Josquin des Prez’s Motet *Qui velatus facie* and the Canonization of St. Bonaventure in 1482

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Spring 2017
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Abstract

On the basis of historical and stylistic evidence, I argue that Josquin des Prez’s motet *Qui velatus facie* was a response to St. Bonaventure’s canonization in 1482. In fact, my research supports the claims of Andrea Adami that Josquin was in the service of the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV at the time he composed the motet, and that either Sixtus or a contemporary Roman cardinal commissioned *Qui velatus facie*. Josquin’s habit of traveling frequently has been a primary source of confusion in tracking the details of his career; therefore, connecting *Qui velatus facie* with Bonaventure’s canonization would place Josquin in Rome around 1482.
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“Why and for whom did Josquin des Prez compose his motet *Qui velatus facie*?” Taking his text from St. Bonaventure’s hymns for the *Office of the Passion* suggests that he may have written it in response to the canonization of Bonaventure in April of 1482. It is unclear where Josquin was in the early 1480s, but historical and stylistic evidence in the motet suggests that he may have been in Rome and that the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV or a contemporary cardinal may have commissioned Josquin to write *Qui velatus facie*.

Given the basic premises that

- *Qui velatus facie* comprises text from St. Bonaventure’s *Office of the Passion*

- *Qui velatus facie* is the only extant work integrating and honoring St. Bonaventure in the 15th century

- St. Bonaventure’s canonization occurred in 1482, a year in which Josquin disappears from the chronology of music historians

- Sixtus was in the midst of greatly expanding the papal choir in the early 1480s and was incredibly devoted to Bonaventure

- The Milanese style in which the motet is written suggests Italian influence and inspiration

it seems likely that Josquin des Prez’s motet *Qui velatus facie* was intimately related the canonization of St. Bonaventure in 1482.

In my research process, I examined historical and stylistic musical evidence to support my claim of Josquin’s connection with Pope Sixtus IV and Bonaventure’s canonization. I analyzed Josquin’s other works for stylistic and thematic traits for large-scale-compositional context. I tracked the political occurrences around 1482 and identified pro-Franciscan patron possibilities for Josquin’s motet. One would want to offer evidence for a direct connection
between St. Bonaventure’s canonization and Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie*, but such definitive evidence has not been discovered apart from Andrea Adami’s claim that Josquin worked under Sixtus IV. This evidence I’ve discovered leaves openness to speculation. In this paper, I will examine the content and stylistic aspects of Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie*, the circumstances of St. Bonaventure’s canonization, possible patronage of *Qui velatus facie*, Josquin chronology, and other scraps of evidence connecting Josquin to Italy in the early 1480s.

**Compositional and Stylistic Aspects of Josquin’s Motet *Qui velatus facie***

A motet is a polyphonic work, usually scared, and wealthy patrons often commissioned them for special occasions. The motet *Qui velatus facie*, which is divided into six parts, does not use all of Bonaventure’s hymn texts, nor does he follow the order of the divine office. The hymn texts are not always stated verbatim, and some stanzas and whole offices are left out. Some pars use all the text from an office, some only use parts of office texts, and one even combines texts from two offices. For example, Bonaventure’s Terce office is used in its entirety in the secunda pars of Josquin’s motet, but Josquin leaves out Bonaventure’s Matins and None offices. This process of redaction and reorganization suggests that Josquin wished to convey a linear and concise narrative more focused on Christ’s passion than did Bonaventure. This table shows the various pars of the motet

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**Figure 1: Utilized Hymn Texts**
ve to Bonaventure’s hymn texts.

The Matins office (which Josquin does not use) includes the text “Laus, honor Christo vendito, Et nostril cause prodito, l’asso mortem pro populo, In aspero patibulo,” which means, “Christ! By coward hands betrayed, Christ! For us a captive made, Slain for man, be praise to Thee!” This same stanza is used in the the Prime hour of the Passion, which is used in the Prima pars of Josquin’s work, but this same stanza is cut out of the pars entirely. Josquin may have deemed it redundant to include similar texts twice in his motet.

Each pars paints a picture of a certain station of the cross or an aspect of Christi’s sacrifice and suffering. The narrative unfolds beginning with the prima pars addressing the scourging and beatings of Christ and so on until the quinta pars where Christ is laid in his tomb. The sexta pars provides an overview of the passion narrative. It is interesting to note that Qui velatus facie contains several text quotations from other hymns, and a few musical quotations. All hymn melodies are in the third and fourth modes. Hymn quotations in the Sexta pars are mostly found in the Antiphonale Romanum and the Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi. Joquin pulls texts and some melodic aspects out of the following hymns:

Christe redemptor omnium (old poem by St. Ambrose)
Consors paterni luminis (also a St. Ambrose hymn)
Ad cenam agni provide (one of the earliest Ambrosian hymns)
Exultet celum laudibus
Jesu nostra redemptio
Eterna Christi munera
Conditor alme siderum
**Beata nobis gaudia** (written by Hilary of Poitiers) has the same melody of *Iam Christus astra ascenderat*

All hymn melodies are in the third and fourth modes, as only four modes were formally acknowledged in the time of St. Ambrose. Modes 1 and 2 are the authentic and plagal modes ending on D. These are called the Dorian and Hypdorian modes. Modes 3 and 4, the modes we see used in the hymn quotations of the Josquin motet, are authentic and plagal modes ending on E, and are called the Phrygian and Hypophrygian modes. *Authentic* means having a range extending from the final to the octave above, while *plagal* means having the final in the middle of the range. In the case of Josquin’s use of the modes in *Qui velatus facie*, mode 3 is the plagal mode and mode 4 is the authentic mode.

These borrowings in *Qui velatus facie* show a propensity toward the Milanese rite, also known as Ambrosian chant—further evidence that Josquin composed the motet in the early 1480s, around the time of his possible tenure in Milan. The tertia pars hymn quotation is not in the original Bonaventure text and was included by Josquin. Josquin’s decision to cite Ambrosian hymns is curious. Although Ambrosian hymns are the foundation of chant, Ambrose was the Bishop of Milan, so perhaps Josquin’s writing in the Milanese style is tied into his citation of Ambrose. The majority of the hymn quotations occur in the sexta pars. The first three hymn quotations in the sexta pars are not set very homophonically. They begin together with the voices in rhythmic unison, but quickly branch off, making the chant setting (the cantus firmus) difficult to hear. Since we don’t have the hymn music for Bonaventure’s *Office of the Passion*, we don’t know if Bonaventure also used these hymn melodies or not.

**Milanese Style**
The Milanese style, on display in Josquin’s motet, shows a fusion of compositional styles: the imitative style is considered to be of French origin, and the chordal style is typically Italian, derived from chant singing called falsobordone. Falsobordone involved harmonizing chants with root position triads. Seeing it here indicates that Josquin must have been exposed to two Italian compositional styles around the time he composed Qui velatus facie. This excerpt from the prima pars shows a clear example of Milanese style.

The section before the first cadence is imitative, while the section beginning “Sol justicie” becomes chordal and homophonic with root position chords in the falsobordone style. Richard Sherr attributes the motet Qui velatus facie as Milanese-style composition, and I affirm his judgment. The blended style present in Qui velatus facie clearly exhibits French-imitation style
while venturing into the realm of Italian writing. The Italian influence is exhibited in the simple root-position triads throughout the motet. Since the work exhibits Italian composition style, Josquin must have been to exposed to such a style at the time of composing the motet, perhaps while during his residency in Italy.

This blend of styles in *Qui velatus facie* is a curious and very fitting choice (if it was consciously made by Josquin) to honor Bonaventure. Josquin would have been the perfect composer for the job of honoring Bonaventure due to both Josquin’s and Bonaventure’s French and Italian connections (Bonaventure lived a significant portion of his life and died in France). Perhaps this expression was not an intentionally meant honor Bonaventure, and the Milanese style may have merely been Josquin exercising his love of compositional experimentation, but the idea that Milanese style was meant to manifest Bonaventure’s French and Italian aspects certainly would have been a clever stylistic move.

Some scholars suggest that *Qui velatus facie* is a *motetti missales*. *Motetti missales* was a new form of composition unique to the Milanese court. These works, a new form of the mass, had the traditional sung elements such as the Kyrie replaced by motets with subject matter unrelated to their place in the service and were also set to popular music. These works typically have eight movements. This Motetti missales movement was quite a shift in church practice. David Fallows agrees with Richard Sherr in that *Qui Velatus Facie* exhibits Milanese style, but he admits that Josquin writing in Milanese style absolutely doesn’t mean Josquin would only write in Milanese style in Milan. He adds that a view exists that *Qui velatus Facie* as well as *Vultum tuum* are motietti missales cycles of a sort unique to Milanese liturgy, but that there is also nothing in the Milan liturgies explicitly supporting this idea. Fallows is not fond of the idea that *Qui velatus facie* is a motet missiles cycle and instead is believes these kinds of compositions is merely

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1 see more on motet missales in the section *Compositional and Stylistic Aspects of Josquin’s Qui velatus facie*
Josquin being forward-thinking in his compositions for the sake of new extended musical design.²

Although I do believe Qui velatus facie does incorporate Milanese style, I agree with David Fallows in that I do not find strong evidence it is a motet missiles. Qui velatus facie does not have the standard number of movements for one (with or without the questionable sexta pars) and the structure for this motet cycle falls more into line with Josquin experimenting in extended musical design.³ I also discovered no popular tune references in this motet.

Other Musical Aspects of Qui velatus facie

The primary published source for the motet is Ottavio Petrucci’s Motetti B, giving it a terminus ante quem of 1503, but Qui velatus facie shares so many musical features with other motets Josquin composed in the 1480s, like Ave Maria…. vergo serena. In the Petrucci publication of Josquin’s motet, Qui velatus facie is listed as No. 3 in the contents of Motetti B. Qui velatus facie is published consecutively after Josquin’s O Domine Jesu Christe, and later in Motetti B are published Josquin’s Domine, non secundum peccata and Tu souls qui faces mirabilia.

It is possible that Sixtus IV may have influenced at least one of these other Petrucci compositions as well. Sixtus IV may have added two prayer texts for the O Domine Jesu Christe.⁴ If it is true that Sixtus IV influenced this other composition, he may very well have influenced another of Josquin’s works or been even been the patron of Qui velatus facie.

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² Fallows, Josquin, 118 -119.
³ Fallows, Josquin, 119.
Josquin also employs rhetoric in his compositional style for *Qui velatus facie*. Patrick Macey has emphasized the obvious rhetoric found in Josquin’s composing. Macey analyzes *Josquin’s Miserere mei, Deus*, a work believed to have been composed around 1503 for Ercole I d’Este. This work probably would have been composed after *Qui velatus facie*, although the main surviving Petrucci source was published the same year the *Miserere mei, Deus* was probably composed. Macey argues that Josquin constantly employs two types of rhetorical devices in his music, one being repetition of a motif to create continuity between phrases, and the second being an interruption or truncation of a passage for dramatic effect. The sources of these rhetorical devices which Josquin applied in his music are ancient treatises on rhetoric by Cicero and Quintilian. Josquin was probably schooled in these treatises and heard discussion about rhetoric in the various courts he was employed. Macey also emphasizes the importance of Joachim Burmeister’s musico-rhetorical figures from his *Musica poetica* (1606.) Josquin uses these same rhetorical devices in his *Qui Velatus facie*. The overall purpose of these musical rhetorical devices is to emphasize and further project the text. Additionally, Heinrich Glarean in his *Dodechachordon* praises Josquin’s masterful skill in setting text to music to best accentuate the text, while still creating compositions pleasurable to the ear.

**Detailed Pars Analysis**

**Prima Pars**

The prima pars contains texts from Bonaventure’s hymn for the Prime hour.

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5 Patrick Macey, *Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: Miserere mei, Deus and Other Motets*
Qui velatus facie fuisti,  
Thou whose countenance was veiled  
Et penurias sustinuisti,  
and who didst endure poverty,  
Sol justicie,  
Sun of righteousness,  
Flexis illusus genibus  
mocked with bending of knees  
Cesus quoque verberibus  
and smitten with blows besides  
Te petimus attentius,  
We beg thee intensely  
Et per tuam clementiam  
be favorable unto us  
Perducas nos ad gloriam.  
lead us through to glory.

The opening imitative figure sets the template for most of the other pars in the work.

The first two lines of the prima pars share the exact same musical material, and this is possibly because the two lines are part of the same concept and sentence. The first section of the prima pars is quite imitative until m. 30. Beginning at the “Sol justice” line, Josquin’s writing becomes very chordal. The chord beginning this homophonic chordal section in m.thirty-one is meant to be bright and striking. The text with this bright C major chord is “Sun” in the line “Sun of righteousness.” This is curious phrase. Jesus is often referred to biblically as the Son of Man and the Son of God, and Son of David. The phrase “Sun of righteousness” only appears once in scripture. The phrase appears in Malachi 4:2.

"For 'the Sun of Righteousness,' who drives His chariot over all, pervades equally all humanity…” - Church father Clement of Alexandria (Exhortation 11)

But for you who fear My name, the sun of righteousness will rise with healing in its wings; and you will go forth and skip about like calves from the stall.

Christ is often historically and scripturally connected with light and the sun.

“Arise, shine, for your light has come, and the glory of the LORD has risen upon you.” Isaiah 60:1

“There he was transfigured before them. His face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as the light.” Matthew 17:2
Particularly in Catholicism, Jesus is often metaphorically described as the sun while Mary reflects his light as the moon, pointing to his glory. The C major chord eventually acquired a connotation of being associated with light. I have not detected early uses of the C major chord relating to light, and this instance in *Qui velatus facie* could be the first instance of such a connotation. The function of this C major chord associated with “Sun” and light may have been what laid the groundwork for Haydn’s Creation Oratorio and the famous C major chord found with the text “and there was light!” Perhaps Josquin was the first composer to begin this association with C major and light.

The very end of the pars unwinds from its strict chordal writing to cadence. Part of this unwinding section is a curious D to D octave leap in the altus in m.69, which jumps out of the texture. This sort of extreme range leaping is unusual, and crosses into the range of the superius. The text on the leap is “glory,” and the next seven bars are reserved to highlight the word “glory.” The prima pars ends on a half cadence. The last stanza of the original Bonaventure hymn in the Prime hour is not used in Josquin’s prima pars.

**Secunda Pars**

Hora qui ductus tercia
Fuisti ad supplicia,
Christe ferendo humeris
Crucem pro nobis miseris.
Fac sic te nos diligere,
Sanctamque vitam ducere,
Ut valeamus requie
Frui celestia patrie.

Thou who at the third hour
wast led to the torture
Christ, bearing on thy shoulders
the Cross for us wretches
Make us so to love thee
and to lead a holy life
that we may be able to enjoy
the repose of the heavenly fatherland

The full text of Bonaventure’s original Terce hour is used in the secunda pars. Similar to the prima pars, the secunda pars begins in imitation and becomes more chordal towards the end of the pars beginning in m.132. The seconda pars is quite more active
and turgid than the prima pars. The smallest note value yet, a quarter note, is introduced in m.90 with the text “to” in “wast led to the torture.” The word crucem is by the far the most melismatic word yet in the motet, but is only presented in that colorful fashion in the altus starting in m.111. The text is the most intense and painful so far in the motet, hence the more active musical material as well, reflecting more emotion and pain.

The first major meter change in the motet also happens in the secunda pars beginning in the chordal section in m.132. This technique is perhaps utilized to provide more contrast between the imitative and the chordal sections. This transition demarcates the imitative section from the chordal writing. This demarcation was previously accomplished in the prima pars through the introduction of the bright C major chord, while in this pars, a meter change further demarcates the sections. The transition is in the middle of the text “Make us to love thee and to lead a holy life” (imitative) and “that we may be able to enjoy the repose of the heavenly fatherland” (chordal).

In contrast to the prima pars, the majority of text in this secunda pars is written in imitative style, while the majority of text in the prima pars is in the chordal style. Josquin’s formula thus far is introducing each pars with imitative writing followed by very Italian chordal writing. Although a similar format in the first two pars, this recipe will not be the exact same formula for each pars.

Tertia Pars

In flagellis potum fellis
Bibisti amarissimum;
Omni genti recolenti
Tue mortis supplicium

Amidst scourges thou drankest
the most bitter draught of gall
To all people that worship
the torture of thy death
Da virtutem et salutem

Christe redemptor omnium

give virtue and salvation

Honor et benedicto

Sit crucufixo filio

Qui suo supplico

Nos redemit ab inferno

Honour and blessing

be to the crucified Son,

who by his torture

redeemed us from hell.

Only the second stanza of five original Bonaventure stanzas in the Vespers hour is used in the tertia pars, and is combined with the second stanza of the Sext hour. Other text from the Vespers hour is used in the quarta pars. This is the only pars which combines text from two of Bonaventure’s hours.

The tertia pars is overall less imitative than the two previous pars. Even the introductory section, which is, in keeping with the model, the more imitative section, is not as explicitly imitative as its predecessors. The opening of the pars is quite bitter and graphic in its text. The scourges and bitter draught of the first two lines of text are set beautifully to reflect the text over eighteen measures and three cadences. Each motif descends in pitch, as if being overcome with pain and despair. The pars begins in homophony with an A chord, then descends after the first D
minor cadence to G minor, ending on a C major cadence. Josquin may be using this C major as a reoccurring theological theme, in that he previously used the C major chord to stand for light, and in the depths of Jesus’s suffering comes light in an alternative way. The final phrase of this section begins in D minor and ends on a final A minor cadence. The descending pattern at the beginning of each phrase following a cadence in this opening seems to emphasize suffering. This is seen in the superius as beginning with A, then down to G and F at the beginnings of the following phrases. A very surprising G minor first inversion chord appears in m. 163 on the word “amarissimum.” (very bitter). Josquin reflects this bitterness through chromaticism.

The text seems to refer to Matthew 27:33-24

   And when they came to a place called Golgotha, which means Place of a Skull, they gave Him wine to drink mixed with gall; and after tasting it, He was unwilling to drink.

This same event is mentioned in the gospel of Mark, in which the gall is mentioned as myrrh.

   They tried to give Him wine mixed with myrrh; but He did not take it. (Mk. 15.)

Bonaventure’s text in the third pars seems to contradict the text in Matthew. The motet text states “Amidst scourges thou drankest the most bitter draught of gall.” According to the Matthew text, it seems that prior to his crucifixion, Christ gave the drink a small taste but then refused it, realizing that the drink was intended to help dull his pain. Bonaventure could have been referring to the figurative act of Christ taking on and consuming suffering instead of Christ literally consuming gall.
The same octave leap found in the prima pars in m. 69 occurs in m. 200. This time, the octave jump occurs on the word omni (to all). The imitative section is marked with homophonic duets paired with imitative material around them. Paired imitation occurs in m.166 with the superius and altus, which is followed by the pair of the tenor and bassus repeating the same text. The repetition seems to be used rhetorically to emphasize the oneness and unity of the church in worship.

Demarcating the somewhat imitative section from the homophonic chordal section is more difficult in this pars as opposed to previous pars. This chance occurs with the homophonic duets, and also a non homophonic section in m. 201, leading to a pure homophonic section in 207.

This second Tertia stanza is almost completely homophonic. The Italian four-part writing occurs in the second stanza of text, starting with “Honor et benedictio” or “Honor and blessing.” This is certainly a declamatory statement, and the four part-homophony pairs well to emphasize the text in a clear and bold manner.

**Quarta Pars**

In amara crucis ara  
Fudisti rivos sanguinis  
Jesu Christe, rex benigne,  
*Consors paterni luminis*  
Sanguis Christi, qui fuisti  
Peremptor hostis invidi,  
Fac nos ire et venire  
Ad cenam agni providi

On the bitter alter of the Cross  
thou didst shed streams of blood,  
Jesus Christ, kindly king,  
*Sharer in the Father’s light*  
Blood of Christ, that was  
the slayer of the jealous foe,  
make us depart and come  
To the supper of the foresighted Lamb.

The quarta pars contains texts from only the fourth and fifth stanzas of the hour of Vespers (and recall that the second stanza in the hour was used in the tertia pars).
Another “light” reference is used in the quarta pars, but this time set not with a C major chord, as in the prima pars, but with a minor chord, ornamented, and with quasi-melistatmic word painting. A beautiful duet among the top two voices; on the word *luminis* (light); occurs in mm. 66 and 267, ending on an A minor chord. Burmeister would have called this musical-rhetorical device *hypotyposis*.

Here in the quarta pars finally occurs a hymn melody quotation instead of text alone. The other quotations, primarily in the sexta pars, quote only the hymn texts. The hymn melody of *Beata nobis gaudia* is quoted in the final line of the quarta pars. The text of *Beata nobis gaudia* (and not the melody) is used as the final line of the sexta pars. The line *Ad cenam agni providi* (To the supper of the foresighted Lamb) is used in paired imitation, first in the superious and altus pair, followed by the tenor and bassus pair. This text is emphasized through repetition probably to emphasize the Eucharistic nature of the text.

This pars deviates somewhat from the original formula of the motet. The majority of the quarta pars is written in an imitative style, while only one small line of text is set in in homophonic duet writing. We do not see the standard four-voice block-style homophonic writing likeas do in the other pars. One could say the traditional Italian chordal style is almost completely absent from this pars. There are no straight four part, homophonic passages in this quarta pars, the only pars without four part homophony. The only homophony that occurs is between duets. This lack of homophony may be to emphasize the suffering of Christ. Suffering offering lacks clarity and is confusing and over stimulating, traits that may be expressed through imitation.

**Quinta Pars**
Qui jacuisti mortuus
In petra, rex innocuus,
Fac nos in te quiescere,
Sempreque laudes reddere.
Succurre nobis, domine,
Quos redemisti sanguine,
Et duc nos ad celestia
Eterne pacis gauidia.

Who layest dead
in the rock, our innocent king,
make us to rest in thee,
and always render praises.
Come to our aid, O Lord,
whom thou redeemedst with blood,
and lead us to the heavenly
joys of eternal peace.

The quinta pars uses only the first two of three stanzas of Bonaventure’s hour of Compline.

The quinta pars is entirely imitative. There are no homophonic sections in the pars.

The opening of the quinta pars is quite similar to the opening melody of the prima pars with the ascending third figure. The beginning of the quinta pars sounds especially forlorn, reflecting the text of Christ being dead in the tomb. This is perhaps the lowest point in the passion narrative.

An imitative passage begins in m. 323, with the text *Fac nos in te quiescere* or “make us rest in thee.” The melodic motif head consists of four descending notes, which beautifully illustrates the idea of descending into rest. Word painting occurs in the altus line with a rather turgid phrase in mm. 333-337 with the text “render praises,” as if to add extra excitement to the idea of giving praise. An interesting form of paired imitation begins in m.355. It is a sort of imitation duet between the superius and the tenor. The same text is repeated in an imitation duet with the altus and bassus in m.359. This is the first instance in the motet where Josquin does not use duet pairing of some with consecutive voices. This mode of pairing continues until the end of the pars. The text where this kind of pairing occurs is *Et duc nos ad celestia, Eterne pacis gauidia*, meaning “and lead us to the heavenly joys of eternal peace.”

The repetition is being used as a rhetorical device to emphasize the beauty and peace of heaven and eternal life with God. Josquin probably wants the listener to meditate on this joy. The final chord of the pars is a perfect fifth based on E and B, also emphasizing the purity and peace of heaven.
Sexta Pars

Christum ducem, qui per crucem

Redemit nos ab hostibus,
Laudet cetus noster letus,
Exultet celum laudibus
Pena fortis tue mortis
Et sanguinis effusio
Corda terant, ut te querant,

Jesu nostra redemptio.
Per felices cicatrices,
Sputa, falgella, verbera,

Nobis grata sint collata
Eterna Christi munera.
Nostrum tangat cor, ut plangat,

Tuorum sanguis vulnerum,
In quo toti simus loti,
Conditor alme siderum.
Passionis tue donis
Salvator nos inebria,
Ac etiam dare velis
Beata nobis gaudia.

us blessed joys.

The Sexta pars uses all of Bonaventure’s Lauds hour. The sexta pars is by far the longest and has the most text of all the pars. The sexta pars has a few places of homophonic unity, but the homophony is not extensive.

The general contruction for the sexta pars consists of about three lines of text written in imitation, and a fourth line that briefly comes to a homophonic head. The italicized

Christ the commander, who by the Cross
redeemed us from our enemies,
let our joyful throng praise,

Let heaven exult in our praises.
Let the intense pain of they death
and the shedding of thy blood
subdue our hearts, that they may seek thee,

Jesus our redemption.
By thy auspicious scars,
The spittings, the scourgings, the beatings,
may on us be conferred the pleasing

Eternal gifts of Christ.
May thy blood touch our heart, that it may
weep for thy wounds,
in which may we all be cleansed,

Life-giving creator of the stars.
With the gifts of thy passion,
Saviour, make us drunk,
and be pleased also to grant

Beata nobis gaudia.
lines of the text above are the hymn text quotations. Almost every hymn quotations begins in homophonic unison, but then branches off rhythmically. The patterns ceases towards the end, where homophony simply continues after the quotation *Conditor alme siderum* or “Life-giving creator of the stars.

The end of the pars is mostly homophonic, starting with the line *Conditor alme siderum* and only begins to deviate with the final cadence on the word *guadia* or “joy.” This word is emphasized in a duet texture of the upper two voices while the the lower voices maintain homophonic stability. The first twenty-three bars of this pars are also written in beautiful duets between the upper two and the lower two voices, presenting the text in an imitative pattern. This imitation happens until the text *Exultet velum laudibus* or “Let heaven exult in our praises,” where all four voices finally converge, briefly, as if to join as one in praise and worship. Presenting the first three lines of texts in duets sets up this unified praise text quite beautifully.

Josquin again creates duet textures starting in m. 437 until m. 460, where all four voices come together with the text *Eterna Christi munera* or “Eternal gifts of Christ.” Later in this duet section, a duet alternation occurs based on minor thirds with the text “sputa, falgella, verbera” or “the spittings, the scourgings, the beatings” creating a sinister atmosphere. The text of the spittings and scourgings is set to minor thirds, and this line is repeated twice, to emphasize the suffering of Christ.

Josquin employs a meter change and homophonic duet pairings to emphasize and declaim texts as he did in previous pars. A meter change occurs in the sexta pars in m. 467 with the text *Nostrum tangat cor, ut plangat* or “May thy blood touch our heart, that it may.”

**Macro Observations, Making Connections Between the Pars**
One suspects that the order of the pars as appears in the Petrucci publication is not Josquin’s original composition order. I am specifically referring to the placement of the sexta pars at the end of the motet. Because the subject material of the sexta pars is an overall description of the passion narrative, this leads me to believe this would have worked more effectively towards the beginning of the motet. This tactic would have provided a template preview of the motet and could give the listens and idea of what is to come, rather than a summary in retrospect. That the sexta pars uses text from the Lauds hour, the Dawn Prayer, the first prayer of the day, also leads me to believe the sexta pars should have been placed at the beginning of the motet. It would make sense that this pars, using the Lauds text, would be more effective towards the beginning of the motet.

Some of the pars contain more imitative material, and some contain more chordal material. There is not a single entire blueprint model that can be applied to each pars, besides the fact that all of the pars do begin with imitation. The minor exceptions are the brief opening of the tertia pars, which begins in homophony for one m.in a single declamatory chord and then becomes imitative, and the Sexta pars which begins with a homophonic duet passages and then evolves into imitation (but with no four part extended homophony in the opening). None of the pars open with extended four part homophonic writing in the Italian style. It seems the Italian style may have been implemented to declaim certain texts with more fervor.

With the Petrucci arrangement, the motet ends in mode 3 and also on a hymn quotation. Josquin’s decision to end the motet with a hymn quotation is perhaps a salute to his musical forefathers, emphasizing that musical and theological progress is built on the foundation of his predecessors. Josquin’s use of the hymn Beata nobis guadia in two different pars in various ways is fascinating and can be somewhat connected. In the quarta pars, using the melody of Beata
nobis gaudia ends on mode 3, and the sexta pars, which borrows the text from Beata nobis gaudia also ends on mode 3. The text used for the melody in the quarta pars is Ad cenam agni providi or “To the supper of the foresighted Lamb,”; which is very Eucharistic focused text. The counterpart to this melody, the text at the end of the sexta pars, Beata nobis gaudia, meaning “Happy or blessed joy,” is found at the end of the most eucharistic stanza of the work. This section begins with “May thy blood touch our heart, that it may weep for thy wounds, in which may we all be cleansed….. With the gifts of thy passion, Saviour make us drunk…..” The Beata nobis gaudia reference links the quarta and sexta pars musically with its mode 3 connection, as well as its heavily Eucharistic function and position in both texts.

Josquin and Church Fathers

Was it possible Josquin experience deep phase of fascination for church fathers of the thirteenth century and wrote Qui velatus facie to pay tribute to his favorite church father from his own desires, rather than satisfy the requests of a patron? Did Josqin write other works based on texts from the church fathers? Josquin seems to have a deep respect for Dominicans, particularly notable Dominican figures, such as Girolamo Savonarola and Thomas Aquinas. It is possible that one of Josquin’s compositions, In te Domine speravi (based on Psalm 30) was a subtle tribute to the Dominican friar Savonarola. Psalm 30 was Savonarola’s favorite psalm.6 Savonarola of Florence, the religious reformer, was burned at the stake in 1498 under Alexander VI’s pontificate. One of Josquin’s patrons, Ercole I d’Este of Ferrara possessed great admiration for Savonarola, whom was also originally from Ferrara. Ercole often sought spiritual and political

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advice from Savonarola. Ercole even attempted to have Savonarola from his fate of being burned at the stake by appareling to Florentine authorities but failed to do so.

It is not likely Josquin wrote his Bonaventure and Aquinas tribute works at the same time. Josquin’s Aquinas text-based imitation motet Missa Pange lingua was written towards the end of Josquin’s life (Josquin passed in 1521), and is probably the last mass ordinary setting that Josquin composed, and the most likely date of composition is 1515. It is unclear if Josquin was aware that the Missa Pange lingua would be his last work. Josquin was in his sixties around the time his Missa Pange lingua was probably composed.

The Aquinas tribute was obviously not written for Aquinas’s canonization, because although Aquinas died the same year as Bonaventure, Aquinas was canonized much sooner by Pope John XXII in in 1323.

Since Josquin’s Missa Pange lingua and his Qui velatus facie were likely composed in very different periods of Josquin’s life, I believe it is more likely each had a separate commission and Qui velatus facie may have even been commissioned for Bonaventure’s canonization ceremony, the Bonaventure event of the century. Josquin was the ideal man for such a commission, given he was able to personally identify with Bonaventure’s Italian-French cross-cultural experience, and could combine several musical styles to not only showcase his brilliance, but musically honor Bonaventure’s Italian and French influences.

**Understanding Bonaventure’s Way of Life**

Compared to the traditional secluded monastic way of life, an alternative living style fathered by saints such as St. Francis of Assisi and championed by Aquinas and Bonaventure, developed in the thirteenth century, which emphasized more interaction with the secular world (i.e. serving the poor). These were considered active orders (yet not without contemplation) and were called
mendicant orders. Some of these active orders included the Franciscans (Christian followers of Saint Francis of Assisi) and Dominicans, with their many smaller subgroups. St. Bonaventure was one of the most famous Franciscans, while his contemporary Thomas Aquinas was one of the most famous Dominicans. St. Francis, the father of the Franciscan Order, was the inspiration behind Bonaventure’s life course and vocational decision to become a Franciscan. The Franciscans are known for being very emotive, often graphic in depictions of the Passion, which is reflected in Bonaventure’s *Office of the Passion* and musically enhanced in Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie*. Their aim in preaching and writing was to inspire a kind of gut-wrenching emotional response. Raw emotion can also be seen in the poetry and music of the Franciscans, particularly in the depiction of Christ’s passion. The Franciscans are also known for their devotion to Mary and their commitment to live in poverty. The Franciscans were quite active in Italy and France and are the largest of the orders in the Catholic Church.

Saint Bonaventure (originally named Giovanni di Fidanza) was a notable Franciscan, and is often called the second father of the Franciscan Order. Bonaventure joined the Franciscans in 1243 and studied at the University of Paris. He began teaching there in 1248 and as a master in 1256. Not only did he publish great theology treatises such as *The Journey of the Mind to God (Itinerarium mentis in Deum)*, *The Reduction of the Arts to Theology (De reductione artium ad theologiam)*, *The Tree of Life (Lignum vitae)*, and the officially approved biography of St. Francis, but he also produced music in the form of several hymns and masses. Bonaventure often described how one’s perception of music and poetry lead to revelation of the divine mystery, Bonaventure explains in his *De reductione artium ad theologiam* how mechanical arts (including music) work together with sense perception, philosophy, and sacred Scripture to “reduce”

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humans or lead them back to a mystical and charitable union with the Supreme Artist.\textsuperscript{8}

Bonaventure’s writings, including musical ideas, were greatly influenced by Hugh of St. Victor, who was influenced by Augustine. Augustine published a famous music treatise, \textit{De Musica}, in which the sixth book emphasizes rhythm from a theological standpoint.

The musical output of St. Bonaventure is shrouded in ambiguity. We have texts of Bonaventure’s, which were certainly set to music in his time, but whether Bonaventure himself composed the music for some of his texts is unknown. Several hymns have been attributed to St. Bonaventure, including melodies. The melodic settings for Bonaventure \textit{Office of the Passion} are not extant, but the texts for the hymns are still readily available. Bonaventure may have had someone else compose music for his texts, and/or borrowed preexisting chant melodies.

Bonaventure had a close relationship with Louis IX of France, a supporter of the Franciscans. Bonaventure was a business and spiritual advisor for Louis, and Bonaventure wrote his \textit{Office of the Passion} at Louis’s request. \textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{The Canonization Process of St. Bonaventure}

Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan himself, was the primary catalyst behind Bonaventure’s canonization. Was there another motive behind Sixtus IV catalyzing Bonaventure’s canonization, despite the fact that Bonaventure was one of Sixtus’s personal heroes? The reasons mostly seem speculative. Pope Sixtus IV also canonized a few other holy candidates, including Albert of Sicily in 1476 and Berard of Carbio in 1481, another notable Franciscan.

Prior to the Pope John Paul II’s reforms, the waiting period for the cause of canonization


to be introduced was fifty years following the candidate’s death. Bonaventure died on July 15, 1274, but was not canonized until 1482. Andre Vauchez points out how unusual the vagueness and lack of attention surrounding Bonaventure is, given he occupied the highest office in the Franciscan Order for almost two decades. 1426, for example, Jean Gerson was deeply shocked that the Franciscan Order had not shown more zeal in promoting the canonization of Bonaventure whom he considered the most reliable and commendable theologian. Nevertheless, Bonaventure’s works became influential, particularly because the great theological synthesis were in crisis and musical tendencies were on a rise, and attention to his canonization case germinated in the 15th century. 10 It was not entirely unusual for a century or two to pass before a saint was canonized. Bonaventure’s two-century delay was highly unusual, however, because another Franciscan, the Observant Bernadino of Siena (died 1444) was canonized just six years following his passing. One theory about the delay includes that Bonaventure’s tendency of confinement to the University of Paris and administration work led to him therefore being not as well known to the general populace of France. Another theory is that some within the church and mendicant orders were put off with Bonaventure’s relations among other orders. Some friars felt that Bonaventure’s administrative procedures compromised the primitive ideal of Francis. Some claim that while Bonaventure vied for unification among the orders, his actions caused more division than unity. 11

Bonaventure’s canonization was primarily catalyzed by Sixtus IV himself, which is rather unusual for fifteenth-century canonization processes. From a study by Harvard University, over the full sample of saints from 1592 to 2009, the mean time from death to beatification was 118

years, and the median was 81. 12(Note that for a person to be canonized, one must first be beatified and then after a post-beatification miracle is then canonized.) Martyrs do not require a post-beatification miracle. It seems highly likely with Sixtus IV, being the primary agent behind Bonaventure’s canonization, would be a likely candidate for the patronage of Josquin’s Bonaventure works. Sixtus IV writes in Bonaventure’s canonization bull that he draws many parallels between Bonaventure’s life and his own (childhood illnesses, general dedication to theology and religious life, involvement and holding the minister general office with the Franciscans etc.) Despite his personal affections for Bonaventure, Sixtus did hold a formal investigation and canonization process to make the canonization legitimate. 13

Throughout the canonization process, several testimonies were given remarking at the lifelike preservation of St. Bonaventure’s tongue. Another miracle cited in the investigation includes a Eucharist particle leaping on its own into the mouth of Bonaventure.

St. Bonaventure’s Canonization Ceremony

Bonaventure’s feast day is July 15 (his death date) and he was canonized April 14, 1482.

12 Robert J Barro, Rachel McCleary, Alexander McQuoid, Economics of Sainthood, February 2010
13 Finucane, Contested Canonizations, 38 .
The canonization ceremony took place in St. Peter’s Basilica, still under construction (as was the Sistine Chapel), and was quite a public affair. Few details are to be found about the canonization ceremony itself, except for a few in the diary of Jacapo Gherardi. Gherardi wrote of the stage for the ceremony as being a man’s height with great crowds attending, “eager to see something novel.”

The last ceremony of this magnitude was Catherine of Siena in 1461.

In Sixtus’s bull canonizing St. Bonaventure, he sadly doesn’t mention details of the ceremony. The bull does, however, contain a mildly surprising inclusion: King Louis XI’s name is mentioned as being a supporter who had lobbied on behalf of the Bonaventure in the canonization process, which is surprising due to the stormy relationship between Louis and Sixtus. The time leading up to the canonization may have been an opportune chance to exhibit a sign of good will by supporting Sixtus’s crusade for Bonaventure’s canonization.

In a rather un-Franciscan fashion, Sixtus appears to have spared no expense for the canonization ceremony of St. Bonaventure. The price of Saint Bonaventure’s canonization cost twenty-seven thousand gold ducats. Bonaventure’s canonization was not the most expensive in history, but was unusually expensive. His canonization was overshadowed by Saints such as St. Francis de Paola at 70,000 scudi.

**Finding Josquin: False Josquin des Prez**

Thanks to the recent scholarship of Richard Sherr and those preparing the *New Josquin Edition*, scholars have disproved the notion of Josquin’s location in Milan between the years 1459-1480. Only until the 1990’s were very basic facts about Josquin’s life were confirmed. These basic facts were Josquin’s full name, Josquin LeBloitte (fit Desprez), that he was employed in the

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14 Jacapo Gherardi, *Diarium Romanum*, (1611), 97.
court of Rene d’Anjou c. 1475-81, that Josquin was not employed in Milan 1459-80, and that he was certainly employed in the papal chapel 1484-89. Even Josquin’s birthday was deemed more likely cs. 1450 instead of 1440. 16 These discoveries have opened a door into filling in the holes of Josquin chronology, but there is sparse documentary evidence apart from Andrea Adami’s claim about Josquin’s whereabouts in 1482.

“Real” Josquin des Prez

Josquin may have studied with Joahnnes Ockeghem, and Ockeghem was at the least a source of inspiration for Josquin’s writing. Josquin is believed to have composed at least twenty masses, ninety motets, and seventy secular works, but only fifty-four of these works are firmly attributed. Josquin had several illustrious patrons and was the most sought after musician of his time. His death did nothing to diminish his reputation, and he was not forgotten after his passing.

There are few extant, artistic depictions of Josquin. In the late 1611 woodcut made of a long-lost portrait of Josquin, he wears a turban (quite in vogue at the time). The woodcut was probably based on a painting from the collegiate church of St. Goedele in Brussels, but the painting was destroyed in Protestant iconoclastic raids.

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Another potential depiction of Josquin includes allegedly Leonardo da Vinci’s “Portrait of Musician” from 1490, which may have depicted either Franchino Gaffurio or Josquin des Prez, or possibly even Da Vinci himself, but one can only speculate. Support that Josquin is the figure depicted is strong. Gaffurius had more of a reputation as a music theorist, while Josquin had a greater reputation as a composer, and the man depicted in the portrait is holding a score of music. Da Vinci almost certainly knew Josquin, as the two likely crossed paths in Milan. An x-ray was taken of the portrait in a recent restoration of the work in Florence, and the film revealed six hidden letters in the undercoat above the nail of the subject’s right index finger and can be read as “JOSQUIN.” \(^{17}\) This work is possibly the only portrait Da Vinci painted of another man in his time.

With all the mystery shrouding Josquin’s life, scholars are at least certain Josquin died in August 1521 in Condé-sur-l’Escaut and was buried in Notre-Dame there. \(^{18}\) Sadly, the church and his tombstone were destroyed in 1793. \(^{19}\)

Where was Josquin in 1481?

\(^{18}\) Sherr, The Josquin Companion, 18.  
\(^{19}\) Macey, Grove online
My theory that Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie* was connected with the canonization ceremony of 1482 sparks the question of Josquin’s location in 1481. Josquin’s name appears in certain legal records in 1481. August 4, 1481 is the date of the cessation of the obligation concerning the permutation of benefices in Tours and Aix made by ‘Jusquinus des Pres’ in 1475. Josquin is represented by a proctor. 20

Does Josquin being represented by a proctor mean that Josquin was physically distant and absent from the proceedings, or was he just being legally represented? When the obligation was made in 1475, it appears that Josquin himself was there, as it is not stated whether or not he was represented by a procurator. Josquin may have been absent from the later cessation proceedings and therefore needed a legal stand in, not just legal representation with Josquin’s presence.

Prior to this cessation documentation, Josquin is believed to have worked in Rene of Anjou’s court. Rene of Anjou died July 10, 1480 in Aix-en-Provence, France, and it is not certain whether Josquin worked in Rene’s court until Rene’s death, or if he left earlier. If Josquin did indeed work in Rene’s court until his death, why the date of cessation made occurs about a year later in 1481 is uncertain. It’s possible that instead of remaining with the singers of Rene’s court, most of whom were probably immediately transferred to Louis XI’s court, Josquin may have maintained his holdings in Aix-en-Provence, uncertain as to his future location, and if he began his travels to Italy and sensed he would be there for a time, sent word for the cessation to occur. If Josquin did not begin his travels to Italy around 1480, David Fallows believes that after the death of Rene of Anjou, Josquin may have remained in Paris and the Sainte Chapelle in the service of King Louis XI until Louis’s death in 1483. Perhaps Josquin worked at Louis’s court for a time but left before Louis’s death.

Richard Sherr as another suggestion. He writes in his chronology that Josquin may have been in Hungary in the 1480’s.

1480s: Budapest? Josquin des Prez? Pal Varday, Archbishop of Esztergom, states in 1539 that he had heard that Josquin had served King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary (1458-90.) 21 This claim seems unlikely, and it also seems Richard Sherr believes it may be unclear. David Fallows writes

Josquin’s possible stay in Hungary first came to public attention in 1992; but it has never raised much enthusiasm. 22 23

Where was Josquin after Bonaventure’s canonization ceremony 1482?

David Fallows writes that Josquin was “certainly” in Condé-sur-l’Escaut in 1483. 24 Josquin’s uncle may have been killed by the army of Louis XI in May 1478. The army allegedly besieged the town, locked the population into the church, and burned them alive. 25 After this event, Josquin claimed an inheritance from his uncle and aunt in Conde in 1483, although whether Josquin was physically present or not is uncertain. Sherr writes that after Josquin’s father died in 1466, Josquin was probably named the heir of his aunt and uncle Gille Lebloitte dit Desprez and Jacque Banestonne. Their will is where we derive Josquin’s actual surname, “Lebloitte”.

Other clues point to Josquin’s whereabouts in Italy after 1482. Josquin is believed to have been connected with Milan in the early 1480’s, and his patron was probably Ludovico il Moro, whom controlled much of the government at the time. Moro also commissioned Leonardo da Vinci’s The Last Supper. Josquin and Leonardo da Vinci were surely connected. Da Vinci

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22 Fallows, Josquin, 112.
23 Fallows mentions that Richard Sherr does in fact include the possible visit to Hungary in his outline of Josquin’s life; he dates it 1480[s], for reasons that are unclear.
24 Fallows, Josquin, 118.
arrived in Milan in 1482. Da Vinci was a core member of Ludovico il Moro’s household in Milan for eighteen years. *Portrait of a Musician* is a painting believed to be Da Vinci’s work from around 1485. The portrait depicts a young man holding a musical composition of sorts on parchment, which could likely be Josquin, implying contact with Josquin during or before 1485.  

**Existing Research: Pro-Sixtus IV and Josquin Connection**

The work of several modern Josquin scholars has not extensively covered the context of *Qui velatus facie*. Their work has been most useful for studying the chronology of Josquin’s life. Richard Sherr describes the motet as exhibiting a Milanese style, and Josquin entered into the service of the Sforza family in Milan as early as 1483, but neither Sherr nor other scholars have been able to securely date the composition of *Qui velatus facie*. Josquin’s habit of traveling frequently has been a source of confusion in tracking the details of his career, which leaves open the possibility that Josquin composed the motet in the early 1480s around the time of Bonaventure’s canonization.

Although many modern musicologists argue Josquin was probably not in Rome in the early 1480’s, there is one definitive source believing otherwise. Andrea Adami attests that Josquin was indeed in the Papal Chapel under the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-1484). Andrea Adami (1663-1742), an Italian castratro, secretary to Cardinal Ottoboni, and Vatican historian writes in his *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della Cappella Pontificia* (Rome, 1711) that Josquin was a papal singer under Sixtus). This claim is also repeated in works such as *Famous Composers and Their Music, Volume I, History of the Science and Art of Music*, Its

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26 see previous section “Real Josquin des Prez” for details

Some modern music historians, such as David Fallows, are skeptical of Adami’s claim. Yet Fallows is still open to the possibility of at least some part of Adami’s claim being truthful. David Fallows writes:

Distressing is only that Adami says Josquin was a papal singer under Sixtus IV (1471-1484): perhaps there are more details of his papal service to be discovered, though it would surprise me. More likely, as mentioned to me by Klaus Pietschmann, a writer like Adami would think of Josquin as so central to the history and reputation of the Sistine Chapel that he must surely have been there under its founder, Sixtus IV. 27

Klaus Pietschmann, Professor at the Institute of Musicology at the University of Mainz, has been central to the study of the Josquin graffito in the Sistine Chapel. Fallows’s skepticism is understandable, but I doubt Adami would have merely been carried away by his fascination with the Sistine Chapel and Josquin to the extent of being careless enough to throw around dates for Josquin’s presence in the Sistine Chapel. Adami wrote of Josquin as being “the brightest luminary in the heaven of music, from whom all composers who succeeded him had to learn.” 28

Adami also mentions Josquin next to Guido d’Arezzo as one of the great cultivators and supporters of church music. Adami’s account of Josquin’s life is given in his Osservazioni per ben regular il Coro dei Cantori della Cappella Pontificia (Rome, 1711), 159-161.

The following is Adami’s account of Josquin, translated by Jesse Owens:

Jacopo Pratense, called Jusquin del Prato, the most famous composer of music in his time, student of Giovanni Okenheim [Ockeghem], of whom Glarean speaks. He was a singer in the chapel under Sixtus IV, and one can read his name carved on our choir [loft] in the Vatican palace. He was the most important light in this great science, [the one] from whom all the contrapuntists who came after him learned. He flourished in the 1400s, as one can gather from the three books of his masses published in Fossombrone in 1515 and 1516 by Ottaviano de Petrucci, a man of great genius who was the inventor of music printing. Doni,

28 Andrea Adami, Osservazioni per ben regular il Coro dei Cantori della Cappella Pontificia (Rome, 1711), 159-161.
in his Libreria, asserts that five books of masses by this composer were published, but because only three can be found, I will leave the truth in its place. His music demonstrates that he was a very intelligent composer, full of precise rules, very lively in his imagination, and spirited in the method of composing used in those times, in which music was rather lacking in ideas, buried, so to speak, in that unskilled antiquity. Although he was unlucky and persecuted by Fortune, as Zarlino recounts in his Supplementi [sic] Musicali, book 8, fol. 314, there is no doubt that Josquin was a man of great talent, of whom fame speaks and will always speak. 29

Curiously enough, not only does Adami support the idea Josquin served under Sixtus IV, but also affirms the unconfirmed notion that Ockeghem was Josquin’s teacher. Whether Josquin was working in Rome under the entire duration of Sixtus IV’s pontificate is unclear to me with Adami’s account. Adami may have meant Josquin worked for Sixtus during the entire span of the pope’s pontificate, from 1471 and 1484, or for just a portion of it. The work of modern historians such as Sherr doesn’t have to work against Adami’s claim. Josquin may have worked under Rene of Anjou until Anjou’s death in 1480, and then it is unconfirmed if Josquin spent time under Louis XI, but he then likely traveled to Italy where he may have briefly passed through Milan and then on to Rome to work under Sixtus’s pontificate, and was perhaps even connected to St. Bonaventure’s canonization ceremony in 1482. Additionally, the Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th edition, states that Sixtus IV “summoned Josquin to Rome for the improvement of church music.” 30 The source of this claim is not mentioned.

**Graffito in the Sistine Chapel Cantoria**

The later part of Adami’s claim was confirmed recently when Josquin’s name was discovered in the restorations of 1997-98, carved into the cantoria, a small eight-foot-by-twelve-foot nook, of the Sistine Chapel. In fact, over four hundred names were discovered in these restorations, carved into the walls of the Sistine Chapel – at least one hundred of them known to be singers of

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the chapel. These graffito signatures were created between the 1480s to the late 1700s, but were covered in fresco at the end of the eighteenth century. Baccio Pontelli designed the present Sistine chapel, and Giovannino de Dolci supervised the process of building between 1473 and 1481. Once building was completed came the task of decorating the chapel with frescos by artists such as Michelangelo and Sandro Botticelli.

The cantoria graffito signature of related interest to Josquin reads “Josquin” or “Josquinus” depending on how one interprets the long line to the right of the signature. Sometimes a long curved line was used to symbolize “us.” This signature is carved about a foot above the singer’s bench in the cantoria. The scholarship of Klaus Pietschmann has been invaluable in deciphering this signature. Could there not have been many Josquins around the Sistine Chapel? After all, there have been plenty of Josquin mixups before. Pietschmann emphasizes in his Ein Graffito von Josquin Desprez that only singers were able to enter the cantoria. Additionally, given Josquin’s reputation and stardom, Pietschmann points out that the simple engraving “Josquin” could only stand for ”Josquin des Prez,” while another name similar to Josquin, like Joquin Dor for example, would have had his name spelled out in full as it was in various accounts and choir books. The graphology of the writing is also northern, fifteenth century, and of a potential Franco-Flemish source. This seems like a convincing argument that the marking in question is most likely from the hand of Josquin.
des Prez, and is the closest we can get to an autograph or anything from the original hand of Josquin himself.

When this signature was engraved is another question. This marking could have been engraved during Josquin’s time in the papal chapel in the late 1480s, but perhaps it could have been engraved earlier, perhaps in 1482, just before the chapel was opened. According to pictures, the Josquin signature seems relatively large to me compared to the other signatures and this could imply an earlier signature, in that he may not have been trying to squeeze his between other signers’ signatures whom may have beaten him there in the early 1480s.

Again neglected, the Adami source describes Josquin’s name being sculpted in the chapel.

Egli fu Cantore della detta Capella, sul nostro coro nel palazzo Vaticano si legge scolpito il suo nome. 31

Adami definitely would have been familiar with these signatures, as the tradition of carving names into the wall was alive and well while Adami was still alive, and the tradition was passed on until the late eighteenth century.

31 Andrea Adami, Osservazioni per ben regular il Coro dei Cantori della Capella
Existing Research: Anti-Josquin and Sixtus IV Connection

Several modern musicologists believe Josquin was not connected to the papal chapel until he entered the papal choir under Pope Innocent VIII around 1489. Richard Sherr leaves the year 1482 blank in his chronology of Josquin’s life. Sherr’s 1481 chronology slot does not imply that Josquin was physically located in Aix-en-Provence, only that he was represented by a procurator, so it is possible that Josquin may have already left for Italy by 1481. 32

The New Grove Dictionary accounts for Josquin’s location only up until March 1478 in Rene of Anjou’s court. A document surfaced referring to Josquin as “Jossequin des Prez” and certified his eligibility to receive his first available prebend in the collegaite church of St. Maxe du Chateau. Scholars speculate from this source that it is possible Josquin may have remained in

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Rene’s court until his death, and then was transferred to King Louis XI’s court. After Rene’s death, many of Rene’s court singers were transferred to King Louis’s court in the Ste Chapelle, Paris, and perhaps remained there until Louis died.

Willem Elders writes in his *Josquin Des Prez and His Musical Legacy: An Introductory Guide* about several of Josquin’s patrons, but does not mention Sixtus IV as being a patron. He is more confident that Louis XI was likely one of Josquin’s patrons during Sixtus’s pontificate. David Fallows also believes it is likely Josquin was probably in the service of Louis XI until Louis’s death in 1483. He admits that there is no direct evidence for this, but does cite three sources of indirect speculative evidence. One document he cites mentions two chaplains and six singers were transferred from Rene’s court to Louis’s, but Josquin’s name is not mentioned (or any of the other singer’s names from Rene’s court). His second source is that documents of 1484 and 1489 describe Josquin was a rector of the parish of St. Aubin in the diocese of Bourges, and perhaps he received that appointment from Louis XI (again, just speculation, because Fallows admits there are several reasons he may have had a living there). His final evidence is that Josquin is mentioned in connection Louis XII by Heinrich Glareanus (author of Dodekachordon) and Marin Mersenne, but Johannes Heer believes they surely meant Louis XI and that they could have gotten XI and XII mixed up because they were such later writers. 33

Jesse Rodin in his *Josquin’s Rome* writes that Josquin’s tenure in the Capella Sistina began in June of 1489. Rodin acknowledges the difficulty in dating Josquin’s works before the time he joined the papal choir, and he cites Joshua Rifkin saying not a note can be firmly dated before the mid 1480’s. 34 By 1489, there are at most five and as few as two securely dated

34 Joshuq Rifkin, “Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet,” 313-32.
attributed pieces, the earliest being Ave Maria… virgo serena with a copy date of 1484. Rodin writes that to this list, the motet cycle Qui velatus facie as well as others could tentatively be dated as they are associated with Milan, but nothing is certain. Rodin groups Qui velatus facie with O Domine Jesu Christe, Vultum tuum, and Tu souls qui faces mirabilia as being associated with Milan, but having questionable composition dates. Rodin also cites that Christum ducem (Sexta pars (VI) from Qui velatus) is a still “less secure” work, the earliest source being HradKM7 with a copying date in the “1490s? later?” indication. 35

The work of scholars like Richard Sherr and the possibility of an earlier Josquin arrival in Italy are not mutually exclusive. Josquin may have indeed traveled to Louis XI’s court after the Rene of Anjou, but perhaps didn’t remain there until Louis’s death in 1483 and left for Italy. This would have given Josquin time to be exposed to patron like Sixtus IV before Sixtus’s death in 1484.

Proposed Chronology

The chronology of Josquin des Prez’s life is vague and contradictory. Many details of Josquin’s life are uncertain. His physical location at various points in his life and dates of vast numbers of his compositions are unknown. This lack of biographical clarity has frustrated the musicology community for decades. Much of the chronology of Josquin’s life has been built around speculation surrounding his various compositions. Josquin wrote many masses and motets. Josquin’s motets will be the primary focus of this work, which are polyphonic works typically performed as a part of the mass or in another formal, sacred setting.

There is much ambiguity surrounding Josquin’s whereabouts particularly in the early 1480’s. Josquin may have been employed in the court of Louis XI in the early 1480s, as is

argued for by many modern musicologists. Josquin may also or instead have been in Rome during the early 1480s prior to his official tenure in the Cappella Sistina in 1489. Andrea Adami’s statement that Josquin served in the papal chapel under Sixtus IV has not been heeded enough by modern scholars. These musicologists have instead favored speculating about the idea that Josquin served under Louis XI in the early 1480s. The basis of this speculation on his in centered about documents mentioning Josquin’s name around certain dates, but do not necessarily indicate he was present in the location of such documents. I would like to resurrect interests in Adami’s claim, as proof indicating Josquin did not serve under Sixtus IV does not exist. I believe the work of modern scholars such as Richard Sherr can still complement Adami’s claim, in that it is possible Josquin may have served under both Louis XI and Sixtus IV. Based on my research, an alternative chronology of Josquin’s life before 1490 could resemble something of the following:

Josquin Chronology, adapted and edited from Richard Sherr

c. 1450 - Born, France

1475-1480 - musician in Rene of Anjou’s Court in Aix-en-Provence

1480: After death of Rene of Anjou, possible travel to Louis XI’s court and work in Saint Chappelle, or begins travels to Rome

1480-81/82: possible contact with the ruling ducal Sforza family in Milan

1482: work in the papal chapel, contact with Sixtus IV

1484 and later: member of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza’s household, work in the papal chapel under Innocent VIII.

Contextualizing Qui velatus facie Among Josquin’s Other Works

Dating Josquin’s works has proven just as difficult a task as discovering the chronology of Josquin’s life. The earliest surviving work of Josquin’s is believed to be
his motet *Victimae paschali laudes*. It was once believed, before the discovery of the several “false” Josquins, to have been written in the early 1470’s, but given the new evidence of Josquin’s involvement in the court of Rene of Anjoy, this is unlikely. The work appears in Petrucci’s Motetti A volume from 1502 (an earlier publication than that of Petrucci’s Motetti B volume in which *Qui velatus facie* is found). This would imply *Victimae paschali laudes* is an earlier composition of Josquin’s. David Fallows believes this work was written around 1475-1480. The setting uses multiple cantus firmi, which are unusually easy to hear. This is a pretty early practice of Josquin’s. That the work is so heavily imitative suggests an early compositional date. It lacks virtually any homophonic chordal Italian writing, and may have been composed while Josquin was still in France or only shortly after he arrived in Italy.

Josquin’s most famous motet, the *Ave Maria.... virgo serena*, has been dated as most likely around 1484 or 1485. Some argue that this work contains a cantus firmus melody. 36 Josquin often used cantus firmus technique inside of his chansons, but this technique was somewhat abandoned later on in Josquin’s career, and instead a parody or imitation motet style was adopted. One such example is his *Pange lingua* based off of a hymn text by Thomas Aquinas, and is one of his later works. This mass contains imitative and chordal writing.

If *Qui velatus facie* is indeed connected with St. Bonaventure’s canonization, the composition date would be around April 1482. This would be earlier perhaps than Josquin’s *Ave Maria*, which is proposed to have been written around 1485.

The Ave Maria features several similar compositional techniques as *Qui velatus*.

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facie. Both alternate chordal with linear, imitative writing, which could put the composition date of *Qui velatus facie* quite close to the Ave Maria in 1484. Both use duet pairings and alter time signatures throughout the works to emphasize certain texts.

Other works of Josquin’s are almost entirely chordal, and very Italian, such as his *Domine Jesu Christe*. Rodin groups *Qui velatus facie* and *Domine Jesu Christe* as being associated with Milan, but both have fairly different structures and compositional styles. None of the pars in *Domine Jesu Christe* begin with points of imitation, while almost all of the pars in *Qui velatus facie* begin with points of imitation. *Domine Jesu Christe* may have had more Italian influence as it is much more chordal, while *Qui velatus* facie mixes imitation and chordal writing and could be older, as Josquin was writing in his native, French imitative style.

In Josquin’s case of musicological chronology, I believe it would not bet an incredibly fruitful venture to attempt to date Josquin’s works based off of stylistic elements alone. I believe he uses various styles of writing in many points in his career, which is a huge reasons scholars have a difficult time dating his works. In general, the more imitative works could be argued for an early date of composition, but this policy is by no means a definitive demarcation criterion.

**Dating Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie***

Although I would like to believe the date of Josquin’s *Qui velatus facie* was 1482, the time of St. Bonaventure’s canonization, we must consider other possible dates. I believe the latest date *Qui velatus facie* could have been written was around 1489 or 90, as is one of the earliest copying dates of the motet cycle. Nothing can be firmly dated before the mid 1480’s, as affirmed by Joshua Rifkin. If my proposal of a
composition date closer to 1482 is correct, then under Rifkin, there has been no
discovery yet that can firmly attribute *Qui velatus facie* to 1482.

Josquin’s tenure with the Cappella Sistina began in 1489. Before the mid
1480’s, there is a large amount of ambiguity in determining Josquin’s location and
dating his earlier compositions. *Qui velatus facie* falls under this ambiguous category,
and as we mentioned earlier, is marked as “less secure still” in Rodin’s *Josquin’s Rome*. To make things even more complicated, it is also entirely possible and likely
that the sexta pars of the motet was composed separately from the rest of Josquin’s
passion motet. The other Bonaventure based mass fragment by Josquin, *Sanctus de Passione*, is based on similar hymn text by St. Bonaventure and set by Josquin in an
elevation motet, *Honor et benedictio*, but not based on any pre-existing music. This
work was published around 1505, and even less is known about it. We will continue
our focus on *Qui velatus facie* since the *Sanctus* is so obscure.

*Qui velatus facie*’s inclusion of Italian composition style leads me to believe it
is highly unlikely Josquin composed this work in France or under a French patron.
Josquin may have spent some time in Milan before traveling to France. He may have
been immersed in the Milanese style of writing here, which he then incorporated into
his *Qui velatus facie*.

In the general field of musicology, if any manuscripts of works survive, these
are often undated manuscripts. Surviving publications don’t necessarily mean date of
compositions. Its possible for a substantial period of time to pass between the
composition of a work and a surviving publication date. In fact, in Petrucci’s published
motet series of Josquin, much of the repertory, some of which may have oriented at the
Milanese court chapel, was already fairly old by the time it was published. The first two volumes in particular, Motetti A and Motetti B present somewhat older repertory. It is suggested that Petrucci stockpiled music as he made plans to begin his printing business. We can known for sure that these works were published in 1503; there is also a “less securely attributed” copying date of the Qui Velatus from the HRadKM7 source of the “1490’s or later?” according to Rodin’s *Josquin’s Rome*.

**Possible Patrons of Josquin**

Josquin most definitely had patrons of the likes of Rene of Anjou, Ercole d’Este, Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Margaret of Austria. Josquin scholar Willem Elders writes that determining the nature and extent of the relationship of a patron and composer (particurarily Josquin) can be quite difficult, and this sort of information is not usually revealed in documents. Willem Elders also believes that Louis XI was a patron of Josquin. This is entirely possible, but doesn’t imply that Josquin served under Louis until Louis’s death. Josquin may have only served him for a brief period of time and then traveled on to Rome in the early 1480’s. No funeral work for Louis’s death by Josquin’s hand is extant, although it’s difficult to find any Josquin works firmly attributed to before 1484.

David Fallows, who is confident that Louis XI was a patron of Josquin at least at some point, writes of the transition between Rene of Anjou and Louis XI.

If Josquin was really among those two chaplains and six singers, he could well have thought he was moving from one fruitcake to another. Rene, who continued to style himself kind of one realm he had never seen and of another from which he had been soundly ejected, who played shepherd games with his wife to while away the time; Louis, the inscrutably misanthropic plotter who often went around in disguise and had little time for the trappings of royalty. It is hard to think of two stranger characters, even in the fifteenth century….. that Louis was a fanatic as well as a carefully cultivated
eccentric could explain the existence of Josquin’s two genealogy motets. Each sets the entire genealogy of Christ. 37

Fallows believes that such an unusual and eccentric project of setting simply a string of names could have only occurred around the circles of someone such as the eccentric Louis XI. These motets are Liber generations and Factum est autem.

Although Louis was apparently a supporter of Bonaventure’s canonization, the likelihood of his commission of Qui velatus facie seems small. Louis XI could have possibly been a patron if Josquin did travel to his court following the death of Rene of Anjou, but this would be unlikely in Adami’s claim of Josquin’s service under Sixtus IV, and Louis died just one year after Bonaventure’s canonization. Louis XI expressed some admiration for Bonaventure, even if his interest was contrived to create a better relationship with Sixtus IV. If one does accept Fallow’s proposal of the genealogy motets being commissioned by Louis, this stylistically does not support Louis’s commissioning of Qui veltaus facie. There is full imitation (quite a French style) throughout both genealogy motets, and both utilize very clear cantus firmus technique, both of which are absent in Qui velatus facie. These genealogy motets would make sense as being commissioned by Louis, but I believe Josquin did not stay in his court for long, if at all.

Stylistically, Qui velatus facie favors an Italian patron given its blend of Italian and French compositional styles.

Additionally, Josquin did not travel to Rome as early as the early 1480’s and stayed in the court, he may have had contact with certain Franciscan figures. He may have had contact with Francis of

Paule, the famous Franciscan sent by Sixtus IV to Louis XI to help his ailments. Francis of Paule’s reputation and service may have stirred up a renewal of interest in the Franciscans and their foundations within the court of Louis XI and Charles VIII, which could have included interest St. Bonaventure. Francis of Paule could have been an inspiration if Josquin had stayed in Rome, but an unlikely patron being a friar.

It is tempting to fantasize Sixtus IV himself was the patron to Josquin’s *Qui veltaus facie*. If Josquin was indeed connected with the canonization ceremony of St. Bonaventure, he was certainly connected with Pope Sixtus IV. Sixtus was born into a poor family in 1414 in Cella Ligure. His birth name was Francesco della Rovere. Della Rovere excelled in philosophy and theology at the University of Pavia, where he also lectured at along with other institutions. He went on to be procurator of the Franciscans in Rome and Provincial of Liguria. Pope Paul II made him a cardinal in 1467. Della Rovere succeeded Pope Paul II in 1471.

While Sixtus was infamous for his nepotism and involvement in the Pazzi conspiracy against the Mediccis, he had several favorable qualities. Sixtus IV commissioned the building and is the namesake of the Sistine Chapel and founder of the Vatican Library. He established a feast day for the Conception of Mary (he did not use the word *immaculate* at the time). The first mass in the Sistine Chapel was dedicated to the Assumption of Mary. Sixtus also was a prominent patron of the arts and greatly expanded the papal choir. Sixtus greatly admired St. Bonaventure and wrote of him fondly. The two shared several similar characteristics, and Sixtus canonized Bonaventure in 1482.

**Pope Sixtus IV and Contact with Josquin**
Whether Pope Sixtus IV and Josquin ever made contact with one another is unclear. Scholarship
is fairly confident that Josquin joined the papal chapel in 1489, 38 but there is reason to believe
Josquin may have had papal chapel contact prior to this tenure. His official tenure occurred after
the time of Sixts’s IV death in 1484.

Sixtus incited Venetians to attack the duchy of Ferrara in 1482. Josquin is believed to
have had contact with Ferrara, but not until the early 1500s. It seems unlikely Josquin had
contact with Ferrara before 1500, but it is possible. Had Josquin been connected with Ferrara in
the 1480s, it seems unlikely for him to have collaborated between nemesis Ercole I d’Este and
Sixtus IV. It seems likely Josquin was more connected with either Milan or Rome during the
1480s.

Adami (the author of the previously mentioned work dealing with the history of the papal
chapel) says that Josquin was a singer under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. Adami was born at
Bolensa in October of 1663, was master of the Papal chapel and acting professor music, and
wrote a work on the history of the papal chapel, and would have been well informed of the
happenings of the papal chapel. The work which mentions this claim is titled Osservazioni per
ben regular il Coro dei Cantori della Cappella Pontificia (Rome 1711).

If Josquin was indeed under Sixtus IV, and considering his records of tenure with the
chapel, this would mean that Josquin also worked under in pontificate of Pope Innocent VII and
later Pope Alexander VI until 1495. Pope Innocent VIII’s pontificate lasted from 1484-1492 and
Pope Alexander VI’s pontificate from 1492-1503. Josquin left Rome sometime during Alexander
VI’s notorious pontificate, probably around 1500, probably to go to Ferrara. This is not
surprising, as Pope Alexander is viewed as one of the most corrupt popes in church history.

38 Sherr, The Josquin Companion, 15.
Relations with Alexander VI and Ercole d’Este were better than with Sixtus IV, in which after the War of Ferrara, Ercole attempted to have peaceful negotiations with the papal states, including marrying his son Alfonso to Alexander VI’s daughter Lucrezia Borgia.

It is possible that Josquin and Sixtus crossed paths on their various travels. If Josquin either left Rene of Anjou’s court prior to Rene’s death in 1480, Josquin very well may have been on the road to Rome and could have encountered Sixtus during various outbreaks of the plague. Sixtus had to leave Rome from June 1476 to October 1476 due to an outbreak of the plague. Rome was no stranger to the plague. In 1475, the same month that Sixtus appointed the City Prefect post to his nephew, Giovani della Rovere, the Tiber overflowed and flooded a large part of Rome. Mud deposits from the Tiber River were abundant and the flood caused a great dampness and dankness in the city. These were prime conditions for pestilence. 39 The plague struck again in 1476, with greater impact than before. Sixtus IV retreated to Viterbo. Viterbo is about eighty kilometers or fifty miles north of Italy. There are Vatican accounts indicating that under Sixtus’s pontificate, payments were made for “building done at the bath palace of Viterbo.” 40 On Sixtus’s journey, several cardinals accompanied him. Not among these cardinals was Cardinal Ascanio, whom was only appointed a cardinal deacon of Ss. Vito e Modesto on 17 March 1484 by Sixtus (not long before Sixtus’s death.) Unfortunately, the plague also eventually arrived in Viterbo, and Sixtus traveled to Campagnano, then to Vetralla, then Amelia and Narni, and settled in Foligno. He visited Assisi during this period. There is a slight possibility Sixtus may have crossed paths with a traveling Josquin during this period. Although Sixtus and Louis had a

history of stormy relations, some attempts at peace cooperation from old wounds occurred between Louis and Sixtus. Early in Sixtus’s pontificate, a modus vivendi was established in a concordant of 1472. A modus vivendi is a sort of peace agreement between conflicting parties, to establish peace while the conflict is resolved or an attempt to exist peacefully indefinitely with an amount of political conflict.

Sixtus IV and Louis XI had several sources of conflict, including Louis’s charge of simony against Sixtus appointing anti-French cardinals. A prime source of conflict between Louis XI and Sixtus was between their political and familial relations. Charles de Bourbon, legate of Avignon, had a rivalry with Guiliano della Rovere, Sixtus’s nephew. Guiliano wanted Charles’s position, and Sixtus appointed it to him without approval in 1476. The royal army and papal troops had a violent confrontation, in which the victory went to Charles. Despite this conflict, Louis XI met with Guiliano and gave him the position anyway, and Sixtus IV then made Charles a cardinal. This event set off a chain of points of contention between Louis and Sixtus. Sixtus’s conflicts within Italy also involved entanglements with France. After the Pazzi conspiracy, Sixtus waged war on Florence, one of France’s great allies. Lorenzo de’ Medici partnered with Louis XI in threatening schism.

King Louis continued to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, originally established by King Charles VII of France in 1438. This sanction stipulated that a council with greater authority than the pope, distributed ecclesiastical offices by election and not appointment, limited interdict on communities, and various other functions. Interdict can limit a group of people to participation in the sacraments for various reasons, except under extreme

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circumstances like death and notable feast days. This sanction was a severe check on the Pope’s power. Essentially, papal decrees needed royal approval before they could be enacted in France.

If Josquin was indeed in the court of Louis XI after the death of Rene of Anjou, then it is possible that Josquin was sent to Rome as a sort of peace offering the Sixtus IV amidst this conflict. Although this could initially seem unlikely given the nasty exchanges of Sixtus and Louis, signs of good will of sending notable figures between Rome and France did occur during this period. The most prominent example of this Pope Sixtus IV commanding Francis of Paola, a popular Franciscan Italian preacher, prophet, and notable miracle worker to travel to Louis XI’s court in 1483, at the request of Louis himself. Louis was mortally ill at the time of the request and hoped Francis could heal him. Louis had his first fit of illness in March 1481, which he was able to quickly recover from. He had another fit in September 1481, after which he became a recluse. Francis of Paule became a prominent figure in Louis Xi’s court beginning around 1482 until Louis’s death. Louis XI died in August 1483 in the arms of Francis of Paule. It would not be surprising, had Josquin been in Louis’s court, for Louis to have sent Josquin to Sixtus in return for Francis. An additional and unexpected sign of good will was Louis’s support of Sixtus’s proposal for St. Bonaventure’s canonization. Sixtus is known to have commissioned offices and masses for other notable figures of the faith he was devoted to. One of these figures was the Virgin Mary. A violent polmeic occurred between the Franciscans and the Dominicans regarding the conception of Mary under the Sixtus’s pontificate. The Dominicans accused anyone who believed in the Immaculate conception was guilty of heresy and also mortal sin.

43 Fallows, Josquin, 86.
Sixtus stepped in to intervene. He did not declare anything officially, or anything ex-cathedra, but he did write a statement before his death in 1483 showing his favoritism in support of the idea of the immaculate conception of Mary. He dedicated the Sistine Chapel in honor of her immaculate conception, and commissioned works for her. Leonardo of Nogarola is mentioned in William Elders’s book Josquin Des Prez and His Musical Legacy: An Introductory Guide as being commissioned by Sixtus IV to write text for a new Mass and Office for this occasion. We can see that Sixtus, when excited by various notable figures of the faith, would go out of his way to defend and honor such figures, such as he did with Virgin Mary. As a commissioner for a new Mass and Office for the Virgin Mary, it would not be surprising if Sixtus issued musical honors to St. Bonaventure as well.

The Franciscans were certainly in the spotlight around the time of Bonaventure’s canonization. Sixtus probably experienced an extra surge of Franciscan pride and involvement with the conflict occurring among the Franciscan subgroups the Observants and the Capuchins/Conventuals. Most of the conflict centered around jurisdiction, in whether the Conventuals should be under the direct supervision of a Vicar General or instead report to the Provincial (and through him to the Minister General of the Franciscan Order.) This conflict led to fall out among the women’s groups as well. Sixtus was rather anti-observant and pro-Conventual. He tried to unify the groups but was unsuccessful.

Although Sixtus would have been a prime candidate for the patron of Josquin’s motet and/or mass fragment, there are other possible Italian patrons. One of Sixtus’s cardinals may have gotten wind of Josquin’s rising stardom and snatched him up to write this motet and/or mass fragment to find himself in the graces of Sixtus. One such cardinal might have been Caridnal Ascanio Sforza.
Ascanio reached final round of papal elections in the 1484 election. He was elevated in cardinal in 1484, before Sixtus’s death and the election of Innocent VIII. Ascanio was the richest and most prominent cardinal in Rome with an income of 30,000 ducats. The only cardinal that could compare was Guiliano della Rovere (future Pope Julius II) with 20,000 ducats, while 10,000 ducats was generally considered a generous income for a cardinal. Ascanio could easily afforded having a star such as Josquin in his household. 44

Conclusion

Josquin des Prez’s motet *Qui velatus facie* seems intimately related the canonization of St. Bonaventure in 1482, and would suggest a clarification of Josquin’s location around 1482 on the basis of *Qui velatus facie*’s content. Did Josquin des Prez, composer of the motet *Qui velatus facie*, honor St. Bonaventure on the occasion of his canonization? The evidence I have unearthed is circumstantial, and yet the style and substance of the motet, together with the scraps of evidence that entail his activities in France, Milan, and Rome in the early 1480s, put him in the right place at the right time, in an environment that favored Franciscans: One of the greatest composers of the high Renaissance venerating one of the great doctors of the church with his sublime music.

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Appendix


Saint Bonaventure: (1221-1274) Medieval, Italian, scholastic theologian, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor (Franciscans), lecturer at University of Paris, and composer.

Josquin des Prez: (1450/1455 -1521) Franco-Flemish composer. Probably born around 1450. Composed both sacred and secular music, in the categories of motets, masses, and chanson. Spent time in France and Italy.

Pope Sixtus IV: (1414-1484) Sixtus IV’s pontificate lasted from 1471-1484. He canonized St. Bonaventure in 1482. Head of the Franciscan Order, and founder of the Vatican Library, and commissioned the building of the Sistine Chapel.

Rene of Anjou: (1409-1480) One of Josquin’s first patrons. Josquin was a member of his chapel in Aix-en-Provence in 1475 until around the time of Rene’s death in 1480.

King Louis XI: (1423-1483) King of France during Josquin’s early years. Josquin may have worked in his court for a time. Louis had extensive political interactions with Sixtus IV.

Cardinal Ascanio Sfroza: (1455-1505) Made cardinal under Sixtus IV in 1484 after a long delay. Incredibly powerful and influential cardinal and a potential patron of Josquin’s.
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