**Heinrich Isaac** - John H Robinson revised October 2024

Johannes Wolf *Heinrich Isaac Weltliche Werke* I (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Östereich 1907/R Graz 1959)

1. **Mein Freud allein** - Wolf no A.14/G.20, 21

1a. D-Mbs 1512, f. 8v *Mein freud allain hd* - TB in Bb Wolf G.19a

1bi/ii. D-Mbs 1512, ff. 25v-26r *Mein freud allain hd* - 6F [7F] DTB Wolf G.19b

1c. Newsidler 1549, sigs. f1v-f2r *Mein freud allein in aller welt 13* - DTB *Lute News* 149/1

1d. Heckel *Discant* 1556/1562, pp. 224-227 *Mein freud allein* - 6F DATB Wolf G.20

1e. Ochsenkun 1558, f. 72v *Mein freüd allein* - 6F DATB Wolf G.21 - followed by 3 verses of the text

2. **La Morra** HewO 44 - Wolf no E.26/G.18

2a. F-Pn Rés. Vmd.27, ff. 14v-15r *Mora* - DTB *Lute News* 149/2b

2b. A-Wn 41950, f. 6r *Muteta Ysaac mit 3 stÿmen* - DTB *Lute News* 149/2a

2c. D-Mbs 272, ff. 72v-73r *la Amora* - DTB

2d. = Newsidler 1536a, sigs. p1v-p3r *Lamora Isaac* - DTB Wolf G.17b

= S-Sk S 226, ff. 72r-74r *Lamora Isaac*

2e. Newsidler 1536a, sigs. g3r-g4r *La mora Isaac* - TB Wolf G.17a

= S-Sk S 226, ff. 21r-23r *Lamora Isaac*

2f. Spinacino I 1507, ff. 26r-27r *Francesco Spinacino La Mora* - DTB

2g. =Phalèse I 1545, pp. 8-9 *Benedictus* [sic!] *Isaac* - DTB

cf. Formschneider 1538, sig. E1v *La morra* - instr. ens. à3

CH-Bu F.IX.22 (Kotter), ff. 32v-34v *La morra* Isacius author - keyboard à3 Wolf G.18

3. **Palle, Palle** - Wolf no E.32

Spinacino II 1507, ff. 16r-17r *Palle de ysach* - DATB [header: *Francesco Spinacino*] *Lute News* 149/3

[index: *Palle de Isach*] - Wolf G.25

4. **Tart ara** - Wolf no E.38

Newsidler 1536b, sigs. G3r-H1r *xviii henricus Isaac. Tartara* - DTB (tune in the tenor) Wolf G.28 *Lute News* 149/4

5. **O weiblich art** - Wolf no A.17/G.24

Newsidler 1536a, sigs. f4v-g1r *O weiblich art* - [O female type?] TB Wolf G.24 *Lute News* 149/

= S-Sk S 226, ff. 18r-18v *O weiblich art*

6. **Benedictus** RISM B/I 1501/76 [= Petrucci 1501 1 facs?] HewO 76

[qui venit in nomine Domini][[1]](#footnote-1) from Mass on Quant j'ay au cueur by Busnois - model: Lerner CMM 65/7 (1984)[[2]](#footnote-2) no. 2

6a. F-Pn Rés. Vmd.27, ff. 21r-22r *Benedictus* - DTB Jones[[3]](#footnote-3) I/5 *Lute News* 149/6a

6b. PL-Kj 40154, ff. 18r 19r 19v *Benedictus* - bars 1-26 only DTB

6c. NL-DHnmi Kluis 48 [olim 33.C.30] (Lindemann), ff. 3v-4r *Benedictus* - DTB

6d. D-B 40632, ff. 19v-20r [16v-17r] *Benedictus III* - DTB

6e. D-Mbs 272, ff. 71v-72r *Benedictus* - DTB

6f. Spinacino I 1507, ff. 4r-5r *Francesco Spinacino Benedictus de Isach* - DTB

6g. Newsidler 1536a, sigs. p3r-p4v *Benedictus* - DTB

= S-Sk S 226, ff. 74r-76r *Benedictus*

6hi. Heckel *Discant* 1556/1562, pp. 46-49 *Benedictus* *Discant* - DTB

6hii. Heckel *Tenor* 1556/1562, pp. 39-42 *Benedictus* - TB - bars 1-2 duplicated and embellished

6i.=A-Wn 18688, ff. 31v-32r/86v-87r *Benedictus* - TB *Lute News* 149/6b

6j. F-Pn Rés. Vmd.27, ff. 55r-55v *Tenor/e/gtra d*[i] *Benedictus* - TB *Lutezine*149/6c

6app-a. parody in F-Pn Rés. Vmd ms. 27, ff. 20v-21r *Recercar d*(i) *Benedictus* - Jones I/4

6app-b. descending sequence in bars 44-51 of Benedictus is parodied in US-Cn Case VM 140.C25 (Capirola), ff. 5v-6v *Recerchar Primo* bars 74-97, edited for the *Lutezine* to *Lute News* 106 (July 2013) and *158 Early Cinquecento Preludes and Recercars for Renaissance Lute* (Lute Society Editions 2018), no. 122.

7. **Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen** / Herr Gott lass dich erbarmen - Wolf no A.12/E.22

7a. D-B 40632, f. 4r [1r] *Ins Pruckh ich mues dich lassen* - DATB

7b. PL-Kj W 510, f. 12v *Ißbruck ich muß dich laßen* - DTB

7c. CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 263 *LXXIII Innsbruckh ich muß dich laßenn* - DATB

7d. Ochsenkun 1558, f. 58v *Herr Gott laß dich erbarmen Heinrich Isaac* [[4]](#footnote-4) - 6F adapted for 7F DATB Wolf G.13 LN149/7a

7e. A-Wn 19259, f. 4r *Isbruck Ich muß* - DATB in G

7f. intabulation from vocal model by Nigel North - DATB *Lutezine* 149/7b

8. **Zwischen perg und tieffen tal** - Wolf no A.22/G.29

8a. A-Wn 41950, ff. 12v-13r pp. 24-26 *Zwischen berg vnd diffental mit 3 stimen im abzug* - 6F adapted for 7F DAB LN149/8

8b. A-Wn 18688, f. 29r/84r *Pschisson perg vnd leckh die tall* - TB in G

cf. D-Bsb Mus.40026 (Kleber), f. 107r *Zwischen berg vnd tiefem tal In sol* - keyboard à4 Wolf G.29

9. **Die prunlein, die da vliessen** (or Hofhaimer) - Wolf no E.9/F.1/G.6a-b G.7a-b

9ai/ii. D-B 40632, ff. 18v-19r [15v-16r] *Die prundlein die da fließen. III.*[[5]](#footnote-5) - 6F [7F] DTB

9b. D-Mbs 1512, ff. 22v-23r *Die prindlein die da fliessen hd* - DTB Wolf G.7b

9c. PL-WRk 352, ff. 48v-50r *26 Die prünlein die da fließen, die sel man trincken* - DTB

9d. Gerle 1532, sigs. M2r-M2v *Die Brünlein die do fliessen* - 6F DTB

9e. Newsidler 1536a, sigs. o4v-p1r *Die prünlein die da fliessen* - DTB Wolf G.6a *Lute News* 149/9

= S-Sk S 226, ff. 70v-72r *Die brünlein die da fließen*

9f. Newsidler 1536b, sigs. Dd2v-Dd4r *xlvii Die prünlein die da fliessen* - DTB Wolf G.6b

9g. NL-At 208.A.27, ff. 21v-22r *Die Brünlein Die da fließen W H* - DTB

9h. = Heckel *Discant* 1556, pp. 212-215 *Die prinlin die da fliessen* - DTB

9i. D-Mbs 1512, ff. 7v-8r *Die prindlein die da fliessen hd* - TB in Bb Wolf G.7a

9j. D-Mms 4 Mus. Cod. 718, f. 91r *Die brundlein* - viol part [D?]

cf. Reusner 1678, no. 96 *O weldt ich mus dich lassen* - baroque lute

Formschneider 1538, sig. C4r *Die brünlein die do fliessen* - instr à3

D-Bsb Mus.40026 (Kleber), ff. 117v-118v *Die brüle P. H*[ofhaimer]*.* - keyboard Wolf G.5 à3

10. **Ein frolic wesen(th)** [Barbireau, Isaac or Obrecht] - Wolf no A.4/E.2/G.2

10a. D-RO med 3, ff. 157v-158v *Ein frölich weßenn* [index: *Ein frolich weschen stesdi*] - DB *Lute News* 149/10a

10b. Vorsterman 1529,[[6]](#footnote-6) sigs. G2v-G4r *Een vrolic wesen* - TB[[7]](#footnote-7) - original and as edited for Lutezine *Lutezine* 149/10b

10c. Phalèse I 1545, pp. 30-31 *Een vrolic vvesen* - DTB PhalèseB[[8]](#footnote-8) I-28

10d. Phalèse I 1547, sig. D1v *Een urolic Wesen*

10ei. Heckel *Discant* 1556/1562, pp. 23-27 *Ein frölich wesen Discant* - DTB Wolf G.8

10eii. Heckel *Tenor* 1556/1562, pp. 23-25 *Ein frölich wesen* - DTB

10f. Gerle 1533, ff. 19v-20r *Ein frölich wesen* - DTB *Lute News* 149/10b

cf. GB-Lbl Add.31922, ff. 3v-4r *En frolich weson* - instr. ens. à3

Formschneider *Trium Vocum Carmina a Diversis Musicis* 1538, sig. E1r *Een frölic wesen* - instr. ens. à3

D-Bsb Mus.40026, f. 27r *Ain Frewlich wesen* - keyboard à3 Wolf G.2

11. **Fille, vous avec mal garde -** Wolf no B.1

11ai/ii. A-Wn 41950, ff. 6v-7r *Philomusa* - 6F adapted for 7F DATB *Lute News* 149/11a

11bi/ii. PL-Kj 40154, ff. 30r 8v 8r 6v untitled - 6F DAB *Lutezine* 149/11b

12. **Tristicia vestra** RISM 15412 /24

12a. Drusina 1556, sigs. l4v-m1v *Tristitia* - DTB *Lute News* 149/12

12b. Phalèse 1568, f. 54v *Tristitia obsedit me* - DTB

12c. Newsidler *Dritt* 1544c, sig. M3r *Tristicia vestra 9* - DTB

cf. Formschneider 1538, sig. D1r *Tristicia vestra* - instr. ens. à3

13. **Helogierons nous** - Lesure Minkoff not Brown - Wolf no E.16

Spinacino II 1507, f. 24v-25r *HElogeron nous* [header: *Francesco Spinacino*] - DTB[[9]](#footnote-9) *Lute News* 149/13

14. **Si dormiero - Ecce video coelus apertos - Si bibero** (or Agricola) - Wolf no E.36/G.27

14i. **Si dormiero**

14ia. PL-Kj 40154, ff. 6r, 22r 22v 24r *Si dormiero* - DTB *Lute News* 149/14ia

14ib. Gerle 1533, ff. 64r-66r *Si dormiero* [If I sleep] - DTB[[10]](#footnote-10) *Lutezine* 149/14ib

14ic. Newsidler 1536b, sigs. K3v-L2r *xxiii Hainricus Finck. Si dormiero, der erst theil* - DTB

cf. Formschneider 1538, sig I1v *Si dormiero* - instr. ens. à3

CH-Bu F.IX.22, ff. 35r-38v *Si dormiero* - keyboard à3 Wolf G.27

14ii. **Ecce video coelus apertos** - Behold I see the heavens opened]

14iia. A-Wn 41590, ff. 9v-10r *Ecce vidy Muteta mit 3 stimen* - DTB *Lutezine* 149/14iib

14iib. Gerle 1533, ff. 66v-68v *Der ander teyl* - DTB *Lutezine* 149/14iia

14iic. Newsidler 1536b, sigs. L4v-M3v *xxv N. Croen Ecce video coelus apertos der dritt theil* - DTB

14iii. **Si bibero** - If I drink

14iiia.Gerle 1533, ff. 69v-70r *Der dritt teyl* [Si bibero] *Lutezine* 149/14iii

14iiib. Newsidler 1536b, sigs. L2r-L4v *Der ander theyl* - DTB

15. **Tmeiskin was jonck** HewO 27 Isaac, Japart or Obrecht - Wolf no E.39/G.22

Schlick 1512, pp. 68-70 *Metzkin isack* - DTB[[11]](#footnote-11) Wolf G.22 *Lute News* 149/15

- tablature with and without mensural part intabulated

16. **O Maria mater Christi - Aue domina - Diocunda - Aue sanctissima**  RISM 1520 4 /21 [=RISM B/I 1501?]

LZ O Maria mater Christi - model: D-Rp C 120 (Pernner Codex), pp. 114-115 *O Maria mater Christi* - à4

16i. Gerle 1533, ff. 84v-86r *O Maria mater Christi* - DATB *Lutezine* 149/16i

16ii. Gerle 1533, ff. 86v-87v *Der ander teil. Aue domina* - DATB *Lutezine* 149/16ii

16iii. Gerle 1533, ff. 87v-88v *Der drit teil. Diocunda* - DATB *Lutezine* 149/16iii

16iv. Gerle 1533, ff. 89r-90r *Der viert teil. Aue sanctissima* - DATB *Lutezine* 149/16iv

**Commentary to the music by Heinrich Isaac in Lute News and Lutezine 149:**

**1.** no change.

**2a.** bar lines absent; 2/1 - h6 instead of h5; 7/1 - a4 instead of b4; 8/1, 25/1, 25/5, 34/2, 50/1, 50/5 - c1 instead of h1; 18/3-6 - crotchets instead of quavers; 20/4 - minim c4a6 absent; 22/4 - minim absent; 32/1 - semibreve absent; 35/4 - c5-c5 crossed out; 38/4 - c4 instead of a4; 39/4 - scribe changed minim to semibreve; 41/4, 42/2&4, 44/1, 49/1 - d5 instead of d6; 53 - bar of 4 minims a1b2d5-d3a4-d2c5-d1b3c4 absent; 54/1 - b3 instead of b2; 54/2 - c1 absent; 63/1 - c4 instead of e5.

**2b.** italian tablature; rhythm signs absent; bar lines absent except at 6/1-2, 7/3-4, 9/1-2, 13/1-2, 15/1-2, 22/1-2, 24/1-2, 27/1-2, 29/3-4, 30/5-6, 32/1-2, 42/1-2, 43/4-5, 57/3-4, 60/1-2, 61/3-4, 63/1-2; 3/1 - a5 instead of a6; 12/2-3, 22/2-3, 23/3, 31/3-4 - letter 'a' within the horizontal/vertical ties; 19/ 4-5, 20/1-2, 38/1-2, 47/3-4, 51-52 - short vertical lines between notes; 19/5 - b6 added; 22/1, 23/1 - 'T' above stave indicating beginning of tactus/breve/bar; 26/3 - d2 instead of d3; 34/4 - e2c5 instead of e1c4; 49/3 - a1 instead of g1; 54/4 - d4 instead of d2; 56/1 - minim a2b3d6 absent; 58/4 - f5 displaced beneath following d2 instead of a4; 65/1 - a5 displaced a note to the right below c2.

**3.** italian tablature; 10/3, 11/1 - f1 instead of c1; 27/5 - b1 insteadof d1; 33/6 - f2 instead of d2; 41/5 - b3 added by hand in the unique copy; 43/2 - f1 added by hand in the unique copy; 55/1-3 - d4 added by hand in the unique copy; 63/1-2 - g3 instead of b2.

**4.** 8/6-7 - crotchet c2 instead of 2 quavers c2-d2; 17-18, 47-48, 60-61, 65-66, 81-82 - bar lines absent; 32 - bar absent; 48/1-3 - a2-c5-c4 absent; 53/4-5 - bar line added; 59/5, 91/1 - e5 [T] instead of a5 [B]; 63/1-6 - minim a2c5 6 crotchets a2-c2-d2c5-c2-a2-d3 instead of dotted minim c2a5 5 crotchets d2-a1-d2-c2-a2; 66/1-2 - a2c5a6-d2 instead of a2d6-a6; 99/2-3 - d3-b3 instead of b3-a3; 103/3 - e5f6 [TB] instead of a5 [B]; 114/5 - d2 absent.

**5.** 6-7, 21-22 - bar line absent.

**6a**. italian tablature; rhythm signs absent; bar lines absent (except faint vertical lines added in a different hand at 2-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-9, 11-12, 15-16, 22-23, 23-24, 26-27, 31-32, 3233, 33-34, 34-35); 29/1 - d3 instead of f3; 34/4 - f2d3 instead of d2f3; 52/5 - a5 absent; 54/1 - a6 absent; 54/5-6 - 2 minims c2d3c6-a2d6 absent.

**6b**. no change.

**6c.** bar lines and rhythm signs absent; rhythms reconstructed based on position of vertical lines below tablature in original indicating semibreves of the model; 17/5 - a3 instead of c3; 38/>4 - d1-c1 added; 41/5 - c5 absent due to damaged page; 54/4 - c5 barely legible; 54/5 - b4 instead of b3.

**7.** 6F instead of 7F; 1/1 - semibreve instead of dotted semibreve; 4/9, 12/12 - 2 ciphers for d3 - same note in two voices in the model; 9/9 - 2 ciphers for g4; 10-11 - bar line absent; 16/1, 20/1 - 2 ciphers for d2.

**8.** 6F instead of 7F; 2/1-15 - minim 2 quavers 12 semiquavers instead of crotchet 14 quavers; 2/1 - a3 instead of a4; 2/4, 6, 8 - k1 instead of l1; 2-3, 9-10, 11-12, 16-17, 20-21, 32-33 - bar lines absent; 15/12-15, 33/6-9 - quavers instead of semiquavers; 33/1 - d3 instead of d2; 36/<1 - d2a4a6 crossed out; 36/1 - c1 added.

**9.** 19-20, 35-36 - bar lines absent.

**10a.** 5/5 - a4 absent; 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 13-14, 17-18, 24-25, 29-30, 31-32, 33-34, 34-35, 35-36, 40-41 - bar lines absent; 7/2, 32/1 - minims instead of semibreves; 8/1-2, 9/3, 21/6 - semibreves instead of minims; 9/4-5 - 2 crotchets f1-d1 absent; 14/2 - a6 instead of a5; 15/4 - c1 instead of h1; 16/4 - a4 instead of a3; 22 - bar absent; 24/2 - c2 added; between 26-27 - fermata a2c5 minim rest minim d2c5 2 crotchets c2-d2 crossed out [= bars 31-32]; 30/1 - c5 displaced a note right below a1; 37/2 - minim rest absent.

**10b.** 20/5 - d4 displaced a note to the right below b3c4; 44/1 - b1d3a4 in BL copy and b1d3b3 in Berlin copy but b3 changed by hand to a4.

**10c**. Vorstermann up a 4th; bar lines absent; 1-10 - all tablature notated a course lower; 11/5, 22/3 - c4 instead of c5; 12/3 - c5 instead of d6; 15/3, 29/2 - c4 instead of e4; 16/2 - c4 absent; 16/4 - a4 instead of e4; 17/4 - b3d5 instead of b2d4; 22/1 - minim c4 absent; 24/5, 29/3, 31/2, - c5 instead of c4; 25/4 - a4 instead of a3; 26/2-3 - d5-b5 instead of d3-b3; 28/3 - e5 instead of d5; 29/3 to 34/5 - upper voice notated a course higher; 32/1 - c4 instead of c5; 34/4 - c3 instead of e4; 38/2 - c5 instead of e5; 46/1 c3 instead of c4.

**11a.** 6F instead of 7F; bar lines absent; 10/7, 27/8 - c1 instead of h1; 11/between 1-2 - 2 minims d1a2c4- c1d2d3a4 crossed out; 12/1-7 - minim 6 crotchets instead of crotchet 6 quavers; 14/1-4 - crotchets instead of quavers; 15/2-5 - scribe changed 4 quavers to 4 crotchets; 21/3 - minim f5 instead if semibreve c6; 22/1-2 - crotchets instead of minims; 23/2, 71/3 - c6 instead of a6; 23/<5, 32/1 - a6 crossed out; 24/>8 - 2 crotchets d3e5-b3 added; 25/7-10 - 4 crotchets a4-c4-a3-c3 absent; 30/3 - f5 instead of d6; 33/1 - a1 crossed out; 38/1, 68/3 - minims instead if semibreves; 38/2, 42/2, 45/2, 48/2, 51/2, 54/2, 57/2, 60/2, 63/2, 69/2, 72/2 - minim rests absent; 41/>2 - minim a2d6 added; 42/3 - minim d2 absent; 47/3 - c5 added; 68/1-2 - d6 instead of f5; 72/1, 75/1 - a5 instead of a7; 76/2-5, 76/8-11, 77/3-6 - crotchets instead of quavers.

**11b.** 6F instead of 7F; 7/1, 21/4, 63/1, 69/1 - minim instead of semibreve; 9/between 1-2 - c1 crossed out; 10/1 - semibreve absent; 13/1-2 - crotchets instead of minims; 18/1 - b3 crossed out; 22/7-10, 47/3-6 - crotchets instead of quavers; 23/<1 - c4 crossed out; 23/4, 44/5, 50/4 - c6 instead of e5; 26/5-6 - f5-d6 instead of d6-c6; 27/5 - f4 instead of b3; 28/between 3-4 - minim 2 crotchets c1d3a5-a1 crossed out; 29/1, 54/2, 69/2, 72/2, 74/2 - minims absent; 31/3 - e5 instead of c6; 58/between 4-5 - c2d3c4-a4-f1 crossed out; 59/2 - d1 added; 59/between 4-5 - 2 minims a3a5-a3a5 added; 67/3 - a5 instead of c5; 74/3 - a7 instead of a5; 76/1 - f5 instead of d6; 82 - rhythm signs present but tablature cut off bottom of page.

**12.** 9/7 - a2 absent; 13/8, 14/1, 15/1, 16/1, 26/1, 28/1, 30/1, 33/1 - dotted minims instead of dotted crotchets; 21-22, 36-37 - bar lines absent; 32/14 - a2 instead of c2; 37/1 - a4 absent.

**13.** italian tablature; 1/between 8-9 - bar line and semibreve rest added; 7/5 - d2 instead of d1; 14/3 - c3 instead of d3 c- hanged by hand in the unique copy; 14/3, 49/2 - e4 instead of d4; 16/2 - f1 absent; 32/1 - b2 instead of d2; 32/4 - d2 absent - added by hand in the unique copy; 34/2-3 - d1-c1 instead of i2-h2; 34/5-6 - d2-b2 instead of i3-g3. Adapted to reduce à4 to à3 by: 3/1, 10/1, 40/1, 47/1 - d2f3f4 instead of a2b3; 3/2, 22/1, 28/1 - f3 instead of a2; 5/1&3 - b2 added; 8/2, 15/5, 27/2, 38/2, 45/2 - d2 added; 25/1 - d3 added; 10/2, 16/1, 36/1&2, 40/2, 47/2 - f2f3 instead of a2; 12/2 - h2i3 instead of d2; 19/4 - i2i3 instead of d2; 21/3, 35/4 - d3 added; 37/1&2, 50/1 - f2 added; 43/2, 48/5 - f4 instead of b3; 48/4 - e4 instead of a3.

**14ia.** reconstructed based on Newsidler 1536b, sigs. K3v-L2r; bar lines absent; 2/2, 22/1 - minim instead of semibreve; 6/5 - c1 instead of d1; 7/1 - d1 instead of c1; 8/6 to 9/1 - scribe omitted a3-c5 and inserted them below; 13/2 - a1 instead of b3; 14/4, 15/1, 23/3, 28/1, 29/3, 51/4, 57/1, 66/1, 75/1, 85/3 - minims instead of semibreves; 16/2-3 - 2 minims c1a4-d1c4 absent; 20/2 - a4 absent; 21/1-4 - minim f1a3 2 crotchets d5-c5 minim f1a3a5 absent; 22/1-2 - c2 instead of h2; 24/between 3-4 - minim d3 bar line 2 minims a1d5-b2d3a5 added; 27/1-2, 48/2-3, 51/2-3 - minims instead of crotchets; 31/4-5, 42/3 to 43/2 - crotchets instead of minims; 36/4-5 - d5-a3 absent due to trimmed off corner of page; 39/6 - semibreve instead of minim; 46/<1 - d2b3d5 crossed out; 54/2 - c6 instead of c5; 54/3 - c6 instead of d5; 62/3 to 63/5 - 5 minims d1-c1a2-c2d3-d1a2-c1 2 crotchets c1d3-d1 absent (copying error, scribe skipped to same note 2 bars later?); 65/2 - d5 instead of d6; 67/3 - minim absent; 67/4 to 68/6 - minim a3 2 crotchets a3a5-c4 2 minims b3c5-a3 4 crotchets a3a5-c4-d3c5-b3 absent (copying error, scribe skipped to same note 2 bars later?); 70/1 - a5 instead of a6; 71/4 - f5 crossed out; 73/6 - a5 absent; 81/3 - a3 instead of f3; 87/1 - another c5 crossed out; 87/4 - f6 instead of d5; 92/1 - d5 added; 96/1 - b2 crossed out; 96/2-3 - c5-d6 instead of d1-c1; 102/1 - c4 crossed out and d2 absent.

**14ib.** 51/7-8 - minims instead of crotchets; 72/3 - d5 instead of a5.

**14iia.** no change.

**14iib.** bar lines absent; 5/1 - a6 instead of a7; 9/1, 22/9, 30/1 - a5 instead a6; 19/5 - a6 instead of a5; 21/5 - a5 instead of d5; 24/3 - minim a2c4d6 absent; 25/1 - minim a2a6 absent; 27/2 - minim a2 absent; 29/2, 52/7 - d5 instead of d6; 45/5 - c6 added; 51/2 - a5 instead of d5; 54/>2 - f3 crossed out; 76/between 6-8 - d2-c2-a2 crossed out; between 80-81 - 2 minims c1d3a4-f1 semibreve d1a4 (duplicate of previous bar); 83/1 - c6 instead of c5; 83/5 - c3 crossed out; 84/>4 - a6 crossed out.

**14iii.** 46-47 - bar line absent.

**15.** melody (and not editorial corrections) in grey; bar lines absent; 9/2, 21/5, 47/2&4 - d2 instead of e2; 15/1 - c2 instead of h3; 15/3 - f1 instead of g1; 16/1 - b3 instead of f4; 19/1, 27/1 - a2 instead of f3; 34/1 - breve absent; 35/1 - semibreve absent; 39/1, 47/1 - minims absent.

**16i.** 16/8-9 - minims instead of crotchets.

**16ii.** no change.

**16iii.** no change.

**16iv.** no change.

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Isaac [Ysaak, Ysac, Yzac], Henricus [Heinrich; Arrigo d’Ugo; Arrigo Tedesco]

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(b Flanders or Brabant, c1450–55; d Florence, March 26, 1517). South Netherlandish composer. The Latin name-form ‘Henricus’, adopted here, is found in many documents and musical sources. Isaac was a prominent member of a group of Franco-Flemish musicians, including Josquin des Prez, Jacob Obrecht, Pierre de La Rue, Alexander Agricola and others, who achieved international fame in the decades around 1500, influencing the Italian and European Renaissance. His musical output is particularly large and varied. Through his notable link with the Habsburg dynasty he left his mark on German musical traditions, although he also lived and worked for a considerable time in Florence.

1. Life.

Reinhard Strohm

The composer’s father was named Hugo, but he cannot be identified with the Hugo Ysaac who was registered for the MA degree at Oxford University during the period 1451–3 and whose later ecclesiastical career in England is known. Isaac’s precise birthplace is unknown. In authentic documents, he styled himself ‘de Flandria’; Aegidius Tschudi called him ‘Belga Brabanti[n]us’. He might have come from the border area between the counties of Flanders (containing Ghent, Bruges and Ypres) and Brabant (with Brussels and Antwerp); but ‘Brabant’ or ‘Flanders’ often simply refer to the Flemish-speaking part of the southern Netherlands. In Italy persons from that region were often called ‘Tedesco’ or ‘de Alemania’ (both meaning ‘German’), as Isaac was as well. His date of birth is usually estimated as about 1450 or a little later; a document of 1514 refers to him as ‘old’.

Nothing is known of Isaac’s social background and youth. His general education seems to have been excellent, although he was a layman and apparently did not attend a university. He seems to have been an accomplished composer by the 1470s; three motets by him were copied into an Innsbruck manuscript by 1484 at the latest. The earliest known biographical document dates from 15 September 1484, recording a casual payment to him as ‘Componist’ at the court of Duke Sigismund of Austria at Innsbruck. This is perhaps connected with the lavish festivities for Sigismund’s wedding to Katherine of Saxony in February 1484; the payment was made to Isaac by the organizer of the festivities, the humanist councillor Hans Fuchsmagen. Isaac may earlier have come to the notice of Sigismund’s cousin Maximilian (later king of the Romans and Emperor), who visited the Low Countries in 1477 on the occasion of his marriage to Mary of Burgundy.

By July 1485, Isaac was employed as one of the singers at the baptistry of S Giovanni in Florence, who also served Florence Cathedral and SS Annunziata (the Servite friary). A letter of 1514 states retrospectively that the Medici family ‘had sent for him as far as Flanders’. In fact, Flemish musicians were regularly recruited by Italian patrons (for example, Piero de’ Medici recruited in the southern Netherlands in 1468). It is possible that Isaac first left the southern Netherlands before 1484; the possibility of an earlier invitation by the Medici family or a Habsburg patron can at least not be ruled out. Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449–92), ‘il Magnifico’, did not employ a formal chapel of singers, but Isaac belonged to his domestic circle of artists and musicians. He was expected to set songs by Lorenzo and his favourite poet Angelo Poliziano and to contribute generally to the musical life of the Medici household and the city. He may have taught music to Lorenzo’s sons Piero and Giovanni (from 1513 Pope Leo X), who became his patrons. Lorenzo supported Isaac in various ways, for example by sending a manuscript of his music to Girolamo Donato, the Venetian ambassador in Rome; and a sumptuous chansonnier in which Isaac’s works are prominently displayed (I-Fn B.R.229) seems to have been prepared under Medici patronage and originally intended for a foreign ruler, probably either King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary or Duke Sigismund of Austria. Isaac was in close contact with other Florentine musicians such as Bartolomeo degli Organi and Alessandro Coppini. He was a member of the confraternity of S Barbara at SS Annunziata, traditionally called ‘dei Fiamminghi’ on account of its many Northern members. Florentine documents (and later Austrian ones) often refer to Isaac as ‘composer’, sometimes as ‘magister’ or ‘professor musices’. But he was not employed as an organist; documents concerning Lorenzo’s organist Isaac Argyropoulos have been mistakenly referred to Henricus Isaac.

Lorenzo is said to have arranged Isaac’s marriage (before 1490) to Bartolomea Bello (1464–1534), the daughter of a Florentine artisan. The couple lived in their own house in Florence, but later travelled together to Vienna and Konstanz. Although Isaac made three separate wills (all at SS Annunziata, where he wished to be buried), no children are ever mentioned; his wife seems to have been his sole surviving heir. A sister of Bartolomea married (c1492) the French musician Charles de Launoy (c1460–1506). Isaac composed Quis dabit capiti meo aquam? (to a poem by Poliziano), and possibly also the Missa ‘Salva nos’, on the occasion of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s death on 8 April 1492. In September of that year, Lorenzo’s son Piero took Isaac and his fellow musicians Charles de Launoy and Pietrequin Bonnel to Rome for the coronation of Pope Alexander VI. But the singers of S Giovanni were disbanded in March 1493, and in November 1494 Isaac’s Medici patrons were banished from Florence.

By November 1496 Isaac had found new employment with Maximilian I, king of the Romans. His appointment as court composer to Maximilian’s newly established chapel in Vienna was confirmed on 3 April 1497. In the following years, he travelled with the chapel to Augsburg, Wels, Innsbruck and Nuremberg. When in 1497–8 Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, visited the Tyrol with members of his chapel, Isaac received a gift of clothing (indicating that he served the elector), but he did not travel to Saxony. Another important patron was Cardinal Matthäus Lang of Augsburg. Isaac’s students included Adam Rener, Balthasar Resinarius, Ludwig Senfl and Petrus Tritonius, and he surely collaborated with the chapel organist Paul Hofhaimer, who had already served at the Innsbruck court since 1478.

Isaac was in Florence in August 1502 and some weeks later at the Este court of Ferrara, where he hoped to be employed. Josquin des Prez was chosen instead, although the court agent Gian d’Artiganova reported (2 September 1502) favourably about Isaac who ‘would compose whenever asked’ and not as he pleased like Josquin. Isaac was apparently again in Maximilian’s retinue in the Tyrol in 1503, and he was with him at the Imperial diet at Konstanz in 1507, when he composed the occasional motets Sancti Spiritus and the six-voice Virgo prudentissima. Isaac stayed in Konstanz, perhaps with interruptions, from early 1505 until at least 14 April 1508, when the cathedral chapter decided to commission the Proper cycles from him, which were later published as part II of the Choralis Constantinus.

After 1506 Isaac joined the lay fraternity of the abbey of Neustift (Novacella) near Brixen (Bressanone) in the Tyrol. In 1510 Maximilian provided him with a benefice near Verona. Isaac was in Innsbruck in 1514, but in 1515 was allowed to live permanently in Florence while continuing to receive his salary, probably for compositions including parts I and III of the Choralis Constantinus and for diplomatic activities. The Medici family, restored to power in 1512, also favoured him. His motet Optime divino celebrates a visit of Cardinal Matthäus Lang to Pope Leo in December 1513. Following recommendations by Medici agents and the papal administration, he was appointed provost of the chapter of Florence Cathedral – a sinecure – in May 1514. He thanked the Pope for his patronage with the motet Quid retribuam tibi, O Leo. By December 1516 Isaac had become ill and made his third will; he died in Florence on 26 March 1517.

In the woodcut series ‘The Triumph of Emperor Maximilian’ (Triumphzug; 1516 and later), Hans Burgkmair portrayed the Imperial chapel performing on a carriage. A person wearing a laurel wreath, standing next to the rector cappellae Georg Slatkonia, was identified in a contemporaneous copy as ‘Ysaac’. Although the identification has been challenged, this may be a portrait of the aging composer drawn from life.

2. Works.

(i) The Ordinary of the Mass.

Reinhard Strohm

Isaac wrote 36 mass cycles that are known to survive today, as well as a handful that seem to have been lost. He also composed 13 independent settings of the Credo. His 16 masses based on borrowed melodies are comparable in number, quality and variety to those of Josquin, Obrecht or Agricola, but unlike them he composed at least 20 further cycles based on the corresponding plainchant of the Ordinary of the Mass, all but one of these for alternatim performance. Together with his cycles for the Proper of the Mass, Isaac’s music for the Ordinary was his most characteristic and influential contribution to the music of his time.

Isaac’s masses on borrowed melodies are difficult to date or localize. Source transmission and some slight documentary evidence suggest that eleven cycles had been composed by about 1492: ‘Argentum et aurum’, ‘Chargé de deul’, ‘Comme femme’, ‘Een vrolic wesen’, ‘Et trop penser’, the lost ‘J’ay pris amours’, ‘La Spagna’, ‘Quant j’ay au cueur’, ‘Salva nos’, ‘Une musque de Biscaye’ and the four-voice Missa ‘Comment poit avoir joie’. Four or five others may belong to the following decade: the six-voice Missa ‘Wolauff Gesell’ (after c1496), the Missa carminum (after c1496), ‘Virgo prudentissima’ (possibly performed 1503) and possibly ‘T’meiskin was jonck’. The mass ‘La mi la sol’ is based on a motet composed in 1502. The Missa ‘Misericordias Domini’ is also late, but it appeared in the company of four early masses in Petrucci’s Misse Henrici Yzac (1506).

Seven of Isaac’s masses are based on polyphonic chansons from the Franco-Flemish tradition: the rondeaux Comme femme (Binchois), Quant j’ay au cueur (Busnoys) and Een vrolic wesen (Barbireau), the virelais Chargé de deul (anon.) and Et trop penser (Bosfrin ?= Josquin) and the Dutch song T’meiskin was jonck (Obrecht). A mass by Isaac, now lost, on the well-known rondeau J’ay pris amours (anon., ?by Caron) was mentioned in 1490. Monophonic secular tunes include the internationally known basse danse La Spagna, the chanson rustique Une musque de Biscaye (this bears no relation to Josquin’s canonic song setting or to his mass on the same tune) and the popularizing song Comment peut avoir joie. The last also carried the German words Wohlauf Gesell, von hinnen; Isaac’s four-voice mass setting existed before 1490 and probably implies the French text, but the six-voice mass has the German title in its unique source, an Innsbruck manuscript (

D-Mbs Mus.ms.3154). The Missa carminum strings together a number of German popular songs in the manner of Obrecht’s and Pipelare’s Missae carminum on French and Dutch chansons and an older Austrian tradition of Liedermessen.

Isaac used multiple sacred cantus firmi (a technique familiar in the Low Countries and in Germany) in the Missa ‘Salva nos’, which is chiefly based on an antiphon but also quotes several short invocations from the chants of the Mass. Three sections (the second Kyrie, ‘Cum Sancto Spiritu’, the second ‘Osanna’), based on the plainchant phrase ‘et requiescamus in pace’, were incorporated into Isaac’s motet Quis dabit capiti meo aquam? on the death of Lorenzo de’ Medici; probably both the mass and the motet were intended for the funeral ceremonies. A mass for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was performed at Innsbruck on 26 September 1503 in a meeting of the Imperial and Burgundian chapels; this may have been Isaac’s six-voice Missa ‘Virgo prudentissima’, which is given the rubric ‘de assumptione beate marie virginis’ in a Burgundian choirbook (

B-Br 6428). Isaac’s mass is related neither to his own four- and six-voice motets nor to Josquin’s similarly titled O Virgo prudentissima (on a poem by Poliziano). Likewise, Isaac’s mass ‘Argentum et aurum’ shares only its cantus firmus with his motet, probably composed earlier. Staehelin (1977) identified a musical antecedent for the Missa ‘Misericordias Domini’ in the anonymous frottola In focho, in focho la mia vita passa, suggesting that Isaac’s intermediate model was a lost motet by Mouton, based on the frottola. The only demonstrable case in which Isaac elaborated one of his own shorter works into a mass is the Missa ‘La mi la sol’, based on his ‘motet’ composed in Ferrara in 1502.

Isaac employed all the formal and technical devices for which the Franco-Flemish mass composers of his generation are celebrated. Manipulation of the cantus firmus is rare: retrograde occurs in the second ‘Osanna’ of ‘Argentum et aurum’ and in the ‘Et incarnatus’ of ‘T’meiskin was jonck’; a notable example of mensural artifice is seen at the beginning of ‘Argentum et aurum’, where all the voices sing the same melody at different levels of duration in exclusively dotted notes. Isaac used canon less frequently than Josquin (see the masses ‘Comme femme’, ‘Comment poit avoir joie’ and elsewhere), but he often conducted the cantus firmus in canon. ‘Parody’ (borrowing several voices simultaneously from a polyphonic model), paraphrase, migration of the cantus firmus between the voices and ostinato are frequently found. Isaac avoided large-scale constructive devices, but achieved coherence through modal unity and the pervasive use of borrowed material. The texture of his counterpoint varies greatly: imitative writing in three or four voices predominates, but may be coordinated with ostinato or, very often, a ‘pedal-point’ texture with the cantus firmus in long notes. A simple chordal declamation or rapid parlando is occasionally found in the early masses, but on the whole there is more syllabic word-setting in the later works. Like Obrecht, Isaac favoured repetitive and sequential passages, which might result in static harmonies when the motivic substance is triadic as in the masses ‘Comment poit avoir joie’, ‘Argentum et aurum’ and ‘Et trop penser’. The textures of the last two are playfully ornamented and patterned; many sections resemble textless ‘instrumental’ fantasias. In the Missa ‘La mi la sol’ an eight-note ostinato is treated with great melodic versatility and modal coherence.

Isaac’s masses, to a significantly greater extent than those of Josquin or Obrecht, were used as quarries for secular music-making. Three-voice sections in particular circulated widely, sometimes appearing with their original titles (e.g. the ‘Benedictus’ from Missa‘Quant j’ay au cueur’ or the Christe from ‘Chargé de deul’), sometimes with new words or with no words at all. Isaac may have deliberately encouraged secular use of these mass sections by composing them in a style resembling that of the chanson. The song settings T’meiskin was jonck and Een vrolic wesen were mistakenly ascribed to Isaac, apparently because he wrote masses based on them, while one of his settings of Fortuna desperata was labelled ‘Sanctus’ as if it had been extracted from a mass on that tune. In the Missa ‘La Spagna’, the three-voice second Agnus Dei gives the borrowed melody complete in the bassus, all in perfect longs; a separate copy in an early Italian source has been regarded as the model for the mass, though such a strict technique would be atypical for a self-contained composition. Some masses employed an extremely simple mode of recomposition: the six-voice Missa ‘Wolauff Gesell’ largely re-uses the counterpoint of the four-voice Missa ‘Comment poit avoir joie’ on the same tune, and the ‘motet’ La mi la sol is incorporated en bloc into the Credo of the mass of that name.

During his Habsburg service from 1496, Isaac contributed largely to the genre of mass cycles based on the corresponding chants of the Ordinary of the Mass, composed for particular categories of feasts such as apostles, the Virgin Mary and so on. Most of the plainsong melodies used by Isaac are found in the printed Graduale pataviense (Vienna, 1511), a source approximating the usage of the Imperial chapel (see §2(ii) below). Although individual mass sections based on the chant of the Ordinary were as common in central Europe around 1450–90 as they had been in England and France somewhat earlier, few composers before 1500 wrote complete cycles (Martini, Missae dominicalis and ferialis; Urrede (Wreede), Missa de Beata Virgine; La Rue, Missae de Beata Virgine, ferialis, paschalis and pro defunctis; Agricola, Missa paschalis on ‘German’ chants). With at least 20 cyclic settings, Isaac monumentalized a regional tradition formerly with little prestige and elaborated it in the most modern styles.

Except for the Missa ferialis, all Isaac’s plainchant masses were designed for alternatim performance: alternate verses were composed in vocal polyphony, leaving the others to be chanted or played on the organ. In one source Isaac’s works are called ‘Missae ad organum’, and there is evidence that alternation between vocal polyphony and organ versets was the Imperial chapel’s practice (see Mahrt), which Maximilian may have brought from Flanders. It appears that six-voice alternatim masses were among the first works Isaac composed for Maximilian’s chapel. A chapel choirbook copied about 1510 (

D-Mbs 31) preserves the six-voice Missae solemnis, de Beata Virgine and de apostolis together with the six-voice cantus-firmus mass ‘Virgo prudentissima’. A six-voice alternatim Missa paschalis, in a somewhat different and possibly earlier style, occurs in Netherlandish and central-German sources. Isaac also composed five-voice cycles for the same four feasts as well as for martyrs, confessors and virgins. These seven masses survive uniquely in an important choirbook of the Bavarian ducal chapel (

D-Mbs 3), copied by Ludwig Senfl from Imperial exemplars. A further five-voice Missa de Beata Virgine is independent from the others; its plainchants for the Kyrie and Gloria are found only in graduals from Augsburg and Basle.

Isaac composed four-voice alternatim Missae solemnis, paschalis, de Beata Virgine, de apostolis, de martyribus and de confessoribus, probably all later works. Together with the through-composed Missa ferialis, they appear as a set in several sources. These works could be used by smaller choirs for many ritual occasions and circulated much more widely than the five- and six-voice cycles. Five of the four-voice masses (all but the Missae de Beata Virgine and ferialis) were printed in the third volume of the Choralis Constantinus (1555), with an additional alternatim Credo for all but the Missa de confessoribus. A distinct alternatim Missa paschalis ad organum is scored for lower ranges and may have served a special purpose. A doubtful four-voice Missa de Beata Virgine incorporates material from the authentic six-voice cycle, but its Sanctus and Agnus Dei are probably by a different hand. Isaac also composed a three-voice Missa de Beata Virgine, but it is doubtful whether the existing work is by him or Senfl.

A Bavarian chapel manuscript (D-Mbs 53) presents 13 four-voice plainchant-based Credos by Isaac, which complement the four-voice alternatim masses. Their style is often surprisingly simple, perhaps reflecting popular appreciation of the chants. Only the twelfth of these Credos is an early work (?c1480-90), based on a number of borrowed chants all connected with feasts of the clergy and Eastertide processions.

Isaac’s alternatim mass settings display a vast musical panorama of Mass plainchant. All the cantus-firmus procedures of the time are present, although paraphrase, migration, transposition and ornamentation predominate over scaffolding or canon techniques. The chant melody often appears in imitation between two voices, especially in the six-voice works. The modes, ranges and melodic styles of the plainchant influence the polyphonic settings and their degree of musical unity. Skilful organ versets based on the alternate verses would have highlighted Isaac’s own contribution. The forms of his alternatim masses are episodic and narrative – sometimes epigrammatical in the shorter verses – rather than architectural.

(ii) The Proper of the Mass.

Reinhard Strohm

Polyphonic settings of the Proper of the Mass stand at the very beginning of Western music-writing (Musica enchiriadis) and are among the earliest compositions in fixed rhythm (Notre-Dame organa). It is probable, however, that in most churches such items were sung in improvised counterpoint. Some repertories seem to have been completely lost, such as the Mass Propers in ‘discant’ prescribed for the Ste Chapelle of Bourges in 1405. But hundreds of 15th-century Proper settings survive, either in isolation (mostly introits and sequences) or in cycles combining some selection among introit, gradual, alleluia, sequence, tract, offertory and communion. In some cases such Proper cycles were combined with polyphonic Ordinary cycles to form ‘plenary cycles’ or Missae plenae, such as those of Reginaldus Libert or Du Fay. By the late 1430s the Habsburg chapels were receiving many such settings from Western Europe, and individual items and cycles began to appear increasingly in Central European sources like Trent MS 88 (I-TRmp, c1460), which contains three-voice Proper cycles for weekly votive Masses and high feasts, some by Du Fay but others of Austrian and Italian origin. The Imperial chapel under Friedrich III (d 1493) probably used polyphonic introits and sequences regularly.

Isaac wrote settings of the Proper well before 1508: for example, his four-voice sequence Sanctissimae Virginis survives in an autograph datable about 1500 (D-B 40021). 11 introits and two sequences for six voices, appropriate to the highest feast-days of the Imperial ritual, probably originated alongside the six-voice alternatim masses and may have been intended for Imperial ceremonial occasions around 1503–8. Other individual settings seem to have been composed for Augsburg and other centres.

The resolution of the cathedral chapter of Konstanz on 14 April 1508 to commission ‘several Officia [Proper cycles] for the highest feast-days’ from Isaac was mediated by Georg Slatkonia, master of the Imperial chapel. Isaac completed the requested works (and perhaps more) by November 1509. Pätzig has shown that the music composed for the Konstanz commission comprised only the 25 cycles printed in the second volume of the Choralis Constantinus (1555); he suggests that the 48 cycles in the first volume and the 25 in the third were composed for the Imperial chapel, since they correspond to the appropriate items in the Graduale pataviense of 1511. It has been objected that the printed gradual does not always exactly match Isaac’s text or cantus-firmus melody, but it is a source representing the liturgy of Vienna Cathedral rather than that of the more eclectic Imperial chapel.

Since the cycles in the first volume of the Choralis Constantinus provide music only for Sundays throughout the year, but not for feast-days, they must have been conceived as part of a larger scheme, probably about 1505–7. The most important feasts are still omitted from the third volume; these were probably provided for by the six-voice Proper items mentioned above. The Konstanz cycles in the second volume were probably ill-suited to the Imperial chapel: they differ in scoring and cleffing, and only three individual sections from the second volume were re-used in the first. Throughout the Choralis Constantinus the settings are usually for four voices. In the first two volumes the plainchant intonation is normally in the discantus, but in the third it is in the bassus. The cycles typically consist of polyphonic settings of the introit (without ‘Gloria Patri’), alleluia or tract, sequence (if present) and communion, never of the gradual or offertory.

The last part of Isaac’s life seems to have been continually occupied with the composition of Proper cycles, but the fragmentary nature of the third volume of the Choralis Constantinus suggests that this labour remained uncompleted. Isaac’s pupil Ludwig Senfl, a member of the Imperial establishment from 1508, collected and copied much of the music later published in the first and third volumes of the Choralis Constantinus (see Bente). He seems not to have had access to the cycles numbered 1–25 in the work-list (might they have been composed before 1508?), but only to numbers 26–42 from the first volume. In 1531 Senfl assembled many of the cycles later published in the third volume, together with many of his own, into four choirbooks of the Bavarian chapel (D-Mbs 35–8), giving them the title En opus musicum festorum dierum and apparently with a view to publication. Evidently this project was superseded by that of printing a much larger collection, called the Choralis Constantinus, which was announced in 1537 by the Nuremberg editor Hans Ott (in his preface to RISM 1537¹) who had obtained much of the material from the Munich chapel. Senfl may have edited the collection; certainly he provided the introit and gradual for the first cycle in the third volume, and completed the last item, the sequence for St Ursula Virginalis turma sexus, which Isaac had died in the midst of composing. The publication did not take place until after the deaths of both Ott and Senfl; the first volume appeared in 1550 from the press of Ott’s usual printer Formschneider on behalf of Ott’s widow. Formschneider printed the second and third volumes in 1555 at the expense of the Augsburg merchant Georg Willer, who dedicated them to Hans Jacob Fugger.

The monumental scale of the Choralis Constantinus reflects the growing wealth and prestige of courtly musical institutions, which regularly furnished themselves with the most refined and up-to-date music. Had it been completed, Isaac’s project for the Imperial chapel would have provided elaborate polyphonic Propers for about 100 days of the year. It forms a parallel to the literary and pictorial monuments Maximilian was commissioning about this time to exalt his reputation: the Weisskunig, Teuerdank and Triumphzug. The heraldic and humanistic prestige of these works is matched by the dignity of the ancestral ritual and plainchant in Isaac’s cycle of cycles. Though smaller in scale, the music for Konstanz Cathedral was an analogous undertaking.

Isaac is not in any obvious sense a ‘monumental’ composer. The immense task entrusted to him alone rather than a team of musicians was probably made easier by excellent pay and good working conditions; many settings perhaps originated in his Florentine home and were first tried out by Italian singers. His solutions to the task of clothing the chant in polyphony demonstrate his stunning versatility in many idioms of counterpoint, sonority, word-setting and musical structure; his readiness to be inspired by the melody and words of the plainsong and his emphasis on the immediate sounding moment rather than underlying hidden structures. Virtually no music is reused literally, even where the chant melodies are identical or similar; even though the counterpoint may be formulaic, the cantus firmus may take a unique shape each time. The characteristics of the divers plainsong genres are often given polyphonic analogues: long, melismatic tract sections in reduced scoring, compact introit verses, declamatory and rhythmically energetic sequence verses. The greatest mensural and textural variety is to be found in the multisectional sequence settings, in which the number of voices varies between two and six. The flexibility of cantus-firmus technique exceeds even that of the alternatim masses. The chant melodies may be set out in long note-values or as declamatory points of imitation, but they usually soon merge into a web of similar melodies. Individual motifs of the cantus firmus, such as pitch repetitions or large leaps, are often taken up in the counterpoint to amplify their dramatic force. Strict canon and mensural complexity are more frequent than in the alternatim masses, especially in the music for Konstanz Cathedral. Above all, Isaac responded to the individuality of his texts and their rhetorical structures, and many cases of text-illustration and modal expressivity can be found. Triple-metre proportional sections are often illustrative, or joyful and dance-like. Occasionally Isaac quoted extraneous tunes (e.g. in cycle no.54 for Easter the cantio Christus surrexit, the antiphon Regina caeli and the sequence Victimae paschali laudes). The three volumes of the Choralis Constantinus vary little in style, although in the third volume, where the chanted intonations are consistently in the bassus, the cantus firmus is more often at the bottom of the texture and simpler in rhythm.

Besides Konstanz, Vienna and Munich, Isaac’s Proper cycles were cultivated in the chapels of Saxony, Württemberg and the Palatinate, and they were expanded by similar compositions by other composers such as Sixt Dietrich and Clemens Hör. Excerpts were quoted by the theorists Sebald Heyden and Heinrich Glarean. Besides Senfl, another pupil of Isaac’s, Adam Rener, began to compose similar cycles for the Saxon chapel at Torgau after 1507. Although the Choralis Constantinus probably had no influence on Francesco Layolle’s composition of the Lyons Contrapunctus (1528), it may have a bearing on Corteccia’s cycles for Florence in the 1540s. The Wittenberg printer Georg Rhau published two collections of Proper cycles by a wider circle of composers in 1539 and 1545, for use in the Lutheran service; though the Imperial and Catholic implications of Isaac’s project were no longer relevant to many of its purchasers, the publication of the Choralis Constantinus in the 1550s demonstrates the continuing authority of his achievement.

(iii) Motets.

Emma Kempson

Over 50 motets by Isaac are known to survive in a wide variety of manuscript and printed sources. Their creation covered most of his career, and they correspondingly display a great diversity of styles. Some are firmly rooted in the Franco-Flemish tradition, some are Italianate, and some approach the German tradition exemplified by his music for the Proper of the Mass. Isaac’s current reputation is not so dependent on his motets as, for example, Josquin’s; no comprehensive modern edition has yet appeared, and there are serious problems of dating and attribution.

The genre of the motet in Isaac’s time was rather loosely defined. The vast majority of motets were composed to Latin texts, but they might be secular or religious, public or intimate, and might be performed with or without instruments. Aspects of function, style and form distinguish the motet, on the one hand, from works for performance in the liturgy such as settings of the Proper of the Mass, hymns or the Magnificat, and on the other from songs, so that we can distinguish, for example, sequence motets not for liturgical performance (e.g. Inviolata), secular motets (e.g. Quid retribuam tibi) and sacred songs (e.g. Christ ist erstanden). Most of Isaac’s motets are settings of plainchant where the texts of the free voices and the cantus firmus are the same (Choralbearbeitungen); others are based on borrowed tenors with different words, and some have no cantus firmus at all. Some textless works resemble motets more than songs and will be included here.

The largest group of Isaac’s motets is that in which the cantus firmus gives its words to the motet as a whole. By far the most frequently employed chant genre is the antiphon; responsories, sequences, hymns and psalms also occur. In what seem to be his three earliest surviving works (copied as a group c1476 in the Innsbruck manuscript

Mbs 3154), Isaac constructed the entire cantus firmus as a scaffold and stated it more than once. In Argentum et aurum, the chant melody proceeds in equal breves and migrates from the discantus to the bassus and finally to the tenor. In Ecce sacerdos magnus, the cantus firmus is given in canon, first between the upper pair of voices and then between the lower pair; each phrase ends with pervading imitation of the chant; Inviolata, integra et casta es is similar. Also an early work is Salve regina (i), where the cantus-firmus proceeds in equal semibreves but is carefully ligated so that the antiphon can be sung in its usual manner, even when reading it from the chant notation. This ‘monorhythmic’ technique is known in other chant settings of the time.

Most of Isaac’s chant-based motets, however, transform the plainsong into a flexible mensural melody through a sensitive melodic and rhythmic elaboration. The chant may be in the discantus, the tenor, or occasionally in the bassus. In the antiphon motets Gaude Dei genitrix and Sancta Maria Virgo the plainsong migrates through the texture. Often, the cantus firmus is assigned to a pair of voices, as in the responsory settings Accessit ad pedes, Quae est ista and Discubuit Jesus, where it is imitated between discantus and tenor, or in the monumental five-voice Regina caeli, in which it appears in canon between the two lowest voices and is paraphrased in the others. The works mentioned are transmitted chiefly in relatively late German sources; some of the chant melodies show Central-European peculiarities. A different approach was taken in Salve regina (ii): each of its ten sections opens with references to the antiphon melody but quickly dissolves into florid counterpoint with repetitive and patterned textures. The section ‘Ad te clamamus’ circulated widely in Italy after 1490 as a separate piece under various titles.

A number of Isaac’s plainchant motets are divided into two or three sections or show other characteristics of the motet tradition such as syllabic, chordal declamation, fermata chords or changes of texture to emphasize textual divisions. The Marian antiphon settings Alma redemptoris mater, Ave regina caelorum, Ave sanctissima Maria, Anima mea liquefact est and Tota pulchra es belong in this group. In most of these motets the chant is loosely paraphrased and may appear in any voice. A striking texture is found in Tota pulchra es, in the Phrygian mode with a low tessitura (E-c″); at the beginning of the second section, ‘Flores apparuerunt’, the altus sings a long, ornamented melody against sustained notes in the outer voices. Pervading imitation is infrequent in Isaac’s motets, but it characterizes the three-section antiphon motets Ave sanctissima Maria and Anima mea liquefacta est as well as a few other Italianate works. Longer biblical texts, for which Isaac paraphrased the recitation tones, are set in the psalm motets Quid retribuam Domino and In convertendo, the psalm compilation Illumina oculos meos and the Oratio Jeremiae prophetae. Several works have unidentified cantus firmi, most notably Sub tuum praesidium (composed in 1505 for the Konstanz organist Martin Vogelmayer), O Maria, mater Christi, Hodie societies and Parce, Domine, which employs the same unknown melody as Obrecht’s setting. Recordare Jesu Christe seems to be a Protestant contrafactum of the responsary Recordare virgo mater (with trope, ‘Ab hoc familia’), of which the chant is also used in Isaac’s setting.

Isaac’s tenor motets employ a borrowed cantus firmus whose text is distinct from that of the other voices; they are usually laid out in two sections of contrasting mensuration. Angeli, archangeli/Comme femme (for six voices) and O decus Ecclesiae (for four) are early works. The former, with its climactic form, resembles the paradigmatic five-voice tenor motets of Johannes Regis, with which it is found in the Chigi Codex (I-Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234); it combines a compilation of antiphon texts for All Saints with the tenor of Binchois’ chanson. The incipit of O decus Ecclesiae (an antiphon for St Dominic; no further text is preserved) is probably not original; the tenor is an ascending and descending hexachordal scale, entirely in breves, resembling examples in pedagogical texts. Alternatively it might have been intended as a heraldic composition. Palle, palle is a similar textless work composed over a tenor ostinato symbolizing the Medici coat of arms (see Atlas, 1974). The occasion for which it was written is uncertain (though it must be dated before 1494, by which time it had been copied into the chansonnier I-Rvat C.G.XIII.27), but it can be linked to a wider tradition of symbolic-heraldic Wappenmotetten (see Staehelin, 1997). The hexachordal subject or fantasia La mi la sol, la sol la mi was the basis of the textless motet of that title, composed in two days in Ferrara in 1502. Presented as a progressively accelerating ostinato in the tenor, the subject also enters the free voices and gives a Phrygian cast to the modal sonority.

Some of Isaac’s tenor motets were composed for specific occasions. The six-voice Virgo prudentissima seems to have been composed in 1507, when Maximilian was preparing for his forthcoming coronation as Emperor, and it may have been performed at the diet of Konstanz. The free voices sing a poem in hexameters invoking the Virgin and archangels on the ruler’s behalf in the name of the Imperial rector cappellae Georg Slatkonia; the cantus firmus in the second altus is an antiphon that begins with the same words. Optime divino/Da pacem/Sacerdos et pontifex was composed to celebrate the meeting of Cardinal Matthäus Lang and Pope Leo X in December 1513. The primary text refers to the singers of the Imperial chapel, and in each of the two sections the two cantus firmi are stated simultaneously.

Many of Isaac’s motets without cantus firmus are also occasional compositions. Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?, the funeral motet for Lorenzo de’ Medici (d 1492), has been mentioned above; Poliziano’s words allude to a pslam text. The motet has no cantus firmus apart from the transposing ostinato ‘et requiescamus in pace’ adapted from the Missa ‘Salva nos’. Another humanistic funerary epigram, perhaps for the composer Alexander Agricola (d 1506), provides the words for Nil prosunt lacrimae. Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia uses a humanistic poem that incorporates some liturgical words (e.g., its opening is that of a sequence); like Virgo prudentissima, it was composed as an exhortation to the diet of Konstanz in 1507 and may have been performed at its opening on Whitsunday. Quid retribuam tibi, O Leo, Isaac’s thanksgiving to Leo X (c1514), is intimately scored for three voices. The second section, ‘Argentum et aurum non habeo’, seems to allude in both words and music to Isaac’s mass and motet on this antiphon and to assert his poverty.

The text of Quis dabit pacem populo timenti? consists of 12 lines from Seneca’s tragedy Hercules Oetaeus. This quotation, set with processional splendour, functions as a new reference to authority – classical rather than contemporary. The motets Prophetarum maxime, a prayer to St John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence and its baptistery, and Salve Virgo sanctissima, a devotional motet apparently influenced by the idiom of the lauda, are similar in style. The three-voice motets Gratias refero tibi and Gentile spiritus are transmitted with incipits only, and their texts cannot be identified, while the words to the four-voice Sive vivamus (= Ave regina caelorum) are clearly contrafacta. The textures and techniques of all three are comparable to some ‘songs without words’ (see below), but their forms ally them to the motets.

(iv) Songs.

Reinhard Strohm

Isaac’s songs participate in more than one tradition, reflecting his eventful career and many skills. Songs were distinguished from other genres of the time by their normal use of strict repetitive forms and vernacular language, but they might be sacred as well as secular, or they might combine vernacular song-texts and forms with plainchant cantus firmi. Textless performance by voices or instruments was always an option (as indeed it was for mass sections and motets), and some songs were conceived from the outset without words. Isaac embraced all of these possibilities. Three main stylistic principles inform his songs, sometimes supporting one another and sometimes conflicting: the cantus-firmus principle, elaborating a pre-existing melodic pattern without much regard to the words; the principle of word-orientated setting of poetry; the principle of ostinato or sequential repetition and virtuoso ornamentation. (The last has often been identified as an ‘instrumental’ idiom, but this probably underestimates the vocal culture of Isaac’s time.)

Many of Isaac’s 35 or so settings of French or Dutch words are derivative of pre-existing chansons. The re-use of individual voices (discantus or tenor) of well-known songs predominates, often with added technical twists such as dual-speed rhythms and ostinatos as in Le serviteur, Tart ara and J’ay pris amours. Helas, que devera is a reworking of the entire polyphonic texture of Caron’s rondeau. The anonymous Fortuna desperata, which although it has an Italian text is analogous in status to a French rondeau, was employed by Isaac five or six times as a basis for experimentation with modal transposition or combination with other tunes (e.g. the litany formula Sancte Petre). Other chansons derive from the repertoire of popularizing monophonic songs known as chansons rustiques. The original chansons may have ABA or refrain forms, though these may be obscured by the counterpoint of the polyphonic setting. Isaac followed Busnoys and Caron in blending the repetitive patter characteristic of the chanson rustique with ostinato accompaniment. In Je suys malcontent (= Serviteur suis) he used a tune also set by Martini in O intemerata (= Der newe pawir schwantcz), which was probably French in origin. En l’ombre d’ung buissonet/Une musque de Biscaye/Sustinuimus pacem is a tour de force of combination. En l’ombre and Maudit soyt had their chanson rustique tunes broken into two parts in the manner of motets, and in the latter case the sections are presented in revese order.

In Florence, where many of Isaac’s French songs originated, he also contributed to local song traditions. A la battaglia, a mildly pictorial battle-piece, was sung in 1487 with a political text referring to Florentine military campaigns, but it may also have been played in a Sacra rappresentazione of 1489. Nè più bella is a canto carnascialesco performed by three goddesses riding a float in the Carnival pageants (other such songs by Isaac are lost). Civic, theatrical or processional use is possible for Hor’e di maggio, La morra and various textless pieces; the quodlibet setting of Florentine popular songs, Donna, di dentro, is only implicitly theatrical. Morte che fai (if authentic), on a strambotto by Serafino dall’Aquila, would be Isaac’s only contribution to a Neapolitan courtly idiom. Isaac’s other Italian songs are more intimate, some using the barzelletta poetry of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s circle. They are simpler in style than the French songs, often homophonic but not always observing Italian word-accents. These pieces inhabit an artistic world somewhere between the Florentine civic songs, the North Italian courtly (frottola) repertories and the earliest madrigals.

Isaac’s German songs are conventionally categorized as ‘Tenorlieder’, although the use of a pre-existent melody in the tenor was widespread throughout Europe. They fall roughly into two groups. The popular song arrangements are comparable to their French counterparts, using more artifice than any of the Italian-texted songs. The kaleidoscopic ostinato textures, pervasive imitations and complex forms of Es wolt ein Meydlein, Greiner, Zancker or Mein Müterlein revive the spirit of Busnoys’ chansons rustiques. The cantus-firmus settings In meinem Sinn and Ain frewlich Wesen (really Flemish songs with Germanized titles) also belong in this group, as do the Leise settings Christ ist erstanden and In Gottes Namen; an autograph copy of the latter survives (in D-B 40021). Simpler approaches characterize the devotional hymns Süsser Vater and Maria Junckfrow (stylistically related to the famous Maria zart).

The second group comprises settings of courtly love songs (Hofweisen), a genre that was rapidly becoming fashionable around 1500. The only contemporary with a similar formative influence on it was Paul Hofhaimer. Isaac’s settings are usually in four voices; they have dense textures with few rests and brief strettos rather than stretched-out imitation. All the voices may be texted; melismatic passages alternate with chordal (although not always simultaneous) declamation. The songs are usually in the old refrain form AA′B (ballade, Kanzonenstrophe, ‘bar form’), unlike French or Italian courtly songs of the time. The elegiac tone of the poems, their predictable scansion and the musical phrase structures rather resemble the style of the earliest Italian madrigals. Some pieces have detachable melodies in the tenor, which may also have been used by other composers (e.g. Ich stund an einem Morgen).

Probably Isaac’s best-known German songs, the two settings of Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen (i and ii), have problematic aspects. The poetic form AABCCB, which so memorably determines the shape of the melody, is neither a popular scheme nor a Kanzonenstrophe. Staehelin (1989) suggests that a pre-existent Hofweise – perhaps beginning ‘Zurück muss ich dich lassen’ – was used, but no copy of the melody from before Isaac’s time is known. Isaac’s setting (i), with the melody in the discantus and an expressive but rhythmically simple harmonization, resembles his Italian songs and many mass sections; its earliest sources date from the 1530s. In setting (ii), first found in the 1520s, tenor and altus sing the melody in canon, as is more usual in German songs. The bassus of a four-voice setting, of uncertain authorship, survives as well from about 1510. Who composed the melody itself? Stylistic analogies connect it with the Italian lauda or frottola idioms, with some Hofweisen, and with certain French songs such as Helas que devera or Comment poit avoir joye. The opening rhythm is a familiar cliché in Franco-Italian songs from Florence, some of them by Isaac himself. For these reasons, Isaac seems to be the composer of the melody and at least of its Italianate setting (i), whereas the canonic setting (ii) and the anonymous bassus fragment might be Germanized, more contrapuntal adaptations.

Isaac’s manner of handling pre-existing melodies was much imitated by the next generation of German composers, and a number of his lieder, motets and mass sections circulated widely and were intabulated by German organists and lutenists throughout the 16th century. For these reasons, as well as on account of delayed transmission (e.g. the Nuremberg anthologies, RISM 153927 and 154420, with suspiciously many new ascriptions to Isaac), there are graver problems of authenticity among Isaac’s German songs than in any other genre he cultivated. There are also problems of national genre, such as occur when German sources give songs without complete texts, implying the ad hoc underlay of German poetry to an originally foreign song. For example, Ach, hertzigs K., Zart liepste Frucht (incipits only), Al mein Mut (text formally irregular) and Erst weis ich (whose text may have been added by Hofhaimer) may all have been originally French rondeaux.

Many Italian and German sources transmit music of all kinds without text, allowing for the substitution of local verse in this way. Songs, motets and mass sections might also be performed without words, either by voices (vocalizing or solmizing) or instruments. Travelling instrumentalists were widely involved in the transmission of vocal pieces by Isaac, trading them as ‘songs without words’ (Edwards, 1981). Also generic titling also occurs: i.e., the use of well-worn or generic title such as ‘Helas’, ‘Martinella’ or simply ‘Carmen’ to denote a ‘piece without words’. Isaac also seems to have conceived a number of works as textless compositions from the start, usually abandoning the characteristic song forms. La morra (named after a popular game) and Martinella (whose name comes from an analogous composition by Johannes Martini) are independent works in chanson style with Italian names. Der Hundt, which also quotes a German popular song, is linked with a group of pieces bearing animal names, collected for instrumental performance, in the Glogau manuscript. Some pieces circulated without title in Italian manuscripts and in German sources were given the generic designation Carmen (‘song’). Undoubtedly the strangest of Isaac’s wordless songs is La la hö hö, with its motet-like two-section form and enigmatic title. It turns out to be based on a dervish song (see Staehelin, 1991), perhaps heard in Vienna during a Turkish diplomatic visit. Isaac elaborated the brief tune as a migrating ostinato, similarly to his procedure with many a Western popular tune, for instance the pilgrims’ song In Gottes Namen faren wir; indeed, the two songs share a comparable religious imagery, connecting bodily motion (dancing in La la hö hö, marching in In Gottes Namen) with the praise of the Almighty.

3. Significance and reception.

Reinhard Strohm

In the group of North European composers who were his contemporaries – Josquin des Prez, Jacob Obrecht, Alexander Agricola, Pierre de la Rue, Gaspar van Weerbeke – Isaac’s reputation is second only to that of Josquin, a modern ranking seemingly confirmed by the dissemination of his works in surviving manuscript copies. His astonishing productivity and creative flexibility have already been mentioned; he is consistently documented in the role of a ‘composer’ and must have projected himself as such, showing the opinion that all musicians of his time were essentially performers to be exaggerated. Isaac is the earliest composer by whom we have ascertained musical autographs. His success in setting a dervish song in four-part polyphony does not necessarily mean that he had intercultural interests, but suggests that he had a perceptive ear for unusual performances and rituals. In his music, episodic form and engaging spontaneity contrast with the grand gestures of full-voiced ceremony. His attachment to ecclesiastical plainchant seems incongruous with the fact that he, unusually, was a married layman who did not have to sing the offices in church. His career is more memorable than those of many contemporaries; his personal association with two of the greatest Renaissance patrons, his music on humanist texts and his voluntary choice of Florence as his permanent home place him at the centre of the so-called musical Renaissance. Isaac is unique, furthermore, in that he influenced not only the Franco-Flemish and Italian musical traditions, but also the Central European one (thus anticipating Lassus). As if in gratitude, German-speaking musicians of several centuries (particularly the 19th) have cherished him as the composer of Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen (which, contrafacted as O Welt, ich muss dich lassen, had been naturalized as a Lutheran chorale and set by J.S. Bach); at the same time, they searched feverishly for the presumed German folksong behind the famous setting. A few Latin-texted works, and the name rather than the music of the Choralis Constantinus, have been the only other tokens of the composer’s almost mythical image among Germans.

The historical foundation for this reception was the 16th-century acceptance of the Catholic polyphonic repertories that Isaac dominated in his lifetime by the German-speaking courts (Catholic and Protestant) and by the churches and schools of the Lutheran Reformation, a process in which Isaac’s followers (such as Ludwig Senfl) and admirers (such as Henrich Glarean) were instrumental. The Romantics were able to regard Isaac almost as a ‘national’ forerunner of Bach. Romanticism and Austro-German nationalism motivated his critical appraisal by Guido Adler’s Viennese circle in the 1890s, resulting, for example, in Anton von Webern’s critical edition of the second volume of the Choralis Constantinus (Vienna, 1909), which he prefaced with a remarkable essay on Isaac’s counterpoint. After the Nazis had exploited Isaac’s music (and banished Webern’s), he has not yet found his proper place again in the international circuit, although Anglo-American as well as Swiss, German and Austrian musicologists and performers have knit together some of the threads. Isaac’s Missa ‘La mi la sol’ was copied in (together with much Spanish music) Guatemala in the 16th century (

US-BLl Guatemala music 4), which highlights not only the breadth of his fame but also his link with Habsburg colonialism. The fact that the manuscript is now in the possession of a library in the USA continues this historical pattern.

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Missa ‘Chargé de deul’, 4vv, L vi, F

Missa ‘Comme femme desconfortee’, 4vv, L vi

Missa ‘Comment poit avoir joie’ [= ‘Wohlauf Gesell, von hinnen’], 4vv, L vi, F

Missa ‘Een vrolic wesen’, 4vv, L vi

Missa ‘Et trop penser’, 4vv, L vi; ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lxxvi (1990)

Missa ‘J’ay pris amours’, lost, cited in 1490

Missa ‘Je ne fays’, lost

Missa ‘La mi la sol’ [= ‘O praeclara’], 4vv, S ii

Missa ‘La Spagna’, 4vv, L vii, F

Missa ‘Misericordias Domini’, 4vv, ed. in Zanovello (2005), San ed. in Reese (1974)

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Missa ‘Wolauff Gesell, von hinnen [= ‘Comment peut avoir joie’], 6vv, L viii, ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lxxxiii (1996)

Sanctus ‘Fortuna desperata’, 4vv, see SONGS, Fortuna desperata

**Cycles and movements based on Mass Ordinary chants**

Missa de apostolis [=‘Magne Deus’], 4vv, L iv, C

Missa de apostolis, 5vv, L iii

Missa de apostolis, 6vv, L i

Missa de Beata Virgine, 4vv (i), L iv, S i

Missa de Beata Virgine, 5vv (i), L ii, S i

Missa de Beata Virgine, 5vv (ii), L ii, S i

Missa de Beata Virgine, 6vv, L i, S i

Missa de Beata Virgine, lost

Missa de confessoribus, 4vv, L iv, C

Missa de confessoribus, 5vv, L iii

Missa ferialis, 4vv, (Ky, San, Ag only), L iv

Missa de martyribus, 4vv, L iv, C

Missa de martyribus, 5vv, L iii

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Missa solemnis, 4vv, L iv, C

Missa solemnis, 5vv, L ii

Missa solemnis, 6vv, L i

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Tanto tempore, 84; Te decet, 10; Te martyrum, 76; Terribilis est, 67; Tollite hostias, 20; Tu es Petrus, 60, 89; Tu es vas, 90; Tu mandasti, 21; Tu puer, 58, 87

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**Other settings of the proper of the mass**

Edition: Heinrich Isaac: Introiten, ed. M. Just, Cw, lxxi (1960), cxix (1973) [J]

Benedicta semper/Pater filius, seq, 6vv; Benedicta sit/sancta Trinitas, int, 6vv, J; Cibavit eos/ex adipe, int, 6vv, J; Ecce/advenit dominator, int, 6vv, J; Puer natus est nobis/et filius, int, 6vv, J; Resurrexi et adhuc/tecum sum, int, 6vv, J; Rorate/coeli desuper, int, 6vv, J; Salve/sancta parens, int, 6vv, J; Spiritus Domini/replevit orbem, int, 6vv, J; Suscepimus/Deus misericordiam, int, 6vv, J; Victimae paschali/Agnus redemit, seq, 6vv; Viri Galilaei/quid admiramini, int, 6vv, J; Vultum tuum/deprecabuntur, int, 6vv, J

Beatus vir qui timet, tr, 4vv; Benedicta sit/sancta Trinitas, int, 4vv; Botrus Cypri reflorescit, seq, 4vv; Christus resurgens, all, 4vv; Cibavit eos/ ex adipe, 4 vv, ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lxxxii (1994)

Gaude Maria Virgo, tr, 2vv; Gaude Maria Virgo, tr, 4vv; Psallat Ecclesia/Haec domus, seq, 5vv; Hic est discipulus, all, 4vv; Johannes Jesu Christo/Tu eius amore, seq, 4vv; Laetabitur iustus/in Domino, comm, 4vv; Loquebar/de testimoniis, int, 4vv, ed. in PÄMw, xvi (1888/R)

O Narcisse fons eloquio, seq, 4vv; O Narcisse promisisse/Sed nunc urbem Augustinam, seq, 4vv; Pascha nostrum/immolatus est, comm, ?4vv, inc.; Sanctissimae virginis/Venerantes hac diem, seq, 4vv, ed. in Owens (1994), ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lxxviii (1991)

Suscepimus/Deus misericordiam, int, 4vv; Udalrici benedici Christi regis, seq, 4vv; Venite ad me omnes, all, 4vv; Venite/benedicti Patris mei, int, 4vv; Viri Galilaei/quid admiramini, int, 4vv, ed. in RhauM, viii (1988)

Vultum tuum/deprecabuntur, int, 4vv

**Motets**

Songs and textless works

Editions

Heinrich Isaac: Weltliche Werke, ed. J. Wolf, DTÖ, xxviii, Jg.xiv/1 (1907/R) [1959]

xxxii, Jg.xvi/1, suppl. (1909/R) [W i, W ii]

A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 229, ed. H.M. Brown, MRM, vii (1983) [B]

Adieu fillete de regnon [= Non diva parens], 3vv, W i;

A fortune contrent [= Or mauldist soit], 3vv, W i (= ‘Qui tollis’, Missa ‘Chargé de deul’);

Amis des que, 3vv, W i, B (= Christe, Missa ‘Chargé de deul’);

An buos (?= Au bois), 4vv, W i;

Comment poit avoir joye, 3vv (i), W i (= ‘Et incarnatus’, Missa ‘Comment poit’);

Comment poit avoir joye, 3vv (ii) (= ‘Pleni’, Missa ‘Comment poit’);

De tous biens pleine/Et qui le dira, 2vv;

Digau alez donzelles [= Pour vostre amour], 3vv, also attrib. Brumel, W i

En l’ombre [= Nil n’est plaisir], 3–4vv, also attrib. Josquin, W i (unclear whether two sections or two settings);

En l’ombre/Une musque/Sustinuimus pacem, 4vv, W i;

Et ie boi autant, 4vv, W i, B;

Et qui le dira dira, 4vv, W i;

Fille, vous avez mal gardé [= Wie sol ich mich; Ave sanctissima], 4vv, W i;

Gracieuse plaisante, 3vv, W i (tablature only);

Helas que devera, 3vv, W i (after Caron, Helas que pourra);

He, logierons nous, 4vv, also attrib. Agricola, W i;

J’ay pris amours, 3vv, W i;

J’ay pris amours, 4vv (i), W i;

J’ay pris amours, 4vv (ii), W i (?section of lost Missa ‘J’ay pris’);

Je ne puis vivre a mon aise [= Gaude Virgo], 4vv, W i;

Je suys malcontent [= Serviteur suys; Veruntamen universa], 3vv, W i, B

Le serviteur, 3vv, W i, B (after Du Fay);

L’ombre, see En l’ombre;

Maudit soit cil, 4vv, W i, B;

Maudit soyt, 4vv, W i (two sections of popular melody in reverse order);

Mon pere m’a donne mari, 4vv, W i, B;

Nil n’est plaisir, see En l’ombre;

O Venus bant, 3vv, W i;

Par ung chies do cure, 4vv, W i (not a Mass excerpt);

Par ung jour de matinee [= Hab mich lieb], 4vv, W i;

Pour vous plaisiers [= Parcere prostratis], 4vv, W i;

Serviteur suis, see Je suys malcontent;

Tart ara, 3vv, W i (after Molinet)

A la battaglia, 4vv, W ii, ed. in EDM, 1st ser., xxxiv (1975)

Berricuocoli, donne, 3vv, lost

Che fai tu, Eco, lost

Corri fortuna, 4vv, W i;

Donna, di dentro/Fortuna d’un gran tempo, 4vv, W i, B;

Fammi una gratia, Amore, 3vv, W i;

Fortuna/[Bruder Conrat], 4vv, W i;

Fortuna desperata, 3vv, W i (Fortuna tenor in discantus);

Fortuna desperata (‘Sanctus’), 4vv (canonic);

Fortuna desperata in mi, 3vv (i), W i (tablature only);

Fortuna desperata/Sancte Petre, 5vv;

Hor’è di maggio, 4vv, inc., W i, W ii;

Gracias a vos donzella (= Benedictus, Missa ‘Comme femme’)

La Martinella, 3vv, W i, B (after Martini);

La Morra [= Dona gentile; Elaes], 3vv, W i, B;

La più vaga et più bella, 3vv, W i;

La Spagna, 3vv, ed. in EDM, 1st ser., xxxii (1956) (= Agnus II, Missa ‘La Spagna’);

Lasso, quel ch’altri fugge, 2vv (inc.), W i;

Lieto et contento amore, 3vv, W i;

Nè più bella di queste, 4vv, W i;

Palle, palle, see MOTETS;

Questo mostrarsi adirata, 3vv, W i;

Sempre giro piangendo, 3vv, W i;

Un di lieto giammai, 3vv, W i;

Vieni a me, peccatore, lost

Ach hertzigs K., 4vv, W i;

Ach, was will doch mein Hertz damit, 4vv, W i;

Ach, weiblich Art, see O weiblich Art; Ain frewlich Wesen, 4vv, W i;

Al mein Mut [= O sanctissima], 3vv, W i;

Bruder Conrat, see Fortuna/[Bruder Conrat],

Frater Conradus; Christ ist erstanden, 4vv, W i (also attrib. Stoltzer);

Christus surrexit, 6vv, see MOTETS;

Der Hundt, 3vv, W ii (inc.), ed. in NM, liii (1965)

Der Welte Fundt, 4vv, W i;

Die zechen Bot, see Süsser Vater;

Dich Mutter Gottes, see Es wolt ein Meydlein;

Es het ein Baur ein Töchterlein, 4vv, W i;

Es wolt ein Meydlein grasen gan [= Dich Mutter Gottes], 4vv, W i

Frater Conradus, 4vv, W i (tablature; = Ag III, Missa carminum);

Greiner, Zancker, Schnöpffitzer, 4vv, W i;

Hab mich lieb, see Par ung jour;

Ich stund an einem Morgen, 4vv, W i;

In Gottes Namen faren wir, 4vv (i), W i;

In Gottes Namen [= Dies sind die hei’gen zehn Gebot], 4vv (ii), W ii;

In meinem Sinn, 3vv, W i (tablature only);

In meinem Sinn, 4vv (i), W i, 81;

In meinem Sinn, 4vv (ii), W i, 82;

Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen [= Herr got las dich], 4vv (i), W i;

Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen, 4vv (ii), W ii (canonic; = Christe II, Missa carminum);

Kein Frewd hab ich uff Erd, 4vv, W i

Las rauschen, 4vv, W i;

Maria Jungkfrow hochgeborn, 4vv, W ii;

Mein Freud allein, 4vv, W i;

Mein Müterlein, 4vv, W i;

O weiblich Art, 4vv, W i;

O werdes Glück, 4vv, W i;

Süsser Vater, Herre Got (Die zehn Gebot), 3vv, W i;

Süsser Vater, Herre Got (Die zehn Gebot), 4vv, W i;

Wann ich des Morgens, 4vv, W i;

Was frewet mich, 4vv, W i;

Wolauff gut Gsell, 3vv, W i (= ‘Qui tollis’, Missa ‘Comment poit’);

Zart lipste Frucht, 4vv, W i;

Zwischen Perg und tieffe Tal, 4vv, W i

Carmen in Fa, 3vv, W i (= ‘Pleni’, Missa ‘Lalahe’);

Carmen in Fa, 4vv, W i;

Decem praecepta, see Süsser vater;

Gentile spiritus, see MOTETS;

Gratias accepistis (= ‘Ad te clamamus’,

Salve regina (ii)); La la hö hö [= Allahoy], 4vv, W i (inc.), ed. in EDM, 1st ser., lxxviii (1991)

La mi la sol, see MOTETS;

My my, 3vv, W i, B; Thysis (=‘Ad te clamamus’, Salve regina (ii))

6 untitled textless works, 3vv, 5 in W i, 4 in B;

2 untitled textless works, 4vv, W i, 1 in B;

untitled textless work, 5vv, W i, B;

textless fragments, see Picker (1991)

example, 3vv, in Wilfflingseder, Erotemata (1563), W i;

example, 4vv, in H. Faber, Introductio (1550), W i

**Doubtful works**

Missa ‘J’ay pris Amours’, 4vv, not the lost mass; Missa ‘Lalahe’, 4vv, incorporates authentic sections of song La la hö hö;

Missa ‘Rosina’, ?4vv, inc.;

Missa [sine nomine], 4vv, inc.;

Missa de Beata Virgine, 3vv, ?by Senfl;

Missa de Beata Virgine, 4vv (ii), incorporates authentic sections of (i) Proper cycle de sancta cruce, 4vv:

Nos autem, int; Illuminet vultum, all;

Dulce lignum, seq;

Nos autem, comm; D-Mbs Mus.ms.3936 (dated 1573)

Benedic anima mea Domino, 4vv, ?by Eustachius de Monte Regali;

Credidi propter quod, 4vv, ?by Eustachius de Monte Regali; Discubuit Jesus, ?4vv, inc.;

Judaea et Jerusalem, 4vv, attrib. Isaac in LEu Thomaskirche 51, Z 94, attrib. Obrecht in Dl 1/D/505, ?by neither; Salve regina, 4vv (iii);

Si dormiero, 3vv, also attrib. Agricola, Finck, ?Guretzsch, La Rue, ?by La Rue

Die Prunlein, die da vliessen, 3vv, ?by Hofhaimer;

Erkennen thu mein traurigs Gmüt, 4vv, W i;

Erst weis ich was die Liebe ist [= Carmen], 3vv, W i, ?by Hofhaimer, related to J’ay bien nori by Japart, Josquin or J. Joye, see Tröster (2006)

Fortuna desperata in mi, 3vv (ii), W i;

Freundtlich und mild, 4vv, W i;

Het es al ghedaen, 3vv, B, ?by Barle; Kein Ding auff Erd, 4vv (i), W i, ?by Grefinger;

Les biens d’amore (= Des biens d’Amours), 3vv, W ii, B, ?by Martini

Mich wundert hart, 4vv, W i, ?by Senfl, see Tröster (2006)

Morte che fai?, 3vv, attrib. Isaac only in E-SE s.s.;

Pour mieux valoir [= Come hier], 3vv, B, ?by Robinet;

Pover me mischin dolente, 4vv, W i, attrib. ‘Ic’ ?= Ycart;

Questo mostrarsi lieto, 3vv;

Se io te ò dato l’anima, 4vv, W i, attrib. ‘Ic’ ?= Ycart;

Wolauff, wolauff, jung und alt, 4vv, adapted by Senfl from Isaac’s Ave ancilla Trinitatis, see Cummings (1981)

untitled textless work, 4vv, W i, attrib. ‘Ic’ ?= Ycart

**Misattributed works**

Missa ‘O Österreich’‘’, 4vv, not by Isaac;

Missa paschalis, 3vv, not by Isaac;

Missa solemnis, 3vv, not by Isaac;

Missa summa, 3vv, not by Isaac

Ave ancilla Trinitatis [= Caecus non iudicat;

Gaudent in caelis;

Regali quam decet], 3vv, by Agricola;

Erubescat Judaeus, 4vv, by Senfl;

Nisi tu, Domine, 4vv, anon. in sources;

O sacrum convivium, 4vv, anon. in sources;

Qui Paraclitus diceris, 6vv, by A. Rener;

Salve regina, 4vv (iv), attrib. ‘Ar. Fer.’ (?Arnold Fleron); Si dedero, 3vv, by Agricola;

Spiritus Domini replevit, 4vv, by Mouton;

Spiritus Sanctus in te descendet, 6vv, ed. in Kempson, by Senfl;

Tulerunt Dominum meum, 4vv, also attrib. Josquin, ‘Pre Michael de Ver[ona]’ (M. Pesenti), ?by Pesenti;

Virgo prudentissima, 4vv, by Josquin

Adieu mes amours, 4vv, W i, by Josquin;

Ami souffre, 3vv, W ii, attrib. Isaac in I-Fn Magl.XIX.117, anon. in 15294, attrib. Le Heurteur and Moulu in 1553²², attrib. Sermisy and Moulu in 157814, not by Isaac;

Beclag dich nit, 4vv, W i, by Hagenbach;

Carmen, 4vv, W ii, Busnoys’ Vostre beauté/Vous marchez;

Ein frewlich Wesen, 3vv, W i, by Barbireau;

Kein Ding auff Erd, 4vv (ii), W i, by Senfl;

La Martinella, 3vv (i), B, no.13, by Martini (? Ct in E-SE s.s. by Isaac);

La Martinella [= Vive vive], 3vv (ii), B, no.45, by Martini;

La stanghetta [= Ortus de caelo], 3vv, by Weerbeke;

Que vous madame/In pace, 3vv, by Josquin;

T’meiskin was jonck, 4vv, W i, also attrib. Obrecht and Japart, not by Isaac;

Vergangen ist mir Glück, 4vv, by Hagenbach 22

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1. See Kateryna Schöning 'Isaac in Lautenintavolierungen aus handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen (ca. 1500-1562): ein Beitrag zur Intavolierungstechnik' In: Stefan Gasch, Markus Grassl & August Valentin Rabe (eds) *Henricus Isaac: Composition Reception Interpretation* (Hollitzer Verlag 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. E.R. Lerner *Henrici Isaac Opera omnia* Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 65, 1-11 so far (1974-2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Lewis Jones ‘The Thibault Lute Manuscript: an introduction part I' *The Lute* 22/2 (1982), pp. 69-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Contrafactum with three verses of the text below beginning 'Herr Gott laß dich erbarmen vnnd sey dasheyl der armen'. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. John H. Robinson 'Lute Intabulations of Music by Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537)' In: Dick Hoban (ed.) *The Art of the Lute in Renaissance Germany* Volume 1: Early Manuscripts (Fort Worth TX, Lyre Music 2009), no. H3. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Thanks to Gary Boye for a copy; Vorsterman's *Livre plaisant et tres utile* (Anvers 1529) is a French translation of the second part of Virdung's *Musica getutsch* (Strassburg 1511) using *Een vrolic wesen* in French tablature as a music example instead of Virdung's example of *O haylige* in German tablature. A Flemish translation by Van Ghelen with the same example as Vorsterman was published as *Dit is zeer schoon Boecxken* (Antwerp 1554/R1568). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See also reconstruction by Bart Roose in *Geluit-Luthinerie* Yearbook 2009, p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Jan W.J. Burgers *The Lute Music Published by Pierre Phalèse 1545-c.1575* vols I-III (Koninglijke VNM 2023). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Spinacino intabulates DATB which is awkward so I have omitted A. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Gerle also intabulates a second and third parts [tablature in the *Lutezine*] which are not included in Wolf and may not be by Isaac: Gerle 1533, ff. 66v-68v *Der ander teyl* [Ecce video coelus apertos - Behold, I see the heavens opened] - Gerle 1533, ff. 69v-70r *Der dritt teyl* [Si bibero - If I drink]. Both are also in Newsidler 1536b, sigs. L2r-L4v *xxiiii Der ander theyl* [Si bibero] & Newsidler 1536b, sigs. L4v-M3v *xxv N. Croen* [sic] *Ecce video celos apertos der dritt*. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Schlick's setting is as a melody [D] in mensural notation - added to the intabulation here - with lute accompaniment [TB]. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)