

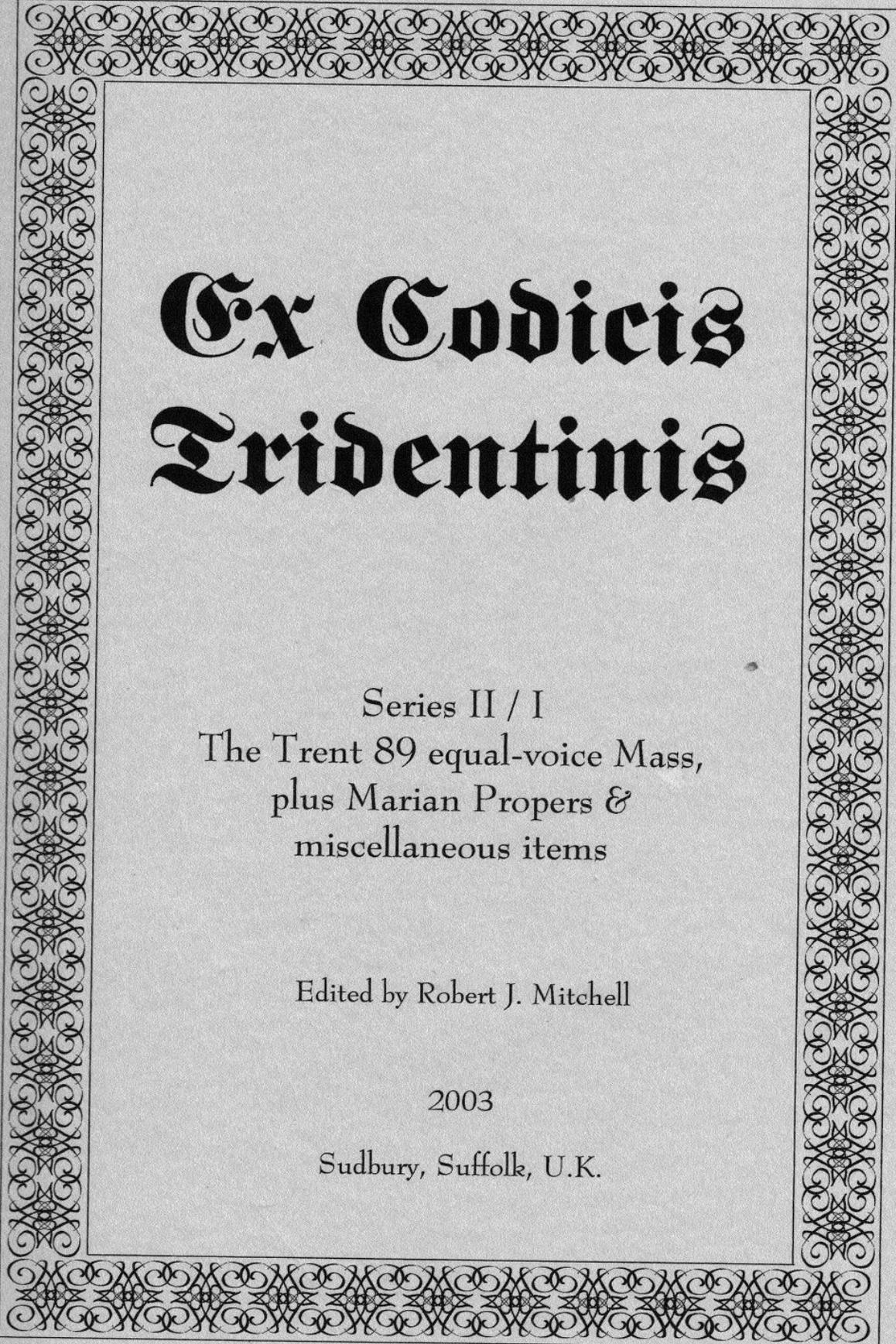
This is a scan of my first privately-produced Trent 89 booklet. As with Ex Codicis I.1, copies were only circulated to about a dozen people. Also as with the scan of Ex Codicis I.1, the print in this scanned copy is rather small so for practical use copies should be printed at size 108% print with the 'fine' option checked.

On reflection, some of the mensural equivalents in this booklet now need revising. Where a C section follows an O section in a multisectional piece, I now prefer the equivalent O dotted breve = C long rather than the semibreve equivalents given in the following pages. My reason for this: semibreve equivalent perhaps causes triple sections to be performed a little too fast, with the C sections that follow being too slow.

Other information made available since the publication of this booklet is as follows. The Sequence setting here is now also edited in Gozzi, M., *Codici Musicali Trentini del Quattrocento Vol. I: Sequenze* (Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2012). Henricus Tik (or at least a very similarly-named person) has been traced to Seville Cathedral in the 1480's (see the article 'Sounds of The Hollow Mountain' by J. Ruiz Jimenez in *EMH* 29 (2010) pp. 189-239. Lastly, the canonic motet *Que est ista* in this edition has been explored in Schiltz, K., *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (2015), and the related Standley Mass in Trent 88 and its canonic procedure have also been investigated by Rebecca Gerber in the 2007 *MRM Trent 88* edition (see pp. 104-105 & pp. 952-970).

Salve Regina no. 15 in this edition now has a fragmentary concordance in a manuscript from Bolzano. Further, see Gabrielli, G., 'A new source of Quattrocento music discovered in Bolzano' in *Early Music* XLIII (2015), p. 255-267.

Finally, a little text underlay on page 16 has been improved.



Ex Codicis Tridentinis

Series II / I
The Trent 89 equal-voice Mass,
plus Marian Propers &
miscellaneous items

Edited by Robert J. Mitchell

2003

Sudbury, Suffolk, U.K.

INTRODUCTION

This is the first volume of an intended Series II which will run parallel with *Ex Codicis Tridentinis* Series I. The latter will present music from Trent 91, and Series II will give works from Trent 89. I begin the Trent 89 series by presenting a fascinating group of works which are given together in fascicles 9-11 of that manuscript. Many of them have English-looking characteristics, which I described in detail in a conference paper given in 2000.¹

Essentially this part of Trent 89 contains a Mass for three equal Tenor voices (nos 8-12) plus a set of Marian Propers which can be used with the latter (nos 1-7) and a handful of miscellaneous sacred and secular works. To sing the Mass items in their proper sequence performers should proceed as follows: no. 1 should be followed by nos 8, 9, 3, 4 and 10, then either 5 or 6, and then 11, 12, and 7. The motet *Ave Regina celorum* (no. 16) could possibly be added to the succession of movements as well as an end-of-Mass motet, for reasons which will become apparent below. No. 16 is perhaps the most arresting of the works presented here, since aspects of its style and vocal scoring anticipate the Eton choirbook repertory. The equal-voice Mass and the Marian Propers are very likely to be a scribal assembly rather than a compositional one, but even so there is a strong likelihood that both sets were intended to be used together. It is not unlikely either that most of such an assembly was copied directly and in one piece from a parent source, and the scribes involved seems to have made these copies at an early stage in Trent 89's compilation. Two scribes were involved; an assistant of Johannes Wiser (the main scribe of the later Trent Codices) copied most of the music, and Wiser himself copied most of the text. The ink colour and certain scribal details here resemble copying in parts of Trent 88 - of which a large portion is devoted to polyphonic Proper settings.² Throughout this group of works, too, the copying is neat and looks conscientious: the scribes have copied symbols which might have been unfamiliar to them (such as stremes) and occasionally even added clarifying figure "2"s to ligatures which are subject to alteration. These minor additions, too, may have been taken from parent copies.

Quite why these Propers became separated from what now constitutes Trent 88 is not something that we are likely to discover, but there is a strong likelihood that all of this music was well-travelled by the time that it reached Trento. I suggest this because Introit no. 1 is quite different in style from the following Propers (an additional issue that I will return to in due course). For the present, characteristics of the descant-like Propers which suggest English origin (or at least an English composer) are given below, with the added caution that music of this period which looks English may not necessarily be insular; we know of two Englishmen who held prominent musical positions in northern Italy during the mid-century (Hothby and Robertus de Anglia) and these were probably not the only English musicians of the era who travelled extensively.³

A brief description of the Propers follows: no. 2 (the Gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis*) has its parent chant in the middle voice. The chant looks virtually unelaborated and is copied in slightly modified black chant notation which is meant to be read mensurally. The only named voice is the lowest part (which Trent 89 calls 'Contra'). The chant-bearing part could either have been called

¹ Mitchell, R., 'More insular survivals in Trent Codex 89?' (paper given at the 34th R.M.A. Research Conference, Exeter University, 2000).

² Regarding minor changes in copying styles in Trent 88 and Trent 89, see Mitchell, R., *The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91...* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 volumes, Exeter University, 1989), I, pp. 33-34 and 53-54. Otherwise the information on scribal hands in this study is now out of date; for a better assessment see Wright, P., 'Johannes Wiser's paper and the copying of his manuscripts' in *I Codici Trentini II* (1996), pp. 31-54.

³ Concerning John Hothby, see Strohm, R., *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Clarendon, Oxford), pp.122-123. For Robertus de Anglia, see Strohm's *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 546-547, and Fallows, D., 'Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection' in Bent, I. (ed), *Source materials and the interpretation of music* (Stainer and Bell, London, 1981), pp. 99-128. Strohm's discovery that part of the probably English and simplified-notation 'Saxilby' Mass also survives in a San Petronio fragment (see Strohm, *ibid.*, p. 388) may also shed some light on Robertus's activities in Bologna.

a Tenor or (in terms of descant style) a Medius or Mean.⁴ The copying format of this piece is also unusual for Trent 89. The Superius is by itself on f. 96v, and the Contra and chant-bearing part are together on f. 97r - leaving a large gap at the bottom of f. 96v. This is a layout which has related precedents in earlier continental copies of unmistakably English repertory.⁵ It was more normal for the Trento scribes to copy a three-voice piece as follows: Superius and Tenor on the left-hand page of a single opening, and Contratenor on the right.

No. 3 (*Alleluia Virga Jesse*) also has middle-voice cantus firmus in black chant notation, and again the borrowed material looks barely elaborated. Here, only the bottom part has a voice-name ('Tenor') and the Superius is the only voice to be given a mensuration sign (C). The piece is unevenly spread over the single opening ff. 98v-99r, but as with no. 2 the chant-bearing voice was the last one to be copied. Stylistically no. 3 is very similar to no. 2, and this pair of pieces are even similar in pitch and sonorities. Imperfect consonances abound, the outer parts are only slightly more rhythmically active than the chant-bearing part, and there is a curiously pulseless quality to the writing owing to the extended successions of semibreves.

Nos 5 and 6 (two settings of the Offertory *Felix namque* sharing the same chant-carrying voice) are spread over the single opening ff. 99v-100r, but once more the cantus firmus part is in black chant notation, is copied last of all, and again seems barely elaborated. None of the voices are named, no mensuration signs are given, and there is nothing to tell the reader which of the five voices belong together. Setting no. 5 results in a piece with middle-voice chant and is similar in texture and style to nos 2 and 3, but is at higher pitch. Setting no. 6 uses the same middle voice as no. 5, but is aurally very different. There are more consecutive first-inversion constructs than in nos 2 and 3, and the outer voices are rhythmically quite plain with the Superius only occasionally featuring groups of minims. This setting is therefore more like earlier descant-style chant settings than any of the other pieces here, and in terms of sound there is little to tell us whether this might be a mid-century rather than an earlier fifteenth-century work.

No. 7 (the Communion *Beata viscera*) again has its cantus firmus voice in black chant notation. The chant looks unelaborated and once more is copied last of all in the series of voices. The mensuration sign C is given in both void-notation parts, but no voices are named and whether the chant-bearing voice is a true bottom part (Tenor) or a middle voice (Mean) is open to question since the supporting lower part spends much time below the cantus firmus; however, the chant-bearing voice has the lowest note at the end of the piece.

Temporarily leaving aside similar characteristics which feature in nos 13 and 14, it is clear here that the musical scribe was copying material with features that were probably unfamiliar to him; this may account for the unusual voice-ordering, comparative lack of voice-names and equally sparse mensuration signs. Whether his parent material was of insular origin, was insular material recopied on the continent or was the product of an English musician who worked abroad cannot be determined, but from the features listed it should be evident that here we have a set of pieces whose connections to the insular descant repertory are unquestionable. They are, to all intents and purposes, late examples of a descant tradition whose survival beyond the first years of the fifteenth century is poorly documented. Counterparts to these pieces in English sources are

⁴ Concerning the use of the term 'Mean' (which first occurs in late thirteenth-century literature, and in musical literature from ca. 1390) see Trowell, B., 'Faburden - new sources, new evidence: a preliminary survey' in Olleson, E. (ed), *Modern Musical Scholarship* (Stocksfield, 1980), pp. 28-78.

⁵ Examples from Aosta and the Trent Codices are illustrated in Bent, M. 'The Transmission of English Music' (paper given at the Medieval and Renaissance Music conference, Royal Holloway, 1977). I wish to thank Margaret Bent for kindly allowing me to refer to this, and also for some valuable suggestions concerning accidentals in *Ave Regina* no. 16.

relatively few.⁶ At the same time I should mention that there is such a phenomenon as ‘continental descant’, as illustrated by Reinhard Strohm’s discussion of a three-voice Sequence setting from Trent 93 which has cantus firmus in its middle voice.⁷ However, the copying anomalies described above make it most likely that the pieces in this edition are connected to insular rather than central European practices.

Nos 13 and 14 (the Marian Antiphon *Regina celi* and the Easter Gradual *Hec dies*) continue the stylistic pattern described; in *Hec dies* the unelaborated-looking cantus firmus voice is again in black chant notation. It functions as a Tenor part rather than a Mean (as in no. 7) and was the last of the three voices to be copied. As in some pieces previously discussed no mensuration signs are given, no voices are named, and the texture is very similar to that in nos 2, 3, 5 and 7. The *Regina celi* setting is slightly different in that its cantus firmus part is the topmost of the three voices, but again the chant looks barely elaborated and is given in black chant notation in which some values are inconsistent (which is an occasional feature of similarly-copied settings elsewhere). The lower voices are named as ‘Tenor’ and ‘Contra’ but no mensuration signs are given. Aurally this piece strongly resembles those previously described.

No. 4 (the Sequence *Ave Maria...virgo serena*) is more conventional in being a setting with Superius-Contra-Tenor texture, and presents its parent chant in migrant and alternatim fashion in the Superius and Tenor. Trent 89 also provides all of the chant verses in void notation. Three features of this attractive setting suggest English provenance. Firstly, the chant verses contain strenes (square notes with two downward parallel tails, which are intended to be performed at twice the value of untailed chant notes) and secondly one part-verse is given the mensuration dotted-C with some movement in minims and semiminims (which is another feature of some early fifteenth-century English works).⁸ Thirdly, the succession of verses exactly matches that in the fifteenth-century Sarum Gradual Lansdowne 462.⁹ Other unusual features are the occasional pre-cadential *tempora* with irregular numbers of beats, and mild accidentalism as in the final polyphonic verse. This setting also has ‘Chorus’ markings in some sections, implying that division of forces was intended in performance.¹⁰ However, these markings are inconsistently given in Trent 89 and are therefore relegated to the critical commentary.

Introit no. 1 (*Salve sancta parens*) has little in common with any of the previously discussed pieces. It has a Contra which moves rather uneasily between filler-part and bass-like functions, its Superius occasionally moves in syncopated dotted patterns, and this voice is a conventional chant paraphrase. Written in sophisticated O mensuration (which is a trait not shared by any of the Propers discussed above) this work is more similar in style to other Introit settings in Trent 89 and Strahov which are probably central European. The verse (part of which is set polyphonically) has the unusual feature of employing widely spaced first-inversion constructs for a declamatory passage (see measures 29-31) and the sequential rhythms in the Superius at the end of the setting have counterparts in a Strahov setting of *Salve festa dies* and also in the well-known lied *Mein*

⁶ For some three-voice chant settings from Ritson with middle voices in chant notation, see Sandon, N., Lane, E. et al (eds), *The Ritson Manuscript* (Antico Edition RCM 23, Newton Abbot, 2001), pp. 8-9 (Trouluffe: *Nesciens mater I*); pp. 11-12 (Mower: *Beata Dei genitrix*) and pp. 19-20 (Mower: *Regina celi*). Another three-voice Alleluia in Ritson (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10) has a true Tenor cantus firmus part written in black breves. For a fragmentary source which features sacred music in similarly mixed notation (Okes 253), see Bent, M., ‘New and Little-known fragments of English Medieval Polyphony’ in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXI (1968), pp. 137-156.

⁷ *Congaudent angelorum chori* (see Strohm, *op. cit.*, pp. 525-526). There are other chant settings in Trent 93 written in the same manner.

⁸ Concerning strenes and the likely origin of the term (which goes back at least to Merbecke’s 1550 *Booke of Common praier noted*, and may be a considerably older) see Bent, *ibid.*

⁹ Both Trent 89 and this source omit one part-verse usually found in earlier continental versions of the chant. (In my 2000 conference paper, I prematurely suggested that the Trent 89 chant verses might be incomplete).

¹⁰ For other pieces by Batre, Bourgois, Dufay and Binchois which use similar verbal markings, 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 University Press, 1983), pp. 109-159.

gemüt.¹¹ For these reasons it seems that the piece has little to do with the previously discussed Propers; it is most likely to be a Germanic work that was attached to the other settings either by the Trento scribes or by a previous scribe in the course of a parent manuscript's travels. Another reason for considering this *Salve sancta parens* as probably Germanic is that its verse text (which is incompletely copied) draws on the Introit's parent text - Sedulius's *Pascale Carmen* - rather than using a psalm verse. The only other fifteenth-century Introit settings that I have seen which have similarly derived parent-text verses are found in sources akin to Trent 89, such as the other Trent Codices and Strahov. Possibly the change in verse text implies that such settings were intended for use in votive masses. Those wishing to recreate a Marian Mass from the material presented here without arguably non-English accretions may of course omit this Introit setting and simply replace it with its parent chant.

The three-voice Mass presented with the Marian Propers has a securer place in insular fifteenth-century studies, having been singled out quite some time ago by Charles Hamm as one of many compositions that exhibit insular features.¹² Editorially named *Missa Ad voces pares* by Louis Gottlieb in his Ph. D. dissertation, to my knowledge this is the first cyclic Mass using more-or-less equal Tenor-voice texture which survives complete.¹³ The subsequent tradition of this texture in cyclic Masses belongs more (as far as we know) to central Europe than England, but it is of particular interest here that two movements of a probable three-voice cycle by Edmund Sturges using low-pitched scoring survive in Ritson.¹⁴ To briefly recount the Trent 89 cycle's English-looking features, it has a Kyrie which is troped *Deus creator*, it has duet caesuras in the Sanctus and Agnus, it uses the mensuration sign C in all of its duple sections, it has a telescoped Credo, uses extensive duetting, and employs melodic figures which are typical of English idiom. It also has extensive text underlay in voices other than the Primus, some of which involves part-words. Most of the signs which normally suggest an insular work therefore appear to be present. The cycle appears to be freely composed; no continuous cantus firmus (migrant or otherwise) seems to be present, and it is doubtful that it has a polyphonic pre-existent model despite some movements being loosely linked by recurrent motivic material. However, the Kyrie begins with a melodic line in the Primus which recalls the opening of the *Deus creator* melody. This is another feature of English sacred works; otherwise free compositions sometimes begin in this way by making an initial Superius reference to their text's parent chant.

The cycle seems chiefly unified by means of style; there is no overall use of a motto, and the three middle movements have an identical sequence of mensurations (O, C, O). Imitation is infrequent (mostly occurring at the unison) and the topmost voice - the Primus - is slightly more dominant in the texture than in later and more truly equal-voice textures. The rhythmically energetic triple sections are typical of English music of the Dunstable era, and there is some noteworthy use of syllabic writing in the first section of the Credo. Some movements also display surprising sharpwise turns of accidentalism, as is best demonstrated by the start of the Gloria and Osanna I. My experiments in having this Mass sung through privately shows that it is music of high quality, easily lending itself to the ranges of modern Tenors and Baritones. Furthermore, there is another very good reason for considering this Mass to be English; it appears to have motivic links with the five-part *Ave Regina* no. 16. This piece is the only sacred work presented here which has a fragmentary concordance in an English source - in this case a single mutilated page of a large black/red notation choirbook preserved at Lausanne, which was first described by

¹¹ For the former, see Snow, R., *The Manuscript Strahov D.G. IV. 47* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1968), Appendix I, pp. 415-417 (in particular, the fourth system on p. 415). For *Mein gemüt*, see Ringmann, H. and Klapper, J. (eds), *Das Glogauer Liederbuch, Erste Teil* (Bärenreiter, Kassel, 1936), p. 42.

¹² See Hamm, C. 'A Catalogue of Anonymous English music in fifteenth-century continental manuscripts' in *Musica Disciplina* XXII (1968), pp. 47-76.

¹³ Gottlieb, L. *The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1958), pp. 163-166 (discussion) and 459-476 (transcription). Unfortunately, since the Kyrie is misplaced in Trent 89 the author did not include it in his discussion or transcriptions.

¹⁴ Published in Sandon and Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-97.

Martin Staehelin.¹⁵ The notation type, copying style, illuminated initials and page size make it most unlikely that this was a continental manuscript, and later scribbles on the page suggest that at least this part of the manuscript was still in the light of day during the later sixteenth century. Perhaps it arrived in Switzerland as wrapping material in the baggage of some Protestant refugee or other during that period, or merely survived as bookbinding material. Maybe this was the only page from the manuscript that was lucky enough to survive at all.

The most significant feature of this *Ave Regina* is its scoring; its Superius is a high treble part, its lowest voice occupies the bass region, and for much of the piece the texture is sonorously full but permits consecutive fifths between upper voices at cadential progressions. It is therefore one of the very few surviving precursors of English votive antiphons as found in the Eton choirbook. Only the first few notes of the Superius are related to the text's parent chant; thereafter (as in the *Ad voces pares* Kyrie) the piece seems to be freely composed although one cannot discount the possibility that the second-to-lowest voice might conceal an elaborated chant cantus firmus. This work also has other noteworthy features; the texture is non-imitative and the disposition of the relatively brief text is generous, resulting in some very extensive melismas. Because of this, it seems that some anacrusic entries on pairs of notes at the same pitch were sung to single syllables (which is also a feature found in some English Sanctus settings: see the Superius, measures 31-32 and 35-36). In addition, the Trent 89 *Ave Regina* shares the taste for accidentalism also found in the *Missa Ad voces pares* (see *Ave Regina* measures 156-165 and 177-185) and - peculiarly - seems to share some melodic and rhythmic similarities with the Mass as well. Readers are invited to compare the following passages in both works:

<i>Missa Ad voces pares</i>	<i>Ave Regina</i>
Sanctus, Primus, 9-11	Superius, 47-49
Gloria, Primus, 170-173	Superius, 9-13
Gloria, Tertius, 94-97	Superius, 147-151

It will also be noticed that some of the melodic lines here (and some of the lower-voice progressions accompanying them) are reminiscent of material in Dunstable's well-known *Salve scema sanctitatis* - an observation from which I hesitate to draw any conclusions.

On account of the resemblances listed it is possible to argue a case for both the *Missa Ad voces pares* and the motet being the work of a single anonymous, and equally possible to see both works as a loosely linked Mass-motet cycle - in which the motet might have served as a non-liturgical end-of-Mass addition. The fact that there is a later and famous *Ave Regina* Mass-motet cycle by Dufay also begins to beg questions about how widely known these English pieces might have been. Due to certain characteristics of both the *Missa Ad voces pares* and the *Ave Regina*, too, perhaps we can get a little closer to finding their anonymous composer. We may not be able to name him, but there is a strong likelihood that he was the same man who composed the well-known *Missa Caput*. Several connections with passages in the *Caput* Mass come to mind; first and foremost, the *Missa Caput* Agnus I ends with an arresting A Major construct not unlike the sharpwise progressions in parts of the works discussed. Secondly, a particular syncopated cadential figure in the *Ave Regina* (at Superius, 8) also reappears occasionally in the equal-voice Mass and also in the *Missa Caput* Superius - and this variant of a cadential cliché is not one which is at all common in other mid-century sacred music. Given the lack of further sources, the only consideration which can reinforce my suggestion of common authorship is informed experience of the music. In the hope that I have uncovered something significant here, I offer the following list of resemblances between the works concerned as a start which others may wish to follow up. Rhythmic details are perhaps more important here than melodic ones, but nevertheless the main point of my argument

¹⁵ See Staehelin, M., 'Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz' in *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* III (1978), pp. 57-83.

is that similar Superius lines in the works cited may not be a matter of coincidence ¹⁶.

<i>Missa Ad Voces Pares</i>	<i>Ave Regina</i>	<i>Missa Caput</i>
Sanctus, Primus, 6-7	Superius, 8	Kyrie, Superius, 71-72
Agnus, 20-25 ¹⁷		Kyrie, 72-77
Kyrie, 71-75		Kyrie, 52-56
Agnus, Primus, 96-100	Superius, 9-11	Sanctus, Superius, 124-127
	Superius, 19-23	Gloria, Superius, 14-16
	Superius, 90-93	Gloria, Superius, 34-36
		Gloria, Superius, 70-72 and
		Agnus, Superius, 87-90
Gloria, Tertius, 94-97	Superius, 147-151	Kyrie, Superius, 120-123

Now we come to the ‘stragglers’ amongst this group of English-looking works: pieces which were copied together with the *Missa Ad voces pares*, its probable accessory motet and the Propers described above. Apart from the *Regina celi* and *Hec dies* settings mentioned, the textless piece no. 17 may have been a song - and one in which Wiser (or the scribe of a continental parent source) failed to enter the text since it may have been in English. I suggest this for two reasons: at the start of the Superius a space has been left for a majuscule initial - a probable sign that the piece had a text or at least a title. Secondly, this textless work has congruent signs which probably indicate a repeat of its first section - hinting that its text was very likely to have been in Ballade or rhyme-royal form, which remained a favoured verse type for English songs until at least the 1450’s. This particular work may have been copied with the previous items for a singularly good reason, too, in that its text was possibly devotional. Some of the very few surviving English fifteenth-century songs also share this feature.¹⁸ In musical terms the piece is perhaps a little uninspiring: it has a thickish four-voice texture in which one of the Contra parts is grammatically inessential, and the four-part texture has weak moments.¹⁹ Another good reason for considering this as a work likely to be in Ballade form is that the closing Superius notes of each section have loose musical rhyme.

The Sanctus setting no. 19 also has links with surviving repertory. It paraphrases the Sarum IV chant (THAN 202) in its Superius throughout, and older English Sanctus settings also use the same melody. This piece is similar in important respects to the three-voice Mass by Henricus Tik which is found elsewhere in Trent 89 and Lucca.²⁰ The Contra in this Sanctus is a wide-ranging voice, and the first Osanna ends with a pedal-point passage in which the lower voices move more rapidly than the Superius. Both characteristics are also present in the Sanctus from Tik’s Mass, as is the use of imitation generated by lower voices and the presence of the sign cut-O. This particularly attractive setting could easily be the work of Tik, but there are significant problems concerning both the setting itself and the identity of the possible composer. Firstly, the duple sections of this Sanctus use cut-C, whereas the most authoritative source for Tik’s Mass (Lucca) uses C for duple sections. The latter is accepted as being more normal in English usage, since cut-C does not appear

¹⁶ Brian Trowell (in his article *Plummer*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, 2001, vol. XIX, p. 929) suggests Plummer as a possible composer for the equal-voice Mass. I consider this suggestion less likely than the one presented here. In the following list, measure numbers for the *Missa Caput* refer to the Bessler edition (*Guglielmi Dufay Opera Omnia* vol. II, 1960, pp. 75-101). My original (2000) presentation of these similarities additionally mentioned - as other specialists have noticed - that the Trent 88 *Veterem hominem* cycle also contains material similar to that in *Caput*, so the anonymous composer concerned - if he actually is a single person - begins to assume an important position in our view of mid-century English repertory.

¹⁷ Readers familiar with Dunstable’s *Salve scema sanctitatis* will also notice here that this duet-section opening is similar to the motet’s opening passage.

¹⁸ Ritson by itself gives two which are distinguishable in form from the English-texted carols therein (*O blessed Lord* and *Thow man, envired with temptacion*).

¹⁹ A shortcoming shared with another four-voice and probably insular piece - the *Ave Regina...mater regis* published in Sandon and Lane, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-18.

²⁰ The Sanctus from Tik’s Mass also occurs anonymously in Trent 90 (ff. 348v-349v) and Strahov (ff. 84v-85r, incomplete in the latter).

in insular sources before the end of the fifteenth century. While performance of this setting seems quite acceptable with the duple sections sung at a ‘continental’ and fairly fast cut-C, it is equally possible that these sections (which were perhaps originally cast in uncut-C) are meant to proceed at the slower pace of semibreve equivalence with the first (O mensuration) section. Both are perhaps equally viable alternatives. Secondly, we know next to nothing about Tik apart from the attribution in Lucca and two brief references in a Spanish treatise of 1480.²¹ Who he was, where he came from and where he worked remain uncertain. His single surviving Mass seems to be based on a now-textless piece which is only preserved in Strahov, and since that item also looks English in musical terms he may be another insular composer.²² Alternatively (and since references to fifteenth-century musicians called Tyck have surfaced in the past few years) he may have been born in the Low Countries and could have acquired a knowledge of English styles by means of his travels.²³ I merely suggest this as a reasonable possibility, and if it is at all credible he would not have been the only musician to have pursued such a career; recent research has also uncovered the facts that the talented ‘Pycard’ represented in Oldhall was surnamed Vaux and worked for John of Gaunt.²⁴

The two canonic pieces presented here (*Salve Regina* no.15 and *Que est ista* no. 18) may not have been included in these gatherings by mere accident. Both have canonic parts whose derivation partly depends on wordplay with elements of their texts, and the *Salve Regina* may have travelled with the descant-like Propers on account of musical similarities that it shares with them. Consisting of a series of sectional unison canons in duple mensuration with a supporting and wide-ranging Contratenor, it has pre-cadential approaches with occasionally irregular *tempora* and is very simple in structure despite its canonic instruction. Repeated experiences of this piece together with the descant-like Propers begins to persuade me that they could share a common composer, and there is an equally good reason why this setting could be English: it is not the only canonic *Salve Regina* whose origins are possibly insular.²⁵ However, as with the Sanctus discussed above the presence of the mensural sign cut-C is possibly inauthentic; C may have been the original signature. This is another setting which I particularly recommend; its unambitious design conceals some interesting passages, and if the canon is sung strictly with matching accidentals (as presented here) brief but simultaneous false relations at ‘ostende’ result. Perhaps it is not imagining too much that parts of this particular setting of a prayer to the Virgin ‘groan’ like the poor mortals in its text. Notationally this setting also has an odd feature which connects it to the sometimes pulseless manner of the descant-like pieces; twice in the ‘Vita’ section pairs of semibreve rests within the same *tempora* are notated separately instead of as breve rests; the reason for this is possibly for the sake of clarity, because both sets of rests follow a metrically irregular cadence. The canons, too, could perhaps have been indicated more easily - with congruent signs taking the place of the verbal puzzle.

Que est ista is more of an intellectual challenge, being an exclusion canon in which one of the lower voices derives from the other by omitting passages above the note A. The resulting piece is thinly scored, not unlike Forest’s *Ascendit Christus*, and it has been suggested that it may be the work of the otherwise little-known composer Standley owing to the existence of a three-voice Mass by him in Trent 88 which has a identically derived canonic voice.²⁶ Therefore, this may be

²¹ See Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 123 and 173.

²² Mitchell, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 98-100 gives a brief description of the Mass and its possible model (the textless and probably secular piece Strahov no. 231). However, this appears to be the right place to discount further suggestions that I made concerning other pieces perhaps attributable to Tik (*ibid.*, pp. 101-102).

²³ Regarding a Jacobus Tyck (*succentor* at St. James’s, Bruges in 1463) see Strohm, *loc. cit.* The same author also suggests that ‘Tik’ might be a transliteration of ‘Fich’.

²⁴ See Wathey, A., ‘John of Gaunt, John Picard and the Negotiations at Amiens, 1392’ in Saul, N. and Barron, C. (eds), *England and the Low Countries in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 29-42.

²⁵ For another (which is similar to the fourteenth-century *chace* in texture) see Sandon, N. ‘Mary, meditations, monks and music...’ in *Early Music* X (1982), pp. 43-55. This setting occurs in a miscellany which is probably from Durham, and was also one of the items in the now-lost source Strasbourg 222.

²⁶ Published in Feininger, L. (ed), DPLSER Series I (Rome, 1949), no. 6, and Loyan, R. (ed), *Canons in the Trent Codices* (CMM 38, Rome, 1967), no. 9.

another Mass with a technically related accretional motet.²⁷ What is perhaps equally important is the conservative stance of the music; as with the *Felix namque* setting no. 6, this seems a rather old-fashioned piece to find in the later Trent Codices. That, too, is a recurring feature of some pieces preserved in insular sources. While English sacred music of the 1420's often seems remarkably progressive to modern ears, there are also sources such as Pepys and Ritson which contain mid-century repertory showing comparatively little technical advance.

The final piece in this collection (Bedingham's ubiquitous *O rosa bella*) again shows us how little we really know about fifteenth-century music. The original song (in three parts) is given in Trent 89 with three additional *concordantie* which make up a six-part arrangement, and the manuscript gives an instruction that the additional parts do not make a satisfactory piece by themselves. Neither is this the only version of *O rosa bella* with added voices; Trent 90 gives the original three voices with a devotional contrafact text, an optional fourth part (another Contra) and two added 'gimel' voices which are intended to make up different two-voice settings - in each case with the original Superius and no other voices. For present purposes, our biggest problems are to attempt an understanding of how the Trent 89 six-part arrangement might have originated and how it might have been performed. This is (as far as I am aware) the earliest six-part song of any sort to survive, and it is hard to imagine it being conceived outside a courtly environment - where of course instrumentalists as well as singers would have been available to perform it. Part of the reason why I suggest this is that the added voices prompt the use of that dangerous word 'unvocal'. The topmost of these voices has occasional leaps of a diminished fifth - unless one wishes to alter accidentals in the original song to suit the *concordantie*, which seems inadvisable. There also seems to be no possible way to fit the song text to these new voices satisfactorily - particularly since the topmost added part also contains repeated notes at the same pitch which are not part of the song's imitative texture. Experiments with vocalising the added parts also seem unsuccessful since the resultingly thick texture tends to drown out the original three parts. Therefore some form of instrumental rendering of the added voices seems a strong likelihood. My own preferred way of hearing the piece would be to have the original voices sung, and the *concordantie* played on unobtrusive media such as quill-plucked lutes and bowed strings.²⁸ However, the following alternatives also suggest themselves; the Superius alone could be sung with all other parts played, or the Superius and Tenor could be sung and all other parts played. Quite where the six-part version originated is another matter. Bedingham is documented as working in London, but is possibly not identifiable with the 'Johannes presbyter Londini' who was at Ferrara in 1448.²⁹ The lack of information on Bedingham's career does not really permit further speculation. One thing is certain, though; the parent copy of *O rosa bella* used at Trento had English features since the local scribes spelt the name 'Bedingham' correctly, and some probably graphic final-note ornaments in two of the *concordantie* suggest mimicry of English 'chequerboard' longs as found in earlier insular sources like Oldhall.

I end this introductory essay by emphasising that the *Caput* anonymous now seems to occupy a larger place than before in our perspective of mid-century English sacred music, and by asking the same question as I did at the end of my 2000 conference paper. Could a single musical institution - anywhere during the fifteenth century - have used all of the Trent 89 works presented here for practical purposes? I could of course be wrong, but I think the answer is negative. The parent source for the equal-voice Mass, descant-like Propers and five-voice votive antiphon could easily have been copied at a single centre, and may have originated as a Marian day-book. In this connection, it is worth noting that nos 2 and 3 are relatively low-pitched, and also that the pair of alternative *Felix namque* settings (nos 5 and 6) may have operated at two different pitches since

²⁷ This was first suggested by Laurence Feinger, and the suggestion was reinforced by comments made in Lyan, *ibid.*, p. x.

²⁸ Two of the *concordantie* have a range of merely an octave each, but I hesitate to draw any conclusions from this.

²⁹ The latter reference was found by Adriano Franceschini, and published in Lockwood, L., *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505* (Clarendon, Oxford, 1984), p. 49; the same author cautions against identifying this 'Johannes' with Bedingham (*ibid.*, p. 115) on the grounds that the former continued to work in Ferrara and the latter is recorded as a member of the London Guild of Parish Clerks in February 1449. They may therefore have been two different individuals.

the outer voices for no. 6 are given a fifth lower than is strictly correct. Given that the equal-voice Mass could easily be sung by just three Tenors, the same three singers could equally have performed the descant-like Propers - since the only remaining Marian setting that is unequivocally higher in pitch (no. 7) would be short enough to transpose by sight. In addition, despite the cantus firmus voices in these Propers appearing to be more or less unelaborated, I resist the temptation to try pinning down their specific provenance with the help of surviving fifteenth-century chant sources; whatever leads that might result in this respect may end up being seen as too subjective. To conclude, the composers who are represented (or who are likely to be represented) here - the *Caput* anonymous, the anonymous composer(s) of the Propers, Standley, Tik and Bedingham - are at the outer edges of our knowledge of the period and will probably remain so. Perhaps one good way to remedy that situation is to present this volume, and to hope that the sterling qualities of some of its contents will grow to be appreciated.

Finally, I wish to offer my gratitude here to Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Bonnie Blackburn (for helping to clarify the verse text in no. 1), to Nick Sandon (for his encouragement and enthusiasm) and likewise Reinhard Strohm, Martin Staehelin and the Trento libraries for their generous assistance.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PERFORMANCE

With the exception of the *O rosa bella* previously discussed, most of the music here is probably most safely performed by a small ensemble (perhaps with only one voice per part). Whether larger forces were involved in some items will probably remain a matter for discussion; a persuasive factor is that no. 7 gives final cadential divisi notes. Also, there seem to be two other items here which instrumentalists might justifiably want to appropriate, on the grounds that (i) the verbal canon of the *Salve Regina* mentions its canonic voices being derived using the word 'psallere' (see the translation in the critical commentary), and (ii) the textless item is otherwise not really performable. But in the first case the mention of "sounding" might be ambiguous, and in the second I do not think that a purely instrumental rendition of the textless piece is anything like a substitute for the original song. Some fifteenth-century songs can work quite well if rendered instrumentally, but perhaps this piece is not in that category. Performers should be made aware that the underlay in this edition has been rationalised and differs in many respects from that in the original source - particularly in the descant-like settings and the three-voice Mass. Those wishing to try realising different underlay may of course consult [Trent 89](#) in order to do so, but I remain unconvinced that most fifteenth-century texting to polyphony is absolutely precise, always infallible, and always to be interpreted literally. It is perhaps also significant in this respect that the shortest and simplest piece presented here (*Beata viscera* no. 7) seems to be the one requiring the least editorial intervention in terms of texting. Finally, those familiar with the English fifteenth-century habit of reading upper-voice cadential clichés as triplet figures may wish to apply this practice to the three-voice Mass and no. 16.

EDITORIAL POLICY

(i) Original note-values are retained in all works, with whole-measure rests being indicated by semibreve rests instead of breve rests (except in items featuring 02 mensuration). All items are barred according to units of tempus, and in all items the original clef, mensuration sign and first few notes are given on a prefatory stave. The range of each voice is also indicated according to the nearest whole tone, and each voice is given the most appropriate modern clef (treble, octave-

tenor or bass). C-clefs are not used for this purpose. In items where there are simultaneous but different mensurations the barring is numbered by the most convenient unit of tempus.

(ii) Manuscript voice-names have been retained. When a work is copied onto more than one page-opening, the sources more or less consistently repeat the voice-names for the lower voices. Such repeated titling is ignored.

(iii) Some manuscript accidentals have been retained even where they might be thought superfluous (ie: a single flattened B occurring in a work in which the voice concerned already has a single-flat signature); some sharps and flats in the sources seem to indicate naturals (typically, on B and F respectively) and have been rendered thus with appropriate mention in the critical commentary. Editorial flat signatures have also been provided where considered necessary (ie; in works where the disposition of flat signatures seems inconsistent either in itself or by reference to a concordant source). Editorial accidentals indicating *recta* and *ficta* are placed above the stave which they affect, and have the validity of a single measure unless otherwise indicated (ie: by a following and cancelling accidental in the same measure). Where a manuscript accidental is suspected to be vertically out of place (ie: a sharpened C in a construct on F) its use is relegated to the critical commentary.

(iv) Where *sesquialtera* occurs, the original ciphers and suitable equivalentents have been given. However, at the end of *sesquialtera* passages it has been taken for granted that performers will return to the *tactus* preceding the *sesquialtera*, and not treat the given equivalentents cumulatively. In multisectional works and other works involving mensuration change, equivalentents are suggested above the stave(s).

(v) Other notational features are indicated as follows; ligatures by horizontal square-end braces above the voice(s) concerned, coloration by two square brace-ends above the note(s) concerned, half-coloration by two dotted ends of a square brace likewise. Congruent signs are indicated by an "S" with dots on either side; these too are given above the stave. Where editorial additions have been made to the basic musical texture (due to *lacunae* or partly legible or missing notes, rests, etc.) these are enclosed in square brackets. For the sake of compression some editorial accidentals are given in positions which split ligature braces.

(vi) Manuscript clef changes are indicated by miniature clefs and guide-lines with the line-number of the clef concerned (ie: miniscule C-clef followed by "3" means 'in the main source this part changes to the C-clef on the third line up at this point'). These small clefs otherwise have no performing validity in the score, and they merely serve to shorten the critical commentary needed for each item. However, where a manuscript clef change is patently incorrect, it is referred to as such in the critical commentary. Small omissions (such as a fermata missing in a single voice out of three) are merely bracketed are not referred to in the commentary.

(vii) 'Duo' markings for duets are retained, and are automatically taken to mean that all voices except the duetting pair concerned are silent from the duo point until the duet terminates. 'Tacet' directions are only used where given in an individual work.

(viii) All voices are usually texted, but where I consider vocalisation to be a better alternative this is stated in the score. Where a note has to be split to accommodate editorial underlay, this is indicated above the stave concerned by miniscule note-values and dotted guides.

(ix) Latin texting largely follows the orthography and punctuation of modern liturgical books, but a few features of the original sources have been retained - i.e. "Jhesu" for "Jesu". However, spellings which are regarded as particularly strange (and also probable misspellings) are relegated to the critical commentary.

(x) As far as is possible, chant insertions given in the source(s) are notated as in the manuscript(s) used except where they use *hufnagelschrift*. Where editorial chant additions are necessary, these are in modern chant notation but with a few features of fifteenth-century chant notation retained

- ie: the modern two-note *podatus* ligature (with the second immediately above the first) is sometimes replaced by two separate small diamond-shaped values. This is merely for ease of musicsetting.

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CRITICAL POLICY

(i) Entries regarding voices are given in descending order, and works with more than one source are given separate source entries in descending order of preference. With each work that is not a unicum, a list of the decided order of sources is given before the critical apparatus commences. Where a well-known, well-distributed or previously published piece has numerous concordances, much of the critical apparatus will be shortened.

(ii) A description of the text follows the source listing. The text itself is not repeated unless all or a significant part of it is thought to be unique - as is frequently the case with ceremonial motets, occasional pieces and contrafact items.

(iii) Bibliographical information on the music and text then follow, and if further performance, transmission or parent-chant questions arise from the source(s) and their texting, these are referred to at the end of the critical apparatus for each work.

(iv) Manuscript positioning of individual text syllables and editorial underlay involving ligature breaks are not recorded, even though I have experimented considerably with syllable placement in most works presented (and often relied on parent chants as underlay guides rather than their polyphonic settings). Arguably, since the Trent Codices are published in facsimile these volumes should satisfy the requirements of those wishing to enquire after precise text placement in individual works. Omitting long lists of syllable placements, too, saves us space and time. Where the preferred source's textual intentions seem dramatically different from the underlay given in the edition, the matter is usually referred to as in (iii) above.

(v) Note-numbering in the critical commentary takes *the first note of each measure* to be "1" even if it is tied over from a preceding measure. The following abbreviations are used;

br	breve
col	colored
conj	conjecturally
cor	corona
cs	congruent sign
dsf	demisemifusa
dtd	dotted
ed	editorial
err	in error / erroneously
f	fusa
f. / ff.	folio / folios
h-col	half-colored
illeg	illegible
ind	indicated
lig	ligature
ligd	ligated
L	long
m	minim
m sign	mensuration sign
mx	maxima
ns	note split (to accommodate underlay)
om	omitted

p div	punctus divisionis
pp	pages
p sync	punctus syncopationis
r	rest(s)
rpt(s)	repeat(s)
sbr	semibreve
scr corr	scribally corrected / scribal correction
sf	semifusa
sig	signature
uc	unclear
**	now illegible in manuscript, but legible in previous reproductions or microfilms

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