

THE MASS ORDINARY SETTINGS OF ARNOLD DE LANTINS:
A CASE STUDY IN THE TRANSMISSION OF
EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

A Dissertation

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The Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
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of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Jean Widaman

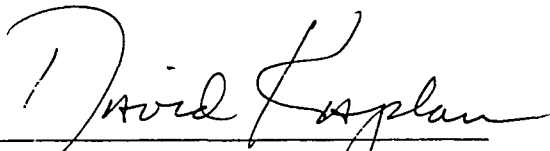
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Volume I

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This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's Committee, has been accepted and approved by the Graduate Faculty of Brandeis University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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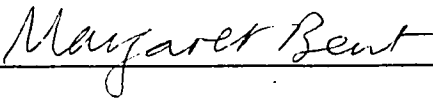
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Chairman







ABSTRACT

THE MASS ORDINARY SETTINGS OF ARNOLD DE LANTINS: A CASE STUDY IN THE TRANSMISSION OF EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

(Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of
Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts)

by

Jean Widaman

Arnold de Lantins, a composer widely represented in the musical sources of the 1420s and 1430s and a singer in the papal chapel from 1431 to 1432, stood at the forefront of stylistic developments of the early fifteenth century, yet his music is hardly known among music historians and performers today. Although he was one of the first composers to link the Gloria and Credo by motto beginnings and to write a complete, musically unified Mass cycle, few of his Ordinary settings are available in modern transcription and little has been written about them. Without an edition of these settings it is not possible to evaluate the extent of Arnold's influence in the development of the cyclic Mass, the most important musical genre of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

This dissertation establishes the basis for a reevaluation of Arnold de Lantins and his role in the creation of the unified Mass cycle. The first chapter assembles the known facts concerning his biography and discusses the reasons for his neglect. Chapter 2 scrutinizes the sources containing his music to determine its place within the manuscript repertories and the time and place of its transmission. Chapter 3 examines each of Arnold's Ordinary settings and proposes a provisional chronology for their

composition, while the final chapter discusses the variants among settings preserved in more than one source. Volume II presents each of Arnold's Ordinary settings in modern transcription.

The combined evidence of recent archival studies, the sources, and the music itself demonstrates that Arnold's music was highly regarded by the scribes of the early fifteenth-century sources, that its transmission to these scribes was fairly direct, that Arnold's Ordinary settings were among the most advanced in the north Italian repertory, and that Arnold himself may have participated in the revision of parts of his complete Mass cycle. The nature of the variants in the settings preserved in more than one source suggest an early stage in a living tradition where composer, singers, and scribes freely reworked musical material for immediate consumption.

In memory of my father,

Perry Davison Widaman

PREFACE

This dissertation began some years ago as a repertorial study focusing on Ordinary settings composed on the continent between 1400 and 1450. My goal was to identify all musically related Ordinary settings that survive from this period and to establish when and where they were copied in order to determine how the cyclic idea emerged and where it was cultivated. An Abram Sachar International Fellowship enabled me to spend a year in European libraries examining nearly all the continental sources of the early fifteenth-century Mass repertory.

In the course of this research I came across a particularly interesting problem: the Gloria of a Mass cycle by Arnold de Lantins that had four different opening sections in three different manuscripts. My attempt to explain this anomaly led to the paper on the Missa Verbum incarnatum I delivered at the Vancouver meeting of the American Musicological Society in November 1985, and to the realization that Arnold's Ordinary settings raised further questions deserving a study in their own right. Thus a project that began on a far broader scale became a more circumscribed study of a single composer and the transmission of his music.

Many people have contributed to the progress of this study. Margaret Bent, whose seminars on Machaut, Ciconia,

and the manuscript BL were a formative influence in shaping my scholarly interests and priorities, helped me formulate my original project and has generously allowed me to present the results of her unpublished research. Jessie Ann Owens, who took over the guidance of this dissertation in midstream, has read and reread the various drafts and contributed substantially to its final organization. I wish to thank the remaining members of my committee, Robert Marshall and Reinhard Strohm, for their careful reading of and valuable suggestions concerning the final draft. Thanks also go to Graeme Boone, Mitchell Brauner, David Cohen, Mary Lewis, and Pamela Starr for their comments on portions of earlier drafts, and to Stanley Boorman, Barbara Haggh, and Janet Palumbo for sharing unpublished material with me.

During my year abroad I received gracious support from the staff members of a number of libraries. I am especially grateful to Sergio Paganelli of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna, Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Ilo Vignono of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Ivrea, and Michelangelo Lupo of the Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio in Trent. I would also like to thank John Howard of Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University and Robert Evensen and Bradley Short, Creative Arts Librarians at Brandeis University, for their assistance in locating materials, and Alan Tyson for the discussions of paper evidence that enlivened my stays in London and Oxford.

Special thanks are due to Kate Alicechild, who has spent countless hours transforming my pencil transcriptions with color-coded variants into a handsome edition. Graeme Boone, David Cohen, Julie Cumming, Ray Komow, Ed Nowacki, Jessie Ann Owens, and Peter Urquhart have contributed to

the edition by singing from it when it was in a far less polished state. Finally, I wish to thank Joan Bolker, Maureen Buja, Catherine Butler, Julie Gallagher, Jack and Wendy Heller, Nancy Miller, Jon Nelson, Virginia Newes, Michael and Kathy Schiano, Naomi Schmidt, and Lydia Scott for their encouragement and assistance.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acta	Acta Musicologica
AnnM	Annales musicologiques
AfMw	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
CC	Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae
DTÖ	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich
EFM	Early Fifteenth-Century Music
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
MD	Musica Disciplina
MF	Die Musikforschung
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
ML	Music and Letters
MMg	Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte
MQ	Musical Quarterly
NG	The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians
NOHM	New Oxford History of Music
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
Quad	Quadrivium
RB	Revue belge de musicologie
RdM	Revue de musicologie
RIM	Rivista italiana di musicologia
RISM	Répertoire international des sources musicales
RM	Revue musicale
RMI	Rivista musicale italiana
TVNM	Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis
VfMW	Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft
ZfMW	Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Ao	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS A ¹ D19
Apt	Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, MS 16bis
BL	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (<u>olim</u> 37)
BU	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216
Ca6	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 6
Call	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 11
Iv	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXV
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.M.5.24 (Lat. 568; <u>olim</u> IV.D.5)
MüL	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 3224
MüO	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung, MS Latinus monacensis 14274 (<u>olim</u> Mus. 3232a; Cim. 352c)
OH	London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts, MS Additional 57950 (<u>olim</u> Old Hall Green, St. Edmund's College Library)
Ox	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Miscellaneous 213
PC	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, MS 4379
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Fonds Italien, MS 568 (<u>olim</u> Suppl. Fr. 535)
Str	Strasbourg, former Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 222 C. 22 (destroyed in 1870)
Tr87	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 87
Tr90	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 90
Tr92	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 92
Tr93	Trent, Museo Diocesano, MS BL (<u>olim</u> Archivio Capitolare, MS 93)
TuB	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS I.II.9
Ven	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco, MS it.cl. IX.145

In der Entfernung erfährt man nur von den ersten Künstlern, und oft begnügt man sich mit ihren Namen. Wenn man aber diesem Sternenhimmel näher kommt und die von der zweiten und dritten Grösse nun auch zu flimmern anfangen, und jeder auch als zum ganzen Sternbild gehörend hervortritt, dann wird die Welt und die Kunst reich.

Goethe, *Italienische Reise*

When one lives far away, one hears only of the major artists in the galaxy and is often satisfied with merely knowing their names; but when one draws closer, the twinkle of stars of the second and third magnitude becomes visible until, finally, one sees the whole constellation--the world is wider and art richer than one had hitherto supposed.

Translation by W.H. Auden
and Elizabeth Mayer

INTRODUCTION

Arnold de Lantins is a casualty of the "great-man" approach to music history. A Franco-Flemish musician active in Italy at the outset of the Italian Renaissance, he sang in the papal chapel, composed sacred and secular music of high artistic merit, and participated in the creation of the cyclic Mass. Yet a critical edition of his complete works has yet to appear, few discussions have focused on his music, and few early music performances and recordings have featured his compositions. In contrast, numerous editions, monographs, and recordings attest to our fascination with one of Arnold's associates in the papal chapel, Guillaume Dufay. Dufay dominates the fifteenth-century musical landscape as completely as Beethoven does that of the nineteenth century. But while we are familiar with the music of many of Beethoven's contemporaries, only specialists are likely to know the names, let alone the music, of Dufay's colleagues during his early years in Italy.

It now appears that Arnold de Lantins, although little known today, was one of the more significant composers active in Italy in the 1420s and 1430s. Three early fifteenth-century sources contain more music by Arnold than by any composer other than Dufay and Binchois. Mass movements attributed to Arnold occupy the position of honor at the beginning of two of these manuscripts. Arnold was, moreover, one of the first continental composers to write a

complete, musically unified Mass cycle. In spite of the frequency with which this last observation occurs in the musicological literature, Arnold's settings of the Mass Ordinary constitute the least-known aspect of his oeuvre. In fact, most of his Mass music remains unpublished at this time.

This dissertation focuses on Arnold's Ordinary settings--three Gloria/Credo pairs, a partial cycle, and one complete cycle composed at a time when composers were increasingly interested in providing musical links between the movements of the Mass Ordinary. By combining archival, source-critical, and stylistic evidence, I hope to establish the foundations for a better understanding of when and where Arnold created his Ordinary settings, the ways in which he created structural coherence within individual movements and among related movements, and how these settings were performed and transmitted during the early fifteenth century.

The first chapter reviews the literature concerning Arnold de Lantins and proposes new considerations for his biography. Chapter 2 describes the manuscripts containing Arnold's Ordinary settings and the extent to which each source reflects the growing interest in musically related Ordinary movements. The third chapter examines the techniques of unification Arnold employed and sets forth a provisional chronology of his Ordinary settings. Finally, Chapter 4 compares the readings of the settings preserved in more than one source and considers the implications of this evidence for editors and performers of early fifteenth-century music.

An edition of Arnold's Ordinary settings appears in Volume II of this study. Since Arnold's complete works will eventually be published in Early Fifteenth-Century Music, edited by Gilbert Reaney, I have attempted to provide transcriptions that will complement rather than duplicate Professor Reaney's forthcoming publication. For instance, the differences among the sources of movements that appear in more than one manuscript will be illustrated by parallel transcriptions rather than critical notes so that variants may be seen at a glance. Such an approach would be cost-prohibitive for a printed edition, and would prove impractical for an edition meant for performers as well as scholars. This, then, is an edition from which to study the transmission of Arnold's Ordinary settings, rather than one obliged to compromise between the competing demands of performance and scholarship.

A definitive evaluation of Arnold's place among the composers active in Italy in the early fifteenth century is not possible until the results of archival, source-critical, and repertorial studies now in progress become available. In this study I hope to take the initial steps towards such a reassessment by illuminating in more detail the biography of an accomplished but little known composer, his involvement in creating musically unified settings of the Mass Ordinary, and the transmission of his music in early fifteenth-century musical sources.

CHAPTER 1

THE MUSICAL LEGACY OF ARNOLD DE LANTINS

References to Arnold de Lantins in the musicological literature have been fleeting for the most part. His name occurs again and again as an important contemporary of the young Dufay, often in terms suggesting considerable respect for his skill as a composer. Few of these discussions, however, go on to consider his music in any detail. It might be said that Arnold's music, like one of its principal sources, "mehr berühmt als bekannt ist."¹

In order to discover why Arnold's music has been overlooked to such a large extent, I begin this chapter with a summary of the literature concerning him and speculate on the reasons for his neglect. Following this survey is a reevaluation of Arnold's biography and a reassessment of his possible influence in shaping the early fifteenth-century musical landscape.

EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP CONCERNING ARNOLD DE LANTINS

Since the work of several generations of scholars has shaped our perceptions of musical life in the early fifteenth century, it may prove valuable to review even the earliest references to a composer who has received as little attention as Arnold. The following survey of the literature traces Arnold's emergence from obscurity, first as a mere name from lists of singers in the papal chapel and composers in early fifteenth-century musical sources,

then as a composer of considerable interest as some of his music has become available in transcription.

Table 1.1 lists the more pertinent published references to Arnold in chronological order to give the reader an overview of the literature to date. (Full references for the works cited appear in the following pages.) This table shows that the literature concerning Arnold de Lantins falls into four broad stages that overlap one another to some extent: 1) the discovery of documents and musical sources containing Arnold's name as singer or composer; 2) Charles Van den Borren's transcriptions of much of Arnold's oeuvre and discussions of his biography; 3) repertorial studies, particularly those concerning the origins of the polyphonic Mass cycle, in which Arnold's name appears from time to time; and 4) recently discovered documents naming Arnold de Lantins. The following summary of the literature reflects these stages in our growing acquaintance with Arnold and his music.

The Discovery of Documents and Musical Sources

The earliest published reference to Arnold de Lantins appeared in 1828 in Giuseppe Baini's biography of Palestrina, and already we find Arnold's name associated with that of Dufay. Baini identified Dufay as the dominant figure in the first epoch of the Netherlands school, stating that he was a singer in the papal chapel from 1380 to 1432(!).² The earlier date is based on Baini's identification of the composer born around 1400 with a "Guillelmi tenoris cappelle Dni Nri Ppe" mentioned in a record of January 1384. He further noted that:

TABLE 1.1.
CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE CONCERNING ARNOLD DE LANTINS

Year	Author	Title of Publication	Contribution
1828	Baini	<u>Memorie storico-critiche</u>	A. on list of papal singers
1868	Ambros	<u>Geschichte der Musik</u> III	A. among composers represented in BL
1885	Haberl	<u>Wilhelm Du Fay</u>	A. on lists of papal singers A. among composers in BL
1893	Lisio	<u>Una stanza del Petrarca musicata</u>	Texts of secular songs in BL incl. 3 by A. Index of compositions in BL and BU
1895	Stainer	"A Fifteenth Century MS Book"	A. among composers represented in Ox
1898	Stainer	<u>Dufay and His Contemporaries</u>	A. among composers with most pieces in Ox, BL, BU
1902	Eitner	<u>Quellen-Lexicon</u>	First dictionary entry for A.
1904	Wolf	<u>Geschichte der Mensural-Notation</u>	1st trans./fac. of A. song A. among composers represented in PC
1906	Torchi	<u>I monumenti dell'antica musica</u>	Texts, incipits of secular songs in BL incl. 4 by A.
1924	Van den Borren	<u>Le manuscrit musical</u>	A. among composers represented in Str and MÜO
1925	Besseler	"Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters" I	A. among composers represented in MÜL 8 Ord. cycles in BL incl. 1 by A.
1926	Van den Borren	<u>Guillaume Dufay</u>	A. from diocese of Liège
1932	Van den Borren	<u>Polyphonia sacra</u>	Edition of Mass, 2 motets, 1 lauda by A.
1932	Van den Borren	"Hugo et Arnold de Lantins"	1st discussion of biography and works

TABLE 1.1 (Continued)

Year	Author	Title of Publication	Contribution
1946	Van den Borren	"The Codex Canonici 213"	Stylistic comparison of A./H.
1948	Van den Borren	<u>Geschiedenis van de Muziek</u>	2nd trans. of A. sec. song
1948	De Van	"Inventory of MS Bologna Liceo Musicale Q15"	<u>MD</u> inventory of BL
1950	Van den Borren	<u>Pièces polyphoniques profanes</u>	Edition of all sec. songs attr. to A./H.
1950	Bukofzer	"Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study"	Mass by A. consists of G/C pair + S/A pair + K
1952	Besseler	"The Manuscript Bologna Bib. Univ. 2216"	<u>MD</u> inventory of BU
1955	Reaney	"The Manuscript Oxford, Bod. Lib. Can. 213"	<u>MD</u> inventory of Ox
1960	Rehm	"Lantin," <u>MGG</u>	Biog., worklist for A./H.
1960	Van den Borren	"Dufay and His School"	Stylistic comparison of A./H.
1963	Sparks	<u>Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet</u>	Similarities between Introit settings of A., Lymburgia
1964	Hamm	<u>Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay</u>	Different mens. usage in S/A of Mass by A.
1965	Hamm	"Reson Mass"	A. Mass a composite cycle
1966	Gossett	"Techniques of Unification"	Lymburgia cycle in BL modeled on A./Ciconia cycle
1966	Kenney	"In Praise of the Lauda"	Similarities between lauda settings of A., Lymburgia
1968	Schuler	"Zur Geschichte der Kapelle"	No evidence that A. served in chapel of Martin V
1971	Schoop	<u>Die Entstehung und Verwendung</u>	Ox contains erased attributions to A.

TABLE 1.1 (Continued)

Year	Author	Title of Publication	Contribution
1972	Burstyn	"15-Century Song of Songs Settings"	A.'s <u>Tota pulcra es</u> widely distributed
1975	Dangel-Hofman	<u>Der mehrstimmige Introitus</u>	A. wrote one of earliest polyphonic Introit settings
1980	Schoop	"Lantins, de," <u>NG</u>	Biog., worklist for A./H.
1982	Fallows	<u>Dufay</u>	Biog. summary of A./H.
1984	Reaney	"Musical and Textual Relationships"	Direct copying among sources of Mass cycle by A.
1984	Planchart	"Guillaume Du Fay's Masses"	A. member of Malatesta chapel A. died in Rome in 1432
1985	Widaman	"Missa Verbum incarnatum"	BU copy of A. Mass cycle a conflation
?	Reaney	<u>Early Fifteenth-Century Music</u>	Complete critical edition of works by A. and H.

Nei mandati della nostra cappella si trova il Du fay dall'anno 1380. fino al 1432. unitamente ai sequenti. Egidio Flannel, detto l'Enfant; Giovanni Redois, Guglielmo Du fay, Bartolommeo Poignare, Giovanni de Curte, detto mon Ami, Giacomo Ragot, Egidio Lauri, Guglielmo di Malbecq, Arnoldo de Latinis.³

The composers mentioned in this list indeed served in the papal chapel--at various times between the years 1418 and 1441, not as early as 1380.⁴

Baini's list of papal singers was quoted from time to time, along with his erroneous dates,⁵ until 1885, when

Franz Xaver Haberl published the Dufay biography based on his studies in the Vatican archives.⁶ This and Haberl's subsequent publications placed the study of Vatican documents on a somewhat more critical basis. Unlike Baini, who merely quoted summaries of the papal documents from later centuries,⁷ Haberl had an archivist at the Archivio di Stato di Roma go through monthly registers to find records of payments to papal singers and summarize them for him.⁸ Haberl's quotations of lists of singers, summaries of entries that merely repeat earlier lists, and observance of where lacunae in the records exist, revealed who sang in the papal chapel at a given time and where he ranked within it, since the Mandati list the singers in order of seniority.

Table 1.2 presents the lists of papal singers cited by Haberl from the election of Eugenius IV on March 3, 1431 to September 1432.⁹ Dates enclosed in brackets indicate lists summarized rather than explicitly quoted by Haberl. Underlined names indicate singers known to have been composers.

The first reference to papal singers during the reign of Eugenius IV is a general supplication of April 24, 1431, naming 14 singers and chaplains and listing the salaries and benefices held by each.¹⁰ Neither this list nor Haberl's first list of payments to singers during Eugene's reign, dated August 1, 1431,¹¹ mentions Arnold's name. "Arnoldo de latinis" appears for the first time on the list of November 1431.¹² Like the list of August 1, 1431, this list contains the names of nine singers, but two names from the previous list are absent--those of Toussanus de Ruella and Johannes Brassart. Dufay has moved into the third place vacated by Ruella, the singers after him have moved

TABLE 1.2.
HABERL'S LISTS OF PAPAL SINGERS FROM THE ELECTION OF EUGENIUS IV IN MARCH 1431 TO SEPTEMBER 1432

Number	Supplication of April 24, 1431	<u>Mandat1 diversi</u> <u>Eugenii IV</u> August 1, 1431	<u>Mandat1 diversi</u> November 1431 [January 1432] [February 1432]	<u>Mandat1 diversi</u> [March 1432]	<u>Mandat1 diversi</u> [May 1432] [June 1432]	<u>Mandat1 diversi</u> July 1432 [August 1432] [September 1432]
1	Macteo Hanelle	Joh. Redois	Egidio flagne] alias enfant	Egidio flagne] alias enfant	Egidio flagne] alias enfant	Egidio lenfant
2	Egidio Flannel alias Lenfant	Egidio lenfant	Joh. Redois	Joh. Redois	Joh. Redois	Joh. Redois
3	Toussano de Ruella	Toussano de Ruella	<u>Guill. du Fay</u>	<u>Guill. du Fay</u>	<u>Guill. du Fay</u>	<u>Guill. du Fay</u>
4	Johanni Redois	<u>Guillelmo du Fay</u>	<u>B. Poignare</u>	<u>B. Poignare</u>	<u>B. Poignare</u>	<u>Barth. Poignare</u>
5	<u>Guillermo du fay</u>	<u>Barth. Poignare</u>	J. de Cruce alias monami	J. de Cruce alias monami	J. de Cruce alias monami	Joh. de Cruce
6	<u>Bartholomeo Poignare</u>	Joh. de Cruce alias monami	Jac. Ragot	Jac. Ragot	Jac. Ragot	Jac. Ragot
7	Alfonso Sanci] Zamoren	Jacobo Ragot	Egidio Lauri	Egidio Lauri	Egidio Lauri	Egid. Laurri
8	Johanni de Cruce alias Monami	Egidio Laurry	<u>Guill. de Malbecq</u>	<u>Guill. de Malbecq</u>	<u>Guill. de Malbecq</u>	<u>Guill. de Malbecq</u>
9	Jacobo Ragot	<u>Joh. Brassart</u>	<u>Arnoldo de latinis</u>	<u>Arnoldo de latinis</u>	<u>Arnoldo de latinis</u>	Joh. Milet1
10	<u>Georgio Martini</u>			<u>Georgio Martini</u>	Joh. de Risco	
11	Egidio Laurry			Joh. Milet1	Joh. Milet1	
12	Henrico Silvestri					
13	Lucido Joanni de Norme					
14	<u>Johannes Brassart</u>					

up a step, and Guillaume Malbecque and Arnold de Lantins now occupy the last two places on the list.

According to Haberl, the lists of January and February 1432 are identical to the one of November 1431, while the list of March 1432 adds two new names to the existing list, Georgio Martini and Joh. Miletì, bringing the total number of singers to eleven. (In the absence of any contrary indication from Haberl we may assume that they were added to the bottom of the list and that Arnold remained in ninth place.) In the lists of May and June Joh. de Risco replaces Georgio Martini. The number of singers returns to nine in the lists of July, August, and September 1432, which no longer contain the names of Arnold de Lantins and Johannes de Risco. Thus on the basis of Haberl's lists it appears that Arnold served in the papal chapel from sometime between the list of August 1, 1431 and that of November 1431 until June 1432, a period lasting between 7 and 12 months.¹³ As far as we can determine from Haberl's publications, he remained in ninth place within the chapel during that period.

Arnold's name first appeared in the musicological literature as that of a singer in the papal chapel during Dufay's tenure there. The fact that Arnold was not only a singer but also a composer with a substantial musical legacy emerged gradually as, one by one, the manuscript sources of the early fifteenth century were discovered and subjected to scrutiny. Arnold's music is preserved almost exclusively in three manuscripts copied in the Veneto from the 1420s to around 1440: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (BL), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 (BU), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Misc. 213 (Ox).¹⁴

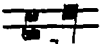
BL was the first source of Arnold's music to be discovered. August Wilhelm Ambros learned of this important collection while he was working on the second volume of his Geschichte der Musik.¹⁵ Volume III of his history, published in 1868, is sprinkled with references to BL, which supplied him with abundant new evidence for the music of the early fifteenth century. He described the codex as originating in Piacenza around 1400, and noted the confluence of works by Italian composers with those of the first Netherlands school:

Die Vermischung geht hier so weit, dass z.B. eine Messe vorkommt, deren Kyrie von Dufay, deren Gloria von Z. Micinella,¹⁶ deren Credo von Z. Cursor und deren Sanctus, Pleni u.s.w. wieder Dufay sind. Neben zahlreichen Arbeiten von Dufay (62), Jo. Brasart, Binchois, Jo. Dunstaple finden sich Werke eines A. de Lantius,¹⁷ Hugo de Lantius, Jo. Ciconie (18), R. Loqueville, der obenerwähnten Micinella und Cursor...¹⁸

Arnold's name stands near the beginning of the list of composers represented in BL, along with that of another composer from the north, Hugo de Lantins. At the time Ambros was writing, the names of Dufay, Binchois, and Dunstable were already familiar to musical scholars, thanks largely to the famous passage from Martin le Franc's Le champion des dames.¹⁹ Ciconia was known then for his treatise on proportions rather than on the basis of his music.²⁰ Thus the names and music of the young Dufay's immediate predecessors and contemporaries reemerged with the discovery of BL in the late nineteenth century.²¹

BU was the next source of Arnold's music to come to light. Haberl included the first published reference to BU

in the evidence for his Dufay biography, along with discussions of BL and the Trent codices.²² For his treatment of BU he relied on a description provided by Leonida Busi and an alphabetical index drawn up by Padre Martini. After listing the works by Dufay, he remarked:

Auch in diesem Codex ist die Mehrzahl der Kompositionen von Wilh. du Fay; der Rest vertheilt sich in folgender Weise: Alfat(?) 2 Numern, Anonymus (1), Fr. Antonius de Cividale (2), Arnaldus (5), Arnoldus de Latinis (vielleicht identisch mit Arnoldus?) (3), Binchois (6), gregorian. Choral (3), Jo. Cichonia (12), Dumstable (!) (3), B. Feragut (3), Grossim (2), Nicolaus de Capua (1), Prepositi Brixienensis (2), Rezon (3), de Vala (7, von denen 3 de Va  gezeichnet sind) und Ugo de Latinis (3). Aus dem Texte Christus vincit von Ugo de Latinis geht hervor, dass der Codex nicht vor 1423 geschrieben ist, da Francesco Foscari in diesem Jahre Doge von Venedig wurde.²³

More exact knowledge of the repertory contained in BL and BU resulted from Giuseppe Lisio's publication of Dufay's Vergine bella in facsimile and transcription, accompanied by lists of compositions in the two Bologna sources.²⁴ (Lisio noted dramatic differences between the BL and BU versions of Dufay's Petrarch setting. In Chapter 4 we will examine similar differences between the BL and BU readings for some of Arnold's Ordinary settings, as well.)

Sir John Stainer's discovery of Ox, announced at a meeting of the Royal Musical Association on November 12, 1895, completed the trilogy of early fifteenth-century sources from the Veneto. Students of early fifteenth-century music now had at their disposal the archival findings of Houdoy and Haberl for the Cathedral of

Cambrai²⁵ and the papal chapel, respectively, Haberl's summaries of evidence from contemporary theorists and chroniclers,²⁶ and the three north Italian manuscripts whose combined contents reflect the international repertory from the end of the fourteenth century to approximately 1440. Stainer observed that seven papal singers in Haberl's lists were also composers with works in the newly discovered Oxford manuscript:

Nicolas Zacharie, 1420-1422
 Petrus de Fonte, 1420-1426
 Nicolas Grenon, 1425-1428
 Gualterus Libert, 1428
 Arnolfo de Latinis, 1431
 Johannes Brasart, 1431
 Guillermus de Malbecque, 1431-1435²⁷

In 1898 Stainer, aided by his son and daughter, published transcriptions of 48 secular pieces and two motets from Ox in Dufay and His Contemporaries.²⁸ These were, in fact, the first published transcriptions of music from the early Dufay period. Nicholson, in his Introduction to the Stainers' work, identified the two main sections of the collection as Parts I (ff. 1-80) and II (ff. 81-140) and listed the composers and number of compositions in each section according to the composer's nationality and whether or not he had sung in the papal choir. Nicholson found 19 compositions ascribed to Arnoldus de Lantins in Part I and two in Part II, including a piece the scribe had dated Venice, March 1428.²⁹ Assuming that Part I preceded Part II in terms of copying as well as eventual disposition,³⁰ and that Ox was copied considerably later than the composition of the repertory it contains,³¹ he went on to state his central thesis:

And I cannot help suspecting that the original collections from which the MS. was copied--probably well on in the third quarter of the fifteenth century--were made by Dufay himself. Compare the number of pieces by him, Binchois, and the two de Lantins in this and in the two 15th century Bologna MSS. described by Haberl:--

	Total of pieces <u>with names</u>	<u>Dufay</u>	<u>Binchois</u>	<u>Arn. of Lantins</u>	<u>Hugh of Lantins</u>
BL	260	62	6	17	7
BU	82	25	6	8?	3
Ox	265	52	28	21	22

In all three Dufay is the chief composer; but in our MS. he is relatively less so than in either of the others, while an immensely higher position is given by our MS. to Binchois and to Hugh of Lantins . . . It might be asked why Dufay should have been the collector rather than Arnold of Lantins, who was also a papal singer, and would be equally likely to include the compositions of his kinsman, Hugh, and his countryman, Binchois? Well, that is rendered improbable by the fact that in Part II. Dufay is still the leading composer, while the two de Lantins almost drop out of sight. Hugh has only one piece, Arnold only two, one of which had already appeared in Part I.³²

Although Nicholson's belief that Dufay played a role in the compilation of Ox has failed to gain acceptance, it points to an interesting question--the relationship of a composer to a manuscript containing a large number of his compositions.³³ How Arnold's music reached the scribes of BL, BU, and Ox in such quantity is an issue that will concern us even if definitive answers are not possible at this time.

Descriptions of the remaining sources of Arnold's music appeared in the following 25 years. Johannes Wolf recognized that Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelle acquisitions françaises, MS 4379 (PC), consisted of fragments of four manuscript collections copied at different times and that Arnold de Lantins was the composer of the anonymous Se ne prenes in the third section since it bears his name in Ox.³⁴

Charles Van den Borren, in his reconstruction of Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, former MS 222 C. 22 (Str), pointed out that the cantus of the anonymous two-voice Tota pulchra es in the manuscript destroyed by fire in 1870 was identical to that of the four-voice setting ascribed to Arnold in BL and the three-voice version attributed to him in Ox.³⁵ He also noticed that it resembled the anonymous three-voice setting in BU. (Once more it was recognized in passing that the readings of BU stand apart from those of the sources with which it shares concordances.)

Van den Borren also reported that Arnold's Song of Songs setting appeared in yet another source, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Lat. mon. 14274 (olim 3232a) (MÜO).³⁶ He had been notified of the further concordance by Karl Dèzes, who was then at work on his MÜO inventory.³⁷

The final source of Arnold's music is the fragment, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 3234 (MÜL), which contains part of the Credo from Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum. Besseler furnished a description of this fragment, previously cited in Joseph Meier's catalogue of music manuscripts at the Munich Staatsbibliothek, in

1925.³⁸ With the publication of Besseler's study, all the sources of Arnold's music received published descriptions and summaries of contents.

From the first published reference to him in 1828 until the discovery of all the extant sources of his music by 1925, Arnold de Lantins was little more than a name on a list. The only attention to his biography during this period appeared in the introduction to Dufay and His Contemporaries, where Nicholson concluded that Arnold and Hugo de Lantins were relatives.³⁹ In the first dictionary reference to Arnold, Robert Eitner merely gave the number of works attributed to Arnold in each of the three principal sources and identified the composer of these works with the "Arnoldo de Latinis" in the November 1431 list of papal singers.⁴⁰

Arnold's music, like his biography, remained in obscurity during the first phase of the literature concerning him. All that was available for study were some texts and musical incipits published in connection with early source studies⁴¹ and a transcription of a song published by Johannes Wolf in 1904.⁴² We might have expected to find transcriptions of works by Arnold in Dufay and His Contemporaries. But in spite of the high proportion of secular songs attributed to Arnold and Hugo in Ox, the Stainers published only one chanson by Hugo and none by Arnold. On the other hand, the collection includes 19 transcriptions of Dufay songs, seven songs by Binchois, three each by Adam and Johannes Legrant, and one each for 17 other composers represented in Ox. It would be interesting to know why the Stainers failed to present more music by Arnold and Hugo, whose names figure so prominently in Nicholson's introduction.

The absence of music by Arnold in this landmark publication may have been a factor in his subsequent neglect. It is worth reminding ourselves that at least two generations of musicologists were indebted to Dufay and His Contemporaries, either directly or indirectly, for their knowledge of music from the early Dufay period. Van den Borren, for instance, reported that:

I was still a neophyte when I received my initiation in the musical knowledge of that period. Not directly from reading Stainer's anthology, but through contact with extracts from the latter, in Hugo Riemann's publication entitled Hausmusik aus alter Zeit. There, beside some pieces of the 14th century French and Italian ars nova of the Trecento, I could read about fifteen little compositions by Dufay, Binchois, Raynaldus Liebert, Adam, Grenon and Italian masters.⁴³

The Stainers' selection of compositions from Ox continued to exert influence for some time. This may be seen from the fact that Hugo's A madamme, published in transcription and facsimile in Dufay and His Contemporaries, reappeared in the publications of Riemann, Schering, and Besseler.⁴⁴ No other piece by Hugo, and only two by Arnold, appeared in transcription before Van den Borren's publication of the Latin-texted pieces in Ox in 1932.

Transcriptions and an Emerging Biography

Research concerning Arnold de Lantins entered its second phase with the work of Charles Van den Borren, the first, and practically the only, musicologist to devote serious attention to Arnold's music and biography. Van den Borren published all of Arnold's music available today and

assembled the essentials of his biography, to which there have been few additions until very recently.

With the publication of Van den Borren's Polyphonia sacra in 1932, a body of compositions by Arnold became accessible to modern musicians for the first time.⁴⁵ These included the Missa Verbum incarnatum, two Marian motets, and the Latin lauda, In tua memoria. Van den Borren's presentation of the Latin-texted pieces in Ox (excluding those of Dufay, soon to be published in the Dufay Opera Omnia,⁴⁶ the two motets published by the Stainers, and four motets also found in Tr87 and Tr92 and published in DTÖ 14/15)⁴⁷ complemented the Stainers' collection of secular pieces in Ox and provided a more balanced picture of the early fifteenth-century repertory.⁴⁸

In 1948 Van den Borren published Puisque je voy, the second song by Arnold to appear in transcription, in his history of music.⁴⁹ The piece reappeared slightly later in the Historical Anthology of Music,⁵⁰ which reached a wider audience than Van den Borren's monograph in Flemish. Finally, in 1950, more than 50 years following the appearance of Dufay and His Contemporaries, the complete secular works of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins became available with the publication of Van den Borren's Pièces polyphoniques profanes.⁵¹ This collection included 14 French chansons attributed to Arnold, 14 French chansons attributed to Hugo (Van den Borren gave three disputed pieces to Hugo), four Italian songs by Hugo, and three French chansons by Johannes Francoise de Gemblaco.

Van den Borren made his first contribution to Arnold's biography in his 1926 Dufay monograph, where he asserted that:

"Arnold de Lantins est sans aucun doute originaire de l'une ou l'autre des localités de la province de Liège actuelle, qui portent le nom bien connu de Landen ou ceux, moins connus, de Lantin (à 6 kilomètres au nord-ouest de Liège), Landenne (au nord-est d'Andenne, dans la province de Liège), et Latinne (sur la Meuse)."52

In a study published in 1932 Van den Borren assembled all the material relevant to the biographies of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins, presented the first discussion of their music based on more than an acquaintance with one or two pieces, and compared the stylistic tendencies of the two composers.⁵³ This study, published in the same year as Polyphonia sacra and no doubt an outgrowth of Van den Borren's work on that edition, was the first to focus entirely on the lives and music of these composers rather than treating them as mere adjuncts to the young Dufay.

Van den Borren introduced several themes in this paper that were to recur repeatedly in his subsequent writings. Here, as later, Van den Borren was preoccupied with the relationship between Arnold and Hugo. In this case he concluded that Hugo was the older of the two and was perhaps the father, an uncle, or an older brother to Arnold, because "Ceci se déduira, comme nous le verrons, de la comparaison de leurs oeuvres, dont l'une--celle d'Hugo--regarde plutôt vers le passé, tandis que l'autre--celle d'Arnold--marque nettement la transition vers l'avenir."⁵⁴ The view that Arnold was forward-looking while Hugo was more retrospective is one Van den Borren would modify later. It was apparently based on Hugo's authorship of a motet, Celsa sublimatur/Sabine presul, which he considered archaic due to its use of isorhythm, and the telescoped text of a Gloria attributed to Hugo in Ox ("système

bizarre, anti-liturgique au possible, mais qui est néanmoins d'application assez fréquente à cette époque").⁵⁵ The fact that we have a complete Mass by Arnold but only individual movements and one to two pairs by Hugo (both pairs beset by conflicting attributions) was probably an additional factor in his original judgement.

By the time of his 1946 address to the Royal Musical Association, Van den Borren had begun to view Hugo, too, as a composer whose works also looked to the future, as he placed increasingly more emphasis on Hugo's penchant for imitation.⁵⁶ In this paper he once more raised the question of the relationship between the two composers:

Were the two Lantins brothers or cousins? That is impossible to determine. But the study of their work proves beyond a doubt that they belonged to the same generation, that they lived at the same time in the Adriatic regions of Italy, approximately between 1420 and 1430, and that they had received the same formative moulding, first in their native country, later in the Italian peninsula, where the last traces of their original Gothic rigidity faded, as in Dufay's case, under the influence of the best that remained of the peninsular ars nova during the first quarter of the century.⁵⁷

Van den Borren was responsible not only for publishing most of Arnold's works and establishing the essentials of his biography. He was also the only modern scholar who has devoted attention to Arnold's music. From the publication of his address "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins" in 1932 until his death in 1966, the Belgian musicologist championed the music of Arnold, and, to a lesser extent, that of Hugo. On repeated occasions he praised Arnold's gift as a melodist,

often in extravagant terms. He announced this theme for the first time at the outset of his essay on the two composers from Liège:

. . . je crois pouvoir affirmer que tout au moins l'un d'eux, Arnold de Lantins, est l'une des figures les plus attachantes de cette première moitié du XVe siècle, que dominent les hautes silhouettes de Dunstable, de Dufay et de Binchois. Sans contredit, ces trois derniers restent et resteront à l'avenir les maîtres du terrain, pour cette période de l'histoire musicale où la polyphonie évolue lentement de l'esprit gothique vers l'esprit Renaissance. Mais il est, à côté d'eux, toute une série de musiciens de moindre envergure, qui apportent, à divers degrés, leur pierre à la construction du grand édifice. Parmi eux, Arnold de Lantins occupe une place non négligeable, grâce surtout à un don mélodique de caractère très personnel, que l'on pourrait qualifier assez exactement par ces mots tendresse et suavité. Il appartient, par là, à ce que j'appellerai la lignée des cygnes, dans laquelle il faut comprendre des musiciens tels qu'Arcadelt, Marenzio, Purcell, Pergolèse et Mozart.⁵⁸

Van den Borren continued his praise of Arnold in his address to the Royal Musical Association, maintaining that:

The dulcedo and the suavitas totally pervade the Church music of Arnold de Lantins, especially the Benedictus of his mass Verbum incarnatum and the motets Tota pulchra and O pulcherrima whose texts are taken from the Book of Canticles. Perhaps for the first time in the history of music the poetic atmosphere of the Old Testament receives,

in these motets, an expression of dreamy mysticism and contemplative tenderness, which was completely absent from the more ornamental conception of the 13th and 14th centuries.⁵⁹

Enthusiastic references to the music of Arnold and Hugo appear frequently in Van den Borren's writings on the Netherlands school of musicians. From the address of 1932 to the NOHM article of 1960 he reiterated the same themes --that Arnold was a supreme melodist while Hugo showed enormous technical ingenuity.

The differences in their temperaments are reflected in their music. Arnold is contemplative and pours out his soul without paying much heed to technical problems. Hugo is more active and does not shrink from any problem: his composition "Je suy exent" employs all the subtleties of notation current in the first quarter of the century.⁶⁰

Van den Borren served as an advocate for the music of the early fifteenth century, and especially that of Arnold de Lantins, in yet another way. In 1933 he and Safford Cape founded the Pro Musica Antiqua for the performance of music from 1200 to 1600.⁶¹ At the conclusion of Van den Borren's paper before the Royal Musical Association in 1947, the Pro Musica Antiqua presented a program including what must have been one of the earliest modern performances of works by Arnold de Lantins.⁶²

It may seem curious that in spite of Van den Borren's repeated insistence that Arnold's music stands only slightly behind that of Dufay and Binchois, other musicologists have mentioned it only in passing or neglected it altogether. In Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, for instance,

Besseler remarked that "Die Persönlichkeit Ciconias erfordert es, sein Schaffen, ebenso wie das seiner jüngeren Landsleute Johannes Franchois, Brassart und Johannes de Limburgia, in erster Linie vom Standort der niederländischen Musik zu würdigen."⁶³ He makes no mention here of either Arnold or Hugo de Lantins. Where Arnold's music has received attention from musicologists other than Van den Borren, it has been within discussions of particular genres--the emerging Mass cycle, the lauda, Song of Songs settings, and chansons.

Arnold and the Origins of the Cyclic Mass

The third phase of the literature concerning Arnold de Lantins took place in discussions of the Mass cycle and its origins, a subject that occupied a central place in the musicological literature of the 1950s and 1960s. Arnold's name appeared in these discussions with some frequency, since his Missa Verbum incarnatum is one of the earliest surviving examples of a complete, musically unified Mass cycle by a single composer. But in spite of numerous references to Arnold's complete cycle and a composite cycle he shares with Ciconia, Arnold's Mass Ordinary settings have not received detailed attention until recently.

Besseler was the first to recognize Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum as a musical entity when he identified the presence of eight Ordinary cycles in BL.⁶⁴ (These also include two Masses by Dufay, one by Johannes de Lymburgia, and four composite cycles containing movements by more than one composer.) Van den Borren called attention to the musical stature of Arnold's Mass and was the first to refer to it as the "Missa Verbum incarnatum" on the basis of its Kyrie trope.⁶⁵ He went on to observe not only the use of

head motives as a means of achieving musical unification among the movements, but also "d'un système de cadences qui présentent de telles analogies entre elles, qu'elles donnent proprement l'illusion d'un lien thématique persistant."⁶⁶ He concluded that Arnold was indeed the originator of this type of Mass, a setting of the five Ordinary movements unified by head motives and other thematic links, but not concerned with identity of tenor melody or procedures.

In 1950 Manfred Bukofzer outlined the stages in the development of the cyclic Mass in terms that, to some extent, remain valid today.⁶⁷ It is here that Arnold's cycle was first placed into the context of the progression from paired movements to complete cycles. In his discussion of the complete Ordinary cycles in BL by Arnold and Johannes de Lymburgia, Bukofzer recognized that both cycles contain a closely identified Gloria/Credo pair and Sanctus/Agnus pair, accompanied by a Kyrie that is less completely integrated into the cycle. "Thus the original pairing is still reflected in the first known examples of the unified Mass cycle with motto beginnings. Since this type of cycle is associated primarily with Lymburgia, Lantins, and Dufay, we may safely assume that it was developed by the composers of the Franco-Flemish school around 1425."⁶⁸ Bukofzer also called attention to the composite cycle at the outset of BL, observing that it consisted of three pairs--an Introit/Kyrie pair and Sanctus/Agnus pair by Arnold, and a Gloria/Credo pair by Ciconia.

Gustave Reese compared the Missa Verbum incarnatum with the Machaut Mass, suggesting that the Sanctus and Agnus of Arnold's Mass contains freely paraphrased references to Gregorian Mass XVII,⁶⁹ while Charles Hamm

noted the discrepancy in mensural usage between the Sanctus and Agnus, which use \emptyset , and the earlier three movements, which do not.⁷⁰ Hamm elaborated on this observation as follows:

All of this suggests that de Lantins first wrote a partial Mass, to which he added, at some later time, a Sanctus and Agnus, matching the earlier sections in clefs, type of setting and final chord but replacing what had become an obsolete mensuration (C) by its modern replacement (\emptyset) and using head motives in all voices in the new sections rather than in the Superius only, as he had done earlier.⁷¹

Hamm also noted similarities between Arnold's Mass and the Johannes Lymburgia Mass, BL 127-131.⁷² Philip Gossett took this connection much further, demonstrating that the Introit, Kyrie, and Gloria by Lymburgia, BL 158/160/161, were modeled on the first three movements of the Arnold/Ciconia composite cycle at the outset of the manuscript.⁷³ This suggests interesting possibilities for interaction among the three composers from Liège--Ciconia, Arnold, and Lymburgia--which will receive further consideration in Chapter 3.

Gilbert Reaney provided the first detailed discussion of Arnold's complete cycle in his study of the relationship among the sources containing it.⁷⁴ Focusing on the evidence of divergent readings among the sources, he concluded that Ox was the direct exemplar for the BL copy of Arnold's Mass, and that the three movements contained in BU were copied from BL. He then gave examples of simplification by the BU scribe, and cited numerous instances in which the BL scribe improved on the text underlay of his exemplar, and the BU scribe, in turn, found even more satisfactory

solutions (by modern standards, at least) to some of the underlay problems that remained. Reaney's article, which opened up a wide territory for investigation, also left many important questions unresolved. How, for instance, did the BU scribe achieve such extensive rewriting of all three voices of certain passages unless he had reference to a score? In the course of addressing such questions I have confirmed Reaney's assertion that the BL scribe copied Arnold's Mass from Ox with the citation of additional evidence, while showing that the relationship between the BL and BU versions is far more complex than a simple direct copying relationship.⁷⁵ The relevance of the divergent readings for Arnold's Mass to the transmission and performance of music in the early fifteenth century will receive detailed consideration in Chapter 4.

In addition to its inclusion in discussions of the incipient Mass cycle, Arnold's name appeared occasionally in studies of other genres that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Edgar Sparks, for instance, pointed to correspondences between the Introit settings of Arnold and Lymburgia,⁷⁶ while Sylvia Kenney observed that Arnold and Lymburgia both played significant roles in the development of the lauda.⁷⁷ Shai Burstyn included Arnold among the earliest composers of polyphonic Song of Songs settings.⁷⁸ Finally, we discover from Frohmut Dangel-Hofman's study of the polyphonic Introit that Arnold was among the first to write in this genre also.⁷⁹

In spite of the occurrence of Arnold's name in various repertorial studies, especially those concerning the cyclic Mass, most references represented little more than a piece of a larger puzzle--for instance, how composers moved from composing polyphonic settings of individual Ordinary

movements to musically unified cycles. In spite of Van den Borren's efforts, Arnold's name became, once more, little more than a name on a list.

New Archival Evidence

Until recently, evidence for the biography of Arnold de Lantins remained quite meager. The only known documents naming Arnold were the 1431-1432 lists of payments to papal singers cited by Haberl. The only other direct evidence for Arnold's biography were the Ox scribe's indications that two of Arnold's rondeaux were composed in Venice in March 1428.⁸⁰ Since Arnold's name points to the diocese of Liège, we might expect to find it in the records of the most prominent musical institution of that region, the collegiate church of Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste in Liège.⁸¹ Yet none of the studies of records from this church or from other musical institutions in the diocese of Liège has yet produced any evidence for the life of Arnold de Lantins.⁸² Neither have the Burgundian court records and the archives of other cathedrals and churches of the north, especially Cambrai, although they have continued to yield new information regarding Dufay, Binchois, Brassart, and a host of minor composers. Except for one period of less than a year, then, musicologists have had no indication of where or by whom one of the most prolific composers (to judge from three north Italian anthologies) of the early fifteenth century was employed.

New archival evidence for Arnold's biography emerged at last during Alejandro Planchart's search of the Vatican archives for documents relating to Dufay. Planchart discovered two documents containing Arnold's name, the first new documents concerning Arnold since the publication

of Haberl's Dufay biography in 1885.⁸³ The first document records a supplication by Malatesta de Malatestis of Pesaro requesting benefices for members of his household.⁸⁴ Among those named are Arnold de Lantins, clerk of Liège, and Hugo de Lantins, clerk of Liège. Malatesta asked Martin V to grant each of these singers two benefices in his diocese. A Vatican scribe copied the original supplication into a rotulus in September 1423.

The second document is a request by Guillaume Modiator, alias Malebecque, clerk of Cambrai and singer and chaplain in the chapel of Eugenius IV, for a benefice left vacant by the death of Arnold de Lantins, singer and tenor in the papal chapel. It is dated Rome, July 2, 1432. The benefice Malbecque sought was in the parish church of Fermes in the diocese of Liège.⁸⁵

These two documents provide us with a considerable amount of new information for Arnold's biography. First, they have eliminated any doubt that Arnold came from the diocese of Liège. They show that he was in Italy by 1423, where he served with Hugo in the chapel of Malatesta de Malatestis of Pesaro (the father of Carlo and Cleofe Malatesta).⁸⁶ They identify Arnold as a clerk and a tenor, and name one of his benefices. (We may safely assume that, as a member of papal chapel, he enjoyed the income of others as well.) Finally, we now have a death date for Arnold--sometime between the June 1432 list of payments to papal singers and Malbecque's request for his benefice in Fermes on July 2, 1432.⁸⁷

Planchart provided further information concerning the 1423 document at the 1986 American Musicological Society meeting in Cleveland. He noted that the supplication,

written five weeks after the wedding of Carlo Malatesta and Vittoria Colonna in July 1423, included the name of a third member of the chapel, Jean Humblot. The names of the three singers for whom Malatesta was seeking benefices appear together in another context: the text of Dufay's song, Hé, compaignons, which invites the following persons to join in May Day merrymaking: Huchon, Ernoul, Humblot, Henry, Jehan, François, Hughes, Thierry, and Godefrin.⁸⁸ While the name "Ernoul" taken by itself need not refer to Arnold de Lantins, the presence of three fairly unusual names in two different contexts strongly suggests that Dufay's text names musicians in the Malatesta chapel, and is not associated with the Savoyard chapel, as Fallows believed.⁸⁹

The discovery of these new documents provides important new information for our understanding of Arnold de Lantins and calls for a reassessment of his influence among the composers of his generation. In the course of this study of Arnold's Mass Ordinary settings I hope to initiate the process of reevaluation, which will undoubtedly show that at the time of his death in 1432 Arnold stood at the forefront of new developments in musical style. Van den Borren, who in 1932 proposed that Arnold's music was a harbinger of the future, would no doubt have enjoyed knowing that his essay on Arnold and Hugo and the publication of Arnold's music in Polyphonia sacra appeared in the quincentennial year of Arnold's death.

Reasons for Arnold's Neglect

The preceding survey has shown that Arnold's name entered the musicological literature first as one of Dufay's associates in the papal chapel, then as one of the composers represented in the manuscript sources of the

early fifteenth century. Thus, from the beginnings of modern research into fifteenth-century music, Arnold has stood in Dufay's shadow. Although he is better represented in the early fifteenth-century sources than any composer other than Dufay and Binchois, and although Van den Borren repeatedly called attention to the high quality of his compositions, Arnold and his music remain relatively unfamiliar to music historians and performers today.

There are a number of possible explanations for this. First, until Planchart's recent archival studies, we had almost no biographical information. The documents in the Vatican archives and the libraries of Cambrai, Liège, Padua, and Ferrara have attracted the efforts of generations of musicologists and stimulated further discoveries regarding the lives and music of Ciconia, Dufay, Binchois, Brassart, and others. Where almost no biographical information has emerged, however, a composer can remain outside the sphere of intensive musicological investigation for some time. Such seems to have been the case with Arnold de Lantins.

Another reason for Arnold's relative obscurity is the accident of what the Stainers chose to publish in Dufay and His Contemporaries. As we have already seen, this influential work contained only one piece by Hugo and none by Arnold, even though the names of both composers figured prominently in Nicholson's introduction.

A further factor in Arnold's neglect is the relative unavailability of his music. Although Van den Borren published all the secular songs ascribed to Arnold and Hugo, Pièces polyphoniques profanes was a modest edition issued soon after World War II and does not appear today on

the shelves of many libraries. Flores musicales belgicae, the series it inaugurated, published no further volumes.⁹⁰ Although Polyphonia sacra contains the Missa Verbum incarnatum, it is difficult to evaluate Arnold's role in the adoption of the cyclic Mass on the Continent when his three Gloria/Credo pairs and his portion of the composite cycle at the outset of BL remain unavailable.⁹¹ The publication of the complete works of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins in Early Fifteenth-Century Music has been delayed, while the existing seven volumes contain works of many lesser composers found in the same sources.

Finally, we may wonder if Van den Borren's very enthusiasm for Arnold's music actually detracted from its acceptance. The musicological community, like any other scholarly enclave, is conscious of fashion, and Van den Borren's flowery prose does not enjoy the same respect today as Besseler's sober positivism. If Besseler, rather than Van den Borren, had become Arnold's champion from the 1930s through the 1950s, would Arnold's music be studied and performed today with the interest shown that of Ciconia, Dufay, Binchois, and Dunstable?

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ARNOLD DE LANTINS: A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

A Brief Biography and a Worklist

Arnold de Lantins, a clerk from Liège, was among the northern composers who followed Ciconia across the Alps to work in Italy. By 1423 he served in the chapel of Malatesta de Malatestis of Pesaro, along with Hugo de Lantins, and was undoubtedly present at the 1423 wedding celebrated in song by Dufay's Resvellies vous. He may also have been a member of the Malatesta chapel at the time of

the 1421 wedding for which Dufay wrote Vasilissa ergo gaude and Hugo composed his Tra quante regione. According to the scribe of Ox, Arnold composed two of his rondeaux in Venice in March 1428. Finally, he served as a tenor in the chapel of Eugenius IV from sometime between August and November 1431 until his death in Rome in June 1432. At that time Arnold held at least one benefice in the diocese of Liège --at the parish church of Fermes. It is possible that either Brassart, Arnold's countryman from Liège, or Dufay, his colleague in the Malatesta chapel in 1423, was influential in his entry into one of the most elite musical institutions of his time.

Arnold's compositions are preserved almost entirely in three north Italian manuscripts copied between approximately 1420 and 1440--BL, Ox, and BU. In 1898 Nicholson calculated the number of works attributed to Dufay, Binchois, Arnold de Lantins, and Hugo de Lantins in these sources (see p. 16 above). We can now obtain a more comprehensive picture of how widely the works of Arnold and Hugo were disseminated. Table 1.3 gives the number of compositions attributed to each composer in each source. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of pieces after the removal or addition of pieces attributed to a different composer in another source.⁹²

Arnold's death in 1432 helps to explain why, with only one exception, his works did not find their way into the Austrian source complex of the 1430s and 1440s--Ao, MüO, and the earlier Trent codices--whereas some works by Hugo and other composers represented in the north Italian sources did. Although roughly the same number of chansons and motets survive for each composer, Arnold appears to have been more active in the composition of music for the

TABLE 1.5.
DISTRIBUTION OF WORKS BY ARNOLD AND HUGO DE LANTINS

Source	Attributed to Arnold					Attributed to Hugo				
	Ordinary Movements	Motets/ Lauda	French Chansons	Italian Songs	Total	Ordinary Movements	Motets	French Chansons	Italian Songs	Total
BL	15	3	5 (2)	-	23 (20)	3 (1)	3	0 (3)	-	6 (7)
Ox	5	3	14 (1 twice)	-	22	3 (4)	1	13 (11)	4	21 (22)
PC	-	1	5	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
BU	5	2	-	-	7	-	1	-	-	1
MÜL	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
MÜO	-	1	-	-	1	1 (0)	-	-	-	1 (0)
Ao	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0)	-	-	-	1 (0)
Str	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tr93	-	-	-	-	-	0 (1)	-	-	-	0 (1)
Tr90	-	-	-	-	-	0 (2)	-	-	-	0 (2)
Number of attributions	15	3	17	0	35	6	5	14	4	29
Total number of pieces	15	3	15	0	33	5	5	13	4	27

35

Mass Ordinary. Hugo, on the other hand, composed four songs on Italian texts, while we have only French-texted songs by Arnold. Not reflected in Table 1.3 is the fact that the motets of the two composers are entirely different in character. Arnold's two motets are settings of texts from the Song of Songs, while Hugo has one isorhythmic motet along Ciconian lines⁹³ and three ceremonial motets. These contrasts suggest that, following their membership in the Malatesta chapel in 1423, the two composers may have worked in different settings.

Table 1.4 lists all works attributed to Arnold, the sources in which they are preserved, the number of voices (superscripts show the number of texted voices), and the attribution given in each source. Two of the 15 rondeaux in this list are attributed to Arnold in BL but to Hugo in Ox. The attribution to another rondeaux, unique to BL, was written in the left-hand margin and reduced to "ntins" when the manuscript was trimmed for binding. A more detailed discussion of attributions concerning Arnold and current views regarding authorship appears in the appendix to this study.

The worklist presented in Table 1.4 shows that during his brief career Arnold produced examples of nearly every genre cultivated at the time. Among his works are three Gloria/Credo pairs, a composite cycle consisting of four movements by Arnold and two by Ciconia, and the Missa Verbum incarnatum. Arnold also wrote two ballades, 13 to 15 rondeaux (two with conflicting attributions to Hugo), a lauda, and two Song of Songs settings. One of these settings, his Tota pulcra es, was one of the most widely disseminated works of the early fifteenth century.⁹⁴

TABLE 1.4.
WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO ARNOLD DE LANTINS

A. MASS ORDINARY

3 Gloria/Credo Pairs

Et in terra	BL 38, 41v-42	3 ¹	Ar de lantins
Patrem omnipotentem	BL 39, 42v-44	3 ¹	Ar de lantins
Et in terra	BL 47, 53v-54	3 ¹	Ar de lantins
Patrem omnipotentem	BL 48, 54v-56	3 ¹	Art de lantins
Et in terra	BL 90, 111bisv-112bis	3 ²	Ar de lantinis
	BU 37, pp. 46-47	3 ³	Arnoldus de latinis
Patrem omnipotentem	BL 91, 112bisv-114	3 ²	Ar de lantinis
	BU 38, pp. 48-51	3 ³	anonymous

1 Partial Cycle

Salve sancta parens	BL 2, 1	3 ³	Ar de lantins
Kyrie	BL 3, 1v-2	3 ³	ar de latinis-index
Sanctus Tr Marie filius	BL 6, 6v-7	3 ³	Art de lantins
Agnus dei	BL 7, 7v-8	3 ³	Ar de lantins

M. Verbum incarnatum

Kyrie Tr Verbum incarnatum	BL 138, 149v-151	3 ²	missa Ar de lantinis
	BU 5, pp. 2-3	3 ²	Arnaldus
	Ox 132, 63-63v	3 ¹	Arnoldus de Lantins
Et in terra	BL 139, 150v-151	3 ²	ar de latinis-index
	BU 6, pp. 4-5	3 ²	anonymous
	Ox 133, 64-64v	3 ²	Arnoldus de Lantins
Patrem omnipotentem	BL 140, 151v-153	3 ²	Ar de lantinis
	BU 29, pp. 34-37	3 ²	anonymous
	MUL 5, f. 2, p. 3	1 ¹	Attribution trimmed
	Ox 134, 65-66	3 ¹	Arnoldus de lantins
Sanctus Tr Qui hominem limo	BL 141, 152v-154	3 ²	Ar de lantinis
	Ox 149, 70v-71	3 ³	Arnoldus de lantins
Agnus dei	BL 142, 153v-154	3 ²	anonymous
	Ox 142, 68	3 ²	Arnoldus de lantins

TABLE 1.4 (Continued)

B. MOTETS, LAUDA2 Marian motets

O pulcerrima mulierum	BL 178, 200v-201	3 ²	Ar de lantinis
	BU 52, pp. 68-69	3 ³	anonymous
	Ox 178, 80v	3 ²	Arnoldus de g ^{al} ntins
Tota pulcra es	BL 202, 209v-210	4 ²	Ar de lantinis
	BU 50, pp. 66-67	3 ²	anonymous
	MÜO 261, 136v-138	4 ²	Arnoldus de lantinis
	Ox 80, 42v	3 ¹	Arnoldus de g ^{al} Ntins
	PC 78, 65	1 ⁰	anonymous
	Str 23, 16	2 ⁷	Arn de Lantins

1 Lauda

In tua memoria	BL 287, 280v-281	3 ²	anonymous
	Ox 109, 52v	3 ³	Arnoldus de lantins

C. FRENCH CHANSONS2 Ballades

Puisque je suy cyprianes	Ox 115, 54v	3 ²	Arnoldus de lantins
Tout mon desir	Ox 111, 53	3 ²	Ar de lantins



13 (15) Rondeaux*

Amour servir et honourer	Ox 108, 52	3 ²	Ar de lantins
	PC 73, 64	1 ¹	anonymous
Ce iour de l'an	Ox 155, 72v	3 ²	Arnoldus de lantins
Certes, belle	Ox 71, 38v-39	3 ²	Ar de g ^{al} ntins
?Chanter ne scay	BL 40, 43v-44	3 ²	Ar de la/ntins
	Ox 52, 32v	3 ²	[Hugho de lantins?] [†]
Esclave a dueil	Ox 118, 56	3 ²	Arnoldus de g ^{al} Ntins
	PC 76, 64v-65	1 ¹	anonymous
Helas, e my, ma dame	BL 28, 27v-28	3 ²	Ar de lantins

*The first number represents the number of attributions; the number in parentheses indicates those currently accepted as belonging to Arnold.

[†]Attribution almost entirely eliminated by trimming at top of folio.

TABLE 1.4 (Continued)

Las pouray je mon martire	Ox 175, 79v	3 ²	Ar de lantins
?Mon doulx espoir	BL 49, 54v-55	3 ³	Ar/lantins
	Ox 105, 51v	3 ³	Ugo de lantins
Ne me vueillies	Ox 84, 44	3 ²	Arnoldus de lantins
	PC 67, 62	1 ¹	anonymous
Or voy je bien	BL 241, 244v-245	3 ³	Ar de lantins
Puisque je voy	Ox 110, 52v-53	3 ¹	Ar de lan/tins
Quant je mire	Ox 311, 132v-133	3 ¹	Arnoldus de lantins conposuit 1428 marcii veneciis
	PC 56, 55v-56	3 ¹	anonymous
Sans desplaisir	Ox 138, 67	3 ²	Arnoldus de  Atins
Se ne prenes	Ox 64, 35v-36	3 ²	anonymous
	Ox 307, 129v-130	3 ²	Arnoldus de  ntins 1428 mensis marcii conposuit veneciis
	PC 55, 54v-55	3 ²	anonymous
?Ung seul confort	BL 37, 40v-41	3 ³	/ntins

The Genres Arnold Cultivated

On the basis of the style of Arnold's music and the sources containing it, it appears that Arnold was a contemporary of the young Dufay and participated in the same stylistic developments. But while Dufay's career extended to 1474, Arnold's was cut short by his apparently sudden death in 1432. It is impossible to determine what Arnold's influence might have been if he had lived as long as Dufay. Nevertheless, Arnold may have played a more

important role in future developments than hitherto suspected. Van den Borren stated on numerous occasions that the music of Arnold de Lantins looked to the future, without, however, fully stating the basis of this view. Recent repertorial studies provide us with a context that confirms Van den Borren's judgement. An examination of the genres Arnold cultivated--Introits, Song of Songs settings, the lauda, and compositionally related Ordinary settings--along with the place of his works in the manuscript traditions indicates that Arnold was indeed an innovator sensitive to emerging trends as humanistic thought swept over the Italian peninsula.

Let us return to Arnold's presumed position of honor at the outset of BL and consider the possibility that the scribe did not necessarily place a composition at the outset of the manuscript he was copying because he attached particular importance to its composer. Perhaps he was looking for a piece that would occupy one recto rather than a full opening. But there may be yet another reason for the scribe's selection of Arnold's Salve sancta parens setting as the first piece in his collection--the fact that it is an Introit, in fact, the only Introit in the first stage of BL. (Bent has divided the compilation of BL into three distinct stages rather than the two proposed by Besseler. See Chapter 2, p. 63.) The second stage of the Mass section also begins with an Introit--the Mihi autem nimis of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi--also adorned with an illuminated initial. This is the only Introit in this stage of the compilation. Stage III contains a further Introit, a Salve sancta parens setting that is part of a partial cycle by Johannes de Lymburgia.

It appears that a written out polyphonic Introit was a relatively rare item at the time BL was copied.⁹⁵ There are no polyphonic Introits in Apt, Cathédrale Saint-Anne, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, MS 16 bis (Apt), Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXV (Iv), or Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α .M.5.24 (Mod A), nor are any to be found in the various fragments from Italian sources of early fifteenth-century polyphony. The first recto of BU contains a partial plainsong Mass beginning with the Introit Gaudeamus omnes, but neither BU nor Ox contain any polyphonic Introit settings. Nor do Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 6 and 11 (Ca 6 and Ca 11), the only intact collections of sacred polyphony copied in the north in the 1430s.

In manuscripts compiled slightly later than the BL/Ox/BU complex, on the other hand, polyphonic Introits began to appear with increasing frequency.⁹⁶

The earliest portion of Ao, consisting of gatherings 2 through 4 (Ao¹), begins with a group of 10 Introits by Brassart and Johannes de Sarto. The present first gathering of the manuscript, representing stage III of the compilation, contains an additional Introit by Binchois.

MüO contains 15 polyphonic Introits, all anonymous. We know the composer of one of these, the Salve sancta parens from the plenary Mass by Reginaldus Liebert, from an attribution in Tr92.

The first section of Tr92 (Tr92¹) contains nine Introits, six of which stand at the beginnings of composite Introit/Ordinary cycles assembled by the scribe, and one belonging to a plenary Mass by Liebert.⁹⁷

Tr87¹ and Tr92², originally part of the same manuscript,⁹⁸ contain three Introit settings: an anonymous setting in Tr87¹ and two Brassart settings in Tr92².

The increasing incidence of polyphonic Introit settings culminates in the 60 Introits of Tr93/90 and 25 in Tr88, including those belonging to the 16 anonymous Proper cycles made famous by Laurence Feininger's suggestion that 11 of them were composed by Dufay.⁹⁹ The known composers of polyphonic Introit settings during the first half of the fifteenth century are Arnold de Lantins, Dufay, Johannes de Lymburgia, Brassart, Binchois, Liebert, Johannes de Sarto, and Merques. Of these, Arnold appears to be the first.

Arnold appears to have been a forerunner of later developments in yet another area: polyphonic settings of texts from the Song of Songs. These texts were first set to music by English composers in the early fifteenth century (Pyamour, Power, Dunstable, Forest, Stone, Stanley, and Plummer).¹⁰⁰ Such settings, which were to become increasingly popular in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gained acceptance more slowly on the continent. From the first half of the fifteenth century we have Song of Songs settings by only three continental composers: Dufay, Arnold de Lantins, and Johannes de Lymburgia.

Dufay's Anima mea appears in BL, Ox, and Tr87. Arnold's setting of Tota pulcra es is transmitted in six sources, BL, BU, MüO, Ox, PC, and Str,¹⁰¹ O pulcerrima mulierum in three, BL, BU, and Ox. Lymburgia composed at least five settings, all found in BL. (Veni dilecti mi also appears in Ao and Tr87 with attributions to Dufay.) BL, apparently the earliest continental source of Song of

Songs settings, also contains an anonymous Descendi in ortum, presumably of English origin.

The Latin lauda is yet another genre which began to be cultivated in the early fifteenth century and whose popularity increased throughout the century and into the sixteenth. Here again, one of the earliest examples is by Arnold, his In tua memoria, found in BL and Ox. BL also contains four laude by Lymburgia and four that are anonymous. Ox preserves two further anonymous laude. In her discussion of the complex relationship between the song motet and the lauda, Sylvia Kenney observed that "Both Arnold de Lantins and Lymburgia seem to be key figures in this fusion of the Netherlands motet with the lauda traditions."¹⁰²

It is more widely known that Arnold de Lantins wrote one of the first Ordinary cycles employing musical links between movements. Prior to the adoption on the continent of the English tenor Mass, in which the same melody recurs in the tenor of each movement, polyphonic settings of the Ordinary texts existed for the most part as individual movements, or as Gloria/Credo or Sanctus/Agnus pairs for use during the same celebration of the Mass. During the first half of the fifteenth century only six continental composers whom we know by name wrote complete Ordinary cycles that survive today. None of these Masses uses an identical tenor as a unifying principle. The only continental cycle from the first half of the century that does use a tenor cantus firmus is the anonymous cycle added onto blank staves in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS J.II.9 (TuB).¹⁰³ Table 1.5 presents all known Mass cycles composed by continental composers during the first half of the

fifteenth century, along with the sources containing them.¹⁰⁴

TABLE 1.5.
MASS CYCLES COMPOSED BY CONTINENTAL COMPOSERS BEFORE 1450

Composer	Title	Sources
Guillaume Dufay	<u>Missa Sine nomine</u>	Ao ¹ , Ao ² , BL ¹ , BU ¹ , Tr92 ¹ , Tr93/90, Ven
Guillaume Dufay	<u>Missa Sancti Jacobi</u> (plenary)	Ao ¹ , Ao ² , BL ² , Tr87 ¹ , Tr92 ¹ , Tr93/90
Estienne Grossin	<u>Missa Trompetta</u> (lacks Agnus)	Ao ² , Zw
Arnold de Lantins	<u>Missa Verbum incarnatum</u>	BL ² , BU ¹ , MÜL, Ox ²
Reginaldus Libert	<u>Missa de beata virgine</u> (plenary)	MÜO ¹ , Tr92 ¹
Johannes de Lymburgia	<u>Missa Sine nomine</u>	BL ³
Johannes Reson	"The Reson Mass"	BU ¹
Anonymous	<u>Missa Sine nomine</u> (lacks Agnus)	TuB

The earliest fifteenth-century source for the pre-tenor cycles is BL, whose scribe showed intense interest in related Ordinary movements. The first layer of the BL Mass section contains Dufay's Missa Sine nomine,¹⁰⁵ along with several composite Masses and a series of Gloria/Credo pairs. The second layer includes two complete cycles, Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi and Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum. A Mass by Johannes Lymburgia appears in the third layer of the Mass section. These three composers, Dufay, Arnold, and Lymburgia, are the only ones from whom

we have examples of paired movements, partial cycles, and complete cycles. Dufay's achievements in this sphere, from the loosely-related pairs of his youth to the monumental tenor Masses of his maturity, have attracted enormous attention from Haberl's time to the present. His role in the development of the Mass cycle into the most advanced musical vehicle of his time may be likened to that of Haydn in the creation of the string quartet. But while arguments over the merits of the complete edition of his works, the dating of his early Masses, and the authenticity of the St. Anthony Mass and the Tr88 Proper cycles continue, accompanied by the steady emergence of new evidence, most of the Mass music by his colleague in the papal chapel during 1431 and 1432 has yet to be published, let alone studied.

Arnold's settings of the Ordinary, like those of Dufay and Lymburgia, represent three aspects of the Mass cycle's early development--paired movements, a composite cycle shared with another composer, and a complete cycle, each of whose movements shares the same opening motto (but not yet a tenor melody). They provide us with a body of work against which to measure Dufay's achievement, and from which we can evaluate Arnold's own contribution to the origins of the cyclic Mass.

Some interesting insights emerge from the preceding discussion. First, Arnold's name comes continually into association with those of Dufay, Johannes de Lymburgia, and to a lesser extent, Brassart, when we examine the early stages in the development of the polyphonic Introit, Song of Songs setting, Latin lauda, and musically unified Mass cycle. In considering these "firsts" we do not encounter the names of other composers represented in the same

manuscripts--Antonius de Civitate, Antonius Romanus, Bartolomeo da Bologna, or Anthonio Zachara da Teramo among the Italians, or Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco, Guillaume and Johannes le Grant, or even Binchois among the northerners. Second, except for Dufay, the apparent innovators all come from the diocese of Liège, and all four are known to have been in Italy at some point during the 1420s or 1430s when these new developments were taking place.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the earliest source for each of these genres appears to be BL, whose latest entries reflect the emergence of still another new development--the hymn, Magnificat, and antiphon settings of Dufay, Lymburgia, Binchois, Hugo de Lantins, and Feragut--which was to lead to the brilliant Vespers music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁷

As is well known, the Renaissance in the art of music began when continental composers, exposed for the first time to the mellifluous sound of English music, adopted the principles underlying the musical import: parallel 6/3 motion, avoidance of dissonance, and attention to text declamation. The beginning of the musical Renaissance was marked not only by the formal clarity of the contenance angloise. It also saw a preoccupation with cyclic content and the creation of new liturgical and paraliturgical genres--the musically unified Mass cycle, Magnificat and hymn cycles, and polyphonic settings of Introits, antiphons, and texts from the Song of Songs. The spawning ground for most of these developments appears to have been the temporal and ecclesiastical courts of northern Italy in the 1420s and 1430s. BL is the earliest extant repository for most of these new genres. Arnold de Lantins is one of the composers who was most active in cultivating the new forms and in implementing the transition from the angular,

dissonant, rhythmically complex style of the past to the panconsonant style of the early Renaissance.

* * *

It is possible that we will never have any more biographical information for Arnold de Lantins than we do today. The remaining chapters of this dissertation rely, instead, on the evidence that does survive: the significant body of music preserved, for the most part, in three north Italian sources. This study will focus on Arnold's role in the development of the cyclic Mass on the continent by utilizing the evidence of these sources, the Ordinary settings attributed to Arnold by their scribes, and the divergent readings among them where concordances exist. The result will be a different kind of biography, one based not on records of payment or occasions commemorated in motet texts, but rather, on the music itself and the record left by the scribes who copied it.

CHAPTER 2

THE TESTIMONY OF THE SOURCES

The music of Arnold de Lantins appears almost exclusively in three manuscripts copied in the Veneto during the 1420s and 1430s: BL, Ox, and BU. The only sacred work by Arnold found outside this complex is the Credo of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, which is partially preserved among the fragments of another manuscript that probably originated in the Veneto, MÜL. In contrast to other Italian sources of the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento, these manuscripts preserve a repertory that is strikingly international in character. This is hardly surprising since Venice and the cities that came under her jurisdiction in the early fifteenth century served as a focal point for the intersection of Franco-Flemish and Italian musical traditions as composers and singers from the north--Ciconia, Dufay, Feragut, Lymburgia, and Arnold and Hugo de Lantins--came to work side by side with local musicians in Venice, Padua, Vicenza, and Ferrara.¹

The Veneto sources are important not only as witnesses to the influx of northern influence into musical life around Venice; due to the nearly total loss of sources from the Franco-Burgundian territories and England, they are often the only sources for works composed by northern musicians during the early decades of the fifteenth century. As Giulio Cattin has observed,

. . quanto attualmente conosciamo della produzione polifonica profana e sacra non solo italiana, ma anche dei musicisti franco-borgognoni, è filtrato attraverso le preferenze e le scelte dei copisti veneti della prima metà del secolo.²

We are almost entirely indebted to three north-Italian scribes for our knowledge of Arnold's music. Differences in the way they organized and copied Arnold's Ordinary settings, which I will examine in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, show that they indeed acted as filters of the musical traditions they recorded. The repertoires they copied also serve as valuable witnesses to Arnold's prestige on the peninsula since they contain a large number of his works. He is represented by more compositions in BL, for instance, than any other composer except for Dufay and Johannes de Lymburgia.

Five of the 47 composers named in BL have more than 10 pieces assigned to them in this source. The scribe attributed 68 compositions to Dufay, 46 to Johannes de Lymburgia, 20 (possibly 21) to Arnold de Lantins, 17 to Ciconia, and 11 to Antonio Zachara da Teramo. Nine or fewer pieces represent the remaining composers in BL.³

In Ox only Dufay and Binchois have more pieces than Arnold.

Four of the 56 composers named in Ox have more than 20 pieces assigned to them in this source. The scribe attributed 52 compositions to Dufay, 28 to Binchois, 21 to Arnold, and 21 to Hugo. Seven or fewer pieces represent the remaining composers in Ox.

In BU only Dufay is represented by more pieces than Arnold.

Four of the 15 composers named in BU have 5 or more pieces in this source. Dufay has 11 (3

attributions supplied from concordances), Arnold has 7 (5 attributions derived from concordances), Reson has 7 (6 on the basis of Hamm's stylistic investigations), and Do. Vala, a composer found only in BU, has 5. Three or fewer pieces represent the remaining composers in BU.

The large number of compositions by Arnold in the three Veneto sources suggests that, in contrast to the obscurity into which his name has fallen today, his works were highly regarded by his contemporaries. A second reason for believing that Arnold enjoyed the esteem of his contemporaries is the position of his works within the manuscripts. Two of the scribes gave him the place of honor at the beginning of their collections.

BL begins with a composite Mass consisting of an Introit and Kyrie ascribed to Arnold, a Gloria/Credo pair ascribed to Ciconia, and a Sanctus/Agnus pair ascribed to Arnold. The Introit Salve sancta parens appears on the first recto of the manuscript and received one of the three illuminated initials found in this large collection. Moreover, the scribe entirely erased the text of the Introit and recopied it in a formal book hand used nowhere else in the codex, undoubtedly to emphasize the importance of the first piece in the collection.

The first polyphonic pieces in BU are by Arnold--the Kyrie and Gloria of his Missa Verbum incarnatum. The Credo of the cycle is the second composition in the section of the manuscript devoted to Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus settings.

Yet another suggestion of Arnold's importance in the Veneto sources lies in the treatment of initials in MÜL.

Four of the thirteen pieces contained in this fragment received large red initials for the first word of the top voice. Each of these appears in the left margin since the scribe left no indentations for them when he ruled the pages. The cantus of Arnold's Credo lacks an initial, but the scribe indented the first two staves to leave room for one. Although it was never entered, the scribe intended to supply this Credo with a more elaborate initial than the other pieces that survive in MÜL, a possible indication of his regard for its composer.

The Veneto sources, then, contain valuable evidence for a composer for whom we still have relatively little biographical information. This chapter focuses on the three principal sources of Arnold's Mass music and the fragment preserved in Munich in order to discover what they tell us about Arnold and to provide a context for the discussions of his music in Chapters 3 and 4. It begins with an examination of the organization and contents of each source. A discussion of the chronological and geographical proximity of the sources to the composer comes next, followed by an evaluation of each scribe's policies concerning music for the Mass Ordinary.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (BL)

BL contains 338 folios trimmed to approximately 28 x 20 cm and organized into 29 gatherings, nearly all of which originated as sesterns.⁴ Removed from their bindings in the early 1970s, the gatherings are now preserved in individual folders, greatly facilitating the study of this complex source. While most of the folios are paper, the inner and/or outer bifolios of many gatherings consist of

parchment, used for extra strength in the positions most subject to wear.

Two parchment bifolios serve as flyleaves to the codex. The first recto of the bifolio once bound at the beginning of the manuscript contains a partial index of the its contents, while the inner opening contains an anonymous Gloria that also appears in gathering 9.⁵ The rear flyleaves consist of two parchment leaves glued together to form a bifolio containing three compositions that also appear in gathering 22.

The manuscript contains three separate numbering systems entered at different times in its history: a) the original Roman foliation by the BL scribe (column 3 of the de Van inventory); b) Arabic numerals entered by Padre Martini in the upper left margin of nearly every verso (column 1 of the de Van inventory); and c) a modern pencil foliation in Arabic numerals in the extreme upper right-hand corner of every recto in the manuscript, including the added bifolios at the beginning and end. In addition to the numbering systems found in the manuscript, we have the numbering of pieces given in the second column of the de Van inventory.⁶ This study identifies pieces in BL according to their numbers in the second column of the inventory. Folio numbers refer to the original Roman foliation.

BL contains 323 compositions, five of which appear twice (BL 1 = BL 80; BL 31 = BL 88; BL 224-226 = BL 326-328). Except for BL 109, a textless addition in void notation, the codex was copied by a single scribe. The repertory falls into the following categories:

148 Mass Ordinary items
 107 motets, antiphons, etc.
 25 hymns
 19 French secular songs
 11 laude
 9 Magnificat settings
 3 sequences
 1 textless piece

The BL scribe copied this repertory over a considerable time period using black mensural notation. Red coloration and flagged semiminims in the earliest phase gave way to void coloration and colored (i.e., void) semiminims as the copying progressed. The stylistic range of the pieces copied extends from Ars subtilior motets in the first layer to fauxbourdon settings, for which BL is the earliest extant source,⁷ in the later stages of the compilation.

The scribe organized the manuscript into three sections, the first devoted to complete Masses, Gloria/Credo pairs, and individual Ordinary movements, the second reserved for motets and motet-like works, and the third containing hymns, Magnificats, and sequence settings. The breakdown by gathering is as follows:

Part I	Gatherings 1 - 17	Masses and Mass sections 11 secular additions
Part II	Gatherings 18 - 27	Motets, lauda, antiphons 8 secular additions
Part III	Gatherings 27 - 29	Hymns, sequences, Magnificats

Historiated initials adorn three compositions in the codex: Arnold's Introit setting at the beginning of the Mass section (BL 2), the Introit of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi (BL 111), and the Ciconia motet Albane misse celitus

(BL 273). Most of the remaining initials are alternating red and blue ones with trim in the opposite color. Calligraphic initials appear in the gathering containing the Missa Sancti Jacobi.

BL, the most important witness to the development of the cyclic Mass on the continent during the early fifteenth century, preserves all of Arnold's Ordinary settings, the lauda, the two Song of Songs settings, and as many as five of his songs. Since it is the only source containing all of his Ordinary movements, I use de Van inventory numbers throughout this study to identify the individual settings (except in references to concordant sources).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Misc. 213 (Ox)

Ox, bound in white vellum with a gold-stamped title on a brown lettering piece, contains 140 paper folios trimmed to ca. 29.8 x 21.5 cm.⁸ These are preceded by a modern paper flyleaf and two paper bifolios containing an incomplete index and followed by a modern paper flyleaf. The index, compiled by the Ox scribe, is incomplete. Since the existing bifolios contain text incipits for the letters E through X, it must have originally contained an additional bifolio.

The ten gatherings of Ox vary in size from 12 bifolios in gathering 4 to 3 bifolios in gathering 10. These fall into two main sections: the older gatherings 1-4 (Nicholson's Part I) and the newer gatherings 5-10 (Nicholson's Part II). The Ox scribe entered Arabic folio numbers in the upper right hand corner of every recto of the manuscript (except for fols. 1 and 140, whose folio numbers were added by a modern hand). Ox-II also contains an

earlier foliation in the hand of the same scribe. This foliation indicates that this was once an independent collection that the scribe appended to Ox-I.⁹ This occurred after he had foliated the first 80 folios and recorded their contents in the index.

Ox contains 326 pieces, including one duplicate, Arnold's Se ne prenes, copied first into gathering 9 and again into gathering 3. The only entries that are not in the hand of the principal scribe are some fragments added on fols. 14v-16v. The following musical categories appear in Ox:

- 235 French secular songs (one twice)
- 38 motets
- 24 Italian secular songs
- 21 Ordinary movements
- 6 laude
- 1 Magnificat setting

Although Ox is closely contemporary with BL, which employs black solid notation, its scribe used void notation with black solid coloration and semiminims. The only exceptions are five pieces in black notation (Ox 33, 34, 44, 179, and 302) in the hand of the same scribe.¹⁰ The earliest pieces in Ox are two chansons with concordances in Ch (Ox 273 and 287). The latest is probably the Johannes de Quadris Magnificat to which the scribe assigned the date 1436.¹¹

The balance of the Ox repertory, with its emphasis on secular songs, is quite different from that of BL, where Mass movements and motets predominate. The organization also differs. While the BL scribe reserved separate sections for Ordinary settings, motets and motet-like

compositions, and finally, Magnificat and hymn settings, the Ox scribe copied pieces into gatherings as they became available. He tended to copy larger works, such as Mass movements and motets, at the beginnings of gatherings before filling the remaining space with short secular works.¹² Nearly all the compositions in Ox received calligraphic initials executed by the scribe, who made no attempt to set off any group of compositions with more elaborate initials.

While BL is the most important source for Arnold's Ordinary settings, Ox is the principal source for his secular songs. It includes all but three of the 17 songs attributed to him in one or more sources. It also transmits his Mass cycle, the lauda, and the two Song of Songs settings.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 (BU)

BU consists of 57 paper folios trimmed to ca. 39.3 x 28.5 cm, with two modern paper flyleaves at the beginning and two at the end.¹³ The modern binding consists of white leather over wooden boards. Padre Martini provided BU with an index that has been bound between the front flyleaves and the main contents since the 1930 restoration at least. We do not know if BU, like BL and Ox, once included an original index.

The manuscript contains two numbering systems: a) a contemporary black-ink Arabic pagination running from 1 to 114 in the top outer corner of every page, and b) a modern pencil foliation from 1 to 57 in the top right margin of every recto. This discussion refers to the page numbers, which are visible in the facsimile edition of BU, rather

than to the folio numbers, which are not. Citations of pieces use the numbers of the Gallo inventory.

BU now consists of eight gatherings: six regular quaternions followed by a binion and a binion plus one folio. The final two gatherings are artificial structures formed from nine folios that had become detached from the manuscript by the time of the modern restoration. To reattach the leaves into bifolios that could be organized into gatherings and sewn into the new binding, the restorers used paper pulp which, once dried, appears whiter than the original paper. The structure of these modern gatherings has no bearing on that of the original manuscript. The final verso of BU is extremely worn and soiled, perhaps indicating that the manuscript lay unbound for some time. This would account for the loss of folios from the end of the manuscript, which may have occurred already in the fifteenth century.¹⁴

BU contains 86 polyphonic compositions, most of which were copied by one principal scribe. (Two Binchois pieces, BU 25 and 70, and an anonymous Benedicamus Domino setting, BU 94, are later additions by different scribes.) This repertory, which contains a little over a third the number of compositions in BL and Ox, falls into the following categories:

- 31 Mass Ordinary items
- 19 motets, antiphons, etc.
- 12 French secular songs
- 11 laude
- 9 Italian secular songs
- 2 Magnificat settings
- 1 hymn
- 1 sequence

In addition to polyphonic works, BU includes a plainsong Ordinary cycle copied on the first recto by the principal scribe, and Vespers and Matins chants for Easter, the Transfiguration, and Christmas added by later scribes on blank folios in the final two gatherings.

Beneath the apparently haphazard order of pieces in BU lies a clearly discernible plan: two quaternions devoted to Kyrie and Gloria settings, two quaternions for Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus settings, two quaternions for motets and motet-like compositions, and nine surviving leaves from the section devoted to Italian and French secular songs¹⁵ (see Fig. 2.1). Each of these four sections is introduced by a large red initial. The fact that the second two initials appear on the final verso of a gathering shows that the scribe had determined the size and organization of his manuscript before copying began. The first pieces copied into each of the four sections during the early stages of the compilation followed this plan precisely. The plan was later obscured when pieces were entered wherever room remained.

Even though it is the latest of the three sources, BU employs black notation with void coloration, never red. The Binchois additions and some of the plainsong additions use void notation. The scribe of this manuscript almost always used flagged semiminims, reserving void note forms for coloration groups. (Among the pieces copied by the main scribe, only BU 22 and 23 use void coloration.) The earliest pieces in BU appear to be those of Ciconia and Antonio Zachara da Teramo. The latest, excluding the two late additions in void notation, are fauxbourdon settings.

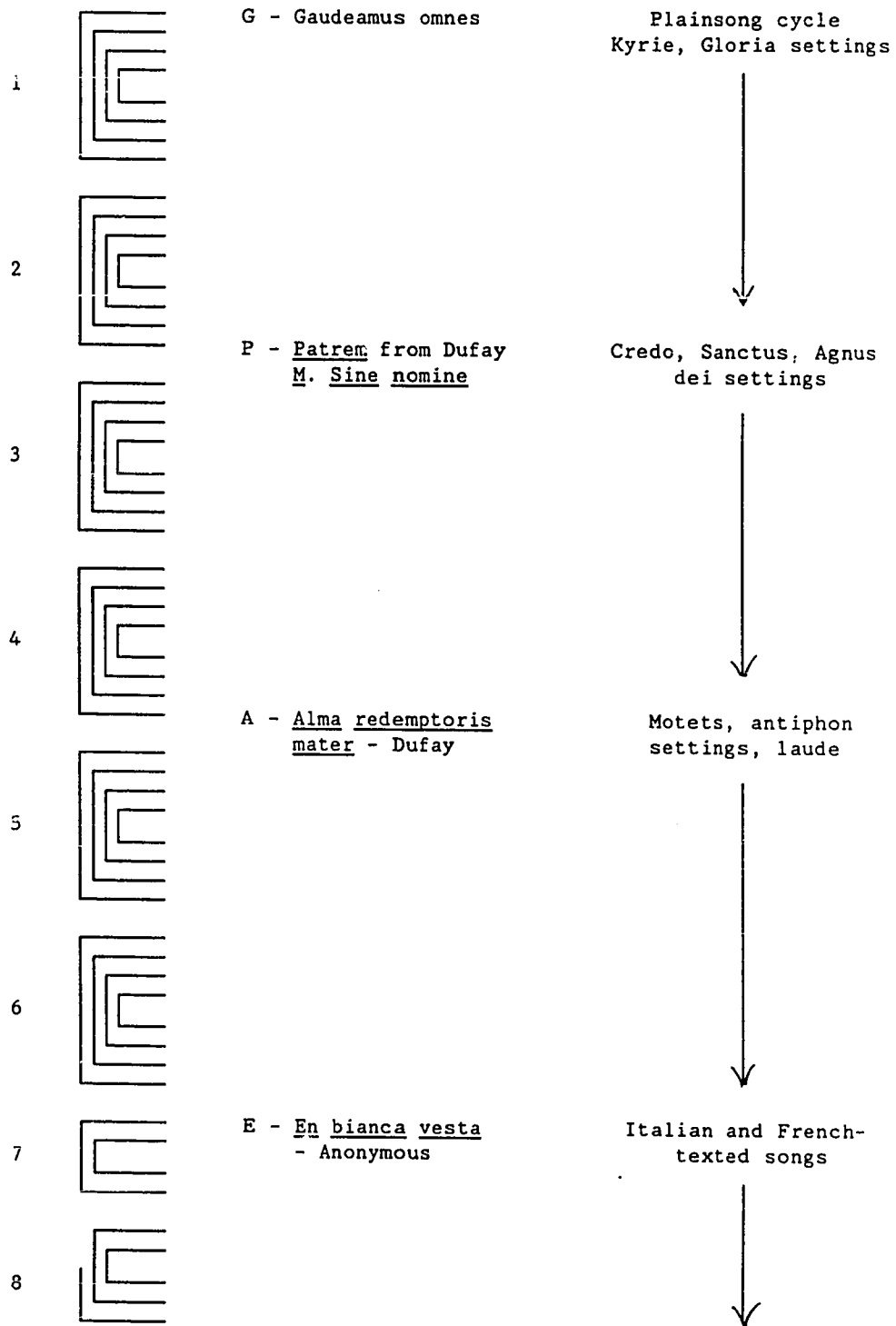


Figure 2.1. Gathering Structure and Contents of BU

While BU contains fewer works by Arnold than BL or Ox, it is an important witness to the transmission of his music. It provides highly divergent readings of works also found in BL and Ox--the first three movements of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, one of the three Gloria/Credo pairs, and the two Song of Songs settings. It does not contain the lauda or any of Arnold's secular songs.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 3224 (MÜL)

MÜL is the remnants of a music manuscript from which at least eight parchment folios were removed for use as flyleaves and pastedowns in printed books. Six of these leaves are now bound together, preceded and followed by a modern paper binder's flyleaf. Two further leaves, discovered after the publication of Meier's catalogue and subsequently lost, have been relocated only recently and described by Helmut Hell.¹⁶ Since the folios were trimmed to fit the books into which they were bound, their present size varies from 185-277 to 150-187 cm. They originally measured ca. 280 x 190 cm.

Each of the surviving leaves contains (or did contain prior to trimming) ten red-line staves per folio ruled by the same 13-mm rastrum and copied in the hand of the same scribe. Six of the folios contain original folio numbers: 29, 102, 103, 104, 105, and 106. These show that the original manuscript contained at least 107 folios, since Dufay's Iuvenis qui puellam, found on fols. 105v to 106v, would have concluded on fol. 107. The first four folios have modern page numbers from 1 to 8 entered by Julius Meier. (The second and third folios were paginated and bound incorrectly, with recto and verso reversed.) A different hand entered page numbers from 9 to 16 on the remaining four folios.

Table 2.1, which lists the compositions preserved in M^uL, shows that the manuscript these leaves once belonged to contained a sophisticated repertory similar to that of the Veneto sources. Most of the pieces in the fragment are incomplete due to the loss of an adjacent folio or to trimming. From what remains it appears that the original

TABLE 2.1.
CONTENTS OF M^uL

Modern pag.	Orig. fol.	No.	Title	Attribution
1	29	1	Contra Et in spiritum	[Anonymous]
		2	He compagnons	[Dufay - Ox]
2	29v	3	Patrem	Christoforus de Feltro
		4	Contratenor Dame belle	[Anonymous]
3†	--v	5	Patrem (M. Verbum inc.)	[A. de Lantins - BL/Ox/BU]
4†	--	6	Contratenor Et in terra	[F.A. de Civitato - BL]
		7	Jay grant desir	Bartholomeus de Bruolo
5†	--v	8	[Veni sancte spiritus]	[Dunstaple - ModB/Ao/Tr92]
6†	--	"	" " " "	"
7	102	9	[Regina celi letare]	[Dunstaple - BL/Ao]
8	102v	"	" " " "	"
9*	103	[10a]	O incomparabilis virgo	Guillermus Dufay
10*	103v	[10b]	Post angelicam adlocutionem	[Anonymous]
11*	104	"	" " " "	"
12*	104v	11	O quam mirabilis	JO. SARTO
13	105	"	" " " "	"
		12	Ut queant laxis	Ray. de lan.
14	105v	13	Juvenis qui puellam	Decretalis Guillelmus dufay
15	106	"	" " " "	" " "
16	106v	"	" " " "	" " "

†Folios bound incorrectly with recto as verso.

*Recently rediscovered folios.

manuscript was similar in organization and contents to BU, with separate sections for Ordinary movements and motets, and secular pieces copied onto unused staves beneath them. The surviving leaves, copied in black mensural notation with red coloration, contain the following types of compositions:

- 4 Mass Ordinary items
- 4 motets
- 3 French secular songs
- 2 Latin contrafacts
- 1 Latin secular song
- 1 hymn

Arnold is represented in MÜL by the Credo of his Mass cycle, of which only the first half of the cantus remains. The folio has been trimmed at the top, bottom, and outer edge, resulting in the loss of the attribution (one descender of which remains) and a few upstems from the top of the folio, the text beneath the last stave at the bottom of the folio, and a few notes from the end of each stave. The page break took place at "Et in spiritum sanctum," as it did in BL and BU.

THE PROXIMITY OF THE SOURCES TO ARNOLD

The sources of Arnold's Mass music are utilitarian productions typical of early fifteenth-century repository manuscripts. Like Ao, MÜO, Tr87, and Tr92, they exhibit a marked lack of uniformity in regard to paper types, gathering size, rulings, script forms, and initials. Numerous erasures, corrections, and incomplete pieces contribute to the impression that these were working copies of music utilized in busy musical institutions. The multiplicity of papers, rulings, and scripts in BL and Ox, particularly,

indicates that their copying took place over considerable periods of time, and that they grew by accretion as new pieces became available to their scribes.

Recent scholarship has used disjunctures of papers, rulings, and script types in these manuscripts to reveal layers of activity in their compilation. The identification of such stages in the sources of Arnold's Mass music enables us to determine more exactly when his work reached the scribes of these sources. With knowledge of the proximity of the sources to the place and time of Arnold's activity in Italy, we are in a better position to evaluate their relevance to the transmission of his music.

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (BL)

Besseler was the first to recognize separate stages in the compilation of BL. He distinguished between a Korpus, composed of folios bearing initials, and a Nachtrag, characterized by the absence of initials.¹⁷ Bent, however, has demonstrated that the copying of BL was far more complex. She has identified three stages in the BL compilation, the first two corresponding to Besseler's Korpus, the third to the Nachtrag.¹⁸ She has also overturned the view that at least three scribes participated in the copying of BL.¹⁹ Her analysis of gradual changes in the form of certain letters and notational symbols demonstrates that, except for one later addition, BL is the work of a single scribe.

The basis for Bent's division of the compilation into three stages is the high correlation among paper type, manner of page preparation, script stage, and treatment of initials (see Table 2.2). The most dramatic contrast between the three phases lies in the initials. While folios of stage I paper with stage I ruling bear red or

TABLE 2.2.
PHYSICAL EVIDENCE FOR STAGES IN THE BL COMPILATION

Stage	Paper (Bent No.)	Staves/ Page	Rastrum	Script Stage	Initials
I	I-A, I-B	8	16 mm	I	Painted
II	II-A, II-B	9	13 mm	II	Painted Calligraphic Paste-on
III	III-A, III-B	8	14.8 mm	III	None

blue initials, most of stage II is distinguished by initials cut from discarded folios and glued to the page. The scribe used no initials at all during the final stage of activity. Bent has proposed that the copying of stage I lasted from 1420 or before to ca. 1425. She dates the second stage of the compilation from ca. 1428 to 1433 and the final phase from 1433 to 1435 or later.

Table 2.3 illustrates the distribution of Arnold's works among the three stages of BL. Most of his compositions occur in stage I: four movements of the Arnold/Ciconia composite Mass, two Gloria/Credo pairs, and five songs (three with conflicting attributions to Hugo). Four of the songs are late stage I additions in the Mass section, the fifth a late stage I addition to the motet section. These works, none of which use cut signatures, were all copied between approximately 1420 and 1425.

Stage II contains the complete Missa Verbum incarnatum and two Song of Songs settings. The last four movements of Arnold's Mass and Tota pulcra es are among the few compositions in stage II bearing integral red and blue initials. (The Kyrie of the Mass has a paste-on initial at

TABLE 2.3.
DISTRIBUTION OF ARNOLD'S WORKS IN BL

BL No.	Gathering	Title	Paper/ Parchment (Bent No.)	Staves/ Page	Rastrum
<u>STAGE I</u>					
2	1	Salve sancta parens	P	8	16 mm
3	1	Kyrie	P/I-A	8	16 mm
6	1	Sanctus	I-A	8	16 mm
7	1	Agnus dei	I-A	8	16 mm
38	4	Et in terra	P	8	16 mm
39	4	Patrem	P/I-A	8	16 mm
47	5	Et in terra	I-A	8	16 mm
48	5	Patrem	I-A	8	16 mm
<u>LATE STAGE I</u>					
28	3	Helas e my madame*	I-A	8	16 mm
37	4	Ung seul confort*	I-A	8	16 mm
40	4	Chanter ne scay*	I-A	8	16 mm
49	5	Mon doulx espoir*	I-A	8	16 mm
241	24	Or voy je bien*	I-A	8	16 mm
<u>STAGE II</u>					
90	10	Et in terra	II-A	9	13 mm
91	10	Patrem	II-A	9	13 mm
138	15	Kyrie (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	II-A/P	9	13 mm
139	15	Et in terra (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	P	9	13 mm
140	15	Patrem (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	P/II-A	9	13 mm
141	15	Sanctus (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	II-A	9	13 mm
142	15	Agnus dei (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	II-A	9	13 mm
178	19	O pulcherrima	P/II-A	9	13 mm
202	21	Tota pulcra es	II-B	9	13 mm
<u>STAGE III</u>					
287	27	In tua memoria*	III-A†	9†	13 mm†

*Addition on unused staves at bottom of folio.

†Stage II ruling on stage II paper with stage III script.

the beginning of the cantus voice.) Thus they were copied quite early in stage II, probably earlier than Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi, which uses calligraphic initials. The initials for Arnold's Mass and Tota pulcra es have pinkish-grey trim that differs from the embellishments for stage I initials. Initials with trim of this color appear in only two places in BL, on fols. 150v-154 of gathering 15 for the final four movements of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, and on fols. 210-218v of gathering 21, containing Tota pulcra es and three pieces by Lymburgia.

Also contained in stage II is a third Gloria/Credo pair attributed to Arnold. But while these movements appear on stage II paper with stage II ruling and script, Bent has established that they were once included in the first stage of the compilation. One of the most fascinating aspects of her work on BL is the discovery that on the backs of the recycled initials pasted onto stage II compositions are bits of music in the first stage of the BL scribe's hand. Two of the fragments on the backs of initials correspond to BL 90 and 91, which the scribe therefore recopied during stage II. According to Bent they were not adjacent in the original compilation, thus the recopying may have resulted from the scribe's desire to present the related movements together.²¹

By stage III the BL scribe had access to, or interest in, only one composition by Arnold. This is the lauda, In tua memoria, added in stage III script below Lymburgia's O baptista mirabilis, which appears in late stage II script on stage III paper with stage II ruling. The latest datable piece in BL, Dufay's Supremum est mortalibus of 1433, appears on stage II folios with stage II ruling but was copied in a script intermediary between stages II and

III. Thus Arnold's lauda must have reached the BL scribe after the composer's death in Rome in 1432.

Recent scholarship has refined the issues regarding the provenance, as well as the dating, of BL. Although scholars since Ambros have assumed that the manuscript was copied in Piacenza because it was discovered there in 1857,²² it now appears to have originated in the Veneto. Suzanne Clercx was the first to challenge the assumption that BL was copied in Piacenza, arguing instead that it came from Padua.²³ Cox offered a more extensive discussion of BL's place of origin based on texts of motets preserved in it, persons and places for whom these motets were composed, and the biographies of some of the composers represented in the manuscript.²⁴ In light of this evidence, origins in the Veneto seem certain, with three cities as contenders--Venice and two of its satellites, Padua and Vicenza.

Evidence in favor of Venetian origins begins with the presence of four motets honoring a Doge composed by Ciconia (BL 257 and 243), Antonius Romanus (BL 206), and Cristoforus de Monte (BL 215). Venetian records refer to Romanus as "magister cantus" at San Marco in 1420 and as "cantor di S. Marci" in 1425.²⁵ Six of Romanus' seven surviving works appear in BL, five of them uniquely. His Aurea flamigeri (BL 219) presumably celebrates a visit to Venice by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga. Lymburgia's Congruit mortalibus plurima (BL 187) honors Giovanni Contarini, Patriarch of Venice from 1409 to 1451. Finally, Eugenius IV, descended from a prominent Venetian family, was the dedicatee of two motets in BL, Dufay's Balsamus et munda/T. Isti sunt agni (BL 169) and Supremum est mortalibus (BL 168).

The number of pieces connected with Clercx's candidate, Padua, is undoubtedly magnified by the prominence given to Ciconia in the collection. Ten of Ciconia's twelve surviving motets appear in BL, seven of them uniquely.²⁶ Six of these motets concern Padua and her rulers, both secular and ecclesiastical, while one reflects the city's submission to Venice following the downfall of the Carraras in 1405. Ciconia served as cantor and custos at Santa Giustina in Padua from ca. 1400 until his death in 1412.²⁷ Another BL composer connected with Padua is Christoforus de Monte, who resided at St. Prosdocime in Padua from 1402 until his death in 1426.²⁸ De Monte is known to us from two motets in BL and a Credo partially preserved in MÜL.

Connections with Vicenza are suggested by the presence of one work by Mattheus de Brixia, another composer known only from BL. Mattheus was a canon of Vicenza Cathedral from 1412 to 1419.²⁹ But the most prominent link between BL and Vicenza is the presence of 46 pieces of Johannes de Lymburgia, a composer almost unknown elsewhere, in the second and third layers of the compilation. Lymburgia served at Vicenza in 1431 and may have remained there as late as 1436. We find him back in the north as a canon at Huy by 1436.³⁰ His motet Martires dei inclite Leonci et Carpophore (BL 186) honors the patron saints of Vicenza. A further link with Vicenza is suggested by Feragut's Excelsa civitas Vicencia (BL 271).³¹

Further research may finally identify the institution for which BL was copied. In the meantime, it is clear that the copying took place in the Veneto during the years that Arnold was active in northern Italy. In fact, he was in Venice in 1428 according to the Ox scribe. Thus the copies of compositions by Arnold preserved in BL were not far

removed in time and place from the versions that originated with the composer.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Misc. 213 (Ox)

In his 1898 introduction to Dufay and His Contemporaries, E.W. Nicholson established that Ox consisted of two chronologically distinct sections: fols. 1-80 (gatherings 1-4) and fols. 81-140 (gatherings 5-10).³² Besseler noted that Part II contained an earlier repertory than Part I and must have been copied earlier, a thesis expanded further by Reaney.³³ Further refinement of the order of compilation emerged in Schoop's 1971 study of the manuscript's evolution. On the basis of minute changes in the Ox scribe's handwriting and calligraphic initials, Schoop identified five stages in the copying of Ox:³⁴

- I. the continuous copying of gatherings 5 to 7;
- II. the contemporaneous origins of gatherings 8 and 10;
- III. the copying of gatherings 9 and 2;
- IV. the copying of gatherings 3 and 4; and
- V. the addition of gathering 1 and the index.

Schoop's chronology of copying, which relied on a detailed analysis of script, initials, and ink color, established the basis for a remarkably detailed account of the order in which individual pieces were copied. But while his study was published in 1971, one gets the feeling that much of this information has not been fully absorbed into the musicological literature, perhaps because the results of his analysis do not appear in easily assimilated form.³⁵ Table 2.4 simplifies the evidence for stages of activity in the Ox compilation by correlating the most obvious elements--paper type, number of staves per folio, and rastrum size--with the stages revealed by Schoop's script analysis. In considering the physical evidence for

TABLE 2.4.
PHYSICAL EVIDENCE FOR STAGES IN THE OX COMPILATION

Stage	Gatherings	Paper (Schoop No.)	Staves/Page	Rastrum
I	5	1a	8	13 mm
	6-7	1b*	10	13 mm
II	8	1b, 1c*	12	13 mm
	10	2d	12	13 mm
III	9	2c, [2e], 7**	12	13 mm
	2	2a	10	13 mm
		2a	9	12 mm
IV	3	2b	10	12.5 mm†
		3	11, 12	14 mm
	2	6	11	14 mm
		4	10	16 mm
	3-4	4	10	16 mm
V	1	4	10	16 mm
	Index	5	--	--

*Contrary to the table of paper types given in *Entstehung*, p. 31, gathering 7 contains only one paper from a pair of Anvil molds (1b); gathering 8 contains papers from two sets of Anvil molds (1b and 1c).

**Watermark 2b, which occurs in gatherings 3 and 9 according to Schoop's table, is actually two paper types from two sets of Three Mountains Surmounted by Cross molds. Thus gatherings 3 and 9 do not share a paper type. This table refers to the Three Mountains paper found only in gathering 9 as [2e].

†Probably the 12-mm rastrum used at a later time.

when Arnold's compositions were copied into Ox, it is important to remember that paper type and page preparation show the stage at which the gathering originated, while script and initials may indicate that the piece in question was added to the gathering at a later time.

Graeme Boone has confirmed Schoop's findings and further refined the chronology of copying in his recent dissertation on the Dufay songs contained in Ox. Boone concluded that the copying of Ox lasted from 1426 or slightly before until 1436 or slightly later.³⁶ Much of the evidence for this lies in the dates assigned to nine compositions by the Ox scribe (see Table 2.5). By relating

TABLE 2.5.
PIECES ASSIGNED DATES OR PLACE NAMES BY THE OX SCRIBE

Ox No.	Gathering	Title	Attributions, dates, and place names
8	1	Inclita persplendens	1422 . Fr Ant de civitato conposuit ad honorem sce kterine
275	8	Strenua quem duxit/ Gaudeat et tanti	Frater Antonius (on verso) De civitato ordig pdto 1423 zugno di 8 (on recto)
280	8	De tristresse de dueil	Gualtier (at top of folio) 1423 (at end of added verse)
21	2	Je me complains	Guillermus dufay . 1425 adi 12 lujo
245	7	Patrem omnipotentem	legrant guillaume 1426
324	10	Adieu ces bons vins	.G. du 8-4 y (above eighth stave) 1426 (at end of added verse)
307	9	Se ne prenes	Arnoldus de 8-4 (at end of eighth stave) 1428 mensis marcij composita fuit veneciis (sideways in left margin)
311	9	Quant je mire	Arnoldus de lantis composuit 1428 mensis marcij veneciis
14	1	Et exultavit spiritus meus	Pbr Johannes de quattris 1436 mensis maij veneciis
156	4	Quel fronte signorille	Guillermus du Eby Rome conposuit

these pieces and other datable compositions to the gatherings in which they appear, Boone produced the following approximate dates for the copying of each gathering:³⁷

Gathering 5	1426	[Stage I]
Gathering 6	1426-1427	
Gathering 7	1427-1428	
Gathering 8	1428-1429	[Stage II]
Gathering 10	1429-1430	
Gathering 2a	1430-1431	[Stage III]
Gathering 9	1431-1432	
Gathering 3, 2b	1432-1434	[Stage IV]
Gathering 4	1434-1436	
Gathering 1	1436	[Stage V]

Having determined the approximate dates of copying of each of the five layers, we can posit when works of Arnold de Lantins reached the Ox scribe. Table 2.6 shows that his compositions occur only in stage IV of the compilation (sometimes as later additions to stage III folios), which Boone dates from ca. 1432 to ca. 1436. Thus the transmission of Arnold's compositions that survive in Ox appear to have taken place from around the time of his admission to the papal chapel in 1431 until a few years after his death in 1432.

Reaney proposed that Ox was copied in Venice, an assertion that has received general acceptance in the musical literature. In support of this view, Reaney cited elements of Venetian dialect in the texts, the presence of six lauda settings, which were particularly popular in Venice, and the fact that a number of compositions in the Ox repertory are concerned with Venice and its

TABLE 2.6.
DISTRIBUTION OF ARNOLD'S WORKS IN OX

Ox No.	Gathering	Title	Paper (Schoop No.)	Staves/ Page	Rastrum
<u>STAGE IV</u>					
307	9	Se ne prenes*	[2e]	12"	13 mm
311	9	Quant je mire*	[2e]	12	13 mm
52	2	Chanter ne scay	2a	11	12 mm
64	3	Se ne prenes*	2b	10	12.5 mm
71	3	Certes, belle*	2b	10	12.5 mm
108	3	Amour servir*	2b	10	12.5 mm
109	3	In tua memoria	2b	10	12.5 mm
110	3	Puisque je voy*	2b	10	12.5 mm
111	3	Tout mon desir	2b	10	12.5 mm
115	3	Puisque je suy	2b	10	12.5 mm
118	3	Esclave a dueil	2b	10	12.5 mm
80	3	Tota pulcra es	3	12	14 mm
84	3	Ne me vueillies*	3	12	14 mm
105	3	Mon doulx espoir	4	10	16 mm
132	4	Kyrie (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	4	10	16 mm
133	4	Et in terra (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	4	10	16 mm
134	4	Patrem (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	4	10	16 mm
138	4	Sans desplaisir	4	10	16 mm
142	4	Agnus dei (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	4	10	16 mm
149	4	Sanctus (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	4	10	16 mm
155	4	Ce iour de l'an	4	10	16 mm
175	4	Las pouray*	4	10	16 mm
178	4	O pulcherrima	4	10	16 mm

*Addition on unused staves at bottom of folio.

satellites.³⁸ Pieces in the Ox repertory with connections to the Veneto include two Ciconia motets honoring persons in Padua (Ox 33 and 277), Feragut's motet in honor of a bishop in Vicenza (Ox 271), and Dufay's Resveilles vous for

the marriage of Carlo Malatesta to Vittoria Colonna, niece of the Venetian pope, Martin V (Ox 271). It also contains a motet by Bartolomeo Brollo honoring Doge Francesco Foscari (Ox 150).

Ox thus contains fewer pieces with tangible links to the Veneto than BL, probably due to the contrast between the repertoires of the two manuscripts. The BL scribe was particularly interested in accumulating celebratory motets, even ones long out of fashion at the time of copying. While the Ox scribe collected a much smaller number of this kind of work, five of those he did include have associations with the Veneto. The only other cities associated with pieces in the Ox repertory are Rimini and Ferrara.³⁹

Additional evidence for Venetian provenance is the fact that the manuscript once belonged to the collection of the Venetian canon, Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1806). It now appears to have been in Venice at a still earlier date. John B. Mitchell, a former librarian at the Bodleian Library, studied the binding materials of Bodleian manuscripts from Canonici's library and determined that many of Canonici's acquisitions came from the libraries of two earlier Venetian collectors, Bernardo Trevisan (1652-1720) and Jacopo Soranzo (1686-1761).⁴⁰ By comparing the Bodleian manuscripts to Soranzo's inventory, Mitchell was able to identify at least 868 Canonici manuscripts that once belonged to Soranzo. Although his article in Bodleian Library Record makes no mention of Ox, the Bodleian possesses his handwritten catalogue of the Canonici manuscripts in which he recorded evidence for derivation from the earlier collections. On the card for Canon. Misc. 213 he first wrote "(Perhaps Soranzo's)." Later he crossed out "Perhaps" and wrote "Certainly" above it.⁴¹

Of course the presence of Ox in two eighteenth-century Venetian libraries is not proof of Venetian origin, any more than the discovery of BL in a house in Piacenza points to origins there. In the case of Ox, however, there are other connections with the earliest known resting place. Among the ten pieces for which the Ox scribe recorded a date or place, four refer to a place (Table 2.5). Rome is mentioned once (for Dufay's Quel fronte signorille, which has no date) while Venice is cited three times (the de Quadris Magnificat and Arnold's Se ne prenes and Quant ie mire, all three with dates). Moreover, the three entries concerned with Venice each use the words "conposuit" or "conposita fuit."⁴² It is possible that the pieces for which the scribe gave the most information were ones with which he was particularly well acquainted.

A final factor in establishing the provenence of Ox is the background of the composers represented in it. Antonius Romanus, as already mentioned, was active in Venice in the 1420s. Recent discoveries by Cattin link Johannes de Quadris, the composer of the Magnificat dated 1436 in Ox, with the Veneto.⁴³ Bartholomeo Brollo, who has several pieces in gatherings 3 and 4, is referred to as "Bartholemeus de bruollis venetus" in Tr 90 (fol. 406v).⁴⁴

Although the evidence is not entirely conclusive, Reaney's view that Ox was copied in Venice is highly plausible. If not compiled in Venice itself, it must have originated in one of the cities under Venetian control. If Ox was compiled in Venice, one wonders why it contains only one piece by Romanus. It remains curious, moreover, that the presumably Venetian scribe who asserted that Arnold composed two pieces in Venice in March 1428 did not copy any works by Arnold into his collection before ca. 1432 or 1433.⁴⁵

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 (BU)

Gallo proposed the division of the BU compilation into two stages of activity by the principal scribe based on the presence of two paper types and changes in handwriting.⁴⁶ These two stages were followed by later entries by various scribes on folios left blank by the first scribe. Further support for the presence of two distinct stages in the original compilation lies in the page preparation. Although the scribe ruled 10 staves per folio throughout the manuscript, staves on stage I paper were drawn with a double rastrum whose staves measured 18 and 16 mm, respectively. A different double rastrum measuring 17 and 16 mm was used on stage II paper (see Table 2.7). This combination of paper and ruling occurs only in gathering 6 and parts of the present gathering 8.

TABLE 2.7.
PHYSICAL EVIDENCE FOR STAGES IN THE BU COMPILATION

Stage	Gatherings	Paper (Gallo No.)	Staves/Page	Rastrum
I	1-5 7 (pp. 97-104)† 8 (pp. 109-114)†	A	10	18/16 mm
II	6 8 (pp. 105-108)†	B	10	17/16 mm

†Paper type of folios without watermark determined by chain-line measurements.

Evidence for dating the layers of BU begins with the origins of Paper B, which Gallo traced to the Brescian firm of Bartholomaeus de Scantio. This paper is similar to those of civil documents in Brescia dating from 1434 to 1445.⁴⁷ These are not, however, papers from identical pairs of molds; consequently, these dates are only approximate in relation to the dating of BU. Janet Palumbo, now engaged

in the first thorough codicological study of BU, believes that the first stage of activity by the main scribe lasted from ca. 1433 to 1438, the second from ca. 1438 to 1440.⁴⁸ Her dating of these two layers rests primarily on the datable pieces they contain. These range from before 1423 for the Romanus motet Ducalis sedes/Stirps Mocenigo (BU 58) to between 1438 and 1440 for the anonymous Viva viva San Marcho glorioso (BU 62).⁴⁹ Palumbo places the additions by later scribes at around 1457 due to the addition of chants for the Feast of the Transfiguration, which was promulgated in 1457.

The seven compositions by Arnold contained in BU were all copied during the first stage of the compilation (see Table 2.8). Some of these were, in fact, the earliest entries in the manuscript. The first two movements of the

TABLE 2.8.
DISTRIBUTION OF ARNOLD'S WORKS IN BU

BU No.	Gathering	Title	Paper (Gallo No.)	Staves/ Page	Rastrum
<u>STAGE I</u>					
5	1	Kyrie (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	A	10	18/16 mm
6	1	Et in terra (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	A	10	18/16 mm
29	3	Patrem (Missa Verbum incarnatum)	A	10	18/16 mm
37	3	Et in terra	A	10	18/16 mm
38	3-4	Patrem	A	10	18/16 mm
50	5	Tota pulcra es	A	10	18/16 mm
52	5	O pulcerrima mulierum	A	10	18/16 mm

Missa Verbum incarnatum were the first polyphonic pieces copied in the Kyrie/Gloria section. The only piece copied

into the second section before the Credo of Arnold's cycle was the Credo of Dufay's Missa Sine nomine. Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair BU 37/38 was one of the first entries to disturb the original organizational plan of BU. It is the only adjacently copied Gloria/Credo pair in the codex, and shows that at this point the scribe's concern to preserve the pairing overrode his desire to maintain strict boundaries between sections.

The two Marian motets by Arnold were the second and third works copied into the first gathering of the motet section. Only Dufay's Alma redemptoris mater preceded them. Thus in the second and third sections of the collation, the first work copied was by Dufay, followed immediately by works of Arnold. It now appears that when the copyist of BU began planning and copying his collection, he had in hand a Marian plainsong cycle, the first three movements of Arnold's Mass, the Credo of Dufay's first complete Mass, a Marian motet by Dufay, and two Marian motets by Arnold. These are the works around which he planned his manuscript, having decided even before copying began which works would receive initials at the outset of the first three sections. Only later did he fill in with works by lesser-known composers.

Just as musicologists assumed that BL originated in Piacenza because it was found there in the eighteenth century, they concluded that BU came from Brescia, where it was discovered during the same century. Padre Martini indicated that the manuscript came to the library of San Salvatore in Bologna from Brescia. His index of compositions in BU begins with the following words:

In un Ms. cartaceo Bressiano appresso il P[adre]
 Rev[erendissi]mo Trombelli, Gen[erale] de[i]
 Canon[ici] Regolare di S[an] Salvatore si con-
 tengono le seguenti compos[izio]ni . . .

Gallo inferred from this that Trombelli, the abbot of San Salvatore, located the manuscript in Brescia during his search for ancient liturgical manuscripts.⁵⁰ But unlike BL, for which there is no evidence of a connection with Piacenza other than the fact that it was discovered there, BU is linked to the city where it was found by further factors. First, as we have just noted, Gallo's paper type A comes from a Brescian mill and is found only in documents from that city. Gallo also pointed to the presence of a French song (BU 78) attributed to Prepositi Brixienensis, a composer presumably from Brescia. Finally, the anonymous ballata, Viva viva San Marcho glorioso (BU 62), celebrates a victory for the city of Brescia.

According to Gallo the initial phase of the BU compilation took place in the Veneto, if not in Brescia itself. The chief evidence for this is the presence of two motets associated with Venice: Antonius Romanus' Ducalis sedes/Stirps Mocenigo (BU 58) in honor of Tommaso Mocenigo, Doge from 1414 to 1423 (with the name of the Doge replaced by the letter N), and the Hugo de Lantins motet Cristus vincit (BU 44) honoring Francesco Foscari, Doge from 1423 to 1457.

As in BL and Ox, we find in BU works by composers associated with the Veneto. Antonius Romanus, documented at San Marco in 1420 and 1425, has one motet in BU. Prepositus Brixienensis, a composer from Brescia who appears in Paduan cathedral records from 1411 to 1425, also has one piece in BU. The attribution of the Gloria BU 16 to

Nicolaus de Capoa, who wrote the treatise Compendium musicale in 1415 and served as maestro di capella in Udine in 1432 and 1434, may be erroneous.⁵¹ Two composers whose names appear only in BU are Afat and Do. Vala. Since their names are not known from any other musical source or archival document, it has been assumed that they were local composers working in the area where BU originated.⁵²

Here again a scribe active at a musical establishment in the Veneto copied a significant number of Arnold's works. The entry of his compositions took place between ca. 1433 and 1438, showing that the transmission of his music continued in the Veneto during the years immediately following his death.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 3224 (MÜL)

According to the Census-Catalogue of Renaissance Manuscripts, the manuscript from which the MÜL folios derived was copied in Italy ca. 1440 to 1445.⁵³ This is probably correct. Although the surviving leaves feature red-line staves, red rather than void coloration, and flagged rather than void semiminims (conservative features shared by BU), several of the pieces have cut signatures as initial mensurations and fauxbourdon designations. Dufay's Juvenis qui puellam provides a terminus post quem of 1438 for the fragment. According to Trumble, the text of the Latin cantilena constitutes an allegorical comparison of the council of Basle (begun in 1431) and the Council of Ferrarra (begun in 1438).⁵⁴ The conservative notational features already mentioned would place the copying not much later than 1445. In any case, this appears to be the latest source containing music by Arnold de Lantins.

The manuscript from which the MÜL leaves were removed was another product of the area around Venice. The script is that of an Italian scribe. The fragment contains compositions by Cristoforus de Feltro, who was recorded in Padua from ca. 1402 to 1426 and whose works otherwise appear only in BL, and Bartholomeus de Bruolo "Venetus," known mostly from his works in Ox. But the most conclusive evidence for Venetian provenance is provided by the new leaves. Hell reports that the text of Post angelicam adlocutionem, possibly a contrafact of a ballade, corresponds to an antiphon for the Canticle of Zacharias for the Feast of St. Mark found in a 1420 breviary from Como.⁵⁵ The text, moreover, contains the motto of Venice, "Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus." Finally, a pencil note on p. 11 shows that the leaves came from the binding of an incanabulum printed by Arrivabeni in Venice in 1493. (The boards from the binding of this print, a collection of decretals still housed in the Bavarian Staatsbibliothek, contain the reverse impression of the MÜL leaves.) Once again, then, the transmission of Arnold's music was concentrated in the Veneto, in this case in the decade following his death.

THE ORGANIZATION OF MUSIC FOR THE MASS ORDINARY

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (BL)

BL is of central importance to this study not only because it contains all of Arnold's Ordinary settings. As the largest repository of Mass music from the early Quattrocento, it provides us with a context in which we can study his contributions to this genre. Of particular interest is the way in which the scribe organized the Ordinary settings in his collection. While scribes of earlier polyphonic manuscripts arranged Ordinary movements in the same way as in most chant manuscripts, that is, all

Kyries together, all Glorias together, etc.,⁵⁶ the BL scribe was the first to present related Ordinary sections adjacently on a systematic basis. The first eight gatherings of the Mass section, assembled during stage I, begin with the Arnold de Lantins/Ciconia composite cycle (BL 2-7), Dufay's Missa Sine nomine (BL 9-10, 12, 14-15), a composite Mass combining movements by Dufay and Zacar (BL 16-19, 21), and an English composite cycle (without Kyrie) with movements attributed to Gervasius de Anglia, Dunstable, and Benet (BL 23-26). Following these four cycles is a succession of 21 Gloria/Credo pairs, some with members attributed to different composers, i.e., Baudet Cordier/G. Velut, Hugo de Lantins/G. Dufay, D. Luca/Feragut, Tomas Fabri/Tapisier. Some of the pairs with attributions to different composers appear to be compositionally related (i.e., they share the same clefs, finals, and mensurations to such an extent that they appear to have been composed for performance on the same occasion), while others do not. An example of a compositional pair is BL 43/44, whose Gloria is attributed to "Tomas Fabri scholaris tapisier" and Credo to Tapissier.⁵⁷ In this case the student seems to have written a Gloria to "go with" the Credo already composed by his teacher. In other cases, such as BL 30/31, attributed to Baudet Cordier and G. Velut, the two movements have few common features, leading us to the conclusion that they were copied adjacently on the initiative of the BL scribe. We will refer to such pairs as "scribal pairs" rather than "compositional pairs."

Further evidence of the BL scribe's keen interest in presenting Ordinary movements as pairs and cycles, whether or not they were intended as such by their composers, is the fact that he removed folios on which he had already copied music and substituted others in order to present

certain movements adjacently. This sometimes required the refoliation of folios the scribe had already numbered.

Most of the Ordinary settings in BL appear in the first eight gatherings copied during stage I. A smaller but important collection of Mass pieces entered the repertory during stage II, including Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum and Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi. Stage III is the least concerned with settings of the Mass Ordinary. Towards the end of the compilation the scribe was concerned, instead, with polyphonic hymns, sequences, and Magnificat settings.

An interesting result of viewing the Ordinary settings in the order of their entry into the compilation is the fact that settings by certain composers are associated with certain stages in the compilation. Table 2.9 lists inventory numbers of Ordinary settings by composer for each of the three stages. From this we learn that stage I has a high concentration of works by Arnold de Lantins, Ciconia, Dufay, and Zacar. Interestingly enough, works of the four composers most represented in the stage I Mass section appear at the very outset of that section, suggesting that the scribe did not add pairs by lesser composers until he had copied everything he had on hand of the major figures of his day. (The first appearance of a work by a composer outside these four is BL 20, a Sanctus by Loqueville added towards the end of gathering 2.)

Next, we observe that Ordinary settings by some composers--Grossin, Lymburgia, and Binchois--did not enter the repertory until stage II. Finally, Ordinary settings by Brassart did not reach the BL scribe until stage III. Only Dufay is represented by Ordinary settings in all three stages of the compilation.

TABLE 2.9.
COMPOSERS OF BL MASS MUSIC BY STAGE IN COMPILATION

Composer	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
Arnold de Lantins	2/3, 6/7, 38/39, 47/48	90/91, 138-142	--
Johannes Ciconia	4/5, 71/73, 74, 149/150	--	--
Guillaume Dufay	9/10/12/14/15, 16/19/21, 33/34, 36, 145, 151-153	111-119, 123, 155	96, 98, 99, 100, 104/105, 106, 107/108, 136, 137, 157
Antonius Zacar	17/18, 56/57, 58/59, 69/70	84, 143, 144	--
Richard Loqueville	20, 52, 61/62	--	--
Gervasius de anglia	23	--	--
Johannes Dunstable	24	--	--
John Benet	25/26	--	--
Antonius Romanus	27/29	76	--
Baude Cordier	30	--	--
Gilet Velut	31	87/88	--
Hugo de Lantins	35 (Dufay?), 67/68	--	--
D. Luca	41	--	--
Beltrame Feragut	42, 45/46	--	--
Tomas Fabri	43	--	--
Johannes Tapisier	44	--	--
Guillaume Legrant	50/51	--	--
Lovanio	53	--	--
Hubertus de Salinis	54/55, 63/64	--	--
Bosquet	60	--	--
Anthonus de Civitato	65/66	--	--
(Cameraco-Str)	75	--	--
Anonymous	146	--	--
N. Natalis	154	--	--

TABLE 2.9. Continued.

Composer	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
(Brassart-BL index)/ (Jo LeGrant-Ao)	--	1 (=80)	80 (=1) with Alius CT)
Estienne Grossin	--	85	78, 79
De Anglia	--	86	--
Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco	--	92/93, 122/124	--
Johannes de Lymburgia	--	94/95, 126, 127- 131, 132/133, 158/159, 160/161	101
Gilles Binchois	--	120/121	97, 156
Johannes Reson	--	125	--
N. Zacarie	--	134	--
Anglicanum/ (Jo. Bodoil-Tr92)	--	148	--
Anonymous	--	--	81/82
(Zacar-BL index)/ (Nicolaus de Capoa-BU)/ (Bosquet-MÜO)	--	--	83
Johannes Brassart	--	--	102/103

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Misc. 213 (Ox)

The Ox scribe was less concerned with music for the Mass Ordinary than the scribe of BL. The oldest gatherings of the manuscript contain only a sprinkling of Ordinary movements--two Glorias by Ciconia and a Gloria/Credo pair by Guillaume Legrant in gathering 7 (Ox 240, 242, and 244/245), a Credo attributed to Chierisy in gathering 8 (Ox 264), and a Gloria/Credo pair by Bartolomeo da Bononia in gathering 10 (Ox 317/319). As shown in Table 2.10, these Ordinary settings entered the collection during the first and second stages of the compilation. Stage III contains no music for the Mass Ordinary.

TABLE 2.10.
COMPOSERS OF OX MASS MUSIC BY STAGE IN COMPILATION

Composer	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV	Stage V
Johannes Ciconia	240,242	--	--	--	--
Guillaume Legrant	244/245	--	--	--	--
Chierisy	--	264	--	--	--
Bartholomeus de Bononia	--	317/319	--	--	--
Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco	--	--	--	122,160	--
Hugo de Lantins	--	--	--	123,124,128	--
Guillaume Dufay	--	--	--	126	--
Arnold de Lantins	--	--	--	132/133/134, 142,149	--
Richard Loqueville	--	--	--	143	--
Gilles Binchois	--	--	--	--	1/2

Only in gathering 4, copied during the fourth stage of the compilation, do we find a significant number of Mass movements. These are concentrated at the outset of the gathering: a series of five Gloria settings attributed to Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco, Hugo de Lantins, and Dufay (Ox 122-124, 126, and 128), and a folio later, the first three movements of Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum (Ox 132-134). The Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass appear to have reached the scribe independently of one another somewhat later. The Agnus (Ox 142), separated from the Credo by several intervening rondeaux, precedes the Sanctus (Ox 149). The Agnus and Sanctus are, moreover, separated by a Loqueville Gloria (Ox 143) and five secular pieces. The

final Ordinary movement in gathering 4 is a Credo by Johannes Franchois de Gemblaco (Ox 16C), copied after the addition of further secular compositions.

The last Ordinary movements to enter the Ox repertory were a Gloria/Credo pair by Binchois (Ox 1/2) which the scribe copied at the outset of gathering 1 before appending Ox II to Ox I and preparing the index. Music for the Mass Ordinary appears to have attained greater importance at this point since he chose to place this pair at the beginning of the collection he had spent around ten years copying.

The presentation of Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum in gathering 4 is remarkable in several respects. First, the scribe began each of the first three movements on a recto rather than distributing them across the openings in normal choirbook fashion. He evidently received them in this form and didn't take the trouble to adjust them to a more logical format. Next, the placement of the Sanctus and Agnus indicates that the scribe did not have all members of the cycle on hand when he began copying. In fact, the final two movements were not the only later additions; it now seems that the Credo may have been entered sometime after the Kyrie and Gloria. Schoop's script chronology and Boone's amplification of its implications have shown that the Credo differs from the first two movements in several respects:⁵⁸

It begins with an indentation of the first stave for the initial P, which may indicate that the folio on which it begins once marked the beginning of a separate gathering.

The form of the initial C found in the Credo has a downstroke that is not present in those of the Kyrie and Gloria but becomes increasingly prevalent in the remainder of the gathering.

The voice designations begin with more decorated initials (although two tenor designations in the Kyrie already had outward radiating rays, another trait that became common later in the gathering.

Most interesting is Boone's observation that the scribe entered songs and Ordinary settings by Arnold into gatherings 3 (fols. 38v-39 and 52v) and 4 (fols. 63-64v) after copying a similar group of works by Hugo into these gatherings.⁵⁹ Although the scribe inserted at least one bifolio into the gathering at a later point in time (bifolio 62/75) and may have done so with the bifolios containing the Credo of Arnold's cycle,⁶⁰ he made no attempt to rearrange the folios of gathering 4 in a manner that would present the five movements adjacently and in order.

The scribe of Ox lacked the zeal of the BL scribe for rearranging gatherings in order to present related Ordinary movements adjacently. The pairs by Binchois (Ox 1/2), Guillaume le Grant (Ox 244/245), and Bartolomeo da Bononia (Ox 317/319) were undoubtedly copied adjacently because the scribe received them in that form. The Sanctus and Agnus of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, on the other hand, were separated from the first three movements of the Mass because they became available for copying at a slightly later time. Even more widely separated are the members of the compositionally related Gloria/Credo pair by Johannes Francoise (Ox 122/160), which are a manuscript pair in BL (BL 92/93).

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 (BU)

A particularly puzzling question concerning Arnold's Mass music is why BU, the latest of the three sources for Arnold's complete cycle, contains only the first three movements. An examination of the scribe's organization of the gatherings containing music for the Mass Ordinary provides us with a possible answer to this question.

It is clear that from the outset BU was intended as a practical source for liturgical use. The scribe devoted the first two sections of his manuscript to music for the Mass Ordinary, the third section to motets, antiphon settings, Song of Songs settings, and laude, and the final section to Italian and French secular songs. While many early fifteenth-century music scribes left the outer leaves of gatherings blank until late in the redaction to allow flexibility in rearranging gatherings, the BU scribe began copying on the first recto of the first gathering, already adorned by a large red initial. This recto contains four chants for the celebration of the Mass--the Introit Gaudeamus omnes for the Assumption of the Virgin, Kyrie IV, and the Sanctus and Agnus from Mass XVII for the BVM.⁶¹ The absence of a Gloria and Credo from this plainsong Marian cycle is complemented by the low number of Sanctus and Agnus settings in the polyphonic repertory of BU. While BU contains ten Gloria settings, seven Kyrie settings, and seven Credo settings, it includes only five settings of the Sanctus and two of the Agnus. On this basis we may speculate that the BU scribe was a musician at an institution that normally reserved polyphony for the Gloria and Credo, and sometimes the Kyrie, while singing the remaining movements of the Ordinary monophonically or in simple polyphony on most occasions. This was probably the situation across much of Europe in the early fifteenth

century. Thus the BU scribe might have omitted the final two movements of Arnold's cycle even if they were available to him.

Unlike the BL scribe, who was so eager to present Ordinary movements as pairs and cycles that he recopied parts of pieces and reorganized gatherings to achieve the consecutive ordering of adjacent Ordinary movements, the copyist of BU indicated little interest in the relatively new phenomenon of Gloria/Credo pairs and Ordinary cycles. While the BL scribe joined adjacent movements whether or not they were musically related, the BU scribe broke up larger units in order to copy each movement into the appropriate section. He separated the Credo of Arnold's Mass from the first two movements, the Credo of Dufay's Missa Sine nomine from the Kyrie, and the final three movements of the Reson Mass from the Kyrie and Gloria. The Reson Mass, a work unknown from any other source, is the only complete cycle in BU.

In several cases only one member of two movements paired in other sources survives in BU. These include the Zacar Gloria "Micinella" but not the corresponding Patrem "Cursor" (BL 17/18), the Gloria attributed in BU to Nicolaus da Capoa but not the Zacar Credo "Du Village" (BL 83/84), and Dufay's Credo with the Amen trope Dic Maria in BL but not the corresponding Gloria with the Amen trope Resurrexit dominus (BL 33/34). We have yet to determine whether the scribe had access only to individual movements of these pieces or whether his exemplars contained both members of these pairs but he picked and chose among them. We could hypothesize that the institution for which he worked had little use for paired movements, or found two movements using the same clefs, tonal organization, and

motivic material too repetitious and preferred to use musically unrelated movements for feasts calling for polyphonic singing of the Mass Ordinary.

BU does contain one Gloria/Credo pair whose movements are copied consecutively--Arnold's Gloria/Credo BU 37/38, which also appears as a pair in BL (BL 90/91). This pair, which appears towards the end of gathering 3 and continues on the first recto of gathering 4, follows the Agnus of the Reson Mass. By this time, then, the scribe had given up separating movements into their respective sections by placing Arnold's Gloria into the section originally reserved for Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus settings. The only other consecutively copied Gloria and Credo in BU are the Do. Vala Gloria (BU 18) and an anonymous Credo (BU 20) added to the second gathering during the second stage.⁶²

Most of the Ordinary settings in BU were copied during the first stage of the compilation. As shown in Table 2.11, the composers most represented are Arnold de Lantins and Johannes Reson, each with five movements, followed by Dufay with four settings and Feragut with two. The remaining composers are represented by only one setting. Of the 31 pieces in the BU Mass repertory, 15 are unica. Eleven of these are also anonymous, including the final four movements of the Reson Mass. This pattern suggests that the scribe began with works by composers of wide renown--Arnold de Lantins and Guillaume Dufay--and filled in his collection of Mass music with the works of lesser composers, many of whom were probably local.

TABLE 2.11.
COMPOSERS OF BU MASS MUSIC BY STAGE IN COMPILATION

Composer	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
Arnold de Lantins	5/6,29,37/38	--	--
Anonymous	7,8,12,51,60	15,20	--
[Antonius Zacar - BL]	9	--	--
Guillaume Dufay	28,40	10,64	--
Johannes Reson	11/13,31/33/35	--	--
Antonius de Cividale	--	14	--
Nicolaus de Capoa [Bosquet - MÜO]	--	16	--
Do. Vala	--	18	--
Beltrame Feragut	--	21,67	--
John Dunstable [Leonel - Tr 92]	--	22	--
[Estienne Grossin - BL]	--	24	--
Afat	--	26	--
Gilles Binchois	--	--	25

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS Mus. 3224 (MÜL)

Two of the mutilated leaves of MÜL retrieved from the bindings of printed books in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek provide limited evidence for how the scribe of the original manuscript organized music for the Mass Ordinary. The original fol. 29 contains the end of an unidentified Credo on the recto and the beginning of a Credo by Christoforus de Feltro on the recto. In this case the scribe copied one Credo after another rather than linking Gloria and Credo.

The Patrem of Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum, on the other hand, begins on the verso of a folio whose recto contains an Antonius de Civitato Gloria. This could signify that the MÜL scribe, like the BL scribe, sometimes copied Gloria and Credo movements adjacently even if they were not musically related. On the other hand, it might mean that the Gloria by Antonius marked the end of the Gloria section while the Credo section began with Arnold's setting. Support for the latter suggestion lies in the indentation of the first two staves for an initial that would have had more prominence than the initials that were entered on the surviving leaves. (BU provides two instances of new sections marked by painted initials beginning on the final verso of the previous gathering.)

Unfortunately, too few leaves remain to permit even a partial reconstruction of any gathering containing music for the Mass Ordinary.

* * *

Our knowledge of the music of Arnold de Lantins is almost entirely dependent upon the work of three scribes who were musicians active in the Veneto from the 1420s to the 1440s. Few musical autographs survive from this period and the documentation we do have for Arnold tells us only where he was employed in 1423 and 1431-32. In this chapter we have turned to the records left by the scribes who copied his music. We have seen that scribes working in or near Venice in the 1420s and 1430s devoted a significant proportion of their collections to Arnold's Ordinary settings and gave them particular emphasis by placement within the collections and treatment of initials. The first of Arnold's Ordinary settings to appear in the Veneto sources were the movements of his partial cycle and two

Gloria/Credo pairs copied into BL between approximately 1420 and 1425. The third Gloria/Credo pair, BL 90/91, copied into BL and BU in the early 1430s, was once included in the first stage of BL. The scribes of Ox and BL copied the complete Missa Verbum incarnatum sometime in the early or mid 1430s; the BU scribe copied the first three movements of the Mass at about the same time. Finally, the fragmentary leaves of MÜL show that the transmission of at least the Credo of Arnold's Mass continued into the 1440s.

The discussions of Arnold's Ordinary settings in the following two chapters remain inextricably linked with attention to the scribes who copied them. The decisions of these musicians working centuries ago to record a fluid performance tradition (where voice parts were freely added, subtracted, or embellished), have profoundly influenced our perception of the music they copied. Their impact on the transmission of Arnold's music for the Mass Ordinary plays a vital role in the story of Arnold de Lantins and the development of the cyclic Mass.

CHAPTER 3

ARNOLD'S SETTINGS OF THE MASS ORDINARY

Arnold de Lantins was not only one of the first continental composers to write a complete, musically-unified setting of the Mass Ordinary; he was also one of the few who composed paired movements, partial cycles, and complete five-movement cycles. The only other composers from whom we have examples of these three aspects of the Mass cycle's early development are Guillaume Dufay and Johannes de Lymburgia. Arnold's Ordinary settings, which appear to have been composed over a time period extending from the early 1420s until his death in 1432, reflect the kinds of changes we observe in the works of other composers of the early fifteenth century--changes in mensural organization, in the character of contratenor parts, and in cadential types. Most important for the development of the cyclic Mass, they attest to the increasingly explicit means composers used to forge audible links between movements of the Mass Ordinary.

When speaking of the origins of an artistic form or procedure, it is difficult to avoid language that implies the evolutionary model--words such as "development," "emergence," "stages," "phases"--and the often unexamined assumptions underlying such terminology.¹ Do Arnold's paired movements, partial cycle, and complete cycle, for instance, represent discrete stages in the development of the cyclic Mass? Can we assume that he composed his

Gloria/Credo pairs before creating a partial cycle, and that the pairs and partial cycle preceded his complete cycle? Can we also assume that this sequence obtained in the works of other composers?

Questions such as these, which assume that the historian's task is to chart the course of a development and show how the particular exemplifies the general, cannot be answered on the basis of source distribution alone. BL, the earliest and most important witness to the origins of the cyclic Mass on the continent, contains all three kinds of Mass groupings in the first phase of the compilation. Moreover, paired movements and partial or composite cycles continued to be copied along with complete Ordinary cycles well past mid-century, when continental composers finally began to cultivate the English tenor Mass.² By combining the evidence of the sources with stylistic and notational features, however, it may be possible to trace in greater detail the progression from the paired movements, partial cycles, and loosely-related composite cycles of the early fifteenth century to the mature tenor Mass of the second half of the century in the extant repertory of Mass music and in the works of individual composers.

A comprehensive study of the early fifteenth-century Mass repertory is needed to accomplish the goal just stated. This chapter has more limited objectives: to examine Arnold's Ordinary settings in their own right, and to establish the chronology of their composition. I begin by placing Arnold's settings in the context of the BL Mass repertory and examining the extent to which they are musically related to one another. I then discuss the mensural and tonal organization of these works in order to establish the basis for their chronology. Finally, I

return to the question of the order in which Arnold composed his Ordinary settings, the relationship between the time of composition and the time of copying into the surviving sources, and what this tells us about Arnold's changing approach to providing musical connections between the movements of the Mass Ordinary.

Since BL is the only source containing all of Arnold's surviving Ordinary settings, references to individual movements use De Van inventory numbers unless concordant sources receive specific mention. For transcriptions of Arnold's Mass music the reader may refer to the edition in Vol. II of this dissertation.

TECHNIQUES OF UNIFICATION

The Gloria/Credo Pairs

Bukofzer's seminal discussion of the origins of the cyclic Mass focused on two techniques by which composers brought Ordinary movements into a musical relationship: an opening motto or head-motive at the beginning of each movement, and the use of the same melody in the tenor of each movement.³ The earliest continental source containing musically related Mass movements copied adjacently is BL. Hamm pointed out that among the 35 Gloria/Credo pairs in BL, only those of Dufay, Arnold, and Lymburgia share motto openings, while none of the adjacent movements share a common tenor.⁴ But he went on to identify other factors that contributed to musical unification in early Mass pairs--similarity of clefs, signatures, mensural organization, number of voices, general type of setting, and final. To this list Gossett added further considerations: the derivation of movements from a common polyphonic model,

the derivation of a substantial part of one movement from another, the incidence of a movement that is a contrafact of another, and the use in each movement of music or texts, such as tropes, that are related to one another liturgically or otherwise.⁵

These and other writers have recognized that some of the movements copied consecutively in BL and other early fifteenth-century sources are musically related while others are not. In this study I use the term "compositional pair" to identify movements that are musically related according to the criteria set forth by Hamm and Gossett, whether or not they are adjacent in any extant source, and "manuscript pair" to designate consecutive Ordinary movements copied adjacently in a given source, whether or not they are musically related. Thus a particular Gloria and Credo could represent both a compositional pair and a manuscript pair, a compositional pair only, a manuscript pair only, or neither.

Table 3.1 lists all the manuscript pairs in BL. An "x" in the column marked "Compositional Pair" indicates that the members of the pair are also musically related. Each of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs occurs in BL as a manuscript pair whose movements were copied at the same time. BL 38/39 and 47/48 appear in gatherings 4 and 5 of the stage I Mass section. BL 90 and 91, on the other hand, originally appeared separately in the stage I compilation but were recopied into gathering 10 during stage II. The scribe's wish to present them as a manuscript pair was undoubtedly the reason for the recopying.⁶

The three Gloria/Credo pairs by Arnold are also compositional pairs, as shown by the evidence presented in

TABLE 3.1.
PAIRED ORDINARY MOVEMENTS IN BL

BL No.	Title	Attribution	Compositional Pair	Stage
27	Et in terra	Anthonius Romanus	x	I
29	Patrem	Antonius Romanus	x	I
30	Et in terra	Baudet cordier	-	I
31	Patrem (= BL 90)	G. velut	-	I
33	Et in terra	G. du fay	x	I
	Tr Resurrexit			
34	Patrem Tr Dic Maria	G. du fay	x	I
35	Et in terra	Hugo de lantins	x	I
36	Patrem	G. du fay	x	I
38	Et in terra	Ar de lantins	x	I
39	Patrem	Ar de lantins	x	I
41	Et in terra	D. luca	?	I
42	Patrem	Feragut	?	I
43	Et in terra	Tomas fabri scolaris	x	I
		tapisier		
44	Patrem	Tapisier	x	I
45	Et in terra	Feragut	x	I
46	Patrem	Feragut	x	I
47	Et in terra	Ar de lantins	x	I
48	Patrem	Art de lantins	x	I
50	Et in terra	Le grant guilheme	-	I
51	Patrem (1426 - Ox)	Le grant G.	-	I
52	Et in terra	Loqueville	?	I
53	Patrem	lovanio	?	I
54	Et in terra Tr Gloria	H de salinis	x	I
	iubilatio (1417)			
55	Patrem	H de Salinis	x	I
56	Et in terra "Rosetta"	Zacar Rosetta	x	I
57	Patrem "Scabroso"	Zacar Scabroso	x	I
58	Et in terra "Fior	Zacar Fior gentil	?	I
	gentil"			
59	Patrem "Deus deorum"	Zacar deus deorum	?	I

TABLE 3.1. Continued.

BL No.	Title	Attribution	Compositional Pair	Stage
61	Et in terra	loqueville	x	II
62	Patrem	loqueville	x	II/I
63	Et in terra	Hubertus de salinis	?	I
64	Patrem	H. de salinis	?	I/II
65	Et in terra	F. A. de civitato	x	I
66	Patrem	Fr. Antonius de civitato	x	I
67	Et in terra	H. de lantins	x	I
68	Patrem	Hugo de lantins	x	I/II
69	Et in terra	Zacar	?	II/I
	Tr Gloria laus			
70	Patrem	Zacar	?	I
71	Et in terra	Jo Ciconie	x	I
73	Patrem	Jo ciconie	x	I
74	Et in terra	Jo ciconie	-	I
75	Patrem	(Cameraco - Str)	-	I/II
81	Et in terra	Anonymous	x	III
82	Patrem	Anonymous	x	III
83	Et in terra	(Zacar - index)	x	III/II
84	Patrem	Zacar	x	III/II
85	Et in terra	grosin	-	III
86	Patrem	de anglia (Lyonel - OH)	-	II
87	Et in terra	gilet velut	-	II
88	Patrem (= BL 31)	gilet velut	-	II
90	Et in terra	Ar de Lantinis	x	II
91	Patrem	Ar de lantinis	x	II
92	Et in terra	Jo franchois de gemblaco	x	II
93	Patrem	Jo franchois	x	II
94	Et in terra	Jo de lymburgia	x	II
95	Patrem	Jo de lymburgya	x	II
107	Et in terra	G. dufay (index scribe)	x	III
108	Patrem	(G. Dufay - Tr 87, Tr92 ¹)	x	III

TABLE 3.1. Continued.

BL No.	Title	Attribution	Compositional Pair	Stage
120	Et in terra	binchois	x	II
121	Patrem	binchois	x	II
122	Et in terra	Johannes francois de gemblaco	x	II
124	Patrem T Alma redemptoris	Johannes de gemblaco	x	II
125	Et in terra	Johannes Reson	?	II
126	Patrem	Johannes de lymburgia	?	II
132	Et in terra	Jo de lymburgia	x	II
133	Patrem	Jo de lymburgia	x	II
146	Et in terra	Anonymous	-	I/II
148	Patrem	Anglicanus (Jo. Bodoil-Tr 92 ¹)	-	I/II
149	Et in terra	Jo ciconie	-	II/I
150	Patrem	Jo ciconie	-	I

Table 3.2. Members of each pair agree in number of voices, the number of voices that are texted (indicated by a superscript), clef/signature combinations, and final. The three pairs differ, however, in the degree to which they are musically related. While BL 47/48 and 90/91 agree in every factor shown in Table 3.2, the members of BL 38/39 differ in mensural organization and basic sonority (see below, pp. 166-167). The Gloria of this pair, moreover, concludes with a separate section for the Amen, while the Credo does not. But in spite of these and other disparities, I will show that these movements also form a compositional pair, one less clearly unified than the other two.

The most important element in determining that Arnold intended a musical relationship between movements is his

TABLE 3.2.
TECHNIQUES OF UNIFICATION IN ARNOLD'S GLORIA/CREDO PAIRS

Title	Sources	No. of Voices	Clefs	Final	Mensuration	Unus/ Chorus	Long Amen	Head Motive	Tail Motive	Cantus firmus
Et in terra	BL 38	3 ¹	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b}	C	C O C C O C	-	x	x	?	-
Patrem	BL 39	3 ¹	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b}	C	[C] C C	-	-	x	?	-
Et in terra	BL 47	3 ¹	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b}	F	C	-	-	x	x	-
Patrem	BL 48	3 ¹	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b}	F	[C]	-	-	x	x	-
Et in terra	BL 90	3 ²	c ^{4b} f ^{4b} f ^{4b}	C	[C] O	-	x	x	x	-
	BU 37	3 ³	f ^{2b} f ^{4b} f ^{4b}	C	[C] O	-	x	x	x	-
Patrem	RL 91	3 ²	c ^{4b} f ^{4b} f ^{4b}	C	[C] O	-	x	x	x	-
	BU 38	3 ³	f ^{2b} f ^{4b} f ^{4b}	G!	[C] O	-	x	x	x	-

use of head motives in each of his three Gloria/Credo pairs (see Ex. 3.1). The cantus voices of BL 38/39 are identical for the first nine and a half perfections. But in spite of the head motive in the cantus, the two movements begin quite differently. The Gloria opens with a cantus/tenor duet lasting five perfections, while all three voices begin simultaneously in the Credo. Furthermore, the cantus motto is supported differently in the two movements. In the Gloria it begins with an F sonority, in the Credo with a C sonority.

The openings of BL 47/48 and 90/91 are more closely related. The head motives of BL 47 and 48 involve all three voices, which are identical for the first four perfections. In BL 90 and 91 the identity is even more extensive, involving all three voices for the first five and a half perfections. There can be no question, then, that Arnold intended a musical relationship between the movements of each pair.

Although many writers have commented on the use of head motives as a unifying device in the Mass pairs of certain composers, few have noticed that some composers also brought related movements to a close using the same cadential configurations.⁷ Such correspondences, when they appear to represent conscious intent on the part of the composer rather than mere use of a similar cadence on the same final, might be called "tail motives." Ex. 3.2 shows the final passages of each of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs. The most extensive relationship occurs between the final cadences of BL 90 and 91, where Arnold used the final six perfections of the Gloria for the conclusion of the Credo (assuming that he composed the Gloria first) but extended the original passage by inserting additional material into

Example 3.1
Head Motives in Arnold's Gloria/Credo Pairs

BL 38

Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus

Contratenor Et in terra pax

Tenor Pax hominibus

BL 39

Pa- trem om- ni- po- ten- tem fa- cto- rem ce- li

Contratenor Patrem omnipotentem

Tenor Patrem omnipotentem

Example 3.1 (cont.)

BL 47

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-

Contratenor Et in terra pax hominibus

Tenor Et in terra pax

BL 48

Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem fac-to-rum

Contratenor Patrem

Tenor Patrem

Example 3.1 (cont.)

BL 90

Et in ter- ra pax ho-

Contratenor Et in terra pax

Et in ter- ra pax ho-

BL 91

Pa- trem om- ni- po- ten-

Contratenor patrem

Pa- trem om- ni-

Example 3.1 (cont.)

5

BL 90

mi- ni- bus

mi- ni- bus

BL 91

tem

po- ten- tem

Example 3.2

Tail Motives in Arnold's Gloria/Credo Pairs

BL 38

95

men

BL 39

115

cu- li Amen

A- men

Amen

Example 3.2 (cont.)

50

tu in glo- ri- a de- i pa- tris A- men

BL 47

A- men

A- men

95

vi- tam ven- tu- ri se- cu- li A- men

BL 48

Example 3.2 (cont.)

105

BL 90

Musical score for Example 3.2 (cont.) starting at measure 105. The score is for three staves in bass clef with a key signature of two flats. The first staff has a treble clef. Measure 105 is marked. The first staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. The second staff has a bass line with eighth notes and a half note. The third staff has a bass line with eighth notes and a half note. A slur covers measures 105-106 in the second and third staves. A sharp sign is placed above the second staff in measure 106.

195

BL 91

Musical score for Example 3.2 (cont.) starting at measure 195. The score is for three staves in bass clef with a key signature of two flats. The first staff has a treble clef. Measure 195 is marked. The first staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. The second staff has a bass line with eighth notes and a half note. The third staff has a bass line with eighth notes and a half note. A slur covers measures 195-196 in the second and third staves. A sharp sign is placed above the second staff in measure 196.

Example 3.2 (cont.)

110

BL 90

-men

-men

BL 91

-men

-men

its midst. There can be no doubt in this case that the similarity between the two endings was deliberate.

The correspondence between the conclusion of BL 47 and 48 lasts for five perfections and includes the word preceding the final Amen. Although not as extensive as the example in BL 90/91, the identity is sufficient to establish that this pair also concludes with a tail motive.

The case for a tail motive in BL 38/39 is more ambiguous. While each of these movements concludes with an octave-leap cadence--the only such cadence in the Gloria and one of only two in the Credo (all other cadences in the two movements are double-leading-tone cadences), the identity of final cadences in this case may result from the fact that both movements close on the same final. Except for the final cadence, moreover, the two movements end quite differently. The Gloria has a separate section for the Amen moving from O to G, while the Credo has only a five-note Amen in cantus coronatus.

The large-scale organization of Arnold's Mass pairs, like their opening and closing passages, indicates that Arnold was more concerned with establishing musical coherence between the movements of BL 47/48 and 90/91 than he was in BL 38/39. As shown in Table 3.3, the Gloria of BL 37/38 falls into six sections in contrasting mensurations, each set off by a bar line in BL. The longer Credo text is divided into only three sections, each governed by a different mensuration. The phrase structure of the Credo within the sections of the two movements also differs. Phrases within the sections of the Gloria terminate with clearly defined cadences with breves in the lower voices, breve or semibreve in the cantus, followed by a rest (or

TABLE 3.3.
LARGE-SCALE ORGANIZATION OF ARNOLD'S GLORIA/CREDO PAIRS

BL No.	Mm.	Incipit	Mensuration	Bar Line in BL
38	1-12	Et in terra pax	C	x
	13-34	Gracias agimus tibi	O	x
	35-54	Domine deus	C	x
	55-69	Qui sedes	C	x
	70-81	Cum sancto spiritu	"	x
	82-95	Amen	O - C	x
39	1-34	Patrem omnipotentem	[C]	x
	35-82	Et incarnatus	C	x
	83-114	Et in spiritum	C	x
	115-117	Amen	"	x
47	1-50	Et in terra pax	C	x
48	1-34	Patrem omnipotentem	[C]	x
	35-65	Et incarnatus est	"	x
	66-98	Et in spiritum	"	x
90	1-47	Et in terra pax	[C]	x
	48-112	Qui tollis peccata mundi	O	x
91	1-78	Patrem omnipotentem	[C]	x
	79-199	Et resurrexit	O	x

two semibreve rests in O). Almost the only clearly articulated cadences in the Credo, on the other hand, fall at the ends of the three sections. Motion does not come to a halt at most internal cadences; on the contrary, the cantus typically ends a phrase on a semibreve followed by a minim rest (two minim rests in major prolation) and begins the next phrase on the final minim of the perfection.

The Gloria of BL 47/48 consists of one section 50 measures long with no strong internal cadences. The Credo

is divided into three sections that contain no strong internal cadences. Both movements are in tempus imperfectum throughout and conclude with a simple two-note Amen.

BL 90/91, by far the longest and most ambitious of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs, exhibits the highest degree of structural correspondence. Both movements are divided into two large sections, the first in tempus imperfectum, the second in tempus perfectum. Rather than proceeding with large sections of text articulated by strong cadences, these movements move phrase by phrase, always ongoing, with no clear-cut articulation other than the division into two large sections.

My placement of the major structural division in BL 91 at the words "Et resurrexit," which Arnold set in cantus coronatus, rather than at "Secundum scripturas," where the shift to tempus perfectum occurs, is a judgement call that deserves discussion.⁸ One normally finds a cantus coronatus passage serving as the culmination of the energy of the preceding section, arresting motion and focusing the listener's attention on the words in question--particularly important words of the Mass Ordinary or the name of a patron, as in Dufay's Resvellies vous or Supremum est mortalibus.⁹ It is surprising to find a cantus coronatus passage at the beginning of a major structural division. There are two reasons to believe that the division occurs at the cantus coronatus passage, not at the change to tempus perfectum following it. First, the BL contratenor has text for "Et resurrexit" but not at "secundum scripturas." (The contratenor of the Gloria has an incipit at the change to tempus perfectum, with which the second section begins.) Second, the section preceding "Et resurrexit" concludes with a cadence on a long followed by a bar

line or double bar line in both BL and BU. (The beginning of the section in tempus perfectum would be an even more unlikely point of division since this passage begins with the incomplete text phrase "secundum scripturas.") It appears, then, that in this setting Arnold was experimenting with a new approach to large-scale articulation of the Credo.

Each of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs employs the same texture for both members of the pair. The movements of BL 38/39 and 47/48 consist of a texted cantus over an untexted tenor and contratenor, while BL 90/91 has two texted voices in BL, and three texted voices in BU. The BL scribe provided the lower voices of the first two pairs with text incipits at the outset of each section and supplied the lower voices with text for the cantus coronatus passages. Of particular interest is the presence of additional text in the tenor of BL 39 at the words "et iterum venturus est" (mm. 71-77). This passage features dance-like rhythmic imitation in all three voices and exact imitation between cantus and tenor.¹⁰

From the preceding discussion of the techniques of unification in Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs it is clear that each of his pairs constitutes both a compositional and a manuscript pair, but that the closeness of the relationship between members varies considerably. The movements of BL 38/39 are by far the least unified. Although we have seen significant differences between the two movements, the presence of a clearly-defined motto shows that they were intended as a pair. The differences between them may suggest that Arnold added the Credo to a Gloria he had composed earlier, and used the opening cantus melody of the

preexisting movement to establish identity between the two movements. BL 90/91, on the other hand, shows a degree of coordination between movements that would have required a considerable amount of precompositional planning. If we didn't know that this pair occurred in stage I before being recopied into stage II, we might be tempted to speculate that the three pairs were copied into BL in the order in which they were composed, and that they exemplify the thesis implied at the beginning of this chapter: that the compositionally related Ordinary movements in the BL Mass repertory show a progression from the loosely related pairs of Zacar and Ciconia to movements audibly linked by the use of motto beginnings.

The Arnold de Lantins/Johannes Ciconia Composite Cycle

At the head of the series of Mass cycles and paired movements in BL stands a composite cycle containing four movements by Arnold de Lantins and two by Johannes Ciconia. This is one of four cycles in BL involving movements by more than one composer (see Table 3.4). Scholars have long assumed that such groupings were entirely the responsibility of the BL scribe and in no way reflect the intentions of the composers concerned.¹¹ The Lantins/Ciconia cycle affords us an opportunity to examine this assumption in greater detail.

This cycle is specifically Marian in content. It begins with Arnold's three-part setting of Salve sancta parens, the Introit for the Common of Feasts of the BVM. Arnold's settings of the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus use melodies from what later became codified as Mass IX-- Ordinary chants for feasts of the BVM. In each case the plainsong melody appears in augmented values in the tenor

TABLE 3.4.
COMPOSITE CYCLES IN BL INVOLVING MOVEMENTS BY MORE THAN ONE COMPOSER

BL No.	Title	Attribution	Stage
2	Salve sancta parens	Ar de lantins	I
3	Kyrie (Cum iubilo)	(Ar de latinis - index)	I
4	Et in terra Tr Spiritus et alme	Jo ciconie	I
5	Patrem	Jo ciconie	I
6	Sanctus	Art de lantins	I
7	Agnus dei	Ar de lantins	I
16	Kyrie	du fay	II/I
17	Et in terra "Micinella"	Z. Micinella	I
18	Patrem "Cursor"	Z. cursor	I
19	Sanctus Tr Qui Januas	du fay	I
20	Sanctus Tr Qui Januas	Sanctus vineus secundum loqueville	I
21	Agnus dei	du fay	I/II
23	Et in terra	gervasius de anglia	II/I
24	Patrem	Johannes dunstaple anglicus	I
25	Sanctus	Jo benet Anglicus	I
26	Agnus	Jo benet de anglia	I
101	Kyrie Tr Qui de stirpe regia	Lymburgia	III
102	Et in terra	brasart	III
103	Patrem	brasart	III
104	Sanctus	du fay	III
105	Agnus dei	(Dufay - index)	III

voice. Tropes also connect this composite cycle to the Marian liturgy. The Agnus contains the trope Marie filius, while the Ciconia Gloria employs the Marian trope Spiritus et alme. Only the Credo by Ciconia lacks any Marian association.

Reinhard Strohm has recently shown that polyphonic Marian Masses beginning with the Introit Salve sancta parens and employing the Gloria trope Spiritus et alme were sung on a daily basis in the Lady Chapel at St. Donatian's in Bruges from at least 1312, and that a similar Missa de Salve was also sung at the cathedrals of Tournai and Cambrai.¹² Perhaps composers from the north introduced the singing of polyphonic Lady Masses into Italy. It is noteworthy that we now have documentation from the Low Countries for such Masses in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries but no practical sources containing the music that was sung, while in Italy the opposite is true: BL begins with a composite cycle that fits the description of a Missa de Salve, but we have no documentary evidence that I know of for a such a tradition in northern Italy at this time.

In any case, BL began with a useful liturgical item, a Marian cycle that could be sung at votive Masses for the Virgin. The scribe provided the Introit on the first recto of his collection with additional solemnity by having it adorned with a historiated initial, one of three in the entire manuscript, and by erasing the text he had originally copied in his normal bâtard and replacing it in a more formal book hand.

Was this composite Marian cycle merely assembled by the BL scribe or did Arnold himself compose four outer movements to "go with" the Gloria and Credo by the older composer from Liège? Referring to Table 3.5, we see that the Introit, Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus bear no obvious relationship to the movements by Ciconia. Moreover, the Ciconia Gloria and Credo do not themselves constitute a musically related pair.¹³ They differ from one another in

TABLE 3.5.
TECHNIQUES OF UNIFICATION IN THE LANTINS/CICONIA COMPOSITE CYCLE

Title	Sources	No. of Voices	Clefs	Final	Mensuration	Unus/ Chorus	Long Amen	Head Motive	Tail Motive	Cantus firmus
Salve sancta parens	BL 2	3 ³	c ² c ⁴ c ⁵ f ² f ³	D	[C] ø	-	-	-	-	Common of BVM
Kyrie (Cum iubilo)	BL 3	3 ³	c ² c ⁴ c ⁵ (f ² f ³)	D	[C] 0 C ø 0 ø	-	-	-	-	Mass IX
Et in terra Tr Spiritus et alme	BL 4	4 ² /2 ²	c ² c ² c ⁴ c ⁴ (f ² f ²)	D	[C] O C O C O C O C [C] ———	x	x	-	-	-
Patrem	BL 5	3 ² /2 ²	c ¹ c ¹ c ^{3b}	F	[C]	x	x	-	-	-
Sanctus Tr Marie filius	BL 6	3 ³	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ³	F	[C] 0 ø 0	-	-	-	-	Mass IX
Agnus dei	BL 7	3 ³	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b}	F	[C] ø	-	-	-	-	Mass IX

number of voices, clef combinations, final, and mensurations. The only common features are the use of unus/chorus alternation and the presence in the upper voices of a highly imitative dialogue that typifies Ciconia's style.

If Arnold did set out to add movements to Ciconia's in order to form a complete Marian cycle, there are a number of elements he could have matched, such as the imitative upper-voice duo over a slower moving untexted tenor, or the alternation of chorus and unus sections. Instead, each of Arnold's movements consists of a texted cantus, contra-tenor, and tenor. While both Ciconia movements are multi-sectional and episodic in character, Arnold's settings of the four shorter items fall into sections that follow obvious textual divisions--one continuous section for the Introit, nine for the Kyrie, two for the Sanctus, and three for the Agnus (see Table 3.6). On musical grounds, then, there is no clear evidence that Arnold attempted to "match" his four movements to those of Ciconia.

A comparison of the clefs and finals of Arnold's four movements might lead us to the conclusion that he actually composed two separate pairs at different times--an Introit/Kyrie pair with matching clefs and finals, and a Sanctus/Agnus pair that corresponded in these respects. These differences are dependent, however, on the pitch of the chant tenors Arnold set. There is no reason to doubt that he composed the four movements as a unit since they are so similar in character. In each case Arnold employed the appropriate chant melody in the tenor. The signature C in the tenor of each movement indicates that a breve of the tenor equals a semibreve of the upper voices in C . (In the tempus perfectum sections of the Kyrie and Sanctus the tenor joins the upper voices in the use of O .) An Introit/

TABLE 3.6.
LARGE-SCALE ORGANIZATION OF THE LANTINS/CICONIA COMPOSITE CYCLE

BL No.	Mm.	Incipit	Mensuration	Bar Line in BL
2	1-36	Salve sancta parens	C/℄	x
3	1-10	Kyrieleyson I	[C]/℄	-
	11-18	Kyrieleyson II	"	-
	19-27	Kyrieleyson III	"	x
	28-34	Cristeleyson I	O/O	-
	35-51	Cristeleyson II	"	-
	52-58	Cristeleyson III	"	x
	59-67	Kyrieleyson IV	C/℄	-
	68-76	Kyrieleyson V	"	-
	77-100	Kyrieleyson VI	"	x
4	1-20	Et in terra pax (ch)	[C]	x
	21-32	Gratias agimus tibi (unus)	"	x
	33-64	Domine deus (ch-unus-ch)	○ C ○ C	-
	65-85	Qui tollis (unus-ch)	C O	x
	86-132	Qui sedes (ch-unus-ch)	O	x
	133-162	Amen (ch)	C ○ C	x
5	1-9	Patrem omnipotentem (ch)	[C]	x
	10-23	Factorem celi (ch)	"	x
	24-36	Et in unum dominum (unus)	"	x
	37-56	Et ex patre (ch)	"	x
	57-70	Genitum non factum (unus)	"	x
	71-84	Qui propter (ch)	"	x
	85-101	Et incarnatus est (unus)	"	x
	102-122	Crucifixus (ch)	"	x
	123-135	Et resurrexit (unus)	"	x
	136-148	Et ascendit (ch)	"	x
	149-171	Et iterum venturus (unus)	"	x
	172-206	Et in spiritum sanctum (ch)	"	x
	207-228	Et unam sanctam (unus)	"	x
	229-252	Et expecto (ch)	"	x
	253-273	Amen (ch)	"	x
6	1-37	Sanctus I	[C]/℄	x
	38-95	Benedictus marie filius	O/O	x
7	1-21	Agnus dei I	[C]/℄	x
	22-41	Agnus dei II	"	x
	42-62	Agnus dei III	"	x

Kyrie pair, moreover, would be anomalous among early fifteenth-century Mass movements.

The cycle resulting from the addition of Arnold's movements to Ciconia's may have been used for Marian Masses at the institution where BL was copied.¹⁴ Although we cannot be sure that Arnold composed the outer movements with Ciconia's Gloria and Credo in mind, he may have set the four Ordinary movements that received polyphonic treatment less frequently for use with existing Gloria/Credo pairs, which were available in abundance in the early decades of the century. The BL scribe, in copying six movements by two different composers in correct liturgical sequence, may have documented in written form a practice that was already common in the performance of the Mass during the previous century--the use at Mass of polyphonic Ordinary settings composed by different composers at different times.¹⁵ (It is likely that the Marian cycles cited in documents from the Low Countries consisted either of individual movements composed by different composers or of performances in simple polyphony.)

In his discussion of techniques of unification in early fifteenth-century Mass pairs and cycles, Gossett demonstrated that a further grouping of Ordinary movements in BL was modeled on the Lantins/Ciconia cycle at the beginning of the manuscript.¹⁶ This is the Lymburgia Introit, Kyrie, and Gloria copied at the end of the Mass section during stage II (BL 158, 160, and 161, fols. 179v-183).¹⁷ Referring to Table 3.7, we see that this partial cycle also employs the Introit melody Salve sancta parens, the Mass IX Kyrie melody, and the Gloria trope Spiritus et alme.¹⁸ (The scribe added an anonymous Kyrie setting with the trope O sacra virgo beneath Lymburgia's

TABLE 3.7.
TECHNIQUES OF UNIFICATION IN THE JOHANNES DE LYMBURGIA PARTIAL CYCLE

Title	Sources	No. of Voices	Clefs	Final	Mensuration	Unus/ Chorus	Long Amen	Head Motive	Tail Motive	Cantus firmus
Salve sancta parens	BL 158	3 ²	c ² c ⁴ f ³	D	Ø	-	-	x	(x)	Common of BVM
Kyrie Tr O sacra virgo	BL 159	3 ¹	c ² f ³ f ³	D	Ø	-	-	-	-	-
Kyrie (Cum iubilo)	BL 160	3 ³	c ² c ⁴ f ³	D	Ø C O Ø	-	-	x	(x)	Mass IX
Et in terra Tr Spiritus et alme	BL 161	3 ^{1/2} 2 ²	c ² f ³ f ³	D	Ø O	x	-	-	-	-

Introit.) As in the earlier cycle, the appropriate Gregorian melodies appear in the tenors of the Introit and Kyrie, while the troped Gloria is freely composed and divided into unus/chorus sections.¹⁹

Although the Lymburgia movements follow the general plan of the earlier Marian cycle, they do not match it much more closely than Arnold's settings match those of Ciconia. Where Arnold wrote for three texted voices in nearly simultaneous declamation, only the superius and tenor receive text in the Lymburgia settings of the Introit and Gloria. While the movements composed by Arnold feature numerous flagged semiminims that introduce a high degree of syncopation in the upper voices, Lymburgia's Introit and Kyrie are rhythmically more straight-forward. They use far fewer semiminims, deployed almost entirely on the final minim of a perfection, never to introduce syncopation. All of Arnold's movements begin with major prolation in the upper voices and use the signature C in the tenor to indicate that a breve of the tenor equals a semibreve of the cantus and contratenor. Lymburgia's settings, on the other hand, begin in \emptyset , C , and \emptyset , respectively, in all voices, and do not involve tenor augmentation.

The two Introits also begin differently. In Arnold's the polyphony begins with the first word, "Salve;" in the Lymburgia setting it begins on the word "sancta." Although there is no hint of motto openings in the movements composed by Arnold, Lymburgia's Introit and Kyrie begin with a similar gesture, a phrase beginning mi fa mi followed by a descent, and the same opening sonority (see Ex. 3.3). These openings are similar enough to constitute a head motive, although they are not as clear-cut as other head motives by both composers. But it is interesting to

Example 3.3

Opening Gestures of Arnold's Settings, BL 2/3
and Lymburgia's Settings, BL 158/160

The image displays two musical systems, each with three staves. The first system is labeled 'BL 2' on the left. It features three staves with vocal lines and a basso continuo line. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics 'Sal- ve san-' are written below the staves. The second system is labeled 'BL 158' on the left. It also features three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The middle staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics 'San- cta' are written below the staves. The first system is a setting by Arnold, and the second system is a setting by Lymburgia.

BL 2

Sal- ve san-

Sal- ve san-

Sal- ve san-

BL 158

San- cta

Contra sancta parens

Sal- ve San- cta

Example 3.3 (cont.)

The musical score consists of two systems, each with three staves. The first system is labeled 'BL 3' on the left. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Ky- ri- e' and a sharp sign at the end. The middle staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Ky- ri- e' and a sharp sign at the end. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'Ky- ri- e'. The second system is labeled 'BL 160' on the left. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Ky- ri- e'. The middle staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Kyrieley-'. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with lyrics 'Kyrie'. The score is written in 6/8 time and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

note that the motto-like opening of Lymburgia's two movements (based on two different chant melodies) are similar to the beginning of Arnold's Salve sancta parens, even though the superius here begins on e¹ instead of a¹. (The polyphony begins on the first rather than the sixth note of the chant in Lymburgia's setting.) This strengthens the hypothesis that Lymburgia modeled his work on the Lantins/Ciconia cycle at the beginning of BL.

Despite many superficial differences between Arnold's and Lymburgia's Introit and Kyrie settings, one element is nearly identical--the plainsong tenor melodies. Although they use different signatures, the melodies of the two Introits are the same, including ligature placement, up until m. 26 of Arnold's setting, where the Lymburgia version repeats the d just before the final syllable of "regit." The Lymburgia tenor also repeats an f that is not repeated in Arnold's setting at m. 30. The identity of the tenors in the two Kyrie settings is nearly as complete. The only differences are the use of breve-long instead of breve-breve ligatures at the ends of Kyrie II and Christe II in the Lymburgia setting, different note values for Christe I where Arnold's setting turns to O in all voices, and the repetition of the pitches g-f-g-a-a (mm. 89-91 of Arnold's setting) in the Lymburgia tenor. The near identity of Introit and Kyrie melodies used by the two composers (which differ in minor respects from the melodies in the Graduale Romanum) could indicate either that both used melodies stemming from the same tradition, possibly that of Liège,²⁰ or that Lymburgia took his tenor melodies directly from Arnold's settings.

Perhaps the most persuasive argument for a relationship between Lymburgia's partial cycle and the composite at

the beginning of BL is the fact that both composers' settings contain features that are highly unusual in the early fifteenth-century Mass repertory--the use of the appropriate plainsong melody in the tenor, and the presence of the C signature.²¹ Although Lymburgia employed this unusual signature in all three voices rather than using it to indicate performance of the tenor in diminution,²² the mere presence of the signature must indicate Lymburgia's acquaintance with Arnold's cycle, given the rarity of this signature in the early fifteenth-century repertory (see p. 154 below).

Lymburgia's setting of the troped Gloria differs even more from that of his model. Only the top voice of his setting is texted, while the Ciconia movement features two texted upper voices of nearly equal importance. The character of Lymburgia's contratenor is entirely different from the problematic contratenor in Ciconia's Gloria, which is hardly surprising for a movement composed at least 20 years later. The contratenor of Lymburgia's setting arcs over wide intervals with frequent leaps of a fifth or octave, typifying the trend of the early 1430s. The only octave-leap cadence appears at mm. 75-76.

Although we have observed many differences between the Lymburgia partial cycle and the composite cycle at the beginning of BL, it seems clear that Lymburgia modeled his three-movement cycle on the earlier cycle. The only analogous grouping of Marian Ordinary movements in musical sources copied before 1450 is the Dufay Kyrie with the Mass IX melody paraphrased in the superius, and his Gloria featuring the Spiritus et alme trope, chant paraphrase in superius and tenor, and alternatim performance. These two movements, which first appear in the first and second

stages of BL (BL 96 and 136), occur adjacently in only one source (MüO 108/109).

The degree of divergence between the Lymburgia settings and the Lantins/Ciconia cycle shows that Lymburgia was not concerned with duplicating individual features of his model, but rather, with producing another Marian cycle along the same general outline. Following this reasoning, the dissimilarities between Arnold's movements and Ciconia's do not necessarily preclude the possibility that Arnold had the Ciconia Gloria and Credo in mind when he composed his partial cycle on Marian tenors. In fact, Marian Masses employing movements by different composers were probably in the rule in the north.

The presence in BL of a composite cycle containing movements by Ciconia and Arnold and a partial cycle by Lymburgia modeled on it suggests possible connections between the three composers from Liège--Ciconia, one of the first composers of musically related Gloria/Credo pairs, Arnold, one of the first to use motto openings and write a complete, musically unified cycle, and Lymburgia, who also produced Mass pairs and a cycle employing motto openings.

The Missa Verbum incarnatum

BL is the earliest continental source of complete, musically unified Ordinary cycles comprised of movements by the same composer.²³ These include Dufay's Missa Sine nomine, copied immediately after the Lantins/Ciconia cycle in Stage I, Dufay's plenary Mass, Missa Sancti Jacobi, which stands at the beginning of the Stage II Mass section, a cycle by Johannes de Lymburgia copied during Stage II, and Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum, also copied during Stage II (see Table 3.8).

TABLE 3.8.
COMPLETE ONE-COMPOSER CYCLES IN BL

BL No.	Title	Attribution	Stage
<u>Guillaume Dufay, Missa Sine nomine</u>			
9	Kyrie	G. du fay	I
10	Et in terra	G. du fay	I
12	Patrem	du fay	I
14	Sanctus	du fay	I
15	Agnus dei	du fay	I
<u>Guillaume Dufay, Missa Sancta Jacobi</u>			
111	Introitus misse sancti iacobi Mihi autem nimis	G. du fay	II
112	Kyrie	(G. du fay from above)	II
113	Et in terra	(G. du fay from above)	II
114	Alleluya V Hispanorum clarens	du fay	II
115	Patrem	du fay	II
116	Offertorium sancti iacobi In omnem terram	G. dufay	II
117	Sanctus	du fay	II
118	Agnus dei	du fay	II
119	Post communion Vos qui secuti	du fay	II
<u>Johannes de Lymburgia, Missa Sine nomine</u>			
127	Kyrie	Jo de lymburgia	II
128	Et in terra	Jo de lymburgia	II
129	Patrem	Jo de lymburgia	II
130	Sanctus Tr Admirabilis splendor	Jo de lymburgia	II
131	Agnus dei	Johannes de lymburgia	II
<u>Arnold de Lantins, Missa Verbum incarnatum</u>			
138	Kyrie Tr Verbum incarnatum	Missa Ar de lantinis	II
139	Et in terra	(Lantins - index)	II
140	Patrem	Ar de lantinis	II
141	Sanctus Tr Qui hominem limo	Ar de lantinis	II
142	Agnus dei	(Ar de lantinis from above)	II

The four BL cycles and the Reson Mass in BU are the earliest known musically-unified cycles by continental composers. To these works slightly later sources add

Grossin's Missa Trompetta and Libert's Missa De beata virgine.²⁴ These cycles, none of which use the same tenor melody in each movement, vary considerably in the extent to which they are musically unified and the means by which this unification is achieved.

Two factors suggest that these pretenor cycles were composites in the sense that not all their movements were composed at the same time. First is the unequal representation of the different movements in the manuscript sources.

The initial three movements of Dufay's Missa Sine nomine occur in four to six sources, the final two movements in only three.

The Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi appear in three to six sources, the Sanctus and Agnus in two, and all but one of the Proper movements in BL alone.

Grossin's Missa Trompetta is missing the Agnus, while the Sanctus lacks cantus and contratenor parts in the chorus portions of the unus/chorus movement in the only intact source.

The source distribution of these Masses suggests that Sanctus, Agnus, and Proper movements tended to be added to Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo settings composed at an earlier time. Further evidence in support of this view is the stylistic disjunction between some movements and others apparently added to create a complete cycle.

Cut signatures appear in the Proper movements and Agnus of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi but not in the remaining movements.

All the movements except the Gloria and Credo of Libert's plenary Mass paraphrase the plainsong melody in the top voice. The Sanctus and Agnus are in fauxbourdon. Cut signatures appear in some of the Proper movements, but not at all in the Ordinary movements.

The first three movements of the Lymburgia Mass are three-voice settings with an F final and employ semiminims. The final two movements are four-voice settings with a C final and no semiminims.

On the basis of both distribution among the sources and the style of individual movements, it appears that most of the pretenor cycles consisted of movements composed at different times and brought together to form complete cycles. This is clearly the case with Arnold's Missa Verbum incarnatum. As we have seen in Chapter 2, only BL contains all five movements in the correct order. The presence of the word "Missa" in the attribution²⁴ and the fact that the Gloria begins directly beneath the Kyrie, the Sanctus beneath the Credo, and the Agnus beneath the Sanctus,²⁵ show that the BL scribe had the complete cycle available to him when he began copying. This was not the case in Ox, which presents the first three movements together, followed some folios later by the Agnus and still later the Sanctus. Even the Credo may have been copied slightly later than the first two movements, as we have seen in Chapter 2 (pp. 87-88). BU, although it is the latest of the three sources, contains only the first three movements. We have no way of knowing how much of the cycle MÜL contained; only that the Credo did not follow the Gloria directly (see Chapter 2, p. 93).

More conclusive evidence that Arnold did not compose all the movements of his complete cycle at the same time lies in the stylistic contrast between the first three movements, which begin in major prolation, and the last two, which feature cut signatures and the more homophonic writing that came into vogue around 1430 (see Table 3.9). The use of cut signatures is not, in itself, enough to establish that the Sanctus and Agnus were composed later than the other movements, since cut signatures appear in the earliest gatherings of Ox, whose compilation began around 1426.²⁶ The rhythmic character of these movements, however, points to origins closer to 1430. (See below, p. 160. The Sanctus and Agnus also differ from the first three movements in their use of chant melodies in the tenor.

In spite of the fact that the final two movements appear to be stylistically later than the rest of the Mass, Arnold produced a unified cycle. Each movement has the same number of voices (although the number of texted voices varies among the sources), the same clef/signature combination, and an F final. Most important, each begins with a similar head motive. Ex. 3.4 shows that the cantus voices of the Gloria and Credo are identical for the first two perfections while the lower voices agree only in the first perfection.²⁷ All three voices of the Kyrie agree with the Gloria and Credo openings for the first perfection but the cantus proceeds differently in the second, ending the initial phrase earlier than in the other two movements. The Sanctus and Agnus share with one another a motto lasting three perfections in cantus and tenor and two perfections in the contratenor. Although somewhat different than the motto of the first three movements, especially in terms of rhythmic pacing, this motto is clearly related to it.

TABLE 3.9.
TECHNIQUES OF UNIFICATION IN THE MISSA VERBUM INCARNATUM

Title	Sources	No. of Voices	Clefs	Final	Mensuration	Unus/ Chorus	Long Amen	Head Motive	Tail Motive	Cantus firmus
Kyrie Tr Verbum incarnatum	BL 138 Ox 132 BU 5	3 ² " "	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b} " "	F " "	[C] O C C " "	- - -	- - -	x x x	x x x	- - -
Et in terra	BL 139 Ox 133 BU 6	3 ² " "	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b} " "	F " "	[C] O C C O C [C] O C	- - -	x - -	x x x	x x x	- - -
Patrem	BL 140 Ox 134 BU 29 MUL 7	3 ² 3 ¹ 3 ² 1 ¹	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b} " " c ¹ []	F " " "	[C] O C C C O C C [C] O C C [C] O []	- - - -	x - - -	x x x x	x x x x	- - - -
Sanctus Tr Qui ho- minem limo	BL 141 Ox 149	3 ² 3 ³	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b} "	F "	Ø O Ø "	- -	- -	(x) (x)	(x) (x)	x x
Agnus dei	BL 142 Ox 142	3 ² 3 ²	c ¹ c ^{3b} c ^{3b} "	F "	Ø O C "	- -	- -	(x) (x)	(x) (x)	x x

Example 3.4
Head Motives in the *Missa Verbum incarnatum*

BL 138

Ky- ri- e ver- bum in- car- na- tum a pro- phe-

Contra Kyrie

Ky- ri- e ver- bum in- car- na- tum a pro- phe-

BU 6

Et in ter- ra pax ho- mi- ni- bus

Et in terra pax

Et in ter- ra pax ho- mi- ni- bus

BL 140

Pa- trem om- ni- po- ten- tem fa- cto- rem ce- li

Contra. patrem

Pa- trem om- ni- po- ten- tem fa- cto- rem ce- li

Example 3.4 (cont.)

BL 141

San- ctus.

BL 142

Qui tol- lis pec-

Contra. Qui tollis peccata mundi

Thus when adding the final two movements to those composed earlier, Arnold wrote in the style then becoming current but took care to use a motto related, if not identical, to that of the earlier movements.

Internal echoes of the motto material appear in the Kyrie of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, something we do not find in any of Arnold's other Ordinary settings. The cantus of Kyrie II repeats the motto figure a third lower (see Ex. 3.5). The cantus of Christe I begins with a descent from \underline{c}^2 to \underline{g}^1 mirrored in Christe II by a corresponding descent from \underline{f}^1 to \underline{c}^1 . While the opening of each

Example 3.5
Motto Opening Used Internally in the
Kyrie Tr Verbum incarnatum

Kyrie 1

Musical score for Kyrie 1, featuring Soprano, Contralto, and Tenor parts. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The Soprano part begins with a melodic phrase: Ky- ri- e. The Contralto part provides a sustained harmonic support with a long note. The Tenor part mirrors the Soprano's melody: Ky- ri- e.

Ky- ri- e

Contra Kyrie

Ky- ri- e

Kyrie 2

Musical score for Kyrie 2, featuring Soprano, Contralto, and Tenor parts. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The Soprano part continues the melody: Ky- ri- e pa- nis an-. The Contralto part provides a sustained harmonic support with a long note. The Tenor part continues the melody: Ky- ri- e pa- nis an-.

Ky- ri- e pa- nis an-

Ky-

Ky- ri- e pa- nis an-

Example 3.5 (cont.)

Christe 1

Christe 2

Detailed description: The image shows two systems of musical notation, each for a different voice part labeled 'Christe 1' and 'Christe 2'. Each system consists of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the staves. In the 'Christe 1' system, the lyrics are 'Chri- ste qui pro mun-' on the first staff, 'Chri- ste' on the second, and 'Chri- ste' on the third. In the 'Christe 2' system, the lyrics are 'Chri- ste quem' on the first staff, 'Chri- ste' on the second, and 'Chri- ste' on the third. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and slurs.

section from Kyrie I to Christe II begins with a descending line in the cantus, the top voice in Christe III through Kyrie V begins with an ascent. The final acclamation, Kyrie VI, returns to a descent from \underline{c}^2 to \underline{f}^1 that is reminiscent of the opening motto, in spite of the decoration of the initial \underline{c}^2 by its upper neighbor.

As in Arnold's Mass pairs, we find in his Mass the use of similar final cadences as a unifying device, but in the Mass the correspondence is much less exact (see Ex. 3.6). Although each movement concludes with a double-leading-tone cadence on F approached in essentially the same manner, the rhythmic placement and amount of melodic figuration preceding the final resolution differ considerably. Thus Arnold seems less concerned with exact identity at the close than in his Gloria/Credo pairs, and more concerned with flexible handling of the same cadential formula. This is especially evident in the final two movements, which must have been composed in close connection with one another for addition to the three existing movements. While the two lower voices in both movements approach the final cadence by descent in parallel thirds, the Agnus ends in imperfect rather than perfect tempus and employs cantus coronatus for the final Amen, providing a more conclusive ending for the final movement of the cycle.

In terms of large-scale planning, each movement of Arnold's Mass falls into large sections governed by different mensurations (see Table 3.10). Within each section of the first three movements frequent cadences followed by rests in one or more voices clearly delineate each text phrase. (In the Gloria/Credo pairs and partial cycle, phrases frequently overlap, creating a more continuous texture.) Articulation of sections is even more

Example 3.6

Tail Motives in the *Missa Verbum incarnatum*

111

BL 138

Ky-ri-e-ley-son.

125

130

BL 139

-men

-men

-men

160

BL 140

men

The image displays three systems of musical notation for vocal parts, labeled BL 138, BL 139, and BL 140. Each system consists of three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass). The first system (BL 138) starts at measure 111 and contains the lyrics 'Ky-ri-e-ley-son.' The second system (BL 139) starts at measure 125 and contains the lyrics '-men'. The third system (BL 140) starts at measure 160 and contains the lyrics 'men'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and note values, with some measures featuring ties or slurs. The lyrics are written below the corresponding staves.

Example 3.6 (cont.)

BL 141

130

-cel- sis

BL 142

60

do- na no- bis pa- cem

do- na no- bis pa- cem

do- na no- bis pa- cem

TABLE 3.10.
LARGE-SCALE ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSA VERBUM INCARNATUM

BL No.	Mm.	Incipit	Mensuration	Bar Line in BL
138	1-10	Kyrie verbum incarnatum	[C]	x
	11-20	Kyrie panis angelorum	"	x
	21-31	Kyrie in tua nativitate	"	x
	32-46	Christe qui pro mundi	O	x
	47-63	Christe quem adoraverunt	"	x
	64-80	Christe nostre humanitati	"	x
	81-90	Kyrie ad meam redemptionem	C	-
	91-101	Kyrie a morte ut predixisti	"	x
	102-114	Kyrie qui excelsa celorum	C	x
139	1-14	Et in terra pax	[C]	x
	15-48	Laudamus te	"	x
	49-94	Qui tollis peccata	O	-
	95-107	Cum sancto spiritu	C	x
	108-135	Amen	"	x
140	1-41	Patrem omnipotentem	C	x
	42-110	Et incarnatus est	O	x
	111-134	Et in spiritum sanctum	C	x
	135-153	Et unam sanctam	C	x
	154-160	Amen	"	x
141	1-12	Sanctus II	Ø	-
	13-25	Sanctus III	"	-
	26-64	Dominus deus sabaoth	"	-
	65-86	Osanna I	"	x
	87-110	Qui venit in nomine	O	-
	111-132	Osanna II	Ø	x
142	1-26	Qui tollis peccata mundi	Ø	x
	27-45	Qui tollis peccata mundi	O	x
	46-60	Qui tollis peccata mundi	C	x

explicit in the Sanctus and Agnus, where internal cadences tend to terminate in large note values followed by rests in all voices.

Like the partial cycle at the beginning of BL, Arnold's complete Mass contains trope texts and allusions to plainsong melodies that could indicate the liturgical occasions on which it might have been used. The Kyrie includes the trope Verbum incarnatum, a text Schoop associates with Advent.²⁸ The tropes, consisting of insertions between the words "Kyrie" or "Christe" and the "eleison" of each acclamation, appear in BL and Ox as follows:²⁹

Kyrie verbum incarnatum a prophetis nunciatum pro salute hominum kyrieleyson.

Kyrie panis angelorum lux et decus viatorum procesisti ex virgine kyrieleyson.

Kyrie in tua nativitate angeli cum claritate decantabant dulciter kyrieleyson.

Christe qui pro mundi grege observata plene lege circumcidi voluisti christeleyson.

Christe quem adoraverunt et sua munera obtulerunt reges tarsis et insule christeleyson.

Christe nostre humanitati adiuncte tue divinitati summam gloriam prebuiisti christeleyson.

Kyrie ad meam redempcionem subusti arcebam passionem et mortis supplicia kyrieleyson.

Kyrie a morte ut predixisti tercia die consurexisti cum summa victoria eleyson.

Kyrie qui excelsa celorum cum summo agmine angelorum gloriose conscendisti kyrieleyson.

It is interesting to note that this is one of the few examples of a troped Kyrie setting by a continental composer during the first half of the fifteenth century, especially since the removal of the Missa Caput from the Dufay canon.³⁰ Arnold's elaborate setting of the Kyrie trope may reflect his awareness of English settings of the Mass.

The Sanctus of Arnold's cycle also includes a trope text, "Qui hominem limo," this time for Lent.³¹ This insertion extends the third Sanctus declaration in the following manner:

Sanctus dominus deus sabaoth qui hominem limo
condidisti ac pro eo mori voluisti.

The use in the same cycle of one trope appropriate to Advent and another associated with Lent is puzzling, to say the least.

Further evidence for the liturgical occasions on which the Missa Verbum incarnatum might have been used lies in the tenors of the Sanctus and Agnus. Both movements employ chants from Vatican Mass XVII for use In Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimae,³² i.e., chants for the same seasons as the tropes found in the Kyrie and Sanctus. But we must remember that chants were sometimes used for different liturgical purposes during the Middle Ages and Renaissance than those assigned to them in modern editions.³³ Reese has shown that the Sanctus XVII and Agnus XVII melodies often replaced Mass IX melodies in plainsong cycles for the Missa in festis Beatae Mariae Virginis and served as cantus firmi for the Marian Masses of Arcadelt, Morales, Kerle, and Victoria.³⁴ Indeed, the Sanctus and Agnus tenors of Machaut's Messe de Nostre Dame use Mass XVII melodies. It is possible that the tropes also served in more than one capacity. Until we have more explicit information concerning fifteenth-century uses for the chants and tropes Arnold employed, we may assume that he composed his Mass for use during Advent, Lent, or on Feasts of the Virgin.

Arnold's use of chant melodies in the final two movements of his Mass is less explicit than in the partial

cycle. Ex. 3.7 presents the tenor melodies of BL 141 and 142, along with the Mass XVII melodies from the Graduale Romanum. A comparison of these melodies shows that while the intonation of the polyphonic Sanctus setting is similar to that of the Vatican chant, the tenor of the second Sanctus acclamation opens with the same gesture as the plainsong melody but is much longer. All resemblance between the tenor of Arnold's setting and the melody in the Graduale Romanum ends well before the third Sanctus acclamation.³⁵ A similar relationship obtains between the tenor of Arnold's Agnus setting and the plainsong melody. The intonation is close to that of the Graduale Romanum melody and, once again, the first tenor phrase of the polyphonic setting begins with a gesture similar to that of the plainsong melody. In this case the cadential formula at the close of the first Agnus statement is also similar.³⁶

In both the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass the tenor is considerably longer than the plainsong melody. It appears that Arnold used familiar versions of the chant melodies for Sundays in Advent and Lent for his intonations and as a point of departure in constructing the chant-like tenors of the polyphonic settings. The resulting tenors do not follow the chant melodies closely enough to be considered examples of chant paraphrase, a procedure that was becoming a prominent feature of Ordinary settings at about the time of Arnold's death.³⁷ The plainsong melody at the beginning of the Osanna appears in the cantus of Arnold's setting, however, thus he embedded in the polyphony the familiar plainsong melody at a point of strategic importance where the melody could be heard and would be repeated. Arnold appears to have been moving in the direction of chant paraphrase at the time he added the final two movements to the Missa Verbum incarnatum. If he ever composed Ordinary

Example 3.7

Chant Melodies in the Tenors of BL 6 and 7

Graduale Romanum, Mass XVII**BL 6, Tenor Melody***Graduale Romanum, Mass XVII***BL 6, Tenor Melody**

movements with chant paraphrase in the superius or tenor, they did not reach the scribes of the sources that have preserved his music.

Both musically and liturgically, the Missa Verbum incarnatum shows a division between the first three movements, which exhibit earlier stylistic traits and include a trope for Advent, and the final two, which are stylistically later and contain a trope associated with Lent. The only clear indication that Arnold intended for all five movements to form a cycle is his use in the Sanctus and Agnus of a head motive similar but not identical to that found in the earlier movements. As in other pretenor cycles by continental composers, we do not yet find a concern with clearly audible connections among all five movements of the Mass Ordinary.³⁸

* * *

Approaches to linking the movements of the Ordinary were highly variable and experimental in character at the time Arnold was writing. His Ordinary movements, like those of his contemporaries, use a variety of techniques to provide musical identity between the separate movements of the Mass Ordinary. Some of his settings are linked by the use of plainsong melodies in the tenor of each movement, others by the use of head motives and tail motives. None of his settings use patterns of unus/chorus alternation, parody of secular models, or chant paraphrase in the superius or tenor as means of unification, to mention just a few of the techniques used by other composers in the BL Mass repertory.

In discussing Arnold's Gloria/Credo pairs, I have suggested a progression from less to more explicit identity

between movements, both in Arnold's paired movements and in the BL Mass repertory as a whole. In the remainder of this chapter I will consider the chronological relationship among the movements of Arnold's Mass pairs, partial cycle, and complete cycle.

TOWARDS A CHRONOLOGY OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

At the beginning of this chapter I pointed out that Arnold was one of the few continental composers who wrote Gloria/Credo pairs, a partial cycle, and a complete cycle, and questioned whether these groupings represent distinct stages in the early history of the Mass cycle or simultaneous manifestations of the same phenomenon. Arnold's surviving settings of the Mass Ordinary furnish an opportunity to answer this question for one individual composer.

First we must distinguish between chronology of copying and chronology of composition. The copying chronology of Arnold's Ordinary settings proposed in Chapter 2 does not show a progression from Mass pairs to partial cycle to complete cycle. The order in which his settings first appeared in the surviving sources is, instead, as follows:

BL 2/3/6/7	Introit/Kyrie/Sanctus/Agnus
BL 38/39	Gloria/Credo
BL 47/48	Gloria/Credo
BL 90/91	Gloria/Credo
BL 138/139/140 (Ox 132/133/134)	Kyrie/Gloria/Credo
BL 141/142 (Ox 149/142)	Sanctus/Agnus

To determine whether the order of copying reflects the order in which Arnold's settings were actually composed, we will turn to the internal evidence contained in the pieces themselves.³⁹ Although Arnold's works were produced over a

relatively brief time span before his death in 1432, they show considerable stylistic diversity. Arnold composed during a period that experienced fundamental changes in mensural style and notation. His works, like others in the BL, Ox, and BU repertories, stand at the stylistic watershed of the fifteenth century--the transition from the complexity of the Ars nova and Ars subtilior to the new clarity of the contenance angloise. The Veneto manuscripts containing Arnold's works testify to the increase in parallel motion, the changing role of the contratenor, and the advent of octave-leap cadences that accompanied this stylistic shift. They also reflect concurrent changes in the way polyphonic music was notated--the change from black to void notation, from red coloration to void coloration (in black notation) or black coloration (in void notation), from flagged to colored semiminims, and from prolation to tempus notation. These changes, which occur in Arnold's Ordinary settings as well as the repertory at large, provide the basis for a chronology of his Mass settings. The remainder of this chapter will examine the mensural characteristics and tonal organization of Arnold's settings and conclude with a chronology based on these observations.

Mensural Usage

Heinrich Bessler was the first to propose that the style change discernible in the early fifteenth-century polyphonic repertory took place around 1430 and was accompanied by changes in rhythmic notation and the character of contratenor parts.⁴⁰ Bessler's study provided the foundation for the most ambitious attempt to use musical evidence to date a body of fifteenth-century music--Charles Hamm's chronology of the Dufay's works.⁴¹ Hamm's basic premise was that an accurate dating of Dufay's

works could be obtained by charting the rapid changes in mensural organization and notation that took place in the course of the fifteenth century. In spite of the magnitude of the undertaking, Hamm's work has received much criticism in the years since its appearance. Hamm failed, for instance, to take stylistic factors lying outside mensural characteristics into consideration.⁴² Dates assigned to a number of Dufay works by Besseler and others, which served as essential points of reference for Hamm's investigation, have been revised as a result of more recent archival and source studies.⁴³ Many details in the study, especially those concerning sources that Hamm did not examine in person, have proven inaccurate. But perhaps the most serious flaw in the investigation resulted from Hamm's belief that scribes transmitted accurately the musical texts of their exemplars. In the introduction he stated that:

My study is based on the assumption that mensuration and signatures, as well as other details of notation, found in manuscripts of the period are those intended by Dufay there is every reason to assume that since scribes were remarkably accurate about such matters, they have given us faithful copies of what Dufay himself wrote down.⁴⁴

Recent studies, however, have demonstrated a number of instances when a scribe copying from a known exemplar produced something quite different from what lay before him, a phenomenon commonly referred to as "scribal editing."⁴⁵

In the face of these criticisms we tend to forget what an achievement Hamm's chronology was at the time, and that even while many details need correction, it remains a

useful tool for plotting broad-scale changes in mensural practice during the first three quarters of the fifteenth century. In applying the principles set forth by Hamm to Dufay's early songs, for instance, Boone discovered that, with occasional exceptions, further investigation of the chronology of Ox and the style of the early songs resulted in the same general results Hamm had proposed some years earlier, while yielding many additional refinements.⁴⁶ The basic approach remains valid, then, if we consider the implications of more recent research and make more allowance for editorial intervention on the parts of scribes.

Hamm identified nine groups of mensural characteristics in the works of Dufay and assigned approximate dates to each group based on the datings of individual pieces within it. Only the first four groups, which cover the period from around 1415 to 1433, are relevant to the works of Arnold de Lantins, who died in 1432. These groups, the dates Hamm assigned them, and their distinguishing characteristics are as follows:⁴⁷

Group 1 (ca. 1415-1423)

Use of C, C, and O as basic mensurations
Semibreve-minim movement in each mensuration
No semiminims

Group 2 (1423-1429)

Use of C, C, and O as basic mensurations
Semibreve-minim movement in C; shift to breve-semibreve movement in O and C
Flagged semiminims in C; no semiminims or occasional flagged semiminims in O and C

Group 2a (ca. 1415-1429)

Use of C
Semibreve-minim movement
Flagged semiminims

Group 2b (1423-1433)

Use of O or C

Breve-semibreve movement

No semiminims or a scattering of flagged semiminims

Group 3 (1426-1431)

Use of both C and Ø with flagged semiminims

Group 4 (1426-1433)

Use of Ø with flagged semiminims

Group 5, which Hamm dates from 1433 to 1435, includes pieces featuring pseudo score, alternatim performance, chant paraphrase in the superius, and colored semiminims. Group 6 (1433 to ca. 1445) is characterized by the use of Ø with colored semiminims. The only one of these traits found in an Ordinary setting by Arnold, who died in 1432, is colored semiminims in Ø, which occurs only in the Ox copy of BL 142 and could represent scribal preference.⁴⁸

The focal points for an investigation of chronology up to 1433 are, then, the following:

The transition from no semiminims in Dufay works of up until 1423, to flagged semiminims up to 1431 to 1433, to colored semiminims after 1433;

The shift from smaller to larger note values in minor prolation, which, according to Hamm, occurred from approximately 1423 to 1429 in the works of Dufay; and

The substitution of Ø for C, presumed to have taken place between 1426 and 1431. Hamm asserts that after 1429 "it would be exceptional for Dufay to use major prolation in a voice other than the tenor."⁴⁹

Table 3.11 presents the evidence for placing Arnold's Ordinary compositions into Hamm's chronological groups. An attempt to assign each composition to one of these groups,

TABLE 3.11.
MENSURAL USAGE IN ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

BL No.	Mensuration	Semi-minims	Coloration	Unit of Motion	Hamm Group
2	[C] T: \emptyset	F1 in C	Red	SB-M in C T: B in \emptyset	2a?
3	[C] O C T: \emptyset O \emptyset	F1 in C	Red	SB-M in C, O T: B in \emptyset T: B-SB in O	2a?
6	[C] O T: \emptyset O	F1 in C	Red	SB-M in C, O T: B in \emptyset , O	2a?
7	[C] T: \emptyset	F1 in C	Red	SB-M in C T: B in \emptyset	2a?
38	C O C C O C	F1 in C	Red	SB-M in C, O, C	1? 2?
39	[C] C C	None	Red	SB-M in C, C	1
47	C	None	None	SB-M in C	1
48	[C]	None	None	SB-M in C	1
90	[C] O	F1 in C	Void	SB-M in C, O	1? 2?
91	[C] O	F1 in C	Void	SB-M in C, O	1? 2?
138	[C] O C C	F1 in C	Void	SB-M in C, O, C	1? 2?
139	[C] O C	F1 in C	Void	SB-M in C, O	1? 2?
140	[C] O C C	F1 in C	Void	SB-M in C, O B-SB in C	1? 2? 2
141	\emptyset O \emptyset	F1 in \emptyset , O (BL) Col in \emptyset , O (Ox)	Void	SB-M in \emptyset , O	4? 6?
142	\emptyset O C	F1 in \emptyset (BL, Ox)	Void	SB-M in \emptyset , O, C	4?

however, runs into immediate difficulties. First of all, Arnold's partial cycle, BL 2/3/6/7, finds no equivalent in Hamm's chronology since no work by Dufay uses the signature Ø. Indeed, in the entire BL Mass and motet repertory this signature occurs in only one other instance--the Lymburgia Kyrie BL 160 from the partial cycle modeled on the Lantins/Ciconia cycle.⁵⁰ I have not found it anywhere else among the Ordinary settings by continental composers copied between 1400 and 1450. If Arnold's partial cycle had been composed around 1430, we would expect its movements to employ Ø in the upper voices and © for the slower tenor values. Here we find the opposite situation, the writing of the tenor in augmented values while integer valor prevails in cantus and contratenor. This might at first seem to arise from the desire to retain in the tenor the ligature patterns of the chant melodies. This does not appear to have been the case, however. In each of the four movements the tenors consist mostly of two-note breve-breve ligatures. These could just as easily have been notated in © as c.o.p. ligatures. The only difference would have been the breaking up of occasional four-note ligatures into two two-note c.o.p. ligatures, and even more infrequent three-note ligatures into a two-note c.o.p. ligature preceded or followed by a semibreve. The only reason for writing the tenor in augmented values, then, appears to be the love of rhythmic intricacy for its own sake.⁵¹

If we ignore the Ø signature in the tenors of the partial cycle and imagine each movement to be notated in © and/or O, these movements fall into Hamm's Group 2a (ca. 1415-1429). The high number of flagged semiminims, visible in a glance at the opening folios of BL, points to the earlier end of this time period. (It also gives one an idea why composers soon moved to the larger note values of

tempus perfectum diminutum, where the performer was not forced to distinguish between the similar forms of minim and flagged semiminim.) In fact, the movements of this partial cycle contain far more semiminims and coloration than any other Ordinary setting by Arnold. With their frequent cross rhythms, semiminim rests, and dots of division used to force syncopation, they are among the most rhythmically complex settings in the BL Mass repertory. In terms of rhythmic intricacy, these appear to be the earliest of Arnold's Ordinary settings.

The Gloria/Credo pair BL 38/39, the next works by Arnold copied into the BL Mass section, introduces further difficulties in assigning Arnold's Ordinary settings to Hamm's chronological groupings. On the basis of the presence or absence of flagged semiminims, the Gloria belongs to Group 2, the Credo to Group 1. But we have already seen on stylistic grounds that the Gloria appears to be the earlier movement (see pp. 115-116 above). The major prolation sections of the Gloria contain a high degree of coloration occurring at different times in different voices (see mm. 35 and 37 of the transcription). As in the partial cycle, frequent dots of division are used to force syncopation. In m. 45, for instance, a dot of division on either side of a minim in the contratenor forces the alteration of the minim preceding the colored breve three notes later. Such intricate rhythmic interplay is more typical of the Ars subtilior than the early Dufay generation,⁵² and among Arnold's Ordinary settings occurs only in this Gloria and the partial cycle.

Although coloration appears in the Credo as well as the Gloria, it is not used to create such complex effects. The Et incarnatus, for instance, proceeds in straight-

forward 6/8 motion with occasional instances of three semi-breves in one or two voices against two in the other(s). Nothing in this movement approaches the extended rhythmic displacement found, for instance, in mm. 46-52 of the Gloria. In addition, the lower voices of the Credo show greater rhythmic congruence than those of the Gloria. They move in breve/semibreve values in a well-coordinated duet while the cantus utters the Credo text in a constant pattern of minims.

The presence or absence of semiminims is a problematic category of evidence for distinguishing among works composed earlier or later in the 1420s. BL 39 and 47/48, which exhibit semibreve-minim motion and contain no semiminims, fall into Group 1 in spite of their homophonic rhythmic style. (BL 47 and 48 contain no coloration whatsoever.) The partial cycle and BL 39, on the other hand, fall into Groups 2a and 2 due to their use of semiminims, even though they are reminiscent of the Ars subtilior in their rhythmic complexity. Thus the number of semiminims, when they are present, and the way in which they are used should be taken into account in attempts to use notational features to establish chronology. While the first two movements of the partial cycle contain 31 and 38 semiminims, respectively, BL 90 has 7 and BL 91 contains 6, used mainly as part of cadential ornamentation.

A further problem in assigning Arnold's settings to Hamm's groups arises from the fact that in cases where we would expect a shift to breve and semibreve values in O and C, most of Arnold's settings exhibit semibreve-minim motion in these mensurations. Table 3.12 presents the number of notes of each type in each mensuration for each of Arnold's Ordinary settings. We see from this that in spite of the

TABLE 3.12.
NOTE VALUES IN THE CANTUS PARTS OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

BL No.	Signature	L	B	SB	M	SM	Rate of Declamation
2	C	0	7	<u>21</u>	<u>101</u>	31	Melismatic/B/SB
3	C	1	9	<u>51</u>	<u>137</u>	38	Melismatic/B/SB
	O	0	4	<u>22</u>	<u>39</u>	0	Melismatic/B/SB
6	C	1	6	<u>32</u>	<u>86</u>	10	Melismatic/B/SB
	O	1	5	<u>73</u>	<u>120</u>	0	Melismatic/B/SB
7	C	2	11	<u>31</u>	<u>93</u>	5	Melismatic/B/SB
38	C	4	18	<u>68</u>	<u>54</u>	0	SB/M
	O	1	11	<u>33</u>	<u>36</u>	0	SB/M
	C	2	4	<u>22</u>	<u>57</u>	6	SB/M
39	C	5	25	<u>149</u>	<u>80</u>	0	SB/M
	C	1	12	<u>52</u>	<u>69</u>	0	SB/M
47	C	2	11	<u>123</u>	<u>54</u>	0	SB/M
48	C	3	34	<u>237</u>	<u>94</u>	0	SB/M
90	C	1	14	<u>45</u>	<u>62</u>	7	SB/M
	O	4	15	<u>76</u>	<u>85</u>	0	SB
91	C	1	14	<u>83</u>	<u>112</u>	6	SB/M
	O	6	46	<u>120</u>	<u>142</u>	0	SB
138	C	3	6	<u>37</u>	<u>113</u>	21	M
	O	3	9	<u>62</u>	<u>61</u>	0	SB/M
	C	1	4	<u>29</u>	<u>12</u>	0	SB/M
139	C	4	26	<u>47</u>	<u>95</u>	11	M
	O	2	27	<u>43</u>	<u>33</u>	0	B/SB
140	C	2	10	<u>62</u>	<u>127</u>	12	M
	O	1	30	<u>93</u>	<u>41</u>	0	B/SB
	C	2	<u>18</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>12</u>	0	SB
141	Ø	14	13	<u>117</u>	<u>127</u>	10	Melismatic/B/SB
	O	0	7	<u>20</u>	<u>39</u>	10	Melismatic/B/SB
142	Ø	3	5	<u>30</u>	<u>22</u>	2	Melismatic/B/SB
	O	1	3	<u>23</u>	<u>31</u>	0	Melismatic/B/SB
	C	1	8	<u>16</u>	<u>33</u>	0	Melismatic/B/SB

stylistic diversity of Arnold's Ordinary settings, only the section in C from the Credo of the Missa Verbum incarnatum exhibits a shift to larger values. Even the final two movements of the cycle, which use Ø with flagged semiminims and on all other counts appear to be Arnold's latest Ordinary settings, feature predominant semibreve-minim motion. This may indicate either that Arnold's notational practice underwent a somewhat different development than Dufay's, or that his Ordinary settings were composed somewhat earlier than corresponding works by Dufay.

Although Arnold's Ordinary settings do not reflect the shift to breve-semibreve motion observed in Dufay's works, there is another indication that he was moving in the same direction. This is the rate of declamation of text syllables, a type of evidence used extensively for the first time in Boone's chronology of Dufay's early songs. His findings may be summarized as follows:⁵³

The rate of declamation can change from one phrase to the next in the earliest songs copied in Ox. Most of the chansons exhibiting varying rates of declamation are associated with Ars subtilior characteristics.

The majority of Ox songs in C distribute text syllables on the minim.

Ox songs in C contain declamation either on the minim or the semibreve, reflecting some ambivalence about where the beat lies.

Nearly all Ox songs in O, whose use grew steadily in the course of the compilation, have declamation at the semibreve level.



Boone concludes that:

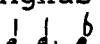

The shift from predominance of C to O is thus accompanied by a shift of declamatory level in the notation. The slowing down Besseler sees in the notation is accompanied, in the declamation, by a shift to longer values.⁵⁴

Returning to Table 3.12, we note that among Arnold's Ordinary settings that are not predominantly melismatic, the rate of declamation usually vacillates between semibreve and minim. In BL 38/39, 47/48, and 138, the distribution of text syllables agrees with the basic units of motion, semibreve and minim, in all mensurations. But while only the C section of BL 140 shows a shift to longer values, we find text syllables placed at the breve and semibreve levels in the tempus perfectum and imperfectum sections of BL 90, 91, 139, and 140. This broadening appears to indicate that this Gloria/Credo pair and the Gloria and Credo of the Mass were composed later than BL 38/39, 47/48, and the Kyrie of the Mass. What appear to be Arnold's earliest Ordinary settings, the movements of the partial cycle, and his latest settings, the final two movements of the Mass, are primarily melismatic. When text syllables do occur in more rapid succession, they do so in both cases at the breve or semibreve level.

Another feature suggesting that the Kyrie of the complete cycle may not have been composed at the same time as the Gloria and Credo is the presence in the latter of contratenor motion at cadences where the other voices have breve or long values, thus propelling energy into the next phrase. (See, for example, BL 139, mm. 19, 23, and 35, and BL 140, mm. 5, 24, and 68.) This device is not found in the Kyrie or in any of Arnold's other Ordinary settings.

A potentially significant factor that was not mentioned in Hamm's chronology is the use of red versus void coloration in pieces transmitted in black notation. Returning to Table 4.11, we see that pieces by Arnold copied during Stage I of the BL compilation use red coloration, while those copied later use void coloration. This is due to a change of policy on the part of the BL scribe that took place towards the end of Stage I and tells us nothing about Arnold's original.⁵⁵

Two other considerations unmentioned by Hamm may prove useful determining the chronology of Arnold's Ordinary settings. The first is the distinction between the rhythmic style of O and Ø that Bockholdt and Boone have observed in Dufay's works of the early 1420s.⁵⁶ Trochaic rhythms, such as , abound in early works in O, while works in Ø frequently use the rhythm , which never appears in contemporaneous works in O. By the end of the 1420s the latter rhythmic pattern appeared frequently both in O and Ø and the stylistic distinction between the two mensurations had disappeared.

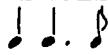
Among Arnold's Ordinary settings, only the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass use both O and Ø. The rhythmic pattern  occurs frequently throughout both movements and there is no discernible difference between the rhythmic style of the two mensurations. Like the Dufay songs copied in the later gatherings of Ox,⁵⁷ these two movements are rhythmically supple, moving freely from breve and semibreve values to strings of minims and ornamental semiminims. While none of Arnold's other Ordinary settings use Ø, those containing sections in tempus perfectum offer a marked contrast to BL 141/142. The rhythm  does not appear at all in BL 3, 6, 38, 90/91, or the Gloria of the Mass, and occurs only

twice in the Kyrie and five times in the Credo. Sections in O in these movements do not, moreover, feature the flexible rhythmic handling found in the Sanctus and Agnus. Instead, the trochaic rhythm, ♩, predominates. Hamm's contention that the Sanctus and Agnus were later additions to a previously composed Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, thus appears well founded.

Finally, Boone has demonstrated that Dufay's earliest songs in O_x contain numerous text phrases whose first syllable occurs on an upbeat, while phrases in those composed and copied later almost always start at the beginning of a perfection.⁵⁸ It appears that upbeat text incipits had not come into favor when Arnold composed the partial cycle, where they appear only in the O section of the Kyrie. In BL 38 only a few internal phrases begin on an upbeat, but in BL 39, 47/48, and the Kyrie of the Mass upbeat phrase beginnings occur frequently in all mensurations. Although the number falls off somewhat in BL 90/91 and the Gloria and Credo of the Mass, upbeat incipits occur in significant numbers again in what on all accounts appear to be Arnold's latest Ordinary settings, the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass. We may conclude then, that while Arnold's development in terms of mensural and rhythmic practice roughly paralleled that of Dufay, the correspondence is less than exact.

* * *

Hamm's criteria for establishing the chronology of Dufay's works have provided a point of departure for this discussion of chronology in Arnold's Ordinary settings. Bockholdt and Boone have observed further rhythmic features that changed over time in Dufay's early Mass movements and

songs; these also are applicable to Arnold's stylistic development. We may now propose a provisional chronology of Arnold's Ordinary settings based on mensural characteristics and rhythmic style (see Table 3.13). This results in the division of Arnold's settings into six groups showing a general progression from the complexity of the Ars subtilior to the simplicity of the cantabile style that arose around 1430. While it is not possible to assign precise dates to these groups at this time, we can safely assume that they cover a period from around 1420 or even before for the partial cycle (the first entry in the BL Mass section) to sometime in the later 1420s or early 1430s for the final two movements of the Missa Verbum incarnatum. But while it seems clear that the partial cycle is the earliest of Arnold's Ordinary settings and the last two movements of the complete cycle the latest, the chronological relationship among Groups III, IV, and V of Table 3.13 is more tenuous. On the basis of the presence or absence of the rhythmic figure  in O it appears that BL 90/91 preceded the first three movements of the Mass; on the other hand, the high number of semiminims and the more syncopated rhythm of the major prolation sections of the Kyrie make it appear earlier than BL 90/91. To resolve these ambiguities we must turn to other stylistic factors.

Tonal Organization

The final consideration in establishing a chronology of Arnold's Ordinary settings involves stylistic features relating to tonal rather than rhythmic aspects of the settings, i.e., cadential goals, signatures, types of cadences, the relationship among voice parts, and dissonance treatment. Although these elements do not lend themselves to systematic treatment as readily as mensural

TABLE 3.13.
TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS
BASED ON RHYTHMIC STYLE AND MENSURAL CHARACTERISTICS







Group	BL No.	Evidence for Chronological Placement
I	2/3/6/7	High number of flagged semiminims in C Syncopated rhythmic style in C, O Melismatic, variable rate of declamation No use of  in O Upbeat incipits only in O section of BL 3
	38	Moderate number of flagged semiminims in C Homophonic rhythmic style in C, O, syncopated rhythmic style in C Declamation at semibreve or minim in C, O, C No use of  in O Upbeat incipits for occasional internal phrases
II	39	No semiminims in C, C Homophonic rhythmic style in C, somewhat syncopated in C Declamation at semibreve or minim in C, C Upbeat incipits for numerous internal phrases
	47/48	No semiminims in C Homophonic rhythmic style in C Declamation at semibreve, minim in C Upbeat incipits for numerous internal phrases
III	138	High number of flagged semiminims in C Homophonic rhythmic style in O, C, somewhat syncopated in C Declamation at minim in C, semibreve or minim in O and C Two instances of  in O Upbeat incipits for numerous internal phrases

TABLE 3.13. Continued.

Group	BL No.	Evidence for Chronological Placement
IV	90/91	<p>Limited number of flagged semiminims in C</p> <p>Homophonic rhythmic style in C, O</p> <p>Declamation at semibreve or minim in C, semibreve in O</p> <p>No use of  in O</p> <p>Upbeat incipits for occasional internal phrases</p>
V	139/140	<p>Limited number of flagged semiminims in C</p> <p>Homophonic rhythmic style in O, C, somewhat syncopated in C</p> <p>Declamation at minim in C, breve or semibreve in O, C</p> <p>No use of  in O in BL 139, five occurrences in BL 140</p> <p>Upbeat incipits for numerous internal phrases</p>
VI	141/142	<p>Use of \emptyset with flagged or colored semiminims in \emptyset, O</p> <p>Homophonic rhythmic style in \emptyset, O</p> <p>Melismatic, variable rate of text declamation</p> <p>Frequent use of  in \emptyset, O</p> <p>Upbeat incipits for numerous internal phrases</p>

features, they provide evidence for further refinement of the tentative chronology suggested above.

Table 3.14 indicates the final of each of Arnold's settings, along with the opening and closing sonority of each section. The cadential goals shown for the partial cycle, BL 2/3/6/7, are least instructive for our purposes since they depend on the chant melody embedded in the tenor

TABLE 3.14.
TONAL ORGANIZATION OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

BL No.	Mm.	Incipit	Opening/ Closing Sonorities	Final
2	1-35	Salve sancta parens	A - D	D
3	1-10	Kyrieleyson I	D - D	D
	11-18	Kyrieleyson II	A - D	
	19-27	Kyrieleyson III	D - D	
	28-34	Cristeleyson I	A - A	
	35-51	Cristeleyson II	A - D	
	52-58	Cristeleyson III	A - A	
	59-67	Kyrieleyson IV	A - A	
	68-76	Kyrieleyson V	A - D	
	77-100	Kyrieleyson VI	A - D	
6	1-18	Sanctus I	C - F	F
	19-37	Pleni sunt celi	A - F	
	38-71	Benedictus marie filius	F - F	
	72-95	Osanna II	F - F	
7	1-21	Agnus dei I	F - F	F
	22-41	Agnus dei II	F - F	
	42-62	Agnus dei III	F - F	
38	1-12	Et in terra pax	F - A	C
	13-34	Gracias agimus tibi	F - G	
	35-54	Domine deus	F - F	
	55-69	Qui sedes	F - G	
	70-81	Cum sancto spiritu	F - A	
	82-95	Amen	F - C	
39	1-34	Patrem omnipotentem	C - G	C
	35-82	Et incarnatus	D - C	
	83-114	Et in spiritum	C - G	
	115-117	Amen	D - C	
47	1-50	Et in terra pax	F - F	F
48	1-34	Patrem omnipotentem	F - F	F
	35-65	Et incarnatus est	F - G	
	66-98	Et in spiritum	F - F	
90	1-47	Et in terra pax	B ^b - C	C
	48-112	Qui tollis peccata mundi	C - C	
91	1-78	Patrem omnipotentem	B ^b - G	C
	79-199	Et resurrexit	G - C	

TABLE 3.14. Continued.

BL No.	Mm.	Incipit	Opening/ Closing Sonorities	Final
138	1-10	Kyrie verbum incarnatum	F - F	F
	11-20	Kyrie panis angelorum	F - G	
	21-31	Kyrie in tua nativitate	C - F	
	32-46	Christe qui pro mundi	C - F	
	47-63	Christe quem adoraverunt	F - C	
	64-80	Christe nostre humanitati	C - G	
	81-90	Kyrie ad meam redemptionem	F - C	
	91-101	Kyrie a morte ut predixisti	D - F	
	102-114	Kyrie qui excelsa celorum	F - F	
139	1-14	Et in terra pax	F - F	F
	15-48	Laudamus te	F - C	
	49-94	Qui tollis peccata	C - C	
	95-107	Cum sancto spiritu	D - C	
	108-135	Amen	G - F	
140	1-41	Patrem omnipotentem	F - F	F
	42-110	Et incarnatus est	F - G	
	111-134	Et in spiritum sanctum	F - F	
	135-153	Et unam sanctam	F - F	
	154-160	Amen	F - F	
141	1-12	Sanctus II	F - F	F
	13-25	Sanctus III	F - A	
	26-64	Dominus deus sabaoth	C - F	
	65-86	Osanna I	A - F	
	87-110	Qui venit in nomine	C - G	
	111-132	Osanna II	F - F	
142	1-26	Qui tollis peccata mundi	F - F	F
	27-45	Qui tollis peccata mundi	C - C	
	46-60	Qui tollis peccata mundi	F - F	

of each movement. Among the remaining settings, BL 38 is by far the least coherent in terms of tonal organization. Although each section of the setting begins with an F sonority, the cadences alternate among A, G, and F until the final cadence on C. From the opening motto this

movement is marked by a high degree of tonal ambiguity. It begins in an F sonority with a cantus/contratenor duo, shifts to a G sonority at the tenor entrance in m. 3, and cadences on A in m. 12. BL 39, on the other hand, shows a clear pattern of cadential goals emphasizing the polarity between the first and fifth degrees. Although it commences with the cantus melody found in the Gloria, the motto is supported by C rather than F this time and continues with a clear sense that C is the final. If we assume that Arnold's Ordinary settings show a progression towards greater tonal clarity, this would corroborate other observations indicating that the Credo was composed later than the Gloria and added to it to form a pair.

After BL 38, the Mass movement showing the greatest variety of cadential goals is BL 138, the Kyrie of the Mass cycle. The pattern of cadences in this case articulates an intelligible tonal plan that gives greater closure to Kyrie III and VI than to Christe III. Cadences in the remaining movements of the Mass emphasize the first, second, and fifth degrees.⁵⁹

The most interesting of Arnold's Ordinary settings in terms of tonal organization is the Gloria/Credo pair BL 90/91. This pair also raises the most questions. Although both movements contain two-flat signatures and cadence on C (so-called Dorian twice transposed), they begin with a B-flat sonority. Even more remarkable are the unusually low clefs and voice ranges (see Table 3.15). But the most problematic aspect of these settings is the meaning of the signatures in BL. The scribe clearly wrote b-flat and d-flat at the beginning of every cantus stave of BL 90 and 91, while specifying b-flat and the expected e-flat for the lower voices. The BU version uses b-flat, e-flat

TABLE 3.15.
 FINALS, SIGNATURES, RANGES, AND CADENCES IN ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

BL No.	Final	Clefs/ Signatures	Ranges	Under- Third Cadences	Octave- Leap Cadences
2	D	c ² c ⁴ /f ² c ⁵ /f ³	a - a ¹ d - e ¹ A - g	-	-
3	D	c ² c ⁴ /f ² c ⁵ /f ³	a - b ¹ d - f ¹ A - d ¹	3	-
6	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³	d ¹ - e ² f - a ¹ f - f ¹	5	-
7	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	e ¹ - d ² f - a ¹ f - f ¹	-	-
38	C	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	d ¹ - d ² f - a ¹ f - f ¹	1	1
39	C	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² g - a ¹ f - a ¹	1	2
47	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² f - a ¹ f - g ¹	2	1
48	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² f - a ¹ f - g ¹	2	1
90	C	c ⁴ b-flat, d-flat f ⁴ b-flat, e-flat f ⁴ b-flat, e-flat	d - e ¹ F - b-flat G - a	11	5
91	C	c ⁴ b-flat, d-flat f ⁴ b-flat, e-flat f ⁴ b-flat, e-flat	d - e ¹ G - a G - b-flat	9	6

TABLE 3.15. Continued.

BL No.	Final	Clefs/ Signatures	Ranges	Under- Third Cadences	Octave- Leap Cadences
138	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² e - g ¹ f - a ¹	5	7
139	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - e ² f - a ¹ f - g ¹	4	7
140	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² e - a ¹ f - g ¹	6	8
141	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	b - e ² f - g ¹ f - g ¹	10	3
142	F	c ¹ c ³ b-flat c ³ b-flat	c ¹ - d ² f - f ¹ f - a ¹	6	4

signatures for all three voices. The presence of a d-flat in the BL cantus signatures is puzzling. Not only would such an inflection create intolerable clashes among voices; it would also result in augmented seconds between the second and third degrees in the cantus. We are by no means dealing here with an incompetent or careless scribe who failed to distinguish between e-flat and d-flat.⁶⁰ From an examination of the signatures and signed accidentals he used elsewhere in BL, it may eventually be possible to determine what he meant by the d-flats in the cantus voices of BL 90 and 91.⁶¹

The presence of partial signatures in the musical sources of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries has

stimulated considerable controversy in the musicological literature. While it is not my purpose here to provide an overview of this debate, certain elements of an earlier discussion may be relevant to the question of the enigmatic d-flat e-flat signatures in BL 90 and 91. In 1953 Richard Hoppin attempted to resolve the controversy between Apel and Lowinsky regarding the meaning of partial signatures by introducing the evidence from the isolated repertory of TuB showing that "partial signatures are an indication of pitch levels lying a fifth apart, which in turn imply the use of two modes simultaneously or of the same mode in a transposed and untransposed position."⁶²

Although Hoppin's interpretation has been superseded by more recent investigations,⁶³ his 1953 study contains some interesting tables showing the correspondence between signatures, ranges, and their presumed modal classifications in compositions in TuB, OH, and Ox.⁶⁴ Some striking patterns emerge from these tables, whether we are thinking in terms of modes and transposed modes, or finals and transposed hexachords. In all three repertories we find the following pattern:

The majority of pieces without signatures in any voice end on a D final.

Most of the pieces with no signature in the upper voice(s) but one flat in the lower voice(s) have F or G as their final (Hoppin's Lydian or transposed Dorian on G).

The handful of pieces with one flat in the upper voice(s) and two flats in the lower voice(s) have finals on B-flat, C, or F (Hoppin's Lydian on B-flat, once transposed, Dorian on C, twice transposed, and Hypomixolidan on F).

Thus it would appear that early fifteenth-century composers, at least those represented in the sources in Hoppin's survey, tended to use a limited number of finals in their compositions--F (by far the most popular), D, G, C, and, very occasionally, B-flat.

The pattern revealed in Hoppin's tables also appears in the Ordinary movements composed by Arnold de Lantins. As shown in Table 3.15, Arnold's only Ordinary settings without signatures are BL 2 and 3, both incorporating mode 2 plainsong melodies in the tenor. Among the pieces with no accidental in the top voice and a flat in each of the lower voices we find BL 6, 7, 47, 48, and all five movements of the Missa Verbum incarnatum with an F final, and BL 38 and 39 with a C final. (Hoppin lists only three compositions on C finals with this signature combination, all in Ox.) The only movements with two-flat signatures, the problematic pair for low voices, BL 90/91, end on C.

Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair, BL 90/91, is unusual not only for its signatures, but also for the extremely low voice ranges, down to low G or F in both tenor and contratenor. This contrasts sharply with the rest of the early fifteenth-century Mass repertory, where clefs for three-part settings in motet style are predominantly c^1 c^{3b} c^{3b} and the lowest note in tenor and contratenor usually lies around f. Ranges extending down to G or F are also unusual among Dufay's works. Fallows has pointed to possible connections among early works by Dufay distinguished by their low ranges⁶⁵--Hé compaignons (VI/49), whose text exhorts Arnold and Hugo to join in the May Day merrymaking, the sequence Gaude virgo, mater Christi (V/1), and an independent Gloria (IV/21). It is tempting to speculate that similar circumstances gave impetus to Arnold's and Dufay's compositions for low voices.

Besseler traced the gradual increase in the range and role of the contratenor from "deep-clef" contratenors of the 1420s, whose clefs and ranges were lower than those of the corresponding tenors, to wide-ranging contratenors requiring six-line staves, whose advent he dated around 1430.⁶⁶ Unlike most of the examples in Besseler's tables of deep-clef and six-line contratenors, BL 90 and 91 have identical clefs and nearly identical ranges for tenor and contratenor. But in spite of their low tessituras, the contratenors of BL 90 and 91 do not show a significant increase in range over those of Arnold's earlier settings. The contratenors of the partial cycle, BL 38/39, and BL 47/48 all occupy ranges of a ninth or tenth; those of BL 90/91 have ranges of an eleventh and a ninth, respectively. The contratenors of the complete cycle have ranges from an octave for the Agnus to an eleventh for the Credo. But while the contratenors of BL 90/91 and the Mass do not show a substantial increase in range over Arnold's earlier settings, they do exhibit a marked increase in the number of octave leaps and the sense of directed motion. The number of leaps of an octave in the contratenor varies from zero to six in the partial cycle, three to five for BL 39/39 and BL 47/48, to 18 and 21 for BL 90/91, 12 to 14 for the first three movements of the Mass, and a falling off to six each for the final two movements. The decrease in the amount of motion in the contratenor of these movements appears to coincide with increased control of voice-leading procedures and the increased rhythmic flexibility demonstrated in Arnold's latest Ordinary settings.

The types of cadences Arnold used and the way in which they were ornamented also changed over time. Referring again to Table 3.15, we note that under-third and octave-leap cadences appear rarely or not at all in the partial

cycle and the first two Gloria/Credo pairs, where double-leading-tone cadences predominate both for internal cadences and those at the ends of sections. In BL 90/91 and the Mass cycle, on the other hand, the number of under-third cadences rose sharply, as did the use of octave-leap cadences, whose increased use Besseler associated with the years around 1430. The lower incidence of octave-leap cadences in the Sanctus and Agnus coincides with the general decrease in the number of octave leaps in the contras of these movements, once more indicating the increased fluidity of Arnold's voice leading in his latest settings. Generally speaking, BL 90/91 and the Mass cycle show far greater variety of cadential types than the partial cycle and the first two Gloria/Credo pairs.

Parallel to the progression from the almost exclusive use of double-leading-tone cadences to a variety of cadential types, we find a corresponding change in the type of motion between voices and the handling of dissonance. The settings closest to the rhythmic complexity of the Ars subtilior, the partial cycle and the Gloria BL 38, show a predominance of contrary motion between cantus and tenor and between tenor and contratenor. In the partial cycle, where the plainsong tenors move in slower values than the upper voices, the contratenor moves sometimes with the tenor, sometimes with the cantus. In BL 38 the contratenor forms a coordinated duet with the tenor in C and O, where homophonic rhythmic movement prevails; in the highly syncopated C sections it more often moves with the cantus. Contrast between mensurations in the partial cycle and BL 38 also shows up in the high number of parallel perfect consonances and accented dissonances that occur almost exclusively in sections in major prolation.

In BL 39 we find occasional instances of parallel motion between cantus and tenor and a few examples of descending parallel 6/3 motion in all three voices. In the major prolation portions of this setting the contratenor moves sometimes with the cantus, sometimes with the tenor; it joins the tenor in a smooth duet in C and O. Some accented dissonances appear in all three mensurations, especially in C, but not nearly to the extent found in BL 38 and the partial cycle.

The greatest degree of parallel 6/3 motion in Arnold's Ordinary settings occurs in his simplest, most perfunctory settings, BL 47 and 48, notated entirely in C. As might be expected in this mensuration, the tenor and contratenor form a continuous duet and accented dissonance is almost entirely lacking. The amount of parallel 6/3 motion is somewhat less prevalent in the more complex BL 90/91, where accented dissonances still occur in C. (There are three examples in the motto shown in Ex. 3.1.) In this case, however, the contratenor/tenor duet extends throughout both the C and O sections.

The first three movements of the Mass exhibit similar relationships among voices. Although they remain somewhat more active in C, the lower voices form a coordinated two-voice duo in each of these movements. There is a good deal of parallel 6/3 motion, especially at cadences, but here it is disguised by rhythmic displacement, usually in the form of suspensions. The kinds of unprepared dissonance at the beginnings of perfections, so prevalent in the major prolation sections of Arnold's earlier settings, is entirely absent here. The general similarity in the texture and dissonance treatment of these three movements suggests that if the Kyrie was indeed composed earlier than the Gloria

and Credo of the Mass (see p. 159 above), it could not have been much earlier. The final two movements of the cycle also include a smooth contratenor/tenor duet and rhythmic displacement of parallel motion at cadences in all mensurations.

Table 3.16 summarizes the results of this discussion of the tonal organization of Arnold's Ordinary settings. As in Table 3.13, the tentative chronology based on rhythmic and mensural features, the settings fall into six groups in which the partial cycle is first, the final two movements of the Mass last. This table, however, revises the contents of groups II to V. BL 47 and 48 are differentiated from BL 39 by the increase in the amount of parallel motion and the decrease in the amount of accented dissonance in the comparable sections in C. And it now appears that BL 138 is closely contemporary with BL 139 and 140 and did not precede BL 90/91.

Conclusions

It now appears that the order in which Arnold's compositions for the Mass Ordinary were copied in BL approximated fairly closely the order in which they were composed. The first entry in the BL Mass section, begun in 1420 or earlier according to Bent, was the Lantins/Ciconia composite cycle, whose Introit, Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus show stylistic indebtedness to the Ars subtilior. Stage I of the BL compilation also includes two Gloria/Credo pairs by Arnold, BL 38/39, consisting of a stylistically earlier Gloria and a somewhat later Credo, and BL 47/48, which show slightly later stylistic traits. All of these settings were composed before ca. 1425, Bent's terminus ante quem for the completion of Stage I.

TABLE 3.16.
TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS
BASED ON TONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Group	BL No.	Evidence for Chronological Placement
I	2/3/6/7	<p>Cadential goals determined by plainsong melodies in tenors</p> <p>Few under-third cadences, no octave-leap cadences</p> <p>Voices move independently of one another</p> <p>Mostly contrary motion</p> <p>Frequent accented dissonance in C, none in O</p>
	38	<p>Many cadential goals; tonal ambiguity</p> <p>Few under-third and octave-leap cadences</p> <p>Voices move independently in C; CT/T duet in C, O</p> <p>Mostly contrary motion</p> <p>Frequent accented dissonance in C, some in C, O</p>
II	39	<p>Cadential goals limited to first and fifth degrees</p> <p>Few under-third and octave-leap cadences</p> <p>CT moves sometimes with Cantus, sometimes with T in C; CT/T duet in C, O</p> <p>Occasional parallel motion between Cantus/T, Cantus/CT</p> <p>Some accented dissonance in C, less in C</p>
III	47/48	<p>Cadential goals limited to first, second degrees</p> <p>Few under-third and octave-leap cadences</p> <p>CT/T duet in C</p> <p>Increased parallel motion among all three voices, especially in BL 48</p> <p>Almost no accented dissonance in C</p>

TABLE 3.16. Continued

Group	BL No.	Evidence for Chronological Placement
IV	90/91	<p>Cadential goals limited to first, fifth degrees</p> <p>Large number of under-third and octave-leap cadences</p> <p>CT/T duet in C and O</p> <p>Occasional parallel motion among all three voices</p> <p>Some accented dissonance in C, none in O</p>
V	138-140	<p>Cadential goals limited to first, second, fifth degrees</p> <p>Large number of under-third and octave-leap cadences</p> <p>CT/T duet in C, C, O</p> <p>Parallel 6/3 motion at cadences masked by rhythmic displacement</p>
VI	141-142	<p>Cadential goals include first, second, third, fifth degrees</p> <p>Large number of under-third cadences, fewer octave-leap cadences</p> <p>CT/T duet in O, O, C</p> <p>Parallel 6/3 motion at cadences masked by rhythmic displacement</p>

Arnold may have composed the third Gloria/Credo pair, BL 90/91, before work on the first movements of the Mass began, although its copying occurred somewhat later in the second stage of the compilation. The completed Mass, one of the earliest entries in Stage II, was probably composed in the late 1420s, and may have antedated Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi. The correspondence between the order in which Arnold composed his Mass Ordinary settings and their appearance in the BL Mass repertory suggests that the BL scribe, a keen collector of musically related Ordinary

movements, had relatively direct access to the works of two of the composers most involved in forging such relationships--Guillaume Dufay and Arnold de Lantins.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter, we may conclude that paired movements, partial cycles, and complete cycles do not necessarily represent discrete stages in the history of the cyclic Mass. Arnold de Lantins, one of the composers most active in the composition of Mass music in the 1420s, apparently wrote four movements based on Mass IX tenors to be used with existing Gloria and Credo settings (he may have had in mind the Ciconia settings, BL 4 and 5) before composing his surviving Gloria/Credo pairs. We do not know if Arnold, like Dufay, composed other Gloria/Credo pairs after creating a complete cycle. Nor can we determine if he wrote settings for alternatim performance or with chant paraphrase in the superius during his 1431-1432 tenure in the Papal Chapel. If so, they did not reach the scribes of the Veneto sources.

CHAPTER 4

THE TRANSMISSION OF ARNOLD'S ORDINARY SETTINGS

The transmission of music in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance has been a topic of increasing interest among music historians in recent years, a trend attested to by the titles of several recently completed doctoral dissertations.¹ The principles of textual criticism were first developed in the field of classical studies as a means of penetrating the surface of a text copied centuries after its author's demise in order to establish a critical text that is as close as possible to what the author originally wrote.² Introduced into musicology by Bach scholars in the 1950s, textual criticism has been adapted to the special needs of our own discipline and into specialized areas within it. The Bible for musicologists attempting to initiate themselves into the mysteries of textual criticism is the slender volume by Paul Maas entitled Textual Criticism.³ But those who have tried to apply the principles so clearly stated there to the complex relationships among the readings of different musical sources have found that the process is seldom as straightforward as a reading of Maas might suggest.

Margaret Bent has demonstrated that much of the difficulty lies in the fact that classical texts transmitted over the course of many centuries and polyphonic music circulating only as long as it remained in fashion are quite different in nature, and that the classical model of

transmission needs emendation for the study of polyphonic music. She pointed out that

Our task is rather different from that of the text critic who, when isolating glosses and annotations that have been incorporated into his text, is not faced with such a strong likelihood that these additions in fact represented a realization of the author's intentions. The musician is trying not only to retrieve the text as the composer wrote it, but also to take account of such accretions, some of which the composer may have supplied, some of which he may have presumed, while yet others may have counted as acceptable options or indeed as rejects.⁴

The impact of scribes on the transmission of music in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has received increasing emphasis in recent studies. While not very long ago most musicologists assumed that scribes transmitted fairly accurately what lay before them,⁵ there is an increasing body of evidence indicating that they felt free to change the format of their exemplars, copy pieces in black notation into void notation and vice versa, transform Italian notation into French notation, add or remove slashes from signatures, and in many other ways alter the appearance, and sometimes sound, of their exemplars.⁶ Moreover, both composers and scribes freely revised their own works and those of their contemporaries by adding or subtracting voice parts, ornamenting upper voices, and producing contrafacts. It now appears that fifteenth-century musicians tended to regard musical material more as communal property than as the unique creation of a composer with very set ideas as to how his works were to be performed and transmitted.⁷

The Ordinary settings of Arnold de Lantins that survive in more than one source provide significant evidence for the role of scribes in the transmission of early fifteenth-century music since they exhibit striking variants among the sources in which they occur. The tenors and contratenors of some movements are texted in one source and untexted in another. There are three entirely different introductions to the Gloria and an alternate Amen to the Credo of the Mass. Cantus coronatus passages differ from one source to another in rhythm and sometimes in pitch. Finally, some internal sections, and in one case, an entire movement, cadence on a different final.

In this chapter I will examine the extent to which copying errors, scribal editing, and compositional revision may have been responsible for these variants. Such an investigation not only provides the basis for an accurate text of Arnold's Ordinary music; it also proposes a further purpose of text-critical studies: obtaining a better understanding of how music was composed, performed, and copied in the early fifteenth century.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLORIA/CREDO BL 90/91 AND BU 37/38

Although BL and BU were copied in the Veneto within a few years of each other, their texts of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair for low voices differ from one another in a number of respects. These may be tabulated as follows:

	<u>BL</u>	<u>BU</u>
Clefs/signatures in cantus	c ⁴ b-flat d-flat	f ² b-flat e-flat
Text-bearing voices	Cantus, tenor	Cantus, Contra- tenor, Tenor

	<u>BL</u>	<u>BU</u>
<u>Cantus-coronatus</u> passages	Different rhythmic values than BU	Different rhythmic values than BL
Final Amen of Gloria	11 mm. long with cadence on C	8 mm. long with cadence on C
Final Amen of Credo	13 mm. long with cadence on C	9 mm. long with cadence on G

Given such a high number of significant variants, it would appear that the two copies of this Mass pair derive from quite different branches of the stemma. Closer inspection of the variants, however, shows that the two copies are more closely related than it would seem at first glance. During the following discussion the reader is encouraged to refer to Vol. II of this study for a parallel transcription of the movements as they appear in the two sources.

The first point of comparison for determining the relationship between the two sets of readings is the layout in BL and BU. This is shown in Fig. 4.1, where solid lines represent staves bearing music and broken lines indicate those left blank by the scribes. In BL the cantus appears on the verso, the contratenor on the recto with the tenor beneath it. In BU the cantus appears at the top of the verso and the contratenor at the top of the recto, with the tenor spread across the opening beneath them. The page break for the Credo, which occupies two openings, falls at a different place in the two sources. In BL the second opening begins with the words "Cuius regni non erit finis." In BU it begins with the subsequent text phrase, "Et in spiritum sanctum." The division of the Credo into two sections, each governed by a different mensuration, takes place before this point in the movement. As seen in the previous chapter, it occurs at the cantus coronatus passage

Ar de lantinis	Cx1j bis repetitum
Et in terra —	CT —
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	T —
—	—
—	—
—	—

BL 90, fols. 111bis^V-112bis

Ar de lantinis	Cx11j
Patrem —	CT —
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—

BL 91, fols. 112bis^V-113

Culus regni —	Cx111j
—	CT —
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	T —
—	—
—	—
—	—

BL 91, fols. 113^V-114

46 Arnold de latinis	47
Et in terra —	CT —
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
T —	T —
—	—
—	—

BU 37, pp. 46-47

48	49
Patrem —	CT —
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—

BU 38, pp. 48-49

50	51
Et in spiritum —	CT —
—	—
—	—
T —	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—

BU 38, pp. 50-51

Fig. 4.1. Layout of BL 90/91 and BU 37/38

on the words "Et resurrexit" (mm. 79-92), which is followed by the change to tempus perfectum in m. 93. In the early fifteenth-century sources the second opening of a Mass movement frequently begins with a mensuration change. In this Credo, however, the page break does not coincide with a major textual/musical division in either source.

In BL the phrase preceding the words "Cuius regni" ends with a long and a fermata in all three voices (followed by a semibreve rest in the two lower voices). This cadence, located at mm. 116-117 of the transcription, is of insufficient weight to require this treatment.⁸ The longs and fermata may have been introduced by the BL scribe due to the page break, or by the scribe of an earlier exemplar with the same page break. In BU there is no need for a long or a fermata at this cadence. It does not articulate an important structural division and there is no page turn following it. Nevertheless, BU also has a long with fermatas (but no rests in the lower voices) at the cadence preceding "Cuius regni." The next cadence of any structural importance in this portion of the Credo comes at m. 122, where there is a page break in BU. But this cadence ends with a breve in all voices in both sources (followed by semibreve rests in BL). Thus the retention in BU of longs and fermatas at an unimportant internal cadence indicates that the BU version of the Credo was copied from an exemplar that, like BL, had the words "Cuius regni" at the beginning of the second opening.

An interesting demonstration of scribal impact on the transmission of this Gloria/Credo pair lies in a comparison of the text underlay in the two sources. In BL only two voices received texts, the cantus and tenor. Text appears in the contratenor only for the incipits at the outset of

each opening, at the beginning of the second section of each movement, and at cantus coronatus passages. Cantus and tenor engage in simultaneous declamation of the text throughout most of both movements. In many cases, it would be a simple matter to add text to the given values of the contratenor, which would result in simultaneous declamation of the Ordinary texts by all three voices, or of the tenor/contratenor duo when the underlay of the tenor differs from that of the cantus. In other cases, the addition of text underlay to the contratenor could be accomplished by breaking ligatures or by replacing longer values, such as breves, with shorter ones, since longer values in the contratenor tend to occur in conjunction with repeated notes in the other two voices. (See, for instance, mm. 15-16 of the Gloria.) Examples of held notes in the contratenor against repeated notes in the outer voices, or of simultaneous rhythmic activity in all three voices even though only two of the voices are texted (at mm. 25-26 of the Gloria, for instance) strongly suggest that BL's exemplar or one of its immediate antecedents featured simultaneous text declamation in all three voices.

We cannot be sure whether the BL scribe or the scribe of an earlier exemplar was responsible for removing the text from the contratenors of BL 90 and 91. There are no errors or erasures in the contratenor of either movement to suggest that the scribe was adding ligatures or contracting shorter into longer values as he copied. On the other hand, it would have been relatively easy for a skilled musician/scribe to do so. The removal of text from a contratenor to bring a composition more into line with northern practice would hardly be surprising on the part of such an unabashed Francophile as the BL scribe.⁹ Nonetheless, nothing in the manuscript indicates whether this

scribe or an earlier scribe removed the text from the contratenor of BL 90 and 91.

The case in BU is the opposite. Here it is clear that BU's exemplar did not provide text underlay for the contratenor. This is indicated by the fact that again and again in BU the alignment between the contratenor and its text is quite different from that of the other voices, even though we can see from a glance at the score in the appendix that the texts of the Gloria and Credo would easily fit the note values of the BU contratenors. The BU scribe, however, had no score to refer to. He had before him, instead, an exemplar with an untexted contratenor and three rectos (the present pages 47, 49, and 51) onto which he had copied the Gloria and Credo texts before attempting to fit the notes of Arnold's Gloria and Credo above the words.¹⁰ Through most of the two movements the text underlay of the contratenor follows the rhythmicization of the tenor. Where it doesn't, it is usually in a situation where the possibilities for text underlay are least obvious when looking at the contratenor part alone.

The reader might object that these anomalies in terms of text underlay may reflect BU's exemplar, not the activity of the BU scribe. Errors and corrections involving text underlay in the Credo, however, indicate that the BU scribe himself restored text to the contratenors as he copied. At m. 134, for instance, he originally entered a breve, over which he later wrote a breve-breve ligature (see the ligature over the syllable "-que" in Fig. 4.2). The underlay of the contratenor is completely out of alignment with the other voices at this point, with the word "filioque" in the contratenor juxtaposed against "patre" in



e filioꝝ p̄dit. Q̄ cū

Fig. 4.2. BU 38, p. 51, Contratenor

the other voices (Ex. 4.1). At m. 140 the BU scribe had to introduce two minims just after a line break in order to have enough notes for the word "filio." And at m. 167 he originally wrote breve-semibreve-breve-semibreve, resulting in an extra breve value, which he later erased. The gap in the top line of stave 3 on p. 52 is clearly evident in the BU facsimile.

We have, so far, witnessed two categories of evidence suggesting that BU's exemplar for these two movements resembled BL in certain respects--it had a page break in the Credo at the words "Cuius regni," and it had untexted contratenor parts to which the BU scribe restored the texts. Two further differences between the two sources of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair are less helpful in indicating the nature of the BL and BU exemplars. The first of these is the enigmatic clef/signature combination c^4 b-flat d-flat throughout the cantus of both movements in BL, where BU has f^2 b-flat e-flat. The d-flat in the cantus of both movements makes little musical sense if we assume that

Example 4.1

BU 38, mm. 130-137, Text Alignment

130

-tem qui ex pa- tre

-tem qui ex pa- tre fi- li- o-

-tem qui ex pa- tre

135

fi- li- o- que pro- ce- dit.

que pro- ce- dit

fi- li- o- que pro- ce- dit.

early fifteenth-century signatures conveyed the same meaning as their modern counterparts, i.e., that all notes at pitches indicated by flats in the signatures are to be deflected downwards a semitone. In the case of BL 90/91 this would produce frequent leaps of an augmented second and clashes with the d-naturals in the lower voices. The BL copies of the two movements contain only two manuscript accidentals (compared to 22 in BU), thus the BL scribe gave little indication of how such problems were to be resolved.

We might conclude that the d-flats in the cantus voices of BL 90 and 91 were simply errors; that the scribe meant e-flat but wrote d-flat instead. But we are dealing here with a highly competent scribe, one capable of renotating pieces in major prolation in tempus perfectum diminutum and of transforming pieces in Italian notation into models of French notational practice.¹¹ Certainly this scribe knew the difference between d-flat and e-flat. Moreover, the placement of the d-flats in the BL signatures is exact, not approximate.¹² We must, then, at least entertain the idea the d-flats in BL served a purpose that is not immediately obvious to us. Since the clefs and signatures of both sources are entirely free of erasures or ambiguities, there is no indication that they departed from those of their exemplars.

The rhythmic organization of the cantus coronatus passages in BL and BU is another area of contrast that provides little clue to the nature of the exemplars. At the words "Jesu christe" in the Gloria the two sources have identical pitches but different rhythmic content, as shown in Fig. 4.3. Such differences could stem from different manuscript traditions, or they could have resulted from the preferences of one or the other scribe. Revising the rhythm of such a passage would not be difficult, even without access to score, since motion is simultaneous (or nearly so) in all voices and the group of notes with fermatas could be located easily in the exemplar for comparison. At the longer cantus coronatus passage for the words "et homo factus est" in the Credo, BL and BU again agree in pitch content but differ rhythmically. BL contains an error, an extra semibreve rest in the cantus at m. 63. BU contains no errors, and neither source has any erasures indicating an adaptation from the reading of the exemplar.¹³

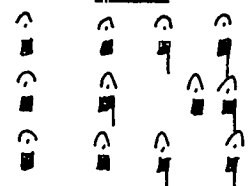
Et in terra

Cantus:

Contratenor:

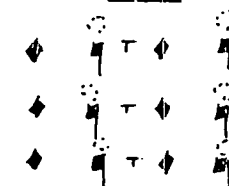
Tenor:

BL 90



yhe - su xpi - ste

BU 37



yes - su xpi - ste

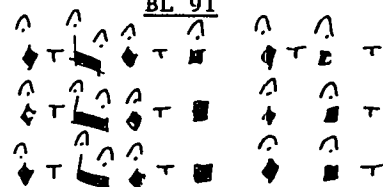
Patrem

Cantus:

Contratenor:

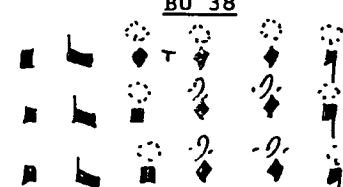
Tenor:

BL 91



et ho - mo fac - tus est

BU 38

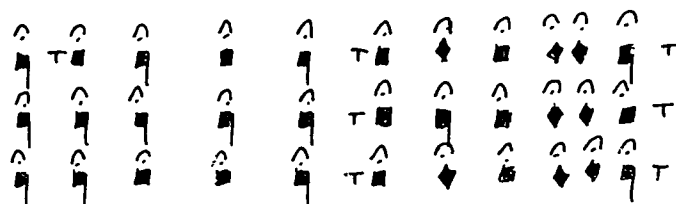


et ho - mo fac - tus est

Cantus:

Contratenor:

Tenor:



et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di - e



et re - sur - re - xit ter - ci - a di - e

Fig. 4.3. Cantus coranatus Passages in BL 90/91 and BU 37/38

The rhythmic organization differs considerably in the most extensive cantus coronatus passage, which occurs at the words "Et resurrexit tertia die." This time both sources contain rhythmic errors. These occur in the contratenor in BL, which has four successive longs against two longs and two semibreves in the other voices, followed by a long where the other voices have a semibreve, and finally, a breve against longs in the other voices. The lack of rhythmic alignment is even more serious in BU, where we find a breve in the cantus against a long in the other voices, followed by different values in each of the three voices at the word "tercia." The only pitch variant between the two sources occurs at the end of the passage in the cantus, resulting in a complete triad in BL but a doubled fifth and no third in BU.

One of the most striking differences between the two copies of this pair lies in the separate versions of the Amen sections. In both movements the Amen is shorter in BU --eight instead of eleven perfections in the Gloria, nine instead of thirteen in the Credo. In BL both movements end with an octave-leap cadence; in BU they end with double-leading-tone cadences. Finally, both versions of the Gloria cadence on C, as does the Credo in BL. The final cadence of the BU Credo, however, is on G.

Changes of this magnitude, affecting all three voices of the polyphonic texture and involving the cadential goal of an entire movement, indicate that revision took place at some point during the transmission of this pair. While it may not be possible to determine with confidence which version comes closest to the one that originated with the composer, a number of questions prod us to come as close to an answer as we can. For instance, do the Amen sections in

BL represent most closely what Arnold composed, contracted by performers, scribes, or both on their way to BU? Or do the shorter BU Amens with their earlier cadential type come closer to the original readings, while the BL scribe had access to an expanded and embellished version from a different branch of the stemma?

In order to answer these questions, we will first note that there is no evidence of corrections in the Amens of BL 90, BL 91, or BU 38. BU 37, however, contains erasures and corrections in the contratenor, which originally ended on f instead of g. Fig. 4.4 shows this correction, while Ex. 4.2 gives a transcription of the BL reading, the original BU reading, and the corrected BU reading of all

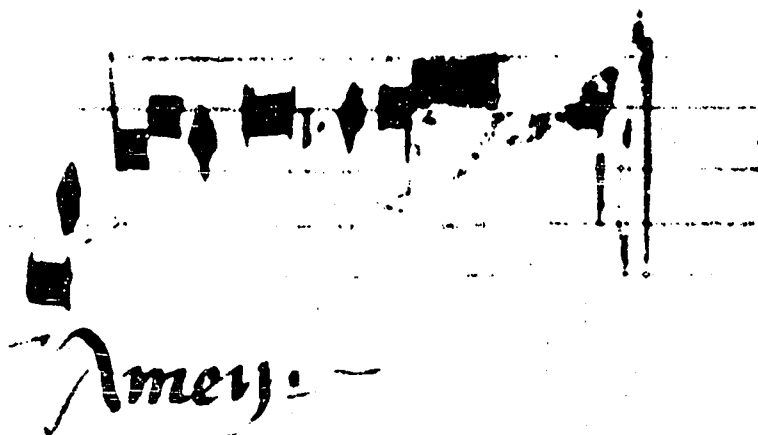


Fig. 4.4. BU 37, p. 47, Correction in Contratenor

three voices. (The e-flat in the original BU contratenor reading, actually a long, not a breve, has been emended to show the alignment of the voices at the cadence.) Brackets indicate the portion of the BU contratenor involved in the erasure and correction. It is not possible to determine whether the BU scribe detected the error in the contratenor

Example 4.2

BL 90, BU 37, Original and Corrected Readings of Amen

a. BL 90

110

-men

-men

b. BU 37
Original Reading

105

-men

c. BU 37
Corrected Reading

105

-men

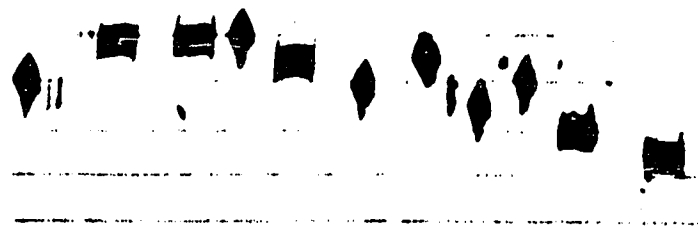
immediately and corrected it or discovered and corrected it later, perhaps after a disastrous performance. In any case, it appears that at some point someone intended to have the movement conclude in the sonority with which it began--B-flat. The original contratenor reading does not appear to be a simple lapse of attention in which the scribe wrote the long-long ligature a second too low. The preceding three semibreves of the original reading proceed logically to the fifth of the B-flat chord.

In the Amen of the BL version of the Credo one might anticipate a cadence on G, given the range of the lower voices (G to a in the contratenor, G to b-flat in the tenor) and the reiteration of the leap from G to g in both voices throughout the Amen section. But at m. 196 the direction shifts to the cadence on C. As in the Gloria, the lower voices form a smooth duo with much voice exchange. They do, however, contain a part-writing error, parallel fourths at m. 196. This version of the Amen, which is essentially an expanded version of the Amen of the Gloria (see Chapter 3, p. 103), contains a number of accented dissonances between cantus and tenor in mm. 190-191. These are not errors, but rather, embellishments adding greater finality to the conclusion of the second member of the pair. As noted in Chapter 3, accented dissonances between outer voices are a common feature in Arnold's Ordinary settings.¹⁴

The BU version of the Credo's Amen cadences where we might have expected it to during the course of the Amen--on G. The lower voice duet proceeds smoothly to the cadence on G with no sign of error or correction. The leap in the cantus to the cadential d - c-sharp - d, on the other hand, seems rather abrupt, suggesting that this may

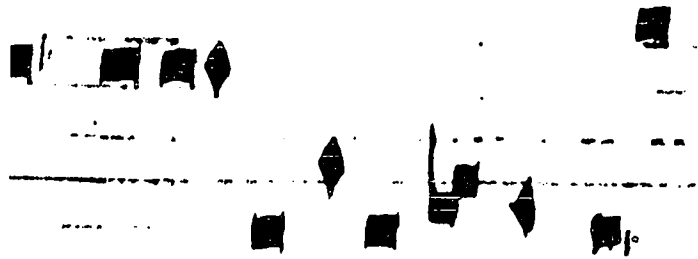
be a contracted version of a more expansive original. The BU Amen contains no part-writing errors or corrections. The only dissonances are the reiterated sevenths found in BL m. 191. If the BU Amen is a contraction of the longer BL Amen, this was accomplished by eliminating m. 189 of BL (which would have involved some rewriting of the lower voices) and replacing mm. 193-199 of BL with the unembellished cadence on G. The BU Amen is a plausible alternative to the BL version, not a clumsy rewrite. Nonetheless, the Amen sections of the Gloria and Credo in BL are probably closer to Arnold's original than the BU readings. It is possible that the BU scribe, or other singers at the institution where he was employed, were dissatisfied with the striking moves to C at the close of both members of this pair, tried out but abandoned an Amen for the Gloria ending on B-flat (traces of which remain at the end of the BU contratenor), and succeeded in emending the Amen of the Credo to a cadence on G. The change in tonal destination in the Credo could represent the conservative tastes of a provincial musical institution that found the close on C in this pair a bit too bold.

The key to understanding the relationship between the BL and BU redactions of this Gloria/Credo pair lies in another passage where the two sources have different readings in all three voices. This is at the words "Confiteor unum baptisma," shown in Fig. 4.5. BL contains an error in the contratenor at m. 170, where the g of the previous perfection should resolve to an a but is replaced, instead, by an extra semibreve rest (Ex. 4.3a). In the following measure, moreover, we find parallel sevenths between cantus and tenor at the beginning of the perfection. In spite of these errors, BL contains no signs of erasure or correction in this passage.



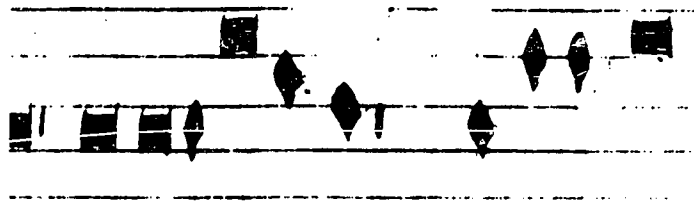
3. Confiteor unū baptisma ī

a. Cantus



11. Confiteor unū baptisma 11

b. Contratenor



13. Confiteor unū baptisma ī 11

c. Tenor

Example 4.3

BU 38, mm. 162-172, Original and Corrected Readings

165

a. BL 91

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma in

b. BU 38, Original Reading

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma in

c. BU 38, Corrected Reading

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma

Con- fi- te- or u- num bap- tis- ma in

Example 4.3 (cont.)

170

a. BL 91

in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum

re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum

b. BU 38, Original Reading

in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum.

in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum

re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum.

c. BU 38, Corrected Reading

in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum.

in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum

re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum.

Detailed description: The image displays three musical staves, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are 'in re- mis- si- o- nem pec- ca- to- rum'. The first staff (a. BL 91) shows a vocal line with a slur over the final two measures and a piano accompaniment line with a slur over the final two measures. The second staff (b. BU 38, Original Reading) shows a vocal line with a slur over the final two measures and a piano accompaniment line with a slur over the final two measures. The third staff (c. BU 38, Corrected Reading) shows a vocal line with a slur over the final two measures and a piano accompaniment line with a slur over the final two measures.

The BU reading at m. 170 provides the anticipated a that is missing in BL, while sharing the parallel sevenths between cantus and tenor at the outset of m. 171. But at mm. 164-167 BU has erasures and corrections in all three voices. Ex. 4.3b presents the original BU reading of this passage, while Ex. 4.3c gives the corrected reading.¹⁵ Circles indicate notes in the original BU reading that were erased by the scribe.

The original BU reading of this passage is nearly identical to BL in pitch content in all voices, but differs somewhat in terms of rhythm. The original BU cantus is essentially a simplified version of BL that replaces the minims in m. 165 with a rest and places the initial c¹ in m. 166 at the beginning of the perfection rather than following a minim rest. (The c¹ in the original reading of m. 167 is not definite. It is also possible that the c.o.p. ligature extended to b-flat and was not followed by a semibreve, in which case it would be altered.) The original contratenor reading seems to have agreed with BL except for the use of a c.o.p. ligature in place of breve-semibreve in m. 166. This reading contained an extra breve on b-flat in m. 169, an error undoubtedly related to the addition of text to the contratenor, while the a that is missing in BL and the rest following it are squeezed in. The original reading of the BU tenor for mm. 162-172 is identical to that of BL.

The BU scribe copied this passage from a source that had the reading of BL or something very close to it. Although the variants between the original BU reading and BL are minor in the context of each individual voice part, they combine to create some harsh dissonances when sounded together. The placement of c¹ at the beginning of a

perfection in the cantus in m. 166 is a rhythmic simplification of seemingly small import, one a scribe could undertake as he copied. But it clashes with the b-flat in the contratenor and stands a fourth above the tenor at the outset of the perfection. In BL, where the c¹ serves as a minim pickup to the phrase following the minim rest, the momentary dissonance is fleeting in effect. The use of a c.o.p. ligature calling for alteration in the contratenor, likewise, could indicate scribal preference exercised in the course of copying. Again, the BU reading creates a problem that is not present in BL--the move to a on the second rather than the third semibreve of the perfection creates a second between the lower voices and a tritone between the upper voices. And in mm. 168-169 the scribe inadvertently introduced one more breve into the contratenor than was present in the other voices as he adapted the rhythm of the contratenor to the text. Thus several small changes that seemed insignificant in themselves would have had a rather unfortunate cumulative effect when the individual voice parts were combined in performance.

These problems, like the f in the contratenor of the Gloria when the movement draws to a close, may have been discovered in performance. If so, they would have provided sufficient incentive to correct the errors. But if the scribe no longer had access to his exemplar and did not think in terms of scoring the problematic passage to discover where the error lay, the only solution would have been to reconstruct the phrase in a way that would work. This attempt at reconstruction is shown in Ex. 4.3c. Most of the notes of the original reading were erased by scraping and replaced by the new reading, which leads to a premature cadence on G in m. 167, perhaps the simplest solution to the problem. But this reading, too, has its

problems--a seventh between cantus and tenor in m. 165, a seventh between cantus and contratenor in m. 166, and parallel octaves between these voices in mm. 166-167.

Our hypothesis so far is that the BU scribe was copying from a source that closely resembled BL in several respects--it had a page break at the words "Cuius regni," it had an untexted contratenor, and it had a reading at mm. 162-172 almost identical to the original BU reading--and from which he deviated freely when he wished to vary cadential ornamentation or alter the rhythm. This scribe and/or his fellow singers did not hesitate to change the rhythmic organization of a cantus coronatus passage or the final of a movement. Revisions may have been worked out in rehearsal and written down for incorporation into the manuscript containing their polyphonic repertory.¹⁶ The only error (or apparent error) we have seen so far that might preclude BL as BU's exemplar is the b-flat d-flat signature in the BL cantus. But it would have been perfectly possible for the BU scribe to reject that signature and write b-flat e-flat instead.

The preceding discussion has focused on the principal differences between BL 90/91 and BU 37/38 and shown that, in spite of significant differences between the two sources, the BU scribe must have copied this Gloria/Credo pair from an exemplar resembling BL or, perhaps, from BL itself. The comparative transcriptions in the appendix reveal further divergent readings between the two sources. Most of these variants fall into a limited set of categories. These are listed in Table 4.1, along with the measure numbers where they appear in the parallel transcription. While the variants listed in Table 4.1 may simply reflect the exemplars of the two extant sources for

TABLE 4.1.
TYPES OF VARIANTS BETWEEN BL 90/91 AND BU 37/38

Nature of Variant	Gloria	Credo
Text underlay of BU contratenor out of phase with other voices	mm. 19-20, 22-23, 28- 30, 41, 43-44, 52-53, 68-69, 71-73	mm. 7-11, 21, 54-58, 93-94, 96, 132-135, 138, 140, 145, 150- 153, 159-161
Words begin at outset of perfection in BU; anacrusis in BL	mm. 17, 29-30, 40-41	mm. 6, 24, 36-38
Different cadential ornamentation	mm. 5, 12-13, 31, 43-44	mm. 13, 104-105, 140- 141, 147-148, 156
Trochaic rhythm in BL; Iambic rhythm in BU		mm. 9-11, 15, 27, 39, 54, 165-167
Iambic rhythm in BL; Trochaic rhythm in BU		mm. 15
Accidentals in BU that are not in EL	mm. 45, 53, 79, 83, 96, 101, and at final cadence	mm. 11, 23, 33, 35, 39, 44, 56, 71, 73, 99, 102, 154, 157, 162, and at final cadence
Accidentals in BL that are not in BU		mm. 10, 33
BL has full triad; BU doubles one of chord tones	mm. 85-86	mm. 92, 116-117, 129- 130, 147-148
BL static where BU moves among possible chord tones	mm. 4, 15, 26-27, 33-34, 57, 66, 72	

this Mass pair, it is likely that many of them result from the preferences and habits of the two individual scribes. Almost all of them represent the kind of change a musically-trained scribe could introduce as he copied. If we assume that the BU scribe was copying from BL or a source

closely resembling it, we might draw the following conclusions regarding his copying habits:

1. He preferred to assign text to all three voices, on occasion, even if it was absent from one of the voices in his exemplar.

Although this appears to be the case in BU 37/38, it does not hold true for other Ordinary settings in BU. Of the 21 three-voice Ordinary settings copied by the BU scribe, 4 have one texted voice, 12 have two texted voices, and 5 have three texted voices. The settings with three texted voices are the Gloria/Credo pair under consideration here, the Kyrie from Dufay's Missa Sine nomine (which has three texted voices in Ao¹, Ao², and BL¹), the Kyrie of the Reson Mass, and a Sanctus attributed to Afat. (The latter two examples are unica.) Thus the addition of text to the contratenor of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair does not appear to represent a general tendency on the part of the BU scribe. In the discussion of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, however, we will see another instance of a movement to which the BU scribe added text where it was absent from his exemplar.

2. The BU scribe preferred to place words at the beginning of a perfection that began with an upbeat in BL.

In several instances a phrase beginning on an upbeat minim in BL starts at the beginning of the next perfection in BU, which replaces the minim with a rest. As already noted, Boone has observed a progression from upbeat phrase beginnings in the earliest songs in Ox to phrases beginning at the outset of perfections in those copied later.¹⁷ Thus the BU

scribe might be reflecting a trend in the larger repertory. In all but one of the examples listed in Table 4.1 BL has the same text underlay in cantus and tenor, while the underlay differs between the two voices in BU. It is highly unlikely that the BL scribe could align the text underlay between cantus and tenor if he was copying from BU; it would have been possible for the BU scribe to create inconsistencies in the underlay of the voices by following his own preferences as he copied out one voice at a time.

3. The BU scribe introduced different melodic and rhythmic ornamentation at cadences.

BU variants involving cadential ornamentation often use flagged semiminims, which appear far less frequently in BL. One of the variant cadential configurations involves a correction in BU--the c.o.p. ligature in the cantus at m. 100 of the Gloria originally consisted of four minims whose pitches were probably b-flat g a b-flat (Fig. 4.6). The stem of the first minim became the upstroke



Fig. 4.6. BU 37, p. 46, Correction in Cantus

of the ligature, while the other three minims were eliminated by scraping. In this case the approach to the cadence preceding the Amen was first elaborated, then simplified by the BU scribe, undoubtedly because his original reading created parallel sevenths between cantus and tenor and parallel fifths between cantus and contratenor. In general, however, the cadences in BU are more elaborate than those of BL.

4. The BU scribe sometimes wrote iambic rhythms where BL has a trochaic pattern. The reverse occurs only once.

This is another instance where BU seems to reflect a stylistic trend, the growing use of iambic rhythmic patterns (see Chapter 3, p. 160). In most cases the change from breve-semibreve (or semibreve-minim) to semibreve-breve (or minim-semibreve) had little impact on the polyphonic texture, although we have seen one instance where it contributed to the need for a rewritten passage. The substitution of this pattern often called for two semibreves, the second of which required alteration.

5. The BU scribe wrote many more manuscript accidentals than the BL scribe.

In the course of one Mass pair by Arnold de Lantins the BU scribe used 22 manuscript accidentals, where the BL scribe used only two. Six of the BU accidentals are seemingly redundant e-flats already indicated by the signatures. All of these occur in the cantus and refer to the pitch an octave above the e-flat in the signature, showing that the BU scribe did not assume octave equivalence and did not expect the singers to do so either.

Five of the manuscript accidentals in BU appear at cadences, including the final cadences of both movements, to indicate the ficta a trained singer of the period would automatically apply at a cadence. This seems to be yet another clue to the nature of the establishment for which BU was compiled.¹⁸ Of the remaining accidentals, those at mm. 83 and 96 of the Gloria and mm. 39, 71, and 102 of the Credo produce questionable results unless further adjustments are made in other voices.

6. The BU scribe appears to have avoided full triads on occasion.

In the course of Arnold's Gloria/Credo pair there are six instances where BL has a full triad but BU omits the third and doubles the root or fifth. This could be an indication of the conservative tastes of the BU scribe.

7. The BU scribe preferred melodic motion to reiteration of the same pitch throughout a perfection.

Seven melodic variants in BU result in motion among possible chord tones where in BL the same pitches are repeated through one or two perfections.

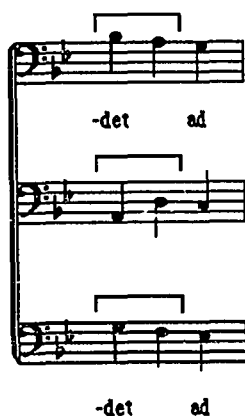
In spite of numerous differences in their readings, the BL and BU versions of this Gloria/Credo pair exhibit a close relationship. All of the variants discussed so far are ones a scribe could have introduced as he copied. The nature of these variants and the presence of numerous corrections in BU, whose original readings are sometimes identical to those of BL, demonstrate that BL might have served as the exemplar for BU while the reverse cannot have

been the case. We are now ready to address the question of direct copying: Did BL serve as the exemplar for BU 37/38 or was an intermediate source involved?

The classical philological approach to determining the relationship between two sources involves the identification of two kinds of errors--conjunctive errors (those shared by both sources, indicating common lineage), and separative errors (the presence of an error in one source where the other source has a correct or plausible reading, showing that the second source cannot have been copied from the first). Among the BL/BU variants we find one conjunctive error (Ex. 4.4). In m. 101 of the Credo both sources have q in the tenor, A, in the contratenor, and b-flat in the cantus at the beginning of the perfection. The A probably should have read G.

Example 4.4

BL 91, BU 38, m. 101, Conjunctive Error



Three errors in BL are candidates for separative errors that would show that BU cannot have been copied from BL. One case of an error in BL that is correct in BU occurs in the tenor of the Credo at mm. 133-137, where the

scribe copied all the notes of the musical phrase before reaching the final syllable of the text phrase (Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7. BL 91, f. 114, Text Underlay in Tenor

The only way to sing the phrase as written would have been to break the c.o.p. ligature to fit in "-que procedit." In BU the long in mm. 133-134 is replaced by two breves, which would solve the problem if the second breve was sung to the second syllable of the word "filioque." But in BU "filioque" starts on the second of the two breves. It was still possible to fit in all of "procedit," however, by replacing the c.o.p. ligature of BL with two semibreves. In this case the error in BL does not preclude direct copying from BL to BU. It's the kind of error a scribe could see coming and emend on the spot. The BL scribe was undoubtedly aware of the underlay error in mm. 133-137 but left it, assuming that the singer of the tenor line would be able to fit in all the syllables during performance.

Two further candidates, on the other hand, constitute genuine separative errors. At mm. 56-58 of the Credo we encounter an error in BL that is correct in BU (Ex. 4.5). In m. 56 the BL contratenor has three colored semibreves,

Example 4.5

BL 91, BU 38, mm. 55-58, Separative Error

55

BL 91

cto ex ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

cto ex ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

BU 38

cto ex ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

ex ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

cto ex ma-ri-a vir-gi-ne

followed by a breve rest in m. 57, and the cadential goal *g* at the beginning of m. 58. The breve rest just before the cadence is anomalous in this context. It could have been added after it was discovered in performance that a breve's worth of music was missing. In the BU contratenor two semibreves on *G* occupy m. 56. The colored semibreves of the BL reading appear a perfection later in BU, leading naturally to the cadence in m. 57. It is not clear how the BU scribe could have come up with this emendation if he was copying directly from BL.

BU once again has a correct reading where BL contains an error in m. 179 of the Credo (Ex. 4.6). The BL contratenor reads e-flat, f, a, creating a fourth between contratenor and tenor at the beginning of the perfection, while BU reads f, g, a. There is no sign of erasure or correction in either source. In a situation such as this, it is highly unlikely that the BU scribe could have come up with a correct reading if he was copying directly from BL.

Example 4.6

BL 91, BU 38, m. 179, Separative Error

The image displays two musical staves side-by-side, labeled 'BL 91' on the left and 'BU 38' on the right. Each staff has three lines of music. The top line of each staff is the contratenor, the middle is the tenor, and the bottom is the bass. In BL 91, the contratenor line has notes e-flat, f, a, while the tenor line has f, g, a. In BU 38, the contratenor line has notes f, g, a, while the tenor line has f, g, a. The error is in the contratenor line of BL 91, which reads e-flat, f, a instead of f, g, a.

These two errors demonstrate that the BU copy of Arnold's last Gloria/Credo pair was not copied directly from BL. Nonetheless, the two sources of this Mass pair are far more closely related than we might have first imagined and may have descended from a common source. Since the copying of BU probably began before the completion of the BL compilation, the scribes of the two sources may have shared access to copies of some of the repertory then in circulation in the Veneto. Although the BU copy of Arnold's pair cannot be too far removed from the BL version, we have seen how an individual scribe can introduce a number of variants into the transmission.¹⁹ Instead of

taking us closer to the composer's original intention, the variants produced by the BU scribe give us a better idea of how a given work may have been performed at a particular time and place--a fairly modest musical chapel in the Veneto during the late 1430s.

MISSA VERBUM INCARNATUM: A TALE OF THREE SCRIBES

The Mass cycle by Arnold de Lantins appears in each of the Veneto sources containing a significant proportion of his music. Gathering 4 of Ox contains all five movements (Ox 132, 133, 134, 142, and 149), but as noted in Chapter 2, they occur out of order. Seven chansons separate the Agnus from the first three movements. The Sanctus follows three openings later, separated from the movement it should have preceded by a Loqueville Gloria and five further secular songs. It has been recently suggested, moreover, that the Credo may have been copied separately from the first two movements and later joined with them.²⁰

In BL the five movements of Arnold's Mass appear consecutively in the center of gathering 15 (BL 138-142). The Gloria begins below the end of the Kyrie, the Sanctus beneath the conclusion of the Credo, and the Agnus beneath the Sanctus. (As we have seen in Chapter 2, it was unusual for the BL scribe to begin one Ordinary movement on the same opening as another.) The BL scribe indicated his awareness of the cycle as a musical entity with the attribution that stands at the head of the Kyrie on fol. 149v: "Missa Ar de Lantins" (Fig. 4.8).²¹

BU contains only the first three movements of the Mass (BU 5, 6, and 29). The Kyrie and Gloria are the first



Fig. 4.8. BL 138, f. 149v, Attribution for the
Missa Verbum incarnatum

polyphonic entries in the section devoted to Kyrie and Gloria settings, while the Credo was the second entry in the section originally set aside for Credo settings.

The final source for the Missa Verbum incarnatum is the fragment MÜL, which preserves only the first half of the cantus for the Credo.

In the critical notes to his edition of Arnold's Mass, Van den Borren listed numerous instances where BU diverged from the readings of BL and Ox, which are quite close for the most part.²² In addition to a transcription of the Mass as transmitted in Ox, Van den Borren included transcriptions of the following variants:

the complete Kyrie tenor from BU, the only source furnished with the complete trope text,

the BU opening to the Gloria, which differs entirely from BL and Ox,

the BU cadence preceding the Amen of the Gloria,
which cadences on F instead of G,

the tenor of the Credo as transmitted in BL and
BU, and

the BU Amen for the Credo, which cadences on G
instead of F, as do all the other movements.

No other composition in Van den Borren's edition received such extensive treatment of variants as Arnold's Mass cycle.

Gilbert Reaney has taken a closer look at the remarkable variants among the sources of the Missa Verbum incarnatum in a recent article on transmission in early fifteenth-century sources. Preparation of the works of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins for a forthcoming volume of Early Fifteenth-Century Music undoubtedly provided the stimulus for his study, which posits that Ox was the basis for the BL copy of Arnold's Mass, and that BL, in turn, served as the exemplar for BU.²³ Although several writers have commented on the nearly identical readings of BL and Ox for some of the pieces they share, this is the first instance I am aware of in which anyone has suggested a direct copying relationship between these two sources.²⁴ Reaney supported his claim that the BL scribe copied Arnold's Mass from Ox with three observations:

1. BL has the movements in the correct order while Ox does not. Reaney cited Hamm's observation that the Sanctus and Agnus of the cycle must have originated later than the first three movements since they use colored rather than flagged semiminims, and because, unlike the first three movements, they begin in tempus perfectum diminutum.²⁵ Thus the

final two movements are out of order in Ox because they were composed later, then copied into BL in the correct order.

2. The Benedictus intonation of the Sanctus was written a fourth too high in Ox, where it appears in the tenor with a c^{3b} clef. The BL scribe assumed that this was simply a clef error. He changed the clef to c^1 and copied the intonation in the top voice, using the same lines and spaces as Ox so the intonation now began on f^1 instead of b -flat. But, as Reaney notes, the intonation should have begun on f an octave lower and remained in the tenor, like the other intonations of the Sanctus and Agnus.
3. At the cadence preceding the words "Et in spiritum" in the Credo, the BL contratenor originally had the reading of Ox, which the BL scribe erased and replaced with the present reading. The reason for this emendation, according to Reaney, was to avoid a seventh between cantus and contratenor at the beginning of a perfection.

While these examples point to a close relationship between Ox and BL, they do not constitute sufficient evidence for the conclusion that one was copied directly from the other. The fact that the final two movements are out of order in Ox but through-copied in BL does not prove that BL copied from Ox. Other sources could have had the movements in the correct order. The Benedictus pitch error in Ox that the BL scribe attempted to resolve is far more convincing, but an intermediate source could have transmitted the error to BL. The BL reading that agreed with Ox before it was changed, likewise, could have been derived from an intermediate source. We have already seen

several readings in BU 37/38 that agreed with BL 90/91 before they were emended, yet two separate errors in this pair show that BU probably did not copy from BL in this case. The reason Reaney gave for the revision in the Credo of the Mass is unconvincing, moreover. We have already observed a number of accented dissonances at the beginnings of perfections in Arnold's other Mass movements, especially at cadences. The dissonance in Reaney's example is simply a suspension approached by a leap in the contratenor and resolved in the second minim of the perfection.

Reaney gave no evidence in support of his claim that the BU scribe copied Arnold's Mass from BL. He asserted that this was the case and went on to discuss the kinds of variants introduced by the BU scribe, especially those involving text underlay. His comment that "There is no doubt that BU quite frequently used BL as a basis"²⁶ was undoubtedly based on observations gathered over years of editing the repertory of these manuscripts for Early Fifteenth-Century Music. Nonetheless, more conclusive evidence is necessary to support claims of direct copying among sources,²⁷ especially where the establishment of such relationships would have such broad implications for our understanding of how music was transmitted in the early fifteenth century.

The following discussion will demonstrate that Reaney was essentially correct regarding the transmission of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, while showing that the situation was more complex than he implied. I will begin by comparing the readings of BL and Ox, which are most closely related, then consider their relationship to the highly divergent readings of BU. Once we have established the relationship among the three sources and considered the

fragmentary Credo in MÜL, we can evaluate the role of each scribe in the transmission of the cycle and consider the implications of these findings for the editing and performing of early fifteenth-century Mass music.

The first step in reconsidering the relationship between the Ox and BL versions of Arnold's Mass is an examination of their layout in these two sources. As shown in Fig. 4.9, the Kyrie begins on a recto in Ox and continues on the following verso. (Broken lines indicate blank staves or staves containing music other than the Missa Verbum incarnatum.) The Gloria begins on the next recto and ends on the following verso. The Credo also begins on a recto. Not until the conclusion of the Credo is a movement of the cycle spread across an opening in normal choirbook format. The Agnus, which occupies a single recto, was added after the Ox scribe had copied secular songs by Binchois, Dufay, and Arnold onto the intervening folios. Following the intervention of works by Loqueville, Libert, Binchois, and Bartholomeo Brollo, he added the Sanctus across an opening.

The layout of the first three movements in Ox, which divides them between recto and verso, is highly unusual, to say the least. Most Ordinary movements in early fifteenth-century sources are distributed across openings, eliminating the need for frequent page turns. The exceptions to this are settings that require only one folio, begin on the first recto of a gathering, or conclude on the final verso of a gathering. (The Lymburgia Credo, BL 95, for instance, is spread across two openings prior to its conclusion on the final verso of the gathering, which contains all three voices from "Et vitam venturi" to the end of the movement.)²⁸ But none of these conditions accounts for the

Ox	53 Arnoldes de lantins C T K CT	C T K T CT	Fogo trion temp 64 Arnoldes de lantins C T G CT	C T G CT	65 Arnoldes de lantins C T C CT	C T C T CT	66 CT C	68 Arnoldes de lantins C T A CT	Arnoldes de lantins C T S T CT	71 CT S
BL	Missa Ar de lantins C T K T	CL CT T K	C T k C Fogo trion temp T G Tuba T sine fogo	CL I CT k CT G T G CT sine fogo	Ar de lantins C T C T	CL II CT T C	C T C Ar C de lantins T S	CL III CT C T S CT S	C T S C A	CL IIII CT S CT S T A	
BU	2 Arnoldes C T K T	3 CT T K	4 C T G T	5 CT T G CT	34 C T C T	35 CT T C	36 C T C T	37 CT C			

Fig. 4.9. Layout of the Missa Verbum incarnatum in Ox, BL, and BU

layout of Arnold's cycle in Ox. The unusual layout of Ox 132, 133, and 134 must reflect the exemplar of these movements, whose layout the Ox scribe didn't bother to revise. Perhaps this exemplar included three separate gatherings reserved for Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo settings, each of which began with a movement of the Missa Verbum incarnatum. The fact that the Credo begins with an indent for a more elaborate initial in both Ox and MÜL accords nicely with this hypothesis. (See Chapter 2, pp. 87 and 93.)

BL does not conform to the awkward layout of Ox. Instead, each movement is spread across an opening. The distribution of voices varies somewhat from one movement to the next. In the Kyrie and the beginning of the Credo the cantus appears on the verso, the contratenor on the recto with the tenor copied across the opening beneath them. The final acclamation appears at the top of the next opening, with cantus and tenor on the verso, contratenor on the recto. The Gloria, prefaced by the rubric "Fuga trium temporum" in both BL and Ox (referring to the canonic opening section of the movement), occupies the remainder of the opening on which the Kyrie concluded. On the verso lies the cantus, a Tuba sub fuga for the canonic opening, and a Tenor Et in terra pax sine fuga; the contratenor and the tenor for everything following the canonic opening occupy the second through ninth staves of the recto. An added stave contains the part labeled Contratenor Et in terra pax sine fuga sy placet. The variability in the placement of voices continues through the rest of the cycle, with cantus on the verso, contratenor and tenor on the recto for the end of the Credo and Agnus, but cantus and tenor on the verso, contratenor on the recto for both halves of the Sanctus. In view of the variable placement

of voice parts in BL, it appears that the scribe was working from an exemplar whose layout he was adapting to his own needs. Could that exemplar have been Ox?

The answer to this question lies in the textng of the Kyrie in Ox and BL, which is as follows:

Ox: Cantus - trope text for all nine acclamations

Contratenor - trope incipits only

Tenor - trope incipits only

BL: Cantus - trope text for all nine acclamations

Contratenor - Kyrie eleyson and Criste eleyson incipits

Tenor - trope text for first three acclamations; Criste eleyson or Kyrie eleyson for final six acclamations

The BL scribe copied the complete trope text for the first three Kyrie acclamations then stopped supplying the trope when he reached the first Christe acclamation. The point at which the trope text ceases in the tenor appears in the middle of stave 6, shown in Fig. 4.10. When entering the text of the Kyrie, the scribe must have written the complete text for the cantus before adding the tenor text. Realizing already that the whole Kyrie would not fit on one opening, he placed Kyrie 6 at the top of the next opening. But by the time he finished copying Kyrie 1 through 3 in the tenor, it must have become clear to him that it would not be possible to fit all of Christe 1 through Kyrie 5 on the same opening if he continued to supply it with text. Thus he went back to the textless, ligated version of his exemplar. That that exemplar might have been Ox is indicated by the near identity of the tenor readings in Ox and BL from this point on. The parallel transcription in

ample space on the opening for all of the Gloria, the scribe had to squeeze in the text and music and extend the ninth stave of fol. 151 to fit all of the tenor on the opening. He eventually added a stave in a different ink color for the Contratenor Et in tenor pax sine fuga sy placet.

Both cantus and tenor of the Credo are texted in BL, but in Ox the only texted voice is the cantus. Once again the BL scribe had to squeeze in the end of the tenor and extend the final stave in order to get all of the tenor onto the opening.

The Sanctus in Ox is the only movement of the Mass to have three texted voices in any source. In BL only the cantus and tenor are texted, as they are in both sources for the Agnus. As in the first three movements in BL, the final stave of the tenor had to be extended to fit all of the Sanctus on the opening. The Agnus is the only movement of the Mass in which the BL scribe didn't have trouble fitting all of the tenor on the opening.

The preceding discussion of the layout and textings of the Missa Verbum incarnatum in two of its sources suggests but does not prove that BL could have been copied from Ox. It is clear, however, that the BL scribe was following a model whose layout he wished to improve. He also intended to assign text to the cantus and tenor of each movement, but was unable to accomplish this in the tenor of the Kyrie due to layout considerations.

More decisive evidence for a copying relationship between Ox and BL lies in their presentation of different openings for the Gloria. These are transcribed in Ex. 4.7a and 4.7b. In Ox the first text phrase of the Gloria is set

Example 4.7

Ox 133, BL 139, Canonic Introduction; BL 139, Sy placet Version

a. Ox 133

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-
Fuga trium temporum
Tuba sub fuga

b. BL 139

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bus bo-
Fuga trium temporum
Tuba sub fuga

**c. BL 139
Sy placet version**

Et in ter-ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bus bo-
Contratenor Et in terra pax sine fuga sy place?
Tenor Et in terra pax sine fuga

Example 4.7 (cont.)

5

a. Ox 133

ne vo-lun- ta- tis

ter- ra pax ho- mi- ni- bus bo-

b. BL 139

ne vo-lun- ta-

ter- ra pax ho- mi- ni- bus bus bo-

c. BL 139

Syr placet version

ne vo-lun- ta-

Example 4.7 (cont.)

a. Ox 133

10

vo- lun- ta- tis

ne vo- lun- ta- tis

b. BL 139

tis

ne vo- lun- ta-

c. BL 139
Synplacet version

tis

Example 4.7 (cont.)

a. Ox 133

vo-lun- ta-tis

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a B-flat. The middle staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a similar melodic line with the lyrics 'vo-lun- ta-tis' underneath. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat, providing a harmonic accompaniment. Brackets above the top and bottom staves indicate phrasing.

b. BL 139

tis

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a melodic line with a B-flat. The middle staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a melodic line with the lyrics 'tis' underneath. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat, providing a harmonic accompaniment. Brackets above the top and bottom staves indicate phrasing.

c. BL 139
Synplacet version

This musical system consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a melodic line with a B-flat. The middle staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat, containing a melodic line. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat, providing a harmonic accompaniment. Brackets above the top and bottom staves indicate phrasing.

forth in an upper-voice canon over a Tuba sub fuga. This opening is 14 breves long, contains no ambiguities or corrections, and is contrapuntally correct.

BL also transmits the canonic opening, but it is one breve shorter than the Ox version. It is missing a breve in the fuga that is present in Ox at m. 5, and the Tuba sub fuga is different from mm. 5 to 7. These differences are accompanied by contrapuntal difficulties. A structural fourth between dux and tuba stands at the outset of m. 5, followed by further unacceptable dissonances in mm. 5 and 7. In Fig. 4.11 we see that there is a correction in



a. Tuba sub fuga/Tenor Et in terra sine fuga



b. Contratenor Et in terra pax sine fuga sy placet

Fig. 4.11. BL 138, ff. 150v-151

the Tuba part of BL at precisely this point. The correction was entered in brown ink instead of the black ink of the rest of the Mass. It begins exactly at m. 5, where a breve is missing in the cantus, and continues for three measures, ending where Ox and BL once more coincide. A closer look shows that the earlier reading in BL was identical to that of Ox.

BL also presents a non-canonic introduction to the Gloria, which does not appear in either Ox or BU (Ex. 4.7c). The origin of this alternative version may be explained in the following manner. The BL scribe copied the Gloria from a source with the reading of Ox. In copying the fuga, he inadvertently omitted one breve. Later, when he no longer had access to his original exemplar, the piece was performed and the error in the fuga was discovered--that is, the canon was one breve shorter than the Tuba. Lacking another exemplar, singers and scribe had no way of knowing where the error lay. To produce a performable version of the introduction, the BL scribe or one of his associates reworked the Tuba part, shortening it by one breve to match the fuga. The revised Tuba was added to the manuscript in brown ink. The emended version, the second reading shown in Ex. 4.7, still proved inadequate, for it contains several unacceptable dissonances, including a seventh between the canonic voices themselves.

Still wishing to be able to perform this movement, a fellow musician or the scribe himself devised the Sine fuga sy placet version, using the fuga melody as the cantus and adding to it a tenor and contratenor. This version, while contrapuntally correct, is more "square" than its canonic counterpart, and contains a seventh between cantus and

contratenor at the end of m. 4. The BL scribe copied the Tenor Et in terra pax sine fuga at the end of the Tuba sub fuga. Like the corrected Tuba part, it was copied in brown ink. The Contratenor Et in terra pax sine fuga sy placet appears on an added stave at the bottom of fol. 151. Both added stave and contratenor were entered in the same brown ink.²⁹ Thus the BL scribe's omission of a breve that was present in Ox, or a source with the reading of Ox, led to an attempt at a later time to correct the error, and to a si placet opening that did not originate with the composer.

The discussion so far supports Reaney's statement that Ox was the BL scribe's exemplar for the Missa Verbum incarnatum. Conclusive evidence lies in a reinterpretation of the passage from the Credo cited by Reaney where BL originally had the reading of Ox (mm. 103-109). As we have seen, Reaney interpreted the revised reading as stemming from the Ox scribe's desire to avoid a seventh between cantus and tenor. The situation is far more complex than that, however. While the reading in Ox is entirely free from errors or corrections, it does contain an ambiguity in the tenor that led to error in BL. This is an extremely faint dot of division, which is necessary to prevent the imperfection of the final breve of the three-note ligature by the following semibreve (Fig. 4.12). The BL scribe did not see this dot and assumed that the breve was to be imperfected. His original reading in the tenor appears to have been identical to the reading in Ox except for the absence of the dot of division and the breakup of ligatures in order to add text to the tenor voice. The scribe undoubtedly realized there was an error when he reached the final long of the cadence and was a semibreve short (evidence that he was not copying mechanically). Not realizing that the problem was the missing dot of division,

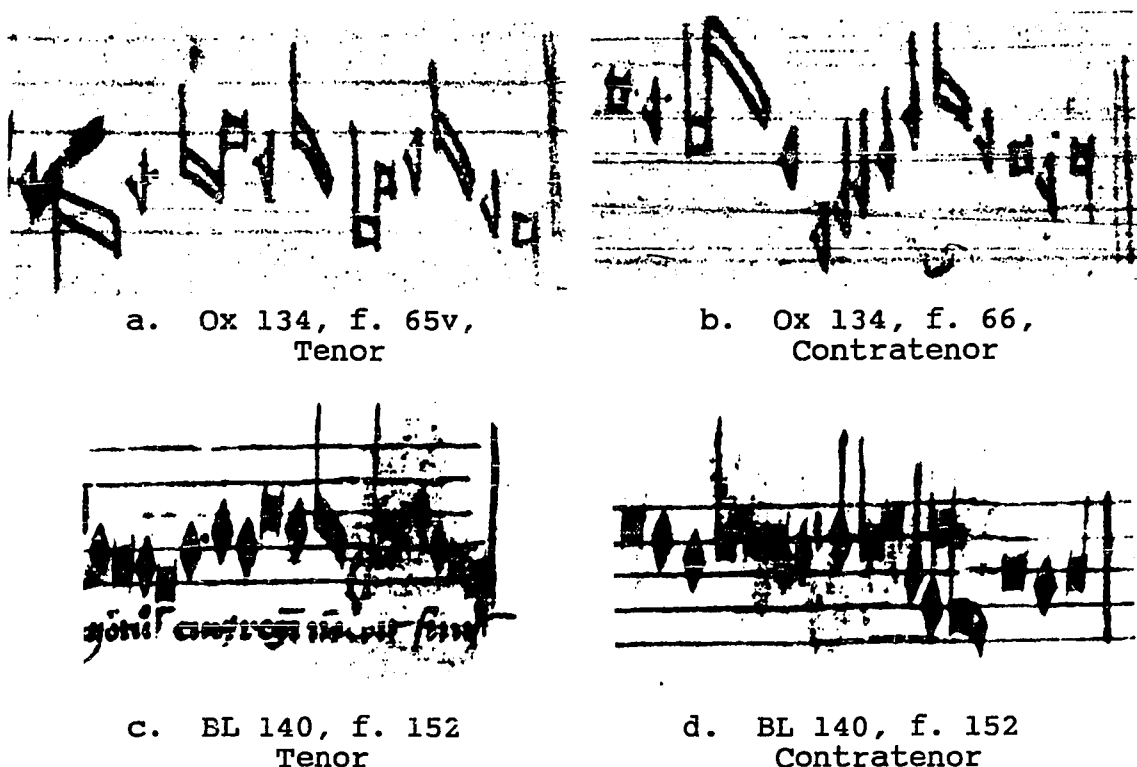


Fig. 4.12. Ox 134, f. 65v; BL 140, f. 152,
Tenor and Contratenor

he erased what he had written and replaced the last semibreve with a breve to make the rhythm come out right at the cadence. Due to lack of space, this breve became attached to the final long, producing an anomalous long-long ligature with a downstem on the second member. The scribe also took this opportunity to reorganize the ligatures in order to improve the accentuation of the text, which was awkward with the ligature patterns of Ox, whose reading was predicated on the presence of a dot of division after the breve value on c¹. Ex. 4.8a shows the reading in Ox, with its untexted lower voices and faint dot of division; Ex. 4.8b illustrates the BL reading prior to any

Example 4.8

Ox 134, BL 140, mm. 103-110, Faint Dot of Division in Ox Leading to BL Error

105

a. Ox 134

-ius re- gni non e- rit fi- nis.

b. BL 140, Original Reading

-ius re- gni non e- rit fi- nis

-os cu- ius re- gni non e- rit fi-

Example 4.8 (cont.)

110

a. Oz 134

Three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. A bracket is placed over the first two measures of the bottom staff.

b. BL 140, Original Reading

Three staves of music, identical in notation to the first system. The bottom staff has the word "mis" written below it at the end of the first measure.

Example 4.8 (cont.)

105

c. BL 140, revised tenor

-ius re- gni non e- rit fi- nis

-os cu- ius re- gni non e- rit fi-

d. BL 140, revised contra

-ius re- gni non e- rit fi- nis

-os cu- ius re- gni non e- rit fi-

Example 4.8 (cont.)

110

c. BL 140, revised tenor

nis

d. BL 140, revised contra

nis

corrections, and Ex. 4.8c shows the BL reading after the revision in the tenor.³⁰ Dots of division in the sources are indicated above the staves in the example.

The first stage of the BL revision, which involved the reorganization of the tenor ligatures at the end of the passage and the change of the penultimate note from a semibreve to a breve, was an immediate revision made as soon as the scribe realized the rhythm didn't come out right at the cadence and the ligatures of his exemplar produced terrible text accentuation. But he had no way of knowing that unless the breve in m. 105 was imperfected, the tenor created violent clashes with the upper voices. These clashes were undoubtedly discovered in performance. That performance, when it did take place, must have led to the final layer of correction--the revision of the contratenor leading to the reading shown in Ex. 4.8d.

Although the revised contratenor makes agreeable counterpoint with the tenor, the dissonances between the cantus and tenor that were present in the earlier version remain. Thus an ambiguity in Ox--a faint dot of division --led to an error in BL that was further compounded by the scribe's attempts to fix it. This not only confirms Reaney's position that the BL scribe copied Arnold's Mass from Ox. Along with the opening of the Gloria, it demonstrates the limitations of a scribe's ability to deal with problems that affect vertical relationships without reference to a score.³¹

We may now conclude with reasonable confidence that Ox was the exemplar for the BL copy of the Missa Verbum incarnatum. The readings of these two sources agree closely throughout all five movements. The BL scribe improved upon

the layout of Ox, copied the movements of the Mass consecutively, and provided them with the title "Missa." He added text to the tenor of the Kyrie and Credo, where it is missing in Ox, and introduced errors and emendations at the outset of the Gloria and in a passage from the Credo.

Reaney's assertion that the BU scribe copied Arnold's Mass from BL, on the other hand, is only partially correct. In view of the examples we have looked at, a filial relationship between BL and BU seems highly unlikely. The opening of the Gloria in BU differs almost entirely from the canonic and si placet versions we have just looked at. Furthermore, the BU contratenor of the Gloria contains an extensive variant that coincides with segments of the cantus and tenor that are shorter than their Ox/BL equivalents but show no signs of correction. In our discussion of the Mass pair that occurs in both BL and BU we have seen that numerous BU variants resulted from on-the-spot editing by its scribe. Evidence of his editorial intervention may be seen in the use of semibreve-breve or minim-semibreve rhythms where BL has the opposite. He simplified or ornamented cadential patterns and altered text declamation by beginning phrases at the outset of a perfection rather than with a pickup. Variants such as these could have been introduced easily at the time of copying. The divergent opening to the Gloria and the corrected contratenor passage, however, involve vertical control of all three voices and assume a greater degree of intervention than a scribe acting as editor. If the BU scribe was copying from BL, how did he come up with plausible readings at points that differ from his exemplar in all three voices? Finally, if he copied the Mass from BL, why did he not include the Sanctus and Agnus?

We will return at this point to the passage from the Credo where a faint dot of division in Ox led to confusion in BL. Ex. 4.9 compares the BU version of this passage to the final BL reading. In BU the phrase is two breves shorter than in Ox and BL and cadences on G instead of F. Although this reading is quite different from those of the other two sources, closer examination shows that it is also corrupt and represents a further compounding of the error in BL. Someone, perhaps the BU scribe, made yet another attempt to patch up the problem in BL. This person also assumed that the breve in the tenor should be imperfected, and made this explicit by introducing a dot of division--in the wrong place. The revisor eliminated the final melisma on the word "finis," produced a cadence between cantus and tenor on G, the nearest possible final at that point, then rewrote the contratenor to form a correct duo with the tenor. Unfortunately, contratenor and tenor still do not agree with the cantus! The unsuccessful revision was evidently written out before it was copied into BU since BU gives us a clean copy of the corrupt passage. Thus the faint dot in Ox led to still further error and yet another unsuccessful attempt to correct it. The chain reaction that began with that dot also demonstrates that BU was at least partially dependent upon BL.

The central piece of evidence for the relationship between BL and BU is the correction in the BU contratenor of the Gloria. Fig. 4.13a is a facsimile of the entire folio on which this correction occurs; Fig. 4.13b is a detail of the correction itself. Fig. 4.13a shows that a portion of the contratenor on stave 3 has been crossed out. A signum congruentiae at the beginning of the crossed-out passage refers the singer to the corrected reading on stave 7. Four notes have been erased just

Example 4.9

BL 140, BU 29, mm 103-110, BL Error Leading to BU Error

105

BL 140

-ius re- gni non e- rit fi- nis

-os cu- ius re- gni non e-

BU 29

-ius re- -gni non e- rit fi-

-ius re- gni non e- ↑ rit fi-

Example 4.9 (cont.)

110

BL 140

rit fi- nis

This musical system for BL 140 consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains measures 110, 111, and 112. The middle staff is in alto clef and contains measures 110, 111, and 112. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains measures 110, 111, and 112. The lyrics 'rit', 'fi-', and 'nis' are positioned below the bottom staff, aligned with measures 110, 111, and 112 respectively. Brackets are used to group notes across measures in all three staves.

BU 29

nis

nis

This musical system for BU 29 consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. Each staff contains measures 110, 111, and 112. The lyrics 'nis' are positioned below the top and bottom staves, aligned with measure 110. Brackets are used to group notes across measures in all three staves.

Cont. Et eterna pax laudamus.

De tollis

Cū pto

Amen

miserere nobis. Deus tu solus sanctus. Tu solus dominus. Tu solus altissimus ihesu xpe. Amen

Deo patri in gloria dei patris Amen

Fig. 4.13a. BU 6, p. 5, Crossed-out Contratenor Reading

preceding the sign on stave 3. These and the crossed out notes that follow agree exactly with the reading of BL, while the reading on stave 7 is quite different. We can

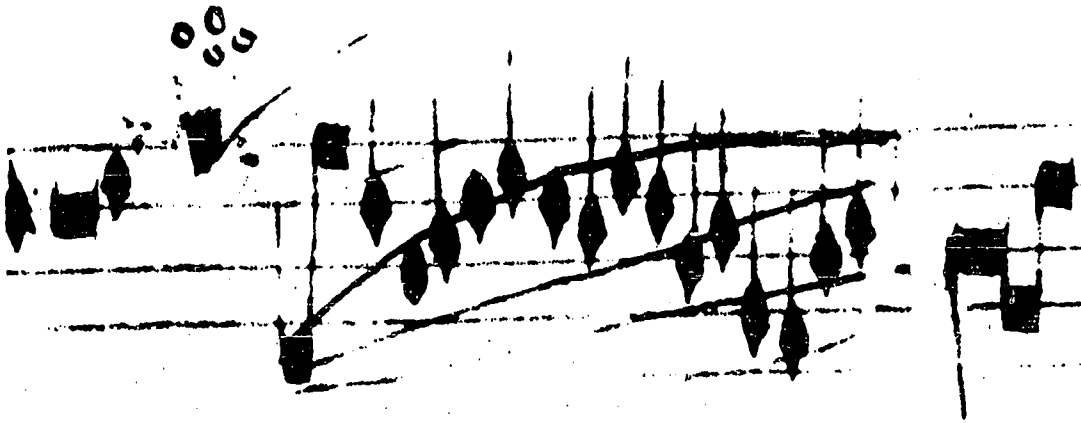


Fig. 4.13b. BU 6, p. 5, Contratenor (detail)

now establish that BL itself, not another manuscript in the same tradition, was the source of the original reading. The BU scribe copied the entire contratenor before making the correction. In the original copy he inadvertently omitted mm. 68 to 83 of the BL version. This portion of the BL contratenor is shown in Fig. 4.14. The first note of the omission is followed by a breve \underline{c}^1 and a semibreve rest. The last note of the omitted section is also a breve \underline{c}^1 followed by a semibreve rest, and occurs at the end of a stave in BL. Thus it was easy for the BU scribe to skip from one breve-rest combination to another at the end of a line in his exemplar and continue copying from there.



Fig. 4.14. BL 139, f. 151, Contratenor Reading that Led to BU Error

Although the placement of two identical breve/rest combinations in BL bears a direct relationship to the error in BU, BL cannot be the only source the BU scribe had before him. The transcription in Ex. 4.10 demonstrates not only the difference between the BL contratenor and the corrected reading in BU; it also shows that portions of the outer voices showing no signs of correction also differ considerably from BL. This is especially evident in mm. 80-83, where four measures of BL are represented by three measures of BU in all voices. To come up with plausible readings that differ from BL in all three voices the BU scribe must have had reference to more than one exemplar.³² Thus while copying the contratenor of the Gloria, he continued to copy from the wrong exemplar a version of the contratenor that would not work with the cantus and tenor. Discovering his double error--copying from the wrong source and furthermore, omitting a portion of it--he began to erase, then crossed out the BL reading and copied onto stave 7 the reading that agreed with the other voices. Further corrections were needed where the contratenor returns to stave III, as may be seen from the breve added to the ligature just following the crossed-out reading in Fig. 4.13b.

That BU was a conflation of more than one source helps to explain the high number of errors in its version of Arnold's Mass. We see here an intelligent scribe trying to choose among conflicting readings, resolve ambiguities, and improve declamation. At the same time, he was introducing new errors as he looked back and forth from one source to the other. But what was the other exemplar for the Missa Verbum incarnatum? Did it represent a different tradition for the Mass? Which source has greater authority? And why didn't the scribe of BU choose one or the other rather than

Example 4.10

BL 139, BU 6, mm. 59-84, Variant Contratenor Readings

60

BL 139

qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-

Original BU reading

qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-

BU 6

Qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-

Correction on stave VII

Qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of three staves. The first system is labeled 'BL 139' on the left. It features a vocal line (top staff) with lyrics 'qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-', a contratenor line (middle staff) with a bracketed section labeled 'Original BU reading', and a basso continuo line (bottom staff) with lyrics 'qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-'. The second system is labeled 'BU 6' on the left. It features a vocal line (top staff) with lyrics 'Qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-', a contratenor line (middle staff) with a bracketed section labeled 'Correction on stave VII', and a basso continuo line (bottom staff) with lyrics 'Qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di su- sci- pe de-'. The page number '60' is centered above the first system.

Example 4.10 (cont.)

65

BL 139

pre- ca- ci- o- nem no- stram

pre- ca- ci- o- nem no- stram

BU 6

pre- ca- ci- o- nem no- stram.

pre- ca- ci- o- nem no- stram.

Example 4.10 (cont.)

70

BL 139

qui se- des ad dex- te- ram pa- tris

Omitted from original BU reading

qui se- des ad dex- te- ram pa- tris

BU 6

Qui se- des ad dex- te- ram pa- tris

Qui se- des ad dex- te- ram pa- tris

Example 4.10 (cont.)

75

BL 139

mi-se-re-re no-bis quo-ni-am

mi-se-re-re no-bis quo-ni-am

mi-se-re-re no-bis quo-ni-am

BU 6

mi-se-re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am

mi-se-re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am

mi-se-re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am

Example 4.10 (cont.)

BL 139

80

tu so-lus san-ctus tu so-lus

tu so-lus san-ctus tu so-lus

BU 6

tu so-lus san-ctus. Tu so-lus

tu so-lus san-ctus. Tu so-lus

4 mm of BL = 3 mm of BU

Example 4.10 (cont.)

4 mm of BL = 3 mm of BU

BL 139

do- mi- nus

do- mi- nus

BU 6

do- mi- nus tu so-

do- mi- nus Tu so-

Contratenor returns to stave III

face the formidable task of conflation using a notational system that didn't lend itself to presentation in score?

I wish to propose that the BU scribe copied from two sources representing two different traditions: manuscript X, from an earlier tradition for the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, and BL, containing the complete Mass. A number of factors suggest that the Sanctus and Agnus were added to an already existing Kyrie/Gloria/Credo unit--their switched order in Ox, their absence from BU, and their use of tempus perfectum diminutum as an initial mensuration. Two BU variants from the Ox/BL version of the Gloria may antedate the addition of these movements to form a complete Ordinary cycle: BU's unique introduction to the movement, and the divergent contratenor for measures 62 to 83.

As we have seen in Ex. 4.7, the Gloria begins with a tenor-supported canon in Ox and BL, while BL also contains a si placet opening derived from the canonic version. The BU introduction to the Gloria, shown in Ex. 4.11a, is shorter, non-canonic, and cadences on C instead of F at the double bar in m. 9. Compared to the correct canonic opening in Ox, it is very straightforward. Since we have already seen two occasions where the BU scribe shortened and simplified a problematic passage in his exemplar, we might conclude that he simplified the corrupt canonic opening of BL. But a comparison of this version of the Gloria opening to the beginning of the Credo, shown in Ex. 4.11b, shows that the first three measures of both movements are identical in all three voices. It was Arnold's normal practice to provide a corresponding Gloria and Credo with a motto opening to emphasize their musical unity, as we have seen in the previous chapter. Each of the three Gloria/Credo pairs attributed to him in BL shares

Example 4.11

BU 6, BU 29, Motto Openings

BU 6

Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus

Et in terra pax

Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus

BU 29

Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem. Fa-cto-rem ce-li

Patrem omnipotentem

Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem fa-cto-rem ce-li

a motto that is identical for several measures in one or more voices. When he wrote the Gloria/Credo pair that eventually became the nucleus of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, he provided it, too, with a motto opening that was identical for both members of the pair. But when he added the Kyrie, and later the Sanctus and Agnus to the original pair, he treated the motto opening more loosely. These movements also begin with a descent from \underline{c}^1 to \underline{f}^1 in the cantus, but they begin in a similar, rather than an identical, manner to the Gloria and Credo. (Ex. 3.4 in Chapter 3 presents the motto of each movement of the cycle, using

the BU opening to represent the Gloria, for reasons that should be clear by now.) Arnold seems to have been more interested in the strict use of motto to establish identity between paired movements--Gloria/Credo and Sanctus/Agnus--than to provide coherence between all five movements of the Ordinary. It appears, then, that BU preserves the original opening of the Gloria.

The alternate version of the contratenor in the BU Gloria shown in Ex. 4.10 also points to earlier origins. This passage, which differs from Ox and BL in all three voices at some points, is a plausible reading, not a clumsy adaptation. Throughout this passage the contratenors of Ox and BL show stepped-up rhythmic activity that exceeds that found anywhere else in the Mass, while the BU correction is more in agreement with contratenor writing elsewhere. The BL version, moreover, contains three leaps of an octave while the BU reading has none. It appears that BU contains the earlier version, Ox and BL the variant. At a time when reference to a score was possible only for simple polyphony, an extensive variant involving all voices of the texture should alert us to the possibility of revision by a highly skilled musician or by the composer himself. I would, in fact, like to suggest the possibility that Arnold de Lantins revised the Gloria when he added a Sanctus and Agnus to the movements he had already composed. He may have seen then the opportunity to refashion the motto of the original Gloria/Credo pair into a fuga and to rework other portions of the movement. If Arnold had been asked to provide a polyphonic Mass for a festive occasion, a canon over a Tuba part for the opening of the Gloria would have been most appropriate.

This hypothesis would help explain the confusion of the BU scribe in confronting a dual tradition. This scribe, who seems to have worked for a more modest musical establishment than the scribes of Ox and BL, sometimes copied only two or three voices of pieces that have three or four voices in other sources. He provided manuscript accidentals to indicate the application of musica ficta at cadences where the need for it would have been obvious to a trained singer of the fifteenth century. As Reaney has noted, his outlook seems to have been a practical one of a scribe who habitually adapted the pieces he copied to suit local needs. In copying the Missa Verbum incarnatum, he may have preferred an earlier, simpler version to a later, more elaborate one. And he may have omitted the Sanctus and Agnus from his copy because the institution to which he belonged did not sing them polyphonically.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDITORS OF EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

The purpose of textual criticism, it is generally assumed, is to establish a text that is as close as possible to the author's lost original--to reach beyond the errors or willful intrusions of scribes to arrive at his original intentions and reflect these in our modern editions. In studying the transmission of fifteenth-century music, however, we are faced with a situation in which few composers or scribes exhibited an "Urtext mentality." A scribe could introduce not only errors into his copy, but plausible variants as well, based on his memory of a recent performance, his knowledge of accepted performance alternatives, or reference to more than one exemplar. Although such initiatives complicate the task of the editor, a study of them may enrich our understanding of a repertory for which almost no autograph scores or sketches survive.

The variants among the surviving sources of Arnold de Lantins' Ordinary settings raise interesting questions regarding the editor's responsibilities in preparing an edition of fifteenth-century music and the modern performer's options in resurrecting the sounds that once echoed in the Malatesta chapel, the papal chapel, or in musical establishments of the Veneto. In the case of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, for instance, should the editor follow only Ox and eliminate the readings of BL and BU, which depend on it? This would be the choice of editors who take the "best source" approach, selecting the source with the most plausible readings and following it exclusively for the piece in question or for an entire edition.³³ If we take this approach, we preclude performance alternatives that were available to the fifteenth-century singers who performed Arnold's settings during the celebration of the Mass. We would eliminate the possibility of singing the full trope text of the Kyrie in the tenor as well as the cantus, and of applying text to the tenors of the Gloria and Credo. We would also end up rejecting the BU opening to the Gloria, which corresponds to the Credo's motto and probably represents the earliest version of the Gloria. In the case of the Gloria/Credo pair that appears in both BL and BU, we might prefer to sing all three voices with text, as the BU scribe intended, especially since the untexted contratenor of BL appears to have gone back to a source in which it did have text.

We may, on the other hand, apply the principles of textual criticism in order to reconstruct Arnold's "lost original" from a study of the variant readings. The remarkable variants among the sources of Arnold's Mass and one of his Gloria/Credo pairs arose from several factors. Some were simple copying errors or minor rhythmic and

melodic variants introduced by the scribes as they copied out individual voice parts. Others involved rewriting all three voices in order to resolve problems that resulted from a simple error in a single voice part that could not be detected in the absence of a score. Still others may have resulted from compositional revision on the part of Arnold himself, or at least, by someone who had as full a command of all three voices as the composer, i.e., another composer. By distinguishing among types of variants, we can identify a body of readings that may come closest to Arnold's "lost original" to serve as a basis for a critical edition of his music. We can eliminate outright errors and graceless attempts to rework a passage containing an error whose origins the scribe and his fellow singers were unable to pinpoint. But what about plausible variants? Is it actually possible to decide which of these come closest to what Arnold originally wrote? To banish such readings to the critical commentary, which few performers will ever consult, is to deny the rich evidence for the variety of options exercised by the fifteenth-century singer.³⁴

In the light of the preceding discussion, it would appear that the entire purpose of studying readings and establishing the genealogy of the extant sources of a piece of music is the creation of critical editions, and, we would presume, providing modern performers with guidelines as to how the music should be performed. But once again, we are back to our "Urtext mentality," to our assumption that there is one right way to perform the music of an earlier period, that it is possible to realize the "composer's intentions." But the freedom with which fifteenth-century musicians appended voice parts to the compositions of other composers, rewrote beginnings and endings of pieces, added and subtracted contratenors, and produced

ornamental versions of voice parts does not suggest any idea of musical material as the exclusive property of its author. Rather, it appears that the transmission of this music was highly fluid; that instead of having specific "intentions" of how his composition should sound, the composer and his fellow musicians freely adapted the music to the situation at hand--to the tastes of a particular patron or the exigencies of the moment.³⁵

At this point in our dialogue with performers, it might be valuable for musicologists to abandon the idea of an edition with a fixed, authorized text and provide performers and fellow students of this repertory with alternatives, accompanied by more expansive prose introductions discussing the performance-practice evidence we have uncovered in our solitary vigil with the sources and their variant readings. Perhaps our contribution lies not only in the preparation of editions of music unheard for centuries, but also, in extracting from the many precise details we wrestle with on the way to the edition a better understanding of musical life in an age far removed from our own.

EPILOGUE

Haberl's "Wilhelm du Fay" of 1885 began with a summary of previous Dufay scholarship. This was followed by the fruits of Haberl's research in Rome, which established the foundations for all subsequent research into the early Dufay period. Preceding the second part of his essay are the words of Goethe found at the beginning of this dissertation. These words, inspired by a journey to Italy two hundred years ago, remain as relevant today as they were when Haberl quoted them. Although our knowledge of Dufay, his music, and the music of his contemporaries has increased exponentially over the course of the last century, we are still in the process of discovering other stars of varying magnitude in that firmament. One of the brightest of these, surely, was Arnold de Lantins.

APPENDIX
THE EVIDENCE OF THE ATTRIBUTIONS

The scribes of the Veneto sources differed somewhat in the way their attributions represented the name of Arnold de Lantins. The BL scribe spelled Arnold's name differently at different stages in the manuscript's compilation. As shown in Table A.1, he used the spellings "Ar de lantins" or "Art de lantins" during stage I. During the second stage he referred instead to "Ar de lantinis." The only piece copied during stage III has no attribution in BL. The use of two distinct spellings of Arnold's name in BL, each associated with a different stage in the compilation, raises the interesting question of whether Arnold came to prefer the Latinate to the French spelling of his name, or if the change reflects a change in preference on the part of the BL scribe. The scribe of the BL index, which includes entries for Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus settings, and Gloria settings (in that order), usually abbreviated Arnold's surname, but the nature of his abbreviations, along with the instances where he did spell it out, suggests that he thought of the name as "lantinis" even when the name before him in the manuscript was "lantins," showing some familiarity with what appears to be the later form of Arnold's name.

The Ox scribe always used the French spelling of Arnold's name (Table A.2). Unlike the BL scribe, he frequently substituted the hexachord syllable "la" for the

TABLE A.1
 ATTRIBUTIONS TO ARNOLD IN BL

No.	Title	Attribution in Manuscript	Attribution in Index
<u>STAGE I</u>			
2	Salve sancta parens	Ar de lantins	[<u>Sal</u>]ve sancta parens. arnoldi de latins 1
3	Kyrie	anon	[<u>Ky</u>]rieleyson de <u>sancta</u> <u>domina</u> . ar. de latinis 2
6	Sanctus	Art de lantins	Sanctus ar. de <u>lantinis</u> de <u>nostra domina</u> 7
7	Agnus dei	Ar de lantins	agnus ar de <u>lantinis</u> 8
28	Helas, e my	Ar de lantins	Not in index
37	Ung seul confort	ntins	Not in index
38	Et it terra	Ar de lantins	et in <u>terra</u> . ar. de latinis 42
39	Patrem	Ar de lantins	Not in index
40	Chanter ne scay	Ar de la/ntins	Not in index
47	Et in terra	Ar de lantins	et in <u>terra</u> . ar. de latis 54
48	Patrem	Art de lantins	Not in index
49	Mon doulx espoir	Ar/lantins	Not in index
241	Or voy vueillies	Ar de lantins	Not in index
<u>STAGE II</u>			
90	Et in terra	Ar de lantinis	et in <u>terra</u> . ar. de latinis 121†
91	Patrem	Ar de lantinis	Not in index

†Should read 112.

TABLE A.1. Continued.

No.	Title	Attribution in Manuscript	Attribution in Index
138	Kyrie Tr Verbum incarnatum	Missa Ar de lantinis	kirieleyson ar de lantins panis angelorum 150
139	Et in terra	Fuga trium temporum	[et in terra ar de] latinis 151
140	Patrem	Ar de lantinis	Not in index
141	Sanctus Tr Qui hominem limo	Ar de lantinis	sanctus. ar. de lantinis 150
142	Agnus dei	anon	agnus [1]55
178	O pulcerrima mulierum	Ar de lantinis	Not in index
202	Tota pulcra es	Ar de lantinis	Not in index
<u>STAGE III</u>			
287	In tua memoria	anon	Not in index

first two letters of "Lantins." This scribe usually spelled out Arnold's Christian name, which the BL scribe consistently abbreviated.

Only two of the seven works by Arnold contained in BU have attributions. The scribe assigned the Kyrie of the Missa Verbum incarnatum to "Arnaldus," the first member of the Gloria/Credo pair BU 37/38 to "Arnoldus de latinis." This scribe spelled out Arnold's Christian name in both cases, while employing the Latinate spelling of the patronymic found in the second phase of BL.

Three compositions found in BL and Ox have conflicting or ambiguous attributions involving the names of Arnold and

TABLE A.2.
 ATTRIBUTIONS TO ARNOLD IN OX

Ox No.	Title	Attribution in Manuscript	Attribution in Index
<u>STAGE IV</u>			
64	Se ne prenes	--	Se ne prenes de moy pite. 35
71	Certes, belle	Ar de ps ntins	Not in index
80	Tota pulcra es	Arnoldus de ps Ntins	Tota pulcra es amica mea. 43
84	Ne me vueillies	Arnoldus de lantins	Ne me vueillies belle oublier. 44
108	Amour servir	Ar de lantins	Not in index
109	In tua memoria	Arnoldus de lantins	Not in index
110	Puisque je voy	Ar de lan/tins	Puisque le voy belle que nemames. 53
111	Tout mon desir	Ar de lantins	Tout mon desir & mon voloir. 53
115	Puisque je suy	Arnoldus de lantins	Puysque le suy cyprianes. 55
118	Esclave a dueil	Arnoldus de ps Ntins	Estclave a dueil con- forai de liesse. 56
132	Kyrie (M. Verbum incarnatum)	Arnoldus de lantins	Kyrie. Verbum in- carnatum. 63
133	Et in terra (M. Verbum incarnatum)	Arnoldus de lantins	Et in terra pax. Ar. de lantins. C. O. 64
134	Patrem (M. Verbum (incarnatum)	Arnoldus de lantins	Patrem. Ar. de lantins. C. O. 65
138	Sans desplaisir	Arnoldus de ps Atins	Sans des playsir & sans esmay. 67
142	Agnus dei (M. Verbum inc.)	Arnoldus de lantins	Not in index
149	Sanctus (M. Verbum inc.)	Arnoldus de lantins	Sanctus. Sanctus sanctus. Ar de lantis. 71

TABLE A.2. Continued.

Ox No.	Title	Attribution in Manuscript	Attribution in Index
155	Ce jour de l'an	Arnoldus de lantins	Not in index
175	Las, pouray	Ar. de lantins	Las pouray le mon martir celer. 80
178	O pulcerrima mulierum	Arnoldus de Ant	O pulcerima mulierum. 81
307	Se ne prenest†	Arnoldus de Ant ntins 1428 mensis marcii conposuit veneciis	Se ne prenes de moy pite. 130
311	Quant je mire†	Arnoldus de lantins conposuit 1428 mensis marcii veneciis	Quant le mire vous doulce. 133

†Stage IV addition to Stage III gathering.

Hugo de Lantins. These are shown in Table A.3. Four of the five attributions shown in this table are problematic due to trimming of the manuscripts for binding:

Of the original BL attribution for Chanter ne scay, only the letters "ntins" remained after trimming. (The attribution appears in the left-hand margin since the piece was added onto blank staves at the bottom of the opening.) Above the remaining letters the same scribe added "Ar de la" in smaller script and lighter ink.

The Ox attribution for Chanter ne scay was almost obliterated by trimming of the top of the folio. What remains are two descenders whose contours and placement somewhat resemble those of the "H" and "q" of attributions to Hugo de Lantins on fols. 35, 35v, 36, and 36v. This identification is not entirely certain, however. The two descenders that remain stand a little closer than

TABLE A.3
CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FOR ARNOLD AND HUGO DE LANTINS I

Title	Source	Attribution
<u>Chanter ne scay</u>	BL 40, 43v-44 Ox 52, 32v	Ar de la/ntins - - - - -) - -
<u>Mon doulx espoir</u>	BL 49, 54v-55 Ox 105, 51v	Ar/lantins Ugo de lantins
<u>Ung seul confort</u>	BL 37, 40v-41	/ntins

those of the "Hugho" attributions on nearby folios, and there is no trace of a descender for the fourth letter, "h," which is prominent in the other attributions. In his Ox inventory Reaney gave "Hugo de Lantins" as the composer without comment.¹

Part of the BL attribution for Mon doulx espoir, copied on blank staves at the bottom of an opening, was lost due to trimming. The scribe entered "Ar" above "lantins", again in smaller script and lighter ink. In both cases of conflicting attributions, Chanter ne scay and Mon doulx espoir, the BL scribe may have simply assumed that the missing name was Arnold rather than Hugo when replacing the names that had been cut off. Of the 19 pieces added to the bottoms of folios in BL, not one bears an attribution to Hugo.

In the case of Ung seul confort, a unicum in BL, part of the attribution in the left-hand margin was once again partially cropped when the manuscript was trimmed for binding. What remains to the left of the cantus stave is "ntins". In this case, the scribe did not replace the missing Christian name.

Van den Borren resolved the problem of the conflicting attributions by assigning Chanter ne scay and Unq seul confort to Hugo on the basis of their use of imitation, which he had already established as the hallmark of Hugo's style.² Later writers have come to the same conclusion, again on the basis of the imitation in these pieces.³

The existence of a conflicting attribution for Mon doulx espoir, on the other hand, went unnoticed for some time. Van den Borren assumed that it was by Hugo, as indicated in Ox, while noting that the BL copy lacked the Christian name.⁴ The "Lantins" article in MGG assigned the piece to Hugo without remark. Schoop, however, noticed the addition of "Ar" above the original attribution in BL, which appears in the left-hand margin and was partially eliminated when the manuscript was trimmed for binding. In his Lantins article for The New Grove he concluded that Mon doulx espoir belongs to Arnold rather than Hugo due to its more homophonic style.

To judge from the literature on the subject, the authorship of these three chansons is resolved, with the two more imitative chansons going to Hugo, the more homophonic song to Arnold. Yet the stylistic basis for this assessment is slight. Mary Wolinski has noted that Mon doulx espoir, presumably by Arnold, contains two points of imitation, while Chanter ne scay and Unq seul confort, presumably by Hugo, contain three and four points of imitation, respectively.⁵ Such a slight difference in the extent of imitation is not an adequate basis for considering the authorship of these songs resolved. Source-critical factors discussed below should make us even more hesitant to accept such a resolution as final before more extensive stylistic investigations have taken place. Even

then, we may have to be satisfied with only tentative conclusions.

Table A.4 lists all the compositions attributed to Arnold or Hugo de Lantins in one source and to a different composer in another, including those already listed in Table A.3. From this summary we see that the pieces involving conflicting attributions between Arnold and Hugo are rondeaux, while those concerning Hugo and other composers--Dufay and Forest--are Gloria settings. The first Gloria listed in Table A.4 introduces a new level of complexity into the discussion of attributions, for, although an unicum, it involves a conflicting attribution within the only extant source. Schoop was the first to observe discrepancies between the Ox index and attributions

TABLE A.4.
CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS FOR ARNOLD AND HUGO DE LANTINS II

Title	Source	Attribution
<u>Chanter ne scay</u>	BL 40, 43v-44 Ox 52, 32v	Ar de la/ntins [Hugho de lantins?]
<u>Mon cœulx espoir</u>	BL 49, 54v-55 Ox 105, 51v	Ar/lantins Ugo de lantins
<u>Ung seul confort</u>	BL 37, 40v-41	/ntins
<u>Et in terra</u>	Ox 124, 59v-60 Ox index	Ugo de lantins guillermus dufay
<u>Et in terra</u>	Ao 32, 30v-31 BL 35, 38v-39 Ox 126, 60v-61 Tr93 1727, 171v-172 Tr90 917, 141v-142	Hugo de lantins Hugo de lantins Guillermus dufay anon anon
<u>Et in terra</u>	BL 67, 84v-85 MÜO 274, 152v-153 Tr90 918, 142v-143	H de lantins forest anon

in the body of the manuscript. He also called attention to several erased attributions in Ox and earlier readings beneath some of the corrections. In the case of the Gloria attributed to "Ugo de lantins," the index contains a different attribution--"guillermus dufay .C. 60."⁶ (The "C" refers to the mensuration of the piece; the number "60" indicates the folio number on the recto of the opening where it appears.) Schoop noted that beneath the present attribution to Hugo on fol. 59v it is possible, with the aid of ultraviolet light, to read an earlier attribution--to "guillermus du ~~■~~ y."⁷ Thus the Ox scribe altered the attribution after he had copied the index, but failed to enter the correction in the index. According to Schoop, the scribe intended to correct the attribution of Ox 126 from Dufay to Hugo, as given in Ao and BL, but made the correction on the previous opening by mistake. Thus Ox 124 should be considered Dufay's, Ox 126 Hugo's, even though it is convincingly paired with a Credo attributed to Dufay in BL and Ao. Fallows has concurred, suggesting that this Gloria/Credo pair "hints at some kind of cooperation or rivalry between Dufay and Hugo de Lantins."⁸

Schoop cited nine erased attributions in the third and fourth gatherings of Ox, to which Boone has added two further examples.⁹ These are listed in Table A.5 in their original and corrected forms.

The altered attributions in Ox bring up more questions than we can address here. Of most interest for the present discussion is the frequency with which Arnold's name was involved in the alterations. The composers whose names occur in these attributions are Binchois (six times), Dufay (six times), Arnold (five times), Hugo (twice), and Rezon and Benoit (once each). On two occasions an attribution

TABLE A.5.
ERASED AND CORRECTED ATTRIBUTIONS IN OX

Title	Source	Original Reading	Corrected Reading
<u>L'alta belleza</u>	Ox 75, 40v	Ugo de . . .	guillermus dufay
<u>De cuer joyeux</u>	Ox 114, 54	Arn zon	Benoit
<u>Adieu adieu</u>	Ox 119, 56v	- - - -	Binchois
<u>Et in terra</u>	Ox 124, 59v	guillermus du Arn y	Ugo de lantins
<u>Ave regina celorum</u>	Ox 129, 62	Arnoldus de lantins	Guillermus du Arn y
<u>Plains de plours</u>	Ox 135, 66	Arnoldus de lantins	Binchoys
<u>De plus en plus</u>	Ox 140, 67v	Arnoldus de Arn ntins	Binchoys
<u>Les tres doulx</u>	Ox 146, 69v	G [dufay?]	Binchoys
<u>Je ne pouroye</u>	Ox 169, 78	Ar de lantins	Binchois
<u>Ce jour le doit</u>	Ox 173, 79	Arnoldus de lantins	Guillermus dufay
<u>Lyesse ma mande</u>	Ox 174, 79v	G d[u] Arn y	Binchois

was changed from Arnold to Dufay, on three occasions, from Arnold to Binchois. The Ox scribe altered six of the attributions in favor of Binchois, three to Dufay, one each to Hugo and Benoit, and none to Arnold. Thus he considered each of the earlier attributions to Arnold an error. It would be very interesting to know on what basis the Ox scribe changed these attributions. At this time we can only conclude that confusion arose concerning the authorship of certain pieces and that the composers most involved were Binchois, Dufay, and Arnold.

NOTES

Chapter 1

¹Heinrich Bessler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalter I: Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," AfMW, VII (1925), p. 234.

²Giuseppe Baini, Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2 vols. (Rome, 1828), p. 400.

³Ibid., p. 400, n. 655.

⁴Manfred Schuler has summarized the documentation for each of these musicians in "Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Eugens IV.," Acta, XL (1968), pp. 220-227.

⁵See, for example, Rafael Georg Kiesewetter, "Die Verdienste der Niederlaender um die Tonkunst," Verhandelingen over de Vraag: Welke verdiensten hebben zich de nederlanders vooral in de 14e, 15e en 16e eeuw in het vak der toonkunst verworven (Amsterdam, 1829), p. 109; and Idem, Geschichte der europäisch-abendlandischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 42-49.

⁶Franz Xaver Haberl, "Wilhelm du Fay: Monographisches Studie über dessen Leben und Werke," VfMW, I (1885), pp. 397-530; rpt. Bausteine für Musikgeschichte I (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 1-134. See also Idem, "Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatikan zu Rom," MMq, Supplement to Vols. XIX (1887) and XX (1888); rpt. Bausteine für Musikgeschichte II (Leipzig, 1888), pp. I-XI, 1-184; and "Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16.

Notes to p. 10

Jahrhunderts," VfMw, III (1887), pp. 189-296; rpt. Bausteine für Musikgeschichte III (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 1-130. Subsequent references to Haberl's work will be to the more accessible Bausteine.

⁷Haberl, Bausteine I, p. 54.

⁸Richard Scherr and Pamela Starr have informed me that Haberl did not view the documents himself.

⁹At the time of Arnold's admission, the papal chapel was already dominated by musicians from the north, especially Cambrai. David Fallows has noted that when Dufay joined the choir in 1428, four singers were canons at Cambrai and four more had smaller prebends in that diocese (Dufay, London, 1982, p. 32). The Cambrai constituent in the papal chapel remained strong during the reign of Eugenius IV, as well. Among the singers shown in Table 1.2, Matheus Hanelle and Johannes de Cruce were canons from the Cathedral of Cambrai, (according to the supplication of April 24, 1431), while Dufay, Egidus Flannel, Jacobus Ragot, and Guillermus Malbecque held benefices in the diocese of Cambrai. Of these, Dufay and Flannel were to become canons of Cambrai Cathedral at a later date. Liège, on the other hand, was less well represented. Although such important composers as Ciconia, Arnold and Hugo de Lantins, Brassart, and Johannes de Lymburgia came to Italy from that diocese, only two served in the papal chapel, Johannes Brassart and Arnold, who took the place vacated by Brassart.

¹⁰Haberl gave the full text of the passage from Vats 714-a, a busta containing original bulls and other documents relating to the papal chapel, in Bausteine I, pp. 115-118.

Notes to pp. 10-12

¹¹Haberl, Bausteine I, p. 66. The document appears in Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali, which Haberl cites as Mandati diversi Eugenii IV, fol. 39.

¹²Ibid., p. 66; and Idem, Bausteine III, p. 33. Joseph Kreps included both Arnold de Lantins and Brassart among the singers in the chapel of Eugene's predecessor, Martin V, along with Dufay, Pierre Fontaine, Guillaume Lemachier, and Nicolas Zacharias (La musique en Belgique du Moyen Âge à nos jours, ed. Ernest Closson, Charles Van den Borren, et al., Brussels, 1950, p. 323). There appears to be no documentary evidence, however, that either of these composers served in Martin's chapel. See Schuler, "Eugens IV.," p. 226, n. 82; and Keith Mixter, "Johannes Brassart: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study I: The Biography," MD, XVIII (1964), p. 43, n. 32.

¹³According to Hans Schoop ("Lantins, de," NG, Vol. X, p. 457) and Fallows (Dufay, p. 250), Arnold remained in the papal chapel for six months, i.e., from November 1431 until June 1432, assuming perhaps that the relevant lists dated from the end of November and the beginning of June. We do not know, however, at what point between the list of August 1 and that of November Arnold entered the chapel.

¹⁴Descriptions and inventories of these manuscripts appear in the following publications:

BL: Guillaume de Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," MD, II (1948), pp. 231-257. BL inventory numbers used in this dissertation refer to the numbers assigned by de Van in the second column of his inventory, not to the faulty numbering system entered in the manuscript by Padre Martini and listed in the first column of the de Van inventory.

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BU: Heinrich Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," MD, VI (1952), pp. 39-65. F. Alberto Gallo has published a more detailed inventory and facsimile edition in Il codice musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Monumenta Lyrica Medii Aevi Italica III: Mensvrabilia (Bologna, 1970). Inventory numbers in references to BU correspond to those of Gallo's inventory, which differs from Bessler's numbering since it assigns numbers to individual members of the plainsong cycle on the first recto.

Ox: Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," MD, IX (1955), pp. 73-104.

For further bibliography see the Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550, Renaissance Manuscript Studies I, American Institute of Musicology (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1979-), Vol. I, pp. 69-70, 88; and Vol. II, pp. 275-276.

¹⁵August Wilhelm Ambros, Geschichte der Musik, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1862-1882). For a summary of Ambros' observations concerning BL, see Haberl, Bausteine I, p. 79.

¹⁶The fact that we now know that "Micinella" and "Cursor" are not composers but references to lost secular models for Mass movements by Antonius Zachara da Teramo (see Gilbert Reaney, ed., Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Vol. VI, p. XI) does not detract from Ambros' central point --the novelty of a Mass cycle with movements produced by different composers of different nationalities.

¹⁷The "Lantius" sometimes encountered in the literature results from a misreading of "u" for "n" and occurs nowhere in the fifteenth-century sources. In the Mandati cited by Haberl, Arnold's name is given as "Arnoldo de latinis" (Bausteine I, p. 66). The scribes of the musical

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sources use several spellings. In BL we find attributions to "Ar lantins," "Art lantins," "Ar de latinis," and "Ar de lantinis." The Ox scribe writes "Ar de lantins" or "Arnoldus de lantins," sometimes with a rebus similar to the one for Dufay used by Dufay himself. (See Fallows, Dufay, Plates 18-19.) There are two attributions to Arnold in BU, "Arnaldus" and "Arnoldus de latinis," and one in MÜL to "Arnoldus de lantinis."

¹⁸Ambros, Geschichte, Vol. III, p. 486.

¹⁹Quoted in Fallows, Dufay, p. 20.

²⁰The Ciconia entry in Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (Leipzig, 1790-1792), Vol. I, col. 282, makes no reference to his compositional activity.

²¹Although Padre Giambattista Martini acquired BL in 1757 and studied its contents with great interest, the results of these studies did not appear in his three-volume Storia della musica (Bologna, 1757-1781), which is concerned only with the music of antiquity. For summaries of letters concerning Martini's acquisition of BL see Anne Schnoebelen, Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna (New York, 1979), letters 967, 968, and 970. Letter 3184 from Martini to Lorenzo Mehus, dated November 3, 1761, shows that Martini recognized that the author of the treatise De proportionibus is the same "Johannes Ciconia" whose works appear in the parchment codex in his possession.

²²Haberl, Bausteine I, pp. 79-98.

²³Ibid., p. 86.

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²⁴Giuseppe Lisio, Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Guillaume Du Fay, tratta da due codici antichi - e le poesie volgari contenute in essi (Bologna, 1893).

²⁵Jules Houdoy, Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre Dame (Paris, 1880).

²⁶Haberl, Bausteine I, pp. 6-18.

²⁷Sir John Stainer, "A Fifteenth-Century MS. Book of Vocal Music in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," PRMA, XXII (1895-1896), p. 3.

²⁸Early Bodleian Music: Dufay and His Contemporaries: Fifty compositions (ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440) transcribed from MS. Canonici misc. 213, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford by J.F.R. Stainer, B.C.L., M.A. and C. Stainer with an Introduction by E.W.B. Nicholson, M.A., Bodley's Librarian and a Critical Analysis of the Music by Sir John Stainer (London, 1898). The Stainers published transcriptions of 48 songs with French and Latin texts in their collection. They also included two Latin motets, Carmen's Pontifici decori and Tapissier's Eva dulcis/Vale placis, because "they are by composers--Johannes Carmen and Johannes Tapissier--who are mentioned by a contemporary writer, Martin le Franc, as representative musicians of their time, and because there are no examples of their secular work to be found in our MS" (Dufay and His Contemporaries, p. 1).

²⁹The Ox scribe assigned dates ranging from 1422 to 1436 to nine compositions in his compilation. Nicholson was referring undoubtedly to Ox 311, Quant ie mire, in which the note concerning date and place of composition immediately follows the attribution. A similar notice regarding Ox 307, Se ne prenes, escaped notice for some

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time. The scribe wrote it sideways in the margin after placing the attribution to Arnold at the end of the stave preceding Arnold's chanson.

³⁰He observed, for instance, that in Part II "Hugh and Arnold of Lantins barely occur, and only in [gathering] 3. Increased prominence is given to Fontaine and Loqueville. A number of old names drop out, the chief being Br(u)olo. A number of new ones come in, the chief being Bartholomew of Bologna, Cesaris, Cordier, le grant Guillaume, and Velut" (Dufay and His Contemporaries, p. xvi). On the basis of the more recent studies of Besseler ("Studien zur Musik"), Reaney ("The Manuscript Oxford"), and Hans Schoop (Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213, Bern and Stuttgart, 1971), we know that Part II is older than Part I. Several composers of Part II cited by Nicholson are Dufay's immediate predecessors--Loqueville, Bartholomeo da Bononia, Cesaris, Cordier, and Velut, while Pierre Fontaine and Guillaume Le Grant served with him in the chapel of Martin V. The composers better represented in Part I, on the other hand--Arnold and Hugo de Lantins and Bartolomeo Bruolo--were already writing in the more homophonic style of the 1430s.

³¹Nicholson concluded that Ox was copied later than the Bodleian manuscript Selden B. 26 (then dated 1450-1455 on paleographical grounds) because Ox uses void notation with thorn-shaped or half-oval note heads for the most part, while the Selden manuscript contains mostly solid black notation, some void notation, but never oval or half-oval note heads (Dufay and His Contemporaries, p. x). The fact that solid black notation persisted in England long after it had been supplanted by void notation on the continent had not been established at the time Nicholson was writing.

³²Ibid., pp. xvii-xviii.

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³³Besseler, for instance, suggested that Johannes de Lymburgia was involved with the compilation of BL because it contains 46 compositions by him, only two of which occur in other sources ("Bologna, Kodex BL," MGG, Vol. II, cols. 96-99). Margaret Bent, however, has rejected the possibility that Lymburgia was the scribe of BL due to numerous indications that the scribe was an Italian (script, spelling, use of double clefs, etc.), and because Lymburgia's works appear almost entirely in the third stage of the compilation. (See Chapter 2, pp. 63-64.)

³⁴Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460 I: Geschichtliche Darstellung (Leipzig, 1904), p. 213. See also CC, Vol. III, pp. 29-31.

³⁵Charles Van den Borren, Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XVe siècle) brûlé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker (Anvers, 1924), pp. 63-64. See also CC, Vol. II, pp. 163-164.

³⁶Ibid., p. 190.

³⁷Karl Dèzes, "Der Mensuralcodex des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Emmerami zu Regensburg," ZfMW, X (1927), pp. 68-105. See also Joseph J. Meier, Die musikalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München, I: Die Handschriften bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts (Munich, 1879), pp. 57-58; and CC, Vol. II, pp. 239-240.

³⁸Besseler, "Studien zur Musik," pp. 235-236. (The reference to MÜL as mus. 3223 on p. 235 is an error.) See also Joseph J. Meier, Die musikalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München I: Die Handschriften bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts (Munich, 1879), pp. 57-58; and Wolf, Geschichte der Mensuralnotation, Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

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39". . . Dufay sang in the papal choir at the same time as Arnold of Lantins, who was doubtless Hugh's near kinsman . . ." (Dufay and His Contemporaries, p. xviii). This assumption apparently rests on the fact that the works of both composers appear in the same Italian sources with attributions giving the place name "Lantins," "Latinis," or "Lantinis."

⁴⁰Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1900-1904), Vol. VI, p. 46. Eitner included among Arnold's works an anonymous O quam suavis copied below a Credo by Arnold in BU. The attribution of this unicum to Arnold has failed to gain acceptance.

⁴¹As an appendix to Una stanza del Petrarca Lisio published the texts of nine chansons added below Ordinary movements in the first section of BL. These included texts of three chansons associated with Arnold: BL 28, Helas, e my, ma dame, BL 37, Unq seul confort, with the attribution "ntins," BL 40, Chanter ne scay, attributed to Arnold in BL but to Hugo in Ox, and BL 49, Mon doulx espoir, again attributed to Arnold in BL, to Hugo in Ox. Luigi Torchi published the incipits, as well as the texts, of all the French-texted pieces in BL in "I monumenti dell'antica musica francese a Bologna," RMI, XIII (1906), pp. 489-497. In addition to the texts of chansons ascribed to Arnold that had already appeared in Lisio's publication, we find Arnold's Or voy ie bien, BL 241, added below a motet found later in BL than the group of chansons whose texts were printed by Lisio.

⁴²This is the rondeaux, Helas, e my, ma dame, published in the original notation and in transcription, along with other examples, for students of notation in Geschichte der Mensural-Notation II: Musikalische Schriftproben des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts, 78 Kompositionen aus den Handschriften in der Originalnotation mitgeteilt, Nr. XXXII;

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and III: 78 Kompositionen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts aus den Handschriften übertragen, Nr. 32. (This example bears the interesting attribution, "Arthur de Lantins." Wolf may have been thinking of the attributions "Art de lantins" for BL 6 and 48.) Wolf also published excerpts from this song and from Chanter ne scay as examples of black notation with void coloration, and provided a thematic catalogue for BU in which the name "Arnaldus" stands as the first attribution (Idem, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation I, pp. 198, 199-208, and 347f). On page 348 Wolf gave Mod A as the source of Chanter ne scay. This is clearly an error.

⁴³Van den Borren, "The Codex Canonici 213 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford," PRMA, LXXIII (1946-1947), p. 51.

⁴⁴Hugo Riemann, Musikgeschichte in Beispiele: Eine Auswahl von 150 Tonsätzen geistliche und weltliche Gesänge (Leipzig, 1912), No. 9; Arnold Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Leipzig, 1931), No. 41; and Heinrich Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (= Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft II), ed. Ernst Bücken (Potsdam, 1931-1934), p. 194.

⁴⁵Van den Borren, Polyphonia sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century, Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (Burnham Wood, 1932; rev. 1963).

⁴⁶Guillelmi Dufay Opera Omnia, 6 vols, ed. Guillaume de Van and Heinrich Besseler, CMM 1 (Rome, 1947-1966).

⁴⁷DTÖ, Vols. 14 and 15: Sechs Trienter Codices: Geistliche und weltliche Kompositionen des XV. Jahrhunderts, ed. Guido Adler and Oswald Koller (Vienna, 1900).

⁴⁸It was, in fact, Van den Borren's intention that Polyphonia sacra should serve as an antidote to the attitude expressed by Sir John Stainer's remark concerning "the

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contrast between the freedom of many of these secular pieces and the antiquated crudity of ecclesiastical pieces by the same composers . . ." (Dufay and His Contemporaries, p. 1). In his address to the Royal Musical Association Van den Borren maintained that "what the Stainers did not perceive is the fact that the Latin compositions of these men, which are to be found in the Codex Canonici, offer the same degree of advancement which characterizes their secular pieces. What the Stainers call 'antiquated crudity' can be considered as an improper expression, where it defines the motets or the Mass Verbum Incarnatum by Arnold de Lantins, the Latin pieces of Dufay, Binchois, Hugho de Lantins, Johannes Brasart, Johannes de Sarto and Johannes Franchois, which certainly all date from after 1420" ("The Codex Canonici 213," p. 48).

⁴⁹Van den Borren, Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Nederlanden, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1948-1951), Vol. I, p. 123.

⁵⁰Historical Anthology of Music, ed. Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949), Vol. I, No. 71.

⁵¹Van den Borren, Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance liégeoise (XVe siècle), Flores musicales belgicae, Vol. I (Brussels, 1950).

⁵²Van den Borren, Guillaume Dufay: Son importance dans l'évolution de la musique au XVe siècle (Brussels, 1926), p. 45. (On the spellings of the place name by fifteenth-century Italian scribes, see n. 17 above.) Antoine Auda, summarizing the evidence for the presence of musicians from Liège in the papal chapel, found the association of Arnold and Hugo with the diocese of Liège somewhat more tenuous: "Leur pays d'origine n'est mentionné nulle part. Toutefois, lorsque nous voyons un musicologue aussi consciencieux et aussi prudent que Van den Borren, admettre leur provenance liégeoise, nous ne pouvons faire autrement que

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nous rallierà son opinion. Un auteur italien, L. Torchi, leur attribuela même origine. Préciser semble plus délicat. Nous ne faisons pas cependant grande difficulté pour le fixer à Lantin (Lantinum), qui se trouve dans l'arrondissement de Liège, préférablement à Landen (Landinum) ou à Latinne (Latinia)" (La musique et les musiciens de l'ancien pays de Liège: Essai bio-bibliographique sur la musique liégeoise depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de la principauté (1800) Brussels, 1930, p. 70). Subsequent authors have tended to refer to Arnold's and Hugo's origins simply as "from the diocese of Liège."

⁵³Van den Borren, "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins," Fédération archéologiques et historique de Belgique, XXXIXme Session, Congrès de Liège 1932, pp. 263-272; rpt. RBM, XXI (1967), pp. 29-35. In subsequent references to this paper I will cite the page numbers of the more accessible RBM issue.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 30-31.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 32.

⁵⁶". . . [Hugo] practices imitation in almost all his pieces in a scale comparable with that used by Busnoys half a century later, and that, in the same manner, namely, between superius and tenor, with the occasional introduction of the contratenor. Instances of this are so numerous that the statistics given by Knud Jeppesen concerning the use of imitation at the epoch of the two Lantins and at that of the Chansonnier of Copenhagen could be revised, if not entirely, at least in a large measure, after examination of Hugho de Lantins' compositions" (Idem, "The Codex Canonici 213," p. 57). Van den Borren was referring to Jeppesen's preface to Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier: Das Manuskript Thott 291 der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen (Leipzig, 1927), p. XLVIII. See also Van den Borren's introduction to Pièces polyphoniques profanes, where he

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remarked that "En réalité, Hugho de Lantins anticipe, là, d'une façon surprenante, sur l'écriture imitative de la seconde moitié du siècle, telle que la pratiquent, dans leurs chansons, Busnoys et ses contemporains."

⁵⁷Van den Borren, "The Codex Canonici 213," pp. 57-58. See also his essay, "Dufay and His School," NOHM III: Ars nova and Renaissance, 1300-1450 (London, 1960), p. 235. Regarding the relationship between Arnold and Hugo, Wolfgang Rehm observed that "Beide waren Zeitgenossen von Dunstable, Dufay, Binchois und stammen aus der Diözese Lüttich. Die Namensgleichheit lässt Verwandtschaft vermuten; der Stil ihrer vorwiegend in dens. ital. Mss. überlieferten Werke weist darauf hin, dass sie ders. Generation angehörten" ("Lantins," MGG, Vol. VIII, col. 200). Schoop stated that "Several composers and musicians of the early 15th century bearing this name may well have been related ("Lantins, de," pp. 457-458). According to Fallows, the music of Arnold and Hugo "has many features that suggest they were brothers" (Dufay, p. 150). He does not go on to tell us what these features are. In spite of the total lack of evidence, the idea that Arnold and Hugo were somehow related has been a persistent one in the musicological literature. I see no reason to assume a relationship any closer than that of generation and geographical origins. The fact that two composers wrote in a similar style (analogous to that of other composers of their generation) and probably came to Italy from the same town does not necessarily indicate a blood relationship.

⁵⁸Van den Borren, "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins," p. 29. In his contribution to an all-Mozart issue of Revue musicale, Van den Borren placed Mozart in a "line of swans" extending all the way back to Arnold de Lantins! See "La lignée des cygnes," RM, XIV (1933), pp. 40-42.

⁵⁹Van den Borren, "The Codex Canonici 213," p. 48.

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⁶⁰Idem, "Dufay and His School," pp. 235-236.

⁶¹Howard Schott, "Borren, Charles (Jean Eugène) van den," NG, Vol. III, pp. 64-66.

⁶²The program included two songs by Arnold, Puisque ie voy and Se ne prenes, the first of which was recorded by the Pro Musica Antiqua prior to World War II. (See Van den Borren, "The Codex Canonici 213," pp. 57-58.)

⁶³Bessler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, rev. version, ed. Peter Gülke (Leipzig, 1974), p. 78. Bessler's Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance contains a transcription of the first half of Hugo's well-known A madamme, but no reference whatsoever to Arnold.

⁶⁴Bessler, "Studien zur Musik," p. 234.

⁶⁵Van den Borren, "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins," p. 34.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 34.

⁶⁷Manfred Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York, 1950), pp. 217-226.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 221.

⁶⁹Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, rev. ed. (New York, 1959), pp. 39-40.

⁷⁰Charles Hamm, A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice (Princeton, 1964), p. 40.

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⁷¹Hamm, "The Reson Mass," JAMS, XVIII (1965), p. 13.

⁷²Ibid., p. 12.

⁷³Philip Gossett, "Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs," JAMS, XIX (1966), pp. 213-215.

⁷⁴Gilbert Reaney, "Musical and Textual Relationships among Early 15th-Century Manuscripts," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols. (Henryville, Pa., 1984), Vol. II, pp. 495-496.

⁷⁵Jean Widaman, "Missa Verbum incarnatum by Arnold de Lantins: A Study of Transmission in Early Fifteenth-Century Sources," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 1985.

⁷⁶Edgar H. Sparks, Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420-1520 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 91-92.

⁷⁷Sylvia Kenney, "In Praise of the Lauda," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese (New York, 1966), p. 495.

⁷⁸Shai Burstyn, "Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings of Verses from the Song of Songs," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, p. 2.

⁷⁹Frohmüt Dangel-Hofmann, Der mehrstimmige Introitus in Quellen des 15. Jahrhunderts, Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge III (Tutzing, 1975).

⁸⁰See n. 29 above.

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⁸¹The names of several prominent composers are associated with this church. Johannes Ciconia is mentioned there as a choirboy in 1385. (For a summary of the controversy surrounding the identification of Ciconia with this choirboy, rather than with the canon, Johannes Ciconia, see The Works of Johannes Ciconia, ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, Vol. XXIV (Monaco, 1985), p. IX.) Johannes de Sarto is cited in documents of 1401, 1404, and 1405 (Keith Mixter, "Johannes de Sarto," NG, Vol. IX, p. 668). There are abundant references to Johannes Brassart from 1422 to 1424, 1426 to 1431, and 1432 to 1434 (Idem, "Johannes Brassart: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study I: The Biography," MD, XVIII (1964), pp. 37-47). Finally, Johannes de Lymburgia was connected with this church from sometime after 1400 until 1431 (José Quitin, "A propos de Jean-François de Gembloux et de Johannes de Limburgia," RB, XXI (1967), pp. 120-124; and Mixter, "Johannes de Lymburgia," NG, Vol. IX, pp. 666-667).

⁸²The central discussions of documents from this diocese appear in L. Lahaye, Inventaire analytique des chartes de la collégiale de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste à Liège (Brussels, 1921-1931); Eugénie Droz, "Musiciens liégeois du XVe siècle," RdM, X (1929), pp. 284-289; Quitin, "Les maîtres de chant de la cathédrale St. Lambert à Liège aux XVe et XVIe siècles," RB, VIII (1954), pp. 5-18; Suzanne Clercx, Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps (Brussels, 1960); and Mixter, "Johannes Brassart." A Berthold de Lantins was listed as "chantre" in the account books of Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste from 1379 to 1413, but as Andre Pirro has pointed out, this musician may have come from the same town as Arnold and Hugo but was not necessarily related to them. Droz, "Musiciens liégeois," p. 287, and Pirro, Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe (Paris, 1940), p. 67.

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⁸³Alejandro Planchart, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Burgundian Chapel," Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, 1984. The handout for Professor Planchart's paper contained summaries of newly discovered documents, including two concerning Arnold de Lantins. It is interesting to note that in the 1980s, as in the 1880s, new evidence concerning Arnold has emerged in the course of research dedicated to the life and works of Dufay.

⁸⁴Vatican, ASV, Reg. Sup. 168, fols. 69-70v.

⁸⁵Vatican, ASV, Reg. Sup. 278, fols. 31-31v.

⁸⁶According to Planchart, the earlier document dates from late July 1423, soon after the wedding of Malatesta's son Carlo to the pope's niece, Vittoria Colonna, on July 18, 1423. Thus both Arnold and Hugo were undoubtedly present at the wedding celebrated in song by . . . and Dufay (whose name does not appear in the document). Prior to Planchart's discoveries, Fallows had summarized the evidence for a relationship between Hugo and Dufay as follows: "No specific documentation for [Hugo] exists, though a surprising number of details seem to connect him with Dufay in the 1420s. His song Tra quante regione for Cleofe Malatesta seems to celebrate the same occasion as Dufay's motet Vasilissa ergo gaude (i/7); his song Mirar non posso contains the words 'del fedel servo to ferma Collona' which might connect it with the Malatesta-Colonna wedding of 1423 for which Dufay wrote his Resvelliés vous (vi/11); his motet Celsa sublimatur celebrates St Nicholas of Bari, as does Dufay's motet O gemma, lux (i/9); and his Gloria paired with a Credo by Dufay (iv/3) strongly suggests direct collaboration or competition" (Dufay, p. 250).

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⁸⁷In his NG article, "Lantins, de," Schoop suggested that the text of Arnold's ballade, Puisque je suy cyprianes, was connected with the marriage of Anne de Lusignan to Louis of Savoy in February 1434. (This suggestion reappears in Fallows, Dufay, p. 250.) Planchart's discovery that Arnold died in 1432 has put an end to such speculation.

⁸⁸Dufay Opera Omnia, Vol. VI, No. 49.

⁸⁹Fallows, Dufay, p. 54, n. 6.

⁹⁰Pièces polyphoniques profanes is not listed in Historical Sets, Collected Editions, and Monuments of Music, compiled by Anna Harriet Hyer, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Chicago, 1980). Polyphonia sacra is, perhaps because it was published under the auspices of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society.

⁹¹By way of contrast, an entire monograph is devoted to Dufay's early Ordinary settings, Rudolf Bockholdt's Die frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Dufay, 2 vols. (Tutzing, 1960).

⁹²The total number of pieces at the bottom of Table 1.3 is based on the most recent assessments of authorship, discussed in the Appendix to this study.

⁹³For a discussion of the Italian motet tradition in which Ciconia was working see the Introduction to The Works of Johannes Ciconia, p. XII.

⁹⁴See Burstyn, "Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings," p. 2.

⁹⁵In Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985) Reinhard Strohm has documented the daily singing of a polyphonic Mass in honor of the Virgin at St. Donatian's in

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Bruges (pp. 22-23). The endowments refer to this Mass as the Missa de Salve since it began with the Introit Salve sancta parens. Although this tradition was well established at St. Donatian by 1421, the actual music sung at these Masses does not survive.

⁹⁶The statistics in the following paragraphs are based on the thematic index of Introits in Dangel-Hofmann, Der mehrstimmige Introitus.

⁹⁷See Tom Ward, "The Structure of Trent 92-I," MD, XXIX (1975), pp. 127-147.

⁹⁸This was observed already by Adler and Koller in DTÖ 14/15, pp. XIII-XIV. See also Ward, "The Structure," p. 127.

⁹⁹Regarding the increasing acceptance of Father Feininger's suggestion, see Fallows, Dufay, pp. 188-191. Further confirmation appeared in William Prizer's "The Order of the Golden Fleece and Music," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 1985.

¹⁰⁰See Burstyn, "Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings," p. 2. Burstyn discussed Arnold's two Marian motets based on texts from the Song of Songs on pp. 235-242.

¹⁰¹Burstyn observed that "This is an exceptionally high number of concordances, topped only by Dunstable's Quam pulcra es" ("Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings," p. 236).

¹⁰²Kenney, "In Praise of the Lauda," p. 495.

¹⁰³Alejandro Planchart, "Parts with Words and without Words: The Evidence for Multiple Texts in Fifteenth-Century Masses," Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval

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Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), p. 230, n. 16. Also see Richard H. Hoppin, "The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9," MD, XI (1957), pp. 121-124. Gareth Curtis removed the Missa Sine nomine attributed to "Pylois" in Tr93/90 from consideration as one of the earliest continental tenor cycles in "Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass--or a Case of Mistaken Identity," ML, LXII (1981), pp. 41-59. He argued that this Mass, which first appears in one of the youngest gatherings of Tr87, appears to be another English cycle that, like the Caput Mass, became associated with the name of a continental composer. Pamela Starr, on the other hand, has informed me in a personal communication that her research indicates that Pullois probably was the composer of the Mass in question. If this is the case, the question of which continental composer was the first to compose a tenor Mass must be reevaluated.

¹⁰⁴Bockholdt and Fallows have both suggested the existence of a further cycle composed of a Dufay Kyrie (BL 16), Gloria "Quaremiaux" (BL 155), and the Sanctus and Agnus based on the Vineux tenor (BL 20 and 21) (Bockholdt, Die frühen Messenkompositionen, I, pp. 76-83; Fallows, Dufay, pp. 173-175). Arthur Parris posited that isolated Mass movements by Binchois can be combined to create three complete cycles in "The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois," Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1965, pp. 71-77. Upon investigation, these movements do not show signs of intentional unification by the composer.

¹⁰⁵Fallows has suggested rechristening Dufay's Missa Sine nomine as the Missa Resveillies vous due to motivic relationships between the Mass and the song (Dufay, pp. 165-168). Graeme Boone has pointed out further points of correspondence and demonstrated that the Mass also shares melodic material with two other early Dufay songs--Belle vueilliés vostre mercy and Ma belle dame je vous pri ("Dufay's Early Chansons: Chronology and Style in the

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Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987, pp. 162-163 and 166). Since the Mass shares material with songs other than Resveillies vous, and since its relationship with Resveillies vous is not extensive enough to represent a parody relationship, I prefer to use the traditional designation, "Missa Sine nomine."

¹⁰⁶Letters of April 12, 1427 and March 24, 1428 attest to Dufay's presence in Bologna on those dates. His name appears in lists of papal singers from December 1428 to August 1433, when the papal chapel resided principally in Rome. He became chapel master at the Court of Savoy sometime before the wedding of Anne de Lusignan and Louis I in February 1434, and is mentioned in a Savoyard document of April 14, 1435. From June 1435 to May 1437 he served again in the chapel of Eugenius IV, who now resided in Florence. During part of 1438 Dufay represented Cambrai at the Council of Basle. By December 9, 1439 he was back in Cambrai, where he remained throughout the 1440s. (Summarized from Fallows, Dufay, "Calendar," pp. 219-221, and passim.)

Brassart left the church of Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste in Liège for Rome and the court of Martin V in 1424, returning to Liège sometime in 1426. He was in Italy again in 1431, serving in the chapel of Eugenius IV from sometime before April 1431 until at least August 1, 1431. His name was replaced by that of Arnold de Lantins in the list of November 1431. By November 1432 he was back in Liège, and he represented Liège at the Council of Basle, where he arrived in June 1433. (Summarized from Mixter, "Johannes Brassart I," pp. 40-48.)

Johannes de Lymburgia, succentor at Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste until 1431, is recorded in Vicenza in a document of November 18, 1431. He was a singer at the Duomo and, at the decree of Bishop Petro Emiliano, was placed in charge of the musical training of three young clerics. By 1436 he

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was back in the north, a canon at Notre Dame de Huy. (See Alberto Gallo and Giovanni Mantese, Ricerche sulle origini della Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Vicenza (Venice, Rome, 1964), pp. 28-30).

¹⁰⁷Masakata Kanazawa provides an inventory of hymns, Magnificats, and antiphon settings in BL in "Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1974, pp. 35-39.

Chapter 2

¹Regarding the infusion of northern influence into the Veneto, see Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 193-225.

²Giulio Cattin, "Formazione e attività delle cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali la musica nelle città," Storia della cultura veneta 3/III: Dal primo quattrocento al Concilio di Trento (Venice, 1981), p. 268.

³Figures given for BL and Ox represent only attributions entered in the bodies of these manuscripts. To eliminate the need for numerous qualifications due to conflicting attributions, attributions from concordances or from the BL and Ox indexes have not been taken into account. Such considerations do not, in any case, significantly alter the picture given here. BU, on the other hand, contains far fewer pieces than BL and Ox, many of them left anonymous by the scribe. In order to achieve comparable results, I have included in these figures attributions furnished by concordances and by Hamm's convincing argument that six anonymous pieces in BU belong to Reson ("The Reson Mass," pp. 5-21).

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⁴This description of BL is entirely indebted to the work of Professor Margaret Bent, who generously shared her original research with members of a 1981-82 graduate seminar at Brandeis University. The BL entries in the Census Catalogue of Renaissance Manuscripts and The New Grove follow the now outdated description given by Kanazawa in "Polyphonic Music for Vespers," pp. 29-42.

⁵This Gloria is the mysterious No. 1 of the de Van inventory, which gives no composer, title, or folio number for the first item. The inventory makes no further reference to this bifolio or its contents. Due to the insertion of the bifolio containing the index and the discarded Gloria at the beginning of BL, Arnold's Introit is No. 2 in the inventory even though it is the first piece in the manuscript.

⁶Due to a typesetting error the heading "Number as in codex" stands over the first and second columns in the inventory. This heading pertains only to the Martini numbers in the first column.

⁷Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, p. 11.

⁸See Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," MD, IX (1955), pp. 73-104.

⁹Besseler maintained that the manuscript was misbound, and that gatherings 1-4 should follow 5-10 ("Studien," p. 240). Schoop, however, has shown that the existing sequence was determined by the Ox scribe (Entstehung, p. 14).

¹⁰Schoop, Entstehung, p. 15.

¹¹See Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford," p. 74.

¹²Schoop, Entstehung, p. 18.

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¹³Gallo, Il codice, pp. 3-7. See also Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna," pp. 39-55.

¹⁴Evidence for this comes from the use of parchment sewing strips to reinforce the inner and outer bifolios of the gatherings. Although these strips have been removed, impressions of them still remain in the inner margins of some folios. At the time of Bessler's investigation the first folio of the seventh gathering, pp. 97/98, was attached to the previous gathering. The impressions left by a parchment strip between pp. 98 and 99 shows that this was the case very early in the manuscript's history. Thus the breakup of bifolios and loss or elimination of leaves from the end of the manuscript took place prior to the binding that introduced parchment strips to strengthen the gatherings.

¹⁵Hamm, "The Reson Mass," pp. 14-16.

¹⁶See Bessler, "Studien," pp. 235-236, and CC, Vol. II, pp. 228-229. Helmuth Hell has described the recently recovered leaves in "Zwei weitere Blätter zum Fragment Mus. ms. 3224 in der Bayerische Staatsbibliothek aus der Dufay-Zeit," Musik in Bayern, XXVII (1983), pp. 43-49. I wish to thank Reinhard Strohm for calling this article to my attention.

¹⁷Bessler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, pp. 17, Idem, "Bologna, Kodex BL," MGG, Vol. II, col. 96.

¹⁸Bent presented the principal results of her research on BL in "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," paper read at the International Colloquium "1380-1430: Ein internationaler Stil?", Bressanone, July 1984. Further observations regarding BL and its scribe appear in the introduction and critical notes of The Works of Johannes Ciconia.

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¹⁹See Kanazawa, "Polyphonic Music for Vespers," p. 34.

²⁰Bent, "A Contemporary Perception."

²¹I wish to thank Prof. Bent for sharing this important detail from her investigation of writing on the backs of pasted initials. Further evidence that the BL scribe preferred compositionally related movements to unrelated movements when he had access to them lies in gathering 7, where he copied BL 62, a Credo by Loqueville, after BL 60, a Gloria attributed to Bosquet. Later, however, a Loqueville Gloria corresponding to the Credo he had already copied became available. In order to present the related movements as a pair he substituted a bifolio and a leaf of stage II paper for the stage I bifolio containing the end of BL 60 and the beginning of BL 62, which he recopied onto the new leaves, and inserted the Loqueville Gloria, BL 61, between them.

²²Ambros, Geschichte der Musik, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1893), p. 486.

²³Suzanne Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des mss. Italiens, Mod. 568 (Mod A) et Lucca (Mn)." Les Colloques de Wégimont, II-1955: L'ars nova (Paris, 1959), pp. 124-126; Idem, Johannes Ciconia I, pp. 67-71.

²⁴Bobby Wayne Cox, "The Motets of Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15," Ph.D. dissertation, North Texas State University, 1977, pp. 22-33.

²⁵Antonii Romani, Opera, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Bologna, 1965), pp. v, xiii-xiv.

²⁶Regina gloriosa, a quasi-motet-like work attributed to Ciconia by Clercx (Johannes Ciconia II, pp. 32-33) is no

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longer considered part of the Ciconia canon. See The Works of Johannes Ciconia, pp. XIII, 209.

²⁷Anne Hallmark has established that Ciconia died in 1412, not in 1411, as Clercx claimed. See The Works of Johannes Ciconia, p. IX.

²⁸Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, Vol. I, p. 69; and G. Vale, "La cappella musicale del Duomo di Udine," Note d'archivio per la storia musicale, VII (1930), p. 92. For the identification of Christoforus de Feltro with Christoforus de Monte, see Billy Jim Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary of the Mass, 1300-1450," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1960, p. 326.

²⁹Gallo and Mantese, Ricerche, p. 23; Cattin, "Uno sconosciuto codice quattrocentesco dell'archivio capitolare di Vicenza e le lamentazione di Johannes de Quadris," L'ars nova italiana del Trecento: secondo convegno internazionale 17-22 luglio 1969 (Certaldo, 1970), p. 300. Kurt Von Fischer identified Mattheus with the Paduan composer Prepositus Brixiensis found in Ox and BU (Studien zur italienische Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento (Bern, 1956), p. 55, n. 261), but Gallo and Mantese have rejected this identification (Ricerche, p. 24).

³⁰Gallo and Mantese, Ricerche, pp. 28-30. It is possible that we are faced here with a Doppelmeister problem since Johannes is hardly an unusual name. However, the 1431 Vicenza record refers to a "Presb. Iohannes de Limburgia quondam Iohannis Vinandi," who is certainly the "Johannes Vinandi" listed among the singers of S. Martino in Liège in 1426. (See Cattin, "Formazione e attività," p. 286.) The fact that this name disappears from the Liège records at about the same time as it appears in Vicenza, along with the presence of 46 Lymburgia compositions in stages II and III of BL and the reappearance of

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the name in the north in 1436, fit so well that we can safely conclude that we are dealing with the same man.

³¹For a summary of the controversy regarding the dating of this motet, see Cox, "The Motets," pp. 261-263.

³²Stainer, Dufay and His Contemporaries, pp. xiii-ix.

³³Besseler, "Studien," p. 240; Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford," p. 74. Reaney later set the stage for further refinements by noting that some composers' works were clustered on certain papers within gatherings, that the index was not all copied at one time, that most of the dated pieces appear in the same script as that of the index, and that works within gatherings were by no means copied at the same time ("The Italian Contribution to the Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," L'ars nova italiana del Trecento (Certaldo, 1970), pp. 443-464).

³⁴Summaries of Schoop's results appear in Entstehung, pp. 46 and 123.

³⁵For instance, in the table summarizing the chronology of gathering 2 on p. 27, the column for semibreve types shows a clear progression from type A through A+B, B, C+B, to C, while the column for initial types shows the sequence 2, 1-2, 1+2, 1, 3, 1. This is because Schoop labeled the initials according to degree of decoration, from simple to ornate, rather than in the order in which they were used. Schoop didn't present the most obvious piece of evidence for the layering of gathering 2--the presence of three different paper types--until the following chapter.

³⁶Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 112.

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³⁷Ibid., p. 113.

³⁸Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford," p. 75; Idem, "Oxforder Handschriften," MGG, Vol. X, cols. 517-518.

³⁹The pieces are Ox 66 and 310, songs by Dufay and Hugo de Lantins connected with the Malatesta wedding of 1421, and Ox 12, Feragut's Francorum nobilitati. See Fallows, Dufay, p. 250, and Lewis Lockwood, Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984), pp. 34-36.

⁴⁰John B. Mitchell, "Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts from Two Eighteenth-Century Venetian Collections," Bodleian Library Record, VIII (1967-1972), pp. 125-135. A catalogue of Trevisan's library survives in Venice at the Archivio dei Frari, Misc. cod. 113. The Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana preserves a catalogue of Soranzo's library, MSS Ital. X. 137-139.

⁴¹I wish to thank Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield for making this catalogue available to me, and for his friendly assistance throughout my stay at Oxford.

⁴²Boone has pointed out that wherever the Ox scribe wrote out a form of the verb "componere," he spelled it with an "n," not an "m"; thus "conposita" where an abbreviation is extended ("Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 100).

⁴³Cattin, "Uno sconosciuto codice," pp. 281-304. A series of anonymous two-voice songs in the Paduan processional C56, copied in Padua around mid-century, turn up in Petrucci 1506 with an attribution to "Iohannes De Quadris." Similarly, a collection of anonymous two-voice lamentations for Matins of Holy Week found in Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare U.VIII.II.11 (now at the Biblioteca del Sem. Vis.) reappears in another Petrucci print of 1506 with the

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attribution "Presb. Iohannes De Quadris." Cattin noted that although we do not know the nationality of this composer, his production includes works of Franco/Flemish conception (the Magnificat) and ones of clearly Italian taste (the two-voice processional songs and lamentations). The source distribution of his works suggests strong ties with Padua, Vicenza, and Venice.

⁴⁴Reaney, "The Italian Contribution," p. 451.

⁴⁵Schoop observed that the Arnold chansons assigned 1428 dates by the Ox scribe were added to gathering 9 several years after that date and concluded that they may have been transmitted by word of mouth (Entstehung, p. 120).

⁴⁶Gallo, Il codice, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁷Gallo, "Musiche veneziane nel Ms. 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," Quadrivium, VI (1964), p. 108; and Idem, Il codice, p. 4.

⁴⁸I wish to thank Janet Palumbo for her generosity in sharing with me material from her forthcoming dissertation, "BU 2216: The Manuscript, its Repertory, and the Transmission of Polyphony in the Early Fifteenth Century," in progress at Princeton University.

⁴⁹Bessler gave the text of the ballata in "The Manuscript Bologna," p. 44.

⁵⁰Gallo, "Musiche veneziane," p. 107. See also Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna," p. 40.

⁵¹This Gloria is attributed to Bosquet in MÜO but remains anonymous in BL, where it is paired with Zacar's Patrem du vilage and attributed to Zacar in the index. For an interesting discussion of the conflicting attributions

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for this piece, see Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," pp. 330-331.

⁵²Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna," p. 46; Gallo, Il codice, Vol. II, p. 14.

⁵³CC, Vol. II, p. 228.

⁵⁴Ernest Trumble, "An Interpretation of Dufay's Juvenis qui puellam," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Minneapolis, November 1978.

⁵⁵Hell, "Zwei weitere Blätter," p. 44.

⁵⁶This manner of presentation still appears in Apt, Iv, OH, TuB, and parts of Ao.

⁵⁷For the recent identification of Fabri see Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, pp. 108-109.

⁵⁸Entstehung, pp. 39-40; Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," pp. 86-89.

⁵⁹Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 87.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 89.

⁶¹Gallo, Il codice, Vol. II, p. 10; Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zum einstimmigen Ordinarium-zyklus des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts aus Italien," Liber Amicorum Charles van den Borren (Anvers, 1964), pp. 60-68.

⁶²My original assignment of individual pieces to stages in the BU compilation has received further refinement from ink-color evidence supplied by Janet Palumbo.

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Chapter 3

¹Leo Treitler discusses the dilemma of historians faced with the dichotomy between the diachronic mode of historical thought, which is intimately bound up with the "organic metaphor," and the mode of thinking that emphasizes the particularity of past events in "History, Criticism, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," 19th Century Music, III (1980), pp. 204-210.

²Although the earliest English cantus firmus Masses may date from before the 1420s, we have no examples of cantus firmus cycles by continental composers until ca. 1450 (with the exception of the anonymous cycle added to TuB). Planchart, "Parts with Words and without Words: The Evidence for Multiple Texts in Fifteenth-Century Masses," Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), p. 230.

³Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," p. 219.

⁴Hamm, "The Reson Mass," p. 6.

⁵Gossett, "Techniques of Unification," pp. 206-207.

⁶See Chapter 2, p. 66, n. 21.

⁷Van den Borren noted this in "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins," p. 34; Gossett mentioned it is passing in "Techniques of Unification," p. 222. Numerous examples of this little-discussed phenomenon appear in Dufay Opera Omnia, Vols. II and IV, and Mixter's Brassart edition.

⁸The words "Et resurrexit" were often an occasion for an outburst of rhythmic energy. A cantus coronatus setting of this text phrase is unusual, to say the least. The words of the Credo that most frequently receive cantus coronatus treatment are "et homo factus est" and "et incar-

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natus est." The use of this treatment for the words "et resurrexit" is less anomalous if Charles W. Warren is correct in his assertion that such passages were occasions for vocal embellishment at important text phrases than it would be if the fermatas had their modern meaning ("Punctus Organi and Cantus Coronatus in the Music of Dufay," Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974, ed. Allan W. Atlas (Brooklyn, 1976), pp. 128-143).

⁹Dufay Opera Omnia, VI/11 and Ia/14.

¹⁰Planchart has pointed to a similar instance of imitation in a Credo by Dufay that occurs in connection with the same words of the Credo. ("Parts with Words," pp. 231-234. The complete Credo appears in Dufay Opera Omnia, IV/3.) Since these movements both occur in the first phase of BL, copied between ca. 1420 and 1425, and Arnold and Dufay were both associated with the Malatesta court in the early 1420s, the appearance of similar treatment of this text phrase is not surprising.

¹¹Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," p. 220.

¹²Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, pp. 22-23, 29, 52, and 102. Barbara Haggh has discussed an endowment showing that a polyphonic Marian Mass was sung at the church of St. Goedele in Brussels as early as 1362 in "Music, Religion, and Royalty in Fifteenth-Century Brussels," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 1985.

¹³Bent rejects the claims of three other Glorias various writers have suggested as mates for No. 10 and presents both movements separately. Ibid., p. XII.

¹⁴The same singers could not have performed each movement, however. Those by Arnold would require one high

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voice and two lower voices, while Ciconia's would require two high voices and one or two low voices, depending on whether or not the problematic contratenor of the Gloria was used. (The contratenor, which appears in smaller notes in the edition due to the contrapuntal difficulties it creates, may have been added by someone other than Ciconia. Ibid., pp. XIII and 201.)

¹⁵Concerning composite cycles of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries see Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," AfMw, VII (1925), pp. 417-435; Hanna Harder, "Die Messe von Toulouse," MD, VII (1953), pp. 105-128; Jacques Chailley, "La messe de Besançon et un compositeur inconnu du XIV^e siècle: Jean Lambelet," AnnM, II (1954), pp. 93-103; Leo Schrade, "The Mass of Toulouse," RB, VII (1954), pp. 84-96; Idem, "A Fourteenth-Century Parody Mass," Acta, XXVII (1955), pp. 13-39; Dominique Catta, "Aux origines du Kyriale," Revue grégorienne, XXXIV (1955), pp. 175-182; Richard A. Hoppin, "Reflections on the Origins of the Cyclic Mass," Liber Amicorum Charles Van den Borren (Anvers, 1964), pp. 85-92; Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zum einstimmigen Ordinariumzyklus des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts aus Italien," Liber Amicorum, pp. 60-68; and Idem, "The Mass Cycle of the Trecento Manuscript F-Pn 568 (Pit)," Essays on Music for Charles Warren Fox, ed. Jerald C. Grane (New York, 1979), pp. 1-13.

¹⁶Gossett, "Techniques of Unification," pp. 213-215.

¹⁷For a transcription of the Lymburgia partial cycle see Jerry Etheridge, "The Works of Johannes Lymburgia," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972, Vol. II, Nos. 8-10. It is highly probable that Lymburgia was familiar with the composite cycle at the beginning of BL since he was in Vicenza in 1431, close to the presumed place of copying of the manuscript whose second and third stages contain 46 of his compositions.

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¹⁸The BL scribe did not copy the movements of the Lymburgia cycle at the same time. The Gloria, copied on folios with stage II ruling and stage II script between gatherings 17 and 18, is the only composition in these folios containing red-ink bar lines, unus/chorus markings, and tenor/contratenor designations. During stage III the scribe replaced four and a half stage II bifolios from gathering 17 with three folios of stage III paper on which he added BL 158-160 and recopied the first verso of the Gloria, BL 161, in order to present the movements of the partial cycle consecutively. Gossett wondered whether Lymburgia wrote three further movements based on the Lantins/Ciconia cycle ("Techniques of Unification," p. 215). Knowing what we do of the BL scribe's habits, we can be fairly sure that if he had had access to three further movements of the Lymburgia Marian cycle, he would have juggled folios until he had them all together. Since this did not happen, it appears more likely that a polyphonic Introit, Kyrie, and Gloria sufficed for many Marian occasions and that settings of the remaining movements were not needed when a complete cycle for the principal Marian feasts was already available.

¹⁹According to Gossett, the Gloria text appears in the three-part portions of both settings, the trope text in the duos. While this is generally true at the outset of both movements, such a clear-cut distinction between Ordinary text and trope quickly dissolves as they progress.

²⁰Schoop has observed that the Sanctus melody used by Arnold exhibits northern French variants. "Lantins, de," NG, Vol. VI, p. 457.

²¹Planchart has noted that when continental composers of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries used a tenor cantus firmus, whether in motets or, more infrequently, Mass movements, they tended to use fragments of a chant rather than the complete chant melody. ("Parts with

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Words," pp. 242-243.) The partial cycles of Arnold and Lymburgia follow English precedent in their use of complete chants.

²²The transcription of the BL 160 opening follows Etheridge in transcribing \emptyset as 6/4 rather than 6/8. Etheridge regarded the \emptyset at the beginning of this movement as two times \emptyset due to its stylistic similarities to Lymburgia's works in \emptyset . "The Works of Johannes Lymburgia," pp. 74-75.

²³This statement excludes the Machaut Mass, which probably represents the composer's interest in composing examples of every musical genre cultivated during his time rather than a cycle for performance on a single occasion. For source-critical, stylistic, and liturgical factors suggesting that the Machaut Mass was not composed as a cycle, see Elizabeth Keitel, "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," *MQ*, LXVIII (1982), pp. 307-323.

²⁴It has not been determined when the anonymous tenor cycle was added to the Turin manuscript.

²⁵The word "Missa" was not a later addition, as Van den Borren suggested (Polyphonia sacra, p. v). The ink color is identical to that of the rest of the attribution and of the music that follows.

²⁶There are only a few other instances in BL of one Mass movement following another on the same opening. Among these are the Dufay Missa Sancti Jacobi (BL 111-119), a complete cycle and Gloria/Credo pair by Lymburgia (BL 127-131 and 132/133), a Dufay Sanctus and Agnus belonging to a composite cycle (BL 104/105), and the Zacar Credo du vilage, BL 84, which follows the anonymous Gloria, BL 83. Gossett cited a few further examples in "Techniques of Unification," p. 212.

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²⁷Ex. 3.4 quotes the opening of the Gloria found in BU for reasons that will become clear in Chapter 4. Otherwise, all musical examples in this chapter follow the readings of BL, which contains all of Arnold's surviving Ordinary settings.

²⁸Schoop, "Lantins, de," NG, Vol. X, p. 457. The text of the trope appears in Analecta hymnica medii aevi, ed. by Clemens Blume, Guido M. Dreves, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig, 1905), Vol. XLVII, pp. 194-195.

²⁹While the BL and Ox readings of the text agree closely, BU diverges in minor details.

³⁰Thomas Walker, "A Severed Head: Notes on a Lost English Caput Mass," Abstracts of Papers Read at the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Saint Louis, 1969, pp. 14-15; Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions," MQ, LXIII (1972), pp. 1-13. The only other example I know of a troped Kyrie setting written by a continental composer before 1450 is Lymburgia's Kyrie Tr Qui de stirpe regia, BL 101.

³¹Schoop, "Lantins, de," NG, Vol. X, p. 457. This trope does not appear in Analecta hymnica, in Ulysse Chevalier, Repertorium hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes (Louvain: 1892-1920), or in Peter Josef Thannabaur, Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts (Munich, 1962). Thus the Kyrie and Sanctus tropes Arnold used are not ones that are frequently encountered. Analecta hymnica cites only BU and a "Cantion. ms Venetum saec. 15/16" (presumably Ox) as sources for the Verbum incarnatum tropes and makes no mention of Qui hominem limo. I know of no other polyphonic settings of these tropes in sources of the first half of the century. Reinhard Strohm has suggested to me that the

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tropes in Arnold's Mass are not specific to Advent and Lent, as Schoop has claimed. The Verbum incarnatum text deals in general terms with the life of Christ and perhaps represents a fragment from a larger Vita Christi poem.

³²Reese, Music in the Renaissance, pp. 39-40.

³³Lia Laor has compared the liturgical designations of chants used in Dufay's early Ordinary settings in the Graduale Romanum and in the Graduale Secundum Morem Sancte Romane Ecclesie, published in Venice in 1499. "Concerning Liturgical Usage of Dufay's Fragmentary Masses," Current Musicology, XXXVII/XXXVIII (1984), pp. 49-58.

³⁴Reese, "The Polyphonic 'Missa de Beata Virgine' as a Genre: The Background of Josquin's Lady Mass," Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London, 1976), pp. 591, 593.

³⁵There is a family resemblance between the tenor of Arnold's Sanctus and Thannabaur's melodies 26 to 34 (Das einstimmige Sanctus, pp. 119-126). The first phrase of most melodies in this group begin with a descent from \underline{c}^1 to \underline{f} , the second phrase with an ascent from \underline{f} to \underline{c}^1 . None of them parallel Arnold's tenor in beginning the third Sanctus phrase with a descent from \underline{f}^1 to \underline{c}^1 .

³⁶Martin Schildbach includes Ox 142, the Agnus of the Missa Verbum incarnatum, in his list of polyphonic settings that use Agnus chants as a cantus firmus, but does not assign it a melody number, presumably because the correspondence is too inexact. Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert (Erlangen, 1967), p. 63. The tenor of Arnold's setting most nearly resembles variants 2 and 8 of Schildbach's melody 34, whose first phrase terminates with G-A-G instead of F-G-F (Ibid., p. 14). The most relevant

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basis for comparison are the Sanctus and Agnus of the plainsong cycle at the beginning of BU, which are also from Mass XVII. The BU readings differ from those of the Graduale Romanum in only minor details except for one factor: the Agnus of the BU plainsong cycle has the form a a b instead of a b a. Arnold's setting, based on the same chant, takes the form a b c. The tenors of his settings are no closer to those of BU than they are to those of the modern Gradual.

³⁷Examples of chant paraphrase in the superius appear in the second and third stages of BL; all are Ordinary settings or hymns by Dufay. (Concerning examples of chant paraphrase before Dufay see Fallows, Dufay, pp. 135-136.) Slightly later examples occur in the Ordinary settings of Binchois, Brassart, and Libert found in Ao, Tr87, and Tr92.

³⁸In his overview of related Ordinary movements in the early fifteenth-century, Fallows concluded that the pre-tenor cycles of Dufay, Arnold, Grossin, Lymburgia, Reson, and Libert were composed between about 1420 and 1433, and that "after that the idea of the cyclic Mass--if it was an idea in that sense--was dropped on the continent until perhaps around 1450. The experiments of the 1420s apparently led nowhere" (Dufay, p. 173).

³⁹Bent has suggested that the transmission of Dufay's compositions to the BL scribe during the 1420s and early 1430s was fairly direct, and that the order of their appearance in BL approximates the chronology of their composition ("A Contemporary Perception"). Since the association between Dufay and Arnold and Dufay spans the years from 1423 to 1432, it is possible that the BL scribe enjoyed relatively direct access to Arnold's works as well.

⁴⁰Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, Chapter 7; and Idem, "Dufay in Rom," AfMw, XV (1958), 1-19.

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⁴¹Charles Hamm, A Chronology of the Works of Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice (Princeton, 1964, 1967).

⁴²Howard Mayer Brown, Review of Hamm, A Chronology of the Works of Dufay, MQ, LI (1965), p. 709. Also see the review by Rudolf Bockholdt, MF, XX (1967), pp. 221-222.

⁴³For instance, the removal of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi from Paris to Bologna may place the composition of this Mass and the related motet Rite maiorem in the late 1420s rather than in 1426. See Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses," pp. 26-33; and Fallows, Dufay, p. 172.

⁴⁴Hamm, Chronology, pp. ix-x.

⁴⁵See, for example, Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 301-303; and John Nadas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1985, pp. 449-453.

⁴⁶Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons, p. 152.

⁴⁷Summarized in Hamm, Chronology, pp. 152-158.

⁴⁸According to Hamm, the first three movements of the Missa Verbum incarnatum have flagged semiminims, the final two colored semiminims. (Chronology, p. 40.) In actuality, the Sanctus has flagged semiminims in BL, colored in Ox, while the only pair of semiminims in the Agnus is flagged in both sources.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 29.

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⁵⁰These are the only Ordinary movements in BL that employ tenor augmentation, a device more typical of the rhythmic intricacies of the motet repertory. Although Cox discusses a number of cases of "pseudo augmentation" among the BL motets, i.e., works using \emptyset in the upper voices against \textcircled{C} in the lower voices, not one of the BL motets deploys a cut signature in the tenor against integer valor in the upper voices.

⁵¹Boone has suggested in a private communication that the use of long note values in the tenor points to the auctoritas of the chant melody, an idea in keeping with the BL scribe's erasure of the Introit text in order to recopy it in a formal book hand. Boone cites the example of the anonymous Clarus ortus/Gloriosa mater/T Justus non conturbabitur, Ox 274, whose tenor in long note values is accompanied by a more formal script than the rest of the text.

⁵²Another passage of extreme rhythmic complexity appears in the final phrase of the section in \textcircled{C} , mm. 46-52, where the first two perfections in the cantus consist of breves altered at either end by minims. The tenor has two perfections in coloration followed by a semibreve, another perfection in coloration followed by a semibreve, and yet another perfection in coloration followed by the final long. Cantus and tenor begin the phrase together, preceded by the contra, whose succession of colored c.o.p. ligatures (and one colored semibreve) cuts across the rhythmic placement of the other voices. Cantus and tenor make correct counterpoint with one another throughout this complex, with suspensions as they approach the cadence. The contratenor, however, has parallel seconds with the cantus in m. 49, followed in the same perfection by a seventh and a ninth. Errors may have been introduced into the contratenor during the course of transmission precisely because of the complexity of the passage.

⁵³Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," pp. 140-142. Robert L. Marshall was one of the first to observe that the

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shift to longer values was accompanied by a corresponding shift in the rate of declamation in "The Mensural Practice of Gilles Binchois," Unpublished seminar paper, Princeton University, 1961.

⁵⁴Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 142.

⁵⁵In the Stage I Mass section, which occupies the first eight gatherings of the manuscript, the BL scribe used red or red/void coloration up until gatherings 7 and 8, where he turned to void coloration for BL 66, a Credo by Antonius de Civitate, and BL 69, a Gloria by Zacar. The secular additions at the bottoms of folios in the Stage I Mass section, copied at the end of Stage I, all use void coloration. The only use of red coloration in the remainder of BL occurs in BL 86, a Credo attributed to Leonel in OH, and an anonymous Regina celi setting, BL 238, attributed to Leonel by Hamm but listed as an opus dubium by Bent, both of which require red and red/void coloration (Leonel Power Complete Works, Vol. I, pp. ; and Bent, "Power, Leonel, NG, Vol. XV, p. 179). It appears that the BL scribe changed his policy regarding coloration during the copying of gathering 7 and never reverted to red coloration except where necessary. He undoubtedly received pieces employing red coloration which he transformed into void coloration during Stages II and III of the compilation.

⁵⁶Bockholdt, Die frühen Messenkompositionen, pp. 28-42; and Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," pp. 164-165.

⁵⁷See Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 265.

⁵⁸Ibid, p. 167, n. 22.

⁵⁹Boone has found a progression from medial cadences on 2 and 3 in Dufay's earliest songs to 5 in those copied later in the Ox compilation. (Ibid., pp. 159, 241-245.) The internal cadences of Arnold's Ordinary settings do not

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show such a progression. The Sanctus of the Mass cycle, for instance, has sections cadencing on the second and third degrees, while the middle section of the Agnus cadences on the fifth degree. The lack of such a progression in Arnold's Ordinary settings may result from the difference between the genres under consideration.

⁶⁰Bent has identified numerous examples of initiative on the part of this scribe, including the transformation of pieces in Italian notation into French notation. The Works of Johannes Ciconia, pp. XIII, 200-201, 205-207. Cox pointed out evidence of scribal initiative in the following pieces in the BL motet repertory: BL 182, 209, 211, 216, 219, 242, 243, 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 271, and 272.

⁶¹Other BL compositions with at least one voice containing a two-flat signature are BL 28, 56/57, 80, 81/82, 86, 135, 165, 189, 190, and 193. The two-flat signatures in each case specify b-flat and e-flat. The signatures of BL 59, Zacar's Patrem Deus deorum, however, indicate d-flat and g-flat in the cantus voices, g-flat and c-flat in tenor and contratenor, while those of BL 120/121, a Binchois Gloria/Credo pair, call for f-flat and b-flat in tenor and contratenor. The f-flat in this case probably indicated that f should not be inflected.

⁶²Hoppin, "Partial Signatures and Musica Ficta in Some Early 15th-Century Sources," JAMS, VI (1953), p. 203. See also Willi Apel, "The Partial Signatures in the Sources up to 1450," Acta, X (1938), pp. 1-13; and XI (1939), pp. 40-42; and Edward Lowinsky, "The Function of Conflicting Signatures in Early Polyphonic Music," MQ, XXXI (1945), pp. 227-260.

⁶³See Karol Berger, Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino (Cambridge, 1987); Bent, "Diatonic Ficta," Early Music History, IV (1984), pp. 1-48; and

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Idem, "Musica Ficta and Musica Recta," MD, XXVI (1972), pp. 97-100.

⁶⁴Unfortunately, Hoppin obtained his information for the latter two manuscripts from the editions of dubious accuracy, the Old Hall edition ed. by A. Ramsbotham, H.B. Collins, and A. Hughes, and published by the Mediaeval and Plainsong Society in 1933-1938, and Stainer's Dufay and His Contemporaries, published in 1898. In our day of easy access to microfilms of musical sources, a fresh study of the incidence of various signatures would be highly desirable. In the meantime, Hoppin's tables provide an initial basis for discussion.

⁶⁵Fallows, Dufay, pp. 101-102 and 178. Hé, compaignons first appeared in the second gathering of Ox (Ox 57), which Boone dates ca. 1430-1431. The song has a G final and is signed c^{3b} c^{4b} f^{3bb} f^{4bb}. On the basis of the text references to Arnold and Hugo, however, Boone concludes that it may have been composed as early as Dufay's association with the Malatesta chapel in 1423 ("Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 193). Gaude virgo and the Gloria first appear in the third layer of BL (BL 193 and 157), copied in the early 1430s according to Bent. The sequence setting, whose final is G, is signed c¹ c¹ c⁴ c^{6/f4bb}. Like Hé, compaignons, it uses six-line staves for the contratenor. The Gloria, with a D final, is signed c⁴ c⁵ c⁴. The lowest tessitura for any Dufay work is found in Les douleurs (VI/84), composed in the 1450s according to Fallows (Dufay, pp. 132, 158). One of the two concordans voices extends downwards to low F, the other even further to low C.

⁶⁶Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, pp. 46-47.

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Chapter 4

¹See, for instance, Lawrence Earp, "Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1983; and John Nadas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1985. Papers read at international musicological conferences also reflect the growing interest in filiation techniques. Among the papers presented at King's College, Cambridge, in August 1979 were five dealing with stemmatics. These appear in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981). The May 1980 musicological conference at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel was entirely devoted to dating and filiation problems. See Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance II: Datierung and Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 26 (Wiesbaden, 1983). Thomas Noblitt has provided an overview of the adoption of the stemmatic approach to the editing of Renaissance music in one of these essays, "Filiation vis-à-vis its Alternatives: Approaches to Textual Criticism," p. 111.

²L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974).

³Paul Maas, Textkritik, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1957); Textual Criticism, trans. of 3rd ed. by Barbara Flower (Oxford, 1958). See also Martin L. West, Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Stuttgart, 1973). Stanley Boorman has provided a valuable bibliography of stemmatical studies concerning both musical and nonmusical texts in "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," Music in

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Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 340-346.

⁴Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, pp. 296-297.

⁵See, for example, Hamm, Chronology, p. x.

⁶See Chapter 3, n. 60. Additional examples of scribal initiative appear in Nadas' study, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony."

⁷The most conspicuous exception to this rule comes from the previous century in the person of Guillaume de Machaut.

⁸The only other cadence employing longs in the Credo is the final cadence (mm. 198-199). The only examples of cadences involving long values in the Gloria appear just before the change to tempus perfectum (mm. 46-47), before the cantus coronatus passage at "Jesu Christe" (mm. 86-87), and at the final cadence (mm. 110-112). This implies a hierarchical ordering of cadential forms, from those using longs at major structural divisions to those involving breves or semibreves for internal cadences of varying force.

⁹Cox demonstrated "that the scribe of BL was interested in tailoring the manuscript to the ideals of French manuscripts around 1430, and for this reason the Italian notation of certain pieces was changed into French notation." "The Motets," p. 225. Further indications of northern leanings on the part of this scribe is the fact that he erased almost all the f clefs from the Italianate double clefs entered during Stage I. He also added contra-tenor parts to three-voice pieces following the Italian model of an upper voice duet over the tenor. As Bent has

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noted, these added parts do not always make grammatical sense with the other voices, and, at least in the case of Ciconia, probably did not originate with the composer. The Works of Johannes Ciconia, p. XIII. Still another indication of the scribe's determination to bring his anthology into conformity with northern standards is his expunging of Italian notational traits, shown by the transformation of solid black noteheads into void shapes by scraping and the erasure of semiminim flags. See Cox, "The Motets," p. 230, 233; The Works of Johannes Ciconia, pp. 205-206; and Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

¹⁰Earp has pointed out the inappropriateness of the term "text underlay" for most of the music copied during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in "Scribal Practice," p. 156, n. 294, and pp. 247-250.

¹¹Cox, "The Motets," p. 225; The Works of Johannes Ciconia, p. XIII.

¹²The signatures in BL 90/91 could have been added after text and music were copied since they sometimes appear to be squeezed in between the clef and the first note on the stave. See, in particular, fol. 111bisv stave 4, fol. 112bis stave 7, and the last stave on fol. 113. But it is also possible that the signatures on these staves appear cramped because the scribe entered the text before adding clefs, signatures, and music, and had to squeeze in order to place the first note of each stave above the first word beneath the stave. This is the more likely interpretation since the signatures are not quite as close to the clefs in the untexted contratenor voices.

¹³An interesting feature of this passage is the BU scribe's differentiation between two forms of the fermata --what looks like a circle of small bubbles over the final four notes of the cantus and the breve and long values in the lower voices, and a sign resembling the abbreviation

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for the prefix "con-" with dots on either side over the semibreves in the two lower voices. The scribe does not systematically distinguish between different note values by the type of fermatas he uses for them, however. See for example, the Dufay Credo on pp. 52-53, where all but the final note of the cantus coronatus passage on the words "ex Maria virgine" have the backwards "C" form of the fermata, while on the following opening each note of the cantus coronatus Amen has this form.

¹⁴For a discussion of theoretical writings on the regulation of consonance and dissonance from the Berkeley treatise of 1375 to Tinctoris, see Bonnie Blackburn, "Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century," JAMS, XL (1987), pp. 233-246.

¹⁵BU contains a high number of erased and corrected readings that are particularly interesting because BU so frequently disagrees with concordant sources in major respects, such as the final of a movement. The reader is warned, however, that it is nearly impossible to determine the original BU readings without direct access to the manuscript. When studying the facsimile edition or a microfilm, one is tempted to posit erasures where there are gaps in the stave lines. But these are not always the results of erasure; in many cases one or the other member of the double rastrum failed to register as the folios were ruled, leaving breaks in the stave lines that could be interpreted as erasures. When the BU scribe did erase, he did so by scraping, sometimes so completely that the erasure can be detected only by holding the page up to the light. The first systematic investigation of the BU scribe's divergent readings and corrections will appear in Janet Palumbo's forthcoming dissertation on BU.

¹⁶There are no differences in ink color to suggest that the earlier and later readings were widely separated in time. This could indicate that the errors were

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discovered and the revisions made while the scribe was still working from the same batch of ink. If our scenario for the revision of this passage is correct, however, the revisions must have taken place when the scribe no longer had access to his exemplar.

¹⁷Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," p. 167.

¹⁸Reaney wrote that "Indeed, one has the impression that BU was compiled for a choir whose accomplishments were generally on a less ambitious level than those for which O and BL were written. Four-part works are very few, amounting to no more than five in all, and two-part works are quite frequent. Some are in fact reductions of works found in three or four parts in other sources." "Musical and Textual Relationships," p. 504.

¹⁹Nadas discusses instances in which "FP and other surviving sources (at least in some cases), rather than their exemplars, are the point of change." "The Transmission of Trecento Music," p. 109.

²⁰Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," pp. 86-89. Also see above, Chapter 2, p. .

²¹On microfilm the word "Missa" appears to be lighter than the rest of the attribution, apparently confirming Van den Borren's suggestion that it was a later addition to the attribution. (Polyphonia sacra, p. v.) But an examination of BL reveals that the scribe wrote this word in the same tone of brown ink as the rest of the attribution. If the word "Missa" was an addition, it was entered fairly soon after the attribution.

²²Van den Borren, Polyphonia sacra, pp. v-xii.

²³Reaney, "Musical and Textual Relationships," pp. 495-497.

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²⁴Cox has suggested that the Ox scribe copied Fera-gut's Excelsa civitas Vincencie directly from BL on the basis of nearly identical readings ("The Motets," p. 263). He did not go on to prove his case, however.

²⁵Hamm, A Chronology, p. 40. As observed in Chapter 2, Hamm was not entirely accurate regarding the semiminims in the final two movements. Although the flagged semiminims in the Ox copy of the Sanctus are void, those in BL are flagged. There are only two semiminims in the Agnus; these are flagged in both sources.

²⁶Reaney, "Musical and Textual Relationships," p. 495.

²⁷For guidelines for the determination of direct copying relationships between musical sources see Bent, "Some Criteria," pp. 306-307.

²⁸This is exceptional for the BL Mass section, whose scribe usually copied Ordinary movements from the final verso of one gathering to the first verso of the next. In manuscripts whose scribes tended to keep gatherings separable as long as possible, on the other hand, the outer folios of a gathering frequently contain all voices of a piece that requires only one folio.

²⁹Further indications that the si placet version is a later addition are the use of brown instead of red bar lines at the ends of the si placet parts and the fact that the added stave on fol. 151 was slightly wider than the 13-mm staves in the rest of the stage II compilation. This stave may have been ruled by the same rastum as that used through stage II after it had widened with further use. (If so, it was turned upside down for this stave, whose fourth rather than third space is narrower than the others.)

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³⁰Reaney's Ex. 2 gives only the revised contratenor of BL, in which he has interpreted the ligature preceding the cadence as reading a - g instead of g - f, as in my Ex. 4.8d. The placement of the ligature is somewhat ambiguous. The context in which I believe it originated, one involving the missing dot of division that Reaney didn't take into account, suggests that g - f is the correct reading.

³¹One of the most important factors that differentiates the transmission of late medieval and Renaissance polyphony from that of literary texts is the fact that musicians were not working from score. An interesting sixteenth-century example of the difficulties inherent in working without reference to a score appears in Jessie Ann Owens' article, "The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process," JAMS, XXXVII (1984), pp. 270-298.

³²Copying from more than one exemplar is referred to as contaminatio in the terminology of stemmatics. As Bent has pointed out, West accepted contamination "as a normal state of affairs rather than as a deviation which impedes normal critical procedures." (Bent, "Some Criteria," p. 295; West, Textual Criticism, pp. 12-15, 37-47.) I find the use of this term to describe a source situation problematic. The implicit meaning of this term is pejorative, as is that of "corruption," another word frequently encountered in filiation studies. Even though these words are used in text-critical studies as technical terms supposedly free from negative connotations, their associations may incline us towards a negative view a scribe who deliberately copies from more than one exemplar or deviates in any way from the version of his exemplar. Our implicit assumption, however unconscious, is that he should have copied faithfully what lay before him, since our work inevitably reflects the values of our own age, one preoccupied with the returning to the original sources, publishing "Urtext" editions, and

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performing early music as we think it was originally performed. Fortunately, the standard sources on textual criticism provide us with nonpejorative alternatives to the term contaminatio--horizontal copying or open recension. Whereas vertical transmission presupposes that one copy descended directly from another, horizontal transmission or closed recension allows for more than one source for a given reading. (West, Textual Criticism, p. 14.)

³³Noblitt has discussed several editorial approaches to pieces that exist in more than one source in "Filiation vis-à-vis its Alternatives," p. 112. An evaluation of the existing editions of Trecento music in terms of their editors' handling of multiple sources appears in Nadas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 48-51.

³⁴The chief exponent of the multi-source approach to editing fifteenth-century music is Margaret Bent, whose research on the Old Hall manuscript led to a comparison of the Old Hall readings to those of concordances copied on the continent by scribes unfamiliar with the peculiarities of English notation. These scribes adapted English compositions to their own requirements, changing the layout, altering the notation, and often introducing a high level of error. In Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music II: Four Anonymous Masses, Bent has relied not only on the witness of the intact north-Italian sources, but has also utilized the evidence supplied by English fragments recovered from the bindings of other manuscripts to reconstruct what the English originals must have been like for movements (and parts of movements) for which no English source survives. The Works of Johannes Ciconia provides a further example of this daring new approach to the editing of fifteenth-century music.

³⁵Nadas has recently proposed that fixity and stability characterize the transmission of an older repertory,

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whereas that of a "living" repertory is marked by variability. He observed that "By the second decade of the 15th century, the once live art of Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo's earliest works had ceased to bend and flex with the stimulation of a performing tradition; at such a distance from their genesis, these works were beginning to be copied and recopied in essentially the same way. The foil for the older repertory in SL 2211 is, of course, the body of newer works--compositions by Landini, Paolo, Bartolino, and other late 14th- and early 15th-century authors. The transmission of their works continues to be infused with the variations, arrangements, and editorial transformations practiced by performers and scribes alike." "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 482-483.

Appendix

¹Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford," p. 88.

²Van den Borren, Introduction to Pièces polyphoniques profanes (unpaginated).

³See the Lantins articles in MGG and NG by Rehm and Schoop, respectively.

⁴Van den Borren, Introduction to Pièces polyphoniques profanes.

⁵Wolinski, "The Chansons in the Manuscript Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico, Q15," unpublished seminar paper, Brandeis University, 1981.

⁶Schoop, Entstehung, p. 48.

⁷Ibid., p. 49.

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⁸Fallows, Dufay, p. 175. Hamm, on the other hand, has written that BL 35/36 "make such a convincing pair that the attribution to Dufay seems much more likely" ("The Reson Mass," p. 8). The other contested Gloria, attributed to Hugo in BL but to Forest in MüO, is undoubtedly Hugo's. It is closely linked to the corresponding Credo, also attributed to Hugo in BL, by both motto and tenor procedure. (See Gossett, "Techniques of Unification," pp. 218-220.

⁹Schoop, Entstehung, pp. 38-49; Boone, "Dufay's Early Chansons," pp. 90-91.

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