

‘Allegies moy!’ Clemens’s call for clemency

In 1556, a small chanson entitled *Puis que amour*, composed by Clemens non Papa to an anonymous text, appeared in print in the third volume of the *Jardin Musical* series, issued by the Antwerp printers Waelrant & Laet.¹ The musical material displays striking similarities to another chanson by Clemens non Papa that had been printed slightly earlier—remarkably, in the same year and within the same series. This latter chanson, whose opening line is *D’ung nouveau dard* and which is set to a text by Clément Marot, is found in the first volume of the *Jardin Musical*.²

Marot’s text is an octosyllabic *chanson amoureuse* taken from his *Adolescence Clementine* (1532). By contrast, the anonymous text of the hendecasyllabic quatrain *Puis que amour* is somewhat unusual in its imagery and may be described as at least ambiguous. It lends itself to an interpretation that could support the hypothesis that Clemens held sympathies for the reformist movement. The temptation to pursue such a reading becomes all the stronger when reflections on this small chanson are made against the backdrop of a remarkable accumulation of coincidences involving the historical events of 1555–1556, the works published by Clemens during this period, and a consideration of the printers responsible for those publications. Such an approach might add nuance to the existing—whether accepted, contested, or heavily criticised—theories concerning certain works by Clemens, as well as to the speculations around the date and circumstances of his presumed year of death.

Dung nouveau dard je suis frappé
Par Cupido cruel de soy
De luy pensoy estr’escappé
Mais cuydant fuyr me deçoy
Et remede je n’aperçoy
A ma douleur secrette
Fors de crier allegez moy
Doulce plaisante brunette

*By a new dart I am struck,
by Cupid, cruel as he is.
I thought I had escaped him,
but in trying to flee, I deceived myself.
No remedy do I perceive
for my hidden pain,
save only to cry: relieve me,
sweet, delightful brown-haired one.*

Puis qu’amour ma vaincu par son oppresse
Allegies moy par ta benevolence
Le lyon est cruel quand on le presse
Mais au vaincu il use de clemence

*Since Love has conquered me by its force,
relieve me through your benevolence.
The lion is cruel when he is pressed,
but toward the defeated he shows clemency.*

¹ RISM 1556/19 : *Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons a quatre parties, choisies dentre les œuvres de plusieurs auteurs excellents en l’art de Musique, propices tant a la voix comme aux instruments. Le tiers livre.* En Anvers par Hubert Waelrant & Jean Laet. Avec grace & privilege. p. iij

² RISM 1556/17 : *Jardin musiqua, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons, choisies d’entre les œuvres de plusieurs auteurs excellens en l’art de Musique, ensemble le blason de beau & laid Tetin, propices tant a la voix comme aux instruments. Le premier livre.* En Anvers par Hubert Waelrant & Jean Laet, avec privilege. p. xiiij

Ex.1: Dung nouveau dard

1) *Dung nou-veau dard je suis frap-pé, dung*
Dung nou-veau dard je suis frap-pé je suis frap -
Dung nou-veau dard je suis,

5) *nou-veau dard je suis frap-pé*
pé, frap-pé dung nou-veau dard je suis frap -
je suis frap-pé dung nou-veau dard je suis frap -
Dung nou-veau dard je suis frap-pé dung nou-veau dard je

Ex.1: Puisqu'amour

1) *Puis - qu'a - mour ma vain - cu par son op -*
Puis - qu'a - mour ma vain - cu par son op - pres - - se puis -
Puis - qu'a - mour
Puis - qu'a - mour ma vain -

5) *pres - - - se*
qu'a - mour ma vain - cu puis - qu'a - mour
ma vain - cu par son op - pres - - se puis - qu'a - mour ma vain -
cu par son op - pres - - - - - se puis - qu'a - mour ma vain -

Ex. 2 Dung nouveau dard

41

- te Fors de cri - er al - le - gez
 cret - te Fors de cri - er al - le - gez
 - te Fors de cri - er al - le - gez moy al - le -
 te Fors de cri - er al - le - gez

45

moy al - le - gez moy Doul - ce pai - san - te brunet - te
 moy al - le - - - gez moy, Doul - ce plai - san - te brunet - te
 gez moy al - le - gez moy Doul - ce plai - san - te bru-
 moy al - le - - - gez moy Doul - ce plai - san - te brunet - te

Ex. 2 Puisqu'amour

13

- - - - se Al - le - giez moy
 pres - - - - se Al - le - gies moy al - le - gies
 son op - pres - se Al - le - giez moy al - le - giez
 son op - pres - - - se Al - le - gies moy al - le - gies

(S,CT, B allegies. T allegiez)

17

al - le - giez moy par ta be - ne - vo - - - len - - - ce
 moy al - le - giez moy al -
 moy par ta be - ne - vo - len - - - ce al -
 moy al - le - gies moy al -

Let us begin with the impetus for this article: the observation that in three places the melodic material of the two chansons bears a striking resemblance; *Puis que amour*, as it were, echoes *D'ung nouveau dard* at several points.

The opening motif (marked in red) of the superius in both chansons shows notable similarities. In neither chanson, however, does the subsequent polyphonic development of this motivic head proceed along the usual path of literal or derived imitation. In *Puis que amour* this motif is not imitated at all. In *D'ung nouveau dard*, one might even speak of a double motif, sung successively in pairs (S–CT and T–B). The motif performed by S and T begins with a leap of a fifth from g to d, followed by a visually and aurally striking descending series of minims from f—a minor third removed from the dominant pitch d—before returning to the region around b \flat , the minor third above the tonic, i.e. the starting pitch. The “counter-motif/subject” (marked in green) in the CT and B begins with a descent to the fourth below the starting pitch g. The CT then briefly imitates the descending minim motif, but the most significant feature seems to be the tension arc between the lower fourth d and b \flat , the minor third above the tonic g. The bass limits itself to this motion only. (Ex. 1 *D'ung nouveau dard*)

In *Puis que amour*, the counter-motif from *D'ung nouveau dard* has become the opening motif, beginning in the CT and answered in a clear imitative manner by the B and T. It is, however, not a literal quotation of the countersubject from *D'ung nouveau dard*: in *Puis que amour* it does not begin with a descent, but with an inversion of the recognizable fifth leap from *D'ung nouveau dard*—namely, a leap of a fourth from d, and the subsequent descent does not proceed in a continuous stepwise line but includes a small leap. The tension arc d–b \flat is also not realized in *D'ung nouveau dard* via g, but via a before b \flat . Nevertheless, the aural effect remains the same. As mentioned, only the superius sings the contours of a motif that so closely resembles that of *D'ung nouveau dard*. It is sung only once, functioning as a kind of ornamented accompaniment to the rest. (Ex. 1 *Puis que amour*)

The second melodic correspondence is found at the point where, in both chansons, the exclamation *allegez-moy* appears. Remarkably, in both chansons there is again no “normal” imitative procedure. In *D'ung nouveau dard*, it seems as though the real imitation only begins at *allegez-moy*, which is textually preceded by “*fors de crier[:]*”. The first time this text appears, in the tenor, it still has a cadential function (marked in blue) following the motif-less *fors de crier*. Then, in the superius, the “true” *allegez-moy* motif appears (marked in yellow), which is imitated only once, in the tenor.

Both the “cadential little motif” and the “true motif” also occur in *Puisqu'amour*, with the distinctive feature that here the motif is literally imitated no less than five times, in all voices, forcing the bass to move very expressively outside its usual, i.e. comfortable, tessitura (m. 17).

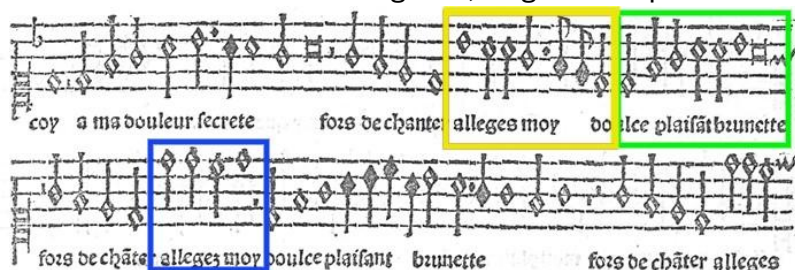
The emergence of the exclamation ‘allegiez-moy’ is moreover a fine example of an artful reworking of an apparently popular motif. The diffusion of this Renaissance supplication is attested by the numerous quotations found with several poets, including Marot.³ The text of *D'ung nouveau dard* is first found in an anonymously transmitted chanson printed by Attaignant in 1529.⁴ Only three years later was the text included in Clément Marot’s own *L’Adolescence*

³ See: Olivier Millet ; Alice Tacaille, *Poésie et musique à la Renaissance*, 32, Presses de l’université Paris-Sorbonne, pp.207-259, 2015, Cahiers V. L. Saulnier, 978-2-84050-984-4. 10.70551/OYRU3121. Hal-05132021

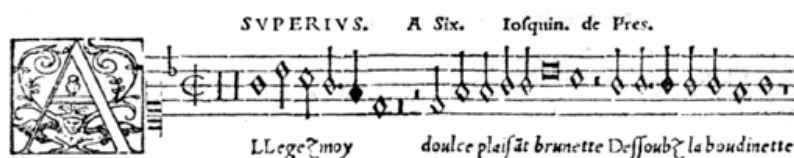
⁴ RISM 1528/4 Attaignant : *Trente chansons musicales à quatre parties (...)*

clémentine.⁵ Already in 1529, the music composed on the *allegez* exclamation displays all the characteristics of the version we later find in Clemens' chanson of 1556—and not only in Clemens, as we shall see shortly (Ex. 3, marked in yellow). Moreover, it already contains the contour of what I have above called the countersubject (Ex. 3 marked in green) plus the cadential motif on *allegez-moy*. (Ex. 3 marked blue)

Ex. 3 RISM 1528/4 Attaignant, fragment superius



It is Josquin des Prez who would give the musical *allegez-moy* cell its definitive form in his six-voice homonymous *chanson grivoise*, printed by Susato in 1545⁶, even preserving the contour of the countersubject on the *brunette*.



Clemens quotes Josquin's *allegez-moy* motif literally in both of his chansons published by Waelrant in 1556, restoring the elegant addition of an extra fusa on the *moy*-melisma from 1528.

Josquin's chanson, by the way, became - unlike Marot's original - a *chanson grivoise*, since it contains an addition found nowhere else.⁷ But that aside. It nonetheless remains striking that even in Josquin's version the *allegez* plea continues to be addressed to a *douce plaisante brunette*.

And with the *brunette* in Clemens's *D'ung nouveau dard* we finally arrive at the third motivic musical correspondence with his other chanson *Puis que amour*. The close of *D'ung nouveau dard* is characterized by a recurring, dance-like rhythm on the text *douce plaisante brunette*. The ending of that rhythm—a dactyl followed by a spondee—forms, in *Puis que amour*, the small musical motif on the text *quand on le presse*. It is repeated many times (Ex. 4). A literal pitch correspondence with *D'ung nouveau dard* occurs only once, namely in the superius, in bar 29 (and its repetition in bars 32–33).

<p>Ex 4. D'ung nouveau dard</p>	<p>Ex 4. Puis que amour (bar 29)</p>
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⁵ Paris, P. Roffet, 1532 (Chanson xviii)

⁶ The chanson is sometimes attributed to Antoine Barbé. (RISM 150/7 Kriesstein)

⁷ Regarding the invitation—not ambiguous in itself—to the "brunette" to relieve her lover "of all his pains," the text specifies that this (and the love affair in general) refers to the part of the body located "below the boudinette." The "bodine" is the navel (according to Godefroy's Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française), a term still used today in Hainaut. (Olivier Millet, op. cit)

EN ANVERS.
Par Hubert Waelrant & Jean Laet.

With the disappearance of the *brunette* after the *allegez-moy* exclamation in *Puis que amour*, we enter the more speculative part of this article. Why did Clemens reuse material that he had previously composed himself, as well as a motif borrowed from Josquin, in another of his chansons within the same series—printed in the same year by the same printer? Was it mere coincidence, a form of economy of ideas, or something else? Why Waelrant & Laet? Why in 1556? And can all this be understood within a broader context?

Let us first consider the printing house that issued both chansons: Hubert Waelrant & Jean [de] Laet. The singer, composer, and music teacher Hubert Waelrant (ca. 1517 – † 19 November 1595) partnered in 1554 with the printer Jean de Laet (ca. 1525 – ca. 1566). Laet could not read music himself, but since music publishing was a profitable enterprise at the time, he associated with the musician Waelrant, who became his music editor. Laet oversaw the technical aspects, layout, and typesetting. Their collaboration lasted until 1558. From this period, around sixteen music prints have survived, including the *Jardin Musical* series of 1556. Waelrant also used the press to publish his own compositions, which were almost exclusively sacred works.

Interestingly, the collaboration was not entirely obvious. Laet was, in effect, the official city printer of Antwerp, responsible for nearly all municipal printing. Yet the music he produced—both independently and in partnership with other Antwerp printers—far exceeded in quantity and importance the city commissions. Laet was clearly one of Antwerp’s leading printers in the mid-sixteenth century and part of the city’s cultural establishment

Hubert Waelrant, married and father to many children, is recorded in 1544–1545 as a singer in the archives of the Cathedral of Antwerp. In the following decade, he taught music at a private school from 1553–1556. According to his pupil Franciscus Sweerts (*Athenæ belgicæ*, 1628), Waelrant was innovative because he developed a new solmization method called “bocédisation”, introducing *si* and *ut* at the end of the scale, and assigning new names to the notes. This expansion of the hexachord effectively marked the beginning of the decline of the traditional modal system.⁸

In his legendary and controversial book *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet* (1949), American musicologist Edward Lowinsky argued that Waelrant and Clemens non Papa were key figures in a secret movement within Franco-Flemish polyphony. Using an ingenious system that was recognizable and performable only by initiates, they introduced chromatic effects into seemingly conventional, Church-approved modal polyphony. In several compositions, distinguished by specific textual choices, certain elements in that text were highlighted through these expressive chromatic effects, which may indicate, if we may believe Lowinsky, sympathy with Reformation ideas and, by extension, heretical thought.

⁸ Edward Lowinsky notes that Waelrant 'evidently follows' Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja (ca. 1440 – after 1490). E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, New York, 1946, p70 note 97

Lowinsky states: “It is also clear that Waelrant’s alteration of the old solmization system was but the theoretical side of his practical innovations as composer (...) All the evidence tends to picture Waelrant as a radical innovator.”⁹

The four examples that Lowinsky cites of Waelrant’s “*secret art*” were all published in 1556, the year of the *Jardin Musical* series.¹⁰ In these works, the musicologist notes, “a revolution in the use of accidentals is disclosed. Waelrant not only uses flats in key signatures and as accidentals, but is, moreover, the only composer to make systematic use of the sharp.”¹¹

As evidence for the possibility that Waelrant was sympathetic to the new religious movement, Lowinsky adds that, “Though connected with the cathedral of Antwerp (...) Waelrant composed not one work of Mariolatry or Saint worship, he wrote no masses, no hymns, no magnificats—in short, not one work dedicated to the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. Among his motets there is none of a definitely Catholic character.”¹²

Lowinsky further points to the frequency with which the controversial French poet Clément Marot—sometimes suspected of “heretical tendencies”—can be linked to Waelrant and his printing house. Alongside those of the theologian Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), Marot’s metrical psalms formed the basis of the *Genevan Psalter*, part of the Huguenot tradition, and still in use among Francophone Protestants today.¹³ Waelrant composed and published music on Marot’s psalms: one appears in the *Jardin Musical* series. In 1555, he published fifty psalms by Jean Louys in Marot’s French rhymed translation, and in 1556 he published Jean Caulery’s compositions of Marot’s psalms and chansons. All this occurred despite the fact that Marot’s name had intermittently appeared on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* at the beginning of the 1550s.

Lowinsky cautiously summarizes: “Waelrant belonged to the large group of people with divided loyalties, if not to the group of secret heretics. This, then, at last explains why a composer so eminently gifted as Waelrant should have composed so little (...) being the only one among his fellow composers in the Netherlands who did not contribute one single work to the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church.” He suggests that Waelrant may have been careful not to attract too much attention, concluding that he was “a man who sacrificed his creative genius to his faith.”¹⁴

Against this backdrop, the collaboration between the ‘searching’ Waelrant and the institutionalized, widely respected printer De Laet seems less obvious. Or perhaps things were less black-and-white in mid-sixteenth-century Antwerp than we might think. The city—considered the wealthiest in the Low Countries of that period—was renowned for its pragmatic approach to “dissenters.” Trade came first, and if necessary, opposition to the emperor or the

⁹ Op. cit. p. 70

¹⁰ *Recumbentibus undecim discipulis*, Waelrant & Laet Liber primus sacrarum cantionem quator vocum RISM 1556/4, *Venit fortior post me*, Liber secundus ... RISM 1556/5, *Et veniat super me*, Liber quartus ... RISM 1556/6, *Afflictus sum*, Liber quintus ... RISM 1556/7

¹¹ Op. cit. p. 4

¹² Op. cit. p. 120-121

¹³ Although one has to bear in mind what Dick Wursten in his study *Clément Marot and Religion (A Reassessment in the Light of his Psalm Paraphrases, Brill's Series in Church History*. Leiden, 2010) declares, namely that Marot was influenced by Calvin but would not break with Rome. (...) While Marot collaborated with Calvin in Geneva in 1543, he could not or would not choose between Rome and Geneva. (cited from a review by Lucien Jenkins, 2018)

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 126

Church could be tolerated in order to protect commerce.¹⁵ In 1550, for example, Antwerp booksellers were granted a special privilege: they could not be arrested within the city itself. If authorities wished to seize a bookseller for dealing with prohibited books, they had to lure him outside the city.¹⁶

And was Jean de Laet really as irreproachable as he seemed? Interestingly, the Antwerp Index of Forbidden Books of 1570 lists *Een hantboexken van devotien, sine nomine auctoris, Antverpiae apud Joannem Latium, anno 1556*—a heretical little handbook printed during Laet’s collaboration with Waelrant, the same year that Waelrant’s motets containing the *secret chromatic art* were published, and the same year as the *Jardin Musical* series: 1556. Even Waelrant himself, despite his supposed caution, did not escape the reach of Catholic censorship: his *Libro de madrigali et canzoni Francezi*, printed in 1558, was confiscated ten years later by the Inquisition of Mons.

JARDIN MUSICAL, CONTE
NANT PLVSIEVRS BELLES FLEVRS DE
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The four-part anthology *Jardin Musical* constituted a remarkably diverse collection of no fewer than ninety-seven secular and sacred songs.¹⁷ The series includes works by both the most renowned and the most obscure composers from the Low Countries.¹⁸ Waelrant included his own compositions in the second and third volumes¹⁹, while Clemens non Papa was represented in all four parts.

The *Premier Livre* comprised twenty-four chansons by sixteen different composers, among them the court composer of Emperor Charles V, Thomas Crecquillon, who was the most prominently represented with five chansons. The chansons in the first book were almost entirely *chansons courtoises* or *amoureuses*. Two of them set texts by Clément Marot. The volume also contained one drinking song, one May song, and three bawdy chansons, the so-called *chansons grivoises*. One *chanson grivoise* in particular must have attracted special attention, not least because it was explicitly advertised as a “selling point” on the title page: *Le Blason du Laid Tetin* (*The Coat of Arms of the Ugly Breast*), on a text by Clément Marot.²⁰ This poem is the *contre-blason* to Marot’s *Blason*

¹⁵ In 1550, for example, the Perpetual Edict of Charles V, which stipulated, among other things, that all foreigners had to present a certificate from the pastor of their place of residence. The city council was reluctant to do so, fearing the loss of foreign trade relations. After negotiations with the governess, the city got its way, and foreigners, merchants, and residents retained their old freedoms and privileges.

¹⁶ Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (1883) | p. 100f

¹⁷ Another collection of *Jardin Musical* appeared in 1555, it contained three-part music. RISM 1555/22

¹⁸ Massart, Romane: *Le prince, le maitre de chapelle et la chanson*. Université de Liège Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 2020-2021

¹⁹ In the 1555 edition Waelrant was represented with six of his own compositions.

²⁰ *Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons, choysies d’entre les œuvres de plusieurs auteurs excellens en l’art de Musique, ensemble le blason de beau & laid Tetin, propices tant a la voix comme aux instruments.*

du beau tétin, which had already been set to music in 1536 by Clément Janequin. In the *Livre premier*, Waelrant provided the first reprint of this text. The *contre-blason* was now, in 1556—twenty years later—set to music by Clemens non Papa.²¹

For the *Livre second*, nine composers contributed twenty-eight compositions: nineteen *chansons spirituelles*, five *chansons amoureuses*, three *chansons grivoises*, and one *chanson à boire*. Ten of the nineteen sacred songs were written by Jean Cauléry, who thus claimed the lion's share of the volume. Very little is known about Cauléry. In 1548 he is mentioned on the payroll of the chapel of Mary of Hungary. The next record places him, in 1556, as chapelmaster to Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, who was then residing in Brussels in connection with the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece.²² He is therefore proudly identified on the title page of the *Livre second* as: *Maistre Jean Caulery, Maistre de la Chapelle de la Royne de France*. Cauléry himself wrote the dedication, addressing it to his cousin Michel de Francqueville, Abbot of St Aubert in Cambrai. Four of Cauléry's ten sacred chansons set texts by Marot, four set texts by Eustorg de Beaulieu, another Huguenot poet. The remaining two sacred texts are anonymous.

Ten composers were responsible for the twenty-seven compositions in the *Tiers Livre*. Clemens non Papa and Waelrant each contributed four chansons; Crecquillon again appears with three chansons, the same number as Cauléry. Four chansons are included anonymously. This volume likewise displays a wide variety of chanson types: fourteen *chansons amoureuses/courtoises*, four *chansons spirituelles*, three *chansons grivoises*, one *chanson sottie*, one *chanson à boire*, and an invocation.

The *Tiers Livre* was recommended by a poem written by *Frère Adrien du Hecquet, Religieux de l'ordre des Carmes du couvent d'Arras, Bachelier en Theologien*. Although he had only recently obtained the latter title in 1556 at the University of Leuven, this arch-conservative and orthodox monk had already published several works with titles that leave nothing to the imagination: *Compendiosa Expugnatorum Haereseon Laus* (A Concise Eulogy of the Conquerors of Heresy), *Revocatio Haereticorum a Lutheranism, et a reliquis Haeresum generibus, ad Evangelicam et vere Catholicam Ecclesiae fidem* (The Conversion of Heretics from Lutheranism and other forms of heresy to the evangelical and truly Catholic faith of the Church), and *Anthidote spirituel contre le scandale commis par ung herectique en Tournay* (A Spiritual Antidote against the Scandal Committed by a Heretic in Tournai).

With this, a brief overview has been given of the contents of the three *Jardin Musical* volumes. As so often, these songbooks offered "something for everyone." Their intended audience was the rather affluent bourgeoisie—people who were at least moderately educated, literate and able to read musical notation. The collections were used for domestic music-making: songs were played and sung at home (*chansons propices tant à la voix, comme aux instruments*). For that reason, it

21 Karel Bernet Kempers, the editor of Clemens non Papa's Opera Omnia, made the following comment about this in *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten* (Augsburg, 1928): "Clemens hat mit der Komposition des unglaublich schlüpfrigen 'Blason du laid tetin' wohl eine der ungeheuersten Geschmacklosigkeiten der ganzen französischen Literatur alles überboten was in der Chanson an Obszönität geleistet worden ist. (p. 16) (With the composition of the incredibly filthy 'Blason du laid tetin,' Clemens has arguably created one of the most outrageous acts of tastelessness in all of French literature, surpassing everything that has been achieved in terms of obscenity in chanson.)

22 <https://dick.wursten.be/psalmsmusic/caulery.htm>

is not immediately apparent at first glance that the type and emotional character of Clemens non Papa's chansons in these volumes differ markedly from book to book. Each individual *livre* represents a distinct, more specific, and above all increasingly sombre affective register, ranging from overt worldly exuberance, through resignation, to pious introspection, penitence, and hope for relieve.

In the *Premier Livre*, Clemens appears as the composer of three secular chansons. Two of these are *chansons courtoises*: *Celluy qui est loing*, on an anonymously transmitted quatrain, and *Dung nouveau dard*, a chanson on a text by Clément Marot. In conception and style, they correspond to the dozens of chansons he composed during his lifetime, which were primarily printed and reprinted by Attaignant in Paris and by Susato in Antwerp. The third chanson is the already discussed, 'highly indecorous', and also lengthy *Blason du laid tetin*. Modern readers often view, with a mixture of astonishment and perhaps even a certain envy, the freedom and nonchalance with which sixteenth-century culture allowed courtly, sacred, and frankly obscene texts to coexist without difficulty. It is undoubtedly true that sixteenth-century sensibilities differed from ours with regard to what was considered proper or suitable for entertainment; boundaries were less categorical than they are today. Yet the musical setting of Marot's 'Coat of arms of the ugly breast' must also have appeared an unusual and intriguing act to Clemens's contemporaries. Waelrant and Laet did not attempt in vain to extract maximum commercial profit from this by explicitly naming both *blasons* on the title page. Accordingly, the *Premier Livre* was not provided with a dedication by the court composer of the French queen, nor with a recommendation by a strict Carmelite; instead, Waelrant himself dedicated the volume, in a few courteous lines to the *treshonnore seigneur* Cunrart Schetz, a member of a famous, art-loving, and powerful Antwerp merchant dynasty.

The patrician Schetz family consisted of merchants and bankers. They conducted business with the Fuggers, the Tuchers, and the Welsers, as well as with the emperor and with the French and English kings. The family's fortune had been established by Erasmus Schetz, who also managed the financial affairs of Erasmus of Rotterdam. This indicates the social and intellectual circles in which the Schetz family moved. It was beyond doubt that the Schetzes were good Catholics, but this did not prevent them from maintaining remarkable—and even very cordial—contacts with liberally minded humanists and with German and English Protestants.²³

When Erasmus Schetz died in 1550, his three eldest sons took over the family enterprise. Edward Lowinsky has convincingly argued that Clemens non Papa composed the curious motet *Jesus Nazarenius* for this occasion.²⁴ It is "curious" first because the text consists of a collage of apparently unrelated fragments that have no place in the liturgical calendar, and above all because it contains the names traditionally associated with the Magi — Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar — names that do not actually occur in the Bible. These were precisely the names Erasmus Schetz had given to his sons. Cunrart Schetz (1527–1577), to whom the first *Jardin Musical* volume was dedicated, was Erasmus's fourth son, their youngest brother, the Benjamin of the family. He was twenty-nine years old in 1556.

²³ Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art*, pp. 128-130

²⁴ Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art*, p.30-34

Based on an overwhelming body of arguments, Lowinsky makes it plausible that the motet was therefore not written for church use but commissioned by the Schetz brothers, comparable to the commissioning of a votive painting by wealthy burghers from a painter after the death of a family member. The “votive motet” *Jesus Nazareus* was not printed until nine years later, in the fourth volume of the monumental, six-part series of collected motets by Clemens non Papa, issued by the Leuven printer Phalesius.²⁵

Clemens was one of the most famous composers of his time, if not the most famous. It is therefore entirely logical that the extremely wealthy Schetz family addressed their commission to him. Whether they have heard—or were even aware—that this particular motet (to quote Lowinsky) “belongs to Clemens’s ripest creations in the new [secret] style of the progressive Antwerp School” is, of course, another matter. By the “Antwerp School” Lowinsky meant Clemens and Waelrant: its principal figures, and in fact the only true representatives of what he termed the *Secret Chromatic Art*.²⁶

With two chansons of a wholly different character, Clemens is represented in the *livre second*. Courtliness, infatuation and vulgarity give way here to regret (*Sur tous regretz*) and farewell (*Congé je prens*). This *Sur tous regretz* is not the incipit of the anonymous quatrain that was set to music by a considerable number of composers between 1533 and 1590²⁷, but rather the opening of a unique text that appears exclusively in the second volume of the *Jardin Musical* and nowhere else. As with several other chansons by Clemens non Papa, there is reason to suspect that the composer himself authored the text. This is almost certainly the case with his other chanson in the *livre second*, whose final line (“Adieu Dordrecht, jusqu’à revoir”) has given rise to much speculation, as scholars have long sought clues, keys, and hints that might add something—anything—to the otherwise extremely sparse biographical data and facts known about Clemens’s life.

Sur tous regretz qu’au monde puis avoir
A mon advis il n’est pas la semblable
Pour une dame ne despens mon avoir
Las pour certain c’est chose innumerable
Mais si la puis du dart d’amour atteindre
Luy declaray ung petit mon secret
Et a ce faire ne my voudray pas faindre
Je me monstray que je suis homme discret

*Of all the regrets I may have in this world,
in my view there is none like this:
that I squander my wealth for the sake of one
woman. Alas, truly, it is beyond measure.
But if I can strike her with love’s arrow,
I will reveal to her a small part of my secret.
And in doing so, I will not pretend to be someone
else: I will show that I am a discreet, thoughtful man*

Congié je prens de vous mamye
Disant adieu jusqu’a revoir
De trop aymer jay faitc follye
Et despendu le mien avoir
Adieu Dordrecht jusqu’à revoir

*I take my leave of you, my love,
saying goodbye — until we meet again.
By loving too much, I have acted foolishly
and squandered what I owned.
Farewell, Dordrecht — until we meet again.*

²⁵ *Cantionum sacrarum vulgo moteta vocant, quator vocum (...) autore D. Clemente non Papa*, Lovani, 1559 Liber I-VI

²⁶ Lowinsky gives six motets by Clemens non Papa in which the system of secret chromaticism appears, including *Jesus Nazarene*. The others are: *Fremuit spiritu Jesu* (first printed in 1554 Louvain Phalese), *Rex autem David* (Augsburg Uhlhard 1549), *Vox in Rama* (Augsburg Uhlhard 1549), *Job tonso capite* (Liber V, Phalese 1559) en *Qui consolabatur me*. (1554, Phalese)

²⁷ *Sur tous regrets le mien plus piteux pleure* is set to music by Richafort (1533), Gero (1541), Lassus (1560), Nicolas (1572), Castro (1574), Le Blanc (1578) and Pevernage (1590) according the *Catalogue de la Chanson Française*, Projet rédigé par Annie Coeurdevey (†), Centre d’études supérieures de la renaissance, Université François Rabelais de Tours

Observing that in the *tiers livre* yet other types of chansons by Clemens appear—namely a declaration, a penitential song, a penitential psalm, and the scarcely classifiable *Puis que amour*, with which this article began and to which I shall return later—one might, with some imagination and goodwill, discern a kind of “biographical statement” by Clemens, discreetly distributed across the three volumes. In such a reading, the chansons in the *premier livre* would refer to a life left behind, those in the *livre second* to farewell and separation from it, and those in the *tiers livre* to repentance and penance. Interpreting a coherent series of apparently deliberately selected—or self-written and subsequently set—texts by Clemens in this manner is not without precedent. It has, in fact, been attempted twice before.

1) In volume XII of CMM-4, Prof. Bernet Kempers wrote: “Reading the texts of the motets of Clemens non Papa published by Tilman Susato (Antwerp 1553), one feels ushered into the privacy of their author’s prayers; for, despite their title, *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae*, many bear an intensely intimate stamp and reflect a personal, not general, devotion. (...) there is often a striking change from the first-person plural of the original to Non Papa’s first person singular.”²⁸

2) In 2003, Henri Vanhulst argued for the likelihood that two chansons by Clemens, printed by Phalèse in 1552, can be understood as a paired farewell to the happy period the composer had enjoyed while serving one of Emperor Charles V’s most famous generals, Philippe II de Croÿ, until the latter’s unexpected death in 1549. These are *Adieu delices de mon cœur* and *Adieu magnificques festins*. Vanhulst pointed out that the two sizains display certain irregularities which, in his view, betray the hand of an amateur poet. He continued: “If Clemens were its author, he skilfully combined a personal feeling—his regrets for the loss of his much appreciated employment—with the conventional theme of the separation of lovers. (...) Whether Clemens wrote the poem or not, the meaning of *Adieu delices de mon cœur* exceeds the expression of regrets by an abandoned lady-love.”

He added: “There is at least one other work among his chansons that is conceived in the same manner. (...) As in *Adieu delices*, the poem *Congé je prens* adds a personal note to the theme of the separation of lovers.”²⁹

One of the most enigmatic aspects of Clemens non Papa’s life is the fact that he never remained anywhere for long and never held a post or position for more than a few months, despite being, together with Thomas Crecquillon, the most famous composer of his time, with an oeuvre widely disseminated, known, and admired throughout Europe. Might Clemens—who in 1553, in a letter to Archduke Maximilian (written, remarkably, by the son of his former patron Philippe II de Croÿ), was denounced as a drunkard and as someone who lived a “bad (sinful?) life,” and who thereby (once again?) missed out on an excellent appointment—have finally come to repentance in the mid-sixteenth century? Might he have realized that if he continued in this way—as a tonsured alcoholic, living in the company of someone already described during his first appointment, ten

²⁸ Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 4, XII, American Institute of Musicology, 1965

²⁹ Henri Vanhulst : *Clemens non Papa « grant yvroigne et mal vivant » (1553)*, in *Beyond Contemporary fame, reassessing the Art of Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon*, Colloquium Proceedings, Utrecht, April 24-26, 2003, Edited by Eric Jas. Brepols 2005 Turnhout

years earlier in Bruges, as a *suspectum mancipium*—all hope of a more financially secure and stable life would definitively vanish?³⁰

Perhaps it was not Clemens himself after all who had ties to Dordrecht, as has often been suggested, but rather the woman with whom he had lived for many years in secret, in any case illicitly, and whom he now left behind—or placed—in that Dutch city in order to save or improve his life, his reputation, and perhaps even his salvation. Admittedly, this is pure speculation. Moreover, it is unlikely that Clemens was aware of the background investigation conducted by the archduke into his person, or of the pronouncedly negative judgment that was subsequently passed on him in the highest circles. His statement of resignation and penance may instead be more plausibly explained as a response to the many momentous events and circumstances of the years 1555–1556.

On 25 October 1555, the prematurely aged and disillusioned Emperor Charles V abdicated in Brussels. He transferred his Netherlandish territories to his son Philip. In January 1556, Philip also assumed sovereignty over the Spanish kingdoms. After his abdication, Charles V returned to Spain, where he withdrew into a monastery. Philip remained resident in Brussels until 1559, after which he returned permanently to the Iberian Peninsula. Unlike his father, he had no personal bond with the Netherlands. He openly despised the frankness and tendency toward opportunistic tolerance of the Netherlanders and their governors. His relationship with the Netherlandish nobility was strained, and he placed greater trust in advisers from Spain rather than from the Low Countries.

In February 1556, he signed the *Treaty of Vaucelles*, a truce between Spain and France that guaranteed a five-year status quo. Hostilities—some of which had been fought on Netherlandish territory—were thereby brought to an end, and the large presence of Habsburg mercenaries in Netherlandish cities, which had caused widespread disruption and hardship, would also diminish, to everyone’s relief. This included Philip himself, for he had become ruler of a territory on the brink of bankruptcy, in which trade and the economy had been severely damaged by prolonged warfare. The population had suffered from both extreme heat and drought as well as flooding and massive water damage. Consecutive harvests had failed, and in some places food shortages occurred. Prices of basic necessities soared, and as if this were not enough, devastating influenza epidemics raged.

With Philip’s presence in the Netherlands—he was known as a harsh, intolerant Roman Catholic—religious tensions again rose sharply, even in pragmatic Antwerp. In September 1556, Philip even wrote to the regional authorities ordering the reactivation of the “Perpetual Edict” promulgated by his father in 1550 and publicly announced through the posting of large placards (*plakkaten*). These displayed a sharpened and expanded body of legislation against heresy, so grim and ruthless that it came to be known by the nickname of “Blood Placard.”³¹

³⁰ *Mancipium* meant slave, or servant, but was also used as one of many words for prostitute. It needn't mean that the person was more likely to be of one gender rather than another. But St Donatian's chapter acts (fol. 117r; first week of 1545) unequivocally calls the *mancipium* a woman. Clemens was then ordered to find a place to live with some "good" man. Many thanks to Rob. C. Wegman, who translated explained, reflected and commented the acts I found.

³¹ With the placard, a comprehensive legal framework was introduced that punished the printing, writing, dissemination, and possession of heretical books and images, the attendance of heretical assemblies, the

If one is willing—at least for the duration of this article—to follow me in the speculative thought that Clemens intended the *Jardin Musical* of 1556 as a statement of a dramatic turning point in his life, then this becomes even more intelligible in the light of the situation outlined above, in Antwerp in that year. One may assume that Clemens, who had been *succentor* in Bruges and had sung with the Brothers of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch, held at least a minor order. A man of the Church who drank excessively and who was recorded as a habitual drunkard, was, in sixteenth-century Roman Catholic moral theology, unequivocally classified as sinful: it was subsumed under the capital vice of *gula* (gluttony).³²

A man of the Church with a concubine was certainly considered sinful, classified under the capital vice of *luxuria* (lust).³³ Wasn't he also a man of the Church who set texts by Marot, who composed "strange" motets, and who maintained contact with figures such as Waelrant, known for his "strange theories"? And was not this same Clemens engaged in publishing psalms in the Dutch language to the tunes of secular songs? And then, that motet he had written for the Schetz family, on a personally compiled patchwork of scriptural texts, written for the Schetzes, who, although respectable, did not hesitate to offer lodging to Lutherans from Germany, what to think of that? Taken together, all of this had the odor of heresy. For Clemens, it may well have become too dangerous. A radical change of course was required.

The *tiers livre* contains four chansons by Clemens: two on love and two *chansons spirituelles*. The spiritual chansons are penitential songs; the love chansons are not conventional declarations of love or courtly expressions of devotion, but rather articulations of hope and of the need for consolation and relief after suffering caused precisely by love itself.

On the very first page of the *tiers livre* we encounter Clemens's *Puis que amour*³⁴, which takes as its subject the two sides of the power of Amor: cruelty and mercy. The poet states that the power of Love has defeated him, has conquered him. In the second line he begs for relief, for grace, appealing to Love's forbearance. He then employs a rather curious metaphor as support, as an argument for his plea: when one engages in combat with a lion (symbol of the power of Love), it is cruel and merciless, but once the lion has won, it becomes noble and shows mercy.

At first sight, *Puis que amour* is thus a classical Renaissance quatrain with a somewhat artificial metaphor. If, however, we are willing to keep open the possibility of a hidden statement by

preaching of heterodox religion, and the harbouring of heretics with death and confiscation of all property. Those who persisted were burned alive; those who recanted were beheaded (men) or buried alive (women). In Antwerp, Anabaptists were drowned. Nowhere in those years was legislation against heresy as severe as in the Netherlands. It was the most repressive anti-heresy policy in Europe.

³² Following the Thomistic tradition (e.g. *Summa Theologiae* II-II, q.148), excessive drinking (*ebrietas*) was understood as a form of intemperance (*intemperantia*) that disrupts rational order and moral self-governance. While occasional excess could be treated as venial sin, persistent drunkenness was regarded as grave matter and could constitute mortal sin, particularly when it led to scandal, loss of reason, or secondary moral transgressions. Thus, alcohol abuse was not conceptualized as a distinct capital vice, but as a specific manifestation of the broader category of *gula*.

³³ For clerics, this constituted a grave violation of the vow of celibacy (*contra clericalem continentiam*) and was therefore regarded as mortal sin. Among laity, it was still a serious sin, though it did not entail the canonical breach of celibacy. While the canonical ideal prescribed strict enforcement, historical evidence indicates that some lower-ranking clerics maintained concubines with relative impunity, though ecclesiastical penalties ranged from fines to excommunication depending on the local context.

³⁴ The table of contents gives *Puis que amour*, the text underlay always reads *Puis qu' amour* in all parts.

Clemens in the *Jardin Musical*, and to consider the chanson in conjunction with the other three chansons by Clemens in the *tiers livre*, then an interpretation on another level certainly becomes plausible.

Already the titles of the three remaining chansons in the volume indicate together the direction it takes: *Je faiz ma poenitence*, *Si par souffrir*, and *Misericorde*. In order to gain a clearer understanding of the precise tenor of these chansons, I present them below, in extenso, with a translation.

Puis qu'amour ma vaincu par son oppresse
Allegies moy par ta benevolence
Le lyon est cruel quand on le presse
Mais au vaincu il use de clemence

*Since Love has conquered me by its force,
relieve me through your benevolence.
The lion is cruel when he is pressed,
but toward the defeated he shows clemency.*

Je faiz ma poenitence
En ce monde present
En ayant partience
De mon mal & tourment
Mais en Dieu seulement
Gist toute ma fiance
Lequel soubdainement
Peult donner allegence

*I do my penance
in this present world,
enduring patiently
my suffering and pain.
But in God alone
rests all my trust,
who can, in an instant,
grant relief.*

Si par souffrir ie puis vaincre l'ennuye
Qu'hors envieulx ont eu incessamment
En despit deulx lon verra clerement
Amour et moy tant que seray en vie.

*If by suffering I can overcome the anguish
that the envious have borne without end,
then, in defiance of them, all will plainly see
Love and me together, as long as I live.*

Misericorde au pauvre vicieux
Dieu tout puissant selon ta grande clemence
Use a ce coup de ta bonte immense
Pour effacer mon faict parnicieux
Misericorde au pauvre vicieux

*Have mercy on the poor sinner,
almighty God, according to your great clemency;
make use now of your immense goodness
to erase my pernicious deed.
Have mercy on the poor sinner.*

The second chanson, a *chanson spirituelle*, a penitential song, leaves nothing to ambiguity, and in the third, *Si par souffrir*, the suffering poet reappears, this time assailed by *envieux*. The French term *envieux* has two possible meanings. The first is “the envious” or “the jealous,” but it is also used in the sense derived from the Latin *invidiosus*, meaning “hostile,” “malevolent,” “malicious” and even “haters.”

Finally, there is the chanson *Misericorde au pauvre vicieux*. This text consists of the first half of the first *huitain* of a translation of Psalm 51 by Clément Marot, which, however, in its original version reads as follows:

*Miséricorde au pauvre vicieux,
Dieu tout-puissant, dans ta grande clémence
Use en ce jour de ta douceur immense
Pour effacer mes crimes odieux.*

Clemens has altered the third and fourth lines. The change in the fourth line, in particular, is striking: *mon faict parnicieux* instead of *mes crimes odieux*.

Where Marot speaks of the erasure of “my hateful crimes,” Clemens transforms this into “my pernicious deed.” This may seem a minor difference, but it fundamentally alters the representation of guilt. In Marot, we are dealing with an accumulation of sins—multiple crimes that together construct a heavy image of culpability. Clemens, by contrast, speaks of one concrete act, one specific fault. The emphasis thus shifts from a generally sinful existence to an individual human lapse. Clemens’s formulation, even in its lexical choices, places less stress on punishment and juridical guilt, and more on the inward recognition that a particular action was morally destructive.

What, then, was that single act?

In his *Secret Chromatic Art* (1946), Edward Lowinsky attempted to demonstrate that Clemens harbored pronounced heretical sympathies, and already in 1928 Bernet Kempers wrote: “Mehr als einer seiner Kollegen steht Clement der protestantischen Sache nahe, wenn er auch zweifelsohne ein treuer Sohn der Mutterkirche geblieben ist.”³⁵ He added: “Die Komposition der Souterliedekens bezeugt die innerliche Verwandtschaft mit den Idealen der Protestanten, man könnte sie gerade als einen Ausgleich, als ein Entgegenkommen, ihren Wünschen gegenüber betrachten.”³⁶

The *Souterliedekens*, however, were never placed on the Index, not even on the expanded Index drawn up in 1569 by order of the Duke of Alba—and for good reason. In the first edition of the then still monophonic *Souterliedekens* (1540), the preface stated that its purpose was “to give the young cause for liking to sing something good by means of which God may be honored and they edified.” While the Genevan Psalter was intended for use in church, the *Souterliedekens* were designed for domestic devotion. When Tylman Susato—a highly respectable colleague of Waelrant, with an impressive network among the Antwerp elite—around 1555 conceived the commercially brilliant idea of reissuing the *Souterliedekens* (for which there was considerable demand), this time in a polyphonic three-voice version suitable for domestic use and amateur singers, it was only natural that he would turn to the most famous composer of his time.

All in all, the assumption of Clemens’s Protestant leanings thus remains based on circumstantial evidence—seductive, perhaps, but circumstantial nonetheless. I must admit that the initial impulse for this article was the idea that the somewhat curious lion metaphor in *Puisque amour* might fit neatly into this hypothesis of a heretically inclined but repentant Clemens. The line *Le Lyon est cruel quand on le presse* is, after all, almost politically legible, without being explicit: power (the Habsburg lion!) becomes violent when threatened. And that is precisely how Habsburg authority was experienced in the Netherlands at the time. As long as one obeyed and remained loyal to the Church, all was well; if not, repression followed. The smartness of the metaphor in the chanson is that it is not an accusation but an observation, which makes the expression—if it were read politically—safe. For Clemens and his publisher Waelrant, this may have been exactly the kind of text they wanted: intelligent enough for insiders, innocent enough for censorship.

³⁵ *More than one of his colleagues Clemens is close to the Protestant cause, although he has undoubtedly remained a faithful son of the Mother Church.* Bernet Kempers, K. Ph : *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten*, Augsburg, 1928, p. 26

³⁶ *The composition of the Souterliedekens testifies to the inner affinity with the ideals of the Protestants; but one could even consider it as a compromise, or as a concession to their wishes.* (id.)

Incidentally, the final line, the last line, which seemed a little strange and unbelievable in the metaphor of the power of love, —*Mais au vaincu il use de clémence*— now describes a more logical consequence because it reflects the contemporary humanist ideal image of power, by which the poem suddenly shifts from reality to a normative ideal: true power shows clemency, Erasmus’s ideal of *clementia principis*. That it is precisely Clemens (whose name translates as “the mild,” “the merciful”) who asks for *clémence* would, for Renaissance readers, have constituted an appreciated literary echo, which—if read as a plea for clemency from cruel power by a composer bearing precisely that name—could at the very least be experienced as elegantly ironic.

In the above perspective, one might paraphrase the quatrain as follows:

Now that Love (God’s) has overcome me by its power,
Relieve me in turn with your (God’s) grace.
Authority (the Habsburg lion) is merciless in the face of (my) provocation and revolt,
But for those conquered by (the divine) Love, it (hopefully) may show mercy.

To read the poem in this way, however, requires that the word *Amour* in the first line be understood as the Love of God; and although this is now a familiar religious image, that concept—derived from the Latin *caritas Dei* or the Greek *agápē tou Theou*—was not, from the Middle Ages until the early seventeenth century, a common or standardized theological term, not even among Protestant poets.

Ultimately, therefore, I do not believe that the rejection of possible heretical sympathies compelled Clemens to a veiled public renunciation of them in the *Jardin Musical*.

Heresy—adherence to the “new faith”—can hardly be understood as a singular, isolated act; it is a conviction, an all-determining existential position, which the Church regarded as an unforgivable crime against the Faith and the Institution. A sinful act, by contrast, could be confessed, and absolution could be obtained for it, provided one showed repentance and sincerely promised or resolved not to repeat it.

Allow me to propose a very different hypothesis. If we place all the texts of the chansons from the *Jardin Musical* in sequence, read them consecutively, and consider them as a whole, would it not be more plausible to assume that Clemens made a sacrifice in love in order to purify his reputation and thereby increase his chances of obtaining a prestigious appointment? Do the lines *Pour une dame ne despens mon avoir* and *De trop aymer j’ay faict follye* from the *livre second* carry an explicitly biographical meaning? Did he, for whatever reason, decide to end his undoubtedly well-known and much-discussed concubinage? Did he leave the woman with whom he had shared his life (the, if we may believe the ‘blason’ he set to music, not particularly beautiful but nevertheless *douce plaisante brunette*) behind in Dordrecht?

In this light, it is significant that the first line of *Misericorde* in the *tiers livre* does not speak of a *pécheur*, a sinner, but of a *vicieux*, a morally corrupted person—someone whose habits or practices are condemned by social morality. Whereas *pécheur* functions as a broad and inclusive theological category, *vicieux* denotes a more marked condition of moral degradation.

As a side note in this context: is it mere coincidence that precisely in 1556, the year of the *Jardin Musical*, for the first time ever a Mass by Clemens appeared in print, published by Phalèse in Leuven—the *Missa cum quatuor vocibus ad imitationem cantilenae Misericordia*? Note the word *cantilenae*, the plural of *chansons*. The Mass is in fact based on material from the *Misericorde* chanson from the *tiers livre* and on a chanson of the same title by Clemens that had already been published in 1552.³⁷ The final lines of that earlier chanson read: *Si j'ay malfait ou commis quelque offense / Pardonnez moy, je demande mercy.*³⁸

Is this also why the ambiguous *Puis que amour* in the *tiers livre* cites material from *Dung nouveau dard* in the *livre premier*? The *superius* melody of *Puis que amour* establishes a clear link with *Dung nouveau dard*, and the cell of the countersubject on the text “*je suis frappé*” in *Dung nouveau dard* finds its echo in “*par son oppresse.*” The plea for relief—*allegez-moy*—remains unchanged, but in *Puis que* it becomes almost ostentatious through repeated iteration. The memory of the *doulce plaisante brunette* is evoked through the ominous phrase “*quand on le presse.*”

It is generally assumed that Clemens non Papa died sometime between 1555 and 1558. Several indications support this: first, a note above the motet *Hic est vere martyr* in a Leuven choirbook stating “*Ultimum opus Clementis non Papae anno 1555 21 aprilis*”; second, the fact that the series of *Souterliedekens* begun by Clemens in 1556 at the press of Susato was not completed by him, forcing Susato himself to set several psalms in order to finish the series; and third, the motet *Continuo lacrimas*, published in Nuremberg in 1558, which Jacobus Vaet composed *In mortem Clementis non Papa*. On the basis of a specific lexical choice in this memorial motet, the possibility of a violent death—or even execution by the Inquisition—has been suggested. Yet to this date Clemens’s name has not been found in surviving execution lists. Moreover, Susato still published in 1558 the flagship work of Lowinsky’s *Secret Chromatic Art* thesis, the motet *Qui consolabatur*.³⁹ And in 1561, when the sixth book of the *Souterliedekens* appeared, the title page stated that these were composed by Gherardus Mes, “disciple of Iacobus Clemens non Papa”. Had Clemens been executed as a heretic, he would not—so shortly thereafter—have appeared, through that motet and so prominently and proudly, as a reliable and untainted reference figure on a title page.

Perhaps it is simply the case that somewhere in 1555 or 1556 Clemens consciously and definitively ended his “corrupt way of life,” withdrew repentantly from public life, accepted a canonry somewhere unobtrusively in the provinces, and there eventually died and was buried. For in a seventeenth-century source we can read that “Clemens non Papa, the most famous musician of his time, who was counted among the men renowned for their erudition, is buried in the church of Diksmuide.”⁴⁰

Peter de Groot, Chassy, 10 February 2026

37 *Misericorde au martir amoureux*, RISM 1552/7 Antwerpen, Susato, reprinted by Phalèse (RISM 1554/22)

38 *If I have done wrong or caused any offense, please forgive me — I ask for mercy.*

39 RISM 1558/3 *Liber XIII Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum*, Antwerpen, Susato.

40 Sanders, Antoine (1586-1664) (Sanderius): *Flandria Subalterna*, tome second, Keulen, Veys, 1644: “Sepultus est in ecclesia Dixmudana Clemens non Papa inibi phonascus & clarissimus sui temporis musicus. Inter viros autem eruditione celebres numeratur”.