

A Paper Trail: *Missa Jouyssance vous donneray*, Uncertain Identity, and the National Institutes of Health's "Bathtub Collection"

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In a storeroom of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Library of Medicine's History of Medicine Division are seven gray boxes full of envelopes of yellowed paper scraps. These fragments constitute the little-known "Bathtub Collection." Dr. Dorothy Schullian, a curator at the National Library of Medicine (NLM), discovered the collection during the late 1940s and early 1950s while working on a restoration project for the NLM that was intended to make the library's wealth of medical books available to the public in modern, sturdy bindings. Found stuffed in the bindings of early medical treatises, these fragments were soaked free of centuries-old glue in a bathtub, thus earning their unique name. The hundreds of tiny pieces of paper span almost eight centuries, eight languages, and countless sources, both print and manuscript. Their contents include pages from the Vulgate Bible, personal letters, pamphlets, playing cards, announcements, and music. At present, the fragments are catalogued in file folders according to the bookbinding from which they came.¹

Little research has been done on the "Bathtub Collection." After examining the bindings, Schullian wrote a paper chronicling their contents that was read at the 1953 meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America and subsequently published. In 1997, Dr. Walton Schalick III submitted a similar article to the American Historical Association suggesting that more work be done on this remarkable collection, both in preservation and research. In response to Schalick's article, the NIH hired a preservation intern, Sandra Provenzano, for four months to re-package the fragments in more archive-friendly envelopes and boxes (Waring 2002).

Carol Clausen, current curator at the NLM, then wrote a detailed report focusing on four manuscript pages of music taken from the binding of Giovanni Andrea della Croce's *Chirurgiae Ioannis Andreae a Cruce, Veneti medici libri septem* (henceforth *Chirurgiae*), published in Venice in 1573 (Clausen 2004).² The four leaves of manuscript staff paper contain Latin-texted music from Franco-Flemish Masses and motets. These liturgical compositions were usually written for four to six voices overall, but they often included duo or trio sections. The manuscript contains only these bicinia, or sections of music for two voices. Each sheet of manuscript paper

is divided in half horizontally, with the music facing the top of the page on one half and the bottom on the other, indicating that the pages were intended to be cut and bound as a partbook. Over the centuries, the paper has been marked, cut, torn, and chewed. Most of the surviving notation is still legible, but large pieces are missing from the pages (see figure 1). A roughly two-inch square was neatly cut out of the center of the last sheet of staff paper, on which no music was copied.

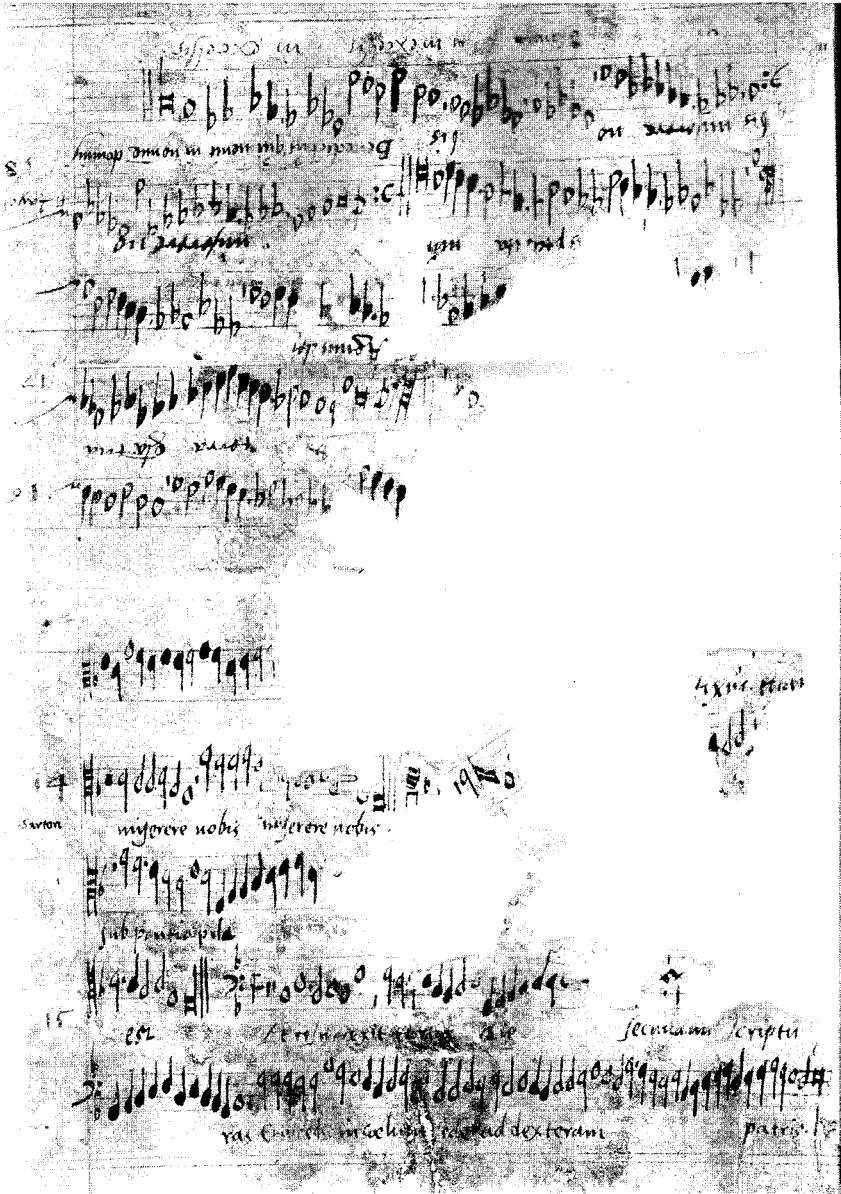
All of the selections are numbered, and the names of the composers are written in the margins. The pages include only the two-voice sections of the Credo, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei from Lupus's *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariæ*; the Benedictus from Francesco de Layolle's *Missa O salutaris hostia*; the Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei from Johannes Sarton's *Missa Jouyssance vous donneray*; and four motets by Henricus Isaac, as identified by Clausen.³ Only one of the two voices in each of these sections appears in the "Bathtub Collection" music manuscripts. None of the Masses or motets are present in their entirety or identified by title in the manuscript. In the case of Sarton's *Missa Jouyssance vous donneray*, the altus part of the Crucifixus and Agnus Dei II and the bassus part of the Et resurrexit and Pleni sunt are copied on one sheet of paper, or two partbook pages.⁴ (See the left margin of figure 1 for an attribution to Sarton.) The numbering of the selections indicates that there were evidently fifty-eight musical selections copied in all, but numbers 1–10 and 31–43 are missing from the manuscripts.⁵

Of the four composers listed in the "Bathtub Collection" manuscripts, three are well-known to music scholars: Lupus, Layolle, and Isaac. The fourth composer, Johannes Sarton, has been practically unknown to modern historians and musicologists; his name has only been connected solidly to one composition, *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*. Perhaps because of this low compositional output and lack of other direct historical references to *M. Jouyssance*, musicologists have largely ignored Sarton. He must have been Franco-Flemish or French, but no archival records listing "Johannes (Io.) Sarton" have been uncovered, although my research, building on that of a few others, has uncovered several archival references to other permutations of "Sarton" and shed some light on his identity. Without the impetus of the attribution in the "Bathtub Collection," this research would never have been conducted, and *M. Jouyssance* and its unfamiliar creator could have remained unexplored.

When introducing the "Bathtub Collection" to the academic world for the first time in 1953, Schullian directed her audience's attention to a dilemma of archival research:

[I]n our modern age the chances of making bibliographical discoveries grow fewer year by year. It is discouragingly true, for a bibliographer, that most English lumber rooms and American attics have already been explored . . . Rarely indeed can a bibliographer point with gleeful pride

Figure 1: A fragment containing a portion of *M. Jouissance vous donneray* and the attribution to Sarton. Washington, D.C., National Institutes of Health, The National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division, The "Bathtub Collection" Manuscripts. (Now housed in the Library of Congress, Music Division.)



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to an item utterly unknown to his fellow bibliographers. Where, then, is the joy of the chase for him, where a beckoning frontier to promise him adventure and new finds? (Schullian 1953: 201)

Schullian's quote underscores the significance of my studies: the addition of new "items" to historical and musical knowledge. My research begins and ends with the music manuscripts in the "Bathtub Collection." In order to produce a more complete picture of the importance of the collection, my research combines history, musical analysis, and material culture studies. These scholarly methods are applied to the various questions that arise when we consider the contents and implications of the discovery of these music manuscripts. The most important of these questions is that regarding the identity of the obscure composer whose music forms a small part of the "Bathtub Collection": Johannes Sarton. Through a trail followed from the forlorn paper fragments in the NIH to well-known Renaissance music in modern editions and public histories in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, I have come to the conclusion that this "Io. Sarton" was probably the famous French composer known as Pierre Certon.

Certon was a prominent composer and choirmaster in the mid-sixteenth century. He was possibly born in Melun, a small town outside Paris (Lhuillier 1869).⁶ Most educated guesses place his birth date sometime around 1510 based on his activities in Paris in the late 1520s and 1530s. According to Aimé Agnel and Richard Freedman, there was a "Jehan Certon" who was appointed "fermier du fourrage," or hay farmer, to Francis I in Melun in 1527.⁷ Many historians believe this to be the earliest archival reference to Certon, although the mystery of why a budding musician would be called a "hay farmer" has yet to be solved. Perhaps, rather than being a reference to young Certon the musician, it is a reference to his father or another member of his immediate family.

Many years later in his life, after a brilliant career in Paris, Pierre Certon set up a memorial service for himself in Notre-Dame de Melun. According to Bernard de La Fortelle, mayor of Melun, in his *Histoire et description de Notre-Dame de Melun* of 1843:

Pierre Certon, master of the choirboys of the Sainte-Chapelle, founded at Notre-Dame de Melun, of which he was canon, a solemn evening song service to be sung each year on the feast of the Annunciation on March 25, at twilight, in *hora ignis tegii*, as one reads in the Martyrology and finds contained on the stone [plaque], attached to the pillar near the pulpit of the preacher.⁸ (De La Fortelle 1843: 44)

De La Fortelle mentions Certon in an earlier reference to "la redaction de la coutume de Melun," or "the drafting of the [liturgical] custom of Melun," which took place in 1560:

Table 1: Selected records and spelling variants of “Pierre Certon.”

Date	Record
1527	“Jehan Certon” in Melun
1529	“Pierre Serton” at Notre Dame de Paris
1530	“Jehan Serton” reprimanded twice, arrested, and released at Notre Dame de Paris
1532	“Pierre Certon” at Sainte Chapelle
1532, 1540	“Ioannes Sarton” attrib. <i>M. Jouyssance vous donneray</i>
1539	“Ioannes Sarton” attrib. <i>Haec dies quam fecit Domino</i>
1540	“Ioannes Certon” attrib. <i>M. Jouyssance vous donneray</i>
1540	“Pierre Certon” attrib. <i>M. Ave sanctissima and M. Dulcis Amica</i>
1543	“Pierre Certon” attrib. six Mass sections
1560s	“Pierre Certon” was named “compositeur de musique de la Chapelle du Roy” [Francis I] and established a “solemn evening song service” in Melun
1572	“Pierre Certon” died in Paris

Pierre Tappereau and Pierre Certon, the singer, canons, chapter and community of the collegiate church of Notre Dame de Melun, lords of Perthes, together appear by Isaac Pinot, one of them, to the drafting of the Melun custom [rite], Wednesday, April 17, 1560. (1843:22)⁹

De La Fortelle continually references Sebastian Rouillard’s *Histoire de Melun* of 1628 for his information about Melun’s citizens during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, including Pierre Certon (Rouillard 1628).¹⁰ Despite the fact that Certon founded a memorial service for himself, and that he was mentioned by De La Fortelle as a canon, no “Pierre Certon” is listed in De La Fortelle’s roll of canons, choristers, choirmasters, feasts, or obituaries at Notre-Dame de Melun (1843). De La Fortelle’s lists of choristers, organists, and choirmasters only stretch back to the seventeenth century, but his lists of canons, feasts, and obituaries extend much further into the past. Thus, the omission of Certon’s name is strange. Also, the list of “Fêtes, Obits ou Anniversaires” has no record for Certon anywhere, despite De La Fortelle’s earlier reference to “a solemn evening song service” being founded by Certon.¹¹ These contradictions in De La Fortelle’s text can perhaps be attributed to technicalities of titles and gaps in church records.

All of this intriguing evidence of connections to Melun aside, it is certain that Pierre Certon lived most of his life in Paris. The early records of his time in Paris are few and difficult to piece together because of frequent spelling variants (See table 1). Certon was first appointed Matins clerk at

Notre Dame de Paris on October 29, 1529 as “Pierre Serton.” In 1530, he was reprimanded for bad conduct (“overly high spirits”) during the Assumption service. In September of the same year, “Jehan Serton” was arrested and brought to trial for unruly behavior—playing ball in the court of Notre Dame during the service and refusing to perform his office. He escaped the punishment of a prison sentence, apparently because of his youth (Expert and Agnel 1967:v). Appointed clerk at the Sainte Chapelle in 1532 and *maître de choeur* in 1536, he is also recorded as “compositeur de musique de la Chapelle du Roy” and “chantre de la chapelle du Roy” during the late 1560s (Brenet 1910:87).¹² He traveled outside of Paris only a few times on journeys to recruit new choirboys and probably never left France at all (Van Solkema 1963:7). Certon died in Paris in 1572 and may be buried in the Sainte Chapelle or Notre Dame de Melun.

Because of his nearly lifelong residence in Paris, Pierre Certon was acquainted with many of the most influential musicians of his day. It is significant that Claudin de Sermisy was a personal friend as well as a colleague at the Sainte Chapelle. Certon lauded him in his second book of motets, *P. Certon institutoris symphonicorum puerorum Sancti sacelli Parisiensis recens modularum editio* of 1542.¹³ He also composed a light-hearted homage, a fricassée, *Vivre ne puis content*, using melodies from Sermisy’s chansons (Expert and Agnel 1967: no. 34).¹⁴ When Sermisy died in 1562, Certon wrote a six-voice *déploration* for Sermisy that was modeled on Josquin’s famous lament for Ockeghem. He published it in *Les meslanges de la maistre Pierre Certon* (Certon 1570). Of his sacred works, eight complete Masses are known (six of these are parody Masses).¹⁵

Six bicinia on Mass texts were attributed to Certon and published by Antonio Gardane in *Il primo libro a due voci de diversi autori* (1543), a bicinia collection.¹⁶ For many years, these six pieces have been assumed to be musical fragments of larger unknown or unfinished works by Certon (Van Solkema 1963:40). Although it is not indicated in the print, two of these bicinia on page 24 of Gardane’s print, an Agnus Dei and a Crucifixus, are one and the same as the Agnus Dei II and Crucifixus of *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*. The bicinia in Gardane’s print feature cadences with light ornamentation not found in the “Bathtub Collection” manuscripts and the *Liber decem missarum*, a volume printed by Jacques Moderne in 1532 and 1540 that is the only complete source for *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*. Gardane may have added these ornamentations himself, and they are not critical variants. In his dissertation on Certon’s liturgical music, Sherman Van Solkema mentioned Gardane’s bicinia print; referring to the later edition of 1553, he reported that six single Mass movements were included in Gardane’s *Il primo libro a due voci*.¹⁷ He identified three of the Mass movements in Gardane’s source

as having been taken from the *Missa Ave sanctissima* from Attaignant and Jullet's *Missarum musicalium quatuor vocum cum suis motetis* (RISM 1540²). However, Van Solkema was unable to link the other three bicinia to the Masses with which he was familiar. He writes, "They may have been taken from earlier works. If so, at least two Masses are suggested by the modes of the movements" (Van Solkema 1963:40, n.1). He goes into no further detail about Gardane's bicinia and was clearly unaware of the Johannes Sarton-Pierre Certon conflicting attribution.

Absent any other evidence, the *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* will remain an *opus dubium*. However, given the fact that the Crucifixus and Agnus Dei bicinia in 1543¹⁹ match two of the bicinia in the "Bathtub Collection" manuscript, the case for considering Pierre Certon as a possible composer of the *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* demands attention. The early records of his life, which use "Jehan" and "Pierre" interchangeably and spell his surname "Sarton," "Serton," and "Certon," seem to strongly support this conclusion. If this is true, then the ghostly Johannes Sarton can finally be laid to rest just as Pierre Certon's life takes a firmer shape.

Stylistic comparison with his authenticated Masses can substantiate a more certain attribution to Certon. Van Solkema spent a significant portion of his dissertation, "The Liturgical Music of Pierre Certon," discussing Certon's personal compositional style, especially as it was manifested in his liturgical music. In his Introduction, Van Solkema writes:

The young Certon's vital contribution to sixteenth-century French music was a strong injection of the rough vigor of popular art. From all evidence, simple joy and earthiness emerge as basic qualities of Certon the man, and these are carried without inhibition into his music for the Church. Still, he observed the traditional frames more carefully than many who wrote with less inner abandon. (Van Solkema 1963:4)

He continues to reference this "rough vigor" throughout his analysis of Certon's music as both "a certain rudeness" and "rough good humor" (Van Solkema 1963:3). This quality is not surprising in a composer who was probably born in a country town, was himself or was related to a "hay farmer," and evidenced a distinct impertinence and high-spiritedness in his younger days. Most musicians and musicologists are familiar with this side of Certon's personality because it shines through in his hundreds of chansons, many of which are settings of bawdy or simple texts. As Van Solkema notes many times, this earthy quality permeates his sacred music as well, although "Certon was less adventurous in his Masses than in his motets" and tended to stay within the boundaries of the established Josquin tradition (1963:7).

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According to Van Solkema, Freedman, and Agnel, some of the specific hallmarks of Certon's early liturgical compositional style are as follows: a lack of foreign influence; poor attention to Latin text setting and declamation; loose imitation; bold, clean-cut rhythms; simple melodies with angular, chanson-like lines; series of repeated-note motives; instrumental-style end-melismas; a distinct preference for Dorian or Ionian mode (sometimes transposed); and part-writing for four to six voices with occasional passages for two or three voices.¹⁸ These traits can be seen in his early *M. Ave sanctissima* (1540), which is a parody Mass on one of Certon's own motets; *M. Dulcis amica* (1540), a cantus-firmus/parody Mass on an anonymous motet; and the later *M. Sus le pont d'Avignon* (1553), a parody Mass on a very famous chanson. It is interesting to note that the same chanson tune Certon uses in *M. Sus le pont d'Avignon* is used by Sermisy alongside *Jouyssance vous donneray* in *M. plurium modulorum* (Van Solkema 1963:54).

M. Jouyssance vous donneray evinces these attributes as well. It is a Mass in eighteen sections in a prevailing four-voice texture, with five of those sections for two, three, or five voices (See table 4). As was discussed previously, it is a parody Mass in Franco-Flemish, post-Josquin style on a famous French chanson. Its two main motives are a series of repeated notes and an angular, leaping melody, respectively, and they are used in loose imitation throughout the work. These factors, along with the strong, clean-cut rhythms, emphasize a stylistic connection between Certon and the *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*. The Mass survives in only three sources: the *Liber decem missarum*, the "Bathtub Collection," and *Il primo libro a due voci*. *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*, a parody Mass on one of the most popular chansons of the sixteenth century, is one of only two works attributed to Johannes Sarton. Robert Eitner lists the other work, a five-voice motet (Eitner 1963:832). The motet *Haec dies quam fecit Domino* in two parts was printed by Petrus Schöffer of Augsburg in his *Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae* (Eitner's 1539e or RISM 1539⁸). In the index of the copy now held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is found a handwritten attribution of *Haec dies quam fecit Domino* to "Ioannes Sarton." Eitner must have consulted the Munich copy of Schöffer's print, for in his *Quellen-Lexikon*, he notes that Sarton is a composer from the first half of the sixteenth century known only for a four-voice Mass and a five-voice motet (Eitner 1959:432). This attribution is not particularly reliable, thus *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* is the only work solidly identified with Johannes Sarton.

Sarton's Mass is modeled on *Jouyssance vous donneray*, a chanson by Claudin de Sermisy.¹⁹ *Jouyssance vous donneray* was enormously popular during the first half of the sixteenth century. For example, the "Master of the Female Half-Figures" depicted a lutenist, a flutist, and a singer performing this chanson in one of his most famous paintings.²⁰ The text is the first

Examples 1–3: Motives from *Jouyssance vous donneray*

1.



2.



3.



stanza of a poem by Clément Marot, “Chanson Quatre” from *L’Adolescence Clementine* (Defaux 1990–93:145–46). Marot was one of the most prominent French poets of the Renaissance; his poetry, both secular and sacred, was circulated throughout Europe. Although often in political trouble owing to his religious views, Marot kept the position of *valet de chambre* to Francis I for most of his life. This information is significant when we consider the fact that Pierre Certon also spent most of his life working in the court of Francis I. It is possible that these men knew each other, and this might explain the composer’s choice of Sermisy’s setting of *Jouyssance vous donneray*. When we regard *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* as a work by Sarton, an almost unheard-of composer, his use of *Jouyssance vous donneray* is merely interesting. When we consider *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* as a work by Certon, a prominent composer at the Sainte Chapelle who was well-acquainted with Sermisy and probably with Marot also, his use of the chanson brings a new weight to the Mass. Sermisy’s own *M. plurium modulorum* uses the chanson melody (Allaire 1986:187–212).²¹ The only other known Mass based on the chanson is Johannes Sarton’s *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*.

Sarton’s parody of *Jouyssance* motives in the music of *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* does not always follow general modern analytical expectations of sixteenth-century composition. For example, he uses the second theme of the chanson almost three times as often as he uses the first theme. This second motive, over the text “La ou pretend” in the first stanza, consists of a falling fourth followed by a rising third. The opening “Jouyssance . . .” motive is three repeated notes followed by a small step or skip (See examples 1–3).

The first triple-repeated-note motive seen in example 1 was a common type of beginning for many of Sermisy’s chansons. *Le coeur de vous ma presence desire*, *Le content est riche en ce monde*, and *Rigueur me tient et doux accueil m’attire* all begin with a similar repeated-note motive. One would expect Sarton to refer to this opening melody often in his parody Mass, because the opening is what most listeners would recognize; after all, the musical source being parodied is supposed to be identifiable in the music of a parody Mass. Instead, Sarton uses the second chanson motive

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Table 2: Number of motivic appearances (examples 1–3) in Sarton's *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* and Sermisy's *M. plurium modulorum*.

	"Jouyssance..." (example 1)	"La ou pretend..." (example 2)	"...esperance" (example 3)
<i>M. Jouyssance vous donneray</i>	54	135	23
<i>M. plurium modulorum</i>	66	15	4

most often. He quotes "Jouyssance . . ." (example 1) fifty-four times; he employs "La ou pretend" (example 2) one hundred and thirty-five times (see table 2). Perhaps this simple motive was more memorable to his sixteenth-century audiences. That theory would be especially plausible if the motive were a unique feature of *Jouyssance vous donneray*, and it would explain Sarton's heavy repetition. On the other hand, the second motive may have been easier to use with Sarton's personal compositional techniques. By comparison, Sermisy's own parody Mass, *M. plurium modulorum*, quotes the opening chanson motive far more than the second line. Another distinctive chanson phrase, the melismatic cadence figure over "esperance," is quoted twenty-three times in *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* but only four times in *M. plurium modulorum*.²²

All of the chanson motives are suitably quoted, inverted, and ornamented per the standard customs of the time, but Sarton also includes some innovative and unusual compositional methods. For instance, he uses his favorite "La ou pretend" motive (example 2) in retrograde inversion in the altus part of the Gloria. This motive also provides the source for chained sequences, especially in the Agnus Dei III and Credo. The falling fourth followed by a rising third provides an easy foundation for that technique. The last section of the Agnus Dei III has all five voices singing chained sequences of "La ou pretend" in imitation, providing the music with a rolling impetus toward the final cadence (see example 4). The compositional techniques outlined above are remarkable in a piece of music that was composed c. 1530 because they did not become popular until later in the sixteenth century.

The music of *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* is in transposed Dorian mode, just like three of Certon's eight established Masses. When not in four lines of independent imitation, the voices are most often either split into imitative duos of two voices against the other two voices. If one vocal line is independent, it is typically in the tenor voice part. The voices usually enter by means of loose points of imitation. In general, the melodies begin with imitation that degenerates into free polyphony with some returning themes. The melodies are not particularly inventive; they tend to be simple pastiches of motives quoted or adapted from the chanson, with filler material added as necessary to comply with the rules of contrapuntal part-writing.

Example 4: Agnus Dei III from *M. Jouissance vous donneray* (Robertson 2006).

Missa Jouissance vous donneray

Agnus Dei III

Johannes Sarton

The musical score is written for five vocal parts: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor I (T.), Tenor II (T.), and Bass (B.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are in Latin and describe the Agnus Dei, focusing on the removal of sins and the offering of the body and blood of Christ.

Lyrics:
 A - gnus De - i, qui
 A - gnus De - i, qui tol - lis
 A - gnus De - i, A - gnus De -
 A - gnus De - i, qui
 A - gnus De - i,
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -
 pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa -
 i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di:
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta, qui tol - lis pec - ca -
 A - gnus De - i, qui tol - lis pe - ca -
 di: do - na no - bis pa -
 cem, do - na no - bis pa - cem, no - bis pa - cem,
 do - na no - bis, do - na no - bis pa -
 - ta, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis pa -
 ta mun - di:

Table 3: Comparison of “Bathtub Collection” MSS with *Liber decem missarum*, 1532 edition.

“Bathtub Collection” MSS	<i>Liber decem missarum</i> (RISM 1532 ⁸), index order
	<i>M. Stephane gloriosa</i> , P. Moulu
	<i>M. Adieu mes amours</i> , Francesco de Layolle
	<i>M. Veni sponsa Christi</i> , Richafort
	<i>M. Quem dicunt homines</i> , Ia. Mouton
	<i>M. Ces fascheulx soz</i> , Guillaume Preuost
	<i>M. Si bona suscepimus</i> , Gardanne
<i>M. Hercules dux Ferrarie</i> , Lupus, MS nos. 21–23	<i>M. Hercules dux Ferrarie</i> , Lupus
	<i>M. La Bataille</i> , Janequin
<i>M. Jouyssance vous donneray</i> , Sarton, MS nos. 14–17	<i>M. Jouyssance vous donneray</i> , Johannes Sarton
<i>M. O salutaris hostia</i> , Layolle, MS nos. 18–20	<i>M. O salutaris hostia</i> , Francesco de Layolle
Motets [Isaac]	Motets [Layolle]

The rhythms are simple, and, once again, often dictated by the chanson material, especially the signature initial measure of a quarter rest followed by three quarter notes or one longer note followed by two notes half as long. As was discussed above, the most often-used motive consists of two falling fourths separated by a rising third, which provides easy material for imitation, sequences, and so forth. (See example 5 for instances of these motives and rhythms.) There is very little chordal writing; the most prominent instance of such material is the beginning four measures of the “Et incarnatus” section of the Credo.

M. Jouyssance vous donneray is complete in only one known source, Jacques Moderne’s *Liber decem missarum* (RISM 1532⁸), with a second, revised issue (1540¹). Moderne, who printed the two *Liber decem missarum* sets, began printing books in Lyons between 1525 and 1526 and started printing music in 1530 after some prompting from Francesco de Layolle, who was a well-known organist and composer in Lyons. Layolle was a friend and close colleague of Moderne. Moderne continued publishing music until his death sometime in the mid-1560s. The city of Lyons was an important hub of trade and travel, so his location made it possible for him to gather and publish music from all over Europe. *Liber decem missarum* was Moderne’s first publication of polyphonic music. Its preface indicates that Layolle edited this “book of ten Masses,” therefore it is not surprising that the collection includes his music. (See table 3 for a comparison of the

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Bathtub MSS contents with Moderne's *Liber decem missarum* of 1532.) When it was reprinted in 1540, two Masses were added: Pierre de Villiers's *M. De beata Virgine* and Layolle's *M. Ces fascheux sutz*. Also, the music was extensively corrected. According to Samuel F. Pogue, who catalogued Moderne's prints, "The 1532 edition has more mistakes than any other music book Moderne printed" (Pogue 1969:72). He theorizes that Layolle himself was responsible for correcting the second edition, because three Layolle works are the only pieces that remain unchanged from edition to edition. Layolle collaborated with Moderne until Layolle died sometime around 1540. The printer published a lament, *Alma felice e lieta*, for Layolle in his 1540 edition of Layolle's *Cinquanta canzoni* (D'Accone 1969: no. 50). Despite these strong connections to a large figure in the community of French musicians and composers, there is no evidence that Moderne was personally acquainted with Certon. However, he may have learned of Certon through Layolle or another musician who traveled through Lyons, perhaps another member of the court in Paris.

Striking agreements between Moderne's print and the manuscripts indicate the "Bathtub Collection" scribe was copying from the 1532 edition of the *Liber decem missarum*. All of the Mass selections in the "Bathtub Collection," including Layolle's work, can also be found in Moderne's print (see table 3). In the manuscripts, the sections of *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* appear exactly as they are in Moderne's print, with no scribal errors or changes. This is unusual; even the most diligent copyists often made errors when copying music, and many changed the music to reflect their tastes, memories, or habits. The *Liber decem missarum* edition of 1532 attributes the Mass to "Io. Sarton." The edition of 1540 also attributes the Mass to "Io. Sarton" in its index, but gives the composer's name as "Io. Certon" in the superius partbook of the Kyrie. The "Bathtub" manuscript gives the composer's name as "Sarton" instead of "Certon," therefore the scribe must have been copying from Moderne's first edition.

There are a few unique features to Sarton's Mass as it appears in the *Liber decem missarum*. Whenever a voice drops out, Moderne indicates its absence in the appropriate partbook. (See table 4 for the vocal layout of this Mass.) These performance directions are particularly interesting because they vary from one movement to the next and reach beyond utility into witty conceit (see table 4). For the Et resurrexit and Crucifixus, Moderne indicates the duos with a simple "tacet" in the other voice parts. For the Pleni, a duo for tenor and bass, he writes "Pleni non sunt" in the discantus part and "Pleni Joue Alesbay" in the altus part. In the corrected edition of 1540, this instruction reads "Pleni ioue a lesbahy," which can be translated as "play as if astonished" or "play with amazement."²³ Perhaps the singers were to be silent as if awestruck by the glorious Lord of Hosts. The tenor is

Example 5: Kyrie I from *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* (Robertson 2006).

Missa Jouyssance vous donneray

Kyrie I

Johannes Sarton

SOPRANO Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son,

ALTO Ky - ri - e e - le i - son,

TENOR Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, e -

BASS Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, e -

7 S. e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son,

A. Ky ri - e e - le - i - son,

T. le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le -

B. - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e -

13 S. Ky - ri - e e - le - i - son, Ky - ri -

A. son, e - le - i - son, le - i - son, e - le -

T. i - son, e - le - i - son,

B. -le - i - son, Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e,

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Example 5: Kyrie I from *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* (Robertson 2006), continued.

19
S. e e - lei - son, Ky - ri - e
A. i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le
T. e - le - i - son, Ky - ri - e
B. Ky - ri - e, Ky - ri - e e - le

23
S. e - le - i - son.
A. i - son, e - le - i - son.
T. e - le - i - son.
B. i - son.

told “Benedictus est muet” or “Benedictus is mute.” In the Agnus II, over the tenor staves is written “Secundus Agnus: ne dit mot” or “Secundus Agnus: says no word”; over the bassus is written “Secundus Agnus ta. vii.” Moderne could count on amused musicians to interpret this instruction correctly as “tacet” (pronounced ta-sept—it’s a French rebus!). In the 1540 issue, that instruction is replaced by “Secundus Agnus regarde en sa bourse” or “the second Agnus looks in its purse.” Perhaps this is a reference to the low salaries and empty purses of the musicians, similar to the satirical “starving artist” theme of Josquin’s *Faulte d’Argent*. Alternatively, it may symbolize the musicians searching in vain for the missing vocal part. These creative instructions are a tantalizing glimpse into a sixteenth-century music professional’s attitude about his work. They seem to imply a certain levity toward an otherwise serious task.

Were it not for the “Bathtub Collection” music pages, the links explored here to Moderne, Gardane, Layolle, Sarton, and Certon might never have been made. However, the pages continue to hold in store some historical mysteries. In concluding her article on the “Bathtub Collection,” Belle Waring wrote:

And yet, its beauty and rarity notwithstanding, the Bathtub Collection provokes troublesome questions: What use are these scraps? What are they for? How are we to read history in pieces? As contested? As something whose meaning is unresolved? (Waring 2002: 18)

Table 4: Vocal Scheme of *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*, from the Liber decem missarum (1532, 1540).

Mass Section	Number of Voices	Special Instructions
Kyrie (3 sections)	4 voices (discantus, altus, tenor, bassus)	
Gloria (3 sections)	4 voices	
Credo (5 sections) [also in the Bathtub Collection] Crucifixus Et resurrexit	4 voices 2 voices (discantus, altus) 2 voices (tenor, bassus)	Tenor and bassus: "tacet" Discantus and altus: "tacet"
Sanctus (4 sections) [also in the Bathtub Collection] Pleni sunt	4 voices 2 voices (tenor, bassus)	Discantus: "Pleni non sunt" Altus: "Pleni Joue Alesbay"
Agnus Dei (3 sections) [also in the Bathtub Collection] Agnus Dei I Agnus Dei II Agnus Dei III	4 voices 2 voices (discantus, altus) 5 voices (4 + secundus tenor)	Tenor: "Secundus Agnus: ne dit mot" Bassus: "Secundus Agnus ta.vii"

One might despair at being confronted with fragments, but sometimes history has to be read in pieces because that is how it has come down to us. Not all records of the past are written in neat script on the pages of a ledger; some must be inferred from the pattern on a china plate, deduced from the origin of a silk lining, or construed from a catalogue of tiny bookbinding fragments. However, the historian may have to struggle in order to make these connections.

This is the moment at which another point of view from which we can observe the "Bathtub Collection" music manuscripts becomes important. The study of material culture of music, musical objects as they symbolize, connect, save, and express cultural identities and values, may help us to examine these fragments in a new light. The intrinsic cultural worth of these pages of music and the book in which they were found, the *Chirurgiae*, can be easily understood by a quick study of their identifying marks. The book itself became an unintentional time capsule by holding many tiny artifacts for centuries, from their creation by hundreds of anonymous people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to their discovery hundreds of years later in a bathtub. Schullian deftly made this point in the title of her

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groundbreaking 1953 paper on the “Bathtub Collection.” She titled the paper “Here the Frailest Leaves,” from a line in the beginning of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*: “Here the frailest leaves of me, and yet my strongest-lasting . . .”²⁴ (1855:112).

The “Bathtub Collection” fragments, although some of the frailest leaves of paper one could imagine, have also been some of the strongest-lasting. They were trash—refuse in the bin of a bookbinder’s shop—useful then only for stuffing inside a beautiful parchment binding. One would doubt that this disparate collection of scrap paper would have survived a few years, much less a few centuries, outside of the binding of the *Chirurgiae*. On the other hand, the fragments and the binding together ensured the survival of the *Chirurgiae* by doing what a bookbinding is designed to do—protect the book inside, of course.

The “Bathtub Collection” papers and the *Chirurgiae* carry direct physical marks, types of historical fingerprints, of the people connected to them throughout history. Even the most casual observer would note items such as the owners’ names on the book’s cover. A book historian or archivist would also observe the method of binding, the types of paper, and any connections in the medley of scrap paper included in the cover. For example, several characteristics of the “Bathtub Collection” music manuscripts identify them as a German bicinia source and connect them to the educational culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. During this period, bicinia from Masses or secular songs were very popular, especially in Germany. Lutheran choirboys were taught to sing using these duos, which were compiled into both print and manuscript anthologies. Bruce Bellingham and Edward Evans note that the two most important early German collections, Georg Rhau’s *Bicinia...germanica* (1545) and Erasmus Rotenbucher’s *Diphona amoena* (1549), include much Franco-Flemish music. The “Bathtub Collection” pages do as well (Bellingham and Evans 1974). This preference is also evident in other early German bicinia sources; the *Artis canendi* (1537) by Sebald Heyden included two-voice selections “sought out with especial care from the best musicians . . . Josquin, Obrecht, Pierre de La Rue, Heinrich Isaac and the like.”²⁵ Second, the manuscript was copied as a partbook that was apparently intended for performance use. Third, two of the manuscript pages have watermarks which have been identified and which indicate the music was probably copied in Bavaria in the 1560s or early 1570s (Clausen 2004:1).²⁶

Although the *Chirurgiae* was printed in Venice, it was without a doubt bound in Germany. During the volume’s residency in the NLM in the 1940s and 1950s, its ancient wooden boards were discarded and replaced by

modern ones, which were, fortunately, re-covered with the original cover—German parchment chant pages. Sizable fragments of another similar chant page have survived inside the front cover of the book and might indicate that the inside surfaces of the back and front boards were once covered with parchment also. A variety of papers, ranging in size from mere confetti to nearly complete pamphlets, were taken out of the bindings, all of them meticulously catalogued by Schullian (1953).²⁷ Some of the papers are dated, the latest being eight pages from *Defensio historica Ludovici Crocii Lasphaeo Wittgensteinii*, . . . of 1609, thus establishing that year as a *terminus ante quem* for the binding. That *defensio* was printed in Marburg; other binding papers were printed in Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Herborn. As was mentioned previously, the watermarks point to a Bavarian origin as well. There are two clear indications of ownership on the book. The signature “Johannes Wolff medic. Liber A 1574” is evidence that a German doctor was in possession of the book when it was not yet bound, only a year after its publication in 1573 in Venice.²⁸ A later owner of the book was Carl Christian von Klein (1772–1825), a court physician in Stuttgart (Clausen 2004:4). His bookplate adorns the initial flyleaf. After this evidence of ownership during the first part of the nineteenth century, no other information on the *Chirurgiae*'s whereabouts can be traced until the record of its purchase by the NLM from an unknown bookdealer in 1946.²⁹

This short investigation into the probable provenance of the music manuscript pages has already shed some light on the story of the *Chirurgiae*. To track what we already know—the pages of the *Chirurgiae* were printed in Venice, the binding was made in Germany—probably Bavaria, and the music was composed and published in France. It is at this point that a particular facet of the interconnected nature of art, books, and especially music in the sixteenth century comes to the foreground. The *Chirurgiae* is not only a book but also a cultural text (in the sense of “text” as “weaving”), which interlaces many different cultural threads and gathers more as it moves through time (Brockmeier 2001). The book bears traces of its circulation in a complex European network of book and musical arts. As people travel, they inevitably bring their culture with them, and music has always been a mainstay of culture and of cultural exchange. As David McAllester writes in “The Astonished Ethno-Muse”:

Human culture is not a flower with fragile petals ready to drop at the first frosty touch of a new idea. Culture is more like an irresistible plague, pandemic to humankind. New ideas are the food it feeds on, and these can no more be stopped than the perpetuation of life itself. The musical manifestations of culture are, by their sonorous nature, highly evident. They give public notice of the spread of culture. (1979: 181)

This was true even in the sixteenth century. As trade routes flowed from city to city, artists traveled from court to court, and religious persuasions shifted from region to region, music moved with them. We can see a brilliant example of this sometimes astonishing cosmopolitanism in the *Chirurgiae* and its binding. Speaking of the “transactions” between readers and writers Natalie Davis writes, “We should consider a printed book not merely as a source for ideas and images, but as a carrier of relationships” (Howsam 2003:69).³⁰ This vision of the book as a “carrier of relationships” applies well to the “Bathtub Collection” and the *Chirurgiae*. By their survival, the *Chirurgiae* and its contents have brought to light connections between book and binding; geographical locations—Bavaria, Venice, Lyons, and Paris; music and books; art and attribution; religions—Catholicism and Protestantism; and so forth. As Grassby notes in his article on material culture:

Goods . . . carry social and personal information within a larger framework. Inanimate relationships and mediate progress through the social world; their diffusion bridges cultural boundaries and connects centers with peripheries. Although artifacts are produced at particular moments, their persistence creates histories. (2005:593)

The “Bathtub Collection” has created a musical history as the book and the bookbinding fragments have also revealed another important relationship between Pierre Certon, a famous sixteenth-century composer, Johannes Sarton, an unknown composer, and *M. Jouyssance vous donneray*. The scholar’s perspective on this music is in some ways unavoidably changed when he/she examines it from its two attribution possibilities.

Until the day that someone finds a record in Paris naming “Pierre Certon, formerly known as Jehan Sarton, the famous chapelmaster,” no one can declare with absolute inflexibility that they are two names for one and the same person who wrote the *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* sometime before the printing of the *Liber decem missarum* in 1532. The evidence, however, seems to point quite strongly to that conclusion. Ironically, the man whose personal motto—*Tene Certum, Dimitte Incertum*—punned on his name and affirmed his confident philosophy of “take hold of certainty, let go of doubt” may, by virtue of his name, remain the source of historical and musical uncertainty. This research has endeavored to ease that uncertainty as much as humanity’s limited ability to look into the past will allow by examining the “Bathtub Collection” manuscripts, Pierre Certon, and *M. Jouyssance vous donneray* from multiple historical, analytical, and cultural perspectives.

Notes

1. The history of the collection was summarized by Belle Waring (2002). In 1942, because it was recognized that Washington, D.C. was a potential target for attacks, the then-Army Medical Library shipped all of its rare books to Cleveland. The staff of the Army Medical Library Cleveland branch recognized that the books needed conservation, and made the books the focus of their attention, bringing in Dorothy Schullian, a classics scholar from Albion College. It was not until 1997 that Walton Schalick III and Sandra Parker Provenzano re-catalogued the collection and rebound the books. The bookbinding fragments fill seven Hollinger boxes.
2. The pages were not actually transferred to the Library of Congress until June 15, 2005. This article would not have been possible without Clausen's gracious assistance and willingness not only to provide information but also to make scans of Della Croce's book and the Bathtub manuscripts. See also De Ferrari (1988).
3. Lupus's Mass was printed in RISM 1532⁸, Jacques Moderne's *Liber decem missarum*. For Layolle's Mass, see Frank A. D'Accone (1973 vol. 6:21–37). Isaac's Proper settings were first published in *Primus tomus Coralis Constantini* (1550); see Webern, (1898). The Proper settings are: No. 19 Tract for Septuagesima Sunday *De profundis*; No. 20 Tract for Quinquagesima Sunday *Jubilate Domino omnis terra*; Nos. 21–22 Tract for Quadregesima Sunday *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi*; No. 23 Tract for Palm Sunday *Deus meus respice in me*. Note that the "Lupus" listed in the "Bathtub Collection" and the *Liber decem missarum* is only known today by one name. His nationality and place of employment are uncertain, but quite a few of his works have survived to the present day in various volumes and publications, including the Medici Codex. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, s.v. "Lupus" (by Bonnie J. Blackburn), <http://www.grovemusic.com/> (accessed April 2008).
4. The parts were written in the manuscript in the order in which they would appear in the Mass: first the Crucifixus and Et resurrexit on one side and the Pleni sunt and Agnus Dei II following on the opposing side. These sections are numbered 14 through 17.
5. Clausen notes, "Number 58 is followed by blank staves, suggesting that it is the final piece of this collection" (2004:1). Also, the upper voice parts (superius and tenor) of the bicinia may have been on pages that did not survive, possibly the missing numbers 1–10 and 31–43. Alternatively, the manuscripts may have never been finished, hence their subsequent use as bookbinding scrap material.
6. Lhuillier notes that Certon was a canon of Notre-Dame de Melun, master of choirboys at the Sainte-Chapelle, and that Rabelais mentioned him in the *Nouveau prologue du livre IV de Pantagruel*. He writes that Certon's motto, obviously punning on his name, was *Tene certum dimitte incertum* (Hold certainty, let go of doubt) and that the composer had established a Mass to be sung yearly on March 25 at "couvre-feu" (curfew). See also note 8.
7. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol 5, s.v. "Certon, Pierre."
8. I am grateful to Laura Youens for the translation of this passage: "Pierre Certon, maître des enfants de chœur de la Sainte-Chapelle, fonde à Notre-Dame de Melun, dont il était chanoine, un salut solonnel qui se chantait tous les ans le jour et fête de l'Annonciation au mois de mars, le 25, à l'heure du couvre-feu, *in hora ignis tegii*, comme parle le Martyrologe et selon qu'il était contenu en la pierre, pour ce attachée au pilier proche la chaire du predicateur."
9. "Pierre Tappereau et Pierre Certon, les chanter (sic), chaniones, chapitre et communauté de l'église collégiale Notre-Dame de Melun, seigneurs de Perthes, en partie, comparaissent

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par M^e Isaac Pinot, l'un d'eux, à la redaction de la coutume de Melun, le mercredi 17 avril 1560." Translated by the author from De La Fortelle (1843).

10. See De La Fortelle (1843:44); he also references Rouillard (1628:295) for his information regarding Certon's memorial service and takes notice of Certon's motto.

11. See note 10. It is interesting to note that Pierre Tappereau, who is mentioned alongside Pierre Certon in both entries quoted above, is recorded in the list of "Fêtes, Obits ou Anniversaires" with an entry that alludes to "two solemn obituaries for Pierre Tappereau, died 1530." However, as noted above, there is no accompanying record for Certon anywhere in the list.

12. See also Brenet (1910:87, 97 fn. 3, 109–111, 116, 120–22) for the notice of his death and the text establishing a memorial office; a summary of his life and works appears on pp. 333–34.

13. Lisette Michelle Canton quotes the preface to *Recens modulorum editio* in her dissertation (2000:119–120). The dedication makes Certon's admiration for Sermisy evident. The opening sentence sets its fulsome tone: "In abundance I had heretofore conceived great joy in my heart Claudin, the most learned of musicians and the best friend of the most learned, because your relations with me had been so courteous that you did not spurn our friendship."

14. See also RISM 1538¹⁴, *Cinquesime livre contenant xxviii chansons nouvelles a quatre parties en ung volume et en deux imprimeres par Pierre Attaingnant et Hubert Juliet librares et imprimeurs de musique demourans a Paris...* (Paris: P Attaingnant).

15. There is no complete modern edition of Certon's Masses. Henry Expert edited the *M. Sur le pont d'Avignon*, *M. Adiuva me*, and *M. Regnum mundi*. (1924–29] 1940). Sherman Van Solkema edited the *M. Christus resurgens*, *M. Le temps qui court*, *M. pro defunctis*, and *M. Sus le pont d'Avignon* in his dissertation (1963:38–68).

16. A facsimile edition of *Il primo libro a due voci de diversi autori* from the copy at the Vienna sterreichisches Nationalbibliothek was published in Viborg, Denmark: Special-Trykkeriet Viborg a-s, 1991. For a complete description and inventory, see Lewis (1988, vol. 1:399–405).

17. Van Solkema seems to have been unaware of the earlier edition of 1543.

18. This list is a compilation of stylistic hallmarks mentioned by Van Solkema, Aimé Agnel, and Richard Freedman in their various analyses of Certon's liturgical music. For a more extensive study of Certon's compositional practices, see Expert and Agnel (1967) and Van Solkema (1963).

19. It was first printed in RISM 1528³ *Chansons nouvelles en musique A quatre parties . . .* (Paris: P. Attaingnant). See Allaire and Cazeaux (1974, vol. 3:138–39). The chanson is also attributed to Pierre de la Rue in Vienna, in the Austrian National Library, Ms. 18810, which was copied between 1524 and 1533; therefore it has to be listed among Sermisy's *opera dubia*. Nonetheless, it is generally (or even overwhelmingly) accepted as a work by Sermisy because of the preponderance of evidence pointing to Sermisy's authorship.

20. Although untitled, it has been labeled "Musizierende Damen." The original is held in the Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung in Austria, Schloss Rohrau.

21. There are also two other settings of this same Marot text by Nicolas Gombert and Adrian Willaert, both of which borrow musically from Sermisy's chanson. See Schmidt-Görg (1975: 220–24) and Bernstein (1992). In addition, there are eight extant instrumental adaptations of *Jouissance vous donneray*, including three for lute and one for keyboard. See Brown (1967), B1529, *Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre & apprendre par soy mesmes a jouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tabulature du Lutz...* (Paris: P. Attaingnant); B1531, *Vingt et six chansons musicales reduictes en la tabulature des Orgues Espinettes Manicordions & telz*

semblables instrumentz musicaulx . . . (Paris: P. Attaignant); B1546₁₈ *Des chansons reduictz en Tabulature de luc . . .* (Lyon: P. Phalèse); and B1546₁₉ *Carminum Quae chely vel testudine canuntur, trium, quatuor, et quinque partium liber secundus* (Lyon: P. Phalèse).

22. This comparison of Sarton's and Sermisy's compositional choices was conducted before I had any inkling of the Sarton/Certon connection. In the near future, I hope to conduct a more thorough and applicable comparison of the use of motives in Certon's established parody Masses and *M. Jouyissance vous donneray*.

23. I am grateful to Mary-Beth Winn of SUNY-Albany for this translation.

24. See also Waring (2002).

25. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, s.v. "Bicinium" (by Bruce Bellingham), <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.03041> (accessed April 2008).

26. The watermark has been identified as Briquet 2154. See Briquet (1923:159).

27. See also Clausen (2004:3). Schullian's references to the *Chirurgiae* binding fragments are scattered throughout her article.

28. Clausen searched diligently for a medical doctor named Johannes Wolf whose handwriting would match that of the signature, but the name was simply too common for her search to be successful.

29. Clausen notes that the dealer is identified as "CH," but she could find no other information leading to any bookdealers using these initials.

30. Leslie Howsam was quoting Natalie Zemon Davis (1975: 192).

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