

A PALEOGRAPHICAL AND REPERTORIAL STUDY
OF THE MANUSCRIPT
TRENTO, CASTELLO DEL BUONCONSIGLIO, 91 (1378)

by

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For Beatrice

VOLUME ONE

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Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	vi

Volume One
Part I: Text

I. Introduction: On the Creation of Trent 91	1
II. Plainchant Paraphrase Compositions in Trent 91: Trent, Passau, and the Imperial Court	73
III. Franco-Flemish Repertory in Trent 91: The Frontispiece Collection	112
IV. Masses for Three Voices in Trent 91: The Case for a Regional Tradition	170
V. Parody Masses in Trent 91: Tradition and Influence	221
List of Manuscripts Discussed	274
Bibliography	277

Volume Two
Part II: Illustrations, Diagrams, Tables, and Examples

Chapter One	
Illustrations	1
Diagrams	7
Tables	16

Chapter Two	
Illustrations	29
Tables	31
Examples	54
Chapter Three	
Illustrations	59
Diagrams	71
Tables	72
Examples	89
Chapter Four	
Tables	100
Examples	119
Chapter Five	
Illustrations	134
Diagrams	135
Tables	138
Examples	159

Part III: Transcriptions of Anonymous Compositions

1. <i>Missa Regina caeli laetare</i>	172
2. <i>Gloria</i>	197
3. <i>Benedicamus domino</i>	203
4. <i>Te deum</i>	206
5. <i>Credo</i>	213
6. <i>Missa sine nomine</i>	220
7. <i>Missa Zersundert ist das junge Herze mein</i>	235
8. <i>Introit Vultum tuum deprecabuntur</i>	254
9. <i>Introit Gaudeamus omnes</i>	256
10. <i>Introit Salve sancta parens (I)</i>	259

11. Introit <i>Salve sancta parens</i> (II)	264
12. Introit <i>Rorate caeli</i>	267
13. Introit <i>Benedicta sit</i> (Transcriptions, cont'd.)	270
14. <i>Missa Gentil madonna mia</i>	272
Notes to the Transcriptions	302

**A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the Manuscript
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an analysis of Trent 91, one of the series of fifteenth-century musical manuscripts known collectively as the Trent Codices. Trent 91 contains a large repertory of sacred music, most of it anonymously and uniquely preserved. The following study defines, for the first time, that repertory's pivotal place in the larger context of musical developments during the Renaissance.

The first chapter, which centers on an extended account of Trent 91's physical formation, challenges some widely accepted hypotheses concerning the genesis of Trent 91. While for many years scholars have viewed the later portions of the Trent collection as the work of a single scribe, Johannes Wiser, active in Trento itself from about 1455 to 1465, both the configuration and the contents of these manuscripts, including Trent 91, can be more coherently explained by analyzing them as the joint creations of a number of scribes working somewhat later (through most of the 1470s) and with ready access to a flourishing musical life at the Imperial Court at Wiener Neustadt, near Vienna. Specific support for this theory, set forward in Chapter Two, is to be found in the anonymous plainchant paraphrase compositions in Trent 91. Like Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* from several decades later, these pieces use chant melodies and liturgical orders appropriate for the Diocese of Passau, and so may be from the Imperial Chapel at Wiener Neustadt, which lay within that Diocese's jurisdiction.

Chapter Three next turns to the repertory contained in the first four fascicles of the manuscript. A close examination of the relations between Trent 91's readings of some of these works and their concordances in other manuscripts suggests, together with physical features of the copies themselves, that this first portion of Trent 91 may have entered the collection through the agency, direct or indirect, of the Flemish composer Johannes Martini, whose *Missæ Cucu* heads this portion of the manuscript. The remaining two chapters cover a series of Mass Ordinary cycles previously considered to be, like the repertory of the first four fascicles, imported from Franco-Flemish circles. Both argue instead that these Masses, which represent two distinctive traditions of Mass composition, come instead from the circle of composers resident at the Imperial Court in Wiener Neustadt - chief among them Johannes Touront, whose work is known almost exclusively in manuscripts from Imperial territory. A concluding section assesses the possible impact of these Mass genres on Martini, who may have spent several years in or near the Imperial Court circle. Through Martini's later activities in Ferrara, these developments in supposedly provincial Austria may have come to influence a new generation of composers, such as Obrecht and Josquin, working in France and Italy.

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PART I: TEXT

Chapter One

Introduction: On the Creation of Trent 91

The manuscript Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Ms. 91 belongs to the series of seven volumes known collectively as the Trent Codices. Numbered 87 through 93, the Codices are all of paper, with bindings (modern replacements of the originals) of leather over wood; all measure approximately 8 1/2 " by 12 1/2" and comprise several hundred folios each.¹ With about 1900 items, mostly sacred and all in white mensural notation, they form together the largest single musical collection to have survived, in one location, from the middle decades of the fifteenth century.

As a preliminary to the detailed physical analysis of the Codex Trent 91, the subject of the present study, a few remarks about earlier literature on the Codices in general may help to define some of the issues that affect understanding of any one of them. In a sense, such an exercise seems redundant: their outward history and their role in musicological writings since their rediscovery, which occurred just over a century ago, have been skillfully summarized recently by several other investigators of individual manuscripts.² But to a greater extent than usually recognized,

¹ The manuscripts have been assigned the shelf numbers 1374 through 1379, retaining their original order, at the Museo Provinciale (formerly the Museo nazionale) in Trento, where they have been kept since their return to the Trentino in 1934. Because studies and publications made before that date used their old shelf numbers from the Cathedral Chapter Library, so these have generally been retained in subsequent literature.

Trent 88, 89, and 90 are mammoth volumes, with respectively 422, 425, and 465 folios; Trent 93 has 382 folios; Trent 87, 92, and 91 are smaller, with respectively 265, 262, and 259 folios.

² The following recent dissertations on the Trent Codices all contain summaries of the international literature about them: Gary Richard Spilsted, "The Paleography and Musical Repertory of Codex Tridentinus 93", Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1982, which

events of the outward history have affected scholarly assessments of the Codices themselves, with the result that, over the years, theories about the origins and purposes of the manuscripts have been framed in terms that may have impeded understanding of their full significance. The following discussion will focus specifically on these problems.

Background: An Appraisal of Trent Scholarship to Date

In 1885, the Trent Codices, brought out of long and peaceful obscurity in the Cathedral Chapter Library of Trento, Italy, were introduced to modern scholarship. No documents survive to date their passage into the Cathedral's collection, but they had certainly been there at least since 1746, when the first catalogue of Cathedral archives was drawn up; in a second catalogue, made in 1848, the first six of them were listed individually, and given the

incorporates an earlier article, "Toward the Genesis of the Trent Codices: New Directions and Findings", *University of Western Ontario Studies in Music* 1 (1981), 55-70; Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, "The Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks, with a Study of the Local Liturgy of Trent in the Fifteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, King's College, University of London, 1983, which incorporates an earlier article, "La datazione dei codici musicali Trentini, Trento 87 e 92", *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche* 60 (1981), 29-44; Rebecca Gerber, "The Manuscript Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS.88: a Study of Fifteenth-Century Transmission and Repertory", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara, 1984; and Peter Wright, "The Related Parts of Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MSS.87 (1374) and 92 (1379): a Palaeographical and Text-Critical Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1986), which incorporates three earlier articles, "The Compilation of Tr 87-I and Tr 92-II", *EMH* 2 (1983), 237-72; "The Trent-Aosta Relationship Reconsidered", in *I codici musicali Trentini al centi anni del loro riscoperto: Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger...*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Danilo Curti (Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1986), pp. 138-157; and "On the Origins of Trent 87-I and 92-II", *EMH* 6 (1986), 245-270. All of these works have been of great help in the completion of the present study.

For special coverage of literature on the Codices in Trentino publications, the following discussion is also much indebted to Antonio Carlini and Danilo Curti, "Il Quattrocento e i codici musicali", in *Dalla polifonia al classicismo: il Trentino nella musica* (Trento: Centro di Cultura Antonio Rosmini, 1981), pp.7-48.

numbers they still bear today.³ (The seventh codex, separated from the others at some point between the cataloguing operations, reappeared in the Chapter Library during World War I, and was then assigned the signature Trent 93*.⁴) The agent of their rediscovery was the pioneering musicologist Franz Xavier Haberl, who in the early 1880s had written to libraries across Europe in the course of his search for previously unknown fifteenth-century manuscript material to be cited in his biography of the composer Guillaume Dufay.⁵ When Haberl explained to the Cathedral Chapter authorities the great importance of the manuscripts they had brought forward in response to his inquiry, they initially offered to sell these to him; following his refusal, they next approached the British Museum, and finally arranged to sell the books to the Austrian government, then

³ The earliest list of the Cathedral Chapter's holdings (both its books and its documents) is the manuscript *Repertorium omnium documentarum quae in Cathedralis Ecclesiae Tridentinae Divi Vigili custodientia observantur*. This exists in three copies, one dated 1746 (in the Archivio Capitolare, unnumbered), one 1752 (in the Biblioteca Capitolare, unnumbered), and 1758 (in the Biblioteca Comunale, MS 1065). All were continually updated until a new list (under the same title, and kept today, unnumbered, in the Archivio Capitolare) was made by the librarian Stefanelli in 1848.

In the early *Repertorium*, the Codices had only the communal signature "BL", supplemented by a note "Liber musicus MS = alii consimiles". Stefanelli relisted them, in his entry no. 156, as "Musica volumina sex chartacea - MS notata ad v.87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92"; on a leaf appended to his catalogue, a later hand gave these numbers bracketed with a note, "Libri di musica venduti dal capitolo nel 1901". As Spilsted has noted, these later entries show that the seventh manuscript, which bears only the early signature "BL", had been separated from the main group in the interim between inventories.

⁴ This Codex was found by Oskar Ulm, a Trentino musician and scholar, in 1914, but was first described publicly by the musicologist Rudolf von Ficker in 1924. (See Rudolf Bockholdt, "Notizien zur HS Trient 93 und zu Dufays frühen Messensätzen", *AcM* 33 (1961), pp.40-41. Von Ficker gave the manuscript the number 93 to place it in series with the first six; an asterisk is used to distinguish it from the Biblioteca Capitolare volume which already bore that number.

⁵ Haberl's monograph on Dufay appeared as the first of three volumes in his *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1885-88) and also as an extended article ("Wilhelm Du Fay: monographische Studie über dessen Leben und Werke", *VjMw* 1 [1885], pp.397-530; this included the initial announcement concerning the Codices' reappearance.

Haberl evidently sent something like a form letter to many small libraries like Trento's; Spilsted reports that Father Laurence Feininger once examined a copy of such a letter. (See "Codex Tridentinus 93", p.29.)

still in control of the city of Trento. Thus, in 1891, the Codices arrived at the Musicological Institute of the University of Vienna.⁶

Once in Vienna, the Codices were turned over to another musicological pioneer, Guido Adler, and to his assistant, Oswald Koller, for systematic study and transcription, with the aim of publishing as much as possible of their contents in the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*.⁷ The inaugural volume, which appeared in 1900, included Adler's and Koller's extended introductory essay on the complex as a whole, a work which remains the cornerstone of all subsequent Trent literature.

In this essay, the two scholars first established a chronological ordering for the six Codices then known to them, mainly on the basis of repertory found in each which could be dated precisely from internal textual references.⁸ This ordering has

⁶ For full accounts of the transactions, see Maria Bona di Bonetti, "La Cappella del duomo di Trento dalle origini al secolo XVI," *Civis* 5-7 (1978-79), pp.96-131 and 69-83 (esp. p.116), and Carlini and Curti, "Il Quattrocento", pp. 22-24. The Austrian Kaiserliches und Königliches Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht concluded the purchase.

⁷ The series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* published excerpts from the Trent Codices as follows:

Jahrgang VII, volumes 14-15 (1900): Introduction (an extended essay on the origins and makeup of the Codices) by Guido Adler and Oswald Koller; thematic index for the entire collection (excluding Trent 93); selected compositions

Jahrgang XI-I, volume 22 (1904): corrections to the Index; secular music; three Masses on *O rosa bella*

Jahrgang XIX-I, volume 38 (1912): Mass Ordinary cycles by Dufay, Ockeghem, and others

Jahrgang XXVII-I, volume 53 (1920): Liebert Plenary Mass; selected smaller works (sacred and secular)

Jahrgang XXXI, volume 61 (1924): Thematic Index for Trent 93; Masses and Mass sections

Jahrgang XI, volume 76 (1933): Motets

Volume 120 (1970): Mass Ordinary cycles by Martini and others

⁸ Adler and Koller cited the three motets near the opening of Trent 91 as evidence for its completion in the 1470s, as follows. *In hydraulis*, because it names (in its texted concordance, that is) Charles of Burgundy "Count of Charolais" rather than as Duke of Burgundy, must predate his accession as Duke in June of 1467. (See Paula Higgins, "In hydraulis Revisited," *JAMS* 39 (1986), pp. 36-86; Higgins also determines that the work must have been written after April 13, 1465.) *Omnium bonorum plena*, because it mentions Dufay as living, must predate his death in

since been refined, but has never been challenged in its essentials. It places Trent 87 and 92 as the oldest manuscripts, completed by 1440; Trent 88, 89, and 90 follow as a middle group, assembled some time after 1465, while Trent 91, focus of the present study, figures as a postscript from around 1470, with some later additions. (Trent 93*, once discovered, was placed with the second group.)

Next, Adler and Koller argued that the collection had not merely been preserved in Trento's library, but had very likely been assembled in Trento as well, back in the fifteenth century. In support of this thesis, they adduced a group of compositions whose texts referred to rulers of Trento, or to its patron saint, Vigilius.⁹ Then, using a colophon found in Codex 90, they identified one

1474; *Perfunde caeli rore* refers to the marriage of Duke Ercole d'Este of Ferrara in the summer of 1473.

Adler's and Koller's placement of Trent 89 at around 1465 (and, with it, the main body of their second group of manuscripts) was based primarily on its inclusion of a poem celebrating the Tridentine Prince-Bishop Johannes Hinderbach's election in that year; they believed, though, that the collection was only partly finished when the poem was added there, and was completed and bound some time later. (See "Introduction", p.xix.) However, subsequent writers (see, e.g., Spilsted, "Genesis", p. 61) have seen the same poem as an addition to the already bound Codex, pushing back Adler's and Koller's date range substantially. This point will be discussed further below.

⁹ The following compositions have "local" referents:

I. Trent 90, f. 464r (No.1142) *Virtute cuius presideat*, in honor of St. Vigilius, as a contrafact to the anonymous song, *Hellas mon cuer*.

Trent 89, ff.141v-42r (No.594) *Gaudic summo celebrare*, as a second text honoring St. Vigilius, given with a setting of *Ut queant laxis*.

Trent 90, f.376v.(No.1090) A similarly double-texted *Ut queant laxis*, attributed to Christofferus Anthony.

II. Trent 90, f.463v (No.1141) A contrafact *Imperitante Octaviano* to the anonymous song *Pour l'amour qui est en vous*, honoring Prince-Bishop Georg II Hack von Themeswald (r.1444-65).

Trent 88, ff.250v-51r (No.394) An anonymous second text modifying the original words of a hymn, *Advenisti desiderabilis*, welcoming an unnamed Prince-Bishop to the city, probably again Georg II, who had fled the city during the civil disturbances of 1463 (not 1448, as Spilsted has it) and undertook to return there in 1465 (but died en route).

Trent 88, ff. 336v-37r (No.452), An anonymous double-texted hymn, *Advenisti desiderabilis/Laudas Sion*, honoring Georg II on, presumably, the same occasion.

III. Trent 89, f. 199r (No.642) *Clerus istius venerandus urbis*, an anonymous poem (not set to any music) welcoming Johannes Hinderbach upon his arrival in Trento as Prince-Bishop (September 21, 1466).

See Adler and Koller, "Introduction", pp. xvi-xvii. For transcriptions and translations of the texts, see Gary Spilsted, "Genesis", pp.68-70.

Johannes Wiser as the most important contributing scribe in the manuscripts Trent 88 through 91, and provided some initial documentation of this man's career as a priest and bureaucrat resident in Trento.¹⁰ But the six volumes, they concluded, had actually been created at the behest of the wealthy humanist and bibliophile Johannes Hinderbach, who became Provost at the Cathedral of Trento in 1455, and ten years later, through an Imperial appointment as Prince-Bishop, both the ecclesiastical and the secular ruler of the Trentino; "Es ist kaum anzunehmen," they argued, "daß dieses großartige Werk der privaten Thätigkeit eines obskuren Priesters zu danken ist...Als Propst hatte Hinderbach Zeit, Mittel, und Gelegenheit, das Werk in Angriff zu nehmen, das während seiner bischöflichen Regierung zu Ende geführt worden ist."¹¹

Two further volumes of Trent music appeared in the DTÖ series before the outbreak of World War I, which effectively interrupted the publication project. Adler's and Koller's researches then played a substantial although unintended part in what happened next.

Following the Allied victory, Italy took over from defeated Austria the whole territory of the Alto Adige, including the city and province of Trento. In accordance with the treaty of St. Germain,

¹⁰ Adler and Koller ("Introduction", pp.xvi and xix) found Johannes Wiser's colophon on the last page of Codex 90, and connected the name with Bonelli's already published mention of a Johannes Wiser present in Trento for a translation of relics on August 27, 1472. See B. Bonelli, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Tridentinae*, Notizie storico-critiche della Chiesa di Trento, vol.4 (Trento, 1765) p.148.

¹¹ Adler and Koller, "Introduction", p.xx. The most extended study of Hinderbach's life to date remains that of Victor von Hofman-Weilenhof, "Leben und Schriften des Doktor Johannes Hinderbach, Bischofs von Trient (1465-86)," *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums für Tirol und Vorarlberg* 37, Folge 3 (Innsbruck, 1893), pp. 203-62. Armando Costa, in *I vescovi di Trento: Notizie-Profilii* (Trento: Edizione Diocesane, 1977), provides a useful chapter devoted to Hinderbach.

various city archives from the region, transported by the Austrians during a century of domination to their own administrative centers in Innsbruck and Vienna, were then returned to their places of origin. As part of this reorganization, an international tribunal determined - in part because of Adler's and Koller's writings - that the Trent Codices were important archival documents belonging to the city of Trento, and should be returned there along with other such documents, despite their separate (and legally valid) sale to Austria three decades earlier. Giuseppe Gerola, the newly appointed Superintendent of Fine Arts in Trento, helped to argue this case by showing, for the first time, that some watermarks in the Codices had analogues in Trento archives.¹²

In order to avoid a premature termination of the *Denkmäler* series, though, Italian authorities consented to have the Codices remain in Vienna until further publications, including a study of the newly rediscovered Trent 93* (which had also been sent to Vienna¹³), could be completed. All seven books were then, in 1934, taken back to Trento. Trent 93*, as part of the Chapter Library, went to the Cathedral Archives there; the others were placed, as national treasures, in the library of the Museo Nazionale (now the Museo Provinciale d'Arte) at the Castello del Buonconsiglio, the former residence of the Prince-Bishop, where they remain today.

¹² Gerola's original study of the Trent watermarks is evidently lost, but 46 of his sketches were reproduced by Renato Lunelli ("I codici musicali del '400," *Trentino* 10 (1934), pp.163-69, and later reprinted in Aldo Chemelli and Clemente Lunelli, *Filigrane Trentine*, Patrimonio storico ed artistico del Trentino 4 (Assessorato alle attività culturali della Provincia Autonoma di Trento, n.d.). See also Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, "La datazione", p. 30. Bonetti, "La Cappella del duomo di Trento", p.117, describes Gerola's role at the Tribunal.

¹³ See Bockholdt, "Notizien", p.41.

This dramatic postwar "repatriation" of the Codices quickly put them in a class by themselves among fifteenth-century sources, as objects not just of scholarly debate, but of political contention. When the Tribunal's decision was handed down, some Austrian scholars were unhappy at the prospect of the Codices' departure from Vienna for a small Italian town, where experts' access to them would be more difficult; the general climate of strained relations between Austria and Italy, so recently at war, did nothing to mollify their sentiments. Rudolf Wolkan, in 1921, spoke for a number of them with an article which, although it appeared in a professional journal, was unmistakably a partisan polemic.¹⁴ To make his point, Wolkan essentially carried Adler's and Koller's conclusions as to the origin of the Codices one step further: he agreed with them that Prince-Bishop Hinderbach had guided the compilation of the collection, but he went on to assert that Hinderbach had done this not in Trento itself, but in Vienna, nominally the Imperial capital, during his long residence there as a student at the University and as a protégé of the Imperial Chancellor Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. After his elevation as ruler of Trento, Wolkan argued, Hinderbach had brought the finished Codices there - and, with them, their Viennese scribe Johannes Wiser, who was subsequently rewarded for his work with the Trentino benefice already cited as his by Adler and Koller.

Wolkan adduced no specific documentary or paleographic evidence to support his claims. Rather, he argued that a collection

¹⁴ Rudolf Wolkan, "Die Heimat der Trienter Musikhandschriften," *StMw* 8 (1921), pp.5-8.

of such magnitude would obviously have been easier to assemble in Vienna, where a variety of establishments at cathedrals, cloisters, and schools, as well as the nearby Imperial Court and the University, participated in a rich, internationally connected musical life, than in a small Italian market town like Trento - which, he did not hesitate to point out, could scarcely have mustered the resources either to use or to assemble the music of the Codices without the intervention of its Austrian rulers. His conclusion, of course, was that the manuscripts should remain in Vienna, because they had, in truth, been created there. "Sie sind niederösterreichischen Ursprungs und haben mit der Pflege der Kirchenmusik in Trient nur wenig zu tun," he wrote, in a peroration which reflected the Germanophilic discourse soon to be epidemic in so many fields. "Das ist vielleicht auch der Grund, dass sie hier durch alle Jahrhunderte nur wenig beachtet blieben und zu neuem Leben erst dann erweckt wurden, als sie in ihre alte Heimat zurückkehren konnten."¹⁵

The possessors of the newly "repatriated" Codices were not slow in retaliating with their own brand of nationalistically fuelled rhetoric - which, in fact, they had been developing for some years already, in a more generalized context.

The imposition of Italian leadership on the Alto Adige region was - and still is, more than most outsiders realize - a source of great bitterness to its inhabitants, many of whom spoke German and

¹⁵ Wolkan, "Die Heimat," p.8. Wolkan specifically exempted Trent 87 and Trent 92, from his theory (p.5), agreeing with Adler and Koller on a north-Italian origin for these books, but a note from the journal's editor (p.8) claimed them as "German" too, on the basis of notational practice.

considered themselves culturally much closer to the Austrians than to the Italians.¹⁶ Even in the Italian-speaking town and province of Trento, the new government was greeted at best with indifference; its inhabitants, poised on the border between the two cultures, had tended historically to consider themselves "Trentini" first of all. The dominant political faction there, however, was convinced that the region's future lay with Italy, and during the interwar years made a highly self-conscious effort to instill into the Trentini a sense of participation in Italian history and cultural achievement.

Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of this trend - which reached its peak, naturally enough, during the ultra-nationalist era of Fascist rule - was the attempt to establish Cesare Battisti, an Italian partisan captured and executed by the Austrians during World War I, as a local hero. Battisti's remains were removed from their resting place and interred in a miniature version of the Victor Emmanuel monument on a knoll overlooking the town, while the Museo del Risorgimento was created on the site of his "martyrdom" at the Castello del Buonconsiglio. The Trentini remained unimpressed; they had, after all, turned out in force to see him hanged just a few years earlier - they themselves, for the most part, having fought on the Austrian side.¹⁷

¹⁶ Even today agitation for a secession of the Tyrol from Italy continues, marked by sporadic outbreaks of violence such as the recent (October 1988) bombing of the ancient church at Eppan (a gesture attributed to Italian partisans resisting the threat of separation). For a history of the problem, see Antony Evelyn Alcock, *Geschichte der Südtirolfrage: Südtirol seit dem Paket 1970-1980* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1982).

¹⁷ For different views of the Battisti saga, see Giovanni Lorenzoni, *Cesare Battisti and the Trentino* (New York: Italian Bureau of Public Information, 1919), and Claus Gutterer, *Unter seinem Galgen stand Österreich: Cesare Battisti - Portrat eines Hochverräters* (Vienna-Frankfurt-Zurich: Europa, 1967).

In a somewhat more tasteful vein, the reclamation of Trento's Codices was a similar *cause célèbre* for the new government. The manuscripts constituted an impressive "proof" that Trento had participated in the glories of Italian Quattrocento culture; they had been taken away, like so many other monuments to that culture, by *lo straniero*; they were shortly to be returned and displayed, in a new museum, as objects of special civic pride. A plethora of articles in the local press sounded variations on this general theme throughout the early decades of this century, scorning any possibility of Austrian cultural claims upon the Codices.¹⁸

The definitive scholarly response to Wolkan's article, though, was provided by Renato Lunelli, a native Trentino historian with an impressive knowledge of the city and Cathedral archives.¹⁹ His study, still the most thorough of its kind, presented material from those archives to support and extend Adler's and Koller's original conclusion that the Codices had in fact originated in Trento.

First, Lunelli found documents to show that the scribe Johannes Wiser, the chief contributor to Wolkan's proposed Viennese group, the Codices 88 through 91, had lived in Trento, and not in Vienna, between 1459 (at latest) and 1465, serving in the post of *magister scholarum* at the Cathedral School and, Lunelli believed, copying the material now in the Codices; he also assembled further

¹⁸ For an excellent summary of this literature - one fully aware of the polemics involved, although understandably somewhat biased on the Italian side - see Carlini and Curti, "Il Quattrocento", pp. 29-36. The inaugural article in the Italian campaign appeared as early as 1910 (Francesco Menestrina, "I codici musicali Trentini del secolo XV", *Alto Adige* 22/23 [1910]); subsequently, Renato Lunelli's publications in such local organs as *Nuovo Trentino*, *Trentino*, and *Adige* were most influential.

¹⁹ Renato Lunelli, "La patria dei codici musicali Trentini", *Note d'archivio* 4 (1927), pp. 116-28.

notices that implied Wiser's continued presence in the Trentino, in various bureaucratic and clerical capacities, until his death sometime in the 1490s. He then further tightened Trento's links to the Codices through his provisional identification of another leading figure, possibly also active as a scribe, in the Codices' history. This was the priest Johannes Lupi, who held a position as organist at the Cathedral, and left a holograph will listing, besides a number of musical instruments, "six volumes of figured music" among his possessions, which, Lunelli hypothesized, were actually six of the surviving Codices.²⁰

Armed with these new documentary discoveries, Lunelli then countered the "Austrian" argument, in his own highly polemical concluding passage, by crediting the entire formation of the Trent manuscripts to the private initiative of these two Trento residents, and denying the Austrian Prince-Bishop Hinderbach any role whatever in the process: "lo Hinderbach non [ha] messo mane in tale raccolta".²¹ They became, in accordance with the nationalist perspective just outlined, creations by and for the musicians

²⁰ Peter Wright rediscovered this will (which had been misplaced, in Lunelli's day, within the Cathedral's archives) and identified its script securely with that of the major contributor to Codex 87; on this basis, he has vindicated Lunelli's suggestion, identifying Lupi as the owner of the earlier Codices 87 and 92. For the full story of the will, together with a transcription, see "The Related Parts of Trent 87 and 92", p. 85ff. Lunelli's suggestion that the "sex libri" mentioned in Lupi's will were identical with six of the seven surviving Codices has, however, proven impossible to uphold in its original form.

See also Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, "The Dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90," in *I codici musicali Trentini...Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger...*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Danilo Curti (Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1986), pp. 65-67; Saunders provides a photo of the document, together with summary biographies of persons mentioned in it.

²¹ Lunelli, "La patria", p. 128.

resident in Trento - and evidence, above all, that a rich, Italianate Renaissance culture had flourished there.²²

In the more than sixty years since Wolkan and Lunelli published their studies, discussion of the Codices has, to a surprising extent, continued to reflect the nationalistically oriented theories they so starkly laid down. Two main hypotheses concerning the formation of the collection have evolved from their positions. To these we will now turn, calling the one "Austrian", the other "Italian", in recognition of their origins.

The "Austrian" position first emerged in the works of the German historian Hans Joachim Moser, who lent his considerable prestige, during the 1930s, to a position based primarily on Wolkan's arguments. Moser considered the Trent Codices to be, quite simply, the repertory of the Imperial Court at Wiener Neustadt; several other German writers of the period followed his lead.²³ Helmut Federhofer, writing for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* a few decades later, was clearly tempted in the same direction, but modified Moser's claims by accepting Adler's and Koller's arguments

²² Although Lunelli discovered that Johannes Wiser, the main scribe of the later Codices, was a native of the Diocese of Freising, and thus ethnically German, his documents revealed that Lupi was from Bolzano or Bozen, a town just north of Trento; this gave Lupi an added importance, as a kind of native son, to the Italian side of the exchange.

²³ See especially Moser's *Paul Hofhaimer* (Stuttgart, 1929; rpt. Hildesheim, Olms, 1966), p.10. See also, e.g., Hermann Zenck, "Die Musik in Deutschland von 1450 bis 1550", in *HZ: Numerus und Affektus, Studien zur Musikgeschichte*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1959), pp. 19-36 and 37-54.

Moser's position is echoed, in somewhat surprising form, by Richard Schaal, Martin Picker, and Barton Hudson, "Habsburg", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), who state, "The Trent manuscripts were compiled primarily for the use of [Emperor] Frederick's chapel at the instigation of Johannes Hinderbach, imperial secretary, later Bishop of Trent."

for the Codices' Trentino provenance, insofar as these rested on texts with local referents.²⁴ At the same time, though, he explicitly rejected Lunelli's conclusions as to Trento's autonomy in the project, in favor of Adler's and Koller's original contention that Prince-Bishop Hinderbach had been the moving force behind the collection, and the employer, in some sense, of the scribe Johannes Wiser. (Lunelli's scribe-organist Lupi, he reasoned somewhat speciously, could hardly have been involved with a collection that contains no tablatures.) Federhofer's reliance upon Adler's and Koller's arguments, mixed with some tactful and cautious references to Wolkan's extension of these, has come to define the "Austrian" position typical of German-language publications on Trent even today - such as, for instance, Gernot Gruber's essay on Austrian musical development in the fifteenth century, with its conclusion "daß die Codices offenkündig in einem engen Zusammenhang mit Trient stehen, wahrscheinlich auch hier und deshalb wohl auf den Wunsch Hinderbachs hin entstanden sind."²⁵

Meanwhile, Lunelli and a few followers defined a rival "Italian" (or, more properly, "Trentino") hypothesis. Central to this was Lunelli's discovery that Wiser for several years held a post as *magister scholarum* in Trento: because, Lunelli reasoned, Trento's Cathedral School afforded, like others of its kind, some sort of

²⁴ Hellmut Federhofer, "Trienter Codices", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1966); see esp. cols. 668 and 670-71.

²⁵ Gernot Gruber, "Beginn der Neuzeit", in *Die Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger and Gernot Gruber, (Graz/Vienna/Cologne, 1977), vol.1, p. 185.

Reinhard Strohm has explored most profoundly, to date, some implications of the "Austrian" hypothesis, although he does not strictly subscribe to this as a theory of the Codices' origins. See especially his "Native and Foreign Polyphony in Medieval Austria", *MD* 38 (1984), pp. 205-59.

musical instruction, Wiser must have collected the repertory preserved in the Codices for use in pedagogical exercises there. As a specific alternative to the "Austrian" picture of Hinderbach as collector, this suggestion gained ground rapidly.²⁶ Lunelli's theories went on, in fact, to win favor in several among the new generation of Trent dissertations, whose English and American authors had no inherited nationalistic axes to grind: his ideas rest, to a greater degree than do those of the "Austrian" side, on work with Trento's archives, and moreover are compellingly expressed. In many recent discussions of the Codices, they have thus come to outweigh the "Austrian" arguments in importance.²⁷

This may, however, have been on the whole an undesirable development, for the "Italian" picture of Wiser as schoolmaster-collector rests on far from solid historical evidence. In effect, it

²⁶ Especially for Trentino historians whose implicit purpose was the promotion of local cultural achievements, Lunelli's surmise has metamorphosed into fact: some such writers, today, will confidently adduce the polyphonically proficient Cathedral School as the clinching evidence for the Codices' Trentino origins. See, for instance, Bonetti, "La Cappella del duomo di Trento", pp.106 and 112.

²⁷ Spilsted was originally responsible for bringing the "Italian" hypothesis, in Lunelli's writings, to wider international attention, and supported them wholeheartedly; see "Genesis", pp.62-63. For Saunders's views, see, for instance, "The Dating of Trent 93 and Trent 90", p. 66. Gerber, whose study of Trent 88 laid great stress on the large amount of previously unrecognized "German" music there, might have had the best occasion to reconsider the "Austrian" point of view as to the manuscripts' origin. Even she, though, stops far short of this; although she accords Hinderbach at least an indirect role in compiling some portions of the collection, she refers on several occasions to Wiser's duties as schoolmaster as the principal motivation for his work. (See, e.g., "Transmission and Repertory", p. 6.) By contrast, Louis Gottlieb, in his repertorial study of Codex 89 ("The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1958) was exceptional among English-speaking authors in his preference for Wolkan's model, which he favored in part because so many of the Masses he studied in Trent 89 impressed him as "German" in style and provenance.

Wright, whose studies as yet have not directly concerned the later Codices, has not expressed explicit opinions about their compilation. He has, however, uncovered the earliest known documentation of Wiser's duties at the Cathedral School (Trento, Archivio Capitolare, Instrumenta Capitularia IX, f. 284r, dated 1455). This notice, which names Wiser as *suonatore scolaris*, is the only known reference to Wiser as a musician of any kind. Wright does not, however, connect his discovery directly with Lunelli's arguments. (See "The Related Parts of Trent 87 and 92", p.100.)

attempts to elevate Trento's Cathedral School into a *maîtrise* on the Cambrai model, where young boys sang the virtuoso works of Ockeghem and Dufay. Yet the mid-fifteenth-century archives from the Cathedral, although they are reasonably complete, do not suggest the presence of any such establishment.²⁸ The Cathedral did indeed have an organist - sometimes even more than one - but no references to hired or specially designated singers are to be found in records contemporaneous with the Codices.²⁹ If any regular choir was present, it must have been small, and more or less amateur in status. (Wiser himself, whose copies reveal him as a musician of only modest capacities, provides the best testimony on this last point.³⁰) Little more could be expected, in view of the histories of comparable establishments so far studied on the Italian peninsula; the "Italian" hypothesis anticipates by several decades the widespread cultivation of polyphonic church music there.³¹ In short, while the choirs of the Cathedral and its School might well have

²⁸ The archives of the Cathedral of Brixen, a city further north on the Brenner Pass where a famous choir school did in fact flourish throughout the Middle Ages, provide a model for the documentation of such a case. There, from the early fourteenth century on, explicit references can be found to the selection and funding of choirboys and their training in specifically polyphonic practice. See Johann Rosbichler, "Das Institut der Chorknaben zu Brixen", *Sammlet für Geschichte und Statistik vom Tirol*, Vol. 3 (Innsbruck, 1806), pp.172-92. and Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixner Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Innsbruck, 1924).

²⁹ Spilsted, di Bonetti and Carlini/Curti all provide detailed accounts of organists in Trento's Cathedral of St. Vigilius. See "Codex Tridentinus 93", pp.187-69; "La Cappella del duomo di Trento", pp.112-115; "Il Quattrocento", pp.12-13.

³⁰ Margaret Bent has determined that in his initial work as a copyist, Trent 90 (in which, as she has shown, he reproduced Trent 93) Wiser was extremely cautious and closely dependent upon his exemplars, reproducing, for instance, both their errors and the corrections of these; he also made many errors himself, particularly with regard to pitch register. His copying style, in other words, does not seem to reflect a professional degree of musical attainment. See Margaret Bent, "Trent 93 and Trent 90: Johannes Wiser at Work", *I codici musicali Trentini...Atti del convegno Laurence Feininger*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Danilo Curti (Trento, 1986), pp. 84-111.

³¹ Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy", *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp.21-36, argues that the fifteenth century saw a marked expansion of choir-schools at the cathedrals of northern Italy, but shows these as functioning at a fairly primitive level, as regards polyphony, until well towards 1500.

used material now in the Codices, as Lunelli claimed they did, those forces cannot reasonably be used to explain, in and of themselves, the collection's existence or configuration. They were, in the mid-fifteenth century, simply not advanced enough to have made serious inroads upon much of its contents. The preoccupation with their history enjoined by the "Italian" hypothesis constitutes, in short, a red herring in any discussion of the Codices' origins and significance.³²

The "Italian" hypothesis, further, involves a wide range of preconceptions and assumptions about the physical nature of the Codices themselves. Among these, perhaps the most basic has to do with chronology. Lunelli, guided by a vision of a function for the Codices in Trento's daily civic life, made a suggestion that Wiser's work on them proceeded strictly in connection with his civic duties as a schoolmaster. But this suggestion, once accepted, brings with it set of *tærmini* for Wiser's activity which seem, on any other grounds, extraordinarily restrictive: since Wiser was installed as *rector scholarum* sometime in the late 1450s, and had retired from the post by June of 1465 (when another man was recorded as holding it)³³, Lunelli's argument entails a conclusion that almost the entirety of his work on the Codices was completed during this

³² See also Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders, "The Liturgies of Trent and Brixen in the Fifteenth Century", MD 39 (1985), pp.173-93. By showing that no peculiarities of local Trent liturgy are reflected in the repertory of the Codices, Saunders effectively discounts theories as to their use for public worship in the Cathedral.

³³ Wright's 1455 document, cited above, is the earliest mention of Wiser in Trento, and places him at the Cathedral School. Trento, Archivio Capitularia, Instrumenta Capitularia XI, f. 69v, dated June 8, 1465, mentions one "Dominus Petrus" as *rector scholarum*. Since ff.65r-v in the same volume, dated April 17, 1465, mentions Wiser as still holding the post, his retirement from it must have occurred that same spring.

relatively short period of time, pushing back by several years the chronology offered by Adler and Koller.³⁴ Given the enormous size and complexity of Trent's repertory, it seems doubtful that such rigid *a priori* constraints, set up without any consideration of the music itself, can contribute much to meaningful discussion of the stylistic trends embodied there. Consistently, in fact, writers who do not share Lunelli's beliefs have dated Trent music (particularly that in Trent 89) later than those who do;³⁵ their objections have yet to be met with any convincing stylistic arguments on the part of writers favoring the 1465 terminus. And, perhaps even more disturbingly, a too-confident acceptance of Lunelli's model seems to have exerted, up to now, an undue influence on attempts to gather

³⁴ Lunelli further contended, in a passage recapitulated by Spilsted, that the Codices were entirely finished, if not already forgotten, before 1475 at latest, since otherwise they would have included music reflecting the St. Simon cult, which sprang up in Trento during that year. See "Toward the Genesis of the Trent Codices", p. 61, and "Codex Tridentinus 93", p. 174; see also Lunelli, "La patria dei codici musicali Trentini", p.127. (Lunelli's assumption, of course, was that Trento had its own resident composers to provide such music - one since shown to be highly questionable.)

Adler and Koller, while conceding that "the greater part" of the material in the later Codices might have been copied by around 1465, had put the completion and binding of Trent 91, particularly, as late as 1480. (See "Introduction", p.xx.)

³⁵ For instance, Gottlieb, who favored Wolkan's model, placed much of the music from Trent 89 in the mid-1460s; see "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", pp. 194-98. Specifically, he dated both Touront's *Missa Monyel* and his *Missa Sine Nomine*, Nos. 516-19, to as late as 1475, on the basis of their style.

the physical evidence - specifically, watermarks - which must, in the end, either confirm that model or disprove it.³⁶

Also significant is the view imposed by the "Italian" hypothesis of Wiser's typical procedures, or "style", as a collector. In Lunelli's view, Wiser assembled most of his music during that period of his life when he was most closely bound to Trento itself. He would have been, therefore, largely a passive recipient of music: he would have had to obtain much of his material from musicians travelling across the Brenner Pass between Italy and northern Europe, depending on whatever personal connections he himself, or his close associates, might be able to form. Certainly he could hardly have been better situated for this purpose, living as he did on one of the busiest overland trade routes in Europe; musicians in those days were constantly travelling between the courts and ecclesiastical establishments that employed them, and the well-documented *Drang nach Süden*, which brought such enormous numbers of Flemish musicians to Italy for the better part of two centuries, must have been funneled largely through Trento. But still, his acquisition of material would most often have been determined

³⁶To date, Saunders's unpublished dissertation ("The Dating of the Trent Codices from their Watermarks") represents the only attempt to correlate watermarks in the later Trent Codices with dated archival equivalents. In their current form, her assertions concerning the exact dates of papers in these collections are unsupported by any full citation of or comment upon the archival equivalents she claims to have found; neither does she provide photographic evidence bearing either on the Trent marks or on their proposed equivalents. The forthcoming published version of her work may fill some of these lacunae. In the meantime, her extremely early *termini ante quem* for both Trent 88 and Trent 89 (respectively ca.1462 and ca.1466), may be taken partly as reflections of her strong belief in Lunelli's hypothesis of Wiser as music teacher, and consequently treated as somewhat flexible. The following study will call into question, particularly, her dating of Trent 89, and will show that some of her conclusions regarding the watermarks of Trent 91, although they afford a much later date for the completion of that collection, are open to similar doubts.

by its momentary availability. The "Italian" hypothesis, then, all but postulates a view of the Codices as minimally organized manuscripts, assembled very rapidly (within the few years of Wiser's Cathedral School tenure) under circumstances which effectively prohibited any kind of repertorial choice or planning, instead inviting random juxtapositions of unrelated music.³⁷ And this view has tended to discourage, in advance, the identification of overall stylistic, repertorial, or notational trends within the Trent repertory.

The "Italian" hypothesis has, further, confused discussion of the Codices' physical origins through frequent and emphatic repetition of formulations such as, "The Codices were copied *in* and *for* Trento."³⁸ Such statements, for the sake of rhetorical impact, conflate two issues which should remain separate.

Peter Wright has now shown conclusively that the two oldest manuscripts, Trent 87 and 92, were brought into the collection from outside Trento, in near-complete or even bound form.³⁹ These volumes ended up, then, being "for" Trento, in that their owners and users lived there, without having been created "in" that city. The

³⁷ Gerber, for example, concludes that Wiser did try to impose liturgical plans on short stretches, at least, of Trent 88, but that these broke down in the the execution, "[taking] second place to chance arrivals of fascicle-manuscript sources" ("Transmission and Repertory", p.45ff.).

³⁸ See, e.g., Bonetti, "La Cappella musicale di Trento", p.120, or Saunders, "The Liturgies of Trent and Brixen," p. 173. *The Census-Catalogue of Musical Manuscripts* (American Institute of Musicology, 1985-88), pp.224-29, reflects the fixity of this conclusion even in the international literature with the simple statement for each of the later manuscripts, "Copied in Trento".

³⁹ See Wright, "A Source-Critical Study", p.98 ff. and 252; compare, however, Bent's conclusion that Trent 93 may have been created in close proximity to Wiser, during a period (the mid-1450s) when he seems already to have been settled in Trento. (See Wright's document, cited in note 24, and also "Johannes Wiser at Work", p.97.) See also Richard James Wright, "The Battre Section of Trent Codex 87", Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975.

same situation, obviously, could just as easily obtain for parts, at least, of the younger Codices: fascicles or groups of fascicles ultimately destined "for" Wiser's collection in Trento could have been copied, by him or by further scribes, "in" a number of other cities - just as, conceivably, others could have been copied "in" Trento "for" use somewhere else. Instead of testing such scenarios empirically, though, recent inquiries into the physical formation of the younger Codices have fallen back, at an early stage, on certain assumptions posited by the "Italian" hypothesis.

In the "Italian" view, the key proof of the manuscripts' physical origins in Trento (initially developed by Gerola for the "repatriation" proceedings) has always been the correlation of watermarks in the paper they contain with those found on documents drawn up in Trento itself, now in the city's archives. Many gatherings do show such correlations, and so were probably prepared for copying, at least, in Trento as well. Yet a fair number merely approximate marks known in Trento; others (including some, as we will see, in Trent 91) fall short even of this. Strictly speaking, then, evidence about the origins of these marks is as yet missing, and they are "Trentino" by association only. But thus far, no effort has been made to identify them more closely within the framework of an "Austrian" hypothesis, so complete has been the acceptance of the "Italian" generalization.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Sauniers ("The Dating of the Trent Codices") lists a total of 37 watermarks in the Codices 90, 88, 89, and 91. Of these, she identifies only two as "equivalents" to marks found on documents actually in Trento. The majority of her citations rely instead on Gerhard Piccard's published and unpublished catalogues of watermarks, with many examples correlating specifically to documents from Lower Austria. (See, for instance, the "oxhead" discussed below in fascicles 1-4, 5, and 7 of

Another physical feature potentially relevant to the question of the manuscripts' origin is rastration; this has received, up to now, no systematic investigation. Most fascicles in the later Trent Codices (88-91) do show evidence of ruling with just one rastrum, a single-staff model about sixteen millimeters high, which marks its products with a characteristically narrow second space (from the top or the bottom, depending on which way the scribe held it). These fascicles, probably, were prepared in a single location where the rastrum was kept, which might very likely have been Trento itself. But exceptions do exist: fascicles 19 and 20 in Trent 91, as well as a group of fascicles in Trent 89, were clearly ruled with other rastra, and so might have been prepared elsewhere.⁴¹

In any event, it is obvious that even secure proof as to the site of a given fascicle's assembly and preparation does not necessarily indicate the site of its use. Scribes could easily have carried prepared fascicles with them, and taken their copies at whatever places they visited. Chapter Three will adduce one case, in Trent 89, where this may have happened: Wiser copied a Credo there directly from its concordance in a fascicle now part of Munich 3154 and,

Trent 91.) Saunders does not, however, discuss the implications of this circumstance for the provenance of the manuscripts.

Most of the Codices' marks are at least similar to those known in Trento archives. Even here, though, there are exceptions: one is the "oxhead" design of Trent 91's fascicle 20, to be discussed further below.

⁴¹ The "Trent rastrum" gives spaces measuring 4mm, 3.75 mm., 4mm., and a "wide" 4mm., for a total span of just over 16 mm (slightly less in Trent 88 and 90). In fascicles 19 and 20 of Trent 91, both central spaces measure about 3.5 mm., so that the overall span is closer to 15 mm. In Trent 89, fascicles 3, 4, 21, 27, and 35 (all on paper with a "mountain" watermark, and ruled without sidelines in brown ink) show a narrow top space. These differences, while small (when compared to those visible, for instance, in Munich 3154) remain quite constant throughout fascicles and even fascicle-groups, so that they may well reflect the use of different rastra similar in design, not just the same tool fitted with different pens.

when Wiser saw it, probably already in Innsbruck; the following chapter will argue, on somewhat different grounds, that substantial portions of Wiser's work on Trent 91 (as well as that by other scribes) were done outside of Trento itself. These portions of the collection, and others (including several contributions by scribes other than Wiser) for which similar demonstrations may eventually be possible, could still have been destined "for" Trento, despite not having been copied "in" the town itself.

The "Italian" hypothesis has also led to an unduly simplistic evaluation of the many scribal hands present in the later Codices. Lunelli, as we have seen, focused on Johannes Wiser, the most frequent contributor there, as an autonomous collector gathering repertory in connection with his pedagogical duties at Trent's Cathedral School. For a writer who accepts this view, it is natural to conclude that the scribes whose hands appear alongside Wiser's were his assistants, if not his pupils; Gerber, for instance, offers such an interpretation of Trent 88, where she identified (in some cases rather tenuously) thirteen contributors apart from Wiser.⁴² But while Gerber was able to show that Wiser edited, in some sense, the work of many of these scribes,⁴³ a number of further contributors to Trent 89 and (especially) to Trent 91 were free of any such supervision. One of them, in fact, even challenges Wiser's traditional status as the chief scribe of Trent 89 since, as will be

⁴² See "Transmission and Repertory", Chapter 2, for complete accounts of Trent 88's scribes. Gerber's Scribe IV is actually Johannes Wiser writing in his later style, which is found throughout Trent 91.

⁴³ Gerber ("Transmission and Repertory", pp.19-25) presents evidence of Wiser's editing activity in the work of her Scribes II, III, and VI, and cites his addition of texts to music copied by other scribes as well.

shown below, about half of that manuscript (text as well as music) is in his hand; this scribe, further, himself acted as editor for at least one piece in Trent 91. Further, other secondary hands, particularly in Trent 91, show up in connection with undocumented paper types, in independent fascicles - a configuration suggesting origins outside Trento altogether. A number of Trent contributors, in short, merit more serious investigation, as potential peers of Wiser's, than has yet been accorded them by the "Italian" hypothesis, which has seen them merely as his amanuenses in an oversimplified historical view.

Wiser's own career, so far the best-documented of any Trent contributor's, also takes on a distorted shape under the "Italian" hypothesis. Since he is thought to have prepared the Codices for the Cathedral School, the portion of his career preceding his retirement as *rector scholarum*, the putative end of his work as a copyist, has always excited more interest than have his activities afterwards. Once the assumed connection between the School and the Codices has been broken, though, that picture changes. And much remains to be investigated, for after 1465 Wiser may well have spent much of his time outside Trento. Table 1.1 lists his appearances (mostly in the capacity of witness) in the *Acta Capitularia* of St. Vigilius, the Cathedral of Trento, during the period 1465-1480 - years when an "Austrian" hypothesis could have him still actively copying.⁴⁴ These records show a recurrent pattern, alternating stretches (from two

⁴⁴ Lunelli apparently took no special note of these entries, since by merely listing Wiser as a witness they provide no particular documentary evidence about his career. (Those cited in "La patria dei Codici Trentini" were marked in blue pencil, either by Lunelli himself or by Vigilio Zanolini, the Chapter Archivist with whom he frequently consulted.)

to three months to a year in duration) of fairly intense participation in Cathedral affairs with gaps of increasing length, which may mark Wiser's journeys outside Trento on business connected, possibly, with his employment by Hinderbach. Such journeys could only have expanded his opportunities to encounter and to collect new music. The attempt to reconstruct them, though, has yet to be made.

The "Italian" hypothesis, then, has served in large part to complicate the study of the Codices with incautious assumptions. It rests on an unrealistic historical reconstruction of their compilation and first use; it has imposed unduly tight chronological restrictions on their creation; it has postulated a fundamental lack of order and selectivity in their contents, and it has oversimplified the questions bearing on their physical formation. But meanwhile, proponents of the "Austrian" hypothesis, ever the years since it was first introduced by Adler and Koller and then polemicized by Wolkan, have done almost nothing to counteract the "Italian" claims with new documentary research, or with systematic historical investigation. This situation has now begun to change, though, thanks to the insightful recent work of Peter Wright. While Wright does not address the "Austrian" theory of the Codices' formation as such, his findings provide a new framework in which that theory may be modified and developed, with potentially fruitful results.

Two aspects of Wright's dissertation study, which focuses on the earliest Codices, Trent 87 and 92, are fundamental here. His investigation of the holograph will of the priest Johannes Lupi enabled him, first, to confirm Lunelli's earlier suggestion that Lupi

was the scribe chiefly responsible for the related portions of the two manuscripts, which once formed a single collection.⁴⁵ But unlike Lunelli, he did not locate Lupi's activities in Trento itself. Instead, he showed that the bulk of Lupi's collection probably originated during the priest's documented period of residence at the imperial Court, in the late 1430s and early 1440s.⁴⁶ Wright's discovery of direct copying relationships between Lupi's manuscripts and those portions of the Aosta Codex most closely tied to the Imperial Chapel support this conclusion; similarly, his identification of Lupi's hand in a fragment from a large choirbook, now preserved at Zwettl but likely prepared for the Imperial Chapel, may be evidence that Lupi served as a music copyist for the Court itself.⁴⁷ Wright's findings, in short, prove something very close to Wolkan's case - but only for the two Codices Wolkan specifically exempted from his theory.

Wright's further investigations into Lupi's holograph will suggest, though, that his conclusions may have some relevance for the later Codices as well. Most of the will concerns the disposition of Lupi's large collection of musical instruments among a group of clerics, some of whom are designated only by their Christian names. Wright, taking up an idea originally offered by Lunelli, proposed that these men were, like Lupi, musical amateurs. Again, though, he

⁴⁵ Wright's demonstration may be found in "A Source-Critical Study", pp.89ff. (See also note 20 above.)

⁴⁶ Wright's discovery that Lupi served as chaplain to the young Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol during this period permits the conclusion that he lived at least part of the time at the Imperial Court, where the orphaned Duke spent his minority (1439-1446) in semi-captivity. See "A Source-Critical Study", p. 96.

⁴⁷ See "A Source-Critical Study", p.96. Wright has found Lupi's hand in a fragment at the Zwettl Bibliothek des Zisterzienerstiftes (MS. s.n.), which, he suggests, came from the Imperial Chapel.

differed from Lunelli in his evaluation of the significance of their activity: some of them, he suggested, were co-contributors with Lupi to the early portions of the Trent collection.⁴⁸

This idea of an amateur circle of contributors applies very readily to the later Codices as well. To an even greater extent than Trent 87 and 92, the later Codices (especially 89 and 91) are, as remarked above, the creations of many hands. It is easy to picture them, by analogy with Wright's theory, as the joint works of a whole group of scribe-musicians - indeed, of the same group concerned with Lupi's manuscripts, its membership modified over time. Johannes Wiser, who likely knew Lupi, would have been at the center of this later group, as Lupi was at the center of the earlier one.

The theory of an amateur group also works well to explain several otherwise puzzling aspects of the Codices' physical makeup, quite apart from their composite nature. It has sometimes been suggested that they could never have been used for actual performance, on two main grounds⁴⁹: for one thing, they are quite small - by no means large enough for any kind of a choir to read from; for another, scribal corrections have been made to them very

⁴⁸ Among the most important and best-documented individuals mentioned in Lupi's will are Johannes Sulzbach, a Canon of the Cathedral of St. Vigilius, and Johannes Freudental, a Mansionarius at the same institution. A cleric named only as "Dom. Ambrosius" is probably Ambrosius Slaspek, a Canon at the Cathedral who also served for a time as a chaplain to Friedrich III, a position which probably entailed residency at the Imperial Court.

⁴⁹ For instance, Martin Staehelin, in "Trienter Codices und Humanismus", *I Codici Musicali Trentini...Atti del Convegno Laurence Feininger*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Danilo Curti (Trento, 1986), pp.158-169, expresses grave doubts as to the Codices' practical usefulness. In this he follows Charles Hamm, who sees them entirely as "large repositories never meant for performance." (See "Interrelationships between Manuscript and Printed Sources in the Early Sixteenth Century: an Overview", *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Wiesbaden/Wolfenbuettel, 1983), pp.1-13.)

unevenly, with some pieces being heavily marked while others are scarcely performable as they stand.⁵⁰ While these features do tend to argue against regular use by any formalized group, they are not necessarily drawbacks from the point of view of a small amateur circle. The surviving fascicles could have sufficed for three or four singers (one on a part) to read from, and clear signs of wear on some of them suggest that they were indeed used in this way⁵¹; amateurs, too, might have been somewhat unsystematic about entering corrections in their copies, possibly simply abandoning the attempt to perform any they found too seriously flawed.

But the group model, in combination with Wright's discoveries about Lupi's background, is most helpful in that it provides both a new basis and a new motivation for further research into the "Austrian" hypothesis. The Trento clerics belonging to Wiser's hypothetical circle were, like him, essentially bureaucrats in the service of an Imperial dependency. Some, including Wiser later in his career, may have travelled outside Trento; others may have had ethnic ties to regions elsewhere in the Empire, or even outside of it. Working together, they could have accumulated a wide range of

⁵⁰Bent, "Johannes Wiser at Work", pp.95-96, cites a number of corrections in Trent 90 which "could be accounted for by the subsequent application of musical commonsense or of performance testing of the pieces." An example of an "unperformable" copy, on the other hand, would be the sequence *Lauda Sion salvatorem* in Trent 91, ff.164v-66r, which garbles and omits long stretches of the contratenor. (A number of the Mass Propers in the same section of Trent 91 are, to some degree, similarly afflicted.) Pieces like this might, of course, have served as models for larger copies, which would have absorbed any necessary corrections.

⁵¹Gerber has argued this point very strongly for certain fascicles in Trent 88 ("Transmission and Repertory", pp.6-7). Also relevant, perhaps, is the small photograph published as a frontispiece to the second volume of the *Glogauer Liederbuch*, in its "old edition": this shows a fifteenth-century wooden carving, part of the Brockendorf Altar formerly at the Church of St. Elizabeth in Breslau, of three angels singing from a book uncannily like one of the Trent Codices. (See *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*., ed. Heribert Ringmann and Joseph Klapper. *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 8 [Kassel, 1936], p. ix.)

musical contacts in cities other than Trento, obtaining material there for later inclusion in the collection - or, possibly, making the personal arrangements that permitted copying in Trento itself out of the holdings of foreign musicians passing through the town. Given their political situation, though, these men would have been bound above all to the Imperial Court at Wiener Neustadt, and to the musical life proceeding there, just as Lupi had been in his day. Thus, in place of the somewhat simplistic picture offered by the traditional "Austrian" hypothesis, with Hinderbach as collector and Wisner as scribe, Wright's group model can offer a richer view of the Codices as the joint creations of a number of autonomous (and potentially traceable) individuals - all the while maintaining, though, the central tenet of the "Austrian" theory, that the Codices reflect primarily the musical life of Vienna and of the nearby Court.

The group model further suggests a specific formulation of the role traditionally assigned, in the "Austrian" hypothesis, to Prince-Bishop Hinderbach. This aspect of the "Austrian" theory has always occasioned difficulty, for nothing about the Codices suggests that Hinderbach himself owned them, or participated in their copying. Lunelli and Spilsted were both doubtless right to point out that their bindings are far less elegant than those of the other volumes surviving from his collection, and that they bear no trace of his hand⁵²; certainly contemporary testimonies to his stature as a humanist and a bibliophile include no specific mention of musical interests. Yet it is hard to imagine that a man of Hinderbach's

⁵² Spilsted, "Genesis", pp.62-63.

erudition would have remained indifferent to the furor of collecting activity proceeding on his very doorstep; his choice of Wiser as his personal chaplain suggests, rather, that he might have maintained some substantial degree of contact with the amateur circle.⁵³

It seems just possible, in fact, that the circle could have served Hinderbach as a kind of private *cappella*. The institution of a household chapel for the Prince-Bishop had apparently already been formalized for some time when the Council of Trent began its meetings in 1546, and the then Prince-Bishop (also a Cardinal) Madruzzo volunteered his own establishment, which probably numbered about six singers, to provide music for some of the Council's worship services.⁵⁴ Hinderbach, then, could reasonably have begun to retain a group of similar size - recruiting some of its members, as did his successors, from among the cleric-musicians

⁵³ Wiser particularly must have had a considerable degree of personal contact with Hinderbach. Spiisted's attempt to place him in Vienna during his student days, identifying him with one *Johannes organista* who matriculated at the University there on November 2, 1454, suggests a kind of variant of Wolfen's scenario, since the young Hinderbach too may have been living in Vienna for at least part of that same year, and the two could conceivably have come to know one another. (See "Codex Tridentinus 93", p.173, and also Wright's comments, "A Source Critical Study", p.101. See, too, von Hofmann-Wellenhof, "Hinderbach", p.219.) More to the point, for the purposes of the later Codices, is Wiser's documented appointment as Hinderbach's personal chaplain around 1470; see the document cited in note 10 above. Since after Hinderbach's death Wiser took up a post as Tridentine Chancellor, which represented the peak of his official career and required his presence at the Imperial Court, it further seems reasonable that connections he had formed there, either through Hinderbach or during time spent as Hinderbach's agent, may have helped him to attain it.

⁵⁴ Conciliar records include a payment to "Giovanni Contini, maestro di cappella del Reverendissimo Cardinale di Trento [et] compagni cantori"; see G. Calenzio, *Documenti inediti e nuovi lavori letterati sul Concilio di Trento* [Rome, 1874], p. 8 (quoted in Bonetti, "La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Trento", p.73). Romano Vettori, "La musica nel Rinascimento, in *Dalla Pclifonia al Classicismo*, pp.49-86, points out that while some scholars have maintained, on the basis of this payment record, that the Cardinal's singers provided the Council with all of its music for its entire initial year, it is more probable that the task was rotated among singing groups brought (and paid) by the various Legates present there.

The small size of these groups, including the Prince-Bishop's, may be inferred from that of the professional chorus sent from Rome to replace them during the Council's second year, which presumably would not have represented any reduction in musical forces: it numbered only six singers, or one voice on a part for most polyphony of that day.

resident at the Cathedral⁵⁵ - towards the end of the previous century, although no documents have yet been located to furnish evidence that he did. If this were so, the Codices would have been assembled not just for the entertainment of the musicians who contributed to them, but as accompaniment for the private devotions of Trento's cultured Austrian ruler.⁵⁶ As we will see, certain liturgical aspects of Trent 91, particularly, fit quite well into such a theory.

The Trent Codices, then, have not been well served by the "Italian" hypothesis regarding their origins, which sprang less from a desire to understand them objectively than from a need to claim them as cultural property. But the rival "Austrian" hypothesis, in the new and modified form presented here, has the potential to explain effectively and fully the actual nature of the collection as we find it. With this proposition in mind, let us now turn to the specific questions posed by Trent 91 itself.

The Physical Formation of Trent 91

The need for a new and detailed study of Trent 91 seems, in a sense, surprising. In the century since their rediscovery, the Trent Codices have figured prominently in countless studies of fifteenth-

⁵⁵ Vettori argues that forces of the Cardinal's household chapel may have overlapped, at least to some degree, with those employed by the Cathedral ("Rinascimento", p.,77), which had by this time achieved a higher professional level than in Wiser's day.

⁵⁶ The music used by a private *cappella* of irregular status could have remained the property of the singers who used it, rather than passing into the Prince-Bishop's own library. Thus Hinderbach's clerics could eventually have left their holdings (the Codices) to the Cathedral Chapter's library.

century music, and must be counted among the most famous manuscripts from that era. Yet because writers have consistently regarded the whole vast complex together as a quarry for studies of particular genres or readings of particular pieces, rather than differentiating the manuscripts as individual sources requiring separate analyses, the only substantial study along codicological lines remained, until very recently, the Introduction written by Guido Adler and Oswald Koller for the first publication of Trent material in 1900. That situation has begun to change, thanks to recent studies by Peter Wright of Trent 87 and 92, by Tom R. Ward on the second half of Trent 92, by Margaret Bent and Gary Spilsted of Trent 93, by Rebecca Gerber of Trent 88, and by Suparmi Saunders of watermarks found in all of the Codices.⁵⁷ Understanding of the individual natures of the manuscripts has been, through each of these studies, greatly advanced. But meanwhile, Adler's and Koller's original assessment of Trent 91 as an appendix to the great collection, overlaid with random additions and in general less interesting than its fellows, has been left unchallenged.

Such assessment has, moreover, led to something like a tacit negative judgment of Trent 91's repertory itself. The other Codices transmit a respectable number of works by the best-known composers of the earlier fifteenth century, identifiable, even where attributions from the the Trent scribes themselves are lacking, through a broad field of concordances. But Trent 91, as it happens, contains mostly anonymous unica. Some of these are Mass Ordinary

⁵⁷ Ward's article is "The Structure of the Manuscript Tr 92-I", MD 35 (1981): 127-47. The other works are cited above in note 2.

cycles; the majority, though, belong to the less glamorous chant paraphrase genres such as hymns, Magnificats, and Mass Propers, forming part of the vast sea of anonymous fifteenth-century repertory based on chant. For the purposes of the original DTÖ series, which was geared explicitly towards the publication of large-scale works (or songs) by "great" composers, this part of the Trent collection was thus doomed to neglect from the start. And even today, very little music from it has been published; it remains the least known, and the least frequently cited, of all of the Trent manuscripts. The present dissertation, as the first extended study of Trent 91, aims to rectify that situation, through a new evaluation of its repertory's place in the larger context of fifteenth-century developments.

The manuscript Trent 91 is in folio format, measuring 33 cm long by 22 cm wide on the outside. Its leaves average 30.4 cm by 20.5 cm, with little variation; all of paper, they have been trimmed at least once. Seven bookmarks on the covers and flyleaves reflect the volume's passage from the Trento Chapter Library to Vienna and back.⁵⁸ The binding is of untooled, coffee-colored leather over boards, with two simple metal closures; it reproduces an older binding, which was discarded (along with those from the other

⁵⁸ The most recent label records the Castello del Buonconsiglio's recent change of status from a *Museo nazionale* to the *Museo provinciale* of the Autonomous Province of Trento; two labels, inside and outside, show the manuscript's official shelf number there, 1378. The inside front cover bears the stamp of the Austrian Ministry of Culture and Education; another label there, in German and patently the oldest, is probably from the Trento Chapter Library. Finally, two *ex libris* markers for the City of Trento show its patron saint, Vigilius, on the front and back inside covers.

manuscripts) during a restoration carried out in 1975-76, possibly because the restorers did not believe it was the original.⁵⁹ No information was recorded concerning this discarded binding; apparently, the restorers turned up no discernible traces of a previous, different binding order.⁶⁰ Later in this discussion, though, we will see that such traces may quite possibly have been there: the manuscript's present shape may be in some respects different from that in which its original owners left it.

Trent 91 is composed of 22 fascicles, now center-stitched with modern thread through original holes. All but three are sexternions, displaying an orderly pattern of conjugate leaves, with watermarks visible on one leaf of each bifolium; in one of the exceptions, fascicle 19, the last of twelve folia was excised, while the other two, fascicles 7 and 20, have apparently always been quinions. There are no inserted leaves. Arabic folio numbers 1 through 259 appear in the upper right-hand corners of recto sides; all are modern, added in Vienna. No original page numbers, gathering signatures, indices, or other numbering systems survive in this manuscript.

⁵⁹ Wright reports, as information he received orally from the Castello's librarians, that only the endpapers enclosed in the discarded bindings were from the fifteenth century (see "A Source-Critical Study", p.6); the bindings themselves were probably from the sixteenth.

⁶⁰ A full report on the restoration of the manuscripts at the Monastery of Santa Maria di Rosana in Pontassieve was submitted to the Castello Library; Gerber gives it in full. (See "Transmission and Repertory", p.17.) The records of the *Fabrizia* of the Duomo, the first place one might look for documentary evidence about either the original or the secondary bindings, are fragmentary at best for the pre-Conciliar period, and have so far offered no help. The few, largely illegible remnants of original gathering signatures and paginations in the Codices 88-93* will be discussed below.

Trent 91 contains no fewer than seven scribal hands beside that of Johannes Wiser, the main scribe within the later Codices. Differentiation of these contributors is, in fact, the first step toward a proper understanding of the manuscript: their scripts interrelate with other features of the manuscript - namely paper type, paper preparation method, and repertorial organization - to reveal internal repertorial groupings which were, to a substantial extent, revised when the book's component fascicles were bound together in their present form. In other words, Trent 91 is not an originally continuous manuscript confused by later interpolations, as most accounts of it (including Adler's and Koller's) have implied. It is, rather, a *post facto* compendium of several smaller, repertorially separate collections, many of them in hands found nowhere else in the Codices. These "sub-manuscripts" must be evaluated essentially as self-contained units, created independently from one another - and, in several cases, from the Trent collection in general. The following discussion will describe each of them in turn, in the order imposed upon them by the binding; as will be seen, though, this bound order does not necessarily reflect either their disparate origins or their relative chronological ages.

I

Fascicles 1 through 4, 5, and 7, judging by their identical layout, were prepared for the copying process essentially at the same time. They will be referred to here as a single "preparation group". The following discussion of the methods used to prepare

them also applies, allowing for minor differences, to the manuscript's other "preparation groups".

All six fascicles in this first group use paper with twin forms of an "oxhead" watermark unique to this manuscript, shown in Illustration 1.1. This mark resembles closely Piccard's *Ochsenkopf* no. xii/901, for which he cites examples datable between 1468 and 1473 ; it also approximates that on a Trento document of the mid-1470s.⁶¹

The six fascicles were pricked - after folding, to judge by the uniform size, appearance, and location of the holes throughout each fascicle - at all four corners, and nine times along the right edge at intervals of about 3 cm, leaving generous margins (now about 5 cm) at bottom and top.⁶² Margin lines were added with a drypoint stylus on both the right and left sides of each folio; up to the center of the fascicle, the impressions can be seen on the recto side, but thereafter shift to the verso, implying that that sheets were unfolded, separated, and spread flat during this operation.⁶³ Staves

⁶¹ Saunders ("The Dating of the Trent Codices", p.103) cites this same published example in connection with the later of the two dating ranges Piccard offers for it, 1470-73. The Trent watermark is not actually identical in its measurements, as she claims, to either of Piccard's examples (e.g. it is 139 mm. high, while his designs are between 107 and 115 mm.), but it is close enough to them to permit dating to the early 1470s. See Gerhard Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei im Hauptstadtarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1961 ff.), Vol. 2, no. xii/901; Piccard's examples come from Ansbach, Augsburg, Hochstadt, Linz, Neuenstadt, and Wallerstein.; a similar mark on a Trento document of the early 1470s seconds the proposed dating, though, and suggests that the mark was known in Trento as well as in Lower Austria. See Chemelli and Lunelli, *Filigrane Trentine*, pp.150-52.

⁶² The procedure of pricking after folding seems to have been standard in the assembly of the later Codices. Probably it was done with a fine-pointed, very sharp awl. The equivalent of a modern ruler must have been used to place holes with the neat uniformity evident in most fascicles. See Leslie W. Jones, "Pricking Manuscripts: the Instruments and their Significance", *Speculum* 21 (1946), pp.389-403.

⁶³ Ruling with light ink, as seen in other preparation groups, was a more usual technique in the Trent Codices, as in the fifteenth century generally. The Trent scribes' variations in procedure

were apparently added as soon as the side ruling had been finished. The fascicles were not sewn together until their principal contents, at least, were complete, as several accidental blots between conjugate leaves, made when these contacted one another before the ink on fresh copies had dried properly, demonstrate.⁶⁴ The neat fit of consecutive marginal holes, however, implies that whatever configuration of sheets occurred in the pricking and ruling phase was more or less retained.

Nine staves were ruled in, their top lines oriented to the marginal guide holes, in grey ink.⁶⁵ The uniformity of measurements between lines of individual staves (4 mm, 4 mm, 3.5 mm. and 4 mm, top to bottom, indicates that a rastrum approximately 16mm wide was used to make all of the staves, but the disparity of distances between them (from 12 to 15 mm) shows that it drew only one staff at a time.⁶⁶ Considering the inherent awkwardness of the procedure, the results in this first group of fascicles, especially, were very tidy.

constitute, though, the most easily visible index to different "preparation groups". See T.S. Pattie, "The Ruling as a Clue to the Makeup of a Medieval Manuscript", *The British Library Journal* 1 (1975), pp. 15-21.

⁶⁴ See, for instance that between 197v and 186v in Trent 91.

⁶⁵ The "grey" ink, faded (largely during restoration) from its original black, was probably a mixture of carbon and gum arabic. The inks we now see as various shades of brown, elsewhere in the manuscript, were black also when they first dried; they were probably made from iron filings mixed with oak gall, plus additions (Logwood, indigo, or Prussian blue) which caused them to change color differently over the years. This second ink is very acid, and has burned completely through many folia in Trent 91. (Other factors, such as the weight of the paper, being equal, the degree of such damage is a good clue to the use of the same ink in diverse locations.) See Martin Cunha, "The Care of Books and Documents", *Codicologica* 5 (1981), pp.59-78.

⁶⁶ This "preparation group" seems to be a product of the "Trent rastrum", discussed above, with its characteristic narrow space.

Fascicles 1-4, then, form the first "sub-manuscript" within Trent 91, concentrated, as Chapter Three will show, on Franco-Burgundian Mass Ordinaries, together with two motets. (See Diagram 1.1.) The first layer set down there is in grey ink which perfectly matches that used for the staves, suggesting that the entire batch of "oxhead" paper (including fascicle 5 and 7, that is) was prepared for copying at the time the collection in that first layer became available.

The initial copyist involved was not, as Adler and Koller first noted, the Trent cleric Johannes Wiser.⁶⁷ Scribe A, who made his single contribution to the Trent collection in these fascicles, writes a small, fine, and facile hand. (See Table 1.2.) A few features are distinctive: C clefs are a small pair of joined boxes, with a slight extension of the downward stroke that joins them; F clefs have small, neat flourishes and go, like the C clefs, well in on the staves; the term "bassus" appears consistently over the second contra part.⁶⁸ What makes Scribe A unique among Trent contributors, though, is his use of humanistic cursive for text; Chapter Three will evaluate more fully this script and its implications for the origins both of Scribe A himself and of his musical exemplars.

⁶⁷ Adler and Koller supplied a facsimile of Scribe A's work on Trent 91, f. 34v (DTÖ vol. 14, facsimile no. VIII), but offered no specific comments about him.

⁶⁸ Since Wiser probably copied the part designations he found in his exemplars, his terminology is fairly varied. But the term "bassus" never appears alone (without "contra" or "tenor" as prefix, as in Scribe A's work) in his copies, nor in those of his regular assistants. This is potentially an indication of Scribe A's sophisticated background, since at the time these copies were made (ca. 1473), the "bassus" designation was just coming into common use, as the compositional concept and practice behind it (that of a contra operating entirely below the tenor) gained ground.

In the remaining pages of fascicle 4, left blank by Scribe A, two further scribes make their debuts, with the anonymous additions also discussed in Chapter Three. The first of these, Scribe B in the present account, is actually Johannes Wiser, the principal contributor to the later Trent Codices.

Adler and Koller, evaluating Wiser's work across the Codices 88 through 91, spoke of a "cramping" of his hand supposedly visible in Trent 91, as evidence of its later production.⁶⁹ But actually the opposite seems to have occurred: idiosyncrasies occasionally visible in Wiser's earlier script emerge, in Trent 91, with a new flamboyance. (See Tables 1.3a and 1.3b.) Some of these, which may reflect a change to a broader-nibbed pen, can also be traced in secondary layers of Trent 88 and 89: the script in general is larger, and shapes with terminal flourishes, such as F-clefs and custodes, tend toward exaggeration. Wiser's most reliable characteristic, though, remains the narrow C-clef common to the earlier manuscripts, hastily drawn just outside the left staff edge, with the right stroke longer than the left and connected to it by two pairs of accurately horizontal bars. Large mensuration signs, as in Trent 89, go well out in the margin. Wiser's music script as a whole has a slightly leftward ductus; his text script is, as always, a near-vertical, markedly polymorphic *bastarda cursiva*. The same pattern

⁶⁹ Adler and Koller assessed the script in Trent 91 as "enger, grämlicher, kritziger," or in short more indicative of advanced age in the copyist, than that of Trent 88 and Trent 89. This was a major factor in the chronology they advanced for these three manuscripts. A similar opinion about Trent 90 - since shown to be, instead, the hesitant work of a beginner - led them to misplace it in the sequence, after rather than before Trent 88 and 89. ("Introduction", p.xvi.) As will be remarked below, Wiser's copy of the motet *Perfunde caeli rore*, datable to about 1474, helps to date precisely this "late" script style.

of initial design for part designations seen in Trent 88 and 89 - C or C and T or T for Contra and Tenor respectively - marks his contributions throughout the manuscript.

As a last addition to fascicle 4, Scribe C copied a Credo setting. Next to this was bound, as fascicle 5, his copy of yet another full Ordinary cycle. Shorter pieces in the same gathering, including a pair of antiphons which link the two fascicles directly, were added by Wiser, as Diagram 1.2 shows. For both his Mass and the Credo, Scribe C used a new, greyish-brown shade of ink; he must thus have worked apart from, and probably later than, Scribe A, who used a pure grey shade.

Scribe C's hand (see Table 1.4) lacks the fluidity of Scribe A's, or even of Wiser's. He tends to demarcate the beginning of each part by placing the initial clef slightly inward on the staff. His script for both text and music is widely spaced, with semibreves and minim heads carefully diamond-shaped. Mensural signs are inside the staff. When Scribe C makes an error, he scrapes away the offending passage before making the correction, rather than simply overwriting as Wiser and Scribe A do. He never writes part designations, although he does write his own texts in a plump *bastarda cursiva*. The small cues he provides instead, in the far left margin, are one of his signature characteristics.

Scribe C shares many of these attributes with another Trent copyist. This man was responsible for long stretches of Trent 88,

where he figures as Gerber's Scribe III⁷⁰, and for about half of Trent 89. (See Table 1.4a.) Both his music and his text hands are extremely similar to Wiser's, and for this reason his contributions to the later Codices have long gone unrecognized.⁷¹ In many instances, in fact, his text hand is almost impossible to differentiate from Wiser's, particularly since he adopted the same style in part designations. Yet certainly he deserves a status, among the Trent copyists, second only to Wiser's own, particularly in that part of the collection now bound as Trent 89, for which he may have also helped to gather or locate exemplars.⁷² Scribe C's hand was probably modelled on that of Scribe III (to borrow Gerber's designation); this helps to define a place for him within the regular (possibly resident) community of Trent scribes, although he contributed only to Trent 91.

The final member of the initial, grey-ruled preparation group is Fascicle 7. Like the first four gatherings, it contains the work of an "outsider", whose hand appears nowhere else in the Codices. (See Table 1.5 and Diagram 1.2.) Scribe D used a dark rust-brown ink

⁷⁰ See "Transmission and Repertory", [Ch.2]. Samples of "Scribe III's" work may be seen in Trent 88, f. 73 ff., and Trent 89, ff. 1v ff.

⁷¹ The features that differentiate this hand from Wiser's are fairly subtle. Among the musical symbols, C-clefs are most visible: the horizontal strokes are wider apart than Wiser's and slant sharply upward. "Indentation" is visible at the the start of parts (especially *discantus* and *altus*), custodes are relatively regular in formation, and square shapes have sharp bottom corners. Letter forms opposed to Wiser's include capital B, C, D, G, and O, small b, h, l, n, and x. The two text hands are, however, so close that many cases prove impossible to differentiate reliably; the possibility that Wiser texted some (or even most) of Scribe III's copies must remain open. Scribe III's work will be more extensively discussed in a forthcoming separate essay.

⁷² As Reinhard Strohm has shown, the Trent collection includes two separate and differing transmissions of the *Missa Caput*. One of these, with its five movements in various locations within Trent 90 (as a copy of Trent 93*) and Trent 88, is Wiser's work; the other, complete within Trent 89, is Scribe III's. While Strohm himself did not draw a distinction between the two hands, his analysis of the substantial differences between the two readings suggests that Scribe III may, on occasion, have obtained repertory for the Trent collection through channels quite separate from Wiser's. See "Quellenkritische Untersuchungen an der *Missa 'Caput'*", *Wolfenbüttler Forschungen* 26 (Wolfenbüttel, 1984.), pp.153-176.

(implying that his work, like Scribe C's, postdates Scribe A's) to copy, self-contained in one gathering, a fifth Mass Ordinary cycle, Vincenet's *Missa O gloriosa regina mundi*.⁷³ Striking features of D's script include the absence of end-lines, sharply upward-slanting C-clefs placed well in on the staves (F-clefs are not called for in this piece), short minim stems, and custodes like small check-marks. Scribe D originally entered only text incipits in the tenor and lower contra parts, and it was Wiser who texted these lines fully throughout the *Gloria* and *Credo* movements, using a darker brown shade of ink. Since elsewhere Wiser almost invariably left lower parts untexted, his efforts here might reflect his perception of some special feature (or perhaps the mere presence) of the lower-voice text in his exemplar.

Editing activity involving text also forms a significant link between fascicle 7 and fascicle 10, the latter of which belongs to an entirely different preparation group. On the first four openings of fascicle 10, Wiser copied a polyphonic Genealogy setting, with text taken from the Gospel according to Matthew. Scribe D then made additions and readjustments of text in both discantus and tenor, using the same rusty shade of ink here as he did for the Vincenet cycle. When Wiser added, in D's ink, the *Et cum spiritu tuo* formula on the back verso of the Mass fascicle, and headed it with a rubric directing its use with the *Liber generationum*, he was obviously planning for some physical link between the two fascicles. In fact,

⁷³ The Touront song-motet on which the cycle is based also appears in Trent 91, as an addition (probably made after binding) at the end of fascicle 15, immediately preceding Vincenet's *other* Mass in Trent 91; see Diagram 1.5 below. Chapter Five will comment further on this circumstance.

a close repertorial connection is very likely; Chapter Five will return to this question at greater length.

II.

Fascicles 6, 8, 9, and 10 comprise a second preparation group within Trent 91. Among these, 6, 8, and 9 use paper with twin forms of a "scale" watermark (henceforth "scale-1"; see Illustration 1.2), while 10 is a composite of two paper types, the only one in Trent 91: its outermost bifolio has a "mountain" watermark, similar but not identical to that found in Trent 89, while the remaining folios show the scale-1 mark of fascicles 6, 8, and 9.⁷⁴ (See Illustration 1.3; the chronological implications of the stray "mountain" bifolio will be considered below.) All four fascicles were pricked and ruled by the same method as 1-5 and 7 (though less neatly); the staves were made with the same type of rastrum, this time using dark brown ink. Unfortunately, neither of the the watermarks in this group can as yet be dated with full confidence.⁷⁵

Fascicle 6, as a self-contained copy by Wiser of an Ordinary cycle in five movements, was bound with the initial "sub-

⁷⁴ This account of fascicle 10's structure differs from that given by Saunders, who states that a single "scale" sheet there encloses five "mountain" sheets.

⁷⁵ Saunders cites Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei*, Vol.5, Abteilung 5, no. 344 as an "archival equivalent" to the Trent mark; as with Piccard's *Ochsenkopf* reference, the two designs are similar, but not identical. (E.g., chain lines are 75 mm. apart in Piccard's example, and 70 mm. apart in Trent 91.) As the following discussion will show, too, 1468 may be too early an estimate for the date of these fascicles. Compare also similar marks in Trento documents of the early 1470s, given in Chemelli and Lunelli, *Filigrane Trentine*, pp.148-49.

The "mountain" mark is more difficult to date, since it is of a type ubiquitous in midcentury papers in Trento, as elsewhere. (See Chemelli and Lunelli, *Filigrane Trentine*, p.222.) Among published references, possibly the closest is Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, vol. 3, no. 11761, cited from Innsbruck, Staathaltereiarchiv (Tiroler Landesregierungarchiv) Codex no. 110 ("Registratur von Sigismund") which is dated 1466. (This can be contrasted with Briquet's no. 11760, also from Innsbruck but dated 1455, which is not a good match.)

manuscript" comprising fascicles 1-5 and 7, whose primary layers, at least, all center on such repertory. (See, again, Diagram 1.2.) On its final leaves, ff.70v-73r, Wiser added a Latin contrafact of a song by Busnois, and then two Sequences and a Communion for feasts of the Apostles; these works, because they bridge the endleaves of fascicles 6 and 7, provide evidence that Wiser himself joined these together, despite their origins in different preparation groups. As Chapter Five will show, his decision may reflect upon the origins of the two Masses copied there.

Fascicles 8 and 9, by contrast, inaugurate what appears to be the second "sub-manuscript" in Trent 91 with an assortment of Marian Office music. (See Diagram 1.3.) The largest pieces there are settings of the Antiphons associated with Compline in post-Tridentine liturgy ⁷⁶: one of *Alma redemptoris mater*, two of *Salve regina*, and two of *Regina caeli laetare*. The two paired settings were most likely intended as "twin" works; the first *Salve regina* has its cantus firmus in the tenor, the second in the discantus, while the *Regina caeli laetare* set reverses that pattern. Fascicle 8 also contains a series of Marian Antiphons, with texts from the Song of Solomon. This Office collection is prefaced, though, with the Marian Communions *Ecce virgo concipiet* and *Ave regina caelorum* - a circumstance which will occasion further comment in a moment.

Wiser ended the Marian collection with the second *Regina caeli*, copied onto the first opening of fascicle 9 but thematically

⁷⁶ In the fifteenth century, these pieces were not necessarily associated with Compline service, tending to appear, more often, as Magnificat antiphons at Vespers, sometimes repeated for the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline.

connected to its counterpart in fascicle 8. He then used first of the empty folios left in fascicle 9 to add three pieces for the Easter Day Mass: the Kyrie *Lux et origo*, the Gradual *Haec dies*, and the processional hymn *Saive festa dies*. At some later point, the presence of these works must have justified his insertions of the Antiphon trope *Alle dei filius* on the last verso of fascicle 8, and of another Easter Kyrie on fascicle 9's first recto, into the surrounding Marian Office material.

The remaining material in fascicle 9 continues this same shift towards Mass repertory. On ff.99v-103r, Wiser set down two paraphrases of Gloria chants; next, on ff.103v-106r, he copied a set of paraphrased Kyries and another Gloria, with rubrics specifying their use for Sunday Mass (*Dominicale*). Apparently, he then turned to fascicle 10 to accommodate more of the same large influx of Ordinary repertory; on the empty folios following his Genealogy setting - which, as noted above, formed the gathering's initial contents - he added a Credo, and then two Sanctus settings. The addition of this material must have induced him to dissolve the physical link he had once planned between fascicle 7, with its Vincenet Mass, and the Genealogy (fascicle 7, as noted above, has the introductory formula for the Genealogy on its back verso), for between fascicles 9 and 10 he added a further Sanctus setting, drawing their contents together into a kind of extended plainsong cycle.

When the manuscript was bound in its present order, the presence of this Mass Ordinary material seems to have determined the placement of fascicles 9 and 10: they constitute a supplement

to the "sub-manuscript" of Mass Ordinary cycles in fascicles 1 through 7. (Fascicle 8, which actually interrupts the Ordinary succession, presumably owes its place to its tight connections with fascicle 9, through the paired *Regina caeli* settings and the clustered Easter repertory.) The final appearance of the manuscript, though, fails to provide any real guarantee that Wiser (or any of his colleagues) decided upon or approved this bound order. Wiser's addition between fascicles 9 and 10 confirms his approval of their pairing (in contradiction of his original intention); similarly, the repertorial coherence of his additions to the final leaves of fascicle 8 with entries near the start of fascicle 9 shows that he probably placed these together as well. But the items on the outer leaves of the three-fascicle unit (the first folio of fascicle 8 and the last of fascicle 10) do not blend nearly so inevitably with their surroundings.

To reconstruct an alternative, original shape for Trent 91, we must now proceed to the "sub-manuscript" made up of fascicles 11 through 15. These gatherings belong to a third preparation group, which differs from the earlier two in its use of inked rather than dry-ruled side-lines; it also shows marked signs of hastier, more careless preparation procedure. As Diagram 1.4 indicates, this collection contains a series of paraphrased Mass Proper chants interspersed with some items for the Office: most focus on the Christmas and the Easter seasons, but full cycles for the Dedication of a Church and for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul are also present, together with a number of Marian pieces.

In Diagram 1.5, though, we can see that the order of these fascicles may once have differed substantially, and that they were quite possibly meant to be joined, in some earlier plan for the collection, with fascicles 8, 9, and 10. The Marian Introit *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*, following the Sequentiary in fascicle 15 (itself overlaid on the fascicle's original contents, a pair of contrafact settings⁷⁷) could have introduced the Marian items now in fascicle 11; the two Marian Offertories ending fascicle 11 would then have led, in turn, to the Communions (noted above) which open fascicle 8; Marian Office music, continuing into fascicle 9, would then have followed up the Mass collection.

Very likely this entire large paraphrase assembly - which, as the following chapter will show, makes up a single, liturgically unified repertory - was copied at a single stretch; an original layer in all seven fascicles, perfectly uniform in script style and ink color, is easily distinguished from the few later additions.⁷⁸ The initial group of Easter items (all in a slightly darker shade of ink) were then entered as a small secondary layer, following the Marian Office music; finally, Wiser added another extended series, this time for the Ordinary, and to accommodate this took over fascicle 10.

As both Diagrams 1.4 and 1.5 demonstrate, Wiser's additions to the outer leaves of the seven fascicles involved in the paraphrase collection provide no absolute assurance that he himself approved

⁷⁷ These contrafacts were recently identified by David Fallows as portions of Martini's *Missa Coda di Pavon*. See his "Songs in the Trent Codices: An Optimistic Handlist", in *I Codici Musicali Trentini*.

⁷⁸ Most items are copied in dark brown ink on slightly lighter brown staves. The later additions *Da pacem domine* (f. 118v, ending fascicle 10) and *O gloriosa regina* (f. 178v, ending fascicle 15) are easy to distinguish by ink color; elsewhere, subtler differences of script style (including part designations) mark later additions (e.g., *Missus ab arce*, ending fascicle 11).

their reorganization from the logical order just discussed above into the somewhat confused order in the manuscript's present-day binding. The only kind of addition that can prove such supervision is, as we have just seen, one that links the outer leaves of adjacent bound fascicles, and no such fascicle-bridging entries occur in this collection except within the group 12-15, which presumably retained their original configuration. Arguably, Wiser's single-leaf additions to fascicle 11 (*O sapientia* and *Missus ab arce*) make more liturgical sense in terms of the present-day order than of the proposed original order: both apparently relate to the group of Christmas items found in what is now fascicle 12. On their evidence, it seems most likely that Wiser (or one of his fellow collectors) did indeed decide upon the present-day bound order of Trent 91. But the placement, at least, of fascicles 8, 9, and 10 as members of the Mass Ordinary sequence begun in 1-7 could instead have been effected by the same later custodians of the collection (perhaps Chapter Librarians of the sixteenth century) who discarded the original bindings, trimmed the leaves of the manuscript, and added the new bindings which were, in turn, discarded in the restoration of 1975-76. Even the possibility of such an event can, obviously, put the whole question of manuscript order in the Trent collection into a new and potentially disturbing light.

In the meantime, the links between fascicles 11-15 and the group 8-10 must guide the discussion of the dating of both paper types. Fascicles 11-15 show twin forms of a second "scale" watermark (henceforth "scale-2"), which has no published

analogues.⁷⁹ (See Illustration 1.4.) Saunders dates this mark as late as 1480-83, while placing the scale-1 mark in fascicles 6 and 8-10 back in 1468. In view of the contemporaneous use of both groups demonstrated here, though, her estimates seem unworkable, unless the paper in fascicles 8-10 lay unused for almost two decades. Spilsted, on the other hand, found a close parallel to scale-2 in a Trento document dated 1476, and cites a number of analogues to scale-1 in other documents from the mid-1470s.⁸⁰ His findings, then, encourage the placement of composition and copying dates for the extended paraphrase collection, on both its papers, at ca.1475 - an estimate which, as Chapter Two will show, accords well with its stylistic characteristics.

III.

A fourth preparation group, made up of fascicles 16, 17, and 18, reintroduces the "mountain" watermark first found in the outer bifolium of fascicle 10. (See Diagram 1.6.) These pages are ruled in dark brown, with ink sidelines, and music and text in the same shade.

Each gathering was initially self-contained: Wiser seems to have obtained several small groups of pieces and copied them in the

⁷⁹ Compare Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei*, Vol. V, Abteilung VI, nos 91-99, which date from 1475 into the early 1500s.

A related mark also appears, tantalizingly enough, in portions of the *Codex Specíálník*, a source whose usual dating after 1500 stands on somewhat flimsy ground. See the reproductions given in Dobroslav Orel, "Der Mensuralkodex Specíálník: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mensuralmusik und Notenschrift in Böhmen bis 1540", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1914, p.13.

⁸⁰ For Saunders's views on scale-1 (and objections to them) see note 75 above. Her proposed archival equivalent for scale-2 is Trento, Archivio di stato, Archivio vescovile, sezione latina, Capsa vii, no. 54. Spilsted's document is from the same archive, Capsa xxvi, no. 32. See "Dating of the Trent Codices", pp.104 and 204, and "Codex Tridentinus 93", pp.119f.

liturgically mixed orders of the original transmissions, using, at first, a fresh fascicle for each installment. Fascicle 16 began as a copy of an Ordinary cycle, without the Agnus, attributed by Wiser to Vincenet (f.179r), while fascicle 17 opened with a group of paraphrased hymns from the *Sanctorale*, and fascicle 18 with the Easter Sequence *Mundi renovatio*.⁸¹

Apparently lacking further Sequences, though, Wiser continued fascicle 18 with another group of paraphrased hymns and a Magnificat. He also extended the Vespers collection already begun in fascicle 17 with a series of Marian antiphons and two further Magnificats. Vespers items (a fourth Magnificat and two hymns) also entered the final pages of fascicle 16, although this at first had been reserved for Mass ordinary items; it was the presence of these last pieces, doubtless, which prompted the binding (by Wiser or by his successors) of fascicle 16 with the Office music of 17 and 18, although its initial Mass Ordinary contents might have entitled it to a position nearer the "sub-manuscript" of fascicles 1-7.

Two features differentiate this paraphrase collection, with its concentration on Office items, from the larger group of pieces for Mass and Office in fascicles 8-15. Following the initial entries in all three fascicles, ink colors and script styles vary as if to reflect sporadic additions of single items or of small groups of pieces over a considerable period of time, perhaps years. (Diagram 1.6 notes

⁸¹ As will be shown in Chapter Two, the Sequence is actually part of the paraphrase repertory in fascicles 8-15. Like the Genealogy in fascicle 10, which also belongs in that repertory, it seems to have come into Wiser's hands some time before he copied the other paraphrases (ca.1475). Fascicle 18, then, would have been used last among the "mountain" fascicles, perhaps concurrently with fascicle 10, which incorporates a single sheet of "mountain" paper along with the scale-1 type.

these differences in detail.) This contrasts markedly with the large sweeps of uniformity in the first collection, and suggests that while these pieces were available to Wiser in some unified format - reflecting, as Chapter Two will show, their origins in a single compositional center - the repertory in fascicles 16-18 came into his hands, instead, in small increments, perhaps even from different sources. Many of the pieces in these gatherings also contrast with the other paraphrases, which all use normal white notation, through their use of east-European Lorraine neumes (often but incorrectly equated with German *Hufnagel* ⁸²) for cantus firmi. As Chapter Two will show, this notation accords with other evidence to show that the pieces themselves are likely of east-European provenance.

The second hymn added to fascicle 16, a setting of *Ad cenam agni providi*, is by Scribe E. (See Table 1.6.) His music hand markedly resembles Wiser's, both in the formation and placement of the C-clefs and in the shapes of most of the notes, but the wide, tentative spacing of the musical text and the erratic ductus, as well as the different text hand obvious from the textual incipits and the part designations, set it apart. (See Table 1.6.) While Scribe E's contribution to Trent 91 is modest, it provides a remarkable proof of continuity in the Trent collecting tradition: Peter Wright was able to identify his hand in the final layer of Trent 87, earliest of the Trent manuscripts and the product, as we have seen, of Lupi's

⁸² See Solange Corbin, "Neumatic Notations, III: Central Europe", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), esp. Figure 11. Corbin shows that central and eastern European neumatic script, derived from Lorraine rather than St. Gall prototypes, never took on the sharply pointed extremities characteristic of the true German Gothic style known as *Hufnagel*.

circle.⁸³ On the same basis, though, E's presence indicates that fascicle 16 (and, because of their common paper type, 17 and 18 as well) are among the older components of Trent 91.

IV.

Fascicles 19 and 20 are both independent copies of Ordinary cycles similar to fascicle 7; both were, like fascicle 7, contributed by scribes who do not appear elsewhere in the Trent corpus. But these scribes, in contrast to the other "outsiders" A and D, did not work on paper that Wiser and his assistants were also using: each of their fascicles bears its own elaborate "oxhead" design. (See Illustrations 1.5 and 1.6, and Diagram 1.7.) The measurements of the two different rastra used to rule these fascicles also disagree, as noted above, with those of Wiser's usual rastrum traceable in most of Trent 91. All of these circumstances suggest that fascicles 19 and 20 were not only copied but also prepared outside of Trento: they might, in other words, have been exemplars for Wiser, rather than parts of his collection, if some special circumstance had not given him possession of the originals.

Neither watermark in these two fascicles has been precisely dated. But the "oxhead" mark of fascicle 19 resembles that in some

⁸³ See "A Source-Critical Study", pp.78-79. Wright also cites Scribe E's contributions to Trent 88 (ff.384v-386r; Gerber, however, sees this as Wiser's work) and Trent 89 (ff.57v-58r; numerous other contributions could have been adduced from the same manuscript). Wright dates the Trent 87 specimen as only slightly later than the main layer of the manuscript. This would imply that Scribe E was involved in the collection for nearly as long as Wiser; while no attempt has yet been made (by Wright or in the present study) to work out a chronological ordering of his contributions, such an exercise would, like the analysis of changes in Wiser's hand, offer an important index to the relative ages of parts of the collection.

Trento documents dated to the early or mid-1460s; it may, then, be among the older watermarks in Trent 91.⁸⁴

The present fascicle 19 seems to have been assembled, in part, from the unused portions of another, older gathering. An initial repertorial layer entered into that gathering must have included the near-obliterated music on the present fascicle's front recto (f.215r), apparently copied by the same scribe who later entered the main contents of the present fascicle.⁸⁵ (The facing leaf, which might have contained the discantus part of the same composition, was cut away and discarded.) The second bifolium of the present fascicle contains, on its back verso, a setting of the hymn *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, which, since it also appears in Trent 90 ⁸⁶, helps to confirm an early date for the paper and the original entries in fascicle 19. Scribe G, who copied the hymn in Trent 91, may in fact have contributed some other items to Trent 90. (See Table 1.8 and accompanying Example.)

The principal contents of the present gathering is the anonymous *Missa Sig säld und heil*, prefaced by an Introit *Salve sancta parens* set with the same clefs and finals, which brings the cycle into the special Marian genre known as the *Missa de Salve*.⁸⁷ Scribe F (see Table 1.7) set it down almost calligraphically; his

⁸⁴ Chemelli and Lunelli, *Filigrane Trentine*, p. 150 cites similar marks in the Innsbruck section of the Trento Archivio vescovile principato (sezione latina) from the 1460s.

⁸⁵ See Chapter Five's discussion of this piece, which David Fallows has identified as a work by Tourant.

⁸⁶ The concordance is Trent 90, f. 330r (no.1041); see the discussion in Chapter Five.

⁸⁷ *Missae de Salve* have been documented at major cathedrals of the Low Countries (Cambrai, Tournai, Bruges) and were probably in use elsewhere as well. Strohm indicates that Masses used for this purpose at Bruges were compiled from individual movements until close to the century's end; Trent 91's, then, might be among the earliest fully cyclic examples of the type. See Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.23.

script is strongly similar to D's equally professional in its flourishes.

The watermark of fascicle 20 bears little resemblance to any listed by Piccard, but its basic motif - an oxhead surmounted by an elaborate crown - seems, on the evidence of his catalogue, to have attained its maximum popularity in the 1480s; probably, then, this fascicle should be considered as one of the later portions of Trent 91.⁸⁸ Its watermark may, in fact, resemble one of the designs found in the Glogauer Liederbuch, a source also dated, usually, ca.1480. The Liederbuch, a Silesian source, also contains clear parallels to Scribe H's text hand (see Table 1.9), which shows the extreme proclivity toward looped forms characteristic of east-European *bastarda* script⁸⁹; Chapter Four will show how the music Scribe H copied, a Mass cycle, may further the idea of an east-European origin for this fascicle. H left his work somewhat incomplete, so that Scribe Iii, who here served as editor, had to fill in some part designations and text. On several openings, notably that for the

⁸⁸ Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei*, Vol. II/3, Abteilung XV; see, for instance, no. 188, ca. 1481.

⁸⁹ The Glogauer Liederbuch's watermarks have not yet been photographed, since the manuscript has only recently been recovered from its wartime storage, but Heribert Ringmann, its first editor, published descriptions of these which permit some comparison. (See his "Das Glogauer Liederbuch (um 1480)", *ZfMw* 15 (1932), 49-60. Ringmann was unable to find a parallel for this design (fourth in his list of watermarks) in Briquet's catalogue; Trent 91's mark has none there either.

Scribe H's formation of h, b, d, and g, showing a constant tendency to turn ascenders and descenders into right- and left-sweeping ornaments respectively, finds clear parallels among surviving examples of "Bohemian" script from midcentury. For comparison with the Glogauer Liederbuch, see Jessie Ann Owens, ed., *Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Glogauer Liederbuch, Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 6 (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1986); almost any folio executed by the main scribe shows some of these features. For a basic definition of the script type, see Joachim Kirchner, *Scriptura Gothica Libraria* (Munich, 1966), Tabula 64a, *bastarda currens*, Bohemia ca. 1469-75.

The two modern editions of the Glogauer Liederbuch are Heribert Ringmann and Josef Klapper, eds., *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* Vols. 4 and 8 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1936 f.), and Christian Väterlein, *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* Vols. 85 and 86 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981). (EDM 4= *Deutsche Lieder und Spielstücke*; 8= *Ausgewählte lateinische Sätze*; 85-86= [remainder of the Latin-texted pieces].)

initial Kyrie, Scribe H seems, specifically, to have left out his own calligraphic initials in anticipation of others more elaborate still. This might suggest that the Trent collectors obtained the fascicle, possibly as a discard of some kind, from a collection far more pretentious in its presentation than most of Trent 91.

V.

The linked fascicles 21-22 comprise a final subgroup within the manuscript, again with Wiser as copyist. (See Diagram 1.8.) While they use the same type of paper, with a "mountain" watermark, as fascicles 16-18, their margin lines are much less heavily inked in, and the ink used for both these and the staves is a lighter rust-brown than in fascicles 16-18. These last two fascicles, then, must have been prepared on a separate occasion.

Music and text in the main repertorial layer of both gatherings match the staves exactly, implying a quick and orderly copying of the three Mass cycles there. Two songs, copied on the manuscript's final pages, are easily recognizable as additions by Scribe E, who used here the same grey ink as for his contribution to fascicle 16.

Scribe E's presence works, as in fascicle 16, to push the copying date of these Masses back towards the mid-1460s, even in the absence of good watermark data. Also, Wiser's script and layout here recall his work in portions of Trent 88 and 89 probably from that same period: his F-clef flourishes, for example, are still modest in comparison to those of the mid-1470s paraphrase collection, and his mensuration signs are placed within the staff, as in his earlier work. His conjunction of Mass cycles in a series,

linking successive fascicles, is, too, a pattern familiar from Trent 90 and 88. And as subsequent chapters will show, the repertory copied both here and in fascicles 16-18, which use the same paper, fits comfortably with a composition date in the mid-1460s; particularly some Vespers pieces in fascicle 17 show traits suggesting even earlier origins, such as fauxbourdon-like contra lines, parallel cadences, and a general absence of imitative technique.

Assembling all the information now at hand - tentative documentation of watermarks, script analysis, reconstructions of repertorial groupings, and preliminary stylistic observations - we can now put forward the following chronological summary for the various components of Trent 91.

A. Fascicle 19 (single Mass Ordinary cycle)

The paper itself may date from the 1460s, and an older layer of repertory in the fascicle includes a concordance with Trent 90, a manuscript apparently completed ca.1460. The fascicle's main contents were apparently added somewhat later, but it can still be considered as one of the oldest parts of Trent 91.

B. Fascicles 20-21 (three Mass Ordinary cycles) and 16-18 (Vespers "sub-manuscript")

While the "mountain" watermark design found in both these preparation groups has yet to be dated precisely, similar marks are most frequent in Trent archives during the mid-1460s; another "mountain" design in Trent 89 has been dated by Saunders to

ca.1466.⁹⁰ Wiser's script, especially in fascicles 21-22, matches samples datable to approximately that same period. The presence of additions, in both collections, by Scribe E, who was already active ca.1440, argues against any much later date, as do stylistic features of the repertory itself, particularly in the Vespers collection.

However, fascicle 18, which begins with a Sequence similar to those in the later paraphrase collection of fascicles 8-15, may have been used some time after the others within this group, perhaps concurrently with fascicle 10, which contains a single sheet of "mountain" paper and also records paraphrase repertory congruent with that in the later collection.

C. Fascicles 1-5 and 7 (Mass Ordinary settings)

As shown earlier, the two firmly datable pieces in Trent 91 are copied into these fascicles. One, Busnois's *In hydraulis*, sets a *terminus post quem* for them at 1468, and the appearance, as a later addition by Wiser, of *Perfunde caeli rore*, composed in 1473, suggests that year as an approximate later limit for the first layer of entries by Scribe A. Preliminary evaluation of watermarks suggests the same span between 1468 and the mid-1470s; as the following chapter will show, watermarks in the concordance for *In hydraulis* in Munich 3154 (a reading closely related to its Trent counterpart) confirms this estimate.

⁹⁰ See Saunders, "The Dating of the Trent Codices", p.91.

D. Fascicles 6 (Mass Ordinary) and 8-15 (chant paraphrases)

Saunders identifies the scale-1 mark in fascicles 6 and 8-10 with a Piccard example dated ca. 1468, while relating the scale-2 design in fascicles 11-15 to a Trento document dated 1480. Given the repertorial continuity between the two groups, however, Spilsted's archival dating of the scale-2 mark to ca.1475 represents a more reasonable average for both groups. Wiser's script throughout the eight fascicles displays the exaggerated flourishes and other mannerisms identifiable with his style after ca.1473⁹¹, and characteristics of the repertory itself, such as the fluent use of imitation in the paraphrase items, accord well with an idea of both compositional and copying dates ca. 1475.

Support for the order of components presented thus far may be drawn from the inclusion of a single sheet of the "mountain" paper in fascicle 10, which otherwise uses the scale-1 paper type: a scribe would have used up the last remaining sheet of an old paper supply as he prepared fascicles otherwise of new paper, rather than taking up a new type of paper while still preparing fascicles from an older supply.

E. Fascicle 20 (single Mass Ordinary cycle)

The basic design of the watermark in this gathering became most popular in the 1480s, and it may be one of the youngest in Trent 91, dating from ca.1475 or later. Its resemblance to a mark in the

⁹¹ An approximate date for Wiser's late style, as remarked above, may be inferred from his work on *Perfunde caeli rore*.

Silesian Glogauer Liederbuch, from ca.1480, may also prove significant, since both the scribe's hand and the music he copied (to be discussed in Chapter Four) have associations with the eastern reaches of the Empire.

The bound order of Trent 91, then, does not at all reflect the relative ages of its components. The younger material, in divisions C and D above, was placed first, while the older material, in divisions A and B, followed, divided by what is possibly the manuscript's youngest material in division E. Such marked disparity between the bound order and the chronological ages of the manuscript's components implies that some deliberate ordering process determined their final arrangement. The following section will take up this question, examining its significance not only for Trent 91, but for the Trent collection as a whole.

Repertorial Order in the Trent Codices

As we have already seen, two mutually opposed trends of opinion about the origins of the Codices have given rise, in scholarly writings, to two different scenarios of their creation. According to the "Italian" model, the collection was compiled primarily by one man, the priest Johannes Wiser, who was motivated by his needs as a music teacher at the Cathedral School in Trento. Wiser is thought to have done this work within a very short period of time, a decade or less, within Trento itself; he is also thought to have acquired his exemplars largely on his own initiative, capitalizing on the wide variety of sources that became available to him as the result of his

residence on a busy European trade route. The "Austrian" scenario instead puts this same priest, Wiser, in the employ of the Prince-Bishop Hinderbach, ruler of Trento. In this view, the collection may be seen as accumulating more gradually, over much of the two to three decades in which Wiser could have worked for Hinderbach, and as deriving primarily from the musical establishments in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt, where Hinderbach (and, through him, Wiser himself) had connections at the Imperial Court.

The present study advances what amounts to a revised version of the "Austrian" hypothesis. This theory, relying on the recent work of Peter Wright, lays new stress on the large number of Trent contributors other than Wiser, who may be, to some extent, identifiable with a circle of musical amateurs in Trento. While conceding that some of Wiser's work on the collection was completed before 1465, during his tenure at the Cathedral School, the revised theory goes beyond even the traditional version of the "Austrian" model in assigning more importance to Wiser's activities after 1465 - when he may, along with some of his fellow-contributors to the collection, have had opportunities to accumulate repertory while travelling in the service of the Prince-Bishop. With the information just gathered concerning Trent 91, we can now proceed to test the validity of the revised "Austrian" hypothesis. In two fundamental respects, it proves to explain quite efficiently the characteristics just uncovered in this single manuscript - and to apply, potentially, to much of the rest of the Trent collection as well.

First, it seems clear, even through the approximate and provisional chronological information offered in the preceding section, that parts of Trent 91 are considerably later than even the most generous estimates for the completion date of the Codices allowed by the "Italian" hypothesis. That theory, as explained above, sees the bulk of the collection as having been completed by 1465, with the supposedly latest additions (such as *In hydraulis*, in Scribe A's collection) in place by ca.1470, or at any rate before 1475. Apparently, though, the collection that became Trent 91 was scarcely begun in 1465, and was still growing well into the mid-1470s, if not even later. Thus it could have had little to do with Wiser's activities at the Cathedral School, which according to the "Italian" hypothesis provided his main motivation to copy music. Given this new evidence, and bearing in mind the other weaknesses of the "schoolmaster" contention (already discussed in the chapter's first section), we should now be asking just how much Wiser's duties as *magister scholarum* could have had to do, in fact, with any of his copying activity. The revised "Austrian" hypothesis, here, can provide a more realistic motivation (membership in an amateur performing circle - one doubling, perhaps, as the Prince-Bishop's private *cappella*) as well as a more appropriate chronological framework for Wiser's involvement with the collection.

The concept of an amateur circle of scribes and contributors also accords well with the present account of Trent 91 as a *post facto* assembly of diverse components, gathered over a considerable span of time, and bound without respect to the chronology of their

copying. This new formulation, too, questions certain long-standing assumptions about the Codices.

Much writing on the later Trent Codices rests upon a belief that the four large volumes we now have represent, in some sense, the goal of the collection activity: Wisser (as the single leader of the enterprise) is assumed to have envisioned his work, from the start, more or less in its present format. To this end, he is said to have collected, in each instance, "enough material for a codex",⁹² and then to have bound it more or less in the same order in which he had copied it.

This concept is workable enough with regard to certain parts of the collection. A large part of Trent 90, for instance, was (as Bent has shown) copied continuously in its present bound order, from the single exemplar Trent 93*.⁹³ Gerber has demonstrated, too, that substantial portions of Trent 88 were most likely copied as they presently stand.⁹⁴ But for other portions of these manuscripts, and for the whole of Trent 89, which is made up almost entirely of independent fascicles,⁹⁵ the idea of continuous copying is much more difficult to defend. And for Trent 91, as we have seen, it fails to work at all: when its older portions were copied, their binding with

⁹² See Spilsted, "Codex Tridentinus 93", pp.108-117, and Gerber, "Transmission and Repertory", p.40.

⁹³ Bent discusses the continuity of Wisser's procedure in Trent 90 in "Wisser at Work", p.93.

⁹⁴ Gerber ("Transmission and Repertory") provides good evidence that the initial and central portions of Trent 88 were copied essentially as they stand. She makes this, however, a principle for the formation of the Codex as a whole, and so does not fully follow up the implications of fascicles such as no.9, which clearly belongs to a preparation group seen again only much "later" in the manuscript, in fascicles 15-21.

⁹⁵ In Trent 89, approximately half the fascicles are independent copies of Mass Ordinary cycles, with front recto and back verso either left void or filled in with obviously later additions.

its later portions, which are at least a decade younger, could hardly have been foreseen. Trent 91 must have remained for some time, in other words, in an unbound state - a state equally easy to envision for the other portions of the Trent Codices which do not fit the continuous-copying model.

If the Trent Codices were in fact compiled by a group of collectors working together, as the revised "Austrian" hypothesis suggests, this is just the situation to be expected. The natural state of their collection, gained piecemeal and at a leisurely pace, would have coincided with the units just delineated within Trent 91: either individual fascicles, or small groups of fascicles linked in "sub-manuscripts" (the latter possibly copied in long stretches from pre-existent larger collections, in the Trent 93*-90 pattern). Both these formats (particularly the independent fascicles) might, further, have proven convenient for performance by three or four singers within the group.

During the relatively protracted process of assembly, these units could have been organized by "stacking" them together, or otherwise joining them in some provisional fashion. Organizational control over the whole could then have derived, in large part, from a good memory on the part of just one person (Wiser), or perhaps several. But when a sufficiently large number of gatherings had accumulated - and the music in them had, after a period of use, lost some of its novelty - the collectors would have found this provisional system awkward. They would have seen a need to store their holdings, in effect, by binding them together into a book. If

they in fact performed this operation every few years, they would have ended up with just what we now have: a set of volumes whose paper types and musical contents fall into an approximate but still clearly discernible chronological sequence. Some sections - copied not too far apart in time - would be on similar paper; some overlap of these papers would, further, occur between volumes, for the storage operation might take place while a certain type of paper was still in active use, leaving unbound some of the fascicles most recently copied.⁹⁶ The finished books would remain, though, only a *post facto* compilation of copies that saw their main period of use in quite another state. (The fragments surviving in the collection Trent 1947 1-6 are a reminder, too, that there may have been even more music available, but not chosen, for binding - particularly on the secular side of the repertorial spectrum.⁹⁷)

The revised "Austrian" hypothesis, then, appears to hold some promise as a means of explaining the configuration of Trent 91, and of much of the Trent collection in general. In the following chapters, we will see if it can gain further support from the Codices' repertory itself. Before turning to that project, however, let us consider further another issue profoundly connected with any

⁹⁶ Overlap of this type occurs between Trent 90 and Trent 88, and between Trent 88 and 89, constituting a key factor in the chronology now accepted for them. It was first noted in Masukata Kanazawa, "Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1966.

⁹⁷ Trent 1947 1-6 consists of six small units of music: 1947-1 is part of a liturgically mixed plainchant collection (whose exact provenance has not yet been determined), 1947-2 has organ tablatures, 1947-3 is a fragmentary printed discantus partbook, 1947-4 has various French and German secular items, and 1947-5 and 6 are again fragmentary prints. The whole is usually dated (because of the prints) somewhat later than the Codices, ca. 1480-1520, but the scribe of the fourth fragment is possibly identical to Gerber's Scribe II, who added a single item to Trent 88, ff.70v-71r. (See "Transmission and Repertory", p.25.)

discussion of the manuscripts' origins: that of repertorial order in the finished Codices.

The Trent collection has many times been described in unflattering terms as regards repertorial order - "miscellany" being perhaps the most tactful expression applied to it.⁹⁸ To a great extent, this evaluation rests upon the widespread assumption just addressed above: that the Codices are continuously copied, in the format and order we now see. Sometimes, such assumptions result in evaluations of individual Trent volumes as the inferior counterparts of other surviving sources of fifteenth-century sacred music demonstrably planned and executed in their present form - of the Gaffurius Codices, for instance, or of the Modena choirbooks.⁹⁹ These comparisons prove unproductive because they are fundamentally unjust. Most other surviving sources of sacred music from the period were designed for professional singers working in formal establishments, and consequently maintain a fairly high standard of orderliness, arranging music by genre, according to its liturgical use, or even by composer. Since the Trent manuscripts were never associated with any truly professional performing group, they cannot be expected to resemble the sources such groups left us, in terms of consistent applications of ordering procedures.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, Bonetti's citation of Dr. Clemente Lunelli's comment, which she uses to open her discussion of the Codices: "Sono un vero pasticcio." ("La cappella del Duomo di Trento", p. 116.) Hamm's evaluation (in "Interrelationships between Manuscripts and Printed Sources") is also representative: "Coherent, overall organization of contents is foreign to them."
⁹⁹ See, for instance, Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era", *AcM* 34 (1962), 166-184, where the earlier Trent Codices 87 and 92 represent a class of randomly compiled sources, reflecting only "the availability of fascicle-manuscripts", versus other sources which group their contents deliberately.

More often, though, an assumption that the Codices were copied as they stand today leads writers on an opposite tack: the volumes are seen as completely unplanned entities, divorced from any idea of practical use, and instead copied start-to-finish, as music became available for inclusion, with little or no editorial selectivity exercised in the process.¹⁰⁰ This idea, too, is unproductive, for it is contrary to common sense. Far from comparing the Trent collectors with professional musicians, it relies, instead on a notion that they were guided by some special, presumably "medieval" or "humanistic" mentality whereby sheer possession of copied music was a goal in itself.¹⁰¹ For if the scribes, having once gone to the trouble to copy pieces, planned on finding these and using them, in any practical sense at all, at some future point, it seems unlikely that they would have wanted to maintain the copied order of their work in binding, even assuming they could have reproduced this: five thousand pages of *cantus collateralis* ordered on no other basis would surely have been as much of a nightmare for them as for us. Thus, while the finished Codices may not have been the goal of the Trent collectors' activity, in the same sense that the Milan or Modena choirbooks were the intentional creations of their compilers, any idea of their use for practical music-making implies that at least a minimal degree of editorial selectivity and ordering went into their assembly.

¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., Bertran E. Davis, ed., *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, vols. 9 and 10 (Madison, WI.: A.R. Editions, 1978), Preface, p.xii; Davis places the Vincenet *Missa Sine nomine* in a "newer layer" of Trent 91 than the *Missa O gloriosa* because it happens to appear farther back in the manuscript.

¹⁰¹ See especially Staehelin's interpretation of the Codices (in "Trienter Codices und Humanismus") as "[ein] Ausdruck eines spezifisch humanistischen Sammeleifers".

In three of the four later Codices, in fact, an intentional overall organization along liturgical lines is quite readily apparent.¹⁰² Trent 91 and the earlier Trent 88 use a governing scheme shown in Table 1.10. Sorting out original layers of repertory from later additions, and applying a bit of generalization, we can see that both manuscripts begin with cycles and individual items for the Mass Ordinary continue with Mass Proper cycles and Vespers pieces, and then close with a supplement of Ordinary cycles, mostly copied into single fascicles. (In both manuscripts, inter-fascicle additions confirm that these schemes were created at least in part by the original scribes themselves, although later rebinding, as we have seen in Trent 91, may have distorted them to some extent.) Wisser's first manuscript, Trent 90, is similarly ordered: its first fascicles present Mass cycles in the old-fashioned format of its exemplar Trent 93 (a formally structured collection probably produced outside the Trent amateur circle), with movements in separate sections, and five gatherings' worth of miscellaneous Office material then lead, on the Trent 88 model, to a further series of Mass cycles. Even the exceptional fourth case, Trent 89, tends toward a similar plan in that it keeps its non-Mass items together, bunched into three groups of three fascicles each, amidst its prevailing sequence of Mass cycles in separate gatherings.

But these liturgical outlines, while unmistakably present, are very general, so that many aspects of order in the Codices require

¹⁰² Johannes Lupi's probable holdings, Trent 87 and 92, must be considered as a separate problem, since they underwent at least one rebinding process at some early point in their history, and have lost all but the most approximate outlines of generic or liturgical organization. .

further explanation. Something other than liturgical considerations must have dictated, for instance, that the first fascicles of Trent 89 should be where we find them, rather than in the last third of Trent 88, which uses interchangeable paper; similar kinds of reasoning must have led to the creation of Mass "appendices" for both Trent 88 and Trent 91, rather the inclusion of all their Masses together within the front portion of each manuscript. Since simple liturgical or generic considerations do not entirely explain the clearly intentional orderings we find, then, it seems necessary to hypothesize that the Trent collectors considered something like the origins or the stylistic affiliations of the pieces within their independent fascicles and "sub-manuscripts", as they ordered these for placement within a permanent binding.

Certainly some such postulate is essential in any attempt to make sense of the layers of later additions to the manuscripts, by any account one of the most striking and perplexing features of the collection. In the fourth fascicle of Trent 91, for instance, a *Te deum* and a *Credo* stand beside a Latin-texted secular motet and a song contrafact; in the sixth, a song contrafact, two Sequences, and a Communion follow a Mass cycle; in the last fascicle, two secular songs set down without text form a postscript to three Mass cycles. The generic confusion of passages like these must make us wonder, at times, what the Trent scribes could have thought they were doing.

It is probable, of course, that many additions were made simply because space was available for them in manuscripts already

bound.¹⁰³ This seems to have been the case, for instance, with the chant paraphrase items (including the Sequences and the Communion mentioned above) sprinkled through the first fascicles of Trent 91; these, as Chapter Two will show, are adjuncts to the larger paraphrase repertory copied into fascicles 8-15 of the same collection, although they seem to have come to Wiser's attention too late for inclusion there. To keep track of additions of this type, the collectors could have relied on something like a *tabula* for each finished manuscript. Such a list in fact survives for one of Lupi's volumes, Trent 92, because it was bound in with the music; others like it, governing Wiser's portions of the collection, could have remained unbound, and so perished in the course of time. These lists would have been geared to page numbers or gathering signatures subsequently trimmed away in the rebinding process that evidently took place between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴

A *tabula* system would, however, have proven cumbersome in certain respects. It would, for one thing have required constant updating, since additions to the collection were apparently quite frequent; the list governing Trent 92, in fact, fails to reflect the

¹⁰³ Completely empty fascicles (made from a single kind of paper, not used elsewhere in either codex) bound into both Trent 87 and Trent 92 even suggest provision, at the time of binding, for entries to be made later, since very few blank leaves remained elsewhere for that purpose. See Wright, "A Source-Critical Study", pp.62-63

¹⁰⁴ See Ward, "Trent 92-I", p.xxx, and Wright, "A Source-Critical Study", pp.65-67. The index in question replaced a precursor (also bound into the volume) which governed Trent 92-I alone; comparison of the two shows how additions accumulated.

Gathering signatures do exist in Trent 92-I and in parts of Trent 87; these are discussed by Ward and Wright. (Wright also cites an old folio number partially visible in Trent 92-II, "f.144"; see "A Source-Critical Study", p.7.) Spilsted ("Codex Tridentinus 93", p.115) claims that some were legible in Trent 88 (and reflected the bound order of the manuscript) when he saw it, although either mildew or restoration has now reduced these to blurs; Gerber, who worked with the restored manuscript, mentions no signatures.

final layer of additions there. But more importantly, it would have been difficult to apply to the collection in its unbound state - and at least some of the secondary and tertiary layers in the manuscripts surely predate their bindings. It seems natural, then, to presume that the collectors often entered new music - particularly when they had a range of unbound and still partially empty fascicles to choose from - according to the same principles that eventually guided them in combining their fascicles and sub-manuscripts into books: pieces related in origin or in stylistic characteristics belonged together. With this kind of system, one or two good memories could have continued to exert organizational control over the collection, despite the frequency of additions there.

The following study, then, will begin with a proposition that repertorial order in the Codices, as they stand today, reflects to some extent their creators' perception of its significance. (As noted above, though, the preservation of the original fifteenth-century order should be confirmed by fascicle-bridging entries, given the possibility of its disturbance in later rebindings.) For unlike the "Italian" hypothesis, which tends to view the Codices as hastily assembled in an unlikely place, the modified "Austrian" hypothesis advanced here encourages their evaluation as the work of real connoisseurs with some musical skill and taste, and with the opportunities, moreover, to obtain music in several eminent centers of production and performance. In this analysis, the arrangement these collectors finally chose for their vast holdings can amount to a kind of mapping of the musical world they knew - to a point, at

least, where it merits far more serious consideration than it has yet⁷¹ been given.

A Plan for the Study of the Trent Codices

The following four chapters will turn from the general discussion of Trent 91's origins to a closer study of the repertory the manuscript contains. This repertory will be approached, to some extent, in terms of the "sub-manuscripts" delineated above on paleographical grounds, but considerations of genre will also play an important role in its analysis.

In the following chapter, we will first turn to the large paraphrase repertory preserved principally in fascicles 8-15 of Trent 91. This repertory, as will become evident, provides specific support for the "Austrian" hypothesis of the Codices' formation, for the chants on which it is based were those used, in all probability, at the Imperial Court. By demonstrating that the Court was in fact a center of sophisticated polyphonic composition, as well as polyphonic practice, the paraphrase repertory lends new credence to the "Austrian" idea that it was also the center of musical life for the Trent collectors, including Wiser, who may have journeyed there in connection with his employment by Hinderbach.

The third chapter will then take up Scribe A's collection in fascicles 1-4, which will be shown to reflect, by contrast, the musical culture of northern France and Burgundy. This repertory

reveals special ties to the work of Johannes Martini, a Flemish composer who may have spent some time within the creative circle at the Imperial Court. The fourth and fifth chapters will then address Trent 91's collection of unique, anonymous Mass Ordinary compositions. All of these, as will be shown, are traceable with some certainty to the same Imperial Court composers responsible for the paraphrase repertory covered in Chapter Two, reflecting their distinctive applications of compositional techniques derived from the larger world of Franco-Burgundian music. In both of these discussions, Martini's name will emerge once again: as we will see, he may have participated in the particular traditions of Mass Ordinary composition embodied in Trent 91, and may, further, have carried something of these traditions, through his own work, back into the mainstream of musical development in Italy and western Europe.

In summary, this study aims to show that the "Austrian" hypothesis of the Codices' origin is not only valid, but is necessary to the proper appreciation of their significance. Trent 91 particularly, in this view, proves to be no mere miscellany of the century's overall trends, but rather a specific and carefully ordered record of the chief musical developments at the Imperial Court during the later 1460s and early 1470s. And those developments in themselves, as the following discussions will demonstrate, played a far more significant role in the development of the whole of western music during the fifteenth century than has yet been recognized.

**Chapter Two:
Plainchant Paraphrase Compositions in Trent 91:
Trent, Passau, and the Imperial Court**

Most of the pieces preserved in Trent 91 are not, in the strictest sense of the term, original compositions. They are, instead, arrangements, or paraphrases, of ecclesiastical chants, designed for use in the Ordinary and Proper portions of the Mass, and in the Offices of Vespers and Matins. The purpose of this chapter will be to examine these works closely for the first time, to determine their stylistic characteristics, and, principally, to establish for them a new and somewhat surprising historical relevance.

Paraphrase technique is one of two major approaches to the use of preexistent chant material in the fifteenth century,¹ the other

¹ The practice of arranging complete chants in polyphonic settings (rather than just portions of chants, as in organal practice) began more or less with the century, and principally in England. The earliest examples are to be found in fragmentary English manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (e.g., LoBM MS Sloane 1210, with a single hymn setting). The hymns of the Apt manuscript, ca. 1400, are the earliest continental examples, but failed to start any widespread trends there. The Old Hall manuscript (with repertory ca. 1410 or earlier, copied ca. 1420) has a sizeable paraphrase collection, consisting of Ordinary chants set in conductus-like fashion with the cantus firmus as middle part. Other English sources (e.g., the Fountains Fragment) then add to this repertory, expanding its range of chant subjects and paraphrasing techniques to the point where midcentury collections (the Egerton, Pepys, and Ritson MSS) consist largely of paraphrase compositions in all liturgical genres; in general, interest in these persisted longer in England than on the western continent. (See Margaret Bent, "Sources of the Old Hall Music", *PRMA* 94[1967-68], 19-35, and Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall MS: A Reappraisal and an Inventory", *MD* 21 (1967), 97-148, and Ann Besser Scott, "Coherence and Calculated Chaos: the English Composers of Modena, Biblioteca Estense A.x.11 (lat. 471)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1969; compare also Edgar S. Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet* [Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963], Chapters One and Two.)

Paraphrase technique reintroduced on the continent about 1420, quickly reached a vigorous maturity in the early works of Dufay, Binchois, Liebert, Janue, and others of the same generation. These composers replaced the conductus-style approach favored in early English practice with free melodic elaboration of the chant in the discantus line; their music is preserved in such sources as BL, ModB, Aosta, and the earlier portions of the Trent collection itself. (See Sparks, *Cantus Firmus*, Chapter Three, and David Fallows, *Dufay* [London: Dent, 1982], Chapter 11, the best discussion of this paraphrase type presently available.)

being *cantus firmus* technique. A *cantus firmus* composition, such as a Mass or a motet, uses its preexisting material as scaffolding for an extended essay in free composition. The borrowed material - which often comprises only an excerpt from a chant, as in the case, for instance, of the *Caput* melisma - is usually placed in the tenor; there, it acts as the organizational basis for the newly composed voices, which dominate the actual sounding result. Paraphrase composition has a contrasting aim: like the four-part chorale in a later age, it merely presents traditional service material in a modestly ornamented polyphonic format. To this end, the whole chant is placed in a texturally prominent position (usually in the discantus, but sometimes in the tenor²), with melodic additions (cadence formulae, for example) and alterations (such as the excision of very long melismas) applied to bring it into line with fifteenth-century melodic style and syntax, while two or three (occasionally four) newly composed parts supply what amounts to a harmonization. Then as now, such compositions were evidently considered modest, utilitarian affairs, and were seldom signed with their composers' names. All of those in Trent 91 are, as a result, anonymous.

As Chapter One showed, the chant paraphrase compositions in Trent 91 are concentrated in fascicles 8 through 18 of the manuscript, and may be divided into two large collections

² Early English chant settings favored a central- or lower-part placement of the preexisting melody, with minimal ornamentation, while slightly later Burgundian settings tended to use it in the discantus, with the more generous melodic ornaments which, strictly speaking, constitute paraphrase. The Trent 91 repertory is, in general of this second type; tenor placement of the chant is less usual. However, later German paraphrases, such as those in the choirbooks Jena 35 and Weimar A, often revert to simple, low-voice presentations resembling the English type.

distinguished by paper type, by style of compilation, and by repertorial emphasis. Fascicles 8 through 15 use paper with two "scale" watermark designs, dating probably from the mid-1470s, and were filled, for the most part, rapidly and continuously; Diagram 1.5 shows how, in their original ordering, music for the Mass Proper in fascicles 12 through 15 led to a Marian collection in fascicles 11, 8, and 9, which was later overlaid with Mass Ordinary settings (copied in a second round of activity) which extended into fascicle 10. Fascicles 16 through 18, made with the "mountain"-marked paper probably from the later 1460s, are by contrast a Vespers collection, copied (as shown in Diagram 1.6) in several small increments.

This chapter will focus exclusively on the first and larger of these paraphrase collections, that in fascicles 8 through 15. It will be concerned chiefly with the exploration of a new discovery concerning these works, a discovery which binds them together into a single large repertory: the chants arranged in paraphrase there all belong to the rite of the Diocese of Passau, which in the fifteenth century comprised most of present-day Austria. With a high degree of probability, then, the paraphrase compositions themselves are of Austrian origin.

Claims of this type for an exact match between a given chant rite and a given body of paraphrase compositions are usually problematic for two main reasons. First, it is difficult to define precisely the melodic content of a particular local chant tradition; second, paraphrase technique - which is, after all, a form of stylistic translation - has a strong tendency to disguise a chant prototype through melodic ornamentation. In the present case,

though, both of these difficulties are moderated by special circumstances, making possible a clear line of argument.

Musical definition of the Passau rite, on the one hand, is greatly aided by the existence of two prints from the early sixteenth century: a *Graduale* (1511) and an *Antiphonale* (1519).³ Despite the sizeable chronological distance between these sources and the Trent collection (a problem to be addressed in a moment), they provide a more useful basis for paraphrase analysis than might most manuscripts. They amount, in effect, to an intentional and formal definition of the Passau rite's melodic content, issued with the sanction of the Diocese's highest authorities;⁴ manuscripts, usually compiled for the use of individual institutions, do not as a rule profess this kind of explicit authority with regard to an entire regional rite.

The problem of ornamentation in paraphrase, on the other hand, is largely sidestepped in the particular variant of the technique used by the Trent 91 works. Often called *contrapunctus fractus*,⁵ this style relies upon a simple presentation of the chant melody,

³ Both prints are now available in magnificent facsimile editions. See Christian Väterlein, ed., *Graduale Pataviense (Wien, 1511): Faksimile* and *Antiphonale Pataviense (Wien, 1519): Faksimile*, *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, vols. 87 and 88 (Kassel/Basel/London: Bärenreiter, 1985 and 1987). These facsimiles were made from prints preserved respectively in the Austrian National Library (S.A.79.A.4) and the Bavarian State Library at Munich (Res. 2^o Liturg. 11e). Both were printed by Johannes Winterburger of Vienna.

⁴ See the verso of the title page to the *Graduale*, where the printer (Winterburger) specifies the project's aim of defining and regularizing Passau use throughout the geographically large diocese.

⁵ The term derives from German theorists of the sixteenth century; see, for instance, Gallus Dresslerus, *Præcepta Musicae Poeticae*, 1563/64f, p. 6f.. Discussions of the style may be found (to select few examples) in Hermann Zenck, "Grundformen deutscher Musikanschauung" and "Die Musik in Deutschland von 1450 bis 1550", both in his *HZ: Numerus und Affektus* (pp.19-36 and 37-54); in Martin Staehelin, *Der Grüne Kodex der Viadrina: Eine wenig beachtete Quelle zur Musik des späten 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Mainz/Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971), *passim.*; and in Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs* (Bern/Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1977), vol. 3, pp.19-20, and in Väterlein, *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, p.344.

consistently using longer values than those in the accompanying parts. Sizable stretches of breves and longs in the chant-bearing voice result. These can be readily compared to the melodies presented in the two Passau prints - and found, in the majority of cases, to match nearly perfectly. Illustrations 2.1a and 2.1b, which juxtapose a sample chant-bearing line (from the antiphon *O florens rosa*) with its proposed prototype in the Passau *Antiphonale*, show how even the ligation patterns used in the chant reappear in the polyphony: such shared configurations strongly suggest that both the paraphrase composer and the printmaker, although they worked some forty years apart, drew upon closely related sources. Table 2.1 shows the Trent 91 paraphrase pieces aligned with their proposed sources in the Passau rite, and indicates the degree of congruence found in each case.

Before leaving Trent 91's second paraphrase repertory - which will not be discussed further in this chapter - it is worth observing that a preliminary evaluation of *cantus firmi* in the hymns copied there supports the thesis just advanced for the pieces in the first paraphrase collection, in fascicles 8-15: the Vespers collection too appears to be of lower-Austrian origin.⁶ Since the melodies upon which its hymns are based are not included in either of the Passau prints (although the *Antiphonale* gives incipits for their texts⁷),

⁶ Two melodies, the Marian Antiphon *Salve regina* and the Dedication hymn *Urbs beata ierusalem*, are set in both collections. (See appropriate Diagrams.) In both cases, the Vespers collection uses neumatic notation for the *cantus firmus*, while the larger collection has normal white notation. No substantial melodic variants, however, exist in either case, further supporting the idea of closely related, though not identical, origins for the two collections.

⁷ The *Antiphonale* gives incipits, for instance, for *Exultet celum laudibus* at First and Second Vespers in the Common of Apostles (ff.245r, 249v), or for *Urbs beata ierusalem* at the same points in the Dedication observance (ff.239r, 244v).

arguments concerning them cannot proceed in quite the same fashion. However, Table 2.2 shows that the majority of their melodies, as well as their texts, can be correlated with the fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg Hymnary, a manuscript published by Bruno Stäblein as a representative of Austrian practice, and traced by him to Klosterneuburg itself - a city just east of Vienna, and similarly part of the Diocese of Passau.⁸ On this evidence, most of Trent 91's hymns could have been used in the Passau rite, along with the pieces in the larger collection; certainly all of their texts appear in manuscript and print presentations of the Passau Breviary from the early fifteenth century on.⁹

The potential significance of a Passau provenance for Trent 91's paraphrase collection is readily apparent. At the end of the fifteenth century, the huge Diocese of Passau included the heartlands of the Holy Roman Empire - the city of Vienna itself, as well as the nearby fortress-palace of Wiener Neustadt, a principal seat of the Hapsburg Emperors prior to about 1480.¹⁰ Hence, as Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig established over thirty years ago, it was

⁸ See Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen*, Vol. I of *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* (Kassel/Basel: Barenreiter, 1956), pp.209-247 (edition) and 565-578 (discussion of the source's provenance). The Table also locates some of Trent 91's hymn melodies in the last portion of the *Codex Speciaľnik*, and in a Psalter from Pressburg, near the Austro-Hungarian border; these may be consulted in B. Rajecy, *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi* (Budapest, 1956).

Table 2.2 is based, with some modifications, on the cantus firmus identifications given in Tom R. Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn, 1400-1520: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1980), which incorporates Ward's earlier dissertation study, "The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century Until the Early Sixteenth Century", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969.

⁹ See the Tables of Office orders given in Georg-Hubertus Kamowka, *Breviarium Passaviense: Das Passauer Brevier im Mittelalter und die Breviere der altbayerischen Kirchenprovinz*, Münchener Theologische Studien 44 (Erzabtei St. Ottilien: Eos, 1983), pp. 318-326.

¹⁰ The city of Vienna was made a nominally separate diocese in 1469, but this seems to have had little, if any, effect upon its liturgical practice; see Väterlein, *Graduale Pataviense*, Preface, p.v. Wiener Neustadt remained part of Passau until 1784.

For a discussion of the Imperial Court's residence at Wiener Neustadt during the 1460s and 1470s, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Der junge Maximilian* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1959).

Passau's rite that furnished Heinrich Isaac, greatest of the composers retained by the Emperor Maximilian I, with the basis for much of his monumental *Choralis Constantinus*, a cycle of paraphrases covering the entire church year.¹¹ The chant paraphrases in all of the Trent Codices have long been cited, in a general sense, as antecedents to Isaac's work.¹² Now, though, the establishment of Passau's rite as the source of a well-defined group of pieces there - the first paraphrase collection within Trent 91 - makes possible a newly precise historical reconstruction. Wiser evidently preserved, in these central fascicles of his last manuscript, a paraphrase tradition already flourishing in the chapel of Maximilian's father and predecessor, the Emperor Friedrich III (r. 1439-1493) - a tradition which Isaac, a generation later, was to carry to its highest level of artistic fulfillment in the *Choralis Constantinus*.

The remainder of this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section will undertake a thorough stylistic

¹¹ See Gerhard-Rudolf Pätzig, "Liturgische Grundlagen und handschriftliche Überlieferung von Heinrich Isaacs 'Choralis Constantinus'", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1956. Excerpts from this work were published as "Heinrich Isaacs 'Choralis Constantinus' - eine posthume Werksammlung", in *Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Kassel 1962* (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1963), pp.114-116.

While Pätzig's conclusions have won wide acceptance, subsequent studies have uncovered numerous minor variants, not addressed by his study, between the Passau prints and their settings by Isaac and his successor at the Imperial Court, Ludwig Senfl. As Väterlein (*Graduale Pataviense*, Preface, p.v) points out, these variants may imply that both composers worked from a special Gradual used exclusively by the Imperial Court, which differed in certain small details from the Passau rite to which, on the whole, it adhered. Some of the minor differences between the Trent 91 paraphrases and their models in the Passau prints may prove explicable along the same lines, as much as through the chronological gap between the sources.

¹² See, for instance, Walter Lipphardt, *Die Geschichte des mehrstimmigen Proprium Missae* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1950), pp.32f. Lipphardt cites comments to the same effect by both Haberl (in his announcement of the Codices' discovery; see Chapter One, note 5) and Wolfgang Stephan (in *Die Burgundische-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghem's* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937].)

examination of Trent 91's Passau paraphrases, in order to establish their consistency and uniformity as a repertory. It will show, further, how this repertory links up with another body of paraphrases drawn from the same chant rite and preserved in a source roughly contemporary with Trent 91, the Glogauer Liederbuch. A second section will then assemble arguments supporting the identification of this extended Passau repertory with the vanished choirbooks of the Imperial Chapel from ca. 1470. It will focus first on liturgical evidence - on establishing, that is, a unique link between the paraphrases and the Passau rite, as distinct from the rites of other Dioceses nearby - and, subsequently, on the evidence for a large-scale musical establishment capable of producing the paraphrases at Friedrich's court of the 1460s and 1470s; it will be shown that composers in the imperial Chapel had already founded a paraphrase tradition years before the Trent 91 pieces were written. Finally, the chapter's conclusion will evaluate the potential historical importance of the paraphrase collection in Trent 91: as evidence of a thriving practice of polyphonic composition at the Imperial Court, carried on independently by composers resident there, it makes possible an entirely new evaluation of the manuscript's other contents.

The Paraphrase Repertory Based on the Passau Rite

Trent 91's is not the only paraphrase repertory to show affiliations with the rite of Passau. A still more extensive selection of such pieces is to be found in a source best known as the Glogauer Liederbuch.¹³

The Glogauer Liederbuch (actually comprising three paper partbooks) has yet to be subjected to thorough paleographical scrutiny. Following the assembly of a partial edition in the 1930s, it was, like many of the Prussian State Library's other manuscript treasures, hidden for safety during World War II, and believed lost afterwards; a new edition, made from a microfilm, was already complete when the source once again turned up.¹⁴ Clearly, though, this collection is roughly contemporaneous with much of Trent 91. It is also similar to the Trent sources in general in that it was compiled for private or amateur use in a small city (in this case probably Glogau, in Silesia) on the edge of the Imperial Court's cultural orbit.¹⁵

The Glogauer Liederbuch (hereafter called Glo) contains a sizeable repertory of secular music, including polyphonic songs of both German and foreign origin, as well as textless instrumental pieces. This repertory has, from the time of Glo's discovery, attracted most of the scholarly attention directed toward the source

¹³ For full citations of the published presentations of this source, which include two partial editions and a facsimile reproduction, see Chapter One, note 89.

¹⁴ Väterlein, who prepared the new edition of the Liederbuch, was able to consult the original manuscript only for corrections to his transcriptions; see *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, Vorwort (Nachtrag), p.vii.

¹⁵ For the arguments concerning the source's provenance, see Väterlein, *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, pp.347-348.

(as its "Liederbuch" sobriquet attests). Glo's Latin-texted paraphrases, however, make up the bulk of its contents: it was designed, like the Trent Codices, as a predominantly sacred source.

Glo's ties to Trent 91 in this sacred repertory have long been recognized. The many concordances linking them (see, again, Table 2.1) are even sufficiently close in their readings to have elicited theories whereby one source could have been copied directly from the other, despite their survival hundreds of miles apart; a common parent source for the two is now acknowledged as the more likely explanation.¹⁶ But this idea takes on its full significance only with a realization of the striking stylistic consistency between the entirety of Trent 91's paraphrase repertory and those other pieces in Glo whose cantus firmi are also traceable in the Passau rite - a category comprising many, though not all, of the Latin-texted items there.¹⁷ (See Table 2.3.) Concordances, in other words, make up only one category of links between these collections.

Several stylistic factors operate to bind the two repertories together from a musical standpoint.

¹⁶ Heribert Ringmann, who prepared Glo's first modern edition, believed that some kind of acquaintance between Bishop Rudolph of Breslau and Johannes Hinderbach, Prince-Bishop of Trent, led to a direct copying of one source into the other; since he subscribed to Wolkan's theory regarding the Trent Codices, he placed this contact in Vienna. (One factor Ringmann found particularly persuasive was a number of successions of items common to the two sources; see Tables 2.1 and 2.3.) Väterlein, while he cites this idea, does not endorse it, pointing out that closer inspection of the readings debars any possibility of a direct filiation between them; he argues instead for a common parent source. (See Ringmann, EDM 4, p. 101, and Väterlein, p.346.)

¹⁷ Väterlein traced cantus firmi not found in the Passau prints in three principal manuscript sources: the Caslau Antiphonale, the Kuttentberg Gradual, and the Neumarkt Cantionale, all fifteenth-century sources apparently created in the Bohemian cities whose names they bear. Some further items were traced to the Breslau Agenda, a 1496 print. (See *Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, p.346.)

1. The treatment of cantus firmi

Like the Trent 91 paraphrases, those in Glo present their Passau-derived chants largely as straight successions of breves, with occasional longs, rests, and modest syncopation patterns; if the chant is placed in the discantus part, it will also acquire a modicum of cadential ornamentation, but tenor chant lines are usually not modified even to this extent.¹⁸ As with the Trent 91 paraphrases, this simplicity of approach renders the chant prototypes of Glo's paraphrases relatively easy to reconstruct. To a substantial degree, though, those pieces in Glo whose melodies and texts are not present in the Passau prints favor a more active, ornamentally oriented melodic line, suggesting that they do not share the common origin proposed here for the Trent 91-Glo Passau repertory. Examples 2.1a, b, and c show some chant-derived lines for comparison.

2. Rhythmic language

The preference for cantus firmus in straight, unornamented breves leads to a predominance of imperfect time, signed either ♩ or C2 , among the Passau settings of both Trent 91 and Glo. Perfect time does provide some variety, though, in alternate verses of most Sequence settings; perfect time in diminution (signed O2) is also the overall sign for a few further items, being marginally more

¹⁸ For ready illustrations of the differences between discantus and tenor cantus firmus treatment, see any of the Sequences in either Trent 91 or Glo, which use the two textures alternately in successive verses.

popular in Gio's non-Passau repertory.¹⁹ In both perfect-time contexts, the paraphrase line includes more passing tones and other ornaments than appear in imperfect time.

Accompanying voices, in this repertory, move faster than the part bearing the chant, generally in semibreves against its breves. Dotted semibreve-minim patters are frequent, and many involve a dissonant cambiata or échappée on the minim, resolved by skip. Semiminims occur mostly where the minims in such patterns subdivide. On the whole, the rhythmic language is strongly metric, as the accompanying parts reinforce the steady tread of the chant, with only occasional and transitory efforts at syncopation. Cadences, without exception, fall on the downbeats of tempora. (Transcriptions Nos. 8-13 may be compared here with Examples 2.2a and 2.2b from Gio.)

3. Vocal texture

As Table 2.4 shows, the vocal textures of the Passau works in Trent 91 and in Gio present a surprisingly unified picture. Three-part writing, the only kind eligible for preservation in Gio, is also the norm in Trent 91. The relations of the three parts to one another are, further, highly predictable, suggesting something like a coherent policy for the creation of accompaniments in both repertories.

Tenor lines, as is evident in the Table, are usually cleffed either a fifth or a seventh below the discantus, depending upon

¹⁹ See, for instance, Gio Nos. 104 (the Antiphon *Pax aeterna*, from the Breslau Agenda), most perfect-time items in Gio are hymns not traceable to the Passau rite but also not necessarily excluded from it.

whether the discantus itself, normally the chant-bearing part, is authentic or plagal. To put this another way, the tenor, in these paraphrases, always occupies an authentic range between the discantus (chant) final and the transposition of that same tone an octave down (the tenor's own position in cadences on the final). Two distinctive sounding textures result: if the chant-bearing discantus is itself authentic, it will move against the tenor mostly in sixths, octaves, and tenths, isolating the melody from its accompaniment to some degree; if, on the other hand, it is plagal, it will tend to create with the tenor a denser texture of thirds, fifths, and sixths. This kind of predictable difference in the handling of authentic and plagal chants, traceable in both repertoires, does much to argue for their common origin.

The contratenor, meanwhile, is cleffed consistently a third below the tenor, in both authentic and plagal paraphrases from both repertoires. It has a considerably wider range than the other two parts, though, because it combines the functions of a contratenor bassus with those of an old-fashioned middle-part contra: frequently, it runs in fauxbourdon-like parallel fourths with the discantus, although it also executes octave leaps at final cadences. In Trent 91's few instances of four-part paraphrases (see Transcriptions Nos. 10 and 12) the contra bassus retains this same position and nature, so that the presence of a second contra, coextensive with the tenor line, results in a sometimes impenetrable texture. Occasional duos, though, provide variety in both three- and four-part writing. Examples 2.2a and b, again, illustrate these characteristics in pieces from Glo; they may be

compared to the three-voice items in Transcription Nos. 8, 9, 11, and 13 from Trent 91.

4. Imitation

Imitation makes a distinctive contribution to the Passau paraphrases in both Trent 91 and Glo, especially in pieces where the chant is carried by the discantus. It appears principally in the form often called "preimitation": in the interludes between phrases of the chant, the accompanying tenor (and often the contra as well) sounds the initial intervals of the cantus firmus either a fifth or an octave below its actual point of entry, usually in rhythmic diminution. Two or three such rounds or preimitation may turn up in the course of a setting, while the chant's other phrases appear without introduction. Examples 2.3a and b show this procedure in pieces from both Glo and Trent 91.

Apart from these specific points of musical style - paraphrase procedure, rhythmic vocabulary, vocal texture, and the use of imitation - two further musical factors operate to bind the Trent 91 and Glo paraphrases of Passau chants into a single repertory.

One of these is the phenomenon of "twin" paraphrases, or settings of the same chants seemingly designed to be used in pairs: one places the melody in the discantus, the other in the tenor. Near-identical versions of the chant, as well as strikingly similar contrapuntal frameworks for it, strongly suggest a compositional rather than a *post facto* pairing; in fact Bruges archives, at least, specifically record the preparation of such paraphrase sets, which

were doubtless useful in liturgical situations such as processions.²⁰ Table 2.5 lists pairs of this kind in Trent 91 and Glo. As is evident, two pairs are unique to Trent 91, while two others share one member with Glo. One pair, however, bridges the two sources: Trent 91 has the tenor setting of the Antiphon *O sapientia*, while Glo has the discantus setting. (The Glo work is published as No. 30, in EDM 85.) The chant lines in these two works are identical, down to their ligation patterns and to the fermatas both place on the c (c') near the close of the melody; clearly they are as much a unit as any of the pairs whose members both appear in Trent 91. Repertorial overlap of this kind argues, even more powerfully than yet another concordance might do, that the two collections drew upon the same, much larger paraphrase assembly as source.

A similar bond may be deduced from pieces such as the three Readings from the Prophet Isaiah, used at Christmas Day Matins. (See Tables 2.1 and 2.3 for the specific locations of these works.) Trent 91 and Glo present separate settings of the three texts,²¹ but these can be seen to elaborate their common chant basis, a Reading Tone,²² in strikingly parallel ways: their application of cadential tones and other ornaments is roughly similar; Trent changes to perfect time in passages where Glo employs syncopation; brief

²⁰ See Strohm's comments on a set of polyphonic processional antiphons copied in Bruges during 1380-81, in *Music in Bruges*, p.16.

²¹ The texts themselves also vary between the two pairs of settings. This is not necessarily a bar, though, to their derivation from the same rite; Karnowka (*Das Breviarium Passaviense*, p.328, note 1562) states that while the beginnings of the three Christmas Readings were always uniformly placed (at Isaiah 9:1, 40:1, and 52:1, as seen in both sets here), their exact length and makeup varied from source to source.

²² On the "Germanic" Reading Tone underlying all six pieces, see Theodor Göllner, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*, Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: Schneider, 1969), Chapter 1.

passages of imitative writing, in much the same style, crop up at the same textual points. In short, while no explicit common material (apart from the Tone itself) links the two works, they show a similarity of approach sufficiently marked to imply that one might be a kind of recomposition of the other, created within the same circle of paraphrase practitioners. The same relation obtains between the settings of Sequence melodies represented in both collections. It makes practical sense that such chants, needed for a variety of liturgical purposes, should have been available in more than one polyphonic format for the use of a single establishment; perhaps, too, a natural preference for novelty led to the periodic production of fresh settings, although the techniques of paraphrasing involved remained as constant as the chants themselves.

An assembly of the Trent 91 and Glo paraphrases also shows that, together, they display a liturgical unity and coherence greater than that in either collection taken on its own. As Tables 2.1 and 2.3 show, settings tend to cluster around the same feasts, with the two groups less often duplicating than supplementing one another in provision for those feasts. At Christmas, for instance, Glo provides a responsory for First Vespers, Trent has one for the first Nocturn of Matins, and both provide *Verbum caro factum est* for both Matins and Second Vespers, together with the Matins Readings from Isaiah; for Christmas Day Mass, Trent 91 provides an Alleluia, and Glo a Sequence. At Easter, each collection includes three items for the procession before Mass, and another for the Vespers procession; Trent 91 also has five items for Mass, one of which (the Sequence

Victimae paschali laudes) has a parallel in Glo. As the chapter's next section will show, too, the collections make together a near-complete provision for the Commons of the Blessed Virgin, in a unique Passau formulation.

With these liturgical, repertorial, and stylistic factors working to bind them together, then, it makes sense to consider Trent 91's paraphrases on Passau chants together with those related to the same rite in the Glogauer Liederbuch as the remnants of a single large paraphrase repertory emanating from a single compositional center. It seems, too, that other manuscripts of the same age and general provenance as these two may bear further witness to the existence of such a repertory. The Strahov Codex, for instance, contains several settings of an Easter Sanctus melody known in monophonic form almost exclusively from the Passau rite;²³ the Codex Specíálník contains a Marian Votive Mass, closely matched in style to the Trent 91/Glo repertory, and based on chants prescribed in the Passau *Graduale* for this liturgical occasion²⁴; even the earlier Trent Codex 88 (ff.94v-95r) contains a Gloria, added

²³ Of Strahov's five Sanctus settings, three are based on this melody. Snow, who knew only of its unique manuscript reading in the Bohemian Kuttenberg Gradual, interpreted its presence in Strahov as evidence of that collection's Bohemian or Silesian origin. It is also set, though, in Trent 91, on ff.114v-115r, where it certainly figures as part of the uniform paraphrase repertory in fascicles 8-15.

Snow characterizes two of the Strahov settings as simple, even crude, but the third (No.15) he rates highly, suggesting that it may be the work of Johannes Touront. See Robert J. Snow, "The Manuscript Strahov, D.G.IV.47", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1968, p.78.

²⁴ The Codex Specíálník has, on p.327 ff., a Marian Mass including almost all of the items specified by the Passau rite for Marian Votive Masses in Advent: the Introit *Rorate caeli*, the Gradual *A summo caelo*, the Alleluia *Prophetae sancti*, and the Sequence *Mittet ad virginem*. (See the *Graduale*, f.170r; the Offertory *Ave Maria* and the Communion *Ecce virgo concipiet* appear, with another setting of the Sequence, in Trent 91, as Table 2.1 shows.) Both a Kyrie and a Sanctus from Passau's Marian Ordinary repertory are also present in the Specíálník cycle.

Stylistically, the Marian cycle is very close to the Trent 91/Glo repertory. Although Specíálník is usually dated later than both these sources (ca.1500), then, the possibility that it includes a part of the same repertory should remain open. See Orel, "Der Mensuralkodex Specíálník".

in Wiser's "late" hand, which uses the *Gloria Paschale* melody of the Passau rite and fits precisely with the stylistic profile of the Trent 91/Glo repertory.

The common denominator among all of these sources is, of course, their creation within Imperial territory, by musicians with cultural and political ties to the Holy Roman Emperor and to his capital at Wiener Neustadt. The most logical location for that single large, Passau-based paraphrase repertory upon which all of them evidently drew is, then, the Imperial Court Chapel itself. In the next section of the chapter, we will now consider the liturgical and historical background for this assertion.

The Imperial Court as the Source of the Paraphrase Repertory

In order to establish a convincing link between the paraphrase repertory of Trent 91 and Glo (which is shared to a lesser extent, as we have seen, by other manuscripts from various parts of the Empire) and the Imperial Chapel of Friedrich III, we must answer two principal questions. First, is it possible to show that the paraphrases could have come *only* from the rite of the Diocese of Passau, which was (in all essential respects) that of the Court itself? If their Passau provenance is certain, then their assignment to the Court Chapel seems fairly secure, since no other musical establishments of comparable sophistication seem to have existed within the Diocese of Passau during the later 1460s and early

1470s, when they were composed.²⁵ If, on the other hand, their affiliation with Passau is ambiguous, the possibility remains open that they came, instead, from one of the larger musical centers flourishing in nearby dioceses - with that of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, at nearby Innsbruck, as a leading candidate. As a second question, is there in fact evidence to support an idea of a genuinely "sophisticated" musical establishment - one capable of independent polyphonic composition in a fully modern style, as opposed to a mere performing force for polyphony - at the court of Friedrich III?

Completely satisfying answers to both of these questions must rest on a far broader base of research than is presently available. With regard to the first, the systematic study of German chant dialects - and, especially, of the relevance of such dialects to late fifteenth-century polyphony - has scarcely begun. And with regard to the second question, a long-standing tendency, in historical writing about the fifteenth century, to view Germany and Austria as a culturally backward region, dependent upon imported polyphony, has substantially discouraged attempts to study such establishments as did exist, so that archival investigations into the Imperial Court and its neighboring institutions within the city of

²⁵ Strohm, "Native and Foreign Polyphony", and Gruber, "Beginn der Neuzeit" summarize the available evidence on this issue. (Both draw upon the fundamental early study of J. Mantuani, *Geschichte der Musik in Wien* (Vienna, 1904), 2 vols.) Although several establishments in the city of Vienna itself probably produced some polyphony, the music (and particularly the chant arrangements) most likely connected with them tended to be simpler in style than the Trent 91/Gio paraphrases, often relying on black notation. Some of the paraphrases in Trent 91's fascicles 16-18 may in fact come from such Viennese institutions, with the Cathedral of St. Stephan as one leading possibility. A forthcoming extended study will explore this question more fully.

See also Ian Rumbold, "The Compilation and Ownership of the 'St. Emmeram' Codex (MuBS Clm 14274)", *EMH* 2 (1982), 161-236, and Reinhard Strohm, "Zur Datierung des Codex St. Emmerams", in *Wolfenbüttler Forschungen* 26 (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp.229-238.

Vienna have remained confined, at least for the purposes of musical history, to a fairly superficial level. The present discussion, then, can make no attempt to hide its preliminary and inconclusive nature; it can merely assemble some of the information now available, and point out potentially fruitful areas for future research.

Let us first turn to the problem of Passau's chant melodies and of their relation to the Trent 91/Glo paraphrases. Illustration 2.2 shows the group of five dioceses known collectively as the Bavarian Church Province (*bayerische Kirchenprovinz*). Passau, as can be seen, is geographically the largest of these; it is also probably the oldest, with Christian traditions reaching back into late Roman times.²⁶ The structure of the *Kirchenprovinz* dates from 798, when an edict of Charlemagne established Salzburg as an Archbishopric, with Passau, Regensburg, Freising, and Säben (soon afterwards replaced by Brixen) as its Suffragans. This hierarchy still obtained, at the time the Trent Codices were created, as the ecclesiastical substructure of the Holy Roman Empire, with the hereditary Habsburg lands themselves lying (as the start of the chapter observed) largely within the Diocese of Passau.

Passau's chant rite evolved from an importation of Roman tradition via the ancient see of Metz, farther west; this process was completed before 750, roughly contemporaneously with the imposition of Roman use in Frankish territories. The Passau rite then began to establish its independence from western traditions

²⁶ The following account of the Diocese's history draws largely upon Kamcwkka, *Das Breviarium Passaviense*, pp.1-10.

during the twelfth century. By 1470, when a synod was held at Passau under Bishop Ulrich von Nüssdorf, it had become a well-defined liturgy with distinctive repertorial characteristics; a chief aim of the synod, in fact, was to establish regulations (backed up with penalties) ensuring uniform use of the rite throughout the diocese.²⁷ Essentially in this form, the Passau rite was then formalized and preserved in a series of prints (including the Gradual and the Antiphoner used in this study) which continued to appear periodically until the diocese adopted Post-Tridentine Roman use in 1608. Such pronounced stabilization, at around the time that the Trent91/Glo paraphrases were composed, makes feasible the comparison of these works to the prints prepared several decades later.²⁸

The rite of Passau stood apart, to a substantial extent, not only from that of Rome, but from that of its four companion dioceses within the Archbishopric of Salzburg, largely because resident monastic orders exercised greater influence, politically and liturgically, in the other sees than in Passau.²⁹ Still, Passau's historical status as one of five closely knit ecclesiastical territories has obvious consequences for the assignment of specific provenance to the Trent 91/Glo paraphrase repertory. The

²⁷ Compare Saunders's account of similar proceedings, a few years earlier, in the neighboring diocese of Brixen ("The Liturgies of Trent and Brixen", p.182).

²⁸ Karnowka, *Das Breviarium Passaviense*, pp.6-7, cites a first edition of the printed Passau Breviary in 1481. A few changes were made in two editions appearing in 1490, which thereafter served as models for subsequent prints up until 1608. Other printed liturgical books for the Passau rite included three Agendas (1498, 1500, and 1514), a Directorium (1518), a diurnale (1520), a Missal (multiple editions after 1494), and a Psalter (1490). For bibliographical details, see David Crawford and James Borders, *Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census* (data base, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan). I thank Professors Crawford and Borders for allowing me to consult the *Census* in its present preliminary form.

²⁹ See Karnowka, *Das Breviarium Passaviense*, pp.8-9 and 401-402.

paraphrases use chants found in the Passau rite, as this is defined by its early-sixteenth-century appearance in print: this much is clear. However, the Passau rite shares many, even most of its texts with neighboring dioceses, as surviving non-noted sources (Breviaries and Missals, principally) from these other rites show. And while comparison of melodic traditions is difficult, since the rites of Salzburg, Freising, Regensburg, and Brixen never defined their melodies in print as did Passau, it seems extremely likely that the five traditions shared melodies as well, or at least used very similar versions of the same melodies. Thus we confront the question that began this discussion: could a paraphrased melody apparently fitting into the Passau rite also fit into that of a neighboring Diocese - and thus prove traceable, as a composition, to a center other than the Imperial Court in Passau?

Until the extant manuscript sources for melodies from all five Dioceses have been systematically evaluated and compared - a major undertaking, not attempted in the present study - any answers to this question will have to remain at least partly in the realm of surmise. A few preliminary comparisons, though, bear out an idea that Passau's melodic repertory will prove distinctive enough to establish its status, some day, as the definitive progenitor of the Trent 91/Glo paraphrases. Example 2.4, for instance, shows readings of the short Marian Antiphon *Sicut liliū inter spinas* from both the Passau and the Salzburg traditions; as is evident, the paraphrase (Example 2.4c) clearly favors the Passau version.

Similarly, comparisons of non-noted sources from Passau's neighboring Dioceses to the *Graduale* and *Antiphonale* from Passau

itself suggest that future research will confirm an assignment of the paraphrases to Passau alone, and thereby to the Court Chapel. In some cases, texts set within the paraphrase repertory simply do not show up in rites other than Passau's. Brixen, for instance, does not specify the use of the Sequence *Mundi renovatio*, nor of the processional Antiphons *Cum rex gloriae* and *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum*, in the course of its Easter liturgy: this would tend to disqualify it as the source of Trent 91's settings of those texts.³⁰

In other instances, the paraphrases include texts which, while not unique to the Passau rite, are only there grouped into the kinds of important and unified liturgical configurations which most clearly invite musical elaboration. The most significant among these configurations is Passau's Commons for the Blessed Virgin Mary. These were especially important in the Passau rite, since every Saturday they displaced the normal Office observances of the day.³¹ Table 2.6 shows, in its left-hand columns, the Office items dictated by the Passau Antiphoner for use in Commons services. As the asterisks indicate, musical settings survive in the Trent 91/Glo repertory to match nearly all of these items.³² Only through the Passau liturgy, though, can they be marshalled into such an orderly

³⁰ Paraphrases for certain Saints' days are also found in the Passau rite, but not in the neighboring traditions. For instance, the feast of St. James (July 25) is celebrated, in the Passau rite, with a Second Vespers, which includes the Magnificat Antiphon *Admirans Christi*, set as Glo No. 129. In the neighboring traditions, this item most often fails to appear, since the Second Vespers of St. James is replaced by the First Vespers of St. Anne. See Karnowka, *Das Breviarium Passaviense*, p. 35.

³¹ See Karnowka, *Das Breviarium Passaviense*, p.9.

³² Väterlein (*Das Glogauer Liederbuch*, p. 364) identified the group of five Antiphons used at First Vespers in Passau's Marian Commons through their appearance earlier in the *Antiphonale* as Matins Antiphons for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. (In the Commons, only their textual incipits are given.) Consequently, he drew no particular connection between these works and the other Antiphons concordant between Trent 91 and Glo, which are designated for second Vespers of the Commons.

pattern: the rightward columns on the Table show that even where Passau's neighbors use some of these texts (a different selection in each case) in their own Marian Commons, they fail to present them in the unified series evident in Passau. Elsewhere in Europe, Marian devotions on Saturdays were important occasions for polyphonic performance.³³ Since the Passau rite, then, can unify a majority of the Marian paraphrases in Trent 91 and Gio into a single coherent, even continuous performance series, it seems to be the correct prototype. Further inquiry into the sources is now needed to support this conclusion.

Our second question concerning the Passau paraphrase repertory - the question as to the artistic status of Friedrich III's chapel - is somewhat easier to answer comprehensively and positively. On the whole, Friedrich's musical establishment has fared poorly in the lottery of historical preservation; the short accounts by Hans Joachim Moser and Hellmut Federhofer remain the only first-hand studies of documents bearing on his chapel partly because - as both these early researchers reported - so few such documents survived.³⁴ Still, sufficient material does remain to substantiate an idea that polyphony was indeed practiced at Friedrich's court well before the marriage (1477) of his son, the

³³ See Strohm, *Music in Bruges*, p.86, for comments on this point.

³⁴ Moser's study of the Imperial Court establishment is part of his biography *Paul Hofhaimer: Ein Lied- und Orgelmeister des deutschen Humanismus* (2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1929; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), pp.10-11 and p. 170, note 16. See also Hellmut Federhofer, "Die Niederländer an den Hapsburgerhofen in Österreich", *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jg. 1956, no. 7, pp.102-120. Both these studies are summarized by Gruber, ("Beginn der Neuzeit", pp. 183-190), who also refers to more recent (and still largely unpublished) archival work by Dr. Roland Schäffer of Graz.

future Maximilian I, to Mary, daughter of and heir to Charles the Bold, brought about closer ties to Burgundy and to its musical chapel.³⁵

Who were the musicians of Friedrich III's Chapel? Both Moser and Federhofer were concerned to show that some of them were men born and trained in France or the Netherlands, since in the historical framework to which both men subscribed (and which, on the whole, still prevails), this was a necessary preliminary to any claim that polyphonic music had a significant place in the Chapel at all. Moser, the first to undertake a study of Friedrich's establishment,³⁶ drew on *Geschäftsbriefe* (miscellaneous official correspondence) preserved in the Styrian State Archives from Graz and Wiener Neustadt. He assembled a small number of references to singers and other musicians dating from about 1465 to 1470, some of whom as he noted, had Flemish-sounding names: Arnold von Fleron and Arnold Pikart (1466), Egidien Garin and Hansen Bubay (1467), and Nicolas Mayoul (1468; this musician is documented at the Burgundian court as well). Federhofer, building on Moser's findings, then sought to show that the Franco-Netherlandish component of the Imperial Chapel actually antedated Friedrich's reign. As evidence, he cited the anonymous mourning motet *O Romanorum rex* for Friedrich's predecessor, Albrecht II (r.1437-39), which names as participants

³⁵ Strong emphasis is nonetheless placed on Burgundian influence in Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). (This work remains the most extensive study in English of Austro-German music up to ca.1520, although it presents no new archival data of its own, for Friedrich's reign relying instead upon Moser and Federhofer.) See, for instance, Cuyler's reference (p.9) to a "general agreement" that compositions by composers resident in the Empire during the mid-fifteenth century "are generally archaic in style".

³⁶ As Moser points out, Mantuani's study, *Musik in Wien*, deals almost entirely with the city of Vienna itself, providing no specific account of forces at Wiener Neustadt.

(and presumably Chapel members) five singers with apparently Flemish names; he also adduced a letter written by Friedrich very early in his reign (1443) to the Bishop of Liège, Johannes Loos, which requests special arrangements concerning benefice payments to several Liège singers then in Imperial employ. A leading figure in both motet text and letter is the Fleming Johannes Brassart (ca.1370-ca.1445) who, as Keith Mixer's researches have subsequently shown, had actually entered Imperial service even earlier, under Albrecht's predecessor Sigismund, in 1434.³⁷ A Franco-Netherlandish presence, then, was well established at the Imperial Court by the time the paraphrases in Trent 91 were written in the early 1470s.

At the same time, though, Moser's work uncovered a substantial number of apparently German names among the court musicians in this same period. The court organist in 1465, for instance, was one Anton Kcharfreyt; Peter Stuppan (1466), Matthesen Slesier (a Silesian?), Hansen Hoflinger, Caspar Tretzler, and Hansen Wustensteiner (all 1467) are mentioned as singers. Moser's conclusion that German and Franco-Flemish forces constituted separate forces within the Chapel is, however, probably unfounded;³⁸ more likely Germans and foreigners worked side by side, so that any list of possible contributors to a Court repertory, such as the Trent 91/Glo paraphrases, would have to include both.

Since no names recognizable as those of composers appear in the tiny sampling now available of records from Friedrich's

³⁷ Keith Mixer, "Johannes Brassart: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study", MD 18 (1964) and 19 (1965), 37-62 and 99-108.

³⁸ See Moser, *Hofhaimer*, p. 10.

establishment of the 1460s and 1470s, the making of such a list must be largely a matter of conjecture. On the Franco-Flemish side, four names suggest themselves:

Johannes Touront. Touront was first suggested as a member of the Imperial Chapel by Guillaume de Van, who identified him with a "Tirion" named in the funeral motet for Albrecht II.³⁹ This would place Touront in the Chapel as early as 1439, but if he was at that time still fairly young (in his mid-twenties) he could still have had a hand in producing a paraphrase repertory there some thirty years later. At least one piece firmly attributed to him does bear some resemblance to that repertory: the troped Offertory *Recordare virgo mater* (Trent 89, ff.137v-139r, with concordances in Glo, Strahov, and Speciálník, sources already suggested as joint repositories, with Trent, of Imperial Chapel repertory).⁴⁰ One of Strahov's settings of the special Passau Easter Sanctus (discussed above) has also been put forward by Robert Snow as Touront's work.

Touront, to judge both by his name and by the style of his known works, was most likely born and trained in the west, possibly within the same northern French circle as Ockeghem and Busnois.⁴¹ Given his utter obscurity in western sources, though, his strong showing in central- and eastern-European

³⁹ See Guillaume de Van, "A Newly Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony", MD 2 (1948), 5-74, esp. pp. 14-15. Federhofer cited and approved the suggestion in "Die Niederländer", pp. 102-103, note 1.

⁴⁰ Touront's setting of the Offertory uses the trope *Ab hac familia*, included in the Passau *Graduale* (f.172r).

⁴¹ His name might even suggest family connections with the city of Tours, now known to have been important in the careers of both Busnois and Ockeghem.

sources seems most readily understandable if he is placed, from a relatively early point in his career, either at the Imperial Court or (perhaps later) at some other eastern center, such as the court of Matthias Corvinus in Budapest.⁴²

Subsequent chapters of this study will show that his contributions to the Trent Codices, particularly, place him among the most influential composers of his era anywhere in Europe.

Barbingant. A few of Barbingant's works appear in western sources,⁴³ and he is also described in two commentaries from the early sixteenth century as a member of Ockeghem's circle, active in or near Paris.⁴⁴ At the same time, though, no documents at present tie him to any western institution. Since he is credited with an instrumental work in the Glogauer Liederbuch - *Der Pfoben Schwanz* ("The Peacock's Tail"), one of a group of similarly titled dance-like pieces in that source,

⁴² Compare the similar conclusions reached by Eileen Southern, "Foreign Music in German Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century", *JAMS* 21 (1968), 258-285, through a study of Touront's secular music in Germanic sources.

Touront has also been associated with "Bohemia", through a reference in the text to his cantio *Chorus iste pie Christe*, preserved in the Strahov Codex. (See Peter Gülke, "Touront", in *MGG* [1966].) Given the fluidity of associations between texts and musical works in Touront's output generally, though (see Chapter Five), this kind of evidence is less than solid: *Chorus iste* may be a contrafact.

⁴³ Barbingant's *Missa Terriblement suis fortuné* appears in both SP B 80 and Verona 759, and a Mass attributed to him by Charles Hamm (see the discussion following in Chapter Four) is in SP B 80 as well as in Trent 89; the French-texted songs attributed to him are included in such important chansonniers as Dijon, Mellon, and Nivelles-de-la-Chaussée. See Charles Warren Fox, "Barbireau and Barbingant: A Review", *JAMS* 13 (1960), 79-101.

⁴⁴ Barbingant's name appears in two sources connected with Paris and the circle of Ockeghem there: in Guillaume Cretin's lament on the death of Ockeghem (1497) and in Eloy d'Amerval's *Livre de la deablerie* (1508), where it is modified to rhyme with Ockeghem's. (See Christopher Reynolds's discussion of Barbingant in "The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory", *EMH* 1 (1981), 257-304.)

some of them most likely of German provenance ⁴⁵ - and since, as Chapter Four of this study will argue, his Mass in Trent 89 belongs to a particular sub-genre of Ordinary cycles most likely created at the Imperial Court, he could have spent some part of the period ca.1460-75 in residence there, perhaps afterwards returning to Paris and its environs.⁴⁶

Vincenet. Vincenet spent his final and only documented decade in Naples, dying there in about 1478; presumably he belonged, like Barbingant and Touront, to Ockeghem's generation, born about 1420. His works appear alongside Touront's in a number of eastern European sources, including Trent 91, which preserves his *Missa O gloriosa regina* (on a Touront model). Chapters Four and Five will present some arguments - drawn from his works rather than, as yet, from documents - for placing him, during the 1460s, among the musicians of the Imperial Chapel.

Johannes Martini. Reinhard Strohm has already suggested that Martini composed a number of works for the court of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, at Innsbruck, before his employment at

⁴⁵ In Glo, see also No. 13, *Der Katzen Flote* ; No. 113, *Der Ratten Schwanz* ; No.122, *Der Fuchs Schwanz*, and No. 137, *Der Kranich Schnabel*. However, some pieces given titles of this type are actually textless presentations of Franco-Flemish songs: in Glo, No.8, *Der Seyden Schwanz*, is Caron's *Helas, que pourra devenir*, and No. 24, *Der Fuchs Schwanz*, is the anonymous *Aime que voudra*.

The attribution of *Der Pfoben* (or *Der Pfauen*) *Schwanz* to Barbingant is made not in Glo, but in the Schedel Liederbuch (f.48v). The piece also appears in Strahov and Speciálnik.

⁴⁶ By an interesting coincidence, the slightly later composer with whom Barbingant has historically been confused, Jaques Barbireau (d.1491, *maitre de chapelle* of Notre Dame Cathedral in Antwerp) is known to have travelled to eastern Europe in the service of the future Emperor Maximilian. See Fox, "A Review", p. 79.

Ferrara began in January of 1473; Strohm points to works in distinctively German veins such as *La martinella* (a relative of the instrumental "Schwanz" pieces discussed above) and the *Missa In Feuers Hitz*, on a song known in both the Glogauer and Schedel songbooks.⁴⁷ While it is certainly possible that Martini had ties to Innsbruck, it seems at least as likely that he was known to the Imperial Chapel as well. Isaac's career, a few decades later, testifies to close ties between the Court and the musical establishment at the Cathedral of the Imperial city of Constance, where Martini evidently worked in the early 1470s.⁴⁸ Further, contrafacted excerpts from one of Martini's two Masses on German models - the *Missa Der Pfoben Schwanz*, based on the Barbingant work just discussed - formed an initial layer in Trent 91's fascicle 15, shortly afterwards taken over for Sequences from the Passau paraphrase repertory.⁴⁹ This manuscript conjunction suggests Martini's proximity to the parent paraphrase collection, and even raises the possibility that he personally contributed some paraphrases; the contrafacted Mass itself also emulates important stylistic features of Touront and Vincenet, as Chapter Five will show. Martini's presence at the Imperial Court around 1470 would also explain his later friendship with the great organist Paul Hofhaimer, who began his boyhood

⁴⁷ See the discussion following in Chapter Five of this cycle and another on Barbingant's *Der Pfoben Schwanz*, just discussed above.

⁴⁸ See the discussion of Martini's career following in Chapter Three.

⁴⁹ See Diagram 1.6 and accompanying comments.

training at the Court at about that date.⁵⁰ (The relative levels of the Innsbruck and the Imperial Court establishments ca.1470 might, in fact, be gauged by the young Hofhaimer's decision to go to the Imperial Court for his musical education, rather than to Innsbruck, which was much closer to his family's home in Ratstadt.)

Moser also put forward two composers as possible Austro-German contributors to the Imperial Court repertory of the 1460s. Erasmus Lapidida. traditionally, this composer is assigned a prodigious lifespan (ca.1440-1547), and is said to have composed (in ever-modernizing style) well into his nineties.⁵¹ Moser pointed out that Lapidida's first biographer cites his service under Friedrich III; it seems likely that an earlier Lapidida, active through the 1460s and 1470s, was confused in that account with a younger composer of the same name who served Maximilian I and his successors.⁵²

Arnold Schlick. Moser suggested that Schlick (ca.1445-1515), who is reasonably well documented in Maximilian's service after 1499, may have begun his career in Imperial service under Friedrich, to judge from his description in documents as

⁵⁰ See Moser, *Hofhaimer*, p. 9. Moser cites a Latin eulogy by the humanist Konrad Celtes (d. Vienna, 1508), which describes Hofhaimer's boyhood instruction in singing and organ playing at the Imperial Court. Hofhaimer joined the Innsbruck establishment only in 1478, as court organist.

⁵¹ See Othmar Wessely, "Lapidida, Erasmus", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980 ed.).

⁵² Moser, *Hofhaimer*, p. 11; compare Gruber, "Beginn der Neuzeit", p.188.

"Imperial composer" from a very early point in Maximilian's reign.⁵³

Further research may reveal, too, that some of the obscure attributions in the Trent Codices, often cited as references to "local composers", may actually relate to otherwise unknown Austro-German artists in Imperial Court service.⁵⁴

The search for traces of Friedrich's musical establishment has long been hindered by a strong presupposition that the political troubles he suffered throughout much of his reign, in combination with his constant lack of ready money, made advanced cultural life at his court impossible: serious Imperial investment in music is thought to have begun only with the reign of his son Maximilian, who had benefited by his years of exposure, in Burgundy, to a first-class musical chapel. This seems too easy an assumption, however. The Court's musicians, like the Emperor himself and his family, would have led a peaceful and comfortable, if not luxurious existence at Wiener Neustadt, well away from the Emperor's embroilments in the outside world. Since, too, music was a highly economical form of ornament for a Renaissance ruling establishment,⁵⁵ the modest degree of material splendor enjoyed by the Court is no bar to its

⁵³ Moser, Hofhaimer, p.11. See also, Hans Joachim Marx, "Schlick, Arnold", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980).

⁵⁴ See the attributions to such figures Christopherus Anthony, Benigni, Collis, Constans, Andreas Tallafangi Calabriensis (?), Hert, Ludovicus Krafft, and Tressorier scattered through the Codices.

⁵⁵ See the observations on this point in Lockwood, *Music at Ferrara*, Chapter 17. On life at Wiener Neustadt in the period 1460-80, see Josef Mayer, *Geschichte von Wiener Neustadt* (Selbstverlag des Magistrats Wiener Neustadt, 1926), vol. 1.

having employed excellent musicians, including westerners - particularly since many of the princely houses of Italy began only after 1470 to compete seriously, with offers of high salaries and generous benefices, for the services of Franco-Netherlanders. The little substantial information available about Maximilian's youth makes clear, moreover, that he received his musical training early in life, before his move to Burgundy; his determination to assemble a first-rate musical Chapel during his own reign reflected, apparently, no mere acquired taste.⁵⁶ A fresh search of archival materials from Friedrich's era might, then, prove far more fruitful than many writers have assumed.

Even in the absence of new archival discoveries, though, it may well prove possible to construct a history of the Imperial Chapel's activities through a reassembly of the chant paraphrases created there. Keith Mixer laid the foundations for such a study with his demonstration that eight Introit settings attributed in the Aosta Codex and in Trent 93*-90 to Johannes Brassart, who was hired by the Emperor Sigismund in 1434, were most likely composed sometime within the following decade. during Brassart's tenure at the Imperial Chapel.⁵⁷ Two further Introits in the same source group by Johannes del Sarto, named as Brassart's colleague in the funeral

⁵⁶ Fichtenau, *Der junge Maximilian*, Ch. 2 discusses the information on this point available from contemporary or near-contemporary sources such as the *Weisskunig* woodcuts and Grünpeck's *Historia*; the first of these, especially, implies that the Prince could himself play and sing to some extent. But Cuyler (*Maximilian I and Music*, pp.6-9) has influenced subsequent writing by taking sharp issue with this view, claiming that the political disruptions of the 1460s made such education impossible, and that Maximilian's first exposure to high musical culture took place at the Burgundian Court.

⁵⁷ See Mixer, "Johannes Brassart", and also Keith E. Mixer, ed., *Johannis Brassart Opera Omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 35 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), Introduction, p. xii.

motet for Albrecht II, likely have similar origins.⁵⁸ And as Strohm has suggested, the whole vast complex of paraphrased Introits which includes these ten works, preserved in Trent 93*, in its copy Trent 90, and in the Strahov Codex may have been assembled at the Imperial Court.⁵⁹ These Introits, like the other paraphrases elsewhere in the Trent 93*-90 and Strahov collections which may be associated with them, generally use a style of chant presentation more ornate than that seen in Trent 91, so that the tracing of prototypes for them among the Passau chants might prove comparatively difficult. Still, closer analysis may help to show a unified overall trend of stylistic development. The same process could then be carried chronologically farther with an examination of the paraphrase repertory of Trent 88, which probably dates from the later 1450s or earlier. Although a number of cycles there, designed specifically for use in Votive Masses, have now been identified with some security as Dufay's works (from the 1440s)⁶⁰, a large body of further paraphrases (some also arranged in cycles) remains to be traced: possibly Dufay's paraphrases were at some point assembled

⁵⁸ See Mixer, Brassart, Introduction and also "Johannes de Sarto", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980 ed.).

⁵⁹ Strohm, "Native and Foreign Polyphony", p.222; see also the stylistic analyses (offered without specific historical conclusions) in Frohmüt Dangel-Hofmann, *Der mehrstimmige Introitus in Quellen der 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tützing: Schneider, 1975).

⁶⁰ The attribution to Dufay of five Proper cycles in Trent 88, first proposed by Laurence Feininger some four decades ago, has been newly substantiated by Alejandro Planchart in a forthcoming study. See also David Fallows, "Dufay and the Mass Proper Cycles of Trent 88" in *I Codici musicali Trentini*, pp.46-59.

Gerber ("Transmission and Repertory", pp.179-181) takes issue with Planchart, viewing the cycles presented in Trent 88 as probable conflation of separate items, only a few of which can be securely linked to Dufay.

together with others, of diverse origins, at the Imperial Court, and Wiser's exemplar for Trent 88 was the result.⁶¹

In this historical view, Trent 91's paraphrases would have been drawn from a new, stylistically unified repertory created as a whole, around 1470, specifically to replace the diverse collection gradually accumulated at the Court over the past three decades. Because its long-note style of cantus firmus presentation and its systematic use of preimitation relate it so clearly to the distinctively German polyphonic style already evident in secular music during the same period, and soon to become essential to sacred music as well, this second paraphrase repertory deserves a special status for the influence it must have exerted in its own time. Its characteristic techniques were, in fact, taken up and further developed in another Court paraphrase repertory created, after three more decades, to replace it in turn: Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*.

Table 2.7 shows the texts set in common between the Trent 91 repertory (which contains almost all of the Mass items in the Trent 91/Glo assembly) and the *Choralis Constantinus*, considered together with Isaac's settings of Ordinary chants from the Passau rite. Most of the overlaps between Proper items involve, as is evident, Book II of the *Choralis*. No special affinities need be

⁶¹ Fallows, "The Mass Proper Cycles", p. 50 shows that the configuration of the Proper cycles in Trent 88, in a continuous series linking several fascicles into a sizeable sub-manuscript, suggests that Wiser and Scribe III, working together, copied them from a large finished source where they appeared already assembled in their present order. Fallows rightly points out, though, that Wiser's similarly continuous copy of Trent 93^a in Trent 90 gives no hint as to the multiple layers of entries immediately obvious in its source, so that the exemplar for Trent 88 might have been similarly conflated from many repertorial layers. Only further musical investigation, in other words, can establish the integrity of the "cycles" laid out in Trent 88.

expected here since (as Pätzig showed) Isaac relied in this division of the work on the local rite used at Constance Cathedral, where the pieces had been commissioned, rather than on that of the Imperial Court. But the few parallels involving Books I and III of the great print, which do draw on Passau material, are more suggestive.

Example 2.5 gives Isaac's setting of the Trinity Sunday Introit, *Benedicta sit sancta trinitas*, for comparison with the Trent 91 setting, Transcription No.13. Despite Isaac's more comprehensive use of imitative technique to involve all four voices and every phrase of the cantus firmus, his setting remains remarkably close to the Trent piece in its formal layout. Both pieces intone the first two words in the discantus; both make an initial cadence on c"-c' over a, at *trinitas*; both make gestures toward closure with each of the three words *atque indivisa unitas*, using similar tonal constructs; both delay the discantus entry, through preimitation, at *confitebimur ei*; and, although the final phrases of the two works differ greatly, both add a climactic high d" to the chant line near its conclusion. Similarities of the same type crop up between almost all of the parallel settings listed here; Isaac's Ordinary settings, particularly, reveal his interest in the simple *cantus fractus* style of chant presentation evident in their Trent 91 counterparts.⁶² It seems possible, in short, that Isaac was familiar with the Court's older paraphrase repertory, including the settings now preserved in Trent 91, before he replaced these works with his own, and that he

⁶² See Staehelin's discussion of this point in *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, pp.15-21.

made some conscious effort to reformulate the stylistic features of some examples he found there.

Summary: The Significance of the Trent 91 Paraphrase Repertory

This chapter has sought to identify a large group of the chant paraphrases preserved in Trent 91 as the remnants of a still more extensive paraphrase repertory composed, around 1470, for use in the Chapel of Friedrich III, Holy Roman Emperor. The argument began with the identification of chants from the rite of the Diocese of Passau, to which the Court Chapel would essentially have adhered, as the melodic prototypes for the Trent 91 pieces. A second section then proceeded to merge Trent 91's collection with that of another manuscript from the opposite corner of Imperial territory, the Glogauer Liederbuch, whose concordance ties with Trent 91 have long occasioned comment; the two collections together were shown to contain a liturgically coherent cross-section of what was probably an even larger repertory of Passau paraphrases, which both could have obtained (perhaps indirectly, in the case of Glo) from the Court itself. Finally, a third section concluded the chapter with the description of a continuous paraphrase tradition preserved in Germanic sources and potentially traceable to the Court Chapel, starting with Johannes Brassart, ca. 1440, and extending to Heinrich Isaac, ca. 1500 (both composers whose employment at the Court is

documented), and comprising Trent 91's paraphrases as an intermediate stage.

Neither the liturgical nor the documentary evidence needed to support this theory, in any of its three steps, is as yet complete. But as a whole, it finds a preliminary validation in the striking unity displayed, both in musical style and in manuscript configuration, in the paraphrases of Trent 91. It also fits well with the ideas advanced in Chapter One as to the use of parts, at least of the Trent collection by a private *cappella* in the service of Prince-Bishop Johannes Hinderbach in Trento: while paraphrases of Passau chants would have no particular relevance to Trento's public worship, where the rites of Salzburg, Brixen, Rome, and Aquilea contended for dominance,⁶³ they would be natural inclusions in the private devotions of the Prince-Bishop, who might have chosen to use for such purposes the liturgy of the Imperial Court and of Vienna, his home city.

The identification of a paraphrase repertory from the Imperial Court is, potentially, of very great consequence to the understanding of other repertory preserved in the Codices. For one thing, the uniform appearance of Wiser's work in the section of Trent 91 where it is preserved - which, as Chapter One showed, seems to have been executed primarily in two or three large installments - constitutes, in this light, evidence that he copied the pieces from their original and comprehensive source, namely the choirbooks of the Imperial Court; his rubrics implying cross-references to other pieces not

⁶³ See Saunders, "The Liturgies of Trent and Brixen", discussed in Chapter 1, note 36.

found in Trent 91 suggest further that he took only a small selection of the pieces available to him there.⁶⁴ The paraphrase collection, then, may provide concrete support to the modified "Austrian" hypothesis presented in Chapter One, which opens up the possibility that much material in the Codices was in fact copied outside Trento. But beyond this, the paraphrases are, in themselves, highly attractive works, for all their functional nature, and attest to considerable skill on the part of their composer or composers. On the basis they provide, it is newly possible to consider some of the lengthier and more sophisticated works, such as Mass cycles, which survive anonymously in the Codices, as works possibly created by this same group of Imperial composers. For while, up to now, any impulse to make such attributions has been largely checked by the absence of documentary proof that Friedrich III retained polyphonists of particular distinction, the level of proficiency and of musical imagination displayed in the paraphrases positively invites a reevaluation of his Chapel's accomplishments - and, specifically, of its role in creating the repertory preserved in the Trent Codices.

The remainder of the dissertation will take up this challenge with respect to Trent 91.

⁶⁴ For instance, Wiser provided a reference to the Alleluia for the Nativity of the Virgin with the Alleluia verse for Corpus Christi (See Table 2.1.) The two Alleluia melodies are the same, but no setting for the Nativity appears in Trent 91.

Chapter Three

Franco-Flemish Repertory in Trent 91: The Frontispiece Collection

According to time-honored custom, the fifteenth-century editor who ordered the components of Trent 91 for binding would have tried to begin his volume with a work or a group of works which he considered to be in some sense special. That the initial four fascicles of the manuscripts of the manuscript stand apart from the rest of its contents is, then, no surprise. And their distinction is not far to seek: the works they contain are drawn from the most prestigious musical tradition of fifteenth-century Europe, that of Cambrai and northern France.¹

This chapter must consequently have a focus very different from that of the essay which precedes it, on the paraphrase repertory from the Imperial Court, and from those that follow, which deal with the Mass Ordinary settings likely from the same center. Whereas these other essays are concerned to show that

¹ This comment assumes, of course, that the present placement of fascicles 1-4 reflects the original binding order of Trent 91, arrived at by Wisser and other compilers, undisturbed by any rebinding that may have occurred later. As Diagram 1.1 shows, the authenticity of the present succession 3,4,5 can be guaranteed by inter-fascicle additions or copies, while 1 and 2 could conceivably have been reversed or differently placed in the original binding. But since this would have constituted such a substantial and seemingly senseless revision of the original manuscript, the present discussion will assume that 1 and 2 were originally bound as they now stand.

Of the handful of items from Trent 91 selected for publication in the original *Denkmäler* series, almost all came from these initial fascicles: the *Missa Cucu* in DTÖ volume 120 (1970), pp.17-46, edited by Rudolf Flotzinger; both *Omnium bonorum plena* and *In hydraulis* are in Jahrgang VII, volume 14-15 (1900), pp.105-111 and 111-119, edited by Adler and Koller; *Accueillly m'a la belle* (in contrafact) is in Jahrgang XI-I, volume 22 (1904), pp.75-76, again edited by Adler and Koller; *Vous marchez au bout du pied* appears twice, once in volume 14-15, pp.236-37, and once in Jahrgang XIV-I, volume 28, p. 116, edited by Johannes Wolf, from its appearance in another source, Munich 328-31.

Trent 91 draws primarily on an important tradition based relatively near Trento itself, in the Chapel of the Imperial Court, this chapter must instead explain how the manuscript came to include music imported from the great court and church establishments of northwestern Europe, the region where most singers and composers of polyphonic music were still born and trained.

The chapter will fall into three main sections. The first of these will examine the relationships between Trent 91's readings, in its "frontispiece collection", of four Franco-Netherlandish works, and the concordances for these elsewhere. The second section will then gather the evidence afforded by these comparisons together with documentary and paleographical observations to argue that the frontispiece collection came into Trent 91 through the agency, direct or indirect, of the composer Johannes Martini, already mentioned in the previous chapter as a possible Franco-Flemish member of the Imperial Court circle. Finally, the third section will examine the anonymous and unique repertory within the frontispiece collection, and will show how it may fit into Martini's oeuvre - into his apprenticeship in the west, his mature years at Ferrara, and, possibly, into the transitional period which, as this study argues, he may have spent at or near the Imperial Court. The chapter will, in short, offer a specific theory as to how certain Franco-Flemish repertory came to enter the Trent collection - and will in the process, show how one Franco-Flemish composer, Martini, could have functioned as an intermediary between the larger musical world of western Europe (including Italy) and the more insular creative community within the German-speaking lands.

Trent 91 and its Concordances

As was explained in Chapter 1, the frontispiece collection is principally in the hand of Scribe A, which appears at no other point in the Trent collection. Diagram 1.1 shows how this scribe used the first two fascicles for self-contained copies of Mass Ordinary cycles, Johannes Martini's *Missa Cucu* (ff.1r-12r) and Guillaume Faugues's *Missa La basse danze* (ff.13r-24r). He then began a third gathering with another Mass Ordinary cycle, anonymous and unique to this manuscript, on the Marian antiphon *Regina caeli laetare* (ff.25r-33r). Loyset Compère's motet *Omnium bonorum plena* fitted into the leftover pages (ff.33v-35r) of the same fascicle, but to finish his copy of the next piece, Antoine Busnois's *In hydraulis*, Scribe A had to begin a fourth gathering (ff.35v-37r, with the break at 36-37). On further pages there, he copied a four-part setting a plainchant Gloria (ff.37v-39r) and, finally, a group of five *Benedicamus domino* settings in two and three parts (ff.39v-40r). All of these copies, as Chapter One explained, are identical in ink color and script style, supporting an idea that Scribe A worked continuously from a single assembly of exemplars. The remaining pages of fascicle 4 were, by contrast, taken over for a miscellaneous and chronologically sporadic series of additions by Johannes Wiser (Scribe B) and one of his associates, Scribe C.

Two of Scribe A's inclusions argue particularly strongly that he - or the owner of the exemplars from which he copied - enjoyed privileged access to at least two of western Europe's most prestigious compositional centers. (For the sake of simplicity, the

following discussion will assume that Scribe A himself was the owner of the exemplars; the next section of the chapter, however, will return to this problem.) One of these works is Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, tied by both David Fallows and Gerald Montagna to large and splendid Marian ceremonies held at Cambrai Cathedral around 1470;² the other is Busnois's *In hydraulis*, a personal homage to Ockeghem composed during Busnois's early days at the Burgundian Court.³ Both are virtuosic showpieces, whose occasional texts limit their subsequent usefulness: that only one example of each survives, apart from Trent 91, implies that both were copied infrequently even in the centers where they had been composed. Scribe A's possession of them thus implies, in turn, a special status for him - namely, that of a professional Franco-Flemish musician, trained or employed in the circles surrounding Dufay at Cambrai and Busnois at the Burgundian Court, where these rare, highly topical works were known and first performed.

Examination of the concordances for these and for the other works in Scribe A's collection provides some evidence to support this assertion.

² Fallows (*Dufay*, p.78) suggests that the motet was written for the formal veneration of a famous Marian icon on October 16-17, 1468, by the French and Burgundian chapels jointly. Gerald Montagna instead suggests that it was first performed at the even larger ceremony marking the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral to the Blessed Virgin on July 5, 1472; he points out that some of the musicians mentioned in the text are unknown in Cambrai and Burgundian Court records, and may have been delegates from other centers. See his "Caron, Hayne, Compere: A Transmission Reassessment", *EMH* 7 (1987), 107-57.

³ Higgins dated *In hydraulis* between April 1465 and June 1467; see now "*In hydraulis Revisited*", cited in Chapter One, note 8.

1. Compère, *Omnium bonorum plena*

Let us first consider the concordant reading of *Omnium bonorum plena*, located in the third fascicle (ff.27v-30r) of the Roman manuscript San Pietro B 80. Christopher Reynolds dates this copy to about 1475; both he and Charles Hamm identify the fascicle that contains it as part of a "supplement" to the manuscript, containing works newer than most of those in the main corpus, and copied towards the end of the period that saw completion and binding of the whole, 1474-75.⁴

The variants listed in Table 2.1 rule out any possibility of direct filial relationship between the two readings, even allowing for their differences in format. Yet some striking similarities - such as the erasure on SP B 80's third discantus line, which corrects an error left untouched in Trent 91 - argue for a common model not far in the background. (See Ex. 3.1.) Chapter Four will address this question further, showing how Scribe A and Nicolas Ausquier, the Roman scribe, might have come to consult closely related exemplars.⁵

In the meantime, though, it seems clear that Scribe A's reading is the more authoritative. In contrast to Ausquier, he shows a marked facility with details that might have stemmed from experience with the piece in actual performance. Sigla, for instance, appear far more consistently in his copy than in

⁴ Christopher Reynolds, "San Pietro B 80", pp.257-304. Reynolds dated the manuscript precisely through archival notices of payments to its copyists. His article (drawn from his Princeton University dissertation) supplements an earlier study by Charles Hamm, "The Manuscript San Pietro B 80", *RBdM* 14 (1960), pp. 40-53.

⁵ See "San Pietro B 80", pp.278-279. Reynolds identified Nicolas Ausquier as the principal creator of SP B 80 principally through the discovery of payment receipts signed by him.

Ausquier's, clarifying the piece's complex distribution of internal duets.⁶ Flat signs, too, are supplied at junctures where Ausquier gives none, and in several cases act to prevent conflicts otherwise sure to arise in an initial performance attempt, as Example 3.2 shows. And Scribe A's text underlay is better;⁷ even within the cramped space of Trent 91, he provides something close to a workable text for all four parts, while Ausquier contents himself with incomplete phrases or incipits.⁸ As Example 3.3 indicates, particularly the discantus part in Scribe A's copy suggests a considered matching of textual syllables to musical phrases quite exceptional for its time, while Ausquier's copy hardly surpasses the casual norm. Finally, Table 3.1 demonstrates Scribe A's accuracy: he corrects all of the errors found in SP B 80 while himself missing no more than a pair of rests.

An exemplar directly reflecting a composer's own copy or parts, used in actual performance, would probably incorporate all the advantages that Trent 91 boasts over its Roman concordance. Scribe A not only possessed such an exemplar, but went to the trouble to reproduce it minutely; this tends both to further the idea

⁶ Ludwig Finscher, *Loyset Compère (ca.1450-1518): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents 12 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964), pp.131-39, analyzes this work in full, giving formal diagrams.

⁷ See Ludwig Finscher, ed. *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae ser. 15 (American Institute of Musicology, 1961), vol. 4, Preface, p.iii. Finscher describes Trent 91's as "probably the older [reading] and certainly the more dependable one, especially in the underlaying of text."

⁸ Both readings give complete text only in the discantus. Scribe A, though, gives usable tenor text for both partes, where Ausquier's provision is irregular. Scribe A also comes closer to providing a workable underlay for altus and bassus; although Ausquier provides about two-thirds of the same words, his placement of them makes far less sense, versus the discantus, than does Scribe A's.

Detailed and musically feasible text underlay in all parts is a regular feature of Scribe A's work; see especially the *Missa Regina caeli*, q.v..

that he was himself a professional musician and to enhance his status as a collector, suggesting as it does connections with the central creative musical circle at Cambrai itself. If the composer Johannes Martini can, on biographical grounds, claim such connections, then Trent 91's redaction of *Omnium bonorum plena* might constitute, as the following discussion will show, a first hint that he and Scribe A had something in common.

2. Busnois, *In hydraulis* - and other concordances with Munich 3154

Busnois's motet *In hydraulis*, the only item for which Scribe A provided an ascription, follows directly upon *Omnium bonorum plena* in Trent 91.⁹ Like Compère's piece, it has just one surviving concordance, this time in the manuscript Munich 3154.

A large and heterogeneous compilation not unlike Trent 91 itself, Munich 3154 is made up of materials copied between about 1466 and 1511 in Innsbruck, the capital city of the Tyrol. It was most likely used by the court chapel there, which belonged to Sigismund, the last Duke of the Tyrol, in Wiser's day, and passed into the employ of the Emperor Maximilian I not long after.¹⁰ *In hydraulis* is in the seventh fascicle of Munich 3154, occupying ff.27v-29r.

Thomas Noblitt has dated the paper of these pages, on the basis of

⁹ The ascription appears in the center top of the copy's first verso, and seems to be in Scribe A's hand and ink.

¹⁰ The basic works on Munich 3154 are two articles by Thomas Noblitt, "Das Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold (München, Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.3154): Repertorium", AfMW 26 (1969), 169-208, and "Die Datierung der Handschrift Mus. Ms. 3154 der Staatsbibliothek München", Mf 27 (1974), 6-56. Professor Noblitt's edition of the source is to be published soon in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*.

A history of the musical chapel at Innsbruck, under both Sigismund and his heir, Emperor Maximilian I, is to be found in Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954), Chapters 1 and 2.

its watermark, to the period 1471-74.¹¹ As was shown in Chapter One, this is roughly the same span indicated by watermarks for Scribe A's fascicles, so that the two papers are nearly identical in age. Further, the two copies were made from the same exemplar - presumably that in Scribe A's own collection.

In a sense, this is not surprising, given the geographical positions of Innsbruck and Trento. Any musician travelling on the the Brenner pass would probably have stopped at both places, sharing material with both groups of local collectors, who must themselves have had contacts with one another; also, both groups would have maintained links with the musical chapel of the Imperial Court, and with other Austro-German establishments farther north. Of Munich 3154's numerous concordances with the Trent manuscripts, listed in Table 3.2, several others (marked with asterisks) in fact show evidence of similar closely related transmissions. These form a background for the particularly significant case of *In hydraulis*.

a. Trent 89, Credo, ff.404v-408r.

Johannes Wiser's copy of an anonymous Credo¹², now in the 35th fascicle of Trent 89, may be not just closely related to its concordance in Munich 3154, but, may be, instead, a direct copy from that source.

The evidence for both direction and directness in this transmission - from Munich to Trent, and not the other way, with no

¹¹See Noblitt, "Die Datierung", p.46.

¹²Noblitt ("Die Datierung") gives an attribution to Nicasius de Clibano in connection with a third concordance for this piece, Cappella Sistina 51, ff.178v-180r, but this has no apparent basis.

intermediary stages - is furnished by the unconscious habits of Wiser himself. As Margaret Bent has shown in her comparison of his work in Trent 90 with its exemplars in Trent 93, Wiser was an extraordinarily literalistic copyist. Not only was he reluctant to undertake any substantial changes to the musical text of his copy, but he often went to considerable trouble to reproduce even insignificant graphic aspects of his originals - down to correction signs and doodled marginalia.¹³ In Illustrations 3.1 and 3.2, we can see how this tendency may have brought about the strong overall visual similarity immediately evident between Wiser's copy in Trent 89 and its concordance: Wiser, in this instance, actually suspended many of his normal practices as a copyist in order to indulge his literalistic proclivities fully. (See also Table 3.3, accompanying the Illustrations, which summarizes both evidence and counterevidence in the present discussion.) He wrote part designations which differ in style and placement from his regular format (compare Table 1.3a and b); he texted all four parts, rather than, as usual, just the discantus, replicating quite exactly the underlay in Munich; he took over abbreviations - *an* for *ante*, *ho* for *homo* - which elsewhere he never used.. And finally, he reproduced Munich's errors: for example, in the bassus, at *Et incarnatus est*, he reproduced the ambiguous ligature placement (which the Innsbruck scribe himself had tried to clarify); again, in the same part, at *Et unum dominum*, he followed Munich in omitting the *dominum*.

¹³ See Bent, "Wiser at Work", p.95.

This demonstration of a direct filial relation between Munich 3154 and Trent 89 has, potentially, great significance for a new understanding of the Trent collection in general. First, it suggests that, on at least one occasion, Wiser copied music for the collection outside of Trento itself: while the Innsbruck fascicle could, of course, have passed through Trento at some point, its physical connection to the preceding portions of the collection argues against this,¹⁴ whereas the independent and self-contained fascicle containing the Credo in Trent 89 would have been easy to carry on a journey. (That fascicle begins, too, with an entry by a hand otherwise unknown in the Codices, and so presumably that of a scribe from outside the regular Trento circle, who may have been one of the Innsbruck musicians.¹⁵) And if Wiser copied outside of Trento once, he could have done so on any number of further occasions; any automatic assumption that material in his manuscripts was copied in Trento itself is, on this evidence, invalid.

Furthermore, Noblitt's watermark dating of the Credo in Munich 3154 to the period 1475-76 shows definitively that the traditional

¹⁴A textless piece entered on ff.76v-77r links the eighth fascicle of Munich 3154, which contains the Credo, to the seventh. See Noblitt, "Die Datierung", Table p.39.

The Credo's cantus firmus, the ubiquitous Credo I, offers little help in tracing its provenance. In style, though, the paraphrase resembles the Credo I setting at the end of fascicle 4 in Trent 91, which will be tied in a subsequent section of this chapter to an essentially Germanic tradition. Chapter Five, further, will offer comment on the transmission of works such as this from northern centers, including the Imperial Court and Innsbruck, to Naples, arguing that its appearance in the Neapolitan source CS 55 (see note 23 below) is not, by any means, evidence of its origin south of the Alps. (See, however, the following note.)

¹⁵The work's appearance on six-line staves led Benvenuto Disertori to evaluate it as an instrumental composition. (See "L'unica composizione sicuramente stromentale nei Codici Trentini", *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 2 [1956], pp.135-45.) It bears an attribution partly in musical cipher, which may be construed as "Dom. Andreas TaLAFagi Calober(=Calabriensis?). At least one Innsbruck singer by the name of Andreas is documented (Senn, *Musik zu Innsbruck*, p.14), but this man has the wrong surname (Utelmann or Eytelmann). Further research on Trent scribes may produce a closer identification.

terminus ante quem for Trent 89 in the mid-1460s is also ill advised. The Credo copy there, if it was taken from Munich, must be almost a decade later, and other additions - if not the main contents of some fascicles - could easily date from that same period or slightly earlier.¹⁶

b. Trent 89, Magnificat, ff. 394v-396r

The anonymous Magnificat copied by Wiser into the present 34th fascicle of Trent 89 shared an exemplar with Munich 3154, ff. 13v-15r. (See Illustration 3.3 and 3.4., and Table 3.4.) The essential identity of all ligatures, rest patterns, and (for the most part) details of text underlay argues for this conclusion. Difficulties arise only with certain changes of format (including one reassignment of parts), which would have required initiatives unusual for Wiser, if he, rather than the Innsbruck scribe, undertook them against the exemplar.

One peculiarity of Wiser's copy suggests, though, that he had an exemplar that resembled Munich - and that he was, in fact, actively trying to improve upon it. Tired of ledger lines on the discantus's first staff, he changed his clef from the c^2 used throughout Munich to c^1 , but on the fourth staff slipped unwittingly

¹⁶ See Noblitt, "Die Datierung", pp.42-43 and 48. Noblitt (who cites the collaboration of Piccard in his work on Munich 3154) devoted special attention and discussion to the fascicle in which this Credo appears, since it combines paper of an earlier date (1456-69) with the considerably younger type used for the Credo.

Saunders dates the fascicle in Trent 89 containing the Credo to ca. 1466, making that year her *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript as a whole. (See Chapter One, note 31.) But the Credo, which appears as a secondary layer there, is further followed by a Mass cycle (the *Missa Deutscher Lieder*, discussed in Chapters Four and Five) which must have been added later still. The Mass breaks off with its *Benedictus* section, suggesting possible continuation in a further fascicle - which would support an idea that Trent 89's component fascicles were not yet bound when both these secondary layers were copied ca.1475.

back into c^2 , and ended by having to change his new clef back into conformity with his exemplar.

c.Trent 91, Magnificat, ff.209v-210r

A second Magnificat immediately following this first one in Munich 3154, on ff.15v-16r there, may stand in a sibling relation to its concordance in Trent 91, now part of the eighteenth fascicle. (See Illustration 3.5 and 3.6., with Table 3.5.) Here, too, a number of common errors, together with identical patterns of ligation, rests, and text underlay, must counterbalance differences of format and, in one verse, of scoring. But again, a slip in Wiser's copy suggests that he was experimenting with an exemplar that looked like Munich. This time, after making a start with the altus part in c^4 - as before, to avoid ledger lines - on the first staff of the recto page, he slipped into the c^3 also used by Munich, and had to insert a corrective clef below a semibreve rest.

The chronological relationship of these two pairs of concordances is not easy to establish. Noblitt dates the paper on which both Magnificats appear in Munich 3154 to the period 1466-69; Saunders places the paper of the Trent 89 copy around 1466, and the Trent 91 copy, as was shown in Chapter 1, probably dates from about that same period.¹⁷ But Noblitt also indicates that the scribe

¹⁷ See "Die Datierung", p.46, and Saunders, "Dating of the Trent Codices", p.91. Senn documents one instance of contact between the musicians of Trento and Innsbruck that falls into a suggestive timespan: in 1466, the Innsbruck court organist and Kapellmeister Nikolaus Krombsdorfer rode to Trento to recruit two choirboys for his chapel. (See *Musik zu Innsbruck*, p.16; this notice could also, incidentally, serve as evidence that talented children were as a rule recruited from the Trento Cathedral school, rather than completing their education there.)

responsible for both pieces in Munich worked sporadically, over several years, on the fascicles where they appear; there is, then, no reason to assume, because the two pieces are adjacent in Munich, that they arrived either there or in the Trent collection simultaneously, though this is certainly possible. They are, in fact, so disparate in style that in origins, at least, they probably had little to do with one another. This could account for their assignment, as additions to their respective fascicles, to widely different parts of the Trent collection. (The second section of the chapter will examine further the placement of the Trent 89 work, which relates to its surroundings in a particularly suggestive manner.) Both concordances testify, though, to an ongoing contact between the musical establishments in the two cities, a background against which their common use of a single exemplar for *In hydraulis* appears quite natural.

Evidence for this last relationship will now be presented under three main headings. (See Illustrations 3.7 and 3.8, with Table 3.6; see also the edition of *In hydraulis* cited in note 1.)

First, the two copies share a number of common errors. Most significant of these is the mutual miscounting of tenor rests in both *partes*. In the *prima pars*, both manuscripts show rests identically patterned, with both lacking the necessary final pair of *longae*, and reflecting a common inaccuracy in their models. In the *secunda pars*, the patterns of rests is again identical, but only as far as the seventeenth pair. At this point Munich breaks off, leaving the part three breves short, while Trent 91 gives two further pairs followed by a breve rest, thus ending up with three extra longs. The problem

here might have been a blot or some other defect in the common exemplar; the Innsbruck scribe would have stopped copying at the point of illegibility, while Scribe A, acting perhaps on a better prior knowledge of the piece, would have proceeded, getting at least the final breve rest right. In general, Scribe A is again the more accurate of the two copyists, correcting a total of seven errors in Munich 3154, while making only three fresh errors. (These slips in opposite directions suffice, of course, to rule out the possibility that either source was copied from the other.)

Ligatures and rest patterns are, almost without exception, identical between the two copies, and constitute a second line of argument. The one case where a rest pattern varies, as well as one of just four cases where ligatures do, can be explained by the exigencies of line breaks in one copy or the other; the other three such cases can at least hypothetically be related to line breaks in the exemplar.¹⁸ In other respects as well, visual similarities are striking. The sigla given in altus and bassus to mark the tenor entry in the *prima pars* are not only similarly placed, but similar in form: the altus is marked with $\cdot\dot{\text{f}}$, the bassus with \curvearrowright .¹⁹ Mensuration signs are identical and identically placed within the staves; the single exception here, Trent 91's C2 versus Munich's $\text{C}\ddot{\text{f}}$ for the tenor of the *secunda pars*, is clearly a later addition (by another hand) outside the staff. Flat signatures for the *secunda pars* also vary

¹⁸ The rest patterns at the start of the *secunda pars* bassus vary because Trent starts the part on a fresh staff; the semibreve ligature fg near the end of the third staff in the *secunda pars* altus succumbs to a page break in Munich. The other ligature differences may be similarly explicable; for instance the breve ligature ed near the start of the third bassus staff, *secunda pars*, in Munich, is broken in Trent, possibly because it occurred over a line end in the exemplar; the other differences similarly put Munich a little "ahead" of the exemplar.

¹⁹ Scribe A's usual form is $\cdot\dot{\text{f}}$ only, so that his use of \curvearrowright here is significant.

somewhat, but here, too, Scribe A's use of supplementary flats in both discantus and bassus seems to fit with his known tendencies, while Munich's omission of flats in the bassus part could be due to simple oversight.²⁰

A final point concerns the layout of the proposed common exemplar for *In hydraulis*. As in the case of *Omnium bonorum plena*, striking differences in format divide the two copies: Scribe A adopts the pattern standard for the Trent Codices - as for almost all late-century manuscripts - with tenor beneath discantus on the left of each opening, while Munich 3154 presents the tenor "last", at the lower right of each opening. But a common exemplar that looked very much like Munich 3154 can be reconstructed from Trent 91, thanks to Scribe A's cancellation in the first staff of the bassus for the *secunda pars*. As he copied this passage, his eye jumped to another semibreve ligature on g-d, now near the end of his second bassus staff (compare ligatures SS g-d); in Munich, these two points are directly vertically aligned, near the start of the second and third lines of the bassus part. (See Illustration 3.8a.)

Scribe A's absentmindedness here may actually provide another piece of evidence that he enjoyed extraordinarily privileged access to central sources of the works he copied. The layout chosen for *In hydraulis* in Munich 3154, with the tenor given on the lower recto side of the opening, is just as odd for that manuscript as it would be

²⁰ The provision of abundant accidentals and signature flats is so much a part of Scribe A's normal style that differences in this regard hardly count as stemmatic evidence; he would probably have been more meticulous than the Innsbruck scribe in reproducing his exemplar's, and added a few of his own to boot.

for Trent 91.²¹ It is, however, found several times in another manuscript, Brussels 5557 - most consistently, in fact, in the Busnois compositions copied as a secondary layer there.²² Scribe A's exemplar for *In hydraulis* must thus have resembled the primary surviving source of fifteenth-century sacred music from the Burgundian court itself. Perhaps it is not coincidence that his spelling of Busnois's name - Busnoys - is the same one used in Burgundian records.

Two basic scenarios can be constructed to explain the use of a common exemplar for *In hydraulis* by Trent 91 and Munich 3154. First, the two copies could have been taken in Innsbruck and in Trento, respectively, as their common exemplar passed between the two cities in the hands of a musician journeying down (or up) the Brenner Pass, presumably on a journey between Italy and the Imperial lands north of the Alps. Or, alternatively, both copies could have been taken from an exemplar fixed in some third location; the Imperial Chapel comes to mind as one point of common reference. We will take up both these possibilities further in the next section of the chapter, which examines the problem of Scribe A's identity. In the meantime, though the discovery of this concordance relationship acts to enhance further Scribe A's status as a collector: the derivation of both its surviving copies from a single exemplar

²¹ The other copies made by this Scribe (also an "A", in Noolitt's scheme) all use the standard discantus/tenor/altus/bassus presentation, though sometimes this is complicated through a verse-by-verse presentation, as in the Magnificat concordant with Trent 89.

²² See, in Brussels 5557, the Busnois pieces on ff.48v-50r, ff.69v-70r, f.76v, and ff.83v-90r. Flynn Warrington has assembled evidence supporting Edgar Sparks's theory that these works are Busnois autographs. See "A Very Fine Troop of Bastards? Provenance, Date, and Busnois's Role in Brussels 5557," paper delivered at the National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, October 25, 1984.

confirms the idea that *In hydraulis* was known to a small circle only, and that ownership of it implied some standing in that circle - some degree of direct contact, that is, with either Busnois, the work's composer, or Ockeghem, its dedicatee.

3. Faugues, *Missa La basse danze*

Faugues's Mass has a single but complete concordance in the Vatican manuscript Cappella Sistina 51 (ff.55v-67r), which, as Adalbert Roth has recently shown, was copied in Naples during the late 1470s, and subsequently taken to Rome, for use in the chapel of Sixtus IV (r.1471-84), together with another volume in the same series of large choirbooks, Capella Sistina 14.²³ Faugues is also represented, in this pair of sources, by his *Missa L'homme armé* in CS 14 (ff.138v-149r). His place in the Neapolitan repertory is thus fairly prominent, for a composer on the whole so little favored by the chances of preservation,²⁴ and this may have resulted from the theorist-composer Johannes Tinctoris's evident knowledge of and at least qualified esteem for his work: several citations from his

²³ Neapolitan provenance for the two manuscripts CS 51 and CS 14 is demonstrated in Adalbert Roth, "Studien zum frühen Repertoire der Päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus IV (1471-1484): Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1982),

²⁴The only works by Faugues to have survived with attributions are four Mass ordinary cycles. Besides the *Missa La basse danze* and the *Missa L'homme armé*, a *Missa Je suis en la mer* (or *en l'amer*) survives uniquely in ModD; George Schuetze was also able to identify the *Missa Le serviteur*, through a citation by Tinctoris, in its reading in Trent 88, where it is wrongly attributed to Ockeghem. (Compare Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", p. 120, linking Ockeghem instead to an anonymous Mass on the same subject in that collection.) All four works are published in George C. Schuetze, ed., *Opera Omnia Faugues*, Collected Works No. 1 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1960). See also George C. Schuetze, *An Introduction to Faugues*, Musicological Studies, vol.2 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1960).

Masses are scattered through both the Counterpoint treatise and the *Proportionale*, though not always in the most laudatory contexts.²⁵

The differences between the Trent 91 version of the *Missa La basse danze* and its Neapolitan counterpart are summarized in Table 3.7. As is readily apparent, these fall for the most part into two major categories. Where the Trent copy uses a pattern of dotted minim plus semiminim, CS 51 prefers *minor color*; where Trent has long values, CS 51 tends to present shorter repeated tones. On the face of it, nothing much more than scribal preference seems to be at stake here. The identity of most clefs, mensural signatures, and ligatures, the similarity of manuscript layouts, and the presence of a few probable common errors suggest, rather, that both copies stand fairly close to some common parent source.

But a few other differences between the two readings take on a heightened significance in the light of Faugues's other contribution to the Neapolitan complex. The *Missa L'homme armé*, copied into CS 14, appears in two other manuscripts. Of these, Verona 761 (ff.112v-123r), a late-fifteenth century source possibly also from Naples, gives essentially the same reading. But a third source, the

²⁵ Tinctoris, as a prestigious member of the Neapolitan court chapel, probably aided in the preparation of CS 14 and 51 and could have approved Faugues's inclusion there. Presumably he had come to know Faugues's work not only in Naples, but during that same period of personal proximity when their names appeared together in Compere's motet; Paula Higgins has recently documented Faugues's employment, during the 1460s, at the Sainte-Chapelle in the French city of Bourges. (See Paula Higgins, "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy", Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1987, pp.257-259.) Higgins's discovery may also justify Schuetze's interpretation of Faugues's mention, in *Omnium bonorum plena*, as one among *regis omnibus canentibus* - all the [French] king's singers. Schuetze reproduces all Tinctoris's mentions of Faugues (Introduction, pp.2-8) and also transcribes the notice concerning him in an anonymous Spanish treatise probably of Neapolitan origin, ca. 1486, alongside Johannes Martini.

manuscript Modena M.a.1.13, or ModD, takes issue with both of the others.²⁶

Major structural differences, realizing fundamentally opposed plans of internal repetition, render the relation between these two readings much more complex than that between the *Missa La basse danze* concordances. The *Missa L'homme armé*, in other words, must have been partially rewritten between the copying of its two readings, while with the *Missa La basse danze* only variants of short-range significance are in question. Yet one analogy does emerge, involving the notation of the tenor cantus firmus versus the other three parts. In the concluding sections of the Gloria, the Credo, and the Sanctus in the *Missa L'homme armé*, the signature for the three outer voices is \emptyset . In each case, CS 14 gives the tenor line with a signature of C ; its values are to be doubled against those of the other parts. ModD, on the other hand, writes out the tenor's doubled values in these same sections, giving the part a signature \emptyset to match the others. As Table 3.7 shows, exactly this relationship obtains between the two readings of the *Missa La basse danze*: CS 51 gives the tenor line in C , Trent 91 in \emptyset , against the other parts in \emptyset . Here, however, the difference is confined to the first two movements; after that point, Trent 91 reverts to a signature C for the tenor, with values doubled against those of the other parts.

Tinctoris himself provided some certainty that the Neapolitan manuscripts contain the original readings of these tenors. In a

²⁶ No special full-length study of ModD exists as yet. On its compilation ca.1481, and its relation to Martini's oeuvre, see Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp.222-224 and 233 ff..

famous passage from Book III, Chapter 3 of the *Proportionale*, he condemned the practice of signaling doubled values, versus the other parts, through a major-prolation signature, calling this the *error anglorum* in recognition of its early use in English tenor Masses; he also cited Faugues as one of the "barely literate" composers who used it.²⁷ The vehemence of Tinctoris's reaction against the procedure, which after all had been quite standard for two or three generations preceding, must indicate that in the 1470s it was rapidly going out of fashion. No work in ModD, a manuscript completed about 1480, includes it.

Other differences between the readings of the *Missa L'homme armé* confirm a general trend of notational simplification and stylistic updating in ModD. For instance, the altus part, which derives canonically from the tenor, is fully written out there, while in CS 14 it must be read from the tenor line itself. Again, the Ferrarese scribe uses dotted minim-semiminim patterns, in preference to CS 14's *minor color*, which was receding from common use during the 1470s.²⁸ Further, several sectional cadences in CS 14 in which the bassus executes an octave leap appear, in ModD, in a "V-I" configuration, with bassus joining the tenor on the lower final; this difference too reflects widespread change in practice over the 1470s. (See Example 3.4.)

²⁷ Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportions in Music*, transl. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1979), pp. 36-38. As Tinctoris notes, the use of this combination was part of the *L'homme armé* tradition, objectionable though it was in his eyes. The original combination of the *Missa La basse danze*, with C versus \emptyset , comes closer to his suggestion for a notationally proper presentation of the idea, superior to the standard C versus O (although, as he admits, the diminished signature implies a "fast tempo").

²⁸ On the significance and history of *minor color*, see Stanely Boorman, "Notational Spelling and Scribal Habit", *Wolfenbüttler Forschungen* 22(1980).

Modernizations along these same lines divide the readings of the *Missa La basse danze* . The Trent copy prefers dotted patterns over CS 51's *minor color*, and at least one octave-leap cadence in CS 51 is modified to a "V-I" pattern in Trent. And other variants, while they form a less explicit trend, could be construed as minor improvements of the Trent version over the Neapolitan, eliminating dissonance or clarifying structural detail, as shown in Example 3.5.

Differences of this last type are at their most numerous and least equivocal in the first two movements of the cycle. And since in those same movements a marked modernization of the tenor line also takes place in Trent, it becomes possible to argue that the same kinds of revision intervened between the Naples and the Trent versions of the *Missa La basse danze* as between the Naples and the Ferrara versions of the *Missa L'homme armé* - or, rather, that such revision was actively underway at the time that Scribe A made his copy for Trent in the early 1470s, which reflects the process in its first two movements.

ModD, the Mass collection from the chapel at Ferrara, contains not only the *Missa L'homme armé* , but another, unique cycle by Faugues, the *Missa Je suis en la mer* (or *Je suis en l'amer*). Already, on this basis, we can assert that Faugues occupied as prominent a place in the Ferrarese repertory as in the Neapolitan. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest, further, that a Ferrarese concordance for the *Missa La basse danze* could have been included either in the lost final portion of ModD or in its fragmentarily preserved companion

volume, ModE,²⁹ and that such a concordance would very likely have included the same kinds of modernizations observable in the *Missa L'homme armé*. Insofar as Scribe A's copy, then, reflects the beginnings of this very process, it stands in a close relation to ModD at Ferrara.

4. Martini, *Missa Cucu*

One further concordance exists for Scribe A's collection in Trent 91, providing, this time, a direct link to ModD and Ferrara. The present last leaf of ModD contains, on its verso side, the discantus and tenor parts for the Kyrie of the *Missa Cucu*, which opens Trent 91. The *tabula* of ModD ascribes the Mass - which, apart from its first page, has vanished from the volume - to Johannes Martini.

This concordance relationship is of a nature entirely different from those just discussed. Even given the ModD reading's fragmentary state, it is clear that the two manuscripts present radically opposed versions of the work. These are shown in Examples 3.6a and 3.6b. As is evident, both the surviving sections of the ModD movement are much shorter than their Trent 91 counterparts. While it is possible that ModD's is the original version and Trent 91's a later expansion, the relative ages of the manuscripts argue otherwise: since ModD is the younger source, it more likely presents a heavily edited later version of the work, whereas Trent 91 preserves the more prolix original. The patent aesthetic superiority of ModD's reading, even in its fragmentary

²⁹ On the probable size and scope of ModE and its status as a companion volume to ModD, see Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, pp.222-224.

state, confirms such an opinion. Its Kyrie, particularly, dispenses with the rather aimless writing after the original m.15, modifying the final cadence to eliminate rhythmic fuss, and to set out more effectively the long-range discantus descent c"-b'-a' by way of conclusion.

In summary, then, the examination of the four concordances to Trent 91's frontispiece collection has revealed two important common themes. First, Scribe A's readings for two of the works there - *Omnium bonorum plena* and *In hydraulis*, in themselves rare and specialized pieces - suggest strongly that he was a collector specially familiar with the high-ranking musical circles where they were created. In the case of *Omnium bonorum plena*, his copy reproduces some features possibly drawn from a composer's own annotated performing version, while in the case of *In hydraulis*, both extant readings derive from the single exemplar upon which he drew. Faugues's *Missa La basse danze* (which also, of course, originated in northern France) and Martini's *Missa Cucu* then establish a second affiliation for Scribe A with the musical establishment at Ferrara, as represented by the Mass collection ModD.

This second, Ferrarese connection can be amplified somewhat through a reconsideration of one of the secondary concordances just discussed between the Trent collection and Munich 3154, the Magnificat found in Trent 89. (See item 2b above.) In four parts, with a contratenor bassus, the Magnificat uses the paraphrased psalm tone as a basis for imitative writing, with climactic passages

of melodic and rhythmic sequence; it is, in short, recognizably close kin to better-known Franco-Burgundian settings by such figures as Busnois and Martini, composed in the late 1460s or early 1470s. It was added to the Trent 89 fascicle following three other compositions (two Kyries and a Magnificat) in a less sophisticated style. In binding, however, it seems to have brought about the placement of its fascicle next to the *Missa Clemens et benigna* by the Burgundian master Caron, which now makes up fascicle 33 of the manuscript.³⁰ (See Diagram 3.1.)

The Caron Mass, although it is in Wiser's hand, has a connection to Scribe A's collection in Trent 91 through its use (for both text and music) of grey ink identical in shade to Scribe A's; grey ink is sufficiently rare, in both manuscripts, to occasion special notice.³¹ The Mass has one concordance, in ModD. While substantial recomposition of some passages divides the two readings, the strong visual similarity apparent on almost every opening (see the examples in illustrations 3.9 and 3.10), as well as the commonality, for the most part, of musical content, suggests that here, too, some extended sibling relationship may obtain between the two surviving copies.

A Franco-Flemish Scribe A, in other words, could have carried with him, as part of his special repertory from Cambrai and the Burgundian Court, an exemplar of the Caron Mass. Wiser could have

³⁰ See Montagna's arguments strengthening Caron's links to the Burgundian Court, in "Caron, Hayne, Compère", pp.117-130. Montagna presents Caron as a member of the Burgundian musical circle somewhat older than Busnois, displacing an earlier picture of him as "an Italian Kleinmeister" younger than Martini.

³¹ Fascicle 33 also shows the late (ca.1473) style of Wiser's hand described in Chapter One, with large F-clef flourishes and mensural signs outside the staff.

taken a copy of this piece as Scribe A worked simultaneously, in the same ink, to set down the collection now bound into Trent 91. Then, just as the exemplar for Scribe A's copy of the Faugues Mass may have gone on to Ferrara, the Caron exemplar may have been taken there as well, to serve, ultimately, as the model for ModD's reading, revised over several years' use. In binding Trent 89, then, Wiser might then have placed his Caron copy next to the fascicle containing the concordant Magnificat not just because the latter piece was, like the Mass, of Franco-Flemish origin, but because it came into his hands by a similar route: just as Scribe A, who would have owned the Caron cycle, shared at least one of his exemplars with the makers of Munich 3154, the unknown proprietor of the Trent 89 Magnificat also had links to both collections.³²

One more feature of the Trent 89 Mass-Magnificat configuration attracts notice. Wiser added two further works to link the two fascicles in question together, continuing to use the grey ink found in the Mass and in Scribe A's collection. The first of these is the anonymous *Heya, heya*, sometimes attributed to Johannes Martini; the other is *La Martinella*, which is superscribed with that same composer's full name.³³

Johannes Martini was a native Fleming, educated in all probability in one of the great centers of northern France or

³² The Trent 89 copy of the Magnificat is in brown ink, and so most likely dates from a different copying occasion than the Caron Mass and Scribe A's collection.

³³ *Heya heya* appears anonymously in the chansonnier Florence 226 (ca. 1492), in company with works by both Martini and Isaac. Strohm ("Native and Foreign Polyphony", p. 226) would like to give it to Isaac, whom he places in Innsbruck as early as the 1470s, but hesitates over the ca. 1466 terminus assigned by Saunders to Trent 89. (Strohm's theories concerning Isaac in Innsbruck were given in "Polyphonic Music in Fifteenth-Century Austria", a paper delivered at the National Convention of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, B.C., November 9, 1985. I thank Professor Strohm for sending me an extended abstract of this paper.)

southern Flanders, who spent most of his documented career in Ferrara. As such, he fits perfectly the identity just outlined above for Scribe A, through the analysis of the four concordant works in A's collection (extended, just now, by the Caron cycle in Trent 89), as a musician with both Franco-Flemish and Ferrarese connections. And in this light, the placement of Martini's *Missa Cucu* at the very start of Trent 91, as the head of the special frontispiece collection there, begins to look like a direct communication: the frontispiece collection, in short, may be through this gesture credited, in its entirety, to Martini's agency.

In the section that follows, we will examine what is known of Martini's life, in order to evaluate this proposal.

On the Identity of Scribe A

The argument in support of Martini's connection with Trent 91 may be laid out in two stages. First, a reconstruction of Martini's early career - of the period, that is, before his entry into the Chapel of Duke Ercole I of Ferrara on January 27, 1473 - shows, with the aid of some new documentary discoveries, that he may well have possessed the connections to Franco-Burgundian musical circles necessary to secure the rare and specialized repertory now preserved in the frontispiece collection of Trent 91. Secondly, a physical evaluation of Scribe A's work suggests that Martini may have been in the right place, at the right time, either to have functioned himself as Scribe A, or to have provided Scribe A with the exemplars reflected in Trent 91.

In his recent biographical sketches of Martini, Lewis Lockwood has assembled the sparse information currently available about the composer's life prior to his arrival in the Ferrarese Chapel.³⁴ Lockwood points out that the Ferrarese court pay records consistently refer to Martini as *de Brabantia* or *Barbante*, designating him as a native to the Flemish duchy of Brabant.³⁵ Lockwood further cites another document, recently discovered by Jeremy Noble among Vatican records pertaining to Martini's benefices, which describes Martini as *clericus Cameracensis*, meaning that he received his tonsure (or, in other words, entered Holy Orders) within the diocese of Cambrai.³⁶ Finally, Lockwood affirms that Duke Ercole hired Martini away from an earlier appointment in the Imperial city of Constance. The evidence for this is a letter dated December 10, 1471, in which Duke Ercole requests from Bishop Hermann of Constance the services of one "Dom. Martinus de Alemania", whom he describes as a priest of good character and a musician of high repute, currently employed at Constance's Cathedral; since Martini in fact appeared in Ercole's chapel, in a well-paid post, not long after, Lockwood concludes that Ercole's letter surely refers to him.³⁷

³⁴The chief biographical studies of Martini are (in reverse chronological order) Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p.167-72; Lockwood, *The New Grove Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, (1980); and Ludwig Finscher, *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (1960). See also John Gray Brawley, "The Magnificats, Hymns, Motets, and Secular Compositions of Johannes Martini", Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1968.

³⁵Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p.167. Finscher (MGG, col.1724) identifies Martini with a musician discussed in 1531 by the Flemish writer Jaques de Meyere; this Martini evidently came from the city of Armentières, in northern France.

³⁶See the full citation given in Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p.168. I thank Professor Noble for giving me a copy of this document, and I am also grateful to both Professor Alejandro Planchart and Professor Pamela Starr for their insights into its significance.

³⁷See Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, pp.131-32 and 168; Lockwood reproduces the letter as his illustration 13a.

These three pieces of information suffice, already, to outline a career pattern common to many Flemish musicians of the later fifteenth century. As a boy, Martini would have gone from his native town in Brabant for education in some nearby *maîtrise*. Proving especially gifted, he would then have entered the stellar musical circle in nearby Cambrai, where Dufay presided, and taken Holy Orders in that diocese as his period of apprenticeship drew to a close.³⁸ Positions abroad, first at Constance and finally in Italy, would have followed, bringing him worldly as well as artistic prestige by the end of his life.³⁹

To fill in this outline with specific places and dates is, however, a trickier proposition. Students of Martini's work have long sensed a need to place him in Dufay's circle, prompted by his many points of stylistic contact with the older master.⁴⁰ Noble's discovery now renders this a concrete possibility. Unfortunately, the Cambrai documents will not cooperate: Martini's name does not

Agreement on the significance of the letter has not been universal. The Constance archivist Manfred Schuler, who printed its most recent redaction ("Beziehungen zwischen der Konstanzer Domkantorei und der Hofkapelle des Herzogs Ercole I von Ferrara", *AnM* 15 [1975], pp.16-19), doubted that the musician in question was the same Martini who later turned up in Ferrara; compare also Brawley, "Martini", p.10. The objections raised by both these writers (and others) give way, though, to Lockwood's detailed evidence from Ferrara archives, which establishes Martini's presence at Ferrara, in an appropriately high station, starting in January of 1473.

³⁸ Canon law required that a man reach twenty-five years of age before entering the priesthood, so we can reasonably assume that Martini received his tonsure (the start of the ordination process) during his early twenties.

³⁹ After a year at Ferrara, Martini left his post there, upon terms still uncertain, for about nine or ten months' service in the chapel of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza at Milan. (See Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, pp.168-69.) This move from one musical center to another nearby can serve as the basis for an analogy to be drawn shortly concerning his service at Constance and its interruption by a sojourn at the Imperial Court.

Lockwood (*Music in Ferrara*, pp.169 and 181) shows that Martini enjoyed a reasonably high income and standard of living during his tenure at Ferrara.

⁴⁰ Compare, e.g. Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p. 168; Brawley, "Martini", pp.40 and 53, both discussing Martini's hymns; Wolfgang Nitschke, *Studien zu den Cantus-Firmus-Messen Guillaume Dufays* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1968), Chapter 6, contests Besseler's attribution of the *Missa La mort de Saint Gothardo* to Dufay and assigns it instead to Martini.

appear (at least not in unambiguous form) in such lists of Cambrai Cathedrals's *petits vicaires* as survive from the 1440s through the 1460s, when he was most likely there.⁴¹ Yet since these lists are so incomplete, they cannot rule out his presence there during that period - which could, at any rate, have been in some unofficial, and so unrecorded, capacity. It is even possible that some family connections in Cambrai were open to the young composer through another Johannes Martini, who had, around 1440, achieved the status of Canon at the Cathedral. This man came from Tournai, on the southern edge of Brabant, and left, as Barbara Hagg has established, a sizable endowment for the performance of polyphonic music at his obituary commemorations.⁴²

Martini's work also calls for his biographical connection with the composer Guillaume Faugues, who was probably, like Ockeghem, about a decade younger than Dufay. Techniques of so-called "parody" writing (the borrowing of two or more voices from a model polyphonic composition) central to almost all of Martini's mature Masses emerge in at least two of Faugues's four extant Mass cycles, as some of the very earliest examples of their kind; that Martini

⁴¹ See the discussion of various musicians who may have served as *petits vicaires* in Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions", *JAMS* 28 (1975), pp.175-229. I thank Prof. Alejandro Planchart for providing me with a microfilm of the original Cambrai Cathedral documents.

⁴² The older Johannes Martini's Obituary endowment can be found in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS b 39, f.2v; I thank Prof. Hagg for providing me with a copy of this document, and for her generous assistance in tracing the same cleric through the Cambrai records. (Other mentions of him concern his endowments of Masses for, presumably, his two patron saints, Martin *Hiemalis* and Johannes Chrysostomus; these begin in 1435-36 and continue through the 1470s.) A notice concerning the execution of his will appears in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1058, f. 15v, dated August 25, 1445, so he must have died shortly before this time.

Prof. Hagg comments that the name Martini is sufficiently rare in archives from the Duchy of Brabant (although it is common farther south in France) to make the possibility of a family tie between this individual and the composer feasible, at least. (Private communication, February 4, 1988.)

knew at least one of these special parody works (the *Missa Je suis en la mer*) is certain, since he oversaw its inclusion in the Ferrarese collection ModD, together with the *Missa L'homme armé*. His music shows in other respects as well strong kinships with the older composer's.⁴³

Documentary substance for this perceived association has proven still more elusive than for that concerning Cambrai and Dufay. Paula Higgins may have broken the stalemate, though, with her discovery that Faugues held a position, probably pedagogical in nature, at the Sainte Chapelle in the French city of Bourges; her document covers only the period 1461-62, but Higgins is surely on firm ground in suggesting that Faugues's tenure there was longer.⁴⁴ While the composer Martini has not, as yet, turned up in any official capacity at the Sainte Chapelle, he could still have been Faugues's student there sometime in the 1460s - present, perhaps, in an unofficial capacity, as at Cambrai.

Higgins has further established that the composer Antoine Busnois had ties to the church of St. Martin at Tours, a city not far from Bourges, before his official entry into the Burgundian court service in 1470⁴⁵. If Martini had contact with Faugues in Bourges, it might also be possible to posit some connection for him with

⁴³ On parody writing in Faugues, see Schuetze, *Introduction*, Chapter 5. (The two most important cycles in this respect are the *Missa Le serviteur* and the *Missa Je suis en la mer*.) On the probable connection between Martini and Faugues, see J. Peter Burkholder, "Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century", *JAMS* 38 (1985), 470-523; the stylistic likeness involves not only an interest in parody techniques, but a frequent reliance on imitative organization.

⁴⁴ See note 27 above.

⁴⁵ See "In *Hydraulis* Revisited", pp. 69-72. Ockeghem too, as Higgins points out, was an important figure at St. Martin of Tours, and presumably the young Martini could, under this theory, have had some contact with him as well.

this second great master in Tours.⁴⁶ (Such contact could, of course, have just as easily occurred on Burgundian territory, if Martini worked at or near Cambrai. This, however, is still impossible to trace or to reconstruct.)

An expanded version of Martini's early biography might, then, be constructed along the following lines.

- He was born somewhere in Brabant (Tournai?), probably around 1435-1440⁴⁷
- Around 1440-1445, he entered a *maîtrise* somewhere in the diocese of Cambrai; possibly, family connections brought him to the Cathedral School itself. He studied with Dufay, or at least gained familiarity with Dufay's music, during this period. Around 1465, he took Holy Orders in the diocese of Cambrai.

⁴⁶ Prof. Higgins has also discovered references to a priest by the name of Johannes Martini active in the city of Tours itself. This man, sometime in later 1472, resigned a benefice at the parish church of St. Symphonien du Pont there. The date coincides temptingly with the composer Martini's probable removal to Ferrara; conceivably, he could have expected new benefices through his residence in Italy, and so resigned those he already held in France. (On Duke Ercole's use of benefices as incentives in the recruitment of musicians, see Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, Chapter 18; Lockwood does stress, though, that in the early 1470s Ercole still had little leverage in this respect, such that Martini's first documented benefice, a small one, was assigned only in 1479.)

Several factors complicate the identification of the composer with the St. Symphonien Johannes Martini. One is a 1452 notice concerning a *curé* at that institution with the same name. If the 1472 notice concerns this same individual, then he may have been too old to be the composer. But the 1452 Martini (probably also traceable in a third set of documents dated 1471) is described as *chanoine de Tours*, while the 1472 Martini is *chanoine d'Angoulême* (a town south of Tours), so some room for doubt remains on this point. Admittedly the composer Martini would have had to venture fairly far from either Brabant or Cambrai to take up any position in Tours or its environs; Busnois, though, is known to have followed much the same path, in reverse, at about the same time. Also, Martini would have needed to make some fairly elaborate absentee arrangements concerning any benefices in Tours during his presumably rather lengthy stay in Constance and at the Imperial Court. This situation too, though, hardly lacks for precedent.

I am deeply grateful to Prof. Higgins for her generosity in sharing these documents with me. The interpretation of them offered here is my own, and does not necessarily reflect her ideas about them.

⁴⁷ Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, Appendix V shows that Martini remained an active member of the court's musical staff until his death in 1492, which seems to have come about by illness. (Lockwood, p. 172). A birth date as above, putting Martini in his mid-50s at the time of his death (certainly a respectable age to have attained in those times) would fit in well with the outline given here, and would also allow Martini his most productive years in Constance and at Ferrara.

- At some still youthful age, he had contact with Faugues, presumably in Bourges, and perhaps with Busnois, in nearby Tours, as well.
- Around 1470, he traveled eastward, taking up a position at the Cathedral of Constance prior to 1471.
- In 1472-73, having received and accepted Duke Ercole's offer, he traveled to Italy, to accept what would prove to be his permanent post at Ferrara.

If Martini's early life did unfold approximately along these lines, the collection he could have recorded, as Scribe A, in the first four fascicles of Trent 91 would have formed nothing less than a diary of his progress. Compère (active at Cambrai), Faugues, and Busnois are present there - along with Caron, if Wiser's copy in Trent 89 can count as an extension of the group - as witness to the connections a student of Dufay's might be able to cultivate; Martini's own *Missa Cucu* and (as will be shown shortly) the anonymous *Missa Regina caeli laetare* reveal the potent influence of Dufay himself.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Montagna's theory ("Caron, Hayne, Compere"), equating Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena* with the Cambrai dedication ceremony in July of 1472, provides at once a complication and a clinching argument in the sketch of Martini's career just offered. Since the ceremony, in Montagna's view, took place after Martini's proposed departure for Constance, questions arise as to how a motet written for it could have entered his collection in just a few months' time. However, Martini might have returned to Cambrai for the ceremony as part of a delegation from Constance - or even, considering his probable early ties to Cambrai, on his own initiative; such a journey could account for his delay in responding to Duke Ercole's summons, which presumably reached him a good year before his arrival at Ferrara. The strong practical orientation of Trent 91's reading of the motet would then have resulted naturally from Martini's recent personal involvement with it, as a listener or even as a performer.

With these hypotheses about Martini's pre-Ferrara career in mind, we can now consider the physical makeup of Trent 91's frontispiece collection, and evaluate the likelihood that Martini was directly involved in its creation.

Earlier portions of this study have argued that not all of the material now in the Trent Codices was necessarily copied in Trento itself. Yet given the watermark dating of the frontispiece collection between 1471 and 1473, the assignment of a Tridentine provenance to these particular fascicles becomes very tempting, for such a conjunction of place and date fits suggestively into the foregoing outline of Martini's early life. When the composer left Constance (or some other point beyond the Alps) for his new post at Ferrara, he would very probably have travelled through the Brenner Pass, stopping at Trento on the way, during the winter of 1472-73 - in the center, that is, of the timespan indicated by watermarks for Scribe A's paper. As a courtesy to some acquaintance among the Trent collectors, or possibly as a means of obtaining necessary cash for his journey, he could then have produced copies of some of the pieces he carried with him. The four gatherings he nearly filled would then, after some period of existence as a separate collection, have received a place of honor at the head of the finished volume now called Trent 91. Munich 3154's use, during the same watermark timespan, of Trent 91's exemplar for *In hydraulis* could then reflect Martini's loan of his own copy of the work, during the same journey, to a collector in Innsbruck, another city on the Brenner Pass where travelers often rested.

For this surmise to go any farther, Scribe A's text must face comparison with several letters thought to be from Martini's own hand. These were written to Isabella d'Este, the daughter of Martini's employer, Duke Ercole (and, it may be, Martini's pupil during her childhood); they date from the years 1490-93, just following Isabella's departure for Mantua as the bride of the young Marquess Francesco Gonzaga.⁴⁹

Illustration 3.11 shows parts of Martini's letters from September 26, 1490, and April 18, 1491, beside a sample of Scribe A's text hand from the Gloria of the *Missa La basse danze*. (The sizes and configurations of the originals vary greatly, and the reproductions here have been artificially equalized to facilitate comparison.) As is immediately apparent, no easy match can be made here - and indeed, given the lapse of twenty years between the two samples, together with their wide differences of purpose and format, a straightforward or obvious match might well be too much to expect.⁵⁰

Scribe A, as Chapter One remarked, uses a cursive humanistic script; Martini's hand, at first glance, looks somewhat more like a Flemish *bastarda*.⁵¹ However, a number of letter forms are actually

⁴⁹ The letters are in the Archivio di Stato di Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 1232. Their dates are: September 2, 1490; April 18, 1491; August 18, 1491; October 4, 1491; October 16, 1491; October 23, 1491; August 7, 1492. All the texts were published in S. Davari, "La musica a Mantova", *Rivista storica mantovana* (1884), pp.53-71 (rpt. Mantua, 1975), together with a photographic facsimile of the first. Brawley translated them into English. ("Martini", Appendix.); I thank Professor Brawley for lending me his photographs of the letters.

⁵⁰ The axiom that an individual's script may change over time underlies, of course, musicology's extensive use of handwriting as an aid for determining chronology, as with the autograph manuscripts of J.S. Bach or Mozart.

⁵¹ My definitions of humanistic script and its characteristics rely primarily on Otto Mazal, *Palaeographie und Palaeotypie: zur Geschichte der Schrift im Zeitalter der Inkunabeln* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984), Chapter 2.

similar between the two, and also specifically humanist: the g with closed descending loop (less consistent for Martini), the x with leftward extension, the descending form of z, the long s and descending-round s in initial and medial or terminal positions respectively, and the h with lower extension rounding to the left. Both writers also favor the leftward-sloping uncial d, executed (like the b) without a loop, for medial as well as terminal positions.

The Trent copy further shares with Martini's letters several idiosyncrasies of a type that might identify an individual scribe; some of these are appear within Illustration 3.11. The executions of double s are similar; both the combination of straight and round r in medial positions and the use of round r in initial position are executed alike and are, in themselves, unusual forms. The same is true of the capital I and C favored by both writers. And in general, the two hands share marked tendencies toward polymorphism, irregular ductus, and varied ligation patterns which, even while complicating their individual analysis, increase their likeness to one another.

In summary, a comparison of Scribe A's text hand to Martini's letters fails to provide absolute certainty that Martini himself was Scribe A. On the other hand, though, it by no means rules out the possibility of their identity. And in either event, Martini's connection with the frontispiece collection in Trent 91 might still be very close even if he himself did not perform the actual labor of copying it. If the four fascicles were copied in Trento itself, for

If Martini had been educated in northern France or in the Low Countries, his chances of learning to use a humanistic script might have been almost as good as in in much of Italy, since, as Mazal shows, the new style had been familiar in western Europe since the 1430s.

instance, Martini's Ferrarese traveling companion (whose services were promised in the letter sent by Duke Ercole to request Martini's presence in Ferrara) might have been the actual scribe, working off the composer's collection of exemplars; humanistic script was, after all, in everyday use at Ferrara by the early 1470s.⁵²

Alternatively, one of the Trent collectors could have obtained the material through contact with Martini outside of Trento. One likely scene for such a transaction would have been the Imperial Court, where humanistic script was actively displacing *bastarda* during the same period;⁵³ Scribe A might, on such a theory, prove traceable among the Court's professional copyists. Or again, the collection might have been copied at Innsbruck, where, as we have seen, Scribe A's exemplar of *In hydraulis* saw additional use. It remains possible, too, that the collection reached Trento through the agency of some unknown colleague of Martini's at one of the centers where he had achieved prominence - at Constance, for instance, or (a little later) at Ferrara itself.⁵⁴

⁵² Compare, for instance, the script in the archival copy of Duke Ercole's letter to Bishop Hermann (reproduced by Lockwood; see note 37 above).

⁵³ See Mazal, *Paleographie*. Mazal specifically mentions the didactic collection prepared for Prince Maximilian during the 1460s, the first half of which is in humanist script.

The self-consciously humanistic circle surrounding Friedrich's famous chancellor, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius VI) included at least one member described by court chroniclers as a skilled musician; see Gruber, "Beginn der Neuzeit", p.184.

⁵⁴ Three musicians are mentioned specifically in Ferrarese records as being from Cambrai. Two of these men, Jachetto and Rainaldetto, are first listed as chapel members in 1474, and so could conceivably have passed through Trento during the appropriate chronological window; a third, Antonio, arrived too late, in 1478. (See Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p. 152 and Appendix V.) Nothing indicates, though, that these men had any special status that would have entitled them to a collection as prestigious as Scribe A's.

Two musicians from Constance were Ulrich Pelczer and Johannes Bon. See Lockwood, *Music at Ferrara*, p.153 and Appendix V, and also Schuler, "Beziehungen". The same objection may be raised to them, though, as to the Cambrai musicians.

In any event, the special status of Martini within the frontispiece collection is ultimately confirmed by the additions made there in the hand of the fascicles' new owner, Johannes Wiser, after Scribe A's work with them was done. Two of these are identifiable through concordances, and both, although they are songs, fit into the otherwise sacred frontispiece collection on the strength of their Franco-Flemish origins: *Accueillly m'a la belle*, on f.12v, is Caron's and *Vous marchez au bout du pied*, on ff. 42v-43r, is Busnois's. (Wiser's provision of a sacred contrafact text for the first song and his omission of text for the second might indicate his intention of easing the generic disjunction.⁵⁵) In both cases, there is evidence to indicate that Wiser obtained his exemplar via Martini's establishment at Ferrara.

The sources preserving *Accueillly m'a la belle* may be divided into two groups, distinguished by divergent contratenor parts.⁵⁶ One version, common to the Dijon and Pixirécourt chansonniers, carries over into two later sources, Florence 176 and 2356. Wiser's copy, however, uses the other version, found in the Mellon Chansonnier - and also in the collection Paris 676, which originated in Ferrara.⁵⁷ A later Trento copy of the same work, found in the fragment Trent

⁵⁵ *Accueillly m'a la belle* appears with its original text in Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), no. 3; the DTÖ edition (see note 1) gives the contrafact text *Da pacem domine*, possibly of Wiser's own composition. (The absence of text for *Vous marchez* may imply Wiser's intention to compose another similar contrafact.)

⁵⁶ See Perkins's analysis of the two versions, which accompanies his edition of the song.

⁵⁷ Ferrarese provenance for Paris 676 is established in Nanie Brogman, "Un manuscrit italien du debut du XVIe siecle a la bibliotheque nationale", *AnnM* 1 (1953), 167-267.

1947-4, also belongs to this line of descent, suggesting that other Trento collectors also relied on a Ferrarese transmission.⁵⁸

For *Vous marchez*, the Ferrarese connection is less direct. This work, again, is preserved in sources which fall into two main groups: a reading in the Nivelles de la Chaussée and the Dijon Chansonniers transmits it with French text and with an attribution to Busnois, while two early sixteenth-century sources from the Imperial Court, Vienna 18810 and the partbooks Munich 328-331, show it metamorphosed into a textless, presumably instrumental work, carrying an attribution to Isaac.⁵⁹ In both these later sources, *Vous marchez* is part of a group of older French songs subjected to similar transformations: ligatures are removed, long tones become repeated short ones, and range extensions, ornaments, and even extra parts work to effect idiomatic instrumental arrangements. Since the most important surviving prototype of such technique from the later fifteenth century is the Ferrarese collection Casanatense 2856, and since ties between the Ferrarese and the Imperial musical establishments were relatively close, during the final years of the fifteenth century, it seems possible that a body of Ferrarese arrangements of French songs, like those in Casanatense, could have served as models for the collection in the Vienna and Munich sources. Specifically, *Vous marchez*, as it appears in Trent 91, would have fit perfectly into such a Ferrarese

⁵⁸ Trent 1947-4, although perhaps later than the Trent collection, seems to have scribal connections with it; see Chapter 1, note 84. This version of the song gives it a second contra line unique there.

⁵⁹The Munich partbooks are in large part copies of those in Vienna. Relevant aspects of both sources are explored in Don Smithers, "A Textual-Musical Inventory and Concordance of Munich University MS 328-331", *RMAC* 8 (1970), pp.34-89. The attribution to "Ysaac", or Isaac, appears only in the Munich source.

selection: its state in Wiser's reading, incorporating many (though not all) of the features of the Austrian sources, might thus be explained by its membership in this hypothetical earlier group of Ferrarese arrangements.⁶⁰

A third addition made by Wiser to the Trent 91 frontespiece collection points not just to Ferrara, but to Martini himself: the motet *Perfunde caeli rore*, on ff.40v-42r. Some twenty-five years ago, Benvenuto Disertori published this work as Martini's, and his judgment has met with nearly universal acceptance, despite the piece's anonymous and unique preservation.⁶¹ In large part, this is because Disertori rested his case on historical facts and probabilities. The work's text is an epithalamion for Duke Ercole I d'Este's wedding in the summer of 1473, and Martini, hired in January of that same year as the court's resident composer, would logically have been asked to produce the musical setting. (The only other known composer then resident at the d'Este court, Johannes Brebis, wrote in a style notably dissimilar to that seen in *Perfunde caeli rore*, as even brief consultation of his own nearly contemporary motet for Ercole, *Hercules omne memorandus aevo*, will show.⁶²) Given the likelihood that Martini wrote *Perfunde caeli*, then, its placement by Wiser constitutes a communication, like the choice of Martini's *Missa Cucu* to open the manuscript, that the

⁶⁰ Compare Lockwood's analysis of Casanatense's procedures in *Music in Ferrara*, pp.266-272. Lockwood stresses that archival entries attest to performance of songs in their original shapes with French or Italian texts, although the sources containing these did not survive.

⁶¹ See Benvenuto Disertori, ed., *Johannes Martini: Magnificat e Messe*, Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense 12 (Milan: Veneranda fabbrica del Duomo, 1964), p. i (general historical discussion), p. 88 (annotated translation of the text), and pp.89-97 (musical text).

⁶² See the comments on this point by Wolfgang Stegmann, who first advanced the attribution, in *Die Burgundische-Niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockegheims* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937), p.65, esp. note 28.

Ferrarese master had some special significance with respect to Scribe A's collection.

Using *Perfunde caeli rore* as an entering wedge, we can now approach the body of anonymous works which make up the remainder of the frontespiece collection - of both its core, copied by Scribe A, and of the additions there by Trent writers - and see how these fit into what is known of Martini's life and works during the early 1470s.

The Anonymous Pieces in the Frontespiece Collection

Two of the anonymous works in the frontespiece collection are paraphrases of chants from the Ordinary of the Mass. The Gloria from Mass XI of the modern *Graduale Romanum* is the basis of Scribe A's incomplete entry on ff.37v-39r ⁶³, while the addition by Scribe C on the last leaves of fascicle 4 (ff.46v-48r) is a paraphrase of the famous melody known as Credo I. (See Transcriptions Nos. 2 and 5.) Because of the generic link between them, the two pieces will be considered together here.

Paraphrases of the Gloria and the Credo, the two longest chants in the Mass Ordinary, are quite rare in English and Franco-Netherlandish sources after about 1450.⁶⁴ Post-1450 sources from Germanic regions, on the other hand, evince a strong interest in both items as paraphrase subjects. As we have just seen, the Imperial Court paraphrase repertory included several, which find later

⁶³ The bassus part is missing from the Gloria's second opening.

⁶⁴ Martini's own plainchant Masses (to be discussed further below) provide almost the only examples of the type. A similar cycle accompanying his *Missa Ferialis*, in its appearance in CS 35, may ultimately prove traceable to Martini as well.

counterparts in the work of Isaac; Munich 3154, Strahov, and Speciálník, as well as the Trent Codices apart from 91, contain a fair number more. On the grounds of their genre, then, our two pieces, both of which must date from the early 1470s,⁶⁵ appear more likely to have originated in some Austro-German center than in the Low Countries, France, or England.

The approach to paraphrase underlying both, however, argues for an opposite conclusion. Midcentury Austro-German Ordinary paraphrases, as Chapter Two has just shown, tend towards some form of *cantus fractus* technique: the cantus firmus appears in high relief against the surrounding polyphonic texture, in long values and with minimal ornamentation, engaging in motivic play with the other voices to a limited extent, if at all. The Gloria and Credo settings from the Imperial Court paraphrase repertory exemplify this approach very clearly. But the frontespiece Gloria and Credo reflect, instead, a Netherlandish approach to paraphrase, in the style defined by Dufay: through numerous added notes and freely varied rhythmicization, they effectively transform their underlying chants into fifteenth-century melodies. Both, further, exemplify a development just getting underway, in France and the Low Countries, during the later 1460s: phrases of the chant appear in discantus and tenor (or even, on occasion, in all of the parts) in imitation, so that while the chant may be paraphrased completely in only one voice, its motivic material influences the entirety of the setting. As the

⁶⁵ The Gloria, because it is in Scribe A's own hand, may be considered a work of ca. 1470, copied ca. 1473. The Credo was apparently copied slightly later along with the Mass cycle in fascicle 5, which (as Chapter 1 explained) superimposes a new ink color on Scribe A's preparation base; that cycle, as Chapter 4 will show, may date from ca. 1474-75.

century drew to a close, chant-based compositions in western European sources were marked increasingly strongly by such imitative technique.⁶⁶

Even on purely biographical grounds, Martini seems an excellent candidate for the authorship of these works. Trained in western Europe, and fully conversant with traditions there, he held a position in a German-speaking city, where Ordinary paraphrases would have been in demand, at about the time these pieces were written; a Gloria and a Credo in Franco-Flemish style might thus very logically find a place in his output. But beyond this, the paraphrase works already attributed to him - eleven hymns and two plainsong Mass cycles, all in Ferrarese sources - place him among the leading practitioners of specifically imitative paraphrase technique, of the type seen in these two works, during the 1470s.⁶⁷ The Trent 91 pieces also show some of the traits discernible in Martini's other pieces, presumably of similar date, within Trent 91, the *Missa Cucu* and *Perfunde caeli rorē*: all reveal a preference for nervous rhythms expressed in small note values, for constantly disjunct altus and bassus lines, and for low sonorities in the

⁶⁶ See Sparks's extended discussion of Netherlandish paraphrase technique in *Cantus Firmus*, Chapter 2, and particularly his account of imitative writing in paraphrase compositions (using as examples both an anonymous example from Trent 89 and the *Missa Domenicalis* of Martini), pp.174-177. Regarding the latter, Sparks makes the important point that since paraphrase composition tended to be a conservative genre, it incorporated imitative writing only towards 1470, after this had become quite standard, over the preceding two decades, not only in secular style but in the Mass and the motet.

⁶⁷ Imitative organization has already been used as the primary basis for attributing anonymous works to Martini within the more restricted field of the Ferrara manuscripts. See, especially, Masukata Kanazawa, "Martini and Brebis at the Estense Chapel", in *Essays Presented to Myron Gilmore*, ed. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), pp. 421-436. On the dating and contents of the ModC manuscript pair, which contains Martini's hymns, see Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, pp.219-222.

bassus.⁶⁸ In summary, there is reason, on both stylistic and historical grounds, to accept the Gloria and the Credo as Martini's work; given, in addition, their manuscript context, they seem very likely to be his.

Another paraphrase composition figures among Wiser's additions to fascicle 4. This is the three-voice *Te deum* on ff.43v-45r. (See Transcription No. 4.) One of the earliest polyphonic redactions of the chant (only Binchois's setting and one other, in Trent 88, are older⁶⁹) it includes even-numbered verses only; the discantus presents the chant line simply, verse by verse, with few ornamental gestures apart from cadences. As in most settings of similar date, that line is a mixture of the two "versions" of the *Te deum*, the *tonus simplex* and the *tonus sollemnis*.⁷⁰

This piece too could have entered the Trent 91 collection as an appendix to Martini's other works there. Even within its extremely simple stylistic confines, imitative presentation of chant material plays a sufficiently important role to suggest his hand. Furthermore, the *Te deum* fits naturally into a repertory of anonymous paraphrase compositions to which Martini almost surely made some contributions. This is the set of Psalms for Matins found

⁶⁸ The anonymous Gloria, in order to harmonize its second-mode chant presented (unusually) without transposition, has a bass line descending to D below ; the two attributed works, similarly written with true basses below the tenor line, descend to F below .

⁶⁹ Trent 88's setting is on ff.245v-247r there. (It also appears on ff.71v-72r of the same codex, incomplete and without text; otherwise it is unique.) Binchois's setting is widely distributed, with appearances in ModB, ff.21v-24r (its earliest reading), Milan 2269, ff.118r-120v, SP B 80, ff.242v-246r, Segovia ff.101v-102r, and Verona 761 ff.222v-225r.

⁷⁰ The mixed tones are discussed in Winfried Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1966), p.83. Unfortunately, too little is as yet known about them to support any conclusions as to provenance or date of their settings.

in the Ferrarese manuscripts ModC-1 and ModC-2 (for odd- and even-numbered verses respectively). Of the 33 settings there - meant to cover the full round of Matins services for the week - 22 are in two parts only, with a direction for performance in fauxbourdon. Eleven others, though, are in three written-out parts, and these, in cleffing, ranges, and part-nomenclature, parallel the *Te deum* exactly; the verse-by-verse formal approach is also similar. As Example 3.7 shows, the resemblance is greatest when occasional points of imitation enliven the Psalm settings.

Martini's preparation of a *Te deum* would have followed logically upon his writing of Matins Psalms, since from a liturgical standpoint such a setting was necessary as the conclusion to Matins services every Sunday and feast day, as well as for special celebrations. It might even be possible to suggest that some of the pages now missing from ModC-2 - the "even-verse" Office manuscript from the Ferrarese Chapel - could have included his setting; given the overwhelming preference for even-verse settings in the early history of the *Te deum*, the absence of complementary odd-verse sections in ModC-1 is no obstacle to this surmise.⁷¹

The *Benedicamus domino* settings in Scribe A's collection, part of an ancient tradition that includes two works by Dufay, must come into Martini's oeuvre on the coattails of their neighbors in

⁷¹ See Kirsch, *Die Quellen*, pp.75-77.

The contents of most of the fourteen folios missing from the center of ModC-2 can be inferred from those of the companion volume, ModC-1, which has the odd-numbered verses of hymns, Magnificats, and Psalms, presumably once completed in ModC-2. The Tract *Domine non secundum* is, however, complete in ModC-1, and could have been complemented by a *Te deum*, preceding the Matins Psalms, in ModC-2. Compare Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, p.251.

Trent 91, as they lack any obvious clues for dating and localization.⁷² (See Transcription No. 3.) But once there, they fit in well, once again through reliance on imitative presentation of thematic material - which, as in the *Te deum*, is all the more noticeable in so simple a context. The first four, all duos for equal or near-equal voices, can moreover find specific counterparts within some duo sections of the *Missa Cucu*. Example 3.8 illustrates the "voice-exchange" that results, in both contexts, as imitation occurs in close rhythmic succession at the unison. The melodic ideas involved are also strikingly similar, displaying the densely ornamented rhythms and concentric pitch designs characteristic of Martini's attributed works in this collection.

Among the anonymous works in the frontespiece collection, then, the Gloria, the Credo, the *Te deum*, and the *Benedicamus domino* settings can perhaps be ascribed to Martini. All exemplify the genres which might have interested him most at around the time of their composition; all match well with comparable examples of his known work within those genres. With the largest of Scribe A's anonymous works, the *Missa Regina caeli laetare*, stylistic issues become far more complex, and the prospects for precise attribution diminish accordingly. At the same time, though, this cycle fits best, out of all of the frontespiece's anonymous works, into that picture

⁷² The pieces are not built on any of the better-known *Benedicamus domino* chants, but may yet be revealed as paraphrases once the repertory is better catalogued. Compare Michel Huglo, "Les debuts del la polyphonie a Paris: les premiers organa parisiens," in *Aktuelle Fragen der Musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung*, Forum Musicologicum 3, ed. Wulf Arlt and Hans Oesch (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), pp.134-154, and Anne Walters Robinson, "Benedicamus domino: The Unwritten Tradition", JAMS 41 (1988), 1-52.

of Martini's development outlined over the course of this chapter, for it shows the concrete influence of the two composers most important in that picture: Dufay and Faugues.

The *Missa Regina caeli* (see Transcription No.1) is, on the whole, an imperfect work. It is easy to see, in fact, as the effort of a gifted apprentice, with striking ideas carried through in a still unpolished manner; a fair frequency of small contrapuntal disasters reveals its composer's still-unsteady technique.⁷³ Because in some respects the piece exaggerates Martini's characteristic style in the *Missa Cucu* and *Perfunde caeli rore* - particularly the rhythmic language, with its continual reliance on very short values, is reminiscent of those works - the temptation readily arises to consider it as a youthful work by Martini himself. That question must remain open, for now. It seems justifiable, though, to consider the cycle's anonymous composer as a minor figure within whatever circle he joined, if not as an apprentice there - and, consequently, to speak of certain apparently deliberate similarities between his work and more accomplished specimens of Mass composition as "emulation", on his part, of established masters. Such an assumption will guide the following discussion.

The *Missa Regina caeli laetare* is based on the Marian antiphon now used at Compline in Paschal Time, presenting this melody, in free paraphrase, as a tenor cantus firmus; Scribe A underlaid the Antiphon text in the tenor with intent that it be sung, to judge by

⁷³ For instance, the prominent series of parallel fifths in m.8 (discantus, altus, and bassus) of the *Agnus dei* stems from the composer's inability to integrate the rising sequential parallel of discantus and tenor into a four-part texture.

the care he took that its words should appear beneath the ornamented chant phrases to which they belong. (We will return to this point below.) Given such a basis for its structure, the cycle immediately invites comparison with another, near-contemporary Mass based on a Compline antiphon: Dufay's *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. As will be shown presently, the anonymous composer of Scribe A's cycle seems to have been well aware of the parallel. However, he also sought a model in the cycle immediately preceding his own in Trent 91, Faugues's *Missa La basse danze*.

The anonymous composer's reliance on Faugues is apparent, initially, through a comparison of the unusual headmotive schemes governing both works. In Faugues's Mass, a near-identical opening links the Kyrie and the Sanctus; another (not, in Faugues's case, all that closely related to the first) links Gloria and Credo; the Agnus stands alone. This same pattern appears in the *Missa Regina caeli laetare*, as shown in Ex. 3.9a and 3.9b. There, too, it works in a kind of counterpoint with the straightforward cyclic connection of all five movements through a common tenor.

A deeper level of similarity can be seen through Table 3.8's comparison of the formal layouts of the anonymous Gloria, Credo and Sanctus with the same movements in the Faugues Mass. Parallels between the two Gloria movements are especially close: the triple-time initial sections start in reduced texture (à 2 in Faugues, à 3 in the anonymous work), with the tenor entering at *Gratias agimus*, shift to C at *Qui sedes*, and then to O for the final *Cum sancto spiritu*. The analogy between the two Credo movements is a little less tight; both begin with reduced textures and shift from O to C at

Crucifixus, but the anonymous work places its final move to O (or O) a little later. The two Sanctus movements repeat their *Osanna* sections, which results in a similar double exposure of the second halves of their cantus firmi; both drop the cantus firmus during *Pleni* and *Benedictus* sections in reduced texture.

Clearly, the *Missa Regina caeli laetare* is not, in any of these movements, patterned after the Faugues Mass in the sense of reproducing its actual dimensions: even allowing for the expanded "measure count" required by Faugues's notation in O, the anonymous work is much smaller in scale. The analogy is rather one of articulation points, *vis-à-vis* the Mass Ordinary text. To understand why the anonymous composer chose to make it, we must turn to a comparison of the two cantus firmi involved, utterly different as these are in character and provenance.

Faugues's tenor line is rhythmically different in each movement of the cycle. Only the pitch succession of the original *basse danze* tune, then, can reliably be abstracted through inter-movement comparison. Yet the presence of rests at certain points in Faugues's presentations of that succession, each time these occur in each movement, suggests that the original tune made its phrase divisions at those same points. In other words, the *basse danze* might defensibly be rhythmicized and reconstructed more or less as Schuetze has it in his study of Faugues's cycle, so that it reads as in Example 3.10.⁷⁴

⁷⁴See Schuetze, *Introduction*, pp.24-28.

Four large phrases are discernible here, not just through the four-bar rhythmicization suggested for them, but through their melodic construction as antecedent-and-consequent pairings of higher and lower segments from the melody's overall range. (Markings on the example define these segments precisely.) The four phrases are then grouped overall into two pairs by a cadential emphasis on *d* (already defined, through insistent repetition, as the tune's final) after the second of them. Within each pair, the second phrase is half again as long as the first.

Turning next to Example 3.11, we see the antiphon *Regina caeli laetare*, as reconstructed from the tenors of all five movements in the Mass. This reading turns out to match the standard Roman version fairly closely, although it compresses the melismatic passages there by cutting their internal repetitions. Formal analysis then reveals a surprisingly similar configuration, in terms of phrase structure, to the *basse danze* tune. Textual sense demands a fourfold division, demarcated by the Alleluia refrain and confirmed by emphasis on the *f* final. The melismatic extension of the Alleluia in the second and fourth phrases makes these half again as long as the first and third, so that overall the melody displays the same proportions as the reconstructed *basse danze*.

It seems, then, that the anonymous composer's perception of structural similarity between his chosen antiphon and the *basse danze* tune led him to adopt Faugues's Mass as a model. What he borrowed, specifically, was Faugues's sense of how a cantus firmus with the proportions just described could best support the texts of the Gloria, the Credo, and the Sanctus. Returning to Table 3.8, we

can see how this worked. The analogy between the textual points chosen for initial tenor entries in the Gloria and Credo movements obtains with almost equal clarity for the entries of the second phrases of the two cantus firmi, although the two phrases in their second halves are somewhat differently distributed. The two Sanctus movements show a similar relationship, although here, given the melismatic tendencies of both the settings, the coordination of cantus firmus phrases with Ordinary text is not quite so neatly parallel.

The anonymous composer's emulation of Dufay takes a subtler form than does his reliance on Faugues. His chosen cantus firmus, *Regina caeli laetare*, differs from Dufay's *Ave regina caelorum* on all significant musical grounds, despite liturgical kinship: in phrase structure, in tonality, and in motivic content, the two melodies have nothing in common. Thus the most obvious means of emulation - the replication or recomposition of large-scale structures, or the quotation of substantial passages - were debarred to the anonymous composer from the start. The basic premises of his cycle, though, are very much those of Dufay's.

Both cycles expose their cantus firmi once over the course of each movement, with the same kinds of changes worked upon them. Notes added over the course of each phrase permit the chant, in both cases, to function as a freely composed tenor line, similar in style to the other parts; such a departure from traditional long-note cantus firmus presentation constitutes, in fact, something of an

innovation within the tenor Mass genre.⁷⁵ (Example 3.12 shows the tenor lines of the two Kyrie movements by way of illustration.) Dufay adds notes singly, or in small groups, as passing- or changing-tones, playing up features inherent in the original line (as the added a and g in mm.5-6 stress the opposition of b and b[♭]), or defining smaller subdivisions within that line as cadential gestures within the new polyphonic context (see the added g and b at m.7 in Kyrie 1). In other words, he expands the chant into an adequate basis for a large-scale movement by making explicit small structural points already present there. Clearly, the anonymous composer is aiming for this same effect. But he is less sensitive to his material; he tends to let the chant melody run an undifferentiated course, and then, at the most obvious junctures, adds whole extra phrases to spin it out to adequate length, as in the five-measure codetta ending Kyrie 1.

The anonymous composer also creates a framework for his cantus firmus using essentially the same combination of clefs as Dufay. (See Example 3.13.) This is not an inevitable step, despite both chants' assignment to Mode 6. Dufay uses *Ave regina caelorum* in its standard transposition up a fifth, so that its range is g-g' and its final c'. *Regina caeli laetare*, untransposed, instead spans e-d', with final on f; since it could just as conveniently have been set in tenor clef, the anonymous's use of alto clef instead might reflect his desire to replicate, as far as possible, the relation of the three upper lines in Dufay. (He took C⁴ as his bassus clef, rather than

⁷⁵ See the discussions of this point in Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 51, and in Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 210.

Dufay's F³, because the f finals of his tenor line call for a bassus cross to c' above, with the option of a few pitches higher than that; Dufay's final is c', and his bassus phrases finish on c below.)

The two outer movements of the anonymous cycle - which have no particular parallels in the Faugues Mass - stand in the closest relation to the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. Table 3.9 compares the formal plans of the two Kyries. Dufay's, alternating free material with sections based on the cantus firmus, compromises the chant's original structure through a repetition of its first and last phrases, forcing its natural fourfold structure into a threefold scheme. In the anonymous work, the provision of two Christe sections, together with the extreme brevity of the two Kyries (both are underlaid with just one invocation, and neither accepts three very readily), suggests that the composer envisioned a similar plan of sectional repetition. But this is uncertain, since he provided neither material for the free interstices, on Dufay's model, nor rubrics specifying an *alternatim* performance.⁷⁶

At any rate, as Table 3.10 indicates, the anonymous composer opted on his own to alter the chant's structure in his Agnus movement: Scribe A's rubric there makes plain that the Agnus 1,

⁷⁶ The proportions of Ockeghem's Kyries, particularly, are not much larger than these: see, for example, that of his *Missa Au travail suis*, with twelve tempora in its opening section, or that of his *Missa De plus en plus*, with fifteen. Both these sections are, in their modern edition, made to accommodate three invocations, though with a certain ill grace. See Marianne Henze, *Studien zur Messenkomposition Johannes Ockeghems* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1968), pp.42-43 and 70-71.

Similar two-part divisions of the Christe section occur in Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, in Isaac's *Missa Carminum* (and in the Renier cycle modelled upon it), in Isaac's *Missa Virgo prudentissima*, and in Agricola's *Missa Le serviteur* (where, however, the second Christe, a bicinium, is probably not part of the original cycle.) Staehelin, (*Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, vol. 3, pp.58-59) argues that in both the Isaac cycles, an *alternatim* performance is inappropriate, and the two Christes are meant as alternatives to one another. Given the disposition of the cantus firmus in the *Missa Regina caeli*, though, such a solution seems improbable there.

embodying the first half of the chant, should be repeated as Agnus 3, while Dufay instead reserves his last two chant phrases for a separate Agnus 3. Still, the anonymous piece does follow Dufay's lead through one important stretch. Both open their second invocations as duos on free material, in two phrases of four longs each, cadencing a fifth apart. Then, just at the point where Dufay brings in a third voice to begin an imitative presentation of cantus firmus material, the anonymous piece begins a similar reference to its own chant, also set in imitation. (Scribe A, as if to underscore the allusion, goes so far as to supply the antiphon text here.) Further on, where Dufay's Agnus 2 ends with the famous sequential progression on *miserere nobis*, common to his motet on the same antiphon,⁷⁷ an extended sequential passage in the anonymous work, beginning with the entrance of the bassus at m.14, suggests that here too Dufay served as a paradigm.

Both the Kyrie and the Sanctus in the anonymous work also emulate Dufay on a more detailed structural level, through preimitation of the tenor entries, one of the more strikingly innovative devices of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. The anonymous work has a modest number of such passages: two, for instance, appear in the *Christe 1*, at the start and at m. 15ff. The first of these may, in fact, include a direct citation of Dufay: as the second phrase of *Regina caeli laetare* opens the section in the tenor, the discantus cites the second phrase of *Ave regina caelorum* (*Salve radix*), which opens the *Christe 1* tenor in Dufay's Mass.

⁷⁷ For discussion of this and also further citations, elsewhere in the cycle, of the motet *Ave regina caelorum*, see Fallows, *Dufay*, pp.210-11.

In summary, all of these features suggest that the anonymous composer used Dufay's Kyrie and Agnus as direct models for his own productions on those same texts in the *Missa Regina caeli laetare*. He could not take over, beyond brief allusion, the actual settings Dufay had created for *Ave regina caelorum*, but he could approximate their general style, the structures of their component sections, and the most striking aspects of their cantus firmus treatment. Probably the resulting two movements are the best of his cycle.

The central three movements too, though they take their groundplans from elsewhere, present certain resemblances to Dufay. Particularly the Gloria and the Credo strive for a constant textural variety which has no counterpart in Faugues, but is one of the leading characteristics of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* (and of later Dufay in general). For instance, in both Glorias, the passage *Domine deus, agnus dei, filius patris* is a duo - with the anonymous's lower voice making brief reference, possibly, to the first point of imitation in Dufay. Elsewhere, the resemblance is between successions - rather than exact placements - of reduced textures, as in the *Et in spiritum* sections of the two Credos, where phrases of the cantus firmus appear as the top voices in duos.

The *Missa Regina caeli laetare*, then, seems in many respects to be the conceptual offspring of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, and as such offers some insights into its parent work. First, Scribe A's careful and complete underlay of the antiphon text to its tenor line confirms the evidence already assembled by Alejandro Planchart from the surviving copies of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* : both Dufay and his anonymous apprentice were working within a bitextual

tradition of Marian Masses, in which the cantus firmus retained its own words against the Ordinary text in the other voices. Works such as the *Ecce ancilla* Masses of Dufay, Ockeghem, and Regis may thus be reconstituted along the same lines, even where their later sources do not specify the use of a second text.⁷⁸ And further, the *Missa Regina caeli* implies a somewhat earlier dating for a preliminary version, at least, of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*; if the anonymous work was in fact copied into Trent 91 during the early 1470s, its author would likely have consulted Dufay's work well before the Cambrai dedication ceremony on July 5, 1472, now widely accepted as the occasion for the premiere of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. Portions, at least, of Dufay's last cycle might thus have come into being along with the motet on *Ave regina caelorum*, which was copied at Cambrai in 1464-65. But since Dufay evidently kept the cycle private to some degree even after its probable use at the dedication ceremony, allowing Simon Mellet to copy it only in 1473, we can assume that he continued to revise and polish it practically up to his last moments: any version of the work which our anonymous apprentice might have consulted would probably have differed substantially from the one we know.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See Alejandro Planchart, "Parts with Words and without Words: the Evidence for Multiple Texts in Fifteenth-Century Masses", *Studies in the Performance of Late-Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.227-51, which incorporates observations about Dufay's Masses specifically, from Gareth R.K. Curtis, "Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 5557 and the Texting of Dufay's *Ecce ancilla domini* and *Ave regina caelorum* Masses", *AcM51* (1979), pp.73-85.

⁷⁹ Rob C. Wegman's recent study of the watermarks in the Brussels 5557 copy of the *Missa Ave regina caelorum* places the work's appearance there anywhere between 1466 and 1476 (or even somewhat later). See his "New Data concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklyke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557," *TVNM* 36 (1986), 5-25. Chapter Four will offer some comment on the appearance of the Mass in its other two chief sources.

Martini's collection at Ferrara, ModD, included the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*, in addition to the two Faugues cycles on *L'homme arme* and *Je suis en la mer*, an earlier section of this chapter presented evidence connecting him with the *Missa La basse danze* as it appears in Trent 91. To credit him with a work showing double allegiance to Faugues and to Dufay would thus seem a logical step, corroborating, for one thing, the assignment to him of the anonymous *Missa La mort de San Gotardo* in ModD, a work widely accepted as Dufay's only a few decades ago.⁸⁰ As or through Scribe A, then, Martini may have included in Trent 91 some specific evidence about his own early development.

Summary: On Franco-Flemish Music in the Trent Codices

The preceding chapter has sought to explain the contents and configuration of Trent 91's frontespiece collection with a single, comprehensive theory: Scribe A was either Johannes Martini himself, or a member of Martini's immediate circle.

Some physical evidence argues this way. The placement first in the manuscript of the independent fascicle containing Martini's *Missa Cucu* makes an initial suggestion; the best available watermark date for the collection's paper includes a span of time Martini very likely spent near Trento, at the Imperial Court or at Innsbruck, or even in Trento itself; Scribe A's text hand bears some

⁸⁰ Heinrich Bessler, acting on the suggestion of Laurence Feininger, published the *Missa La mort de San Gotardo* along with Dufay's complete works (*Guillelmi Dufay Opera Omnia, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, Series 1* [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951-66], vol. 2.) Wolfgang Nitschke suggested that the cycle was instead a work by Martini (in *Studien zu den Cantus Firmus Messen Guillaume Dufays*, Berliner Studien zu Musikwissenschaft 13 [Berlin: Merseburger, 1968], pp.292-374. See also Fallows, *Dufay*, p.193.

resemblance to Martini's own, and his music hand shows a fluency and efficiency worthy of a professional. The theory's strongest claims, though, rest upon its ability to explain the rarified nature of the repertory in the collection, the content of the readings there versus their concordances in other manuscripts, and their several links (augmented by the probably contemporaneous Caron copy now bound into Trent 89) to Martini's Ferrarese repertory as reflected in the volume ModD. The additions made by the Trent collectors to Scribe A's work confirm an idea of Martini as a central figure there.

The chapter's last section examined the anonymous compositions in the frontespiece collection as possible works by Martini, relating them to what is known of his career before his establishment at Ferrara in 1473. These attributions, if they are valid, can provide a newly specific picture of the composer's early development, and bring about a better understanding of the formation of his style on the basis of models from an earlier generation, principally Dufay and Faugues.

But the theory of Martini's involvement with Trent 91 is perhaps just as significant, in the long run, as a potential part of the Trent Codices' history - as part of a newly specific historical picture of of the avenues by which repertory from western Europe came to enter this one collection. If the preceding discussion is justified in its claims for the frontespiece fascicles in Trent 91, those avenues may, sometimes, have been much more direct than previously supposed. Wiser's collection preserves, in this case, no mere provincial reflection of Franco-Flemish musical culture, but rather a Franco-Flemish composer's autograph - or something very

close to that - of his own work and that of his important contemporaries. This instance may prove to be far from unique.⁸¹

Finally, Martini's apparent first-hand involvement in the Trent collection acts as confirmation of his connection with the Imperial Court, the probable source of much other repertory preserved in the same manuscripts. His presence there in turn constitutes strong evidence that the Court Chapel, despite its geographic isolation, maintained strong links with the musical culture of western Europe. Its composers, through contacts like that with Martini, had continued access to examples of current work by leading figures in the circles where they themselves, most likely, had been trained.

With this observation, we can return to the problem of those composers' own direct participation in fifteenth-century developments. We have already seen that they wrote paraphrases of considerable artistry; how many among Trent 91's significant large-scale compositions - particularly, among its examples of the Mass Ordinary, the most important genre of the 1460s and 1470s - can now be credited to the composers at Wiener Neustadt?

The two chapters that follow will attempt an answer to this question.

⁸¹ Compare, for instance, Reinhard Strohm's suggestion (cited in Bent, "Wiser at Work", p.89) that the composer Pullois supplied the copyists of Trent 93 with the six Mass cycles prominently featured in that manuscript, before presenting these to the Marquis Leonello d'Este for use in the Ferrara Chapel (a transaction recorded in June of 1447).

Chapter Four
Masses for Three Voices in Trent 91:
The Case for a Regional Tradition

The principal strength of the collection Trent 91 lies in its compositions for the Mass Ordinary. The preceding two chapters have already presented a number of pieces in this category: the paraphrase repertory of the manuscript's central fascicles includes several settings of Ordinary chants, while Scribe A's collection groups two such settings with three large-scale cyclic Masses on tenor cantus firmi. This and the following chapter will now address a further array of cyclic Ordinary compositions - nine in all - which make up, among themselves, the remainder and greater part of Trent 91's contents. The general aim of the inquiry will be, as with those just conducted for other sections of the manuscript, to reach preliminary conclusions, at least, as to the provenance of these cycles, and as to their place within the overall development of Mass music in the later fifteenth century. Specifically, it will challenge the prevailing view concerning the cycles: that they are importations from the musical establishments of Flanders and northern France - as Scribe A's collection, by contrast, seems in fact to be in large part.¹ Instead, both chapters will argue, most of the Masses in Trent 91 are, like the paraphrase repertory there, the

¹ See, for instance, Rob C. Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin of Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni* in San Pietro 3 90", *TVNM* 37 (1987), 25-48. Wegman (on p.26) designates the anonymous Mass in fascicle 5 as a work of Franco-Flemish provenance, without adducing any particular evidence to support this.

work of composers active much closer to Trent itself: those employed in the Imperial Chapel, during the period from approximately 1460 to 1475, under the patronage of the Emperor Friedrich III.

The basis for this contention is, primarily, the stylistic consistency of the repertory itself, in its expression of a few clearly definable compositional techniques which, as we will see, tend to draw the Masses of Trent 91 (together with several of those in Trent 89) into two large subgroupings within the Mass Ordinary. These repertorial categories, it will be argued, reflect the unfolding of specific lines of compositional endeavor among a group of composers working in close contact with one another, within a limited geographical area. To some extent, external evidence - patterns of manuscript preservation, notational traits, and connections with repertories of more clearly demonstrable provenance - will be marshalled to support these stylistic contentions. Still, though, the strongest evidence of the existence of this Austro-German school of the 1460s, and of its importance to the Trent collection, is that drawn from the music itself. For as Chapter Two has already shown, little prospect currently exists for tracing the probable members of the school - Touront as its leader, and secondarily Barbingant and Vincenet, together with others whose names have vanished altogether - in documents of the relevant time and place; while we can hope that this situation will improve, we must proceed for now as best we can.

The nine cycles remaining to be studied in the Trent 91 assembly group themselves readily into two classes.² One class, to be evaluated in the following chapter, use as their compositional bases German songs in polyphonic settings, akin to or even drawn from the song repertory preserved in the Glogauer Liederbuch, the Schedel Liederbuch, and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch. These cycles are all scored for four voices, like those in Scribe A's Franco-Flemish collection. The other group, to which we will now turn, have by contrast no apparent bases in preexisting songs, nor even (in all but one case) in sacred cantus firmi. Further, the Masses of this group are all scored for a somewhat unusual combination of three voices: a discantus, a tenor, and a contratenor which functions as the lowest sounding part.

Three-voice texture with low contra has sometimes been presented, in discussions of fifteenth-century compositional technique, as a kind of simplification of four-voice scoring, which by the time of Trent 91's compilation had achieved a certain preeminence with respect to the cyclic Mass. Low contra texture is, in this view, "normal four-part texture deprived of its inessential harmonic filler, the *contratenor primus*"; its emergence, consequently, is placed most logically in the 1460s, a decade or so after the first emergence of four-part writing as a prevailing norm.³ Most importantly, low-contra texture, in this same view, replaced,

² The canonic *Missa Quatuor ex una* will not be discussed at length in this dissertation; as its title implies, it consists of only one written-out part, marked to show the proper points for three successive canonic entries, and so does not fit into either of the Mass groupings defined above. It will figure briefly in Chapter Five, in connection with the Mass following it in the manuscript, the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*.

³ The description is quoted from Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin", pp.25-26.

within the span of a few years, the older type of three-voice scoring, seen in Mass compositions (and in polyphony generally) from the first half of the fifteenth century, in which the contra is cleffed higher than or equal to the tenor, and functions alternately as low and middle part.⁴

Table 4.1 lists the clef combinations of Masses and Mass pairs in the three youngest Trent Codices (88, 89, and 91). Its purpose is to test the hypothetical evolution of scoring practice just outlined - from three-voice texture with high contra to four-voice texture and its supposed simplified counterpart, low-contra scoring in three parts - against Trent's cross section of the Mass repertory from the middle decades of the century. Initially, the evolutionary generalization appears to hold good: three-voice writing with low-cleffed contra (as seen in pieces marked with asterisks) does completely displace that with high-cleffed contra for the purposes of Trent 91, last in the series, which contains mostly four-part Masses. Trent 89, however, reveals the actual complexity of the situation. Even with the incomplete dating information now available, it seems plain, on this collection's evidence, that three-voice textures with low and high contra were both in active use,

⁴ Wegman ("An Anonymous Twin", pp.25-26) calls this higher contra style "chanson texture", asserting that it was "virtually abandoned after ca. 1460...[as] a new predilection for harmonic direction began to assert itself". This view, of course, draws upon the ideas of Heinrich Bessler, especially as put forward in his extended study *Bourdon et Fauxbourdon*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1974). It takes, however, no account of several important discussions opposed to Bessler's such as Ernst Apfel "Der klängliche Satz und der freie Diskantsatz im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert", *AfMw* 12 (1955), 297-313, which offers a completely different historical assessment of the two opposed three-voice textures, using, in fact, the *Missa Quinti toni* (a focal point of Wegman's study) as its leading example. Margaret Bent's forthcoming study, will explore this controversy in greater detail than can be undertaken here.

side by side with four-part scoring, throughout the 1460s and possibly into the 1470s as well.⁵

The use of low-contralto texture in preference to the older high-contralto type does not, then, appear to be tightly coupled with the emergence of four-voice texture as a norm. Its historical roots are more complex, and this discussion will not undertake to unravel them. However it came into being, though, low-contralto texture evidently was, for those composers who contributed to the Trent collection, one of several compositional options available; the decision to use it, rather than the high-contralto alternative, was analogous to (for instance) the choice between traditional chant *cantus firmi* and secular songs as bases for cyclical unification.⁶ In this light, it seems reasonable to investigate the Trent 91 Masses with low contralto not as the random results of a continent-wide evolutionary trend, but as the possible products of a specific, potentially even localized experiment, carried on by a limited subgroup of contributors to the Trent collection. To gain a broader base for the evaluation of this experiment, the low-contralto cycles of Trent 91 will be considered together with some similarly scored and nearly contemporaneous pieces in Trent 89.

⁵ Objections to Suparmi Saunders's dating of Trent 89's completion in 1466 or earlier have already been raised in Chapters One and Three. Even if her dates are accepted, though, the above discussion is not much affected: the point is that Trent 89 shows both types of three-voice texture concurrently in use, in repertory composed sometime between ca.1460 and ca.1470.

⁶ Compare, too, Peter Burkholder's objections to the traditional evolutionist model of developments in the early parody Mass (or, in his own terminology, the imitation Mass) in "Martini", pp.470-471. Burkholder argues that Masses borrowing from more than one voice of a secular model were composed, over several decades, side by side with others where borrowing was limited to the tenor, so that here too composers were exercising a compositional option rather than following an overall trend of development.

Two of the cycles from Trent 89 (in fascicles 2 and 5 there) are by Johannes Touront; both were copied on what is probably the manuscript's oldest paper, and so date, probably, to the early 1460s.⁷ Trent 89 also contributes another cycle (in fascicle 27), now generally attributed to Barbingant, in a copy likely a few years younger than those of Touront's pieces.⁸ Two further low-contras masses in Trent 89 (in fascicles 14 and 35) need consideration in the following chapter rather than with the present group, since unlike their companions here or in Trent 91, they are based on German song material.⁹ The anonymous *Missa Le serviteur* in Trent 88 also needs consideration elsewhere; probably, though, it is roughly contemporaneous with the Touront cycles.¹⁰

⁷ Saunders ("The Dating of the Trent Codices", p. 91) assigns this paper, on the basis of its watermark, to the period 1460-1462. Since the same paper type is found in Trent 88, overall an older collection than Trent 89, it probably preceded the other papers in Trent 89.

The following discussion (together with the Table) adopts Gottlieb's practice, which in turn is based on that of Tinctoris, Gaffurius, and other theorists, of referring to a Mass cycle (one without pre-existing material) with the "modal" label suggested by the overall range and most frequent finals within its tenor line; the resulting titles are not intended to convey a judgment as to the overall "mode" of the composition. Thus, following Tinctoris, the Barbingant Mass becomes the *Missa Primi toni*; the second of Touront's Masses is the *Missa Tertii toni*, as in Gottlieb; the first Touront Mass is the *Missa Septimi toni*, and the anonymous cycle in Trent 91's fascicle 21 (discussed below in the text) the *Missa Secundi toni*, for its tenor's transposed second mode. (Vincenet's cycle, as his only contribution to the group, needs no special designation.)

The *Missa Tertii toni*, as Table 4.1 shows, uses a true low-contras combination only in its Gloria. In the other movements, the contras behaves as a lowest part most of the time; Touront's preference (everywhere but in the Gloria) for cadences on tenor e harmonized by contras b makes it expedient, though, to clef the contras higher.

⁸ Saunders, "The Dating of the Trent Codices", p. 91 assigns a date of ca.1466 to this fascicle.

Charles Hamm attributed this cycle to Barbingant on the basis of its citation by Tinctoris; see his "Another Barbingant Mass", in *Essays in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Gustav Reese and Robert Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), pp.83-90. Christopher Reynolds connected the cycle's reading in the Roman manuscript SP B 80 to an exemplar present in Rome during early 1463; see "The Manuscript SP B 80", p.286.

⁹ The Masses in question are the *Missa Deutscher Lieder*, in fascicle 35, and the *Missa Wunschlichen schön*, on ff.162v-164r in fascicle 14 (Kyrie and Gloria only; the work is complete in the Strahov Codex). The first of these pieces probably dates from after 1470, since it was added just after the Credo copied into Trent 89 from an exemplar in Munich 3154 datable to ca.1475. (See the discussion in Chapter Three.) The second, also a later addition to its fascicle, is probably about the same age. Both works are discussed further in the introduction to Chapter Five.

¹⁰ Although bound into a different codex, this cycle is on the same paper as the two Touront works. Gerber ("Transmission and Repertory", pp.109-110) suggested that it was of French origin. However, its extensive Credo deletions (also noted by Gerber), which parallel those of the

Trent 91's own low-contra cycles appear in fascicles of disparate types. Two (in fascicles 16 and 21) are on paper placed, in Chapter 1, in the mid-1460s; these pieces, then, may be about the same age as Touront's and Barbingant's. Another cycle is on the same paper as Scribe A's collection (in fascicle 5), and so probably dates to the early 1470s, while the cycle in fascicle 20, as Chapter One argued, was copied in that same period or even later.¹¹

Altogether, then, we have an array of seven Masses in three-voice, low-contra texture. To construct the hypothesis as to their imperial Court provenance, though, it will now be necessary to divide them, through closer stylistic analysis, into several further subgroups. Discussion will begin with what is probably the last-composed member of the set, the cycle in Trent 91's fascicle 20, for it carries concrete internal evidence of its origins in or near the heart of the Empire, in the form of plainchant cantus firmi.

The Anonymous Paraphrase Mass: Chant Sources and Notational Practice

As the formal diagrams in Table 4.2 show, the anonymous paraphrase Mass superimposes traditional cantus firmus techniques on two levels. Each movement is, primarily, a complete paraphrase of one preexisting Ordinary chant of the appropriate liturgical type. All five movements, though, are bound together by a second cantus firmus, which appears three times each in the Gloria and in the

German-song Masses in Trent 89 and 91, suggest that it also merits consideration as an Austrian composition.

¹¹ See the summary discussion of Trent 91's components in Chapter One.

Credo, and once in each of the other movements. With each recurrence, this second cantus firmus takes on a new shape: in the Gloria, for instance, it first shows up a fourth below its original pitch level, in rhythmic values half those of its original presentation; in the Agnus it furnishes in its final appearance the principal motives for a free imitative section; in intermediate presentations, it migrates from voice to voice, copiously ornamented. Probably its original shape is most easily deduced from its first appearance, at the opening of the *Christe* section within the Kyrie. In Example 4.1, it can be seen to follow there a melodic pattern common among second-mode Antiphons: an intonation *c' d' f'*, a medial pause on *f'*, and a close (marking, probably, the end of an excerpt only) on *c'*. Once identified, this melody will very likely furnish evidence as to the cycle's specific provenance. If it is an Antiphon, particularly, it may prove to bear text commemorating the saint whose institution or feast day the Mass was composed to celebrate.¹²

In the meantime, four of the five main paraphrase subjects can already be identified, and all point clearly toward Imperial territory as the general scene of the Mass's composition.¹³ Both Kyrie and Gloria use melodies known to the Post-Tridentine Roman rite, in Mass IV (*In festis apostolorum*) and Mass II (for high feasts in general) respectively. Analysis of the paraphrases reveal versions of these widely distributed chants strikingly close to those given in

¹² No matching Antiphon has as yet turned up in the Passau repertory. Similar examples, though, are easy enough to locate there: see, for instance, the Vespers Antiphons for the feast of the Annunciation.

¹³ The Credo of the cycle is surely a paraphrase composition like the other movements, but its underlying chant has not as yet been located.

the Passau *Graduale* (1511): the Kyrie is, like Passau's, shorter than in Western readings, particularly in its final invocation, while the Gloria incorporates the short trope found in Passau's presentation of the chant.¹⁴ The Sanctus and the Agnus, further, share a single melody (following Passau's norm with respect to these texts) which turns up in only a small number of manuscript sources from eastern Austria and Bohemia. These are listed in Table 4.3.

Because the Sanctus-Agnus chant is not included in the Passau Gradual of 1511, it is not possible, at present, to tie the cycle directly to the use of Passau and, thereby, to the Imperial Court itself, by analogy with the paraphrase repertory discussed in Chapter Two. Table 4.3 shows, in fact, that of the several sources containing the melody, the most nearly congruent to the cycle is the Premonstratensian Gradual from the Bohemian town of Schlägl. This manuscript not only contains all four of the chants used in the Paraphrase Mass, but also specifies the pairing, on adjacent pages, of the cycle's Sanctus and Agnus subjects. It may thus furnish at least an indirect clue to the cycle's origins. The Schlägl Premonstratensian establishment almost certainly reproduced the liturgy of the nearby Strahov Monastery in Prague; Strahov, in turn, probably followed Premonstratensian practice in absorbing elements from the local secular liturgy, so that Schlägl may preserve, in its presentation of these chants, a special-occasion Ordinary

¹⁴ These observations about the Kyrie contrast the version deducible from the paraphrase with that given in the *Graduale Triplex* (Solesmes, 1979).

The Gloria trope is *domine fili unigenite salus nostra lesu Christe*. These words were inserted by Scribe III into the discantus part on f.228v. Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger Mittelalterlicher Melodien zum Gloria in excelsis deo*, Forschungsbeitrag zur Musikwissenschaften 2 (Regensburg, 1955) includes only one reference to such an insertion, found in a fourteenth-century Missal from Capua, Italy.

celebration from the Prague secular rite used by the anonymous composer of the Paraphrase Mass.¹⁵ This idea ties in intriguingly with the physical evidence already cited in Chapter One: the Bohemian *bastarda* of the scribe who copied the work, and the probable similarity of fascicle 20's watermark design to one of those in the Silesian Glogauer Liederbuch. However, any firm conclusions would be as yet premature. Fascicle 20's paraphrases can demonstrate, for now, only that this particular three-voice, low contra Mass was most certainly written not in France or Flanders, but somewhere within the political and cultural orbit of the Imperial Court.

The Paraphrase Mass is a carefully structured and engaging work, displaying a fine command of imitative writing in two and three parts, and of rhythmic and melodic sequence - traits that argue, like its double cantus firmus scheme, for its composition sometime in the 1470s. The cycle's approach to paraphrase is similarly sophisticated, varying a simple, breve-oriented Germanic style with florid, imitative embroidery shaded off into free composition, and incorporating complex migrations of cantus firmi. (Specific examples of these traits are enumerated in the diagrams of Table 4.2.)

At the same time, though, the Mass displays three notational usages definitely removed from the mainstream of 1470s practice. The first of these, found in the second Kyrie section (see Examples 4.3a and 4.3b) is the use of the signature *C*, in the tenor at m. 68, in

¹⁵ For discussion of Premonstratensian "absorption" of local secular rites, see P. Lefevre, *La liturgie de Premontré* (Louvain, 1957).

combination with coloration which does *not* signal any reorganization, in hemiola, of the imperfect time and major prolation imposed by the signature; the coloration unnecessarily duplicates, in other words, the major prolation component of the signature itself.

The C signature at m.68 does signal, as it should, the use of *integer valor* against diminished values in another part: the discantus, having begun the Kyrie II in ϕ , switches at this point to ϕ_3 without coloration, so as to proceed thereafter in perfect breves. The tenor, under its new signature, matches blackened semibreves and minima to the discantus's breves and semibreves.¹⁶ The contratenor, in the same measure, makes a similar switch to *integer valor*, with notes likewise unnecessarily blackened. But here scribal confusion sets in: despite the contra's obvious equivalence to the tenor, Scribe H signed it ϕ , which should properly call for a change like that in the discantus, from imperfect to perfect breves, rather than a change to semibreves and minima. Trent's Scribe III, aware that something was wrong here, provided an alternative contra line on some vacant staves below, eliminating the superfluous coloration, but surpassing even H's level of mensural confusion with the signature ϕ_3 , in combination with the erroneous semibreves and minima.

A second notational anomaly follows the first at m.71 in the tenor line of the same Kyrie II section. Here, the signature ϕ ends

¹⁶ Since the discantus is using, *de facto*, a diminished perfect time (C3) this is actually, for the moment, "pseudo-augmentation" along early fifteenth century lines. See Ursula Günther, "Der Gebrauch des Tempus Perfectum diminutum in der HS Chantilly 1047," *AfMw* 17 (1960), pp.277-97.

the tenor's *integer valor* passage, and institutes (through a slight modification of its literal meaning) a double diminution, such that the tenor's perfect long comes to match the discantus's perfect breve. (The contra continues with *integer valor* through to the end of the movement.) The tenor's coloration is now, of course, necessary for its combination with the discantus.

A third peculiarity is to be found in the discantus line of the Kyrie II and, further, in that of the Credo. (See Examples 4.2a and 4.2b, in original notation, and also Example 4.3b, mm.64-68, for the transcription of the Kyrie passage.) Here, coloration is made to signal not hemiola or sesquialtera, but 2:1 diminution against a prevailing ϕ . In both cases, a superscribed "2" warns of the coloration's altered meaning; possibly other passages of void breves with the "2" as the sole sign of diminution could have had coloration as well, in an earlier exemplar. (See Example 4.1, which shows the *Christe*, m. 40 ff, in original notation.)

This last notational anomaly often points back, as Margaret Bent has shown, to an exemplar in black notation - specifically, in the context of her research, to an English one. The English notational system used two types of coloration: red-full, to indicate hemiola or sesquialtera, and red-void (or black-void), to indicate 2:1 diminution. When Continental scribes, with only black-void and black-full signs at their disposal, encountered an English exemplar, passages like those in fascicle 20 were often the result: normal-looking black-full coloration had to assume a new significance of 2:1 diminution (clarified by the explanatory "2" or not), since the Continental scribe had no other way of translating

the red-void signs in front of him.¹⁷ Given the chant content of the Paraphrase Mass, its inclusion of such variant coloration cannot mean that it is English. It could, however, have been first conceived in English-style black notation - which, after all, persisted in Bohemia, where the cycle may well have been written, far longer than in England itself.¹⁸ Further features, such as the anomalous *minor color* figure in m.104 of the Credo, and the traces, in the Sanctus, of English manuscript layout, with the contra part on the verso of the opening, also play into the same idea of extraordinarily long-lived English influence.¹⁹ (See Examples 4.4a and 4.4b.)

But for present purposes, this is the wrong line of investigation. All three of fascicle 20's special usages turn up in a work which no one, surely, would think to connect with black notation: Compère's *Omnium bonorum plena*, as transmitted both by Trent 91 and by the Roman manuscript SP B 80. As Example 4.5a shows, Compère's altus (at m. 69ff. of Example 4.5b, in modern notation) in the *secundā pars* uses a major-prolation sign to match

¹⁷ See Margaret Bent, Introduction, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music, II: Four Anonymous Masses*, Early English Church Music, vol. 22 (London: Stainer and Bell for the British Academy, 1979), p.x.

¹⁸ For instance, the "Franus Cantionale" (Hradec Kralove, Krajske Muzeum, Knihova II A 6.367) includes a number of pieces in black mensural notation, as well as others in a modified plainchant notation, despite its copy date of 1505.

Brian Trowell, "Heinrich VI", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1957) cites the English Privy Council records of 1442, showing that the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III sent an emissary to England in search of singers. English influence on the early phases of Austro-German composition may have been considerable, although its specific reconstruction has so far proven difficult. See, in this connection, Gerber's comments on English-influenced Austrian music in the Trent 88 collection ("Transmission and Repertory", pp.257-258). See also Martin Staehelin's account of a fragmentary black-notation manuscript, presumably English, which shows a concordance with Trent 89 ("Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz", *Schweizer Beiträge* 3 (1978), 57-83.

¹⁹ See Charles Hamm, "A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts", MD 22 (1968), 145-160. For a discussion of the specific notation of the "English" *minor color* figure, see Charles Hamm, "A Group of Anonymous English Pieces in Trent 87", ML 41 (1960), 211-215; Brian Trowell's response to Hamm's article (ML 42 [1961], 96-97) points out, however, that continental composers used the figure as well.

a duple-to-triple change in the discantus. In this case, though, the reversed tempus sign (\ominus) is used correctly, since the notes in question are breves and semibreves, and no superfluous coloration is added. At the conclusion of this passage, in m.74, the altus uses, as in fascicle 20, the combination ♩ to signal (again, with a slight abrogation of literal meaning) the start of diminution over other parts in ♩ or C2. Finally, in m.77, the discantus takes on full-black coloration, signed "2" and meaning 2:1 diminution of the previous void values, as in the Kyrie and the Credo of the Paraphrase Mass.

Two of the same notational peculiarities appear in one further work which has, like *Omnium bonorum plena*, readings both in a Trent Codex (89, in this case) and in SP B 80. This is the three-voice, low-contra Mass attributed by Charles Hamm to Barbingant.²⁰ In the Gloria, at m. 81, the discantus adopts the signature ♩ , and proceeds with the same type of superfluous coloration seen in the Paraphrase Mass, although here the reversed tempus signature is correctly applied in a ♩ context of breves and semibreves. (See Example 4.6a, in the original notation, and Example 4.6b, its transcription.) Shortly thereafter in the same movement (m.114; see the same Examples), the discantus uses coloration to signal a 2:1 diminution within ♩ .²¹ As is evident, the Trent 89 scribe

²⁰ The concordance for the Mass is in San Pietro B 80, ff.39r-48v.

²¹ Hamm used Tinctoris's description of the practice as one basis for his attribution of the Mass to Barbingant. Tinctoris states, "Multi vero per praedictum temporis imperfecti maiorisque prolationis signum taliter reversum sesquialteram quod etiam deterius est per impletionem notarum denotabilem, ut Barbingant in suo Et in terra autentis prothi mixti..." See Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*, Vol. IIa in *Johannes Tinctoris Opera Theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1978), p. 48. He does not, however, give a musical example for the practice, which he considers obviously ungrammatical and incorrect; see note 23 below.

Barbingant's use of black notation to indicate diminution was first noted by Gottlieb ("The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", p.150.)

omitted to copy the relevant sign in both passages; in the first, he was perhaps confused by the appearance of C (which rhythmically reorganizes a prevailing O) just preceding, in m.68.

Up to now, none of these usages have attracted notice as clues to the existence of any specific dialect in fifteenth-century notational practice. Their appearance in SP B 80, particularly in the context of a work by Compère, has seemed sufficient assurance of their normal and international - albeit somewhat unusual - character. There is reason to believe, though, that they are Germanic in origin, for two of them, at least, are explained and exemplified only in theoretical treatises by German or Austrian authors.²² And the discovery of all three, in close conjunction, within the Paraphrase Mass, a work of manifestly eastern European provenance, further encourages the attempt to make sense of them from this angle: possibly they are distinctive notational expressions of that same eastern European tradition that produced the Paraphrase Mass, whose chief center was the Imperial Court. To make this case, clearly, we will need some explanation of what appears to be Compère's use of all three forms, reflected in both

²² Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1913; rpt. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1975), vol. I, pp. 393-94 cites an example of the use of coloration to indicate diminution from a German treatise considerably younger than the Codices, Wilphlingseder's *Erotemata Musices* (Nuremberg, 1563). Interestingly, Wilphlingseder's example is drawn from the Isaac Introit *Me expectaverunt* (given by Wolf as *Me expectant*), which belong to one of the portions of the *Choralis Constantinus* connected by Pätzig to the Imperial Court. Michael Bruce Collins, "The Performance of Coloration, Sesquialtera, and Hemiola (1450-1750)", Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1963. Chapter 2 discusses coloration as an indicator of duple proportion for minims and in other specialized contexts in writings of Tinctoris and Gaffurius; his examples parallel to the present case, however, consist of Ornithoparcus's citation of another Isaac work, and of an excerpt from Hermann Finck's *Practica Musica* (1556), in addition to the Wilphlingseder example discussed above.

Anna Maria Busse Berger cites a unique theoretical explanation of the sign (as opposed to Tinctoris's disapproving mention of it) in the German treatise Anonymous XI, completed ca. 1460-70; see her study, "The Origin and Early History of Proportion Signs", *JAMS* 41 (1988), note 35.

surviving copies of his motet. This will be forthcoming shortly. In the meantime, we can turn to Barbingant's three-voice, low-contralto cycle, which shares two of the Paraphrase Mass's notational peculiarities, and so provides the link between that work, from ca.1475, and a larger group of Trent's low-contralto Masses, from the early to mid-1460s.

Masses by Touront, Barbingant, and Others

Charles Hamm, in his analysis of Barbingant's cycle, has described it as an essay in techniques familiar from Mass composition of the early fifteenth century, before the advent of the tenor cantus firmus as the favored means of cyclic unification.²³ Prior to about 1440, Hamm points out, composers made various experiments in the direction of large-scale unity: they linked two, three, or even all five Ordinary movements by means of common cleffing and mensuration patterns, by similar pitch structures at the beginnings and, especially, at the ends of movements and major formal sections, and through overall musical content in general homogeneous, though lacking in explicit cyclic repetitions. Hamm rightly points out that, because tenor cycles on potentially traceable cantus firmi tend to present a more appealing set of problems to historians, they have arrogated an unfair share of musicological attention, so that the striking continuity of older methods of cyclic

²³ See Hamm, "Another Barbingant Mass", pp.89-90. It should be emphasized that all of these devices are to be found in the repertory of *sine nomine* Masses using high contra, familiar from the Trent Codices as well as other sources.

unification in Masses of the later fifteenth century has gone largely unrecognized.

Hamm's comments about the Barbingant Mass apply with equal force to a group of four other Masses drawn from both Trent 91 and Trent 89 scored, like Barbingant's, for three voices, with a low contratenor. Two of these, from Trent 91, are Wiser's copies, probably (as stated above) from the mid- or later 1460s; one, in fascicle 16, is ascribed by him to Vincenet,²⁴ while the other, in fascicle 21, is anonymous (see Transcription No. 12). Two other Masses in Trent 89, Wiser's work from a few years earlier, are by Touront.²⁵

Example 4.7 shows how all of these cycles adopt, as a first step towards unification, what might be called "variable headmotives". Vincenet's and Barbingant's come closest to thoroughgoing uniformity for all parts.²⁶ Touront's *Missa Septimi toni* (apart from its Kyrie²⁷) and the anonymous *Missa Secundi toni* rely instead on similar discantus contours and opening sonorities; Touront's *Missa Tertii toni* makes the loosest connection of all, with roughly similar sonorities and contours linking the Kyrie,

²⁴ The Vincenet Mass is published in Bertran E. Davis, ed., *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, Recent Researches in Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 9-10 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1978), pp.1-27.

²⁵ Both of these cycles, together with Barbingant's, are transcribed in Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89".

²⁶ Robert Snow ("Strahov", pp.85-86) claimed the discantus line of this headmotive, with its fall from g" to d', as an allusion to the Pullois song *De ma dame*, which is, like the Sanctus of the Mass, found in the Strahov Codex. His contention, however, takes no account of the delay, versus the other parts, in the discantus entry, which is arguably stronger than its contour in establishing the inter-movement links. Also, nothing further about the cycle supports any notion that it parodies the song.

²⁷ The Kyrie of Touront's *Missa Septimi toni* is found only in the Strahov reading of the cycle (on f.68 bis there) and may be an accretion to the cycle. It does not use the low-contralto combination, and its thematic contents, including its opening, have nothing to do with those of the other movements; it resembles them only in that its sectional cadences are on tenor g.

Credo, and Agnus. The common aim in all five seems to be, though, an audibly clear cross reference among movements - stopping short of the literal repetition most often associated with headmotive technique. (Cleffing within each cycle is, of course, essentially uniform.)

None of the cycles make explicit melodic links, in any voice, among the starts of internal sections within movements. But in the cycles by Barbingant and Vincenet, as well as in the *Missa Secundi toni*, internal sections for the most part begin with identical or closely similar sonorities; to a lesser extent, the same is true of Touront's two Masses. More importantly, final sonorities - those of internal sections as well as those concluding whole movements - display a quite strict uniformity, which goes far to hold the cycles as wholes tightly together. All of these features are illustrated in detail in Table 4.4.

Another common factor among the five cycles is the importance accorded, in each of them, to imitative writing. In the absence of a borrowed common thread, in fact, points of imitation, together with short passages of rhythmic and melodic sequence, constitute for these pieces the most important single basis of moment-to-moment continuity. The striking uniformity of the resulting large-scale structures emerges in Table 4.5, which compares the formal plan of Touront's *Missa Septimi toni* with that of the anonymous *Missa Secundi toni*. To a great extent, the placements of mensural division, of duo sections, and of imitation points run parallel in these two works; the three other cycles are similar, though not identical, in their overall layouts.

These five Masses resemble one another, then, in several important respects. First, they all utilize three-voice scoring with low-cleffed contra, which, whatever its historical derivation, is certainly unusual within the surviving fifteenth-century Mass repertory. Further, they are all freely composed, and use the same devices to bring about inter-movement unity: the "variable headmotive", in combination with tonal uniformity imposed upon sectional incipits and finals. Finally, all place an emphasis still quite rare, in Masses from the 1460s, on imitative writing, and generate similar formal structures to display this device to best advantage. In short, it seems reasonable to suggest that some kind of distinctive repertorial tradition, based on fairly specific compositional parameters and shared, most likely, by a small group of composers working within a limited geographical area, was responsible for all five cycles. We will call this the Trent *sine nomine* tradition.

Several factors work to connect the Trent *sine nomine* tradition with an Austrian musical center such as that of the Imperial Court. As a preliminary, the Paraphrase Mass establishes (together with Trent 89's two cycles on German songs, reserved for discussion in the next chapter) that low-contra texture was familiar to Austro-German composers by ca. 1470 at latest. Turning to the *sine nomine* Masses themselves (which are, as observed above, some years older) we can see that they are, with the exception of Barbingant's, exclusively Germanic in their manuscript distribution: Touront's *Missa Tertii toni*, three of Vincenet's four movements, and the entire *Missa Secundi toni* are unique to the Trent collection,

while Vincenet's Sanctus and Touront's *Missa Septimi toni* have concordances only in Strahov.²⁸ Barbingant's cycle too, although it has a concordance in SP B 80, was copied for Trent 89 by a "visiting scribe" whose other contribution to the manuscript was the distinctively Germanic *Missa Gross Sehnen*.²⁹ (Its Roman appearance presents, at any rate, no special obstacle to the idea of its German provenance, since documented high-level contacts between the Imperial establishment and Rome were so abundant during the 1460s.³⁰) The notational anomalies common to Barbingant and to the eastern-European Paraphrase Mass begin to form, in this view, the comprehensible outlines of a regional dialect.

The Trent *sine nomine* repertory shows, moreover, striking parallels with a somewhat later series of Masses in another manuscript of Austro-German provenance, the Apel Codex (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 1494).³¹ Example 4.8 shows how a number of these works, all scored for three voices with low contra, and freely composed, parallel the "variable headmotive" patterns of the Trent *sine nomine* group; their uniform tonal schemes are also strongly similar. In Table 4.6, several can be seen, further, to replicate the

²⁸ The *Missa Septimi toni* appears in Strahov, ff.68bis-75v and 79v (with, as remarked above, a Kyrie not found in Trent 89). Vincenet's Sanctus appears there on ff. 80r-81r. The close manuscript conjunction suggests a repertorial tie.

²⁹ The *Missa Gross Sehnen* was placed between the two Touront *sine nomine* cycles, as fascicles 3-4. My forthcoming study of Trent 89 will present more information about the scribe responsible for this and Barbingant's cycles.

³⁰ For instance, the Mass, which must have been present in Rome by 1463 (see note 8 above) could have been brought there and to Trent in connection with the Italian journeys of Johannes Hinderbach, Provost of Trent Cathedral from 1455 on, in 1459 and 1463. Gerber ("Transmission and Repertory", Chapter 6) discusses at length the possibility that Friedrich III's own visit to Rome (for his coronation and marriage) in 1451-52 brought about transmissions from Roman manuscripts to Trent 90 and Trent 88.

³¹ These cycles are published in the modern edition of the Apel Codex, *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel (Ms.1494 der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig)* Das Erbe Deutscher Musik vol. 32, ed. Rudolf Gerber (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956).

specific formal pattern shared, within the Trent group, by the *Missa Secundi toni* and Touront's *Missa Septimi toni*. Since all but one of the Apel Masses are confined, in their source distribution, to Austrian or German manuscripts (if not to the Apel Codex itself),³² they are readily acceptable as themselves Austrian or German works.³³ As such, they suggest that the Trent *sine nomine* Masses, with which they form such a highly continuous repertorial group, should be assigned a similar provenance.³⁴ The three-voice *sine nomine* Mass of the Austrian composer Heinrich Finck, usually judged to be at least the same age as the Apel Masses, seems to argue in this same direction, as does an anonymous fragmentary cycle in the Silesian source WarU 2016.³⁵

Any placement of the origins of the low-contra *sine nomine* tradition in Austro-German territory is complicated, however, by

³² Only the Mass by Auler. (No.110, "Officium Auleni") has a non-German concordance, in the Segovia Chansonnier, f.135 ff. (There, it is falsely attributed to Agricola.) The transmission of the cycle to this Neapolitan collection probably resembled the pattern set by Touront's works, as described in the following chapter.

³³ Wegman, for instance, asserts on the strength of these cycles that the three-voice, low-contra Mass became "an exclusively local German tradition after ca. 1490"; see "An Anonymous Twin", pp.26-27. The WarU 2016 movements appear in Friedrich Feidmann, *Der Codex Ms 2016 des Musikalischen Instituts der Universität Breslau* (Breslau, 1932), vol. 2, pp. 1-10.

³⁴ The codex bears a notation of payment by Magister Nikolaus Apel for its binding, dated September 1, 1504. Its component parts, presumably, could be five to ten years older. Since the collection is so clearly retrospective, though, some of its contents could well date back into the 1480s, making them only ten or fifteen years later than the Trent pieces. (See Rudolf Gerber, "Introduction", p.vii.)

Some of the Apel Masses show a higher incidence than do the Trent Masses of extended imitation involving all three parts, melodic sequence, and "drive-to-cadence" passages, which tend to mark them as products of the late 1470s and the 1480s. For others, though, the stylistic gap is not nearly so great.

³⁵ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, the editor of Finck's complete works, judges the three-voice low contra Mass to be an early work, on account of "der rhythmischen Verastelung und oft harten kontrapunktischen Linienführung in der textarmen Sätzen (Kyrie I, Sanctus, und Agnus dei I)." The Mass's unique source (Regensburg, Bischofliche Zentralbibliothek MS B. 216-219 [three partbooks]) is usually dated to the mid-sixteenth century but may, like the Apel Codex, be somewhat retrospective in its contents; it contains several further low-contra movements similar to Finck's. See Heinrich Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, vol. 1, pp.50-51, 56-61, and 76-78.

the existence of an apparent prototype for the genre from the prestigious hand of Johannes Ockeghem. This is the *Missa Quinti toni*, preserved in both Brussels 5557 and in the Chigi Codex.³⁶ The *Missa Quinti toni* displays all of the features just discussed within the Trent *sine nomine* group. It too is freely composed, in low-contra texture; Example 4.9a shows its "variable headmotive", and Table 4.7a summarizes its uniform tonal structure. Because this work has long been considered as dating from Ockeghem's youth, even from before his entry into the French royal Chapel in the 1450s, his Trent colleagues - Vincenet, Touront, Barbingant, and the anonymous composer of the *Missa Secundi toni* - have always appeared to follow him, at some chronological distance, into the low-contra experiment.³⁷ Since so little is known about any of these composers, the further assumption that they worked in geographical proximity to him as well, in France or in the Netherlands, has always been quick to follow.³⁸

But certain characteristics of the *Missa Quinti toni* itself are troubling to this historical picture. In the absence of a cantus firmus or a model, the cycle effects unification through frequent and

³⁶ In Brussels 5557, the work appears without the Agnus and the first part of the Gloria on ff.77r-83r. In Chigi, it is on ff.115v-125r.

³⁷ Sylvia Kenney explained the appearance of Ockeghem's music in Brussels 5557 by connecting it with his service under the Duke of Bourbon, father of Isabelle de Bourbon, Charles the Bold's first wife. Her suggestion that Isabelle herself brought the *Missa Quinti toni* to the Burgundian chapel has acted, in most discussions of Ockeghem's style, to push its date back into the early 1450s, since Ockeghem had entered the service of the French King, then Charles VII, by 1452. (See, for instance, Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, which discusses the work as "among [Ockeghem's] earliest compositions.")

Rob C. Wegman, in a new watermark study of the source, has now shown that the Mass's exemplar in Brussels 5557 is actually considerably younger than the rest of the codex; see his "New Data Concerning [Brussels] 5557". The implications of this discovery will be discussed below.

³⁸ See the assembly of biographical information for possible Trent contributors in Chapter Two, where the matter of their connections with Ockeghem is discussed.

extended imitative writing for two and for three voices, through rhythmic and melodic sequence, and through related forms of small-scale formal repetition and patterning. All of these devices are, as shown above, fundamental to the makeup of the Trent *sine nomine* Masses. By contrast, though, they are strikingly unusual - at least in such concentrated form - within the context of Ockeghem's other known sacred works: his *Missa Quarti toni* or *Mi-mi*, a freely composed work for four voices, furnishes an especially strong counterexample.³⁹ In other words, the *Missa Quinti toni* fits far better into the supposedly epigonizing Trent tradition than into Ockeghem's own oeuvre.

As it turns out, Ockeghem's documentary claim to the *Missa Quinti toni* is not completely flawless.⁴⁰ It rests solely upon an attribution of the work to him in the Chigi Codex - certainly a major source of his Masses, but also one much beset, with respect to other composers, by conflicting attributions from other manuscripts.⁴¹ In

³⁹ In the final, imperfect-time section of the Gloria of Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-mi*, for example, there is one point of imitation for three voices, and two for two voices; none are at all prominent in the actual sound of the piece, since they fall in the middle of text phrases. (See mm.105-109, 123-127, 130-132.) The equivalent section of the *Missa Quinti toni* has, by contrast, six points of imitation for two voices, almost all of them placed at the starts of clearly defined new phrases. (See mm.85-88, 97-100, 102-104, 110-113, 135-137, and 147-150.) This correlates strikingly with the incidence and placement of imitation among the Trent low-contra Masses: see, for instance, the five passages in the equivalent section of Vincenet's Gloria (mm.79-82, 94-99, 127-133, 143-148, 163-166.)

Ockeghem's other attributed three-voice Mass, the *Missa Sine nomine* (No. 2 in the Collected Works) uses the traditional high contra placement. It makes a more systematic use of imitation, with five points (one of them à 3) in the same textual section discussed above. The work's only intact and attributed source, however, is Verona 759, where it immediately precedes Barbingant's *Missa Terriblement* and Martini's *Missa In Feuers Hitz*. Such company might warrant for this cycle the same kind of reappraisal conducted here with the *Missa Quinti toni*.

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Professor Joshua Rifkin for suggesting this line of inquiry to me.

⁴¹ For instance, the motet *Sancta trinitas unus deus*, attributed by Chigi to Antoine de Fevin, is assigned elsewhere to Nicolas Craen, Constanzo Festa, Josquin, and Morales. In this case, Chigi's word is usually taken above that of contradictory sources, on account of its chronological and geographical closeness to Fevin's activity at the French court. While these same circumstances tend to bolster its authority with respect to Ockeghem, it was probably compiled after his involvement with the French Chapel had largely ceased, so that possibilities for error or

the older of its sources, Brussels 5557, the *Missa Quinti toni* appears anonymously.⁴² And further, its manuscript circumstances there are suspicious: the paper used for it was not only added to the Codex's original corpus, but is the youngest now present in the source by a considerable margin, dating to the period 1476-1480, while other components were finished by about 1468.⁴³

An intriguing coincidence is immediately apparent here. If any music composed at the Imperial Court ever made its way into the Burgundian Chapel, to be recorded in Brussels 5557, this is precisely the span of time in which it would most likely have appeared - concurrently, that is, with the arrival in Burgundy of the young prince Maximilian, heir to Friedrich III, and his marriage to Mary, daughter of Duke Charles the Bold, on August 18, 1477. Given this chronological correspondence, it seems possible to resolve the *Missa Quinti toni*'s anomalous status among Ockeghem's works by suggesting that it belongs, instead, to one of the group of composers responsible for the similar cycles in the Trent Codices - a group most likely based, as we have just seen, in an Austro-German musical center such as the Imperial Court, rather than in Ockeghem's own Franco-Flemish environs. Their work, through Maximilian's agency, might even have been promoted in the Burgundian Chapel in preference to that of Ockeghem, since relations between Burgundy and France were at a low point around 1480.

confusion about his works are considerably multiplied. See Herbert Kellman, ed., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi VIII 234, Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 22 (New York-London: Garland, 1987), Introduction, pp.v-xi.

⁴² The Kyrie appears last, while the Agnus and the first half of the Gloria are missing - this last gap possibly following from the loss of the last and first leaves from fascicles 6 and 7 respectively, which might have borne any attribution provided.

⁴³ See Wegman, "Brussels 5557", p.14.

Rob C. Wegman's recent study of one further low-contra cycle, found in the manuscript SP B 80, provides occasion for some further arguments along these same lines.⁴⁴ Wegman's essay claims the fragmentary cycle in SP B 80 (only the Sanctus and the Agnus survive) as a "twin" to the *Missa Quinti toni*, which he accepts as Ockeghem's work, on the strength of several important resemblances between the two, which we will consider in a moment. On this basis, he assigns the anonymous SP B 80 movements to Ockeghem as well, thus reaffirming Ockeghem's priority in the low-contra tradition. However, Wegman's stylistic observations can readily be utilized, instead, to align the anonymous piece - and with it, the *Missa Quinti toni*, to which it does undoubtedly bear a special resemblance - with the Trent low-contra tradition, and, further, to affirm that tradition's placement within the Imperial Chapel.

Wegman's analogy between the SP B 80 Mass and the *Missa Quinti toni* proceeded initially from his argument that these two works represent the only two instances, in all the fifteenth-century Mass literature, of low-contra texture in combination with a mensural scheme in exclusively imperfect time.⁴⁵ (See Table 4.7b.) The conjunction of these features is indeed very rare. Their appearance in a parallel case, overlooked by Wegman, is thus all the more suggestive: Trent 91's Paraphrase Mass presents exactly the same combination (as shown back in Table 4.2), and this work is, as surely as any in the Trent Codices, of eastern European provenance.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin", cited in full above.

⁴⁵ Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin", p.25.

⁴⁶ Wegman also overlooked Gaffurius's Mass for three voices in the Milan Librone 3 (2267), ff.78v-86v, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Vincenet's low -contra Mass too

Wegman also points out the use, in both pieces, of unusual ranges, shown here in Example 4.10. The contratenor parts in both are decidedly low, reaching down to F below $\bar{\Gamma}$. What renders the texture of both works truly unusual, though, is the interlocking of discantus and tenor: the discantus extends downward to within a third of the tenor's lower limit, while keeping to itself only a relatively small segment of its usual tessitura above the tenor's range. But this configuration, on a higher overall level, is largely replicated in one of the Trent Masses, *Touront's Missa Septimi toni* (also shown in Example 4.10). Several other pieces among the small surviving corpus attached to Touront suggest, in fact, that he may have favored this layout, unusual as it is in fifteenth-century literature generally.⁴⁷

Wegman also observes that the anonymous work is, like the *Missa Quinti toni*, highly organized on the motivic level through imitation and sequence; he even remarks that such traits, in both works, are "quite foreign to Ockeghem's sacred musical style, as it is nowadays usually understood".⁴⁸ But motivic organization, as we have just seen, is a leading feature of the Trent *sine nomine* repertory. Wegman's additional demonstration that the anonymous work displays both tonal unification and a "variable headmotive"

demonstrates a nearly exclusive preference for imperfect time, limiting perfect time to short internal sections of the Kyrie and the Sanctus.

⁴⁷ Touront's motet *Congaudet omnes* (discussed further in Chapter Five) uses a discantus clef c-3 against a tenor in c-4, so that the discantus reaches to within a fourth of the tenor's lower limit. Both *O florens rosa* and *Nova instat cantica* show similar interlocking of ranges.

⁴⁸ Wegman, "An Anonymous Twin", p. 30.

scheme argues further that it, like the *Missa Quinti toni*, in fact belongs there.⁴⁹ (See Example 4.9b.)

The anonymous cycle's unique appearance in the Roman manuscript SP B 80 seems, at first, to be an obstacle to its inclusion in any Trent tradition, much less one which actually originated in Imperial territory. Its context in SP B 80 - specifically, its inclusion near Dufay's *Missa Ave regina caelorum* - much more readily confirms Wegman's view of its origins in France (where, of course, he places its "twin", the *Missa Quinti toni*). A closer look at the subsection of SP B 80 where the fragmentary cycle appears suggests, though, an alternative theory as to its transmission into the Vatican manuscript.

Christopher Reynolds has demonstrated that the Mass fragment is part of a "supplement" of three fascicles added to the front of SP B 80 shortly after the manuscript's main corpus was finished, but before the whole was bound, in late 1474 or early 1475.⁵⁰ (The section's contents are listed in Table 4.8.) This estimate, as it happens, falls into line suggestively with a specific occasion on which music from the Imperial Court might have passed through Rome - together with, in the same collection, a number of works from composers active in or near Cambrai.

In May of 1473, a large and eminent delegation from Ferrara journeyed down to Naples to help solemnize the proxy marriage there between the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole I d'Este, and Eleonora, sister of

⁴⁹ The start of the Sanctus's *discontus* is missing, but a line roughly like that beginning the Agnus is dictated by the configuration of the other two parts.

⁵⁰ Reynolds, "San Pietro B 80", pp.281 and 294.

the Aragonese king of Naples. Ferrarese Chapel members were probably included in the delegation, though chronicles of the journey do not specify their presence; among them was, very likely, Johannes Martini, composer of the grand ceremonial motet marking the occasion, *Perfunde caeli rore*.⁵¹ On the return trip to Ferrara, the bridal party passed several days in Rome, where Eleonora and her retainers attended Pentecost Masses in the Vatican, had a private audience with the Pope, and attended a splendid feast given in their honor by the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Riario, at which musical entertainment evidently played an important role;⁵² Ferrarese and Vatican musicians could well have made contact, or even joined forces, during these celebrations. It seems possible, then, that Nicolas Ausquier's addition of relatively new music to SP B 80 (which was, as Reynolds has shown, otherwise based on older Vatican manuscripts) reflected some acquisition, a year earlier, of pieces brought by the Ferrarese delegation - brought, specifically, by Johannes Martini, who, as we have seen, was probably involved, during the preceding months, in musical life both at Cambrai and at the Imperial Court.

Some initial testimony in this direction comes from Dufay's *Missa Ave regina caelorum*. As has several times been observed, SP

⁵¹ Disertori, in his discussion of Martini's probable authorship of this work, connected it specifically with the Neapolitan proxy ceremony, since it mentions the bridegroom, Duke Ercole, as though he were absent, while referring to the bride in the second person (as in the phrase "Sponsa quae es constans da gratiam Herculi"). See Disertori, *Martini*, p. i.

⁵² See the description of this banquet (held on June 8, 1473), quoted by Luciano Chiappini (*Eleonora d'Aragona, Prima Duchessa di Ferrara* [Rovigo, 1956], p. 15), taken from Pigna's *Historia de' Principi d'Este* [Ferrara, 1570] p. 628): "diversissime e copiosissime fossero le vivande, che vi vennero: le quali cominciavano a suono di musica, tutta svariata secondo che esse variavano." Another sixteenth-century chronicle, Corio's *Historia di Milano* (Venezia, 1554) lists these various accompanied dishes (p.418).

B 80's reading of this piece is closely united with that in the Mass collection ModD, copied during Martini's tenure at Ferrara, against the only other surviving complete redaction in Brussels 5557.⁵³ One explanation for this correspondence could be that both copies were derived, at some remove, from an exemplar in Martini's personal possession.⁵⁴ The other complete Mass cycle in the supplement, the *Missa Au chant de l'alouete*, adds some complementary evidence along related lines. As Tables 4.9a and 4.9b demonstrate, this work bears a surprisingly clear likeness to one included in ModD together with the *Missa Ave regina caelorum*: Faugues's *Missa L'homme armé*, which in its earlier version (that of CS 14, rather than that of ModD) makes similarly massive literal repetitions between movements, involving the same textual subsections. The *Missa Au chant de l'alouete* also invites comparison to the other Faugues cycle in ModD, the *Missa Je suis en l'amer*, in that the non-repeating sections seem similarly to hint at the presence of a common model

⁵³ Father Laurence Feininger published ModD's and SP B 80's readings as a single version against that given by Brussels 5557. See his *Missa Ave regina caelorum...Synoptice secundum fontes praecipuos*, Monumentae Polyphoniae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae, Series II (*Ordinarium Missae*), v. 3 (Rome: Societas Universalis Sanctae Ceciliae, 1963).

Planchart ("Dufay Manuscript Traditions", pp.44-46) shows that the SP B 80 scribe made some inconsistent revisions in the mensural signatures of both Mass and motet. These recall the mensural mixture seen in Trent 91's version of the *Missa La basse danze*, in contrast to its reading in CS 51. (In both cases, a move from integer valor to diminished signatures is in question.) Similarly, the mixture of Antiphon text with liturgical text noted by Planchart in SP B 80's tenor might reflect copying from a source which tried to give both, as does the *Missa Regina caeli laetare* in Trent 91. (In ModD, the Antiphon text is gone, apart from irregularly supplied phrase incipits.)

⁵⁴ Further support for this contention might be drawn from the recently discovered fragmentary concordance for the Mass from Lvov, in Poland. Lvov evidently follows the Italian reading of the Mass in preference to that of Brussels 5557. If it was drawn (even at some remove) from an exemplar owned by the Imperial Court, as one could on historical and cultural grounds expect, this three-way correspondence would reflect the court's reliance on a source provided by Martini either during his stay there ca. 1470 or a few years later, and in due time taken by him to Ferrara and to Rome. See the discussion of Martini's career in Chapter Three, and also Miroslaw Perz, "The Lvov Fragments", TVNM 36 91986), 26-51.

for all five movements, which influences the course of both tenor and discantus.⁵⁵ Given Martini's near-monopoly on Faugues's Mass cycles, now extended by the arguments of Chapter Three, this may amount to further evidence of his influence upon the SP B 80 supplement, for if the *Missa Au chant de l'alouete* is not Faugues's own, it is at the very least a close and deliberate emulation of his methods.⁵⁶

Finally, the close correspondence between SP B 80's reading of *Omnium bonorum plena* and Scribe A's in Trent 91 would, in light of this hypothesis, make perfect sense. These two copies are especially linked, as was shown in the first section of this chapter, by their identical use of three unusual notational devices: \ominus in a ϕ context, the combination $\frac{\phi}{C}$ as a 2:1 proportional sign, and the use of coloration to signal 2:1 diminution. If the two surviving copies of *Omnium bonorum plena* both descend from Scribe A's exemplar - an exemplar closely related, as Chapter Three argued, with the work of Johannes Martini - it becomes possible to align them with the Masses just discussed, which use the same notational forms, into a single practice identified, further, with the composers of the Imperial Court. Martini, in this view, could have experimented with these notations during his period of contact with the Imperial composers, around 1470, and then incorporated them into some of his copies of works from outside that tradition, such as Compère's.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ See Schuetze's analysis of both versions of the *Missa L'homme armé* and of the *Missa Je suis en la mer*, in *Introduction*, pp. 15, 23-28, and 47-51.

⁵⁶ The anonymous Mass's title, which means "to the song of the turtledove", parallels that of Martini's *Missa Cucu*. (I thank Prof. Alejandro Planchart for pointing this out to me.)

⁵⁷ The SP B 80 cycle also contains a setting of the Marian antiphon *Regina caeli laetare*, which matches the anonymous Mass on that same tune within Scribe A's collection - particularly since Dufay's motet on *Ave regina caelorum* is present, within the supplement, along with his Mass, the

In this context, the low-*contra sine nomine* Mass included in the supplement to SP B 80 takes on a new significance. If Martini indeed had contact with the Imperial Chapel around 1470, he could very easily have come into possession there of one of the three-voice Masses produced during the 1460s, by Touront and others. One of Wegman's tables (given as Figure 2 in his study) even raises the possibility that Martini himself could have been responsible for such a work: listing all of the cycles known to him (for three and for four voices) which use only imperfect time, he gives six by Martini - a majority, that is, of Martini's known cycles - against only one by Ockeghem, apart from the *Missa Quinti toni*.⁵⁸ Certainly, too, the pronounced motivic patterning of both the anonymous fragment and its slightly younger twin in Brussels 5557 are just as germane to Martini's known oeuvre as they are antithetical to Ockeghem's.

The proposed contact between Ausquier and Martini, then, makes it possible to unite almost the entire repertory of preserved low-*contra sine nomine* Masses into one continuous tradition, based at the Chapel of Friedrich III in Lower Austria.⁵⁹ The line begins in

model for the Trent 91 cycle, this circumstance too may be worthy of note. In fact the two *Regina caeli* works clearly use the same version of the Antiphon, and handle it, from a structural standpoint, in similar ways, particularly as regards imitation. Since the motet uses the Antiphon (in transposition) as a discantus part, though, no outright parallels can exist between it and the tenor Mass - or at least none of the extent exemplified by Dufay's Mass-motet pairing.

⁵⁸ Wegman's account overlooks, of course, a number of cycles by Gaffurius in the Milan Codices, which also use all-imperfect mensural schemes, as well as the Paraphrase Mass in Trent 91, discussed above. Ockeghem's all-imperfect Mass is the *Missa Au travail suis*; Martini's are those on *Ma bouche rit*, *Cela sans plus*, *Dio ti salvi Gotterello*, *Orsus orsus*, *La Coda di Pavon*, and *La martinella*.

⁵⁹ Two three-voice, low-*contra* Masses not covered directly by this hypothesis are those of Tinctoris, preserved respectively in Verona 755 and 759, but usually linked with the early period of his Neapolitan service, ca. 1475. (See William Melin, ed., *Johanni Tinctoris Opera Omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, Series 18 [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1976], vol. 1, pp. 1-32 and 33-54, also Introduction, p.vii.) The following chapter will show, though, how Vincenet, Tinctoris's companion in service at Naples, may have provided a direct link between that center and the Imperial Court. The low-*contra* practice could have been introduced at Naples through his agency, such that not only Tinctoris's cycles but similar low-*contra* works preserved

Trent 89 with Touront's two cycles and that of Barbingant, in the early 1460s; it continues with Vincenet's Mass and with the *Missa Secundi toni*, copied into early fascicles of Trent 91 during the mid-1460s; it culminates in the early 1470s with "twin" cycles, the *Missa Quinti toni* and the anonymous Mass in SP B 80, carried respectively by Prince Maximilian to Burgundy and by Johannes Martini to Rome; it then extends into the 1480s and 1490s with Masses preserved in the Apel Codex and other German sources. The Paraphrase Mass, together with the two German song Masses in Trent 89, then show how the Imperial composers went on, during the 1470s, to utilize low-contralto texture for other types of Mass composition. One further low-contralto Mass preserved in fascicle 5 of Trent 91, demonstrates very much the same point.

An Early *Missa Brevis* in Trent 91

Our last example of the three-voice, low-contralto genre appears in fascicle 5 of Trent 91. (See Transcription No. 6.) Fascicle 5 was, like the first four (Scribe A's collection), made up from "oxhead"-watermarked paper and ruled in grey ink. As shown in Chapter 1, though, it was acquired by Scribe C, who used a grey-brown ink - meaning, probably, that he worked some time after Scribe A, who worked in the plain grey ink used for ruling, had left the scene. The cycle thus belongs toward the later extreme of the paper's proposed dating span in the early 1470s.

anonymously in the Verona manuscripts could have stemmed, through him, indirectly from the Trent tradition.

The Trent editors' placement of Scribe C's Mass immediately following Scribe A's "Martini collection" in fascicles 1 through 4 may, of course, amount to a communication about its authorship, particularly since, as will shortly be evident, it shares key stylistic features with the similarly scored Masses just linked, in the preceding discussion, to Martini's probable activities around 1470. We will put this issue aside at present, though, for the fascicle 5 Mass initially arouses curiosity on quite other grounds: of all the complete Ordinaries in the Trent Codices, it is by far the shortest.

The Gloria and the Credo are most striking in this respect. (See Table 4.10.) Both are based on declamation so intensively syllabic, in fact, that only "short" settings could reasonably result. Repeated notes form the chief basis of brief, cleanly defined phrases, which make frequent cadences on a sharply limited spectrum of degrees. No signs of cantus firmus or model are evident in either movement. Rather, imitation is of central importance in both, usually at the octave, and frequently involving all three parts. The tenor, thus an equal partner with the discantus, carries text throughout, often "telescoping" it briefly with that in the upper line; both parts cut some text entirely. And as if to emphasize their efficient construction, both Gloria and Credo remain in perfect time throughout.⁶⁰ Altogether, the economy of scale in this cycle, together with its emphasis on clear declamation almost to the

⁶⁰ Gloria and Credo settings in perfect time throughout are even rarer than all-imperfect examples in fifteenth-century literature generally. The closest parallel example in the Trent Codices is the *Missa Deutscher Lieder* in Trent 89 (ff.408v-413r), where the Gloria is in C throughout, and the Credo has one section in \emptyset .

exclusion of musical appeal, puts it in a class by itself within the Trent repertory.

In the sixteenth century, following the Council of Trent, there appeared in Italy a special type of Ordinary cycle where these same considerations - brevity, melodic simplicity, and efficient textual declamation - were paramount. To a great extent, the composers writing such cycles, such as Vincenzo Ruffo and Andrea Gabrieli, among others, in the north, and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina in the south, were motivated by doctrines of the Counter-Reformation concerning sacred music, which centered upon the need for chaste and lucid projection of the ritual text. At the same time, these composers were also responding to a growing popular demand for short, technically simple Mass settings. As the monophonic chant declined in prestige and in purity of practice over the course of the sixteenth century, small churches formerly without polyphony sought to adopt it; similarly, larger establishments which had formerly used polyphony on special occasions now wanted it on an everyday basis. Both groups, as a result, called for Masses shorter and technically easier than the great festal settings produced over the past century and a half. The brief, simple, syllabically declaimed settings designed to meet these new needs received the special designation *Missa brevis*.⁶¹

The Trent 91 cycle is, of course, fully a century too old to have played any direct part in all of this. It merits consideration, though,

⁶¹ Earlier writings on the *Missa brevis* are summarized in Reese, *Music of the Renaissance*, pp.450 and 491. Lewis Lockwood traced the tradition as far back as Josquin's *Missa D'ung autre amer*, a work discussed below, and analyzed Vincenzo Ruffo's contributions to it from 1557 onward. See *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo*, *Studii di Musica Veneta* 2 (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), pp.176-181.

as part of a possible "prehistory" to the *Missa brevis* of the 1560s - not an outlandish prospect, since that trend, like so many others of its time, had firm roots in aesthetic doctrines already voiced by fifteenth-century thinkers.

In fact, the first use of the term *Missa brevis* postdates the Trent 91 cycle by a much smaller margin. This occurs in the so-called Gaffurius Codices, three large volumes compiled in Milan under the supervision of the theorist and composer Gaffurius, or Gafori, during the late 1480s.⁶² In the *tabula* prefacing the manuscript Milan 2268, three Masses are listed as *Missae breves*, and one as a *Missa brevis et expedita*. These are enumerated in Table 4.11, together with one further Mass for three voices from the volume 2267, which is short enough to qualify for the same designation.⁶³ (Two further Masses listed in the Table will be discussed shortly.)

The Milanese *Missae breves* - two of them at least composed by Gaffurius himself - exhibit some clear generic characteristics, which remained essential to the type in its sixteenth-century incarnation. They are technically simple, and efficient in their handling of text; they are also, like most later *Missae breves*, freely composed, without reference to cantus firmus or model. And they really are "brief": as Table 4.13 shows, their Gloria movements average around 50 tactus-units, while the Credos work out to 100 or

⁶² The basic histories of the Milan collection, giving the dates generally accepted for its completion, are Knud Jeppesen, "Die 3 Gaffurius Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milan," *AcM* 3 (1931) pp.14-28, and Claudio Sartori, *La cappella musicale del duomo di Milano: Catalogo delle musiche dell'archivio* (Milan, 1957).

⁶³ Since this cycle is the only three-voice Mass in the entire Milan corpus, its scoring, rather than any *Missa brevis* status, was probably considered the most appropriate basis for its designation in the index.

fewer, both types contrasting markedly with the vast majority of fifteenth-century settings, which are two to three times longer.

These earlier cycles, though, were specially shaped (at least in their final preservation) by the unique properties of Milanese liturgy, in the late fifteenth century an uneasy blend of the native Ambrosian tradition with recently imported Roman elements.⁶⁴ Because two of the five standard Ordinary texts, the Kyrie and the Agnus dei, had no place in Ambrosian liturgy, their inclusion in the *Missae breves*, as in the Gaffurius Codices generally, is irregular: only the *Missa brevis Primi toni* includes a Kyrie, and no cycle has an Agnus dei. The *Benedictus* section within the Sanctus has a similarly ambiguous status, such that only the three-part Mass and the *Missa brevis et expedita* use it.

Within this three-movement Milanese core of Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus-minus-*Benedictus*, some further conventions are evident. In normal settings of these texts, change of tempus - usually from O to C or C - is a standard basis of form from the *Missa Caput* on. But the designated *Missae breves*, together with the three-part Mass, depart from this pattern by using single mensurations throughout, whether perfect or imperfect. Internal formal subdivisions are then further stereotyped. The Gloria movements are punctuated by a pause in all parts, marked with a fermata, either at *filius patris* or at *Iesu Christe*; in all but one case, the pause is made on a "triad" with its "third" in the discantus.

⁶⁴ See the summary discussion of Ambrosian liturgy and its effect on polyphonic practice in Milan in Thomas Noblitt, "The Motetti Missales of the Late Fifteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1963, Chapter 6. This is a short account drawn mainly from secondary sources, but it has yet to be replaced by a more profound study of these issues.

The Credo settings divide, without exception, at *Crucifixus*, so that their first sections conclude with emphatic renditions - even, in two cases, with *cantus coronatus* settings - of the words *Et homo factus est*. The Sanctus movements, finally, have *Pleni* sections in reduced texture, which lead without pause into single *Osanna* invocations.

Text omissions in the *Missae breves* figure not only in the second halves of the Credos - where, in fifteenth-century settings generally, omissions are fairly frequent - but, unusually, in the first halves as well;⁶⁵ Gloria movements are cut too.⁶⁶ With both texts, telescoping of the two or three parts that carry them is frequent, so that scribal carelessness, in several instances, led to further unintentional (and nonsensical) text cuts.⁶⁷

The Milan *Missae breves* also have "variable headmotive" schemes, similar to those already discussed in the three-part Masses of Trent 91. As in those cases, similarities of contour are just pronounced enough, at the start of each movement, to make the connection among them plainly audible, but stop short of literal repetition. All, further, impose tonal uniformity on the conclusions of movements and of subsections. These cycles differ greatly from the Trent *sine nomine* Masses, though, in that their unity is assured

⁶⁵For instance, the *Missa brevis et expedita* cuts *genitum non factum...facta sunt*; the *Missa Primi toni* cuts *Deum de deo, lumen de lumine*. Ruth Hannas, "Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo", *JAMS* 5 (1952), 155-86, lists very few such omissions, which certainly do nothing to support her theory of doctrinally motivated Credo cuts.

⁶⁶For instance, the *Missa Primi toni* cuts *Qui tollis...nostram*; the *Missa brevis et expedita* cuts *Qui tollis...nobis*. For both Gloria and Credo movements, the published edition lists all cuts in full in the introductory notes.

⁶⁷The Credo of the *Missa Primi toni*, for example, reads *...non erit finis. Et vivificantem. Qui cum patre...* at mm.45-50; probably the brief duo on *Et vivificantem* was meant to carry the words *Et in spiritum sanctum dominum* on the upper part.

mainly by their spare, syllabically conceived vocal lines, which place the Ordinary text in the foreground throughout: even in the absence of plainchant *cantus firmi*, these settings preserve many qualities of strict paraphrase composition, being likewise intended as direct, undisguised polyphonic presentations of successive phrases from the liturgy. Their value to their own age as replacements for monophonic chant - already in decline at this point, before the sixteenth century's "reforms" had even been contemplated - is readily understandable.

Turning back to Table 4.11, we can now see how an apparent exception to these generic principles is actually, instead, a proof of their solidity. Amerigo Bortone, who edited works by Gaffurius for the *Archivium Musicae Metropolitanis Mediolanensis*,⁶⁸ was able to identify with certainty two Masses from Milan 2268 both as Gaffurius's own work and as *Missae breves*: for both the *Primi toni* and the *Octavi toni*, the designation appears together with a folio number on the manuscript's *tabula*, and the composer's name was written over the copy itself.⁶⁹ The *tabula* then alludes to two further *Missae breves* by Gaffurius in the codex - a *Missa brevis et expedita* of unspecified mode, by Gaffurius, and, as the next item listed, an *Alia Missa brevis eiusdem toni*, presumably his as well. But the folio numbers for these were lost, as the edges of the *tabula* page crumbled away with time.

⁶⁸Amerigo Bortone, ed. *Franchino Gaffurio: Messe*, Archivio Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanensis vols. 1-3 (Milan: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1960).

⁶⁹ See the facsimile of the *tabula* in Howard Mayer Brown, ed., *Milan, Archivio della veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione musicale, Librone 2 (olim 2258)*, Renaissance Music in Facsimile, Vol. 12b (New York-London: Garland, 1987).

Bortone thus resorted to guesswork. Having found one Mass on ff.110v-114r, with an ascription to Gaffurius over the Gloria, which he adjudged sufficiently "short and easy" to qualify for the *brevis et expedita* title, he concluded that the Gloria-Credo pair following, apparently in the same mode, was the *Alia Missa brevis eiusdem toni*. In so doing, of course, he relied upon the *tabula* to reflect actual manuscript order - although in his Introduction he himself had warned that it does not.⁷⁰ He further assumed, on equally questionable grounds, that any piece in Gaffurius's own hand, as both the "short and easy" Mass and the movement pair following appear to be, was necessarily the composer's own work.⁷¹ Beyond this, though, he tacitly adopted an alternative definition of the *Missa brevis*, turning to a much later use of the term to describe a Protestant service where only Kyrie and Gloria were set polyphonically, later extended to cover all manner of incomplete Mass cycles.⁷² On this basis he concluded that a *Missa brevis* could be not only a "short" cycle, in the sense of being formally compact, like his *Missa brevis et expedita* candidate, but also a pairing of two normal-sized movements, which made up a Mass "short" in the sense of being incomplete, as a cycle, even for purposes of the Ambrosian rite.

Not surprisingly, the Gloria-Credo pair thus published as a *Missa brevis* shares none of the features of other Milan *Missae breves* - as indeed Bortone himself remarks.⁷³ Whether or not it is Gaffurius's work can remain, for now, an open question. Either way,

⁷⁰AMMM vol. 2, p.v.

⁷¹AMMM vol.2, p.vi.

⁷²See Lewis Lockwood's discussion of this shift in meaning in "Missa Brevis".

⁷³AMMM vo. 2, p.vii.

it is almost certainly usurping the title of the anonymous mass on ff. 69v-72r of the same codex, which is listed in the Appendix to Table 4.11.⁷⁴ This second cycle is also "in the same mode" (a transposed *protus*) as Bortone's *Missa brevis et expedita*, but it is formally compact, and shares all of the generic features just discussed. In fact, if we can assume that the *tabula* reflects the overall succession of the manuscript, though not the specific sequence of pieces folio to folio, this new "short" Mass should itself be the *Missa brevis et expedita*, since it precedes its counterpart in the codex by several dozen folios. The cycle published under that title then becomes the companion *Alia Missa brevis*. This re-identification establishes the term *Missa brevis*, as it was used in Milan around 1490, as one with precise connotations, reflecting a genre well established in the repertory there.

How does the Trent 91 Mass, a work of the 1470s, fit into this context of Milanese *Missae breves*? On first inspection, it does not: it is a complete five-movement Ordinary cycle - including moreover an extra Kyrie, as if to emphasize its lack of connection with any Ambrosian rite. However, it is this inclusion which engenders an initial suspicion. Both the Kyries, as it turns out, are chant paraphrases: the first, on the *Cunctipotens genitor* melody, equips the cycle for a number of *Temporale* feasts, while the second setting, the Kyrie *Cum iubilo*, is Marian. Such a preface of entirely

⁷⁴This work is published in Fabio Fani, ed., *Anonimi Messe*, AMMM 6 (1966), pp.25-37, with notes pp.vi-vii. The Sanctus is separated by a few folia from the main body of the cycle.

chant-based Kyries for a freely composed Gloria and Credo is rare, if not unique.

Still more suggestive, though, is the sudden reappearance of chant paraphrase at exactly the point where, in a piece composed for Ambrosian use, the polyphonic setting would have concluded: both the *Benedictus* and the second *Osanna* sections of the Sanctus use the appropriate portions of the Sanctus melody in the *Graduale Romanum's* Mass V, although the first part of the movement, like the Gloria and the Credo, is entirely free composition. The Agnus dei, too, is almost certainly a chant paraphrase, although its cantus firmus is as yet unidentified: not only does it display, in its second section, a discantus line in breves, of the type that highlights the chant entry in the *Benedictus*, but its formal disposition, with pronounced repetition between the conclusions of the first two invocations, reproduces that of the great majority of Agnus dei chants.⁷⁵

In fascicle 5 of Trent 91, then, we have a cycle which is composite in an unusual sense. A freely composed core, comprising Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus without *Benedictus*, coincides with Ambrosian use strongly enough to suggest composition for Milan itself. Movements based on chant paraphrase surround this core; these would have adapted the cycle to standard Roman use in some center other than Milan, and, while they could have been part of it from the start, might also reflect a second, post-Milan stage in its

⁷⁵See, for instance, the Agnus chants of Masses II, IV, VII, VIII, and others in the *Graduale Romanum*.

history . (Scribe C left no indications one way or the other on this point, having perhaps received none himself.)

Comparison of the core cycle to the slightly later *Missae breves* preserved in Milan confirms this hypothesis with some unmistakable parallels. The overall compositional approach, in both Gloria and Credo, is identical to that of Gaffurius: syllabic text setting, on short motifs with many repeated notes, generates phrases reflecting textual sense-units almost identical to those in his productions - so that cadences, in other words, come in all of the same places. The key formal features of the Milan cycles are also exactly reproduced. (See, again, Tables 4.10 and 4.11.) Both Gloria and Credo retain a single mensuration; the Gloria subdivides at *Iesu Criste*, with a fermata over a "triad" putting its "third" uppermost, while the Credo's second section begins at *Crucifixus*; both movements cut and telescope their texts along the lines observed in Gaffurius. The Sanctus movement, too, resembles the Gaffurius settings in its fusion of *Pleni* and *Osanna* subsections. A "variable headmotive" links all three of the core movements, as shown in Ex. 4.11 - and is conspicuous by its absence in both Kyrie and Agnus.

Gaffurius arrived at Milan only in 1484, after holding posts at Genoa, Lodi, and Bergamo during the 1470s. Assuming that his *Missae breves* were specifically Ambrosian compositions, rather than truncated Roman ones, they must date from the mid- to late 1480s. The Trent 91 cycle from the 1470s must be, then, an exemplar of an earlier *Missa brevis* tradition which Gaffurius inherited and developed, rather than creating it himself. (Its

absence from the codices compiled under his supervision does not interfere materially with this claim: by the late 1480s, when they were compiled, Masses for three voices were very rare in non-Germanic sources, such that the single three-voice cycle included in the entire Milan corpus - itself a *Missa brevis* - was Gaffurius's own work.) Some further examples of the *Missa brevis* from Milan of the 1470s would help, though, to clarify the Trent 91 piece's historical position.

In fact, a likely candidate has already been proposed, though on only quite different grounds from those examined here: this is the *Missa D'ung aultre d'amer* of Josquin des Pres.⁷⁶ Helmut Osthoff began his analysis of this cycle with the observation that, in comparison with Josquin's other Masses, it is strikingly short, and while he did not actually call it a *Missa brevis*, other writers have done so.⁷⁷ Two Sanctus movements have been connected with this cycle, one of them missing a *Benedictus* section, and both including what are apparently motets *Pro elevatione*.⁷⁸ This apparent reflection of Ambrosian use, together with the adoption of what he termed "Italian motet style", led Osthoff to propose this Mass as the product of Josquin's tenure in the Sforza chapel during the mid-1470s.⁷⁹ And although it includes both Kyrie and Agnus, and makes

⁷⁶The piece is published in Alfred Smijers, ed., *Werken van Josquin des Pres, Missen XI* (Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Musiekgeschiednis, 1950).

⁷⁷See, for instance, Lockwood "Missa brevis", and Ruffo, pp.179-180. Osthoff's analysis of the cycle is in *Josquin Desprez* (Tützing: Schneider, 1962-65), vol. 1, pp.126-129.

⁷⁸See Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets", *TVNM* 35 (1985), 9-22; Noble takes particular issue with the usual designation of *Tu solus qui facis mirabilia*, which is associated with the incomplete Sanctus, as a "*Benedictus* substitute" (p.12).

⁷⁹Agreement on this point is far from universal. Edward Lowinsky, particularly, argued that the motet (and consequently the cycle associated with it) must date from Josquin's years in Rome (1485-95, ca.) since it shows the influence of Italian traditions which, in Lowinsky's view, achieved real coherence only in the 1490s, shortly before Petrucci's first publications of laude and frottole.

use of a model song rather than of free composition, the Josquin Mass still fits many of the criteria for the proposed Trent-through-Gaffurius tradition: one mensuration serves throughout both Gloria and Credo; division points there, while elided somewhat, align with those in the *Missae breves*; the texts are "telescoped", though not cut, and the work's overall dimensions are very small.⁸⁰

Most importantly, syllabic text setting, with a high proportion of repeated notes, characterizes the *Missa D'ung aultre amer*. In this case, such a stylistic cast is at least partially determined by the cycle's model, an Ockeghem song with these same characteristics; surely, though, Josquin's wish to write a textually compact Mass could have partially determined his choice of that model in the first place. At any rate, his results illustrate nicely, as several writers have pointed out, the interplay of the changing French secular style with the markedly "Milanese" approach to sacred polyphony which began to develop during the mid-1470s, and featured the tendencies toward homophony and clarity of declamation incorporated, ultimately, into the Gaffuri *Missae breves*.

Johannes Martini was, briefly, Josquin's colleague in the Sforza chapel of the mid-1470s,⁸¹ and he too produced a work that fits with remarkable ease into the *Missa brevis* type. This is his three-voice Mass on the German song *In Feuers Hitz*, uniquely

(See "Scholarship in the Renaissance: Music", *Renaissance News* 16 (1963), 255.) Most writers who follow Lowinsky place the cycle ca. 1490; see, for instance, Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, p.127.

⁸⁰ The Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass also incorporate brief references to the appropriate plainsongs as used in Lent, tying it further to the composite Trent 91 work. See Jeremy Noble and Gustave Reese, "Josquin Desprez", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (1980).

⁸¹ See Lockwood, *Music in Ferrara*, pp.168-169. Lockwood places Martini at Milan between February and October of 1474.

preserved in the manuscript Verona 759.⁸² Like the Josquin Mass, the *Missa In Feuers Hitz* is a five-movement cycle reflecting Roman use; to date, it has never been connected to Martini's known service in Milan. But, as in the Josquin case, all five movements are very short; the Gloria and Credo, further, exhibit the key combination of characteristics proposed for the "Milan tradition", including single mensurations (imperfect, in this case), typical division points, and syllabic text treatment, with extensive omissions and overlapping of text phrases. In general stylistic terms, the whole cycle fits very comfortably beside Gaffurius's work - and Josquin's as well. A special status for the *Missa In Feuers Hitz* as a *Missa brevis* might also explain Martini's subsequent failure to include it in his Ferrara repertory.

The greatest attraction of attributing this work to Martini's Milan years lies, though, in the possibilities it offers for a direct comparison of his compositional techniques to those of Josquin. The two miniature cycles even figure, in this view, as something like companion works: both use secular songs as bases for parody composition in strikingly similar ways, and could well symbolize a period of mutual influence between the two composers, chronologically brief but significant for the later development of both.⁸³

⁸² The underlying model for this Mass was discovered thanks to the combined efforts of Peter Burkholder and Howard Mayer Brown. See Burkholder, "Martini," pp.485-86. The Mass appears on ff.15v-20r of the Verona manuscript.

I am grateful to Andrew Kirkman for providing me with a copy of his transcription of the cycle.

⁸³ The borrowing procedures used by Josquin and Martini are similar, in this pair of works, in that both rely primarily on tenor statements, made once in each movement (except the Credo, which has two in Josquin, and one extended by internal repetition in Martini). The discantus lines of both model songs appear more sporadically, either on their own or in combination with the

One further candidate for the early *Missa brevis* tradition presents itself within the surviving Milan manuscripts: the incomplete, freely composed cycle by Loyset Compère, published as a *Missa sine nomine* in the edition of his works. The textual tradition of this work is complicated. Its earliest source, Milan 2267, has the Gloria and Credo side by side, while the sixteenth-century choirbook Modena 4 presents these together with a Kyrie, which has Sanctus and Agnus texts, added by a later hand, below its original words.⁸⁴ This second source configuration led Ludwig Finscher, Compère's editor, to evaluate the piece as a specimen of the rare "recapitulation Mass" genre, known in a few sixteenth-century sources. (It also preempted any search for a suitable Sanctus within the Milan corpus, to extend the Gloria and Credo there into a three-movement "Ambrosian core".) Yet the overall style of both movements calls strongly for their inclusion within the Milanese *Missa brevis* tradition: they are compressed, syllabic settings, inclined to telescoping, and confined to single mensurations, with division points in the Gloria, at least, matching the Gaffurius pieces exactly. Their openings, too, suggest between them a typical "variable headmotive" scheme; the Kyrie's exact resemblance to the Gloria might, in this context, be interpreted as proof of its later addition - an idea which its systematic four-voice imitation points and "drive-to-cadence" sectional endings seem to substantiate. Even: the Gloria and Credo, with their insistence on

corresponding tenor segments, in harmonic alignments slightly varied from those of the original songs.

⁸⁴ See Ludwig Finscher, ed., *Loyset Compère: Opera Omnia, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* series 15 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1958), pt. 1, pp. 51-60, where the cycle is published as the *Missa brevis sine nomine*; see also Finscher's analysis in *Compère*, pp. 79-84.

homophony and antiphonal exchange, may reflect a slightly later development of Milanese sacred style than do the Josquin and Martini Masses.⁸⁵ Still, they could fit reasonably well into the latter part of Compère's known tenure at Milan between 1474 and December of 1476,⁸⁶ extending the nascent *Missa brevis* tradition farther toward Gaffurius's time.

The Trent 91 cycle, then, may belong to an early phase, still generically mixed in terms of compositional approach, of the Milanese tradition that was to produce, during the following decade, Gaffurius's freely composed and specially designated *Missae breves*. At the same time, though, it is an exemplar of the three-voice, low-contra genre, at home beside the others of the same type in Trent 89 and 91: like them, it is (in its "core", at least) freely composed, with strong reliance on imitative structures, connected overall by a "variable headmotive" scheme. Thus, in summary, it may be evidence of a cross-fertilization between a Germanic tradition, based at the Imperial Court, and the chapel of the Sforzas at Milan.⁸⁷ This might have come about as a reflection of increased interest, at both establishments, in a simplified, general-purpose repertory of Ordinary music, linked perhaps to an increasingly frequent use of

⁸⁵ See Finscher's discussion of Italian stylistic influence in Compère's *motetti missales*, which he dates to the same period, in *Compère*, pp.113-114. This view, of course, has been subjected to the same challenges faced by Osthoff's placement of the *Missa D'ung aultre amer*.

⁸⁶ On Compère in Milan, see Finscher, *Compère*, p.17.

⁸⁷ Political relations between Milan and the Empire were rocky in the 1460s, principally because of Friedrich's refusal to recognize the Sforza family as rulers of Milan. (The city was nominally an Imperial dependency.) Diplomatic contacts, however, were continued, largely in an effort on Milan's part to smooth over this difficulty: Milanese ambassadors, for instance, appeared before Friedrich during the latter's visit to Rome in 1469. See Franco Catalano, "Il ducato del Milano nella politica dell' equilibrio", in *La storia di Milano*, ed. Giuseppe Martini et al. [Milan: Fondazione Treccami degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1956], pp.227-414, esp. p. 258.) Cultural contacts probably proceeded quite normally between the two centers.

polyphony even for ferial services. Three-voice scoring, versus the usual four, and free composition, without ties to occasion-bound cantus firmi or models, would have been the first steps in such simplification, taken by Imperial composers in the mid-1460s. In Milan, during the early 1470s, further experiments could have followed in the direction of brevity and technical ease. The apparent exchange of "short and simple" Masses by Martini and Josquin, on German and French songs respectively, would have played into this overall development.

Martini is, of course, one possible agent of any cross-fertilization between the Empire and Milan. Documentary evidence places him in Milan in 1474-75; as we have just seen, he may also, a few years earlier, have been involved with the production of low-contra Masses in Imperial circles. In such a light, the placement of Trent 91's *Missa brevis* immediately following the gatherings there which most likely contain his music, or music copied from his holdings, implies that the composite cycle too is his work. Particularly the chant paraphrase movements show a melodic grace and structural sense, in addition to a fluid imitative technique, which bind them to the paraphrases possibly by Martini in fascicle 4. And further, the anonymous Magnificat added by Wisser immediately following the cycle bears a distinct if general resemblance to Martini's known works in that genre, combining a conservative realization of the Second Cantic Tone (in transposition) with confident use of imitation and sequence.

Summary: The Significance of the Low-Contra Tradition

The aims of this chapter, then, have been, first, to define the special tradition of Mass composition which gave rise to Trent 91's three-voice Masses; second, to show why this tradition is most likely of Austro-German provenance, stemming from the works of composers active at the Imperial chapel in Wiener Neustadt during the 1460s; and, third, to sketch something of its later influence - outside Austro-German regions.

The common denominator of the Trent 91 Masses, as for those considered with them from the repertory of Trent 88 and Trent 89, is their use of three-voice texture with contratenor cleffed as the lowest part. Such three-voice texture, as the chapter's initial table showed, appears side-by-side with an older type, in which the contratenor is cleffed equal to or higher than the tenor, across the span of Mass repertory from the 1460s assembled in Trent 89. The pieces which use it thus invited comparison as a more or less unified group, representative of a well-defined compositional trend in a specific musical center.

To identify that center as one in Austro-German territory, discussion first turned to the anonymous Paraphrase Mass, in fascicle 20 of Trent 91. The chant content of this piece demonstrates its origins at or somewhere near the Imperial Chapel; it gives evidence, then, that low-contra texture was known and practiced in Austro-German territory by the 1470s at latest. (The two Masses on German songs in Trent 89, though set aside at the start of the discussion, were briefly reintroduced to confirm this point.) The Paraphrase Mass then proved to contain several unusual

notational forms in common with a considerably earlier cycle by Barbingant, which thereby came under consideration as a work of similar east-European provenance.

In the second section of the chapter, the Barbingant piece was shown to be part of a highly uniform repertory of freely composed low-contralto Masses by Touront, Vincenet, and at least one further anonymous composer. These *sine nomine* Masses, drawn from both Trent 89 and Trent 91, were proposed as works of similarly Austro-German provenance: they are known (with the exception of Barbingant's) only from manuscripts of that region, and moreover tie in closely with a somewhat later repertory of three-voice, low-contralto *sine nomine* Masses in the Apel Codex and related sources, whose Austro-German origins have never been questioned. This section of the chapter then went on to examine the two Masses which appear to be the Franco-Flemish prototypes for the Trent *sine nomine* cycles, both of them currently accepted as works by Ockeghem; it presented hypotheses whereby both could have been, instead, themselves modelled on the earlier Trent repertory. The chapter's final section then turned to the low-contralto mass preserved in Trent 91's fascicle 5, and showed how this work may have fused the Austro-German *sine nomine* tradition with an emerging Milanese genre, the *Missa brevis*, at some point in the mid-1470s.

The fascicle 5 cycle may, then, be in the end the most significant of the Trent collection's three-voice, low-contralto Masses, for it demonstrates that compositional traditions developed in Austro-German territory may well have influenced musicians working in Italy, and possibly even in the Franco-Flemish heartland

itself - a claim which, finally, brings into full focus the fundamental challenge posed by the Trent collection to the traditional picture of fifteenth-century musical developments. This view makes of the Imperial Chapel, and of nearby centers such as Innsbruck, a cultural backwater, dependent upon the importation of polyphony from western Europe, and lacking any creative impulse of its own until well into the following century. The low-contralto, *sine nomine* tradition just delineated calls such conclusions sharply into question.

In the following chapter, we will examine a further group of Mass Ordinary cycles preserved in the Trent Codices, which bear, even more strongly than do the low-contralto cycles just presented, the marks of their origins in eastern Europe. These works will complete the proposed new picture of musical life in the Empire of the 1460s. On their evidence, the composers who worked in this long-neglected region were very far from provincial in stature: rather, they anticipated some of the most important advances of the coming generation of composers across Europe.

Chapter Five
Parody Masses in Trent 91:
Tradition and Influence

With the four Masses now remaining to be studied in Trent 91, we return from the somewhat retrospective tradition of the three-voice, freely composed Masses covered in the last chapter, with its reliance on unification devices - common clefs, headmotives, and finals among the five movements - which reach back to the century's first decades, to the tenor Mass scored for four voices, already encountered in Scribe A's collection, and arguably, in the 1460s and 1470s, the most rapidly developing and diversifying genre within sacred music. The cycles in question are: the anonymous *Missa Zersundert is das junge Herze mein*, located in fascicle 6 and for the first time identified with its source, an anonymous Tenorlied, by this study; Vincenet's *Missa O gloriosa regina mundi*, in fascicle 7, based on Touront's Latin-texted song; the *Missa Sig säld und heil* in fascicle 19, again anonymous and based on an anonymous Tenorlied; and, finally, the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* in fascicle 22, also anonymous, and based on a song by Bedingham. As their titles and summary descriptions make clear at the outset, all four of these works participate in the primary progressive trend affecting the tenor Mass during the period just defined: all use preexisting secular material, rather than plainchant *cantus firmi*, as the basis for their cyclic organization.

The use of secular *cantus firmi* probably postdates by only a decade or so the beginnings of the cyclic tenor Mass itself, which

are usually placed in the 1440s.¹ Dufay's Mass on his own ballade, *Se la face ay pale*, is often cited as a pioneering example from the mid-1450s.² Ockeghem's cycles similarly based on his own songs (*Au travail suis*, *Ma maistresse*, and *Fors seulement*) are difficult to date precisely, but are probably not much later;³ the much-debated complex of cycles on the *L'homme armé* tune, in which both these composers participated, probably broke some ground as well.⁴ Englishmen such as Frye and Bedingham, working on the continent, played an essential early role, together with others, such as Faugues and Le Rouge, now remembered only as minor figures.⁵ Through the combined efforts of all these composers, at any rate, secular cantus firmi had, by the mid-1460s, assumed an importance equal or even superior to that of the chant repertory as the bases for cyclic Masses.

The earliest Masses on secular cantus firmi effected unification through their use, within each movement, of the model song - or, where the model song was polyphonic, of its tenor line - as the tenor for the new composition. Song melodies, in other

¹ The first English tenor Masses - *Caput*, *Fuit homo missus*, *Veterem hominem*, *Alma redemptoris mater*, and others - are generally dated between 1420 and 1440; see, for example, Bent, *Four Anonymous Masses*, Introduction, p.ix.

² Fallows, modifying a suggestion originally made by Planchart ("Dufay Manuscript Traditions", p.38f.), claims the *Missa Se la face ay pale* as a possible product of the composer's second stay at Savoy in the 1450s. See Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 196.

³ Ockeghem's Masses are known on the whole only from late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources; for a summary of arguments as to their priority in the secular song Mass development, see Leeman Perkins, Communication in *JAMS* 40 (1987), 130-134.

⁴ The origins of the *L'homme armé* complex can be put ca. 1462, the year when Regis's contribution to it (arguably among the earlier ones) was copied at Cambrai. See Richard Taruskin, "Antoine Busnoys and the *L'homme arme* Tradition", *JAMS* 39 (1986), 255-293.

⁵ Bedingham's *Missa Deuil angouisseux* is in Trent 90, in a copy dated by Saunders to the late 1450s; Frye's and Le Rouge's Masses on the Frye song *So ys emprentid* are respectively in Lucca 238 and in Trent 90; Faugues's four surviving Masses (discussed in Chapter Three and also below) are all on secular subjects. Another very early cycle is the anonymous *Missa La belle se siet* in Trent 90, ff.447v-457r.

words, functioned exactly as did traditional chant *cantus firmi*, and they were subjected to much the same kinds of manipulation: statements in audibly elongated note values or in free paraphrase blending with the added parts, within a strictly rationalized formal plan or through free and sporadically placed allusions.⁶ Almost from the genre's very beginnings, though, a new element was also present: where the model song was polyphonic, borrowing was, in many cases, not limited to its tenor, but extended to its other parts as well - and particularly to its *discantus*, the second component of its two-voice structural core. Such multiple borrowings are evident, at least in brief passages, in even the very earliest Masses on secular songs.⁷

This appropriation of a preexisting polyphonic complex, with the aim of using it as the seed of a new and larger one, was to develop, of course, into the chief basis of Mass composition: by the 1520s and 1530s, so-called parody technique, involving all the voice-parts of the model composition in a clearly audible plan of inter-movement repetition, was the rule rather than the exception.⁸

⁶ These two subtypes among Masses on sacred *cantus firmi* can be identified among the very first examples of the genre: the *Missa Caput*, for instance, isolates its *cantus firmus*, while the equally early *Missa Rex saeculorum* presents an ornamented tenor line. Among Masses on secular songs, Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* and Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur* can be adduced as early examples of the strict and elaborated types, respectively.

⁷ Even the *Missa Se la face ay pale* alludes, in its section with *integer valor* tenor, to the imitative interplay of the original ballade's refrain; see Fallows, *Dufay*, p. 197.

Masses on monophonic secular *cantus firmi* tend to approximate nascent parody practice, after a fashion, by introducing the *cantus firmus* in voices other than the tenor. The forthcoming discussion of the Masses on German songs in Trent 88 will include two examples of this practice.

⁸ The following discussion will adopt the ill-founded but presently standard term "parody" in connection with Masses showing multiple-voice borrowings. Although the pieces in question fall into the category recently designated by Peter Burkholder as "imitation Masses" - cycles displaying, that is, approximations of full-fledged sixteenth-century parody technique - there seems no compelling reason, in the present context, to use this somewhat awkward term. See Burkholder, "Martini", p. 475, and also Perkins's *Communication* (1987), p. 133.

Certainly all of this lay far in the future when the Trent Codices assumed their final form towards the end of the 1470s. Yet even in the cycles collected there - and especially, as will become evident, in the four to be discussed in this chapter - composers may be seen actively laying the groundwork for mature parody practice, in that their approach to multiple borrowing, in Masses based on secular songs, becomes increasingly bold and systematic. One of the chief purposes of the present discussion will be to describe their advances in this regard.

To the modern mind, any inquiry into the musical significance of early parody practice, in the Trent Codices or anywhere else, is at first overshadowed by the peculiar cultural phenomenon such practice represents. The unabashed and wholesale incorporation, within a sacred context, of material clearly secular - or even sometimes, through association with its original text, mildly risqué⁹ - jars Post-Tridentine sensibilities. Traditionally, scholars have compared the writing of such Masses to the depiction, by painters of the same period, of Biblical characters wearing fashionable garb within palatial contemporary interiors: such customs appear expressions of a naively comprehensive religiosity, which made little difference, in a world permeated with Christian symbolism, between areas we would distinguish as sacred and secular.¹⁰ This view most often focuses on the images or symbols

⁹ See, for instance, the Masses by Clemens on love songs by Gombert (*En espoir*) and Sermisy (*Languir my fais*). Janequin's famous *La guerre* also provided material for a number of sixteenth-century Mass cycles, in another unlikely juxtaposition of genres.

¹⁰ Martin Staehelin, for instance, comes close to apologizing for his division of Isaac's Masses into categories based on "sacred" and "secular" cantus firmi; "Da...ein scharf ausgesprochener

in common between the original, vernacular texts of the model songs and the liturgical texts proper to whatever celebrations occasioned their transformation into Masses, or with Christian celebrations in general.¹¹ But on the other hand, a few writers have suggested that composers instead took delight in smuggling thoroughly unsuitable musical references into the sacred service, there to be detected by the cognoscenti only; the stern admonitions against secular parody by the Council of Trent (which are by no means the first of their kind) do seem to be addressing the practice as a species of misbehavior.¹²

Recent work by Howard Mayer Brown and Leeman Perkins has begun to show, however, that the reworking of secular songs as the bases for cyclic Masses did not necessarily express either naively devotional or covertly blasphemous impulses on the part of the composers who practiced it. In the view they have outlined, such essays were, instead, more like elaborate intramural games among players of superlative skill: cadres of composers who, in an age when polyphonic art was still relatively rarified, apparently often knew one another, or one another's work.¹³ Their games may well

Gegensatz von 'geistlich' und 'weltlich' einen Denkweise entspricht, die erst für die Zeit nach Isaac charakteristisch ist..."; see *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, vol. 3, p. 23.

¹¹ See, for instance, Geoffrey Chew's suggestion that Mass groups on *Le serviteur* and *Esclave puist* (both represented in the Trent collection) were composed for use in the Papal chapel, using love-song texts to symbolize the Pope as "servant" or "slave" to divine service, especially to that of the Blessed Virgin. ("The Early Cyclic Masses as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy", *ML* 53 [1972], pp.254-269.)

¹² See the excerpts from the Council's directives given in Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, p.449.

¹³ Josquin, for example, wrote several Masses on songs by Ockeghem, who was probably his teacher; Johannes Martini wrote one cycle on a song by Colinet de Lannoys, his colleague in Ferrarese service. Many other such instances could be adduced. The career patterns of sacred musicians in the fifteenth century seem in general to have favored broad networks of acquaintance: most were trained within the same small geographical area of northern Europe, and

have centered, at times, upon the intertwining sacred and secular textual symbolisms traced by modern exegesis.¹⁴ But at least as often, as Brown particularly has demonstrated, these composers must have been motivated by a craftsmanlike, abstract interest in the potential of given musical ideas - whether their own or those of their associates - for large-scale expansion. They might, in other words, most profitably be compared to the writers, in a later age, of instrumental variations, who often played out in their own day the dramas of "homage" and "competition" traced by Brown and Perkins in the high Renaissance.¹⁵

In this context, the Trent Codices' collection of Masses on secular songs begins to take on clearer definition. Table 5.1 lists the Masses found in Codices 90, 88, and 89 which are, at present, known to derive from secular models. (Given the almost unexplored state of Trent 89, particularly, this roster is bound to grow.) As is evident, the Trent collectors managed to obtain an impressive overall array of such literature, beginning with Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay paie*, and other examples from the early history of the genre by Bedingham, Fauques and Ockeghem.¹⁶ Within that group of Masses

subsequently lived peripatetic lives among the relatively small number of court and cathedral establishments which could support them.

¹⁴ One particularly virtuosic recent example of such exegesis is Michael Long, "Symbol and Ritual in Josquin's *Missa Di Dadi*", paper read at the National Convention of the AMS, Baltimore, MD, November 4, 1988. Long shows how "Josquin's use of dice, traditionally associated with vice and illegality, as proportional canons in the Mass...[is] part of an ingenious metaphorical 'program' in which the choice and treatment of the cantus firmus [Robert Morton's *N'auray je jamais mieulx*] figure prominently."

¹⁵ See Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance", *JAMS* 35 (1982), pp.1-48, and Leeman L. Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Ockeghem: a Comparison", *JM* 3 (1984), pp.363-96.

¹⁶ Fauques's *Missa Le serviteur* in Trent 88 (ff.411v-422v) is there misattributed to Ockeghem. Gottlieb has argued engagingly that the anonymous *Missa Le serviteur* in Trent 89 (ff.153v-160r) is actually Ockeghem's instead. See "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", Chapter 11, and also Gerber, "Transmission and Repertory", pp.111-112.

bound as the final segment of Trent 88, however, one particular emphasis begins to emerge. From here on, into the later reaches of the collection, an increasingly high proportion of the songs used as the bases for cycles are German Lieder - songs, that is, found otherwise only with German texts, in secular sources from Imperial territory. We will now turn to an examination of these Masses, covering only those positively identified as German, while leaving aside a number of others which have, by various authors, been proposed as such.¹⁷

Missa Hilf und gib rath: The cycle itself, unique to the Strahov Codex, is not found in the Trent collection, but is represented there by a motet based on the same tenor and presumably meant to be used with the Mass, *O gloriosa mater Christi*, on ff.354v-356r of Trent 88.¹⁸ The tenor line is the Mass's only recurrent element, appearing twice over the course of each movement with free modifications; most likely the song itself was monophonic. As in many such cases, though, borrowed material reaches into more than one of the new

¹⁷ Gerber, in her study of Trent 88, argued that the anonymous Mass on ff.77v-84r there is based on a German song; since she was unable to identify its specific model, though, the work must remain ambiguous in status. She also argued that the Mass on Dunstable's *Puisque m'amour* (its incipit rendered in Trent 88 as *Puiskemor*) might be German as well. See "Transmission and Repertory", pp.80-94. Similarly, Snow and Gerber both suspect that the cycle labelled (in its Strahov appearance only) *Officium Rozel im gorten andersch franczosch* might be German, but were unable to pin down a definite antecedent. See "Strahov", p.104, and "Transmission and Repertory", pp.94-97. See also the comments on this Mass in Robert Schmalz, "Selected Polyphonic Mass Ordinaries Based on Pre-Existent German Material", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1971, pp.64-66. Other Masses widely accepted as German are the *Missa Christus surrexit* (on a German *laisse*, unique in Trent 89) and the *Missa O rosa bella* "III" (known from Trent 89, Strahov, and ModD) on a song attributed to both Dunstable and Bedyngham.

¹⁸ See Robert Snow, "The Mass-Motet Cycle: a mid-Fifteenth Century Experiment," in *Essays in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, pp.301-320, in connection with the transcription of the work in the Appendix to his dissertation; see also Schmalz, "Masses on German Material", pp.43-63

work's voices: a motto opening in each movement, for instance, is drawn from the tenor tune.

The composer of the work is "Philipus", who contributed several items to Strahov, and possibly to Speciálník as well. Since attempts to identify him with the Flemish composer Basiron have now proven unfounded, he could perhaps be counted among composers active specifically in Austria.¹⁹

Missa Grüne Linden (Trent 88): Oswald Koller first identified the cantus firmus of this Mass as a German melody known in several polyphonic settings, that by Praetorius testifying particularly to its longevity.²⁰ Again, only the song melody itself is used in the Mass, in a standard role as tenor cantus firmus. But to an even greater extent than in the *Missa Hilf und gib rath*, that same melody appears (considerably ornamented) in the Mass's discantus.²¹

Missa Gross Sehnen (Trent 89): This cycle was copied, as was observed in the previous chapter, by the same scribe who contributed Barbingant's low-contralto cycle to the collection. It is a tenor Mass, governed by a series of verbal canons which impose changing mensural realizations, in successive movements, on the

¹⁹ Paula Higgins has provided a near-continuous archival account of Philippe Basiron (alias Philippon or Philippon de Bourge) as an employee of the Sainte-Chapelle of the Royal Palace at Bourges between 1459 and his death in 1491. This makes it more difficult to connect him with unique works in east-European manuscripts. See Paula Higgins, "Philippe Basiron, Philippon, Philippon de Bourges; An Enigma Resolved", paper read at the National Convention of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland, Ohio, November 8, 1986. See also Snow, Strahov, p.46.

²⁰ The Mass appears in Oswald Koller, ed., *Trienter Codices...Dritter Auswahl*, DTÖ Jahrgang XIX/1, vol. 38, pp.xxx-xxxviii (analysis) and 159-173 (musical text).

²¹ See Gerber, "Transmission and Repertory," pp.97-100 and Schmatz, "Masses on German Material," pp.73-78.

original song melody. This line, by virtue of its unchanging appearance, may be called an "isomorphic tenor". (The Trent collector Wiser elucidated the canonic scheme by writing out appropriate realizations in blank spaces remaining on the tenor staves.)

The *Missa Gross Sehnen* is further unified by a recurring headmotive. Neither this nor any other part of the Mass makes apparent reference, however, to a preexistent discantus or contra part - or, at any rate, not to those of the song's only surviving polyphonic arrangement in the Schedel Liederbuch.²²

Missa Wunschlichen schön (Trent 89): The Strahov reading of this cycle is complete; only its Kyrie and Gloria are found in Trent 89. With three parts, it figures in the Germanic continuation, around 1470, of the low-contra tradition outlined in the preceding chapter. The model for this cycle has twice been misidentified - once by Robert Snow, who linked it tentatively to the song *Ich fahr dahin*,²³ and once by Reinhard Strohm, who published an extended account of the work as the lost *Missa Nos amis* of Tinctoris.²⁴ The correct model, however, is itself published in the complete edition of its source, the Buxheimer Orgelbuch.²⁵ The song's unique appearance

²² See Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89," Chapter 8, and Schmalz, "Masses on German Material," pp.73-78.

²³ See Snow, "Strahov", pp.95-97, and Schmalz, "Masses on German Material", pp.139-45 with accompanying transcription.

²⁴ See Reinhard Strohm, "Die Missa super 'Nos Amis' von Johannes Tinctoris", *Mf* 32 (1979), pp.34-51. Strohm's recent Communication (JAMS 1987) cites the work as the *Missa Nos amis/Wunschlichen schon*.

²⁵ See Bertha Wallner, ed., *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik vols. 37-39 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959). vol. 39, p.398 (No.237).

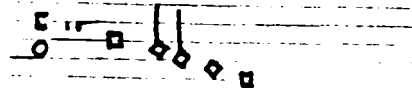
Strohm's initial basis for identifying this work as Tinctoris's *Missa Nos amis* was Tinctoris's own citation of his Mass in the Prologue to his *Tractatus alterationum*. (See Albert Seay, ed., *Johannis*

there, together with its small scale, its foursquare configuration, and its general style, leaves little doubt that it is an authentic German Tenorlied, so that the Mass upon it - which is perfectly congruent in style with the other Masses listed here, particularly the *Missa Deutscher Lieder*, described below - can have little to do with Tintoris, or with any *Nos amis* tradition.

Example 5.1a shows the model, and Example 5.1b its realizations in several sections of the Mass. Here, as is immediately evident, overt multiple borrowing has assumed great importance.

Missa Deutscher Lieder: Like the preceding work, this is a Germanic specimen of low-contra writing probably from the early 1470s. It is also a forerunner of Isaac's *Missa carminum*, similarly involving cross-references among several songs.²⁶ Louis Gottlieb first

Tintoris Opera Theoretica, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica vol. 22, pt. 1 [American Institute of Musicology, 1976], p.173.) There, Tintoris complains of a Milanese singer who accused him of careless practice in the tenor of this Mass, where he wrote the following figure, to be performed without an alteration of the second semibreve:



The singer did not realize, Tintoris states, that alteration need not occur "where there is no defect of number" (that is, if the first breve is not imperfed by the minim pair following it). Strohm ("*Nos Amis*", p.41) connects Tintoris's citation with a similar melodic contour at the start of the Mass's Credo:



In this context, however, the Milanese singer's question would obviously never have come up, since the replacement of the breve d by two semibreves removes any occasion for alteration. (No other tenor entry in the Mass matches Tintoris's citation even this closely.) An argument that the Mass's preserved reading simplified Tintoris's difficult original overlooks the important place of the d-d' octave leap in the overall content of the Mass's model song - which is, moreover, in no way suited to carry a rondeau text. Any resemblance between Tintoris's citation and the tenor incipit of song and Mass must therefore be dismissed as mere coincidence.

²⁶ Isaac's use of German secular songs in his *Missa Carminum* places it chronologically within his years at the Imperial Court (i.e., after 1497). Staehelin, not knowing the Trent cycle, related the work to a series of Masses on multiple secular songs, beginning with Dufay's Gloria-Credo pair *Tu*

identified one untitled, textless piece from the Schedel Liederbuch as its main model; this links all of its movements in a standard fashion.²⁷ Robert Schmalz then further detected, in the Gloria, a short citation from the song *Sig sãld und heil*.²⁸ Most likely other songs are involved as well, in similar multiple-voice citations. Example 5.2 shows two possible song quotations from the Credo and the Sanctus, together with sample references to the models already identified. As is again evident, borrowing here, as in the *Missa Wunschlichen schön*, clearly involves both structural voices of the quoted composition.

To this roster, Trent 91 can now add two further examples, both of which this chapter will examine in detail.

Missa Sig sãld und heil: This cycle, with its attached Introit *Salve sancta parens*, occupies fascicle 19 of Trent 91. As Chapter 1 explains, the paper there may date from the early 1460s; though the work itself seems to constitute a second layer upon this paper, it may nonetheless be among the earlier German-song Masses in the Codices. It is clearly identified by a textual incipit in the tenor part of every movement, from the hand of the original scribe - who went so far, even, as to add a second round of incipits marking the

m'as monte/La vilanella, and continued by Obrecht, Pipelare, and Rener; Isaac, in this view, took his example directly from Obrecht, and was the first to write a *Liedermesse* on German material. (See *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, pp.54-56.) The Trent 89 cycle makes it possible, though to argue that Isaac instead took up an already established Imperial Court tradition.

²⁷See Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", Chapter 9 and accompanying transcription.

²⁸See Schmalz, "Masses on German Material", pp.120-137. Schmalz dated the cycle, on stylistic grounds, as late as 1475; he pointed out that it founds a "German" tradition including not only the Isaac cycle, but sixteenth-century works such as those by Jacob Vast (d.1567) and Charles Luyton (d.1620).

appearance of the song's second half in each movement. The song arrangement clearly used as the model for the cycle appears (with minor variants) in both the Glogauer and Schedel collections.²⁹

Missa Zersundert ist das junge herze mein: This work occupies fascicle 6 of Trent 91, which uses one of the two papers preserving the extended paraphrase repertory there. It must thus date, like the paraphrases, to the early or mid-1470s. The model is nowhere identified in the cycle's unique appearance here, but can be reconstructed through inter-movement comparisons: these yield, in composite, an anonymous polyphonic song preserved uniquely in the Glogauer Liederbuch.³⁰ Example 5.3 shows the song, to be compared to its rendition in the final Agnus dei section of the Mass (Transcription No. 7). Again, multiple borrowing - involving, now, the contra as well as the discantus and tenor lines of the model - is plainly evident.

As Reinhard Strohm and others have long since pointed out, such a confluence of Masses on German secular models - models preserved, moreover, only in a handful of closely related sources of "Imperial" provenance - can hardly be a coincidence.³¹ The principle

²⁹ See Schmalz, "Masses on German Material", pp.83-119 and accompanying transcription. Schmalz places this piece too as late as ca.1475.

³⁰ Compare Burkholder's reconstruction of the model song for Martini's *Missa In Feuers Hitz* ("Martini and the Imitation Mass", pp.485-486.)

³¹ For a concise summary of his views, see Reinhard Strohm's Communication (JAMS 1987). Strohm has pointed out, along with Gottlieb, Snow, and Schmalz, that citations from the tenors of a number of these Masses appear in the pair of quodlibets from the Glogauer Liederbuch composed to the discantus line of the song *O rosa bella*, itself (as noted above) the subject of a parody Mass in the same repertory. The incipits they cited were *Gross Sehnen, Hilf und gib rath*, and *Sig sãld und heil*; to these can now be added *In Feuers Hitz*, identified by Burkholder and Brown as the subject of a Mass by Martini. The possibility of some deliberate reference by the

of song parody, while it may have been invented back on Franco-Flemish territory, must have put down roots both quickly and vigorously in some specific center further east - which, in line with the arguments already set forward in this dissertation, would most likely have been the chapel of Friedrich III, based in the 1460s and 1470s at Wiener Neustadt.

The purpose of this chapter, then, will be to analyze what might thus be called the Austro-German parody Mass tradition. To this end, we will look, in the next four sections of the chapter, at the four Ordinary cycles on secular material in Trent 91, comparing them to others in the Trent collection and elsewhere, in order to build up a picture of their stylistic context. In a further section, we will then turn to the *Missa Der Pfoben Schwanz* of Johannes Martini, which, while it is only partially preserved in Trent 91, reflects very closely Martini's involvement with - and, ultimately, his indebtedness to - the parody practice recorded there. Finally, the chapter's sixth section will close the dissertation as a whole, linking the conclusions about parody Masses in Trent 91 with those already developed concerning the manuscript's other repertory, and suggesting some further steps in Trent research.

quodlibets to the Mass compositions of a single circle (the Court's) seems, on this basis, quite strong. See Strohm, *Die Missa super "Nos amis"*, pp.47-48, Snow, "The Mass-Motet Cycle", p.306, note 8a, and Schmalz, "Masses on German Material", p.90. The quodlibets are published as EDM 4, Nos. II-66, 67, and 68.

The Missa Gentil madonna mia

This cycle, possibly the oldest of Trent 91's secular-song Masses is to be found at the very end of the manuscript, on the "mountain" paper likely datable, as Chapter One showed, to the mid-1460s. (See Transcription No. 14.) Its model, indicated by the copyist Wiser's textual incipits below the tenor lines of all the movements, is the ballade *Gentil madonna mia*, attributed to Bedingham in the Schedel Liederbuch, and anonymous in a wide variety of other sources.³² Wiser's labelling of the tenor attracts interest in view of the alternative, fragmentary title, consisting in the single word "Fortune", given in the two sources geographically closest, at least, to Trent 91, Schedel and the Buxheimer Orgelbuch.³³ According to Perkins and Garey, who edited the song from its appearance in the Mellon Chansonnier, this is the remnant of an original English text.³⁴ Wiser's exemplar must have cited instead the Italian text supplied in Mellon and other French and Italian sources - all of which, further, give a version of the tenor line considerably closer to that used in the Mass than that in either of the two German redactions.³⁵ This does not mean, though, that the cycle itself was necessarily French or Italian: a text similar, at

³² The song appears in the Berlin, Pixirecourt, Cordiforne, and Pavia Chansonniers, in Escorial IV.a.24, Monte Cassino 871, and Paris 4379, in addition to its appearance on ff.48v-49r of the Schedel Liederbuch; a keyboard intabulation is in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, and is quoted by an otherwise free composition in the Strahov Codex. For exact citations and commentary (on which the following discussion is based) see Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), vol. 2, pp.375-384.

³³ The Schedel and Buxheim readings are entitled "Fortune"; Montecassino gives an incipit "Fortuna las", and Berlin only a capital F.

³⁴ See Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, vol. 2, p.377.

³⁵ The most substantial difference occurs in the song mm.23-25, where both Bux. and Schedel give a reading quite different from Mellon's, which is that of the Mass tenor. Arguments put forward later in this chapter will address the special connection of "Imperial" repertory with Neapolitan sources.

least, to *Gentil madonna mia* must have been known in German circles as well, since these words show up as an incipit in the Glogauer Liederbuch - albeit in association with an entirely different piece of music.³⁶

Table 5.1 suggests, in fact, that the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* could fit into an early phase of the Austro-German parody tradition dependent not upon German songs, but on songs imported, as Bedingham's probably was, from Franco-Flemish circles. Anonymous Masses on such works stand side by side, in Trent 90 and in the earlier portions of Trent 88 and 89, with Masses on secular songs by Dufay, Ockeghem, and other Franco-Flemish progenitors of the genre; composers resident in Austro-German territory might first have experimented with the new, imported genre using subjects which had been imported as well. We will return to this question, and to its consequences for the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*, in a moment.

The *Missa Gentil madonna mia* displays, over its first four movements, a classically "isomorphic" tenor line - one preserving, that is, the original visual and notational shape given it in the song, such that its performance in each movement depends upon reinterpretation of its mensuration, which brings about the augmentation or diminution necessary to fit it to the accompanying parts. (Such lines might also be subjected to repetitions.) Table 5.2 shows the verbal canons that govern this process in the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*, together with the symmetrical formal plan that results.

³⁶The piece in question is published in EDM 4 as No. II-69.

Each movement presents the tenor once, interjecting a freely composed section without tenor at the midpoint cadence. In the Kyrie, the tenor sounds in its written values, unaffected by the shift from O to C in the accompaniment for its second half³⁷. For the Gloria, all values are doubled, incorporating the same shift; in the first half of the Credo, they are tripled. The *Et ascendit* section of the Credo then returns to doubled values, and the Sanctus sounds, like the Kyrie, as written, closing off an overall arch-like pattern of tenor deployment.

But the cycle has an Agnus dei as well, and here an unexpected development occurs. The second section of the movement, following the pattern of those preceding, is freely composed for three parts only. The borrowed material of the final section then consists of the discantus line from the song's second half, sounding as top part with some rhythmic modification; the song's tenor is no longer present, apart from a few brief allusions. But Wiser - or, possibly, his exemplar - did not grasp this new twist in the formal plan in time to copy the first section of the movement correctly; his copy provides, instead, the tenor's first half just as it appears for all the other movements. Most certainly the tenor does not belong here: contrapuntally it makes nonsense with the other parts, and moreover falls two *tempora* short of the length they require. What belongs in its place, to fulfill the piece's symmetry, is the discantus line from the first half of the song; this must, though, have been freely

³⁷This same shift is made part of the song itself (or at least of its two lower parts) in the readings of the Berlin and Pavia sources.

adapted, as it cannot, in its original shape, fit the three additional parts Wiser has given any better than can the tenor.

The cycle is further unified by a headmotive scheme - or, rather, by a triple one, as illustrated in Example 5.4. Each movement begins with a reference by the discantus and the altus to the discantus-tenor opening of the song; after the Kyrie, this is accompanied by a newly composed bassus line. The central sections of the Kyrie and the Gloria, as well as the *Benedictus* (all of them scored for three voices) then begin with imitation on a common subject unrelated to the model song. (The three-voice sections of the Credo and the Agnus do not share this material, though.) Finally, the entrance of the song tenor's second half, in the final section of the central three movements, is accompanied by a reference to the song's discantus from that same point.

All of this represents, already, a high level of involvement for the borrowed discantus. But in those four sections where the tenor sounds *ut iacet*, its presence is still more strongly felt, for there the tenor's main cadential points are accompanied by a return, in the discantus, to the configurations it used for those same cadences in the song. Table 5.3 gives exact loci for comparison.

In summary, two main points emerge about this Mass. First, no better illustration could be offered of the way in which secular models occasioned, even early on, the process of complete absorption and recomposition later called *imitatio*, or parody. Although the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*, if it was copied in the mid-1460s, is only about a decade younger than the very first Franco-Flemish secular Masses, this process is already well advanced,

merging comfortably with the canonic tenor layout, which at the same time binds the cycle to the early phase of the tradition exemplified by the *Missa Se la face ay pale*.

Secondly, much of the model quotation has begun, in this cycle, to assume a specific form of great importance, as we will see, in the Imperial parody tradition. Both its tenor layout and its use of the discantus in headmotives are familiar from a variety of French and Flemish secular-song Masses.³⁸ Still quite uncommon in that literature, though, is its citation of substantial stretches of the borrowed discantus - as opposed to short phrases, usually in "headmotive" positions - *in their original alignment* with the borrowed tenor. For instance, Ockeghem, whose song-based Masses were perhaps most influential of any written in western Europe, cites the borrowed discantus often enough, but likes to detach it from its old context, sometimes even presenting it as a substitute for a tenor quotation; if he presents both voices together, he alters their familiar alignment, playing upon their former roles in the contrapuntal fabric.³⁹ Similarly, the *Missa Le serviteur* of Faugues and the *Missa terriblement suis fortuné* of Barbingant also use the borrowed discantus at some length, but ornament it heavily, disguising its original relation to the tenor.⁴⁰ By contrast, the

³⁸See, for instance, the tenor treatment in either of Dufay's secular Masses, Busnois's and Ockeghem's *L'homme armé* Masses, and the model-discantus headmotives in Caron's *Missa Accueillly m'a la belle*, or Ockeghem's Masses on *Au travail suis* and *Ma maitresse*.

³⁹The five-voice *Missa Fors seulement* makes the most virtuosic use of this technique. For an analysis, see Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, pp.126-128.

⁴⁰For analyses of Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur*, see Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, pp.112-113, and Schuetze, *Introduction*, pp.16-23 and 32-37.

Barbingant, in both Chapters Two and Four, was identified as a possible member (for at least part of his career) of the Imperial Court circle. If he was, it is probable that some interest on his part in multiple-voice borrowing, as reflected in the *Missa Terriblement*, contributed to the early growth

particular type of parody process seen in the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* - in its opening headmotive series, and in the Sanctus and Kyrie sections with tenor *ut iacet* - instead highlights the model's original discantus-tenor pairing, in its original rhythmic configuration. Such passages approach, in fact, the effect of that almost uniquely German genre, the secular song in sacred contrafact.⁴¹ This same contrafact-like approach to parody technique has already been cited, in the introduction to this chapter, within the *Missa Wunschlichen schön* and the *Missa Deutscher Lieder*, both works of presumably Austro-German origin in Trent 89. As we will shortly see, it also marks Trent 91's other three secular-song Masses in an increasingly distinctive fashion. Contrafact-like parody is, in other words, a key distinguishing feature of the Austro-German parody tradition.

Is the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* itself Austro-German? A certain answer is as yet impossible: like its two companions in fascicles 21 and 22, the *Missa Secundi toni* and the canonic *Missa Quatuor ex una*,⁴² it is anonymous. But where the other two are unique, the *Missa Quatuor ex una* has a partial concordance in Trent 89, and this may shed at least some indirect light on the origins of all three works.

The Kyrie of the *Missa Quatuor ex una* - given, like the other four movements, as a single line, with sigla indicating three

of a parody tradition there. But as the one cycle identified as his in the Trent Codices has nothing to do with this development, he will not figure in the present discussion.

⁴¹ See Fallows's comments on the German predilection for contrafact in "The Songs of Robert Morton", pp.388-89.

⁴²The *Missa Quatuor ex una* (so named by Wiser himself) is published as No. 3 in Richard Lohan, ed. *Canons in the Trent Codices* (American Institute of Musicology, 1967).

subsequent canonic entries at the unison - appears as a rather tentative-looking addition on the last verso of Trent 89's fourth fascicle, as shown in Diagram 5.1. This seems to be in the hand of Scribe E, who also added the two songs on the final blank folia of Trent 91, following the Mass in its complete version.⁴³ The Kyrie's context in Trent 89 makes a certain sense: it follows upon two Magnificats whose use of precise imitation at the unison, is so intensive that some individual verses, at least, might almost have been notated, like the Kyrie, as a single line.⁴⁴ And these two Canticles, in turn, follow upon the *Missa Gross Sehnen*, a cycle which, it turns out, resembles the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* in several important ways. Its tenor is presented isomorphically, in its original notational shape as a song, within each movement; as in the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*, verbal canons modify this tenor in a symmetrical plan, shown in Table 5.4. It further uses a clef combination parallel to that of the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* (c², c⁴, f⁴ versus c¹, c³, c³, f³), and deploys about the same degree of imitative technique.

⁴³ *Je me sans* is given as an incipit for an otherwise textless version of Busnois's *Joye me fuit*, found in the Mellon, Dijon, Pixericourt, Laborde, Florence 176, and Paris 1719 chansonniers, as well as in the Ferrarese collection Casanatense 2856. Perkins (*The Mellon Chansonnier*, vol. 2, pp.307-311) states that the Trent 91 version is closest of any to the reading given in the Neapolitan Mellon Chansonnier - an observation which ties in with the theory linking the Trent collection specially with Naples, advanced later in this chapter.

The extraordinarily wide distribution of *La martineïla* renders stemmatic conclusions difficult. The work is especially well represented, though, both in sources of Neapolitan provenance (Bologna Q 16, Verona 757, and the Seville Chansonnier) and in Germanic manuscripts (both Trent 89 and 91, the Glogauer Liederbuch, and WarU 2016, among others) and thus may fit into the same Trent-Naples pattern. See the edition, comments and list of sources in Howard Mayer Brown, ed., *A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 7 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), vol. 1, p. 212 (critical notes) and vol. 2, pp.26-29 (edition and variants).

⁴⁴Both the Magnificats were copied by the scribe of the *Missa Gross Sehnen*, though in a slightly different ink color, suggesting a different phase in his activity. The canonic effect is especially striking in the fourth (*Fecit potentiam*) verse of each.

In Trent 91, then, the *Missa Quatuor ex una* appears as a companion to the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*. In Trent 89, the same cycle becomes the companion to the *Missa Gross Sehnen*, with the two quasi-canonic Magnificats as intermediaries. Thus, when the two song-Masses prove to bear a considerable resemblance to one another, it seems reasonable at least to consider them, along with the *Missa Quatuor ex una* and the Magnificats, as works of the same proficient hand.

Exactly whose hand that was is difficult to say, but on the evidence of the *Missa Gross Sehnen* it must be Austro-German, or that of a western composer active on Austro-German territory. Circumstantial evidence indicates, in fact, that all five works could be Touront's. The two-fascicle unit containing the *Missa Gross Sehnen* in Trent 89 is linked, by its scribe's own additions, to Touront's *Missa Septimi toni*, copied by Wiser in the previous fascicle, and Touront's *Missa Tertii toni* was bound as the fascicle following. Since, too, one of Touront's few surviving attributed works (*Virgo restauratrix*, in the Schedel Liederbuch, ff.46v-48r) is a mirror canon, in which the second contra inverts the pitch intervals of the tenor in retrograde, he may well have had respectable proficiency in the contrapuntal gamesmanship reflected in the *Missa Quatuor ex una*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Compare also Chapter Four's connection of the anonymous low-contra *Missa Secundi toni* with the Touront *Missa Septimi toni*.

On the other hand, the Trent 89 scribe headed fascicle 3 with an attributed song, *Amours, amours*, by the Bruges composer Cornelius Heyns, which raises a possibility that the following works are his; his *Missa Pour quelque pain* is, like the Trent 91 cycle, based on canonic transformation of the tenor, and cites the song *discantus* in its Agnus dei. As a third possibility, the juxtaposition of Heyns and Touront could reflect some special connection between the two composers before Touront's removal to eastern Europe.

The *Missa Gross Sehnen*, in this view, could be the earlier of the two song-masses, by a few years; while innovative in its choice of German material, it does not reflect the parody approach increasingly common in the Trent collection's later Masses. The *Missa Gentil madonna mia* requires similar placement relatively early in the tradition because of its reliance on an imported song model. At the same time, though, this second cycle places Touront - if indeed he is its author - among the leaders in the development of the new multiple-borrowing technique within the Austro-German circle.

The *Missa Sig sãld und heil*

Even more certainly than the two cycles just described, the *Missa Sig sãld und heil* is the work of Johannes Touront. Evidence in support of this assertion can be drawn, first, from the two manuscripts preserving it, Trent 91 and the Strahov Codex, and, second, from the design and style of the work itself.

As Chapter 1 explained, the Trent 91 copy of the *Missa Sig sãld und heil* is on paper dating probably from the 1460s. The incomplete sexternion we now see may have been made up in part from another, partially filled and differently folded gathering. When the Mass itself was copied, probably some time after the entry of the first items into this older gathering, the partially blank bifolios were rearranged in order to utilize them better. Some of the fascicle's original contents were destroyed in the process - principally, the discantus and most of the tenor from the three-

voice piece still partly legible on f.215r. Diagram 5.2 shows both the present state of the gathering and its possible earlier appearance.

David Fallows has now identified the fragmentary three-voice work as Touront's, through the attribution that appears with its complete presentation in the Codex Specíálník.⁴⁶ Its several concordances are summarized in Table 5.5. These show the piece in association with a confusing array of texts; the French incipit *Je suis seulet* found with its second half in Bologna Q 16 led Fallows to classify it as a bergerette. Arguably, though, it is instead a bipartite motet, originally written for one of the two Latin texts listed in the Table. Its construction around a central metric change makes just as much sense in this context; further, its ample length, its explicit tenor link between the incipits of the two *partes*, and its fermata-marked introductory passages, all features exceptional among bergerettes, fall easily into line with other short Latin-texted motets in Trent and Strahov, such as the *Ave Maria* placed two fascicles back in Trent 91.⁴⁷

Whether the work is a motet or a song, it suffices to link the original layer of fascicle 19, entered prior to the copying of the Mass, to Touront. The other representative of that layer, the

⁴⁶ Fallows makes this identification in his "Songs in the Trent Codices", p.179.

⁴⁷ Fallows (*Dufay*, pp. 154-155) discusses the bergerette as "a rondeau in which the second 'panel' is made to contrast instead of adding to the internal complexity of the repeating form:" little explicit contrast marks the Touront work, and its dimensions - 39 bars in O for the first part, and 31 C bars for the second - seem a little generous for a bergerette. (Compare Dufay's *Malheureux coeur*, with 27 and 17 bars, or Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*, with 34 and 17.) Also, the fermata-marked cadences in both parts occur ten bars from the opening, rather than near sectional mipoints, as in most bergerettes. (Compare *Malheureux coeur*, where the first section's cadence comes after 16 bars; for the second half, though, Touront's work acquires almost a *rondeau quatrain* configuration.)

anonymous *Urbs beata Ierusalem* on f. 225v, bears no compelling resemblance to Touront's only attributed hymn, a *Pange lingua*. But does appear almost adjacent to that work in the Strahov Codex, and so carries Touront's connection with fascicle 19 a bit farther.⁴⁸

The appearance of the Sanctus movement of the Mass in its concordant reading in the Strahov Codex supports an idea that the newer layer of fascicle 19 is connected with Touront as well. The Sanctus, on ff.81v-82r there, follows almost directly upon Touront's *Missa Septimi toni* (ff.68bis r-79v); it has been reduced to a low contra texture matching that of Touront's Mass. (The one piece intervening between them, on ff.80r-81r, is the Sanctus from Vincenet's low-contra Mass in Trent 91.)⁴⁹

Suspicion is finally confirmed, though, by Wiser's casual annotation to the last folio (f.425r) of Trent 89. This gives a short but appropriately labelled incipit from the "tenor bassus" of the Mass's Agnus dei, minus the initial rests,⁵⁰ and beside it a further, unidentified snippet - clearly the end of something, rather than the start - inscribed *Ad Magnificat tenor*. These may have been "cues" to a bifolium, or a set of bifolia: each would have served to identify the sheet, or the side of a sheet, where it appeared, as Diagram 5.3

⁴⁸ Touront's hymn appears on ff.275v-76r in Strahov, and *Urbs beata Ierusalem* is on f.281r. Both are in the hand of Snow's Scribe 1, and belong to the Temporale cycle he copied there. See Snow, "Strahov", p.31.

⁴⁹ The Introit of the *Missa Sig säld und heil* also appears in three-voice "reduction" (with low contra) on f.36v of the Strahov Codex (with a second text) and again there on f.40v, with all its parts. Both readings are part of the great Strahov Introit series, but were added there later, by two different scribes. (See Snow, "Strahov", p.16.) The Introit also appears in a new mensuration () in Trent 89, on ff.242v-43r there; it carries its own text, but the items surrounding it are secular-to-sacred contrafacts.

⁵⁰ Wiser's excerpt gives mm.12-14 of the second contratenor, which carries the tenor cantus firmus in the opening section of this movement.

suggests, such that Wiser would have jotted them down as an aid for himself in some task of retrieval or reordering.

The Magnificat thus placed in intimate manuscript association with the Mass is preserved in the Strahov Codex, and also in the Perugia Chansonier (ff.129v-130r and 133v-134r). Wiser's excerpt came from the end of its eighth verse, as shown in Example 5.5.⁵¹ In Perugia, it bears the inscription "Cecus" - one which also appears, in that collection, over several of Touront's works, including his best-known composition, the song-motet *O gloriosa regina*. The Magnificat, then, was very likely Touront's; chances are that the *Missa Sig säld und heil*, which evidently appeared adjacent to the Magnificat in some source owned or used by Wiser, was his as well.

Even without this network of external evidence, though, the Mass could easily go to Touront on the basis of a stylistic study. The proper basis for comparison, here, is Touront's *Missa Monyel*, a cycle unique to fascicles 23-24 of Trent 89.⁵²

The *Missa Monyel* is based, as inter-movement comparisons reveal, on the polyphonic ballade reconstructed in Example 5.6. Gottlieb, who first transcribed and analyzed the Mass, searched in vain for this model in surviving song collections, and ended by describing Wiser's textual tag "Monyel", which appears fairly consistently with the tenor of each movement, as "a road sign in the middle of nowhere".⁵³ David Fallows, however, has identified a probable text for the model song among the ballades of the Rohan

⁵¹ See Snow, "Strahov," pp.129-131, and the accompanying transcription.

⁵² See Gottlieb's analysis of this piece in "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", Chapter 6, and also his transcription.

⁵³ Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", p.66.

Manuscript: the anonymous *Mon oeul est de tendre temprure*;⁵⁴ the Germanic distortion of the French incipit is typical of Trent.⁵⁵ Touront's mass thus belongs with the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* among those cycles which, although themselves probably of Germanic origin, use song models from the Franco-Flemish song repertory.⁵⁶

Touront's *Missa Monyel* is an impressive achievement. Composed in the mid- or late 1460s or later, to judge from its place in Trent 89⁵⁷, it shows a range of parody devices already expanded well beyond that of the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*. And most of these are also to be found, albeit on a more modest scale, in the *Missa Sig sãld und heil*.

Tables 5.6a and 5.6b show formal diagrams of the two cycles, focusing on their use of their respective models. Both, as is at once evident, have as their chief basis that special type of model presentation already adumbrated in the *Missa Gentil madonna mia*: the combination of discantus and tenor appears intact, in its original alignment, and more or less in its original rhythmic values - with,

⁵⁴ I am deeply grateful to Prof. Fallows for proposing this identification (in a letter of October 1, 1988) of my reconstruction of the song. The poem is the sixth given in the Rohan poetry manuscript (Berlin-Dahlem Kupferstichkabinett 78 B 17); it also occurs in the *Jardin de Plaisance* (Paris: Antoine Verard, 1501), f.80. Its opening line, further, is quoted in Molinet's *Debat du viel gendarme et du viel amoureux* (ca. 1470). This last work cites a song title in the first line of each of its 41 stanzas. *Mon oeul est de tendre temprure* is one of only six such lines which have not, to date, been identified with a surviving polyphonic song; chances are, though, that the Mass's model song can now be matched with this citation.

⁵⁵ The tenor incipit in the *Missa Se la face ay pale* (Trent 88, ff.97v-105v) for instance, is rendered by Gerber's Scribe III (or Wiser) as *Se la fac jay palay*; that for the Mass on the Dunstable song *Puis que m'amour* becomes, in Wiser's hand, *Puiskemor*.

⁵⁶ Prof. Fallows (in a letter of December 24, 1988) suggests that the song *Mon oeul* dates from the late 1430s. This could place it among works Touront knew (or perhaps wrote) in Franco-Flemish circles before his proposed departure for eastern Europe towards 1439.

⁵⁷ The cycle appears on paper dated by Saunders to the period 1462-64. See "The Dating of the Trent Codices", p. 91, and also the objections raised above.

here, what appears to be the model contra part often thrown in for good measure. The final and climactic Agnus dei invocations of both works dramatize this contrafact-like principle most fully, amounting almost to uninterrupted presentations of their models, in *integer valor*.

Both cycles, further, exploit transpositions of the model framework to degrees having intervallic affinity with its original starting point - replicating, that is, the configuration of half- and wholesteps found there.⁵⁸ The *Missa Sig säld* does this at the fourth and the octave below, and at the fifth above; the *Missa Monyel* uses the fifth below and the fourth above. In both cases, the most striking result of the procedure is the permutation of voice-roles within the four-part Mass texture. In the *Missa Monyel*, the tenor becomes, after the Kyrie, a labelled *tenor bassus*, assuming the lowest position, where it presents the model tenor in low transposition. The one exception to this is the Gloria's first half, where the same line at the same pitch turns up, instead, in the second contra part. The *Missa Sig säld und heil* follows a similar pattern: in the Sanctus the tenor becomes an appropriately cleffed and labelled *tenor bassus*, sounding the transposed model line as lowest part; in both sections of the Credo, the second contra takes the same line in charge, as in the Gloria of the *Missa Monyel*.

The two Masses also make related plays on voice-roles within their model songs: the *Missa Monyel* transforms the entire

⁵⁸ In the case of the *Missa Monyel*, where no model survives apart from the Mass itself, some difficulty of course arises in determining an original tonal level for the song. In this discussion, it is assumed that the song's first presentation, in the Kyrie, occurs at the original pitch, by analogy with the *Missa Sig säld* and other comparable works.

borrowed discantus into a tenor for its *Cum sancto spiritu*; while the *Missa Sig säld und heil* uses the two halves of the tenor line as the discantus parts for its *Qui tollis* and *Et incarnatus est* sections.

A look at the freely composed sections within both Masses confirms an impression that the two works could have come from the same hand. Imitation at the fifth and at the octave is central to the style, but is often veiled by the use of small temporal intervals, and tends to be of short duration. Melodic and rhythmic sequence are, similarly, frequent but short in duration, usually affecting only a few tempora within one part. Phrases generally, though, tend to be well-defined and symmetrical in their pitch contours, so that overall both pieces have a well-organized character pleasing to modern ears. Example 5.7 gives samples of these traits in model-free sections from both pieces.

If, then, the *Missa Sig säld und heil* does belong to Touront, the time has come to give that composer far more credit for the development of the parody Mass than has hitherto come his way. Between them, the *Missa Sig säld und heil* and the *Missa Monyel* reveal a bold grasp of concepts increasingly central in the works of parody composers of the next generation: Martini, first of all, and after him Isaac, Obrecht, and Josquin. And still more certainly, both works belong, as probable compositions of the 1460s, among the very earliest examples of identifiable parody technique in either eastern or western circles.

The one documentary hint concerning Touront, since it places him in the Imperial Chapel as early as 1439, suggests that he was

about the same age as Ockeghem. It also sets an early date for his departure from Ockeghem's part of the world - if, as the name "Touront" implies, his birth and early training took place there. The German subject of the *Missa Sig säld und heil*, newly proposed here as his, now confirms the impression of creative independence that such a biography would lead us to expect. Together with the *Missa Gross Sehnen*, it localizes his mature achievements firmly within Imperial territory, and within the context of those achievements - the chant paraphrase and low contra Mass traditions - already credited, in the course of this study, to the composers at the court of Friedrich III. His stature as the leader of a distinctive and independent Austro-German tradition of parody Mass composition, essentially coeval with the first development of similar techniques by Ockeghem and his colleagues in the west, begins, as a consequence, to emerge with new force.

The *Missa O gloriosa regina mundi*

Another of Trent 91's composers may have figured in the Austro-German parody development as well. This is Vincenet, already discussed, in the previous chapter, as the author of a low-contra *sine nomine* Mass in Trent 91. Apart from Busnois, Vincenet is the only composer whose name actually appears in the manuscript; he rated, in fact, two ascriptions, one over the *sine nomine* Mass and one over the cycle about to be discussed here.⁵⁹

⁵⁹The *sine nomine* cycle's ascription is from Wiser, who copied the cycle itself, but may be in a slightly lighter ink shade, implying its later addition. Scribe D provided his own ascription over the fascicle 7 Mass.

The only presently known documents concerning Vincenet relate to his service under the Aragonese king of Naples, Ferrante I. Evidently he died in Naples in 1479 or shortly before, still a member of the chapel there;⁶⁰ this permits a tentative conclusion that he belonged to the same generation as Touront and Ockeghem, born ca. 1420. Unfortunately, though, the very earliest document certainly placing him in Ferrante's service dates from August 19, 1469; prior to that, nothing whatever is known of his career - apart from his place of birth, Hainault, which is mentioned in that same document.⁶¹

Only a handful of works survive under Vincenet's name: these are listed, with their sources, in Table 5.7. His songs, as is evident, enjoyed fairly wide distribution, with the Neapolitan Mellon Chansonnier as a principal source against concordances in both eastern and western collections. The comparatively limited transmission of his four Masses, though forms a more distinctive pattern. The three-voice *Missa sine nomine* is unique to Trent 91,

⁶⁰An archival notice of 1479 mentions "Vanella, moglie del quondam Vincenet, Cantor fo del Senyor Rey," thus placing Vincenet's death no later than that year. See Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.69-70; Atlas quotes the notice from Edmond van der Straeten, *La musique au Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* (Brussels, 1878), vol. 4, p.31.

⁶¹See Atlas, *Music at Naples*, p. 70. Atlas argues, like Davis (in *The Collected Works of Vincenet*, pp.ix-x) that Vincenet must have been at Naples earlier, by 1466 at latest, adducing as evidence his mention in a letter from the singer Jachetto de Marvilla, who was in Neapolitan employ from 1458 to 1466. (The letter is published in translation by Frank D'Accone in "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century," *JAMS* 14 (1961), p.324.) In this letter, however, de Marvilla refers to events and actions following his move from Naples to Siena. It is by no means so clear as Atlas and Davis would assume that Vincenet and De Marvilla knew one another exclusively from a mutual Neapolitan service. De Marvilla's reference to Vincenet - "I had advised Vincenet, before he came to Florence, that he ought to consider the commission [finding singers] I had had from your generous father..." - follows, in the chronological sense of the letter, upon De Marvilla's account of his own visit to Florence, which clearly took place during or after the summer of 1468, when he was already based at Siena. It could be, then, that Vincenet made some brief stop there, though he has not yet been traced in Siennese records. (Any reference there using only his Christian name, which does not appear in Neapolitan records, would, of course, go unrecognized; Prof. Pamela Starr has suggested to me that "Vincenet" might be, at any rate, a pseudonym or nickname of some kind.)

apart from the one movement also in the Strahov Codex; the *Missa Entrepris suis*, based on a song by Bartolomeo de Bruolo, is unique to Martini's Ferrara collection, ModD; the *Missa O gloriosa regina* appears in Trent 91 and also in the Neapolitan source CS 51; finally, the *Missa Aeterne rex altissime* is uniquely Neapolitan, in CS 14.

Traditionally, Vincenet has been placed in Naples essentially for the duration of his creative career. The source distribution just described for his Masses must postulate, in this view, a kind of pipeline for his work between Naples and interested parties farther north, one extraordinarily specific for a composer whose contemporaneous standing seems to have been otherwise quite modest.⁶² The same configuration becomes easy to explain, though, if Vincenet himself can be placed north of the Alps for a decade or so prior to his move to Naples, which, on the evidence of the document just cited, must have taken place in the later 1460s. While no archival evidence as yet supports this hypothesis, none on the other hand stands in the way.

If Vincenet did spend time in the north, chances are that he had some kind of association or contact with the group of musicians in the chapel of Friedrich III. This speculation receives compelling support from Vincenet's music itself: of the four Masses just listed, three fit perfectly into the categories this study has delineated, within the Trent repertory, as possible specialties of the Imperial Chapel. The *Missa sine nomine* belongs to the same genre as

⁶² Atlas (*Music in Naples*, pp.69-71) makes clear that Vincenet's stature in the Neapolitan Chapel was only middling compared to that of acknowledged luminaries such as Cornago and Tinctoris. It is possible, for instance, that he supplemented his income by working as a scribe, copying the Mellon Chansonier. He is nowhere mentioned specifically by his colleague Tinctoris.

Touront's three-voice, low-contralto cycles, and in fact appears in close manuscript association with one of them in the Strahov Codex, while both the *Missa Entrepris suis* and the *Missa O gloriosa regina* are, as will be seen, similar to the examples of Germanic parody composition just discussed; both their models, further, are known in east-European sources.⁶³ The one Mass preserved uniquely in Naples, the *Missa Aeterne rex altissime*, is on the other hand, a highly traditional treatment of a monophonic chant subject.⁶⁴

The *Missa Entrepris suis*, schematized in Table 5.8, parallels the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* in several striking respects. Like that piece and its possible sibling, the *Missa Gross Sehnen*, the *Missa Entrepris suis* is primarily concerned with an isomorphic tenor presentation, manipulated through verbal canons to form the basis of successive movements in a symmetrical mensural

⁶³ The model for the *Missa Entrepris suis* appears (in contrafact, as *Congratulamini mihi*) in the Strahov Codex, and also in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, the Glogauer Liederbuch, the Schedel Liederbuch, Bologna Q 16,

and Oxford 213.

⁶⁴ The cycle presents its cantus firmus, a hymn, in the same succession of four segments (corresponding to the four phrases within the hymn verse) in all five movements. The "parody passages" cited by Davis (*The Collected Works of Vincenet*, p. xi) are merely passing similarities generated, in the added voices, by the identical cadence points for these four tenor segments.

The movements are further linked by a headmotive, also old-fashioned in that it is unrelated to the tenor.

progression. It makes, too, a comparable use of its model's discantus line, similarly retaining this as the preexistent framework for the final movement; its headmotive scheme, though idiosyncratic, also seems to be of *Gentil madonna's* general type.

Martini's inclusion of this work in ModD could, obviously, have come about through any number of indirect contacts. But the apparent influence, in some of his own Masses, of Vincenet's style and procedures - a notion reinforced by Vincenet's close association with him in manuscripts even apart from ModD - has already attracted comment,⁶⁵ and invites more substantial explanation. Vincenet, if he did spend time in the Imperial circle, had surely left it before 1469; thus Martini, if he adhered to something like the timetable suggested for him in Chapter Three, might not have encountered the older composer in person, during his own contacts with Friedrich's chapel. But music by Vincenet would, even in this case, have remained in the Imperial Chapel's repertory after Vincenet himself had gone. This Martini could have studied, copied, and eventually carried to Ferrara - where, in the end, the *Missa Entrepris suis* was uniquely preserved.

Vincenet's *Missa O gloriosa regina mundi* can, in turn, stand beside both the *Missa Monyel* and the *Missa Sig sãld und heil* in the advancement of its parody technique, as Table 5.9 makes clear. Like those two works, it most often features the model's entire discantus-tenor axis, along with segments of the contra, preserving most of their original rhythmic configuration. Vincenet, though,

⁶⁵See especially Burkholder, "Martini and the Imitation Mass", pp.506-508 and note 30.

shows a pronounced tendency to shade into and out of borrowed material in sometimes very subtle fashion, as shown in Examples 5.8a and 5.8b, rather than presenting, in Touront's manner, clearly defined and symmetrically arrayed segments of the model. Motives from the model also affect nominally free sections to a greater extent than in Touront's work, as seen in the same excerpt. This kind of expansion admirably suits the prolix, somewhat rambling character of the "song-motet" that Vincenet chose as his model.

As a piece by Touront himself, the song-motet *O gloriosa regina mundi* makes its own argument for a direct association between the two men - which, since Touront is nowhere to be found in the relatively copious records surviving from the Naples establishment, would have had to take place during Vincenet's hypothetical tenure at the Imperial Court. Such a relationship would, in fact, go far to explain the peculiar distribution of Touront's known works; as Table 5.10 shows, all but one of these appear exclusively in sources from either Naples or Imperial territory.⁶⁶ Because the one exception to the pattern is *O gloriosa regina mundi* itself, which appears in a variety of French and Italian sources, it might of course be possible to argue that Vincenet came across that piece in some other way - that however Touront's works happened to arrive *en masse* in Naples, Vincenet personally had nothing to do with the matter; Strohm, for instance, has pointed to cultural ties between Naples and Hungary generated by the marriage,

⁶⁶The provenances of the manuscripts in question - Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville 5-I-43, Paris 4379, and Bologna Q 16 - are explored, and relevant literature for each listed and summarized, in Atlas, *Music at Naples*, p.120-25. All four, Atlas states, are products entirely or mainly of the 1480s.

in 1476, of Beatrice of Aragon with the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus.⁶⁷ But judging by what we can presently understand about what might be called the social aspect of the parody Mass, this seems too thin an explanation. In those cases that can be reconstructed, composers seem to have chosen as models works known in their own general circles, if not those by their friends and mentors; they did not pick out models at random from traditions otherwise unknown to them, as a Vincenet confined to Naples would have had to pick out *O gloriosa regina*.⁶⁸ Vincenet's more extensive involvement with the Touront work might be deducible, too, from a comparison of its distribution with that of the one song of his own known in Germanic territory, *Fortune par ta cruauté*: the two figure almost as travelling companions.

The Trent 91 version of the *Missa O gloriosa regina* carries within itself, however, still stronger evidence of northern origins for the work.

Scribe D, who copied the cycle, was (as was observed in Chapter One) also active as an editor in what is now fascicle 10, working there with Wiser's copy of the four-part Genealogy according to Matthew. While the musical setting of the Genealogy

⁶⁷See "*Nos amis*", p.49. The ties Strohm discusses were established, in any case, only during the later 1470s and early 1480s, by which time Touront and Vincenet were dead, or at least removed from the creative scene.

⁶⁸ Imported models for other Masses in the Trent repertory would, in this line of argument, have been familiar to their Franco-Flemish composers at the Imperial court from the musical culture they had left "at home." By the same token it remains possible, of course, that Vincenet and Touront had contact in some early phase of their careers, back in France or in the Low Countries, and the Vincenet consequently came to know *O gloriosa regina* during some period before Touront's putative move to eastern Europe. The work itself, though, belongs to the songlike, Latin-texted but nonliturgical type called the *cantio*, endemic to Strahov, Speciálník, and Trent 89 (together with, to some extent, Trent 88), but essentially unknown in western sources; it was far more likely a product of Touront's adopted milieu, and resembles a number of other pieces by him which are known only there.

posed *per se* no particular problems for Wiser, he evidently hesitated even to attempt the underlay, in the chant-bearing tenor, of its lengthy and complex text.⁶⁹ Scribe D did practically the whole task for him on the first two openings; he touched up Wiser's discantus text as well, using all the while the same light-brown ink visible in the copy of Vincenet's Mass. (See Illustration 5.1.)

The finished Genealogy appears in the midst of Trent 91's paraphrases of chants from the Passau rite; from the liturgical standpoint, it has an important place among them in the Christmas Eve service. (See Table 2.1.) Jeremy Noble has now confirmed the work's east-European provenance through a demonstration that it uses the Reading Tone most typical for German-speaking regions.⁷⁰ He has, further, found a concordance for it (in black notation!) in a manuscript from Zwickau,⁷¹ so that here, too, a central point of origin may be postulated to unite survivals comparatively far east and south; probably, in other words, the piece was part of the Imperial Court paraphrase repertory preserved in Trent 91. Scribe D's obviously detailed familiarity with it works, then, to connect him with the Imperial Court as well - which means, in turn, that Vincenet's Mass, copied by him for inclusion in Trent 91, was very likely part of the repertory there; like the *Missa Entrepris suis*, it

⁶⁹ Given the tenor line's proximity to the Reading Tone it sets, the setting was, conceivably, not texted at all in the exemplar Wiser saw; its performers might have filled in text from incipits in the polyphonic parts, using as their source a chant book resembling the printed Salzburg Missal of 1515, which gives (ff.11v-12v) both the full text and the written-out tone.

⁷⁰ Jeremy Noble, "The Genealogies of Christ and their Musical Settings," a paper delivered at the National Convention of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, B.C., Saturday, November 9, 1985. I thank Professor Noble for sending me a copy of this unpublished paper.

⁷¹ The manuscript is a Lectionary, Zwickau Ratschulbibliothek MS XCIV, 5. For a transcription, see Göllner, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*.

could have remained in the Chapel's choirbooks after Vincenet himself had departed in 1468 or 1469.

Scribe D's copy of the Mass is on the same paper used by Scribe A in the early 1470s. Given that D worked somewhat later than A, this makes his exemplar physically just a little older than its Neapolitan concordance, which probably dates from around 1477.⁷² From close comparison of the two readings themselves, though, Trent's emerges as an actual earlier version of the Mass. Numerous variants between them are most often understandable as small but telling refinements of the CS 51 version over Scribe D's: added or changed notes work to smooth rough contours, to eliminate overly harsh dissonances, to modernize cadences, and to extend motivic consistency. None of these differences stem from errors on Scribe D's part; in terms of sheer accuracy, in fact, the Trent copy is clearly superior.⁷³ Rather some change of taste - presumably on the part of Vincenet himself, who might easily have revised his Mass down in Naples - brought about these persistent alterations of detail.

The single really substantial difference between the readings argues for Trent's priority as well. In the Credo there, the entire *Crucifixus* section, through the words *et sepultus est*, is cut. In CS 51, this text is present - but its music is shortly to be heard again as the *Pleni* section of the Sanctus. Such literal repetition takes place nowhere else in the cycle, and the single instance of it here

⁷² See Atlas, *Music at Naples*, p.127, note 2.

⁷³ See, for instance, the confusion affecting all parts in CS 51, in Kyrie 2 mm.86-89. Smaller errors are frequent in all movements.

violates, arguably, the subtly varied recapitulations of model material that characterize the work as a whole. Trent 91's cut version is probably the original, which the Neapolitan scribe then adapted to suit the stricter requirements of the Papal establishment; given that so many of the probably German Masses in the Trent collection cut their Credo texts, this circumstance becomes one more indication of the Mass's northern origin.⁷⁴

The Missa Zersundert ist das junge Herze mein

Vincenet's involvement with the Austro-German parody tradition may not be limited to the two Masses just discussed, the *Missa Entrepris suis* and the *Missa O gloriosa regina*. In Trent 91, Wiser chose as companion to the *Missa O gloriosa regina* a cycle on the German song *Zersundert ist das junge Herze mein*, placing its fascicle as sixth in the manuscript, just before the attributed Vincenet work. (See Transcription No. 7.) Special emphasis on Wiser's editorial discretion is warranted here because fascicle 6 uses a paper different from that of either 5 or 7, and possibly several years older, as Chapter One showed. On purely physical grounds, that is, the *Missa Zersundert ist* belongs with the chant paraphrase repertory of fascicles 8 through 15; Wiser's placement of it as we find it must, then, have been quite deliberate. We can consider it, in fact, as another piece in the puzzle of Vincenet's pre-Neapolitan career.

⁷⁴ Compare, for instance, the *Missa Sig säld und heil*, and the *Missa Deutscher Lieder*, which omit all text following *et sepultus est*.

Table 5.11 shows the formal layout of the *Missa Zersundert ist*. In terms of orderly presentation of model material, this cycle, as is evident, stands midway between the strict symmetry of the *Missa Monyel* or the *Missa Sig sãld und heil* and the freely fluctuating allusions of the *Missa O gloriosa regina*. It resembles the latter work, however, in two crucial respects. First, the underlying concept for all of the movements is a slightly stricter realization of that governing the Gloria and the Credo (and to some extent the Agnus) in the Vincenet cycle: a kind of double exposition of the model, consisting of a free, leisurely presentation, in values longer than those of the original, followed by a second, stricter one, at a mensurally enforced faster pace. And secondly, the borrowed tenor-discantus axis is manipulated, in both these expositions, in much the same way as seen in the *Missa O gloriosa regina*.

Basically, Touront's method of contrafact-like presentation obtains, particularly in the second presentation of the model, and at major cadence points in the first; in much of the first, free exposition, though, discantus ornamentation, together with elongated note values, brings about alignments subtly varied from - although always recognizable as - those of the original. Vincenet, in other words, seems to present a fusion between the characteristically Austro-German parody technique and that of composers such as Faugues, who were active at the same time (the mid- or later 1460s) in western Europe.

In the face of these similarities, Wiser's placement of the fascicle 6 Mass begins to look more and more like a message as to its authorship. And while the *Missa Zersundert ist* is hardly a

"twin" of any known Vincenet cycle, it displays enough features of his style to support such a conclusion.⁷⁵ Most striking among these is an interest in clearly articulated rhythmic and melodic sequence, carried out by the two structural voices, at least, over fairly extended passages. In both Masses these passages are of course concentrated where the model is temporarily absent. Example 5.9, from the *Missa O gloriosa*, may be compared with the Credo, mm.113-124, in Transcription No. 7.

Writing like this under Vincenet's name, explicitly or implicitly, raises questions concerning another cycle in Trent 89, now tentatively attributed to Busnois by Richard Taruskin and others, on the Busnois song *Quand ce viendra*.⁷⁶ This song, as it happens, appears with a Latin contrafact text immediately following the fascicle 6 cycle. Its presence there prompts a comparison to the situation of Touront's *O gloriosa regina*, model for the Vincenet work in fascicle 7. The Touront work was a late (even post-binding) addition to Trent 91, and was inserted there next to Vincenet's other attributed Mass, the *Missa sine nomine* in fascicle 16, since presumably no room remained for it in or near fascicle 7. The insertion of the contrafacted *Quand ce viendra* in fascicle 6 could imply a similar link between that cycle and the one in Trent 89.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ One of these features is a frequent crossing of the altus line above the discantus, which is employed to especially great effect in the conclusion of the *Missa Zersundert ist*, and sporadically throughout the cycle; it is also reasonably frequent in both the *Missa Entrepris suis* and the *Missa Aeteme rex altissime*, though less so in the *Missa O gloriosa regina*.

⁷⁶ Taruskin will publish the cycle in the Appendix of his forthcoming edition of Busnois's Latin-texted works. It occupies ff.318v-330r of Trent 89 (fascicles 28-29).

⁷⁷ The same song-contrafact pairing also appears (in a different scribal hand) on f.411r in Trent 88, where it precedes the Fauques cycle on *Le serviteur*. The Trent 89-91 link is more interesting, though, because both copies involved are by Wiser.

Two major stylistic observations, presumably, underlie Taruskin's attribution of the *Missa Quand ce viendra* to Busnois. One is the Mass's highly rationalized formal layout: a canonically modified tenor presentation creates an elegantly executed overall form reminiscent of such works as *In hydraulis*. The other is a high incidence of rhythmic and melodic sequence, a technique so strongly associated with Busnois's personal style as to be characterized sometimes almost as his own invention.⁷⁸ But Vincenet, perhaps, can make an equal claim to both these traits: he was capable, as we have just seen, of proficient sequential writing, and certainly he was no stranger to canonic tenor manipulation, having experimented with it in his cycle on the Bruolo model.

Even more importantly, though, the *Missa Quand ce viendra* handles its model in the same fashion just established, with the two Trent 91 Masses, as distinctively Vincenet's: contrafact-like presentation of the discantus-tenor framework in some passages is varied, in others, with slight shifts in the original alignment.⁷⁹ As the start of this discussion commented, parody Masses known to emanate directly from Busnois's immediate circle - most importantly, those of Ockeghem - are not, as a rule, written in this way. It seems questionable, then, that Busnois himself, in entering the parody field, would have departed to such an extent from their

⁷⁸ Higgins ("Busnois and Musical Culture", pp.33-36) argues persuasively for Busnois's importance in the development of sequence as a normal feature of later fifteenth-century language.

⁷⁹ See the analysis of the *Missa Quand ce viendra* in Gottlieb, "The Cyclic Masses of Trent 89", Ch. 7. The model is presented in contrafact (with five interpolated measures) in the *Et in spiritum* section of the Credo; other sections (e.g., the Kyrie 1 and the *Et resurrexit* section of the Credo) include transitory references to the discantus in combination with the tenor, and the headmotive for all five movements is an excerpt from the discantus-tenor pair.

very different practice. In short, there should be no great rush to attribute this Mass to Busnois himself before the claims of candidates more familiar in the Trent collection - and above all, those of Vincenet - have been more thoroughly examined.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, the *Missa Zersundert ist* can help, provisionally, in expanding Vincenet's biography. His authorship of the cycle, initially suggested by Wiser's placement of it within the collection, finds ready support on stylistic grounds. And once accepted, it provides the strongest possible evidence, short of actual documents, that Vincenet's Mass-writing career unfolded largely north of the Alps, for it is difficult to imagine the circumstances under which a Naples-based composer would choose a little-known German song as his model.

Johannes Martini and the Austro-German Parody Mass

Reinhard Strohm has argued eloquently, for some years now, that the early history of the parody Mass may have depended far more than has generally been supposed on the creative initiatives of composers working in Germanic cultural centers.⁸¹ The preceding study of Trent 91's parody Masses has attempted to fill in the picture he has sketched with some specific names, places, and musical works, and at least some approximate dates. The other German Masses from the Trent Codices presented in the first section

⁸⁰Prof. Paula Higgins has pointed out to me (in a letter of July 15, 1988) that Vincenet's music turns up in a number of the most important Busnois sources from the Loire Valley, such as the Pixericourt and the Cordiforme Chansonniers; they are also associated in the Mellon Chansonnier. This may indicate some association between them early in Vincenet's career, which may have prompted his adoptions of Busnois's song as a model, as well as his emulation of Busnois's stylistic traits.

⁸¹ See, again, Strohm's JAMS communication, cited above in note 31.

of this chapter - and, further, other Masses in the collection yet to be identified as German - could find a place in this picture too, were there space here for an extended study of the subject. At present, though, some preliminary conclusions must suffice, drawing for the most part on Trent 91 alone.

The first important identifiable figure in the creation of the specifically Austro-German parody Mass was Johannes Touront, a composer probably about the same age as Ockeghem and, like him, of Franco-Flemish extraction. If the arguments set forth in this chapter are accepted, four Masses on secular songs in the Trent collection are traceable to Touront. The *Missa Gross Sehnen* and the *Missa Sig sãld und heil* draw on material native to the proposed scene of Touront's activity at the Imperial Court; the *Missa Monyel* and the *Missa Gentil madonna mia* use, by contrast, songs from the Franco-Flemish circles where Touront probably spent his earliest years. The last three of these cycles display what has been defined here as a characteristically Germanic approach to parody: one preserving the model's discantus tenor axis in its original alignment, so as to approximate, in certain climactic passages, the Germanic secular-to-sacred contrafact.

A second identifiable contributor to the genre was Vincenet, a man of about the same age as Touront. Vincenet may have come into contact with Touront at the Imperial Court during the mid-1460s, before his move to Naples, where he spent the balance of his career. He developed his own variant of contrafact-like parody practice in the *Missa O gloriosa regina*, and may have followed Touront's lead

still more directly by writing a Mass on the German song *Zersundert ist das junge Herze mein*.

It was this still-flourishing practice of parody writing that Martini would have encountered around 1470, if he indeed departed for a time from his post at Constance to investigate the musical chapel of the Imperial Court. His knowledge of Faugues's work, possibly gained by actual study with that master, would have familiarized him with the idea of multi-voice borrowings from a polyphonic secular model, and further, impressed him with the potential of audible repetitions in general as a striking means of cyclic unification. The parody practice of Touront and Vincenet, with its particularly deliberate and exuberant display of secular models, must, however, have made a considerable impact upon him.

This impact is best memorialized by his *Missa Coda di Pavon*, or, properly, his *Missa Der Pfoben Schwanz*. Its model is the small, apparently instrumental work by that name attributed to Barbingant, already discussed in this study as a possible contributor to the Imperial Court repertory.⁸² Like the models used by Vincenet and Touront, this work is familiar from the Court's secular repertory, as preserved in the Glogauer Liederbuch and related sources.⁸³ Moreover, contrafacted excerpts from Martini's Mass itself appear alongside the Imperial paraphrase repertory in fascicle 15 of Trent 91;⁸⁴ the whole Mass is in Milan 2268, suggesting that it already

⁸² See the discussion in Chapter Two.

⁸³ Barbingant's piece is found with an attribution in the Schedel Liederbuch, and anonymously in Speciálnik, Strahov, Trent 89, and the Glogauer Liederbuch.

⁸⁴ See the discussion in Chapter One.

existed during Martini's short stay in Milan during 1475.⁸⁵ On all of these grounds, the Mass may be considered as a possible product of Martini's involvement with Friedrich III's musicians at Wiener Neustadt.

On closer inspection, it in fact proves to reflect the contrafact-like approach to parody seen in the works of Touront and of Vincenet.⁸⁶ Examples 5.11a and 5.11b show the model's first phrase together with its realization at the start of the Gloria. The resemblance here to Vincenet's parody style, particularly, is quite clear; the formal plan of the work, based on one model presentation per movement with interruptions by free material, also recalls that of the *Missa O gloriosa regina*. (See Table 5.12.)

Among Martini's other attributed Masses, no other uses this Germanic approach to parody quite so strikingly as the *Missa Der Pfoben Schwanz*. His cycle on Ockeghem's *Ma bouche rit*, for example, makes extensive use of both the discantus and the tenor from its model, but tends to follow Ockeghem's own lead in the *Missa Fors seulement*, in that it most often isolates or realigns the borrowed parts, rather than presenting them in something close to their original formation.⁸⁷ But the two further cycles that preserve the most of Vincenet's and Touront's example use models Martini may have encountered, like *Der Pfoben Schwanz*, within the Court's secular repertory. The song *In Feuers Hitz* could have been acquired

⁸⁵ The Mass appears in Milan 2268 on ff.20v-26r, and in ModD as no.11.

⁸⁶ See Burkholder's comments to similar effect in "Martini", pp.482-487.

⁸⁷ The Gloria in the *Missa Ma bouche rit*, for example, begins with references first to the model discantus (mm.1-7) and then to the model tenor (mm.8-19(before combining model tenor and contra (mm.19-20) and finally the model discantus and tenor (mm.21-31; the discantus is freely handled).

there, although the cycle built upon it may date from Martini's slightly later stay at Milan;⁸⁸ similarly, *La martinella* almost surely belongs to a Germanic tradition of instrumental fantasias,⁸⁹ so that the Mass upon it, even if composed later in his career, may recall something of Martini's experience in Germanic circles.⁹⁰

It seems appropriate, then, to look upon Martini's encounter with the Austro-German parody tradition as a potential watershed in his own involvement with the parody Mass. Whereas the works in Scribe A's collection within Trent 91 - the *Missa Cucu* and, possibly, the *Missa Regina caeli laetare* - reflect Martini's preference in the late 1460s for traditional monophonic subjects, sacred or secular, the *Missa Der Pfoben Schwanz* could mark his turn toward full engagement with the nascent possibilities of parody composition, an engagement carried further in such works as the *Missa La martinella* and the *Missa In Feuers Hitz*. Doubtless the examples set him by Franco-Flemish composers, particularly Faugues and Ockeghem, were essential to this development. But the influence of the composers he would have met at Friedrich's court should, nonetheless, be accorded its full importance.

In the hands of Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, and others among the generation following Martini's, parody composition gradually took on a form coinciding, in certain respects, with the Austro-German tradition embodied in the works of Vincenet and Touront. As the century drew to a close, the technique came to be defined

⁸⁸ See the discussion in Chapter Four.

⁸⁹ Strohm has commented on this in his paper, "Polyphonic Music in Fifteenth Century Austria".

⁹⁰ See Burkholder's comments in "Martini", pp.486-487.

increasingly as an assimilation of the entire model composition, in its contrapuntal integrity, into the new work. In the decades that followed, this concept helped to make possible musical constructions which attained, at their best, an architectural grandeur and an expressive power of which Touront and Vincenet, in their day, could hardly have dreamed.

To sort out the byways of example and influence in the evolution of this mature parody technique would require a much weightier study than the present one, if indeed such a project is feasible at all. One explicit, albeit preliminary attempt at such a history, however, has already accorded great prominence to Johannes Martini: during his residence at Ferrara, he probably had contacts with all three of the younger composers - Obrecht, Isaac, and Josquin - whose essays in parody technique were to prove most influential during the next few decades. This chapter can close, then, with the observation that much of what Martini might have had to teach to these younger composers he might have learned, himself, from Touront, Vincenet, and other musicians of Friedrich's court - men whose names and personal histories are now forgotten and vanished, but whose contribution to the future of western music was nonetheless significant and lasting.

Conclusions: The Next Steps in Trent Research

This study has put forward an analysis of the collection Trent 91 built around a single unifying thesis: that the manuscript is a comprehensive assembly of sacred music composed at the court of

the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III, during the period between approximately 1465 and 1475.

As the historical account of Trent studies given in Chapter One made clear, the idea that the Trent collection's repertory reflects, in some degree, compositional activity within the Austro-German cultural sphere is not a new one. Up to now, however, a stronger tendency has existed to view the collection as one of thoroughly mixed origins, more dependent upon importations of music directly from Franco-Flemish circles than on any centers of production, or even of collection, closer to Trento itself. And to the extent that Austro-German input into the Codices has been acknowledged, no real consensus has existed as to exactly what center was responsible: while some archival evidence attests to musical establishments at Innsbruck, at the Imperial Court, and at a few other Germanic cities, the surviving documents do not permit a confident choice among these centers as to a primary source for the Trent repertory - nor indeed, do the documents fully support an idea of flourishing polyphonic practice in any one of them.

The basis for the more sharply defined viewpoint offered by this study has been the discovery, set forward in Chapter Two, of close links between the anonymous chant paraphrase repertory preserved in Trent 91 and the chant dialect of Passau, the Diocese which, in the 1460s and 1470s, included the Imperial capital at Wiener Neustadt. The paraphrases, by serving as evidence of a sophisticated practice of polyphonic composition at the Court, made possible the assignment of other parts of Trent 91's repertory to the Court's resident circle of composers, native and foreign-born. As a

result, the study as a whole has challenged the traditional view of Austro-German musical culture as one essentially dependent upon western input until well into the sixteenth century, by raising the possibility that some of the outstanding creative talents of Ockeghem's generation - specifically, Johannes Touront, with Vincenet and Barbingant as secondary possibilities - may have, after training in the west, spent significant portions of their careers in the east of Europe, where the accidents of archival loss and anonymous source preservation subsequently disguised much of their achievement.

A much more extensive study of the Trent Codices, and of related sources, is now needed to raise this proposed new picture from the realm of the speculative - where, at the conclusion of this dissertation, it must largely remain - onto a surer footing of historical fact. Such study will need to focus on the following areas.

1) Further investigation of secondary scribes in the Codices.

As the first chapter of this study showed, paleographical study of the Codices has to date focused exclusively on two major contributors, the priests Johannes Wiser and Johannes Lupi. The careers of both of these men have been partially reconstructed, mostly from documents concerning them in the Trento archives. Until recently, though, the equally important role of further contributors to the collection has been insufficiently recognized, and consequently little attempt has been made to identify them, much less to document their careers. A fresh search of Trento's

archives, oriented specifically towards such identification, may help to reveal more about any further contributors to the collection who lived in Trento itself. However, as the present study has argued, many of the contributors to Trent 91, particularly, may *not* have lived there. A better understanding of their work will proceed from

2) Further investigation of the Imperial Court's cultural history prior to the accession of Maximilian I.

Little effort has been made to reconstruct Friedrich III's patronage patterns, or the biographies of those composers he employed, mostly because so few results have been expected: musicological literature has always taken as a starting point the assertion that serious cultivation of music in the Empire began only with the reign of Maximilian I, his son. But new, systematic investigation into areas which recent scholarship has shown to be essential in reconstructing the history of court musical establishments - such as, for instance, the conferral of benefices - might help to augment the modest and outdated studies now available. With regard to the Trent collection specifically, future investigation might well focus on details of the interactions between the Trento Government and its overlord, the Emperor, during the latter part of the reign of Prince-Bishop Hinderbach, in the 1470s.

3) Further analysis of chant-based compositions in the Trent Codices.

All of the later Trent Codices contain large numbers of anonymous chant paraphrase compositions. These invite further study for two principal reasons. First, the identification of the particular chant dialects upon which they draw will help to refine the present geographic picture of musical developments in Austro-German territory. For it is by no means a foregone conclusion that polyphonic composition, at least on the relatively modest level of chant paraphrase, was confined to a single center there, such as the Imperial Court; identification, for instance, of chants specifically from the Diocese of Brixen, neighbor to Passau, might permit a demonstration that the considerable musical establishment documented from the 1460s on at Innsbruck, within that Diocese, produced some independent compositional efforts as well.

A second goal in analyzing Trent's paraphrases would be to sort out the various subtypes of paraphrase composition, as a basis for further insights into the musical history of the region. Even within Trent 91 alone, a surprising array of procedures can be traced: the elegant *contrapunctus fractus* of the Imperial Court works stands, as Chapter Two showed, beside an array of pieces favoring different forms of plainchant notation, and utilizing substantially different approaches to dissonance treatment and to contrapuntal texture. Increased understanding of such paraphrase dialects would, like an understanding of the chant dialects on which they draw, clarify the history of early Germanic polyphony, and its relation, ultimately, to

the music composers such as Isaac were to write, a few decades later, within deliberately assumed Germanic traditions and styles.

4) Further definition of the interplay of native and imported polyphony in the Trent Codices.

This dissertation has proposed some definitive characteristics for two different genres of Austro-German Mass Ordinary compositions represented in Trent 91. Many of these characteristics could potentially prove traceable in a much wider array of music drawn from Trent 89, 88, and even 90 - all collections which probably share, to some degree, Trent 91's antecedents. The group of low-contra, *sine nomine* Masses discussed here may represent, for instance, an offshoot from larger repertory of freely composed Masses for three voices with normal (high) contra preserved in Trent 89. Further investigation of song-based Masses (which will surely involve the identification of several new examples within the unexplored repertory of the Codices) may, similarly, reveal new links between cycles composed on German material and those drawing on western repertory: not all of the examples of this latter class, as has been suggested here, were necessarily "imported". On the other hand, some pieces may, on closer analysis, reveal - like the *Missa Regina caeli laetare* - specific links with western compositions, for the Imperial Court surely imported and collected music as well as producing it. Now that some preliminary bases for the identification of a native Austro-German repertory have been put forward, the possibilities for the tracing of specific model-

emulation relationships between this and imported Franco-Flemish music have been greatly increased.

The Trent Codices, then, have only just begun, a century after their rediscovery, to reveal their full potential as a record of musical developments all over Europe during the course of the later fifteenth century.

List of Manuscripts Discussed

Aosta	Aosta, Seminari. Ms. without signature
Apel	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek. MS 1494
Bologna Q 15, Q 16	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. Mss. Q 15 and Q 16
Brussels 5557	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. 5557
Breslau 2016	Breslau, Musikalisches Institut. Cod. Mf. 2016 (Now at Warsaw, University Library.)
Berlin	Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett. Ms. 78 C 28
Buxheimer Orgelbuch	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschrift- en-Abteilung. Cim. 352b (formerly Mus. Ms. 3725)
CS 14, 51	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MSS Cappella Sistina 14 and 51
Casanatense	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense. MS 2856
Chigi	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Chigi C VIII 234
Cordiforme	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. Rothschild 2973
Dijon	Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique. Ms. 517
Escorial	El Escorial, Bibliotheca del Monasterio. Ms. IV.a.24

- Florence 176 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.
Magliabechini XIX, 176
- Glogauer
Liederbuch Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellńska. s.n.
(Formerly Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.
Mus. Ms. 40.098)
- Mellon New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library for
Rare Books and Manuscripts. MS 91
- Milan 2269,
2268, 2267 Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del
Duomo, Sezione musicale. Libroni 1, 2, 3
- ModC1-2,
ModD Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria.
MS a.M.1.11-12, a.M.1.13
- Munich 3154 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Musiksammlung. Mus. Ms. 3154
- Munich 328-331 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität. MSS 8^o 328-331
- Perugia Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta.
MS 431 (G.20)
- Pixérécourt Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, fonds français 15123
- SP B 80 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
MS San Pietro B 80
- Schedel Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Hand-
schriften-Abteilung. Cgm 810 (olim Mus. 3232)
- Segovia Segovia, Catedral. Ms. without shelf-mark

Speciálník	Hradec Králové (Königgrätz), City Museum. Cod. II A 7
Strahov	Prague, Strahov Monastery. Ms. D.G.IV.47
Trent 87-92	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio. Mss.87-92 (1374-1379)
Trent 93*	Trento, Biblioteca Capitolare. Ms. 93*
Trent 1947	Trento, Biblioteca Communale. Ms. 1947 (1-6)
Verona 755, 759, 761	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare. Cod. DCCLV, DCCLIX, DCCLXI

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