and say *Pater noster*; then they shall rise and sing before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the time of Lent the antiphon *Salve regina* with its verses; outside of Lent and also on feast days during Lent the sixteen choristers shall likewise sing…some other antiphon of the Blessed Virgin."[19]

The practice of composing and publishing the four Marian antiphons as a set or cycle became a common practice among late Renaissance composers. Several composers, principally Italian and Spanish, published cycles of Marian antiphons, among them Fernando de las Infantas (I 37),[20] Francesco Martini (M 1001), Juan Navarro (N 28), Diego Ortiz (O 125), Asprilii Pacelli (P 24), Francesco Soriano (S 3985), Annibale Stabile (S 4200), Orfeo Vecchi (V1069) and the Englishman William Byrd (B 5217). For varied performance requirements and changing styles, composers set the four antiphons for different voice groupings. Tomás Luis de Victoria issued cycles for five voices (V 1521--six voices for *Salve regina*) and eight voices (V 1530). Giulio Belli composed and published four cycles of the four Marian antiphons for four voices (B 1767), five voices (B 1768), six voices (B 1766) and eight voices (B 1765). Of the many composers credited with multiple settings of the four antiphons,

Orlande de Lassus was among the most prolific with twenty-four settings (four *Alma redemptoris mater*, five *Ave regina coelorum,* seven *Regina caeli* and eight *Salve regina*). Such enthusiasm for the Marian texts may have been due to the influence of Wilhelm V and his reform at the Bavarian court as well as his admiration for the Virgin Mary.[21]

A multitude of publications devoted to the Offices of Vespers and Compline by Italian composers appeared during the second half of the sixteenth century and continued throughout the seventeenth century.[22] Composers provided polyphonic music for Psalm texts (alternate verses), antiphons, hymns, versicles and responsories, the Magnificat for Vespers, the Canticle of Simeon for Compline, and most significantly, the four Marian antiphons. To be sure, texts set to polyphony differed in the many printed editions. In some instances, publications included music for Vespers and Compline. Adrian Willaert's *I sacre e santi salmi…,*[23] one of the earliest publications, contains polyphonic music for selected items of both Vespers and Compline with a single Marian antiphon, *Regina caeli* (RC220). A majority of subsequent publications include the four Marian antiphons for voice groupings of three to six voices including antiphonal choirs (8 vv).

Of particular interest regarding the transmission of Marian antiphons are the printed and manuscript sources devoted to them: Pierre Attaingnant's *Liber duodecimo* (1535[4]), the only sixteenth-century print devoted to Marian antiphons, contains two *Ave regina coelorum*, eight *Regina caeli* and seven *Salve regina* attributed to Franco-Flemish and French composers, among them Josquin, Jean Richafort and Mathieu Sohier. Two late sixteenth-century manuscripts, respectively, contain 28 and 42 Marian antiphon settings: GrazU 8 (four *Alma redemptoris mater*, three *Ave regina coelorum*, six *Regina caeli* and fifteen *Salve regina*); LjublianaN 207 (five *Alma redemptoris mater*, four *Ave regina coelorum*, eleven *Regina caeli* and twenty-two *Salve regina*). In addition, two sixteenth-century manuscripts contain only *Salve regina* settings. MunichB 34 includes twenty-nine settings attributed to well-known Franco-Flemish composers—Josquin, La Rue, Richafort, Obrecht and others. RegensburgB C 98 includes eighteen unattributed polyphonic settings; four have been identified as works of Josquin, Pierre de La Rue and Jacob Obrecht—the remaining fourteen settings are most likely the works of Franco-Flemish composers. Two additional manuscripts contain several settings of *Salve regina*: D-Rp MS. C 95, dated 1611 includes eighteen anonymous antiphons, one of which concords with Christophorus Clavius's *Salve regina*, (SR053), and an attribution to

Jacobus Gallus [Handl] (SR111); and the Eton Choir book, EtonC 178, (fifteen attributed *Salve reginas*).

Alma Redemptoris Mater

Alma redemptoris mater, quae pervia caeli porta manes,
Loving mother of the redeemer, who remains the accessible gate of heaven

Et stella maris, succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo:
and star of the sea, help the fallen people who look to rise.

Tu quae genuisti, natura mirante, tuum sanctum genitorem:
You who, while nature marveled, gave birth to your holy Creator

Virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud, Ave, peccatorum miserere.
Virgin before and after, receiving that 'Hail' from the mouth of Gabriel, have mercy on sinners.

Although this antiphon is first recorded in the twelfth-century antiphonal of St. Maur-des-Fossés in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 12044, f. 177^{v}) as part of the Office of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), it may be the oldest of the four antiphons, "though not older than the ninth century."[24] In the late thirteenth century the Franciscan order, closely followed by the Roman Curia, prescribed this antiphon to be sung at the end of Compline, thus closing the daily liturgy with a prayer to the Virgin. The antiphon is allotted from Vespers of Saturday before the first Sunday in Advent through Second Vespers of the Purification (2 February). The attribution of the text and melody to Hermann of Reichenau (Hermannus Contractus, 1013-54) no longer appears tenable.

Alma redemptoris mater may have been linked with psalmody both preceding and following the chanting of a psalm or canticle. The text in hexameters is apparently modeled upon the ninth-century Marian hymn *Ave maris stella* that shares identical or similar phrases.

Alma redemptoris mater	Ave maris stella
Alma mater	Mater alma
Caeli porta	caeli porta
Stella maris	Maris stella
Virgo prius ac posterius	Semper Virgo
Gabrielis ab ore	Gabrielis ore
Sumens illud ave	Sumens illud ave

Most composers of polyphonic settings of *Alma redemptoris mater* recognized its structure of four musical/textual segments by dividing settings into two, three, or four sections. To divide the text into two equal *partes* (2.p. Tu quae genuisti) became a common practice; yet, many settings exhibit a continuous polyphonic fabric while others clearly differentiate textual segments setting them apart through contrast in number of voices, texture, meter, use of a full cadence to articulate each textual section, or a combination of techniques.

The chant melody associated with *Alma redemptoris mater* is designated as mode 5,[25] referred to as the Lydian mode by sixteenth-century theorists. With the not infrequent introduction of b-flat either as an accidental or in the signature, mode 5 became the Ionian mode (and later, the major mode). Consequently, *Alma redemptoris mater* with the presence of a b-flat signature conforms to the Ionian mode. A large majority of the polyphonic settings of *Alma redemptoris mater* based upon the chant melody complement its modal characteristics of a *finalis* on F with a b-flat signature. Compositions void of chant may reflect the Lydian mode with a b-flat signature (e.g., AR090 and AR106) but usually confirm, for example, Dorian, transposed Dorian (g with b^b), or Mixolydian (e.g., AR060 and AR061) modes.

Ave regina caelorum

Ave, regina caelorum,	Hail, queen of heaven;
Ave, domina angelorum:	hail, mistress of angels;
Salve, radix, salve, porta,	hail, root of Jesse; hail the gate;
Ex qua mundo lux est orta:	through whom light entered the world.
Gaude, virgo gloriosa,	Rejoice glorious virgin,
Super omnes speciosa,	beautiful above all others,
Vale, o valde decora,	Greetings, o most beautiful one,
Et pro nobis Christum exora.	And entreat Christ for us forever.

The earliest dated manuscript that contains *Ave regina caelorum* is from the twelfth century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 12044). *Ave regina caelorum*, like *Alma redemptoris mater*, may have been linked with psalmody both preceding and following the chanting of a psalm or canticle. *Ave regina caelorum* was relegated to Compline from the Feast of the Purification (2 February) through Compline of Wednesday of Holy Week; the chant melody associated with *Ave regina caelorum* is assigned to mode 6 with a *finalis* F.[26]

The rhymed text of *Ave regina caelorum* in octosyllabic couplets comprises two stanzas each with four lines in the formal scheme: aa bb cc dd. Consequently, many of the polyphonic settings consist of two *partes.* Musical repetition for the initial "ave regina caelorum" and "ave domina angelorum" as well as "ex qua mundo lux est orta" and "super omnes speciosa" enhances the textual symmetry: aa bc dc ef. A few composers of polyphonic settings that incorporate the chant melody repeat the entire texture for the two "ave" phrases (AC035, AC061, AC062 and AC095) or include complementary initial musical material for the two phrases (AC098). An anonymous setting constructed as a double canon but devoid of the chant melody also restates the entire polyphonic structure for the two textual phrases (AC186, mm. 1-16 equal mm. 17-32). On the other hand, only Baldassare Donata's *Ave regina caelorum* (AC036) manifests similar motivic material for "ex qua…" and "super…"

A substantial number of settings are devoid of chant quotations; yet, at least six of these motets include the "salve" motto (*la-sol-la-re*), the initial pitches of *Salve regina* in conjunction with the phrase "salve radix sancta" for which the motto is underscored with *longae* or breves in one or more voices. Four of Orlande de Lasso's five *Ave regina caelorum* settings, all free of chant, include the "salve" motto. Rudolph de Lassus added a unique double choir setting to the antiphon repertoire; his *Ave regina coelorum* (AC072), modeled upon his father's *O là o che bon echo*, not only contains the "salve" motto, but also initial pitches of the model, the echo principle and the Mixolydian mode. Antiphon settings by Francisco Guerrero (AC057), Robert Naich (AC087) and Hermann Mathias Werrcore (AC139), all based on the respective antiphon chant, also include the "salve" motto.

The *alternatim* principle, a structural feature of many *Salve regina* polyphonic settings and to a lesser degree of *Regina caeli*, defines an *Ave regina caelorum* by Jean Maillard (AC077) that consists of three versets: "ave Domina angelorum," "gaude gloriosa, super omnes speciosa" and "et pro nobis semper Christum exora." On the other hand, an anonymous setting (AC154) manifests a symmetrical structure of four versets: "ave Domina angelorum," "ex qua mundo lux es orta," "super omnes speciosa" and "et pro nobis semper Christum exora."

Like the other Marian antiphons, the text of *Ave regina caelorum*, with but minor variations, has essentially remained intact since its origin. The Pre-Tridentine version was used throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with polyphonic settings spanning the years

from Du Fay to Victoria and was particularly favored by Spanish composers. A few settings close with "Amen," a practice that is also evident in some early sources of the text.

Pre-Tridentine text	**Tridentine text**
Ave regina coelorum,	Ave regina coelorum
Ave, domina angelorum,	Ave, domina angelorum,
Salve radix sancta	Salve radix, salve porta
Ex qua mundo lux est orta:	Ex qua mundo lux est orta:
Gaude gloriosa,	Gaude virgo gloriosa,
Super omnes speciosa:	Super omnes speciosa:
Vale, valde decora,	Vale, o valde decora,
Et pro nobis semper Christum exora.	Et pro nobis Christum exora.

Another Marian antiphon begins with the initial acclamation of *Ave regina caelorum*; however, the remainder of the text differs entirely from the above text. The text comprises six rhymed lines with eight syllables per line and the accompanying chant melody is relegated to "In Honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary."[27]

Ave, regina caelorum	Hail, queen of heaven,
mater Regis angelorum	mother of the king of angels,
O Maria, flos virginum	Mary, flower of virgins,
velut rosa vel lilium	like a rose or lily,
funde preces ad Dominum	pour forth our prayers before your son
pro salute fidelium.	for the salvation of the faithful.[28]

Regina caeli

Regina caeli laetare, alleluia;	Queen of heaven, rejoice, alleluia;
Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia,	because of him whom you were privileged to bear, alleluia,
Resurrexit, sicut dixit, alleluia,	is now risen as he promised, alleluia.
Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia.	Pray to God for us, alleluia.

The earliest known sources for *Regina caeli*, the Old Roman antiphoner S Pietro B.79 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) and the Lucca antiphoner 601 (Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile), date from the twelfth century and indicate an Italian, if not

specifically Roman origin for the antiphon. It appears in both manuscripts within a group of antiphons to be sung with the *Magnificat* after Vespers during the Easter season. Its use as a concluding antiphon for Compline dates from at least the mid-thirteenth century.[29] Within Pius V's breviary (1568) *Regina caeli* is assigned from Compline of Holy Saturday to None of the Saturday prior to the Feast of Pentecost.

Textually, *Regina caeli* is the simplest of the four Marian antiphons. It consists of four irregular lines, each concluding with an "alleluia" that acts as a textual refrain. Linked with Marian devotions in Easter season, the antiphon seems to have been an independent piece not associated with the recitation of psalms. Since 1742, *Regina caeli* also concludes the *Angelus*[30] during the same period of the liturgical year.[31] Spanish composers working in their native country used a particularly Spanish chant melody that, with a few minor variations, was remarkably uniform throughout the kingdom. The melody bears almost no resemblance to the Roman version.[32]

The chant melody upon which a large majority of the polyphonic settings of *Regina caeli* are based is traditionally assigned to mode six with a b^b signature and a *finalis* F.[33] Polyphonic settings embrace chant as a motto (i.e., use of initial pitches of one or more textual phrases), paraphrase technique, *cantus firmus*, or canonic procedures, the latter more frequently used in *Regina caeli* settings than in the other seasonal Marian antiphons. Like other composers, Orlande de Lassus favored incorporation of chant in settings of *Regina caeli*; his seven *Regina caeli* antiphons include chant (two as a *cantus firmus* in equal note values), whereas none of his fourteen remaining Marian antiphons settings include their respective chant melodies. In accord with the modal feature of the chant, F final with a b^b signature prevails in the polyphonic settings;[34] the chant is transposed to C in a few antiphons.[35] *Regina caeli* antiphons devoid of chant reflect the prevailing Lydian mode (e.g., RC031) but usually affirm, for example, Dorian (RC181) or Mixolydian (RC207 and RC210) modes. Composers who used the Spanish *Regina caeli* chant respected its modal assignment, mode one, in the polyphonic settings.[36]

The melisma associated with "laetare" and the respective double melismas connected with "portare" and the final "alleluia" clearly distinguish *Regina caeli* from the three other seasonal Marian antiphons. Settings of the antiphon reveal a wide spectrum of treatments from ignoring or dismissing the melismas to faithful duplication of all melismas. A majority of composers include initial or principal pitches of melismas but acknowledge only half of the "portare" and final

"alleluia" double melismas. On the other hand, some antiphons exhibit one or two abbreviated melismas (e.g., "laetare" and "portare") but complete inclusion of chant for the final "alleluia" (RC011, RC058 and RC148). For their respective three-voice settings, Cypriano de Rore (RC194) and Adrian Willaert (RC217) share the same *cantus firmus* that incorporates complete melismas.

The *alternatim* procedure of alternating chant or organ within polyphonic versets frequently applied to the text of *Salve regina* was also used with *Regina caeli.* In reference to the *Salve* service at the church of Our Lady (Onze Lieve Vrouw) in Antwerp, a document dated 1479, indicates "the Salve regina or Regina celi was performed in polyphony, in *alternatim* with organ."[37] Most likely, the *Regina celi* was used during the Easter season. More than a dozen *Regina caeli* settings in this catalog involve alternation, of which eleven anonymous works not surprisingly are transmitted in manuscripts compiled in Brussels (LeidenGA 1442),[38] Leiden (LeidenSM 1440)[39] and 's Hertogenbusch ('s HerAB 73)[40] during the mid-sixteenth century. The lone attributed example (RC121) belongs to Jean Maillard, a French composer of whom little is known. Two *alternatim* settings (RC236 and RC252) appear, respectively, in CasAC C, a manuscript compiled in Casale Monferrato that contains works by Franco-Flemish composers, and KrakJ 2464, a Polish source devoted to compositions by regional composers.

Thirteen *Regina caeli* settings include the trope *Alle Domine nate matris*[41] that first seems to have appeared in KrakJ 2426 (RC252), a manuscript compiled during the 1420s.[42] The trope was favored in areas that came under German influence during the fifteenth century as evidenced by the polyphonic settings of the antiphon in Polish, Czech and German sources.[43] Except for troped *Regina caeli* settings attributed to Johannes Brassart (RC037) and B. H[artzer?] (RC094), the others are anonymous. Common to all trope settings are the initial syllables "alle" and pitches of the final "alleluia" that parallels its melodic and formal structure wherein the paraphrased melody for "alle…vivere" is restated for the second verse, "quam…pie," without transposition (e.g., RC037 and RC252), or transposed to G (RC275) or C (RC228). The trope continues as an integral part of the antiphon (RC037) or as an independent section (RC273). It may appear somewhat incongruous that the trope text is addressed to the Lord in an antiphon honoring Mary; however, the trope in a *Regina caeli* in MunBS 3154 provides a suitable introduction to the Introit in a *Missa Paschalis*, a plenary Mass, that it precedes. Indeed, the third phrase of the antiphon, "resurrexit sicut dixit" also speaks of the resurrection as proclaimed by the Easter Mass Introit.

Perhaps one of the principal purposes of the troped *Regina caeli* was to introduce the Easter Mass.

> Alle Domine nate matris Deus alme nobis confer praestaque vivere:
> Quam [quoniam] te decet laus honor O Domine qui de morte surgebas rex pie:
> Fac nos tecum surgere, alleluia.
> O Lord, born of a kindly mother, grant and give us life.
> Since praise and honor become you, O blessed Lord, who rose a king from the dead:
> let us rise with you, alleluia.

Salve Regina

1. Salve, regina, mater misericordiae;
   Hail, queen, mother of mercy,

2. Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.
   our life, sweetness, and hope, hail!

3. Ad te clamamus exsules filii Hevae.
   To you we cry, exiled children of Eve.

4. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.
   To you we sigh, groaning and weeping in this valley of tears.

5. Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.
   Come then, our advocate, turn your merciful eyes toward us,

6. Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.
   And after this our exile, show us Jesus, the blessed fruit of your womb.

7. O clemens,
   O merciful one,

8. O pia,
   O loving one,

9. O dulcis virgo Maria.[44]
   O sweet virgin Mary.

Following medieval Roman and Franciscan custom, *Salve regina* is allotted from First Vespers of Trinity Sunday through None on the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent. In the twelfth century the newly established Franciscan and Dominican orders introduced *Salve regina* into their Marian devotion. One of the earliest liturgical uses of *Salve regina* was as a processional chant at Cluny around the year 1135.[45] Snow notes that the Cistercian Order sang *Salve regina* as a daily processional chant from 1218, and after daily Compline from 1251. The Dominicans had the same practice from 1230, including it also as a prayer within the final rites; the Franciscans added it to daily Compline no later than 1249. Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) ordered its chanting after Compline on all Fridays, and beginning in the fourteenth century it was generally sung after Compline in all Latin rites until the Breviary of Pius V (1568) extended its use to the other hours.[46] The origins of *Salve regina* are unclear. Ingram suggests that the origins of neither the text nor the melody can be ascertained although it is generally believed that both were composed at the same time by the same person.[47]

The earliest surviving manuscript known to include the antiphon is n.a.1412 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), a Cistercian antiphoner dating from 1150-60 from the abbey of Movimondo near Milan that may imply a Cistercian origin. A second possible place of origin is Cluny, where in 1135, when Peter the Venerable was abbot, a resolution was passed requiring the antiphon to be sung during processions. Proposed attributions to Adhemar of Le Puy (*d* 1098), Hermannus Contractus (*d* 1054) and others rest on insubstantial evidence. It is clear that the text draws on a type of Marian theology that was still new at the beginning of the twelfth century.[48] The literary style and vocabulary of its text (*regina misercordiae*, *advocata, eia ergo*) reflect the spirit of that period, although it has also been suggested that the date of its composition could be as late as the very early twelfth century.[49]

Salve regina was always an independent piece never associated with the recitation of a psalm. The antiphon was particularly favored by English composers of the fifteenth century and sixteenth-century Spanish composers[50] whose works are preserved along with those composers of the new world in manuscripts in the cathedrals in Guatemala City, Mexico City, Puebla and Bogotá. Additionally, Ingram attributes almost 130 polyphonic settings to Netherlandish composers active between 1425 and 1550.[51]

The text of *Salve regina* consists of nine verses of prose with an irregular number of syllables per verse and rhyming final syllables for the first six verses.[52] Due to this rhyming

scheme and the pairing of verses in the chant for the first four verses, the influence of the sequence upon this antiphon may be posed. Another feature of the text involves the frequency of short exclamatory phrases: *Salve regina*, *O clemens*, *O pia*, *O dulcis virgo Maria*. Text rhyme brings order and symmetry to these ejaculatory phrases.

The text and rhetoric of *Salve regina* exercised a significant role upon the structure of polyphonic settings. The most frequently used practice of structural division involved the alternation of even-numbered verses sung polyphonically with the odd-numbered verses relegated to chant or performed on the organ. The *alternatim* practice was particularly favored by Flemish (J. Obrecht, P. La Rue, J. Vaet, H. Vinders) and Spanish composers; alternation between chant and polyphony became the standard practice in Spain followed by F. Guerrero, P. Bermúdez, H. Franco, J. Navarro, R. de Ceballos and others.[53] Examples of organ settings appear in the works of Paul Hofhaimer, Johannes Schrem, Johannes Kotter, Arnolt Schlick and the two anonymous settings in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (SR 527-539). A less frequent structural arrangement involved the division of the *Salve regina* text into eight or nine *partes*. A rich source of this structure is Regensburg C 98 wherein nine of eighteen unattributed *Salve reginas* (four concord with *Salve reginas* by La Rue, Obrecht and Josquin) observe this practice. On the other hand, a tripartite structure of the text enables topical unity, symmetry and expansion of musical material. The central plea of the antiphon, verse 5, is framed by four verses on each side. The opening verse of the first segment, "Salve regina," emphasizes Mary as the queen of mercy, verse 5, "Eia ergo," requests mercy from Mary, the advocate, and the opening verse of the third segment emphasizes Mary as Mother of God. References to mercy occur in each section: verses 1, 5, and 7. The tripartite division is often accompanied by a reduction in voices for the middle section. *Salve* regina settings employing two relatively equal parts, the second segment normally beginning with "Eia ergo," also display expansion of material through developmental techniques. Typically, the one-movement structure as employed by late sixteenth-century composers includes contrasting melodic and rhythmic motives, textures, voice combinations, and mensuration changes to distinguish textual verses.

Three notable features of the antiphon's musical structure are that verses one and two are identical, verses three and four share initial pitches, and verse eight is a modification of verse seven. When composers adopted the antiphon as pre-existing melody, they often mirrored these features in their settings.

The ubiquitous "salve/vita" motto,[54] became the most frequently quoted motive from the antiphon. Numerous quotations often permeate the polyphonic texture of the initial two textual phrases; yet, a single quotation of the emblematic motive was sufficient for many composers. A subsequent key point in the text of *Salve regina* are the words "Et Jesum," the beginning of verse six. This phrase received specific attention through several stereotypical methods: 1. separation from the rest of the verse, 2. chordal setting, 3. use of the appropriate chant as *cantus firmus*, and 4. reduction in the number of voices. Procedures could be combined. The three concluding invocations often received distinctive treatment. Some composers set them in chordal texture, reduced the number of voices for them and their tropes, or introduced the appropriate chant of the invocations in *cantus firmus* style though the main body of the work did not include *cantus firmus* procedures.

Salve regina settings by fifteenth-century English composers invariably include three or four verses of the trope *Virgo mater.*[55] The fifteen *Salve reginas* in the Eton Choirbook, those by Dunstable (SR080), Power (SR214 and SR215) and Richard Pygot (SR449), as well as the anonymous settings LonLP 1, "Lambeth Choirbook" (SR320), TrentC90 (SR390) and TrentC 92 (SR394) contain this trope. *Salve regina* settings by Hubertus de Salinis (SR116) and Engarandus Juvenis (SR129) are the only extant examples by continental composers that include the *Virgo mater* trope. Respective verses of the "Virgo, mater" trope were inserted before the final three acclamations: "O clemens," "O pia" and "O dulcis Maria." A majority of the settings include the first three trope verses, though the fifth verse was occasionally substituted for verse three; only two settings contain verse four (SR116 and SR129[56]). References to the plainsong of *Salve regina* are infrequent in the *Salve regina* settings by English composers; indeed, Walter Lamb is the only composer to include the trope plainsong melody in his antiphon setting (SR132).

Virgo, mater trope

Virgo, mater ecclesiae	Virgin, mother of the church,
aeterna porta gloriae,	eternal gate of glory,
esto nobis refugium	be our sanctuary
apud patrem et filium	with the Father and the Son
O clemens!	O merciful one.

Virgo clemens, virgo pia, virgo dulcis, O Maria, exaudi preces omnium ad te pie clamantium	Virgin merciful, virgin kind, virgin sweet, O Mary, hear the prayers of all of those crying to you in piety.
O pia!	O loving one.
Funde preces tuo nato, crucifixo, vulnerato et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto felle potato	Pour forth the prayers to your Son who was crucified, wounded and scourged for us, whom thorns did pierce, who drank the cup of bitterness.
O dulcis Maria, [salve.]	O sweet Mary, [hail!]
Gloriosa dei mater cujus natus est ac pater, ora pro nobis omnibus qui tuam memoriam agimus.	Glorious mother of God whose son is the father pray for us all who perform your memorial.
O Maria.	O Mary.
Dele culpas miserorum; terge sordes peccatorum dona nobis beatorum vitam tuis prrecibus.	Expunge the sins of the doomed; wipe away the stains of sinners; give to us the life of the blessed through your prayers.
O mitis.	O gentle one.

Quotation of extraneous texts in *Salve regina*, as well as the other Marian antiphons, enhanced theological implications, clarified and emphasized structural features, and possibly expanded the purpose and use of the seasonal Marian antiphons. Inclusion of hymns, sequences, and antiphons (above all, one or more of the other three Marian antiphons) in *Salve regina* compositions (Table I) influenced the use of the antiphon within liturgical and extra-liturgical dimensions. Likewise, quotation of melodies associated with the repertoire of French chansons, German Lieder and Dutch *liedeken* (Table II) coupled with the *Salve regina* chant promoted an interrelationship between secular and sacred spheres. Bereft of their original texts, but retaining their melodic and rhythmic integrity, complete, abbreviated, or selected phrases of secular melodies were primarily presented in an upper voice. Symbolically, there arose a symbiotic relationship wherein the "early beloved of secular song was elevated by

likening her to Mary simultaneously making Mary more accessible and immediate by likening her to the early beloved of secular song."[57]

That more than 525 polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* from the period 1400-1615 survive, or are known to have been composed, can be attributed to the need for the many settings required during Ordinary time as well as the preference of Spanish composers for setting the text where even after the adoption of the *Breviarum Romanum* of Pius V in 1568, *Salve regina* continued in use in several Spanish dioceses. The Spanish fondness for polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* can be explained by the fact that this antiphon, sung after Compline, was required during the entire year. Only after the new breviary of 1576 was adopted in Spanish dioceses were composers required to set the three other Marian antiphons polyphonically according to seasonal requirements.

Another significant use for polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* settings was the *Salve*, *Salut* or *Lof* that was named for the Salve regina.[58] The admiration for *Salve regina* among theologians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries apparently led to its inclusion in monastic evening devotional services. When a laic Marian devotion developed as an outgrowth of these services, *Salve regina* attained a central place within the service.

By the late Middle Ages, confraternities consisting of members of the laity had become established throughout Latin Christendom. One of the early practices of the confraternities was to glorify Mary by singing *Salve regina* at least on Saturdays and/or Sundays after either Vespers or Compline. By the late fifteenth century these services had expanded to include a variable selection of readings, recitation of psalms, music, prayers, a motet, the use of organ and naturally the singing of *Salve regina* celebrated before an image of the Virgin Mary. In churches, lay confraternities often endowed the *Salve* services and made generous provisions for musicians to celebrate them; singers trained in singing polyphony were enlisted for the services.

Evidence points to the establishment of *Loven* (*Salve* services) throughout the Low Countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Marian confraternity of St. Goedele established one of the earliest endowments in Brussels in 1362. This *Lof*, celebrated on Saturdays and on Marian feast days along with the Marian Mass, included the first documented endowed polyphony in Brussels.[59] The most lavish services were likely those

sponsored by the Marian confraternity in Antwerp whose statutes established a daily devotional service on 12 February 1479.[60]

Normally, *Salve regina* was sung at the *Lof*, except at Easter when *Regina caeli* was substituted. In its post-Tridentine form, the *Lof* featured the singing of *Alma redemptoris mater* from Advent to Christmastime, *Ave regina coelorum* from Purification of the Virgin until Good Friday, *Regina caeli* at Eastertide, and *Salve regina* from Trinity Sunday to Advent.[61]

Several composers of *Salve regina* settings are known to have been members of specific confraternities. Obrecht was a member of the Marian confraternity in Antwerp. Du Fay was a member of the *Salve* chapel of St. Géry at Cambrai, and Pierre La Rue, the composer of six polyphonic settings of *Salve regina*, was a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch. To be sure, it cannot be determined whether *Salve regina* settings by these composers were composed specifically for their respective establishments.

A service that had evolved from the simple chanting of *Salve regina* came to be celebrated as a separate devotion after Vespers or Compline in many churches and cathedrals, and as part of the procession and Mass in others. To fulfill the demands of the *Salve* devotions for polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* as well as the three other Marian antiphons, composers provided numerous settings. Indeed, the popularity of *Salve regina* and the *Salve* service[62] continued throughout the sixteenth century at the height of the Marian cult.[63]

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For the most part, the history of Marian antiphon settings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries parallels that of the motet in broad stylistic features such as number of voices, texture, inclusion of borrowed material, *cantus firmus* treatment, paraphrase of borrowed material, use of canon and multiple choirs.

In the early fifteenth century when the first polyphonic Marian antiphon settings appeared, English composers took the lead. Most pieces were written for three voices with contrasting two-voiced inner sections. On the continent, English influence became evident in the works of Du Fay and his contemporaries, who, like English composers, reduced the number of voices in inner sections, and divided their works into sections corresponding to the natural divisions of the text. The Eton composers who followed late in the century represented a unique

situation. They increased the average number of voices to five, wrote in a highly contrapuntal style, and often included chant melodies other than the *Salve regina* melody.

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries four-voice combinations became standard and motets were normally divided into well-defined *partes.* Devices such as canon, ostinato, and the use of tropes were mainly employed through the beginning of the sixteenth century.

On the continent Burgundian composers of the last third of the fifteenth century developed a distinctive style. Structural voices tended toward an axis formed by the Tenor and Superius. Part and parcel of the structure was a *cantus firmus*. Long melodic lines, independent of text or textual rhythm, unfolded according to musical considerations. Although imitation occasionally occurred, it was not a hallmark feature. During the last two and half decades of the century, another style originated in northern Italy, but became primarily evident in the works of Netherlandish composers. Motets in this style exhibit an imitative texture featuring duet sections with contrasting combinations of voices (upper contra lower voices) with corresponding textual and musical rhythms. Some motets are entirely chordal with syllabic settings of their texts. Borrowed material in the form of chant is not common to this style; however, when present it usually permeates the entire texture via imitation. Contrasting duple and triple mensuration sections are not uncommon. In settings of *Regina caeli*, the "alleluia" refrain is frequently in triple mensuration. Whereas tonal harmonic progressions are not evident in the Burgundian style, they do occur particularly at cadential points in the new style. To be sure, an intermingling of the two styles occurred in some works.

Among the most productive composers of Marian antiphons in the late sixteenth century were Roman and Roman-oriented composers. In addition to works for four, five and six voices, eight-voiced works for double choir became common. Venice has usually been associated with polychoral music; yet, based upon output, Rome has the strongest claim to be regarded as its true home.[64] Roman composers produced multiple choir settings of the Marian antiphons during the two decades following the Council of Trent. By the beginning of the seventeenth century polychoral settings had become standard in Rome with contributions by Palestrina, Giovanni Animuccia, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Felice Anerio, Francesco Soriano and Victoria.

Palestrina published a double-choir setting of *Ave regina caelorum* (AC087) in *Motetorum quae partim…liber tertius*, 1575 (P 711), the first extant publication of Roman polychoral music. Additionally, Palestrina contributed two double-choir settings of *Alma redemptoris mater* (AR084 and AR085), another *Ave regina caelorum* (AC088), two settings of *Regina caeli* (RC162 and RC163) and one *Salve regina* (SR197). All of these settings include the respective antiphon chant melodies, in most cases extensively paraphrased, particularly in the single-choir sections. Whereas the Venetians experimented with the combination of choirs of contrasting ranges, Romans preferred choirs of equal range. Significantly, the most frequently set texts by Roman composers were Marian antiphons sung at the conclusion of Compline or Vespers, or in a devotional context. That polychoral settings flourished in Rome, Venice and Munich (Lasso is credited with two settings, AR063 and SR140) may reflect a political dimension. In Rome large-scale music was designed to impress the listener and communicate the authority of the church and the expansion of the city's musical resources. In Venice and Munich polychoral music as well as architecture and other art forms projected the grandeur and authority of the state.

Whereas the creation of multiple choir settings of the four Marian antiphons became a trademark at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, chromaticism was used sparingly. Except for Gesualdo's *Ave regina caelorum* (AC053) the use of chromaticism is limited. Even Orlando di Lassus, who employed chromaticism in some of his motets, did not venture into that realm with the Marian antiphons. Evidently, composers associated the four antiphons with a more conservative tradition considered appropriate for their texts and functions.

Symbolism involving number or compositional techniques is evident in several Marian antiphons. Compositions for seven voices are rarely found during the Renaissance; yet, four *Regina caeli* (RC075, RC115, RC157 and RC180) that date from the sixteenth century were most likely intended to commemorate the Seven Sorrows of the BVM.[65] Similarly, J. Martini's inclusion of seven chants in his *Salve regina* [SR168] may symbolize Mary's Seven Sorrows and Joys. The presence of ostinati, their pitch content and number of repetitions often represent religious concepts (see Renaldo's *Regina caeli*, [RC189], Josquin's *Salve regina*, [SR128,] Victoria's *Salve regina* [SR267,] as well as Caspar Copus's *Salve regina*, [SR068]). Copus's *Salve regina*, intended as an encomium to Arnold de Bruck, not only includes a German

version of the antiphon chant, but also quotes the superius of the "cum sancto spiritus" section of the Gloria of Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine*, a symbolic means of inviting Josquin to join the composer in honoring Arnold de Bruck and the Virgin Mary.

Notes

1. For an overview of Marian studies, see the numerous essays featured in Chris Maunder, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of* Mary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); on the history of the cult of the Virgin Mary, see Miri Rubin, *A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Chris Maunder, ed. *Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Burns and Oates Continuum, 2008); Sally Cunnen, *In Search of Mary: The Woman and the Symbol* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); Michael Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Pan.Picador, 1990).

2. See, for instance, the invocation to Mary as "advocata nostra" in the *Salve regina* (discussed below).

3. David Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4. The image is available on the website "Maria lactans: Mary as Nursing Mother," URL: (accessed Dec. 20, 2023).

5. On the symbolism of Mary as *Theotokos* in the Western and Orthodox churches, see the essays by Richard Price, Christine Chaillot and Christian Kappes in the *Oxford Handbook of Mary.*

6. For an overview of the Marian feasts in the Christian liturgical calendar, see Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise,* pp. 13-21.

7. See B. Haggh, "The meeting of sacred ritual and secular piety: endowments for music" in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 60-8.

8. See Birgit Lodes, "'Maria zart' und die Angst vor Fegefeuer und Malafrantzos—Die Karriere eines Liedes zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik* 1 (2001): 99-131.

9. As a result, the Song of Songs was a frequent source of inspiration for Marian texts, symbolisms and metaphors throughout the Middle Ages; motets based on the text of the Song of Songs were often performed during Lady masses.

10. Mary Catherine Nolan, "The Spirituality of the Magnificat," *Marian Studies* 50 (1999): 60-87. For a critique of the Renaissance representation of Mary's agency, see S. Schibanoff, "Botticelli's Madonna del Magnificat: Constructing the Woman Writer in Early Humanist Italy," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 109 (1994): 190-206.

11. On this topic, see the vast literature on the Italian lauda and the English carol, in particular Blake Wilson, "If Monuments Could Sing: Image, Song, and Civic Devotion inside Orsanmichele," in *Orsanmichele and the history and preservation of the civic monument*, ed. Carl Brandon Strehlke (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2012), 140-68.

12. On the Walsingham shrine, see Gary Waller, *Walsingham and the English Imagination* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); on Altötting and its significance to the Wittelsbach rulers of Bavaria in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, see David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), ch. 3; on the sanctuary

of Loreto, see *Loreto: Crocevia religioso tra l'Italia, Europa e Oriente,* ed. Ferdinando Citterio and Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1997).

13. Carol M. Schuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21 (1992): 5-28; Eamon Duffy, "Aquinas Lecture 1988: Mater Dolorosa, Mater Misericordiae," *New Blackfriars* 69 (1988): 210-27; Robert Miola, "Stabat Mater Dolorosa: Mary at the Foot of the Cross," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 48 (2017): 653-79.

14. However, much older Georgian and Syrian texts, such as an anonymous *Life of the Virgin* from the 7th century that may have been a source of inspiration for Anselm, promoted affective meditations on Christ's passion by concentrating on Mary's suffering. See Stephen J. Shoemaker, "Mary at the Cross, East and West: Maternal Compassion and Affective Piety in The Earliest 'Life of the Virgin' and The High Middle Ages," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 62 (2011): 570-606. In similar fashion, the advent of *Christus patiens* iconography in the 13th century, which emphasized the humanity of Christ by highlighting his suffering on the Cross, was likely a *maniera greca* imported from Byzantine models through the mediation of the Franciscans. See Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passions in Late-Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), ch. 1.

15. Books of hours were an essential part of private devotion in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, particularly (but not only, as time went by) for the aristocracy; the prayers found in the Hours of the Virgin and the Hour of the Cross occasionally became the basis of motet compositions (at times substantially reworked, as in the case of Ockeghem's *Intemerata Dei mater*). On this topic, see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: the Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: Braziller, 2001), Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Te Matrem Dei Laudamus: a Study in the Musical Veneration of Mary," *The Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967): 53-76; Howard Mayer Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 744-73.

16. Compared to other chants, these four Marian antiphons came into existence rather late in the development of the chant repertoire.

17. The antiphon, a relatively short piece, is by definition linked with either a psalm or a canticle; however, the four Marian antiphons are substantial independent pieces.

18. The substitution Mass, also termed *motetti missales* or *ducales*, appears to have originated in the chapel of the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, during the 1470s. The extant motet cycles consist of up to eight motets that were meant to substitute for chants of the Mass Ordinary or Proper.

19. Frank LL. Harrison, The Eton Choirbook, vol. 10, Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd, 1956), xv.

20. This symbol and similar symbols designate catalog numbers in Series A of RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*) that comprises an alphabetical catalog of editions of printed musical works under the name of a single composer.

21. "Having learned of the splendor and propriety of the liturgical rites at the German College in Rome, Wilhelm requested that someone be sent who would supervise the sacred ceremonies at his court. Dr. Walram Tumler, a young collegiate who had just completed his studies, arrived in Rome in October 1581, two years after Wilhelm V's accession to the throne. Tumler discovered a number of shortcomings but specifically recommended the reinstatement of Commemorations and the Marian antiphons in Vespers. Consequently, the Munich court included the Marian antiphons at the conclusion of Vespers and perhaps in addition to Compline with which they were most commonly associated." David Crook, *Orlando di Lassos Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 34. In addition, Orlando di Lassus composed 102 Magnificat settings, far more than any other Renaissance composer; consequently, his contribution to the Marian repertoire is extremely noteworthy.

22. Surveys of the Compline repertoire are available in the following articles: Jerome Roche, "Musica diversa di Compietà: Compline and its Music in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*, 109 (1982/83): 60-79; John Bettley, 'L'ultima hora canonica del giorno': Music for the Office of Compline in Northern Italy in Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *Music & Letters*, 124 (1993): 163-214; and Jeffrey Kurtzman, "Music for Compline Published in Italy, 1555-1700: a Survey of the Repertoire," *Baracco Padano 4: Atti del XII Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secoli XVII-XVIII, A.M.I.S, Como,* (2006), 59-116. Publications relative to Vespers and Compline are included in Jeffrey Kurtzmann and Anne Schnoebelen, "A Catalogue of Mass, Office and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy: 1516-1770, *JSCM Instrumenta*, 2, 2014; the catalogue is available at http://sscmjscm.org/wordpress/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2.

23. Published in Venice by Antonio Gardano in 1555.

24. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993), 106.

25. See Appendix 1.

26. See Appendix 2.

27. *Liber Usualis*, (Tournai: Desclee Company, 1962), 1864. Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, (Louvain: Lefever, 1892-1920), No. 2072; and Mone, II, p. 202.

28. The settings of the antiphon *Ave regina celorum, mater regis angelorum* include works by Innocentio Alberti (1567^3, No. 7), Benedictus Appenzeller (1547^6, No. 13), Gilles Binchois (Binchois Kaye, No. 32), F. Canale (C 769, No. 19), De Silva (CMM 49, No. 40), Walter Frye (CMM 19, Nos 5 and 5a), Gombert (CMM 6, Vol. 5, No. 7), P. de La Farge (SCM 10, No. 27), Jacquet of Mantua (CMM 54, Vol. 7, No. 12), Obrecht (ObrechtNOE, Vol. 15, No. 3), L. Power, (CMM 50, No. 6), J. Regnart (CMM 64, Vol. 4, No. 10), C. Rore (CMM 14, Vol. 6, pp. 95-100), Hippolito Tartaglino (T 232, No. 1), P. Vinci (V 1658, No. 25), Weerbeke (CMM 106, Vol. 3, No. 2.5 and AMMM 2 11, pp. 58-63) and Willaert (Willaert SW Vol. 1, No. 40 and CMM 3, Vol. 2, pp. 35-7) as well as anonymous settings in FlorBN Magl. 112bis, ff. 30^v-32, LonBL 5665, ff. 58^v-59 (RCM 23), MilD, ff. 150^v-151 (AMMM 9, pp. 21-5), MilD 3, ff. 167^v-168, OxfBS 26, ff. 12^v-15 (EECM 8, No 8), OxfBS 26, ff. 16^v-17 (CMM 50, Vol. 1, No. 6 and EECM 8, No. 9) and TrentC 89, ff. 83^v-84. An anonymous *Ave regina celorum/O decus innocentie* is included in 1504^1 (SCM 2, No. 20) for which the T of W. Frye's motet appears in the T of the anonymous setting as a *cantus firmus*; the lower voices only include the incipit "Ave regina celorum," whereas the S carries the text "O decus innocentie" underlayed throughout.

29. Robert J. Snow, "Regina caeli laetare," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 12:29.

30. The Angelus commemorates the Incarnation. Celebrated three times daily (6 a.m., 12 p.m. and 6 p.m.), it includes recitation of specific versicles, three Hail Marys and concludes with a prayer, all accompanied by the ringing of a bell. The practice originated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The term Angelus is derived from the opening words "Angelus Domini nuntiavit Maria [the angel declared to Mary].

31. Keith Falconer, "Regina caeli laetare," *New Grove II*, 21:102.

32. Michael Brian O'Connor, "The Polyphonic Compositions on Marian Texts by Juan de Esquivel Barahona: a Study of Institutional Marian Devotion in late Renaissance Spain," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2006), 79.

33. See Appendix 3. Since the melody descends to the semitone below F only twice, it could have been classified as mode 5. The Lydian mode with a b^b when transposed to C was categorized as Ionian by Glareanus and corresponds with the later major scale. The combination of a chant pitched on F (Lydian) with a transposition to C is normally associated with canon, a contrapuntal device frequently used in polyphonic settings of *Regina caeli.*

34. Jean Maillard's multi-texted setting (RC124) combines the appropriate paraphrased chant melodies for the sequence *Inviolata, integra* (Superius, octave higher), *Regina caeli* (Contratenor, fifth higher), *Alma redemptoris mater* (Tenor, at pitch) and *Ave regina coelorum* (Bassus, at pitch); since these melodies are assigned to modes five and six, they can be rather comfortably reconciled within a work in F.

35. RC101, RC166, RC175, RC182, RC205, RC220, RC228, RC269, RC290, and RC291.

36. RC051, RC063 and RC064.

37. Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), 414.

38. RC253, RC254, RC255, RC256, RC257, RC258, RC259 and RC260.

39. RC263 and RC264.

40. RC246.

41. Chevalier, *Repertorium,* Vol. 4, No. 35121.

42. Charles E. Brewer, "Regina celi letare/Alle- Domine: From Medieval Trope to Renaissance Tune," *Cantus Planus: Papers read at the Third Meeting [I.M.S. Study Group on Chant] Tihany, Hungary, 19 24 September 1988,* (1990): 442-448.

43. BerlinPS 40098 (RC228); BerlinS 40021 (RC094 and RC230); HradKM 6 and HradKM 7 (RC247); KrakJ 2464 (RC252); MunBS 3154 (RC273, RC275 and RC276); PragP 97 (RC383); TrentC 89 (RC292); and TrentC 91 (RC293); and WarU 2016 (RC094, RC309 and RC310).

44. In pre-Tridentine rites the word "mater" in verse 1 and "virgo" in verse 9 were accretions that gradually came into use over a period of centuries. The final acclamation infrequently was altered to "O dulcis Virgo semper Maria" though never standardized.

45. Sonja S. Ingram, "The Polyphonic Salve Regina, 1425-1550," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1973), 18.

46. Robert J. Snow, "Salve regina," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 12:631.

47. Ingram, 13.

48. Jeannine S. Ingram and Keith Falconer, "Salve regina," *New Grove II*, 22:186.

49. Marie-Noël Colette, "Le *Salve Regina* en Aquitaine au XIIéme Siècle L'Auteur du Salve," *Cantus planus* (1992), 521-47.

50. On 31 January 1564 the cathedral chapter in Guatamala City "decreed that henceforth *Salve Regina* was to be sung polyphonically throughout Lent, as it was in Seville….*Salve Regina* was sung either on a daily basis, to the exclusion of all other Marian antiphons, or, less frequently, in combination with the seasonal use of other texts, many or all of which were not used in Roman books, and this continued to be the situation until the imposition of the reformed Breviary of 1568….Among the more important Spanish dioceses that seem to have used only *Salve Regina* after Compline were those of Toledo, Seville, Saragossa, and Vich." Robert J. Snow, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4,* vol. 9, MRM, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 65f. Furthermore, an examination of the *cantus firmi* in Spanish polyphonic settings reveals that Spanish clergy chose to continue using local chant melodies in *Salve regina* settings for nearly a half century after the Roman Rite was accepted in most of Spain. O'Connor, 53.

51. In her dissertation, "The Polyphonic Salve Regina, 1425-1550," Ingram examines 130 settings by Franco-Flemish composers.

52. See Appendix 4.

53. "Many settings of *Salve Regina* were polyphonic throughout as well as many that called for alternation between organ and polyphony or chant….By the 1530s the establishment of an *alternatim* practice similar to that in the performance of psalms, hymns, and canticles became the predominant format in Spain." Robert J. Snow, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4,* p. 74. Spanish composers who had ties with Italy were the exception.

54. The four-note motto derived from the opening of the antiphon plain chant is frequently used at the beginning of *Salve regina* settings; however, some composers also included the motto with the words "spes nostra, salve" in the second verse of *Salve regina* or "salve, radix, salve, porta," of the *Ave regina caelorum.*

55. The troped *Salve regina* with five or six verses appears in some English liturgical manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. Liturgy.d.r, f. 181. Frank Llewellyn Harrison, "An English Caput," *Music & Letters* Vol. 33, No. 3

(July, 1952), p 205. The Ritson MS (Lbl Add.5665) of a later date also contains the troped *Salve regina* (No. 44), the only plainsong item in the manuscript.

56. In *Antiphonariuym secundum morem Sancte Romane Ecclesie* (Turin: Pietro Paola Porro, 1520), ff. 187^{v}-8, verses 1, 2, and 4 of the *Virgo mater* trope, all sung to the same melody as in the English sources and with the appropriate antiphon invocation (verses 7-9) concluding each verse, follow the entire *Salve regina.* The final two lines of verse 4 reads "roga patrem et filium / ut det nobis paraclitum" instead of "ora pro nobis omnibus / qui tuam memoriam agimus." Printed continental antiphonaries most likely influenced SR116 and SR129.

57. David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise, Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

58. For more information regarding *Salve* services see: Kristine K. Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of our Lady, Antwerp," *Early Music History* 7, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1-57; Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988); Robert J. Snow, ed., *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*, vol. 9, In MRM, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 68-74; and Bernadette Nelson, "From Anchieta to Guerrero: The Salve Regina Portuguese Sources and an Unknown Early Spanish Alternatim Setting," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* nova série v/1 (2019): 113-56.

59. Barbara Helen Haggh, "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350-1500," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988), 398-9.

60. "The most detailed reconstruction of a lof presently available is that of the church of Our Lady in Antwerp. This lof, held daily around 4 P.M. in the Marian chapel, had been endowed by the Gilde van het Loft e Onze Lieve Vrouw in 1479. The lof was announced by the sounding of the "Maria" bell and five smaller bells as well as by organ music. Next, a motet was sung by one or two choirboys and a bass singer. Then, the Salve regina or Regina celi was performed in polyphony, in *alternatim* with organ. The antiphon was followed by a verse and collect chanted by the ministrating chaplains. On Sundays and feast days, a motet followed, with organ. A responsory, then a hymn and antiphons, commonly from the liturgy of the Marian office, were followed by a Magnificat with an optional collect. The motet without organ was repeated, and the Ave Maria, a spoken prayer, ended the lof, preceded by bells." Haggh, 414-15. That a *Regina celi* was to be performed in *alternatim* with organ is unusual since the short text of the antiphon does not lend itself to that practice. See Alternatim Settings for a list of the twenty-two polyphonic settings of *Regina Caeli* in this catalogue that include *alternatim* principles.

61. Kristine K. Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of our Lady, Antwerp," Early Music History 7, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10.

62. For information concerning the *Salve* service in Spain, see MRM 9, pp. 68-74 and Grayson Wagstaff, "Mary's Own. Josquin's Five-Part 'Salve regina' and Marian Devotions in Spain," Vol. 52, No. 1 (2002), *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 9-11.

63. Of the numerous printed editions and manuscripts that contain Marian antiphons, only Attaingnant's *Lib. Duodecimus xvii. musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationes…* (1535[4]) specifically intended the seventeen Marian antiphons contained therein to be used for Salve services.

64. Thomas Noel O'Regan, "Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1988), 1.

65. The decree of 22 April 1727 by Pope Benedict XIII established the feast of the "Septem dolorum B.M.V." to be celebrated on the Friday prior to Palm Sunday; however, during the sixteenth century, the feast was often celebrated during Eastertide when *Regina caeli* was the seasonal antiphon as well as on the Friday prior to Palm Sunday. Frederick Holweck, "Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1912, 14:151-2.

Table I
Plainchant Borrowings
Bibliographic citations accompany the specific antiphon.

AR057	Josquin	Plainchant text and music of *Ave regina coelorum* in S and B Altus of J. Ockeghem's *Alma redemptoris mater,* AR078
AR118	Anonymous	Plainchant *Et genitorem* in lowest voice of 1.p.; music and text of *Ave regina coelorum* in lowest voice of 2.p.
AR129	Anonymous	Plainchant text and melody of *Ave regina coelorum* included in T and Ct of respective *partes*
AC030	H. Chapelle	Plainchant text and melody of sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria* in S
AC046	J. Forest	Text of antiphon *Anima mea liquefacta est* included in concordant manuscript, ModE X.1.11
AC063	J. de Kerle	Plainchant text and melody of final "alleluia" of *Regina caeli* in Q
AC221	Anonymous	Plainchant melody of *Regina caeli* in S
RC123	J. Maillard	Plainchant text and melody of sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria,* and antiphons *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Ave regina coelorum*
RC189	Renaldo	Recitation formula with text *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*
RC268	Anonymous	Textual phrase and pitch motive *Surrexit Christus* used as ostinato
RC297	Anonymous	Plainchant text and melody of sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria*
RC348	L. Senfl	Hymn texts and melodies of *Festum nunc célèbre, Gloria laus et honor,* and text and melody of *Te ergo quaesumus,* a verse of the *Te Deum*
SR003	A. Agricola	Text and Tenor of W. Frye's *Ave regina coelorum mater Regis*
SR052	J. Browne	Antiphon *Maria ergo unxit*

SR053	J. Browne	Antiphon *Venit dilectus meus*
SR068	C. Copus	"Cum sancto spiritus. Amen." From the Gloria of Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine*
SR105	N. Gombert	Plainchant text and melody of antiphon *Ave regina caelorum,* antiphon *Beata Mater,* sequence *Inviolata, integra et casta es Maria,* antiphon *Hortus conclusis,* antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* and antiphon *Ave Maria*
SR118	R. Hygons	Antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*
SR168	J. Martini	Plainchant text and melody of antiphon *Da pacem Domine,* hymn *Vexilla Regis,* antiphon *Vos amici mei estis,* hymn *Gloria, laus et honor* and sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus*
SR214	L. Power	Antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*
SR235	L. Senfl	Hymn *Stella maris*
SR245	J. Sutton	Antiphon *Libera nos salve*
SR256	J. Vaet	Vaet's motet *Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra salve*
SR273	R. Wylkynson	Antiphon *Assumpta est Maria*
SR320	Anonymous	Antiphon *Libera nos salve nos*
SR336	O. di Lasso	Motet *Memo esto verbi tui*

Table II
Secular Borrowings
Bibliographic citations accompany the specific antiphon.

AC072	R. de Lasso	*O là o che bon echo* by O. de Lassus
RC087	J. Ghiselin	Tenor of G. Binchois's *Comme femme desconfortée*
RC308	Anonymous	Tenor of H. van Ghizeghem's *Allez regretz*
RC394	Anonymous	Cantus of Ockeghem's *D'un alter amer*
SR006	G. Aichinger	Parody of G. Gabrieli's madrigal *Lieto godea*

SR020	B. Appenzeller	*Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen,* anonymous Dutch *liedeken*
SR022	Ar. Fer	Lieder: *Zu jagen, Wunschlich schon*, *Glick walt der Reis* and *Wes ich mich leid* Tenor of Du Fay's *Le serviteur* and Discantus of Isaac's *J'ay pris amours*
SR036	N. Bauldeweyn	Superius of Ockeghem's *Je n'ay dueil*
SR078	A. Divitis	Tenor of Josquin's *Adieu mes amours*
SR081	L. Episcopius	Various voices from Pierre Sandrin's *Doulce memoire*
SR101	J. Ghiselin	Superius of G. Binchois's *Je ne vis oncques le pareille* attributed to Binchois/Du Fay
SR136	P. de La Rue	Discantus of Du Fay's *Par le regard de vos beaux* and Discantus of *Je ne vis oncques le pareille* attributed to Binchois/Du Fay
SR173	J. Molinet	*O werde mont,* anonymous Dutch *liedeken*
SR256	J. Vaet	Tenor from anonymous chanson *iay mys mon coeur*
SR272	H. Vinders	Superius from J. Ghiselin's *Ghy syt die werste bovenal*
SR330	Anonymous	Superius from Pierre de La Rue's *Myn hert altyt heft verlangen*
SR331	Anonymous	*O werde mont,* anonymous Dutch *liedeken*
SR333	Anonymous	*Myns liefkens bruyn ooghen,* anonymous Dutch *liedeken*
SR387	Anonymous	Tenor of Du Fay's *Le serviteur halt guerdonné*
SR388	Anonymous	*Hilf und gib rat,* anonymous German Lied