Enhancing the Ave Maria *in the Ars Antiqua*

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ABSTRACT. *The* Ave Maria *remains the most widely repeated prayer in Christian devotional life, and music has played a critical role in its formation and propagation. This article reviews the essential contribution of music in the dissemination of texts based on the original verses from the gospel of Luke, with new evidence concerning the tradition of affixing a petition to the core devotion. While the* Ave Maria *remained unfixed in form and function until the sixteenth century, this article presents three significant examples from the corpus of Ars Antiqua polyphony in which versions of the text that include both the biblical verses and a supplicatory conclusion are not only used, but are also emphasised through polyphonic techniques.*

> *Ave Maria,*
> *Gratia plena,*
> *Dominus tecum,*
> *Benedicta tu in mulieribus,*
> *Et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus.*
>
> *Sancta Maria, mater dei,*
> *Ora pro nobis peccatoribus,*
> *Nunc et in hora mortis nostrae.*
> *Amen.*

As a result of its repetition in the rosary, the *Ave Maria* remains the most widely uttered prayer in Christian devotional life.[1] It reverberated throughout the late Middle Ages, particularly in the fifteenth century, as Marian devotion reached its

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[1] The literature on the Virgin Mary is obviously enormous, but the scholarship containing more than a cursory view of the history and development of the *Ave Maria* is considerably smaller in scope. The most important contributions have been made by Herbert Thurston, *Familiar Prayers: Their Origin and*

apogee, and it emerged as a natural component of the medieval day. In some ways, the *Ave Maria* established a rhythm of life in urban culture: when bells pealed to signal the hours at the church of St Donatian in medieval Bruges, an interval of time was left between each of the bells' strokes for one to say a Hail Mary.[2] The *Ave Maria* also punctuated the liturgical day: St Bonaventure recommended that three *Ave*s be prayed at the sound of the Vesper bell, in particular, and in the early fourteenth century, John XXII codified the general practice known as the Angelus.[3] By the end of the fifteenth century, the *Ave Maria* was also to be found in the private devotion of the rosary.[4] Yet despite – or perhaps because of – its widespread recitation, the *Ave* was scarcely documented in writing, remaining an oral tradition until late in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the written evidence of the prayer points to a complex history of multiple forms which crystallised into the prayer known today only in the later sixteenth century.

Music has long played a role in the propagation of the *Ave Maria*, even from the infancy of the prayer. After a survey of the essential contribution of music in early forms of the prayer, linked by their common use of verses from the gospel of Luke, this article will identify three cases in which what can now be seen as the prayer's 'first half' was enhanced with additional text relating to – though not identical with – the supplication to Mary that forms the 'second half' as it had emerged by the end of the sixteenth century. These examples, drawn from the repertory of Ars Antiqua polyphony – a genre not normally associated with the history of the *Ave* – provide further nodes in the tangled network of prayers based on the words of Gabriel and Elizabeth in Luke's gospel. A review of the *Ave Maria* in the Divine Office and a survey of known examples of the prayer's expansion beyond its core biblical verses

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History (Westminster, MD, 1953), 90–114 and *idem*, 'The Origins of the Hail Mary', *The Month*, 121 (1913), 162–76. Other useful summaries include John Hennig, 'Ave Maria', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols., ed. J.R. Strayer (New York, 1982–89), 2:13; 'Marie (Je vous salue)', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et la liturgie*, 15 vols., ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclerq (Paris, 1907), 10²:cols. 2043–62; John D. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (London, 2002), 33–53; Ruth Steiner, 'Ave Maria (antiphon)', in NCE, 1:929–30; J.A. Jungmann, 'Ave Maria', in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols., ed. Josef Höfer und Karl Rahner (Freiburg, 1957–67), 1:col. 1141; Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols. (London, 1963), 230–1, 308; and Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1909), 228–50.

[2] This ritual is described in Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Medieval Bruges*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1990), 3.

[3] Bonaventure believed this Franciscan practice to be descended from St Francis himself. See H. Schaurle, 'Angelus Domini', in *Lexicon der Marienkunde*, ed. Algermissen, Böer, *et al.* (Regensburg, 1967), 220. The practice of saying the first part of the Hail Mary at morning, noon and night arose from the tradition of ringing bells at those times during the day in many cities. On this custom, see Pierre Jounel, 'The Veneration of Mary', in *The Liturgy and Time*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, 4 vols. in 1, ed. A.G. Martimort (Collegeville, MN, 1992), 4:143; Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine*, 1:308; and Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996), 99.

[4] The literature on the history of the rosary is extensive. See, for example, Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, 1997); Rainer Schersel, *Der Rosenkranz: Das Jesusgebet des Westens*, Freiburg Theological Studies 116 (Freiburg, 1979); Gislind Ritz, *Der Rosenkranz* (Munich, 1962); James G. Shaw, *The Story of the Rosary* (Milwaukee, WI, 1954); Franz M. Willam, *Die Geschichte und Gebetsschule des Rosenkranzes* (Vienna, 1948); and Wilhelm Schmitz, *Das Rosenkranzgebet im 15. und im Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, 1903).

lay the groundwork for three case examples from the vast corpus of early Parisian polyphony. These select pieces offer a rare glimpse of supplicatory additions to the prayer, which are seldom encountered in the period before the fifteenth century. As we will see, the poet-composers responsible for these pieces not only provided litanical accessories to the first half of the *Ave* but also drew attention to these supplications through special musical devices of the period.

The origins of the *Ave* and the role of the Divine Office

The first half of the *Ave Maria* links two proximate, though not successive, verses from the evangelist Luke. These verses are both proclamations – one from the angel Gabriel at the scene of the Annunciation, the other from Elizabeth at the Visitation. The incipit of the *Ave* quotes Gabriel almost verbatim:[5]

Vulgate

In mense autem sexto missus est angelus Gabrihel a Deo in civitatem Galilaeae cui nomen Nazareth, ad virginem desponsatam viro cui nomen erat Ioseph de domo David et nomen virginis Maria. Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: **Ave gratia plena Dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus.**

Douay-Rheims

And in the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, called Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David: and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: **Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women**. (Luke 1:26–28)

The only difference between the relevant verse of the Vulgate and its casting in the conventional Latin prayer is the vocative 'Maria' after the salutatory 'Ave' of the Annunciation. In the succeeding scene of the Visitation from Luke, Elizabeth's declaration recalls the words of Gabriel with the phrase 'blessed art thou among women', despite its Latin variant (see text below). This affirmation further enhances the core of the angel's announcement with Elizabeth's own recognition of the unborn Jesus, made evident to her viscerally by her own expected child, John the Baptist, who famously leaped in her womb:

Vulgate

Et intravit in domum Zacchariae et salutavit Elisabeth. Et factum est ut audivit salutationem Mariae Elisabeth exultavit infans in utero eius et repleta

Douay-Rheims

And [Mary] entered into the house of Zachary and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leaped

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[5] There are, of course, several 'Vulgate' editions and translations. The Vulgate texts presented here are taken from *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 2 vols., 3rd edn (Stuttgart, 1983) and the Douay-Rheims passages can be found in *The Holy Bible, The Catholic Bible, Douay-Rheims Version* (New York, 1941).

est Spiritu Sancto Elisabeth. Et
exclamavit voce magna et dixit
**benedicta tu inter mulieres et
benedictus fructus ventris tui.**

in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled
with the Holy Ghost. And she cried out
with a loud voice and said: **Blessed art
thou among women and blessed is the
fruit of thy womb.**
(Luke 1:40–42)

Together, the joint salutations were kept almost perfectly intact in the core of the
Ave Maria that has come down to us: 'Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum,
Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui'. With the authoritative
weight of Scripture, the scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation quenched
Christians' thirst for canonical details on the life of the Virgin in the advent of late
medieval Marian devotion.[6] The liturgies of St James of Antioch and St Mark of
Alexandria, which may date from as early as the fourth century, constitute the
earliest combination of the words of Gabriel and Elizabeth.[7] The joining of the two
proclamations was registered in the Latin West neither in apocryphal nor theologi-
cal texts, as one might expect, but in the Roman liturgy, where the *Ave Maria*
appeared as early as the seventh century in an offertory for the feast of the
Annunciation, which was then celebrated in April. The Franks later assigned this
offertory to the fourth Sunday of Advent, a date which they added to the liturgical
calendar.[8]

   Sources of the Office reveal the proliferation of this fundamental core of the *Ave
Maria* in the liturgy of the Latin Church. Various forms of the *Ave* found their way
into the daily ritual of the Office as recitations and in musical settings.[9] The most

[6] Apocryphal sources such as the *Protoevangelium of James* (second century) through the hagiographic
literature of the mid-thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine supplied details of Mary's
life not contained in Scripture. These 'histories' of Mary included great elaborations on her childhood,
in particular. For an edition of the *Protoevangelium of James,* see Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament
Apocrypha,* rev. edn, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge, 1991). For Voragine's *Golden Legend,* see *The
Golden Legend*: *Readings on the Saints,* 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993). For
depictions of the Annunciation in medieval art, see Julia Hasting *et al., Annunciation* (London, 2004);
William M. Fackovec, *The Annunciation in Art from 800 to 1525 A.D.: An Exhibition at the Marian Library*
(Dayton, 1970); Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art,* 2 vols., trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich,
CN, 1971), 33–52; and Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1957), 2:174–94. For
medieval dramas on the Annunciation theme, see Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church,* 2 vols.
(Oxford, 1933), 2:245–50. For the Annunciation in medieval polyphonic music, see Anne Walters
Robertson, 'Remembering the Annunciation in Medieval Polyphony', *Speculum,* 70 (1995), 275–304.

[7] Thurston, 'The Origins of the Hail Mary', 169. This formulation was later found in an Egyptian ostracon
from the turn of the seventh century. The full Greek inscription of this Coptic vessel translates as, 'Hail
Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your
womb, because you conceived Christ, the Son of God, redeemer of our souls.' See W.E. Crum and F.E.
Brightman, *Coptic Ostraca: From the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others*
(London, 1902), 3.

[8] See René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), 3, 8–11, 44–45; and James
McKinnon, *The Advent Project* (Berkeley, 2000), 184, fn. 24.

[9] Although I am briefly concentrating on Office settings of this text and related texts, further music from
the Mass with the title *Ave Maria* can also be found in an offertory, tract, and alleluia, all proper to the
feast of the Annunciation. See Robertson, 'Remembering the Annunciation', 282–3. For variant texts
and modes for the offertory *Ave Maria,* see R. Todd Ridder, 'Musical and Theological Patterns Involved

common musical setting of the text (CAO 1539), present in all twelve of the sources representing the earliest layer of Offices for both the Roman and monastic *cursus*, sets only the words of Gabriel (Luke 1:28) as an antiphon for the feast of the Annunciation. The relatively syllabic casting of this first-mode antiphon includes the simple addition of an 'Alleluia' to close the piece. Some sixty Office items, spread across a range of liturgical positions and seasons, feature some resemblance to the core verses of the *Ave*, many containing the text 'Ave Maria' or 'Ave gratia plena' at the outset or during the course of the melody. About half of these settings venture beyond the words 'Dominus tecum'. Among these sixty identified plainchants, only eleven unite the salutations of the angel and Elizabeth.[10] Most striking of these eleven are the two antiphons that similarly embed the full first half of the *Ave Maria* prayer within their respective settings (*Ingressus angelus ad Mariam* [CAO 3340] and *Gabriel angelus locutus est* [CAO 2916]). In only one liturgical setting – a responsory for the third Sunday in Advent (CAO 6156) – is the full first half of the *Ave Maria* presented alone, as a self-contained item, and this responsory seems to have had limited circulation in the earliest sources of the Office.[11]

All of these liturgical items containing some or all of the first part of the *Ave Maria* in some way allude to the Annunciation narrative, but the Office settings were not strictly wedded to the feast day celebrating the Annunciation (25 March). The multiple melodic castings shuttled freely among other Marian seasons and feasts, from Advent and Christmas to Purification and even the Nativity of Mary. The angel's announcement was indeed the best-known event in Mary's life from Scripture, and hence seems destined to have been used repeatedly in both Marian and non-Marian feasts. Thus, despite the early substantiation of the united Marian greetings in both eastern and western Christendom, the conjunction of the two successive salutations from Luke was by no means etched in the Christian tradition, either as a cohesive prayer encapsulating the biblical narrative, or as a text wedded to the liturgical celebrations of the Virgin.

Further evidence of continued variability in the forms of the *Ave Maria* prayer is to be found in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Books of Hours, which preserve the Little Office of the Virgin.[12] Within these manuscripts of personal devotion, a

in the Transmission of Mass Chants for the Five Oldest Marian Feasts: An Examination of Proper Chants and Tropes in a Select Group of Medieval Manuscripts', Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America (1993), 249–50.

10   The eleven office items with both salutations are CAO 3340, 6156, 2916, 6155(a), 7971, 6244, 6963(a), 6243(a), 7569(a), 1709 and 6725(z). The letter suffix denotes the text of a responsory verse associated with the responsory of that number, as described in the notes on the CANTUS database (http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/descript.html). Not all of these chants with the joint salutations are necessarily linked with the text 'Ave [Maria] … Dominus tecum'.

11   The full text of CAO 6156 is 'Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui'. Notice the omission of the pronoun 'tu' in this formulation. This item is found in only two of the sources catalogued by Hesbert: Monza, Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista – Biblioteca Capitolare e Tesoro, C. 12/75 and Verona, Biblioteca/Capitolare, XCVIII.

12   The Little Office was an extension of the Divine Office, disseminated among the monastic orders in the eleventh century in the advent of the First Crusade. Its use on Saturdays was ordered by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095) for both regular and secular clergy. For a short history of this

scaled-down Office for Mary, modelled on the *Officium parvum BMV* in breviaries, contained various prayers to the Virgin and allowed the laity to imitate the practices of monastic culture. As the devotional core of the Book of Hours, the Little Office of the Virgin maintained the basic structure and components of the Divine Office, supplemented by miniatures and historiated initials for contemplation.[13]

To begin the Little Office, an *Ave Maria* was to be recited, but explicit instructions to do so were hardly ever recorded in the manuscripts.[14] After the traditional reflections on Psalm 51 ('Domine, labia mea aperies') and Psalm 70 ('Deus in adiutorium meum intende'), the 'service' of Matins usually opened with another *Ave Maria gratia plena* of indeterminate length, this time cast as an invitatory with the usual 'Venite exultemus' (Psalm 95).[15] Since compilers generally provided only unnotated incipits, we cannot always be certain of either the full text or the melodic referent. At most, the invitatory included the words of Gabriel up to 'in mulieribus'.[16] The Hours of the Virgin also included several occasions to say the antiphon CAO 1709 or the versicle CAO 7971, both of which begin *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* and include the words specific to Elizabeth's salutation ('et benedictus fructus ventris tui').[17] Thus, the Little Office accrued its share of *Ave* sentiments and, as a popular and privately performed liturgy, no doubt developed traditions that contributed to the propagation of the prayer in the late Middle Ages.

Before moving to a discussion of the additional texts that were added to these various forms of the core of the prayer, we must finally address the different ways in which this core was 'completed' in devotional life. In the most widespread version of the Ave Maria in the Divine Office (CAO 1539), the word 'Alleluia' capped off the short setting of the antiphon, as mentioned earlier. Antiphons and responsories generally do not command a closing Alleluia or Amen, but forms of the *Ave Maria* had a range of different terminations following 'fructus ventris tui'.[18] In tracing the

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Marian institution, see 'Little Office', in *A Catholic Dictionary Containing Some Account of the Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church*, 2nd edn, ed. William E. Addis, Thomas Arnold, *et al.* (London, 1884), 520.

[13] For an excellent overview of the structure of the Hours of the Virgin in Books of Hours, see Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), 60–88, 159–161.

[14] *Ibid.*, 61 and 188. An exception is the Book of Hours found in Walters Art Gallery W. 267 ('Buves Hours'), where the *Ave Maria* is provided on the folio facing the opening of Matins.

[15] Psalms are given using Hebrew numeration.

[16] This formulation occurs in the case of CAO 1042: 'Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus'. This invitatory, however, does not appear nearly as often in liturgical books as CAO 1041, which contains only the text, 'Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum'.

[17] Given the various forms of scribal abbreviation in the Hours of the Virgin, it is not always possible to tell exactly what is being said in a given liturgical item. Wieck (*Time Sanctified*, 159–61) identified six different positions in the Little Office that are known to feature an antiphon or versicle with the title *Benedicta (tu)*: the first and second antiphons of Matins (in the nocturn for Sunday, Monday, and Thursday); the versicle following the responsory *Sancta et immaculata* (during the lessons of the nocturn for Wednesday or Saturday); the seventh antiphon of Lauds following the antiphon *In odorem unguentorum*; the versicle following the Lauds hymn *O gloriosa domina*; and the versicle following the lesson (Eccles. 24:16) in the Office of Sext.

[18] For a more thorough discussion of these variants, see Cabrol and Leclerq, eds., 'Marie (Je vous salue)', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, 10²:cols. 2057–8.

history of the *Ave*, historians have noted a crucial addendum to the successive greetings – the naming of Jesus. In all the previous examples, the words 'Jesus Christ' never stood as an appositive indicating the 'fruit of [Mary's] womb'. The identification of the Saviour remained implicit in the salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth, although in the narrative the angel expressly reveals that Mary's son should be called 'Jesus' (Luke 1:31) only a few verses following the declamation of the *Ave*.

The scholarly literature has not precisely dated the tradition of naming Jesus in the *Ave Maria*, but it is doubtful that the designation of Christ prefigured the concerted reverence for the 'Holy Name of Jesus', a feast celebrated towards the end of the fifteenth century and officially extended to the Church only in 1721.[19] Instead, legend has it that Urban IV (1261–64) ordered that the word 'Jesus' or, more commonly, 'Jesus Christus, Amen', be appended to the *Ave*.[20] John XXII (1316–34) recognised the importance of this subtle addition to the prayer and granted indulgences for attaching the name of Jesus to the *Ave*.[21] Wholly characteristic of an oral tradition, the versions naming Jesus did not supplant the previous renderings of the *Ave Maria*. Rather, varied practices of saying the prayer continued in parallel, creating a network of possibilities for this increasingly fundamental expression of Marian devotion. Even into the fifteenth century, one routinely encounters the short version of the *Ave*, lacking the name of Jesus. For example, in two distinct Marian poems from this period (*Ave plena gratia virgo singularis* and *Ave porta poli*), a lengthy acrostic generates the 'whole' *Ave*, which, in each case, offers nothing past the words 'fructus ventris tui'.[22] We will likewise find varied approaches to setting the *Ave Maria* in music of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, including the use of acrostics and addenda to the joint salutations.

As the foregoing evidence suggests, the first half of the *Ave Maria*, while established in some devotional realms, was by no means standardised as a single text in Christian ritual life in the late Middle Ages. *Aves* were in no short supply in the period: it was their length and formulation that remained inconsistent. Indeed, there was no single recitation to speak of, only variations on a biblical theme. The act of including a second part to the prayer – the brief supplication to the Virgin for intercession – reveals a similarly unstable history.

[19] Richard Pfaff (*New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 62–83) has shown that English devotion to the Holy Name, in particular, is traceable to the fourteenth century in a few extant votive contexts. Even by the late fifteenth century, a Mass for the Holy Name was far from a regular feature of liturgical books. For the commemoration of the Holy Name in music, see David Mateer and Elizabeth New, '"In Nomine Jesu": Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St. Paul's Cathedral', *Music and Letters*, 81 (2000), 507–519.

[20] The attribution of the second part of the *Ave* to Pope Urban IV was perpetuated by Thurston (*Familiar Prayers*, 113). On the veracity of this claim, see A.A. De Marco, 'Hail Mary', in NCE, 6:616–17.

[21] Frederick Holweck, 'Holy Name of Jesus', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols., ed. Charles G. Herbermann *et al.* (New York, 1913–22), 7:421. On the lack of sufficient evidence to substantiate this custom, see Miller, *Beads and Prayers*, 50.

[22] The full texts of these poems may be found in AH 32:39–43.

A second part to the *Ave Maria*

In all the tangled textual history of the *Ave Maria*, late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century reformers argued that the repetitive devotion in its short form was not a prayer, properly speaking, but merely a recitation of two greetings.[23] Yet a second part to the prayer seems to have emerged in some contexts much earlier than the time of these reformational voices, likely beginning centuries earlier as a silent or private addition to the initial salutations.[24] Unlike the first part of the *Ave Maria*, the second half of the standardised devotion ('Sancta Maria, mater dei') has no biblical precedent. The petition addresses Mary as 'holy' and with the title 'Mother of God'. The Church as a whole directs the supplication, urging Mary to intercede with her Son on behalf of the faithful ('us sinners') in order to obtain the necessary grace for salvation both now and at the hour of death.

The constituent parts that came to make up the second half of the *Ave* are not difficult to grasp. The name Mary, of course, is revealed in Scripture, and her post-biblical title as 'Mother of God' (*Theotokos*, 'God-bearer') was established in the Byzantine Church following the anti-Nestorian Council of Ephesus in 431.[25] The precise appeal (*ora pro nobis*) is a very general plea, recalling the Litany of the Saints and reflecting later medieval doctrine concerning the saints' power to intercede for believers.[26] It affirms that Mary, bearer of Christ and full of grace, sat in an especially advantageous position as Mediatrix for Christians. The complete devotion materialised as a powerful Mariological statement, uniting the biblical declarations with later supplicatory traditions. The intensified fervour for Mary in the later Middle Ages and the bipartite structure of the *Ave* also resulted in significant divisions among Christians, who wrestled with the dichotomy between the weight of the scriptural verses of the prayer and the exalted soteriological position of Mary.[27]

The second half of the *Ave Maria* was formally in place by the later sixteenth century with the issue of the Roman breviary under Pius V in 1568.[28] Scholars have toiled, however, over the early history of the 'Sancta Maria, mater dei' text. One account has attributed this part of the *Ave* to the Ethiopian liturgy of uncertain antiquity.[29] Others conservatively place the second part of the *Ave* in the fifteenth or

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[23] See, for example, the writings of English reformer and bishop of Worcester, Hugh Latimer, *The Works of Hugh Latimer*, 2 vols., ed. George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge, 1844), 2:229–30.

[24] Thurston, 'Hail Mary', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7:112.

[25] The title *Theotokos* was reaffirmed at the Council of Chalcedon (451). For a time, the Latin was rendered as 'Deipara', only later as 'Mater Dei'. On the tradition of the title 'Theotokos', see *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 723–4; Averil Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29 (1978), 79–108; and G. Giamberardini, 'Il 'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana', *Marianum*, 31 (1969), 324–62.

[26] On the Litany of the Saints, see Peter Jeffery, 'Litany', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 7:588–94.

[27] Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, 14.

[28] See, for example, Thurston, 'Hail Mary', 7:112; Hennig, 'Ave Maria', 2:13; and Miller, *Beads and Prayers*, 53.

[29] At the incensing before the gospel, the two salutations to Mary are said, and then the priest declares, "Pray and intercede for us with thy blessed Son." The people respond, "That He may forgive our sins." See Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker and Hope Malleson, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, 3

early sixteenth century, as an addition of unknown provenance.[30] Some have located the appearance of the 'Sancta Maria' petition in the liturgical books of various monastic orders in the early sixteenth century, including the Franciscan breviary of 1525.[31] Whatever the precise circumstances of the emergence of the prayer that has reached us today, the late dates proposed for its standardisation reflect the continued multiplicity of *Ave* devotions, many of them transmitted orally, well into the fifteenth (and perhaps sixteenth) century.

Historians have long sought a precise origin for the second part of the *Ave Maria*, but little, if any, of the marshalled evidence reveals a direct connection to the final prayer. Take, for example, the Litany of the Saints found in the prayer book GB-Lbl, Cotton Titus D. xxvi, written in the second quarter of the eleventh century for Ælfwine, Dean of the New Minster at Winchester. This prayer testifies to Anglo-Saxon devotion to Mary, particularly in its elaborate supplication to the Virgin, and has a vague resonance with the second part of the *Ave* known today. The sinner invokes the Virgin six times, summoning her with familiar titles near the end of the prayer and pleading with her directly for intercession, particularly at the time of death.[32]

Sancta Maria, ora.	Holy Mary, pray,
Sancta Maria, intercede pro me misero peccatori,	Holy Mary, intercede for me, a poor sinner,
Sancta Maria, adiuva me in die exitus mei ex hac presenti vita.	Holy Mary, help me on the day of my departure from this present life.
Sancta Maria, adiuva me in die tribulationis meae.	Holy Mary, help me on the day of my distress.
Sancta Maria dei genetrix, ora.	Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray,
Sancta virgo virginum, ora.	Holy Virgin of Virgins, pray.

Yet this litanical supplication is not attached to words of Gabriel's proclamation, and thus hardly warrants serious consideration as a precursor of the second part of the *Ave* in its final form. Nonetheless, historians have regularly drawn on examples of similar or more concise entreaties to the Virgin – particularly in visual art – to support teleological arguments concerning the prayer's origins and

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vols. (London, 1897–1900), 2:160–1. Unfortunately, no source is provided for this Abyssinian tradition, despite the specificity of the ritual. These same authors have also posited an even stronger connection to the petition of the *Ave Maria* at the fifth-century Council of Ephesus, whereas most will only acknowledge the title *Theotokos* as the result of this synod.

[30] See, for example, Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 2; Steiner, 'Ave Maria', 1:929; André Lagarde, *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages*, trans. Archibald Alexander (New York, 1915), 81; and Jakob Hubert Schütz, ed., *Die Geschichte des Rosenkranzes: Unter Berücksichtigung der Rosenkranz-Geheimnisse und der Marien Litanien* (Paderborn, 1909), ix–xviii.

[31] Others have cited the supplicatory ending in liturgical books from slightly earlier monastic sources such as those of the Camaldolese (Venice, 1514) and the Mercedarians (Paris, 1514). See Hennig, 'Ave Maria', 2:13.

[32] For an edition, see *Aelfwine's Prayerbook: London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. XXVI & XXVII*, ed. Beate Günzel, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (Rochester, NY, 1993), 58, 178.

development.[33] According to Thurston, the concluding petition for the *Ave Maria* may also have arisen in paraphrases or glosses on the dual salutations recited in the first half of the prayer. Support for this claim may be found in the sacred vernacular poetry commonly attributed to Dante.[34] Within the strictures of *terza rima*, the author recasts and expounds the three central prayers of western Christendom – the *Credo*, *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*.[35] In the verses in honour of the Virgin, the salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth are readily noticeable, and are followed by a concluding supplication to Mary.[36]

La Vergin benedetta omai è dritto	It is now right to praise and bless
Laudare e benedire, anzi che fine	the Blessed Virgin, so that she may give reason
Aggiunga a quel, che è sopra scritto	to what is written above.
E lei pregar che alle glorie divine	And [it is right] to pray that she guide us,
Sì ci conduca co'suoi santi preghi,	with her prayers, to divine glories,
E scampi noi dall'infernai ruine:	and save us from the ruins of hell.
E tutti que' che son di peccar cieghi	May she illuminate and awake the darkness
Allumi e svegli la lor tenebrìa	of all of those whom sin made blind
E da' lacci infernai sì gli disleghi.	and free them from the infernal chains.
Salveregina, vergine Maria	Hail, holy queen, Virgin Mary
Piena di grazia, Iddio sia sempre teco	full of grace, the Lord is with you,
Più ch'altra donna benedetta e pia.	pious and blessed above every other woman.
Il frutto del tuo ventre, il quale io preco	May the fruit of your womb, Jesus Christ,

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[33] For instance, a mid-to-late thirteenth-century wooden sculpture from the south of France (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, I. 3023) reveals the formulation 'O Virgo Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis' as the inscription on a footstool, upon which the feet of Mary rest. For a brief description of this statue, see *Die Bildwerke des deutschen Museums*, ed. Theodor Demmler, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1923–30), 3:19. About a century later (*c.*1375/85), the Florentine illuminator Silvestro dei Gherarducci produced a painting of the Virgin and child flanked by John the Baptist and John the Evanglist (*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Angels, and a Donor*, *c.*1375/85, tempera on panel. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation [M.39.1]). Similarly at the base of the throne, the words 'S. Maria mater dei ora pro nobis' appear. On the history of this painting, see M. Levi d'Ancona, '"Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci" e il "Maestro delle Canzoni"', *Rivista d'arte*, 32 (1957), 3–38, esp. 21–22 and F.R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 3 vols. (London, 1966), 1:38 and fig. 88, though the inscription is barely legible.

[34] On the questionable attribution to Dante, see Schaff, *Dante and the Divina Commedia* (New York, 1890), 324. For a rhymed English translation, see *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, 2 vols., ed. E.H. Plumptre (London, 1886–87), 2:325.

[35] As fundamental devotional statements of the Latin West, the *Ave Maria, Paternoster* and *Credo* became part of basic pedagogical practice in the late Middle Ages, with children encountering these particular texts to achieve literacy (first by letter, then syllable). See, for example, Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York, 2001), 42–43.

[36] Thurston, *Familiar Prayers*, 112.

Che ci guardi dal mal, Cristo Gesù,	To whom I pray, be blessed, carry us with him,
Sia benedetto, e noi tiri con seco.	And protect us from evil,
O Vergin benedetta, sempre tu	**O Blessed Virgin, do continually**
Ora pro noi che Cristo ci perdoni,	**Pray for us to Christ that He may pardon us,**
E diaci grazia a viver sì guaggiù,	**and give us grace to live here below,**
Che Paradiso al nostro fin ci doni.	**That paradise might be given to us at our end.**[37]

It is true that in the direct address to the Virgin, the vernacular supplication *ora pro noi* and the reference to intercession *al nostro fin* have some general resonance with the ingredients from the final Latin version from the sixteenth century. However, the Dantean reference to Paradise and the naming of Christ in this gloss of the petition suggest that a 'second half' was both an uncommon and an inconsistent phenomenon. Another early fourteenth-century source contains an intriguing second part to a form of the *Ave*. The founder of Max Stoke Monastery in Warwickshire devised a supplement to the *Ave Maria*, though it does not formally issue the request for Mary to intercede. This formulation curiously 'ends' the prayer with an Amen, before continuing with prominent mention of Mary's mother, St Anne (italics mine): 'Ave Maria, gracia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. Amen. *Et benedicta sit venerabilis mater tua Anna, ex qua tua caro virginea et immaculata processit*'.[38] (And blessed be your venerable mother Anne, from whom your virginal and immaculate flesh proceeds.) We will shortly see a similar tactic in a musical setting, as one case of a transitional *Ave* appears to close with an Amen, before resuming with a textual addition, apparently understood as part of the prayer.

In the vernacular gloss above, the propinquity of *Ave*-type sentiments to the traditional *Paternoster* points up an important relationship between these familiar Christian prayers, which would eventually become the devotional substance marking the contemplative progression through the *vita christi* in the rosary, as it developed in the fifteenth century.[39] The devotional coupling of the *Ave Maria* and *Paternoster* spawned an important tradition in music of the early sixteenth century, which saw polyphonic settings deliberately pairing these two prayers. The practice of juxtaposing these two texts appears to have begun with the sumptuous, six-voice setting by Josquin and continued into the later sixteenth century with more than two dozen settings by some of the century's most highly regarded composers, including Willaert and Palestrina. In a study of these pairings, Daniel Freeman has demonstrated not only their proliferation, but also – significantly for the present study – the

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[37] Many thanks to Lucia Marchi for her assistance with this translation.

[38] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 vols., ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel (London, 1817–30), 6:525.

[39] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 84.

remarkable instability of a second part to the *Ave Maria*, even in the heyday of the Renaissance.[40]

A range of alternative additions to the *Ave Maria* continued to be found throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Frequently cited is evidence from the Franciscan missionary Bernardine of Siena (d. 1444), who, when reciting the *Ave* in a 1427 sermon, made this textual addition after the two salutations: 'Sancta Maria, mater dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus'.[41] A French vernacular rendering of this abbreviated addendum to the prayer appears in the popular medieval almanac known as the *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* of 1493, while Richarde Pynson's 1506 English edition (*Kalendar of Shepherdes*) faithfully translates the ending, 'Holy Mary moder of God praye for us synners. Amen'.[42] Finally in a commentary on the *Ave Maria* (*c.*1495), the great Dominican reformer Girolamo Savonarola unveiled a version of the prayer nearly identical with the *Ave* that was later to become canonical, except for the omission of the single word 'nostrae'.[43] As close as it was to the ultimate wording, this supplication evidently saw little circulation at the time, although it is present in some music of the period.[44] Still at the turn of the sixteenth century, no single conclusion to Gabriel's announcement was predominant. A handful of musical and liturgical sources which provide a petitionary supplement to the prayer supply further evidence that it was routinely lengthened, though the question of how (if at all) these examples contributed to the development of the final, standardised form of the *Ave* remains a scholarly conundrum.

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[40] On the tradition of pairing the two devotions in polyhony, see Daniel Freeman, 'On the Origins of the *Paternoster-Ave Maria* of Josquin des Prez', *Musica Disciplina*, 45 (1991), 169–219 and David J. Rothenberg, 'Marian Feasts, Seasons, and Songs in Medieval Polyphony: Studies in Musical Symbolism', Ph.D. diss., Yale University (2004), 148–74. A catalogue of these settings can be found in Freeman, 'On the Origins', 199–205.

[41] This addendum was later used by the Carthusian order. See Miller, *Beads and Prayers*, 52.

[42] First published in Paris by Guy Marchant, this almanac provides instruction on many different aspects of late medieval culture including in agriculture, medicine, astrology and religious devotion. For a facsimile edition with commentary and an extensive source history, see *The Kalender of Shepherdes: The Edition of Paris 1503 in Photographic Facsimile*, 3 vols., ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London, 1892). In Pynson's 1506 calendar, this final petition to Mary received special attention, as it was further included in an illustration featuring the pope and his Church kneeling before Mary and uttering this prayer.

[43] Savonarola, 'Esposizione sopra l'orazione della vergine', in *Operette spirituali*, 2 vols., ed. Mario Ferrara, Edizione Nationale delle opere di Girolamo Savonarola (Rome, 1976), 2:125–47 at 129. Savonarola's exposition involves commentary on the prayer dissected into words or phrases. On the connection between Savonarola and musical culture, see Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford, 1998).

[44] There are ten known *laude* settings of the *Ave Maria* known from the turn of the sixteenth century, as identified by Knud Jeppesen, ed. *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500* (Leipzig, 1935). Surprisingly, seven of these ten contain the canonical ending with 'mortis nostrae' (nos. 40, 41, 42 [Cara], 46, 47 [Tromboncino], 48 [Cara or Tromboncino] and 67 [Innocentius Dammonis]). Petrucci's Motetti B print has three settings of the *Ave Maria* text. Two of these motets (Regis' 3vv. *Ave Maria* [fols. 59v–60] and Crispinus' 4vv. *Ave Maria* [fols. 64v–65] are set only the first part of the text, but the third occurs within a larger composite setting of an anonymous 4vv. *Gaude virgo mater christi* [fols. 65v–67]. On Petrucci's Motetti B, see Warren Drake, ed., *Ottaviano Petrucci, Motetti de Passione, de Cruce, de Sacramento, de Beata Virgine et huiusmodi B: Venice, 1503* (Chicago, 2002).

Petitions in Plainchant

The most significant gap in the received history of the second part of the *Ave Maria* remains the chronological gulf between the eleventh-century prayer book from Winchester and the Italian gloss of the Marian devotion from the early fourteenth century. Significant barriers stand in the way of interpreting these two texts as prefiguring the second part of the *Ave Maria* known in the sixteenth century: the former lacks a connection to the angel's announcement, and latter is cast in the vernacular. A number of musical pieces, dating from the intervening period and hitherto unmentioned in the literature on the *Ave*, provide evidence of its ongoing enhancement with additional, supplicatory text in a number of distinct formulations.

Surprisingly, the voluminous sources of plainchant that have survived provide little indication of an addendum attached to the *Ave Maria*. A few Office plainchants begin with the words 'Sancta Maria' before continuing with text related to the supplicatory half of the *Ave Maria*.[45] The most widespread of these, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (CAO 4703), has the most distant relationship to the text of the canonical prayer.[46] Closer to the sentiment is the Matins invitatory *Sancta Maria dei genetrix* (CAO 1158), which simply urges the Virgin to intercede on behalf of 'us' ('Sancta Maria dei genetrix virgo intercede pro nobis'). This brief invitatory for the feast of Our Lady of the Snow achieved small circulation, surviving in only one of the twelve early sources of the Divine Office and a few later manuscripts.[47] The antiphon *Sancta Maria virgo dei genetrix* (CAO 4704) for the feast of the Assumption likewise survives in just one of the early sources of the Office, but is more specific in its plea to the Virgin and displays some similarities of language to the ultimate second half of the *Ave* ('Sancta Maria virgo dei genetrix te deprecamur cum sanctis omnibus ut intercedas pro peccatis omnibus ut mereamur tecum habere perpetuum').[48] In no case are these plainchants formally connected to the first part of the *Ave*, so a precise relationship with the prayer cannot be established in the first place.

The vast repertory of liturgical sequences for the Virgin Mary provides more evidence of supplicatory additions to the *Ave Maria*.[49] Medieval sequence writers

[45] My search includes liturgical items that may have the 'Sancta Maria' or another relevant part of the second half in the interior of the text, in addition to the incipit.

[46] The full text of this antiphon, used in different positions chiefly within the octave of the Assumption feast, reads: 'Sancta Maria succurre miseris juva pusillanimes refove flebiles ora pro populo interveni pro clero intercede pro devoto femineo sexu'. It is present in eight of the twelve sources representing the Hesbert's earliest layer of Office manuscripts and numerous later sources.

[47] Besides its survival in the late twelfth-century monastic source, Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, V 21, I am aware of only four sources for the invitatory *Sancta Maria dei genetrix*: Chicago, Newberry Library 24 (fol. 218v); Zutphen, Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek (Municipal Archives) 6 (fol. 210v); Benevento, Archivio Capitolare 20 (fol. 258v); and Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), lat. 122 (fol. 136r). A slightly longer version occurs as an antiphon (CAO 4699), found in five of the twelve earliest sources: 'Sancta dei genetrix virgo semper Maria intercede pro nobis ad dominum Jesum Christum'.

[48] Of Hesbert's twelve sources, this antiphon can only be found in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCVIII.

[49] On the early Notkerian sequence, see Richard L. Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley, 1977). For the relationship between the Alleluia and sequence, see Calvin M. Bower, 'From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, ed. Sean Gallagher *et al.* (Aldershot, 2003), 351–98.

crafted glosses on the *Ave*, sometimes including an entreaty to close the poem.[50] Thurston found one of the earliest examples of such a petition in a mid-twelfth-century sequence located in no fewer than eight manuscripts.[51] The poetry is attributed to the great composer of sequences, the monk Gottschalk of Aachen, although his death, likely in the early twelfth century, does not support the dating of this sequence to the year 1151.[52]

1. Ave Maria	Hail Mary,
gratia plena	Full of grace,
Dominus tecum	The Lord is with you
Benedicta	Blessed are you
Tu in mulieribus	Among women.
2a. *Gratiam*	We lost
filii tui	the grace
quam merito	of your son
amisimus,	which he deserved,
tu *gratia*	Thou full of grace,
plena piis repara	Restore [us]
precibus	With your holy prayers.
2b. *Dominum*	The Lord –
qui nasciturus	Who was fully
ex te totus	Born from you,
erat *tecum*,	Was with you.
obtineas	May you obtain for us
misericordem esse	Mercy by being
nobiscum.	With us.
3a. *Tu* super	You above all,
omnia *benedictum*	Were blessed
generans *benedicta*,	Bringing forth a blessed one.
nos a mortis	Free us from
maledicto libera.	Damnation at death.
3b. *Tu* vitae	You – O highest
porta supernae et	gate of life and
via caelestis patriae,	way of the heavenly kingdom –
nos exules	are worthy to bring
digneris reducere.	us exiles back.

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[50] A secular parallel may be seen in troubadour and trouvère repertory, in which the poet sometimes addresses his audience (the lady) directly in the final half stanza.

[51] Thurston, 'The Second Part of the Hail Mary', *The Month*, 121 (1913), 379–88 at 379.

[52] On the chronology and geography of these manuscript sources, mainly from modern-day Austria (less so in the Low Countries and Germany), see AH 40:115. On the life of Gottschalk of Aachen (also known as Gottschalk of Limburg), see Lawrence Gushee and Michael McGrade, 'Gottschalk', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 10:205–6. On the political nature of Gottschalk's sequences see McGrade, 'Gottschalk of Aachen, the Investiture Controversy, and Music for the Feast of the "Divisio apostolorum"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 351–408.

4a. *Ave gratia plena*	Hail thou full of grace
et pietate,	And piety,
quae genuisti *plenum*	Who birthed one full of grace
gratia et veritate.	And truth.
4b. Hic nobis et mortis in	**Help us now and**
hora succerre	**In the hour of death**,
ac in orbis examine	And remember us, your own,
nos tuos recognosce.	Among the throng of the world.

The characteristically unpaired first stanza consists of the unadulterated words of Gabriel. Each of the stanzas thereafter ends with a short appeal to Mary and a veiled trope of the prayer (forms of 'gratia', 'plena', 'dominus', 'tecum', 'benedicta' and 'tu' [*italics above*]) is sprinkled throughout the poem. Stanza 4a recalls the opening of this short sequence (Gabriel's salutation), while the beginning of versicle 4b in particular ('Hic nobis et mortis in hora succerre') bears a close relationship to the second half of *Ave Maria* text that became fixed only in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, this petition is scattered among several entreaties (*repara*, *libera* and *recognosce*) in the sequence, and thus cannot be regarded as a direct precursor to the simple and generic 'ora pro nobis' that would endure in the later devotion.

   Among some forty sequences beginning with the formulation 'Ave Maria' (or similarly, such as 'Ave plena gratiae'), few contain a final invocation comparable to the sequence attributed to Gottschalk.[53] One may single out the widespread sequence *Ave plena gratiae*, which repeatedly invokes the Virgin with the text 'Sancta Maria'. In this rhymed sequence of seven versicle pairs, there is a textual and musical repetition of 'Sancta Maria' as punctuation at the end of each versicle (as shown in the excerpt in Example 1). In this way, the invocation takes on rhetorical significance as a component of both the text and the melody, and this unusual and memorable quality may perhaps have contributed to the sequence's wide distribution in at least three dozen manuscripts.[54]

Additions to the *Ave* in early polyphony

Isolated and distinct hints of the association between the biblical portion of the *Ave Maria* and various supplicatory addenda have been traced in spoken and sung liturgies and in non-liturgical contexts between the eleventh century and the

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[53] Ridder (*Musical and Theological Patterns*, 244–49) has noted two sequences from the Mass for the Annunciation feast, for instance, that conclude with a supplicatory petition (*Salve porta perpetuae* [AH 7:108 and AH 53:108] and *Ave Maria gratia plena* [AH 54:216]). Neither closely resembles the final plea known from the later prayer, despite the proximity to Gabriel's announcement and the propriety of the feast.

[54] The melody evidently emanates from the Diocese of Salzburg, but sources of this sequence as early as the thirteenth century also survive in northern Europe. See AH 54:355–6; Franz Josef Mone, *Hymni Latini medii aevi*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 1855), 2:314; and Joseph Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz: F. Kupferberg, 1873), 202–3. My thanks to Calvin M. Bower for bringing this particular version of *Ave plena gratiae* to my attention in 2005.

Ex. 1 Excerpt of the sequence *Ave plena gratiae*, edited from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 9508, fol. 267v (fifteenth century).

sixteenth. The international repertory of Ars Antiqua polyphony, surviving from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, provides further notable cases. Nearly fifty *Ave*-inspired polyphonic works survive in the early Parisian corpus in sources mainly from the mid-to-late thirteenth century, several of which are mentioned in Anne Robertson's broader study of polyphony for the Annunciation.[55] However, only a handful set phrases from the biblical verses followed by a supplication,

[55] For the relevant table of polyphonic settings for the Annunciation, see Robertson, 'Remembering the Annuniciation', 288–9. My own search for these texts in music was naturally inexhaustive. A majority of these *Ave* settings can be found in an alphabetic index of motet texts compiled in Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, 1989), 179. In the twenty-four volumes of the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (ed. Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison and Kurt von Fischer [Paris and Monaco, 1956]), it comes with some surprise that

in ways that resemble – albeit loosely – the final form of the *Ave Maria*. The remainder of this article unveils three previously unacknowledged instances where a supplicatory addendum not only follows the core of the *Ave*, but is also formally demarcated from it through polyphonic techniques, suggesting that composers of polyphony also participated in the construction of late medieval Marian piety.

We first turn to the two-voice conductus *Ave Maria gratia plena*, an *unicum* from the well-known Las Huelgas manuscript (Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, ms 9), a manuscript from a Cistercian convent in northern Spain compiled in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and a rare source to survive in the location for which it was written.[56] The conductus in question contains the chief hallmark of the genre – an original tenor, not an import of some pre-existent plainchant.[57] The conductus, shown in Figure 1, includes the typical alternation between melismatic and syllabic sections, although some melismas in its first part are notably extended. Although not shown in this figure, the first syllable of the prayer ('A-ve') consumes more than twenty perfections, while the first syllable of 'te-cum' occupies more than thirty perfections, the exact numbers depending on how the text is underlaid. The brevity of the conductus text may perhaps have prompted such lengthy melismas, although other phrases, such as 'Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus', are 'bunched' with syllabic declamation and hardly obscured.

The text of the conductus joins the first half of what was to become the 'standard' *Ave Maria* (including the name 'Ihesus') with a brief supplication (italicised below).

Ave Maria,	Hail Mary,
Gratia plena,	Full of grace,

the closest *Ave* casting is in Marchettus of Padua's *Ave Regina/Mater Innocencie*/ITE MISSA EST (*PMFC* 12:129–132), in which the triplum merely bears an acrostic of the first half of the prayer (with no name of Jesus appended). This is the principal object of investigation in Robertson's study.

[56] For the most recent study on the date and provenance of the manuscript, see Nicolas Bell, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile* (Madrid, 2003), 36–39. This volume accompanies *idem*, ed. *Códice de canto polifonico* (Madrid, 1997–2003). For an earlier study of the manuscript and its context, see Higini Anglès, *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1931), 1:vii–x. Several works in the manuscript are attributed to Johannes Roderici, whose names appears in the boxed inscription at the bottom of Figure 1: 'Johan[n]es Roderici me fecit'. This signature, however, appears to apply strictly to the unrelated tenor located at the bottom of fol. 152v. This tenor forms the underpinning for a conductus-motet (*Mellis stilla, maris stella*/[DOMINO]) found later in the manuscript (fol. 166). On the question of Roderici's assumed contributions to Las Huelgas, see Michael O'Connor, 'Johannes Roderici: Identifying the Musician of Las Huelgas', *Medieval Perspectives*, 10 (1995), 169–77.

[57] Even when setting traditional liturgical texts with known chant melodies, composers typically took the text and developed a more rhythmically flexible melody compared to the traditional setting. See Janet Knapp, 'Conductus', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 6:278-9. For Franco of Cologne's dictum to first compose "as beautiful a melody as one can" ("primum cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam potest") for the tenor when creating a conductus, see Franco, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 18 (American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 74. For a rereading of Franco and Grocheio on the nature of the tenor in the conductus repertory, see Bryan Gillingham, 'A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus', *The Musical Quarterly*, 75 (1991), 59-73, esp. 62.
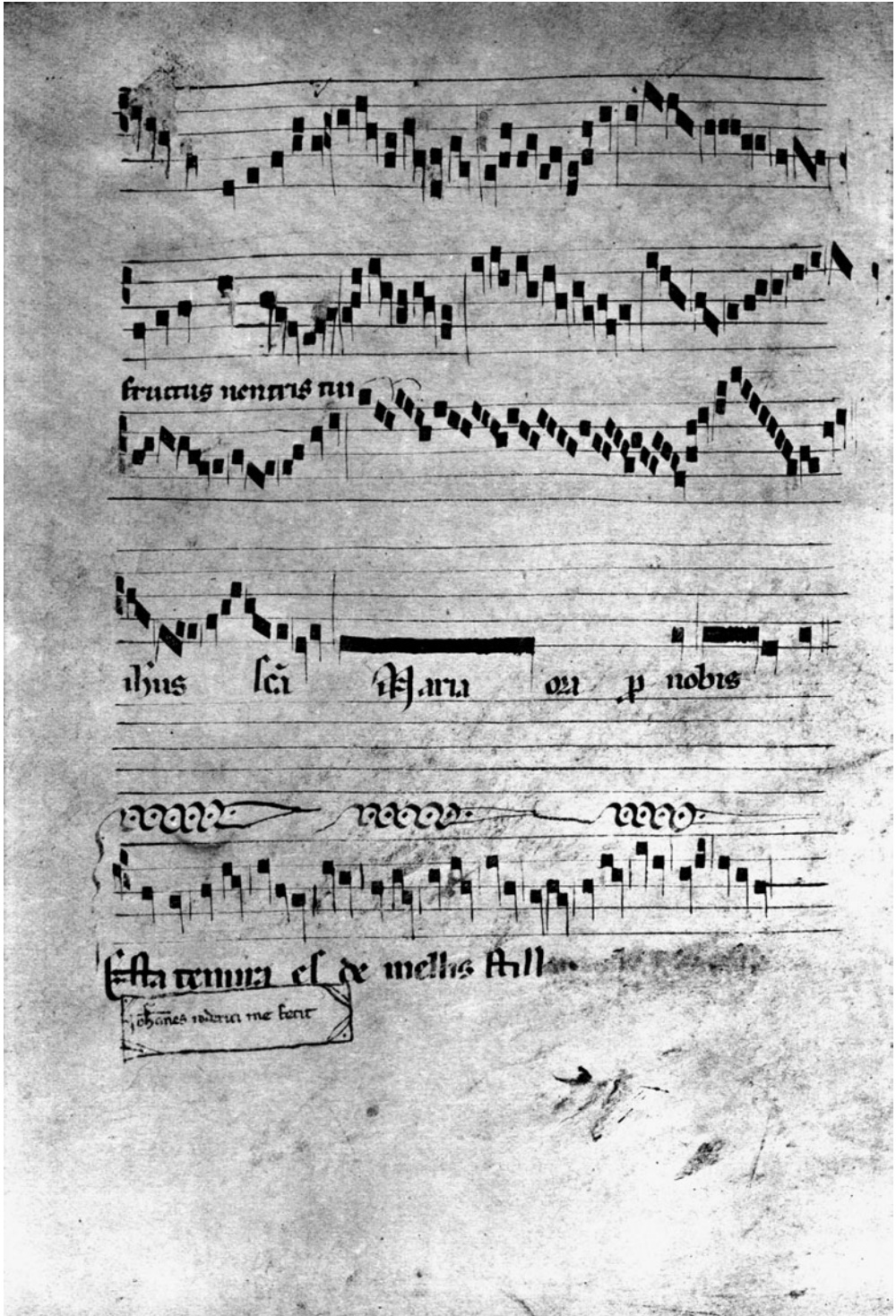
Fig. 1 *Ave Maria gratia plena* (excerpt), Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, ms 9, fol. 152v.

Dominus tecum,	The Lord is with you,
Benedicta tu in mulieribus,	Blessed are you among women,
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui,	And blessed is the fruit of your womb,
Ihesus.	Jesus.
Sancta Maria,	*Holy Mary,*
Ora pro nobis.	*Pray for us.*

In his own survey of the various *Ave Maria* castings in Renaissance music, Freeman briefly called attention to this conductus from Las Huelgas as an early example of a petitionary conclusion to the prayer, but did not pursue an analysis of its music.[58] Beyond its litanical formulation, the notational and musical rendering of the concluding appeal to Mary further reinforces the uncharacteristic nature of this passage. The middle of the folio shows a lengthy melisma at the end of the first half of the prayer on the final, unstressed syllable of 'tu-i', while the text underlay of 'ih[es]us s[an]c[t]a Maria ora p[ro] nobis' receives even spacing across its own staff. The scribe's conspicuously drawn *longa maxima* above the word 'Maria' in the tenor, however, draws the eye towards the invocation – an effect that is matched aurally by the striking change of melodic and contrapuntal activity at this point. These long held notes of the tenor present immediate problems of underlay, since the ten syllables of the petition must either be fitted to just five notes, or pushed back into the previous, contrapuntally active section. Despite the eye-catching source underlay of 'Maria' beneath the *longa maxima* in the tenor and the corresponding sequential descent through the octave in the duplum, editors have generally chosen to set the word 'ora' in this situation, to avoid splitting the long single notes.[59] In Example 2, I have elected to delay the declamation of 'Ihesus' until the cadence of the long melismatic phrase before the petition, thus breaking the tenor's long note in order to distribute 'Sancta Maria' within the unusual descending pattern in the duplum. The advantage of the present rendering is that it effectively articulates the end of the 'first half' and the concluding supplication of the conductus with identical cadential statements (corresponding to 'Ihesus' and 'nobis').

No matter how the editor distributes the text, the final sustained notes of the tenor provide a salient moment akin to pure organum, highlighting and demarcating the supplication to the prayer not only in text but also in musical decoration. At this most striking moment in the composition, the upper voice embarks on an extensive and systematic descent through the octave *f* to *F*, a gesture rarely encountered in the large conductus repertory.[60] The music of this final portion of the conductus is

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[58] Freeman, 'On the Origins', 187.

[59] See, for example, the version in Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 11 vols. (Henryville, PA, 1979), 10:53–54.

[60] Concluding *caudae* routinely occur throughout the conductus repertory, and rapid stepwise melodic descents through the octave (especially from the octave above the final to the note located one step above the final) almost invariably transpire above held notes at the ends of these pieces and major sections therein. However, of the hundreds of conductus that have survived, I have located only two comparable examples that feature a lengthy patterned descent in the duplum over the steady tenor note. See *Haec in die Gedeonis* (*ibid.*, 3:162–65) and *Adiuva nos Deus* (*ibid.*, 5:5–7), although the latter represents motion towards an internal cadence.

Ex. 2 Transcription of *Ave Maria gratia plena* conductus (excerpt) from Figure 1.

shared with another composition in Las Huelgas – specifically an organal setting of the *Benedicamus Domino*.[61] Though the chronology of these pieces cannot be securely established, the use of what seems to have been a favoured musical passage to accompany the addition of a supplication to the joint salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth may be interpreted as a powerful musical gesture that draws attention to this petitionary enhancement.

[61] The two-part *Benedicamus Domino* is on f.24v and has been edited in Gordon Athol Anderson, ed., *The Las Huelgas Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), 1:62–3.

Two additional examples from slightly earlier sources offer curious supplementary appeals affixed to the biblical salutations and heretofore unrecognised in polyphonic music of the thirteenth century. In these cases, it is not the conductus but the early motet that serves as the host genre for the unexpected Marian appeals in connection with the first part of the later prayer. In contrast to the *Ave* conductus just discussed, the following two motets are polytextual creations, each voice constructed by definition with allegiance to a foundational plainchant tenor.[62] The first motet, *Ave virgo virginum/Christe tibi conqueror/ALMA*, an *unicum* from the Montpellier Codex, sets a Marian triplum text and Christ-centred motetus over the first musical phrase of the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*.[63] Though the relationship with the *Ave* is not apparent at first sight, the triplum reveals the salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth through an acrostic (in boldface below), which prepares a gloss of nearly every word that would later make up the prayer's first half.[64]

Triplum

	Ave virgo virginum	Hail, O Virgin of Virgins
	Maria spes hominum	Mary, the hope of mankind
	Gratia repleta	Filled with grace,
	Plena medicamine.	Filled with healing.
5	**Dominus** dulcedine	Rejoice, the Lord reigns
	Tecum regnat, leta,	With you in sweetness,
	Benedicta moribus,	Blessed are you with character
	Tu in mulieribus	Among women,
	Optima creata.	The best woman of all created.
10	**Benedictus** filius	And blessed be your Son,
	Fructus qui manet tuus,	The fruit who remains yours,
	Quo regna beata:	By which the powers are blessed:
	Ventris tui *filio*	*Be our advocate,*
	Sis, O dulcis, proprio	*O sweet one,*
15	*Nostra advocata.*	*Before your own Son of your womb.*

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[62] On the heritage of the medieval motet, problems surrounding its development and the relationship to assumed parent clausulae, see Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge and New York, 1994), 1–5.

[63] Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H196 (fols. 323r–324r). The triplum *Ave virgo virginum* has been catalogued by Friedrich Ludwig (*Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, 2 vols., rev. Friedrich Gennrich [Langen bei Frankfurt: 1961–62]) as no. 772 and the motetus *Christe tibi conqueror* as no. 773. On the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*, see Steiner, 'Alma redemptoris mater', in NCE, 1:297–8.

[64] On acrostics in Ars Antiqua polyphony, see, for example, the motet *Ave regina celorum/Mater innocencie/* [*Ite missa est*] which reveals not only an acrostic of the *Ave Maria* in the triplum, but also the acrostic MARCUM PADVANVM, the signature of the composer Marchettus of Padua. For a discussion of the tenor melody of this motet ('Joseph') and the connection of this work to the Scrovegni Chapel, see Robertson, 'Remembering the Annunciation', 297–304. In epitaphs, the name of the deceased is sometimes presented by way of an acrostic and, in liturgical poetry, the name of the saint whose feast was celebrated may also be revealed in this way. Blume has described some of the more important acrostics in the rhymed liturgical Offices, hymns and sequences in his preface to AH 29: 5–15.

Motetus

1	Christe tibi conqueror,	To you, O Christ, do I complain
	Quod iniuste laceror	For I am wrongfully tortured,
	Dente detractoris	By the tooth of him who reviles me;
	Quamquam bonum operor	Although I do good,
5	Malus tamen referor.	I am nevertheless called evil.
	Ve, qui talis moris	Alas, one of such character
	Blande michi loquitur,	Speaks sweetly to me,
	Sed nephande tegitur	But treacherously,
	Fel sub melle foris.	His gall is covered with honey throughout.
10	Nomen meum tollitur	My name is destroyed
	Ab ipso est igitur	By him who is
	Vasculum livoris.	The vessel of envy.
	Isti sua premia	May the kind mother and daughter
	Det mater et filia	of the Redeemer
15	Alma redemptoris.	Give him his reward.

The words of the salutations are not distributed evenly in the acrostic in the triplum. The poet not only omits the conjunction *et* in the joining of the successive greetings, but, more noticeably, forces multiple words into single lines on two occasions. Conversely, lines 9 and 12 of the poem are simply 'skipped' in the unfolding of the acrostic.[65] Still, other structural considerations are at play: the poet observes a strict syllable pattern of 7.7.6 and a consistent rhyme scheme within the tercet structure (AAB-CCB-DDB and so on) of the poem. The text of the motetus participates in these same poetic parameters.

The *Ave Maria* unveiled in the acrostic excludes the appositive 'Jesus', though we have seen above that there was still – by the thirteenth century – a high degree of variability over the inclusion of the name in texts based on the biblical salutations. The dative *filio…proprio*, however, might be viewed as a substitute for the name of Jesus here. More importantly for our purposes, this triplum text persists for two lines after the acrostic formally comes to an end. The text of these lines constitutes an appeal to the Virgin, effectively affixed to the core of the *Ave*. Dovetailing with the acrostic, the concluding petition involves the intercession of Mary with her son. She is addressed as neither 'Holy Mary' nor 'Mother of God', but in the vocative as 'O sweet one' (*O dulcis*).[66] The explicit summoning of Mary as 'nostra advocata' recalls the Marian antiphon *Salve regina* (*Eia ergo advocata nostra*), a text which contains its own reference to 'sweetness' (O clemens, O pia, O *dulcis*

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[65] Were it not for these two skipped lines, one might argue that the acrostic was an aid to memory for the performance of the motet, since the regular musical phrasing coincides exactly with the progression of the acrostic.

[66] On the language of intimacy in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Books of Hours, see Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven and London, 2006), 63–4.

Maria).[67] This echo of the *Salve* over the tenor ALMA reinforces the pervasiveness of the vocabulary from the Marian antiphons, regardless of the assigned liturgical season. In this highly unstable period in the transmission of *Ave*-related texts, the language of the Marian antiphons cannot be ignored and evidently became intertwined with the biblical salutations in devotion to the Virgin.

The simultaneous declamation of texts in this and other motets makes both poems almost impossible to decipher in performance.[68] But if these texts were to be performed separately, each in conjunction with the ALMA tenor, the result would articulate the rhymed and metrical texts with clarity, increasing intelligibility. In the case of the triplum's gloss of the *Ave*, the unfolding of the poem using the first mode brings the acrostic to life when heard in isolation. With the exception of the two lines that do not participate in the acrostic (and the two final lines), each musical phrase in the triplum begins with one of the words from the *Ave* (see Example 3). With consistent short rests between each *ordo*, it is certainly possible that attentive listeners could comprehend the acrostic, even to the point of producing expectation of the well-known biblical words to follow. Equally, this close connection of regular musical phrases with the progression of the acrostic could be interpreted as an aid to memory for the performance of the motet.[69] The plea to the Virgin follows seamlessly in the brief composition. The triplum mirrors the poetic structure of the motetus, preserving the structural rhyme and syllable count across five tercets (generating fifteen poetic lines). The tenor is made up of the expansive octave-spanning gesture which opens the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*; a second tenor cursus must be inferred to complement the remaining upper-voice material. At the end of *Ave virgo virginum*/*Christe tibi conqueror*/ALMA, striking poetic gestures coincide in the motetus and triplum voices. The former arranges its text to have the words 'alma redemptoris' in its final line, no doubt to accord with the tenor fragment – a typical technique of the Latin motet. At the same moment, the triplum text breaks away from the acrostic that governed its first thirteen lines and presents a closing supplication to Mary. In an oblique fashion, the motet thus bequeaths a petitionary addendum to the first half of the *Ave* and – like the conductus discussed above – draws attention to it through the textual and musical construction of the composition.

[67] The *Salve Regina* was traditionally sung from Trinity Sunday through the end of the liturgical year. On the general history of this prayer, see Thurston, *Familiar Prayers*, 115–145. In the thirteenth century, the *Salve* was increasingly sung after the Office of Compline. Within two centuries, the antiphon became supplemented with additional chants for the Virgin Mary. In particularly well-endowed secular churches, an entire ('Salve') service developed where polyphony was sung. On the Salve service (*lof*), see Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels 1350–1500', 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1988), 1:397–417; Rob C. Wegman, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford, 1994), 204; and Strohm, *Music in Medieval Bruges*, 145.

[68] On motets in performance and the interpretative problems arising from their polytextuality, see Suzannah Clark, '"S'en dirai chançonete": hearing text and music in a medieval motet', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 16 (2007), 31–59; and Christopher Page, 'Around the Performance of a 13th-Century Motet', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 343–57.

[69] On the principle of *divisio* in motets not only to structure them but also to aid in performance and create predictable patterns (especially in the isorhythmic motet), see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, 2005), 220–5.

Ex. 3 *Ave virgo virginum/Christe tibi conqueror/ALMA.*

The final piece involving a curious supplement to the *Ave Maria*, the motet *Ave beatissima civitas divinitatis/Ave Maria gratia plena/*AVE MARIS STELLA, survives in multiple sources of polyphony dating from the later thirteenth century, including the Montpellier Codex, which contained the motet *Ave virgo virginum/Christe tibi conqueror/*ALMA just discussed.[70] The similarities between these pieces extend beyond their common manuscript heritage. This polytextual motet likewise features a Marian acrostic, though not one related to the *Ave Maria* text. In the present motet, it is the tenor that plays a role in articulating the division of the prayer.

*Ave beatissima/Ave Maria/*AVE MARIS STELLA may be modelled on a French double motet which has not survived, as a result of its occasionally clumsy musical setting in Latin based on the atypical second rhythmic mode. The frequent *divisiones* of the triplum in particular approach a disposition in the sixth rhythmic mode, which would further be evidence of a vernacular template.[71] Whatever its roots, the Latin triplum *Ave beatissima civitas divinitatis* bears an acrostic in this polytextual creation, in this case an abecedarian text reproducing the alphabet through the first letter of each word.[72]

<u>A</u>ve <u>B</u>eatissima <u>C</u>ivitas <u>D</u>ivinitatis	Hail, most blessed citizens of divinity,
<u>E</u>terno <u>F</u>elix <u>G</u>audio,	Happy with Eternal Joy,
<u>H</u>abitaculum <u>I</u>ustitie	The house of justice
<u>K</u>astitatis[73] <u>L</u>ilium	The lily of chastity,
<u>M</u>ater <u>N</u>obilis	Noble mother
<u>O</u>bsecra <u>P</u>lasmatorem,	Revere our model,

[70] The motet is found in two sources: the Montpellier Codex (fols. 93r–94v); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr.13521, 'La Clayette' (fol. 384r); and additionally referred to in the list of (lost) polyphonic compositions in London, British Library, Harley 978 (fol. 161). The motet texts *Ave beatissima civitas* and *Ave Maria gratia plena* are catalogued by Ludwig (*Repertorium Organorum*) as nos. 394 and 395, respectively. The triplum text *Ave beatissima civitas* had a musical afterlife of its own, as it was set to new, independent melodies in the fourteenth century (Admont 638 [fol. 88, staffless neumes]; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 615 [fols. 64r–v]; Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek 16 [fols. 38v–39]; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 5539 [fols. 61v–62v]).

[71] This suggestion was made by Gordon A. Anderson, 'Notre Dame Latin Double Motets ca. 1215-1250', *Musica Disciplina*, 25 (1971), 35–92, esp. 54–55. The placement of this motet in the manuscript 'La Clayette', in fact, occurs in a section of the manuscript with a considerable number of French double motets.

[72] An early medieval example of abecedarian technique can be found in the hymn *A solis ortus cardine* by the fifth-century poet Sedulius. In this case, each hymn strophe begins with a different letter of the alphabet, spanning A to Z. For a discussion of this alphabetic hymn, see Samuel Willoughby Duffield, *The Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns*, ed. R.E. Thompson (New York, 1889), 83–7. Surviving in more than a dozen manuscripts, Chaucer's *La prière de Nostre Dame* (or 'ABC poem') is a more well-known and contemporaneous example of the abecedarian technique. In this poem, each stanza begins with a successive letter of the Latin alphabet. The poem, thought to be performed in song, begins, 'Incipit carmen secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti' ('The song begins according to the succession of the letters of the alphabet'). For an edition of Chaucer's 'ABC', see Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third edition (Boston, 1987), 637–40. For a description of a range of acrostic techniques in Latin, see Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti (Washington, DC, 2004), 48–9.

[73] The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr.13521 ('La Clayette') contains the word 'Karissimum' (dearest) in place of 'Kastitatis' found in the Montpellier Codex.

Quatenus Redemptos	Seeing that she watches over
Sanguine Tueatur,	those redeemed in [his] blood,
Ut Viventes Xristo	As we glorify in hymns
Ymnizemus Zima.	those living in Christ – the leaven.

Because of the elevated pressures of the genre devised by the poet-composer of the triplum's abecedarian text, the grammatical constructions may be compromised or simply unclear at times. For example, the series of images beginning with the 'house of justice' (*Habitaculum iustitie*) may be tied to the command 'obsecra', may be vocative, or may be connected with the previous clause. The ending of this text varies between different sources. While the musical sources of this text terminate the triplum after the word 'zima' (unresolved syntactically), the text is known elsewhere to continue with the following postscript: 'antiquum expurga ipsius oraculo vite mediatrix auxiliatrix, reparatrix, illuminatrix, adjuva reos, genetrix omnipotentis' ('[and] purify the old [leaven] before his mercy-seat – mediatrix of life, helper, restorer, illuminator, help [us] sinners, O mother of the all-powerful one').[74] The supplement features two new acrostics, the first passing through the five vowels (AEIOU) and then one on the word MARIA. The final three letters (R[eos], G[enetrix], and O[mnipotentis]) may be an abbreviated acrostic for the word [VI]RGO, to connect with the preceding MARIA.

The composer of this motet paired this rigidly structured abecedarian triplum in honour of the Virgin with a Marian motetus, the majority of which is recognisably the first part of the *Ave Maria*. The coupling of the Marian abecedarius with the *Ave* has an even stronger link: children learning the alphabet in order to read syllables and eventually words in Latin undoubtedly encountered the Hail Mary as a foundational text.[75] This motet may in some way be seen as a demonstration of the poet's mastery of grammar in the spirit of Marian devotion. The *Ave* motetus reads as follows:

Ave Maria,	Hail Mary,
Gratia plena	full of grace,
dominus tecum;	The Lord is with you;
benedicta tu in mulieribus	blessed are you among women,
et benedictus fructus ventris tui.	And blessed is the fruit of your womb.
Amen.	Amen.
Natum dulcissimum pro nobis	O blessed Mary, pray to your sweetest son
peccatoribus exora, beata Maria.	for us sinners.

[74] See Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, 2:439.

[75] For a study of how these prayers were used as children's literacy 'primers' in sixteenth-century France, see F. Furet and J. Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry* (Cambridge, 1982), 74–8. For this phenomenon in print culture and its relationship to music, see Kate van Orden, 'Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France', *Early Music History*, 25 (2006), 209–56.

In this text, the words of the angel Gabriel at the Annunciation are connected with Elizabeth's salutation at the Visitation to produce the customary first half of the *Ave Maria*. Absent is the name of Jesus as a modifier to 'fructus ventris tui', but this should come as no surprise by now. What is remarkable about the unfolding of this prayer in the motetus is the presence of an 'Amen' in the middle of the text. As a devotional prose, the *Ave* has no internal rhyme scheme or pattern of line-length. Thus, the Amen simply interrupts the text of the prayer, both affirming the preceding biblical greetings and formally separating these verses from the extra-biblical petition to follow.

The structural separation of first and second parts of the text in the motetus was registered not just with the 'Amen' (recorded in both sources of the motet), but also at the musical surface as well (Example 4). The tenor AVE MARIS STELLA, the governing voice of the motet, in fact participates in the formal delineation of the motetus text. In the case of the Montpellier Codex, the scribe incorrectly identified this tenor as IOHANNE, a popular motet tenor derived from the Alleluia from the feast of John the Baptist.[76] The error is understandable: both melodies open with the same rising fifth (D–a), continuing up another step, and eventually descending a pentachord, and *Ave beatissima civitas divinitatis*/*Ave Maria gratia plena*/AVE MARIS STELLA is, in fact, the only motet with the tenor AVE MARIS STELLA in the entire Notre Dame corpus.

Unlike the melismatic fragments so common in the tenors of the early Parisian motets, the tenor AVE MARIS STELLA takes the entire Marian hymn tune as its cursus. The composer sets two statements of the hymn melody, one full and one condensed. The second, truncated iteration of the tune (marked 'ii' in Example 4) proceeds a little more than halfway through the melody with a new rhythmic casting, culminating with a typical cadential pattern in the final two measures.[77]

While editors working with music of this period (and especially later polyphony) have been attuned to the progression of tenor statements, far less attention has been paid to the coordination and interaction of these tenor iterations with the textual

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[76] The misidentification of the tenor filtered into some scholarship on the manuscript. See, for instance, the tenor IOHANNE identified without comment in Ernst Apfel, *Anlage und Struktur der Motetten im Codex Montpellier* (Heidelberg, 1970), 73.

[77] Formal repetition of a tenor's pitches (*colour*) and rhythms (*talea*) – 'isorhythm' in modern terms – was in an early stage of development at the end of the thirteenth century, and this motet must be included along with the other motets of this period as some of the early examples with tenor restatements. See Denis Harbinson, 'Isorhythmic Technique in the Early Motet', *Music & Letters*, 47 (1966), 100–9, esp. 103. The author presents evidence from the Montpellier manuscript in particular to help dismiss the assertion that tenor repetition developed in connection with the later period known as the *ars nova*. Truncation of tenor statements remained rare: of the fifty-five motets in the manuscript 'La Clayette', for instance, there are only two motets in addition to the present motet that truncate the reiteration of the tenor statement by rereading the original melody with shorter note values in some places. Both motets occur with the tenor IN SECULUM, though they are not identical in their rhythmic profile (*Chascuns dist*/*Se j'ai amé*/IN SECULUM [no. 37, fol. 384r] and *En doit fine amour*/*La beauté madame*/IN SECULUM [no. 46, fol. 387v]). In both IN SECULUM motets, the melodic material is restated in full, making the abridgment strictly a rhythmic phenomenon. This differs from *Ave beatissima*/*Ave Maria*/ AVE MARIS STELLA, where part of the tenor melody is outright excised.

substance of the upper voices.[78] The genre of motets on the whole, it seems, prides itself on formal asymmetry, as musical phrases of the triplum and motetus often move in and out of phase with each other and against the tenor, a point of distinction from the genres of the conductus or conductus-motet, which normally proceed in homorhythmic strokes.[79] *Ave beatissima/Ave Maria/*AVE MARIS STELLA generally conforms to these motet hallmarks, with characteristic overlapping gestures separating cadences from phrase incipits. But the fluidity at the surface can be deceiving when viewed on a larger scale of compositional planning.

The motetus declaims the *Ave Maria* text in two unequal parts divided by an Amen, whereas the triplum progresses through its special alphabetic acrostic with no formal partition internally. Part of the subtlety of this motet seems to be the curious coordination between the motetus and the tenor AVE MARIS STELLA. At the very moment when the Amen separates the two salutations from the concluding supplication to the *Ave*, the tenor begins its restatement of the Marian hymn. By beginning the tenor's second statement at the end of the *Ave*'s joint salutations, the composer masterfully articulates the two-part structure of the prayer in the motetus (drawn with a dashed line in Example 4). The tenor further matches the disproportionate addendum to the *Ave* with a compressed second cursus, only partially related to the hymn tune foundation though still in the third rhythmic mode. This apparent adjustment of the tenor to fit the upper voices (both of which are to a certain extent fixed, either through the abecedarian construction of the triplum, or the use of the biblical salutations in the motetus) presents a challenge to the typical 'bottom-up' view of the composition of motets.[80]

In her commentary on *Ave beatissima/Ave Maria/*AVE MARIS STELLA in the Montpellier Codex, Yvonne Rokseth called the appendage to the *Ave Maria* in the motetus 'a short invocation, which replaces the second part of the modern prayer, not yet fixed in the thirteenth century'.[81] Her suggestion can be misleading. Nothing is being 'replaced' since a supplemental petition in the *Ave* was still a rare occurrence, as we have seen. By this time, it was most common simply to say the two salutations with an Amen to punctuate. Indeed, the motetus of *Ave beatissima/Ave Maria/*AVE MARIS STELLA emphasises the strangeness of its own additive invocation by leaving the 'Amen' to separate the biblical text from the supplicatory postscript.

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[78] For recent attention to the questions of structural correspondence between the tenor and upper voices in the case of a single vernacular motet, see Clark, ''S'en dirai chançonete', 50.

[79] Susan Kidwell, 'The Selection of Clausula Sources for Thirteenth-Century Motets: Some Practical Considerations and Aesthetic Implications', *Current Musicology*, 64 (2001), 73–103, esp. 78; Dolores Pesce, 'The Significance of Text in Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets', *Acta Musicologica*, 58 (1986), 91–117; and Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 24, 177.

[80] The idea of first choosing a tenor that concords (musically and textually) with the upper voices was suggested by the mid-fourteenth-century music theorist Egidius de Murino in his treatise *De motettis componendis*. The relevant passage of this treatise is given in Alice V. Clark, 'Concordare cum materia: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet', Ph.D. diss., Princeton University (1996), 3–6.

[81] Rokseth ed., *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle*: *Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de medicine de Montpellier*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–39), 4:261: 'courte invocation, qui remplace la deuxième partie, non encore fixée au XIIIe siècle, de la prière moderne *Ave Maria*'.

Ex. 4 *Ave beatissima*/*Ave Maria*/AVE MARIS STELLA. Transcription based principally on Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H196 (fols. 93r–94v) with reference to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr.13521, 'La Clayette' (fol. 384r).

What does the motetus's terse petition (*Natum dulcissimum pro nobis peccatoribus exora, beata Maria*) offer as an appended text? For one thing, characterising the ending as a 'free poetic conclusion', as Ludwig did, dismisses the subtlety of this petition to the principal *Ave*.[82] The vocative *beata Maria* can be compared with the

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[82] Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum*, 1:393–4.

more majestic title 'Sancta Maria, mater dei', but the clause *exora pro nobis peccatoribus*, though generic, links more directly with the early fifteenth century in the 1427 formulation by Bernardine of Siena, which used the command *ora* instead of the somewhat stronger *exora*. The phrase *natum dulcissimum* distinguishes this particular petition to the Virgin Mary, drawing attention to the recipient of her own prayers – her 'sweetest son'. The precise formulation *natum dulcissimum* was unusual, but the synonym *dulcissimum filium* was apparently not uncommon in sermons and devotional literature.[83]

Apart from the object *natum dulcissimum*, another part of the addendum to the *Ave Maria* ('pro nobis peccatoribus exora') recalls the ending of the Marian antiphon *Ave regina caelorum* ('et pro nobis semper Christum exora'), which was well in circulation by the end of the thirteenth century.[84] In light of the connection of the earlier motet *Ave virgo virginum*/*Christe tibi conqueror*/ALMA to the Marian antiphon *Salve regina*, the present association of this motetus text with a Marian antiphon may provide more context in describing the nature of these rare supplements to the *Ave* in music of the Ars Antiqua. Through some fleeting hints, the evidence from these select Parisian motets suggests that the poet-composers who affixed a supplicatory ending to the joint salutations in part drew from the well of Marian antiphons – songs whose familiar texts were uttered in speech and song throughout the year.

Conclusion

At the height of troping practices in the central and late Middle Ages, canonical texts were subject to wide manipulations and transformations. The *Ave Maria*, as we have seen, remained an oral devotion that was neither standardised nor officially recognised until the end of the sixteenth century. Consequently, any closing invocation attached to the two prose salutations in this period must be viewed not as a manipulation of – or substitute for – the *Ave*'s second half, but as an experiment with a formal addendum to the prayer. Although it is probable that concluding petitions were long associated with the *Ave*, they were scarcely recorded. Indeed, around the time when the rosary was steadily gaining currency as device of lay devotion, the

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[83] I have located at least a handful of occurrences of the formulation *dulcissimum filium*. Closest to the period in question is the twelfth-century English Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, who used this phrase three different times in association with Mary and Christ across his works (though not expounding the *Ave* in particular). See Aelredus Rievallensi, *De Jesu puero duodenni*, PL 184:851; *ibid.*, PL 184:854; and *idem, Sermones de tempore*, PL 195:310. The inversion of this phrase (*filium dulcissimum*) occurs in one of the rhythmical prayers (*Reimgebete*) from a Franciscan manuscript for the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: 'Mater pudicissima / Cum iam perdidisti / Filium dulcissimum / Et hinc doluisti / Ipsumque post triduum / In templo vidisti / Dolorose quereris: / Quare sic fecisti?' See AH 31: 173. The more general plea 'natum tuum ora' occurs near the end of the thirteenth-century Annunciation sequence *Ave Maria gratia plena* (AH 54: 216). Ridder (*Musical and Theological Patterns*, 246–48) hypothesised that this conclusion may represent the origin of the second-half supplication of the *Ave Maria*.

[84] On this Marian antiphon, see John Caldwell, 'Ave regina caelorum', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2:249.

Ave was still declaimed formally using only five phrases (*Ave…/ Gratia…/ Dominus…/ Benedicta…/ Et benedictus…*).[85]

The large repertory of sequences most certainly contains glosses of the *Ave* with generic closing supplications, but in length and complexity, such texts are only distant relations of the concise devotion that later took hold. The late thirteenth-century sources of Ars Antiqua polyphony, however, provide a number of examples of shorter, *Ave*-related texts. It was here that a glimpse of a supplicatory addition to the *Ave Maria* may be seen. The musical pieces discussed here do not provide a direct line to the well-known 'second half' supplication. Nonetheless, they are previously neglected examples of pieces based on the biblical salutations that are enhanced with concluding petitions. The musical and poetic techniques employed to draw attention to and demarcate these petitions would seem to be strong evidence that the addition of a supplication to the first half of the *Ave Maria* remained an unusual practice. These findings also shift some of the geographical focus away from an assumed Italian heritage of the prayer towards sources with connections to Paris, easily the most important centre of theology north of the Alps in the thirteenth century.

Above all, this article has endeavoured to remind musicologists of the astonishing lack of uniformity during the Middle Ages of one of the essential prayers of the Christian faith. While not an exhaustive study of the musical castings of *Ave Maria* before the Renaissance, the article nevertheless points to some significant instances of affixing a petition to the core devotion. As an experimental polyphonic genre that tested simultaneous texts with both phonetic and exegetical potential, the motet in particular provided opportunities for textual and musical emphasis of the petition-ary enhancement. It is music, so often neglected in textual histories, which will continue to help historians fill out the picture of devotional practices in the Middle Ages.

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[85] On the association between the five phrases of the *Ave,* the five letters of the word MARIA, and the floral imagery of the early rosary, as described in the treatise *Our Lady Mary's Rose Garden* (*c.* 1430), see Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 100.