

CRITICAL COMMENTARY TO NOS 15-21

15. Missa *Le serviteur II*

Kyrie (Trent 89 ff. 153v-154r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 606).

[Superius]; 84: this note and the double custos are given on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra; 13,2 & 44: ns / 72: b ind before 72,1.

Tenor; 1, 13,3 & 24: ns / 73,1-2: the middle of this void lig is colored for no apparent reason / 75,4: ns / 78: 3 & 4 are sm sm.

Underlay; ‘Kyrie’ and ‘Xpe’ are given at the start of each section, plus ‘eleyson’ at the end of each section. However, the presence of repeated notes at the same pitch (Tenor, 4-5, Superius 13, Tenor 30-31 & Superius 68-69) argue that at least threefold ‘Kyrie/Christe eleyson’ is needed in each section, plus extra repeats of some words. Accordingly, my texting sometimes uses the four-syllable ‘eleyson’ and has multiple repeats in Kyrie I, at 30-37, at 68-72 and at the closing measures of Kyrie II.

For those who do not like the note-splitting in this edition, I offer the following alternative which removes some of the split values. 1. At Tenor 1-2 sing the notes unsplit to ‘Kyrie e-’ with the ‘e’ elided. 2. At Tenor 13, move ‘Kyri-’ to the last two notes in the measure; in the Contra above omit the editorial ‘Kyrie’ and sing 13,3 to ‘e-’. 3. At Tenor 24-25 sing the text elided instead of splitting the note.

Bibliography; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, no. 10, Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 209-220 (discussion) and II, pp. 820-853 (edition). Kirkman, A., ‘Innovation, stylistic patterns and the writing of history: the case of Bedyngham’s Missa *Dueil Angoisseux*’ in I Codici Musicali Trentini II (1996), pp. 149-175.

Gloria (Trent 89 ff. 154v-156r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 607).

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 180r, & the m sign is om / 5: 1 uc / 34: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 52: ‘Duo’ rptd in Superius / 62-124: for these measures (which are at the start of a new page-opening) the b sig is om / 87: mid-stave direct given with clef change / 112: b ind before 110,1 / 114: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 142: ‘Duo’ ind in Contratenor only / 186,2: this note and the following rests are possibly written over an erasure.

Contratenor; 1: 17-18: ns / 36,1-37,1: entered on a short end-of-stave extension / 52: at this section-opening the b sig is rptd in mid-stave but has been partially erased / 62-92: b sig om / 110: ns, and this lig (which descends an octave) is clumsily drawn / 178: m sign om, & ns / 182: 3 E.

Tenor; 1: the m sign is given before the stave / 17-18 & 22: ns / 30,4: scribal corr from A / 62,74, 85 & 114: ns / 178-191: b sig om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. There are considerable differences between the Trent 89 texting and our underlay. These are as follows; 4-5: ‘pox hominibus’ under 4,2-5,3 / 6-9: the text here is entered with no regard for logical word placement / 12: ‘-mus’ under 11,7-12,2 / 13-15: ‘Benedicimus’ under 13,1-14,5 / 17-18: as at 6-9 / 18-20: ‘Glorificamus’ under 19,3-20,6 / 22-23: ‘agimus’ under 22,4-23,2 / 27: ‘gloriam’ under 29,1-3 & ‘tu-’ under 31,4 / 28: ‘-am’ under 33,1 / 29-33: ed rpt of ‘propter...tuam’ needed in all voices / 34-39,1: as at 6-9 / 41-43: ‘omnipotens’ under 42,2-4 / 46-48: ‘Unigenite’ under 46,1-5 / 48-50: ‘Jhesu’ under 47,5-7 / 50-51: ‘Christe’ (given as ‘xpe’) under 49,4-50,1 / 52-54: ‘Deus’ under 53,6-54,1 / 55-56: ‘Dei’ under 56,2-3 / 57-58: ‘Filius’ under 57,2-58,1 / 58:

'Pa-' under 58,4 / 61: '-tris' under 60,6-8 / 52-66: as at 6-9 / 69-74: 'mundi' under 71,1-3 / 78: 'no-' under 79,1 / 87-104: 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' under 87-96 / 106-118: 'suscipe...nostram' under 97,1-104,1 / 106-110,1: 'Qui sedes' is given here, which cannot be underlaid in the edited version & has therefore been om. I propose that the Trent 89 texting here cannot be correct since - after 'Qui sedes' - 110-118 is left completely without text. / 133-135: 'miserere' under 134,1-135,1 / 137-141: 'nobis' under 138,1-3 / 142-150: as at 6-9 / 155-158: 'Domi-' under 155,1-3 / 160: '-nus' under 159,2-4 / 161-168: as at 6-9 / 173-177: 'Christe' (given as 'xpe') under 174,2-175,2 / 178-180: as at 6-9 / 181: ed rpt of 'Spiritu' needed / 182-186: as at 6-9 / 188: '-men' under 190,5-7 / 189-191: ed rpt of 'Amen' needed. Contratenor; 181-182: ed rpt of 'Spiritu' needed / 188-191: ed rpt of 'Amen' needed. Tenor; 189-191: ed rpt of 'Amen' needed.

As in the Kyrie, I have split some notes to accommodate lower-voice texting. Should performers wish to do differently, I suggest the following alternative for removal of most split values. 1. Tenor at 17-18: sing these notes to 'Glo-'. 2. Tenor at 22: sing these notes to 'a-'. 3. Tenor at 62-77: sing these notes to 'Qui tollis peccata', with '-ca-' under 72,1 & '-ta' at 74,1. Tenor at 85: sing this note to '-bis'. These alterations remove contextual sense from the words, but with editorially texted lower parts of this type this tends to be unavoidable.

Credo (Trent 89 ff. 156v-158r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 608).

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, transposed a tone down / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 49: 'Duo' rptd in Superius / 52, 1-2: these notes appear to be written over an erasure / 64: m sign om / 74: 2 b, ind before 73,1 / 109: this single br rest is uc / 139: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 155: 3 A (but since the A here creates a cambiata-like progression the need to emend it is debatable).

Contratenor; 1: ns / 11: 2 E / 35-63: the lower Duo voice here is mistakenly entered as if it was part of the Tenor, but the error is corrected by the incipit 'Genitum Con[traten]or at its start. This may have been written in at a later stage than the main copying. / 47,3-48,1: Trent 89 gives ligd sbr D sbr C / 71: Trent 89 gives sbr G sbr G instead of br G.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 16, 20 & 28: ns / 64, 68, 69 & 117: likewise / 176: m sign om, and this final section ('Et vitam venturi') directly follows the Tenor's 'Et incarnatus' section. At the start of the final section the b sig is rptd in mid-stave.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This movement does not set the full Credo text; 'Et ex Patre...vero' is omitted at 35, and 'Et iterum...mortuorum' is omitted at 176. It does not seem possible to restore these passages by textual telescoping. As with the Gloria there are considerable differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting. These are as follows. Superius; 2-4: 'omnipotentem' under 2,5-4,1 / 5-6: 'factorem' under 5,2-6,3 / 6-7: 'celi' under 7,1-2 / 7: 'et' under 8,2 / 8: 'ter-' under 8,5-6 / 10: '-re' under 9,6 / 11-13: 'visibilium' under 11,1-5 / 13-16: 'omnium' under 14,1-2 / 16,2-18: here, the text seems to be entered with no regard for logical word placement / 19-20: '-lium' under 19,5-20,1 / 23-24: 'Dominum' under 23,5-24,4 / 25-26: 'Jhesum' under 26,1-4 / 26-28: 'Christum' (given as 'xpum') under 27,4-28,1 / 30-33: 'unigeni-' under 30,4-31,5 / 36: 'non' under 36,5 / 36-37: 'factum' under 38,2-4 / 37-42,1: as at 16-18 / 43-44: 'omnia' under 43,3-6 / 44-46: 'facta' under 44,5-45,1 / 49-50: 'propter' under 50,3-4 / 51-53: 'homines' under 52,1-5 / 55-56: 'salutem' under 55,5-8 / 57-58: 'descendit' under 56,5-58,1 / 58: 'de' under 58,5 / 59-60: 'celis' under 59,5-60,1 / 61-65: 'Et incarnatus' under 61-66,2 / 66: 'est' under 71,3-72,1 / 66-69: 'de Spiritu' under 73,1-76,1 / 71: 'San-' (given as 'Sanc-') under 79,2-80,2 / 72: '-cto' (given as '-to') under 82,2-83,1 / 73-83: ed rpt of 'de Spiritu Sancto' needed / 85: an erased word is given here ('tuos?'), and 'ex' is under 87,1 / 87-97: 'Maria Virgine' under 87,2-93,1 / 98-123: as at 16-18 / 124-136: the texting is compressed, which makes recordings of positioning here redundant / 141-149: as at 16-18 / 151-153: 'secundum' under 151,1-152,3 / 154-158: 'Scriptu-' under 153,3-154,2 / 167-168: 'in celum' under 166,2-5 / 168-169: 'sedet' under 167,2-3 / 169: 'ad' under 168,2-3 / 170-172: 'dexteram' under 169,2-170,1 / 173: 'Pa-' under 171,3 / 175: '-tris' under 174,3-175,1 / 177-180: 'venturi' under 178,2-179,3 / 181-182: 'seculi' under 181,1-4 / 184: '-men' under 186,4-187,1 / 185-187: ed rpt of

‘Amen’ needed. Contratenor; 74-79: ed rpt of ‘de Spiritu Sancto’ needed / 81-82: ed rpt of ‘Sancto’ needed / 185-187: ed rpt of ‘Amen’ needed / Tenor; 77-83: ed rpt of ‘de Spiritu Sancto’ needed / 111-114: ed rpt of ‘Crucifixus’ needed / 185-187: ed rpt of ‘Amen’ needed.

As with previous movements, I offer alternatives here if performers wish to avoid what they might regard as an excess of split values for the sake of wordsetting. 1. Contratenor 1-3: sing the notes to ‘Patrem omnipotentem’ without the split note so that ‘-po-ten-’ is under 3,2-3 (however, doing this sacrifices a little imitation in measure 2). 2. Tenor 16-19,1: do not split 16,1 and sing subsequent notes (starting at 17,2) to ‘et invisibi-’. 3. Tenor 20-21: sing to ‘-um’ and return to edition underlay at 22. 4. Tenor 28-29: sing to ‘-stum’, and sing 30 to ‘Filium Dei’ with one syllable to each note. 5. Tenor 61-72: sing to ‘Et incarnatus est’ with ‘Et’ under 61, ‘in-’ under 65, ‘-car-’ under 66, ‘-na-’ under 67, ‘-tus’ under 69,1 & ‘est’ under 72.

Sanctus (Trent 89 ff. 158v-159v, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 609).

[Superius]; 27: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 35,3-113: b sig om / 45: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 67: likewise / 114: ‘Duo’ not ind in either voice / 121,2-122,1: these notes are written over an erasure / 152: ‘Osanna ut supra’ only given with lower voice of Duo.

Contratenor; 17,1-2: these notes are written on a short end-of-stave extension / 18: 1 not dtd / 31,1-2: these notes are also written on a short end-of-stave extension / 98: rest is written on a short end-of-stave extension / 114: at the start of a new opening here, the lower Duo voice is labelled ‘Tenor’; I have restored it to the Contratenor in view of the scoring in previous movements.

Tenor; 1-7: 8 measures of rests as given (only 7 are needed).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The number of repeated notes at identical pitches in this movement seems to call for text repeats with a frequency not encountered in many other fifteenth-century Mass cycles (see Superius, 13, 21, 61-66 & also the Contratenor 61-66). The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 textings are as follows. Superius; 1: ‘San-’ (given as ‘Sanc-’ under 1,2-2,1 / 4: ‘-ctus’ (given as ‘-tus’) under 3,5-4,2 / 5: ‘san-’ given as ‘sanc-’ / 8: ‘-ctus’ (given as ‘-tus’) under 7,4-8,1 / 9: ‘san-’ given as ‘sanc-’ / 12: ‘-ctus’ given as ‘-tus’ / 13: ‘Dominus’ under 17,2-18,6 / 13-14: ‘Deus’ under 20,4-21,1 / 14-23: ed rpts of ‘Dominus Deus’ & ‘Deus’ needed / 24-25: ‘Saba-’ under 21,2-22,1 / 27-29: ‘Pleni’ under 27,1-4 / 31: ‘sunt’ under 33,8-34,1, & ‘ce-’ under 34,2 / 34: ‘-li’ under 37,1 & ‘et’ under 37,3 / 36: ‘ter-’ under 37,5 / 39: ‘-ra’ under 38,4-5 / 40-44: ‘gloria’ under 39,3-40,1 / 44: ‘tu-’ under 44,3-4 / 48: ‘-a’ under 47,7 / 49-58: ‘Osanna’ under 49-52 / 61-62: ‘in ex-’ under 62,1-2 & ‘-cel-’ under 107,1 / 64-113: ed rpts of ‘in excelsis’ needed / 113: ‘-sis’ under 112,4 / 114-120: ‘Benedi-’ given as ‘Benedic-’ at the start of this section / 123: ‘-ctus’ given as ‘-tus’ under 123,3-124,1 / 125: ‘qui’ under 125,2 / 131: ‘ve-’ under 127,1 / 135: ‘-nit’ under 134,3-135,1 / 137-142: ‘nomine’ under 137,2-139,1 / 146-152: ‘-mini’ under 151,1-3. Contratenor; 14-23: ed rpts of ‘Dominus Deus’ & ‘Deus’ needed / 27-34: ‘Pleni sunt celi’ is given at the start of this section / 64-113: ed rpts of ‘in excelsis’ & ‘excelsis’ needed / 114-123: ‘Benedictus’ is given at the start of this section. Tenor; 8: an editorial part-word has been inserted at the entry here to avoid repetition of identical-pitch notes to a single syllable, and also to avoid a melisma on ‘-ctus’ / 17-23: ed rpts of ‘Deus’ needed / 67-113: ed rpts of ‘in excelsis’ needed.

Agnus (Trent 89 ff. 159v-160r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 610).

[Superius]; 12,6: corr from col err / 20: ‘Duo’ ind as ‘Duo’ plus ‘secundus’ following in the Superius, & simply as ‘Duo’ in the Contratenor / 51: Trent 89 gives sbr sbr instead of br (the need for this emendation is debatable here in view of the two repeated sbr in the Contratenor at 48, but I prefer the br here) / 55: 2 om (conj supplied) / 73: no ‘ut supra’ direction given.

Contratenor; 11: 3 is A, 5 is sm & 6 is m (emended) / 57: a large erasure follows 1 - which is probably the result of miscopying the start of the sesquialtera subsection here.

Tenor; 10, 1 & 2: ns / 13: likewise.

Underlay; the Superius merely has ‘Agnus Dei qui tollis’ for its first section and full text for its second. The lower voices have sectional incipits for Agnus I and II. As with previous movements, some note-splitting and word repetition is involved in our editorial underlay. The main differences with Trent 89 are as follows. [Superius]; 1-5: ‘Agnus’ given as ‘Ag-’ under 1,1-2 and ‘-nus’ under 5,2 / 5-7: ‘Dei’ under 6,2-3 / 7: ‘qui’ under 8,1-2 / 8-10: ‘tollis’ under 9,2-4 / 15-16: ed rpts of ‘miserere’ and ‘dona nobis’ needed in all voices / 20-24: ‘Agnus’ under 20-22,3 / 27-36: ‘Dei’ under 30,2-3 / 38: ‘qui’ under 32,1-33,1 / 40: ‘tol-’ under 38,2-39,2 / 45: ‘-lis’ under 44,2-3 / 46-52: ‘peccata’ under 46,1-47,2 / 53-57: ‘mundi’ under 53,1-54,4 / 58-67: ‘miserere’ under 58,1-59,2 / 69: ‘no-’ under 67,2 / 73: ‘-bis’ under 72,4. Contratenor; no further discrepancies / Tenor; the ‘Agnus’ incipit at 1 is unlikely to be indicative of musical text since the Tenor entry at 7 works better if it begins ‘qui tollis’ as in our score.

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Structure

This is one of three surviving mid-century Masses on Dufay’s Rondeau *Le serviteur*, the others being an anonymous three-voice cycle in Trent 88 and a four-voice Mass by Faugues in the same manuscript.¹ There is also a later and four-voice *Le serviteur* Mass by Agricola. The first Trent 88 cycle is usually referred to as the *Missa Le serviteur I*, so *Le serviteur II* seems to be an appropriate name for the Trent 89 Mass.²

Louis Gottlieb was the first to identify the Trent 89 cycle as based on *Le serviteur*. That identification would probably have been made by somebody earlier if the Mass named its parent material (which it does not) or if the chanson Tenor was clearly detectable in all movements. But the Kyrie is the only movement to give the complete chanson Tenor, and even then the Kyrie Tenor is made up of part-quotations from the parent Tenor which succeed each other with some repetition being involved. Neither do the similar movement-openings derive from the chanson. Therefore this is not a conventional cantus firmus Mass.³ The Tenors throughout are modestly elaborative and there are few cantus firmus quotations in extended series of long notes. As with many Masses of this period, the upper voices also quote from the upper voices of the model - sometimes literally. As Gottlieb noticed, composer has rather cleverly retained the essence of the chanson without relying on it slavishly. Neither is this the only *Le serviteur* reworking approximately contemporary with the original which extensively rethinks its motivic and imitative material; the Rondeau *Le serviteur infortuné* reworks the original completely in duple time (adding a little padding in the process) and also provides a negative counterpart to the original text. The following example and table illustrate how the Mass draws on its parent chanson. It will not escape notice that the composer reworks the only three-voice imitative figure in the chanson (measures 10-11 in the following example) and it is also made plain that Tenor cantus firmus occasionally disappears in favour of short and presumably free episodes. Also, on one occasion a reasonably lengthy piece of Tenor elaboration begins with a single extended note which is patently not part of the cantus firmus (Sanctus, 49) and in all movements except the Kyrie the post-introductory-duet full entries tend to feature passages in which all voices resemble the start of the parent

¹ For the *Missa Le serviteur I* see the old edition in DTÖ 38 pp. 141-55, and also the new edition in Gerber, R. (ed), Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent. Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte Codex 1375 (olim 88). Monuments of Renaissance Music XII (Chicago University Press, 2007), no. 95. For the Faugues Mass, see Gerber, *ibid.* no. 145, or the older editions in Schuetze, G. (ed), Collected Works of Faugues (Institute of Medieval Music, Brooklyn, 1960) pp. 5-46, and DTÖ 38 pp. 95-128 (which misattributes the Mass to Ockeghem). For the most comprehensive list of all *Le serviteur* reworkings see Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs... pp. 251-254.

² *Le serviteur II* was the name which I gave this cycle in Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 209-220. The analysis given therein is a piece of work that I now regard as pedantic, and the current description replaces it.

³ For a brief description of this cycle see Kirkman, A., ‘Innovation, stylistic patterns and the writing of history; the case of Bedyngham’s *Missa Dueil Angloissex*’ in I Codici Musicali Trentini II (1996) pp. 149-175. He also makes the apt comment that had the Kyrie not survived it would be difficult to identify this as a Mass on *Le serviteur*.

piece. Even the Kyrie manages to effect a cadence on D like the chanson soon after its start (Kyrie, 3-4) but in this instance the upper voices diverge somewhat from those in the chanson.

3.1. Dufay, *Le serviteur*;⁴

Le ser - vi - teur hault guer - don -

- né, As - sou - vy et bien for - tu - né,

- né, As - sou - vy et bien for - tu - né,

L'es - li - te des heu - reux de Fran -

L'es - li - te des heu - reux de Fran -

- ce. Me trou - ve ... Me trou - ve

- ce. Me trou - ve par

⁴ This example is based on the version in Hanen, M. (ed), *The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24* (3 vols, The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1983), III, pp. 272-275.

20

par la pour - ve - an - - ce

la pour - ve - - an - - ce

25

D'ung tout seul mot bien

D'ung tout seul mot

30

or - - don - - né.

bien or - don - - né.

TABLE 1
Cantus firmus use and upper-voice borrowings in the Missa *Le serviteur II*

Section / measures	Use of material
Kyrie I 1-5 5-12,1 12-14	Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 1-3, rhythmically altered & with added notes. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 4-7,3. Free extension.
Christe 16-23 24-29 30-58 58-64	Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 5,2-7,1 in a duple form. Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 20,3-23,1 in a duple form. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 7,2-17,2 in a duple form. Free extension in Tenor, but three-voice imitation at 58-60 is derived from three-voice imitation in the chanson at 10-11.
Kyrie II 65-69,2 69,3-84	Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 1-5,1 with modified ending. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 20,3-33, above which the upper voices at 73-84 rework the model's upper voices at 26-33.
Et in terra 1-9 9-21 22 23-26,1 26,3-33	Free introductory duet. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 1-5,1; Superius at 14,5-21 is also rather like the chanson Superius at 1-5,1. Free. Tenor is similar to chanson Tenor, 6-8,2. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor, 7,4-12; Tenor-Contra imitation at 29-30 is derived from three-voice imitation in the chanson at 10-11.
Domine Deus...celestis 34-36,1 36,2-51	Contra is derived from chanson Tenor, 5,2-7,1. Free.
Domine Deus Agnus 52-61	Free, but Superius cadence at 60-61 is similar to chanson Superius at 28-29.
Qui tollis 62-77 78-87 88-92 93-113 114-118 119-120 121-125,2 126-141	Free? (the Tenor's initial G-Bb-D here is not related to any part of the model). Tenor vaguely resembles chanson Tenor, 1,2-4,1. Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 9-10 in duple form. Free. Tenor resembles chanson Tenor 31,3-33. Free. Tenor is similar to chanson Tenor 5,2-7,2. Free.
Quoniam tu solus 142-149 150-154 155-177	Free. Superius quote chanson Superius 27,3-29,2 in duple form. Free, but Superius cadence at 173-177 is similar to chanson Superius at 28-29.
Cum sancto 178-183 184-186,2 187-188 189-191	All three voices are close to the chanson at 1-5,1. Tenor is derived from chanson Tenor, 5,2-7,2. Free. Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 25-27,1, and Superius at 189,2-191 resembles chanson Superius 7,3-9,1.
Patrem 1-10 10-20 21-23 24-30 30-34	Free introductory duet. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 1-5,1; Superius and Contra at 14-16,1 are also similar to the chanson's upper voices at 1-3,1. Free. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor, 5,2-10,5. Free.

(Table 1, contd.)

Section / measures	Use of material
Genitum 35-48	Free, but Superius cadence at 46-48 is similar to chanson Superius at 28-29.
Qui propter 49-60	Free, but again the Superius cadence at 58-60 is similar to chanson Superius at 28-29.
Et incarnatus 61-114 115-119 120-124 124-129 129-131 132-140	Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 12,2-24 in duple form. Free. Tenor related to chanson Tenor, 25-26,1. Superius is vaguely similar to chanson Superius 28-29,3. Tenor quotes chanson Tenor 25 in duple form. Free.
Et resurrexit 141-162 163-173 173-175	Free. Superius (anticipated and internally imitated by Contra) elaborates chanson Superius 27,3-31,7. Free.
Et vitam 176-180 181-182 183-184,1 184-187	Apart from the initial three Superius pitches (G F Eb, related to the chanson Superius opening) this opening is free. Superius is related to chanson Superius 27,3-29,3. Free. All three voices are similar to the chanson ending at 31-33.
Sanctus 1-8 8-16 17-19 19-26	Free introductory duet. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 1-5,1; all voices at 10-12 are similar to the chanson at 1-3,1, and also the Superius at 13-16 is related to the chanson Superius at 3,2-5,1. Contra is related to chanson Tenor 25-27,1. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 5,2-9,1.
Pleni sunt 27-48	Free.
Osanna I/II 49-84 85-90 91-113	Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 16-26,1 in duple form - but the initial extended G of this passage has no reference in the chanson. Free. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 27,2-33, above which the Superius is also similar to the chanson Superius at 27,3-33.
Benedictus 114-123 124-135 136-152	Contra is similar to chanson Tenor 5,2-9,1. Superius (anticipated by Contra) is related to chanson Superius 27,2-30,6. Free.
Agnus I/III 1-7 7-13,1 13,2-19	Free introductory duet. Tenor elaborates chanson Tenor 1-5,1 - above which the Superius and Contra at 9-10 are similar to the chanson's upper voices at 1-3. Tenor is related to chanson Tenor 5,2-9,1.
Agnus II 20-23 24-36 37-39 40-45 46-49,1 49-64,2 64,3-67,2 68-73	Contra opening is probably derived from chanson Tenor, 10. Free. Motive from chanson Tenor, 10 appears again in Contra. Free. Contra quotes chanson Tenor 5,2-6,4 in duple form. Free. Superius possibly derived from chanson Superius, 1-3,1. Free.

This table should be thoroughly compared with the full score of the Mass, since it will become evident that much of the free material throughout uses cadences on C (like the chanson) and the work gives *the effect* of relying heavily upon its model while it is not actually that faithful to it on paper. Accordingly, cadence pitches at full section endings are rather restricted; most of them are on C with doubled-leadingnote formulas and just three full sections end with octave-leap cadences on G. The sectional layout of this Mass also calls for some comment since it leads on to the question of its authorship. Both the Gloria and Credo have six sections, in which the initial triple-meter section is followed by pairs of short Duos. They then have an extensive duple section, another Duo each, and short final triple sections. The Sanctus is made up of four sections which alternate full sections and Duos, and the Kyrie and Agnus are simply tripartite. Kyrie I and Agnus I are both short, and none of the larger sections throughout are longwinded. Like the chanson, the Mass has a Contra which can effect doubled-leadingnote cadences on G but not on C - because in the event of the latter the Contra would have a very wide range.

This relative brevity and the 'ut supra' repeats of the Osanna and Agnus I were some of the features which led Gottlieb to question whether the Mass might be an Ockeghem work. He listed the following points as possibly indicative of Ockeghem's authorship; 'ut supra' repeats (which occur in most Ockeghem Masses now extant), the supposedly 'irrational' treatment of the cantus firmus in this Mass, pauses in the middle of duet sections (as in both the Gloria and Credo), and irregular resolutions of suspensions - which I will mention below. He also added that the general preference for non-imitative counterpoint and doubled-leadingnote cadences were supporting points for his opinion. I do not agree with non-imitative counterpoint being highlighted here since the previous table illustrates reworkings of three-voice imitation.

In my previous analysis of this work I was quite favourable towards an Ockeghem attribution. Now I am more cautious for the following reasons. Firstly, a singular difficulty arises in that the nearest comparable Ockeghem work (his three-voice *Sine nomine* Mass in Verona 759 and Brussels 33346) is quite unlike any of his other Masses. At least four specialists have voiced the view that it might not even be his.⁵ Secondly, at least one distinctive feature of this Mass (the irregular suspensions mentioned) also occur in Ockeghem's *Missa Caput* (another work with its cantus firmus mostly in its lowest voice) but this feature is not unique to Ockeghem. The suspensions concerned (at Kyrie 77, Gloria 155-156 and Sanctus 41-42) are all instances where the Superius leaps upward to a consonance instead of resolving downwards onto a sixth with the structural lower voice. In Ockeghem's *Missa Caput* the same thing occurs at Gloria 14-15 and Sanctus 4-5, but it is also relevant here that I know of three or four pieces roughly contemporary with Ockeghem where the same sort of progression occurs - and none of these pieces seem to have anything to do with Ockeghem.⁶ Thirdly, does *Le serviteur II* really have any kindred with genuine Ockeghem works or do its distinguishing features betray the hand of an emulator or a pupil? These are questions which I will attempt to answer below.

I find several general features of this Mass broadly similar to traits in Masses which are securely by Ockeghem. The brief Kyrie I is reflected by a similarly-sized opening sections in the *Mi-Mi* and *Au travail suis* Masses. Likewise the tendency to use small values in Superius cadence approaches is generally typical of Ockeghem. Thirdly, the rather wide Superius range (an octave and a sixth in the Gloria and Agnus) is a feature which also occurs in other Ockeghem works. Fourth, the way in which the cantus firmus is treated would certainly be typical of Ockeghem. However, it is widely accepted that he was certainly not the only composer of his time to treat borrowed material in novel ways.

⁵ For the purposes of this discussion I use the edition of *Sine nomine a 3* in van Benthem, J. (ed), Johannes Ockeghem: Motets and Mass Sections III (Utrecht, 2004), pp. 1-23. Its foreword summarises the reservations expressed on *Sine nomine a 3* by Charles van den Borren (1941), Andrew Kirkman (1995) and Fabrice Fitch (1997) on p. vii, and the author also makes a case for Touront being the likely composer of this Mass. Subsequent musical examples have their text underlay adapted rather than given exactly as in the van Benthem edition.

⁶ Caron, *Missa Sanguis sanctorum*, Kyrie II, last measure on p. 139 in Thomson, J. (ed), Les Oeuvres Complètes de Philippe (?) Caron, vol. II (Brooklyn, 1976). Piret(?), Trent 89 *Missa Beati Anthonii* (no. 18 in this instalment), Gloria, penultimate measures of Gloria's Qui tollis section. Also the anonymous *Gaude virgo decus morum / N'aray-je jamais* _____ miexlx (Verona 755 ff. 104v-106r, unpublished) where one such suspension occurs between the Superius and Tenor towards the end of the final four-voice section. For further examples see the structure section for no. 21 in this instalment (the *Missa O rosa bella III*), p. 746.

Beyond this I am forced to rely on comparisons with Ockeghem's three-voice *Sine nomine*. But it is here that interesting comparisons make themselves evident - perhaps indicating that *Le serviteur II* could not have been written without reference to the previously mentioned three-voice Mass. I illustrate this as follows.

1. Despite different sectional layouts, both Masses have 'ut supra' Osanna and Agnus I sections, both have short final triple sections to their Gloria and Credo settings, both allot the lower Duo voice in two-voice sections to the Contratenor, and both have sesquialtera passages at the end of their Benedictus Duos.

2. In parallel with the wide Superius range in the Missa *Le serviteur II*, *Sine nomine* a 3 has a consistent Superius range of an octave and a fourth, and Contratenor behaviour in *Sine nomine* a 3 is basically of the same type as in *Le serviteur II*; this voice is a filler part which effects doubled-leadingnote as well as octave-leap and conventional perfect cadences.

3. The main sections of the Gloria and Credo in both Masses differ in texture; those sections in *Sine nomine* are more imitative and more tightly worked, and also longer than in *Le serviteur II* (particularly the duple section of the Credo in *Sine nomine*). However, as in *Le serviteur II* there is repeated material in three-voice imitation - which in the case of *Sine nomine* may or may not derive from a pre-existent model (see Kyrie 67-71, Gloria 70-82, Credo 98-114 and Sanctus 23-27).

4. Despite the textural differences highlighted there are similar passages in both works. The following examples illustrates pairs of similar extracts involving (i) small values in the Superius, (ii) typically decorated cadence approaches, (iii) short melodically sequential motives, (iv) imitation at sesquialtera endings, and (v) similar motives in duet texture.

3.2 & 3. Missa *Le serviteur II*, Agnus 17-19 and *Sine nomine* a 3, Superius, 30-32 (similar patterns in small values);

17

no pa - - - - - bis. cem.

no pa - - - - - bis. cem.

30

(Sa) - - - - - ba - - -

3.4 & 5. Missa *Le serviteur II*, Credo 54-57 and *Sine nomine* a 3, Sanctus Superius 43-47 (similar decorated cadence approaches);

54

pro-pter no- stram sa - lu - tem de - scen -
et pro - pter no- stram sa - lu - tem de - scen

43

ce - - - - - li
sunt ce - - - - - li

3.6 & 7. Missa *Le serviteur II*, Sanctus 114-124 and *Sine nomine* a 3, Agnus 71-75 (similar sequential melodic writing);

114

Be - - - - - ne - - - - - di - - - - -
Be - - - - - ne - - - - - di - - - - -

122

- ctus - - - - -
- ctus qui

71

- re no - - - - -
- re - - - - - re no - - - - -

3.8 & 9. Missa *Le serviteur II*, Sanctus 141-152 and *Sine nomine* a 3, Sanctus 175-183 (similar imitative Duo endings in sesquialtera);

141

ne Do - - - mi - - -

ne Do - - - mi - - -

149

ni.

ni.

175

Do - - - mi - - -

(Do) - - - mi - - -

181

ni.

ni.

3.10 & 11. Missa *Le serviteur II*, Gloria 36-39 and *Sine nomine* a 3, Sanctus 40-42 (motivically similar duet writing);

36

Rex ce - le - - - stis,

us, Rex ce - le - - - stis,

40

Ple - - - - - ni sunt

Ple - - - - - ni

5. The examples given so far are merely here to show that both Masses share much common ground in upper-voice behaviour and the common resources that a mid-fifteenth century composer might draw on. It will also be observed that these similarities occur within two Masses that have other elements in common. But there is more. The *Christe* sections of each Mass are rhythmically close, perhaps suggesting that the composer of *Le serviteur II* knew of the *Christe* section from the *Sine nomine* Mass and wanted in some way to model his section on the latter work. The following summarises the similarities between both sections, and Example 3.12 gives the section concerned from *Sine nomine* a 3.

TABLE 2

Description of the panel structure in the *Christe* sections from *Le serviteur II* and *Sine nomine* a 3

Missa <i>Le serviteur II</i> measures	Description	Missa <i>Sine nomine</i> a 3 measures	Description
16-29	Opening in sustained values followed by slight rhythmic acceleration towards internal cadence.	28-31	Opening in sustained values followed by rhythmic acceleration towards internal cadence.
30-45	Continuation of rhythmic acceleration leading to internal cadence.	32-37	Continuation of rhythmic acceleration leading to internal cadence.
45-46	One measure of bridging lower-voice duet texture.	37-43	Brief lower-voice duet passage.
47-53	Return to sustained values of the same type as at 16-29.	44-52	Return to sustained values of the same type as at 28-31.
54-64	Superius using accelerated values in upward melisma leading to cadence.	53-60	Superius using accelerated values in upward melisma leading to cadence.

3.12. Ockeghem(?), *Missa Sine nomine* a 3, Kyrie, 18-60;

18

Chri - - - ste e -

8

Chri - - - ste e -

8

Chri - - - ste e -

27

- - - le - y - son, Chri - ste e - le - y -

8

- - - le - - - y - son, Chri - ste e - le - y -

8

- - - le - - - y - son, Chri - ste e - le - -

36

- son, Chri -

8

son, ...e - - - - le - y - son,

8

- y - son, ...e - - - le - y - son,

45

- - - - - ste e -

8

Chri - - - ste

8

Chri - ste e -

55

- - - le - y - son.

8

e - - - le - y - son.

8

- - - le - y - son.

If this is a valid way of looking at two sections from a Mass cycle (and I think that it might be, given the closeness in style and texture) then I can begin to make the purpose of all my comparative musical examples clear. The two Masses seem to be significantly close in style and shared melodic and technical resources, despite having different sectional layouts and different textures in their main Gloria and Credo sections. At the same time, nowhere here have I hinted at there being a common composer because do not believe that they are the work of a single man.

Le serviteur II seems to be an emulation of *Sine nomine a 3*, perhaps put together by somebody who knew the Mass well and was trying to create a counterpart to it. This suggestion moves the work away from the likelihood of Ockeghem being the composer, as certain features suggest. For example, the repeated ‘in excelsis’ rhythmic patterns in the Osanna (Sanctus, 61-72) are not really within the Ockeghem canon, even though he produced Masses with Osanna sections which are rhythmically active and which tend to invite word-repetition. Likewise, the passages in the Kyrie Tenor which encourage word repetition (4-5 and 30-32) might look unusual in a genuine Ockeghem Mass, as might the amount of word repetition which seems to be needed in the first section of the Sanctus. Also the shortwinded nature of several sections throughout (including the Gloria and Credo main triple sections) would perhaps be untypical of Ockeghem. My arguments here also imply that the *Le serviteur II* composer would have had a double task in writing this Mass; he had a chanson model to rework, and also a parent Mass to work from. If this is actually how *Le serviteur II* originated, then the work concerned would probably not have been too much for an aspiring fifteenth-century musician. If both Masses were Ockeghem works, too, we would have the strange situation where the Christe sections of both Masses are unusually close for no particular reason - a relationship that does not occur (so far as I am aware) in any other pair of Ockeghem Masses. Another reason for suggesting that this Mass at least came from somewhere prestigious is the Trent 89 copy is relatively trouble-free; there are few errors, and flat signatures are indicated well throughout.

However, to go back to my original observations regarding this Mass there are several features (the short first Kyrie, ‘ut supra’ repeats, irregular suspensions, use of decorative small values) which Gottlieb rightly identified as being reminiscent of Ockeghem. Therefore I use my argument regarding emulation as a pretext for suggesting that the *Le serviteur II* composer was imitating somebody important in his work, that Ockeghem might be that person, and that maybe the Verona 759 attribution to Ockeghem’s *Sine nomine a 3* is therefore not wrong. There are only six composer attributions in that manuscript, and none of the others seem incorrect. Furthermore the reservations about this Mass’s attribution (quite rightfully made in view of its thorough use of imitation) do so from the twentieth/twenty-first century viewpoint of only having a certain percentage of Ockeghem’s music available.⁷ At least four Masses of his are lost, and possibly more.⁸ I suggest that the ‘early’ Ockeghem is a musical personality who we do not really know; a couple of chansons with moderately imitative Tenor parts and filler-part Contratenors might give us some idea of how his musical development might have started (for example, *Quant de vous seul* and *Les desleaulx*) but beyond that there is little apart from the Verona 759 Mass.⁹ I think that it would be premature to isolate the work as anonymous when there are few other early Ockeghem works to compare it with.

Strictly as a postscript to this discussion, Jaap van Benthem has suggested an alternative composer for *Sine nomine a 3*. In the foreword to his edition he makes detailed and informed comparison between *Sine nomine a 3* and the Trent 89 *Missa Fa-Ut* edited in Instalment 2 of this series (which I consider to be attributable to Touront). The two Masses certainly have much in common, and he comes to the conclusion that *Le serviteur*

⁷ See Kirkman, A., The Three-voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth Century and Early Sixteenth Century: Style, Distribution and Case Studies (Garland, New York, 1995) pp. 250-252 and 257 for textural examination of *Sine nomine a 3*. Fabrice Fitch (in Johannes Ockeghem: Masses and Models, Paris, 1997 pp. 177-178) also follows the view that Ockeghem is unlikely to be the composer of this Mass.

⁸ The four lost Masses are a *Missa La belle se siet* (the start of the Credo is quoted by Tinctoris in his counterpoint treatise), and three others which appears in quotations by the sixteenth-century theorists Zacconi and Cerone; a *Missa Domine non secundum*, a *Missa Jocundare* and a *Missa ‘della madonna’* (possibly a Marian Mass).

⁹ Published respectively in Plamenac, D. and Wexler, R. (eds), Johannes Ockeghem: Collected Works vol. III (1992), pp. 83 and 72, and in Droz, E., Thibault, G. and Rokseth, Y., Trois chansonniers français du XV^e siècle (Paris, 1927), nos 32 and 9. Ockeghem’s *Aultre Venus estes* in Plamenac and Wexler, *ibid.* p. 59 may be similarly early.

II might also be a Touront work. I am tempted by much that I read in his description of both Masses, which takes into account mensural similarities, sectional layout, stylistic common ground and the behaviour of individual voices in particular passages. It is in fact hard to deny that the author has a very good case here. But in view of the foregoing material on *Le serviteur II* I wish to suggest a slight modification of his arguments. Namely this: Touront produced the *Fa-Ut* Mass, followed by Ockeghem (or possibly somebody else) imitating the *Missa Fa-Ut* - or something similar - and producing *Sine nomine* a 3. The end of the hypothesis is that the *Le serviteur II* composer ends this chain of Mass cycles written in emulation. Ockeghem's early appointments (at the Church of Our Lady at Antwerp, 1443 and the Duke of Bourbon's chapel at Moulins, by 1446) show that he would have had plenty of time to become familiar with the music and styles of his contemporaries. But all of this is quite shady history, and for now perhaps I should be satisfied that the *Missa Le serviteur II* has probably been found something like its proper home.

The following section also supplements our investigation somewhat and shows that there might also be numerical links between the two Masses discussed above. If the *Le serviteur II* composer did in fact have *Sine nomine* a 3 as a layout model, some of the information below suggests that he was meticulous in how he put the work together. Finally, this concise Mass would serve well for basic instruction in how fifteenth-century voice parts behave, and it would ideally suit an enterprising ensemble 'cutting their teeth' on little-known Masses providing their Superius singers were comfortable with its ranges.

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Numerology

The data given below demonstrates that this Mass displays a keen interest in number, and I have restricted my exploration to quite basic features. There may be more to find. All data described includes final longs unless otherwise stated.

In terms of measures the movement sizes are respectively 84, 191, 187, 152 & 73. Since the Osanna and first Agnus section are repeated the similarity in size shared by the inner movements encourages investigations into arc size. In terms of percentages the basic arc is 12.2 / 27.8 / 27.2 / 22.1 / 10.6. Including the repeated sections in the percentages read as 10.8 / 24.7 / 24.25 / 28.1 / 11.9. This is not particularly significant but shows that the movement arc may be a deliberate feature.

Some sections have measure totals which are close, or which add up to related numbers.

Kyrie I	15
Kyrie II	20
Domine Deus Agnus	10
Qui tollis (Gloria)	80
Et in terra	33
Patrem	34

The latter pair of figures suggests that looking for matching sectional totals is useful. Accordingly, note-counts reveal the following information.

1. Some sections have matching or close note totals. The Kyrie I Superius has 54 notes, the Contra in the same section has 53 notes, and the Christe Tenor also has 53 notes. The Qui propter Superius in the Credo also has 54 notes. Likewise, the Sanctus-section Superius and Pleni sunt each have 96 notes, and the Benedictus Superius has 95.

2. The Superius note-total for Agnus I ($81 = 54 \times 1.5$). Also the lower-voice note totals for the same section (61 for the Contratenor and 31 for the Tenor) add up to 92, and there are also 92 notes in the Agnus II Contra.
3. Further symmetries reveal themselves in the outer movements. There are exactly 100 notes in the Kyrie I lower voices. There are 129 lower-voice notes in the Christe, and this seems related to the total for the Christe Superius (86 notes); $86 \times 1.5 = 129$. Also, excluding the movemental final long there are 200 notes in the Agnus Superius.
4. The final Gloria and Credo sections also seem related by note-totals; the Cum sancto section has 127 notes, and the Et vitam section has 128. These sections are also similar in length; the former consists of 14 measures and the latter has 12.
5. The totals for all notes in the triple-meter Gloria and Credo internal Duos are also close; those in the Gloria add up to 210, and those in the Credo total 211.
6. Likewise the Superius note-totals for the opening triple sections in the Gloria (Et in terra plus the two duet sections following) = 236. The Superius note total for the corresponding sections in the Credo is 240.
7. Some voices in individual sections have matching note-totals. The Cum sancto Superius and Et vitam Tenor each have 41 notes, and so does the Et resurrexit Contratenor - but the latter is probably not significant.
8. I also observe an interesting similarity in the Gloria and Credo main duple sections; amongst other note-values, the individual lower voices here each have 33 breves per section. Above these voices the Superius breve totals for each section are close: the Gloria has 25, and the Credo has 27.

The main point to arise from number investigation here is that some sections (rather than movements) may have been written consecutively in order to achieve symmetry. As regards further possible links with the *Sine nomine* a 3, I find the following points to be of interest.

1. The arc of movement-sizes in the Ockeghem Mass is similar to that in *Le serviteur II*; *Sine nomine* a 3 also features a repeated Osanna and first Agnus section, and the tempora-count of movements reveals a similar type of arc to the one previously described. The movement sizes are respectively 78, 162, 232, 183 and 78 measures without the repeats taken into consideration. Note the identical lengths of the outer two movements.
2. As in my previous point 4, Ockeghem's Cum sancto and Et vitam sections are close in size (respectively 23 and 24 measures).
3. *Sine nomine* a 3 may conceal further symmetries which are mostly beyond the scope of this discussion. For example, the Gloria's outer two sections total 71 measures, which is the same number of measures as in the Credo's first section. Likewise the length of the Credo's duple section (137 measures) might be connected to the size of the Gloria's duple section (91 measures; $137 \text{ divided by } 1.5 = 91.3$).

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16. Henricus Tik: *Missa Sine nomine*

Kyrie

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 366v-367r, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 736);
 (ii) Lucca ff. 1v-2r, Henricus Tik.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the b sig is only given for the first stave of this voice (1-12,2) with the flat on the third stave line up. Gaps have been left between the clefs, b sigs and m signs and the first note in each voice (presumably for majuscule initials that were never entered) / 16: Trent 89 gives the m sign as cut-C in all voices. I have replaced this with C mensuration as given in Lucca / 24: b ind before 23,1 / 39: b ind before 38,2 / 44: erased ligd sbr upper D upper E follows 2.

Contra; 1: the b sig is only given for the first stave of this voice (1-11,1) / 9: ns / 12: 3 D (corr with the help of Lucca) / 50,2: this note is added on a short end-of-stave extension / 62: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 1: the b sig is only given for the first stave of this voice (1-13,4) / 1-2: ns / 3: ns / 36,3-4: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 52: p div follows 2 / 54: likewise / 61: natural ind as flat before 60,1 / 62: p div follows 2.

Underlay; all three voices have 'Kyrie/Christe eleyson' at the start and end of sections with the exception of the Contra in its first two sections (where 'eleyson' is not given). The opening and ending words in each section appear to have been entered with little regard for placement. Some repeats appear to be needed: at 3-4 ed rpts of 'Kyrie' have been added in all voices, and at 22-23 the same applies to 'Christe'.

Bibliography; Strohm, R. (ed), Mass Settings from the Lucca Choirbook (*Early English Church Music* series, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music* vol. VI, Stainer and Bell, 2007) pp. x and 5-32 (edition of the Mass after Lucca); facsimile of Lucca in Strohm, R. (ed) The Lucca Choirbook... (University of Chicago Press, *Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 2), 2007; Mitchell, R., The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 98-101 (which suggests the likely song model in Strahov); Gottlieb no. 14.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; 1: this voice is damaged by a left-side page-cut which has taken off the b sig and clef plus several passages listed below. Due to the disposition of the staves it seems likely that the Superius had an illuminated initial at its start like the lower voices described below, and which was probably quite large. The name 'henricus tik' is given above the Superius. / 7,1: this note is obscured by the page-cut / 13,4: this note (but not its dot) is eliminated by the page-cut / 15-21: ligd / 16: the m sign C is given here in all voices instead of cut-C / 24: no b / 27,3-35,1: these notes are eliminated by the page-cut / 38: 1 & 2 ligd / 39: no b / 46,3-52,1: as at 27,3 / 58-59: ligd / 60-64,2: as at 27,3

Contrat[enor]; 1: a gilt and multi-coloured illuminated initial precedes the music, and the b sig is consistently given throughout / 12,3: Lucca (like Trent 89) gives D here but a later hand has inked out the notehead of the D and written a blackened m E to its left / 14: 4-6 are replaced by m C m B / 24: 1 & 2 ligd / 32: 1 & 2 uc / 34: 1 & 2 ligd, & 35,1 not ligd / 40,2-41,1: ligd / 57,2-3: minor color / 58-59,1: ligd. Various bits of probably sixteenth- or seventeenth-century handwriting appear over stretches of this part, one of which appears to erase 'eleyson' at the end of Kyrie I.

Tenor; 1: a gilt and multi-coloured illuminated initial precedes the music, and the b sig is consistently given throughout / 25,3: not ligd / 26: 1 & 2 ligd / 38-41: given as one lig / 50: p div follows 2 / 51: 1 & 2 ligd as sbr sbr / 52-53: 1 is col & not ligd, & 52,2-53,2 are ligd and col / 54: no p div / 58-62,1: given as one lig, and with no accidental at 61.

Underlay; much as in Trent 89 but with more complete incipits in the Contratenor.

Lucca (evidently once a prestigious manuscript) provides a reading not too different from that of Trent 89, the only significant variants being the C-mensuration signs at the start of the *Christe* and the simpler Contratenor at the end of *Kyrie I*.

Gloria

(i) Trent 89 ff. 367v-369r, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 737);

(ii) Lucca ff. 2v-5r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation (from Sarum Gloria 5) is supplied from GS, plate 12⁺; the b sig is given on the middle stave line & is only supplied for the first stave of this voice (1-9). Both the Superius and Contra have gaps between their clefs & b sigs, probably intended for majuscule initials. / 8,8-9,1: these notes appear to have been inked over / 31: b ind before 30,4 / 48,3: corr from col err / 61: no custos here in the Superius or Contra, & double custos in the Tenor / 62: 'Duo' only ind in the Superius / 64: b ind above 62,1 / 83: Trent 89 gives cut-C in all voices here. As with other duple sections in this Mass I have replaced this with C as in Lucca. / 100,2: corr from sbr / 158: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 194: no custos in the Superius, which has two breve rests written as a single line following 194,1. The Contra here has double custos.

Contra; 1-82: on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (1-rest in 10) / 10,2: corr from col err / 13,1: likewise / 22,2-rest in 24: om (supplied from Lucca) / 37-38: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 46,5: Trent 89 gives sm A sm G (corr using Lucca) / 52,4-54,1: as at 37-38 / 63: b ind before 62,1 / 65,7-66,1: as at 37-38 / 79,3-6: likewise / 79,7-82: added on a small supplementary stave at the bottom of the page / 83: on the second page-opening the b sig is only given on the first stave (83-114) / 91: 3 D (emended for the sake of consonance) / 106: 2 B (corrected to imitate the Tenor at 109, but Lucca also gives B in the Contra here) / 113,2-114,2: as at 37-38 / 144,2-145,2: likewise / 149-150: Trent 89 gives ligd and col br F br E br F, which is meant to be read in sesquialtera & with a b before the lig (the Lucca reading is used here instead for the sake of consonance) / 164: b ind before 164,1 / 165,4-166,1: as at 37-38 / 188,1: Trent 89 reads col sbr A col sbr A (Lucca reading adopted here for the sake of imitation with the Superius) / 189,2-4: as at 37-38 / 210,1-2: likewise / 213: erasure follows 2 / 219: 2 B (corr using Lucca) & p div follows 3.

Tenor; 19-21: ns / 44: 1 B (corr using Lucca) / 53,1: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 53,2-61: b sig om / 61: direct given with double custos for the next Tenor note (at 83) / 83: on the second page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (83-rest in 116) / 150: b ind before 149,1 / 156: erased m C follows 1 / 210: p div follows 3 / 213: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1-3: '[E]t in terra' under the initial stave gap - 1,3 / 3-6: 'hominibus' under 4,2-6 / 6-7: 'bone' under 7,2-4 / 7-9: 'voluntatis' under 8,1-8,7 / 10-12,3: the text seems to be entered here with no regard for logical word placement / 13-15: 'Adoramus' under 13,2-14,3 / 15: 'te' under 14,4 / 16-18: 'Glorificamus' under 15,2-16,5 / 23-27: 'tibi' under 23,2-23,1 / 30-31: 'magnum' under 30,1-5 / 31: 'gloriam' under 31,2-4 / 32-36: 'tuam' under 34,3-35,1 / 40-42: 'celestis' under 41,1-42,2 / 42: 'Deus' under 42,3-43,1 / 43-45: 'Pater' under 44,1-3 / 46-47: 'omni-' under 43,2-5 /

47-49: ‘-potens’ under 48,3-49,1 / 58-61: as at 10-12 / 62-73: ‘Domine Deus’ is given at the start of this section with no regard for word placement, and ‘Deus’ is repeated under 67,2-68,3 / 74-77: as at 10-12 / 82: ‘-tris’ under 81,6-82,1 / 83-93: as at 10-12 / 100-105: ‘nobis’ under 103,3-105,1 / 119-120: ‘suscipe’ under 118-120 / 128-131: ‘nostram’ under 129,3-130,3 / 132-145: as at 10-12 / 146: ‘no-’ under 150,1 / 157: ‘-bis’ under 156,3 / 158-168: ‘Quoniam’ is given at the start of this section with no regard for syllable placement / 171-172: ‘solus’ under 172,1-2 / 172-177: ‘sanctus’ om / 180: ‘Do-’ under 173,3 / 185: ‘-minus’ under 175,3-176,2 / 179: as at 10-12 / 180-185: having already copied ‘Dominus’ to a preceding phrase, the scribe simply writes no text at 180-185 where ‘Dominus’ should logically be / 188-194: ‘Altissimus’ under 189,1-4 / 198-202: ‘Christe’ (given as ‘xpe’) under 198,1-200,2 / 203-207: as at 10-12 / 210-213: ‘Patris’ under 210,3-211,3. Contratenor; 62-77: ‘Domine Deus Agnus Dei’ is given as a start-of-section incipit / 82: ‘-tris’ under 80,7-81,2 / 158-170: the text here is given as another start-of-section incipit. Tenor; no further discrepancies.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; 1: the b sig (with b on the fourth stave line up) is ind consistently throughout, & the ‘E’ of ‘Et’ is a large majuscule; there is a single custos between the ‘E’ and the clef / 19: no cs / 31: no b / 33: 1 & 2 ligd / 40: 1 & 2 replaced by br G / 46,4: either the notehead here has a lacuna or is not filled in properly / 61: cor over 2, & single custos following / 62: ‘Duo’ ind only in Contratenor, in small majuscules written facing 180 degrees downwards; the ‘D’ of ‘Domine’ in the Superius is a small majuscule / 64: no b / 71: 2 & 3 ligd / 81: 6 replaced by sm F sm E / 83: Lucca gives C mensuration in all voices / 113-114: ligd / 150-151: uc due to sixteenth- or seventeenth-century writing over main copy / 152,3-153,1: ligd / 155,3-156,1: replaced by dtd-m B sm G / 158: ‘Duo’ ind as at 62 / 174: 1 & 2 ligd / 194: no cor over 1, & double custos / 201: cor written over 1 as three dots with a single dot below & between the other two / 221: no cor / 222: 1 col.

Contratenor; 1: the ‘C’ of ‘Contratenor’ is a large majuscule, the b sig is given consistently throughout, & the m sign is om / 8,2: uc due to lacuna / 13: r replaced by m lower F / 55,3-4: minor color / 58: p div follows 2 / 60: 2 is col / 61: single custos follows 2. This is modified to double custos by a much later hand that entered some text underlay (see below, in the underlay section). Also, ‘verte’ is given in the original hand following the custos / 63: no b / 91,3: like Trent 89, Lucca gives D here / 106,2: B as in Trent 89 / 148: 2 b / 154,1-2: minor color / 166: 1 & 2 are ligd / 201: no cor / 202: single custos / 211,2-3: no minor color / 218: 1 b, ind before 215,1 / 221: no cor / 222: 1 col. The duple sections of this voice in Lucca are slightly damaged by overwritten large letters in either a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand.

Tenor; 1: the ‘T’ or ‘Tenor’ is a large majuscule, & the b sig is given consistently throughout / 19-24: no lig / 52,3-4: no lig / 56,6-61: this passage is added on an end-of-stave extension / 62: on the second opening, the Tenor has a stretch of cleffed blank stave with a double custos at the end and the words ‘Domine Deus Agnus’ underneath, plus ‘tacet’ written on the blank stave / 98-99: no lig / 114-115: ligd / 141: not ligd / 150: b ind before 150,1 / 152: no lig / 155: 2 & 3 ligd / 157: ‘verte’ is given following the double custos / 158: much as at 62, the Tenor has a cleffed blank stave section here with ‘tacet’ written on the stave and ‘Quoniam tu solus’ written below it, followed by a double custos / 201: no cor / 210: no p div / 213: 1 col / 213,2-214,1: ligd / 215: no minor color / 217: 1-3 replaced by dtd-m upper F sm E m C sbr upper F / 220: 3 B / 221: no cor / 222: 1 col.

Lucca presents a more reliable version of the Gloria than Trent 89, with a few variants from the latter being simpler than in the former.

Underlay; Lucca underlays the Superius fully, and gives the following incipits & text in the lower voices. Contratenor; Et in terra pax / Laudamus te / Glorificamus te / Gratias agimus tibi / Jhesu Christe (at end of first section). This voice also has full text for the Domine Deus Agnus Duo and all subsequent sections. Tenor; Gratias agimus tibi / propter / Domine Deus Rex celestis / Domine Fili Unigenite / Jhesu Christe (at

end of first section). All subsequent Tenor sections are fully texted. A later humanist hand has also added small-size text to the closing passages of the first-section Contratenor, which reads *Domine Deus Rex celestis / Deus Pater omnipotens / Domine Fili Unigenite* in an attempt to text this voice more fully. This addition was probably made after the manuscript reached Lucca (see Strohm, *Mass Settings from the Lucca Choirbook*, p. 2). The Superius text underlay in Lucca is clearer than that in Trent 89, and some of my editorial underlay takes Lucca into account. However, both sources contain instances of word placement which seem illogical.

Credo

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 369v-371r, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 738);
- (ii) Lucca ff. 5v-8r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the b sig is om on the first page-opening (1-88). Both the Superius and Contra have gaps between their clefs/sigs and their first notes, probably intended for majuscule initials. / 10,2-4: copied on a short end-of-stave extension / 22,1 & 56,2: likewise / 72: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 87,2: corr from col err / 89: Trent 89 and Lucca both give cut-C in all voices here, which has been emended to C mensuration to match the Gloria at the same point. Also for this main duple section (89-161) the b sig is only given on the first stave (89-rest in 126) with the b on the middle stave line / 162: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 218,2: corr from col err.

Contra; 1: on the first opening the b sig is only given for the Contra’s first stave (1-rest in 13) / 12,2-rest in 13: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 24,4-25,1: these notes are squashed in / 25,3-4: om (supplied from Lucca) / 26,2-6: as at 12 / 32: erasure follows 1 / 41-42,1: added on a short end-of-stave extension, & an err p div follows 41,1 / 42: b ind before 41,2 / 53,4-55,1: as at 12 / 57,1-59,2: written over an erasure, & 57,2 is G / 68,1-69,3: as at 12, & 68,4 is corr from col err / 76: superfluous sbr r follows 2 (this probable error also occurs in Lucca) / 80: 3 E (corr using Lucca) / 81,5-rest in 83: added on a short end-of-stave extension, & 82,4 is corr from col err / 83,2-88: copied on a small supplementary stave at the bottom of the page / 89: on a new page-opening, the clef is written over an erased double custos at the end of the Tenor for 89-225, a crossed out cut-circle sign precedes the mensuration sign, and the b sig is only given for 89-106 & 162-171,1 (the latter being the start of the duple Duo section) / 105,2-106,1: as at 12 / 143,1-145,2: likewise / 161: no custos, but the following new clef (on fourth stave line up) has extended verticals which look like a double custos / 171,1: as at 12 / 187: 2 & 3 om (supplied from Lucca) / 190, rest & 1: as at 12 / 208,1-4: Trent 89 reads col dtd sbr D plus col m A col m B (corr using Lucca) / 212: direct given with clef change / 219: rest uc / 220,4: as at 12.

Tenor; 1: on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for 1-28, and at 1-17 only 15 measures of rests are given / 18-20: ns / 21-23: likewise / 28,3: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 31: 2 & 4 both corr from col err / 38: 2 (a breve) is not dtd, but *similis ante similem* rule applies because the following note is also a breve / 55-56: as at 28 / 60,3: corr from col err / 71: a direct to the next Tenor note on the following page-opening is given with the double custos / 89: the b sig is only given on the new page-opening for 89 to the rest in 125, and at 89-91 Trent 89 gives L D plus br D (corr using Lucca because of editorial texting derived from that source; see the notes on underlay below) / 137: regarding a probably incorrect incipit here (‘sub Pontio Pilato’) also see following underlay notes / 156,2: as at 28 / 218: 4 uc / 221,5: as at 28 / 225: double custos has been erased (see the notes to the Contra at 89).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional and occasional internal incipits in the lower voices which may be partly incorrect (at 89 the Contra has ‘Et incarnatus’ and the Tenor has ‘Et incarnatus est’, with the latter also having ‘sub Pontio Pilato’ at 137). Lucca gives texting beginning ‘Et in Spiritum’ in both lower voices here, implying that main duple section telescopes part of the Credo text. I have followed Lucca

here, but even with the telescoping our score does not use complete text ('Et ascendit...non erit finis' is omitted). Lucca also texts the end of the Superius for the main duple section differently from Trent 89 ('cuius regni...finis' instead of 'Et resurrexit...Scripturas' at 148-161) but in this instance the Trent 89 reading has been retained. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. [Superius]; 1: '[P]atrem' under 1,1-3 / 3-6: 'omnipotentem' under 4,1-7 / 10-11: 'visibilium' under 10,1-4 / 11-13: 'omnium' under 11,1-3 / 13-18: 'et invisibilium' under 12,3-14,4 / 22: 'Jhesum' under 22,1 / 22-23: 'Christum' (given as 'xpum') under 22,3-23,3 / 27: 'Filium' under 25,5-26,2 / 28: 'Dei' under 26,5-27,1 / 29-31: 'unigeni-' under 27,3-28,3 / 32: '-tum' under 31,5 / 34: 'ex' under 34,3 / 35-36: 'Patre' under 34,5-35,1 / 36-38: 'natum' under 37,3-5 / 39-42: 'omnia' under 39,3-40,3 / 43-44: 'secula' under 42,1-43,1 / 56: 'non' under 57,1 / 57-58: 'factum' under 57,3-58,3 / 61-63: 'Patri' under 62,1-4 / 66-69: 'omnia' under 66,1-67,1 / 69-70: 'facta' under 68,2-69,1 / 71: 'sunt' under 70,4-5 / 72-81: here, the text seems to be entered without much regard for word positioning so individual placings are not recorded /. 81-82: 'salu-' under 81,1-2 / 83-85: 'descendit' under 83,1-85,3 / 86: 'de' under 85,4 / 86-88: 'celis' under 87,2-4 / 89-102: as at 72-81 / 126-147: the texting here is compressed but still too large for the allotted space and runs under 149,2 / 148-158: similarly entered in compressed fashion, ending with 'secundum' under 157,2-3 / 159-161: 'Scripturas' under 158,1-159,4 / 171-178: as at 72-81 / 179-189: 'in remissionem' under 180,2-183,3 / 191-196: 'peccatorum' under 191,1-193,3 / 198-205: as at 72-81 / 206-211: 'mortuorum' under 205,3-208,3 / 212-213: 'vitam' under 213,1-214,2 / 214-215: 'venturi' under 213,2-216,3 / 216-219: 'seculi' under 217,2-6 / 219: 'A-' under 219,2-220,1 / 224: '-men' under 223,3-224,1. Contra; 23-27: ed rpt of 'Christum' needed for the sake of imitation with the Superius / 89-161: the text implied by the incipit ('Et incarnatus') has been replaced by 'Et in Spiritum...Ecclesiam' to match the Lucca reading. Tenor; 34-36: ed rpt of 'Et ex Patre' needed for the sake of imitation with both upper voices / 89-161: the incipit here ('Et incarnatus') has been replaced with editorial text as in the Contra, & another incipit at 137 ('sub Pontio Pilato') has been discarded even though this would imitate the Superius.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; 1: the 'P' of 'Patrem' is a large majuscule & the b sig is ind consistently throughout / 5: 4 E / 12: 2-3 ligd / 18: no cs / 72: 'Duo' ind only in the Contra, with the word written to the left of the stave in small majuscules facing 180 degrees downwards / 89: Lucca (like Trent 89) gives cut-C in all voices here / 101: 2 replaced by m F m E / 116-117: ligd / 141: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 162: 'Duo' ind only in the Contra, in the same fashion as at 72 / 181: no b / 199: made almost illegible by a large lacuna which also obscures 209,1 / 203,4: obliterated by lacuna / 211: no custos / 212,1 & 213,2: uc due to page damage / 216,1-3: obliterated by lacuna / 221: no b / 223,3-225: obliterated by the same lacuna that affects 203 & 212-213.

C[ontra]; 1: the m sign is om, but the b sig is given consistently throughout / 21: 2 replaced by m rest / 22-23: these measures in Lucca are copied onto an end-of-stave extension in the right margin (probably because the notes were omitted in the main copy) and Lucca reads dtd-m F sm E m F sbr G m F plus sbr D plus sbr r plus sbr D (a less imitative variant than in Trent 89) / 25: 2 & 3 ligd / 42: b ind before 42,1 / 66, 5-6: no minor color / 70: 2 replaced by m G m G / 74: 1 & 2 ligd, & 2-3 have minor color / 76: superfluous sbr rest follows 2 as in Trent 89 / 81,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 88: single custos / 89: no clef change / 94,2: made uc by the same lacuna that affects 81,2-3 / 105,2-106,1: obliterated by lacuna / 111: 2 uc / 112: 1 b / 114-116: Lucca reads br sbr sbr br, with the last note ligd to 117,1 / 133,2-rest in 138: obliterated by the same lacuna that affects 105-106 / 143-144: no lig / 145,2-146,2: Lucca gives B C / 154: 1 uc / 160,4-161: obliterated by the same lacuna that affects 105-106 & 133-138, as a result of which the dot on 160,3 is also missing / 162: no clef change / 166,2-167,2: ligd / 212: no clef change / 216-217: no minor color / 224: no cor / 225: 1 col.

Tenor; 1: the 'T' of 'Tenor' is a large majuscule, the b sig is ind consistently throughout, & the correct number of rests is given at the start / 18-23: no lig / 33,5-6: minor color / 35,4-5 and 47,4-5: likewise / 71: 'verte' direction given following double custos / 72: as in the Gloria, the Duo is ind in the Tenor by a blank stretch of stave with a double custos at the end. The words 'Qui propter' occur on the stave and 'Tacet' is

written underneath. / 89: the clef & b sig are rptd following ‘tacet’ & the double custos / 91,1-92,1: obliterated by lacuna / 97-99: likewise / 100: upward tail on lig also taken away by the same lacuna / 103,1 & 104,1: obliterated by lacuna / 106-109 & 121,1-2: likewise / 125,1: likewise / 140: 1 & 2 replaced by br D / 144: 2 not dtd / 145-146: replaced by sbr D br D sbr C / 153: 2 b, ind before 153,1 / 158,3: uc due to page damage / 161: 1 uc due to lacuna, & following the double custos are the words ‘verte folium et invenies resid[uum]. Waghés’ (the surname of the Lucca scribe) / 162: as at 72, the Duo is ind in the Tenor by a stretch of blank stave with a clef and b sig. It has the word ‘Tacet’ on it and ‘Confiteor’ underneath. / 212: clef and b sig rptd at start of this section / 220,5: added on an end-of-stave extension / 224: no cor / 225: 1 col, & double custos given.

Lucca gives a reading for this movement which is not that different from Trent 89 except in terms of texting (see below). However the imitation at 22-23 is obscured in the Lucca reading and the mid-section cadence at 144-147 is given in a less satisfactory form than in Trent 89. Otherwise a few small values at cadence-points differ.

Underlay; Lucca has more extensive texting than Trent 89, but the later hand which added text in the Gloria has also been at work here, probably being responsible for some erasure of original text in the process. The texting details are as follows. [Superius]; texting up to 44 is similar to that in Trent 89, and thereafter the later hand has added ‘Et incarnatus...factus est’ at 55-71 over erased original text which ended ‘...facta sunt’ as in Trent 89. The text in the first Duo section (72-88) has been erased apart from the initial ‘Q’ under the clef at its start. In the main duple section all text is erased apart from the initial ‘Et’, and as previously stated the original text in this section differs from Trent 89 in giving ‘cuius regni...finis’ at 148-161. In the second Duo section some of the text has been erased apart from ‘Et expecto...mortuorum’ (198-211) and the final section has original text much as in Trent 89. Contra; the small humanist hand has retexted most of the first section, probably erasing at least one original incipit in the process. The added text here ends with ‘Et incarnatus...Sancto’ at 55-59. In the first Duo section the original text (beginning ‘Qui propter’) has been erased and replaced with ‘Et unam...peccatorum’ at 162-196. The rest of the original texting (which is complete for this voice) has been left alone. Tenor; this voice has the incipit ‘Et in unum Dominum Jhesum xpum Filium’ at 18, and the small later hand has added ‘Qui propter...factus est’ at 45-71. The main duple section has the original incipit ‘Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum’ (89) and full texting at 125-161 (‘Qui cum Patre...Ecclesiam’). The final section has original full text.

Lucca has useful underlay details which ease the task of dealing with Trent 89, but the additions by the later scribe do not seem entirely logical. He ends the first full section with the same portions of added text in the lower voices, but thereafter his additions seem incomplete.

Sanctus

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 371v-373r, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 739);
- (ii) Lucca ff. 8v-10r;
- (iii) Trent 90 ff. 348v-349v, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 1060);
- (iv) Strahov ff. 84v-85r, anon & incomplete (first two sections only).

- (i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (1-10) and is on the middle stave line). Both the Superius and Tenor have gaps between their clefs/sigs and their first notes, probably intended for majuscule initials. / 10,7: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 14,1: corr from F to G by partial erasure / 24: b ind before 24,1 / 33: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 38: 3 is squashed in, & also 7 has an incorrect fusa tail and is corr for col err / 45: 3 G (corr using Lucca) / 52: all voices give the mensuration as cut-C here; as in previous movements this has been replaced with C / 93: erased sbr B follows 1 /

97: at the start of a new page-opening here the cut-C sign is rptd and the b sig is given for only the first Superius stave (97-124). As before the b is on the middle stave line. / 142,3-144: these end-of-section notes are added on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contratenor; on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first part-stave of the Contratenor (1-7) / 6,3-7,4: entered over an erased and redrawn stave-ending / 9: 5 om (supplied from Lucca) / 18: 2 D (corr using Lucca) / 21,1-rest: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 31,4-32: likewise, & a crossed-out sbr B precedes 31,4 / 33: m sign rptd / 41,3-42,3: as at 21 / 53-56,1: likewise / 70: b ind before 69,1 / 96: as at 21 / 97: on the new page-opening here the b sig is only given for the first two staves (97-139,2) and the m sign cut-C is rptd / 120,2: corr from col err / 130,2-131; Trent 89 reads C B G (corr using Lucca).

Tenor; on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (1-11,3) / 11,3: given at the end of a stave, with the lines below this note redrawn / 30: 5 b / 53,1: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 58: b ind before 58,1 / 87,2-rest in 89: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 96: following the double custos a direct to the first note on the next page is given / 145: on the second page-opening, the b sig is only given for the first Tenor stave (145-153) / 156: natural ind as sharp, above 155,1 / 158: 3 uc.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits in the lower voices and also the internal cue 'in nomine' in the Contratenor at 124. Some of our editorial underlay follows Lucca rather than Trent 89. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1: '[S]an-' given as '[S]anc-' / 8: '-ctus' (given as '-tus') under 7,3-8,1, & 'san-' under 9,2-3 / 12: '-ctus' under 11,5-12,1 / 20-21: 'Deus' under 20,2-4 / 22-27: 'Saba-' under 22,1-24,2 / 32: '-oth' under 31,4-5 / 33-35: 'Pleni' under 33,1-34,2 / 39: 'sunt' under 38,8-39,1 / 39-41: 'celi' under 40,1-2 / 41: 'et' under 42,1 / 42: 'ter-' under 42,4-5 / 45-46: 'gloria' under 45,2-46,4 / 46: 'tu-' under 47,2 / 51: '-a' under 50,3 / 60: '-na' under 77,1 / 64: 'in' under 78,1, & 'ex-' under 79,3-4 / 65-67: '-celsis' under 93,2-94,3 / 69-96: ed rpts of 'Osanna' & 'in excelsis' needed / 97-101: 'Benedi-' given at the start of this section / 116: '-ctus' under 115,3-116,1 / 127-128: '-mine' under 133,1-3 / 129-134: 'Domi-' under 134,2-135,2 / 144: '-ni-' under 143,2 / 145-151: 'Osanna' under 145-149 / 154: 'in' under 151,1 / 155: 'ex-' under 153,1 / 157-159: '-celsis' (given as '-celis') under 157,1. Contratenor; 68-96: ed rpts of 'Osanna' and 'in excelsis' needed. Tenor; 69-96: ed rpts of 'Osanna' and 'in excelsis' needed.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; 1: the 'S' of 'Sanctus' is a large majuscule, & the b sig is ind consistently throughout / 2: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 9: 3 & 4 uc / 11: 3 A / 23: 2 b, ind before 22,1 / 24: no b / 30: likewise / 33: 'Duo' ind only in the Contratenor / 35: no minor color / 38,2-3: between and below these notes, a probably later hand has added a small '2' which may have some rhythmic meaning that is not entirely clear / 38,7-8: minor color, and the same additional hand has added a small '3' below 38,7 / 46: 2-4 replaced by col sbr G col m F plus dtd-m D & sm E / 51: single custos / 52: like Trent 89, Lucca has cut-C in all voices here / 93: 1 & 2 ligd / 97: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 97-100: no lig / 104,3-105,1: ligd / 121-123: no lig / 126: 1 replaced by col dtd-sbr E & col m E / 145-148: ligd.

Contratenor; 1: the 'C' of 'Contratenor' is a large majuscule, and the b sig is ind consistently throughout / 7: 1 & 2 ligd, with b ind before 7,1 / 14: 1 b, ind before 12,1 / 29: 1 & 2 ligd / 33: m sign not rptd / 97: m sign not rptd / 100,2-101,2: ligd / 119: 1 & 2 ligd / 125: 1 replaced here by col dtd-sbr A & col m A / 138: 2 b / 142: no b / 158: 6-7 replaced by sm B.

Tenor; 1: the b sig is ind consistently throughout, & the m sign is om / 7: 2 b, ind before 6,5 / 13: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm / 17-18: no lig, and 18,1 is replaced by br C sbr C / 30: 3 E, & no b at 5 / 32: single custos, followed by direction 'Pleni tacet' / 82: 1 replaced by br G ligd to 81 / 97: a blank stretch of stave with a

double custos is given here, with ‘tacet’ on the stave and ‘Benedictus’ underneath / 145: clef and b sig rptd in mid-stave at start of new section / 156: no accidental.

Lucca has few variants for the Sanctus but notably changes the rhythm at ‘in nomine’ in the Benedictus and has some differences in ligaturing and small values.

Underlay; Lucca has almost full texting in all voices (the third ‘sanctus’ acclamation in the Tenor is om) and much of its text positioning seems logical. Its version of the sesquialtera passage which ends the Benedictus differs from our edition due to the variant in both voices here.

(iii) Trent 90;

[Superius]; 1-96: b sig om / 11: 3 A / 13-14: ligd separately / 15-16: likewise / 24: 1 C, & no b at 2 / 30: no b / 32: single custos in the Superius & Tenor, & double custos in the Contra / 33: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 35,2-5: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 45: 3 G / 51: single custos in the Superius & double custos in the Contra / 52: cut-C given in all voices at start of Osanna I / 77: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 96: single custos in the Superius & Tenor, & double custos in the Contra / 97: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices, & on the new page-opening here the b sig is only given for stave 1 of the Superius (197-126) / 97-100: no lig / 121-123: no lig / 138: 3 b / 144: 1 looks col (the notehead is written quite small), single custos in the Superius & double custos in the Contra, and since the Contra for the Benedictus immediately follows 144 the scribal note ‘se[quitur] Osanna’ is given after the Superius custos / 145: the beginning of this section has the designation ‘discantus’ in the left margin / 159: single custos in all voices.

[C]ontra; 1: the b sig is given consistently throughout / 7: 1 & 2 ligd, & 2 is b with flat ind before 7,1 / 14: 1 b, ind before 12,1 / 29: 1 & 2 ligd / 33: m sign not rptd / 71-74: no lig / 94: 1 A / 97: on the second page-opening the Benedictus Contra directly follows the Benedictus Superius, and the former is marked ‘Residuum contratenoris’. Also the m sign is not rptd. / 115-117: no lig / 124: 1 b / 125: as in Lucca 1 is replaced by col dtd-sbr A & col m A / 138: 2 b / 142: no b / 145: the Osanna II Contra directly follows the Osanna II Superius / 157-159: due to lack of space the Contra ending here is given on the stave above the rest of the section, with a direct and a trailing line indicating the continuation plus the words ‘residuum contratenoris’ at 157 / 158: 6 & 7 replaced by sm B.

Tenor; 1: the b sig is given consistently throughout but the m sign is om / 13: 1 & 2 are dtd-m and sm, with a flat for 13,2 ind before 13,1 / 17-18: no lig / 33: at the upper-voice Duo here the Tenor has the correct number of rests for the section, with the words ‘Pleni tacet’ below the rests & a single custos following / 83-84: entered on a short end-of-stave extension / 156: no accidental.

Trent 90 presents an inconclusive set of variants; while being close to Trent 89, the latter was probably not copied from it. Trent 90 also gives the same Contra variant at ‘in nomine’ as Lucca, but does not give this in the imitative Superius above it.

Underlay; much as in Trent 89, with full Superius text and lower-voice sectional incipits. These are as follows. Contra; Sanctus / Pleni / Osanna / [no text for Benedictus] / Osanna. Tenor; Sanctus / Osanna / Osanna.

(iv) Strahov;

[Superius]; 1: there is a large gap before the clef & m sign, probably intended for a majuscule initial; the b sig is om, and the clef is only given for the first Superius stave (1-9,2). / 9: 2 G / 11: 3 A / 18-19: no lig / 24: 1 C, & no b at 2 / 32: no custos in any voice / 33: ‘Duo’ not ind in either voice / 34,4-35,1: replaced by dtd-m C & sm B / 36: 6 E / 38: 7 & 8 replaced by sm F sm G sm F sm E / 44: 5 replaced by sm F sm E / 45: 3 G / 48: 7 uc / 51: no custos in either voice.

Contratenor; 1: the b sig and m sign are om, & the clef is only given for the first stave (1-8,2) / 7: b ind before 7,1 / 9: 2 & 3 are C B / 12-14: no lig / 15: 1 E / 16: 6 & 7 replaced by sbr C, given just after the end of a stave / 18: 2 D / 21: no lig / 24: 2 is col / 25,3-26,2: copied a tone too low / 28: 2 A / 29: 1 & 2 ligd / 32: 1 squashed in at the end of a stave, with a mark over it that may be a badly written cor / 33: the Contratenor for the Duo section is given following the only section of the Tenor in Strahov / 33: no lig or minor color, and 3 is replaced by f E f D / 35: 2 replaced by f F f E / 36: 4 replaced by f C f B / 38: 3 replaced by f B f A / 39: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br G / 40: 4 & 5 replaced by dtd-m D & sm C sm C sm B / 42: 5 corr from col err / 48: 4 replaced by f F f E, & 6 replaced by f C f B.

Tenor; 1: the b sig is om, & the clef is only given for the first stave (1-9,4) / 7,2-3: no minor color / 9: 3 replaced by f A f G / 13: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-m F & f E f D / 20: 2-4 are col / 29: 5 om / 30: no b, and 5 is sbr / 32: cor over 1. No more music follows after the Pleni sunt Duo.

Strahov is full of errors and small values which do not occur in the other sources, and also transmits errors found in the other readings.

Underlay; full text in the Superius (with 'Sabaoth' spelt as 'Sabbaoth') & sectional incipits in the lower voices as follows. Contratenor; Sanctus / Pleni. Tenor; Sanctus.

Agnus

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 373r-374r, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 740);
- (ii) Lucca f. 10r, incomplete.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: all three voices have gaps between their clef/ b sig/ m sign and their first notes, probably for majuscule initials; on the first page-opening the Superius only has its b sig for the first stave (1-rest in 12) and the b is given on the middle stave line. / 15,2: corr from col err / 19: 'Duo' ind in both voices. This section starts on a new page-opening where the b sig is again only given for the first Superius stave (19-29,3) and the b is on the middle stave line as before. / 26: 2 is A in both Trent 89 & Lucca (emended for the sake of imitation) / 29,5-30,6: written over an erasure / 36: both sources give cut-C here in all voices extant. As with previous main duple sections I have changed this to C. / 71-73: Trent 89 gives G br G L (corr using Lucca) / 74-76: Trent 89 gives F br F L (corr using Lucca). If the Trent 89 readings were retained here they would cause wordsetting problems.

Contra; 1: on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (1-15) / 13: 2 G (emended for the sake of consonance) / 16,2: Trent 89 gives dtd-m C sm B (also emended for the sake of consonance) / 19: on the second page-opening, the b sig is only given for the first stave (19-27,4) / 57: 2 C / 58: 2 A (both of these emendations are for the sake of consonance) / 71: b ind before 71,1 / 75,2: dtd / 76,1: not dtd. The emendation here allows for a more conventional Contra voice.

Tenor; on the first page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (1-11,5) / 15: 3 uc / 36: on the second page-opening the b sig is only given for the first stave (36-59,1) / 41: 1 B (corr using Lucca) / 57: 1 & 2 are both m (corr using Lucca).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1: '[A]gnus' under 1,1-3 / 4-8: 'Dei' under 4-6,1 / 9-10: 'tollis' under 9,3-10,1 / 10-12: 'peccata mundi' under 11,2-12,1 / 12-15: 'miserere' under 12,2-13,3 / 15: 'no-' under 16,2 / 19-20: 'Agnus' under 19,1-21,3 / 21: 'De-' under 22,3-4 / 26: '-i' under 25,5-26,1 / 27-28: 'tollis' under 27,4-28,1 / 29-31: 'mundi' under 29,2-3 / 31-33: 'miserere' under 31,2-32,2

/ 33: ‘no-‘ under 32,6-7 / 35: ‘-bis’ under 34,4 / 36-38: ‘Agnus’ under 36,1-40,2 / 39: ‘De-‘ under 40,2-41,1 / 50-54: ‘tollis’ under 51,1-52,2 / 58-63: ‘mundi’ under 58,2-59,1 / 68-70: ‘nobis’ under 70,1-71,1 / 71-77: ‘pacem’ under 74,1-75,1 (which are two separate notes in Trent 89). Contra and Tenor; no discrepancies, except that some of the text cues follow voice-names and are halfway across staves (therefore having little real relationship to wordsetting).

(ii) Lucca:

[Superius]; 1: this source only gives the Superius and all but the final few measures of the Tenor. The Contra must have been on the facing verso page which is now lost. The Superius b sig is given consistently throughout, & the ‘A’ of ‘Agnus’ at 1 is a majuscule in the left margin. / 16,2-3: no minor color / 18: single custos in Superius & Tenor / 19: ‘Duo’ not ind in Superius (the missing Contra probably had a ‘Duo’ indication much like those in preceding movements) / 26: 2 A, as in Trent 89 / 30: 3 A / 31: 1 replaced by dtd-m A sm F / 35: single custos / 36: both extant voices give cut-C as the mensuration here / 44,2-45,2: ligd / 71-76: ligd.

Tenor; 1: the ‘T’ of ‘Tenor’ is a majuscule in the left margin, and the b sig is given consistently throughout / 5,3: b ind before 5,2 / 10: 1 & rest replaced by dtd-sbr D / 18: following the single custos is a stretch of blank stave with a double custos at the end, with the words ‘2m tacet’ written in mid-stave / 45-46: 45,1-2 are ligd, & 46 is not ligd / 70: no more music is given after 70,3 (the rest of the Tenor would have been on the facing page).

Lucca gives few variants but alters the Agnus II cadence at ‘mundi’ slightly (see measure 31).

Underlay; Lucca has full Superius text, much of which appears to make better sense than the Trent 89 texting (several of our word placings are influenced by the Lucca reading). The Tenor has the incipits Agnus Dei at 1, qui tollis peccata at 8,2, Agnus Dei at 36 & dona nobis at 67-70.

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Structure

This Mass and its little-known composer occupy a special place in fifteenth-century studies for several reasons. Firstly, because it seems to have been a widely known work. In addition to copies of all movements from Trento and Lucca (the latter originating in Bruges), one movement has a concordance in Strahov and the composer is also mentioned in a Seville treatise of 1480. Secondly, this Mass has special status because its composer is one of the few named people of probable English origin who appears to have had extended contact with continental music fashions of the mid-century. Others include John Hothby, Robertus de Anglia and Robert Morton, and as we shall see this Mass has features that are rather uncommon in English works of the 1450’s. Thirdly, I regard this Mass as rather special because of its use of imitative counterpoint and integrative devices. Recent research has also found that an ‘Enrique Tich’ was a prebendary at Seville cathedral in 1468, that the same man became a canon of the cathedral in 1485, and that he died in 1488. He seems to have had musical responsibilities while at Seville, so this man is quite likely to have been our composer.¹⁰ Maybe his name was more properly ‘Teach’ rather than Fitch or Tik.

¹⁰ Regarding the Seville treatise (Escorial, Biblioteca del Monastero ms C.III. 23) and the biographical information given above see Ruiz Jiménez, J. ‘The Sounds of The Hollow Mountain: Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance’ in EMH 29 (2010), pp. 189-239. Enrique Tich acted as an agent for other resident foreign musicians in Seville and his name is similar to the surname ‘Tyck’ of some contemporary Netherlanders - aspects which lead Ruiz to suspect that Tich too might have come from the Low Countries. However his musical style makes it more likely that he might have been English.

Several features of the work point to an English composer: the Credo uses telescoping, and the first section of the Gloria closes on a final semibreve in a simple measure of O mensuration (which is something that occurs in other English pieces but seems to be rare in continental sacred music of the same period).¹¹ The best-presented source (Lucca) gives some of the duple mensuration signs as C rather than the usual cut-C (another English trait), and there are occasional changing-note patterns which are perhaps more reminiscent of the mid-century English song repertory than anything Franco-Burgundian (see the Gloria Superius at 45-47).¹² But at this ‘late’ date for exported English sacred repertory the usual signs for probable English origin - such as distinctively triadic melodic turns and oddly notated diminution in Superius cadential clichés - are absent.

Two further aspects of this Mass suggest an English composer; firstly an isolated Sanctus rather similar to the one in this Mass occurs within a group of English-looking pieces in Trent 89.¹³ Secondly, I suspect that recurring material throughout the Mass is linked to a now-textless piece in Strahov which may have served as a polyphonic model. That piece might have been an English song. But I shall leave illustration of that material until I have thoroughly explored the texture of this Mass and its distinctive features. The approximate date of composition also calls for some comment. Trent 90 is probably the earliest source. It preserves just the Sanctus - anonymously - in a manuscript which often splits up movements of cyclic Masses into sets of consecutively copied Glorias, Credos and Sanctus settings. Since much of Trent 90 was probably copied by the late 1450’s, that might mean that the Tik Mass was either written at the start of that decade or perhaps even a little before. Taking into account that the Lucca copy contains some reworked texting and also that the Spanish citation of Tik comes from ca. 1480, this would mean that in at least some places this cycle might have had a rather long use; the additional texting in Lucca may date from the end of the century or even later.

Only the Credo and the Sanctus have the same mensural plan (O, O, C, C, and cut-O); the Gloria varies this by placing a chordal ‘Jhesu Christe’ passage just before its final section. The three middle movements otherwise alternate full and Duo sections, and the Gloria and Credo have longish introductory duets and delayed-entry Tenors. Outer movements differ in layout; the Kyrie has three full sections using O, C and cut-O and the Agnus has sections using O, O and C with the middle section being a Duo. In my edition I have replaced the cut-C signs given in Trent 89 consistently with C, on the assumption that C mensuration may be more authentic. Performers may try reinstating cut-C using my normal O-cut C equivalent (O minim = cut C semibreve), or may use C for duple sections with the equivalent suggested (O dotted breve = C long). However, I am sure that one option which will not work here is semibreve equivalence between O and C sections. There are simply too many small values in the triple sections for a relatively fast tempo in these.¹⁴

The first three measures of the Superius are very similar in each movement, and these passages serve as a motto. There are also related groups of Superius section-openings throughout; the Domine Deus, Confiteor and Agnus II sections all begin with G A B, and so does the Pleni sunt Duo but the latter Superius opening does not share the extended values of the other three internal openings cited. A second set of related

¹¹ For examples in English works, see Bent, M., Bent, I. and Trowell, B. (eds) John Dunstable: Complete Works, revised edition (London, Stainer & Bell, 1970, *Musica Britannica* VIII) p. 71, last measure (*Gaude felix Anna*) and p. 75, measure before second-system double bar (*Gaude Virgo salutata*).

¹² The best similarities here seem to be with the *Thus I complayn* song discussed in the commentary to Instalment 1 of this series, and also with the Superius of *Absens of you* from Ritson published in Stevens, J. (ed), Early Tudor Songs and Carols (*Musica Britannica* XXXVI, London, 1975), p. 5.

¹³ Trent 89 ff. 116v-118r, published in *Ex Codicis* II/I pp. 62-66. Like Tik’s Sanctus this setting contains some extended values in its Superius, which in this case are part of that voice’s chant presentation.

¹⁴ I remain unsure whether tampering with the duple mensuration signs in this Mass is actually right. A similar opinion is expressed in Cook, J., Mid-Fifteenth Century Mass Cycles in Continental Sources (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Nottingham University, 2014), I, p. 199. This is also probably the right place to express the view that the mensural equivalent given for the Tik Mass in my score might be also be better for multisectional English works in *Ex Codicis* II/I than the equivalents given therein.

openings consists of the *Christe*, *Osanna I* and *Agnus III*; in these, the *Superius* begins F G A in extended values. Some section-endings also match; the last three measures of the *Gloria* and *Credo* are identical, and the *Gloria*'s short 'Jhesu *Christe*' section cadences very similarly. The *Kyrie I*, *Kyrie II* and *Sanctus* sections have similar cadential-drive endings, and the closing measures of the main duple sections in the *Gloria* and *Credo* have independently similar drive passages. There is also a similarity in some of the imitative material used for the *sesquialtera* endings of the *Quoniam*, *Confiteor* and *Benedictus Duos*. Returning to the initial motto, the post-motto passage in the *Kyrie* (4,2-6,1 beginning with the *Contra* anticipating the *Superius*) is also reworked non-imitatively in the first cadence of the *Credo*'s *Et incarnatus* section (94-103).

The texture of this Mass is extensively imitative, with a filler-part *Contra* that avoids octave-leap cadence progressions. In fact this is one of the most thoroughly imitative three-voice Masses with filler-type *Contra* now extant, and the *Contra* part is a frequent initiator of imitative points. In the introductory *Gloria* duet the *Contra* begins imitative gambits three times in succession (at 3-10) and below I list different types of imitative work present in this Mass.

1. Conventional three-voice imitation in descending voice order (*Gloria*, 207-210).
2. Three-voice unison imitation in the order *Contra-Superius-Tenor* (*Credo*, 32-36).
3. *Contra-Superius* imitation at the fifth above an independent *Tenor* (*Kyrie*, 3-4).
4. *Contra-Superius* unison imitation above a long-note *Tenor* (*Gloria*, 20-25).
5. Extensively imitative lower-voice bridging passage in a full section (*Gloria*, 50-57).
6. Lower-voice unison imitation beneath an independent *Superius* (*Gloria* 105-110, *Sanctus* 21-23 and the whole of the *Osanna II* section).

Other notable devices include climbing and syncopated successions of first-inversion passages - which initiate some drive passages (*Kyrie* 65-66 and *Gloria* 42-44), repeated lower-voice motivic material in long-note *Superius* passages (*Sanctus* 56-62), and a couple of short passages where the *Superius* and *Contra* exchange their normal functions at three-voice cadences (*Gloria* 127-132 and 206-207). There is a certain variety and well-worked character to this Mass which is not always matched in similar works that are firmly English. Likewise, the occasional use of small cadential values might connect this Mass with mainstream continental works (see the *Gloria Superius* at 14, 18 and 81, the *Credo Contra* at 218, and the *Sanctus Superius* at 38). Some of the imitative work described also seems unusual in an English Mass, and in terms of style the *Tik* Mass is not actually too distant from the early three-voice *Missa Sine nomine* attributed to *Ockeghem*. The two share some not dissimilar three-voice unison imitation in their *Kyrie II* sections, their clef combinations are the same (C1/C3/C3), the *Ockeghem* Mass uses cut-O for some of its final sections like *Tik* Mass, and also both works have delayed *Tenor* entries for their *Gloria* and *Credo* movements.

The ranges and clef combinations also effect some unusual sonorities. Neither lower voice reaches low *Tenor D*, but in most movements these voices reach high A. There are passages involving constructs on Eb (*Credo* 112-117 and *Sanctus* 14) and also one short repeated section of material where the *Superius* gradually descends from a high D E (b) D motive to a progression involving low E (natural) and then D (*Credo* 39-43 and *Sanctus* 22-27). I also note that very occasional upper-voice fifths appear – for example at the start of the *Credo*'s 'Amen' passage (219). But already I begin to impinge on investigation of how this Mass is made up, which requires almost as much detail as my discussion of the *Missa Fa Ut* in Instalment 2 of this series.

Attempts to locate continuous *Tenor cantus firmus* in this Mass seem to fail for the following reasons; the *Kyrie I Tenor* begins F G in extended values, while the other movements without introductory duets (the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*) have *Tenors* that begin G B and rise by varying degrees to F above. The delayed-entry *Gloria* and *Credo Tenors* begin with similar motives in long notes (which also start G B) but these *Tenors* soon diverge and assume the same rhythmic pace as the other voices. The *Tenors* of the main duple sections in the *Gloria* and *Credo* also begin differently from each other. Therefore if this cycle does contain pre-existent material, it is probably only revealed by investigation of repeated and related passages - of which

there are plenty.

I begin the process of listing this material with caution: the long-note Superius passages are probably present for a reason (i.e. that they are likely to represent some type of borrowed material rather than merely being free exercises). It is rather rare in mid-fifteenth-century music to find upper-voice long-note passages that are completely free, although a few of these probably survive.¹⁵ Otherwise the best way to categorise repeated material in the Tik Mass is to start with examples in the upper voices that seem particularly synthetic. The first of these (which I shall call passage A) consists of the imitative Superius and Contra above the Gloria and Credo Tenor's long-note entries (Gloria 19-27 and Credo 19-27).

Passage B (which looks equally synthetic) consists of the previously described Superius passages where that part descends from high D E (b) D to low E (natural) and then D (Credo 39-43 and Sanctus 22-27). The lower voices in these extracts are also similar.

From here on I move to passages which may or may not be of free invention. Passage C is an imitative phrase (initiated by the Contra) where the Superius follows the Contra with entries tending to feature the notes G A B A (Gloria 36-42 and Sanctus 18-20).

Passage D is merely a convenient means of describing lower-voice imitative duet passages which are only similar rather than directly related to each other (Gloria 50-57 and Credo 45-54).

Passage E is a Superius motive involving falling thirds. It occurs at Gloria 58-61 (the end of the Gloria's first section) and Credo 55-58.

All of the passages described so far have at least one occurrence in the first sections of the Gloria and Credo. Putting the occurrences alongside each other in tabular form reveals that these first sections are quite close to each other in motivic makeup.

TABLE 3

Gloria and Credo first-section material in the Tik Missa *Sine nomine*.

Gloria	Credo
1-3: Superius motto with supporting Contra	1-3: Superius motto with supporting Contra
3-19: imitative Superius-Contra duet	3-18: imitative Superius-Contra duet
19-27: passage <u>A</u>	19-27: passage <u>A</u>
28-36: partially sequential Superius material leading to cadence on G	27-32: passage in slightly accelerated values leading to cadence on G
37-42: passage <u>C</u>	33-38: imitative motive in all voices unrelated to Gloria
42-49: subsection using cadential drive and sequential Superius motives, leading to cadence on G	39-44: passage <u>B</u> , followed by cadence on G
50-57: lower-voiced internal duet listed as passage <u>D</u>	45-54: lower-voice internal duet listed as passage <u>D</u>
58-61: passage <u>E</u>	55-58: passage <u>E</u>
	58-71: material unrelated to Gloria section 1.

¹⁵ Possibly free passages of such writing occur in the Benedictus of the Missa *Groß senen* (see Instalment 2 of this series), and also in the Trent 89 Missa *Quant ce viendra* (in the higher Contra at 'qui venit' - the second subdivision of the Benedictus). The 'Amen' section in the Credo of the "Jo.Bassere" Mass in Trent 89 has a long-note Superius which may also be free.

The main duple sections in this Mass and the closing full sections are less consistent with each other, but these are related in their use of extended values at points like ‘ex Maria Virgine’ in the Credo (107-117) and ‘miserere nobis’ in the Gloria (96-105) and there are further interrelated passages. These are: passage F - the motive G F A F E D and similar Superius figures. These occur in Kyrie II at 53-57 (in three-voice imitation), Gloria 67-73 (two-voice imitation in a Duo section; the melodic match is not exact either) and at Sanctus 25-27 (Superius only). The Kyrie and Gloria occurrences here both eventually lead to cadences on A. Additionally, the Qui propter and Agnus II duets have cadences on D involving figures similar to passage F.

Passage G consists of shared Superius material at the end of the Gloria and Credo; the ‘Amen’ of each uses a downward run from upper D. In the Gloria this is a simple stepwise descent of a sixth in extended values. The Credo has a downward run of a fifth which is elaborated sequentially.

The remaining similar material is as follows; both main duple sections in the Gloria and Credo have cadences on upper D towards their end (Gloria 137-141 and Credo 131-135), and similar cadences on upper D also occur before the final phrase in the closing sections of these movements (Gloria 212-213 and Credo 218-219). Lastly, some of the other sequential material in this Mass may be interrelated. See the Gloria Superius at 11-12 and 45-48 (which look similar) and also the Gloria Tenor at 215-219 - which accompanies a Superius long-note passage with sequential material. The Credo at 13-17 also has an imitative sequential motive in a similar movemental place to the Gloria motive at 11-12, but the Credo instance is more developed.

To summarise, the presence of these integrating devices seems to suggest a *Sine nomine* Mass that is rather meticulously made up. But as I have already indicated, the presence of long-note Superius material seems to be a deciding factor in determining what sort of Mass this is. The recent edition of the Mass by Reinhard Strohm points to a strong resemblance between the Superius motto and the beginning of the well-known MEL 171 Kyrie chant, and also to the fact that the motto figure is used at the start of an earlier Gloria setting in Ox 213 by Johannes Francois.¹⁶ The well-dispersed Kyrie chant - as Strohm suggests - and its Marian use would give this Mass a perfectly satisfactory liturgical context and might also explain why this possible “Missa de BMV” is at the start of the Lucca collection of Masses (i.e. that it was intended for frequent use in Marian services). The Kyrie chant is still in use in modern liturgical books (LU 1997 p. 40, Mass IX) and the long-note G Bb C D opening of the first-section Gloria and Credo Tenors possibly also reflects the Kyrie chant’s opening notes. But as far as I am aware no other extant fifteenth-century Mass uses a Kyrie chant motive to open successive cyclic movements. Might this not in fact be a Marian Mass? In this respect I am not aware of any attempts to identify the long-note passages in this Mass with any other chants now extant - be they Mass Ordinaries or otherwise. Neither do any of the passages in extended values here resemble any Squares which I have seen. We are therefore invited to at least consider other alternatives in view of the amount of integrating material described: might this Mass be based - for example - on an imitative Song of Songs motet setting? The style of parts of this Mass certainly approach that genre, and some of these short motets were at least as imitatively well-worked as the Mass in question. But a thorough search of the sources for most such pieces has revealed no significant leads. At this point - for those who are on the conservative side of exploring fifteenth-century Mass development - this discussion might as well end here and now since it is perfectly possible that this Mass is based on a chant or a sacred polyphonic model which no longer survives. But for the sake of investigation I pose a further question here regarding the repeated material in Tik’s Mass. Might any pre-existent material involved be secular?

It was to this end that I first looked at an otherwise insignificant-looking textless piece in Strahov (no. 231) which appears to explain much in the work concerned. My chief point in presenting this piece in the following example is that it might contain more of the possibly generative material in this Mass than anything else now extant. I am not arguing that it is the model for the work - merely that it might be.

¹⁶ Published in van den Borren, C. (ed), Polyphonia Sacra... (Burnham, 1932) pp. 93-98. The Credo paired with this Gloria (*ibid.*, p. 99) does not share the same opening.

Consequently much of my wording in the following pages is conditional since associating the piece with Tik's Mass would involve considerable liberties with supposedly borrowed material. Additionally, we cannot even be sure that the piece concerned is a song, and there is no consensus about where it comes from. The fact that it uses C mensuration, has no text and has musical rhyme makes it look suspiciously like an English 'stray' song whose text may have used rhyme-royal. It is also musically rather similar to the Frye secular piece now known only by its contrafact version as *Trinitatis dies*.¹⁷ But English musical features do not even represent a good argument for English provenance of individual pieces in Strahov, which is known to contain probably central European unica that mimic the style of well-known English pieces.¹⁸

3.13. Strahov no. 231;

The image displays a musical score for Strahov no. 231, organized into three systems of three staves each. The first system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and two lute parts, labeled 'Ct' and 'T' (both with C-clef staves). The second system is marked with a '3' above the first staff and a '1' above the first ending bracket. The third system is marked with '14b' above the first staff, '2.' above the first ending bracket, '3' above the first staff, and '19' above the first staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

¹⁷ Schedel no. 63 (ff. 72v-73r), published in Kenney, S. (ed), Walter Frye, Collected Works (CMM 19, 1960), no. 8.

¹⁸ Alongside works by Frye and Standley, Strahov contains several pieces which may be Anglophile rather than English, notably a *Quam pulchra es* (ff. 22v-221r) which may have been written in imitation of the older Dunstable setting, and an otherwise textless piece entitled 'Fortune' (f. 250r) which has a similar Superius opening to Bedingham's *Fortune alas*. Most suspiciously of all, the Strahov *Surge amica mea* setting (ff. 206v-208r) is a Song of Songs setting and is most unusual for Strahov in that the music copying and text underlay look very carefully done. The chant paraphrased in the Superius of this motet (Neumarkt ff.138v-139r) may not have been known in England, in which case the style of the piece and the carefulness of the copy might be a sign of some sort of stylistic homage.

Interested readers should particularly take note of the Tenor opening (which is very similar to the Superius motto), the Superius gradual descent from A to D at 10-12 (which is not unlike the abovementioned passage E) and the four-note Superius rise from F to B just before the half-close (which are more or less the same Superius notes that are given in extended values in *Osanna I*). Additionally the Superius at 15-18 (the end of the first section) would make a good musical explanation for the sequential Superius ‘Amen’ in the Credo being a melodic reworking, and the Superius descent from high D to F at 26-29 might equally well explain the Gloria’s ‘Amen’ Superius with its descent of a sixth. The long-note Superius passage in the Sanctus first section (13-17) might also be explained aptly as a derivative of the song Superius at 31,4-32, and the constructs on E flat in the Gloria and Credo main duple sections might perhaps be explained by the progression at measure 9 in the song.

Before I proceed further, I should make it plain that analysis of the Mass with possible identifications from the song results in a picture of haphazard and short motivic quotations, and also a situation where just a few notes from the song seem to be reworked again and again while other parts of the model are ignored. The half-close of the song seems to be the subject of an almost unhealthy attention. But even this type of borrowing is evident in a slightly later period - in Josquin’s *Missa La sol fa re mi*, so the suggestion of an earlier effort in a similar vein would at least be plausible.

I should also make it clear that a few other English three-voice Masses have signs of being rather freely derived from polyphonic models. Bedingham's Missa *Dueil Angoisseux* is the only derivative and 'labelled' mid-century example to survive, but Plummer's Mass in Brussels 5557 and also the anonymous (and rather similar) Trent 89 Mass in Instalment 1 of this series show strong signs of using parent polyphonic material. That the latter two works might do so with rather free use of borrowed material in their Superius parts is highly debatable as their parent pieces have not been traced. Therefore their likely significance is not generally accepted in textbooks on fifteenth-century Mass development. Recent trends in scholarship have in fact moved so far away from the idea of a parent song being randomly cited in Masses that one authority even regards the probable references to *Presque trainsi* in Ockeghem's Missa *Mi-mi* as Ockeghem 'casually quoting himself' more or less without the subtext of song reference.¹⁹ But towards the end of this discussion I give an example which perhaps shows that if the Tik Mass and other English works used casual Superius references to borrowed secular material, there were at least antecedents for similar practice in the music of the Dunstable generation. Again I stress that I do not argue for such things being irrefutable evidence of such practice: merely that I demonstrate connections which time may prove to be valid. The following analysis takes into account all material from the Strahov piece which I think may be detectable in the Mass. In fairness to what only may be coincidental resemblances, too, passages where references do not seem that strong or may be too optimistically compared are given in italics.

TABLE 4

Possibly related material shared between the Tik *Sine nomine* Mass and Strahov no. 231.

Section / measures	Use of material
Kyrie I 1-3 3-4 4-11,1 11-13,1 13,2-15	Superius motto derived from song Tenor 1-3, transposed an octave up. <i>Anacrusic imitative motive in Contra and Superius possibly derived from similar rhythmic gesture in all voices of song at 7-9.</i> Free. Superius and Tenor imitative motive derived from song Superius 12,2-13,3. Free.
Christe 16-25 26-29 30-36,2 36,3-48	Superius derived from song Superius 12,3-14,1. Free. Superius related to song Tenor 12,3-14,1. Free.
Kyrie II 49-52,1 52,2-57 58-68	Free. Imitative motives in all voices ending on D derived from song Superius 10,5-12,2. Free.
Et in terra 1-6,1 6,2-9,1 9,2-18 19-27,1 27,2-61	Superius motto (1-3) and continuation (3-6,1) derived from song Tenor 1-7,1, transposed an octave up. <i>Superius (anticipated by Contra) derived from song Superius 7,2-11,1.</i> Free. Tenor (partly in long notes) derived from song Tenor 1-4,1. Free.
Domine Deus 62-67,1 67,2-72,1 72,2-82:	Free. Superius (imitated by Contra) derived from song Superius 10,5-12,2. Free.

¹⁹ See Picker, M., 'Reflections on Ockeghem and Mi-Mi' in Vendrix, P. (ed), Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XL^e Colloque... (Klinksieck, Paris, 1998) pp. 415-432.

(Table 4, contd.)

Section / measures	Use of material
Qui tollis 83-86 87-98 99-106 107-157	Tenor (with a little anticipation in the Superius) derived from song Contra, 19-20,1. Free. Superius derived from song Superius, 30-32,1. Free.
Quoniam tu solus 158-194	Free.
Jhesu Christe 195-202	Free.
Cum sancto 203-207,1 207-213 214-219 219,2-222	<i>Superius possibly derived from song Superius 10,2-12,2.</i> Free. Superius derived from song Superius 15,2-16,4. Free.
Patrem 1-6,1 6,2-13,1 13,2-17 (rest of 17) 18-27,1 27,2-40 41-43,2 43,3-71	Superius motto (1-3) and continuation (3-6,1) derived from song Tenor 1-7,1, transposed an octave up. Free. <i>Superius (anticipated by Contra) is possibly a sequential reworking of the descending motive in the song Superius at 15,2-16,4.</i> Free. Tenor (partly in long notes) derived from song Tenor 1-4,1. Free. Superius derived from song Superius 10,5-12,2. Free.
Qui propter 72-79,3 79,4-83,1 83,2-88	Free. Superius derived from song Superius 10,4-13,3. Free.
Et incarnatus 89-93 94-106 107-117 118-161	Superius derived from song Superius 19-21,1 (second-section opening of song). The progressions and rhythms of the lower voices here also resemble those in the song at this point. Free. <i>Superius possibly derived from song Tenor, 13,4-15,1.</i> Free.
Confiteor 162-170 170,2-173,2 173,3-211	<i>Superius (in extended values) possibly derived from song Superius 7,2-9,1.</i> Superius (anticipated by Contra) derived from song Tenor, 13-14,1. Free.
Et vitam 212-213 214-219,1 219,2-221,4 221,5-225	Tenor derived from song Contra, 19-20,1 (second-section opening of song). Free. Superius seems to be a sequential reworking of song Superius 15,2-16,3. Free.
Sanctus 1-4 5-12 13-17 17-25,3 25,4-27,1 27,2-28,3 28,4-32	Superius derived from song Tenor 1-5,1, transposed an octave up. Free. Superius derived from song Superius 31,3-32,3. Free. Superius derived from song Superius 10,5-12,2. Superius (anticipated by Contra) derived from song Superius 12,2-13,3. Free.
Pleni sunt 33-51	Free.

(Table 4, contd.)

Osanna I 52-64,1 64,2-68 69-80 81-92 93-96	Superius (just four ascending notes with the first three in maximas) derived from song Superius 12,3-13,4. Free. Tenor (just three ascending maximas) derived from downward transposition of song Superius, 12,3-13,4. Contra (just three ascending maximas at same pitch as previous Tenor quotation) derived from same notes of song as above. Free.
Benedictus 97-102,1 102,2-144	<i>Superius possibly derived from song Tenor, 13.</i> Free.
Osanna II 145-146 147-158 159	Free (Superius has a single G longa). <i>Superius (in long notes) possibly derived from song Superius 12,3-14,1.</i> Free (final cadential G).
Agnus I 1-3 4-7,1 7,2-18	Superius derived from song Tenor 1-3, transposed an octave up. Superius derived from song Superius 12,3-13,4. Free.
Agnus II 19-28,1 28,2-31,2 31,3-35	Free. Superius related to song Superius 7,2-11,2. Free.
Agnus III 36-40,3 41,2-64 65-77	Superius derived from song Superius 12,3-14,1. Free, but Superius begins this passage with sequential extension of previous motive. Superius (in extended values) derived from song Superius 16,5-18 (end of first section of song).

Comparison of this provisional analysis with repeated passages previously identified produces the following result. Passage A remains as free material; passage B has a Superius ending that may be derivative. Passage C remains free, so do the passage D duets and passage E. Passage F seems to be derivative, and so does passage G. The point of mentioning these integrating devices again is to highlight the relative frequency of repeated motives which do not seem to be song-derived. As in the *Le serviteur II* Mass, there appears to be quite a lot of padding which complements material that might be pre-existent.

An important result of this analysis is the way in which possibly song-derived material is presented. Considerable stretches of the Gloria and Credo first sections seem not to use the song (Gloria, 27-61 and Credo 43-71) and the same is true of their main dupe sections. The end of the Credo's main dupe section looks particularly wayward since the passage before the final drive measures (126-152) has the Superius reworking similar motives three times in succession, and these Superius figures are not related to any repeated free or possibly pre-existent material previously listed. Also the freedom in which the composer seems to draw on both the Superius and Tenor of the song is notable; very occasionally he seems to use a few notes from the song's Contra too (at the start of the Qui tollis and Et vitam sections).

In reply to those who might be thinking that the above analysis might be a 'near miss', I offer the following comments. First, practically all of the long-note Superius passages in the Mass find satisfactory reference-points in the song, with the only weak point here possibly being the long-note Superius to Osanna II (while

it is similar to the song passage suggested, the match is not exact).²⁰ Secondly - if I am correct in associating the song with the Mass - why might the composer have produced a work which seems to refer to the song's half-close so frequently? I have no answer to this except that the original text of the Strahov piece might have provided some sort of subtext for the Mass.

Third - if my musical matches are anything like a reasonable argument - it should be clear that this is not a "Missa super Strahov no. 231" in the sixteenth-century sense. It seems to represent part of an earlier tradition which is not that well documented, namely using important motives from a pre-existent piece in a derivative work (chiefly in the Superius) but which otherwise has an organisational life of its own. We lack the terminology to deal with such works, partly because the descriptions 'Sine nomine Mass', 'parody Mass', etcetera tend to define a work by a single criterion, i.e. the name of the Mass gives the user fairly black-and-white information on what type of music is involved. As the recent article by Andrew Kirkman has investigated, the Bedingham Missa *Dueil Angoisseux* (long accepted but perhaps misnamed as an early parody Mass) also tends to haphazardness in the way that it treats its parent material.²¹

Leaving aside my unsuccessful attempts to find polyphonic models for Touront's three-voice Masses, other results of modern descriptive terminology are that David Fallows's discussion of the early Dufay *Sine nomine* Mass as a 'Missa *Resveilliés vous*' gave the work a title which only partly described it. It is well-known that the Mass uses a prominent motive from the Dufay song of the same name but is otherwise not consistently dependent on the latter piece; as Fallows admitted the Mass may have preceded the song.²² Likewise, recent attempts to dismantle accumulated twentieth-century assumptions about 'parody' fall short for two significant reasons. Firstly, because they do so without complete exploration of the sources involved, and secondly because modern terminology does not seem to take into account the probability that certain fifteenth-century works seem to use borrowed and mostly Superius material which is not treated systematically or in an integrated manner.

Five examples are relevant here. Firstly - and least equivocally of all five - is the Trent 92 Kyrie described by Peter Wright in a recent article, whose Superius seems to quote the incipits of several Binchois chansons.²³ There can be no doubt here that the quotations are all intentional. Secondly - and almost as unequivocally - there is Missa "O2" described in Instalment 2 of this series, which appears to draw randomly on parts of Dufay's *Adieu m'amour* and also Frye's *Ave Regina celorum* setting.²⁴ Third, recent research into the names given to Mass Ordinaries of ca. 1410 by Zacara shows that fifteenth-century names for pieces (which are uncommon anyway) do not always give a straightforward key for unlocking the content of the piece concerned. We are not yet sure how all of the titles for Zacara Mass movements originated, but Michael Scott Cuthbert has shown that Zacara's *Patrem Scabroso* borrows from the Ballata *D'amor languire* only sporadically. The title merely refers to the passage from the song which is clearly used in the Ordinary setting.²⁵ Fourth, alongside such casual borrowings we also find block parody borrowing in contemporary Gloria by Bartolomeo da Bologna.²⁶ Fifth, Reinhard Strohm has made a

²⁰ The Osanna II Superius starts with a probably 'free' note (the opening G) and ends with another such note (another G). The material in between (just a few long notes) may be song-derived. It may be pedantic to clarify this, but it is also relevant that the Missa *Le serviteur II* Sanctus has an Osanna section which begins with at one 'free' note before a cantus firmus passage (see Table 1, Sanctus, measure 49). My logic is as follows: if this happens in the Missa *Le serviteur II* then it might also happen in the Tik Mass.

²¹ Kirkman, A., 'Innovation, stylistic patterns and the writing of history: the case of Bedyngham's Missa *Dueil angoisseux*' in I Codici Musicali Trentini II (1996) pp. 149-175.

²² See Fallows, D., Dufay (Dent, London, 1982) pp. 165-168.

²³ Wright, P., 'Englishness in a Kyrie (Mis)Attributed to Dufay' in Hornby, E. and Maw, D. (eds) Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell (Boydell, 2010) pp. 185-214.

²⁴ See Instalment 2, commentary to no. 8.

²⁵ See Cuthbert, Michael S., 'Zacara's D'amor Languire and Strategies for Borrowing in the Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass' in Zinei, F. (ed), Antonio Zacara e il suo tempo (Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004) pp. 337-357 and plates 10-13.

²⁶ Bartolomeo's Gloria in Ox 213 inserts his own Ballata *Vince con lena* as part of the setting, but the Credo normally associated with this Gloria refers to another of his piece (*Morir desio*) and does so much less consistently. Further, see Cuthbert, *ibid.* and Strohm, The Rise of European Music 1380-1500 p. 140.

convincing case for the Arnold de Lantins Mass sharing at least opening motto material and fermata-passage material with his motet *O pulcherrima mulierum*.²⁷ It will be noticed that all of these examples have fairly widespread origins.

Now it seems that I can add another piece to the series of probable earlier fifteenth century borrowings. Some years ago I was looking at one of the independent Dunstable Gloria settings that does not seem to be chant-derived (no. 2 in the revised edition).²⁸ Its Superius resembles no Gloria chant extant, and it is made up of alternating three- and two-voice sections using the mensuration scheme O,O,C,C and O. A brief look at its sectional opening and ending constructs seems to confirm that it is slightly unusual; the first and final sections open with constructs on F and end with constructs on A. As for the intervening sections, the O mensuration duet opens on A and ends on F, the main duple section starts with a construct on F and ends on D, and the duple duet section starts on D and ends on C. If this piece is not chant-derived, then what explanations other than free composition might there be for its nature? I then looked at a short anonymous three-part Rondeau from *Ox 213* (*Tristre, dolent*) and found that both this piece and the Gloria setting share similar openings.²⁹ The cadences on A in the Gloria are also reflected in the chanson Superius's mid-point ending on A and - most significantly - that the first six notes of the chanson Tenor are reproduced at the start of the final-section Tenor in the Gloria. The following example illustrates these resemblances.

3.14. Superius and Tenor openings of *Tristre, dolent* and Dunstable's Gloria 2 in *Pembroke 314*;

Beyond these points, comparison of the two works is made difficult by their differences in style. The Dunstable Gloria's magnificently extended Superius phrasing is a world away from the little song with which it might be connected, and it would be optimistic to try to match up internal cadential motives in the Gloria with chanson extracts which might only have a tenuous connection. To put that another way, those who might methodically be looking for internal quotations or allusions in the Dunstable Gloria need not bother trying; there is probably little else to find. But nevertheless the opening and the Tenor similarities strongly suggest that there is some sort of intertextuality going on here. I might add to my suggestion here that there is nothing about the *Tristre, dolent* song that would place it in a northern Italian orbit rather than a French one. Equally there is nothing about the Dunstable Gloria setting to make the piece look as though it is

²⁷ See Strohm, R. 'Einheit und Funktion früher Meßzyklen', in Dubowy, N. and Meyer-Eller, S. (eds.) *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60.Geburstag* (Munich, 1990), pp. 141-160, and also Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* pp. 176-177.

²⁸ Published in *Musica Britannica VIII* pp. 2-4.

²⁹ *Ox 213* f. 95v, anon; published in Reaney, G., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* vol. IV (*CMM* 11/iv), p. 7.

of dubious authorship. Its only source (Pembroke 314) is part of an English black/red notation source and the composer's name is clearly given.

My point in citing all of these examples should be obvious. Derivative pieces outside the accepted norms of fifteenth-century borrowings probably exist. Where they seem to use random quotations of material that is clearly identifiable, it is often difficult to determine whether the presence of such material is coincidental owing to common style features or is deliberately used. Here there are two stumbling-blocks to identifying derivatives: a mere series of chanson allusions in a Mass may represent no more than an optimistic modern specialist trying to prove a point. Secondly the poor survival rate of secular sources from the earlier fifteenth century makes derivative Mass movements hard to find.

Also, by referring to the Zacara Credo mentioned and also the case of the Dunstable Gloria I hope I have shown that whether a work of this period is "based on" pre-existent part-music will not always result in methodical or sometimes even extensive use of the musical model concerned. Concerning the Tik Mass, it seems that the work's content strongly points away from overall free invention. The long-note passages, main duple section entries and the likely song references at the start of the Gloria and Credo all point towards a valid connection with the suggested model. As for the song text, reception of this Mass in northern Italy, Spain and central Europe and the probable travels of its composer, we know little - and that knowledge is not likely to increase by much in the future. I also suspect that the borrowing method which seems apparent in this cycle is also likely to be present in the Pullois Mass and also the Barbingant Mass in Trent 89, but investigation of those works will have to wait until another occasion.

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Numerology

Since there are several sources for some movements of this Mass (and because our edition incorporates external variants where Trent 89 seems unsatisfactory) my search for significant numbers in this Mass has been undertaken with some care. I find little evidence of an overall design; in terms of tempora the movement arc of percentage sizes is 9 / 29.5 / 29.9 / 21 / 10 - and in this Mass there are no repeated sections. However individual sections have significantly close note and tempora totals that are probably deliberate. Most importantly, the majority of internal Duo sections seem to have close or identical note totals in both of their voices. I illustrate this as follows.

Quoniam tu solus: Superius (72) and Contra (71).
 Confiteor: Superius and Contra each have 106 notes.
 Pleni sunt: Superius and Contra each have 90 notes.
 Benedictus: Superius (96) and Contra (98).

Some pairs of voices in three-voice sections also behave similarly.

Christe: Contra (50) and Tenor (51).
 Qui tollis: Superius (101) and Tenor (101).
 Et incarnatus: Contra (102) and Tenor (103).
 Sanctus section: Contra (123) and Tenor (122).
 Osanna II: Contra (62) and Tenor (60).

Some sections also have identical lengths in tempora.

Kyrie I and Osanna II (both 15).
 Kyrie II and Cum sancto (both 20).
 Qui propter & Agnus II (both Duo sections, and both 17 measures long).

Additionally, the total in measure lengths for the Gloria's Quoniam tu solus Duo plus the chordal 'Jhesu Christe' passage following it is 45 measures. Osanna I is also 45 measures long. Also, Agnus I plus Agnus II in terms of measure totals = 35. Agnus III has 42 measures. Both totals are divisible by 7.

Finally, the special musical texture of Osanna I (with the same motive in maximas running through each voice in succession) might be matched by some numerical interest. The combined note-totals of the Superius and Contra in this section are 100 notes. Excluding sectional final longs, the measure totals of the five sections of the Sanctus are respectively as follows.

31
18
44
47
14

These total 154. The Osanna I total (44) = 154 divided by 3.5. Excluding the 44 measures of Osanna I, the overall total is 110. That too is divisible by 44 (110 divided by 44 = 2.5).

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17. Cervelli / Domarto; Missa *Sine nomine*

- (i) SP B80 ff. 143v-154r, complete cycle with the composer attributions 'Egidius Cervelli' (Kyrie) and 'P. de Domarto' (Gloria);
- (ii) Trent 89 ff. 57v-58v, Sanctus only, anon (DTÖ VII inventory no. 536);
- (iii) Lucca ff. 27r-27v (fragmentary copy of Credo) and f. 28r (fragmentary copy of Agnus).

Kyrie

SP B80 ff.143v-144r & 153v-154r, Egidius Cervelli. The Kyrie is split between the opening and ending pages of this Mass since it was copied after the rest of the music had been entered.

[Superius]; 1: the 'K' of 'Kyrie' is a blue majuscule in the left margin, with red decorative framing that has curlicues reaching down into the left margin. Throughout, there are corrections to the Kyrie which seem to be compositional or editorial 'second thoughts'. These are italicised here. / 42: b ind before 41,2 / 52: *these notes are written over an erasure which reads sbr F m D m B or m F sbr D m B* / 78: p div follows 2 / 85,1-2: *written over an erasure which reads sbr B m C sbr D m E* / 87: p div follows rest / 98-131: due to lack of space, all voices for Kyrie II are given after the rest of this Mass, below the Agnus II on ff. 153v-154r. At the end of the Christe Superius this is indicated by the scribal note 'Aliud kyrie quere post 2^m Agnus inmediate sequens'. / 98: the 'K' of 'Kyrie' in a black majuscule in the left margin, & p div follows 98,2 / 120: b ind before 120,3.

Contra; 1: the 'C' of 'Contra' is a majuscule in the left margin, and throughout this voice has a two-flat sig as given in the edition; technically the b sig should perhaps also include the lower Bb as in the Tenor sig / 58-60: *these notes are written over an erasure which reads br B ligd sbr A G plus dtd-sbr lower C & m D* / 74-77: *these notes are written over an erasure which gives 74 & 76-77 as written but omits 75* / 78-79,1: *written over an erasure of possibly identical values* / 85: p div follows rest / 93: p div follows 2 / 98: 'Contra' is given as a compressed majuscule in the left margin / 105: p div follows 4 / 107: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 1: the 'T' of 'Tenor' is a majuscule in the left margin / 22,2-23: written over an erasure which reads *m B m C m A sbr G plus m rest plus sbr upper B m A* / 27: the Christe Tenor is given at the bottom right of the page facing Kyrie I (f. 144r) with 'Residuum Tenoris' written in the left margin / 59-60: written over an erasure which reads *br D plus sbr rest & sbr E* / 80: p div follows 2 / 82-86,1: written over an erasure whose notes are not easily visible / 98: 'Tenor' is a majuscule in the left margin of f. 153v with an extended tall 'T' / 103: p div follows 2 / 113,5: following this note a continuation sign is given (which looks like 'x' with four dots around it) and the rest of the Kyrie II Tenor is given on the facing page with the 'x' sign rptd in the left margin / 118,2: natural ind as sharp / 120,5: natural ind as sharp before 120,1 / 122: natural ind as b.

Underlay; fully texted in all voices. I have departed somewhat from the SP B80 texting since this is a texturally quite complex Kyrie setting which seems to require a fair amount of attention in terms of internal subsections and musical contraction/expansion of '-le-y-son'. I also try to ensure that many phrases carry logical text rather than being mere melismas on 'e'. In addition, the SP B80 Superius underlay in the Christe implies that the dovetailed phrase-ending imitation at 65 is texted with '-son' rather than 'Christe'. Therefore if the following notes seem unnecessarily fussy those are the reasons for my being fastidious. 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' throughout, and otherwise the main differences between our underlay and the SP B80 texting are as follows. [Superius]; 14-15: ed rpts of 'Kyrie' needed in the Superius and Contra / 15-17: 'eleyson' under 16,3-17,1 / 19-20: '-rie' under 19,4-20,1 / 20: 'e-' under 25,1 / 22-23: '-leyson' under 25,5-26,1 / 23-26: ed rpts of 'eleyson' needed in all voices / 30-38: ed rpts of 'Christe' needed in all voices / 41: 'e-' under 46,1 / 46-49: 'eleyson' under 47,3-49,1 / 58: 'e-' under 63,2 / 63: '-leyson' under 63,3-65,1, and I have modified the spelling to '-leÿson' / 65: 'Chri'- under 68,1 / 67: '-ste' under 76,1 / 68: 'e-' under 95,1 / 74-75: '-ley-' under 96,1 / 76: '-son' under 96,2-97,1 / 76-97: ed rpts of 'eleyson' needed in all voices / 100: '-ri-' under 98,2 / 102: '-e' under 100,1 / 103-108: 'eleyson' under 107,1-4 / 110: '-ri-' under 109,1 / 111: '-e' under 114,1 / 112: 'e-' under 114,2 / 113-114: '-leyson' under 121,3-122,1 / 114-122: ed rpts of 'eleyson' needed in all voices / 125: 'e-' under 128,1 / 129-131: '-leyson' under 130,4-131,1. Contra; 1-9: 'Kyrie eleyson' is given merely as an incipit without much regard for placement / 9: '-leyson' has been modified to '-leÿson' / 15-17: 'eleyson' under 16,1-17,1 / 19-20: '-rie' under 18,5-19,1 / 20-22: 'eleyson' under 25,3-26,1 / 27-34: note the twofold rpt of 'Christe' here / 42-48: 'eleyson' under 45-48 / 58-65: 'eleyson' under 63-65,1 / 68: '-ste' under 67,1, & rptd under 76,1 / 69-75: 'eleyson' under 96,1-97,1 / 98-103: 'Kyrie' under 98,1-99,2 / 103-107: 'eleyson' under 105,3-107,2, and '-leyson' has been modified to '-leÿson' / 110-111: '-rie' under 108,4-109,1 / 111: 'e-' under 114,2 / 113-114: '-leyson' under 121,3-5 / 123: '-ri-' under 122,3 / 126: '-e' under 129,7 / 129-131: '-leyson' under 130,5-131,1. Tenor; 7-10: 'eleyson' under 8,2-10,1, and '-leyson' has been modified to '-leÿson' / 15-16: 'eley-' under 16,1-4 / 19-20: '-rie' under 19,4-20,1 / 21-23: 'eleyson' under 25,2-26,1 / 41-49: 'eleyson' under 47,2-49,1 / 57: '-ste' under 54,2 / 59: 'e-' under 62,3 / 64-65: '-leyson' modified to '-leÿson' / 69: '-ste' under 76,1 / 70-75: 'eley-' under 94,1-95,2 / 76: '-son' under 97,1 / 98-103: 'Kyrie' under 98-100,2 / 103: 'e-' under 104,1 / 106-107: '-ley-' under 105,1 / 110: '-ri-' under 110,1 / 111: '-e' under 114,1, & 'e-' under 116,1 / 113-114: 'eleyson' under 121,5-122,1 / 126: 'e-' under 129,4 / 130-131: '-leyson' under 130,5-131,1.

Bibliography; Kidger, D. (ed), Petrus de Domarto Complete Works vol. I (Antico, Newton Abbot, 1994) pp. 1-20 (edition of Mass). Reynolds, C., The Music Chapel at San Pietro in Vaticano in the Later Fifteenth Century (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton, 1982), pp. 80-85 (discussion of Cervelli and the Kyrie corrections), Reynolds, C., 'The Origins of SP B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory' in EMH I (1980) pp. 257-304. Wegman, R., 'Petrus de Domarto's Missa Spiritus Almus and the Early History of the Four Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century' in EMH X (1991) pp. 235-304 (includes documentary information on Domarto). Strohm, R., Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985) p. 124 (which suggests that Domarto and the Burgundian chaplain Pierre Maillart might have been the same person). Facsimile of SP B80 in RMF vol. 23 (Garland, New York and London, 1986), and Mitchell, R., The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 74-75 - which suggests that Domarto's movements might be based on the chanson *Greveuse m'est vostre acointance* (a claim which I no longer uphold) and also that the

anonymous cycle in SP B80 ff. 122r-129r is directly related to Domarto's Mass (see the structure section following this critical commentary).

Gloria

SP B80 ff.144v-146r, P. de Domarto.

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 177r (transposed a fourth up) and the 'E' of 'Et' is a red majuscule in the left margin with decorative framing / 19,3: b ind before 19,2 / 26,2: b ind before 26,1 / 38,2: b ind before 37,4 / 40: in addition to the cor above this note, an inverted cor is given below it / 41: at a new page-opening here the 'Q' of 'Qui' is a majuscule in the left margin / 85-88: the extended passage in color here is unusual, but is almost certainly meant to be read as minor color rather than as anything else because of rhythmic similarity with the Contra at 85 / 110: cs is given below 110,1, inverted / 115,3: b ind before 114,2 / 128,1-2: SP B80 reads dtd-sbr & sbr (emended for the sake of consonance) / 133: b ind before 132,2 / 137-138: the lig is entered with the second and third notes being an upward oblique.

Contratenor; 1: both voice-names for the lower parts are downward-facing majuscules in the left margin, & the Contratenor m sign is om / 7,2: ns / 26,4: likewise / 40: cor is written like a cs / 41: at the new page-opening here, both voice-names for the lower parts are majuscules in the left margin / 113: ns / 114: likewise / 132,1: following this note, there is no more room at the bottom of the page for the continuation so the rest of the part has been entered on the opposite page with the marginal remark 'residuum Contratenoris'. The ending of the main Contratenor portion directs the singer(s) to this with the note 'D[ei] quere residuum ad sancto spiritu alio latere', and the rest in 132 is om (conj supplied) / 138: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 1-3: ns / 10: p div follows 2 / 18: ns.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, and with extensive partial texting in the lower voices. Exceptionally, the text placement in this copy seems fairly haphazard so I have provided Plates 1-2 for readers to survey for themselves. While it would be perfectly possible for a fifteenth-century singer to 'sight' reasonably logical underlay from SP B80, recording its differences from our edition underlay would be tiringly exhaustive and in certain places the SP B80 scribe appears to be merely guessing as to where lower-voice text should be inserted (see the Tenor, second half of the duple section). Otherwise the following points regarding each voice should be noted. [Superius]; 35-37: a look at Plate 1 here will confirm the impossibility of setting the fifteenth-century texting to the allotted notes / 140-145: ed rpts of 'Amen' needed in all voices. Contratenor; 26: ed rpt of 'Deus' needed / 37: SP B80 gives 'Agnus Dei' after 'Domine Deus' here, which will not fit / 80-82: ed rpt of 'ad dexteram' needed / 103-109: ed rpt of 'Dominus' needed. Tenor; 4: SP B80 gives 'hominibus' after 'pax', which will not fit / 8: similarly, 'Laudamus te' is given here after 'voluntatis' / 35: likewise, the 'Domine Deus' given after 'Jhesu Christe' here will not fit / 62: likewise SP B80 gives 'peccata mundi' here after 'tollis' / 66-69: ed rpt of 'suscipe' needed.

Laudamus te Domine Deus omnipotens
 in terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto
 in terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto
 in terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto

En terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto
 in terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto
 in terra pax habitavit bene desideravit laudavit te
 benedixit deo in nomine domini super celestia
 in spiritu sancto

Plate 1; SP B80 ff. 144v-145r

The image displays two pages of a handwritten musical manuscript. The notation is written on five-line staves with square neumes. The lyrics are in Latin, written in a Gothic script below the staves. The manuscript is divided into systems, with some systems containing multiple staves. The text on the left page includes:

Sanctus spiritus in gloria dei patris
 qui procedit a patre
 et a filio simul
 et conglorificatur
 et coaeternatur
 patri filioque
 et procedit
 a patre et filio
 simul et conglorificatur
 et coaeternatur
 patri filioque

The text on the right page includes:

Et in gloria dei patris
 qui procedit a patre
 et a filio simul
 et conglorificatur
 et coaeternatur
 patri filioque
 et procedit
 a patre et filio
 simul et conglorificatur
 et coaeternatur
 patri filioque

The manuscript features several large, decorative initials, including a prominent 'D' at the top of the right page and a 'C' at the top of the left page. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and wear. A watermark 'Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana' is visible across both pages.

Plate 2; SP B80 ff. 145v-146r

Credo

(i) SP B80 ff. 146v-149r;

(ii) Lucca ff. 27r-27v (fragmentary, & contains only the lower voices for section 1 and the Superius for the Et incarnatus section).

(i) SP B80;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 transposed a seventh up, and the ‘P’ of ‘Patrem’ is a blue majuscule in the left margin with decorative red framing / 11,4: b ind before 11,2 / 45: at the start of the second opening, the ‘E’ of ‘Et’ is a majuscule in the left margin / 76: ns. The reason for splitting this note is not so much aesthetic as that the rhythmically imitative passage in the Tenor with the same text (78-83) simply does not have enough notes for the syllables unless one note is split. Therefore the same split arguably serves well in the Superius. The only other way round this text problem would be to retain the unsplit note values and pronounce ‘etiam’ as two-syllable ‘e-tiam’ - which is probably not correct for Francophone Latin pronunciation / 92: b ind above 91,2 / 115: b ind above 112 / 132: 1 is sbr, and since the m sign in this passage is triple the sbr is subject to alteration / 149: at the start of the third opening, the ‘C’ of ‘Confiteor’ is a small majuscule in the left margin / 167: b ind before 167,1.

Contra; 1: the voice-name is in majuscules in the left margin, and for both this voice and the Tenor the ‘P’ of ‘Patrem’ was never entered / 11-12: ns / 37-38: likewise / 45: at the start of the second opening, the voice-name is in majuscules in the left margin / 138: cs is given upside-down under 1 / 149: at the start of the third opening, the voice-name is again in majuscules in the left margin / 151: p div follows 2 / 152: ns / 160: p div follows 2 / 165: 1 not dtd, & 2 dtd (emended for the sake of consonance).

Tenor; 1: the voice-name is in majuscules in the left margin / 1-3: ns / 4-6: likewise / 6: p div follows 2 / 12: ns / 45: at the start of the second opening, the voice-name is in majuscules in the left margin / 78: ns (see notes to Superius above at 76) / 140-141: the rhythm in these measures (col r and col sbr, twice) can be interpreted as either minor color or sesquialtera, but perhaps the former alternative is better since the rhythm at 142 is one which is otherwise sometimes expressed using minor color / 149: at the start of the third opening, the voice-name is again in majuscules in the left margin / 150-151: ns / 152, 164, 165-166, 167 & 170: likewise / 173: this note is dotted, to clarify that the following rest is perfect.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with extensive partial texting in the lower voices. This setting briefly telescopes a section of the Credo text towards the end of the first section (‘Genitum...sunt’ in the Tenor against ‘Qui propter...celis’ in the upper voices) and otherwise does not set the full Credo text since ‘Et in Spiritum...Ecclesiam’ is omitted after the end of section 2. As with the Gloria, the haphazard texting in SP B80 is best dealt with by illustrations, hence Plates 3-5 following. The following points are also worthy of note. [Superius]; 22-26 & 28-29: the manuscript texting here seems particularly illogical, and some words have been placed merely to avoid minim-tails in the line of music below / 45-55: the texting here also seems to be influenced by the need to avoid note-tails in the stave below / 175-181: ed rpts of ‘Amen’ needed in all voices. Contra; 63-65: ed rpt of ‘ex Maria’ needed / 157-158: ed rpt of ‘remissionem’ needed / 168: ‘Et vitam’ is given before ‘venturi’, but will not fit without splitting more values. Tenor; 166: ‘mortuorum’ is given after ‘resurrectionem’ but this will not fit either / 167-181: the texting to this last stave of the Tenor part looks particularly careless.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; 1-44 & 149-181: these sections are missing & were on pages that are now lost / 45: the ‘E’ of ‘Et’ is a majuscule, and the m sign is given as C / 45-46: replaced by br F & ligd sbr F sbr G / 50: not ligd / 70: 1 & 2 ligd / 71: likewise / 92: b ind before 92,2 / 115: no b / 132: 1 is sbr as in SP B80.

Contratenor; 1: the voice-name is given above the stave, the 'P' of 'Patrem' is a decorated majuscule, and in both lower voices the b sig is given consistently as just a single Eb / 3-4: 4,1 is om, 4,2-3 are in minor color and 4,2 is ligd to 3,1. Due to the insufficient number of notes here in measure 4, a later hand has entered a small m A with an upward tail after 4,6 / 8: 1 not dtd, & 2 dtd / 9-13,1: ligd / 14: 1 replaced by sbr C m C / 24,5-25,2: minor color / 36: 1 & 2 replaced by br F / 42-44: ligd / 45-181: these sections are missing & were on pages that are now lost.

Tenor; 1: the 'T' of Tenor is a decorated majuscule / 1-6,1: ligd / 18,3-4: minor color / 28-32: ligd / 36-38: ligd / 39: 3 & 4 replaced by sbr B / 43: 2 & 3 replaced by br C, which is ligd to 44,1 / 44: following the double custos are the words 'Verte folium Waghe' (the latter name being the surname of the main Lucca scribe) / 45-181: these sections are missing & were on pages that are now lost.

Lucca presents a reading which includes the 'Crucifixus' underlay anomaly also found in SP B80, which has a few different note values for the lower voices in the opening section, and which gives C as the mensuration for the main second section. Possibly Lucca and SP B80 are both the result of several transmissions.

Underlay; the Superius was probably fully texted throughout in Lucca, and the lower voices for the first section have the following partial text. Contra; Patrem...Jhesum Christum (1-17) / Et ex Patre...secula (21-27) / Deum de Deo...vero (28-30) / Genitum...facta sunt (31-44) which removes at least some of the telescoping in SP B80. Tenor; visibilium (1) / Filium Dei unigenitum (17-21) / Deum de Deo (27-28) / Genitum...facta sunt (34,2-44) and the latter is a retention of some of the telescoped text previously mentioned.

The image displays two pages of a medieval manuscript, folios 148 verso and 149 recto. The pages are filled with musical notation in square neumes on four-line red staves. The Latin text is written in a Gothic script below the staves. On folio 148v, the text includes 'Confiteor tibi Domine Deus', 'Et agnoscere te Dominum', and 'Confiteor tibi Domine Deus'. On folio 149r, the text includes 'Confiteor tibi Domine Deus', 'Et agnoscere te Dominum', and 'Confiteor tibi Domine Deus'. The manuscript is watermarked with 'Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana' and 'ALL RIGHTS RESERVED'. The page number '148' is visible in the bottom right corner of the right page.

Plate 5; SP B80 ff. 148v-149r

Sanctus

- (i) SP B80 ff. 149v-152r;
 (ii) Trent 89 ff. 57v-58v, anon, DTÖ VII inventory no. 536.

(i) SP B80;

[Superius]; 1: the 'S' of 'Sanctus' is a blue majuscule in the left margin with decorative red framing / 3: p div follows 2 / 7: 1 & 2 are sbr & dtd-sbr (corr using Trent 89) / 18: p div follows 2 / 37: on the second opening, 'Duo' is ind in both voices but SP B80 does not give the lower duet part a voice-name. Since the Agnus reading in Lucca gives the Agnus II lower duet voice to the Contra, the Contra has been allotted the lower duet voice here & in the Benedictus. Also the 'P' on 'Pleni' in the Superius is a small majuscule. / 79: b ind above 77,1 / 100: b ind above the rest in 98 / 135: at a new opening here the m sign is rptd in both voices & 'Duo' is ind in both voices, but again the lower duet voice is not given a voice-name. / 193: both voices have the indication 'Osanna verte' following their double custos since the Osanna section is on a previous page.

Contra; 1: the voice-names of both lower parts are in majuscules in the left margin / 5: p div follows 3 / 6: 1 is sbr in both sources & is subject to alteration / 16: p div follows 2 / 36: a direct to upper Bb at the end of this section is SP B80's only indication that the Pleni sunt lower duet voice is for the Contra / 60: 4 D (corr using Trent 89) / 62: at the start of a new opening here, the voice-names of both lower parts are in majuscules in the left margin.

Tenor; 20: p div follows 2 / 36: single custos instead of double.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius plus almost-complete text in the lower voices, but as with previous movements the underlay in our version departs considerably from the text in SP B80. The main differences are as follows. [Superius]; 1-5: 'Sanctus' under 1-3,1 / 5-10: 'sanctus' under 8,4-9,4 / 11-16: 'sanctus' under 12,4-6 / 18-22: 'Dominus' under 18,1-2 / 22-24: 'Deus' under 22,2 / 24-29: ed rpt of 'Deus' needed / 29: 'Sa-' (given as 'Sab-') under 32,2 / 34-36: '-baoth' under 35,5-36,1 / 39: '-ni' under 38,5 / 40: 'sunt' under 42,4-5 / 41: 'ce-' under 43,2 / 42: '-li' under 44,2-3 / 43: 'et' under 49,1 / 44-46: 'terra' under 49,3-4 / 48: 'glo-' under 55,1-56,2 / 49-54: '-ria' under 56,4-5 / 55: 'tu-' under 59,4 / 61: '-a' under 60,6 / 67-73: '-sanna' under 67,2-69,1 / 75-86: ed rpts of 'Osanna' needed / 88: 'in' under 123,1-2 / 89: 'ex-' under 131,1 / 90: 'cel-' under 132,2 / 91: '-sis' under 134,3 / 94-135: ed rpts of 'in excelsis' & 'excelsis' needed / 136-154: 'Benedictus' under 136-139,1 / 155: 'qui' under 139,2-3 / 159-163: 'venit' under 150,2-151,2 / 164: 'in' under 169,1 / 169-179: 'nomine' under 170,2-172,1 / 183: 'Do-' under 184,1 / 191: '-ni' under 190,5 / 193: '-ni' under 192,4. Contra; 1-5: 'Sanctus' under 1-3 / 6-11: 'sanctus' under 9,3-10,2 / 12-15: 'sanctus' under 13,1-5 / 16-20: 'Dominus' under 24,3-4 / 20-23: ed rpt of 'Dominus' needed / 24-29: 'Deus' under 26,3-5 / 30: 'Sa-' (given as 'Sab-') under 31,5 / 35-36: '-baoth' under 35,4-5 / 37-39: 'Pleni' under 37,1 / 40: 'sunt' under 39,1 / 42: 'et' under 47,1 / 43: 'ter-' under 48,1 / 46: '-ra' under 49,1 / 47-54: 'gloria' under 52,4-6 / 56: 'tu-' under 58,6 / 61: '-a' under 60,5 / 62-74: 'Osanna' is given at the start of this section with '-sanna' detached from 'O-' to avoid note-tails / 76-88: ed rpts of 'Osanna' needed / 90: 'in' under 113,1 / 91: 'ex-' under 115,3 / 92: 'cel-' under 128,1 / 93: '-sis' under 134,1 / 96-135: ed rpts of 'in excelsis' and 'excelsis' needed / 136-138: 'Bene-' under 136 / 149-153: '-dictus' under 140,2-141,3 / 154: 'qui' under 150,2-151,1 / 162-165: 'venit' under 151,2-152,2 / 166: 'in' under 181 / 171-177: 'nomi-' under 183,2-184,1 / 179: '-ne' under 186,1 / 183: 'Do-' under 187,2 / 191-193: '-mini' under 192,2-193,1. Tenor; 1-5: 'Sanctus' under 1-3 / 7-9: 'sanctus' under 12,3-13,1 / 11-16: 'sanctus' under 20-21,2 / 20-24: 'Dominus' under 24-25,2 / 25-29: 'Deus' under 28,4-5 / 30-36: 'Sabaoth' (spelt as 'Sabbaoth') under 31,1-32,1 / 62-74: 'Osanna' under 62-66 / 77-88: ed rpts of 'Osanna' needed / 92: 'in' under 106,2-107,1 / 93: 'ex-' under 109,2 / 94: 'cel-' under 128,1 / 95: '-sis' under 132,2 / 98-135: ed rpts of 'in excelsis' needed.

(ii) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: none of the text initials which begin sections are majuscules, the lower voices have no voice-names, & on the first opening (1-135) the Superius only has its b sig for the first stave (1-12,5) / 2: p div follows 2 / 5: dot given above 1, probably to clarify that this sbr is at the start of a tempus-unit / 7: 1 & 2 are dtd-sbr & sbr / 15: 5 & 6 are dtd-m & sm / 22,2-23,2: replaced by F sbr and col F sbr plus col G m / 27,4-5: minor color / 30,3-4: replaced by m D / 32,5-33,2: ligd / 34,2: replaced by m F & m rest / 34,5-35,2: ligd / 36: double custos in the Superius & Contra, & single custos in the Tenor / 37: 'Duo' ind in both voices, but the lower voice is given as part of the Tenor & the Benedictus Duo on the following page-opening has no voice-label / 37: 1 replaced by D br & D sbr / 39: no lig, & 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-sbr D & m C m C / 40: 1 replaced by D br & D sbr / 41,5-42,2: minor color / 43,3-44,5: om / 44: no b / 61: single custos in Superius & double custos in lower duet voice / 62: m sign given as cut-C in the Superius, C in the Tenor, and the m sign is om in the Contra / 79: 1 & 2 are col br and col sbr / 92-rest in 98: this passage is added on an end-of-stave extension / 107-109: ligd / 114,2-115,1: ligd / 115,1-2: not ligd / 129,3-135: this passage is added on an end-of-stave extension / 133,3-134,3: replaced by br B & sbr A / 135: single custos in Superius, likely single custos in the Contra (the line is faint) & double custos in the Tenor / 136: 'Duo' only ind in lower duet voice, m sign given as what appears to be C in the Superius, & m sign om in lower duet voice / 161,2-162,1: ligd / 164,1-165,1: ligd / 181: 3-5 are m sm sm / 184: proportional sign given as '3' / 189: err p div follows 1, probably indicating that the scribe misinterpreted the syncopation at 186-188 / 192,4-193,1: ligd / 193: 'Osanna ut supra' is given in both duet voices, and in the Superius this is followed by the first seven notes of the Osanna Superius as a cue for the repeat (62-69,2).

[Contra]; 1: m sign om, and the b sig is given consistently as just the two upper flats / 5: no p div / 6,1: this note (sbr) seems to have a mark under it to help clarify the alteration intended / 12: 4-6 are m sm sm / 21: 2-4 are all undotted m / 22: 1 replaced by br D & sbr D with p div following / 24: r & 1 replaced by sbr C / 25-26,1: these notes are added on a short end-of-stave extension / 26,5-27,2: minor color / 33: 2 A / 34: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 35,3: corr from col err / 36: the Osanna follows immediately in the Contra, since the Pleni sunt Duo lower voice is given to the Tenor / 40,4-41,2: minor color / 43,2-3: these notes are added on a short end-of-stave extension / 59,5-61,1: likewise / 66: there appears to be a dot over this note for no apparent reason / 105-107: ligd / 116-135: the ending of the Osanna section is given on a small additional stave below the main copy due to lack of space / 118,1-119,1: ligd / 119: 1 is col br, and 2-3 are both col m / 132-135: ligd / 140: 1 & 2 ligd / 141,3-142,1: ligd / 142,2-143,1: ligd / 151-152: Trent 89 reads ligd sbr C & dtd-sbr D plus m C & sbr B / 156: 2 F / 157-159: ligd.

[Tenor]; 1: m sign om, and the b sig is given consistently as just the two upper flats / 1-4,1: ligd / 7-9: ligd / 27,1-2: minor color / 93-95: ligd / 99-100: ligd / 102-104,1: ligd / 118,2-119,1: ligd / 119: 2 not ligd / 131: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-sbr B & m C / 133-135: ligd.

Differing considerably in detail from the SP B80 reading, Trent 89 has omissions, several inferior variants, and one reading where the Tenor may have been adjusted to 'correct' a temporary seventh (at 131).

Underlay; Trent 89 gives full Superius text, with the lower voices having sectional incipits & partial texting except for the Benedictus (which is texted). The incipits are as follows. Contra; Sanctus / Pleni sunt / Osanna & in excelsis. Tenor; Sanctus / Osanna & in excelsis. The Trent 89 Superius texting seems to be as unreliable as that of SP B80, but is at least useful in part for editorial text-setting.

Agnus

- (i) SP B80 ff. 152v-154r;
 (ii) Lucca f. 28r, fragmentary (lower voices only).

(i) SP B80;

[Superius]; 1: the 'A' of 'Agnus' is a blue majuscule in the left margin with decorative red framing / 9: b ind before 9,2 / 13: b ind above the rests in 12 / 23: p div follows 2 / 34: single custos in Superius & Tenor, & double custos in Contra / 35: 'Duo' in in both voices, but SP B80 does not give the lower duet part a voice-name. See the notes to Lucca below for evidence that this lower voice is part of the Contra. / 51: b ind before 48,1 / 7: b ind before 55,2 / 72: b ind before 68,1 / 84: b ind before '3' sign in 82 / 88: b ind above rest in 86 / 101: following the double custos, the Superius has '3^{um} Agnus verte' and the lower duet voice has 'ultimum verte'.

Contra; 1: the voice-names for both lower parts are majuscules in the left margin.

Tenor; 4-5: ns / 6: p div follows 2 / 16: 1 & 2 are sbr & dtd-sbr (corr using Lucca & for the sake of imitation) / 29: p div follows 2 / 32: p div follows 3.

Underlay; Agnus I is fully texted in the Superius & Contra and partially texted in the Tenor, but no Agnus III text is given. Agnus II is fully texted in both voices. Our underlay differs considerably from that of SP B80 (which seems particularly haphazard) and the main differences are as follows. [Superius]; 1-4: 'Agnus' under 1-2,1 / 4-6: 'Dei' under 5,4 / 7: 'qui' under 8,1 / 10-11: 'tollis' under 9,7-10,1 / 12-15: 'peccata' under 16,1-17,2 / 16: 'mun-' under 20,3-4 / 23-25: 'misere-' under 23,1-24,2 / 29: '-re' under 28,4 & 'no-' under 30,1 / 34: '-bis' under 33,5 / 35-46: 'Agnus' under 35,1 / 48-62: 'Dei' under 45,2-3 / 64: 'qui' under 48-49 / 65-66: 'tollis' under 50,2-51,2 / 67-72: 'peccata' under 57,1-3 / 74: 'mun-' under 75,2-3 / 76: '-di' under 75,5 / 82-92: 'misere-' under 82-84,1 / 95: '-re' under 94,2 / 96: 'no-' under 98,2-3 / 101: '-bis' under 100,3. Contra; 1-5: 'Agnus' under 1-2 / 5-7: 'Dei' under 4,3-4 / 8-11: 'qui tollis' under 12,2-13,3 / 12-15: 'peccata' under 17,1-2 / 16-21: 'mundi' under 20,1-2 / 21-27: 'miserere' under 23,2-4 / 35-46: 'Agnus' under 35-39 / 50-60: 'Dei' under 41,1-2 / 62: 'qui' under 57,1-2 / 63-64: 'tollis' under 58-59 / 67-72: 'peccata' under 67-68 / 74: 'mun-' under 73,2 / 80-92: 'misere-' under 80-81,2 / 95: '-re' under 91,1 & 'no-' under 97,1 / 101: '-bis' under 99,3-100,1. Tenor; 4: '-gnus' under 6,2 / 5-7: 'Dei' under 11,1 / 9: 'qui' under 13,1-14,1 / 10-11: 'tollis' under 16,2-3 / 25-29: ed rpts of 'miserere' & 'dona nobis' needed.

(ii) Lucca;

[Superius]; missing (copied on pages that are now lost).

Contra; 1: the 'C' of the voice-name is a majuscule in the left margin, the b sig is consistently given with just the upper two flats, & the m sign is given as O without cut-O below it. / 1-2: ligd / 17: 2 obscured by lacuna, & 3 replaced by sm A sm G / 17,3-19,1: obliterated by lacuna / 21: 1 & 2 ligd, & 2-3 have minor color / 32-34: ligd / 34: following the double custos is a stretch of blank stave with another double custos at the end and the word 'Duo' written on the stave for the Agnus II section / 50-56: 50-51 replaced by br F & sbr F sbr G, with these two sbr ligd to 52-56 / 58-62: ligd / 62-64: 62,1 not dtd, 63 replaced by sbr D sbr F, the latter note is ligd to 64,1 & 64,2 is not ligd / 80-81: '3' sign & 81,2 uc due to lacunas / 82-83: ligd / 84: uc due to lacuna, and 84-87 are ligd separately from 82-83.

Tenor; 1: the 'T' of the voice-name is a majuscule in the left margin, the b sig is consistently given with just the upper two flats, & the m sign is given as O without cut-O below it. / 9-12: ligd / 16: 1 & 2 are dtd-sbr & sbr / 29: 2 obliterated by lacuna / 30-31,2: ligd, & 30,1 is uc due to lacuna / 32: no p div / 34: following the

double custos are the words ‘Secundus Agnus Tacet pro tenore’ (showing that the Agnus II Duo’s lower voice properly belongs with the Contra).

Lucca gives a few variants, notably in some split values and the solitary O signs at the start.

Underlay; the Tenor has full Agnus I text with ‘dona nobis pacem’ written underneath ‘miserere nobis’. The Contra has the incipit ‘Agnus Dei’ for the first section, and full text for the second section. Much of the texting in Lucca looks more logical than that in SP B80, but is still not the same as in our score. In the Tenor, Lucca allots ‘qui tollis’ to 13-17, ‘peccata mundi’ to 18-23, & ‘miserere / dona nobis’ to 24-27. In the Agnus II Contra, ‘qui tollis peccata’ is at 50-64, ‘mun-’ is at 67, ‘miserere’ is at 80-84, & ‘no-’ is at 94.

.....

Structure

Only the Sanctus of this Mass survives in Trent 89, but in comparison with Domarto’s *Missa Spiritus almus* it has been little discussed. We therefore have the opportunity to examine a three-voice Mass of considerable interest both from the point of view of its texture and also its derivatives. Along with the Cervelli Kyrie, there is also an independent Mass in SP B80 which is related to Domarto’s movements.

In fifteenth-century studies Petrus de Domarto has unfortunately become quite well-known for a negative reason: Johannes Tinctoris (the most famous theorist of his time) cites Domarto quite frequently for ‘errors’ in mensural use, notation and partwriting. The Mass in question is criticised by Tinctoris for “imperfection” of a dotted long by a single semibreve (see the Credo Tenor at 4-6) and Gafforio also wrote about this passage in a similar manner.³⁰ Recent specialists have also commented that Domarto’s *Missa Spiritus almus* seems to be something of a precursor for mid-century mensural transformation Masses; this may indeed have been an innovative work. Additionally, the Mass discussed here is not quite in the same mould as some of the ultra-consonant works featured in this series like the Touront three-voice Masses and the *Missa Sine nomine* at the start of Instalment 1. The Domarto movements are in fact closer in style to Binchois than any music featured in this series so far. Its sound-world features descending chains of first-inversion progressions, it has a leaping Contra, and there are other features reminiscent of Binchois Mass Ordinaries such as prominent plagal progressions (Credo 152-153), Superius work over a lower-voice long note (Credo 37-38) and short passages of three-against-two (Credo 60-61 and 139-148). The layout of the relatively short Agnus (a triple section followed by a Duo) is also mirrored in an even shorter setting variously attributed to Binchois or J. de Clibano.³¹ Other Binchois-like traits include the use of cut-O for final or repeated sections, and a solitary rhythmic group that consists of two Superius semiminims and a minim (Sanctus 181; rhythms like this have been ‘edited’ by fifteenth-century scribes in some readings of the *Spiritus almus* Mass). Lastly regarding Binchois, the final cadence of the Domarto Credo is rather similar to the ending of one of the Binchois independent Credo settings.

³⁰ See Seay, A. (ed), *Johannis Tinctoris Opera Theoretica* (CSM 22/I, 1975) p. 154, where the Mass is named as ‘Missa quinti toni irregularis’ in a passage from the Tinctoris *Liber imperfectionem notarum*. For the Gafforio reference (in his *Musices practicabilis libellus*) see D’Agostino, G. ‘Reading Theorists for Recovering “Ghost” Repertories...’ in *Studi Musicali XXXIV* (2005), pp. 25-50 & also Kidger, *op.cit.*, p. ii.

³¹ Published in Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* pp. 213-214.

3.15. Binchois, Credo (Trent 92 ff. 89v-92r), closing measures;

(A) - - - - - men.

(A) - - - - - men.

(A) - - - - - men.

In general the music is otherwise indebted to earlier-fifteenth-century English idiom; a typical English melodic figure opens the Gloria, another opens the Cum sancto section, and the short passages of voice-exchange present are also an accepted English trait (see Gloria 14-17 and Sanctus 88-100). The telescoping in the Credo is also Anglophile. These features are suggestive of a relatively early composition date; unlike most of the Trent 89 Mass cycles this one was probably written in the 1440's. Therefore at least some of Tinctoris's criticism of Domarto might be merely generational. Suggesting that Domarto might be a contemporary of Pullois and Cousin rather than one of the younger masters of the 1450's and '60's is plausible, but documentary evidence concerning the composer is meagre. He is very probably the 'Petrus de Domaro' who was a new singer at Our Lady in Antwerp in 1449.³² Also he might be the 'Pietro Domarlla' who left employment in Siena in 1448.³³ Further, Reinhard Strohm has suggested that Domarto might be the same man as Pierre Maillart, who was a choirboy at Notre Dame in 1405, was a friend of Dufay, and who died in 1477.³⁴

Most sections of this Mass begin and end using constructs on Bb or on related pitches; the Gloria's second section ends on F and the Credo's final section begins with a G triad. The fact that the Kyrie is absent in the cycle's only complete source might also be the result of another English habit; possibly the original Kyrie was copied into a different source which is now lost. The Kyrie given in SP B80 with the attribution 'Egidius Cervelli' was entered into the manuscript after the main copying was complete, and its style as well as the piecemeal way in which its sections are entered at the start and the end of the Mass suggests that this is a later piece. 'Egidius Cervelli' may merely mean 'brainy Gilles', and two candidates have been suggested as the likely composer. One is Egidius Egidii who sang soprano at San Pietro between 1474 and 1481. The other is Egidius Crispini (Gilles Crepin?) who sang there for 8 years between 1471 and 1481.³⁵ The latter may even have been the scribe who entered the Kyrie. At least somebody who was very familiar with the piece copied it, for two reasons. Firstly, the SP B80 copy contains corrections; these would most likely have been made by somebody interested in polishing up the piece - possibly its composer. Secondly, the Cervelli Kyrie displays a thorough knowledge of the Domarto movements and much of its material derives from various passages in the Mass.

It seems to have escaped comment so far that the Cervelli Kyrie is magnificently expansive, and pushes the boundaries of three-voice writing with a filler Contratenor much as other 'advanced' mid-century works like Touront's *Missa Sine nomine II* and Ockeghem's *Ma maistresse*. No doubt helped by the easy availability of

³² See Wegman, R., 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus Almus*...', pp. 235-303.

³³ See D'Accone, F., The Civic Muse. Musicians in Siena During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Chicago, 1997) p. 173.

³⁴ See Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges pp. 25 & 124.

³⁵ See Kidger, *op. cit.* p. i, and Reynolds, The Music Chapel... pp. 81-82. Concerning Crepin's spells of employment at the Savoyard court and Cambrai in the 1460's, see Reynolds, Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513 (University of California Press, 1995) pp. 94-95. Crepin might also be the 'Egidius' whose lost *Missa Veni sancte Spiritus* was criticised by Gafforio for mensural usage along with Domarto's *Spiritus almus* Mass.

parent material from the Domarto movements, it contains extensive imitative work, a long sesquialtera passage in the *Christe* and a drive section at the end of *Kyrie II*. Such an exercise, too, could hardly be finished in a perfect form by its composer as a first draft unless he was something of a genius. Consequently all of the corrections make musical sense, and if I sound a little partisan here this is because we are dealing with technically accomplished music. The degree to which the composer draws upon Domarto's movements is shown below - albeit with the caution that the list of derivative material might not be complete (conceivably further material might be derived from a now-lost original *Kyrie*).

Kyrie I

1-4,1	opening resembles Credo 1-4
4-6	similar to Sanctus 3-5
6-10	similar to Credo 7-13 and also Agnus 7-11
11-14,1	not derivative
14,2-17	similar to Gloria 26-28
18-26	not derivative

Christe

27-37	similar to Credo 45-55
38-49	similar to Gloria 112-119
50-76	not derivative
76-82	three-voice imitation similar to Sanctus 18-22
83-97	not derivative

Kyrie II

98-103	Superius related to imitative motive at 76-82 above
103-114,1	not derivative
114,2-119	three-voice imitation similar to Gloria 63-70
120-121	not derivative
122-124	possibly related to Agnus 31-32
125-131	not derivative

The mensural plan of the Domarto movements is simple. The tripartite Gloria and Credo alternate triple and duple sections, the Agnus does the same but has a final-section repeat, and the Sanctus alternates full sections and duets with the change to duple mensuration starting at the *Osanna* (which also repeats). There is no opening motto, but the Sanctus and Agnus Superius openings are fairly close and the Gloria and Credo Superius openings form a less well-related pair. The material which opens main duple sections differs in all movements, and the self-sufficient Duo sections in the Sanctus and Agnus do not have related openings either. The endings of the Gloria and Credo are very similar; the former at 'Dei Patris Amen' and the latter at 'seculi Amen' can be summarised as follows. In both cases the Superius reaches its highest note (Bb) and proceeds to an F cadence; thereafter follow motives built around Bb triads and slight rhythmic acceleration leading to a final cadence on Bb.

The sets of similarities described invite exploration of the Tenors for signs of continuous cantus firmus. Although the Gloria and Credo first-section Tenors begin with very extended values, their pitches begin to differ within a few notes and their rhythmic movement soon assumes the same pace as that of the upper voices (as in the Tik Mass). The Sanctus and Agnus Tenor openings are consistent for their first nine notes, but thereafter the Sanctus Tenor begins a motive on lower Bb (at 11) and the Agnus Tenor at the same point begins with higher A leading to Bb above (13-14). Therefore these Tenors do not seem to hide a cantus firmus, and the Tenors for the main duple sections (*Qui tollis*, *Et incarnatus* and *Osanna*) all differ from each other too.

Investigation of repeated upper-voice and three-voice material is a little more profitable. Along with the related Gloria and Credo endings, I find the following recurring devices.

1. Imitative answering phrases in the two upper voices which lead to either A or F (Gloria 4-6 and Credo 4-7).
2. Full passages leading to Superius cadences on upper F (Gloria 17-21, Credo 10-13, Sanctus 5-9, and Agnus 7-11).
3. Full passages leading to doubled leadingnote cadences on D (Gloria 26-28, Credo 31-34 & Sanctus 82-88).
4. Declamatory passages in duple sections (Gloria 50-53, 59-69, 75-80 and Credo 112-131). These are sometimes imitative and sometimes involve all voices.
5. Mid-point cadences on Bb in the Gloria and Credo final sections (Gloria 126-130 & Credo 158-160).

Although not all of these devices are strictly melodic integrators, they serve to unify a work in which the following aspects of ‘diversity in unity’ are also present. Firstly, the main duple sections have noticeably shortwinded phrasing and concentrate much on short declamatory passages which use coloration rhythms and sesquialtera to achieve variety.

Secondly, the Sanctus stands rather apart from the other movements due to its cleverly worked first section involving three-voice unison imitation (18-24) two-voice unison imitation (24-26) and drive passages (11-16 & 31-36). This is admirably written, and the Osanna also features three-voice unison imitation (88-100) and an extended final phrase at 123-135.

Third, the duets in the final two movements have a commonality of style since they use caesuras (Sanctus 47 and Agnus 78), unison imitation (Sanctus 42-44, 149-173 and Agnus 41-46) and the two duple duets each have sesquialtera endings. Both of these also feature Superius work over sustained lower-voice notes (Sanctus 179-182, and Agnus 53-56 and 84-86). This feature and also the duet caesuras relate to English stylistic forebears.

The purpose of listing all of these common features is to determine as far as is possible whether the Domarto movements might draw upon a pre-existent model. I used to think that they might, and the Bergerette *Greveuse m'est vostre acointance* in Laborde was the piece which I thought concentrated some of the integrating features mentioned.³⁶ Laborde gives the piece with F finals; for effective comparison the song has to be transposed down a fifth to match the pitch of Domarto's movements.

³⁶ Laborde ff. 53v-55r; this song was otherwise reworked by Robert Morton in his *Mon bien ma joyeux*. Further, see Fallows, D., Robert Morton's Songs: a Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1978) pp. 190-196. I am reluctant to text the lower voices in the following example; the Tenor opening in each section does not seem to carry text comfortably. Despite the imitation at the beginning of this Bergerette's second section, could the lower parts have been vocalised rather than played?

3.16. Anon, *Greveuse m'est vostre acointance* (transposed a fifth down);

1. 5. Gre- veu - se m'est vo - stre a - coin - tan -
4. [missing]

T Greveuse m'est vostre acointance

Ct Greveuse m'est vostre acointance

6
ce Et le sou-ve - nir de vo - stre oeil

11
Re - cueil vient que je

16
n'ai e - spe - ran - - ce De ja - mais vous voir a

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a piece titled 'Greveuse m'est vostre acointance'. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). It consists of four systems of music, each with three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a tenor line (bass clef), and a cello/bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are in French and are placed below the vocal line. The first system includes a first ending (1. 5.) and a second ending (4. [missing]). The piece is transposed a fifth down. The lyrics are: 'Greveuse m'est vostre acointance', 'ce Et le sou-ve - nir de vo - stre oeil', 'Re - cueil vient que je', and 'n'ai e - spe - ran - - ce De ja - mais vous voir a'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

21
8
mon veil. 2. Cré - es que je
3. Le - quel vient de

28
8
n'ay aul - tre puis - san - ce Fors que de
vo - stre cog - nois - san - ce Par quoy suis en

39
8
pan - cer a vo - - stre ac - cueil
as - pre et ri - - - - - gou - -

49
8
- reux dueil.

[O = Φ =]

Comparing the song Superius with the Mass shows that the Gloria opening and the song Superius begin similarly, and that the cadence at 6 perhaps matches some of the cadences on higher F in the Mass previously mentioned as device 2. Likewise the cadence at 17-18 perhaps matches the progressions leading to D cadences cited as device 3. In the song's second section the repeated imitative figure at 34-43 definitely resembles the unison imitation in the Sanctus at 88-100 too. But more significantly references to the three-voice imitation in the song's first section (10-12) are completely absent from Domarto's movements, and where the Mass *does* use three-voice imitation it generates material quite unlike the passage from the song. Similarly suggestible song references in the Mass are few and far between, and if I dared to label these as 'song quotations' or anything similar there would be nothing systematic about their use. On these grounds I

regard my previous association of the Domarto movements with the song as no longer valid. In support of that argument, too, I might add that the song is slightly more forward-looking in style terms than the Domarto movements, which may antedate it. Also none of the prominent repeated material in the Mass (such as the similar Gloria and Credo endings) finds any reference point in the song. Finally, regarding the song being slightly more modern in texture than the Domarto movements, it *would* be possible for a conservatively-textured Mass to be based upon an up-to-date chanson (as seems to happen with the *Missa O rosa bella* I in the Trent Codices) but in this case I do not think that the same thing is happening.

Having had a reasonably hard but unsuccessful try at locating parent material in Domarto's movements, the best policy for the present seems to be to regard them as freely composed unless a more suitable pre-existent model comes to light. But this may never happen; for a probably pre-1450 Mass cycle this is quite an organised work, and the entries mimicking cantus firmus entry at the start of the Gloria and Credo are a feature of other Masses and motets which do not have continuous Tenor cantus firmus.³⁷ In the meantime this is the proper place to stress that not only is there something special about Cervelli's Kyrie: the Domarto movements also have noteworthy qualities. My experiences at singing the piece were significant on two levels - firstly that of observing partwriting and dissonance treatment. Domarto (probably being slightly old-fashioned by mid-century standards) permits a temporary second-inversion construct in the Sanctus at 21. He also allows virtual lower-voice fifths (Credo, 40-41 & 65-67), a brief Superius-Tenor seventh (Sanctus 131) and some daring passing notes against the Tenor's held D at Agnus 17. Additionally he allows a dissonant anticipation-note in a passage of unison imitation at Agnus 44; the dissonant Bb in the Contra here seems to be present for the sake of preserving imitation.

On the second level - that of aural experience - this Mass repays close interest. Those who regard elements of the *Contenance Angloise* sacred-music style as having musically deep meaning will be impressed by the first section of the Sanctus, by the Duo passages with temporary voice-equality, by the Duo passages with held lower notes and caesuras, and by the answering phrases in the Gloria at 'Gratias agimus'. Perhaps listeners will also grow to like moments such as the Et in terra's section-ending with divisi notes, and the internal and homophonic 'Jhesu Christe' passage in the same section (33-35). I deliberately make the effort here to advertise the Anglophile qualities of Domarto's movements - not only for their own sake - but because knowing them well is the key to understanding how the Cervelli Kyrie seems to be constructed.

Reasonably widespread circulation of Domarto's Mass can be assumed since it is cited by two theorists and occurs in three sources. Therefore it should also come as no surprise that there is also a further derivative; an anonymous three-voice Mass in SP B80 (ff. 122r-129r) which has F finals and has a Gloria opening very similar to that of Domarto's Gloria.³⁸

³⁷ For examples, see the Tenors to the Gloria and Credo movements in Masses nos 1 and 8 in this series.

³⁸ This Mass is discussed in Reynolds, C., Papal Patronage... pp. 163-171 but without any references to the probable borrowings from Domarto's Mass. A transcription is available online at the Tours University *Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance* website with the title *San Pietro B 80 Missa Sine nomine IV* (ed. by Agostino Magro et al.)

3.17. Anon, Gloria opening from the *Missa Sine nomine* in SP B80;

Et in terra pax hominibus bo -

Et in terra pax ho - mi - ni - bus

Et in terra pax ho - -

The anonymous Gloria's 'Amen' also uses the motive in Domarto's Superius at 137-140, and the first section of its Sanctus Superius includes a motive from the Domarto setting (at Superius 24-26). In Agnus I of both Masses, the Superius at 'qui tollis' is also similar. Competently written but rather short-winded, this second Mass is a slight work that could easily have been penned by an aspiring composer who knew the older piece well. Its Kyrie and Agnus movements are brief, and much text in the Gloria and Credo is hurried through in *Missa Brevis* fashion. I would give much to know whether either or both derivatives of Domarto's Mass originated as a result of the San Pietro choir or as the result of earlier musical activity in the Low Countries or elsewhere. However, that question is not going to be easily answered. Likewise, the importance of Antwerp as a centre for 1440's polyphony is still to be investigated; Ockeghem was present there earlier in the decade than Domarto, which leaves us wondering how much interchange there was between composing musicians there.

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Numerology

There may not be a lot to find in this Mass since it is of composite authorship, and all three sources may be at the end of longish lines of transmission. Consequently musical variants and accretions might well obscure any symmetries that are present.

The following data may be of interest. Cervelli's Kyrie (a later addition) has a Kyrie I with the same number of tempora as Domarto's Cum sancto section (26), its Christe section has the same number of notes as Domarto's Et in terra section (368), and its Kyrie II has the same number of tempora as Domarto's Agnus I (34). However, at least some of this might be coincidental.

The Domarto movements reveal the following features in terms of tempora; the Patrem and Confiteor sections both have totals which are multiples of 11 (44 and 33 respectively) and excluding the final movemental long the Agnus consists of exactly 100 tempora.

Three sections have note-totals involving 74. The Superius and the Contra in the Cum sancto section each have 74 notes, and so does the Contra in Agnus II. Otherwise the few numerical totals given below may be of interest, but again some of them may be coincidental.

Total of Gloria lower-voice notes excluding sectional longs: 500.

Total of semibreves for Superius and Contra in first Sanctus section: 33 each.

Total of breves in lower voices for the same section: 12 each.

Experiments involving inclusion of the Sanctus and Agnus repeats in tempora and note totals have not resulted in any points of interest.

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18. Piret [or Pierret?] *Missa Beati Anthonii*
(Trent 89 ff. 59v-70v, unicum (DTÖ VII inventory nos 538-545).

Scitote quoniam...stola glorie (ff. 59v-60r)

Text; Introit for St. Anthony Abbot, which otherwise survives (text only) in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, ms 184 (a fifteenth-century Missal from Cambrai) f. 132v and a Milanese Missal of 1474 (for this source, see footnote 52 below). The Cambrai Missal's continuation on f. 133r gives the successive Propers as in Trent 89 and adds a Communion (Orabat dei famulus). The Trent 89 text consists of Psalm 4 verse 4 (Scitote...sanctum suum), and the continuation Dominus exaudivit eum, stola glorie induit eum (which occurs elsewhere in the antiphon repertory) plus the psalm verse which is Psalm 75 verse 3. The chant used in the Trent 89 setting (which seems to be a Superius paraphrase) does not survive. The text and chant here are also different from those in the other Scitote quoniam setting in the Trent Codices (Trent 88 ff. 176v-177r). The mid-point variant of the Trent 88 setting (Dominus exaudivit eum et constituit eum) is part of an antiphon text (Hesbert, Corpus Antiphonarum Officii no. 3399) and its Psalm verse is Psalm 4 verse 2 (Cum invocarem...dilatasti mihi). The Trent 88 chant (again, paraphrased in the Superius) has a main polyphonic section which begins and ends on D; it appears to be the same chant as used for the Corpus Christi Introit Cibavit eos (Grad Pat f.101r) in which case the Scitote text here is contrafact. The reason for the differences in the Introits and chants here is basically because the Antonine Order failed to control the liturgy for their saint strictly - hence the proliferation of variants. Scitote quoniam otherwise tended to be used for minor saints whose feast-days fell on the same day as St. Anthony Abbot, such as St. Géry in the Cambrai Missal Médiathèque municipale, ms 185 (this manuscript and also ms 184 come from the Cambrai collegiate church of St. Géry). Further, see Haggh, 'Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral...' in the bibliography below.

[Superius]; 1: the intonation clef is C-clef on the bottom stave line, which is not rptd, and the title 'Introitus Missa Beati Anthonij' is given above the music / 23: r om (conj supplied) / 26: 1 B / 92: m sign is rptd, and at 92-106 and 107-141 the nature of the Superius-Tenor partwriting makes it likely that the Contratenor was improvised in fauxbourdon. Consequently the middle part here is editorially added. / Fourth chant note before 107: om (conj supplied).

Contratenor; 1: m sign om in both lower voices / 23: 2 not dtd / 25: rest om (conj supplied) / 31: 1 B / 68,2: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 89: natural ind as sharp under 88,1 / 92-106 & 107-141: see notes to Superius above.

Tenor; 18: 1 D / 26: 1 br / 125: natural ind as sharp under 21,2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius except for a few words in the doxology. The lower voices have sectional incipits; since they are non-imitative the opening section (1-91) could easily have lower voices that are vocalised wordlessly. Since the chant does not survive I am forced to rely on the Trent 89 texting to a greater extent than I normally would. The main differences in texting between our score and Trent 89 are as follows. [Superius]; 14-22: 'mirificavit' under 15,1-18,1 / 32: '-nus' under 31,2-3 / 35-42: 'suum' under 37,3-38,1 / 52: '-nus' under 51,2-52,1 / 59-61: 'eum' under 59,2-60,2 / 62-67: 'stola' under 62,1-64,1 / 72-76: '-rie' under 72,1-73,2 / 80: '-du-' under 78,2 / 92-106 & 107-141: the text in these largely syllabic passages has been entered with little regard for word placement.

Bibliography; Gottlieb no. 12; Fallows, D., Dufay (Dent, London, 1982) pp. 189-190 (basic description of the Trent 89 cycle plus information concerning the Dufay St. Anthony of Padua and St. Anthony Abbot Masses). The author's tentative suggestion here that the Trent 89 Mass might be a Dufay work was withdrawn in the second edition of this book. Planchart, A., 'Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his relationship to the Court of Burgundy' in EMH 8 (1988) pp. 117-171 (first notification of the existence of the Propers in Cambrai manuscript 184); Planchart, A., 'The books that Du Fay Left to the Chapel of Saint Stephen' in Bernabei, F. & Lovato, A. (eds), Sine musica nulla disciplina; Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin (Padua, 2006) pp. 175-212 (summarises research on the Dufay St. Anthony Masses and retracts previous suggestion of the Trent 89 Mass as the missing Dufay St. Anthony Abbot Mass). Hagg, B., 'Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral. Guillaume Dufay's Foundations' in Fassler, M. and Baltzer, R. (eds), The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography (Oxford, 2000) pp. 372-397 (information on the local provenance of Cambrai chant manuscripts and their contents in detail); Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 75-77 (brief discussion of the Trent 89 Mass, with some details tending to be in favour of a Dufay attribution - which I no longer uphold). Feininger, L. (ed), MPLSER II.I pp. 122-133 (edition of Trent 88 St. Anthony Abbot Proper cycle) and Gerber, *op. cit.*, no. 41 (newer edition of same Proper cycle).

Gloria (Trent 89 ff. 60v-62r, unicum. DTÖ VII inventory no. 539). The attribution 'Piret' is above the Superius on the second page-opening (f. 61v).

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from IB 15154 f. 147v, & the m sign is om in all voices (conj supplied as O) / 11,2-5: written over an erasure / 28,6: a mark placed closely after this note may be a p div / 34: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 46,5: corr from m by erasure of an upward stem / 48,3-49: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 74: : 'Duo' ind in both voices / 111,2: uc / 173,4-174,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 176: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 224: a line through the stave is given following the m sign, for no apparent reason.

Contra; 51,2-3: copied on a short end-of-stave extension / 62,5: col err, but corr with a small 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 68,2-3: 2 is E below, & for 3 Trent 89 gives m lower E m lower C (emended for the sake of consonance) / 87,4-89: copied on a short end-of-stave extension / 89: the lower divisi note here has a cor above it as well as the upper divisi / 99: 1 D (below) / 130-132: Trent 89 reads sbr lower C plus ligd dtd-br F br lower C (emended for the sake of consonance) / 175: 1 is br / 232: 3 corr from col err in the same way as at 62,5 / 236,3-250: the end of this voice is given on an additional stave which does not look like part of the original stave-ruling.

Tenor; 25,2: natural ind as sharp / 61-73: this passage is all on a single stave on which the b sig is om / 65: erasure follows 2 / 73: following the double custos, the second page-opening for the Tenor begins with a stretch of stave that has 14 br rests plus two sbr rests, with the words 'Domine tacet' written underneath & a double custos after the rests (which are one measure too few for the Superius-Contra duet concerned). Since other Duos in this Mass merely cancel Tenor participation with 'Duo', the rests are not given in our score. The space on which these rests are written plus the Tenor part at 90-133 are on an additional stave which does not look like part of the original stave-ruling. / 133: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 168: this mid-ligature note has an err downward tail; the tail (indicating an L) properly belongs with the note at 169-170 / 175: following the double custos 'Quoniam tu solus tacet' is written in mid-stave / 229: p div follows 3.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with slightly incomplete sectional incipits for the lower voices. The main full triple and duple sections can probably have their lower voices vocalised wordlessly since they are largely non-imitative. Nevertheless I have provided full underlay throughout; for the duet sections and the Cum sancto section lower-voice texting is probably necessary. Here and there in the editorial lower-voice

texting I have omitted occasional words, which seems unavoidable. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1-8: 'Et...hominibus' under 1- rest in 5 / 8-9: 'bone' under 6,2-4 / 10-12: 'volunta-' under 7,1-6 / 12: '-tis' under 11,5-6 / 16-18: 'Benedicimus' under 16,1-17,3 / 19-20: 'Adoramus' under 19,1-20,3 / 21: 'te' under 20,6 / 21-32: 'Glorificamus' under 22,2-24,4 / 33: 'te' under 32,4-5 / 35-37: 'agimus' under 36,1-3 / 38: 'ti-' under 37,1 & '-bi' under 38,3 / 39-41: 'propter' under 39,1-2 / 41-43: 'magnam' under 41,3-42,3 / 43-45: 'gloriam' under 43,2-44,1 / 46: 'tu-' under 46,3 / 49: '-am' under 48,4-5 / 50-62: the text here is fairly compressed & little attempt seems to be made to correlate words and notes so positionings are not recorded / 64-66: 'Unigeni'- under 64,6-65,4 / 69: '-te' under 67,2 / 69-71: 'Jhesu' under 69,2-4 / 71: 'Chri-' (given as cri-') under 71,1 / 73: '-ste' under 72,6 / 75-77: 'Deus' under 75,6-76,4 / 79-80: 'Dei' under 79,4-5 / 80-81: 'Fili-' under 80,3-4 / 86: 'Pa-' under 86,2 / 90-105: as at 50-62 / 106-107: 'mise-' under 106-108,1 / 108: '-re-' om / 110: '-re' under 113,2 / 110: 'no-' under 115,3 / 120-128: as at 50-62 / 130: 'mun-' under 128,2 / 133: '-di' under 132,4 / 135-139: 'suscipe' under 135-137,1 / 140-161: as at 50-62 / 165: '-re' under 167,3 / 166-174: 'nobis' under 172,1-174,1 / 176-188: as at 50-62 / 191-192: 'solus' under 191,1-192,1 / 193-201: 'Dominus' under 198,1-200,3 / 206-207: 'solus' under 204,1-205,2 / 208: 'Altis-' under 206,1-207,1 / 209-211: '-simus' under 209,1-210,4 / 217: 'Chri-' (given as 'cri-') under 219-220 / 223: '-ste' under 222,5 / 225-232: as at 50-62 / 233: 'A-' under 233,3 / 250: '-men' under 249,4-250. Contra and Tenor; no further discrepancies, and there seems to be no need for editorially split lower-voice notes in this movement (which is unusual).

Tronus eius (Trent 89 ff. 62v-64r, unicum. DTÖ VII inventory no. 540).

Text; Gradual for St. Anthony Abbot Masses, whose text is given in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, ms 184 as detailed in the notes to the previous Introit. The original sources of the text are Psalm 88 verses 37-38 ('Tronus...fidelis') and verse 26 ('Et ponam...eius'). It also survives in Mu 28395, which is a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century collection of texts originating with the Carthusians at Buxheim. As discovered by Gottlieb, the chant is the same as that of the Gradual Sci ant gentes (LU 1997 p. 506) which now used for Sexagesima Sunday. However no fifteenth-century source has yet been discovered which gives the Trent 89 text with this chant. The present setting paraphrases the chant in its Superius throughout.

[Superius]; 1: the intonation clef is C-clef on the bottom stave line (which is not rptd) & the m sign is not given until the start of the second page-opening (125) / 122: 3 C (corrected to D to make a more conventional cadence with editorial accidentals, which would not be possible with the C).

Contratenor; 105: 1 F / 213,2: corr from E by lengthening of a lig / 220: 1 is dtd-br / 222:1 is br / 235,2: copied on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 1: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. I have provided full text for these but since they are non-imitative they could just as easily be vocalised. As with the Introit I have no chant model, so I am forced to rely on the Trent 89 texting to a greater degree than I normally would. The main differences between our texting and that of Trent 89 are as follows. Superius; 6-8: 'sicut' under 5,1-6,1 / 9: 'sol' under 8,1 / 16-25: 'conspectu' under 17,2-20,1 / 26-31: 'meo' under 30,2-3 / 40-44: 'sicut' under 41,2-42,2 / 61-64: 'perfecta' under 61-63,2 / 81-89: 'eternum' under 81,2-84,2 / 90: 'et' under 91,2 / 91-94: 'testis' under 93,2-94,1 / 104: 'in' under 105,1 / 105: 'ce-' under 105,2 / 110-116: 'fidelis' under 110,1-111,3 / 128-134: 'ponam' under 128,1-130,3 / 137-140: 'mari' under 139,2-140,1 / 165-172: 'eius' under 163,3-165,1 / 181-194: 'in fluminibus' under 181-184,2 / 195-204: 'dexteram' under 195,1-199,1 / 213-216: 'eius' under 213-215,3.

Alleluia V. Vox de celo (Trent 89 ff. 64v-65r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 541).

Text; Alleluia for St. Anthony Abbot, who is referred to specifically in the verse; its text probably derives from chapter 10 of the life of St. Anthony by Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373). The chant (which is paraphrased in this setting's Superius) is the same as that used in the Superius of the Trent 88 Dufay setting of Alleluia V. Anthoni compar inclite (ff. 185v-187r). This is part of his Proper cycle for St. Anthony of Padua, and it splits the lengthy verse into two sections. As with previous Propers in the Trent 89 cycle, no fifteenth-century source has yet been discovered which pairs the chant with the Trent 89 text. The text survives elsewhere as the Alleluia for St. Anthony Abbot; there is a Binchois setting in ModB (f. 54v) which uses yet another chant in its Superius, and the text is also given in Huot, F. (ed), Ordinaire du Missel de Genève (1473)... (Fribourg, 1993) p. 45. Rebecca Gerber kindly informs me that the text is used for an antiphon in an Augsburg Antiphoner of ca. 1580 (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Slotsholmen Gl. Kgl. S. 3449 8o 1, ff. 157r-v). However the melody there is completely different from that in the Trent 89 setting.³⁹

[Superius]; 1: the intonation clef is C-clef on the second stave line up (which is not rptd) and the initial 'A' of the text has small curlicues which extend into the left margin / 49: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 54,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 88,1-89: likewise / 90: the clef change is at the start of a new stave / 116,3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 147,2: likewise / 179: the clef change is at the start of a new stave.

Contratenor; 1: m sign not given until the start of the second section (49) / 5: 1 br / 38,2-39,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 111: p div follows 2.

Tenor; no discrepancies.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. As with the Introit and Gradual I have no chant model, so much of my texting depends on Trent 89. The main differences between our texting and that of the manuscript are as follows. Superius; 17: '-lu-' under 46,3 / 21: '-ia' under 47,4 / 22-48: ed rpt of 'Alleluia' needed in all voices / 65-69: 'celo' under 67,3-68,3 / 71: 'ad' under 72,1 / 78-79: 'facta' under 79,1-80,3 / 84: 'quo-' under 85,2-87,1 / 93-97: '-niam' under 96,4-97,1 / 99-101: 'viri-' under 100,2-101,2 / 106-109: '-liter' under 108,3-5 / 118-119: 'Ecce' under 118,2-119,1 / 128: 'sum' under 130,2-131,1 / 136-139: 'faciam' under 137,2-138,3 / 184-186: 'toto' under 184,1-2 / 188: 'or-' under 188,2 / 216-218: '-mina-' under 216,2-218,2 / 237: '-ri' under 236,5. Contratenor and Tenor; no further discrepancies.

Credo (Trent 89 ff. 65v-68r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 542).

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is om in all voices (conj supplied as O) / 3,2: corr from sm / 50: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 57,4: this m has a clumsily added downward tail / 73: 1 dtd / 186: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 223: 1 & 2 are D E, and 1 is uc due to a lacuna / 232: 2 E / 257: 2 G (below) / 287,2: added on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contratenor; 8: natural ind as sharp before the rest in 8 / 12: cs written as a cor / 17: p div follows 2 / 18,1-2: written on an end-of-stave extension / 26: 1 is dtd-sbr / 42,4-43,1: uc / 71,3-72,2: written on an end-of-stave extension / 202-206: the lig has a downward-tailed value in its middle (an L: this is notationally unconventional) / 263: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 14: this end-of-ligature note has 'a' (for 'alba') underneath it since it is untidily written / 17: p div follows 2 / 21 & 26: likewise / 32: natural ind by sharp / 35: p div follows 4 / 36: 2 is sbr, & is intended to

³⁹ Private correspondence, December 2014. I wish to express my thanks here for the information shared.

be altered / 49: 1 is an oblique at the end of a lig and is therefore br / 60: p div follows 2 / 74-89: this passage is all on a single stave which omits the b sig / 81: p div follows 2 / 83,1: as at 49, this note is an oblique at the end of a lig and is therefore br / 250: p div follows 1 / 257: p div follows 2 / 263, 265, 270, 272 & 277: likewise / 285,5: col from col err.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices apart from at the fermata passage (84-89) which is texted in all voices. This movement sets the complete Credo text. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 3-5: ‘omnipotentem’ under 3-4,4 / 5-7: ‘factorem’ under 5-6,5 / 8: ‘celi’ under 7,1-3 & ‘et’ under 8,4 / 9: ‘ter-’ under 9,1-2 / 12: ‘-re’ under 11,6-12,1 / 17-19: ‘invisibilium’ under 17,1-18,2 / 20-21: ‘Et in unum’ under 20,1-5 / 22-23: ‘Dominum’ under 22,1-3 / 24-25: ‘Christum’ (given as ‘xpum’) under 24,4-6 / 27-34: the text here is entered with little regard for word placement so positionings are not recorded / 34-37: ‘secula’ under 35,1-4 / 41-42: ‘lumen’ under 42,3-43,3 / 43-45: as at 27-34 / 46-47: ‘verum’ under 47,1-3 / 47-48: ‘de Deo’ under 48,1-3 / 50-59: as at 27-34 / 60-67: likewise / 67-69: ‘descendit’ under 67,2-69,3 / 69-72: ‘de celis’ under 70,2-71,2 / 77-78: ‘Spiritu’ under 77,3-5 / 78-79: ‘Sancto’ under 78,2-3 / 79,2-83: as at 27-34 / 90-92: ‘Crucifixus’ under 90,1-94,1 / 94-95: ‘etiam’ under 95,1-2 / 98-101: ‘nobis’ under 100,3-5 / 103-128: as at 27-34 / 144-151: likewise / 156-159: ‘venturus’ under 156,1-158,3 / 167,2-185: as at 27-34 / 194: ‘et’ under 195,1 / 195-200: ‘vivificantem’ under 196,1-199,2 / 207-211: ‘procedit’ under 208,1-210,1 / 219-220: ‘-lio’ under 219,1-2 / 221-226: as at 27-34 / 226-244: likewise / 246-247: ‘sanctam’ under 247,1-3 / 247-249: ‘catholicam’ (given as ‘katholicam’) under 248,2-249,1 / 249,2-260: as at 27-34 / 263-265: ‘peccatorum’ under 264,1-265,1 / 266-268: ‘expecto’ under 266,2-267,3 / 268,2-272: as at 27-34 / 273: ‘vitam’ under 273,2-3 / 273-275: ‘venturi’ under 274,1-275,1 / 275-276: ‘secu-’ under 275,2-4 / 296: ‘-men’ under 295,3-5. Contratenor and Tenor; no further discrepancies, although it should be noted that in the main duple section a syllabic passage (at 153-156) and an imitative passage (173-178) make it likely that the lower voices need text. Even so, some text omissions seem necessary for the sake of effective Tenor underlay (e.g. at 265-268). As in the Gloria, this Credo moves through its text in a fairly leisurely fashion so I have not resorted to editorially split notes for lower parts.

Inclito Anthonio (Trent 89 ff. 68v-69r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 543).

Text; Offertory for St. Anthony Abbot, whose text (like the verse of the previous Alleluia) probably derives from chapter 10 of Athanasius’s Life of St. Anthony. No chant now extant has this text, but the setting of Quis similis ei (the Offertory for St. Anthony Abbot in Trent 88, ff. 180v-181r) has an intonation and a Superius which looks suspiciously similar to parts of the Trent 89 Superius. Both settings may therefore use related chants, in which case the lost Trent 89 Offertory plainsong might be another contrafact chant like those used in the Gradual and Alleluia. The text appears as the Offertory for St. Anthony in Meschatin La Faye, Missale Lugdunensis ecclesiae, primae Galliarum sedis (Rousselet, Lyon, 1620) pp. xxxiiij-xxxiiiij; the same seventeenth-century print also gives the Introit text with its psalm verse as in Trent 89.

For those interested in comparing the two Offertory Superius parts in Trent 89 and Trent 88, I use the Feininger edition (MPLSER II.I pp. 130-132) for the following list of similarities. The Trent 88 intonation (which is longer than that in Trent 89) provides a reference-point for the A-B-A progression in the Trent 89 Superius at 4-5, and the G cadence in the Trent 89 setting at 14-15 is mirrored by a G cadence in the Trent 88 setting at 5-6. Both settings follow this cadence with F G (G) A motives. The section that begins ‘Terribilis’ in Trent 88 (37-38) has a Superius similar in contour to the Trent 89 setting at 38 onwards (an A C rise followed by an A F D descent, and then followed by a G cadence) and the passage at 60-65 in the Trent 88 setting also has a similar Superius to the Trent 89 setting at 42-45. Also, the Superius passage that moves around lower D in the Trent 89 setting (54-61) has a counterpart in the Trent 88 setting (67-77). Finally the endings of both Superius parts are also similar.

[Superius]; 1: the intonation clef is C-clef on bottom stave line (which is not rptd), and the m sign is om in all voices (conj supplied as O) / 47,2: uc due to lacuna / 54,1-2: likewise / 60: 3 corr from sm / 72-73: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contratenor; 8,3-9,2: uc due to lacuna / 14: 2 not dtd / 30: 1 dtd, and 2 added rather clumsily (this looks like a correction) / 34,4: corr from col err with 'a' (for 'alba') underneath the note / 37: p div follows 2 / 40: rest om (conj supplied) / 42,3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 48,2-49,1: Trent 89 gives these 2 notes are an oblique sbr lig / 52: 3 uc / 55: 2 G / 56: the rest here is indistinct & not dtd, and could be either a sbr or m rest / 64,1: uc due to lacuna / 67,4 & 68,2: likewise / 73,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 1: p div follows 2 / 13: likewise / 23,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 32: p div follows 2 / 35,4: this D is unnecessarily corrected to C, with downward oblique marks on either side of the notehead / 38,1-2: given as an oblique sbr lig, with the second note needing alteration / 53: p div follows 2 / 55 & 58: likewise / 71: p div follows 3 / 72: 1 dtd in error.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. As with previous Proper settings I have no chant model for the paraphrasing Superius, so I am forced to rely on Trent 89's texting fairly heavily. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1: the initial 'I' at the intonation has a decorative curl which extends into the left margin / 10: 'sanctus' under 10,3-11,2 / 11-12: 'dixit' under 12,2-13,1 / 13: 'quo-' under 13,3 / 14-15: '-niam' under 14,2-4 / 21-23: '-litr' under 21,1-22,2 / 23-26: 'dimica-' under 23,2-24,3 / 30-34: 'Ecce' under 30,2-4 / 34: 'e-' under 35,1 / 37: '-go' under 36,6 / 42: 'sum' under 41,5-6 / 44-46: 'faciam' under 44,2-46,2 / 48: 'in' under 49,2 / 50-51: 'toto' under 50,2-4 / 62: 'no-' under 62,2-3 / 66: '-mi-' under 65,4-66,1 / 71-73: '-nari' under 71,2-72,2.

Sanctus (Trent 89 ff. 69v-70r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 544).

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices (conj supplied as O) / 18,4: uc due to lacuna / 19: rest uc / 21,2-3: these two sm are flagged / 29,5-30,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 39: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 42,4-6: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 56,1-2: likewise / 86,2: uc due to lacuna / 102: 'Duo' ind in both voices, & m sign rptd in both voices / 109,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 128,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 170: 'Osanna ut supra' ind only in Superius.

Contra; 5: 2 uc / 17,7-18,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 38,1: uc due to lacuna / 40,1: the notehead on this m is clumsily written / 52,5: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 62: 4 is m, & 5 is sbr (corrected for the sake of consonance) / 67: 1 F (below) / 72,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 101: a direct to upper F is given above the double custos due to the mid-stave clef change which follows / 109-112: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 124: p div follows 2 / 148-149: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 8,2-11,1: these ligas are given as a single lig in which the first two notes are sbr (a square with an upward stem followed by the first note of a two-note descending oblique); the second note of the oblique is 9,1 - which is uncolored, and which would also make this note a breve and is therefore inaccurate. It seems reasonable to make 8,2-3 into a single sbr lig and to follow it with a second lig at 9-11 which would consist of colored square notes in the original notation. / 18: 1 not dtd (for the sake of clarity a dot of addition is needed here) / 22: p div follows 2 / 25: likewise / 26,2: natural ind by sharp / 32,3-33,3: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1: '[S]an-' given as '[S]anc-' under 1,2-2,3 / 4: '-ctus' given as '-tus' under 5,1 / 5: 'san-' given as 'sanc-' under 6,2-7,1 / 8: '-ctus' given as '-

tus' under 8,4-5 / 9: 'san-' given as 'sanc-' under 9,2-10,2 / 18: '-ctus' given as 'tus' under 17,6-18,2 / 19-24: 'Dominus' under 19,1-21,3 / 24-26: 'Deus' under 25,2-4 / 27: 'Sa-' under 27,2 / 31: '-ba-' under 37,1 / 38: '-oth' under 37,5-6 / 43: 'ce-' under 44,1 / 47: '-li' under 47,3 / 48: 'et' under 48,2 / 51: 'glo-' under 52,3-4 / 56: 'tu-' under 58,2-3 / 64: '-a' under 63,6 / 65-70: 'Osanna' under 65-69,2 / 70-82: ed rpts of 'Osanna' needed in all voices / 96-101: '-celsis' under 99,2-100,2 / 102-107: 'Bene-' under 102-106,1 / 112-117: '-dictus' under 116,2-5 / 121-124: 'venit' under 123,2-5 / 134: 'nomi-' under 126,2-128,1 / 142: '-ne' under 141,1 / 144-159: 'Domi-' under 144-146,2 / 170: '-ni' under 169,5. Contra and Tenor; no further discrepancies.

Agnus (Trent 89 f. 70v, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 545).

[Superius]; 1; the m sign is om in all voices (conj supplied as O) / 9,2: corr from sm / 23: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 62: no 'ut supra' indication in either voice.

Contra; 1: unusually, this voice is copied below the Tenor / 16,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 23: ns.

Tenor; 8: p div follows 2.

Underlay; Agnus I text is given in the Superius, with 'dona nobis pacem' for Agnus III. The lower voices have sectional incipits. I have provided text for these parts, but for Agnus I the Contra and Tenor could easily be vocalised. Adding text to the Agnus I Tenor is problematic in that the long notes at 10-13 seem to necessitate the omission of 'peccata'. The main differences between our underlay and the Trent 89 texting are as follows. Superius; 1-3: 'Agnus' under 1,1-2,3 / 4-5: 'Dei' under 4,1-3 / 5: 'qui' under 6,1-2 / 8: 'tol-' under 7,1 / 10: '-lis' under 9,5 / 13-15: 'mundi' under 13,3-14,3 / 15-17: 'misere-' & 'dona' under 15,2-16,3 / 17: 'nobis' (for second line of text) under 17,3-18,3 / 18: '-re' under 17,3 / 19-22: 'nobis' & 'pacem' under 20,3-21,2 / 23-25: 'Agnus' under 24,2-28,1 / 26-29: 'Dei' under 29-rest in 30 / 31: 'qui' under 32,1-2 / 34-39: 'tollis' under 34,2-35,3 / 44: 'mun-' under 48,2-49,2 / 54-57: 'miserere' under 54,1-56,3 / 58-62: 'nobis' under 59,1-61,1. Contra and Tenor; no further discrepancies.

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19. Suggested Kyrie for the Missa *Beati Anthonii* (Trent 90 ff. 95v-96r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory no. 894).

This Kyrie is unlikely to be the original movement which was part of the previous Mass, on the grounds that it does not share the Superius motto which opens the other Ordinary movements. It may also be inauthentic because its size makes it incompatible with the mathematical scheme of the Mass (see the section on numerology). However, it is close to the other Ordinary movements in style and voice-ranges and can therefore serve as a substitute movement in the absence of anything more suitable.

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 23: single custos instead of double / 71 & 92: likewise.

[C]ontra; 6: Trent 90 gives m C m B (with a natural for the B ind as sharp before the C) & dtd-sbr D plus m B. An emendation is provided since the original creates barely-hidden consecutive octaves and a temporary second in a movement where such things do not recur. / 40: 2 uc, and followed by superfluous sbr r / 47: b ind before 47,1 / 73,1-2: lig clumsily written as an upward oblique / 82: p div follows 2 / 87: 3 & 4 not col / 88: p div follows 2.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om / 18: p div follows 2 / 46,1-2: lig written as an upward oblique / 61-62: likewise / 71: single custos instead of double / 77: p div follows 2 / 83: the dot with this br looks more like a rest / 86: 1-2

written as an oblique sbr lig in which the second note needs alteration / 89: p div follows 3.

Underlay; Kyrie / Christe incipits and ‘eleyson’ at the end of sections is provided in each voice, though with no regard for details of word placement. ‘Christe’ is given as ‘xpe’ in each voice, editorial rpts of ‘Christe’ are needed in the lower voices at 60-62, and at 86 the editorial text ‘-ley-’ seems best rendered as ‘-leÿ-’.

Bibliography; Gozzi, M., Il manoscritto Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, cod. 1377 (Tr 90) con un’analisi del repertorio non derivato da Tr 93 (2 vols, Cremona, 1992), I, pp. 92-94 (edition); Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, p. 75 - which claims that this Kyrie is the genuine missing movement (I now consider this to be unlikely).

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Structure

Much of the research on this Mass has merely been incidental to other issues. Most important amongst those issues in the 1970’s and 1980’s was the question of whether St. Anthony of Padua or St. Anthony of Vienne was the correct saint for the Dufay Missa *Sancti Anthonii*. The matter was convincingly settled by David Fallows in his study of the composer, which showed that the Paduan saint is the right dedicatee.⁴⁰

Secondly, the Trent 89 Missa *Beati Anthonii* has been investigated in recent times by David Fallows, Alejandro Planchart and (to a lesser degree) by myself. In all instances, initial expressions in favour of a Dufay attribution have later been withdrawn. Barbara Hagg’s work on the surviving service books from Cambrai also tends to confirm that the office of St. Anthony Abbot (the dedicatee of the Trent 89 Mass) was a confusing business in which different chants and texts survive from different establishments.

Thirdly, research on this Mass has been accompanied in recent years by a growing interest in the Trent 88 Proper cycles and a growing realisation of two of their important aspects. Namely that some of the Proper cycles are very probably the work of Dufay, and that the whole corpus of the Trent 88 Propers is not really a single entity; some of these Propers originated at places other than Cambrai, and some of the Proper cycles have probably had movements added. These considerations - along with the summary of research history given above - all affect our discussion of this Mass.⁴¹

St. Anthony Abbot - who lived in the second half of the third century - captured the medieval imagination in view of his status as an isolated ascetic, the temptations which he resisted, and the alleged ability of his cultus to cure complaints collectively then known as “St. Anthony’s Fire” such as ergotism, shingles and erysipelas. His remains (transferred successively to Alexandria, Constantinople and finally to a location near Vienne in the later eleventh century) helped to give rise to his status as an important saint in western Europe. Frequently depicted in art from at least the fifteenth century onwards, his life story as written by Athanasius of Alexandria was translated into Latin before the final quarter of the fourth century and circulated widely. So far as I know only two fifteenth-century motets are dedicated to him (the short *O expulsor* in MuV and Busnois’s *Anthoni usque limina*) but the existence of the Trent 89 Mass, the Trent 88 St. Anthony Abbot Propers and the Binchois pieces mentioned in our critical notes show that he was occasionally invoked in part-music. His cult in Burgundian court circles probably benefited from his being the patron saint of Duke Philip the Bold (d.1404) and may have also benefited from the first name of Antoine Le grand bâtard (the illegitimate half-brother of Charles the Bold), 1421-1504. A previous Valois Antoine (the Duke of Brabant, brother of Duke John the Fearless) was captured at Agincourt in 1415 and executed before his English

⁴⁰ Fallows, Dufay pp. 182-192.

⁴¹ Regarding the Trent 88 Propers see Gerber, R., ‘Dufay’s style and the question of cyclic unity in the Trent 88 Mass Proper cycles’ in *I Codici Musicali Trentini II* (1994), pp. 107-119.

captors realised that he would have made a valuable ransom. The birth of another Burgundian Antoine (a short-lived son of Duke Philip the Good, 1430-1432) was the occasion for Binchois's motet *Nove cantum melodie/Tanti gaude/Kyrie*.⁴²

The first question regarding this Mass is whether it is a single compositional entity or a composite. I argue in favour of the former, for two reasons. The following section on numerology shows that there may well be mathematical links between the sets of Ordinaries and Propers involved, and secondly there seem to be musical links between them too. The most noticeable of these is a tendency for Contratenor notes to be syncopated at cadences in the following way; the penultimate (dominant) note at perfect cadences and related cadence-types is usually a dotted semibreve preceded by a minim rest - or in aural terms a breve from which the first of four minim values has been 'chopped off'. This almost becomes a vice in the Ordinary movements; it sometimes happens even when the Superius note above the shortened Contra note is briefly dissonant, and it occurs at Gloria 23 and 25, Credo 29, 276 and 278, Sanctus 23 & 26 and Agnus 9, 14 and 18. It also occurs in *Inclito Anthonio* (the Offertory) at 14, 33, 50, 56 & 65. The second commonplace is the Contratenor progression C F E C as at the start of the Introit's polyphony. This recurs at Gloria 150-153, 160-163, at measure 67 in *Inclito Anthonio*, and at measures 5-6 and 91-92 in the Sanctus. Similar Contra figures are also found at Gloria 63-64 and Sanctus 11-12.

Additionally, the following points seem to secure the idea that one composer is responsible for all of the Mass. Those movements that do not seem to have chant-derived Superius parts (i.e. the Ordinaries) otherwise seem to be freely composed, and both the Ordinaries and the Propers contain examples of classic 'false consonance' cadences where E in the lowest-sounding voice has a B above it which sometimes needs its signature flat cancelled to avoid a prominent diminished fifth (see Gloria 17 and 231). At other times similar progressions seem best left as they stand (*Inclito Anthonio*, 36-37). Both the Propers and Ordinaries also have O-mensuration sections which occasionally feature irregular cadential measures of two semibreves instead of three. These points above reinforce the idea that the Ordinaries and Propers were intentionally put together. At the same time the Ordinaries here are not quite like those in most mid-fifteenth century Mass cycles since the Credo has a slight textural change, but I will return to this in due course.

The Ordinary movements are the easier of the sets to discuss; all movements begin and end on F, and most subsections also begin and end using constructs on F apart from two sections in the Credo (*Genitum non factum* and *Qui propter*, which both end on C). The Gloria and Credo Superius voices have a lengthy motto opening of 12 measures: both are virtually identical but the lower voices beneath these in each movement vary. The Credo has a delayed-entry Tenor but the Gloria does not. The Tenors of these movements both begin in extended values but they differ melodically. Therefore, these movements are unlikely to contain Tenor cantus firmus. The Sanctus and Agnus share the motto of the previous Ordinary movements but only for their first seven measures in each case. Neither movement has a delayed-entry Tenor, and again the Tenors differ melodically. The Agnus I Tenor opens similarly to the *Et in terra* Tenor but the similarity is not extended.

Internal sections are not so well related; neither the full dupe nor the full final sections of the Gloria and Credo begin with related motives. The Gloria's *Gratias agimus* duet begins similarly to its first section, and there is also a vague similarity between the *Osanna* and *Agnus II* openings and the Gloria motto. Otherwise, the only significantly alike internal openings are at the *Domine Deus* *Agnus* and *Genitum non factum* sections. Section-endings also tend to be diverse, even though the Gloria and the Credo both end with very extended 'Amen' passages which sound similar. The *Et in terra*, *Quoniam* and *Sanctus* sections have related Superius motives at their endings but otherwise it is difficult to find convincingly related section-endings.

⁴² Further regarding this piece see Weller, P., 'Rites of Passage: *Nove cantum melodie*, the Burgundian Court, and Binchois's Early Career' in Kirkman, A. and Slavin, D. (eds), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 49-83.

The Gloria and Credo are each split into seven subsections which basically alternate full sections and duets, but their scoring details vary in view of the Credo having a fermata passage. Many internal sections are therefore relatively short, and the scoring plan can be interestingly compared with the Ordinaries from the Dufay Mass for St. Anthony of Padua.⁴³ I find the following common points shared between both Masses.

1. Both have functionally similar types of Contratenor, the Padua Ordinaries have F finals like the Trent 89 Mass, and the Padua Mass also splits its Gloria and Credo into a relatively large number of subsections (six in the Gloria and five in the Credo, with different textual divisions from Trent 89). Both Masses also have 'ut supra' Osanna sections.
2. The style of both sets of Ordinaries is similar in both O mensuration and cut-C panels, although the full sections of the Padua Mass contain proportional sophistications which are lacking in the Trent 89 full sections.
3. The Glorias and Credos in both sets of Ordinaries alternate full and duet sections, and in both sets the Tenors do not appear to carry cantus firmus.
4. Small details might suggest that the Trent 89 composer knew the Padua Mass. The latter Mass contains reasonably long 'Amen' melismas in its Gloria and Credo, and all of these 'Amen' passages make use of syncopated drives (those in Trent 89 are generally longer). The Superius parts of both Masses occasionally reach high F (at 'Et ascendit' in the Credo of the Padua Mass, and in the Gradual of the Trent 89 Mass at 160-162). Both also contain similarly conceived bits of triadic imitation (at 'Et iterum' in the Padua Credo, and at 175-178 in the Trent 89 Credo). Each also contains small patches of highly active Superius in triple sections (at 'Altissimus' in the Padua Gloria, and at 66-68 in the Trent 89 Gloria).

None of the similarities listed in point 4 above are close or decisive enough to make a claim that one Mass is derived from the other, and I look in vain to find genuine melodic resemblances or passages of Tenor which are alike in both sets of Ordinaries. It seems reasonably safe to suggest that the Trent 89 composer might at least have heard or seen Dufay's Mass, but equally he might have also heard or seen other and similar Plenary cycles which are now lost to us (the only earlier fifteenth-century plenary cycle by a single composer that survives is the Marian Mass by Liebert - which is probably from the 1420's). It is also relevant here that there are important differences between both sets of Ordinaries. The Padua Ordinaries have Superius chant paraphrase in their Sanctus and Agnus movements (which are each preceded by intonations). The corresponding movements in Trent 89 may not paraphrase chant. The Padua Ordinaries also contain more active lower voices than the Trent 89 set. Their texture is more varied (including some long-note Superius work) and harmonically they are also more varied; the Trent 89 Mass contains nothing like the arrestingly minor passage in the Padua Gloria at 'Qui tollis...suscipe'.

I will return to the style of the Trent 89 Ordinaries in due course, since for present purposes I only wish to demonstrate that the two works are most unlikely to be compositional companion-pieces. To do this effectively, the Trent 89 Propers have to be examined much like the Ordinaries. Here, the same task is slightly more difficult because it has only recently become clear that just a percentage of the Trent 88 Proper collection is likely to be the work of Dufay. The Proper cycles which seem to be most securely his are the Masses for the Holy Spirit and St. Anthony of Padua (minus their spurious Communion settings), the Trinity cycle, and the St. Francis cycle (possibly minus its Alleluia).⁴⁴ There are features of the Trent 89 Propers which seem to put them slightly outside this Dufay group. Firstly, Alejandro Planchart noticed that the

⁴³ The Ordinaries are published in Bessler, H. (ed), *Guillelmi Dufay: opera omnia* (CMM 1, 6 vols, Rome, 1951-66), II, pp. 47-68 with the incorrect title 'Missa Sancti Antonii Viennensis'. The Propers are published in Feininger, *op.cit.*, pp. 134-147 but Gerber, *op. cit.* convincingly argues that the Communion is probably not by Dufay.

⁴⁴ My list of Trent 88 Proper settings here that are convincingly attributable to Dufay is conservative compared with some estimates of his contributions, but I would rather err on the side of caution in that respect than do the opposite.

psalm verses and doxology sections of the Scitote quoniam Introit begin their polyphony with the opening notes of their chant formulas in the Superius *even though the intonations preceding the part-music have already given those opening formulas*. This he sees as a unique occurrence and I have never seen similar in fifteenth-century Introit settings either.⁴⁵ Secondly, the information in our critical commentary shows that although three of the chants used in these Proper settings are traceable, they are not traceable with the texts given to them in Trent 89. Therefore the missing plainchant Propers may represent a localised usage.

Third, like the Trent 89 Ordinaries the Offertory (the only triple-mensuration Proper movement) contains irregular cadential measures of two semibreves. This feature does not occur in any of the triple-mensuration sections of the four Proper cycles previously cited. Fourth, the texture of the Gradual (which is continuously three-part) is quite unlike the texture of the Gradual movements in the four Proper cycles that are most likely to be Dufay's; the other Gradual settings are textually varied. The same applies to the Trent 89 Offertory; this is a single section of continuous three-part texture whereas the Offertory settings for the other Proper cycles cited also vary texturally. Lastly - even leaving aside issues of dissonance which are discussed below - I detect signs of a certain amateurism. The counterpoint in the Alleluia at 28-35 is basically a two-part sequential device for the Superius and Tenor, to which has been added a stretch of Contra that merely provides infill without contrapuntal participation. That is not to imply that the four Trent 88 Proper cycles cited are in any way models of mid-century contrapuntal and consonant writing. They do indeed contain some archaisms (for example, the barely disguised Contratenor unisons at the final four-part cadence of the Trinity Introit) but in general they are pieces which command a certain respect that is difficult to extend to the Trent 89 Propers.

It therefore begins to look as though the Trent 89 St. Anthony Abbot Propers are much like what a growing proportion of the Trent 88 collection seems to be: a very reasonable imitation of a stylistic core of maybe just four cycles. In support of that idea it is also relevant that the particularly extended Trent 89 Alleluia verse with its sesquialtera preceding a return to cut-C is typical of the Trent 88 Proper cycles, as is the O-mensuration style of the Offertory movement. I add to these ideas as follows; both the Ordinary and Proper movements in the Trent 89 Mass contain progressions which tend to move them away from the Dufay canon. I list these below, in the meantime making readers aware that my discussions of the *Missa Christus surrexit* and the "O2" Mass in previous instalments attempted similar isolation of partwriting which seems unorthodox.

Furthermore, if there is any one element of the Trent 89 St. Anthony Mass which has caused specialists to make retractions it is this particular aspect: its composer simply does too many things which cause hiatus to the experienced ear. The size of the relatively long 2006 article by Planchart and the format of Fallows's Dufay book perhaps did not allow for extensive highlighting of problematic passages, so I make up for that lack here with a listing of extracts which seem musically uncomfortable (I allow the composer his quite frequent upper-voice fifths in full sections and liberties with some passing-notes without comment). To be entirely fair, too, the Planchart article summarises much of what I intend to demonstrate by calling this cycle '*petit vicaire* music' and highlighting its awkwardnesses, repeated cadential devices and irregular cadential measures. In particular I find the following passages unusual.

Scitote quoniam: no discrepancies.

Gloria:

1. exposed sixth at 5.
2. false consonance cadence at 17.
3. consecutive fifths in a duet at 35-36.
4. barely disguised consecutive fifths in a full section at 51-52.
5. awkward movement from a construct on lower C to a construct on A above at 62-63.

⁴⁵ Planchart, 'The books that Du Fay Left to the Chapel of Saint Stephen'...

6. a probably unavoidable diminished fifth on the second beat of 67, followed by a dissonant Superius A on the last beat of 67 plus a dissonant Superius B(b) on the first beat of 68 (all of this while the Superius is moving in animated values).
7. brief Superius-Contra seventh on the last beat at 70.
8. the Contra melodically more or less outlines a diminished fifth at 81.
9. the Superius at 129-130 moves from a fourth above a lower voice to a fifth (there has been some lower-voice emendation in the edition here, but the original looks worse).
10. irregular suspension in the Superius at 171 which rises to a consonance instead of falling.
11. false consonance cadence at 231.
12. exposed fourth between the lower voices in an imitative passage at 240.
13. the Tenor at 248 might be better if its last two values were normal minims rather than a dotted group.

Tronus eius:

1. the Superius at 146-147 has a fourth against the Contra (temporarily the lowest voice here).
2. diminished construct at 181.
3. the Contra briefly has a diminished fifth against the Tenor at 191-192.
4. dissonant Superius E against the Contra's D at 237.

Alleluia Vox de celo: no discrepancies.

Credo:

1. dissonant Contra passing-note F at 31.
2. unusual-sounding sixth on the second beat on 41.
3. equally unusual temporary unison E in lower voices at 42.
4. accented dissonant A in the Superius at 179.
5. temporary fourth in the Contra at 287, followed by a Superius entry on high D against the Contra's C.

Inclito Anthonio:

1. false consonance cadence at 17-18.
2. likewise at 36-37 & 50-51.
3. very odd juxtaposition of an accidentalised major construct followed by fauxbourdonesques, at 44-46.

Sanctus:

1. sixth at 5 (exactly as at Gloria, 5).
2. thwarted C cadence at 31-32 followed by a Superius descending sequential motive.
3. the lack of imperfect consonances at 73 sounds odd.

Agnus:

1. dissonant final Contra note at 16.

Two important points arise from this list and the previous descriptions of the Ordinaries and Propers. Firstly, I think it highly unlikely that this is the lost Dufay Mass for St. Anthony Abbot. Our arguments regarding sectional detail and partwriting detail tend to negate the idea, as does what little we know about the nature of Dufay's lost work.⁴⁶ Secondly, it should be self-evident that the Gloria is the 'biggest culprit' in terms of unorthodox writing. I am unsure about quite why this should be so; possibly it might have resulted from the composer writing the movement first before he had really settled into the task concerned, although logically a composer of Masses might start by producing a Kyrie rather than a Gloria. Whatever the reason, examination of the texture gives us a splendid opportunity to highlight other features of these Ordinaries.

⁴⁶ See Planchart, *op.cit.* for details of the Requiem and Mass for St. Anthony Abbot which are mentioned in Dufay's will and the inventory of his goods. Both works may have been composed late in his life and both may equally have consisted only of Proper movements.

The composer is quite fond of melodic sequence, which he occasionally uses imitatively (see the Benedictus at 'Domini') or simply in a single voice as at the start of the Benedictus. The rhythms of the latter passage seem to be a common resource: the second section of Pullois's *Flos de spina* motet has an opening duet which moves similarly. Our composer is equally fond of rising first-inversion progressions and much of the impetus of his extensive Gloria and Credo 'Amen' passages is provided with such progressions, as is the impetus of a drive passage at 65-69 in the Gloria. Melodically, he can be longwinded (see the massive melisma on 'sanctus' at Sanctus 9-18) but in contrast his Agnus setting is short and succinct like the Domarto and Binchois settings discussed earlier in this instalment. In other movements, he tends to repeat cadential ornaments and also ramblings around simple scalic figures - which can tend towards being busy without any other purpose than musical density. Also, his Ordinary movements (or at least the ones that survive) are quite unlike conventional mid-century cycles since the Credo has a change of texture. Its lower voices have C clefs on the middle line instead of the fourth line up and consequently there is more voice-equality here than in the other Ordinaries. In the Credo's final section the Tenor is temporarily the highest voice at 264 and 278, and the way in which the Credo text is set here with shortwinded phrasing is very reminiscent of earlier fifteenth-century Ordinaries.

Otherwise, despite some very wide voice-ranges little opportunity is taken to vary the texture by means of moving patches of voices to the lower or upper octave as in the Cervelli Kyrie. There is just one arresting moment in this Mass regarding range, and that is where the Gradual Superius briefly touches high F (159-162). Modern performances of this and similar music from [Trent 88](#) frequently feature just a single intrepid falsettist singing the Superius. As we have seen, some of the Proper settings involved are lengthy indeed. Perhaps at least the urban centres where such music was performed did things differently: it would be easier for voice-parts like the [Trent 89](#) Gradual Superius to be handled by a small team of discantus singers.

At this point - whoever Piret or Pierret was - we might ask where he acquired his musical skills. Evidently he had heard and seen music by accomplished masters; perhaps he was well acquainted with certain Dufay works which still survive. I have already suggested that he might have at least seen Dufay's St. Anthony of Padua Mass. Perhaps he acquired the means to write some of his more novel passages from a knowledge of older Dufay pieces. At 173-180 his Credo features fanfare-like imitation, and at 275-277 there is a 'terzfreiheit' cadence exactly as one might find in Dufay's earlier chansons. Perhaps, too, the declamatory manner of some of his Gloria and Credo Superius parts was influenced by something like *Juvenis qui puellam* or some of Dufay's Magnificat settings. The voice-exchanges in the final section of the Credo, too, have counterparts in Dufay's earlier secular pieces. But all of this is only conjecture.

We seem to be on safer ground in determining roughly when this cycle was put together, since David Fallows has convincingly suggested a date and place for the performance of the Dufay St. Anthony of Padua Mass. It was performed - perhaps for the first time in full - for the dedication of Donatello's altar at Florence Cathedral in June 1450.⁴⁷ Therefore it would be reasonably safe to assume that Dufay was working on at least some of the movements concerned in the late 1440's, and also that the possible 'imitation' (the [Trent 89](#) Mass) might date from that time or a few years afterwards. But as I have already argued it may not be a direct imitation; its composer may merely have seen or heard the Dufay work. As regards who and where the [Trent 89](#) Mass was written for, two factors seem important. Alejandro Planchart's discovery of the Proper texts in a Cambrai manuscript has been followed by Barbara Hagg's discovery that the manuscript concerned comes from the church of St. Géry and not the Cathedral. Therefore in view of the poor survival of liturgical text and chant sources it would be optimistic to assume that the Proper texts concerned were only used at Cambrai; they may have been more widespread than surviving sources allow us to tell. In this connection our search (albeit inconclusive) widens from around Cambrai for a very good reason. The following section on numerology shows that the number 31 is important within this Mass, and that number

⁴⁷ See Fallows, D., 'Specific information on the ensembles for composed polyphony, 1400-1474' in Boorman, S. (ed), *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 109-159. In connection with my previous point about several singers performing lengthy Superius parts, this article also discusses the possible disposition of the nine singers used for performing the Padua Mass at Florence in 1450.

is highly significant since there were 31 members of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece during our period.

The Order was as peripatetic as the Burgundian court during the mid-century, and held successive chapter meetings at Lille (1436), Saint-Omer (1440), Ghent (1445), Mons (1451) and The Hague (1456). Votive Masses for various saints were copied as the Order's daily Masses for when the chapter was in session, although St. Anthony Abbot's day was not one of the original list of feasts.⁴⁸ It has also been established that the liturgical features of some of the Trent 88 Propers tie them not to Cambrai, but to the Church of St. Etienne in Dijon and the Burgundian ducal chapel.⁴⁹ Therefore, it would be perfectly possible that Piret (or Pierret) was asked to provide a St. Anthony Abbot Mass for use by the Order, whose master (the Duke) had children and ancestors with the same name as the saint. Hence perhaps the appearances of 31 in the makeup of the cycle. It is therefore possible that Piret could have worked anywhere in France or the Low Countries and also equally possible that his St. Anthony Mass transmits either local liturgical features or chants and texts that he was instructed to use. I do not necessarily wish to move this cycle's origins away from Cambrai; my purpose is merely to show that it just might have originated elsewhere.

Where does this leave the remaining Propers for St. Anthony Abbot in Trent 88? They too are unlikely to be the lost Dufay work, because they are part of the Trent 88 complex that resembles the four-cycle 'core' but are not convincingly enough like Dufay's Propers to be considered part of them. Reinhard Strohm has recently shown that the Trent 88 cycle for St. George was very probably produced in Austria, albeit perhaps by a western musician who knew the current Mass Proper style well.⁵⁰ In the Trent 88 St. Anthony Abbot Propers we find the following features.

1. The Introit uses the Scitote quoniam text but the chant of Cibavit eos.
2. The Alleluia is relatively low-pitched (as in the Trent 88 St. Francis Alleluia) and its verse is a duet which moves from duple mensuration to sesquialtera and then back again (as in the Trent 89 Alleluia Vox de celo).
3. The Gradual and Offertory have rhythmic sophistications whose use may derive from similar passages in the Dufay Trinity Propers. Both Gradual and Offertory are bipartite with duple second sections. The Gradual uses Superius sesquialtera in its second section and ends with an irregular cadential tactus. The Offertory's first-section Superius has a brief passage in dotted-C before its end.

The Gradual and Offertory in Dufay's Trinity cycle are also bipartite, and both the Offertory and the first Alleluia from the same cycle feature Superius sesquialtera. As with the Trent 89 cycle, it is not yet possible to determine a provenance but it seems unlikely that these St. Anthony Propers have much to do with Dufay. I have already given the text sources for the Trent 88 Introit. The Gradual text (Deus qui das vindictas) derives from Psalm 17 verse 48 and 40, and the Offertory (Quis similis ei in fortibus) slightly varies Exodus chapter 15 verse 11. The Communion (Orabat dei famulus) is listed in Cambrai liturgical books and its text may derive from Athanasius like the Trent 89 Offertory.⁵¹

The Alleluia verse text (Felix corpus et felix anima) may have been widespread; I have come across its text in manuscripts from Sion (in the Valais canton) and also from Milan.⁵² Interestingly, the Strohm article

⁴⁸ Given in Gerber, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

⁴⁹ See Planchart, A., 'Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy' in EMH VIII (1988) pp. 117-171.

⁵⁰ See Strohm, R. 'The Medieval Mass Proper and the Arrival of Polyphonic Proper Settings in Central Europe' in Burn, D. & Gasch, S. (eds), Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Brepols, 2011) pp. 31-57.

⁵¹ For its appearance in liturgical sources see Haggh, 'Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral'.

⁵² Leisbach, J. (ed), Die Liturgischen Handschriften des Kapitelsarchivs in Sitten (1979), p. 134, which describes a Sion Missal of 1455. Also, see Lippe, R. (ed), Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474, vol. II (1907) p. 350 which gives

which discusses the Trent 88 St. George cycle gives examples of the Cibavit eos chant in its Roman and Passau versions. This is the chant used by the Trent 88 St. Anthony Abbot Introit, even though its text in Trent 88 is Scitote quoniam. The paraphrasing Superius in the first section of the Trent 88 setting features a variant in the Passau version of its chant at the only point where it leaps a fifth upwards, although that is hardly by enough by itself to determine where the setting might have been written. Like the Trent 89 Mass, this set of St. Anthony Propers may be another imitation. The parent chants for some of these movements remain rare.⁵³

To conclude, I hope that the above investigations at least make the bewilderingly complex subject of fifteenth-century Proper cycles and their composers a little clearer than it previously was. The new edition of the Piret Mass and my survey of its texture should also settle most issues regarding Dufay and this Mass.

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Numerology

Counts of tempora and notes seem to reveal a wealth of information regarding this work. So far in my investigations of the Trent 89 Masses I have found three cycles in which the number 31 features prominently. The first is this Mass, and the others are the *Te Deum* and *Du cuer* cycles. The likely presence of 31 as an organising factor in Masses which looks typically mid-century suggests that there is some connection between these works and the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece (which had 30 members plus the Duke during the period concerned). All of the data below is counted including final movemental and sectional longs except where indicated.

Before I explain the likely significance of 31 in this work, tempora-counts reveal some interesting symmetries in individual movements. The four-section Sanctus has a single Osanna section which is intended to be repeated; there are 170 measures in the movement as written. Add the Osanna repeat and the total is 207. Within that expanded total, the Benedictus (69 measures) is 33.33% of the whole and the other sections make up the remaining 66.66%.

The Gloria gives a similar scheme: consisting of 250 measures, its first three sections total 73 measures. Its Cum sancto section has 27 measures. The sum of these (100 measures) make up 40% of the total measures and the remaining sections (the fourth to sixth sections) make up the other 60%.

Likewise the Credo (which consists of 296 measures) begins with four sections which total 89 measures - which are 30.06% of the total measures. The remaining sections give us the other 69.93% (very nearly a 30-70 split).

Now we come to the significance of 31 in terms of tempora. Only two sections throughout feature multiples of 31 (the first section of Tronus eius with 124 measures, and Agnus II with 62). But the sum of the measures of all Ordinary movements plus the measures for the repeats of the Osanna and Agnus total 837 (which is 31 x 27).

The sum of all the measures for the Proper movements plus the repeated sections of the Gradual and the Alleluia = 868 (31 x 28). Technically to include *all* necessary repeats one must also include the repeated first section of the Introit - in which case we would have a total of 868 + 91, = 959. 959 is 31 x 30.935.

the Alleluia text much as in Trent 88. It also gives Scitote quoniam plus the psalm verse Et factus est as the St. Anthony Introit (as in Trent 89).

⁵³ See Gerber, R. (ed), Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent..., critical commentary to no. 41.

I therefore suspect that there is a general number scheme for this Mass, and in view of the calculations above there may not have been a polyphonic Communion setting. For those interested in achieving the 'perfect' proportion of 31 x 31 in these Propers (the total of 961 measures), I suggest the following. Two more measures have to be added to the non-repeated part of the Introit in order to make the above total of 959 into 961. A practical (and not aesthetically displeasing) way to do this is to make measures 93-94 of the Introit's psalm verse (which are both dotted semibreve and minim in all voices) each into dotted breve and semibreve.

In the same vein if there *was* actually a Kyrie setting, we might speculate that it contained 124 measures (31 x 4). This would also make the tempora sum of the Ordinary movements including their repeated sections into another set of 31 x 31; 837 (the sum of the existing Ordinaries) + 124 = 961.

Finally regarding tempora, the suggested Kyrie provided with this Mass also has numerical interest. Its second and third sections constitute 75% of its total tempora, and its total measures (92) are very nearly 31 x 3 - but that is probably coincidental.

Note-counts reveal the following data involving 31 & its multiples.

Total of notes in the Introit first-section Contra: 124 (31 x 4).

Total of notes in the Et in terra Superius: 124.

Total of notes in the Cum sancto Contra: 93 (31 x 3).

Total of notes in the Osanna Superius: 62 (31 x 2).

Total of notes in the Agnus II Superius: 62.

Number of semibreves in the Cum sancto Contra:	31
Number of semibreves in the Et in Spiritum Contra:	31
Number of semibreves in the Agnus I Contra:	31
Number of breves in the Benedictus Contra:	31
Total breves in the Tenor of the whole Sanctus:	31
Total of Tenor notes in the Gradual:	310
Number of minims in the Gradual Contra:	31
Total of notes in the Alleluia first section (excluding the final long):	62
Total of Superius notes in Agnus II:	62
Total of Superius notes in the Osanna:	62
Total of minims in the Pleni sunt Contra:	62
Total of notes in the Cum sancto Contra:	93
Total of semibreves in the Introit Superius:	93
Total of Superius notes in the Et in terra :	124
Total of Contra notes in the Introit's first section :	124

Further exploration of this Mass shows that there are other note-totals of interest. For example there are 100 breves in the Credo Contra, and excluding the final long there are 100 Superius notes in the Cum sancto section. There are also 100 semibreves in the Offertory Contra. But not all of these totals (nor indeed some of those above) have to be significant.

20. Caron; Missa *Clemens et benigna*

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 378v-388r, anon. (DTÖ VII inventory nos 747-751);
- (ii) ModC ff. 140v-152r, with the title 'Caron. Clemens et benigna' above the Kyrie Superius (the reading for the Credo is more extended than in Trent 89).

Kyrie

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 378v-379r;
- (ii) ModC ff. 140v-141r.

- (i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the stave in each voice / 2: p div follows 2 / 11: as at 1 / 39: as at 1 & 11, but the m sign in the Contra bassus is om / 51,3-52: added on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra primus; no discrepancies.

Tenor; 3: p div follows 2 / 5,1: Trent 89 gives sbr D sbr D instead of the breve here (corr using ModC for reasons of text underlay) / 37-38: this lig is given as L-mx / 49: 3 uc.

Contra bassus; 18,2: corr from A by erasure of a ligature-end.

Underlay; Kyrie / Christe incipits and 'eleyson' are given in the Superius, but only the opening incipits are given for the lower voices. Christe is given as 'Xpe', and 'eleyson' in the Superius is given at the end of each section without much regard for word-positioning. The first two sections each need a single repeat of 'eleyson' in each voice, and the final section needs two such repeats in the lower voices and one in the Superius. This Kyrie is brief; adding more text-per-section that 'Kyrie/Christe eleyson...eleyson' seems impractical.

- (ii) ModC;

[Superius]; 1: all sections are preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names, and the first of these in Kyrie I is a boxed decorated majuscule / 2: no p div / 3: no b / 7: no minor color / 9: 4-7 are replaced by sbr G m F / 11-12,1: replaced by dtd-br / 19,3-20,4: replaced by br C sbr B / 35-36: 35,2 is col br ligd to 34,2 & 35,1, & 36,2 is col sbr / 39: m sign given in all voices as cut-O / 51: 4 & 5 replaced by dtd-m G plus sm F sm F sm E.

Contra; 1: 1-2 replaced by br D which is ligd to 2,1 / 9,4: replaced by sbr D & L D / 35: 1 looks more like D than E (D would be a legitimate option here) / 39-42,1: this passage in ModC is replaced by the correct number of rests.

Tenor; 1: the cantus firmus title 'Clemens et benigna' is given following 'Kyrie' / 3: no p div / 17: not ligd / 37-38: the lig here is br L which is correct (unlike Trent 89).

Bassus; 1-2: replaced by ligd br G br E & sbr E, none of which are col / 18,2: recta flat, given before 18,1 / 27: 1 & 2 are ligd / 28,1-29,1: ligd / 37-38: ligd.

Underlay; similar to that in Trent 89, but with all parts having 'leyson' at the end of each section and 'Christe' written unabbreviated.

ModC presents some simpler readings than Trent 89 and significantly omits a passage of higher Contra at the start of the second Kyrie.

Bibliography; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, no. 11; Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 102-103; Thomson, J. (ed), Les Oeuvres Complètes de Philippe (?) Caron (2 vols, Brooklyn, 1971 & 1976), I, pp. 41-66 (edition, after ModC). Reynolds, C., Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380-1513 (University of California Press, 1995) pp. 212-213, 216 & 222-224. Rossi, F., 'Le presunte secondi versioni del Ms. Mod. α. M. 13: Interveno Revisionale di Johannes Martini?' in Fonti Musicali Italiane 9 (2004) pp. 7-15 (which argues in favour of ModC being a relatively reliable source for this Mass). Steib, M., 'Herculean Labours: Johannes Martini and the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms α M.1.13' in EMH 33 (2014) pp. 183-257 (which argues that this Mass is probably complete without the Credo's second trio section in ModC).

Gloria

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 379v-382r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 748);
- (ii) ModC ff. 141v-145r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 177r transposed a fifth up, and the m sign is given before the stave on the first opening for the three upper voices / 15,3: corr from col err / 39: on the second opening, the m sign is given before the stave for the two upper voices / 70: on the third opening, the m sign is given before the stave for all voices / 83,2: Trent 89 gives sbr r (corr using ModC) / 85,2-86,1: Trent 89 gives br D (corr using ModC).

Contra primus; 1: b sig om (supplied from ModC) / 10,1 & 11,1: these two notes look inked over twice / 25,3-4: likewise / 26,1: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 37: 1 is L / 46: 2 uc / 96,2: added on a short end-of-stave extension, and this note looks inked over twice / 149,2-150,1: added on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 1: b sig om (supplied from ModC) / 32: 3 A (corr using ModC) / 38: no 'tacet' direction given / 144: in both the Tenor and Contra bassus, the last note of the ligs here are maximas.

[Contra] bassus; 1: on the first opening this voice is called 'Tenor' (in majuscules) and 'bassus' (in normal script); on subsequent openings it is called Contra or Contratenor bassus / 47: 1 uc / 53: p div follows 2 / 99,2-100,2: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 137-138: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices (the Tenor for the first section merely has 'Clemens et benigna'). The Superius texting is not that tidy or accurate and looks confused at 80-102 due to compression. Otherwise some text omissions seem necessary in the lower voices to effect underlay in all voices; for example at 18-19 and 80-102 a little textual dovetailing becomes necessary. Some of our texting decisions are influenced by the reading in ModC. The main differences between our texting and that of Trent 89 are as follows. Superius; 1-6,1: the text is entered here with little or no regard for word positioning / 6-9: 'bone voluntatis' under 7,1-8,5 / 10-12: as at 1-6 / 13-14: 'Benedi-' under 13,3-14,1 / 14: '-cimus' under 14,2-3 / 15: 'te' under 15,4 / 18-20: 'Glorifi-' under 19,1-20,1 / 21-24: '-camus' under 24,1-25,1 / 25,2-30: as at 1-6 / 35: 'tu-' under 36,5 / 39-41: 'Domine' under 39,1-40,2 / 41-43: 'Deus' under 41,1-2 / 43: 'Rex' under 41,5-42,1 / 43-44: 'celestis' under 42,5-46,1 / 45-46: 'Deus' under 45,1-3 / 46-47: 'Pater' under 46,5-47,5 / 47-50: 'omnipo-' under 48,3-5 / 53: 'Domine' under 53,2-5 / 54: 'Fili' under 54,1-2 / 55-58: 'Unigenite' under 55,4-56,4 / 58: 'Jhesu' under 58,3-4 / 59-60: 'Christe' (given as 'xpe') under 59,5-60,1 / 60-62: as at 1-6 / 63-65: 'Dei' under 64,5-65,1 / 67: 'Pa-' under 66,4-5 / 69: '-tris'

under 68,3-69,1 / 72: ‘tollis’ under 75,2-77,1 / 80-87: the text here is compressed, and only runs up to ‘nobis’ at 82; ‘Qui tollis...mundi’ is under 87,1-95,1 / 88-102: ‘suscipe...nostram’ under 96-102 / 103-111: as at 1-6 / 115-119: ‘nobis’ under 117,2-118,2 / 120-129: as at 1-6 / 130-140: ‘Tu solus...Altissimus’ under 130,1-136,2 & running into the right margin / 143-144: ‘Christe’ (given as ‘xpe’) under 143,2-144,1 / 145-149: as at 1-6 / 151-152: ‘Dei’ under 151,2-3 / 153-154: ‘Patris’ under 153,1-4 / 158: ‘-men’ under 157,6-158,1. Contra primus: 39-45: the extensive incipit here is given with little regard for positioning / 150-151: ed rpt of ‘gloria’ needed. Tenor; no further discrepancies. Contra bassus; 39-44: ‘Deus’ has been initially omitted from the incipit here and is written above the other text.

(ii) ModC;

[Superius]; 1: the format of the coloured initials is the same as in the Kyrie (coloured boxed initial at the start of the Superius, and blue or red initials for lower-part voice names plus first letters of text on successive openings) / 9: cs over 1 / 13: no lig / 41: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-sbr D / 45: 5 is natural, ind by b / 49: 4 F / 50: 1 & 2 replaced by m rest & m D / 55: 1-3 replaced by m upper F (with b before it for natural) plus sbr upper E / 80: no b / 85: 1 is natural, ind by b / 142: 1 & 2 ligd / 143: no lig / 144: cor over 1 in all voices, & single custos instead of double in Superius only.

Contra; 1: the b sig is consistently given throughout / 23-24: no lig, and 23,2-24,1 is replaced by sbr A m A / 25: 5-7 replaced by m B sm A sm B / 37-38: replaced by divisi L with D and a col L B notehead below the D / 45: no lig / 50: 2 is dtd-m & 3 is sm / 81-82: ligd / 84: 1-3 are sm f & f (which is an error) / 121,2-122,1: ligd / 122,2-123,1: ligd / 123,2-124,1: ligd / 146: 1 & 2 are ligd / 146-147: 146,4-147,1 are ligd / 147-148: 147,3-148,1 are ligd / 148: 2 not ligd / 158: 1 & 2 replaced by L D.

Tenor; 1: the b sig is consistently given throughout / 9-11: ligd / 12-13: ligd separately / 38: the words ‘tenor tacet’ appear on the opening where the internal trio occurs / 144: 1 is L in both lower voices / 147: p div follows 2.

Bassus; 1: the ‘Et in terra’ incipit at the opening is lacking / 13,2-14,1: ligd / 31: 2 & 3 replaced by col br lower D / 34: 4 replaced by sbr D m D / 41: 2 b / 47-48: no lig / 53: no p div / 56: 1 replaced by br D sbr D / 60: 3 replaced by sbr F m F / 69: 1 is upper G / 75,1: ligd to 72-74 / 77-80: given as one lig / 82: 1 & 2 ligd / 83: likewise / 84, 91, 92 & 93: likewise / 94-95: ligd / 96: 1 & 2 ligd / 97,1-98,1: ligd / 112,2-113,2: ligd / 150: no lig / 157,4-158: these final two notes are given on a staff with bass clef on fourth line up.

Underlay; ModC gives a fully texted Superius with incipits for the lower voices apart from the internal trio (where the higher Contra has extensive text) and the duple section’s Tenor (which also has partial texting). ModC gives ‘Iesu’ for ‘Jhesu’ at Superius 58 & 141-142, and its underlay is much neater than Trent 89. This reading looks instructive in how to set the text to the Superius, but its text placement is not necessarily all authoritative just because of its general tidiness.

The variants given in ModC are minimal; there are some split values in the lower voices of the trio section, plus one or two altered notes in the full sections. Also, the flat signatures for the inner voices are properly given.

Credo

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 382v-385r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 749);
- (ii) ModC ff. 145v-149r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is given before the first stave in each voice / 55: at the start of the second page-opening, the m sign is rptd before the stave in the Superius & Contra bassus / 64: 3-5 are dtd-m f f (corr using ModC) / 82,6: added on a single-line end-of-stave extension / 87: at the start of the third page-opening the m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 87-164: regarding the editorial texting at the start of this section see the entry on underlay below / 110,1-2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 165-229: this section is only in ModC, and is dealt with in the critical apparatus for that reading below / 230: at the start of the final section, the upper three voices have their m signs followed by single custos, for no apparent reason / 237,5-6: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra primus; 54: the upper divisi note here is given with an upward tail, and the lower note has a downward tail / 60: sharp ind before 59,1 / 161: ns / 240-241: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 47: 2 D (corr using ModC) / 54: no 'tacet' direction given / 106-164: this section of the Tenor is written over erasures / 130: ns / 133, 134 & 135: likewise / 164: no 'tacet' direction given / 240,1: written on an end-of-stave extension / 240,2-253: this final passage of the Tenor is copied on the bottom of the page using a roughly drawn stave.

Contratenor bassus; 46: p div follows 2 / 79: 2 G (corr using ModC) / 86: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 129-130: likewise / 230: m sign given before stave / 23,5: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, but the Trent 89 reading for this movement does not use the complete Credo text. Since it omits the second trio in ModC and begins its duple section with 'Et resurrexit', Trent 89 omits 'Crucifixus...sepultus est'. I have restored this text at the start of the duple section (as is given in ModC) and have also inserted the ModC second trio at 165-229. This results in a Credo which uses the full text, but the second trio may not be authentic. Further, see the section on structure below. The main differences between our texting and that of Trent 89 are as follows, bearing in mind that Trent 89 seems to have some poorly underlaid phrases in the first section and also omitted text in the third section which may be the result of some unsuccessful fifteenth-century editing (see below, 122-127). Superius; 6-7: 'omnipotentem' under 5,2-7,1 / 7,2-12: the text given here is 'factorem...omnium', which is compressed and given with little regard for positioning / 20-22: 'Et in unum' under 13,1-14,4 / 23: 'Dominum' under 15,1-16,1 / 23-24: 'Jhesum' under 16,3-4 / 24-25: 'Christum' (given as 'xpum') under 18,3-6 / 25: following 'Christum' Trent 89 gives 'Filius Dei Unigenitus' under 20,2-25,1; I have omitted this from the Superius, as does ModC. / 28-30: the text here is entered with little regard for positioning / 30-31: 'ante' under 30,1-3 / 31: 'omnia' under 31,1-3 / 32,4-35: as at 28-30 / 46-49: Trent 89 gives 'Genitum non factum' here; I have omitted this from the Superius, as does ModC. Also at 46-49 'consubstantialem' is under 50,1-51,2 / 50-54: as at 28-30 / 55-56: 'propter' under 56,4-5 / 57: 'nos' under 57,3-4 / 58-60: 'homines' under 59,1-5 / 60-64,3: as at 28-30 / 64: 'de' under 65,3 / 66-67: 'celis' under 66,3-5 / 67-69: 'Et incarnatus' under 67,2-69,2 / 70-73: 'de Spiritu' under 70,3-71,3 / 74: 'San-' under 73,1 / 75,2-78,1: as at 28-30 / 79-83: 'homo' under 78,4-79,3 / 83: 'fa-' (given as 'fac-') under 80,2-3 / 84: '-ctus' (given as '-tus') under 85,3-4 / 87-96: Trent 89 has the text 'Et resurrexit tertia die' here / 97-105: Trent 89 has 'secundum Scripturas' / 106-112: Trent 89 has 'Et ascendit in celum' / 113-121: Trent 89 has 'sedet...Patris' / 122-127: Trent 89 has 'Et iterum venturus est', which has too many syllables for the allotted phrase / 128-136: Trent 89 has 'cum gloria iudicare' / 137-150: Trent 89 has 'vivos et mortuos' / 156-164: 'cuius...finis' under 151,1-163,1 / 231-232:

‘unum’ under 232,2-4 / 232-233: ‘baptisma’ under 233,2-5 / 234,2-237: as at 28-30 / 239-242: ‘Et expecto’ under 240,1-241,1 / 242,2-247,1: as at 28-30 / 249-250: ‘seculi’ under 249,2-4 / 250: ‘A-’ under 250,3-4 / 253: ‘-men’ under 252,5-253,1. Contra primus; 87: all of the Trent 89 lower voices have the incipit ‘Et resurrexit’ here. Tenor & Contra bassus; no further discrepancies.

(ii) ModC;

[Superius]; 1: the format of the coloured initials is the same as in previous movements (coloured boxed initial at the start of the Superius, and blue or red initials for lower-part voice names plus first letters of text on successive openings) / 3: 2 b, ind before 3,1 / 28: 6 F / 39,2-3: no minor color / 47: 1 b / 51,3: no b / 68,4-5: minor color / 69,1-2: likewise / 73,1-2: no minor color / 197,1: natural ind by b / 224: 1 B / 231: 2 replaced by sbr C m A / 236,5-7: ModC reads sm sm m / 245,2-3: no minor color.

Contra; 14: 2 & 3 are dtd-m sm / 16: 1 & 2 are replaced by br G, & p div follows 3 / 18,2: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 23: p div follows 2 / 25: 5 replaced by sbr A m A / 34: 1 not colored / 41: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-sbr F / 46: ModC reads br D sbr D plus p div / 54: divisi has one downward tail / 60: no sharp / 68-69: no lig / 89: 2 E / 100,3: replaced by sbr G sbr G / 119: 1 not ligd / 120: 1 & 2 ligd / 123: no lig / 127: not ligd / 128-129: ligd / 174,1: ModC gives sbr G sbr G instead of br G (modified here for the sake of the texting) / 231: 3 is col / 235: r unclear (given immediately above the clef at the start of a stave) / 235,3-236; replaced by br A m A sbr G m G.

Tenor; 23: p div follows 2 / 47: likewise / 54: ‘tenor tacet’ is given on the second opening below the second-section Superius / 102: 1 D / 104-107: these two L are replaced by mx A, which is ligd to 102-103 / 117,2: ligd to 115,2-116,2 / 164: cor above 1, single custos, & no ‘tacet’ direction given for following trio / 235: p div follows 2 / 245,4-246,1: ligd.

Bassus; 21: p div follows 2 / 55: 1 replaced by br G sbr G / 56: 2 b, ind before 55,1 / 60: no lig / 74: 1 b / 79: 2 A / 110-111: ligd / 112-114: ligd / 133: 1 replaced by br G / 134: 1 replaced by sbr G / 144: no lig / 161: not ligd / 162: likewise / 164: cor over 1 / 200: 1 G / 229: this note & the following double custos are added after end of stave.

ModC’s variants are minimal apart from the added second trio; excluding this section, a few lower-voice notes are differently split and the higher Contra has a legitimate variant at 235-236.

Underlay; ModC gives full Superius text, which is neater than that in Trent 89 but does not seem always reliably placed (particularly at the start of the main duple section). Its Superius gives ‘Jhesum’ as ‘Iesum’ at 23-24. The following incipits are given in the lower voices. Section 1 Contra: Patrem omnipotentem factorem. Tenor: visibilium omnium / Clemens et benigna / unum Dominum Jhesum. Bassus: visibilium omnium. Section 2 Contra: Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram / de Spiritu Sancto. Ex Maria. Bassus: Qui propter nos. Section 3 Contra: Crucifixus etiam pro nobis. Tenor: Crucifixus / et sepultus est. Bassus: Crucifixus etiam. Section 4 Contra: Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem. Bassus: Et in Spiritum / simul. Section 5: Contra & Bassus: Confiteor. Tenor: Confiteor / baptisma / resurrectionem mortuorum.

Sanctus

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 385v-387r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 750);
 (ii) ModC ff. 149v-151r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 14: 1 is dtd-sbr, & no rest given (corr using ModC) / 42: the m sign is given before the staff for the three upper voices, & is om in the Contra bassus.

Contra primus; 1: for the three lower voices, the m sign is given before the start of the first staff / 27: p div follows 2 / 63: 1 E (corr using ModC) / 80: m sign om / 81: ns.

Tenor; 26: no 'tacet' direction given / 79: likewise / 89: m sign given before final staff of Tenor.

Contra bassus; 1: on the first opening this voice is called 'Contra' (in majuscules) and 'bassus' (in normal script); on the second opening the voice-name is 'Contratenor' / 66: b ind before 65,1 / 81: 3 written over erasure / 88: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. Parts of the ModC Superius texting prove useful for the purpose of editorial underlay. The main differences between our texting and that of Trent 89 are as follows. Superius; 1: '[S]an-' (given as '[S]anc-' under 1,1-3,3 / 6: '-ctus' given as '-tus' / 6-9: 'sanctus' under 6,3-8,1 / 9: 'san-' given as 'sanc-' / 12: '-ctus' (given as '-tus') under 11,5 / 13-17: 'Domi-' under 13,1-3 / 18: '-nus' under 15,5-16,1 / 19: 'De-' under 16,4 / 20: '-us' under 18,1 / 21-24: 'Saba-' under 19,2-4 / 26: '-oth' under 25,6-26,1 / 27: 'Pleni' under 27,1-28,2 / 28: 'sunt' under 29,1-4 / 28-32: 'celi' under 31,4-5 / 33: 'et' under 33,2 / 34: 'ter-' under 33,4-5 / 35-37: 'gloria' under 35,4-36,5 / 38: 'tu-' under 38,4-5 / 41: '-a' under 40,5-41,1 / 42-46: 'Osanna' under 42-45,1 / 54: 'in' under 55,1-2 / 55: 'ex-' under 56,2-3 / 57-61: '-celsis' under 74,2-77,2 / 62-79: ed rpt of 'Osanna in excelsis' needed in all voices / 80-82: 'Benedictus' under 80,1-81,6 / 84: 'in' under 84,3 / 86-87: '-mine' under 86,2-5 / 87-88: 'Domi-' under 87,2-88,3 / 89-96: 'Osanna' under 89,1-90,4 / 98: 'excel-' under 98,2-4 / 100: '-sis' under 99,8-9. Contra primus & Contra bassus; no further discrepancies. Tenor; the only incipit given for the first section is 'Clemens et benigna', and the two Osanna Tenor sections are merely labelled 'Osanna primus' and 'Osanna secundus'.

(ii) ModC;

[Superius]; 1: the format of the coloured initials is the same as in previous movements (coloured boxed initial at the start of the Superius, and blue or red initials for lower-part voice names plus first letters of text on both openings) / 2: p div follows 1, & it is made clear that this is a division dot rather than an augmentation dot since it is written on the top staff space / 9: cs above 1 / 10: 2 & 3 ligd / 26: here & at 41, the custos is not really visible in photographs of ModC used due to the staff-ends being close to the binding. Both may be single custos. / 31: 3 A / 35,1-2: no minor color / 65,2: not ligd / 68,2-69,1: ligd / 70: 2 ligd to 69,2-70,1 / 83,2-3: minor color / 88: single custos in Superius & both Contras / 92: 2 & 3 replaced by dtd-m F sm D.

Contra; 1: no b sig given throughout / 8,1-2: no lig / 14,3: replaced by sbr E m E / 15: 2 is dtd-m & 3 is sm / 43,1-45,1: ligd / 47: 1 not ligd / 48,1-49,1: ligd / 71,2-72,1: no lig / 80: m sign not om / 98: 5 replaced by m rest.

Tenor; 1: no b sig given throughout / 16: 1 col / 18: 1 col / 26: 'Pleni tacet' given following double custos / 49: 1 dtd / 51-52: only one br r given / 69: 1 & 2 ligd / 70: 1 & 2 ligd / 79: not ligd, and following the double

custos is a section of stave with 12 br rests plus another double custos and the word 'Benedictus' below (only 9 measures of rests are needed for the Benedictus).

Bassus; 13: 1 not col / 19: 3 E / 22: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 26: ModC gives divisi upper G below the D / 31: 3 G / 35,2-3: no lig / 39: 3 G / 42: m sign not om / 49: not ligd / 66: b ind above 64,2 / 68,2-69,1: ligd / 69,2-70,2: ligd / 75: 1 not ligd / 75,2-76,2: ligd / 78-79: lig, and 79,1 is upper G with a divisi D above it / 85: 1 & 2 ligd / 87: 5 b / 89: p div follows 2 / 93,4-94,1: ligd / 94,4-95,1: ligd.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with the following lower-voice incipits. Section 1 Contra: Sanctus / Dominus. Tenor & Bassus: Sanctus sanctus. Section 2 Contra: Pleni sunt celi et terra. Bassus: Pleni sunt. Section 3 Contra & Tenor: Osanna in ex. Bassus: Osanna. Section 4 Contra: Benedictus qui venit in nomine. Bassus: Benedictus qui venit. Section 5 Contra & Bassus: Osanna in. Tenor: Osanna in ex.

ModC significantly omits the flat signatures in the middle voices (possibly to avoid the diminished fifth at 10); otherwise it has a few ligaturing variants and also more mistakes in the lower Contra than Trent 89.

Agnus

- (i) Trent 89 ff. 387-388r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 751);
- (ii) ModC ff. 151v-152r.

(i) Trent 89;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the stave in each voice / 16: rest is immediately below the rest in 15 due to lack of space at the end of a stave / 60: m sign given before stave.

Contratenor primus; 6: cs is given inverted under 6,1 / 16,2-3: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 20,2-21,1: Trent 89 gives sm E sm D m C m E m D (corr using ModC) / 36-37: rests given as a single br rest on a short end-of-stave extension / 44-45: written over a erasure.

Tenor; 16,1: corr from col err / 59: the final square note in the lig here has no downward tail. 60: this final section is ind as 'Agnus Dei ultimus'.

Contratenor bassus; 1: as at the start of the Sanctus this voice is called 'Contra' (in majuscules) and 'bassus' (in normal script) / 14,2: Trent 89 reads sm A sm B, with the flat for the B ind before 14,1 (corr using ModC, which gives a better variant here).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. As with the Sanctus, parts of the ModC Superius textings prove useful for the purpose of editorial underlay. The main differences between our textings and that of Trent 89 are as follows. Superius; 1-4: 'Agnus' under 1-3,3 / 5-6: 'Dei' under 5,3-4 / 7: 'qui' under 7,2-8,1 / 7-8: 'tol-' under 8,2-3 / 8: '-lis' under 11,3-4 / 8-11: 'peccata' under 12,2-13,2 / 12-15: 'mundi' under 14,1-4 / 17-19: 'misere-' under 17,1-18,2 / 26-30: 'Dei' under 29,2-30,1 / 35: '-lis' under 40,2-41,1 / 36-38: 'peccata' under 43,1-44,2 / 40-41: 'mundi' under 46-48 / 43-46: 'misere-' under 49,2-51,1 / 48: '-re' under 52,1 / 49: 'no-' under 55,2 / 58: '-bis' under 57,3-58,1 / 60-64: the text here is entered with little regard for word positioning / 65-66: 'peccata' under 65,1-4 / 67: 'mundi' under 66,1-4 / 68-71: as at 60-64. Contratenor primus; 17-20: ed rpt of 'miserere' needed for all lower voices. Tenor & Contratenor bassus; no further discrepancies.

(ii) ModC;

[Superius]; 1: 1: the format of the coloured initials is the same as in previous movements (coloured boxed initial at the start of the Superius, and blue or red initials for lower-part voice names plus first letters of text)

/ 6: cs above 1 / 19: no lig, & 2 is replaced by dtd-m E sm D / 49-50: ligd / 56,3-59: ModC reads dtd-sbr A m G m G m F dtd-sbr A m F & L F with cor above it.

Contra; 1: no b sig given throughout / 6: no cs / 18: 1 b / 21,5-22,3: ModC reads sbr F m D m E / 28: 1 & 2 ligd / 29-31: ligd / 44-45: ligd / 46-47: no lig, & ModC reads sbr B br C m B m A / 57-58,1: ligd / 59: 1 is br / 66,1-2: minor color.

Tenor; 1: no b sig given throughout / 8-9: in ModC 8,1 appears to be perfect (i.e. dtd br, despite no dot being given) & 9,1-2 are replaced by sbr upper F m E sbr D m C / 18,4-5: minor color / 53-59: given as one lig, and as in Trent 89 the final note of this lig has no downward tail.

Bassus; 14: b ind before 1 / 32,1-33,2: ligd / 58: no cor / 64,2: A (above) / 69: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br C.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with the following incipits for the lower voices. Section 1 Contra: Agnus Dei. Tenor: Agnus Dei / peccata mundi. Bassus: Agnus Dei. Section 2 Contra: Agnus Dei qui. Tenor: Agnus Dei / miserere. Bassus: [A]gnus Dei (a coloured initial is omitted here). Section 3 Contra: Agnus Dei / nobis pacem. Tenor: Agnus Dei qui. Bassus: Agnus Dei.

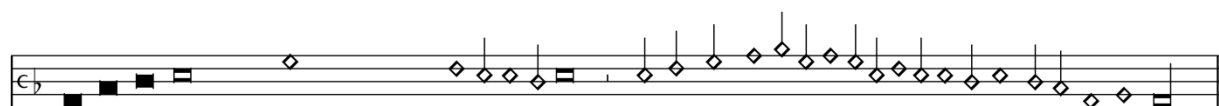
ModC gives a decidedly inferior version of the Agnus, with the flat signatures omitted in the middle voices (as in the Sanctus) and probably wrong notes in the Tenor (at 9). But it improves on the Trent 89 upper Contra at 20-22. Otherwise the different Superius ending to Agnus II in ModC is possibly not authentic, since other duple-section endings in this Mass are more like the Trent 89 Agnus II ending.

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Structure

I begin this description rather differently from my normal manner, for a very good reason. Caron (the composer of this Mass) is normally mentioned in the same breath as Ockeghem, Faugues and others as one of the leading figures amongst later-fifteenth-century Mass composers. But the present Mass is in some respects unlike his others. A couple of its sections are extremely short, and the music occasionally has an acerbic manner due to two elements. Firstly the disposition of the Tenor, which is an internal voice with fourths against the Superius. It has the leading-note to final role in many internal cadences. This means that in II-I cadences the voices surrounding the Tenor often create diminished progressions (as at Gloria 78-79). Secondly, there are some bold dissonances (such as the sevenths between the upper voices at Gloria, 116) as well as some impressive moments such as the *Domine Deus* and *Qui propter* trios. For those who have read my work on the *Missa Christus surrexit* in Instalment 2, a question is in order. What separates contrapuntally undistinguished fifteenth-century Masses from the productions of established masters? In the case of the *Missa Clemens et benigna*, the answer is not that much because I suspect that this Mass is a quite early work of Caron. But in some respects Caron seems quite distant from the *Missa Christus surrexit* composer - because the *Clemens et benigna* lower voices are more flexible than in the latter Mass, and because Caron is more adept at imitation than the *Christus surrexit* anonymous. Also as with the *Missa Christus surrexit*, the question of flat signatures will feature significantly in our discussion.

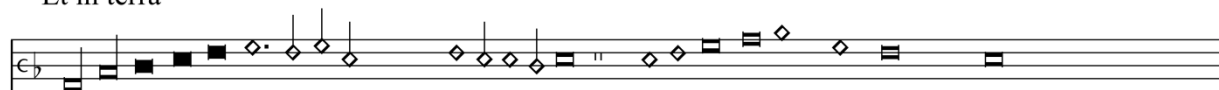
So far as I know, nobody has convincingly suggested a candidate for the elusive cantus firmus of this Mass. The following pages propose one such cantus firmus, which seems to explain much about this rather unusual piece - in particular its tendency to feature both major and minor moments within the basic framework of a four-voice Mass with G finals. That the Tenor has pre-existent material is strongly suggested by the melodic profile of each movement's Tenor entry. These are given below in a melodically synchronised form using some elements of the original notation (to save space).

3.18. First-section Tenor openings from the *Missa Clemens et benigna*;

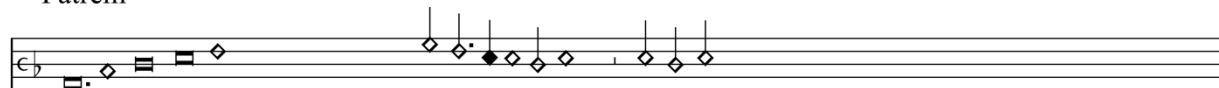
Kyrie I



Et in terra



Patrem



Sanctus

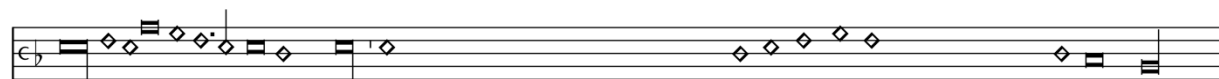


Agnus I

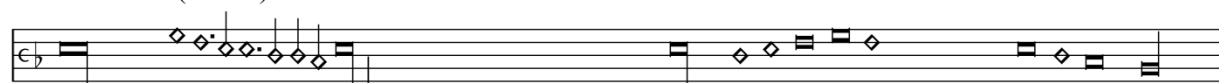
The fully scored duple-section Tenors of the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus may also contain pre-existent material, since they all begin on upper D, each soon features a melodic cadence on the same degree, and then each Tenor gradually proceeds to A below. (These features are not shared by the Christe Tenor, which begins on upper G).

3.19. Related main duple-section Tenor openings from the *Missa Clemens et benigna*;

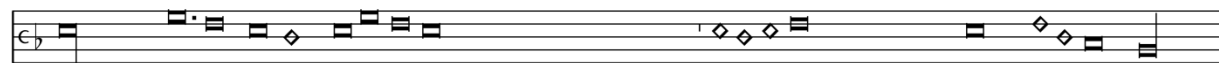
Qui tollis (Gloria)



Crucifixus (Credo)



Osanna I



Agnus II

The final triple sections of all movements may also conceal borrowed material.

3.20. Final-section Tenor openings from the Missa *Clemens et benigna*;

Kyrie II

Cum sancto

Confiteor

Osanna II

Agnus III

From these examples it should be clear that if Tenor cantus firmus is present it is differently elaborated in each movement. It should also become apparent from examination of our score that the Tenors vary considerably following their openings, suggesting that any cantus firmus present is treated rather liberally. Not all of these similar openings need be derivative, but I shall return to the cantus firmus in due course since other features of this Mass are almost as important for detecting pre-existent material as the Tenors. For now, it also seems important to note that the two sources do not even agree on the basic form of the Tenor. In ModC, the flat signatures for the Sanctus and Agnus are omitted, and Trent 89 probably omits the Gloria's flat signatures in the middle voices by accident.⁵⁴ The ModC scribe seems to have had a valid reason for his omission, but again explanation of this is best kept until after the basic description of this Mass.

There is no motto opening. The Gloria and Credo openings are similar, and the Kyrie Superius opening seems to be an expression of basically the same theme as that which opens the Gloria and Credo: a figure beginning on G which includes a B[flat]-A progression early in its development, which proceeds downwards to a cadence on D, and which then rises to a cadence on upper D. The Sanctus and Agnus open differently; these movement-openings form a separate related pair and significantly they do not feature B flats at all. All four-voice internal duple sections except the *Christe* begin with another independent set of related figures, and the triple-meter final sections of each movement give yet another set of related Superius openings. Some of these sections (particularly the *Cum sancto*, *Confiteor* and *Osanna II*) have internal similarities too. The fully-scored duple sections in the Gloria, Credo and Agnus also precede these final sections with similar sectional cadences.

In the three middle movements full sections alternate with trios. Nearly all of the trios are in O mensuration, and the *Domine Deus*, *Qui propter* and *Benedictus* trios all begin similarly. The only duple trio throughout (the *Et in Spiritum*) is quite unlike the others and may not be authentic - for reasons which I will give in due course.

⁵⁴ A recent recording of this Mass (in the triple-CD set fb1207302, by The Sound and the Fury) dispenses with many of the lower-voice flats. The result - whether it is strictly accurate or not - makes very satisfactory listening.

The lower Contra shares the functions of filler-part and bass; while it quite frequently crosses the Tenor the lower part of its range (from lower C to lower G) is only used for the lower G at perfect cadences. The upper Contra - at least in Trent 89 and the first three movements in ModC - shares the single-flat signature of the Tenor. I take this to mean that that the first Contra has its signature to avoid fundamental dissonances, and not as a sign that the lower Contra (nor indeed the Superius) needs editorial flat signatures. This Mass therefore features some gravitational ‘pull’ between the opposite poles of sonorities involving B flat and those involving B natural. Hence some of the diminished constructs throughout. There are also occasionally closely-situated false relations (as at Credo 56-57) but I am reluctant to add more accidentals than already given in the score in order to avoid these. Four-voice passages also contain a particular device which Caron and other later-fifteenth-century composers seem to use quite often. The following example illustrates its classic form, with the three lower voices making a doubled-leadingnote formula plus the Superius entering a seventh above the Tenor and moving downwards.

3.21. Missa *Clemens et benigna*, Kyrie, 47-49;

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Superius, Tenor, Alto, and Bass. The Superius part is in treble clef with a single flat signature. The other three voices (Tenor, Alto, Bass) are in bass clef with a double flat signature. The lyrics are: '-son, ...e - le - y - son, ...e'. The Superius part starts with a dotted quarter note followed by a half note. The other three voices start with a dotted quarter note followed by a half note. The Superius part has a fermata over the final note. The other three voices have a fermata over the final note.

To summarise our introduction, the Missa *Clemens et benigna* is rather a difficult work to deal with. It does not give up its secrets easily, and the main issues involved are the origin of the Tenor cantus firmus and also its flat signature. The latter aspect is the easier of the two to discuss, since I have already indicated that ModC is inconsistent regarding flat signatures. Why might the scribe have omitted these in the final two movements? The answer may lie in the fact that ModC (despite being a principal source for Martini’s mature-period Masses) also presents some older works in probably edited versions. The Vincenet Missa *Entrepris* in this manuscript may not entirely be by the named composer. There is internal evidence to suggest that ModC makes a ‘Mass cycle’ out of Vincenet’s work plus an anonymous Mass using the same cantus firmus and a borrowed section from one of Vincenet’s other Masses.⁵⁵ Likewise, the Martini *Cucu* Mass is given in ModC (fragmentarily) with a shortened Kyrie which is quite different from the version in Trent 91. Might it therefore be possible that the ModC copy of *Clemens et benigna* is also edited? I suggest this for the following reason: the Sanctus and Agnus movements feature diminished fifths between the two lower voices shortly after their entrance-point in each movement (see Sanctus 10 and Agnus 7). The occurrence in the Agnus could easily be avoided by application of a ficta E flat in the lower Contra. But I am most reluctant to do this in a Mass where all initial Contra secundus entries begin by descending G-E-D in extended values; to accidentalise just one of these entries would look and sound inconsistent. The ModC scribe or revisor was possibly aware of these passages too; arguably his/their solution to the anomaly was simply to omit the flat signature in the Tenor that caused the problem. But letting the diminished progressions here pass unamended might not be as drastic as it seems. I am sure that most interested readers will test the music out using either a keyboard or musicsetting software - resources which fail to take into

⁵⁵ Further, see Leverett, A., ‘Works by Vincenet in Trent 91’ in I Codici Musicali Trentini II (1996) pp. 121-147. The Agnus II Duo in the ModC *Entrepris* suis cycle is taken from Vincenet’s Missa *O gloriosa regina*.

consideration the fact that a small group of singers naturally softens the effect of dissonances. I have become quite used to the sound of these movement-openings with the diminished progressions left as they are. Others may think differently, but the solution in ModC seems particularly unfaithful to a cantus firmus which - as we shall see - very much needs its single-flat signature because of its probable derivation.

Most attempts to locate the probably borrowed material in the Tenor seem fall short because searches have been restricted to texts which match or resemble the *Clemens et benigna* text incipit. As Gottlieb demonstrated, the cantus firmus cannot be the Sequence *Clemens et benigna...iugi laude*. It is also unlikely to have anything to do with the several probably sixteenth-century items in Analecta Hymnica which begin ‘Virgo clemens et benigna’ or similarly.⁵⁶ There is also a metrical Sanctus trope *Clemens et benigna* (which seems to date from the eleventh century and is reasonably well-distributed in French and Germanic sources) and also an Agnus trope whose second section begins ‘Jhesu clemens et benigne’.⁵⁷ But in relation to the Mass Tenors these texts and any associate chants - I suspect - are ‘long shots’ because the Mass Tenors all have a range of more than an octave; therefore any pre-existent material involved might not even be Gregorian at all. In view of this, I committed the Tenor incipit of the Kyrie to memory a long while ago and hoped that something resembling it might turn up.

At this point, I introduce a piece into the discussion whose Tenor just might be the required cantus firmus. This is Trent 88 no. 391, a four-voice *Ave Jhesu Christe* whose text is so poorly copied and underlaid that it might not be authentic. Attempts to set the words to the music concerned fail simply because there are too many notes, which tends to prove that this is not the original text.⁵⁸ In the following example the text of the piece is given exactly as it appears in Trent 88.

⁵⁶ See Gottlieb, *op. cit.* p. 279 for the Sequence chant. For texts related to the Mass title see *Virgo clemens et benigna* in AH 13 no. 83 and AH 49 no. 668 (both of which seem to first occur in sixteenth-century sources).

⁵⁷ Respectively AH 47 nos. 346 and 447.

⁵⁸ The text concerned is a prayer on the holy names of Jesus, which survives in various versions that I have seen in both continental and English sources. For recent literature on the text, its confections and musical settings see Ziino, A., ‘Ipotesi sulla tradizione testuale del motetto Ave, Yhesu Christe verbum Patris’ and Facchin, F., ‘Il motetto Ave, Yhesu Christe verbum Patris’, which are both in Nanni, M. (ed), Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel (Brepols, 2015) pp. 213-230 and 231-252 respectively. Beyond the fifteenth century, musical settings of variant texts survive by Peter Philips and others.

3.22. Anon, *Ave Jhesu Christe* (Trent 88 ff. 247v-248r);⁵⁹

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Ave Jhesu Christe'. It is arranged in four systems, each containing four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics 'Ave Jhesu' at the beginning. The second staff is for the first Contratenor (Ct 1), with lyrics 'Ave'. The third staff is for the Tenor (T), with lyrics 'Ave Jhesu'. The fourth staff is for the second Contratenor (Ct 2), with lyrics 'Ave Jhesu'. The score is in common time (C) and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 6, 10, and 15 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The lyrics include 'Ave Jhesu', 'Cri', 'ste ver bum pa', and 'tris'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals (sharps and flats).

⁵⁹ Otherwise published in Gerber, *Sacred Music...* no. 86. The flat signatures in this example are editorial, and the higher Contra at measure 7 has been emended. I doubt whether the piece would work properly without the flat signatures although accidentals in the Superius could conceivably all be added above the staff.

19 [C♯ = 0♯]

hostia ve

hostia

hostia

hostia

24

29

ra miserere

miserere

miserere nobis

miserere nobis

34

no bis

Returning to Example 3.18 (which compares the first-section Tenor incipits from the Mass) it should be easy to see that at least the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo openings look like elaborations which generally become a little more complex on successive restatements. Therefore, perhaps the best place to look for anything like a basic version of the cantus firmus is the Kyrie Tenor. Comparison of the *Ave Jhesu Christe* Tenor opening and the Kyrie I Tenor reveals a significant degree of resemblance. In the following example both voices omit a few of each other's notes, but the basic form of the Kyrie I Tenor line is convincingly enough like the *Ave Jhesu Christe* Tenor to suggest that it may be based upon it - with the end of the Kyrie Tenor perhaps being a free extension.

3.23. Comparison of the *Ave Jhesu Christe* and Kyrie I Tenors;

Kyrie I Tenor opening

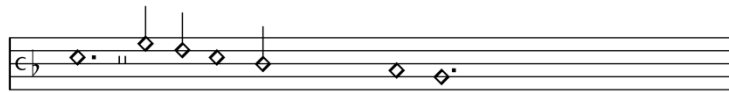
Ave Jhesu Christe Tenor opening

Consequently I also suspect that the first-section Tenors in subsequent movements are likely to be derived either from the same parent piece or from the Kyrie I transformation. In addition, because the cantio seems to need editorial flat signatures in at least its three lower voices I regard the middle-voice flat signatures given in the [Trent 89](#) version of the Mass as intentional. There is also a further significant reason for associating the cantio with the Mass. The Superius opening of the cantio features a gradual rise to B flat followed by an equally gradual descent to D below. It then leaps an octave up. This seems to connect it with the Kyrie Superius opening (which features the B flat but not the octave leap) and also the Gloria and Credo openings (which both feature the octave leap, but only the Credo Superius has B flat here). I do not think that any other piece now extant could satisfy the twin requirements of being close to the cycle's first-section Tenors and also resembling the way in which the first three movements of this Mass begin.

Where does this leave the Tenors of the main duple sections and final sections in the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus? The duple-section Tenors previously illustrated - despite their resemblances - might not be continuously derivative material or even material derived from anything external. I argue this for the following reasons. The Gloria's Qui tollis section has a short independent-looking passage where it is clearly imitative of Superius material (104-109), the Osanna I Tenor ends on G rather than the A or D which ends similar Tenor sections, and the Agnus II Tenor rises to high A before its final few measures (at 49-50) which is a melodic move not shared by the other duple-section Tenors at the same relative point.

But in spite of these points the Tenor sections concerned still share similar features. One reason for associating the openings in Example 3.19 with *Ave Jhesu Christe* is that they are similar to the cantio Tenor at 3-6, and their common descent to A in Example 3.19 perhaps also mirrors the cantio Tenor at 9-10. Another argument that these sections are only vaguely referential is that their concluding measures in the Gloria (129-144) and Credo (150-164) have similar phrases which begin D F E D in extended values and gradually descend to A - a melodic pattern which occurs in the cantio Tenor at 8,3-10,3.

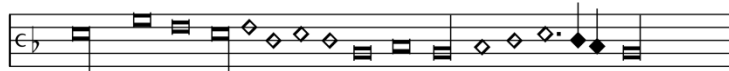
3.24. Comparison of part of the *Ave Jhesu Christe* Tenor with duple-section endings from the Gloria and Credo;



Ave Jhesu Christe Tenor, 8,3-10,3



Gloria, Qui tollis section Tenor conclusion



Credo, Crucifixus section Tenor conclusion

The half-close at the end of these sections and also at the end of Agnus II is perhaps also matched by the half-close at the end of the cantio's second section. The possibility of a second independent cantus firmus in the larger duple sections of this Mass also seems unlikely because Example 3.19 also shows that the first phrases of the Qui tollis and Crucifixus differ in length up to their first internal longs. The Qui tollis section then features another phrase (up to the second internal long) which does not appear in either the Crucifixus or Osanna I, and which might only be partially reflected in Agnus II. I take this as a fairly clear indication that the composer was only writing Tenor lines which resemble each other, and where the Gloria duple section might have served as something of a template for what he produced in subsequent movements.

Despite their similar Tenor cues the related final-section Tenors in Example 3.20 may also be synthetic. The succession of cadence-points in each section is not the same and therefore they probably do not present cantus firmus. For example, Kyrie II has a passage leading to a cadence on D (at 43-45) which is shortly followed by a cadence on A (46-47). The corresponding passage in the Gloria features the D cadence (at 150-151) and also the A cadence (at 152-153) but follows it quickly with a cadence on G (153-154) which does not appear in Kyrie II. Likewise, the exposition of similar material at the end of the Credo is given in a section which is longer than either the Kyrie II or the Cum Sancto Spiritu. However - even if no cantus firmus seems to be present - parts of these sections may still be loosely derivative as we shall see in due course.

Some outer-voice passages throughout Caron's Mass suggest the influence of the proposed parent piece. Firstly, I refer readers to the openings of the Domine Deus and Benedictus trios. Here, the Superius openings may derive from the 'major' moment of *Ave Jhesu Christe* at 23-26, and the first few notes of the Contra primus in the Domine Deus are rather like the cantio Tenor at the same point. Secondly the movement-endings all feature Superius descents from upper C or D to the final cadential G; the Gloria and Credo endings in particular might reflect the cantio's first-section cadence where the Superius descends from upper D to a cadence on G. Thirdly, the shortest section in this Mass (the nine-measure Benedictus) might owe its brevity to the fact that the cantio's second section is likewise brief, with only thirteen measures. The two sections do not cadence identically, but they both employ half-close formulas.

These considerations begin to impinge upon the other aspect which holds this Mass together, namely related material in the outer voices. I shall deal with this by reference to sets of connected sections, much as I have done with the issue of cantus firmus.

1. Opening sections. Apart from the related Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus openings and similar cadences, all movements except the Kyrie have a degree of similarity where their lower voices enter. The Gloria and Credo also feature similar cadences involving E naturals and B naturals around a Tenor G (Gloria 24-26 and Credo 34-36) and both also close with drive passages. Regarding the Sanctus and Agnus first sections, the closing passages at Sanctus 21-26 and Agnus 17-23 are melodically similar and both

feature cadences on D prior to their sectional G cadences. Both the Sanctus and Agnus first sections also contain more compact phrasing and a greater degree of parallel movement than their equivalents in the Gloria and Credo.

2. Fully-scored duple sections. Here, the rather short *Christe* stands apart from the other sections, which have the following points in common. Following the similar Gloria and Credo duple-section openings, both have a similar II-I first cadences on D which are approached similarly in the Superius in each case (Gloria 76-79 and Credo 92-96). Each section also has similar approaches to cadences preceding reduced-scoring passages (Gloria 96-102 and Credo 128-136).

The reduced-scoring passages which follow in each movement are both imitative but not related. Thereafter the Gloria has a longer sectional conclusion than the Credo, but (as previously mentioned) both four-voice duple sections have related endings. The relevant Sanctus and Agnus sections (Osanna I and Agnus II) have similar openings to the Gloria & Credo main duple sections, but Osanna I tailors the first II-I cadence on D to a passage leading to a cadence on G (Sanctus, 46-53). Both the Sanctus and Agnus sections also feature a mid-point interrupted cadence on A (Sanctus 59-61 and Agnus 38-41). Thereafter the Osanna I cadences on G (much like the *Christe*) but Agnus II ends as follows. Its final cadence is similar to the corresponding Gloria and Credo middle sections, but that cadence is reached by an approach from a Superius high E - a route not used in either the Gloria or Credo duple-section endings.

3. Final sections. Following the similar openings, all sections concerned except Agnus III reach a cadence-point on A which is reached by similar Superius motives in each case (beginning A B A and descending to E, see Kyrie 43-44, Gloria 149-150, Credo 234-235 & Sanctus 93). In the case of the Gloria the music does not settle on A but quickly proceeds to a cadence on G (Gloria, 152-154). Agnus III reaches a cadence on A by a different melodic route in the Superius (see Agnus 65-67).

Thereafter the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus each end with four of five measures of very similar music - with the Kyrie and Agnus being the closest. The Gloria conclusion is equally short but more independent, and the Credo's final section is extended due to its relatively longer text. Even so, it proceeds at 238-240 with a passage similar to that which begins the Kyrie's final phrase. There is an alternative explanation for some of the Superius and Tenor openings to these sections: the consistently alike ones can be summarised as having successive Superius cadences on upper D, then A below and then G. Which is exactly the succession of cadences in the cantio's first section at measures 7-12.

4. Trio sections. Both the *Domine Deus* and *Qui propter* sections share imitative internal cadencing on D and minim movement. Imitative work in minim movement is also found in the *Pleni sunt*, and the extremely short *Benedictus* even features two internal D cadences. These common points exclude the only duple-mensuration trio (the *Et in Spiritum*) which is discussed below.

In full sections, the similar outer voices are partly the result of similar Tenor movement in different movements. In the O-mensuration trios (which are perhaps the technical highlight of this Mass) I suspect that the composer uses the texture concerned to show off his skills in handling wide-ranging upper voices and a filler Contra - which is the type of texture found in the more accomplished of Caron's chansons.

If my above suggestions regarding the *Missa Clemens et benigna* are regarded as valid, it seems that only its first-section Tenors are clearly derivative from anything external. The remaining similar Tenor passages look as though they might be largely freely invention, as is much of the similar and repeated outer-voice material throughout. This would not make the *Missa Clemens et benigna* unique amongst mid-fifteenth-century four-voice Mass cycles. Ockeghem's *Missa Au travail suis* likewise concentrates on aspects of four-voice texture other than the ubiquitous practice of quoting a borrowed Tenor. It is possibly quite novel in treating four-voice texture creatively without the constant support of borrowed material and (like the *Missa Clemens*) also has some related internal sections which also have no reference point in its parent piece.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ For cantus firmus use in the *Missa Au travail suis* see the foreword to van Benthem, J. (ed), *Johannes Ockeghem, Masses and Mass sections* fascicle 3 (Koninklijke VNM, 2002) pp. xvi-xx. To summarise the information therein, after

Since Caron's Mass is probably earlier than the *Missa Au travail suis*, the *Missa Clemens* may be one of the first four-voice Masses that begins to treat its texture as an exercise at least partly independent of derivative cantus firmus.

Having previously mentioned the Et in Spiritum section, this appears to be the right place to indicate why I think it is spurious. Firstly it differs in style from the other trios, being declamatory where they tend to be melismatic. Secondly its texture is extremely simple (also a feature not shared by the other trios) and thirdly it contains awkward moments whereas the other trio sections seem to be quite polished. The lower Contra descends awkwardly at 212-215, and its final cadence contains an ornamental fourth (at Credo 227). Without being too sensitive to textures, I think that both of these features are most unlike Caron and some explanation of why this trio is in ModC seems to be in order. I suspect that neither source contains the original Et in Spiritum section. Trent 89 texts its incomplete Credo to make up for the deficiency as best it can, and the ModC trio appears to be a 'repair job' that may contain some elements of a lost original. Possibly the hypothetical lost trio was similar in size to the ModC section, because if the latter had been a single measure longer it would have given the Credo an exact 40% of all the measures in the Mass (see the following section on numerology for details). The ModC trio may have been made up from memory; it just about serves its purpose of completing the full text for the Credo setting.⁶¹

To summarise my findings on this Mass, it is a thorough piece of work for something which seems to be held together by relatively little pre-existent material. Its slightly unorthodox partwriting is my chief reason for regarding it as an early Caron work. In comparison his *Missa Accueille* (which is usually regarded as his most accomplished Mass) is a cleaner-sounding piece.

Having just criticised the Et in Spiritum section for its content, it might seem wrong to some readers that I cite instances below which are equally suspect in partwriting terms. However, I am fairly certain that some of the 'transgressions' below are there for the sake of their effect rather than being the sign of an incompetent composer - and they are indeed few in the context of this cycle's size. Amongst those passages which I regard as unconventional are two instances of rhythmic displacement in trio sections (Gloria 65 and Credo 81-82). Strictly speaking, the minim B in the lower Contra at Gloria 65 is dissonant, but is it present to support some imitation in the upper voices and passes without hiatus (at least, to me). Likewise at Credo 81-82 the lower voices provide a cross-accent A and E - possibly for the sake of making an interesting cadence at 81-83; similar effects are found in three-part writing by Frye, Touront and other mid-century masters.

In three places I find upper-voice fifths (Credo 244, Sanctus 91 and Agnus 62) all in passages of similar music. This seems admissible as many other mid-fifteenth-century four-voice works contain similar progressions. Less forgivable is a brief instance where a suspension creates a brief Tenor-lower Contra second (Credo 119), and perhaps also the Superius-Contra primus sevenths at Gloria 116-117. But again, these passages seem to pass without hiatus. Likewise the brief Superius-Contra primus second at Gloria 14 does not seem to need emendation, and nor do passages in the trio sections where closely spaced false relations occur (Gloria 41, Credo 56 and Sanctus 34-35). But perhaps the composer might have done differently at Gloria 148 (where the Contra primus C interferes with a leading-note C in the Superius) or at Credo 24 - where simultaneous C's in different voices prevent accidentalisation of the Superius C as a leading-note.

Strongly weighing against these instances is my general impression of a well-written Mass that deserves to be heard more frequently. There are not many places where particular passages from fifteenth-century Masses can be mentioned as enjoyable, so I am going to allow myself the luxury of mentioning Agnus 11-

the Tenor cantus firmus Kyrie only the first ten notes of the chanson Tenor are used in each movement, plus subsidiary references to the model in the outer voices. The two short chordal Osanna sections are related, but neither has any relationship with the parent chanson.

⁶¹ Steib ('Herculean Labours...') regards the Credo as complete in its Trent 89 form since this makes the Gloria and Credo symmetrical in sectional terms - an argument which carries some weight in view of the layout of Caron's other Masses.

13 here (which provides an interesting ‘major’ moment following the cantus firmus entry) and passages of minim movement such as Kyrie 4-7 and Credo 37-41. Also noteworthy is the way in which the first Contra rises to make a major construct at Gloria 15-16 and is then followed by a return to a flatwise progression in the Superius. Lastly - having mentioned Ockeghem’s Missa *Au travail suis* - the shortish Sanctus and Agnus of this Mass share something of the plangency found at the end of Ockeghem’s cycle. That the Missa *Clemens* Sanctus and Agnus have this quality despite their emphatically major openings is something of a credit to their composer.

Questions remain about the suggested cantus firmus. In particular, might this Mass have been based on a slightly different version of the cantio which resembled the cycle’s first-section Tenors more closely? Secondly, might the cantio originally have been sung to a rhymed Marian text which began ‘Clemens et benigna’ with the second text-line ending ‘digna’ or something similar? Unfortunately I can provide no further answers here. Additionally it would of course be possible to make a hypothetical reconstruction of a longer Mass cantus firmus than I have suggested, using the duple- and final triple-section Tenors described. However, I hope I have demonstrated that these Tenors might not be independently derivative (both the second- and third-section sets might relate to parts of the cantio) and so such an exercise would possibly prove redundant.

Thirdly, how does do my suggestions regarding the structure of the Missa *Clemens* fit with what we know about Caron’s other Masses? His Missa *L’homme armé* takes considerable liberties with the well-known tune, which is differently elaborated in the Tenors of each movement. If Caron was capable of treating the *L’homme armé* Tenor thus, he certainly would have been capable of reworking a less-well-known Tenor similarly. As regards his other Masses, those on *Sanguis sanctorum* and *Accueilly m’a la belle* also fall into the category of works which re-elaborate their Tenors in successive movements. But they do so fairly faithfully. His Missa *Jesus autem transiens* is different: it takes a relatively simple cantus firmus and manipulates it in some movements with retrogression and note-value changes by means of a verbal canon.⁶² Therefore if the Missa *Clemens* is indeed structured as I suggest it would still be the most freely-designed of his Masses that are now extant. An important point that also comes out of the tabular analysis at the end of this section is that the first section of the cantio seems to have priority for cantus firmus treatment, and within that section the opening measures seem to receive most attention from the composer. The second section and final short third section in *Ave Jhesu Christe* are hardly used at all. Finally regarding my discussion and analysis, I confess myself somewhat hampered by what I am dealing with. It would be easy to discuss the repeated material in this Mass as examples of ‘self-imitation’ or ‘self-parody’ if the problem of the cantus firmus did not have to be sorted out. Unfortunately so far as I am aware nobody has tried to do that methodically, so out of necessity my arguments have had to move between Tenor-centred development and musically vertical considerations.

With such thoughts in mind I turn to the suggestions regarding this Mass given in Christopher Reynolds’s 1995 study of SP B80 and related sources.⁶³ The author makes comparisons between the first-section Tenors of the Mass and Caron’s *Se brief puy*s to suggest that this cycle might have a secular derivation. He also refers to other chansons such as Pullois’s *De madame*, suggests that the Missa *Clemens* is something of a patchwork of chanson references, and also compares motives from the Missa *Clemens* with section-openings from other Caron Masses.

While I am very much in favour of the exploration of intertextuality in mid-fifteenth century repertory I find these arguments regarding derivation unconvincing because examples presenting the similar first-section

⁶² Apart from the edition of Caron’s Masses (Thomson, *op.cit.*) excellent information on the mensuration signs, text distribution and flat signatures in Caron’s Masses is available on the University of New England’s Caron website, managed by Rex Eakins and Jason Stoessel. At the time of writing (December 2014) this website has been archived for revision but is still viewable.

⁶³ Reynolds, Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s... pp. 222-227. Some of the ideas expressed in these pages (and elsewhere in the same volume) have been received less than favourably. For example, in Hodgson, J., ‘The Illusion of Allusion’ in Meconi, H., (ed), Early Musical Borrowing (Routledge, New York, 2004) pp. 51-70; I do not agree with everything expressed therein.

Tenor material in every movement are not given. Neither is any explanation of how the duple-section and final-section Tenors might have originated. Likewise no explanation is given for the origin of the *Clemens et benigna* title other than a simile between the reverential Sanctus trope of that name and the worshipful manner of the *Se brief puy*s text. But I am reluctant to pass judgement on evidence of musically allusive material; whether such comparisons as Reynolds makes are valid or not is best decided by the test of time and the number of authorities that regard his claims as sound.⁶⁴ His findings cannot be absolutely proven and neither can mine, but I hope that my explanation of how this Mass might work is at least more credible. Meanwhile I also find that Reynolds might have missed just one intertextual reference. At Credo 137-142 the imitation between the Superius and lower Contra is similar to an imitative point shared between the two upper voices in the second section in Dufay's isorhythmic motet *Moribus/Virgo*.⁶⁵ Quite why this reference is here (if it is in fact a reference at all) is not clear. Which reminds us that there still much surrounding this cycle, its name, its possible parent piece and its source-readings which is likely to remain equally mysterious.

The following analysis attempts to clarify all borrowings suggested in the previous pages, and alphabetically numbers recurring Tenor passages throughout which seem to be freely invented or are perhaps only loosely derived from the suggested parent piece. As with the analysis of the Henricus Tik Mass, I consider it practical to indicate the degrees of certainty with which borrowed material is suggested.

TABLE 5

Likely cantus firmus in the Missa *Clemens et benigna*, plus significant instances of repeated material which may not be pre-existent.

Section / measures	Use of material
Kyrie I 1-8,1 8,2-10	Tenor seems to be a transformation of the cantio Tenor, 1-8; the Superius at 1-4 is likely to elaborate the cantio Superius at 1-2. Free.
Christe 11-38	Free.
Kyrie II 39-47 47-52	Either the Tenor and Superius are related to independent material at similar final-section openings (hereafter called <u>A</u>), or these voices have cadence-points which match those in the cantio at 7-10. Free (ending is similar to Sanctus and Agnus movement endings).
Et in terra 1-7,1 7,2-9,1 9-25 26-38	Superius opening is related to cantio Superius, 1-5,1. Free Superius extension. Tenor is related to Kyrie I transformation at 1-8,1. Free.
Domine Deus 39-41 42-69	Superius and Contra primus related to cantio Superius and Tenor, 23-25,1. Free.

⁶⁴ Reynolds, *op. cit.* pp. 203-221 also hypothesises an Italian period for the composer, based on possible connections between the SP B80 Missa *Thomas cesus*, Caron's *Le despourveu* and the Italian exile of Thomas Palaeologus the prince of Achaea. This makes attractive reading, but there is no archival evidence that the composer (who possibly came from Amiens) ever left northern Europe. Further, see Fallows, D., 'Caron, Firminus' in *The New Grove...* (2001) vol. 5 pp. 176-177.

⁶⁵ Published in de Van, G. (ed), *Guglielmi Dufay Opera Omnia*, II (CMM 1, 1948), no. 8.

(Table 5, contd.)

Section / measures	Use of material
Qui tollis 70-103 104-128 129-144	Either the Tenor is related to probably non-derivative material at similar fully-scored duple section openings (hereafter called <u>B</u>) or this passage might be related to the cantio Tenor at 3-10. The Superius here begins similarly to that in the Crucifixus, Osanna I and Agnus II. Free. Tenor possibly related to cantio Tenor at 8,3-10,3 - plus free extension. Similar Tenor passages recur at the end of the Crucifixus and Agnus II.
Cum sancto 145-154 154-158	Passage <u>A</u> as at start of Kyrie II, or alternatively the Superius and Tenor have cadence-points which match those in the cantio at 7-12,3. Free, but Superius ending at 156-158 may reflect first-section cantio Superius ending.
Patrem 1-9,1 9,2-12 12-30,1 30,2-54	Superius related to cantio Superius, 1-5,1. Free Superius extension. Tenor is related to Kyrie I and Et in terra Tenor openings. Free.
Qui propter 55-57 58-86	Contra primus is possibly related to cantio Tenor, 24-27,1. Free.
Crucifixus 87-137 137/138-149 150-164	Tenor passage <u>B</u> as at start of Qui tollis, or alternatively this passage might be related to the cantio Tenor at 3-10. Superius opening is similar to the Qui tollis, Osanna I and Agnus II openings. Free (Tenor has rests). Tenor possibly related to cantio Tenor at 8,3-10,3 - plus free extension.
Et in Spiritum 165-229	Free (this section is possibly not part of the original Mass).
Confiteor 230-242 242-253	Passage <u>A</u> as at start of Kyrie II and Cum sancto, or alternatively the Superius and Tenor have a succession of cadence-points which match those in the cantio at 7-12,3. Free, but Superius ending at 251,4-253 may reflect first-section cantio Superius ending.
Sanctus 1-9,1 9-18,1 18,2-26	Free (Agnus I has a similar opening). Tenor related to Kyrie I, Et in terra and Patrem Tenor openings. Free.
Pleni sunt 27-41	Free.
Osanna I 42-62 63-79	Tenor passage <u>B</u> as at start of Qui tollis and Crucifixus, or alternatively this passage might be related to the cantio Tenor at 3-10. Superius opening is similar to those in the Qui tollis, Crucifixus and Agnus II. Free.
Benedictus 80-82,1 82-88	Superius and Contra primus related to cantio Superius and Tenor, 23-25,1. Free.
Osanna II 89-100	Passage <u>A</u> as at start of Kyrie II, Cum sancto and Confiteor, or alternatively the Superius and Tenor have a succession of cadence-points which is similar to those in the cantio at 7-12,3. Ending is similar to Kyrie and Agnus endings.

(Table 5, contd.)

Section / measures	Use of material
Agnus I 1-6 6-17 18-23	Free, but related to Sanctus opening. Tenor related to Kyrie I, Et in terra, Patrem and Sanctus Tenor openings. Free.
Agnus II 24-41 42-59	Tenor passage <u>B</u> as at start of Qui tollis, Crucifixus and Osanna I, or alternatively this passage might be related to the cantio Tenor at 3-10. Superius opening is related to those in the Qui tollis, Crucifixus and Osanna I. Free, but cadence is similar to final cadences in the Qui tollis and Crucifixus.
Agnus III 60-71	Passage <u>A</u> as at start of all other final sections, or alternatively the Superius and Tenor have a succession of cadence-points which match those in the cantio at 7-12,3. Ending is very similar to Kyrie ending.

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Numerology

As with the Henricus Tik and Domarto / Cervelli Masses, I approach the issue of numbers in this cycle with caution - in this case because the duple-meter trio in the Credo may not be authentic. Otherwise since our score is an amalgamation of readings from two sources (neither of which is totally satisfactory) perhaps not too much should be expected from numerical work.

Some tempora totals seem to be deliberate. The Sanctus totals 100 measures, and the Gloria and Credo triple-meter trios are close in size (31 and 32 measures respectively). The final sections of the Sanctus and Agnus (Osanna II and Agnus III) each consist of 12 measures, and two sections have lengths which are multiples of 12 (Confiteor with 24 measures, and Agnus II with 36).

The overall proportion of the movements in measures calculated by percentage works out as follows.

Kyrie	9.13
Gloria	27.7
Credo	33.04
Sanctus	17.57
Agnus	12.47

However, since I have already suggested that the Credo's second trio section may not be authentic its influence on the real size of that movement is somewhat in doubt. If we increase the measures allotted to that section from 65 to 66, the percentages adjust as follows.

Kyrie	8.18
Gloria	24.88
Credo	40
Sanctus	15.74
Agnus	11.18

This set of totals gives the Credo a central 40%, and makes the sum of the Gloria and Sanctus percentages 40.62 with the outer movements having a total of 19.37% (very nearly a centred "40" with another "40")

around it, plus a “20” around the outer 40). Of course we cannot prove that such a symmetry existed in the original work, but these calculations make it suggestible that my hypothetical original second trio in the Credo was a measure longer than the one in ModC.

Note-totals seem to reveal no overall common denominator, but some movemental and section totals are of interest. The Et in terra section has exactly 400 notes, and some other sections have similarly rounded totals (the Christe Tenor has 30 notes, the Sanctus first-section Tenor has 60 notes, and the Osanna I, Osanna II and Agnus III Tenors each have 41 notes). The Osanna II Contra primus is also close, with 40 notes. The Superius of the Confiteor section has 102 notes, perhaps suggesting that it might have originally contained just 100.

Close-looking totals in the lower voices of single sections also become apparent;

Domine Deus	Ct 1: 115	Ct 2: 114
Cum sancto	Superius: 56	Ct 1: 57
Pleni sunt	Ct 1: 58	Ct 2: 59
Osanna I	Ct 1: 44	Ct 2: 46
Benedictus	Ct 1: 27	Ct 2: 28
Agnus I	Superius: 66	Ct 1: 68

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21a & b. Missa *O rosa bella III*

- (i) ModC ff. 104v-117r, anon;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 152r-160r, anon. This version is not too different from (i) above.
- (iii) Trent 89 ff. 330v-339r, anon, with new Contra bassus plus higher Contra partly derived from the Contra secundus in the above readings (DTÖ VII inventory nos 715-719).

No. 21a presents all three readings simultaneously, and consequently variant readings are described in general rather than individually recorded. No. 21b gives the ModC reading separately. This is simply the same as the top four staves of 21a and therefore needs no separate critical apparatus.

Kyrie

- (i) ModC ff. 104v-106r;

[Superius]; 1: the title ‘O rosa bella’ is given above this voice; nearly all sections are preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names, and the first of these in Kyrie I is a boxed decorated majuscule. The order of voices in ModC is Superius / Tenor / Contra [secundus] / Contra primus. / 55: 2 B (corr using Strahov).

Contra secundus; 5: b ind before rest / 12: p div follows 1 / 15: p div given above 5 / 27: p div given above 2 / 89: clef change is at the start of a new page-opening / 95: p div follows 6 / 97: 2 not dtd (omission of the dot of addition is misleading here) / 113: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 6-7: the cantus firmus incipit ‘O rosa bella’ is given after ‘Kyrie’ / 33: the ‘C’ of ‘Christe’ is om because the illuminator forgot to enter a coloured initial here / 92-93: ‘Aylassemi’ (*sic*: Ay lasso mi) is given after ‘Kyrie’ / 98: p div follows 2 / 103: likewise / 113: p div follows 4.

Contra [primus]; 19,2: this note is written on a short end-of-stave extension / 115,2: likewise.

Underlay; ModC has Kyrie / Christe incipits for each section (with Christe spelt as ‘Criste’) and ‘leyson’ at the end of each section. No dieresis is given for -‘leÿson’ but editorially this proves useful (e.g. at 31 and 41-43). An editorial repeat of ‘Christe’ seems necessary at 36-40, and also ‘eleyson’ at 101-105.

(ii) Strahov ff. 152-153r;

[Superius]; 1: a large gap is left at the start of the first stave (presumably for a majuscule ‘K’ that was never entered), the b sig is only given on the first stave (1-10), and on the first page-opening the clef is also only given on the first stave. The voice-order in Strahov is as follows on the first opening, which contains just Kyrie I: Superius / Tenor / Contra primus / Contra secundus. Thereafter the Contra parts are misnamed (see below) and are switched around for the final section. / 7: cs given as cor / 32: no custos in any voice / 33: on the second page-opening the clef is only given on the first stave (33-58) / 83: 1 E (corr using ModC) / 88: no custos in the Superius or either Contra, and only a single custos is given in the Tenor / 89: this section is ind as ‘Kyrie ultimus’ / 93: cs given as cor / 104: a small ‘d’ is written under the rest here for no apparent reason / 121: no custos in any voice, and in the Superius the notes following 120,2 run over the end of the stave.

Contratenor secundus; 1: the b sig is om throughout & the first-section m sign is om (conj supplied), and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first part-stave (1-5,2) / 12: no p div / 15 & 27: likewise / 33: on the second opening the clef is only given for the first stave (33-65,1), the m sign is om (conj supplied) and this voice is misnamed ‘Con[traten]or Criste primus’ / 73: rest om (supplied from ModC) / 89: hereafter the Strahov Contra secundus is basically the same as the ModC Contra primus / 93: cs given as cor.

[T]enor; 1: the b sig is om throughout and the first-section m sign is om (conj supplied). See below regarding the ‘Rex virginum’ incipit here. / 33: on the second opening the m sign is om (conj supplied) and the clef is only given for the first stave (33-97) / 59-60: the stave-lines are clumsily overdrawn here at a slight angle / 98: no p div / 109,1: poorly pitched, & looks like C rather than D / 117: the rest is preceded by a crossed-out sbr rest.

Contratenor primus; 1: on the first opening the clef and b sig are only given on the first part-stave (1-7) and the b sig is not rptd / 7: cs given as cor / 33: on the second opening the clef is only given for the first stave (33-77), the m sign is om (conj supplied) and this voice is misnamed ‘Con[traten]or secundus Criste’ / 89: hereafter the Strahov Contra primus is basically the same as the ModC Contra secundus / 113: no p div.

Underlay; the Strahov version has Kyrie and Christe incipits (with the latter spelt ‘Criste’) but ‘-leyson’ is only given in the outer sections for the Superius. This version is close to ModC apart from its switching-round of Contra parts in the final section, and so it can be editorially texted in more or less the same way. The Tenor gives an incipit at the start for the same trope text as used in the Trent 89 version (Rex virginum) but for singers using this version the single incipit would arguably not be enough to automatically add the required extra text. Its presence in this reading is therefore probably vestigial.

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 330v-332r;

[Superius]; the voice-order in this reading is Superius / Tenor / Contra primus [made up from much of the old Contra secundus] / Contra bassus [partly made up of material from the old Contra primus]. 1: the initial m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 29, 4-6: these initial three minims in the sesquialtera passage are col / 31: 6 om (supplied from Strahov) / 33: the m sign given as cut-C in all voices, but I have standardised this as C2 to agree with the m signs in some subsequent Trent 89 movements; in all voices except the Contra primus here the m signs are given before the staves / 89: at the start of the second opening here, the m signs are given before the staves in all voices except the Contra bassus.

Contratenor primus; 12: no p div / 15 & 27: likewise / 89: the clef change is at the start of a new opening, & at 89-121 the Eb in the b sig is om (conj supplied) / 95: no p div / 97: 2 dtd, unlike in ModC / 113: no p div.

Tenor; 98: no p div / 113: likewise.

Contra bassus; 1: the b sig is om throughout (conj supplied as a single-flat sig) / 109,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Underlay; the three sections of the Superius are respectively texted with verses 1, 4 and 7 of the Rex virginum trope AH 47 pp. 60-61 (but with two omissions), the Superius has ‘eleyson’ with the dieresis, and the lower voices have the incipits Kyrie, Christe (spelt as ‘Criste’) and O paraclite. The trope text was used for Marian feasts and was very well-dispersed. In view of the declamatory rhythm at the start of Kyrie II this Mass may have originated with the extra Kyrie text. Our version of the trope text is based on that in AH 47. The main differences between our text and that of Trent 89 are as follows. Superius; 1-2: ‘[K]yrie’ under 1,1-3 / 5-7: ‘virginum’ under 5,2-6,2 / 8-9: ‘ama-’ under 12,1-13,1 / 11: ‘-tor’ under 14,1 / 12-18: ‘Deus’ under 17,3-5 / 18-20: ‘Marie’ under 19-20,4 / 26-29: ‘decus’ om / 29-31: ‘eley-’ (given as ‘eley’) under 29,5-30,1 / 32: ‘son’ under 31,7-8 / 33-36: ‘Christe’ under 33-35 / 40-44: ‘Deus’ under 40-42,2 / 50-51: ‘homo’ under 51-52 / 56-61: ‘natus’ under 60,2-4 / 63-67: ‘Maria’ under 63,1-65,2 / 69-76: ‘matre’ om / 77-88: ‘eley-’ under 69-71 / 88: ‘-son’ under 86,4 / 89-90: the word placement here seems casual / 90-93: ‘obumbrans’ under 96-98,1 / 96-101: ed rpt of ‘obumbrans’ needed in all voices / 102-105: ‘corpus’ under 102,1-103,1 / 105-112: ‘Marie’ under 105,2-108,1 / 113-120: ‘eley-’ under 113,1-114,3 / 121: ‘-son’ under 120,8. Contra primus, Tenor and Contra bassus: no further discrepancies.

Bibliography; DTÖ 22 pp. 28-69 (1904 edition with comparative scores of Trent 89 and ModC versions), Snow, The Manuscript Strahov D.G. IV. 47... pp. 99-102 (contains the first suggestion that the Strahov reading of this Mass is important in determining transmission order). Snow, ‘The Mass-Motet Cycle; A mid-Fifteenth-Century Experiment’ in Reese, G. (ed), Essays in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his Seventieth Birthday (Pittsburgh University Press, 1969) pp. 301-320 (gives information on Tenor motets in Strahov and the Trent Codices which have cantus firmus related to Mass cycles, and one of these cantus firmus Tenors is *O rosa bella*). Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory..., I, pp. 95-97 (suggests that this Mass might be by the same composer as the anonymous Missa *Puisque m’amour* in Trent 88, and on pp. 101-102 suggests that this composer might be Henricus Tik - an idea which I no longer uphold). Wegman, ‘Petrus de Domarto’s Missa Spiritus Almus...’ which points out that the Strahov *O pater eterne* motet which Snow associated with the Missa *O rosa bella III* more properly belongs with the Trent 88 Missa *O rosa bella I*. See also Steib, ‘Herculean Labours...’ (which suggests that the ModC Agnus II and III might be later additions) and Erhard, A., Bedyngams O rosa bella und seine Cantus-firmus bearbeitungen in Cantilena-Form (Schneider, Tutzing, 2010) which is an extensive study of *O rosa bella* derivatives.

Kyrie readings; ModC and Strahov basically present the same piece, although Strahov confuses the Contras from the second section onwards and switches them round for the final section. Strahov typically also contains much more minor color than either other reading. Trent 89 is the only source to give the trope text properly (Strahov only gives a Tenor incipit). Trent 89 also provides a new Contra bassus which is heavily dependent on the older Contra secundus, and its Contra primus is also strongly derivative from the ModC/Strahov Contra primus. Trent 89 is also the only reading to give twin-flat signatures for the two upper voices, but most of the E’s in the Trent 89 Superius do not seem to need flattening. Other features of Trent 89 which suggest that it is at the end-point of the transmission are its comparatively greater use of passing-notes and small values in the Superius, and its arguably inferior reading for the sesquialtera passage at the end of the Kyrie I Superius (which involves a very brief retardation at 31). The Trent 89 version is also slightly less thickly-scored than the other versions at 115-117 - which might cause a sense of hiatus to some listeners. Lack of the trope text in the ModC and Strahov versions does not seem to prevent these versions from being sung to just ‘Kyrie/Christe’ eleyson; even in the Trent 89 version some repeated notes at the same pitch occur (Trent 89 version Tenor, 51-52 & 55-56).

Gloria

- (i) ModC ff. 106v-108r;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 153v-155r;
- (iii) Trent 89 ff. 332v-334r;

- (i) ModC ff. 106v-108r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is provided from Grad Pat f. 182v (transposed a fifth down), both sections are preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names, and the first of these in the Et in terra is a boxed decorated majuscule. The order of voices in ModC is Superius / Tenor / Contra [primus] / Contra secundus. / 16: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm (Strahov does the same, but I prefer the Trent 89 reading here) / 188-190: these closing measures & the double custos are squashed in at the end of a stave.

Contra secundus; 1: m sign om / 21,2: the cs here is given under the note, inverted / 157: 2 B (corr to C for the sake of consonance) / 183: 1 om (supplied from Strahov) / 184: 3 E, and 3 is followed by a superfluous br C (corr using Trent 89) / 187: 2 C (corr using Strahov).

Tenor; 20-21: at the incipits here, the ‘O’ of ‘O rosa bella is decorated and coloured rather than the ‘G’ of ‘Gratias’.

Contra [primus]; no discrepancies.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sparse partial texting in the lower voices. The main differences between the ModC texting and our edition underlay are as follows. [Superius]; 4: ‘-ni-’ under 4,2 / 5: ‘-bus’ under 4,4-5 / 6-8: ‘voluntatis’ under 7,1-4 / 8,2-16: the texting here is compressed & there is little attempt to correlate words and notes, so listing of positionings seems pointless / 17: ‘te’ under 16,1 / 21: ‘-bi’ under 20,6 / 23-24: ‘gloriam’ under 23,7-24,2 / 26: ‘-am’ under 25,7 / 27-32: as at 8-16 / 35: ‘-po-’ under 35,4 / 38-39: ‘Unigeni-’ under 38,3-39,5 / 40 & 149: ‘Jhesu’ spelt as ‘Iesu’ / 47: ‘-us’ under 45,2 / 48: ‘Agnus’ under 48,2-3 / 49: ‘De-’ under 49,4 / 56-62: as at 8-16 / 69: ‘-di’ under 68,1 / 77: ‘no-’ under 74,2 / 90: ‘-bis’ under 77,1 / 92-95: as at 8-16 / 109-113: ‘nostram’ under 109,2-111,1 / 119: ‘-des’ under 118,1-2 / 121-142: as at 8-16 / 143-147: ‘Tu solus Altissi-’ under 143,1-146,2 / 148: ‘-mus’ under 146,3 / 152: ‘-ste’ under 151,2 / 159-161: ‘Spiri-’ under 160,2-161,1 / 164: ‘-tu’ under 163,3 / 189: ‘-men’ under 187,4. Contra secundus; 1-5: the first text incipit is given with no concern for the notes above it since the voice-name coincides with the first few measures / 6-8: ‘voluntatis’ under 7,1-8,1 / 9: ‘-mus’ under 9,3 & ‘te’ under 9,4 / 9-11: ‘Benedicimus’ under 10,1-5 / 11: ‘te’ under 11,4 / 12-15: the texting here is compressed / 19-21: ‘tibi’ under 19,4-5 / 56-81: the texting here (‘Qui tollis...nobis’) seems to be entered without regard for word positioning / 62-68 & 98-99: ‘mundi’ given as ‘mondi’ / 91: ‘Qui’ under 90,1 / 92-94: ‘tollis’ under 96,1-98,1 / 98-104: as at 56-81 / 108: the incipit given here is ‘deprecationem’, & ‘nostram’ is under 118. Tenor; 20-24: the first incipit is given after ‘O rosa bella’ (which is positioned directly under the Tenor’s first few notes) / 31: ‘Rex’ given after ‘Domine Deus’ (in the edition ‘Rex’ is omitted) / 33-36: ‘omnipotens’ under 34,2-36,1 / 38-42: ‘Unigenite...Christe’ is under 40,2-43,2 with ‘Jhesu Christe’ spelt as ‘Iesu xpe’ / 50-51: ‘Dei’ under 50,1-2 / 148-151: ‘Jhesu Christe’ spelt as before, & given under 144,1-147 / 152-155: ‘Cum sancto’ under 152,1-154,1. Contra [primus]; 17: the first incipit (slightly misplaced) is ‘Glorificamus te gratias’ / 49-52: ‘Filius’ under 50,1 / 53-55: ‘Patris’ under 54,1 / 90: the first second-section incipit given is ‘suscipe deprecationem’, which I have moved to 100-108 / 168-172: ‘Patris’ under 169,2-170.

- (ii) Strahov ff. 153v-155r;

[Superius]; 1: a large gap is left at the start of the first stave (presumably for a majuscule ‘E’ that was never entered), the m sign for the first section is om, the b sig is om throughout, and also on the first page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-11,1). The voice-order in Strahov is as follows on the first opening: Superius / Tenor / Contra primus / Contra secundus. / 11,1: added on a short end-of-stave

extension / 17: cs in both Superius & Contra secundus written as cor, and placed over last sbr in 16 in both voices / 21: cs written as cor / 51: 4 uc / 55: no custos in any voice / 56: at the start of the second opening the clef is only given on the first stave (56-79) / 79: 1 added after end of stave / 81: 1 A (corr using ModC) / 84: 2 is clumsily written / 90: cs written as cor in both Superius & Contra secundus / 99: Strahov gives sbr G sbr G instead of br G / 104: cs written as cor in both Superius & Contra secundus / 107: ns / 111: 2 C (corr using ModC) / 145,4-146,2: replaced by br A, which is a more dissonant variant than in the other sources (corr using ModC) / 162,3: added after end of stave / 188-190, likewise, & no custos in any voice.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: the b sig is om throughout, and on the first page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-9,2); the opening incipit is 'Et in terra O rosa bella' / 22: 1 C (corr using ModC) / 36: 2 A (corr using ModC) / 56: m sign om, and on the second page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (56-79) / 92-94: ns / 131: 1 F (corr using ModC) / 134: 2 F (corr using ModC) / 152: 1 is br / 157: 2 B / 165: 1 sbr / 169: 1 A (corr using ModC) / 184: Strahov reads m C m upper F m E m C (in this variant the E is dissonant).

[T]enor; 1: the b sig is om, and on the first page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-33) / 51: 1 written after end of stave / 56: m sign om, and on the second page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (56-136) / 178: a superfluous sbr B is given before 2, and is crossed through (with the scribe possibly realising that he was adding a note to the cantus firmus). Otherwise the rests that lead up to 178 are correct.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the b sig is om throughout, and on the first page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-29,1) / 21: cs written as cor but placed over 21,1 / 56: m sign om, and on the second page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (56-118) / 104: cs written as cor & placed over 106,1 / 115: 1 A (corr using ModC).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, and with the following incipits for the lower voices. Contra secundus: 'Et in terra O rosa bella' and 'Qui tollis' for first and second sections respectively. Tenor: none for first section, & 'Qui sedes' at 104 in second section (which seems misplaced; I have replaced it with 'deprecationem' as in ModC). Contra primus: none for first section, & 'Qui tollis peccata...nostram' at 90-108. Strahov has much untidier texting than ModC and also some omissions ('Filius Patris' in the Superius at the end of section 1 is not given, and instead 'Dei' before those words in the Superius is stretched to the end of that section). 'Christe' in the Superius is spelt 'Criste' (at 40-42 & 149-152) and some extended values are given differently from ModC (see Contra secundus, 6 & 59-60). However Strahov basically presents the same piece as ModC so its texting can be realised in much the same fashion.

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 332v-334r;

[Superius]; the voice-order in this reading is Superius / Tenor / Contra primus [made up from much of the old Contra secundus] / Contra bassus [partly made up of material from the old Contra primus]. 1: the initial m sign is given before the stave, and on the first page-opening the twin-flat sig is only given on the first stave (1-14,1) / 56: at the start of the second opening the m sign is given before the stave in all voices, and the Superius has a consistent three-flat sig (with lower Bb added) from this point onwards.

Contra primus; 1: m sign om / 42,1-3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 113,1-2: likewise / 118: cs given over 119,3 / 147,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 171,1: likewise.

Tenor; 26: ns (the other sources have repeated G's at this point) / 141: ns (ModC has repeated D's at this point).

Contra bassus; 1: the b sig is om throughout (conj supplied) / 104: cs is given under 1, inverted / 110: ns / 161,1-2: uc due to lacuna.

Underlay; Trent 89 has a fully texted Superius plus the following lower-voice incipits. Contra primus: Et in terra (1), Gratias agimus (18) & Qui tollis (56). Tenor: propter magnam gloriam (21) & Qui sedes (104). Contra bassus: Gratias agimus (17) & Qui tollis (90). At least the first Tenor incipit and the Qui tollis incipit in the Contra bassus may not be correct; I have replaced both of these with different text cues. Otherwise Trent 89's first section can be texted much like the first sections of the other versions, bearing in mind that the nature of the new bassus causes some differences (e.g. at 40-43 and 47-52). For the second section, Trent 89 places 'nobis' differently (see 82-90) and correspondingly I have altered the editorial underlay in the lower voices to suit. Also in the Superius 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' at 44 and 'xpe' at 149. I see little point in recording individual positionings for the Trent 89 Superius text; as usual these are rather wayward.

Gloria readings; ModC is almost error-free, and despite what may be some scribal guesswork with the texting and lower-voice incipits it seems to be a copy fit for performance use. Strahov basically gives the same version but with errors and increased minor color, plus some improbable variants. Trent 89 adds several pairs of semiminims to the Superius and higher Contra, and like Strahov is relatively poor in terms of lower-voice texting. Its new voices draw heavily on the previous Contras, but the higher Contra is occasionally simplified (see 133-134) and occasionally more elaborate than the older high Contra (see 156-157). As with the Kyrie, the flat signatures in the Trent 89 Superius seem incorrect. With both the Strahov and Trent 89 versions, a fifteenth-century copyist wanting to make a thoroughly-texted version of this movement would probably be faced with considerable guesswork.

Credo

- (i) ModC ff. 108v-112r;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 155v-157r;
- (iii) Trent 89 ff. 334-336r.

- (i) ModC ff. 108v-112r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & both sections are generally preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names (see below for omissions). The first of these letters in the Credo is a boxed decorated majuscule P. The order of voices in ModC is Superius / Tenor / Contra [primus] / Contra secundus. / 34: at the end of this measure is a page-turn point in all voices & the Contra secundus has 'verte' with the page-turn / 193: at the end of this measure is another page-turn, with 'cito verte' given in the Tenor / 271: 2 B (corr with the help of Strahov) / 272: 1 A (also corr with the help of Strahov) / 274: cs is given over this breve; this is not particularly helpful to the entry in the Tenor which starts on the second semibreve of the measure.

[C]ontra secundus; 1: no coloured C given at start of voice-name / 24,3-4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 35: following the page-turn the voice-name is rptd (this time with its coloured initial) / 66: superfluous m rest follows 1 / 80-81: ns / 198: 2 B (corr using Strahov).

Tenor; 29: the 'O rosa bella' incipit has a blue 'O' initial with red ornamentation / 35: following the page-turn the coloured 'T' for the voice-name is not given / 72-150: 78 measures of rests are given (79 are needed).

[C]ontra [primus]; 1: no coloured C given at start of voice-name / 35: following the page-turn the voice name is given with its coloured initial / 42: p div follows 2 / 232: 1 B (this probable error occurs in all sources).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sparse partial texting in the lower voices. This version of the piece seems to use the full Credo text. The omissions that there are in the Superius ('Qui propter' and 'per quem...sunt') can be easily filled in with a little editorial texting and telescoping (i.e. allotting the second portion of omitted text to the Contra secundus). The main differences between the ModC texting and our edition underlay are as follows. [Superius]; 4-5: 'celi' under 4,3-4 / 9: '-re' under 8,4 / 12: '-si-' under 12,5 / 14: '-lium' under 13,4-5 / 15-16: 'Et in unum' under 15,1-4 / 16: 'Domi-' under 17,2-3 / 17: '-num' under 18,4-5 / 17-19: 'Jhesum' (spelt as 'iesum') under 19,2-3 / 19-20: 'Christum' under 20,2-3 / 20-22: 'Filium' under 21,2-3 / 23: 'Dei' under 22,4-5 / 24: 'uni-' under 23,1-2 / 24-25: '-genitum' under 24,1-3 / 26-28: 'Patre' under 26,2-27,1 / 31-33: 'omnia' under 32,2 / 33-34: 'secu-' under 32,5-6 / 35: '-la' under 34,3 / 36-43,1: the text here seems to be entered without much regard for word-to-note alignment / 43-44: 'vero' under 42,6 / 44,2-50: as at 36-43 / 51-52: 'Qui propter' om (conj supplied) / 54-55: 'homines' under 54,1-3 / 55,2-61,1: as at 36-43 / 64: 'est' under 65,1 / 64,3-71: as at 36-43 / 76-77: 'etiam' under 76,2-77,2 / 98-99: 'tertia' under 98,1-3 / 102-105: 'secundum' under 101,2-102,1 / 105: 'Scri-' (given as 'Scrip-') under 104,4 / 107: '-ptu-' given as '-tu-' / 114: 'in' under 115,3 / 117-120: 'sedet' under 118,2-3 / 125-127: 'Patris' under 125,1 / 136-137: '-care' under 136,3-4 / 139: 'et' under 140,2 / 149: 'fi-' under 149,2 / 151: '-nis' under 150,4 / 160-162: 'Sanctum' under 160,1-2 / 163: 'Do-' under 161,3 / 164: '-num' under 164,2 / 164-166: 'et vivifican-' under 168,1-170,3 / 167: '-tem' under 175,1 / 168-75: ed rpt of 'et vivificantem' needed / 181-183: 'Filioque' under 180,3-181,2 / 184: 'proce-' under 182,1-2 / 186: '-dit' under 187,1 / 190-194: as at 36-43 / 196-202: at the new of a new opening 'et conglorificatur' is given as 'Et cum glorificatur', but placed at 194-200 / 213-214: 'unam' under 211,2-212,2 / 215-218: 'sanctam' under 213,2-214,1 / 218-226: as at 36-43 / 228-230: 'Ecclesiam' under 228-229,2 / 233-236: 'Confiteor' under 233,2-235,2 / 237-239: 'unum' under 236,2-237,2 / 240-248: as at 36-43 / 249-253: ed rpt of 'in remissionem' needed / 263: '-cto' under 262,2 / 264-267: 'resurrectio-' under 264,1-266,2 / 269: '-nem' under 268,2 / 278-282: 'venturi' under 278,1-279,3 / 283-285: 'seculi' under 283,1-284,1 / 292: '-men' under 291,2-292,1. Contra secundus; 1-3: the incipit here is given without any regard for word-to-note alignment / 4: 'factorem' under 4,5-5,2 / 5-6: 'celi' under 6,2-3 / 6: 'et' under 7,2-3 & 'ter-' under 8,1 / 12-15: 'et invisibilium' under 11,4-12,5 / 15: 'Et in' under 15,3-4 / 20: ed rpt of 'Christum' needed / 72-75: as at 1-3 / 87: 'et' under 88,1 / 90-93: 'sepultus est' under 90,1-92,2 / 101-103: 'die' under 103,1-2 / 103-110: 'secundum Scripturas' under 105-112,1 / 118-119: 'sedet' under 115,3 / 120: 'ad' under 117,2 / 122-123: 'dexteram' under rest in 120-121,2 / 125-127: 'Patris' under 122,2-123,1 / 152-160: 'Et in Spiritum' under 156-160 / 194-200: 'et conglorificatur' is given as 'Et cum glorificatur' at a page-turn point on a new opening, & with little regard for word-to-note alignment / 248-254: ed rpt of 'in remissionem' needed. Tenor; 30: the opening incipit is given without regard for text alignment, and the word 'natum' occurs independently of the page-turn at 35 with no syllable under 35,1 / 42-57: as at Superius 36-43 / 68: 'et' under 67,3 / 68-69: 'homo' under 68,1 / 70-71: 'factus est' under 70,1-3 / 169-175: 'et vivificantem' under 169,1-172,1 / 274-284: 'Et vitam venturi' under 246-251. Contra primus; 25: as with the Tenor, the opening incipit is given without regard for text alignment / 30-34: the same applies to 'ante omnia secula' here, which is the incipit given after the page-turn / 196-210: likewise with 'et conglorificatur', which is spelt 'Et cum glorificatur'.

(ii) Strahov ff. 155v-157r;

[Superius]; 1: a large gap is left at the start of the first stave (presumably for a majuscule 'P' that was never entered), the b sig is om throughout, and also on the first page-opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-10,2). The voice-order in Strahov is as follows on the first opening: Superius / Tenor / Contra primus / Contra secundus. / 23: 5 A (corr using ModC) / 35: cs given as cor / 37: 4 & 5 are both sm, 5 is followed by a superfluous m rest, & 6 is B / 38: 2 is m F / 61: 1 uc / 71: no custos in any voice / 72: at the start of the second opening the clef is only given on the first stave (72-99,3) / 97: Strahov reads sbr E sbr E (corr using ModC) / 98: 2 is m, & 3 is uc / 99: 1 & 2 are both sm, & 3 is added after the end of a stave / 125: cs given as cor / 128: 1 E (corr using ModC) / 151: cs given as cor / 162,1: added at the end of a stave / 222: 2 corr from col err / 250: 2 & 3 added after the end of a stave / 279: 2 E (corr using ModC) / 285,1-2: added on a short end-of-stave extension / 293: no custos in any voice.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: the initial m sign is om, the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-21) / 15: 4 D (corr using ModC) / 24,8: corr from sm / 25: cs given as cor / 57: 3 uc / 67: 4 & 5 uc / 68,2-71: due to lack of space, the end of the first section is given on a small stave above the main part & after the end of Contra primus section 1. / 72: m sign om, & on the second opening the clef is only given with the first part-stave (72-104,2) / 125: cs given as cor / 135: 2 D (corr using ModC) / 149-50: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 212: 2 A (corr using ModC) / 232: 1 G below (corr using ModC) / 269: 2 & 3 uc.

[T]enor; 1: the m sign is om, the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given on the first stave (1-49) / 32: 2 col err / 48: 1 is L, with its downward tail crossed out / 53: b ind before 53,1 / 72: on the second opening the m sign is om, and the clef is only given for the first stave (72-180). Also as in ModC only 78 measures of rests are given (79 are needed) / 175: 1 not dtd (corr using ModC) / 180-193: 15 measures of rests given (only 13 are needed) / 232: the mx at a ligature-end has a downward tail (which is not strictly necessary, and does not occur in the other sources here) / 242: the mx here at the start of a lig also has a downward tail (both other readings do the same, but again the tail is not really necessary) / 278,1: pitch is uc (this could be C) / 280-293: due to lack of space, the end of the Tenor part is given on an additional half-stave at the bottom of the page.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-37,5) / 30: cs given as cor, & misplaced over 29,4 / 48,1: a dot (or small mark?) is given after this note for no apparent reason / 74: 1 G (corr using ModC) / 72: the cut-C m sign for the second section is given above 70,2 on the first opening, & on the second opening the clef is only given for the first stave (72-177,1). Also at the opening of the second section 44 measures of rests are given at 72-124 but 53 are needed. / 129-132: ns / 151: cs given as cor / 232: 1 B (both other sources have this probable error) / 252: 1 not dtd (corr using ModC) / 282,2: added after the end of a stave.

Underlay; Strahov uses almost the complete Credo text in its Superius (with some textual confusion at ‘Deum de Deo...vero’ at 36-44, and the omission of ‘Et iterum...finis’ at 163). Like Trent 89 its sectional split is different to that in ModC since the Strahov second section begins ‘Et incarnatus’. Its Superius and higher Contra give ‘Christum as ‘xpum’ (19-20) and as in the ModC version this needs repeating in the Contra secundus. ‘Catholicam’ (216-217) is given as ‘katholicam’, and editorial rpts of ‘Confiteor’ are needed in both Contra parts at 229-234. The Contra primus begins with the incipit ‘Filium Dei’ (25) which is unlikely to be correct since that text is at 20-23 in the upper two voices. Otherwise the lower-voice incipits are as follows. Contra 2us first section; Patrem / visibilium omnium et invisibilium / Et in unum / Jhesum xpum / Dei unigenitum. Second section; Et incarnatus and Et resurrexit tertia die. Tenor; none in first section, and Et iterum venturus for second section. Contra primus; Filium Dei as above, and Et resurrexit for the second section.

The Strahov Superius texting looks odd, since the scribe has copied this Credo onto two openings whereas ModC uses four. Consequently some of the texting is very compressed. Even so, the scribe copies stave 1 of the Superius (1-10,2) with just the words ‘[P]atrem...celi et’. Stave 2 of the Superius (10,3-rest in 19) is also sparsely texted (‘terre...et invisibilium’). Thereafter the density of wording increases. The second opening suffers from the same fault of over-compression and stave 3 of this page-opening has some of its Superius text in a closely-packed mess of contractions. Deciding how to present much of this reading is difficult; the best policy seems to be to follow the Trent 89 version where it is clear that Strahov and Trent 89 allot the same or similar passages of text to successive Superius passages. Otherwise much of my lower-voice texting takes after the ModC version.

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 334-336r;

[Superius]; the voice-order in this reading is Superius / Tenor / Contratenor primus [part made up from much of the old Contra secundus] / Contra bassus [partly made up of material from the old Contra primus]. 1: the m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 30: cs is under 30,1, inverted / 33,1-3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 45,1-4: likewise / 59,4-6: likewise / 72: the m sign is given as cut-C in all voices, and is given before the stave for all voices except the Contra bassus. I have standardised the m sign here to C2 to match with the Trent 89 Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus. / 102: 2 uc due to lacuna / 128: 1 E (corr using ModC, & the same error occurs in Strahov) / 138,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 229: Trent 89 reads dtd-sbr B & m C (corr using ModC) / 264,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contratenor primus; 1: 2 uc due to lacuna / 14: 2 C (corr using ModC) / 25,1 plus the two rests following: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 29,5: corr from col err with a small 'a' (for 'alba') underneath / 37,5-6: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 38-55,4: this stretch of the Contra primus is on a single stave from which the b sig is omitted / 68-71: added on an end-of-stave extension / 72: 'secundus' is not given with the voice-name on the new page-opening / 106-109: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 145: 2 & 3 are both f / 149-154: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 191,2-193,3: likewise / 212: 2 A (corr using ModC: the same error occurs in Strahov) / 236-238: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 277: 1 E / 282-265: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 30: 2 uc due to lacuna / 62,2: likewise / 72-150: 78 measures of rests are given (79 are needed) / 214: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 232: this mx has no downward tail (as in ModC).

Contra bassus; 1: the b sig is om throughout (conj supplied) / 60: 2-3 written on a short end-of-stave extension / 72-124: as in Strahov, 44 measures of rests are given but 53 are needed / 186: 1 uc due to lacuna / 189-201: this passage is copied over erasures / 210,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 232: 1 B (the other sources read the same here) / 291: 1 looks poorly pitched, and could be read as E rather than D.

Underlay; Trent 89 underlays the Superius fully and has the following incipits for the lower voices. Contra primus; Patrem. Second section: Et incarnatus. Tenor; Et ex Patre natum. Second section: Et incarnatus est. Contra bassus; Filium Dei (the same first-section incipit as in Strahov, which seems wrong). Second section: Et incarnatus est. Both second-section incipits in the Tenor and Contra bassus seem better replaced by different editorial cues. Trent 89 also gives 'xpum' for 'Christum' (Superius, 19-20) and 'katholicam' for 'catholicam' as does Strahov, and also needs repeats of 'Confiteor' in both Contra parts like Strahov. The Trent 89 version enters all of the Credo on just two openings (again, like Strahov) but does so much more neatly than the latter. Trent 89 omits 'sedet...finis' from the text at 163. Again, Strahov has a similar omission.

Trent 89 splits the movement sectionally at 'Et incarnatus' as Strahov does, but partly because of the different voices in Trent 89 variations occur in their textings of these versions (see in particular the Superius textings at 153-210). Both of these versions also begin their 'Amen' before the 'Amen' of the ModC version. The positioning of some of the Trent 89 Superius text seems almost as poor as in Strahov (for example, in Trent 89 'Patrem' is the only word of text at 1-5).

Credo readings; ModC represents a conscientious attempt to text the Superius properly (despite some dubious textings in denser passages) and its careful page-turns bear witness to the copyist's intentions. Its lower-voice cues are few, but probably would have allowed for serious use by informed singers. In contrast the Strahov copy is very poor and its differences regarding text have already been described. Some of its variants (such as the triplet at 3 and the garbled Superius at 37-38) are definitely inferior to ModC, and its Superius is copied with what looks like a tendency to simplify cadential ornaments (a habit of the Strahov scribe also noted in our edition of Touront's *Missa Sine nomine I*). Textually what can be rescued from the Strahov reading seems to partly follow Trent 89. Both also share common errors to a greater degree than ModC and Strahov. Trent 89 - despite being competently revised and copied - contains some small values and passing-note work not found in either other version (see the Superius at 2, 31-32, 37 & 42 and also the

higher Contra at 67) and its new Contra bassus is in places very close to the older Contra primus (see in particular the full entry in the second section and 181-201). I also note a few passages here which seem odd or unsatisfactory on repeated hearings (see the rather widely spaced voices at 25-29, the fifth in a duet passage at 105, the construct without a third in the Trent 89 version at 225, and the Superius progression at 177-179). Also Trent 89 (like Strahov) could not have been easily used for performance in view of its sparse lower-voice texting.

Sanctus

- (i) ModC ff. 112v-114r;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 157v-159r;
- (iii) Trent 89 ff. 336v-338r.

- (i) ModC ff. 112v-114r;

[Superius]; 1: as with previous movements the first letter of the Superius text is a boxed decorated majuscule, and most internal sections are generally preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names (see below for omissions). The order of voices in ModC is Superius / Tenor / Contra [primus] / Contra secundus. / 21: 5 E (corr using Strahov) / 85: 2 C (corr using Strahov) / 116: m sign rptd at start of Benedictus / 183: 'ut supra' not ind in any voice, but it is clear that the only Osanna section in the ModC version would have been repeated. The other two versions of this movement make the Osanna II text fit into the Benedictus section, which is probably not authentic because all other movements in ModC end with four-part sections. Nevertheless, the Contra primus in ModC makes the same sectional texting mistake with the Benedictus as Strahov and Trent 89 (see the underlay section below).

Contra secundus; 19: 3 dtd / 33: no coloured 'P' is given at the start of the Pleni sunt section / 89: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 116: no coloured 'B' is given at the start of the Benedictus / 143,2: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 151: p div follows 3 / 154: p div follows 2 / 182,3-183: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 1: the 'O rosa bella' title is given after the incipit 'Sanctus' / 33: no 'tacet' direction given.

Contra [primus]; 16,4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 25: 3 & 4 are E & D (corr using Strahov) / 36: no coloured 'P' is given at the start of the Pleni sunt section / 128: no coloured 'B' is given at the start of the Benedictus / 144-166: 24 measures of rests are given here (only 23 are needed).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits and sparse texting for the lower voices. The main differences between the ModC texting and our edition underlay are as follows. [Superius]; 5: '-ctus' under 4,4 / 10: 'sanctus' om (conj supplied) / 10-17: 'Dominus Deus' under 10,2-11,2 / 17: 'Sa-' (given as 'Sab-') under 12,2 / 30-31: '-baoth' under 29,6-30,2 / 33-36: 'Pleni' under 33,1-2, with the majuscule 'P' in the stave margin / 36: the rpt of 'Pleni' is clearly indicated in the ms, and 'sunt' is under 37,1-2 / 37: 'ce-' under 37,3-4 / 40: '-li' under 39,6 / 41: 'ter-' under 41,2 / 44: '-ra' under 45,5 / 44-47: 'glori-' under 44,2-4 / 48: '-a' under 47,4 / 52-55: 'Osanna' is given at the start of the Osanna section with the majuscule 'O' in the stave margin / 83: '-cel-' under 82,1 / 91: '-sis' under 114,3 / 93-115: ed rpt of 'Osanna in excelsis' needed in all voices / 116-129: 'Benedi-' is not given with any regard for syllable placement, with the majuscule 'B' in the stave margin / 133: '-ctus' under 132,2 / 134: 'qui' under 133,3 / 148-156: 'nomine' under 144,2-145,2 / 157-169: 'Domi-' under 152,1-153,2 / 183: '-ni' under 182,4. Contra secundus; 52-76: 'Osanna' is not entered with any regard for word placement & is spaced a third of the way across the first stave for this section / 78: 'in' under 105,1 / 80: 'ex-' under 106,1 / 98: '-cel-' under 106,2-107,1 / 115: '-sis' under 114,2 / 116-133: '[B]enedictus' is not entered with any regard for syllable placement / 134: 'qui' under 121,2-3 / 135: 've-' under 123,1 / 143: '-nit' under 127,1 / 144-150: 'in nomi-' under 145,1-4 / 156: '-ne' under 146,3 / 158: 'Do-' under 150,1 / 169: '-mi-' under 152,2 / 183: '-ni' under 181,4. Tenor; 11-12:

‘Dominus’ under 20,1-3 / 12: ‘De-’ under 21,1 / 17: ‘-us’ under 22,2-3. Contra primus; 1-5: ‘Sanctus’ is not entered with any regard for syllable placement / 10-17: ‘Dominus Deus’ under 9,2-10,2 / 37: ‘sunt’ under the rest in 40 / 37-38: ‘celi’ under 40,2-4 / 134-143: ‘qui venit’ is given as the opening incipit for this section, at 128 / 171-183: the end of this voice is texted ‘in excelsis’ in error, with ‘in’ under 172,2, ‘ex-’ under 174,1, ‘-cel-’ under 175,3 & ‘-sis’ under 182,2-3.

(ii) Strahov ff. 157v-159r;

[Superius]; 1: a large gap is left at the start of the Superius, presumably for a majuscule ‘S’ that was never entered. The b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-12,3). The voice-order in Strahov is as follows: Superius / Tenor / Contra primus / Contra secundus. / 19: 2 G (corrected by an inverted ‘v’ mark under 18,2) & 4 is dtd / 20: 1 dtd, & rest om / 23: 2 is col sbr, 3 is col m, & 5 is m (corr using ModC) / 32: no custos in any voice / 47,3: corr from col err / 51: no custos in any voice / 52: at the start of the second opening, the clef is only given on the first stave (52-71,2) / 74: 1 B (corr using ModC) / 111: superfluous sbr B follows 1 / 112: 3 is m (corr using ModC) / 115: no custos in any voice / 127: superfluous sbr r follows 1 / 160: a vertical mark given over and above 2 here perhaps serves as a p div / 167: m sign given above 1 rather than before it / 179: 1 & 2 col err / 183: no custos in any voice.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: the m sign is om, the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-12,3) / 19,2: corr from col err / 26: 3 not dtd / 33: m sign O given at start of section / 52: the m sign is om in the three lower voices, and on the second opening the clef is only given for the first stave (52-89). The Osanna Contra secundus here uses the music from the ModC Contra primus / 68: 1 D (corr using the ModC Contra primus) / 166: from here the Strahov Contra secundus uses the same part as ModC / 117: 1 col err / 130: rest is poorly written & looks like a breve rest / 151: p div follows 3 / 158: m sign given above 1 rather than before it / 181,1: corr from E above.

[T]enor; 1: the m sign is om, the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-18,2) / 11: 1 is m & 2 is sbr (corr using ModC) / 19: 1 col err / 32: ‘tacet’ direction om / 52: at the start of the second opening the clef is only given on the first stave (52-89) / 116: from this point onwards the Strahov Tenor uses the music of the ModC Contra primus / 138: 3 E (corr using the ModC Contra primus).

[C]ontratenor primus; the m sign is om, the b sig is om throughout, and on the first opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-16,4) / 8: 5 om (supplied from ModC) / 12: 1 is col br / 12-13: 12,2 & 13,1 are both col / 33: m sign O given at start of section / 36: cs given as cor / 43,3-44,1: these notes are written a third too high / 46: 4 corr from col err / 52-115: here, the Strahov Contra primus uses the music of the ModC Contra secundus and the final section (the Benedictus) is allotted to the Tenor in Strahov instead of to this voice / 52: at the start of the second opening the clef is only given for the first stave (52-92,2) / 115: tacet direction reads ‘Benedictus tacet contratenor primus’.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully and provides the following incipits & text for the lower voices. Contra secundus: Pleni sunt / Osanna / Benedictus / in nomine Domini / Osanna in excelsis. Tenor; Sanctus / Osanna / Benedictus qui venit. Contra primus: Osanna. Strahov has several differences from our edition in terms of Superius texting.

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 336v-338r;

[Superius]; the voice-order in this reading is Superius / Tenor / Contratenor primus [part made up from much of the old Contra secundus] / Contra bassus [partly made up of material from the old Contra primus]. 1: the m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 15,2-24,1: the lowest flat in the b sig is om for all of this passage, which is on a single stave / 36: rpt of ‘Pleni’ clearly indicated, as in ModC / 52: at the start of the second opening, the m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 111; as in Strahov, a superfluous sbr B follows 1, & is ligd to 111,2 / 112: also as in Strahov, 3 is m / 167: the m sign is given before a new stave on which the rest in 169 is the first value; no b sig is given on this final stave of Superius.

Contra [primus]; 18: clef change is at start of new stave / 33: clef change is at start of new stave / 118: 2 B (corr using ModC).

Tenor; 30,1: uc due to lacuna / 33-51: in Trent 89 the lowest voice for the Pleni sunt section is given to the Tenor; in the other two sources it is given to the older Contra primus / 50,4: corr from col err / 105: 1 E (corr using ModC) / 116-183: as in Strahov, the lowest voice of the Benedictus in Trent 89 is given to the Tenor rather than the older Contra primus / 144-166: 24 measures of rests are given here, as in ModC (only 23 are needed) / 171: rest & 1 added on a short end-of-stave extension / 182: 2 corr from col err.

Contra bassus; 1: the b sig is om throughout (conj supplied) / 32: ‘tacet’ direction om / 52: the m sign C2 given before the stave is crossed out, and is rewritten at the start of the stave following 28 measures of rests (these rests are probably superfluous, as they occur on the second opening and the preceding Pleni sunt section which occurs on the first opening is only 19 measures long) / 115: ‘tacet’ direction om.

Underlay; Trent 89 gives full Superius texting with sectional incipits for the lower voices. As with Strahov there are some differences from our edition texting.

Sanctus readings; it is in this movement that the Trent 89 Superius twin-flat signature proves itself particularly awkward to deal with, as the Pleni sunt section has a cadence on E at 41-42. Otherwise ModC (which is largely error-free) again proves itself preferable to either other source, principally because Strahov and Trent 89 both mis-score the trio sections and involve the Tenor in singing non-cantus-firmus material (which it does not do anywhere in the ModC version). Also in Trent 89 there are some odd-looking variants (for example, at Superius 21 & in the higher Contra at 23). Strahov and Trent 89 also both end this movement without the customary ‘Osanna ut supra’ repeat - making it the only movement of this cycle which does not end with a full section. Strahov also swaps round the Contra parts for the Osanna, and its opening (which features a third) arguably sounds weaker than in the ModC or Trent 89 versions.

Agnus

(i) ModC ff. 114v-117r;

(ii) Strahov ff. 159v-160r;

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 338v-339r (Strahov and Trent 89 have no Agnus III section, and a different Agnus II from ModC).

(i) ModC ff. 114v-117r;

[Superius]; as with previous movements the first letter of the Superius text is a boxed decorated majuscule, and internal sections are generally preceded by blue or red coloured and decorated initials for text and voice-names. The order of voices in ModC is Superius / Tenor / Contra [primus] / Contra secundus. No further discrepancies.

Contra secundus; 10,3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 29: 3 is dtd-m & 4 is sm (corr using Strahov).

Tenor; 1: the ‘O rosa bella’ title is given after the incipit ‘Agnus Dei’ / 23: p div follows 2 / 33: ‘Tenor tacet’ appears on the second of the three openings for this movement, in the same place as where the Tenor part is usually entered (at the bottom of the left-hand page).

Contra [primus]; 3: 2 b (this flat is also given in Trent 89) / 17: 1 D (this probable error occurs in all three readings) / 61: 1 b, ind before 60,1.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The main differences between the ModC texting and our edition underlay are as follows. [Superius]; 4: ‘-gnus’ under 1,1-3 / 8: ‘-i’

under 7,5, & 'qui' under 8,3-4 / 14: '-lis' under 9,4-5 with the 's' separated to avoid collision with the line of music below / 15-17: 'pecca-' under 10,2-3 / 18: '-ta' under 12,2, 'mundi' given as 'mondi' in all three Superius sections, & 'mun-' under 15,2-3 / 20: '-di' under 17,5 / 21-22: 'mise-' under 18,3-19,1 / 23: '-re-' under 21,2 / 24: '-re' is under the rest in 24 (to avoid collision with the line of music below) & 'no-' is under 26,3 / 33: '-bis' under 33,2 / 34-37: the 'A-' of 'Agnus' is in the left margin, & '-gnus' is under 34-35,2 / 42: '-i' under 40,1 / 49: 'qui' under 50,1 / 54: 'tol-' under 52,1 / 62: '-lis' under 54,1 / 64-66: 'pecca-' under 64,1-3 / 69: '-ta' under 70,1 / 82: '-di' under 80,3-81,1 / 83: 'mi-' under 84,2-85,1 / 84-92: 'serere' under 86,2-87,1 / 99: 'no-' under 100,1-2 / 110: '-bis' under 109,1 / 111: as at 34, 'A-' is in the left margin / 120: '-gnus' under 112,2-113,1 / 121: 'De-' under 117,2 / 134: '-i' under 119,1 / 139-144: 'tollis' under 136,2-138,1 / 146-148: 'peccata' under 147,2-148,1 / 153: '-di' has its letters separated under 152,4-153,1 to avoid collisions with notes / 159: 'no-' under 160,3 / 167: '-bis' under 165,1 / 174: '-cem' under 173,3-174,1. Contra secundus; 7-14: 'qui tollis' under 9,1-10,3. Tenor; 11: 'qui' under 14,2 / 12-14: 'tollis' under 15,2-17,2. Contra primus; 34: the incipit 'Agnus Dei' seems best assigned to the opening rests of the second section rather than where this part enters at 47.

(ii) Strahov ff. 159v-160r. (NB: this version differs in barring from the ModC version from the end of the first section onwards).

[Superius]; a large gap is left at the start of the Superius, presumably for a majuscule 'A' that was never entered. For Agnus I (1-34) the clef is only given for the first stave (1-rest in 8) & the b sig is not rptd at all. The voice-order in Strahov is as follows: Superius / Tenor / Contra primus / Contra secundus. / 13: 3 uc / 16: 6 is col sbr / 17: 1 is sm (Trent 89 has similar errors at 16-17) / 23: 4 uc / 34: no custos in any voice / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices, m sign given before stave, & for Agnus II (35-end) the clef is only given on the first stave (35-55) / 102: 1 is given after end of stave, & no custos or 'ut supra' given in either voice.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: the b sig is om throughout, the incipit reads 'Agnus primus', and the clef is only given on the first two staves (1-10,2 & 10,3-18,1 respectively) / 10,3: clef change is at start of new stave / 13: 4 B (corr using ModC) / 16: 5 is col sbr / 17: 1 is sm (Trent 89 has similar errors at 16-17) / 26,5: an inverted 'v' is given under this note - possibly as a correction since it looks like an sm rather than m / 32: 1 is sm, 2 is m, 3 is sm & 4 is m (Trent 89 has the same error here) / 34: 'tacet' direction om.

[T]enor; 1: the b sig & m sign are om, the clef is only given on the first stave (1-26), & the incipit reads 'Agnus primus secundus tacet' / 32: 1 G (corr using ModC).

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the b sig & m sign are om, and the clef is only given for the first stave (1-16,2) / 17: 1 D / 18: rest om (supplied from ModC) / 35: the incipit reads 'Agnus secundus' / 75,1: written after the end of a stave / 101-102: likewise.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius with Agnus I & Agnus II text, and gives sectional incipits for the lower voices. The Superius texting for the Strahov version of Agnus I has several differences with ModC and our edition. In the Strahov version of Agnus II the following Superius positionings and details occur; 35: opening words given as 'Agnus secundum' / 43-51: 'Dei' om / 52-57: 'qui tollis pecca-' under 52,1-55,3 / 61-68: 'mundi' under 72,2-73,1 / 71-74: 'miserere' under 76-77 / 73-79: ed rpt of 'miserere' needed in both voices / 102: '-bis' under 101,1-3.

(iii) Trent 89 ff. 338v-339r. (NB: like Strahov, this version differs in barring from the ModC version from the end of the first section onwards).

[Superius]; 1: the voice-order in this reading is Superius / Tenor / Contratenor primus [part made up from much of the old Contra secundus] / Contra bassus [partly made up of material from the old Contra primus]. the m sign is given before the stave in all voices / 14: 2 C (corr using ModC) / 16: 1 om (supplied using ModC), & 6 is dtd / 17: 1 is sm, & is followed by a superfluous m B (similar errors occur in Strahov at 16-

17) / 22,3: corr from col err / 33: 3 is L, and 33,3-34,1 are written on an end-of-stave extension / 35: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices, & m sign given before stave in both voices / 102: ‘ut supra’ not ind in either voice.

Contratenor [primus]; 15,5-27: these notes are given on a stave which omits the b sig / 16: 5 is dtd / 17: 1 is sm ((similar errors occur in Strahov at 16-17) / 32: 1 is sm, 2 is m, 3 is sm & 4 is m (Strahov has the same error here) / 34: ‘tacet’ direction om.

Tenor; 27-34: these notes are given on a half-stave which has mistakenly been given a Bb/Eb signature with the Bb doubled at the octave below.

Contratenor bassus; 1: the b sig is om throughout (conj supplied) / 3: 2 b (the flat also occurs in ModC) / 17: 1 D (the same error occurs in both other readings) / 22,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 34: ‘tacet’ direction om.

Underlay; Trent 89 texts the Superius fully (giving just ‘dona nobis pacem’ for the Agnus III text) and the lower voices have sectional incipits.

Agnus readings; again ModC looks almost error-free. Beside this reading the others look distinctly poor, primarily because neither Strahov nor Trent 89 have the ModC Agnus II and III sections. Instead, both have a duet section for Agnus II and parts of the lower duet voice used in Strahov and Trent 89 differ in each source. The latter also gives the new duet section in what seems to be a more polished version. Regarding Agnus I in Strahov and Trent 89, both alter the cantus firmus so that this section ends with a cadence on G (in the process, creating a cadence where the Superius leading-note creates brief simultaneous false relations if accidentalised). Strahov and Trent 89 also have the same or similar sets of mistakes in the Superius and higher Contra at 16-17 and 32, both try to ‘mask’ ModC’s repeated notes at the same pitch (see 7-11) and at Superius 20-21 both sources give an inferior variant that creates a brief fourth with the Tenor. The new Contra bassus in Trent 89 is close to the older low Contra in this particular movement. Of all the revised movements of this cycle, this one seems the least competently altered. However, given the nature of the Strahov reading it seems that the movement had already changed considerably before the Trent 89 revisor added the new Contra bassus.

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Structure

This Mass is the only extant four-voice cycle based on the famous *O rosa bella* song, which is now thought to be the work of Bedingham rather than Dunstable.⁶⁶ There are another two Masses on *O rosa bella*, respectively in Trent 88 and Trent 90. The first is a conventional and rather short three-voice Tenor cantus firmus work which may be English in origin. The second (which may be something of a musical ‘reply’ to the first) uses the song’s transposed Superius as its Contratenor and also contains quotations from Ordinary chants which circulated in the German-speaking lands.⁶⁷ This second Missa *O rosa bella* might therefore not have circulated in central-repertory manuscripts.

The third Mass (which is discussed here, and is the lengthiest of the many *O rosa bella* derivatives) has something of a history in itself owing to what we can determine about its transmission. Our comparative score (no. 21a) gives the three surviving versions in what I consider to be a logical order of development.

⁶⁶ Persuasive arguments in favour of Bedingham are made in Fallows, D. ‘English Song repertories of the Mid-Fifteenth Century’ in PRMA 103 (1976-77) pp. 61-79.

⁶⁷ For the Missa *O rosa bella I* (Trent 88 ff. 363v-372r plus a fragmentary concordance in Lucca), see the editions in DTÖ 22 pp. 1-12 and Gerber, Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent... no. 135. For the Missa *O rosa bella II* (Trent 90 ff. 420v-428r), see DTÖ 22 pp. 13-27.

The ModC reading at the top of the score seems to be the most faithful version, despite its parent manuscript being later than the other sources and dating from ca. 1481. This version has two crossing Contra parts, no Kyrie trope text, and a more complete Agnus Dei than either of the other versions. The other two sources probably date from the mid-1460's.

The Strahov version gives basically the same piece albeit with some confusion of the Contratenor parts (which are swapped round in Kyrie II), a shortened Agnus Dei with a new second section and no third section, and nothing at all of the Kyrie trope text apart from the incipit 'Rex virginum' at the start of that movement's Tenor. Along with these changes the music is copied untidily (like much else in Strahov) with much use of minor color and a relatively high proportion of basic errors.

The Trent 89 version seems to represent the end of the transmission process since details of its essential voices tend to follow the readings of Strahov rather than those of ModC. Trent 89 also gives the shortened Agnus and modernises the texture by discarding the lower Contra in the older version in favour of a more bass-like part called Contratenor bassus. This - as well as the higher Contra in the Trent 89 version - draws on much material from the supporting parts in the older version. Trent 89 also gives the trope text for the Kyrie, which may be an authentic feature of the original that had been discarded. ModC was produced for the Ferrara court, and probably compiled under the direction of Johannes Martini; in 1480's Ferrara the trope text may have had no liturgical place.⁶⁸

The 1904 DTÖ 22 edition of the Mass gave two of the versions described above - the first and the third. While this was a pioneering effort for its time, its editors were unaware of existence of Strahov and they therefore accidentally made the Trent 89 reworking look like a more thorough revision than it actually is. Robert J. Snow was the first to suggest that the Strahov might have a significant role - an argument which has rarely been contested.⁶⁹ On the whole, Trent 89 gives a less satisfactory version of this Mass than Strahov. Trent 89 adds small values to the two upper parts, the Superius has E flat as well as B flat signatures throughout in which the E flats seem largely redundant, and small patches of the lower-voice revision seem less satisfactory than the texture in ModC. Therefore for the purpose of this discussion the version referred to from now on is the one in ModC, and the issue of different readings (which seems to have rather dominated twentieth-century discussion of this Mass) is largely relegated to the critical apparatus.⁷⁰

Before proceeding to discussion of what looks like the original work, I observe the following points concerning its sources. ModC is a meticulous copy in which a few more dots of division appear than are perhaps absolutely necessary, and where some effort has been made to correlate words and text in the Superius part. Therefore this copy may well have had some practical use.⁷¹ In contrast, Trent 89 cannot yet be viewed as a copy suitable for performance purposes. Possibly like Strahov it was intended as a 'cold storage' copy from which more useful copies could be made with ease. Lastly, in the Strahov reading there seems to be a tendency for the copyist to omit dotted rhythms - a trait which I have also observed in that manuscript's copy of Touront's *Missa Sine nomine I*. These changes (which are possibly the result of mere personal preference or a desire to simplify the music for relative novices) do not always seem satisfactory.

The ModC version of the *Missa O rosa bella III* elaborates the Tenor of the model differently in each movement, and generally splits the cantus firmus into two halves corresponding to the sections of the

⁶⁸ Regarding the scribe of ModC (Fra Filippo di San Giorgio) and the manuscript's origins see Lockwood, L., Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 213-227 and Chiappini, A., 'Una biblioteca ed uno scriptorium a Ferrara nel secolo XV: San Giorgio' in Analecta Pomposiana VI (1981), pp. 185-220.

⁶⁹ See Snow, The Manuscript Strahov D.G. IV. 47... pp. 99-102.

⁷⁰ The 1997 CD Arte Nova 59210 by the Clemencic Consort provides a brave attempt at recording the Trent 89 version, and one in which the quality of the singing is fairly good. But the organ introductions provided for each movement tend to spoil an otherwise well-made recording.

⁷¹ The degree to which various Masses in ModC might have been edited is fully explored in Steib, 'Herculean Labours...'. Naturally, the largely error-free nature of the ModC copy might be a result of such editing.

model's Tenor (the Kyrie being the exception here since it is tripartite). The Sanctus and Agnus also interpolate the cantus firmus sections with internal and Tenorless trio sections.⁷² There is no motto opening; the bipartite Gloria and Credo open similarly and both use opening duets and delayed-entry Tenors in each of their sections. The Sanctus and Agnus Superius parts are similar for their first few measures, and both of these full openings are different again from the Kyrie opening - which is a short trio. Practically every section in this Mass either ends on G or uses a half-close similar to the one at the end of the model's first section. The exception here is Agnus II, which has a perfect cadence on D at its end (other sectional and closing D cadences are of the II-I type). I will return to the formal layout of the Gloria and Credo sections and their anticipatory material in due course.

The Tenor has occasional fourths against the Superius (for example, at Sanctus, 15-16) and the cantus firmus elaborations treat the song Tenor with some freedom. Kyrie I gives an exceptional treatment in that it has measures 1-8 of the song Tenor in long notes, with some extra rests inserted. Elsewhere the upward leap of a seventh in the cantus firmus at 21 is consistently modified throughout so that the Tenors leap D-D rather than D-C (see Gloria 48-49), cantus firmus notes are occasionally omitted, and other individual notes are split (see Gloria 26-28, whose three G values are a single note in the model's Tenor). Agnus 8-13 also gives the first imitative point from the model in a rhythmically modified form.

In addition to the basic cantus firmus use (which I will describe as item 1 below) the outer voices also give a considerable amount of material derived from the model which I will analyse by dividing it into the following categories; 2: material anticipating Tenor entries. 3: other use of outer-voice material from the model by the outer voices in full sections. 4: allusions to material from the model in otherwise free sections. In view of the way in which this Mass has been put together a verbal description seems better than a tabular one, and the example below gives a rendition of the *O rosa bella* song with the same barring as in the easily available edition in John Dunstable, Complete Works (revised edition).⁷³

⁷² The Strahov and Trent 89 versions involve their Tenor in some of the trios, which is probably incorrect since these sections would be the only places where the Tenor has anything other than Tenor cantus firmus material.

⁷³ Bent, M., Bent, I. and Trowell, B. *op. cit.* pp. 133-134.

3.25. Bedingham, *O rosa bella* (with first text strophe only);

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle staff is the piano accompaniment, and the bottom staff is the basso continuo line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes lyrics in three languages: Italian, Spanish, and Latin.

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

Vocal: O
 Piano: O
 Continuo: O

System 2 (Measures 7-12):

Vocal: ...O ro - sa bel - la, O dol - ce ni - ma mi - a,
 Piano: ...O ro - sa bel - la O dolce a - ni - ma mi - a, non
 Continuo: ...O ro - sa bel - la O dolce a - ni - ma mi -

System 3 (Measures 13-18):

Vocal: non mi las - sar mo - ri - - - re in
 Piano: mi las - sar mo - ri - - -
 Continuo: - a non mi las - sar mo - ri - - -

System 4 (Measures 19-24):

Vocal: cor - te - si - a ...in cor - te - si - a, ...in cor - te -
 Piano: - re in cor - te - si - a, ...in cor te - si -
 Continuo: - re in cor - te - si - a ...in cor - te - si - a ...cor - te -

25

- si - - - a. Ai las - so mi, do - len - - te ...Ai

- - - a. Ai las - so mi, do - len - te ...Ai las - so

- si - - - a. Ai las - so mi, do - len - - te

31

las - so mi do - len - - te de - zo

mi do - - len - - - - te de -

...Ai las - so mi do - len - te ...do - len - - te de -

37

fi - ni - - re per ben ser - vi - re e

zo fi - ni - re per ben ser - - vi - re e

zo fi - ni - re per ben ser - vi - - re e

42

li - al - ment' a - ma - - -

li - [al - ment'] a ma - - -

li - al - ment' a - ma - - -

46

#

re.

re.

re.

1. Basic cantus firmus use.

Kyrie I: measures 1-32 give the song Tenor at 1-7,2, with a delayed entry and the cantus firmus in extended values and unelaborated (but with rhythms altered and some extra rests inserted).

Christe: measures 33-88 give 8,2-26 of the song Tenor (the remainder of its first half) with a few notes added, a few missed out, and a rhythmic configuration which is not the same as in the song. The B at 26,2 in the cantus firmus is altered to C both here and at all other quotational instances in this Mass.

Kyrie II: measures 89-121 begin with a delayed entry and then elaborate the entire second half of the song Tenor (27-47) with some additional rests before the final Tenor phrase.

Et in terra: measures 1-55 present a delayed-entry elaboration of the song Tenor's first half, with some notes split and others added.

Qui tollis: Gloria measures 56-158 present a delayed-entry elaboration of the song Tenor measures 27-42,1 (most of its second half, in which three notes at 42,2-43 in the cantus firmus are missed out). This is followed by rests at 159-177 and then an elaboration of the remainder of the Tenor.

Patrem: measures 1-57 present a delayed-entry elaboration of measures 1-19,1 of the song Tenor followed by rests at 58-60 (at 57 a few cantus firmus notes are again omitted). The remainder of the song Tenor's first half (21,3-26) is elaborated at 61-71.

Crucifixus: Credo measures 72-293 present a delayed-entry elaboration of the song Tenor's second half, split into segments by rests at several points and with some Tenor notes in extended values.

Sanctus first section: measures 1-32 elaborate the first half of the song Tenor, quite lightly.

Pleni sunt: free trio.

Osanna: Sanctus measures 52-115 elaborate the second half of the song Tenor, with some minor omissions.

Benedictus: free trio.

Agnus I: measures 1-33 elaborate the first half of the song Tenor.

Agnus II: free trio.

Agnus III: measures 111-174 elaborate the song Tenor's second half, but significantly for the final measures (165-174) the Tenor is quoted exactly.

2. Material anticipating Tenor entries.

Kyrie I and Kyrie II both begin with short reduced-voice passages (respectively a trio and a Duo) in which the Contra primus has some material from the song Tenor, and above which the Superius has material from the A- and B-section openings of the song Superius. More significantly, all four sections in the Gloria and Credo have formal layouts which involve anticipatory material as follows.

Et in terra: in addition to the song-related Superius opening, the lower duet voice at the start (the higher Contra) anticipates a considerable amount of the forthcoming Tenor cantus firmus (at measures 1-15 this voice covers measures 1-18, 1 of the cantus firmus). Additionally at 17-21 the other Contra also anticipates the Tenor's entry before the Tenor itself begins at 21. When the Tenor enters, both Contras also have the triadic 'O rosa bella' motive in unison imitation - which is in turn partially reflected in the Superius at 22-23.

Qui tollis: at Gloria 56-77 the higher Contra elaborates measures 27-33 of the song Tenor against the song-related material in the Superius, and then continues freely against the Superius at 78-90. From 90 to 104 the lower Contra presents the same section of song Tenor as previously quoted. At 104 the Tenor enters with the song's second-half Tenor - and initially the Tenor elaboration is very similar to the previous lower-Contra anticipation.

Patrem: the song-related Superius opening is supported by the higher Contra being given the first three notes of the Tenor cantus firmus at 1-2. Thereafter the higher Contra continuation is mostly free apart from imitation of the triadic 'O rosa bella' motive at 10-11. From 25-29 the other Contra anticipates the forthcoming Tenor entry exactly.

Crucifixus: the opening Superius-higher Contra duet here (72-124) is not derivative, but the lower Contra entry prior to the Tenor entry (125-151) gives the song Tenor's second-half opening in a form that is almost the same as the following cantus firmus entry (151 onwards in the Tenor).

Anticipatory treatment of the same type occurs in several mainstream fifteenth-century Masses and motets, for example in Dufay's *Ave regina celorum III*, in Ockeghem's *L'homme armé* and *Au travail suis* Masses, and in the *Missa Vinnus vina* thought to be by Faugues. The systematic occurrence of anticipation in *O rosa bella III* was one of the reasons why this work was given considerable attention in Edgar Sparks's seminal study on cantus firmus use.⁷⁴

3. Use of the model's outer-voice material by the outer voices in full sections.

Superius and Contratenor references are quite frequent in cantus firmus sections. The 'O rosa bella' D D Bb G motive is given imitatively between the two Contras at the first Tenor entry in the Gloria (21-22) and is also presented imitatively between three of the voices at 26-29. The same motive also occurs transposed in the Credo Superius (A A F D, at 40-41) and is given imitatively between two of the voices (at the original pitch) at Credo 248-249. In the Sanctus and Agnus, the 'O rosa bella' motive features imitatively in all voices, respectively at 8-12 and 7-13 in each movement.

The song's ending also influences movement-endings; at the close of Kyrie II (112-121) this is particularly noticeable. At the start of the 'Cum sancto' passage in the Gloria (154-156) the sustained values in the song Superius at 41-43 are reflected, but otherwise the Gloria's ending is quite independent from the song Superius. The same is also largely true of the Credo ending. The song Superius ending and the Sanctus ending at 'Osanna' (92-115) are quite close, and likewise at 'dona' in Agnus III (155-158) the Superius again mirrors the same passage from the song.

⁷⁴ Sparks, E., *Cantus firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420-1520* (Berkeley, California, 1963) pp. 138, 177, 188-189 & 408-410.

Section-endings of the half-close type tend to feature Superius references from the half-close in the song (see the *Christe* at Kyrie 77-88, the first *Gloria* section at 52-55, likewise the *Credo*'s first-section ending at 67-71, the *Sanctus* section at 27-32 and the end of *Agnus I* at 29-33). Also the list of song references throughout is further extended by casual outer-voice allusions to material from the model. These are as follows. At *Gloria* 40-42 the Superius is similar to that of the model's Superius at 30,2-33,1. Additionally, at the Tenor's entry point in the *Qui tollis* section the Superius above it is similar to the model's Superius at the start of its second section (see *Gloria* 105-113). This passage features a melodic move to Superius low G, which is also found during the *Credo*'s full duple section (at 220-226). Similarly, the C cadence in the song Superius at 34-36 is reflected in the *Osanna* section of the *Sanctus* at 68-74.

4. Allusions to the parent song in otherwise free sections.

The O-mensuration *Pleni sunt* section has a Superius opening at 33-36 which is loosely related to the model's B-section Superius. Also the *Benedictus* opens with the Superius giving the first three pitches of the song Superius at 116-120 but is thereafter free.

The ModC *Agnus II* begins with the two of its voices quoting measures 1-7 of the model's essential voices (see *Agnus* 34-47). Thereafter the Superius at 49-54 is similar to the song Superius at 18,2-20, and the Superius at 77-82 is similar to the song Superius at 28,1-30,1. Thereafter this section is free. The alternative second *Agnus* section as supplied in Strahov and Trent 89 provides an elaborated version of much of the song's first section (see no. 21a, measures 35-87 of the *Agnus Duo*) and finishes with a free extension which reflects the rise to C at the end of the song Superius.

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The style of this Mass approaches the four-voice idiom of Faugues. Full sections are thickish in texture and exploit the partly chordal nature of the *O rosa bella* song to achieve a quite saturated texture, in which the higher Contra has patches of equality with the Superius. The *Gloria* and *Credo* movements use their anticipatory structure to build up to Tenor entries, and as soon as each of the four sections of these movements are fully under way textural contrast is limited to occasional Tenorless passages. Short passages of these trios use rhythmic acceleration (see *Gloria* 164-169 and *Credo* 189-194) and the composer has rather skilfully put together these extended movements to give them a feeling of impetus. The same can be said for *Kyrie I*, which is the four-part section of this Mass that involves the least Tenor participation (the cantus firmus only has a few notes here, around which the outer voices are inventively spun). Much has already been written regarding the extent to which the model's outer voices permeate those of the Mass; while this is not 'parody' the presence of such borrowing is noticeable because Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur* and similar mid-century works have the same tendency.⁷⁵ In one sense, the revisor who added the Strahov / Trent 89 *Agnus II* did something much bolder than the actual *O rosa bella III* composer: he reworked a not-inconsiderable stretch of the model's essential voices without interpolating much free material.

The trios in the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* are worthy of comment since they contain considerable textural variety. Here we find long-note Superius passages (as at the start of the *Benedictus*), sesquialtera against duple meter (in both the *Benedictus* and *Agnus II*) and imitative passages using doubled harmonic pace (at 'in nomine' in the *Benedictus* and also at its end). I have already indicated that these sections briefly refer to material from the parent song. This feature and also their textural contrasts again draw comparisons with similar trio sections from Masses by Faugues. The *O rosa bella III* composer also uses his trio sections to explore scalic areas which tend not to occur in the cantus firmus sections; at 'et terra' in the *Pleni sunt* section an imitative point on an A triad is followed by a cadence on E and another cadence on A (see *Sanctus*, 39-43). Likewise the last subsectional cadence in the *Benedictus* is on F (*Sanctus*, 167) and *Agnus II* also features a mid-phrase cadence on E (at 68-69) as well as having the only sectional cadence on D in this Mass that uses a

⁷⁵ See Sparks, *op.cit.* pp. 177-181.

perfect cadence formula.

Murray Steib (in ‘Herculean Labours...’) makes a persuasive argument in favour of the ModC Agnus II and III being later additions to an already existing Mass, on the grounds that certain features of the cantus firmus treatment and style differ somewhat from the rest of the Mass. I am more comfortable regarding the ModC version as a single compositional entity, since the trios have the common stylistic features already described and also because of numerical links between movements which I illustrate in the following section. In addition, regarding the ModC Agnus as a piece of composite authorship would (at least to me) pose further problems. Leaving aside the probable secondary status of Strahov and Trent 89 as described in my critical commentary, if Steib is correct we would have no complete and ‘least doctored’ version from which Strahov and Trent 89 might be derived. Of course we do not have the *urtext* original, but the suggestion that ModC is somehow an adaptation seems to turn on its head some of the evidence regarding variants in the critical commentary.

Also - if ModC was in fact composite - some of the similar solecisms of partwriting in this Mass might turn out to be the work of two musicians rather than one. Here I make particular reference to three irregular cadences where - as in the Missa *Le serviteur II* - the suspended Superius does not resolve properly (see Sanctus 126-128, and Agnus 86 and 104). Additionally the Agnus III and the Osanna sections are perhaps also too close in style to allow the identity of this composer to be split, and Agnus II and the Pleni sunt section both have Superius ‘range peaks’ on top D shortly before their close. Perhaps it might be expecting too much of a fifteenth-century revisor to ‘fake’ new Agnus sections that mimic the style of the three-voice and four-voice sections cited, plus also the irregular suspensions, and also perhaps the complex symmetries involving the number three which I explain in due course. All of that does not make it impossible that ModC gives a composite version; I merely think it unlikely. But as a cautionary note it should also be remembered here that the ModC Missa *Entrepris* is a detectably composite work.

Because of the style of the reduced sections and also the way in which the Superius tends to move I also think it unlikely that the *O rosa bella III* composer was English. His declamatory Superius rhythms (see Credo 153-167) seem most un-English, as does his tendency to make a melodic line out of simple cadence-like gestures (see Gloria 179-183). One might expect this sort of Superius from a man who perhaps also wrote combinative chansons and secular pieces rather like Dufay’s later songs. Likewise occasional patches of minim/semiminim syncopation perhaps to belong to the same sound-world (see Sanctus, 44-45). The wide range of the Superius parts (which span a tenth or more) might also be a feature which suggests continental provenance, as are occasional rapid passages in duple rhythm such as the Sanctus Superius at 74-78.

Having made these points (which suggest that this Mass is probably central-tradition) it is only fair to stress that much of what I argue is merely informed guesswork. In this context, too, it seems right to mention that there are quite similar four-voice Masses with crossing Contras which stand a greater chance of being identified as insular. The three-movement Mass on Dunstable’s *Puisque m’amour* in Trent 88 is such a work, and in my 1989 dissertation I suggested that closer comparison with *O rosa bella III* might prove profitable.⁷⁶ Like the latter, the Trent 88 Mass has a thickish four-voice texture and contains some extended and artfully-written trios. But not even this Mass can convincingly be shown to be insular; it could well turn out to be a skilful imitation of English style. I also step back a little here from my previous suggestion that the two Masses might share a common composer. Even some quite detailed style features that they share (such as the use of sesquialtera in trio passages) may only be commonplaces.

Having suggested that the *O rosa bella III* composer was probably Franco-Flemish or French, I immediately add that he has a musical personality which is quite unlike that of any named composers of the same period. Despite similarities with Faugues’s Masses his work still stands some distance from that composer, and

⁷⁶ Published in Gerber, *op.cit.* no. 27.

neither does *O rosa bella III* bear significant comparison with anything extant by Domarto, Touront, Caron or any other master of the 1450's. Certain features might be seen as unsophisticated. For example, there is a progression at Gloria 36-38 which requires lower-voice E flats and then E naturals. A similar moment occurs at Sanctus 13-14. Likewise, the hybrid cadences at the end of most movements, the irregular suspensions previously cited, the occasional upper-voice fifths (Agnus, 6) and dissonances such as the upper-voice second at Credo 191 seem to speak of a musician who was perhaps not too far out of the 1440's. This composer - like Domarto in his *Spiritus almus* Mass - also uses a whole semibreve in O mensuration as a dissonant value (see Credo 62-63; the Tenor's B flat at 63 creates a diminished fifth against the lowest voice). Tinctoris criticised both Domarto and Busnois for similar practices.⁷⁷ Similarly, I list the probable compositional 'toleration' of some values at repeated pitch as a feature which perhaps indicates a not-too-late date for this Mass (see the Sanctus Superius at 3-4 and Agnus 7-12). In the Trent 89 version, not even the restoration of the full Kyrie trope text can eradicate all such repeated pitches in that movement. I also observe the lower voices being used shift the music along rhythmically with repeated pitches (Sanctus, 19-20) which is a device also found in Dufay's earlier sacred and secular music.⁷⁸

The Strahov and Trent 89 versions of this Mass try to alter the imitative repeated-pitch notes at Agnus 7-12, but neither reading does this very successfully. ModC also begins Agnus III with the Tenor having the repeated pitches of the model's B-section, which were presumably sung to the 'A-' that begins Agnus III. Might this be one reason why the ModC final section was 'edited out' in the revised versions? I mention all of these small points regarding texture for a significant reason; there are few works in our collective musical consciousness of the fifteenth century that are quite like *O rosa bella III*, and it deserves to be better known.

To conclude, the anonymous master represented by this Mass deserves the title 'master' since he is clearly competent with extended textures and has produced a well-ordered work, with moments of technical interest external to the borrowed material. But I would not like to hazard a guess as to his identity. Perhaps this Mass has the ModC - Strahov - Trent 89 transmission pattern, too, due to an accident of history. Could it be that Martini (with his central European connections) picked this Mass up on his travels, and kept it for some years before the ModC copy was made? Conceivably a copy could have ended up at Ferrara due to him alone, while its dissemination elsewhere resulted in the other two versions extant.

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Numerology

Only the ModC version has been used for the following data, and sectional and movemental longs are included in the following calculations unless otherwise indicated.

Tempora-counts in this Mass show a lopsided movemental size-arc perhaps best expressed by disregarding the Osanna repeat. The proportions of successive movements calculated in this way are approximately 12.5, 19.7, 30.4, 19.04 and 18.1. Otherwise some sections seem related by being 32 measures long (Kyrie I & the first Sanctus section) or 33 measures long (Kyrie II and Agnus I).

Note-counts tend to reinforce the idea of three being a significant number in this Mass. The following points may only be the start of the exploration process; I find no evidence of an overall scheme, but cannot discount the likelihood that I might have missed something important.

The Tenors of the two Credo sections (with the final sectional long excluded in each case) = 66 notes each.

⁷⁷ See Seay, A. (ed & tr.), Johannes Tinctoris: The Art of Counterpoint (MSD 5, 1961), p. 126.

⁷⁸ Those familiar with Dufay pieces such as his early *Sine nomine* Mass, the ballade *Mon chier amy* and other works will easily recall that the triple rhythm minim rest / two semibreves / minim occurs frequently in these pieces, and often in lower voices which tend to be untexted.

Total of notes in Kyrie I Superius: 132 (= 44 x 3).

Some sections have note-totals that are divisible by 3. These are Qui tollis (543 notes), Crucifixus (918), Agnus II (327) and Agnus III (369 notes).

Total of breves in Kyrie I Superius: 33.

Total of breves in the complete Agnus Tenor: 33.

Total of notes in the Contra secundus Agnus II (excluding the final long): 66.

Total of semibreves in the Agnus II Superius: 66.

The Kyrie and Agnus both seem to have what is a rather unconventional symmetry. The Superius and Tenor notes in the Kyrie total 471, and the total of the two Contras in the same movement total 470. In Agnus III, the Superius and Tenor notes combined (124 + 60) = 184, and the total of the two Contras is 185. Exclusion of the movemental final longs in the Sanctus allows that movement to be connected to the same proportion. The total of the Superius and Tenor notes = 49.41%, and the two Contras make up the remaining 50.58%. Exclusion of the final longs in the Sanctus also give it the rather satisfying movemental note-total of 1200.

The first section of the Sanctus may also conceal a relationship connected to the number three. Its Superius total is 33.24% of the notes concerned, while the lower voices make up the remaining 66.76%.

The proportion of Superius notes in the Et in terra (210) may also be related to the total of Tenor notes in the same section (70). Again, three is the common denominator here.

Also, the number of Contra primus notes in Agnus II (67) is almost doubled by the number of notes in the Contra secundus for the same section (133).

Finally there may be symmetry in the note-totals for the Kyrie and Agnus. In the Kyrie, the note-totals for the three sections are respectively 320, 266 and 355. In percentage terms those totals are 34.006% for Kyrie I and 65.99% for the other two sections combined (an approximate 34-66 ratio). Apply the same calculation to the three sections of the Agnus (where note totals per section are respectively 422, 327 and 369) and this time Agnus I & II total 66.99% and Agnus III totals 33%. There might be significance in the outer sections of this Mass having approximately a third of the size of their respective movements.

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SIGLA FOR PRIMARY SOURCES NOT CITED IN PREVIOUS INSTALMENTS

<u>Brussels 33346</u>	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique, ms 33346 (fragment: single folio of mid-fifteenth-century Mass movements)
<u>IB 15154</u>	London, British Library, ms IB 15154 (Gradual of south German origin, <u>ca.</u> 1460)
<u>Laborde</u>	Washington DC, Library of Congress, ms M2.1 L25 Case (Laborde Chansonnier)
<u>Lucca</u>	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Manoscritti 238
<u>ModB</u>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms α .X.1.11
<u>ModC</u>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms α .M.1.13
<u>Mu 28395</u>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms 28395 (fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collection of texts compiled by the Carthusians at Buxheim)

- MuV Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms 3224 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek fragment 661 (two halves of a fragmentary early fifteenth-century music manuscript described in Bent, M. and Klugseder R. (eds), A Veneto Liber cantus (c. 1440) (Reichert, Wiesbaden, 2012)
- Neumarkt Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, ms 58 (*olim* Breslau, Diözesanarchiv, ms 58; the Neumarkt Cationale of 1474)
- Pembroke 314 Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms 314 (*olim* Incunab. C 47); four folios of an English fifteenth-century music manuscript
- SP B80 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms San Pietro B 80
- Verona 755 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLV
- Verona 759 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLIX

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