The English Masses of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS.5557.

by

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Volume 1

Abstract

This thesis falls into two parts, the first mainly concerned with problems associated with the preparation of an edition of the English Masses from the first layer of the Brussels manuscript, and the second consisting of an edition of the works in question. In Volume 1, I have dealt with the following topics:

I: A background discussion of the manuscript itself. A description of its physical structure, a brief characterisation of each layer, and an attempt at establishing the chronology of its compilation. Its provenance and subsequent history as far as these can be determined.

II: The constructional techniques used by Frye to compose his cantus firmus Masses, and a brief account of how this relates to methods used by other English composers of the period. The relationship between the anonymous motet Salve virgo mater (I:TRmn88 No.240) and Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati. The constructional techniques used by Cockx and Plummer, and a brief comparison of these works with other so-called freely-composed English cyclic Masses.

III: The problem of fitting the words to the music. Whether given parts should or even can be texted. An examination of possibilities for underlay in the light of what little theory survives. The problem of telescoping and text omission as it applies in the 15th-century English Mass repertoire.

IV: The problem of manuscript accidentals. An attempt to establish what are the practices of the Brussels scribe. A discussion of such theory as relates to signatures and mid-stave accidentals which function as signatures.

An appendix has been added to Volume 1 which sets out to show that the Brussels manuscript transmits a partially retexted version of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum, and an edition of the work in the light of this report has been added to Volume 2.

Declaration

No part of this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification.

Gareth R.K. Curtis

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Abbreviations used

AfMw Archiv für Musikwissenschaft

AH Analecta Hymnica (ed. Drèves et al.)

AM Acta Musicologica

AS Antiphonale Sarisburiense (ed. Frere)

BDTO Beiträge zur DTO (q.v.)

CMM Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae

CS Coussemaker: Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi

CSM Corpus Scriptorum de Musica

DPL Documenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae (ed. Feininger)

DTO Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich

EDM Das Erbe Deutscher Musik

EECM Early English Church Music

EM Early Music

GSJ Galpin Society Journal

GS Graduale Sarisburiense (ed. Frere)

JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society

JMT Journal of Music Theory

LU Liber Usualis (English version)

MB Musica Britannica

MD Musica Disciplina

Mf Musikforschung

MGG Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart

ML Music and Letters

MMMA Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Vol.I: Hymnen

MPL Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae (ed. Feininger)

MQ Musical Quarterly

MSD Musicological Studies and Documents

PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

RBM Revue Belge de Musicologie

RIM Rivista Italiana di Musicologia

RMA Res.Chron Royal Musical Association
Research Chronicle

SIMG Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft

TVNM Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziek-
geschiednis

VfMw Vierteljahrsheft für Musikwissenschaft

ZfMw Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft

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Introduction.

The paper manuscript numbered 5557 in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er at Brussels contains a wide range of sacred music composed during the middle to late 15th century, including 11 settings of the Mass Ordinary and 2 of the Magnificat, 7 motets and a sequence. Though its most obvious claim to fame is, perhaps, its probable association with the Burgundian Court, the manuscript is important in its own right in that it contains what are relatively the best surviving versions of Dufay's last two Masses and is the unique source both for a group of five English Masses and for most of the known motet output of Antoine Busnois.

A number of eminent scholars have done significant work on the Brussels manuscript and, while it may seem unfair to pick out particular names, it is impossible to avoid specific mention of Fétis, van den Borren and Sylvia Kenney. Of these, Fétis was the first to draw attention to the importance of the manuscript and, though much of his pioneering work on it will inevitably appear rather naive to us today, several aspects of this research remain to be fully assimilated. The manuscript then lapsed into relative obscurity for a considerable period - perhaps because of the discovery of more substantial sources such as the Trent Codices - until van den Borren re-established its importance during the 1930's and 40's. The relevant section of his Inventaire des manuscrits de musique polyphonique qui se trouvent en Belgique, though brief, contains a quantity of basic information out of all proportion to its length, and this, together with the important discussions and character studies of much of the music which are contained in his Études sur le quinzième siècle musical, must be regarded as central to the development of our understanding of the source. Perhaps the most substantial contributions made by Sylvia Kenney were concerned with the differentiation of the va-

rious units which make up the Brussels manuscript, and her edition and extensive study of the Masses by Frye.

There remains, nevertheless, considerable scope for more thorough description of much of the manuscript, and it can hardly be said that we yet have an entirely satisfactory account of the manner in which it was compiled. The first section of this thesis will, accordingly, be concerned with these matters, together with a review of what evidence there is with relation to its subsequent history.

By far the greater part of the thesis will, however, be devoted to a discussion of the largest single unit contained by the source, that is the five English Masses of the first fascicle. Formally, this will consist mainly of an account of the structural procedures used by the three composers involved, together with an analysis of some of the many practical problems associated with preparing an edition of the works in question. In passing, however, it is intended that the pieces should be fitted into the wider development of the English cyclic Mass, and that the copies found in the Brussels manuscript should be related to the contexts of the theoretical tradition, particularly that concerned with manuscript accidentals, and scribal practice, with specific reference to the sort of revisions which were often perpetrated by copyists. An edition of the five Masses will then be presented on the basis of the findings of this discussion.

Finally, an appendix has been added on the Brussels versions of Dufay's Masses Ecce ancilla Domini and Ave regina celorum, since it has been felt that these throw important further light on the editing practices of 15th-century scribes. An edition of the Missa Ave regina celorum has been attached with the aim of reconstructing the composer's original intentions as regards texting.

Chapter I:

The Brussels Manuscript: its structure and history.

A. The contents of the Brussels manuscript.

The Brussels manuscript is a complex source, and any attempt to establish its structure must necessarily discuss a wide range of features such as collation, watermarks and handwriting. First of all, however, it is necessary to have a clear idea as to precisely what the manuscript contains, and the following is presented as a table of musical contents.

Table 1.

Folio No.	Music	Attribution	Concordances for polyphonic pieces	Modern[1] Editions	Comments
2'-10	Missa Summa Trinitati	....frye[2]		CMM19	Fragment missing[3].
10'-20	Missa (Sine nomine)	g binchois			19th century attribution; originally was to 'Jean Plourmel'[4].
20'-30	Missa (Sine nomine)	riquardus cockx			
30'-38	Missa Flos regalis	w ffrye		CMM19	
38'-48	Missa Nobilis et pulcra	w ffrye		CMM19	
48'-50	Motet: Anthoni usque limina	Busnoys		Boer: Het Anthonius Motet....	
50'-61	Missa Ecce ancilla Domini	(Dufay)[5]	I:Rvat CS14 ff76'-86	CMM1/3	Modern edition from B:Br5557.
61'-62	(blank)				
62'-69	Magnificat				
69'-70	Motet: Noel, noel	Busnoys			
70'-73' } 75-76' }	Magnificat	Busnoys			Interruption caused by wrong order of folios[6].
74'	Motet: Ad cenam agni	Busnoys			Discantus and basis-tema parts only.
77-83	Missa (Quinti toni)	(Ockeghem)	I:Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234 ff115'-125		Incomplete[7]. Modern edition from Chigi version.
83'-84	Motet: Anima mea liquefacta est	Busnoys[8]		Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck I	
84'-86	Motet: Victimae paschali	Busnoys			
86'-88	Motet: Regina coli (I)	Busnoys	I:Rvat CS42 XV		
88'-89	Motet: Regina coli (II)	Busnoys		Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck I	

89'-90	Motet: Alleluia verbum caro factum est	Busnoys			
90'-99	Missa (Sine nomine)				
99'-109	Missa Pour quelque paine	ockagem	I:Rvat C351 ff18'-27 (Heyns); I:Las238 ff47-47'	Ockeghem: Collected Works II	19th century ascription - work probably by Heyns [9]. Modern edition from B:Br 5557 [10]. Facsimile of ff99'-100 in edition.
109'-110	(blank)				
110'-120'	Missa Ave regina celorum	G du-y	I:MOe ∝ M.I.13 XIV; I:Rvat SPB 80 ff9'-20'	CMM1/3; MPLII/3	Fragment missing [11]. Modern editions: CMM from B:Br5557, and MPL from B:Br5557 and I: MOe ∝ M.I.13. Facsimile of ff114'-5 in CMM. Single part marked discantus.
121	Agnus Dei				
	Hymn: Vexilla regis				Monophonic chant [12].
121'-136	Missa Ecce ancilla Domini/Ne timeas	(Regis)	I:Rvat CS14 ff87'-101	CMM9/1	Modern edition from Vatican source.
136'	Hymn: O quam glorifica				Monophonic chant [13].
	Kyrie	(Dufay)	I:Bc Q15 ff164'-5; F:CA 6 f2; F:CA 11 f2; I:AOf25 &f49; D:Mbs Clm 14274 f31; I:Vnm ital. IX,145 f2'	CMM1/4	Tenor part only. Modern edition from I:Bc Q15.

B. The paper and the gathering structure.

Allowing for the probable loss of five folios from the gatherings we have now, the collation of the surviving 136 folios is as follows:

a^{1}, A - E^{12}, F^{8}, G^{8} (8 missing), H^{16} (1, 2 and 16 missing), J - K^{10}, L^{12} (12 missing), M^{16}.

An extra folio is required in G after f76 (its present final folio), both to provide the now lost contra and tenor parts to Ad cenam agni and to balance the first folio of that gathering (f70). If the order of the sheets were then amended to give the correct sequence of verses in the Busnois Magnificat which occupies most of it, the two parts on the recto of this missing folio would face the present f74' which contains the discántus and basistema parts of Ad cenam agni [14].

With regard to gathering H, it appears that another folio must have followed f89, since the facing sides containing Alleluia verbum caro factum est (ff89'-90) are in different handwriting. Presumably the contra and bassus parts of this piece were originally on the recto of the lost folio in the same hand as f89', and when this fell out, they were simply recopied - rather roughly - on the first recto of the following gathering. This means that two folios have been lost from the beginning of H, these being sufficient to accommodate the whole of the Gloria of Ockeghem's Missa Quinti Toni [15]. The strange order of movements in this latter work cannot be remedied by rearranging the sheets since the first side of the Kyrie backs the last one of the Sanctus; neither can the omission of the Agnus Dei be explained in terms of lost sheets [16].

Gathering L originally contained an extra folio after f120 which balanced its first. Since, as will be seen, the Agnus III of the Du-

fay Missa Ave regina celorum has been deliberately restricted to a single side (f120'), presumably in order to save paper, the resulting completely blank folio may well have been removed immediately.

As Sylvia Kenney has pointed out, there is a clear relationship between the physical structure of the manuscript and its contents [17], all but one of the major units being contained within a group of gatherings or, more commonly, within a single gathering. Thus gatherings A - D contain the first five Masses, which have been copied continuously through them, and gatherings J - K make up another unit containing the anonymous and Heyns Masses [18]. Gatherings E, F, G, H, L and M are all individual units comprising Dufay's Missa Ecce ancilla Domini, the anonymous Magnificat, Busnois' Magnificat, Ockeghem's Missa Quinti toni, Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum and Regis' Missa Ecce ancilla Domini/Ne timeas respectively. The remaining major unit, consisting of the small works of Busnois, is spread between those pages of gathering H which are not occupied by Ockeghem's Mass, and some of the previously blank openings between other gatherings. As we shall see in due course, each individual unit was copied by a different scribe [19].

If, as it seems reasonable to conclude, new works were added one by one or in small groups by different people over a period of some time, this raises the important question of how closely related the various layers really are. Here we can deduce a certain amount from the physical condition of the different gatherings.

Though, as might be expected, the bottoms of the pages have often suffered considerably, and there is a certain amount of staining, the manuscript is fairly well preserved to the extent that little of the music has been lost [20]. Even within this generally good condition, however, it is possible to distinguish quite clear vari-

ations. At one extreme, we have gatherings F and G, the paper of which is seriously worn away at the edges; G, moreover, has suffered the additional loss of an entire outer folio and has, at some stage, become rearranged. H is only marginally better, and has lost its first two and final folios. The first folio of L (f110) is partly torn away, with the loss of some music, and the leaves of gathering M are both extensively stained and, particularly in the case of the outer ones, torn. At the other extreme, gatherings J and K are in excellent condition and, with the exception of its damaged first folio, gathering E is also remarkably well preserved. Gatherings A - D begin with badly damaged corners - hence the loss of a small part of Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati - but the condition improves significantly, in spite of staining on some of the folios.

The quite marked variation in condition and degree of staining, often between adjacent gatherings, may be explained in two not necessarily mutually exclusive ways: first, certain parts of the manuscript were used much more than others; and second, various of the gatherings had a separate existence before being assimilated into this one collective manuscript. While the first explanation has, to some extent, to be accepted [21], the fact that the outside leaves of so many of the gatherings are in a significantly worse state than the inner folios strongly supports the second also. Thus the possible independence of the various groups and individual gatherings is such that it would be most unwise to assume that they were all necessarily intended for inclusion in this particular manuscript; indeed, they may never have been intended to be associated at all [22].

There remains, however, one important factor which would seem to connect the various units of the Brussels manuscript more closely than its structure and the condition of its individual fascicles would suggest, this being the paper used. As has been pointed out by

Sylvia Kenney, there are four distinct types of watermark, of which one accounts for as many as nine of the twelve gatherings, and the other three for one gathering each [23]. While this obviously suggests a certain alien quality for these latter gatherings (G, H and M), it could also be understood to imply a basic unity covering by far the greater part of the manuscript, a possibility which we must clearly consider in some detail.

This main watermark, referred to here as type I, consists of three fleurs-de-lis on a shield with a pendant 't' [24], a pattern encountered frequently on paper from the second half of the 15th century. With this sort of watermark, it was the practice for the pendant letter to indicate the town of manufacture or, much less frequently, the manufacturer himself, and the letter 't' normally stands for Troyes, one of the most important centres of the paper-making industry [25]. We may safely assume, therefore, that all the paper in the Brussels manuscript bearing watermark I came from there, even though there is no exact correspondence with any specimen given by Briquet.

When we come to examine the individual examples of watermark I which are to be found in the Brussels manuscript, it becomes clear not only that none of these corresponds exactly with anything in Briquet, but also that there are quite substantial variations within the manuscript; furthermore, individual variants are by no means distributed throughout all the relevant gatherings. Naturally, this has important implications since, if it can be demonstrated that different gatherings or groups of gatherings have no variants in common, there is no reason whatsoever to suppose that they were made up from the same batch of paper. More to the point, such a lack of overlap would remove any superficial unity which might be inferred from the fact that so many of the gatherings seem to bear

the same general type of watermark [26]. It is therefore essential that we should establish just where examples of each variant are to be found, and in order to facilitate this investigation I have concentrated almost entirely on the shape of the pendant 't's, principally because any variation here is relatively easy to establish [27].

In all, there seem to be nine different shapes of 't', certain of which may conceivably be related. Of these, three variants are accounted for by the first four gatherings, which we have already seen to make up a self-contained unit [28]. Variant a, which probably occurs on all sheets in gathering A [29], is quite close to Briquet 1740 [30] and, since the 't' of the Brussels watermark is more sharply pointed than that given by Briquet and the other dimensions and shapes are very similar, the two may possibly be products of the same mould, variant a having been made before the mould deteriorated to any great extent. This watermark is also to be found in B (ff18 and 24), C (ff35 and 36) and D (ff44, 45 and 48), thus reinforcing the connection between the first four gatherings.

Variant b occurs in gatherings B (ff19, 22, 23 and 26) and C (ff26, 29, 30 and 32) and is, as will be seen, markedly different. Examples vary considerably in quality because of translucent blobs in the paper, f19 being particularly bad and f23 fairly clear. They must, nevertheless, all derive from a different mould from that used for variant a, since the two shapes are not closely related.

Variant c, found only on ff46, 47 and 49 in gathering D, is very similar to b both in shape and dimensions. The bottom of the 't' is slightly smaller and sharper, and the corners of the cross-piece have additional decoration. It is entirely possible that b represents a stage in the deterioration of the same mould when its shape had become slightly distorted and the decorative pieces had either worn away or simply fallen off. Certainly b was produced by a poor mould, since the fleurs-de-lis on these watermarks are sadly

Figure 1: Variant 't's in watermark I [31].



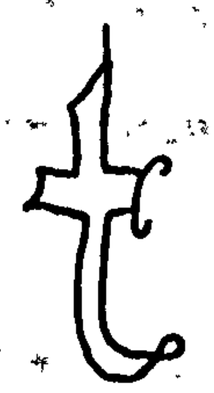
Variant a



Variant b



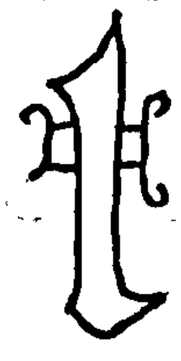
Variant e



Variant g



Variant h



Variant i

mis-shapen.

Two sheets of gathering E contain a watermark with a 't' similar to that in variant a (ff50 and 59 = variant d), the main distinctions being that the stem is just over rather than just under 3mm across, and the cross-piece is 12mm rather than 11mm. Since the significance of such a small matter of detail may well be slight, it is just conceivable that there is a relationship between this and the previous gatherings.

The remainder of E does, however, contain an entirely distinct variant, e, which is typified by vertical lines on the cross-piece. The four examples, on ff51, 53, 55 and 57, are not particularly uniform, but recognisably the products of one mould.

The first watermark in F (f62), variant f, is very like variant e, but cannot possibly have come from the same mould since the cross-piece is 3mm lower down the stem [32], a difference which cannot be explained in terms of deterioration of the mould. Clearly, though, it might well have been produced in the same workshop. The 't's of the remaining watermarks (ff63, 64 and 65) bear little resemblance to any other among type I, being rounded with a small circle attached to the foot (variant g). Their shape is not quite uniform.

In variant h, the 't' fits directly to the base of the shield without a connecting wire, and again the shape is completely different from others encountered. Though they are not quite uniform, examples are close enough to establish that both gatherings J and K are made up entirely of this particular type of paper, thus reinforcing the idea that these make up a single unit.

Finally, gathering L contains the ninth variant i, also fitted directly to the base of the shield. Like h, it cannot be related directly with any other variant.

On each watermarked folio, there are six chain lines (the verti-

cal rather translucent lines), and the watermarks either lie between the third and fourth (variants a - f) or between the second and third (variants g - i) [33].

Naturally, it is possible for more than one type of paper to find its way into a given batch, and this satisfactorily explains the presence of three variants mixed freely in gatherings A - D. On the other hand, the absence of overlapping between other parts of the manuscript is strongly indicative, and renders it possible to isolate five separate fascicles within the gatherings bearing watermark I:

(i) Gatherings A - D: variants a, b and c.

(ii) Gathering E: variants d and e.

(iii) Gathering F: variants f and g.

(iv) Gatherings J and K: variant h.

(v) Gathering L: variant i.

Of these, the first two may conceivably be linked by the similarity of variants a and d, but no such connection can be allowed between any other pair of sections. Thus, like the variation in condition between the gatherings, the watermark evidence strongly supports the idea that the Brussels manuscript is a composite source whose different sections may have enjoyed a separate existence before compilation under the one cover.

Before we leave the subject of watermarks, it is worth considering briefly how far these can help us with the dating of the Brussels manuscript [34], remembering that watermark evidence is of limited reliability where no exact correspondence with dated examples can be established.

Of the four general types, it has already been observed that the first bears closest resemblance to Briquet 1740, and variant a

may just possibly come from the same mould. Briquet's earliest citation - Troyes 1459? - would tend to suggest that the paper from the first fascicle could have been made sometime towards the end of the 1450's or beginning of the 1460's, and it would not be surprising if much of the remaining paper of type I dated from a similar time. Furthermore, since paper was rarely stored for very long [35], it may well be that much of the Brussels manuscript was copied within a few years of this time.

It may also be significant, however, that while the chain-lines in variants a - g are consistently 41mm apart, as in Briquet 1740, the corresponding distance in the watermarks containing the remaining two variants is markedly less - in the region of 38mm. It is often, though by no means always the case, that the closer the chain-lines (and also the horizontal wire-lines) in paper, the later is likely to be its date of manufacture. Briquet 1741, for example, is basically similar to 1740, but with closer chain-lines (37 mm), and its earliest date is given as 1470. One might expect, therefore, that the paper contained in gatherings J, K and L was produced after the rest of that bearing watermark I - perhaps in the middle to late 1460's. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that all this may only indicate a different workshop.

It is also difficult to draw any firm conclusions concerning dating from the other watermarks, though certain observations can be made. Watermark II consists of a crescent, a French watermark, and has been identified with Briquet 5185, with the earliest example given as Troyes 1468. In gathering G, there are two distinct variants whose chain-lines, surprisingly, are different distances apart, thus showing how relatively flimsy such evidence can be. The comparative dimensions including the Briquet example are as follows:

	ff71, 73	f72	Briquet
Straight line between the cusps:	59mm	59mm	48mm
Depth, i.e. the perpendicular distance from the line between the cusps to the furthest point of the crescent:	28mm	28mm	28mm
Distance between the chain-lines:	39mm	37mm	39mm

The extremely uniform watermark III in gathering H is an anchor of dimensions close to those of Briquet 393, and a somewhat more perfect shape and alignment with relation to the chain-lines. Briquet's earliest date for this is inconveniently late for our purposes - Paris 1479 [36] - though, since there is no exact correspondence, this may be of little significance. Comparative dimensions are as follows:

	III	Briquet
Total length of watermark:	79mm	79mm
Width of anchor shank:	6mm	7mm
Straight line between points of anchor:	20mm	24mm
Distance between chain-lines:	31mm	31mm

The sheets of gathering M bear a hunting horn (IV) a difficult watermark to categorize. Briquet suggests that the shape of 7828, with which it has been linked [37], shows north Italian origin, and states that this type of paper had a very wide circulation, being found as far afield as Normandy and the Low Countries [38]. Watermark IV is markedly larger than the Briquet example, and not very uniform, the horn occasionally even crossing the chain-lines.

	IV	Briquet
Maximum width of horn:	39mm	34mm
Distance between chain-lines:	40mm	38mm

Nothing certain can be established about the first folio of the manuscript since it has no watermark. Unusually, the chain-lines are horizontal and extremely close together (21mm).

In conclusion then, it is impossible to demonstrate any very accurate dating through the watermark evidence, though it looks as if all the paper (except perhaps f1) is from the period c.1455-80 and most was made in Troyes. Nevertheless, it should have become clear by now that the Brussels manuscript is no simple collection, and that it has to be understood as a number of completely distinct layers whose separate nature can be firmly established through an examination of its paper. The next stage in our discussion of the source must therefore be a characterisation of each of the units in turn.

C. The elements of the manuscript: a brief description.

The first layer, which we shall term Element 1, is the most substantial and ornate, and contains five Mass settings by named English composers [39], the works having been copied continuously by one scribe across the first four gatherings. The music and text are neatly, uniformly and fairly accurately written, though much less care has been taken over precise underlay than it may appear [40]. The first letter of the page is simply decorated in colour (alternately red and blue) in each part, and all other capital letters are given a splodge of brown. At the beginning of each work, there is an illuminated initial, the designs being executed over washes of pink, blue, green or brown. The colours have probably faded over the years, since their present appearance is somewhat drab [41]; they have not, however, run (as have the blue initials), and the designs are completely clear.

The illumination on f2' contains a coat-of-arms which is similar but not identical to that given as the one used by Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, dukes of Burgundy [42]. The differences - the fleurs-de-lis are missing and the diagonal stripes are reversed - are highly significant, however, and mean that the manuscript is extremely unlikely to have been compiled for either of them [43]. Indeed, use of a given coat-of-arms with certain types of modification was a standard means of indicating illegitimacy; for instance, Antoine, the second of Philip's many bastard sons, used the same arms as Philip and Charles, but with a diagonal stripe drawn across [44]. There is some possibility, therefore, that the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript, if not the whole source, was actually copied for one of the bastards of Burgundy, though I have not, as yet, been able to verify this [45].

Of the remaining four illuminations, it is just possible that

those on ff10', 20' and 30' include portraits of real people (as might also that on f2') and, rather less probably, the pinkish rose on f10' could be thought to signify some sort of connection with England. On the other hand, we have no clear evidence here, and these essentially stylised drawings, with their characteristic juxtaposition of real and mythical creatures [46] are, for the moment at least, more safely regarded as strictly decorative.

Apart from the first recto (f2), each side of Element 1 is ruled with ten staves uniformly spaced throughout the four gatherings. The fact that the last verso (f49') was also ruled according to this spacing and not according to that found on the first recto of E shows that the copyist of the Busnois motet on ff48'-50 was not responsible for ruling the sides he used, and may even suggest that an extension of Element 1 may originally have been envisaged. It is the practice of this first scribe to write the contra part at the top of the recto sides and the tenor either below it (as in the first Frye Mass [47] and the Plummer work), or below the discantus (as in the Cockx and third Frye Masses) [48]. In the case of the four-part Mass, the tenor is placed below the discantus and the bassus below the contra [49].

Element 2 consists of a single work, Dufay's Missa <u>Ecce ancilla Domini</u>, which fills all eleven openings of gathering E. The notes are regularly spaced, but written in a less elegant hand than those of the first scribe. The text is written in a rather smaller hand than that of Element 1, and not only is there relatively little abbreviation but the syllables are, for the most part, quite carefully placed for the purposes of correct underlay.

Apparently only the eleven openings of the gathering were originally ruled, since the last verso (f61') remains completely blank and the first recto (f50) is ruled with slightly different spacing

of its ten staves. This latter was evidently carried out at a later stage, in order to accommodate the Busnois motet filling the space between gatherings D and E. The layout of each opening has the discantus and tenor on the verso and the contra and bass (the latter marked 'Tenor secundus') on the facing recto. The first letter of each part is missing presumably so that a decorated initial could be added later, even though the margins are rather narrow [50].

Element 3 consists of the anonymous Magnificat which fills the seven openings of gathering F, and is written in a third hand. The music is regularly spaced with characteristic long oblique ligatures, and the text, written in a rather flamboyant hand, is not consistently placed with regard to underlay.

The page layout and ruling are completely different from the previous elements. Rather unusually, on openings where the music is in three parts, the discantus and tenor face each other, and the contratenor is placed below the tenor. There are only eight staves ruled uniformly on every side of the gathering including the outer ones. On the versos only, the first stave is indented by about 18mm to allow for a decorated or illuminated initial, and the first letter of each part is, in fact, missing on all the openings.

A fourth scribe was responsible for Element 4, Busnois' Magnificat, which occupies most of gathering G. His notes are characterised by the way their diamond shape is made up of two strong and two very light lines, and his final longs are almost apologetically tiny. The text is written in a small but clear hand, and is only found in the discantus part, the remaining ones having incipits [51]. First letters of sections are omitted in each part.

Each side is ruled with eight staves, the lines of which are more widely spaced than those of the previous gathering, and the

first stave of each side is indented by about 35mm to allow space for decorated initials to be added later. Most unusually, each side contains all the parts for that particular section of the work, the order of appearance being discantus, tenor, contra and bassis [52].

Element 5, Ockeghem's Missa Quinti toni, fills the first part of gathering H, and was written by a fifth scribe. The notes are extremely close together, the average number per stave being 45-50, and the text handwriting is very small. First letters are omitted for later decoration, and space has sometimes been left for these by beginning the music a little way into the stave. All surviving sides of the gathering have been uniformly ruled with ten staves, including those containing the Busnois motets. As in Element 3, the discantus and tenor parts face, with the contra placed under the tenor.

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this unit is the strange order in which the movements of the Mass occur, viz. Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Kyrie [53]; neither is there any obvious reason why the Agnus Dei should be missing. In the circumstances it is not easy to envisage what sort of use this copy can have had.[54].

Element 6 consists of the anonymous and Heyns Masses which fill gatherings J and K, and comparison shows that the music hand is very similar indeed to that found in Element 2. On the other hand, the scribes responsible for the music were almost certainly responsible also for the texts, since in the case of the Dufay work the words are so scrupulously underlaid and the names of the parts are in the same hand, and in the case of the Heyns work, the tenor canons are in the same hand as the text. Since the text hands are significantly different, it seems probable that each element was actually the work of a single different scribe.

The text in Element 6 is not as carefully underlaid as in the Dufay work, and there is far more abbreviation, especially in the Heyns Mass. Decorated initials have been provided on each page, apparently by the scribe. The discantus and contra parts face each other with the tenor below the contra in the three-part work. In the Heyns work, the tenor is below the discantus and the second contra below the first contra on the recto. The first opening of the anonymous Mass departs from this layout in that the contra begins at the foot of the verso, clearly so that the whole of the Kyrie can be accommodated on a single opening. The scribe also goes to some lengths to fit the Heyns Kyrie on the two sides, since he rules eleven staves on f100, whereas all other sides including the outer ones of the unit have ten staves. For similar reasons of space, he has often allowed the second contra part to spill over onto the previous verso [55].

Element 7, Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum, fills all of gathering L apart from the first recto, which is blank except for the ten staves which were likewise ruled uniformly on every side throughout the gathering. The first stave on each side is indented by about 33mm in order to allow for a decorated initial; some of these have been added, though the majority are lacking.

The writing of both music and text recall that in Element 1, but again it is impossible to demonstrate that the same scribe is responsible. The C and, more particularly, the F clefs are differently formed and, though the capital 'A's are almost identical in shape, 'l's, initial 'u's and 'v's, and various other letters are quite different. The style of decoration of the initials bears some similarity to that on the initials framing the illuminations in the first unit, but since this seems to be a common enough type of decoration, the likeness is probably of no great significance.

The discantus and contra parts face, with the tenor below the discantus and the bassis below the contra. As has been stated already, the Agnus III has been crammed onto the single side, the parts being set out in the order: discantus, tenor, contra and bassis [56].

The last of the major units substantially occupying whole gatherings is Element 8, Regis' Missa Ecce ancilla Domini/Ne timeas, which covers all fifteen openings of gathering M. Yet another scribe seems to have been at work since, while the music is in a hand not dissimilar to that responsible for Elements 1 and 7, the text is written far more flamboyantly, and the F clefs are quite different from either earlier shape. The tenor parts always contain both the Mass and the plainsong words, the latter being written in red.

The discantus and contra parts face, and the two tenor parts are placed below them, the lower of them on the versos. All sides are ruled uniformly with ten staves, without indentation for the decorated initials which were evidently inserted by the scribe.

The most substantial space-fillers are a number of motets by Busnois, which we shall term Element 9. Specifically, these consist of the motet on ff48'-50, and the pieces which fill gathering H (ff83'-89'), all of which are in the same hand, and some probable further additions which will be discussed after the more certainly accountable copies. In the copies of the motet on ff48'-50 and the pieces in H, the text hand is extremely small, and there is only very rare recourse to abbreviation. The same hand has added inscriptions to the first piece, and the names of the plainsongs where they apply in the second group of pieces. While the music hand appears to vary slightly, this may only be a matter of size dictated by the existing ruling of the paper and the relatively small number

of openings on which the motets could be accommodated. Certainly, the fact that only one scribe is involved is strongly suggested by the note shapes, the F clefs, and the 'verte folium' instructions on ff49 and 86'. On the other hand, it cannot be demonstrated that Anthoni usque limina and the pieces in H were necessarily copied at the same time, and it is also possible that the first version of Alleluia verbum caro factum est (f89') was written out some time after the rest of the latter group.

The discantus and contra parts always face, but the placing of the other part or parts varies from piece to piece. The staves were already ruled by earlier scribes in all cases apart from those on f50 [57].

While the inscriptions pointing out the plainsong in the second group of pieces are largely self-explanatory, those on ff48'-50 are rather less obvious and have occasioned considerable discussion. Basically they stem from the nature of the Anthonius motet, the canon on f48' demanding the bell-like repetition of a single note throughout most of the piece, as has been demonstrated by van den Borren and Boer [58]. As the latter points out, the bell around which this canon has been written and the T-shaped cross which surmounts it were symbols of St. Anthony, to whom the piece is dedicated [59].

The three lines of writing in red at the foot of f49' do not constitute a canon affecting the music, but read:

Alpha et o cephasq(ue) deutheri
cum pos decet penulti(mo) queri
actoris cui(us) nomen vult haberi.

'Alpha et o' refer to the first and last words of the text of the motet, i.e. 'Anthoni' and 'noys', and 'cephas.... deutheri' is the foundation or root of the second word, i.e. 'us'. 'Pos' may be taken as the Greek word for foot or syllable, and would be indeclinable in Latin; here it and its qualifying adjective 'penultimo' are abla-

tive in deference to 'cum' [60]. The inscription may therefore be loosely translated as:

> To obtain the name of the author, it is fitting to seek the first and last words, the beginning of the second word, and the penultimate syllable,

the answer to the puzzle being, of course, Anthonius Busnoys [61].

In addition to the short works already discussed, the two surviving parts of Ad cenam agni were almost certainly written by the scribe of Element 9, and the same may well apply also to the short motet Noel, Noel; the clefs are certainly consistent, even though there is too small a sample of text to form any definite conclusion. Again, the variation in handwriting could easily indicate that these pieces were copied at a different time from others constituting the layer [62].

Finally, there are a number of miscellaneous fragments (= Element 10):

(i) Noe (f1)

(ii) Alleluia verbum caro factum est (contra and bassus parts) (f90)

(iii) Agnus Dei (f121)

(iv) Vexilla regis (f121)

(v) O quam glorifica (f136')

(vi) Kyrie (f136')

Of these six, all of which appear to be in more or less contemporary writing, only the first two are not associated with gathering M. The former, written in a hand which cannot certainly be linked with any so far encountered, consists of just three phrases of a single vocal part which I have so far been unable to identify (see Ex.1). Below is a minim and the single word 'Oeme' (?), the meaning of which, without further context, is unclear [63]. The second fragment

was, as has already been suggested, probably copied when the original version of these parts on the now missing last folio of gathering H fell out. The hand is large and somewhat rough, and while it bears superficial resemblances to certain others in the manuscript (including that in Element 6), it is impossible to identify it at all confidently.

The two fragments on f121 are in different hands, and are very untidily written. The first, unidentified, is unusual in that it is twice labelled as a discantus part, even though such voices are only rarely thus marked in manuscripts. It can hardly correspond with parts of a piece on the verso of the now missing last folio of gathering L, because a discantus part would normally be found at the top of the verso, and not on the recto. Furthermore, it cannot very easily have been used for improvisation, since there are substantial rests at the beginning and in the middle (see Ex.2).

The chant Vexilla regis is written in black full notation, the first verse being underlaid and the remaining ones written out roughly across the staves below. The music is an alternative setting to that found in the Liber Usualis [64], and the words differ in details.

The two fragments on f136' (which for some reason has been numbered 134 by a modern hand [65]) may both have been written by a single scribe. The chant is in white notation with ligatures that suggest a mensural significance unsupported by the sense of the music. As with the Vexilla regis, the first verse is underlaid, and the remaining verses set out below. Both music and text correspond quite closely to modern versions [66].

The Kyrie on the same side turns out, in fact, to be the tenor part of a setting composed by Dufay early in his career [67]. This version shows striking differences from the more normal one, however, the most remarkable of which is the manner in which the symmetry of the phrase structure of the latter has been completely

Ex.1: Noe (f1).



Ex.2: Agnus Dei (f121).



Ex.3: Kyrie (f136'), with major variants from other sources.

sabotaged (see Ex.3). While the obvious explanation for such a discrepancy is clearly corruption in transmission, the extent of the departures might equally lead one to suspect conscious alteration rather than careless copying. The purpose of the inclusion of this vocal part is by no means clear either, though it may have been intended as a basis for polyphonic improvisation [68].

In conclusion, it is possible for us to isolate nine main layers in the Brussels manuscript, eight of which fill separate and self-contained fascicles, and the remaining one of which fills many of the originally empty openings. It is probable that the various layers were all copied by different scribes [69], whose distinctive methods may be summarised by the following table:

Table 2: Summary of scribal practices in the Brussels manuscript.

Element	Gatherings	Layout of openings	Height of stave	Length of stave (approximate)	Typical height of minim	Typical height of an 'o'
1	A-D	recto: D; verso: C; T&B vary.	16mm	22cm	16mm	3-4mm
2	E	recto: D&T1; verso: C&T2.	18mm	22cm	15-16mm	2-3mm
3	F	recto: D; verso: T&C.	20mm	20cm[70]	18-19mm	4-5mm
4	G	all parts on one side.	22mm	20cm[71]	20mm	3mm
5	H	recto: D; verso: T&C.	15mm	21cm	16-17mm	2mm
6	J-K	recto: D or D&T; verso: C&T or C1&2.	20mm	21cm	16mm	3mm
7	L	recto: D&T; verso: C&B.	16mm	21cm[72]	14-15mm	3mm
8	M	recto: D&T1; verso: C&T2.	16mm	22cm	14mm	3-4mm
9	D-E,F-G, H	recto: D; verso: C; T&B vary.	-- These vary according to the existing ruling.			2-3mm

D. Towards a chronology and dating of the manuscript.

Having, as it were, dissected the Brussels manuscript, and established just how independent its various elements are, it is now possible for us to examine more realistically how and when it may have come to be compiled. Before attempting to infer a plausible chronology and dating, however, it will be helpful first to summarise briefly any relevant facts concerning the works involved and, in particular, to isolate any possible connections between the composers represented and Burgundian court circles. By this I do not, of course, wish to imply any prejudice over the matter of whether the person for whom the manuscript was copied spent most of his time at the Burgundian court; clearly he could have maintained sufficiently close cultural connections to have gathered together a collection of Burgundian chapel music without actually remaining in attendance throughout the period during which the source was compiled.

Perhaps the strongest court link is provided by the exceptionally reliable copies of the group of motets by Busnois, since this composer was in the service of Charles the Bold from at least as early as 1467, remaining as part of his entourage on military campaign until 1475. Busnois was then in the service of Margaret of York (Charles' wife) from 1476, and entered that of Mary of Burgundy (Charles' daughter by a previous marriage) by 1477; by 1481, however, he had probably left court circles for Lierre [73]. Unfortunately, this does not provide us with any precise information as to the dating of therelevant parts of the Brussels manuscript, though the works in question must, as we shall see, have been added at a relatively late stage in the development of the source [74].

The connection between Dufay and the Burgundian court circle is also fairly clear-cut, since he and Charles were well acquainted to

the extent that the composer bequeathed some music including a copy of his Missa Ave regina celorum to Charles on his death in 1474 [75]. The theory has sometimes been put forward that it is this copy which now survives in the Brussels manuscript [76]; now that we know, however, that the source was probably not intended for Charles' chapel at all, it becomes clear that we cannot date the fascicle in question for certain using this information [77]. On the other hand, we may be reasonably sure that the work was composed not long before - Planchart has suggested that it was intended for the dedication of Cambrai cathedral in 1472, and it was probably copied into the Cambrai choirbooks in 1473 [78] - which gives us a fairly reliable lower limit [79].

The Missa Ecce ancilla Domini was copied at Cambrai in 1463 [80], and the Brussels version, being one of the earlier sections of the manuscript, may well date from very soon after that, though precisely when is impossible to say. Again, however, we can infer a reasonably reliable lower limit for the date, since it is unlikely that many years should have gone by between composition of the work and its entry into the Cambrai choirbooks.

It is highly probable, though by no means certain, that Dufay and Cambrai also provide the link between the Burgundian court and the works in the Brussels manuscript by Ockeghem and Regis. The latter, it is known, was Dufay's secretary for a while [81], and the former paid at least two visits to Cambrai [82]. It does not, however, seem possible to establish anything very useful from this information concerning possible dates for the Brussels copies, and we have no other knowledge of when the works in question were composed.

Of the remaining composers, there is a fairly plausible connection between Heyns and the Burgundian court, even though we have no evidence that Heyns ever worked for any of its nobility. We do know, however, that he was at the church of St. Donatien in Bruges at

least during the years 1452 - 53 and 1462 - 65, and it is likely that these dates do not represent the full extent of his stay there [83]. Since Bruges was one of the main centres in 15th-century Burgundy, and boasted an important ducal palace, it would be surprising if Heyns' work were unknown in court circles; neither need we necessarily assume that contact ended when Heyns moved on [84], with the result that we have no date for his work.

It is not difficult to connect the three English composers of the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript with each other, since all were members of the Confraternity of St. Nicholas in London sometime during the 1450's and 1460's, and may well have been acquainted with each other [85]. It is much less easy, however, to establish any link between them and the Burgundian court, since there is no clear evidence that Frye, Cockx or Plummer ever spent any time at all on the continent [86]. Impossible as it may be to tell precisely how their music reached Burgundy, it is by no means surprising that it should have done when one notes the considerable cultural contact between England and the Burgundian court, and the undoubted prestige of English music, especially cyclic Masses, on the continent. Unfortunately, we again have no external evidence by which to date the copies at all precisely.

Though what we have found out so far tells us relatively little for certain about the chronology or dating of the Brussels manuscript [87], what has been gleaned is broadly consistent with the view that the elements filling gatherings or groups of gatherings were copied in an order fairly similar to that in which they occur today, and that the addition of the Busnois space-fillers was one of the later developments in the state of the source. This led Sylvia Kenney to postulate a scheme for the compilation whereby gatherings A - D formed the original corpus, to which gatherings E - K

were then added unit by unit; following this, the Busnois motets were copied into the available spaces, and finally gatherings L and M were added. The whole process, she suggested, could only have taken a relatively short time because there is paper near the end of the manuscript which she assumed to be identical with that used at the beginning [88].

This line of reasoning has a number of drawbacks, though most of these do not necessarily render it impossible, at least in principle. First, as we have seen, there is no unity in the watermarks of type I and, in particular, the nature of the variants found in gatherings J, K and L may well indicate rather later paper than that found in gatherings A - F. This in turn suggests that the manuscript may have been compiled over a somewhat longer period of time than Kenney proposed.

Second, it is strictly possible not only that L and M postdate the Busnois motets, but also J and K, with the proviso that these latter must have been added while the Busnois pieces were still in use; otherwise there would have been no need to have recopied the contra and bass parts of Alleluia verbum caro factum est on the first recto of J [89]. Conversely, if gatherings J and K were added before the insertion of the Busnois motets, so also might L and M have been, the blank opening between gatherings K and L being explained away by the possibility that the scribe of the Busnois pieces did not happen to have material suitable to fill it [90].

Third, it can hardly have escaped attention that the Brussels manuscript is a rather strange collection, the nature of whose contents falls rather between two stools. It is not, like some of the Trent Codices, a mixture of all sorts, nor is it an anthology of works in one particular genre. In effect, it seems to contain three types of piece - Masses, Magnificats and motets - the different genres being limited to their own particular layers of the manu-

script, and their liturgical connection being somewhat tenuous. This must surely create the strong possibility that what we really have here is three separate anthologies which have, for some reason, become superimposed.

Fourth, Kenney's theory takes no account of the fact that certain sections of the manuscript clearly had a life of their own before being associated to make up the complete source we have now. Evidence already presented indicates that gatherings F, G, H, L and M are almost certainly among these [91].

Last, she ignores completely the implications of the lack of space-filler between gatherings E and F. Had gatherings A-K (or even A-H) been associated in the first place, one would expect the copyist of the Busnois motets to have started to fill the gaps from the beginning of the manuscript, and therefore to have filled the opening of ff61'-62 before going on to the spaces in gatherings G and H. Indeed, no less than five of the pieces which occur later in the source would have fitted neatly into this space, and there are, by her theory, no good reasons why it should have been left blank.

If we take this peculiarity concerning the space-fillers and consider also the possibility that the Brussels manuscript actually comprised more than one anthology, another perhaps more consistent pattern emerges for the manner of its compilation. In fact, we more probably start with a number of quite distinct collections, one containing the English Masses, to which the Dufay Missa Ecce ancilla Domini was added at some later stage, possibly after some limited use on its own; and a second consisting of the two Magnificats, also probably associated only after some use as individual fascicles. Since we have no evidence that there was ever a space-filler between gatherings G and H, and there is so little connection between them, it is likely that the latter also constituted a completely independent section early on [92].

The available space in each of these individual sections was then filled by a single scribe copying the Busnois motets. That this should have occurred need not, of course, be regarded as particularly strange. Perhaps, for reasons of economy, available empty pages had to be filled in preference to beginning an entirely new manuscript, and the scribe in question had these three units to hand at the time. Certainly this view of the manner in which the pieces in question were copied would account for the noticeable variation in the writing of Element 9; simply, different bits of it were copied at different times.

The next stage in the compilation of the full manuscript is difficult to pin down exactly. The three major units already encountered must eventually have become joined, perhaps even primarily as an anthology of Busnois' motets, but whether this happened before or after gatherings J-M were associated with H is not easy to ascertain. On the other hand, J and K were added while the Busnois pieces were still in use, and the manuscript must have fallen out of use very soon after this, first because the condition of the copy of the anonymous and Heyns Masses shows that it has hardly been used [93], and second because one might otherwise have expected someone to have filled the opening between E and F [94]. At the same time, however, the fact that gatherings L and M have been extensively torn and stained suggests that they were already in use separately before the manuscript was completed. Their copying may therefore pre-date that of J and K, and conceivably even that of some of the Busnois motets.

As will be apparent, any attempt at a chronology of such a complex source is bound to rely on a certain amount of guesswork, and it is difficult to go much further without indulging in excessive speculation. Similar problems apply when we try to establish rough

datings for the various stages I have proposed.

The first fascicle is, as we have seen, impossible to date very closely, but the odds must be strongly in favour of its having been put together in the late 1450's or early 1460's. The Brussels copy of Dufay's Missa Ecce ancilla Domini is likely to be a little later, assuming that it postdates the 1463 Cambrai copy - say, the mid 1460's. These two layers probably joined fairly soon after this, perhaps almost immediately.

At the later end, the Brussels version of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum can hardly predate 1472, though watermark evidence, for what it is worth, would tend to suggest that it was probably not written more than a few years after.

The copying of Busnois' motets must postdate the joining of gatherings A - D with E and F with G, and the version of Ockeghem's Mass, though this does not mean to say that they all date from the same time. The Anthonius motet could have been copied any time from the middle to late 1460's onwards, and the same probably applies also to Noel, Noel. The version of Ockeghem's Mass is almost certainly later, though it can hardly be as late as the watermark would suggest. We can only propose, very tentatively, that it and the Busnois motets contained in H may most likely date from the early to middle 1470's.

The fascicle comprising J and K is a problem in that the music would imply a rather earlier date than that suggested by the evidence presented so far. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the manuscript fell out of use before the two gatherings in question were used to any great extent, something which can hardly have taken place before the middle to late 1470's, and may even have been later.

This leaves us with considerable leeway over the dating of the two Magnificats and Regis' Mass, though the latter copy must surely have been written in the 1470's. The Magnificats could conceivably

come any time between c.1460 and c.1475, though on balance one might expect the early or middle part of that period to be most likely.

Many questions clearly remain, and it can hardly be said that we have an entirely satisfactory picture of the chronology and dating of the Brussels manuscript. On the other hand, the manner in which it took shape is of considerable interest in that it seems to have begun as a number of completely independent fascicles containing Masses or Magnificats. Subsequently, certain of these fascicles became joined to form larger units containing works of a single genre; however, the integrity of repertoire of these larger units was soon compromised by the insertion of motets by Busnois. Finally, the various sections were combined under one cover - whether for the sake of convenience, or as an anthology of Busnois' motets - to make up the composite source we now know as the Brussels manuscript.

E. The history of the manuscript after its compilation.

It will, by now, be obvious just how difficult it is to establish clearly how and for whom the Brussels manuscript came to be compiled. Similarly, the passage of time has undoubtedly removed many clues as to its subsequent history, and therefore the following account is necessarily somewhat fragmentary, especially for the period leading up to the publication of the modern inventory of the Bibliothèque Royale in 1839. Since this latter event represents something of a watershed, I propose to divide the main part of this discussion into two parts around the year 1831, the date when the major reorganisation which led to the compiling of the modern inventory began.

(i) Pre-1831.

It is fair to say that, though it contains material from many different sources, the manuscript section of the present-day Bibliothèque Royale of Belgium has as its main starting point the books of the libraries and chapels of the dukes and other nobility of Burgundy. If the Brussels manuscript was compiled for a member of the court circle, and it remained in the possession of one of the libraries or treasuries until relatively modern times, we might expect to find mention of it somewhere in the series of inventories which were made over the years. It is therefore to a short survey of these that our attention must now be directed.

The earliest inventories which need concern us are a group of five all of which date from the last third of the 15th century. They are as follows:

(i) that of the treasury at Bruges, made in 1467,

(ii) that of the library at Dijon, made in 1477,

(iii) that of the treasury at Ghent, made in 1485,

(iv) that of the treasury at Brussels, made in 1487,

(v) that of the treasury at Bruges, also made in 1487.[95]

As Sylvia Kenney has pointed out, the fact that none of these contains any specific entry which might be the Brussels manuscript need not surprise us overmuch[96], since those manuscripts mentioned appear to be of the rich and illuminated type for which the libraries of the dukes and certain other nobility of Burgundy were rightly famous. The Brussels manuscript is very unpretentious indeed, and the illuminations in the first four gatherings do not remotely compare in richness with the sumptuous miniatures particularly typical of showpieces from, for example, the collection of Philip the Good. It was clearly not a library book at all, but simply intended for day-to-day use in a chapel, and in that capacity not worth specifying in the inventory of a treasury either. Indeed, the last list mentions

> Item, pluseurs et divers Livres de chant servans à la chapelle, de petite valeur; ensemble pluseurs quayers de diverses choses, tous rassamblez et mis ensemble en ung coffre à part[97].

This is the sort of entry which would cover ordinary chapel books of the same general type as the Brussels manuscript, though we cannot assume that it was actually included here, since chapels existed in a number of places other than Bruges.

The next inventory, F:Pn Cinq cents de Colbert 130, was made in 1568-69, probably for Philippe II, and lists the 'livres et joyaux' in the palace at Brussels. On f120', there is the interesting entry

> Autre vielz livre de musique de pappier couvert de parchemin, Intitulée Livre de Musique, commenchant au second feuillet Et in terra pax.

This cannot be regarded as remotely conclusive, since it could describe any similar manuscript beginning with a Mass setting which did not include the Kyrie. There is also the question of what is meant

by the phrase 'au second feuillet', since it was the practice of inventory makers to give the opening words of f2 simply to distinguish between a number of copies of the same text. Clearly these would all begin identically on f1, but would almost certainly have reached a different point by f2, thus making it possible for individual copies to be specified [98]. The first words on f2 of the Brussels manuscript are those of the verse found there [99], i.e. not 'Et in terra' (these being on f2' and f3), and therefore the only possibility of this entry describing our manuscript would arise if the present f1 had not yet become associated with the first gathering.

A similar and equally inconclusive entry appears in the important inventory made by Viglius in 1577 (probably also for Philippe II), now B:Br11675-76. Of these two parts, the first lists objets d'art and the second books, including items from the chapels. This latter begins

> LIVRES: Et premiers ceult qui ont été trouvés selon l'inventoire précédent, reposé en une chambre à part, joindant la chambre nouvelle des Joyaulx (i.e. in the palace at Brussels).

The chapel manuscripts are listed on ff157-162, and include the entry on f161'

> Autre vielz livre de musicque de pappier couvert de parchemin intitulé Livre de musicque, commenchant au second feuillet Et in terra pax [100].

It is worth noting in this connection that most of the books listed are of parchment, not paper, and that many are referred to as 'petit', implying that this entry meant something larger, more like the Brussels manuscript. Indeed, Marchal, the compiler of the modern inventory, accepted the identity of this entry with our manuscript [101], though on what further evidence, if any, is impossible to say.

I have not seen the inventory of the palace at Brussels made by

François Damart for Philippe II in 1595-97 (B:Gar fond Borlut 293), but the next inventory for the same ruler, made in 1597-98 (F:Pn Cinq cents de Colbert 131), contains nothing useful, and the entries are, by this time, becoming too vague for there to be any reasonable possibility of identification. Examination of the inventory of 'livres et manuscrits' made for Albert and Isabelle in 1614-18 (F: Pn fr.5675, anc. Colbert 1451) was similarly unproductive.

As the entries in inventories become progressively less and less precise, we find that the next catalogues, by Sanderus in 1644, Tserstevens in 1683, and Franquen in 1731 [102], are unfortunately quite useless. A typical entry, which could refer to almost anything, is the following from the second of the trio (f53'):

1453 Livre de la musique.

Marchal identified the Brussels manuscript with Sanderus 356 and Franquen 249 [103], but again without providing any substantiating evidence.

Until this period, it is difficult to document the various losses from the library, which must have been considerable. Indeed, Franquen's list was made following a fire in 1728 which damaged the palace at Brussels and destroyed a number of manuscripts. In 1746, certain books were removed to France [104], but subsequently returned in 1770; these are marked as such, usually upon the manuscript itself. An important inventory which I have not seen dates from this period, namely Godefroy's Extraits curieux et detaillés des mss étant à la Bibliothèque de Bruxelles dont aucuns ne sont imprimés (F: Lm Fonds Godefroy 92-93), but the entries may, as in other lists, be too vague to be useful.

Books were again removed to France in 1794, and these are marked appropriately in the next inventory made in the previous year by Georges-Joseph Gérard [105]. On p.22 of the first section, there is the following entry:

119 Cantus Misse. MSS in folio,

which is marked 5557 in pencil, and identified with our manuscript by Marchal [106], again with insufficient evidence for our purposes. It is not marked as having been taken to France (as are many others), and hence it would be unlikely to appear in the list of items returned in 1815 [107]. Entries in this latter inventory are, in any case, quite extraordinarily vague; on f29 alone there are three manuscripts described simply as 'Livre de choeur'.

The modern numbering of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale was made in 1839, following the reorganisation of 1831, and the resulting inventory is to be found in Marchal's Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne. Here, for the first time, we have a definite citation of the source under its present numbering, though it is given the somewhat misleading title of Antiphonarium and credited to 'Busnoys' [108].

In concluding our survey of the inventories of the developing Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels, we have to admit that this has turned out to be something of a negative search; in practice, the vagueness of the various lists is such that nothing can be stated with any certainty about the history of the Brussels manuscript between the time of its compilation and 1831. It is, however, worth noting the possible references in the 1568-69 and 1577 catalogues, and the fact that apparent non-appearance in inventories in no way constitutes proof that the manuscript did not have Burgundian origins.

(ii) The 19th century after 1831.

Following the reorganisation and publication of the modern inventory of the Bibliothèque Royale, the first, and by far the most eminent 19th-century musicologist to do any extensive work on the Brussels manuscript was F.-J. Fétis [109]. It is through his research-

es that the history of the source can most easily be traced during this period, and, accordingly, these will now be summarised.

Fétis' first encounter with the Brussels manuscript is mentioned in an article by Edward Francis Rimbault which was published in 1844 [110], the relevant paragraph running as follows:

> Among the books of plain chant in the (Royal Library at Brussels), M. Fétis has found a volume of Masses and Motetts, by celebrated composers, who lived about the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The most important pieces of this volume are three masses, each for three voices, by Guillaume Dufay, three masses for four voices by the same composer; a mass for three voices by Binchois; the mass "Omnipotens Pater" for three voices by a composer named Jean Plourmel [111]; and the mass "Deus Creator Omnium" by an English composer named Rignardt (Richard) Cox. These masses are followed by the motett "Orbis Terrarum" for four voices; a "Magnificat" for three voices; a Christmas chant for four; another "Magnificat" for four; the motett "Ad coenum ogni Provida" for three; "Animea liquefacta est" for three; "Victimae paschali laudes" for four; "Regina coeli latere" for four; another motett for four on the same text; and a mass for three voices "Sine Nomine". All these compositions are by Busnois. The volume closes with a mass "Ave Regina" for three voices, by Le Roy, commonly known by the name of Regis.

This raises a considerable number of questions with regard to attributions, and must be considered in relation to later work done by Fétis, notably his transcriptions of certain of the works, and relevant articles in the second edition of his Biographie Universelle [112].

In addition, when Fétis saw the manuscript, there may have been

certain structural differences; it is known, for instance, that Element 1 was out of order, thus splitting three of the Masses, and making it appear that there might be more than five works involved. Examination of van den Borren's account of the first four gatherings [113] shows that C had become detached and wrongly placed in the first opening of B, as set out in Table 3. This means that the English Masses actually appeared in the following order [114]:

(i) Frye: Missa Summe Trinitati (complete);

(ii) Plummer: Missa Sine nomine (to Patrem)

(iii) *Cockx: Missa Sine nomine (from Et ascendit)

(iv) Frye: Missa Flos regalis (except end of Agnus Dei)

(v) *Plummer: Missa Sine nomine (from Patrem)

(vi) Cockx: Missa Sine nomine (to Et ascendit)

(vii) *Frye: Missa Flos regalis (fragment of Agnus Dei)

(viii) Frye: Missa Nobilis et pulcra (complete).

Clearly it cannot be assumed that Fétis connected the fragments of the Plummer and Cockx Masses at first glance, and he evidently had not connected the two parts of the Frye Missa Flos regalis when he transcribed it [115].

According to the card catalogue, the Bibliothèque Royale acquired in 1872 two grey-bound manuscript volumes written by Fétis, which are now numbered MSS II.3851 and 3852 (ex Fétis 1805 and 1806). Both measure 155 x 236mm and have two unnumbered sides followed by pages numbered from 1 to 214. They bear the titles

MAÎTRES BELGES DU XVÈME SIÈCLE G. DUFAY

and

MAÎTRES BELGES DU XVÈME SIÈCLE ANT. BUSNOIS

respectively in gold lettering on the spines. The first volume carries the additional title on the unnumbered first side

Dufay: Messes, fragments et chansons mis en partition et en

Table 3: Gatherings B and C as Fétis found them.

van den Borren's foliation	present foliation	Music
14	14	Plummer's Mass: Qui tollis (C & T)
		Patrem (D)
15	26	Cockx's Mass: Et ascendit (C)
		Sanctus
16	27	
		Osanna I
17	28	
		Qui tollis I
18	29	
		Miserere II
19	30	
		Frye's Mass à4: Et in terra
20	31	
		Qui tollis
21	32	
		Patrem
22	33	
		Et incarnatus
23	34	
		Sanctus
24	35	
		Osanna I
25	36	
		Agnus Dei I
26	37	
		Agnus Dei III (D & T)
27	15	Plummer's Mass: Patrem (C & T)
		Qui propter nos
28	16	
		Sanctus
29	17	
		Benedictus
30	18	
		Agnus Dei I
31	19	
		Agnus Dei III
32	20	
		Cockx's Mass: Deus Creator
33	21	
		Ne pereant
34	22	
		Et in terra
35	23	
		Qui tollis
36	24	
		Patrem
37	25	
		Et ascendit (D & T)

notation moderne par F.J. Fétis d'après le MSS No.5557 de la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, et le MSS de Pixérécourt (Bibliothèque impériale de Paris).

This reference to the 'Bibliothèque impériale de Paris' must, as van den Borren has pointed out, indicate that the transcriptions were completed during the period of the Second Empire (1852-70) [116].

The second volume carries the parallel title (p1)

Busnois. Messe, Magnificat, Prose, Motets, Énigme musicale, et chansons. Mis en partition et en notation moderne par F.J. Fétis d'après le MSS No.5557 de la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles et le MSS de Pixérécourt (Bibliothèque impériale de Paris)

suggesting that it dates from much the same time.

The Dufay volume does not, as we might expect, contain either of the Masses by that composer in the Brussels manuscript, but the three Frye works, as follows:

p.1 1ère Messe intitulée: Summe Trinitati

p.48 2ème Messe de Dufay: intitulée Deus Creator

p.120 3ème Messe de Dufay à 4 voix (intitulée: Te gratias).,

The second work has been named from the Kyrie trope, and the third from a misunderstanding of the incipit at the beginning of the tenor part in the Gloria [117]. The third carries the additional comments

Cette messe n'a pas de Kyrie dans le manuscrit

and

Le dernier 'Agnus Dei' n'a que les parties de Cantus et de tenor dans le manuscrit; il y a une lacune de plusieurs feuillets dans lesquels se trouvaient les autres parties de ce morceau ainsi que le commencement d'une autre messe.

Evidently Fétis was unable to transcribe the final Agnus simply because he could not find the contra and bassus parts, these having

become separated from the rest of the work, as I have shown above.

There follow next the only pieces in B:Br II.3851 actually by Dufay, namely the Kyrie of the Missa Se la face ay pale and the Benedictus of the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini, the former actually stated to be taken from I:Rvat CS14, even though Fétis has not mentioned that manuscript in his title. The latter cannot have been taken from the Brussels manuscript for reasons which will become obvious, and by coincidence the Vatican source contains the only other known version of this work.

Finally, there are three songs none of which seems to be by Dufay at all [118].

Fétis begins the Busnois volume with a transcription of Dufay's Missa Ecce ancilla Domini, not having noticed its identity with the correctly attributed version of I:Rvat CS14, and continues with the first (anonymous) Magnificat of the Brussels manuscript. After this, he fares rather better with his ascriptions, and includes versions of the following:

p.93 Magnificat du 6ème ton par Busnois

p.111 Prose de Pâques à 4 voix, par Busnois

p.127 Motet à 3 voix, par Busnois

p.136 Regina Coeli Letare, par Busnois

p.146 Regina Coeli, par Busnois

p.159 Énigme musicale.

Of these, the 'Prose de Pâques' is Victimae paschali laudes, the 'Motet à 3 voix' is Anima mea liquefacta est, the two Regina celi settings occur in the same order as in the Brussels manuscript, and the final item is the Anthonius motet.

There are a number of understandable mishaps here: since, for instance, Fétis did not know what faux-bourdon is, he provided his own four-part setting of verse 7 of the Busnois Magnificat in the best tradition of 19th-century hymnody. He also failed to unravel

the rhythmic intricacies of the Easter sequence and the first setting of Regina celi, the former transcription being significantly 'swindled' and the latter breaking off at one of the more difficult points [119]. His misunderstanding of the canon in Anthoni usque limina is accurately described by van den Borren [120], together with his complete invention of a further canon on f49' regarding the bell sounds

> sed soni campanae repetiti sunt ad finem sub signo .ʃ. [121].

The resulting dissonances are justified by a remark which, to 20th-century ears, is comically unhistorical:

> Busnoys, dirigé par son instinct, a suivi dans ce cas la loi harmonique de la pedale sans la connaître.

He also sets the bell sounds of the first part of the piece to the word 'Anthonius' and those of the second part to the word 'Busnois', a charming idea which enters into the spirit of the composer's conceit in an amusingly misguided manner.

This little volume ends with three songs from the Pixérécourt Chansonnier and one from Canti C [122].

The second edition of Fétis' Biographie Universelle contains four important references to the Brussels manuscript which, to a great extent, are consistent with what has already been said. In the article on Dufay [123], for example, he refers to a manuscript from the library of the dukes of Burgundy in the following terms:

> On y trouve trois messes à trois voix et trois autres à quatre voix de Dufay. Le volume est coté 1555, in-fol.

MS.1555 of the Bibliothèque Royale is not a musical manuscript at all, and we clearly have here a misprint for 5557.

Under Busnois [124], the following pieces are listed as occurring in the Brussels manuscript:

> Magnificat du premier ton à3 voix

Magnificat du sixième ton à4 voix

Messe - Ecce ancilla à4 voix

Victimae paschali à4

Regina coeli letare à4

Regina coeli letare à4

Anima mea à3

Verbum caro factum est à4

Noel, Noel à4

Enigme musicale fort curieuse à 4 voix sur le prénom et le nom de Busnois.

In the article on Ockeghem [125], Fétis mentions the two Masses Pour quelque paine and Ecce ancilla Domini from the Brussels manuscript, and states that he has transcribed them:-

> ... je les ai mises en partition dans mes recueils d'anciens maîtres belges

- though these transcription do not seem to have come into the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale.

While there is nothing useful under Regis [126], and no articles at all on the other composers in the manuscript, there is the following interesting comment with reference to Binchois [127]:

> J'ai découvert depuis peu, dans un manuscrit de la bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, une messe entière à trois voix de Binchois, avec un Kyrie farci. Ce monument sera publié.

It is evident from this that he means Plummer's Mass, and that he has now associated the two separated halves of the work. The promised publication never took place.

We may now return to Rimbault's list, remembering that it is possible that Fétis may, over the years, have changed his ideas regarding some of the works, and also that this list is obviously incomplete and perhaps garbled in places. It is evident that Fétis

always regarded the three Frye Masses as the work of Dufay, which provides us with two of the three-part and one of the four-part Masses mentioned in the letter to Rimbault, the transcriptions in B:Br II.3851 and the second edition of the Biographie Universelle. Since the Missa Ave regina celorum is unmistakably attributed in the Brussels manuscript, we may assume that it represents a second four-part Mass taken by Fétis to be by Dufay. This leaves one three-part and one four-part Mass for which we have not so far accounted. The remaining four-part one does not seem to have been the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini actually by Dufay, since Fétis later attributed this to Busnois, yet at the same time insisting that there were still three four-part Masses by the older composer, one can only assume always the same three. Neither is it likely that Fétis meant the opening comprising f25' and f38 since, even if he thought these two sides belonged together, which seems improbable [128], he could hardly have referred to the combination as a four-part Mass. The only remaining possibilities, the works of Heyns and Regis, were attributed to Ockeghem, as we have already seen, which seems to suggest that Fétis may have inadvertently credited two composers with the authorship of one work - though which one is unclear.

The reference to a further three-part Mass is another complex problem to which we must return when we have dealt with the unambiguous attributions. In a similar category falls the question of how there are apparently separate three-part Masses by both Plummer and Binchois, even though the Plummer work is what Fétis means in his article on Binchois in the Biographie Universelle. The reference to Cockx's Mass, on the other hand, is fairly straightforward, though this may well only account for the first part of the work. The remainder, without any attribution, came earlier in the manuscript as Fétis found it, and he may not have connected the two halves.

In the list of works by Busnois, 'Orbis Terrarum' must be Antho-ni usque limina and the Christmas chant Noel, Noel. It will also be apparent that Fétis has included the anonymous Magnificat and probably mistaken the number of voices intended in Ad cenam agni. By the three-part Mass Sine nomine, the Missa Quinti toni of Ockeghem is almost certainly intended, since this is found in the middle of the known Busnois works.

Mention of a three-part Ave regina Mass of Regis presents a most interesting problem, since it is unlikely to mean the Regis Mass which now closes the manuscript. For one thing, the description is inaccurate with reference both to the number of parts and to the plainsong, and in addition the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini/Ne timeas has no attribution in the Brussels manuscript [129]. Admittedly, Fétis knew the other source of the existing piece, I:Rvat CS14 again, which has the attribution to Regis quite clearly, but he could hardly have identified the two having made such serious mistakes of description. Also, it is clear that he considered the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini/Ne timeas to be by Ockeghem by the time he came to write the relevant article for the second edition of the Biographie Universelle. In conclusion, it seems quite possible that, when Fétis first encountered the Brussels manuscript about 1843 or 1844, it had at least one further gathering which contained an unknown Missa Ave regina in three parts with an attribution to 'Le Roy', identified by him as Regis, and that this gathering became lost soon afterwards, certainly before he examined the manuscript again after about 1852 [130].

So far, we have been able to account for all the works mentioned in Rimbault's list and Fétis' later writings apart from the Binchois and third Dufay three-part Masses, and the only outstanding Masses in the Brussels manuscript as Fétis would have seen it (unless still

more gatherings were lost) were the detached and therefore unattributed second parts of the Cockx and Plummer works and the Anonymous Mass in gathering J. It is clear that Fétis had connected the two halves of the Plummer piece by the time he wrote his Binchois article in the Biographie Universelle, but why under the name of Binchois? One possibility is that originally the attribution of the first part to 'Jean Plourmel' was accepted and the second part was just assumed to be by Binchois (a likely enough candidate in those days when the music was seen to be so completely unlike anything known to be by Dufay). Then, when it was realised that the two sections belonged together, the Binchois attribution was accepted simply because nobody had ever heard of Plourmel [131], and the name was duly substituted. Under such circumstances, the other Mass supposedly by Dufay would be either the second part of the Cockx work or the anonymous Mass.

Ultimately, it must be admitted that much of this can only be of curiosity value with relation to the history of the manuscript, especially since it is apparent that many of Fétis' attributions were sheer flights of fancy. It might have been thought that some were based on genuine contemporary attributions which were later cut off by the binder, were it not that so many turned out to be obviously mistaken when concordances were found. Besides, we have no evidence that the manuscript was bound during the 19th century anyway. Nevertheless, it must be of some interest that there may originally have been more music than now survives, and such a situation should hardly surprise us when we consider the essentially fragmentary nature of the source.

(iii) A postscript on the more recent history of the manuscript.

Apart from work carried out by van den Borren in the 1930's and 40's [132], some study of the manuscript was done by Tirabassi, whose

transcriptions of parts of the Frye and Plummer Masses are to be found in B:Br III.577 [133]. Strangely, he perpetuates Fétis' mistake of ascribing the former to Dufay both here and in a somewhat fragmentary catalogue of the musical manuscripts in the library which was compiled by him and various others some time about 1943 [134].

The manuscript was restored and rebound about 1950 by Georges Dubois of Enghien, the order of gatherings B and C being corrected and the folios renumbered in accordance with guidance given by van den Borren. The sequence of folios in gathering G was not, however, rectified, perhaps because of its rather precarious condition [135].

The Brussels manuscript has been part of two exhibitions in recent years:

De Gregoire le Grand à Stockhausen - Douze siècles de notation musicale (1966),

and

Trésors musicaux de la Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er, 1220-1800 (1975) [136].

Unfortunately, no further information has emerged as to whether it originally contained more music.

Footnotes to Chapter I.

[1] Exclusive of those in this thesis.

[2] Part of ascription erased or rubbed away.

[3] Part of the Gloria is missing - see Critical Commentary, Vol.2, p.148.

[4] Concerning this original ascription and the identification of 'Plourmel' with John Plummer, see below, Ch.I pp.45, 51 and Ch.II p.120ff.

[5] The composer's name has been cut off by the binder.

[6] See below, p.8.

[7] Part of the Gloria and the whole Agnus Dei are missing. Concerning the order of the movements see below, p.8.

[8] The composer's name has been largely cut off by the binder, but what remains shows that the ascription was almost certainly to Busnois.

[9] For further details as to authorship, see Plamenac: A postscript to Vol.II of the collected works of Johannes Ockeghem, p.34.

[10] The Lucca source only contains part of the Sanctus.

[11] The Brussels manuscript lacks part of the Kyrie, and the Vatican source part of the Sanctus and the whole Agnus Dei.

[12] This is not the LU melody, but is very close to MMMA type 32, especially 32(5-7) on pp.227,257 and 286. Text (with slight variants) as AH50/p.74.

[13] The melody is close to LU p.1864 and MMMA type 68 (especially 2 on p.96). Text similar to LU version and AH2/p.40.

[14] cp. Kenney: Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise, p.48.

[15] Not one missing folio as Kenney, op.cit., p.48, which would leave only 15 leaves in the gathering. This means that the first recto of H may well have been blank originally.

[16] See Ockeghem: Collected Works, Vol.I, p.XIX.

[17] op.cit., p.38ff.

[18] The links between gatherings J and K are stronger than implied by Kenney (op.cit., p.49): see below, pp.14, 22ff.

[19] See below, p.19ff., but see also fn.62.

[20] See only fnn.3, 7 and 11.

[21] See below, p.37, for example,

[22] Such a suggestion is supported by the fact that certain

of the gatherings were clearly larger than others. It is clear, for instance, that the side margins of E have been more closely cut than in A - D, and it has already been noted that the ascription to Dufay has been cut off; see above, fn.5.

23 op.cit., p.39ff.

24 Wrongly given by Kenney as a pendant 'P' (op.cit., p.39).

25 Briquet: Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier (Jubilee ed.), p.127.

26 Since so much paper was made at Troyes, a general similarity between watermarks is likely to be of little significance for our purposes.

27 Variations between the fleurs-de-lis which are genuine are not always readily distinguished from those which are merely the result of a bent or otherwise damaged mould.

28 See above, pp.9, 12ff.

29 The only possible exception is f2 which is too badly stained for the watermark to be clearly visible.

30 Watermark I has been identified with Briquet 1740 by Kenney and others.

31 These drawings are not to scale, and essentially diagrammatic in character. Only totally distinct variants have been included - the shape of c can be imagined from b, d from a, and f from e.

32 9mm rather than 6mm from the top of the 't'.

33 Concerning distances between chain-lines see below, p.16.

34 See also p.37ff.

35 Briquet (1st ed.), Vol.I, p.XVIII.

36 This late date is, arguably, backed up by the closeness of the chain-lines.

37 By, for example, Kenney (op.cit., p.39).

38 Briquet (Jub.ed.), p.418ff. The provenance of the Briquet parallel is given as Azeglio 1474.

39 Accepting the original ascription to Plummer.

40 See below, p.156.

41 These illuminations never were as rich as, for example, those found in many of the manuscripts prepared for Philip the Good of Burgundy.

42 See Armoiries des Familles contenues dans L'armorial genéral de J.B. Riestastap (=Riestap), vol.I, p.CCXCI, and Barrois: Bibliothèque Protypographique, frontispiece, for the latter.

43 I am grateful here for the advice of various members of the staff

of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

44 A 'bend sinister', so-called, which was a very common indication of illegitimacy.

45 Philip's eldest bastard son, Cornille, may be ruled out on the grounds that he died as early as 1452. The following description of the arms of Antoine, Baudouin, Jehan and Philippe found in J.-B. Christyn: Jurisprudentia Heroica (I, p.38).

> Primus (Antoine) arma Burgundica transversa lineá sive filo intersecta, secundus (Baudouin) illa in Baltheo vulgo en bende, tertius (Jehan) in fascia vulgo en face,.... quartus (Philippe) vero illa in decussi vulgo chevron, reliquis scuti partibus aureis et vacuis vulgo esclopé, relictis exposuit,

seems to rule them out, and I have no more precise information as to the coats-of-arms of Philip's sons David (bishop of Thérouanne and later of Utrecht) or Raphael (abbot of St. Bavo's, Ghent). Failure in unravelling this mystery is perhaps surprising, since one would not expect many of the possible candidates to have been in a position to run a private chapel capable of performing the more difficult works in the Brussels manuscript.

46 A dog on f10', a flamingo-like bird with cloven hooves on f20', a unicorn and an insect on f30', and a drinking man with a Death-like figure brandishing a sword on f38'.

47 Except on the first opening, where the tenor is below the discantus.

48 The difference in layout between these is puzzling, since it does not reflect consistently the differences in the relative ranges of the parts.

49 Two inscriptions are found in this section of the manuscript, both in different hands. The first, on f2, is a four-line stanza having no obvious connection with the music. I have been unable to decipher it completely convincingly, but it runs something like:

> Dir' (?) au Aby des Fauceurs qui muse (n'use?)
> on treu (tieu?) d'un B...er de blangy
> Il trouvera sans point de ruse
> quand la ses (?) franx (?) archers perdy.

It may be relevant that Blangy is a town in north-east France which was occupied by the army of Charles the Bold in 1472, and that 'francs archers' were town militia.
The second inscription consists of two words below the discantus part on f10', which have been read by van den Borren (Inventaire des manuscrits de musique polyphonique qui se trouvent en Belgique, p.66) as 'Tonus Apasanȳ'. It is difficult to imagine what this might mean. Tirabassi has suggested that 'Apasany' is the same as the 'Aphasie' described by Michel Brenet (Dictionnaire pratique et historique de la musique, p.18) as 'Abolition du langage articulé, qui n'entraîne pas la privation de la voix' (see B.BrIII. 835), but this seems optimistic, to say the least. It is also possible that van den Borren has misread the words: the first letter appears more likely to be an 'I' and the last three might easily be '...aux', though the significance of the abbreviation sign over these (if that is what it is - it may just be a flou-

rish) is unclear. My reading, for which I can provide no translation, would be

Ionu (abbreviated?) Apasaux.

In addition to these, there is at the foot of f42 an F3 clef which is followed by a few notes which have no obvious connection with the music on this opening.

50 Particularly those on the recto sides - see above, fn.22.

51 Except in the first verse; all parts should be underlaid in practice.

52 The last-mentioned is also sometimes referred to as 'Contra 2'.

53 See above, p.8.

54 At the foot of f79', there appear to be three words, quite possibly in the hand of this scribe (compare the 'L' here with those on ff82'-83). The first begins 'Lorpidu...' but I have been unable to decipher the remainder of the inscription.

55 On f97', the scribe clearly omitted a few notes from the discantus part, and these have been added at the end of the seventh stave, perhaps by another more or less contemporary hand. On ff 104', 105' and 106', another hand has interpreted the tenor parts according to the canons.

56 The highly inappropriate couplet scrawled at the bottom of this side is given by Planchart (Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions, p.22, fn.50) as

Wie wilt wesen wel ghewreuen
Wij willent wriuen waert gheen wewen

i.e.

Those who are willing to be seduced we would like to seduce except for the widows.

57 See above, p.20.

58 For a precise account of this, see van den Borren, op.cit., p.66 ff. and Boer: Het Anthonius Motet van Anthonius Busnois, p.17ff. Some confusion arises from Fétis' transcription in B:Br II.3852 (see below, p. 50), which assumes that a further canon specifies repeated notes after the second signum congruenziae on the second opening of the copy. As van den Borren points out, such a canon simply does not exist, and Boer's counter-suggestion that the three lines of 'writing' on f50 might provide it (op.cit., p.19) will not do either, since these are in fact ink which has run from the facing page!

59 op.cit., p.17. Whether the repeated notes are actually to be performed on a bell is a question beyond the terms of reference of the present enquiry.

60 Not 'penultimum' as Boer, op.cit., p.16.

61 At the foot of f87', there is a group of notes apparently unconnected with the piece, but actually arising from the abstrusity of the rhythm near the beginning of the discantus part on that

folio. Since the passage in question involves a rhythmic interaction which is difficult to perform successfully, an alternative and much simpler version has been provided.

62 Cp. also Element 4 which could conceivably be in the same hand (the ascriptions to Busnois bear certain resemblances), but this suggestion is extremely tentative.

63 'Ome' and 'Oem' are early equivalents of 'homme', and 'Oeme' may be yet another version of the same word. This does not, of course, help very much. Tirabassi has suggested that the word is 'demi', referring, perhaps, to the tactus of the music above (see B:Br III.835).

64 See above, fn.12.

65 This cannot be a folio numbering, but might indicate a pagination. If this were the case, p.1 would be f70, the beginning of gathering G, a possibility which raises the question of whether the manuscript became split into two parts at some stage and was then reassembled before the present numbering was carried out.

66 See above, fnn.12 and 13.

67 Charles Hamm (A Chronology of the works of Guillaume Dufay based on a study of mensural practice, p.12) places it between c.1415 and 1429.

68 Perhaps after the manner of a square. On the other hand, it has been noted (Baillie: Squares, p.186) that squares tend to have an emphatic periodic rhythm, which is not altogether the case here, and we have no clear evidence of their use outside England.

69 But see above, fn.62.

70 First stave on versos indented by 18mm.

71 First stave on all sides indented by 35mm.

72 First stave on all sides indented by 33mm.

73 See MGGII/515ff.

74 Sparks' suggestion (The motets of Antoine Busnois, p.223) that the copies were made before 1475 is based on the incorrect premiss that the manuscript was made up for Charles the Bold.

75 See Houdoy: Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai, p. 87ff. Charles the Bold visited Cambrai in October 1460, December 1462 and October 1468, having some music of his own performed on the first of these occasions (see Houdoy, op.cit., p.87).

76 Kenney, op.cit., p.56ff. and Planchart: Guillaume Dufay's Masses: A view of the manuscript traditions, p.48, support this view.

77 The fascicle in question is the more unlikely to have come directly from Dufay in view of the extensive revisions to the Mass which it transmits - see Appendix, p.293ff.

78 Planchart: Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions, p.21, and Houdoy, op.cit., p.200.

79 There is no reason, of course, to assume that the Brussels copy necessarily postdates the copy sent to Charles on Dufay's death.

80 Houdoy, op.cit., p.194.

81 Certainly in 1460, and also mentioned in Dufay's will in 1474. On the other hand, Regis was at Soignies for much of the period 1458-83 and was at Antwerp in 1463. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suppose that he did not maintain contact with Cambrai during the relevant years.

82 In 1462 and 1464; see Wright: Dufay at Cambrai, p.208.

83 See Plamenac, op.cit., p.34ff.

84 If, in fact, he did during the period in question.

85 See membership list, GB:Lgl4889, especially ff4, 7, 7' and 13.

86 Striels: De Zangkapel van de Kathedral van Antwerpen, p.37 names a Cockx who was at Antwerp at some stage between 1448 and 1491, but gives no further information whatsoever. Whether this is our Cockx is, of course, impossible to say.

87 See also p.15ff above.

88 op.cit., p.49. She also identifies far more of the handwriting than I have been prepared to, including that found in A - D and L.

89 See above, p.27.

90 That this is probably not what happened, see below.

91 See above, p.10.

92 That the first recto of H was probably originally blank see fn.15 above. The same may well also have been true of the last verso of G - certainly the Magnificat in that gathering did not go as far as that.

93 That it has been used, however, is shown by the fact that the canons determining the tenor parts in the Heyns work have been worked out, presumably to aid performance - see above, fn.55.

94 And, presumably, also that between G and H (now lost).

95 See Barrois, op.cit., p.124ff., p.117ff., p227ff., p.233ff., and p.309ff. respectively.

96 op.cit., p.37. Marchal's identification of the Brussels manuscript with Barrois 1110 is, as she shows (ibid.), impossible.

97 Barrois, op.cit., 2210, also quoted by Kenney, op.cit., p.37, but giving the date of the inventory as 1504.

98 I am grateful to Dr. Roger Bowers for this piece of information. Perhaps it is worth noting that this method of distinguishing between manuscripts will not work for Masses.

99 See above, fn.49.

100 Also mentioned in Kenney, op.cit., p.36.

101 For his account of this inventory, see Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne, p.CXXIVff. Incidentally, the title of this catalogue belies the fact that the library also contains manuscripts copied for other members of the Burgundian nobility.

102 Sanderus: Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta Vol.2, p.3ff = MSS codices ducum Burgundiae, in palatio Bruxellensi....; B:Br II. 3628; and Marchal, op.cit., pp.CLI, CXXXV, CCLIX, etc. respectively.

103 Marchal, op.cit., p.CCLIX.

104 Marchal, op.cit., p.VII; not evidently the Brussels manuscript.

105 B:Br14993-95: Catalogue des mss de la Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne souverains des Pays-Bas et des autres mss qui se trouvaient dans la Bibliothèque publique de Bruxelles en 1793.

106 op.cit., p.CCLIX.

107 B:Br21589-90: Inventaire des Mss restitués par le gouvernement français.

108 Marchal, op.cit., p.112.

109 This must have been after work on the first edition of his Biographie Universelle (published 1835-44), since this contains no reference to the manuscript under any of the principal composers.

110 Recent discoveries of ancient music, mentioned briefly by Staehelin in Möglichkeiten und praktische Anwendung der Verfasserbestimmung in anonym überlieferten Kompositionen der Josquin-Zeit.

111 For stylistic justification for identifying this composer with John Plummer, see below, p.120ff.

112 published in 1863-66.

113 op.cit., p.66.

114 An asterisk indicates that a fragment is unattributed since it begins at the middle of a piece.

115 See below, p.48.

116 op.cit., p.68.

117 An error perpetuated by van den Borren (op.cit., p.66).

118 The pieces involved are
Cent mille escus (Caron or Busnois)
Madame vos testons sont biaux (not in Pixérécourt?)
Creature la plus belle (anonymous)

119 A later hand has added the following comment in pencil:
manque la fin
trop difficile??

120 op.cit., p.66ff.

121 See also fn.58 above.

122 These are
Advegne que venir pourra
Fortune tu es trop dure
Oh! (recte Chi) dise un (recte dist en) benedicite, Madame
Dieu! quel mariage
and all are by Busnois.

123 op.cit., III/p.72ff.

124 ibid., II/p.127ff.

125 ibid., VI/p.357ff., especially p.364.

126 ibid., VII/p.198ff.

127 ibid., I/p.419ff.

128 Apart from anything else, the texts indicate that the two sides contain different movements of the Mass.

129 It is just possible that there was one which was cut off by the binder, but we have no evidence that the manuscript was rebound during the 19th century.

130 All the surviving sacred music by Regis is in four or five parts, which raises the question of whether Fétis could have misread the name. (He had, after all, mistaken 'w ffrye' for 'Dufay'.) Also, we have nothing else by Regis attributed to 'Le Roy'. Of course, it is just conceivable that there was another four-part Mass before the three-part Missa Ave regina, and Fétis attributed this to Dufay, thus making up the three mentioned in his letter to Rimbault; this must, however, be regarded as very speculative.

131 Plummer's name did not become familiar until the publications of the inventory of the Trent Codices in 1900.

132 See bibliography for other works mentioning the Brussels manuscript.

133 van den Borren mentions having made transcriptions of pieces in the Brussels manuscript (op.cit., p.68), but I have no information as to where these are now.

134 See also a series of articles by Tirabassi and Auda on the subject of tactus, which are included in the bibliography. These contain extensive reference to music in the Brussels manuscript.

135 No information as to the pre-1950 binding has been available.

136 See exhibition catalogues:
Huys: De Grégoire le Grand à Stockhausen. Douze siècles de notation musicale.
" Trésors musicaux de la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 1220-1800. Catalogue de l'exposition.

Chapter II:

The English Masses: Constructional techniques.

It is no easy task presenting an adequate outline of the style of any composer, however well-known his music may be. We should not, therefore, be surprised that the individual styles of most 15th-century composers remain, as yet, largely uncharted, especially when we remember how much of their work has still to be published, let alone satisfactorily and extensively performed.

Since the main purpose of this thesis is to provide an edition of a group of pieces rather than an exhaustive stylistic analysis, I have, for reasons of economy, limited myself to a discussion of an aspect of style which proves to have particular bearing on many editorial questions: that is, the actual process by which the three composers involved wrote [1]. Thus the largest sections of this chapter will be concerned with constructional techniques in Frye's cantus firmus Masses and the so-called freely-composed works of Cockx and Plummer respectively. The shorter middle section examines an anonymous but highly relevant work from one of the Trent Codices in the light of what can be said of Frye's compositional practices.

A. Walter Frye and the Cantus Firmus Mass.

Like many 15th-century English Masses, all three of Frye's settings from the Brussels manuscript use tenor cantus firmi, those involved here being respectively the responsories Summe Trinitati and Nobilis et pulcra of Sarum usage, and a so far unidentified plainsong named in the sources as Flos regalis [2]. In order to isolate some of the main processes by which these three works were composed, I shall begin by outlining the more obvious structural techniques used in each piece by turn.

As may be seen from Ex.1, the rhythm applied to the cantus firmus in the Missa Summe Trinitati is almost exactly the same in each movement. Such minor modifications as occur usually arise from the exigencies of a given situation, as with the varying lengths of the repeated Ds near the middle of segment A, but they occasionally appear to be quite arbitrary, as in the third bar of segment F, where the distinction between ♩ 𝄾 ♩ and ♩. ♩ is rhythmically and harmonically superfluous. This particular discrepancy may, of course, be a mere scribal aberration.

In establishing this tenor line, which was presumably one of the first stages in the compositional process, Frye has made no changes to the melodic outline of the cantus firmus as found in Sarum usage, though a few bars have been added at the end, identical in each movement, which do not correspond with either of the versions in the Antiphonale Sarisburiense. Presumably either this is his own addition or, less probably, it comes from a slightly extended and, as far as I know, undiscovered version of the chant [3]. Relatively scrupulous as he may have been in keeping strictly to the notes of the plainsong, Frye has not, however, sought to maintain strictly the integrity of its phrase structure. In the Gloria, for example, there

Ex.1: The tenor parts of the movements of Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati

CHANT [= A.S. IV/292]

GLORIA

CREDO

SANCTUS

AGNUS DEI

Sum - - - me tri-ni - ta - - -

lis glo - - ri - a, co - e - - ter - - - - - - - na ma -

E

30

6

na Gloria

omitted

20

- - - - - - - - jo - - - - - - stas;

F

Pa - - -

40

7 50'

35

18

no rests as Credo

25

27½

omitted

- - - - - - tri pro - li - - - - - que san - cto - que

55

60

65

G

fla - - - - - - - - mi - - - - ni,Qui

56 O

22 omitted

55 as Credo

H

to - tum sub - dit su - - - - - - - - is · or - - -

as Gloria

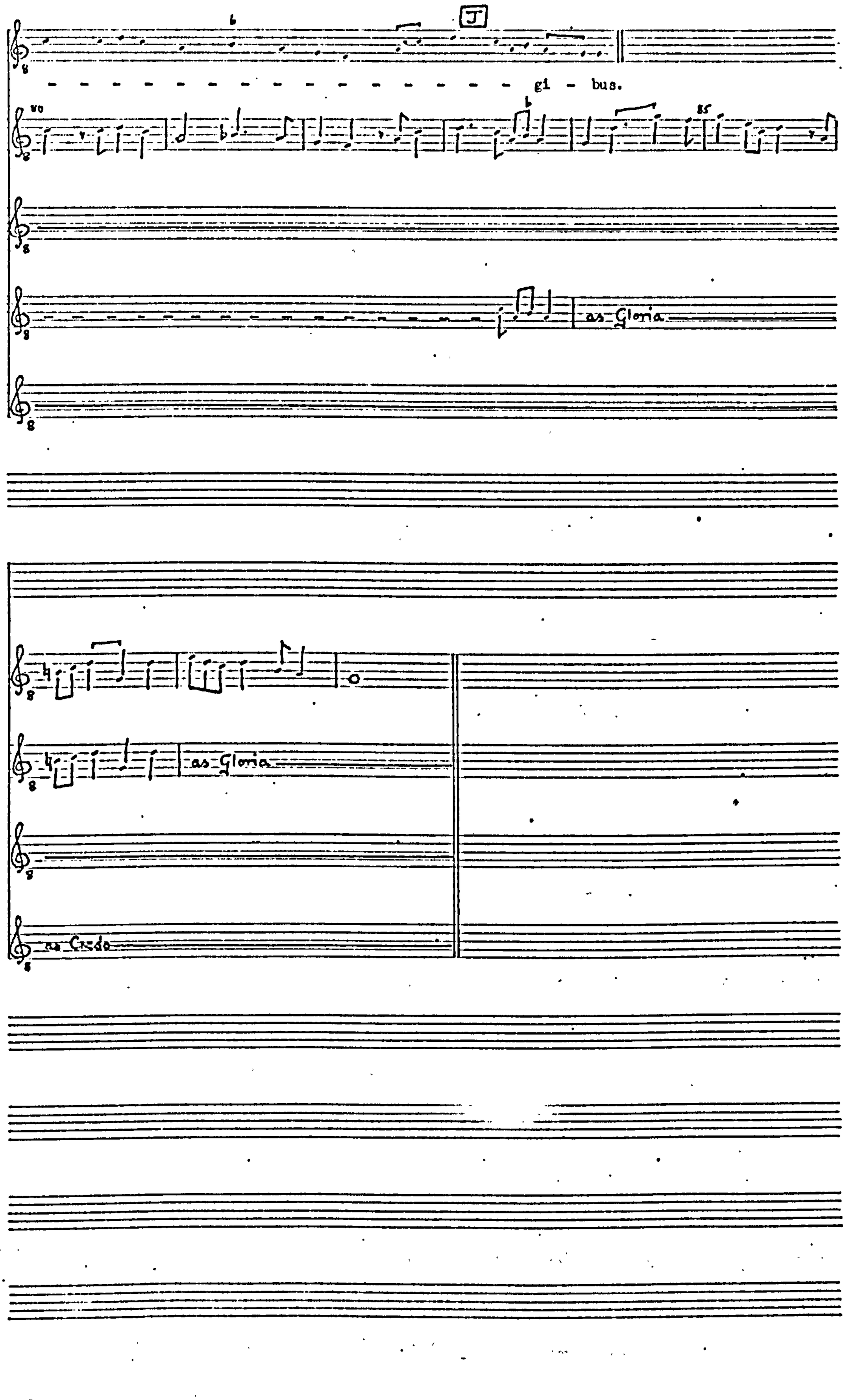
80 as Gloria

61 as Gloria

I

- bom le-

81 omitted


J
gi - bus.
as Gloria
as Gloria
as Credo

is a break in the middle of the word 'coeterna' (between segments D and E) for a discantus/contra duo, and the omission of parts of the chant in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei involves the complete loss not only of parts of phrases, but even parts of words. It would appear, therefore, that his interest in the cantus firmus was not primarily connected with any distinctive melodic character it may have had in its normal form; he used it rather as a structural device around which to compose.

That structure certainly was one of his most important preoccupations may be seen from Table 1, which shows strikingly close parallels between the forms of the four movements. In the Gloria and Credo, for instance, each sub-section begins with a discantus/contra duo, leading into a long passage which, though substantially full, may contain short duos. It will be seen here that the first mainly full section uses segments A - E of the chant, and the second segments F - J. The layout of the Sanctus also begins according to the plan of the earlier movements, but the scheme is modified somewhat to provide for a reduction in forces at 'Pleni sunt celi' and 'Benedictus'; similarly, the design of the Agnus Dei is recast slightly to give a duo for the second Agnus. Since the effect of these changes is to cut quite dramatically the proportion of music appropriate to the full ensemble in the two movements affected, the amount of three-part music is reduced by the simple expedient of omitting parts of the chant from the tenor. This explains why segments D, E, G and I of the cantus firmus have been removed in the Sanctus, and segments B and F in the Agnus Dei [4].

In most respects, Frye's treatment of the cantus firmus in the Missa Nobilis et pulcra bears close resemblances to that characteristic of the Missa Summe Trinitati. The rhythm imposed on the chant is very similar in each movement, though closer examination shows

Table 1: The structure of the movements of Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati [5].

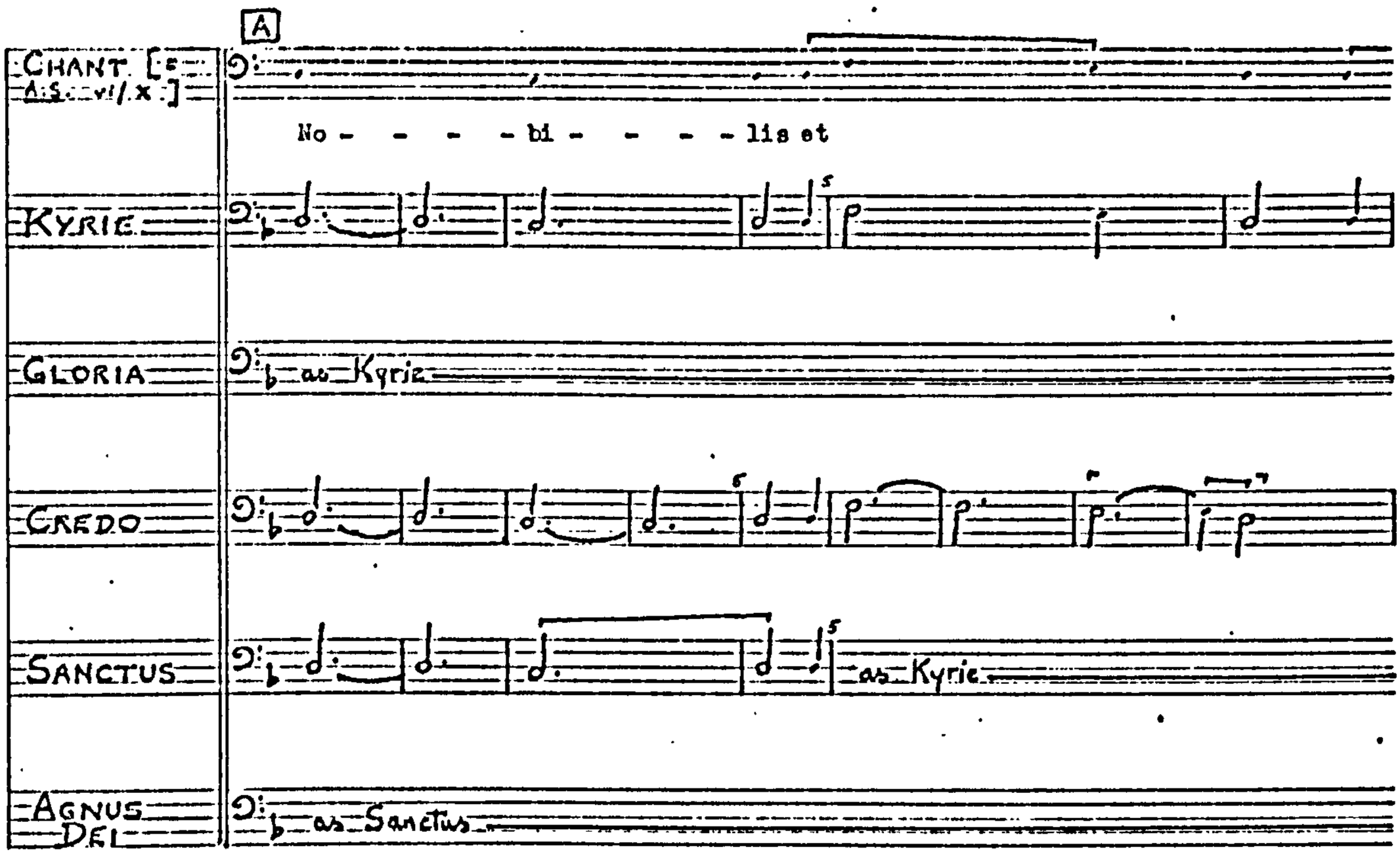
(C)	Et in terra	1- 9	DC		Patrem	1-14	DC	
	Laudamus te	10-25	All	ABC	Et in unum Dominum	15-29	All	ABC
	Deus Pater	26-30	TC	D	Deum de Deo	30-32	DT	D
	Domine Fili	30-36	DC			33	TC	
	Filius Patris	37-42	All	E		34-39	All	E
(C)	Qui tollis I	43-50	DC		Genitum	40-57	DC	
	Qui tollis II (67-68 DC; 76-77 TC.)	50-88	All	FGH IJ	Et incarnatus (79-81 DT.)	58-94	All	FGH IJ
(C)	Sanctus II	1- 6	DC		Qui tollis	1- 6	DC	
	Sanctus III	7-21	All	ABC		7-27	All	AC DE
	Pleni sunt celi	22-43	DC		Agnus II	28-54	DC	
(C)	Osanna I	44-56	All	F				
	Benedictus	57-78	DC					
	Osanna II	79-92	All	HJ	Agnus III (61-62 DT; 63-64 TC.)	55-79	All	GH IJ

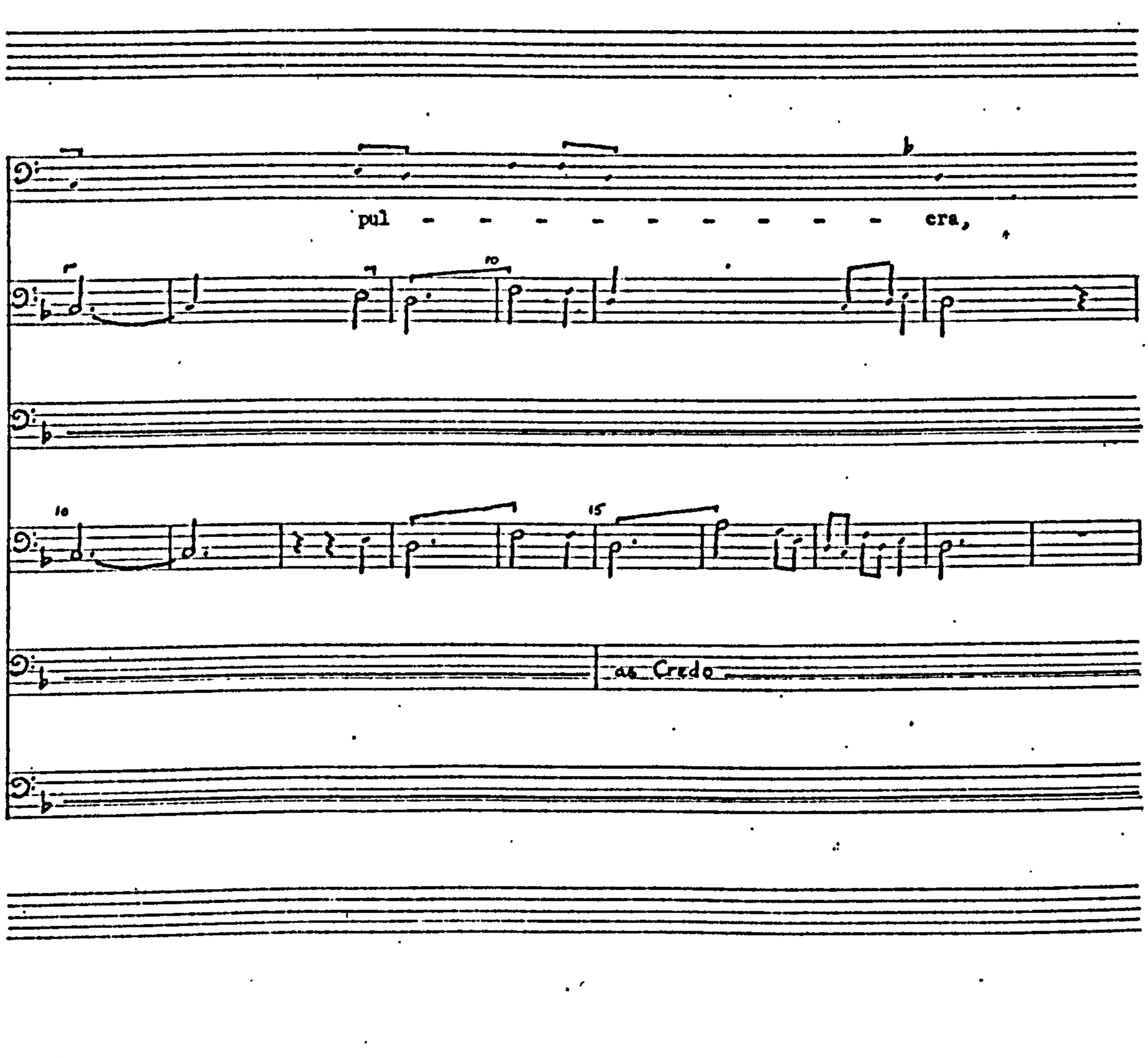
that there are rather more substantial alterations to note lengths, apparently made in order to lengthen or shorten sections to accommodate a greater or smaller number of words (see Ex.2). Segment D, an extreme example it must be admitted, is considerably reduced in the Agnus Dei, and lasts for only 14 bars, as compared with 22 in the corresponding passage of the Kyrie [6]. Such modifications have the effect of giving a greater flexibility with regard to the lengths of sections than is found in the Missa Summe Trinitati. At the same time, however, they alter the general outline of the tenor phrases remarkably little, since rhythmic changes have been made only in the middles or at the ends of those phrases, and leave the pattern of accents imposed on the notes of the chant substantially unaffected.

In spite of approaching the rhythmic construction of the tenor with slightly more freedom than in the other three-voice work, Frye still keeps the part strictly to the pitches of the plainsong melody, apart from ornamenting some of the cadences [7], and omitting segment D in the Sanctus. In his segmentation of the chant, he has, if anything, kept rather more closely to the original phrase structure. For example, segment A, used in the opening O-time section of each movement, corresponds with its first phrase, segments B, C and D, used in the central C-time sections, correspond to its second phrase, and segment E, used in the concluding O-time sections, corresponds with the ensuing versicle. As to the divisions of the second phrase of the chant, the break between B and C lies between words, and D represents a vocalisation of the final syllable of 'gaudia' and the setting of a further full word 'mundi'. The excision of D in the Sanctus may not therefore seem quite as severe as the cuts from the chant made in the Missa Summe Trinitati, though it does serve to indicate that again the integrity of the phrase structure was by no means Frye's primary concern.

As may be seen from Table 2, Frye has used a fixed scheme of

Ex.2: The tenor parts of the movements of Fryo's Missa Nobilis et pulcra



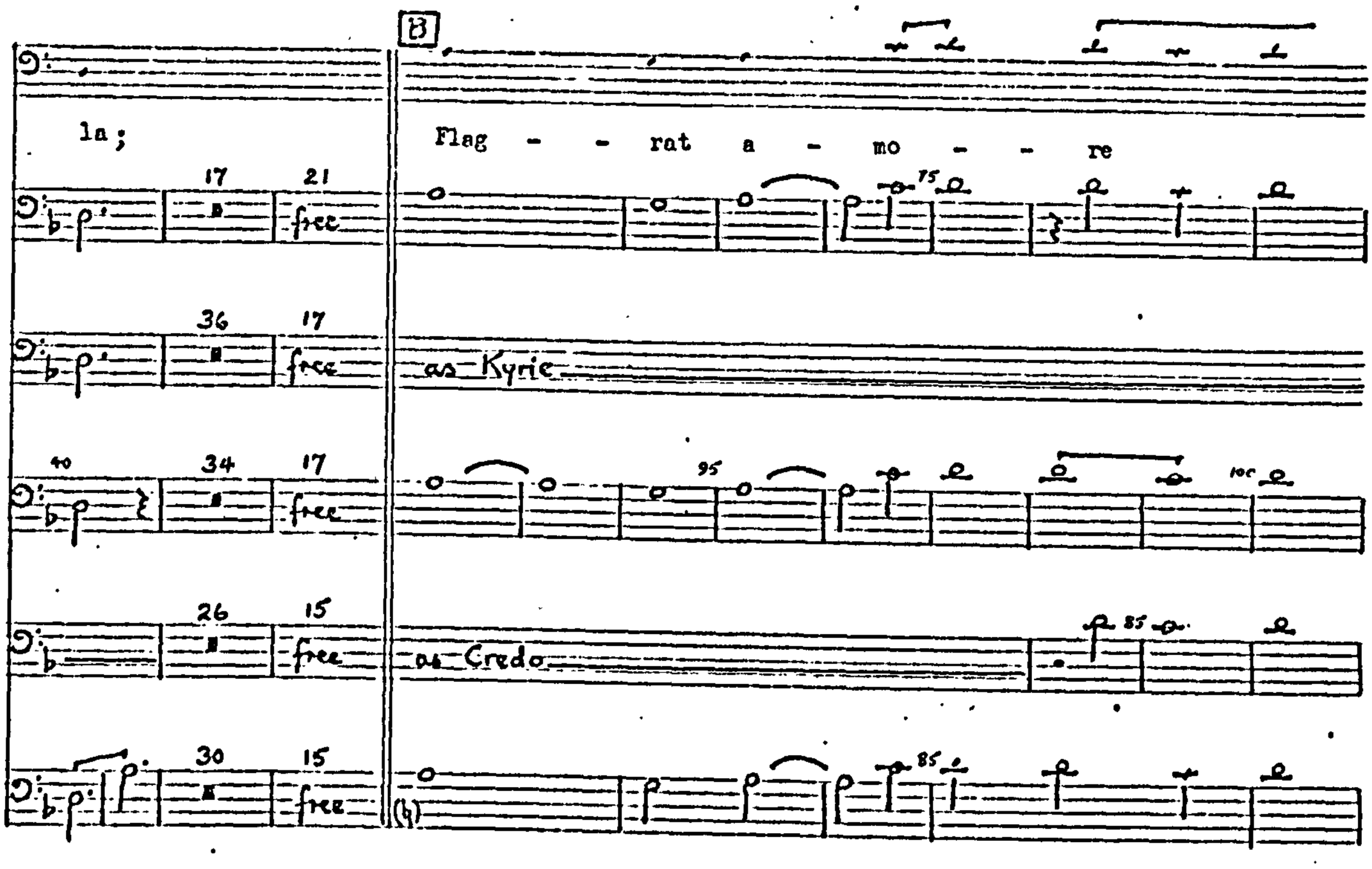


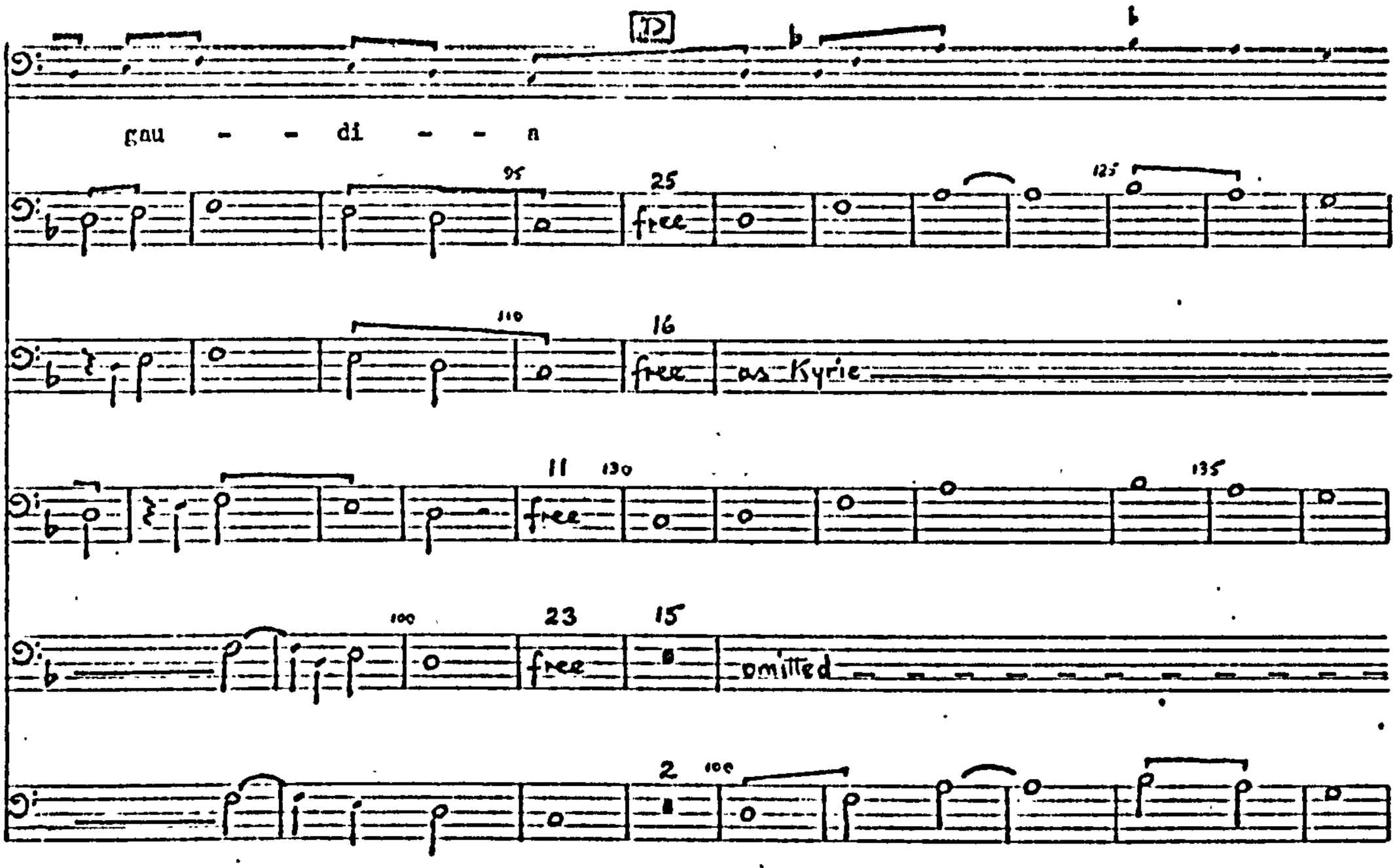
pru - - dens Ka - te - - - - - - - - - - ri - na

as Kyrie

pu - - - - - - el - - - - - - - - - - - -

as Credo


la ;
17
21
free
B
Flag - - rat a - mo - - re
36
17
free
as Kyrie
40
34
17
free
95
105
26
15
free
as Credo
85
30
15
free
85
Do - - - - - - - - i, sporint u - sa
80
5
C
90
95
5
as Kyrie
105
5
115
as Credo
1
as Credo
as Credo (but no B♭ signature)


gau - - di - - n
95
25
free
110
16
free as Kyrie
11
130
free
135
100
23
15
omitted
2
100


mun - - -
130
135
140
140
145
105
110

E

di; Cu - - - - i et car - - no pa - ter fu - er -

as Kyrie (but no B♭ signature)

at re - gi - - - - na que ma - - - - - - - - - ter.

as Kyrie

as Kyrie (but no B♭ signature)

as Sanctus

Table 2: The structure of the movements of Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra [8].

(O)	Kyrie I	1- 32	All A
	Kyrie III	33- 49	DC
	Christe I	50- 70	CT
(C)	Christe II	71- 80	All B
		81- 85	DC
	Christe III	86- 95	All C
		96-102	DT
	Kyrie IV	103-118	CT
	Kyrie V	119-142	All D
(O)	Kyrie VI	143-161	All E

(O)	Et in terra	1- 31	All A		Patrem	1- 40	All A
	Domine Deus I	32- 67	DC		Genitum	41- 74	DC
	Domine Deus II	68- 84	CT		Et incarnatus	75- 91	CT
(C)	Qui tollis I	85- 95	All B		Crucifixus	92-106	All B
		96-100	DC			107-111	DC
	Suscipe	101-110	All C		secundum scripturas	112-118	All C
	Qui sedes	111-124	CT		Et ascendit	119-129	CT
	Quoniam	125-148	All D		Et iterum	130-147	All D
(O)	Cum sancto spiritu	149-167	All E		Cuius regni	148-166	All E

(O)	Sanctus II	1- 36	All A		Qui tollis	1- 36	All A
	Pleni sunt celi	37- 62	DC		Agnus II	37- 66	DC
		63- 77	CT			67- 81	CT
(C)	Osanna I	78-100	All BC		Agnus III	82- 97	All BC
						98- 99	DC
						100-113	All D
	Benedictus	101-123	DT				
		124-138	DC				
(O)	Osanna II	139-158	All E		Dona nobis pacem	114-133	All E

duos and full sections in the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo Nobilis et pulcra, much as in the Gloria and Credo Summe Trinitati, only more strictly applied. This scheme has, however, been modified in the Sanctus in order to accommodate a long duo for the Benedictus [9], and since this leaves less three-part music the cantus firmus has been cut, as in the corresponding movement of the previously discussed work. Similarly, the Agnus Dei also involves some modification to the basic scheme in order to give a two-part Agnus II, but it does not, perhaps rather surprisingly, necessitate truncation of the cantus firmus since, as we have seen, the chant has been pared down to a smaller number of bars.

It will also be noted, incidentally, that the tenor of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra is allowed to take part in free duos in addition to fulfilling its main function of carrying the cantus firmus. Though this situation does not apply in either of Frye's other Masses from the Brussels manuscript, it is common enough in other works of the 15th-century English Mass repertory [10]. The unusual feature of Frye's use of the practice here is his inclusion of duos for contra and tenor as well as the much more conventional passages for discantus and tenor. One might reasonably speculate as to whether the motive behind this departure was a desire to provide greater contrast of texture [11].

The Missa Flos regalis stands apart somewhat from Frye's other two Masses from the Brussels manuscript in that it is scored for four voices, and is based on a plainsong which has not been found in the surviving usages. Besides these obvious differences, it will be seen that his approach to the rhythmic organisation of the chant is much freer in that the rhythm applied to the cantus firmus varies substantially from movement to movement (see Ex.3) [12]. Furthermore, though such variations may on occasions be used to control the

Ex.3: The tenor parts of the movements of Frye's Missa Flos regalis


E
F



Ex.4: Reconstruction of the plainsong Flos feralis

lengths of individual musical phrases, their main purpose does not seem to have been to lengthen or shorten the full sections. The most notable variations of rhythm occur in segments E and F, but in spite of this the number of bars involved only varies between 39 and 50 bars over the four movements, a much less significant discrepancy than that noted within the more rigid organisation of the cantus firmus typical of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra.

Notwithstanding this rhythmic freedom, Frye still maintains melodic lines which are identical in the tenor parts of each movement, and since he seems to have been in the habit of using the uncolored plainsong [13], it is not difficult to reconstruct the probable original (see Ex.4). A brief analysis of this Mixolydian melody reveals a number of interesting structural details. Segment A appears to consist of two parts, the first of which rises to D, and the second of which returns to G; and segment B looks like a fairly free variation/expansion of the first part of segment A. Segment C and the first parts of D, E and F represent another recurring idea. The second parts of segments D and E bear a slight resemblance to each other, and fulfil much the same function, i.e. a return to the tonic, as does the second part of F also. A comparable similarity of shape and function is to be seen in the third parts of segments D and E. Whether the coherence of the melodic structure resulting from Frye's segmentation of the chant indicates that he broadly respected its original phrase structure is, however, not certain, though it seems quite possible [14]. Neither have I been able to deduce from the internal structure, if indeed Frye's segmentation reveals this, what type of chant Flos regalis might have been. The structure of the movements is given in Table 3.

These brief descriptions of the formal characteristics of the three works in question suggest that Frye almost certainly used a relatively straightforward method for composing such pieces. He

Table 3: The structure of the movements of Frye's Missa Flos regalis [15].

(O)	Et in terra	1- 11	DC	
	Laudamus te	11- 20	DB	
	Gratias	21- 32	All	A
	Domine Deus I (51-53 TB; 55 DC.)	33- 34	CB	
		35- 67	All	BCD
(C/¢)	Qui tollis I	68- 86	DB	
		87- 99	CB	
		100-108	DC	
	Qui sedes	109-148	All	EF

Patrem	1- 12	DC
et invisibilium	12- 22	DB
Et ex Patre	23- 36	All A
	37- 38	DCB
Lumen de lumine (56-60 TB.)	39- 77	All BCD
Et incarnatus	78- 98	DC
	98-113	CB
Et resurrexit	114-157	All EF

(O)	Sanctus I	1- 11	DC	
	Sanctus III	11- 24	DB	
	Domine Deus	25- 49	All	ABC
	Pleni sunt celi	50- 69	DB	
		70- 82	DCB	
(C/¢)	Osanna I (96-99 CT.)	83-107	All	E
	Benedictus	108-126	DC	
		127-141	DB	
	Osanna II	142-164	All	F

Agnus I	1- 13	DC
qui tollis	13- 20	DB
	21- 44	All ABC
Agnus II	45- 68	DC
	69- 79	CB
Agnus III	80-118	All EF

probably began by erecting what might be called a ground plan, which established a mensural scheme for the sections of the movements, controlled how the segments of chant were to be assigned to the tenor in those sections, and placed the duos in relation to the full passages [16]. The other preliminary stage, at least in the two three-part works, was to apply a particular rhythm to the plainsong. In the Masses Summe Trinitati and Nobilis et pulcra, the tenor was now virtually fixed, apart from certain duos in the latter work, possible modifications in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei movements, and other relatively minor details. All that remained was to compose the discantus and contra parts to accord with the tenor and fill in the duos, these in such a way that the various texts could be conveniently accommodated [17]. This sort of technique is, of course, well within the tradition of successive composition, though in practice there seems no reason to assume that, while Frye was writing a discantus part over his established tenor, he gave no thought to the matter of what he might do with the contra [18].

It would be possible to construct a four-part texture in much the same manner, though the successive composition of three parts around a given tenor might well involve a freer attitude towards dissonance than would normally be countenanced in the simpler three-part texture. This is not, however, the method used by Frye in his Missa Flos regalis, the fourth line having clearly been designed primarily as a harmonic bass to the tenor, at least in full sections [19]. This being the case, it would seem most natural that the bass part should actually have been the second to be composed, in such a way that it could combine with the tenor to provide a firm background for the discantus and contra whose composition would be the next stage in the process. This particular approach may also explain why Frye should have applied different rhythms to the tenor in each movement of the work, since by such variations he was able to

extract different harmonic implications from that tenor. To have used the same rhythm throughout might easily have led also to very similar bass lines and, perhaps, to a lesser degree of harmonic variety between the movements [20].

It looks, therefore, very much as if there is a common compositional method running through both three-part works and, in a somewhat modified form, also through the Missa Flos regalis. Thus, such structural differences between the works as may occur stem largely from any differences in the ground plans involved and in details of their application rather than from more basic variations in technique. Besides the compositional method, there are, furthermore, a number of additional principles to which Frye adheres in all three works, quite regardless of differences between their underlying schemes. One example of such a principle is the type of modification made in each work in order to provide for duos at 'Pleni sunt celi', 'Benedictus' and the second Agnus. This is not, however, the only parallel between the pieces over the manner in which the texts are distributed over the music; the Gloria, for example, is always split before the first 'Qui tollis' in these, as indeed in virtually all other 15th-century settings of the text. While it is impossible to state anything very categorical about his Credo settings because of the uncertainty of their original texting [21], it is evident that, as in the Gloria, Frye always makes the divisions in the same places in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, these coming before the first 'Osanna' and the Agnus III respectively.

The choice of division point in the Sanctus settings is, of course, rather surprising, since the structure of the text strongly suggests that any change of major section should occur not before but after the first 'Osanna' in order to give the symmetry resulting from two sections ending with the same words. The only really satis-

factory explanation seems to be that Frye chose this division point for purely architectural convenience, since it marks fairly accurately the middle of the text.

This implies in turn that the point in question also marks the approximate mid-point of the music, an idea which is more or less supported by the relative lengths of the two parts of the Sanctus Summe Trinitati. There does, however, seem to be an alarming variation in balance in the corresponding movements of the other two works (see Table 4), an apparent discrepancy which requires some consideration.

Table 4: Numbers of breves in sections of movements (= perfect breves in O time and imperfect breves in C and ∅ time).

		Kyrie	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus Dei
Missa Summe	C		84	77½	87	110
Trinitati	C		92	110	99	50
Missa Nobilis	O	72	86	93	79	83
et pulcra	C	144	128	112	122	64
	O	20	20	20	21	21
Missa Flos	O		68	78	84	81
regalis	C/∅		164	160	164	79

Certainly, the C and ∅-time sections are not as long as they may at first sight look since, judging by their predominant rhythms and note values, their semibreves should move significantly faster than those of the O-time sections. It seems probable that C and ∅ mean the same thing in both the Missa Nobilis et pulcra and the Missa Flos regalis, the two signatures being in any case used indiscriminately in the latter [22], and if two imperfect breves under these signatures were to correspond approximately with a perfect breve in O time, as seems very reasonable, the first major section of the Sanctus Flos regalis would then be almost exactly the same length as

the second, and the first O-time section of the Sanctus Nobilis et pulcra similarly balanced by a second major section combining its C and second O-time passages. A comparably close balance would result between the two major sections of the Gloria and Credo Flos regalis, the same two movements of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra, and the Gloria Summe Trinitati, and there would be a somewhat less close correspondence between the major sections of the Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra and the Credo Summe Trinitati [23].

There remains now the question of Frye's treatment of the two essentially tripartite Mass texts, those of the Kyrie and Agnus Dei, and it is instructive here to note Frye's different approaches to the two. Obviously the 'natural' places for changes in mensuration, given that Frye has two such changes in the movements of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra, are before Christe I and Kyrie IV, the natural divisions of the text. Frye, however, following the same principle as applies in his Sanctus settings, chooses points which are convenient to the balance implicit in his master plan, i.e. before Christe II and Kyrie VI, again giving architectural design unequivocal precedence over the structure of the text [24]. It is only the fact that he has to have four invocations in the first of his major sections and five in the second [25] that gives rise to the slightly less strict balance which is characteristic of this movement.

In the light of this notably pragmatic attitude towards the text of the Kyrie and Sanctus, it is surprising how much more closely Frye follows the form of the Agnus Dei text since, as has already been stated, he places the main division firmly before the Agnus III and not at some point of convenient architectural balance somewhere in the middle of the Agnus II. The result can be a considerably shortened second major section, though the proportions vary significantly between the three works. In the case of the Agnus Dei Summe Trinitati, all three Agnus invocations are of roughly the same

length (55, 55 and 50 imperfect semibreves respectively), giving a second section only half the length of the first. The lengths of the invocations in the Agnus Dei Flos regalis vary rather more, but are still in the same general region (45 perfect breves, 36 perfect breves and 79 imperfect breves based on the fast semibreve respectively). The balance of the Agnus Dei Nobilis et pulcra is closer to that found in the other movements of that Mass since, while the first two invocations take 37 and 46 perfect breves respectively, the third is much longer, and takes as many as 64 imperfect breves based on the faster semibreve plus 21 perfect breves. Notwithstanding this last case, it is clear that Frye's approach to the Agnus Dei text depends significantly less on purely musical considerations than do his settings of other parts of the Mass Ordinary.

The discussion so far raises the important question of the nature of the tradition in which Frye was working, particularly since the clear-cut character of many of his practices, especially the more overtly architectural ones, suggest strongly that he may have been working within certain well-defined and well-established conventions. First of all, it is not necessary to look very far to discover that the overwhelming majority of English Masses and paired movements [26] based on tenor cantus firmi are built on ground plans, and, although the details of application may vary considerably, the same general methods are in use as those employed by Frye. A full examination of all the works involved here is clearly out of the question, given the necessarily limited terms of reference of the present enquiry, but it will be useful to summarise some of the main trends, if only to place Frye within some more defined context.

An important aspect of the ground plan is the use of a common mensural scheme in all movements of a given work, and here we have two basic types which account for the vast majority of the pieces

concerned. One involves two sections, usually in O and C or ¢ time respectively [27], and, as in Frye's Missa Flos regalis, it is likely that these two are often of a comparable length; the other type is similar, except that a short closing passage in O time is added, often in such a way that the first major section in O time is approximately balanced by the C/¢ and second O-time sections combined into one major section, much as happens in Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra. In this light, the Missa Summe Trinitati is seen to be rather unusual in having no central change in mensuration.

Within the mensural scheme, the cantus firmus may be applied more than once, and in ground plans based on two sections, the first in O time and the second in C/¢ time, it is quite common for the chant to have a double cursus. The rhythm applied may vary from movement to movement as in the Missa Flos regalis, but more commonly the same rhythm obtains throughout, so that the preliminary compositional stages predetermine a great deal more [28]. Indeed, in certain extreme cases, such as Leonel's Missa Alma redemptoris mater and the anonymous Masses Fuit homo missus and Salve sancta parens [29], the ground plan is so strict that it fixes not only the exact lengths of all the tenor phrases, but even those of the intervening duos. Not even in his two three-part Masses is Frye ever as strict as this.

It seems a fair assumption that the three-part works which make up by far the larger part of the English Mass repertory from the earliest of the Trent Codices at least up to the period of the Brussels manuscript were written in much the same way as Frye's Summe Trinitati and Nobilis et pulcra Masses, viz. by determining an overall plan and fixing the tenor, followed by filling in the remaining parts. It is also likely that certain four-part Masses were composed in the same manner - the Masses Salve sancta parens and Requiem eternam are probable examples - but these tend to be pieces where the cantus firmus tenor is the lowest part, or shares the lowest regis-

ter with a contra part, much as happens in typical three-part texture during most of the period. The method used by Frye in his Missa Flos regalis is, however, rather more advanced, and came, in fact, to be that subsequently adopted by Dufay and other continental composers of cantus firmus Masses [30].

Many other facets of style associated with the use of a ground plan can also be seen to have been characteristic of composers other than Frye, particularly the precedence of musical form over that of the text. Troped Kyries, such as those from Dunstable's Missa Da gaudiorum premia, Benet's Missa Alma redemptoris mater and the Dunstable/Leonel Missa Rex seculorum, are all divided in a manner similar to that used by Frye in his Missa Nobilis et pulcra, rather than according to the structure of the text, and a significant proportion of Sanctus settings have the main break before rather than after the first 'Osanna' [31]. Though the Agnus Dei of Leonel's Missa Alma redemptoris mater gives the musical form such precedence that it even has the main division in the middle of its Agnus II, most English cantus firmus settings of this movement follow the sort of pattern adopted by Frye. As with Frye also, many ground plans are modified in order to provide duos for 'Pleni sunt celi', 'Benedictus' and the Agnus II [32].

A point which can hardly be ignored is that, unlike the English composers concerned, continental writers of cantus firmus Masses do not seem to have made a practice of applying the same ground plan throughout all movements of a given work. There is, for example, no sign of the sort of parallel construction one might expect in such works as Rouge's Missa Soyez aprantiz or other demonstrably continental cantus firmus Masses from I:TRmn90, 88 or 89 [33]. Moreover, in those works which have no obvious ground plan, the divisions between sections almost always correspond to the natural divisions of the text, and are not dependent on purely musical features as in the

clearly English works. The implication seems to be that continental composers much more readily reflected the form of the text in their settings, and while it would obviously be unwise to generalise too rigidly from this observation, whether or not a ground plan is in use can, combined with other evidence, represent a potent argument concerning the origins of a given work.

The question does, for example, have significant bearing on the controversy surrounding the authorship of the pseudo-Dufay Missa Caput, since this work, while not being organised as rigidly as pieces like the Missa Fuit homo missus, has a well-defined ground plan which is followed relatively strictly throughout the work, apart from fairly characteristic modifications in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei (see Table 5) [34]. That the constructional method gives the musical form of the work precedence over that of the text is seen in the more authentically texted versions of its Kyrie, where the main musical division occurs between invocations 5 and 6, and not at one of the natural divisions of the text [35]. In Dufay's indisputably authentic Masses, formal procedures depend largely on the form of the text, and therefore any structural similarity between the movements of a given work is a great deal less marked. Indeed, Dufay never even uses a consistent mensural scheme in any of his Masses, let alone this sort of ground plan [36].

In summing up, it is necessary again to emphasise that much more remains to be said on the subject of ground plans. It may, for example, be possible to pin down more accurately particular composers' approaches to the technique, perhaps even to risk speculation as to the possible authorship of one or two of the many anonymous works. Whatever the many uncertainties involved, we may, however, be reasonably sure that there was a characteristically English method of constructing cantus firmus Masses, and it will be seen that the

Table 5: The structure of the movements of the Missa Caput [37].

(O)	Kyrie I	1- 21	DC.
	Kyrie II	22- 51	All A
	Kyrie III	52- 56	DC
	Christe I	56- 67	All B
	Christe II	68- 77	DB/DC
		77-104	All C
(C)	Christe III	105-124	DC
	Kyrie IV	125-147	All AB
	Kyrie V	148-157	DC/CB
	Kyrie VI	158-179	All C

(O)	Et in terra	1- 16	DC
	Laudamus te	17- 46	All A
		47- 48	DC
	(48-51	48- 59	All B
	DCT.)	60- 62	CB
		62- 89	All C
(C)	Qui tollis I	90-108	DC
		109-153	All ABC

Patrem		1- 19	DC
Et in unum		20- 49	All A
Dominum		50- 52	DC
(52-56		52- 63	All B
DCT.)		64- 67	CB
		67- 94	All C
Et incarnatus		95-122	DC
Et resurrexit		123-145	All AB
		146-154	CB
		154-175	All C

(O)	Sanctus I	1- 17	DC
		18- 47	All A
	Pleni sunt	48- 52	DC
	celi	52- 63	DT B
		63- 66	DC
		67- 92	All C
(C)	Benedictus	93-104	DC
		105-127	All AB
	Osanna II	128-131	CB
		131-152	All C

Agnus I		1- 16	DC
		17- 46	All A
Agnus II		47- 51	DC
		51- 61	DCT/DT B
		61- 66	CB
		66- 93	All C
Agnus III		94-103	DC
Qui tollis		104-119	All AB
		120-121	DB
		122-137	All C
		(shortened version)	

three works of Frye from the Brussels manuscript fit neatly into this wider tradition.

B. Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati and an anonymous motet, Salve Virgo Mater.

Among the many anonymous motets in I:TRmn88, there is a three-part setting of a text beginning 'Salve virgo mater' which, although anonymous in this, its unique source, shows sufficient similarity to Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati for it to have been included in the Collected Works [38]. This was justified partly on stylistic grounds, but more particularly on account of its use of the plainsong Summe Trinitati and an opening which is identical to the head motif of the Mass setting [39]. Indeed, so far as the use of the chant is concerned, the note pitches and values of the motet tenor are almost exactly the same as those used in the Mass, any minor discrepancies being well within the range of tolerance represented by variations found between the individual movements of the latter [40]. In addition, the motet and Mass have a number of other features in common: both are in three parts and remain in C time with predominantly semibreve-minim movement throughout; both are based on G as final but, perhaps a little unexpectedly in the Mixolydian modes, contain a significant number of marked and implied B flats [41]; though the clef combinations are slightly different, this is of marginal significance (and may well simply be the result of scribal whim), since the ranges of the three parts correspond.

The use of a plainsong and head motif in common led Bukofzer to postulate a parody relationship between the Missa Summe Trinitati and Salve virgo mater, whereby the Mass had been based on the motet which had also been composed by Frye [42]. Subsequently, Sylvia Kenney made the counter-suggestion that the motet might, in fact, have been based on the Mass, since it seemed more plausible to her that a responsory for the feast of the Trinity should initially have been chosen as the basis for a Mass rather than a Marian motet [43]. On the

Ex.5: Salve virgo mater bb.33-35 (as in I:TRmn88) cf. Gloria bb.43-46, Credo bb.40-42, Sanctus bb.44-46 and Agnus Dei bb.55-57 of the Missa Summa Trinitati



other hand, it must be pointed out that, after the initial head-motif, any ideas common to the works are generally little more than musical small change which is just as characteristic of Frye's other compositions, and it is therefore arguable that any parody relationship is distinctly on the tenuous side. Indeed, the only other clear connection I have found is that between the opening of the discantus/contra duo at bar 33 of Salve virgo mater [44] and the rather freer head motif which begins the second sections of the Mass movements (see Ex.5).

Our main task here will be to investigate further the question of the relationship between the works, particularly in the light of our knowledge of the sort of techniques which Frye used in the construction of his Missa Summe Trinitati. To this end, we may compare the structure of Salve virgo mater (Table 6) with that of the movements of the Mass, remembering that, according to the ground plan of the latter, each movement was split into two sections, both of which had their own appropriate segments of chant, and began typically with a discantus/contra duo which led on to a substantially full passage [45].

At first sight, the plan of Salve virgo mater does not look particularly similar, as much as anything because there is no clear break in the middle of the piece. If, however, we take into account the link between the discantus/contra duo at bar 33 of Salve virgo mater and the head motif beginning the second section of each of the Mass movements, we are immediately provided with an obvious division point, and this in turn gives the motet a second section which is exactly parallel with the corresponding sections of the Mass movements [46]. The resulting first section also contains the appropriate segments of the chant, and begins with a discantus/contra duo, as in the first sections of the Mass movements. It does, however, include

Table 6: Text and structure of Salve virgo mater.[47]

Salve virgo mater pia,	1- 7	DC	
Ex te carnem, O Maria,	7-11	TC	AB
Verbum Patris induit.	11-20	All	
Salve per quam nos redemit			
Christus morte dum peremit	20-32	DT	CDE
Et nobis condoluit.			
Salve celorum regina,			
Per quam datur medicina	33-40	DC	
Judeis et Gentibus.			
Salve vite reparatrix,	41-77	All	FGH
Facta reis imperatrix	(59-60, 62-63 TC; 65-66 DT.)		IJ
Tenebris sedentibus.			
Tu fac verbum incarnatum			
Nos sentire complacatum			
. . . . tuis precibus.			
Nos a culpa, nos a fece			
Munda tua pia prece			
Et a peccatis sordibus[48].			

an additional contra/tenor duo before the full passage, and then the latter is cut short in favour of a substantial duo for discantus and tenor, factors which might lead us to qualify somewhat the extent of the structural parallel. It is, nevertheless, important to remember that the ground plan underpinning the Missa Summe Trinitati is freer in its application than are those of Frye's other works in the Brussels manuscript, and it has, in any case, been seen that Frye was prepared to modify a given scheme radically for the setting of texts like the Sanctus and Agnus Dei [49]. On balance, then, it would appear that such structural differences as exist between the motet and Mass are significantly outweighed by the parallels [50].

All this does not prove that it must necessarily have been Frye who wrote Salve virgo mater, since it is just possible that another composer modelled the motet upon the Mass, or that Frye modelled the Mass upon somebody else's motet. It is not difficult, quite clearly, to manufacture motivic and structural links as relatively superficial from a stylistic point of view as those we have discussed so far. On the other hand, the two works are amazingly similar in more relevant stylistic details [51], and it is neither such a simple matter, nor, in the normal course of events, is there any obvious need for one composer to imitate another quite so slavishly closely.

Similarly, even if we accept, as it seems very reasonable to do so, that Frye wrote both the Mass and the motet, it is not possible to prove beyond all shadow of doubt which of the two was composed first. The unmistakable motivic and structural links do, however, appear to arise out of the use of a common ground plan, and since the raison d'être of such a technique was surely the possibility of deriving a number of different movements from the same basic material, it would seem highly likely that the two works were not, in

fact, composed separately at all, but may rather have been conceived at the same time.

If this is the case, and the Missa Summe Trinitati and Salve virgo mater were therefore presumably designed for use in the same liturgical context, it could well lead us to question whether the words of the latter are the original ones, or whether it is a contrafactum. While, however, we might be a little suspicious that such an obviously Marian text should be linked with a Mass apparently associated with the Trinity, it must be remembered that the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary was very strong, particularly in England, and it would therefore be most unwise to jump to any premature conclusions purely on this account. In practice, it is probably safer in this instance to avoid the more specifically liturgical aspects of the problem (which are, in any case, difficult to assess, since we do not know for what occasion the Mass was composed), and to direct our attention instead towards the music and the setting of the words.

As it appears in I:TRmn88, the motet is certainly corruptly texted, particularly in the contra and tenor parts where, though almost all the words are fitted, underlay is clumsy and alignment with the discantus often improbable. There has, furthermore, been some loss from the fifth stanza (see Table 6), though as the text has been distributed over the parts there is no music to accommodate the word or words omitted. These difficulties do not, of course, prove that Salve virgo mater is not the original text of the piece, since such corruption comes about remarkably easily in the transmission. Here, presumably, there was originally a version with all three parts underlaid, the words missing from the fifth stanza falling at a short contra/tenor duo - probably bars 62-63. A copy was then made of this with text in the discantus part only, and the

scribe of I:TRmn88 or his model subsequently attempted to reinstate the words of the lower parts, without realising that part of a line had disappeared or checking to make sure that his new underlay was reasonably accurate.

Because of the extent of the corruption characteristic of the surviving form of the motet and the relative ease with which a revising scribe could alter details of rhythm where necessary [52], it is not at all easy to assess how well the words fit the music. Furthermore, the chances are that if one text will fit a group of given parts, and another similar one can be successfully aocommodated by the discantus, the latter text will usually also fit the lower parts tolerably well. As far as it is possible to tell, the contra will take the text Salve virgo mater without undue difficulty, as will also, with certain reservations, the tenor [53].

There is, however, one very strong indication that retexting has taken place, the evidence involved being connected with the nature of the underlying ground plan. It will be remembered that, where Frye uses such a scheme, words are typically distributed over the two major sections of a given movement primarily in accordance with the pre-ordained structure of the music. Hence, the breaks between the sections of, for example, the three Sanctus settings from the Brussels manuscript come at the approximate mid-points of the texts concerned, even though the resulting musical divisions are somewhat at odds with the sense of the words [54].

Since the poem Salve virgo mater falls into six clear stanzas, there is no need for any such contradiction between the structures of the text and its musical setting, and we would therefore expect the main division to occur before the fourth stanza. The discantus/contra duo which I have suggested opens the second section of the piece carries, however, the words 'Per quam datur medicina/Judeis et Gentibus', the second and third lines of the third stanza. The

most obvious explanation of this strange discrepancy might seem to be that a redistribution of text has taken place and that the verses were originally divided equally between the sections of the piece. Indeed, it is not at all difficult to set verses 1-3 to the first section, and the result is, if anything, slightly preferable to what happens in I:TRmn88. On the other hand, insuperable problems arise in the second section if we assume, as seems only reasonable, that the words now lost from verse 5 occurred in the contra/tenor duo at bars 62-63 [55]. While verse 6 fits quite easily into the final full passage, it is impossible to stretch verses 4 and 5 over bars 33-67 with any degree of plausibility. In fact, the simplest solution seems to be that the piece has been allotted an entirely new text by a scribe who either did not understand or considered irrelevant for his purposes the implications of the underlying ground plan.

There remains something of a difficulty, however, in that the division of the movement, if placed before the discantus/contra duo at bar 33, comes nowhere near the mid-point of the piece [56]. If, on the other hand, the division were assumed to occur instead between this duo and the full passage beginning at bar 41, a much closer correspondence would arise between the two sections, and it is at this full passage that the beginning of the fourth stanza is, in fact, placed in the source. Furthermore, we have already noted the comparative freedom with which Frye treats his ground plan in the Missa Summe Trinitati, and he might, arguably, also have changed its format in this piece by moving the discantus/contra duo in question into the first section. In such circumstances, it would, after all, have been perfectly natural to have divided the text to give three verses before the full passage rather than before the preceding duo.

That this is probably insufficient objection, however, to my suggestion that Salve virgo mater may not be the original text of this piece is shown by the rather peculiar distribution of the text

over the music (see Table 6). The haphazard treatment of, in particular, stanzas 2 and 3 does not appear to arise in any way out of the structure of the music, whereas Frye's approach to, say, Sospitati dedit [57], another non-Mass text with a well-defined structure, emphasises much more strongly the coherence of each individual stanza by clear divisions, often changes in scoring, in the musical setting. Furthermore, there is nothing in the distribution of the text of Salve virgo mater over the music which can remotely be related to the sort of alterations made to the ground plan in the first section, whether that ends before or after the discantus/contra duo. Indeed, if the basic scheme were to be altered out of deference to any aspect of the poetic form, there must be plenty of far more rational ways in which to do it.

If we reject Salve virgo mater as the original text of this piece from I:TRmn88, as there appear strong indications that we should, we are faced with the new difficulty of what the original words could have been. An important possibility here is that we have, in fact, the long-lost (presumably troped) Kyrie of the Missa Summe Trinitati [58], though such an idea may seem rather too good to be true since, at one blow, it both solves the problem of what happened to that movement and reduces the possible texts from an almost infinite number to something very much more manageable. Over-convenient as this theory may, at first sight, appear, it cannot, however, be dismissed lightly, since it also goes some way towards explaining certain peculiarities in the music. The fact that the Kyrie text does not have a satisfactory mid-point and must therefore be unevenly distributed between two sections would, for example, fit in with the significant imbalance between the lengths of the two sections of the piece in question [59]. Again, if Salve virgo mater were the Kyrie Summe Trinitati, this could partially account for the more

extensive use of duos featuring the tenor, instead of the excision of segments of the plainsong favoured in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of that Mass [60]. Clearly, whatever Frye might have done with the cantus firmus in later movements of a given work, it would not be surprising if he insisted on presenting it in full in the first movement, even if this involved certain characteristics not necessarily typical of the remainder of the Mass.

On the debit side, it is not easy to see how the nine invocations of the Kyrie can be spread over the music in a reasonably rational manner. It is almost certain that four invocations must come in the first section and five in the second, and highly likely that the opening discantus/contra duo of the latter should carry the Christe II, and the ensuing substantially full passage the Christe III and Kyries IV, V and VI. The distribution of the first four invocations over the first section is much less clear, however, since the contra/tenor duo is too short for the whole of the Kyrie II, and the discantus/tenor duo too long for the Christe I. This means that, in any reconstruction, sub-sections of the music cannot always relate to those of the text, a situation which does not obtain in, for example, the Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra. On the other hand, the fact that the ends of invocations may not necessarily coincide with clear cadences, as they are often unlikely to do especially in the full passage from the second section, is of no particular significance, since much the same applies in a number of other Kyrie settings, including the Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra.

It has emerged, therefore, that such evidence as exists, whether for or against the identification of Salve virgo mater as the Kyrie Summe Trinitati, is tantalisingly inconclusive, and any argument for the idea is naturally dependent upon the assumptions that Frye wrote the former piece and that it has subsequently been retexted. Fur-

thermore, no certain precedent has yet been established for a Kyrie being treated in this manner, although it is not difficult to conceive of a motive for such a reworking: this could simply have been to avoid a troped Kyrie setting which had less appropriate liturgical use on the continent, but at the same time to retain a perfectly acceptable piece of music [61]. Nevertheless, the line of argument that Frye did compose the piece in I:TRmn88, that it was written at the same time as the movements of the Missa Summe Trinitati found in the Brussels manuscript, that Salve virgo mater is not the originally intended text, and that what we really have is the missing Kyrie of the Mass, has seemed sufficiently attractive to make it worthwhile attempting a reconstruction on such a basis. Accordingly, this has been appended, with all due reservation, to the edition of the more certainly authentic movements of the Mass [62].

C. Cockx, Plummer, and the 'freely-composed' Mass.

So far, we have considered only compositions based on fairly strictly regulated cantus firmi, and it has emerged clearly that the method by which such plainsong has been used has imposed certain characteristic limitations on the structure of the music. By contrast, the Mass settings by Cockx and Plummer from the Brussels manuscript are not, as far as can be ascertained, based on chant, a fact which may seem to imply a greater freedom of construction. Such formal flexibility must, however, be regarded in relative terms, since it is clear that these works maintain many of the same obvious links between movements - identical vocal ranges, modal basis, and mensural scheme [63], for example - as do the strict cantus firmus works. In addition, it should hardly surprise us to find use of ground plans, even if these tend to be applied rather less strictly than in examples of the more severely disciplined genre.

Certainly, such use of the technique is clear enough in Cockx's Mass (see Table 7), the first four movements of which follow the same mensural scheme, O - C - O, as does Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra [64]. The ground plan is followed with relatively minor modifications in the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, though Cockx's approach is flexible to the point that extra duos are fitted in freely where the amount of text to be set requires. The scheme is, as we found in Frye's works, significantly modified in the Sanctus in order to provide duos for 'Pleni sunt celi' and 'Benedictus', and again in the Agnus Dei to give duos for its second invocation. Unusually, the second O-time section of the latter is omitted, perhaps in order to avoid a proportionally long setting of the third Agnus comparable to that of Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra, or even in order not to split the text of the third invocation across two time signatures.

The distribution of the text over the major sections [65] is, in

Table 7: The structure of the movements of Cockx's Mass.

(O)	Kyrie I	1- 14	DC
	Kyrie II+III	15- 33	All
	Christe I	34- 45	DC
	Christe II (54-57 CT.)	46- 62	All
(C)	Christe III	63- 76	All
	Kyrie IV	76- 89	DC
	Kyrie V	90-107	All
(O)	Kyrie VI	108-124	All

(O)	Et in terra	1- 9	DC	Patrem	1- 15	DC
	Laudamus te (23 CT.)	10- 28	All	Et in unum Dominum	15- 32	All
	Domine Deus I	28- 34	DC	Qui propter	33- 41	DC
	Domine Fili	35- 41	All	Et incarnatus	42- 55	All
	Domine Deus II	42- 51	DC			
(C)	Qui tollis I	52- 70	All	Crucifixus	56- 76	All
	Quoniam	71- 87	DC	Et ascendit	77- 87	DC
				Et iterum	88-103	CT
				Et in Spiritum	104-123	All
				Confiteor	123-134	DC
(O)	Cum Sancto Spiritu	88-100	All	Et vitam	135-149	All

(O)	Sanctus II	1- 19	DC	Qui tollis I	1- 10	DC
		19- 38	All		10- 23	All
	Pleni sunt celi	39- 77	DC		23- 30	DC
					31- 39	All
				Agnus II	40- 48	DT
					49- 62	DC
					63- 74	CT
(C)	Osanna I	78-100	All	Agnus III	75- 92	All
	Benedictus	101-123	DT		92-102	DC
		124-138	CT		102-111	All
(O)	Osanna II (151-56 DC.)	139-166	All			

the case of the Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, similar to that found in the Frye works, the position of the break in the Sanctus being, in the same way, rather at odds with the structure of the text. The division made before the third Christe of Cockx's Kyrie, though differently placed from that in the Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra, also follows the pre-determined musical scheme rather than the words [66].

Within the confines of the ground plan, there is a somewhat greater variation in the length of the movements of Cockx's Mass than was generally found in the Frye works: the Gloria and Agnus Dei, it will be seen from Table 8, are very short indeed compared with the Credo and Sanctus.

Table 8: Numbers of breves in sections of movements (= perfect breves in O time and imperfect breves in C time) from Cockx's Mass.

	Kyrie	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus Dei
O	64	53	56	79	76
C	90	72	158	122	74
O	18	14	16	29	-

The relative proportions of the sections also vary significantly: the Credo, for example, has a particularly long C-time section and, as has already been noted, the Agnus Dei has no closing O-time section at all. In spite of such variations, which partly result, perhaps from the lack of a restraining cantus firmus, it is, nevertheless, reasonably clear that Cockx is using basically the same type of underlying scheme as Frye does, and giving it comparable precedence over the structure of the text.

In his Mass from the Brüssels manuscript, Plummer also uses a ground plan which, in its simplest form, consists of two sections in O and C time respectively, each consisting of two duos followed by a

full passage (see Table 9) [67]. In the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, however, some flexibility is shown, in that extra very short duos are inserted into most full passages, and it will be clear that rather more drastic modifications have been made in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. As far as the Sanctus is concerned, these arise largely because Plummer's setting is divided, not before the first 'Osanna' as in those by Frye and Cockx, but before the 'Benedictus', a point more consistent with the sense of the text. As a result, the musical structure acquires a tripartite form, with three repetitions of the duo-duo-full passage process instead of two, the first and second of which come in the O-time section and the third in the C-time sections. The text of the Agnus Dei is treated in exactly the same way, with the result that the second invocation, unusually, is not set entirely for reduced forces. The problem of the other text which cannot ordinarily be split evenly between two sections, that of the Kyrie, has been solved by recourse to a quite different expedient: the number of invocations has been cut to six, and three given to each section [68]. This Mass, then, stands apart from the other four in its somewhat different attitude towards the distribution of the text over the music [69].

The fact that neither Plummer nor Cockx seems to base his Mass on a particular cantus firmus certainly does not imply any remotely random method of composition within the ground plans discussed, and it is to an examination of the methods involved that we must now turn.

Though Cockx's Mass does not employ a conventional head motif - there is comparatively little connection between the discantus parts at the beginnings of the movements - the contra parts seem, in these opening bars, to show a common pattern consisting of a rise from C to high F or G, followed by a fall to a cadence on low

Table 9: The structure of the movements of Plummer's Mass.

(O)	Kyrie I	1-20	DC
	Kyrie II	20-36	CT
	Kyrie III	36-51	All
(C)	Christe III	52-60	DT
	Kyrie IV	60-69	DC
	Kyrie VI	69-71	All
		71-73	DT
		73-76	CT
		76-78	DC
		78-82	All

(O)	Et in terra	1-23	DC
	Gratias	23-35	CT
	Domine Fili	35-46	All
(C)	Qui tollis I	47-54	DT
	Qui sedes	54-61	DC
	Quoniam	61-64	All
		65-67	CT
		67-70	DC
		70-78	All

	Patrem	1-18	DC
	Et in unum	18-29	CT
	Et ex Patre	29-35	All
		35-38	DT
		38-49	All
	Qui propter	50-59	DT
	Et incarnatus	59-67	DC
	Crucifixus	67-74	All
		75-76	DT
		76-79	DC
		79-82	CT
		82-87	All

(O)	Sanctus I	1-11	DC
	Sanctus III	11-21	CT
	Domine Deus	21-30	All
	Pleni	30-39	DT
		39-48	DC
	Osanna I	48-64	All
(C)	Benedictus	65-73	DT
		73-79	DC
	Osanna II	79-91	All

	Agnus I	1-12	DC
	qui tollis	12-20	CT
	miserere	20-30	All
		31-34	DT
	Agnus II	35-40	DC
	qui tollis	40-51	CT
	miserere	51-60	All
	Agnus III	61-64	DT
	qui tollis	64-67	CT
		67-80	All

(73-74 DC.)

G. Further investigation shows that the group of motifs forming this pattern does in practice generate a great deal more of the basic material of the Mass including, for example, the first entries in each movement of the tenor part (see Ex.6).

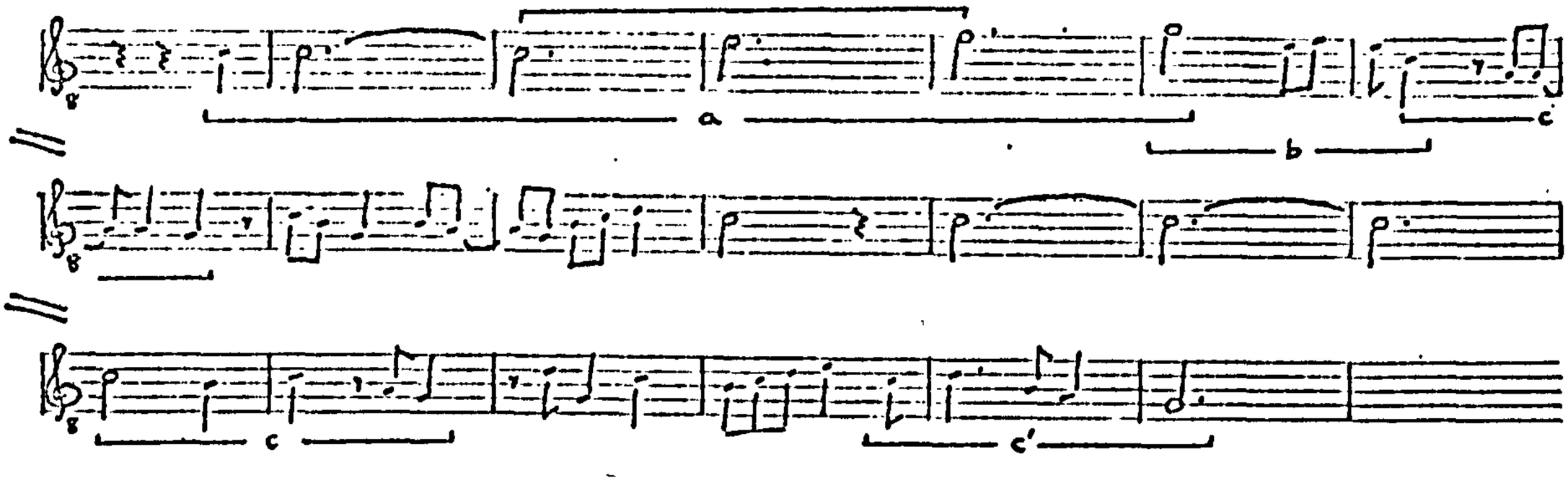
For convenience, three ideas may be considered: (a) the rise from C to high G, (b) the return to C which may involve a cadence, and (c) the further fall to low G where there will usually be another cadence. The opening of the Kyrie tenor shows this quite simply, with its statement of the basic pattern, followed by a move to a cadence on C, a restatement of (c), and a reinforcement of the resulting G cadence. The corresponding passage of the Gloria consists of two differing statements of the pattern, each completed by a move to a cadence, these being on G and C respectively. The opening of the Credo tenor compresses the pattern by replacing the normally more scalic fall to C (b) with a simple leap, and the pattern repeats twice in close succession. The openings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tenors may be analysed in much the same terms.

The basic pattern is also stated with negligible modification at a number of other points in the two lower parts, one of the most impressive of which is at 'Et resurrexit' (Ex.7). It occurs more frequently, however, in varied forms, for example at 'Amen' in the Credo (Ex.8). The pattern may begin from motif (b), as at 'Cum Sancto Spiritu' (Ex.9); broadly similar passages occur at such points as 'Et exspecto' and the second 'Osanna'[70], among others. The starting note may be different, but without actually affecting the rise and fall between the two Gs, as in the 'Benedictus' (Ex.10). Parts of the pattern may be freely developed and the most important notes, usually C and G, extensively decorated, as at the first 'Christe' (Ex.11). Such examples do not, of course, anything like exhaust the possibilities explored by Cockx.

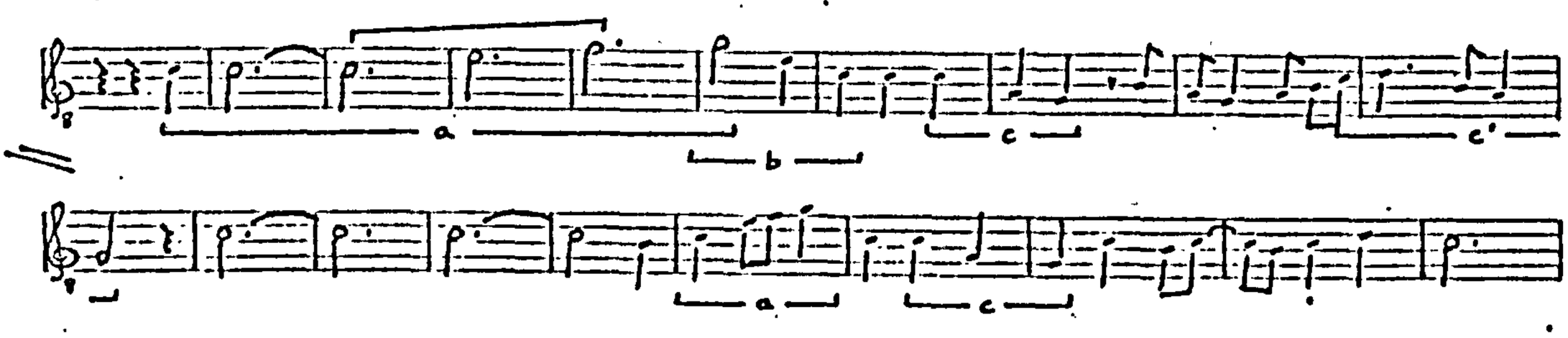
In its most obvious shape, the basic pattern is so formed with

Ex.6: Cockx's Mass - opening entries of the tenor parts

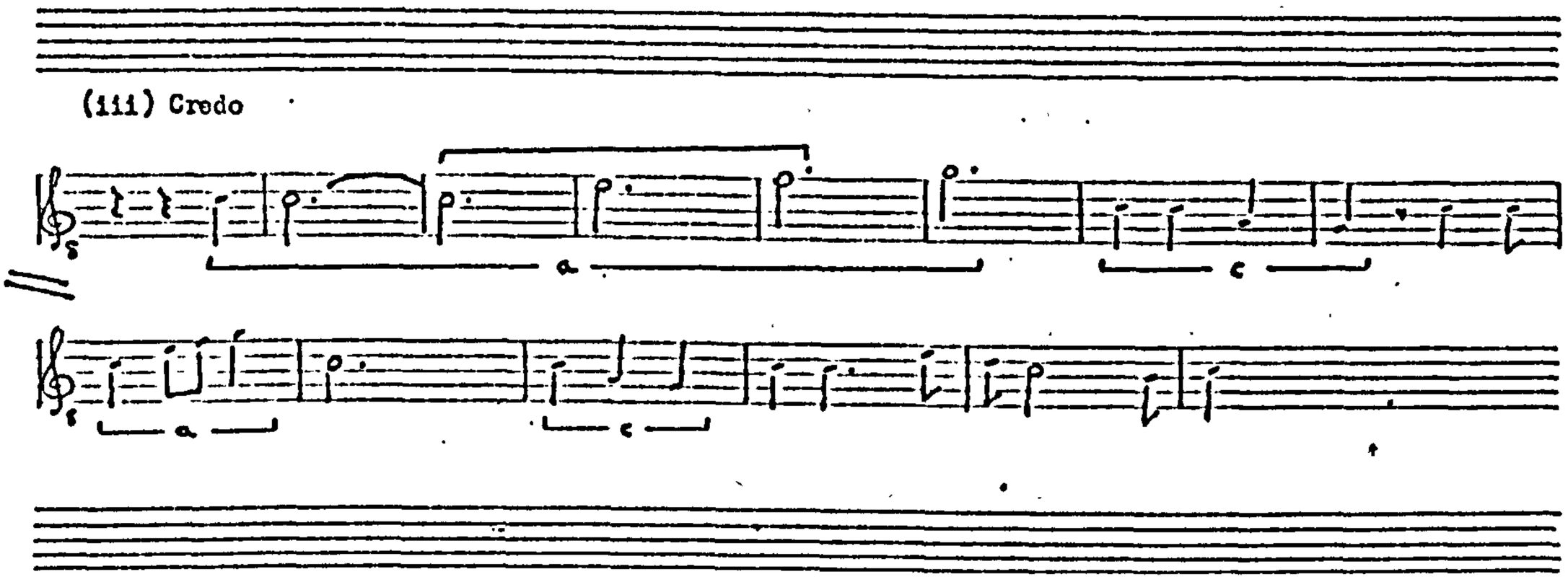
(i) Kyrie



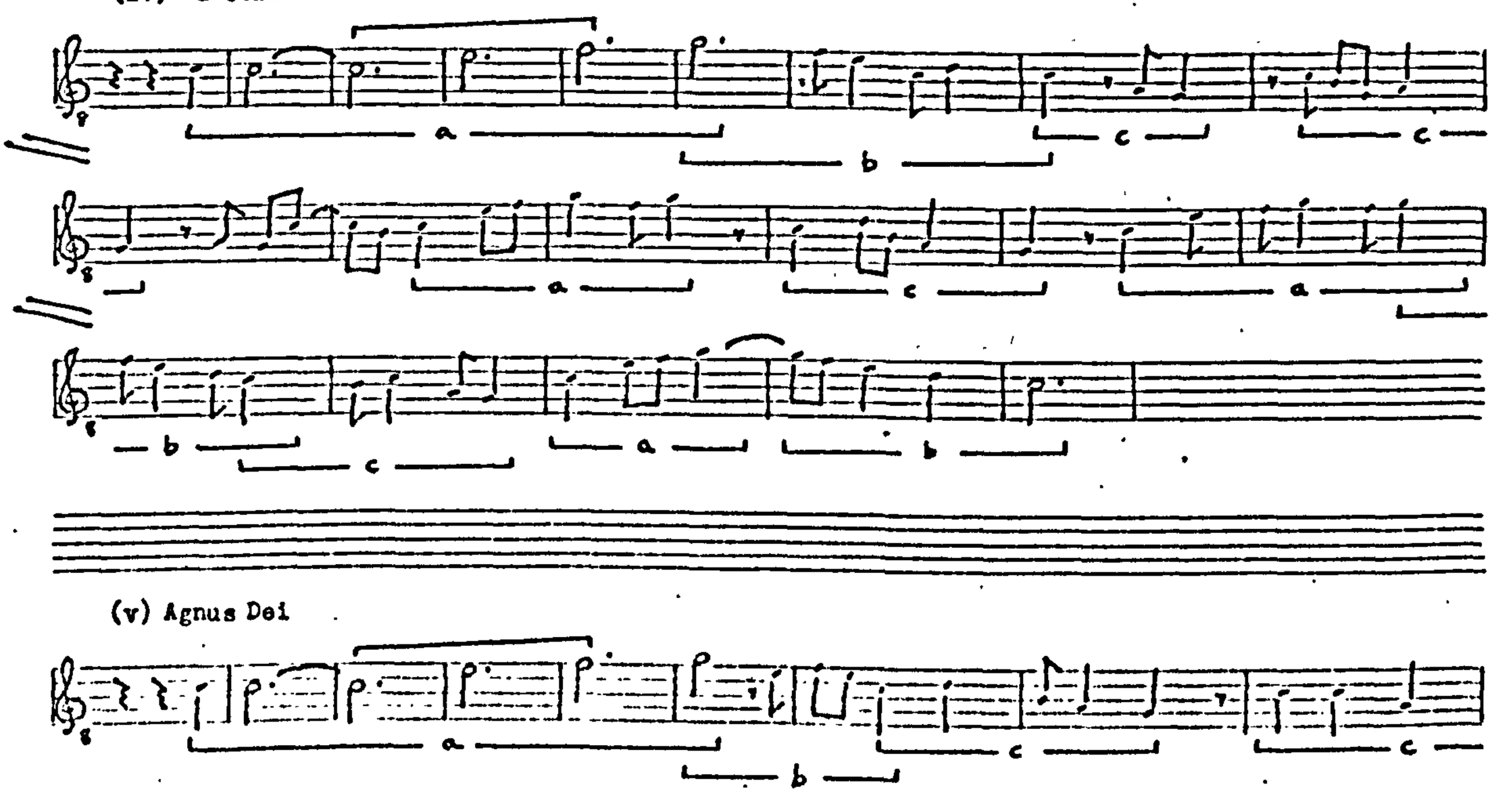
(ii) Gloria



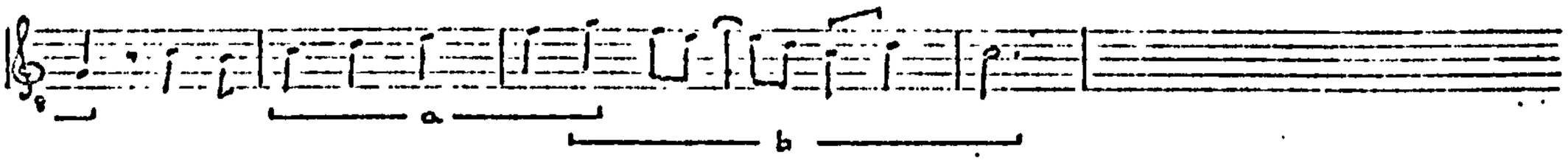
(iii) Credo



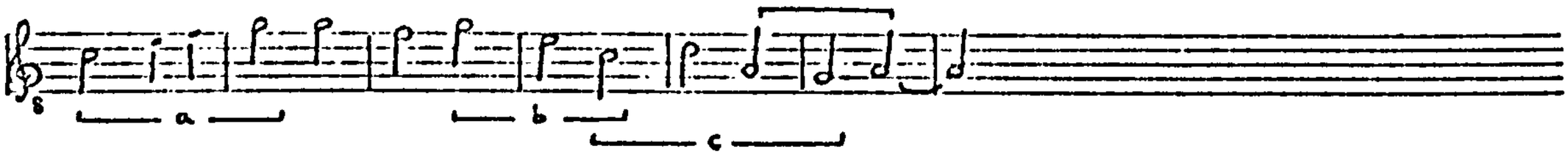
(iv) Sanctus



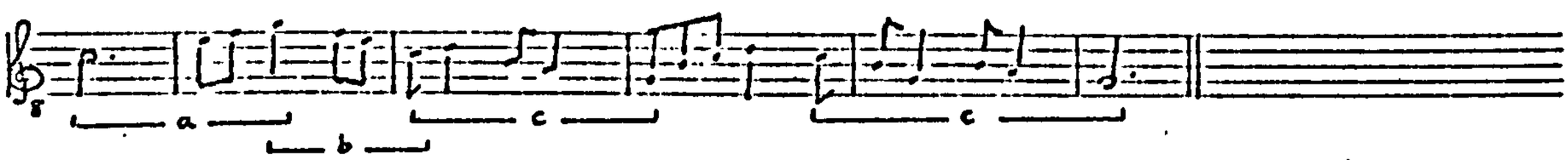
(v) Agnus Dei



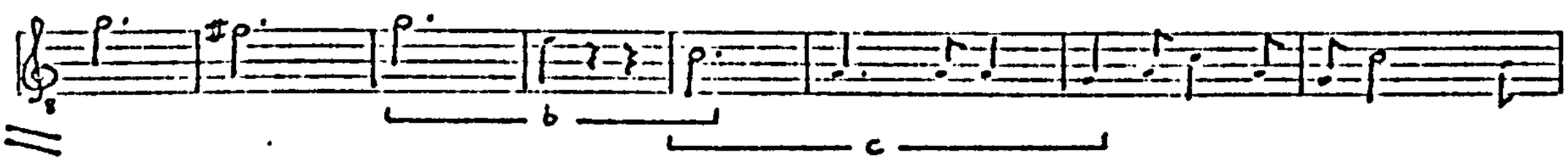
Ex.7: ibid. - Credo bb.66-72 (tenor)

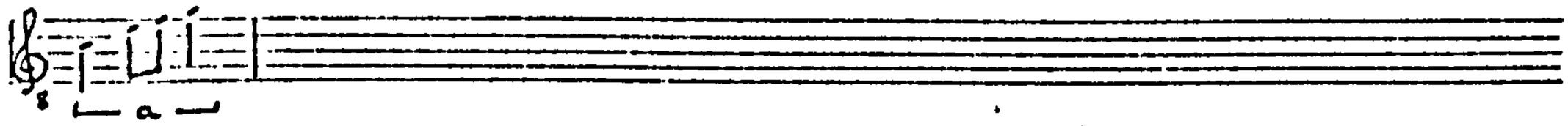


Ex.8: ibid. - Credo bb.144-149 (tenor)

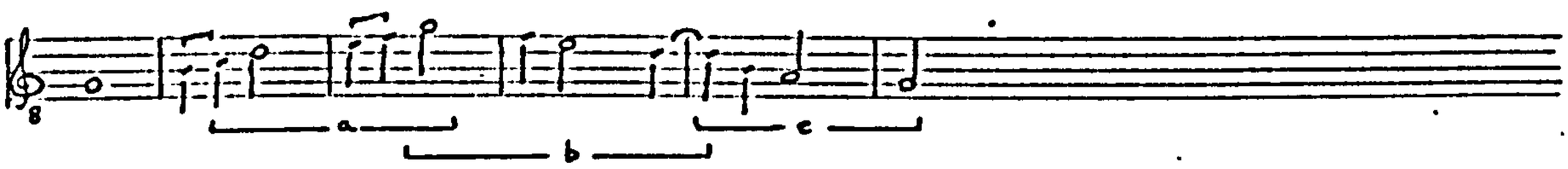


Ex.9: ibid. - Gloria bb.88-96 (tenor)

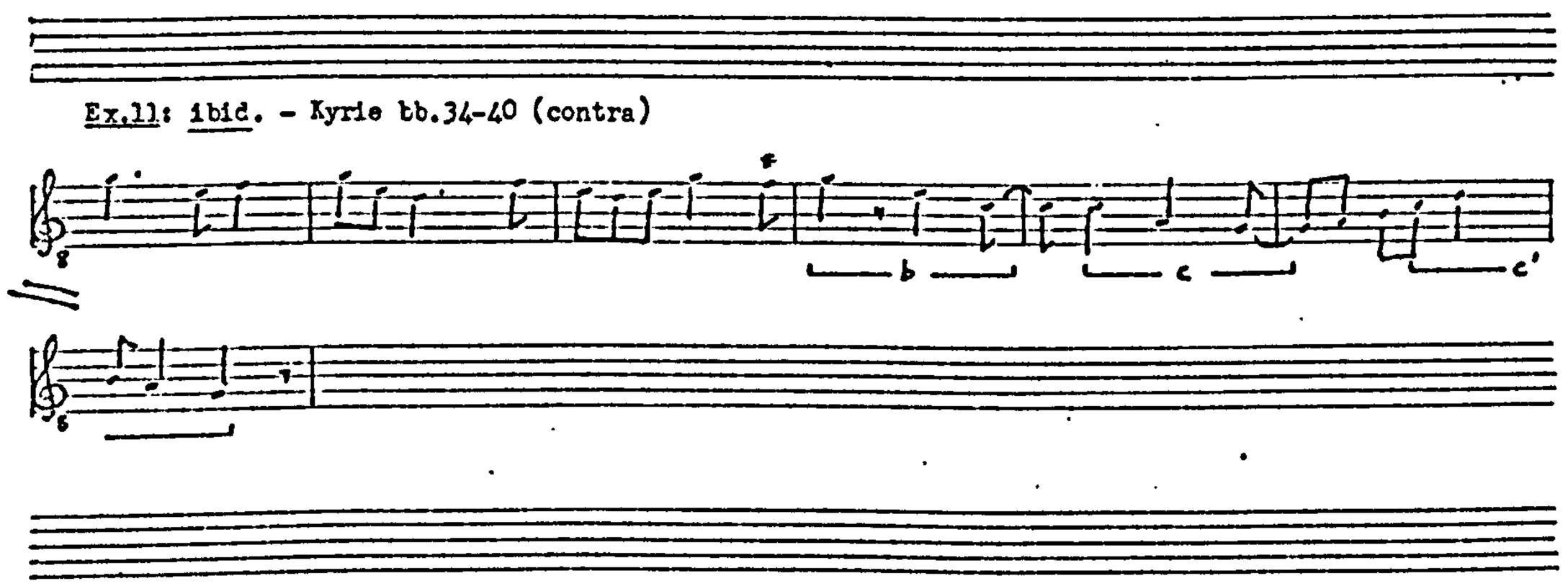




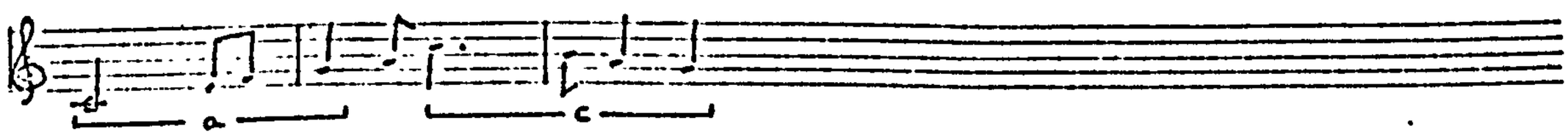
Ex.10: ibid. - Sanctus bb.101-106 (tenor)



Ex.11: ibid. - Kyrie bb.34-40 (contra)



Ex.12: ibid. - Kyrie bb.108-110 (discantus)

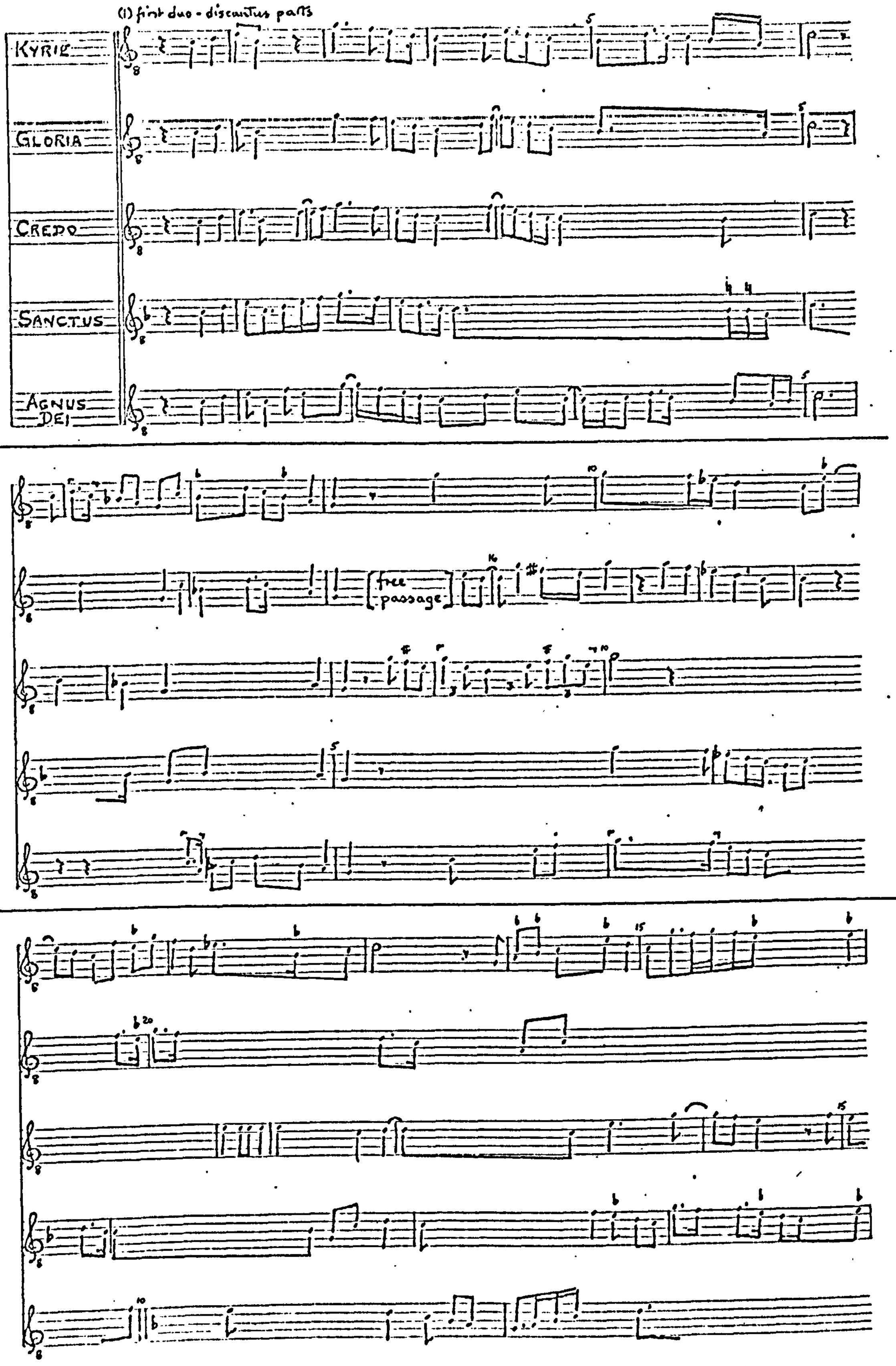


relation to the range of the lower parts that it would have to be significantly altered to fit into that of the discantus, given the fact that Cockx does not generally appear to transpose it [71]. The upper part is therefore a great deal less easy to rationalise, though there are moments where one or more of the individual motifs emerge quite clearly, as in, for example, Ex.12. There are, however, very many more points where the discantus is perfectly compatible motivically with the lower parts, and where any similarities probably only indicate an ordinarily integrated melodic style.

By contrast, such consistency of style can less readily be raised as an objection to my suggestion as to the organisation of the lower parts; the motifs concerned may be common property in 15th-century English music, but the literal use of the basic pattern in the first entries of the tenor parts in each movement and at so many other key points indicates that a conscious compositional process was involved. Indeed, since the contra and tenor parts can, in practice, be analysed in terms of the pattern almost throughout the work, whereas such a rationalisation is significantly less easy with relation to the discantus, one might reasonably argue that, at any rate in full sections, the lower parts were composed first. Cockx's technique in this Mass may therefore have been to construct a gymel presenting the basic pattern in varying forms and combinations of motifs, and then to fill in a rather freer discantus part over this quasi-ostinato effect.

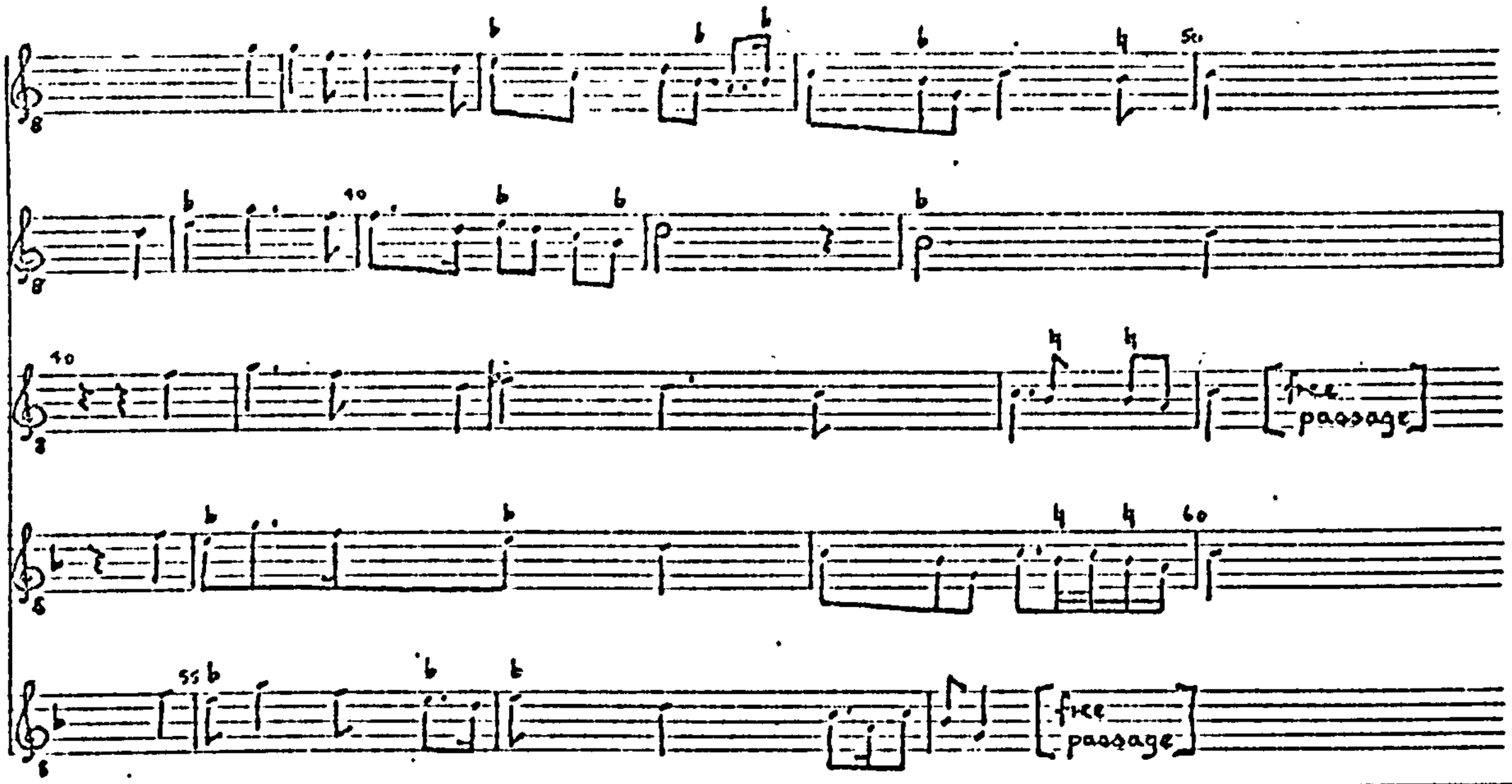
When we turn to Plummer's Mass, we find that its movements, unlike those of Cockx's work, all begin with a clear head motif; and yet, on further examination, it emerges that the similarity in the general direction of the melodic line goes far beyond just this. Indeed, Ex.13 shows how, in the opening duo of each movement, the discantus follows essentially the same outline, albeit with a consider-

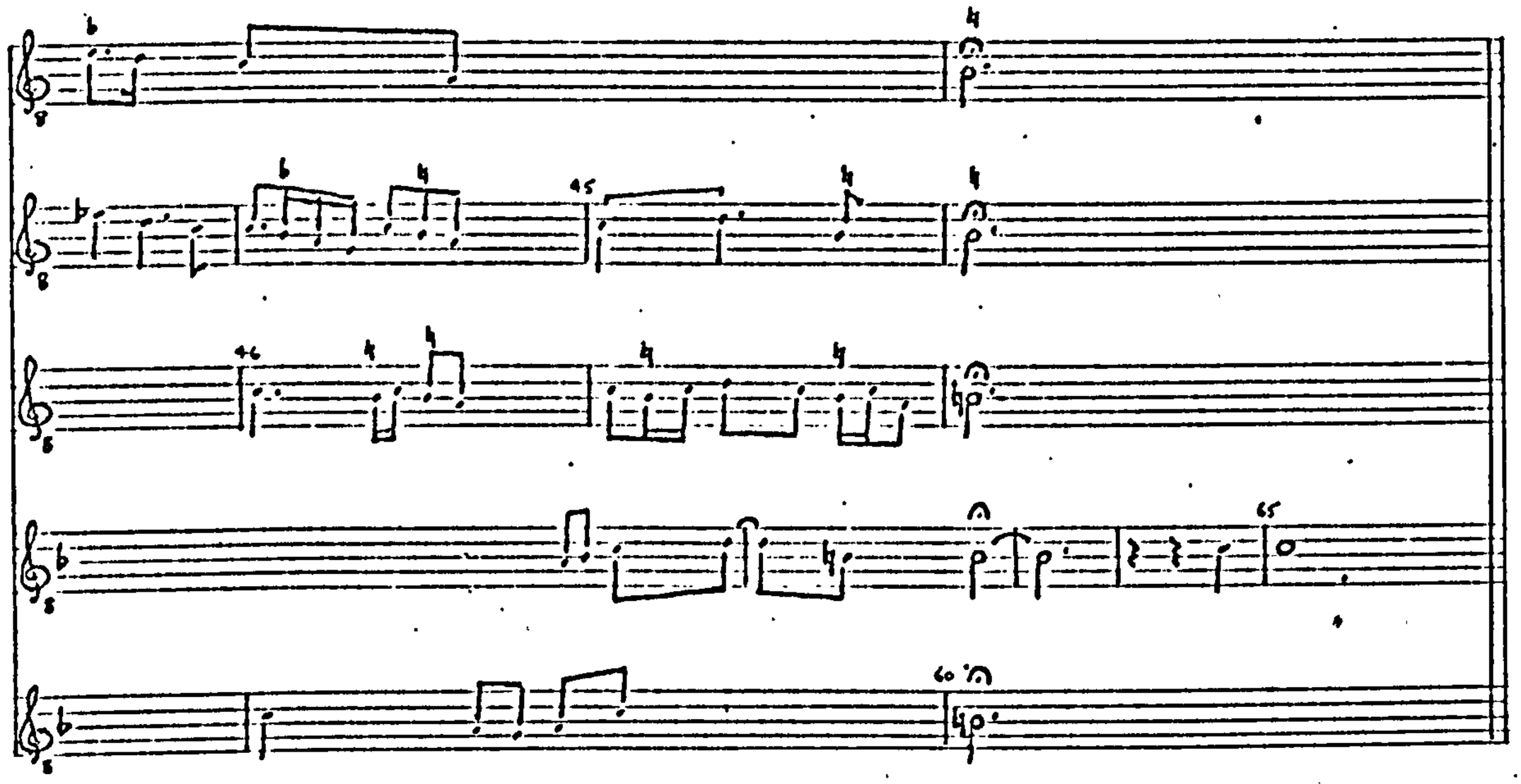
Ex.13: The O-time sections of Plummer's Mass from B:Br5557.



(ii) second duo - contra parts


free passage
(iii) full group - discantus part.
(ii) full group - discantus part
(ii) full group - discantus part


50
free passage
60
free passage


45
65

able degree of decoration and a few short interpolated passages of free development. Though the discantus is silent during the following duos, the parallels between the contra parts here are scarcely less striking [72]. While one cannot be quite as certain of the discantus parts in the trio passages because of the greater number of free interpolations, there is clearly also a long run-in to the final cadence which is substantially the same in each movement.

Each C-time section begins with a discantus/tenor duo which opens with the same head motif as that introducing the O-time sections, and then continues along lines which are distinctly reminiscent of the opening duos of those O-time sections. After that, there are numerous motivic links not always involving the top part, but it is not easy to establish any simple method at work across all five movements.

The parallels which undoubtedly do exist between the movements, together with the many similarities which do not quite amount to parallels, raise the question of the basis of the construction of this Mass. One of the most plausible explanations is that the work is a parody of some pre-existing piece, since the O-time sections look very much as if they result from the decoration and free development of the same idea, and the C-time sections might easily arise from a somewhat less direct form of variation. Furthermore, the possibility of this work being part of an active tradition of parody composition in the 15th century is clearly a matter to which we must return later.

So far, it has largely been taken for granted that the 'Jean Plourmel' of the original ascription of this work is to be identified with the John Plummer known from various pieces in I:MOe ∝ X.I.11, the Trent Codices and elsewhere [73]. Further examination of the compositional method used in the Brussels Mass will therefore be

made in relation to the other works known to be by Plummer so that the plausibility of the identification may be checked more rigorously.

To date, eight works have been attributed to Plummer, and these are listed with sources in Table 10 [74]. Of these, the anonymous Ibo michi ad montem mirre has been credited, most convincingly, on purely stylistic grounds [75], and Qualis est dilectus, being much more typical of the music of the previous generation, can more safely be accepted as the work of Forest. The former, if by Plummer, does not add a great deal to our knowledge of the range of his style, being very similar in many respects to the Modena motets, and it is in no way crucial to our enquiry. Concerning the latter, there would appear little cause for further discussion.

Two close descriptions have been made of the four motets which stand at the beginning of Table 10, and these pick out a number of strongly marked characteristics which may be summarised as follows:

(i) Melodic phrases are particularly clearly differentiated, either by the contrast of melismatic and declamatory passages, or of contrapuntal and more homophonic passages.

(ii) Contrast of texture is achieved by ample use of duos.

(iii) Significant use is made of repetition of motifs.

(iv) Imitation is extremely common, often with resulting invertible counterpoint. Such imitation does not merely come at the openings of phrases, but generally extends also to short motifs within polyphonic passages. The points often vary in their relationship to the first beat of the modern bar, and even in their relationship to beats within those bars.

(v) The tonality is static - an almost unremitting F major - a characteristic which arises partly from the triadic nat-

Table 10: Works attributed to John Plummer.

Descendi in hortum meum (à3)	I:MOe ∝ X.I.11 No.104	Polumier
	I:TRmn90 No.1030	-
	GB:Olc Latin 89 f29'	-
	D:Mbs Cim.352b No.161	-
Tota pulcra es (I) (à3)	I:MOe ∝ X.I.11 No.100	Polumier
	I:Las 238 ff49' & 51	-
Tota pulcra es (II) (à3)	I:MOe ∝ X.I.11 No.119	Polumier
	I:TRmn90 No.1050	-
	GB:Ob Selden B26 ff31'-32	-
Anna mater matris Christi (à4)	GB:Ob Add.C.87* ff222 & 224'	J. Plomer
Missa Nesciens Mater [76] (à4) - Kyrie Deus creator	GB:Lbm Add.54324 ff1'-2'	Plum(m)er
Missa (Sine nomine) (à3) - Kyrie Omnipotens Pater	B:Br5557 ff10'-20	'Jean Plourmel'
Ibo michi ad montem mirre (à3)	I:TRmn90 No.991	-
Qualis est dilectus (à3)	GB:Lbm Add.57950 No.67	Forest
	I:MOe ∝ X.I.11 No.106	Polmier
	I:TRmd93 No.1829	-
	I:TRmn90 No.1049	-

> ure of the main motifs, but more especially from a lack of cadential variety: the overwhelming majority of the cadences are on F, with only a few on C and almost none on other notes.[77].

The first two of these are, of course, common enough property in 15th-century English music, though it must be said that differentiation of phrases, especially relatively short ones, is more extreme in the case of Plummer's music [78]. The last characteristic has been acknowledged as a serious fault [79], stemming perhaps from the likelihood that these motets are relatively early works. Certainly, the fact that the first three occur in the first layer of I:MOeα X.I.11 in company with pieces by such older figures as Dunstable, Leonel, Forest and Piamor would tend to support this suggestion, and the criticism is noticeably more justified in the case of these than the more developed and very possibly later Anna mater matris Christi [80].

In the circumstances, then, it does not appear necessary to assume that all of Plummer's music was subject to this weakness in such an extreme form. When we come to the much more sophisticated Missa Nesciens Mater, for example, we find that even though the work is in a very decided F major, its melodic phrases are both longer and less obviously triadic, and there is a greater proportion of cadences on notes other than F; as a result, tonal monotony is largely avoided. Neither is it surprising that there should be a still greater variety in the Brussels Mass, although the rapidity with which the tonality seems to oscillate between C major and minor will undoubtedly appear unusual. Notwithstanding the gradual introduction during many of the musical phrases of B, E and A flats in turn, however, the effect is usually not one of conventional modulation (e.g. by a circle of 5ths); in practice the tonal centre remains C almost throughout, any incidental shifts never being towards F, B flat or E flat, but rather towards G which then, almost immediately, becomes

the dominant of C. One might therefore say that the chief role of the chromaticism and the major/minor tension which results is to give interest and variety to the firm tonal basis which we have seen to be typical of other works known to be by Plummer [81].

It is, however, the fourth of the characteristics listed above which is in many ways the most significant pointer to Plummer's style [82], because of the method of composition which such extensive use of imitative counterpoint tends to imply. It has already been observed that the type of cantus firmus Mass composed by Frye and others results most plausibly from a process of successive composition [83], and if, as I have suggested, Cockx began by constructing a gymel of tenor and contra based on variations on a basic melodic pattern, and then simply wrote a discantus part over this, his work may be said to use an essentially similar technique. Extensively imitative counterpoint is, on the other hand, much more conveniently written by considering all the parts involved at the same time. In other words, music as imitative as that found in Plummer's motets is unlikely to have been composed by quite such a markedly successive process; rather the texture was almost certainly conçeived much more as a unit. This is, of course, completely consistent with the more extreme distinction between phrases than is usual in music of the period, and also with Plummer's unusually free use of repetition, since these are characteristics which grow more readily out of a more simultaneous than successive method of composition. Again, we have perhaps some explanation here of why the three motets from I:MOe ∝ X.I.11 are so short-breathed and tonally static, since these are precisely the sort of weaknesses one might expect in such early essays employing the method in question [84].

The Missa Nesciens Mater is a cantus firmus work whose general avoidance of motivic imitation presumably stems from use of the predominantly successive process which may have seemed more appropriate

for the composition of such a piece. Since, however, the Mass in the Brussels manuscript is less predetermined in the sense that no single part is fixed beyond the relatively loose connection with whatever was its model (assuming that it is a parody work), a much greater flexibility is possible with regard to compositional method. Thus, we do not merely find more extensive imitation in duos than is common in the work of other comparable composers [85]; this characteristic on its own would be much less indicative since it is probable that, at this period, almost all bicinia were conceived more or less as units. More significantly, though its use is not quite as frequent as in the motets, imitation also takes place between two - occasionally even between all three [86] - of the voices in many of the three-part passages, tending to suggest that the Brussels Mass, like the early motets, was probably written according to a rather more simultaneous process of composition.

Though this does not mean that the piece is therefore, beyond any shadow of a doubt, by Plummer, it cannot be demonstrated that any other contemporary English composer wrote so consistently in this manner, and such extensive use of imitation is certainly most unusual [87]. In the absence of further information, then, there seems little reason to doubt Plummer's authorship of the work, which further underlines his originality, and establishes that he boasted a much more varied and sophisticated technique than the motets on their own would lead us to expect.

By now, it will have been realised that the Masses from the Brussels manuscript by Cockx and Plummer are only freely-composed in so far as, unlike the works discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, they do not depend on cantus firmi. Both make use of many of the same structural principles including underlying ground plans, even if these have been used more flexibly than in

the strict cantus firmus works of Frye and others. This raises the question of how commonly ground plans apply in the remainder of the so-called freely-composed Mass repertoire. The strictest case I have found is the paired Gloria and Credo by Dunstable published as Nos.11 and 12 of the Complete Works, both of which movements follow exactly the same highly complex pattern of changes in scoring and mensuration. Much more freely-applied basic schemes seem to operate in certain other works such as the Leonel/Dunstable/Benet Missa Sine nomine [88], and it is possible too that Bedingham's parody Mass on Deuil angouisseux uses a ground plan, though the flexibility of the construction of this piece is such that it is impossible to be certain here [89]. It must, on the other hand, be said that some freely-composed English Masses show little or no sign of ground plan technique; indeed, Bedingham's Missa Sine nomine [90] is exceptional in not even maintaining a strict mensural scheme. Clearly the use or avoidance of ground plans in this type of Mass and comparable paired movements is quite a complex subject which deserves further investigation; for the moment, however, we shall have to restrict ourselves to noting that the situation is much less clear-cut than that pertaining to strict cantus firmus works.

Perhaps the most important point emerging from this discussion is that the Masses by Cockx and Plummer illustrate two of what may well have been a considerable variety of ways in which a Mass could be constructed without recourse to a strict cantus firmus. This, in turn, raises the important terminological problem of what exactly we mean by a freely-composed Mass.

To begin with, some Mass settings are undoubtedly based on pre-existing material other than plainchant, the obvious example being Bedingham's Missa Deuil angouisseux. The fact that the basis of this work is known to us is, however, a remarkably lucky accident since, if we had neither the title nor the Binchois song upon which the

piece is based, we would have extreme difficulty in telling that it employed parody technique. Although this cannot be the place for a detailed analysis of the methods involved, the Missa Deuil angoisseux does raise at least two important points which have a direct bearing on the question of the so-called freely-composed Mass. First, it is too highly-developed a work to have been composed in isolation; it follows, therefore, that there are probably a number of other parody Masses among the so-called freely-composed repertoire whose constructional basis has still to be recognised. Second, it may be possible to find potential candidates among works in which there is an extensive system of motivic links between movements. There has been a tendency to assume that such links were manufactured by composers in order to provide unity within a given work, but we should be aware of the fact that they would arise just as naturally if the movements were constructed from the same basic material. Plummer's Mass from the Brussels manuscript seems to fit in well with such a tradition of parody writing, though it is worth noting that the methods it uses are significantly different and probably rather simpler than those which characterise Bedingham's work.

Next, there may well be works whose basis on plainchant is no longer clear to us, one of the most likely possibilities being the Leonel/Dunstable/Benet Missa Sine nomine. Although the tenor varies significantly from movement to movement of this work, there is sufficient similarity for the editors of Dunstable's Complete Works to have allowed that it may be based on a single plainsong which has been decorated in different ways [91]. In other words, the term 'freely-composed' has only been applied here in default of more positive information with regard to the tenor, and it is possible that the work is really a cantus firmus Mass which cannot at present be proved to be such. Besides, even if no plainsong melody is involved, the parallels between the tenor parts in the five move-

ments indicate that those parts were written first, and that they may well have been based on a single pre-existing idea, even if that idea was only pre-existing in the sense that the composer constructed it before he established the five tenor lines. Since such a pre-existing idea would then have been used in much the same way as a highly decorated cantus firmus, and therefore would arguably amount to much the same thing in principle, it is clear just how easily the distinction between so-called freely-composed and more conventional cantus firmus Masses can become blurred [92].

Even where it seems unlikely that a given work is based on any pre-existing material, there is a strong possibility that it may use some other type of constructional technique, the quasi-ostinato device employed by Cockx being but one example which we have been able to isolate here. Thus 'freely-composed' is potentially a very misleading description of the type of Masses which we have been discussing here, since it is almost certain that each has its particular underlying discipline, and some are undoubtedly based on pre-existent material. Similarly, 'non-cantus firmus' is out of the question, since in some cases we cannot be sure that no chant is being used. On the other hand, we have at present insufficient information to categorise each example, though this is not to say that stylistic accounts of the relevant works may not eventually yield a great deal of evidence concerning the methods used by the various composers concerned. In any case, we may be certain that, even though it is the strict cantus firmus Mass which has tended to attract the greater attention, and which is, indeed, often held to represent the pinnacle of English musical achievement in the 15th century, the composers concerned had at their disposal a remarkable variety of other techniques for constructing cyclic Masses, and the resulting works are by no means necessarily inferior.

Footnotes to Chapter II.

1 Particular attention is also drawn to Sylvia Kenney's discussion of the style of Frye's Masses (in Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise, esp. p.125ff.) and Sparks' discussion of the English cyclic Mass (in Cantus firmus in Mass and motet 1420-1520, p.94 ff.).

2 Concerning the first two, see Frye: Collected Works (=CMM19), p. XIII and Antiphonale Sarisburiense, iv/292 & 572, and vi/X. Sylvia Kenney's identification of the cantus firmus Flos regalis with the antiphon Flos regalis Etheldreda in use at Ely Cathedral must be regarded as, at best, speculative (op.cit. p.19ff.).

3 Frye may well have added the extra bars to avoid ending the movements in the minor.

4 See also Kenney, op.cit., p.142.

5 Bar numbers refer to my edition, not that in CMM19, and underlined letters denote segments of the cantus firmus. Concerning the problems attached to the texting of the Credo, see Ch.III, p.195ff.

6 Kenney's statement that 'the rhythmic formulation of the chant in the first movement (of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra) remains unchanged in the others' (op.cit., p.143) is, of course, somewhat misleading here.

7 As, for example, at 'puella' at the end of segment A.

8 See fn.5 above.

9 There has been no need to modify the scheme at 'Pleni sunt celi' because of the form of the ground plan.

10 Though less so in cantus firmus Masses. For further discussion of this, see Ch.III, p.141ff.

11 Bedingham's Missa Sine nomine (I:TRmd93 Nos.1613-15: Gloria, Credo and Sanctus; I:TRmn88 Nos.225-29: whole work; GB:Ob Add.C87* f223': Sanctus, published in Apfel: Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik ii/p.139ff.) is one of the very few other English Mass settings with contra/tenor duos of any length. Kenney rather arbitrarily calls the free tenor parts of the duos in Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra 'musical tropes' (op.cit., p.138), ignoring the fact that their probable function (contrast of texture) is completely distinct from that of a text trope (expansion of text).

12 Except that there is a close similarity in the treatment of segments A, B and C in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei (see also Kenney, op.cit., p.143).

13 cp. Kenney op.cit., p.136 and elsewhere.

14 A likely exception occurs between segments A and B, where there is a discrepancy between the positions of the rest in the Gloria and Credo versions of the tenor. This fits in with Frye's peculiar trick of ending a segment on the second or third to last note of the chant phrase, and then using the last or last two notes to

begin the next segment, a phenomenon which is typical of the two three-part Masses (see Kenney, op.cit., p.141), and which is not, apparently, to be explained in terms of variant versions of the plainsong.

15 See fn.5 above.

16 Kenney's assertion that Frye 'employs constant variation' in his grouping of voices is fair, but the suggestion that the manner in which he does this is unschematic is hardly acceptable (op.cit., p.144ff.).

17 This method of composition merely means that each movement was composed from the same 'first-stage' material; it does not necessarily follow, of course, that the prime aim of the composer was therefore musical unity since, arguably, we are dealing with nothing more than a convenient structural technique. Cp. also p.127 below.

18 A semi-imitative passage like b13ff. of the Sanctus Summe Trinitati tends to suggest that he may often have conceived the two parts together. This may not always have been the case, however, as is pointed out in Kenney op.cit., p.128.

19 Cp. Kenney op.cit., p.130.

20 This problem does not apply in three-part texture, since the contra typically has accords above and below the tenor and either part can therefore act as the effective bass at a given point.

21 See Ch.III below, especially p.141ff.

22 In the Brussels manuscript, the Credo of the Missa Flos regalis is given in C and the remainder of the work in ¢ time, even though the predominant note values are always the same. This difference led Sylvia Kenney to transcribe the former in notes of double the length of those used for the corresponding sections of the other movements (CMM19). See also fn.23 below.

23 That ¢ denotes faster movement than normal C or O time, see Tinctoris, Proportionale musices (this treatise is in CSIV: see p. 156):

> Nam proprium est ei mensurae accelerationem significare sive tempus perfectum sive imperfectum sit.... cuius in utroque forma talis est: Ø ¢.

i.e.

> For it is proper to represent a faster speed for that mensura, whether it be tempus perfectum or tempus imperfectum...., whose forms are such: Ø ¢.

On the other hand, a speed twice that of normal C time should certainly not be intended, as is made clear in later lines from the same treatise (p.171), where Tinctoris condemns those who use

> pro signo duplae signum temporis imperfecti minorisque prolationis cum tractulo traducto, accelerationem mensurae ut praemissum est denotante.

i.e.

> (who), for (=instead of) the sign of doubling (use) the sign of tempus imperfectum and minor prolation with a small line struck through it, this (latter properly) denoting a faster speed for the mensura, as has already been stated.

The proper sign for the 'doubling' to which Tinctoris is referring is, of course, C2.

Bank (Tactus, Tempo and Notation in Mensural Music from the 13th to the 17th century, p.141), citing the mid 15th-century Anonymous XII of CSIII, suggests that diminutio per tertiam partem is involved, the passage from the treatise in question running as follows (CSIII, p.483):

> Secunda species est diminutionis, et est alicuius cantus tertio eius partis ablatio.

i.e.

> The second type (of use of ∅) is for diminution, and is the removal by a third of its part of any kind of music.

He also considers (ibid.) that, when English scribes employed the mensuration sign C in a context of breve-semibreve movement, they generally meant the same as what continental scribes meant by ∅. Though not, as far as I can ascertain, theoretically provable, this view-point has much to recommend it on practical grounds; certainly, strict semibreve equivalence between an O-time and a following C-time section (the theoretical relationship) seems highly improbable where the latter moves predominantly in notes of twice the value of the former. See also Four anonymous Masses (=EECM22) p.x, where Margaret Bent points out that ∅ was not used in English sources, but continental scribes tended to alter C to ∅ because of the lack of semibreve equivalence. What I have proposed in the text (cp. also EECM22, p.x) is not true diminutio per tertiam partem since this would give an almost impossibly complex relationship between the signatures O and ∅ (modern 3/4:2/2 bars = 9:8). In practice, what probably happened was closer to a diminutio per quartam partem (3/4:2/2 bars = 1:1) though perhaps with some flexibility, so that the ∅ passage could move proportionally slightly faster or slower according to the demands of the music.

24 See also Kenney op.cit., p.138ff. and M. & I.Bent: Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer - a new source, p.409ff.

25 The latter consisting, of course, of both the C and the closing O-time passages.

26 Here I refer both to works attributed to specific composers and to those which are included in Hamm's A catalogue of anonymous English music in 15th-century continental manuscripts.

27 See fn.23 above, however.

28 That both approaches probably go back to the earliest stages in the development of the cantus firmus Mass, see Strunk's review of Documenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae..., Ser.I, p.108.

29 The first of these is published in Documenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae..., Ser.I/2, and the other two in EECM22 (the Missa Fuit homo missus is also in DPLI/9).

30 See, for example, CMM1/iii for the Dufay works. Concerning the English works cited here, Margaret Bent suggests cautiously that the fourth part of the Missa Salve sancta parens was added later (EECM22, p.181); for the Missa Requiem eternam, see GB:Ob Add. C87*, ff225-6', which contain the entire Credo and parts of the Gloria and Sanctus (the Credo is published in Apfel, op.cit., ii/p.142ff.).

31 For the Kyrie settings on Da gaudiorum premia and Rex seculorum, see MB8, Nos.69 and 70; the Benet Kyrie is No.133 of I:TRmn87. (Frye's other known Kyrie on So ys emprentid - I:Las238 f22' - is

not comparable, since it is an alternatim setting.)
The Sanctus settings from the Masses Rex seculorum (MB8/21), Quem malignus spiritus (EECM22) and Fuit homo missus make the break before the first Osanna; examples where the break comes after this point include the settings from the Masses Da gaudiorum premia (MB8/18), Salve sancta parens and Veterem hominem (EECM22).

32 E.g. those from the Masses Rex seculorum, Quem malignus spiritus and most later examples - not, however, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei Fuit homo missus or the Sanctus Da gaudiorum premia.

33 E.g. Cousin's Missa Tubae (DTÖ120, q.v. also for Rouge's work), Cornago's Missa Ayo visto (I:TRmn88 Nos.411-15) and other works with specific ascriptions.

34 These are not quite the same as the changes made by Frye, since the cantus firmus is only cut in the Agnus Dei, and more extensive omission is avoided by including the cantus firmus tenor in certain passages for reduced forces. This is not a common practice, though there are parallels in, for example, the Missa Quem malignus spiritus.

35 See GB:Lbm Add.54324 ff6-6' and I:Las238 ff17'-19. For discussion of these, see I.&M.Bent op.cit., p.409ff. and Planchart: Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions, p.8ff.

36 In this connection, it is curious that Hamm should compare the form of the Caput Mass to that of Dufay's Missa Se la face ay pale, considering that the former uses a ground plan giving parallel structure to each movement, where the latter uses canons to apply different augmentations to the cantus firmus. (The strange parallel between the forms of the Gloria and Credo Se la face ay pale must be regarded as exceptional in Dufay's work, and there is little formal similarity between these and the other movements of the piece). Hamm also suggests that the Caput Mass is modelled on Leonel's Missa Alma redemptoris mater on the basis of the similar structural procedures used, rather missing the point that virtually every other English cantus firmus Mass of the period follows precisely the same principles (see A chronology of the works of Guillaume Dufay based on a study of mensural practice, p.127ff.)

37 See fn.5 above.

38 See I:TRmn88 No.240, published in CMM19.

39 See Bukofzer's article on Frye in MGG (iv/1069), the introduction to CMM19, and Kenney op.cit., p.29ff.

40 See Ex.1 above and Kenney op.cit.,p.142ff. The fact that, in a modern transcription using strict 4/4 time, the accents of segments A, B and C of the chant are apparently displaced by a beat is of no significance, since so literal an interpretation of stress is inappropriate, and the discrepancy could, in any case, have resulted from inaccurate copying.

41 For further discussion of these, see Ch.IV, p.243ff.

42 Bukofzer op.cit., 1070.

43 Kenney op.cit., p.29ff.

44 Bar numbers here, as elsewhere, refer to my reconstruction of the piece, and not to the CMM edition.

45 See Table 1 above.

46 It seems highly likely that the values of the first three notes became halved in transmission.

47 See fn.5 above.

48 v.1: 'carnem' not 'carmen' as in CMM edition; v.5: concerning gap (more syllables needed for scansion), see below; v.6: I:TR mn88 gives 'peccati'.

49 See above, p.88ff.

50 There may even be some doubt as to whether the contra part really should rest throughout the passage bb21 - 32, since the result contains a greater than usual number of rhythmic hiatuses (e.g. bb21, 28 and 30) and I:TRmn88 provides the contra with a note at b32 even though this is inconsistent with the division which, as I have suggested, was originally intended here.

51 See Bukofzer op.cit. and Kenney op.cit., p.30.

52 See also below, Ch.III, p.200ff.

53 It may be necessary to split notes in places: see below, Ch.III, p.150ff.

54 See above, p.88ff.

55 Even if they occurred at bb59 - 60, this would not materially affect my argument.

56 The balance between the sections will, in fact, be 64 as against 90 imperfect breves, assuming the alterations made to bb32 - 33 of my reconstruction.

57 Published in CMM19.

58 A suggestion made, as yet informally, by Brian Trowell.

59 Cp. also what happens in the Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra - see above, p.89.

60 See above, pp.71, 73.

61 There may, of course, be other cases among the Mass-motet repertoire, but the problems of proving their origins are considerable.

62 For further discussion concerning suitable tropes etc., see editorial notes, Vol.2, p.149ff.

63 The mensural scheme in Cockx's Mass is basically O-C-O but, exceptionally, the final O-time passage has been left out in the Agnus Dei: see discussion below and fn.88.

64 The predominant note values suggest a similar relationship between the speeds of the O and C-time sections to that of the Frye work: see above, p.88.

65 Taking the first to be the opening O-time section, and the second the C-time plus the closing O-time sections combined, as in the Frye Missa Nobilis et pulcra.

66 There is a problem here in that the Christe III appears to be set twice, once before and once after the mensuration change. That the first is probably a scribal error, see Vol.2, p.156.

67 Note values indicate a slower speed for C time than obtains in Cockx's work, with semibreve equivalence between O and C-time sections.

68 For further discussion of these and other text omissions in the work, see Ch.III below, p. 201ff.

69 Its approach to the text of the Sanctus is not, of course, unique - see fn.31 above. The relative proportions of the movements of Plummer's Mass are as follows:

	Kyrie	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus Dei
O	51	46	49	65	60
C	62½	65	77	54½	40

the figures being for perfect breves in O time and imperfect breves in C time.

70 Credo b135ff. (tenor) and Sanctus b139ff (contra) respectively.

71 Perhaps because the distinct tonal implications would be blurred if one of the parts consistently contained transposed versions.

72 In the Sanctus, the parallel breaks down at the cadence at b21 but is continued by the discantus in the ensuing trio.

73 For the original ascription and the circumstances surrounding it see Ch.I above, p. 45.

74 The first four pieces are published as Four Motets. There is a facsimile of the Buxheim version of Descendi in hortum meum in Documenta Musicologica II/1 and a transcription of this which reproduces all the many manuscript errors in Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch (EDM38). A facsimile and transcription of the Oxford version of Tota pulcra es II are given in Stainer: Early Bodleian Music i/Pl.XCIV-XCV and ii/p.168ff. respectively, and a diplomatic edition of Anna mater matris Christi is to be found in Apfel op.cit., ii/p.130ff. Ibo michi ad montem mirre is published in facsimile and transcription in Scott: Ibo michi ad montem mirre - a new motet by Plummer?, and Qualis est dilectus is No.67 of The Old Hall Manuscript (CMM46).

75 Scott, op.cit.

76 That this is the remnant of a complete Mass, see I. & M.Bent op. cit., p.405. The plainsong has been identified by Brian Trowell.

77 See Scott op.cit. and Trowell's introduction to Four Motets, especially pp.9-10.

78 Scott op.cit., pp.550 and 553.

79 Ibid. p.552 and Four Motets, p.10.

80 Trowell regards this as the best of the pieces: see Four Motets, p.10.

81 For a more detailed account of the accidentals in this piece, see Ch.IV below, p. 226ff.

82 See Scott op.cit., p.550ff. and Four Motets, p.9.

83 See above, p. 91ff.

84 This is not, of course, to imply any basic contradiction of Trowell's suggestion that Plummer's compositional method still owes much to the principle of successive composition (Four Motets, p.9). This point is that the successive and simultaneous methods are by no means mutually exclusive, and that there are, in fact, many shades of grey in between. Equally, however, it must be said that Plummer's motets occupy a very different place on the line between the two extremes from, say, the Masses of Frye.

85 See, for example, passages like bb15-20 and 63-69 of the Kyrie, the first of which illustrates the sort of 'out-of-phase' imitation mentioned in (iv) above.

86 As in, for example, bb26-30 of the Agnus Dei.

87 Though there are isolated examples in two-part textures and, in a three-voice context, the remarkable Quam pulcra es of Leonel: see Works (CMM50), No.26.

88 Published in MB8 as Nos.71, 56-59. Strangely enough, all the movements follow the mensural scheme O-C-O except the Agnus Dei, which omits the final O-time passage, exactly as happens in Cockx's Mass.

89 Published in DTO76, p.127ff. The version of the Credo with four parts (I:TRmn90 No.1099) is not a complicating factor here, since the bass is almost certainly a later addition.

90 See fn.11 above for locations.

91 MB8, p.203.

92 Much the same analysis applies also in the Missa Sine nomine attributed to Pullois. For a further discussion of this work which, it will be argued, may well be English, see Ch.III below, p. 207ff.

Chapter III:

The English Masses: Words and Music.

The main purpose of the present chapter is to isolate the most important problems associated with applying text to the English Masses of the Brussels manuscript. Since, however, the relationship between words and music in the 15th century is such an immense and highly complex subject, it has often proved necessary here to widen considerably the area under discussion. Thus, the five works in question will be examined freely in the context of other contemporary and rather earlier English Mass music, and there will also be some more limited reference to continental works of the period. On the other hand, no attempt will be made to extend the enquiry to secular or other types of sacred music, where various additional factors are likely to complicate the issue. It has been necessary to examine a certain amount of later theory also, but application of this will be limited as strictly as possible to music of the type of repertoire with which we are primarily concerned, and only very minimal reference will be made to other works here. Unfortunately, it is impossible to generalise about the wider application of such conclusions as it has been possible to reach here, though it is hoped that the extent of the implications of each of the various findings will be clear from the context.

With regard to the relating of words to music, the editor has, properly speaking, three quite distinct questions to consider: first, whether a given part should be texted at all; second, what words should be set; and third, how the syllables should be underlaid to the notes. Of these, the first and third are well-known problems which will be discussed in the first and second sections respectively of this chapter. One might normally hope that the answer to the second question can largely be taken for granted, but this is by no means always possible, particularly in Mass movements whose texts have been telescoped or otherwise shortened. The reliability of surviving sources in transmitting the original texting of such pieces will therefore be examined in the final section of the chapter.

A. To text or not to text.

In general terms, the question of whether parts should be texted or not is complicated by a great deal of conflicting evidence. Most notably, it is by no means uncommon for two scribes to apply totally different policies to the same piece, one perhaps providing much more text than the other. Furthermore, there may be discrepancies in approach within the same source between pieces which otherwise appear to come from a reasonably uniform repertoire, not to mention inconsistencies within individual works. Thus, in practice, the only part where there is normally no significant ambiguity is the discantus, since this is fully texted throughout all but the most corrupt surviving sources from the early to middle 15th century. Indeed, even where text is missing from a given discantus part, as happens occasionally, it is usually apparent that the scribe has either inadvertantly omitted a few words, or has been unsure of what text he should be inserting at the point in question. Furthermore, there is rarely any particular problem setting the words to a given discantus part, though this is not, of course, to say that copyists placed syllables precisely under the relevant notes - they all too rarely did. Very commonly, however, a whole phrase is quite carefully sited under the musical phrase which is designed to accommodate it, and it can usually be fitted in at least one plausible way [1]. The first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript is, as we shall see, wholly typical in this respect.

A rather greater ambiguity obtains with relation to the texting of contra parts since, while these are quite fully underlaid in some sources, certain other manuscripts, notably some of the Trent Codices, consistently fail to provide them with anything beyond the occasional incipit. The first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript lies somewhere between the two extremes in that it gives text to the con-

tra part at the beginnings of movements and during most duos, but often little more. Clearly it would be unwise to take the results of such a casual approach on the part of copyists literally, especially since whatever policy has been pursued within a particular source is likely to reflect not so much the original version of the works it contains, but rather the state of the model from which the copies were made, the habits and idiosyncrasies of the scribe, and the purposes for which the manuscript was being produced. In this light, the provision in a source of full text, mere incipits or even nothing at all can, for editorial purposes, be remarkably irrelevant, since it may tell us almost nothing about the original state of a given work [2].

It is probable, therefore, that our best hope of deducing the composers' original intentions is by way of a consideration of the musical style. In this respect, it is perhaps fortunate that, in the vast bulk of English Mass music after the Old Hall manuscript, contra parts are rhythmically so consistently comparable with discantus parts, and that texting presents so few problems except in a few rather special cases [3]. Furthermore, while the melodic lines of contra parts often tend to be somewhat less smooth than typical discantus lines, they are rarely anything like as angular as those of, for example, many continental pieces where the contra moves mainly in much longer note values. In practice, the contra of the English Mass repertoire of the early Trent Codices and other later sources, including the Brussels manuscript, typically complements the discantus almost to the point where the two parts might be described by the earlier terminology of first and second triplex. The contra is emphatically not used merely as a semi-optional rhythmic or harmonic filler of gaps, which is virtually its role in many of the English songs of the period. In this light, therefore, it may be assumed, surely, that these parts were originally intended to be texted; in-

deed, as we shall see in the large number of telescoped Gloria and Credo settings, texting of the contra may be mandatory in order to help provide all the words [4].

By far the most significant problems are, in fact, associated with the possible texting of tenor and, in a four-part texture, low contra or bassus parts, and it is to a discussion of these that I propose to allot the remainder of this section of the chapter. To this end, it will be helpful to begin by dividing such parts into four main types according to their rhythmic character, and examining some of the implications of each in turn.

Of the four, the first general type moves entirely, or almost entirely in long notes, and as it stands it cannot possibly take any very significant proportion of the Mass text. Many cantus firmus tenors fall into this category, especially in the earlier part of the period bounded by the early Trent Codices and the Brussels manuscript, and as examples we may cite the movements of the Missa Fuit homo missus and the paired Gloria and Credo Herdo herdo [5].

The second type is similar, except that the tenor may be involved in extended duos with the discantus (or, much less commonly, with the contra), and in such duos it moves in notes of similar value to those of its partner. The effect is therefore that, while most of the part cannot as it stands be underlaid with the complete Mass text, texting of the duos presents no problem at all, and should presumably be carried out. Indeed, some sources, among them the English fascicle of the Brussels manuscript, make a special point of underlaying both parts in such duos.

Examples of this second type are common in sources going back at least as far as the Old Hall manuscript [6], which tends to suggest that it does not mark a later development from the first type. Such a conclusion may perhaps appear surprising, since one might at first

expect any rhythmic and melodic freeing of the tenor to be part of an underlying trend towards the later polyphonic ideal, and therefore to represent a later stage of development than the more strictly long-note tenors. On the other hand, it is clear that the musical result is the same whichever part joins the discantus in duos, so that use of the tenor in no way produces an overall effect closer to that ideal. Perhaps choice of the tenor as partner in these duos simply stems from the fact that the prime harmonic relationships in full sections of this and earlier music lie between the tenor and the other parts taken individually, rather than between those other parts. In these circumstances, it might be considered more rational to keep the tenor part throughout a piece, so maintaining a constant point of harmonic reference, and to cut out the contra at passages where reduced scoring was intended.

In passing, it is worth noting some strange discrepancies which arise between concordances of certain works. In the Gloria Quem malignus spiritus, for example, the duo setting 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus.... Jesu Christe' is given to the discantus and tenor in the Cambridge source, but to the discantus and contra parts in the Trent Codices [7]. Precisely the same occurs in the Credo at 'Crucifixus.... sepultus est', but not, oddly enough, in either the 'Benedictus' or the second half of the second Agnus, both of which are discantus/tenor duos in both sources. Again, in an anonymous English Credo found in both I:AO and I:TRmd93 and mn90, the passage 'Crucifixus.... sepultus est' is assigned to a duo of discantus and tenor in the former and of discantus and contra in the latter [8].

Such discrepancies are not easy to account for, but clearly cannot have cost the revising scribe much trouble, since both contra and tenor parts move in the same range and have the same clefs in all these movements. One possible explanation is that, since the problems appear to be a peculiarity of I:TRmd93 and mn90, these may be

the revised versions, carried out perhaps in order to 'tidy up' tenor parts which otherwise consisted largely of long notes. One reason why this is not entirely satisfactory is that there is no very clear evidence that the scribe of I:TRmn93 envisaged texted performance of contra parts either [9]. Perhaps an intermediate source was involved where the changeover of parts had taken place, but where the contra was still clearly texted. This would, of course, raise the question of whether there might be other discantus/contra duos in these sources which were originally intended for discantus and tenor.

The other explanation, which is probably only applicable to the Missa Quem malignus spiritus, assumes that the duos in question were originally intended to be for discantus and contra [10]. According to this theory, the duos in the work's Cambridge source have been completely rescored, by no means an impossibility since this is a late and arguably less than totally reliable manuscript [11]. By the same token, the Trent versions represent an incomplete revision along similar lines [12]. This explanation is not, however, without its difficulties since, though no comparable examples of discantus/tenor duos have been found in the rest of the 15th-century English cantus firmus Mass repertoire [13], there appears to be no obvious reason why duos originally intended for discantus and contra should have been altered in such a way as to go against what one might expect to have been a convention. For the moment, therefore, it seems unwise to be categorical about this problem.

The third type of tenor, low contra or bass part employs a much larger proportion of shorter note values, and setting text to it often presents relatively little difficulty. There remain, nevertheless, substantial passages where, as the part stands, the full text cannot possibly be underlaid, even after the breaking of ligatures, because there are simply not enough notes. The problem can be ren-

dered the more tantalising, when rhythms in the part appear to have been deliberately designed to accommodate the relevant words at more declamatory passages. Furthermore, within a full setting of the Mass Ordinary, it often happens that the tenor part will easily accommodate the words of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, but seemingly insoluble problems will arise in the Gloria and Credo, even though its rhythmic make-up is much the same in each movement [14]. Modern values tend to favour an approach which is as consistent as possible across the whole of a given work, and we obviously have to consider whether 15th-century composers had such scruples. That being said, it seems excessively defeatist to assume an authentic deliberately inconsistent approach at such an early stage of our discussion, particularly since it is possible to question virtually every indication of inconsistency which emerges in surviving sources for some reason other than that inconsistency [15].

The fourth type of lower part is rhythmically similar to the discantus and contra throughout, and presents no problems for underlay apart from precise placing of individual syllables. This type occurs most commonly in single movements like untroped Kyrie settings and certain later Masses, of which the most relevant example for our purposes is the work in the Brussels manuscript by Plummer. Here, as in other similar pieces [16], it seems reasonable to assume that full texting of the tenor is intended [17], and there would therefore appear to be little call for further discussion of this particular type of part.

Accepting that, where practicable, a given part is to be fully texted throughout, whether it be a contra, tenor or bass, and that textable duos should also be underlaid, there seem to be five possibilities with relation to the remaining apparently untextable passages, viz.

(i) They may be vocalised.

(ii) They may be performed instrumentally.

(iii) They may have fragments of the Mass text underlaid.

(iv) They may be underlaid with the text of any plainsong used.

(v) The ligatures and long notes may be split up in order to accommodate the full Mass text.

The practicalities of each of these possible solutions must be discussed individually, though from the beginning it might be as well to emphasise that no one possibility is likely to provide the answer to all the problems. Our purpose here must rather be to assess what may be acceptable in different types of situation.

Vocalisation must always be reckoned with as a possibility, though it is at least arguable that, if text can be inserted, there seems little point in vocalisation. Furthermore, it has to be realised that direct evidence for application of the practice to the Mass repertoire is distinctly scanty, and that such circumstantial evidence as there is arises largely from negative factors, i.e. an apparent lack of other sufficiently plausible possibilities [18]. It must also be pointed out that inconsistencies are likely to arise: first, within movements, insofar as there may be certain passages where texting is possible, yet others where it may not be; and second, between the movements of complete cyclic Masses, since problems of underlay may arise in the Gloria and Credo which will not apply in the Sanctus or Agnus Dei [19]. Whether such inconsistencies matter or not is, as has already been remarked, an open question, though one might well expect them to be more acceptable if they applied within all movements of a work than if they caused different movements of the same work to be texted in different ways.

Instrumental performance of tenors is, of course, open to the same difficulties over consistency as vocalisation, and in addition contemporary documentation seems reasonably conclusive over the fact

that the only instrument which was allowed to play during the Mass was the organ [20]. Whether the organ actually accompanied the singing of polyphony is, furthermore, a highly debatable point on purely practical grounds. What, for example, did the organist play? For him to have performed only the notes of the tenor might have been, dare one suggest, an insult to his intelligence, but, bearing in mind the complexity of the other parts, it would have been exceedingly dangerous for him to have improvised an accompaniment. Neither could he reasonably have been expected to play all the parts, since notation in conventional choirbook format would have been almost impossibly difficult for one person to negotiate, and we have no evidence of organ transcriptions made for this sort of purpose, at any rate from the mid 15th century. Second, there is the problem of pitch, since many of these works contain very extended discantus/contra duos during which the given level of pitch would have had to be maintained very scrupulously in order to avoid disaster at the tenor entry. This is not impossible, obviously, and one expects that any modern choir should be able to do it; it is, however, quite difficult, and many 15th-century singers may not have been as proficient. In any case, it is known that a number of large and highly important establishments, such as the Papal Chapel and Cambrai Cathedral did not even have an organ - there must surely have been many others.

The third possibility, that of setting fragments of Mass text to a part consisting of long notes, may be applied in two different ways. The first involves beginning at a given point in the text - usually the phrase which the discantus begins as the part enters - and setting continuously, syllable by syllable, to the end of the passage in question. The process is then repeated at subsequent entries of that part. In many cases, this method is quite impractical because there are insufficient notes in a part to make it worthwhile texting at all [21], but even where it can be applied it causes ex-

treme problems of alignment, since the texting of the slow-moving voice rapidly falls well behind that of the discantus and contra. One might question whether this matters especially since, as always, we must beware of the blind application of 20th-century values. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that tenor parts were ever intended to be performed in this way, since the incipits which are usually taken as justification for this type of solution certainly do not constitute sufficient proof. Furthermore, editions of the music following the practice have only served to underline just how badly this sort of texting usually fits the notes [22].

The second manner in which fragments of Mass text may be set to a part consisting mainly of long notes is to underlay what one might call a 'coherent summary' of the full text. In this way, to take a possible example, the second and third phrases of the Gloria might be reduced to something like 'Laudamus te propter magnam gloriam tuam'. While it is true that sources show that in some pieces individual words have to be missed from parts because of rests, there is only relatively poor evidence for more extensive omission of this type [23]. Besides, the difficulties associated with choosing precisely the right summary for the individual situation might lead one to expect at least some of the more careful scribes to have specified the exact texting of parts employing the technique. It is, however, dubious whether they ever did this, at least in the Mass repertoire [24]. In effect, then, the setting of either type of fragmentary Mass text to a long-note part seems one of the least satisfactory methods of dealing with the problem, even though it is used in a number of highly reputable scholarly editions.

The fourth possibility, which can obviously apply only in cantus firmus works, involves underlaying the words of the plainsong employed in the tenor part. The best-known examples of this technique date, of course, from slightly later, Dufay's Ecce ancilla Do-

mini and Ave regina celorum Masses being two of the most important [25]. There are, however, several clear cases of scribes' setting out the full plainsong text below tenors of much earlier pieces, as in, for example, Dunstable's Gloria and Credo Jesu Christe Fili Dei and much of Leonel's Missa Alma redemptoris mater [26]. In addition, there are a number of works where use of the plainsong text is strongly indicated. It is quite practical in, for example, the Missa Fuit homo missus, though the copies of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus in I:TRmd93 and mn90 [27] give no hint in this direction. The Kyrie and Agnus Dei, however, both of which are in I:TRmn88 [28], contain the full text of the plainsong in the tenor part, a degree of detail one would expect to have been superfluous if the part were intended only to be vocalised or played on the organ. Again, in the Gloria of the Missa Salve sancta parens, far more of the plainsong text is provided for the tenor than is necessary [29], so that this Mass may prove to be yet another work where the part should be underlaid with plainsong text [30].

We have no reason to suppose that these are merely isolated instances, and there may, therefore, be a number of other pieces where the same practice was originally intended, but where there is no indication in surviving sources. In the circumstances, we ought perhaps to discuss briefly the main characteristics of the English Mass tenors which can be said with some confidence to carry the plainsong text.

First, the same extract of plainsong is presented once without omission in each movement. This ensures that words or individual syllables are not removed with any passages of chant which may be omitted in order to make way for longer duos in the Sanctus or Agnus Dei [31]. Second, the plainsong is allotted substantially the same rhythm consisting mainly of long notes in each movement, and there may occur only very minor modifications, such as the occasion-

al lengthening or shortening of individual notes [32]. The third characteristic is negative in the sense that there seems to have been no necessity for the divisions imposed by the composer on the cantus firmus to fall between phrases of its text. Indeed, if the normal underlay of the plainsong used in Dunstable's Gloria and Credo Jesu Christe Fili Dei is respected, rests even occur in the middle of words. On the other hand, the cantus firmi of some other undoubtedly relevant works, such as the Missa Fuit homo missus, do seem to be split in order to conform most scrupulously with the structure of the text, so that practice here probably depends a great deal on the composer. It is, of course, difficult to say whether bass or low contra parts should ever carry plainsong text, since there are so few four-part works in the repertoire, but a case has, perhaps, to be answered concerning the second contra of the Missa Salve sancta parens [33]. As to tenors, however, there are certainly a considerable number which could be suitable candidates for this sort of treatment.

The fifth possibility, that of dividing the long notes in order to accommodate the full Mass text during passages where the tenor is functioning, is one which has generally been rejected without a great deal of consideration. Clearly, it is open to a number of possible theoretical, practical and aesthetic objections. For example, later, but potentially helpful theory appears at first sight to be unanimously and unambiguously against the application of more than one syllable to a single note, very much as one might expect. It is, however, interesting to note that the 16th-century writer, Gasparus Stoquerus, while stating this principle as the first of his 'obligatory' rules for good underlay, then goes on to accept that in the music of older composers not only could ligatures be broken where necessary, but individual notes could also be split in order to accommodate an excess number of syllables. The fact that he is writ-

ing about composers of Josquin's generation, and not about those of the mid 15th century, hardly matters since the earlier composers were, if anything, rather less scrupulous about underlay; thus, any deduced principles of this type would probably be subject to still more qualification in their music [34].

On a more practical level, it could be argued that the splitting of long notes to accommodate Mass text would involve a degree of improvisation which might be difficult to synchronise if more than one person were performing the part. In the normal course of events, however, this particular problem is more apparent than real, first because we cannot conclusively demonstrate for the majority of the works involved that more than one singer did perform each part; and second because, even where there was more than one performer taking the long-note part, the remainder of the singers (also presumably more than one to a part) would have required opportunity for rehearsal in order to synchronise their underlay, this almost never being unambiguously clear in the manuscripts, and texting for the tenor or bass parts could surely have been organised at the same time.

The most serious aesthetic objection stems from the argument that any extensive division of long notes along the lines suggested is musically inappropriate, this presumably on the grounds that an apparently inconsistent brand of vocal counterpoint arises where the discantus and contra parts are relatively free-ranging, but the tenor, singing the same words, is melodically static. Of course one could, in a manner of speaking, say that a degree of inconsistency in the texture is implicit in the musical language, insofar as the style inevitably does involve two freely moving parts, plus a relatively static part [35]; but to assess the resulting musical effect on such a basis would be to commit the logical blunder of testing the validity of this style by the criteria relating to that into which

it ultimately developed, viz. the so-called polyphonic ideal. The question of whether splitting of the notes of the more static voices in order to accommodate the text of the upper parts really detracts from the peculiar effect of the given texture therefore remains unanswered. It is, of course, a sufficiently subjective matter to our ears, and clearly all the more difficult for us to assess 15th-century taste. It is quite arguable, furthermore, that the splitting of long notes of tenor or bass parts to underlay text could simply have been a stage in the melodic and rhythmic freeing of those parts which was necessary to the process of establishing the polyphonic ideal.

In order to clarify this further, it will be useful to consider the situation in Cockx's Mass from the Brussels manuscript, a work which approaches very closely the fully polyphonic style. Even a cursory examination reveals that it is possible to underlay the entire tenor part - indeed, the declamatory repeated notes at many points demand that one should [36] - apart from a few bars at the first tenor entry of the first four movements and three similar passages partway through the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo [37]. Of these problem passages, the opening of the Sanctus may be resolved by breaking a ligature, and in the circumstances this seems an appropriate course of action. There are, however, far too many syllables in the other six passages, leaving only three reasonable possibilities, namely (a) vocalisation of the long notes, resuming normal texting where the short notes start, (b) underlay of what I have referred to as a 'coherent summary' of the text at that point, and (c) splitting the long notes to accommodate the full text. The first gives rise to an inconsistent effect which is arguably the more improbable considering that the six passages in question represent fewer than thirty bars out of the entire work, and I have already remarked upon the rather unsatisfactory nature of the second. To

have split the long notes could hardly have posed many problems for the performers, who only needed to follow the rhythmic patterns of one or both of the other two parts.

Why then did Cockx not split these long notes up himself? The answer to this crucial question lies in their particular role as a sort of delayed head motif to each movement. The rising figure C - E - F - G, which plays such an important structural role throughout this Mass, is distinctively presented in an identical form at the first entry in each movement of the tenor, and presumably Cockx began composition with these entries in mind [38]. It is quite arguable that to have resolved a figure which was so obviously conceived as a unit into shorter notes would have added an extra stage to the composition process which, being unnecessary since the singers were capable of dealing with the situation for themselves, may have seemed ridiculously pedantic. The problem passages later in the first three movements arise from long held notes which, similarly, might not have been considered worth resolving into shorter ones.

This leads us on to the question of the tenor parts of Frye's Masses, also including here the bassus in the Missa Flos regalis. Of the possibilities already outlined, it seems reasonable to rule out underlaying the tenor parts with the relevant plainsong texts, since in the two three-part works Frye omits passages from the cantus firmus in certain movements which would, if this practice were applied, involve the loss of words and odd syllables; and in the Missa Flos regalis there are very extensive variations in the rhythms applied to the notes of the plainsong, something which does not occur in other established examples [39].

It could be argued, as I have already pointed out, that the use of vocalisation depends on whether texting is feasible, and it certainly seems unnecessary in any of Frye's Sanctus or Agnus Dei movements. Moreover, it is immediately striking just how similar the

rhythmic movement of the tenor part of, in particular, the Missa Summe Trinitati is to that of the discantus and contra parts, and one must surely question the appropriateness of vocalisation in such a situation. Admittedly, there is a marked preponderance of longer notes, but underlay of the full Mass text is by no means impossible during much of the Gloria and Credo. Indeed, passages where texting is possible alternate so rapidly with those where vocalising might at first sight appear necessary, that a performer could, if he were trying to use both methods, have had serious difficulty in distinguishing which were which. Clearly, we have another case where there is a strong argument in favour of underlaying the full Mass text to the tenor throughout the work, splitting long notes where necessary and, on occasions, joining shorter ones.

Again, however, we have to deal with the question of why Frye did not set his tenor out in such a way that the words could be fitted more conventionally, and as in the case of Cockx's Mass it is necessary to consider briefly the composer's constructional method. This is remarkably easily defined, mainly because it is clear that Frye has begun by arranging the notes of the plainsong in a particular rhythm, dividing the result at certain cadential points in order to allow for discantus/contra duos. The rhythm of the tenor is, as we have already observed, substantially the same in each movement, and may even have been chosen more or less at random, allowing only for the provision of cadences and the maintenance of an appropriate length [40]. Certainly there seems to be little question of Frye's having initially planned it with particular reference to the details of any one of the texts used.

The tenor having now been established, the next stage was, as we suggested in the previous chapter, to compose the discantus and contra parts in order to accord with it, and at the same time to accommodate the text [41]. The tenor could then have been modified in order

that it could also take the Mass text; but as with the Cockx head motif this would have added an extra stage to the composition which, given reasonably skilled singers, would have been relatively superfluous.

It is possible to apply much the same arguments also to the full sections of the Missa Nobilis et pulcra, with the proviso that more extensive modification has to be made in order to accommodate the Mass text, at least in the first three movements. In passing, it is interesting to note that Frye adds melodic decoration to the ends of certain phrases of the tenor, a factor which may fit in with the idea that we are dealing with a style where the tenor is becoming freer so that the texture is gradually moving closer to the polyphonic ideal [42]. It will also be noticed that the tenor enters into free duos with the contra which are obviously intended to be underlaid, though it would be excessively optimistic to conclude from these that the remainder of the tenor must therefore also necessarily be texted.

The situation with regard to the Missa Flos regalis is rendered more complex, first because the rhythm applied to the tenor varies in each movement, and second because we have in addition to consider a bass part. At first sight at least, it would appear logical to suppose that Frye's purpose in varying the rhythm of the notes of the cantus firmus from movement to movement might have been to provide for the possibility of more convenient texting of the tenor. In other words, he might have designed the rhythmic structure in each movement in order to accommodate the full Mass text. This does not, however, turn out to be the case since, while that text can be fitted with only a moderate amount of note-splitting, the written rhythms are not notably more appropriate or easy to deal with than those encountered in the other two Masses. Neither, as we found in the previous chapter, can the variations in rhythm be entirely at-

tributed to Frye's desire to spread the cantus firmus over different amounts of the music; rather, the purpose was more probably to maintain a greater degree of harmonic variety between movements than would otherwise be possible [43]. In effect, therefore, we have here no particularly clear evidence either way as to the possible texting of the tenor part, and can only repeat that the amount of note-splitting which would be necessary is somewhat more than that required in the Missa Summe Trinitati and about the same as in the Missa Nobilis et pulcra. Texting is therefore highly practical, but the indications, such as they are, are inevitably inconclusive [44].

The circumstantial evidence in favour of texting the bass part is much stronger, and carrying it out presents fewer problems. It will immediately be apparent, in addition, that the part must be texted in duos, and the indications are that, if the Credo text is to be telescoped, as it apparently must be, the bass has to take some independent text in certain full sections in order that all the words can be accommodated [45].

To determine why Frye should not have written the bass part in shorter notes where necessary, we need only remember that it was conceived very much as a bass line to the tenor. As such, it would seem most natural that it should have been composed immediately after the tenor so as to provide a clear harmonic background for the discantus and contra whose composition was to be the next stage in the process [46]. In the circumstances, one would expect it to have been composed initially in note values similar to those of the tenor and it seems reasonable to suppose that these longer notes might not subsequently have been resolved into shorter ones for much the same reasons as have been suggested with reference to the various tenor parts discussed.

In this chapter, I have allotted what may seem a quite dispro-

portionate amount of space to the question of whether long notes should be split in order to allow for fuller texting of tenor and bass parts. On the other hand, this must surely be justified on the grounds that what would appear to be a perfectly debatable possibility which can potentially restore consistency of underlay to a significant number of works [47], and which fits conveniently into the chain of developments towards the establishment of the so-called polyphonic ideal, has almost always been rejected virtually without consideration. While recognising how unwise it would be to attempt to replace one incomplete view with another which is possibly just as fallacious, it is at least worth stating the arguable extension of much of what has been suggested here, viz. that it would, in fact, be possible to text virtually every tenor, low contra and bass part in the whole post-Old Hall English Mass repertoire either by applying the relevant plainsong words or by splitting long notes in order to accommodate the Mass text [48]. Extreme as this point of view must undoubtedly appear, it is one which requires much more serious attention than has so far been given it, especially as clear evidence in favour of other possibilities hardly amounts to anything very conclusive. Indeed, it is quite conceivable that an editor may be mistaken in asking whether a given part can, as it stands, be texted. It may rather be, in many cases, that the onus is on him to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the part cannot under any circumstances be underlaid with any relevant text, whether of the Mass itself or of a cantus firmus employed in the construction of the work. To do this is not always likely to be easy, and it is certainly not possible for the English Masses of the Brussels manuscript [49].

B. The problem of underlay.

The alarming degree of variation in approach to text underlay - by which I mean the precise placing of syllables of the text - in scholarly editions of middle to late 15th-century music bears striking testimony to a prevalent malaise concerning that subject. On the one hand, there exist editions which adhere religiously to the positioning of words as found in the chosen source, the results often being, for the purposes of performance at least, clumsy or even totally useless [50]; other scholars, by contrast, have introduced a greater or lesser degree of editorial interpretation without, unfortunately, necessarily explaining the rationale behind their departure from the sources. It has been a bold editor indeed who has attempted to justify at any length his methods for interpretation [51], and comparatively little else has been written on the problems of underlay.

The root of the problem lies in the notoriously casual attitude which most scribes show towards the placing of text since, where words are copied at all, their positioning is usually very far from ambiguous. Furthermore, it has rarely been sufficiently appreciated that much of what may seem to be relatively careful underlay is in fact extremely misleading, the words having merely been positioned at visually pleasing distances along a line. This sort of situation exists in many important manuscripts of both sacred and secular music and, as just one of a multitude of possible examples from the Brussels manuscript alone, the opening of Cockx's Mass may be cited (Ex.1). That this underlay is essentially arbitrary even though it appears to have been written in with some care is quite evident when one attempts to rationalise it. An obvious but certainly not the only snag arises from the odd treatment of the repeated notes.

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Ex.1: Cockx's Missa Sine nomine - Kyrie bb.1-6 (discantus) [52].



Clearly, if we are to make much further progress on the matter of reconstructing underlay where that which has been provided in a given source is of limited reliability, we need to assume that the manner in which words were set followed a basic rationale. Unfortunately, however, this is extremely difficult to demonstrate conclusively on existing information, likely as it may appear, though perhaps the best evidence so far presented occurs in a short treatise recently noticed by Harrán, and dated by him to c.1440 [53]. The opening statement [54]:

E da saper como non e reson nessuna in dever assetar le parolle a nullo canto altro che lintelecto de coluy che la a notare,

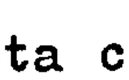
i.e.

It should be recognized that there is no logic in how to adjust words to a melody beyond that in the mind of him who has to write in notes,

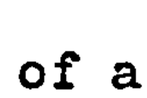
makes it reasonably clear that the composer has a particular underlay in mind, and that it is presumably the job of the copyist and singer to reproduce it [55]. There are, however, at least two limiting factors here: first, that we cannot be sure that all composers were anything like as specific about underlay as this theorist suggests; and second, that in practice many existing manuscripts quite patently do not follow whatever the composer originally wrote. Of these qualifications, the former certainly does not preclude the idea of an underlying rationale, since it is quite possible that a composer may by lack of a specified underlay merely have envisaged a number of equally acceptable and logical possibilities [56]. As far as the latter

is concerned, it is perhaps worth noting that the very lack of help given to performers by sources could be thought to imply that the trained singer could be trusted to find at least one reasonably consistent manner in which to fit the words to a given piece of music. That the governing principles would therefore have had to be quite simple is an implication which can hardly be avoided [57].

Unfortunately, the usefulness of the remainder of this short treatise is decidedly limited, the only unambiguous rule specifically stated being that concerning ligatures [58]:

> ... e de haver sempre a mente de non notar may silaba nesuna sotto nota coligata como sarebe questa  ma solamente al principio dela nota. Como dico quella dico de ceschaduna altra nota fosse coligata per nullo modo,

i.e.

> You should always keep in mind never to write a syllable under the (second) note of a ligature, as in this one,  , but only at the beginning of the (pair of) note(s). What I said of the former, I would say of every other note, no matter how it is ligated.

Since no other 15th-century theory on underlay has so far been unearthed, I have chosen, for the purpose of this discussion, to examine some rather later theory which, it is hoped, may be more helpful.

Perhaps the most important treatises here are Lanfranco's Scintille di musica of 1533, Zarlino's Istituzioni Harmoniche published in 1558, and Gasparus Stoquerus' De musica verbali dated by Lowinsky to c.1570-80 [59], of which the first two, it must be admitted immediately, are rather more particularly concerned with the practices followed by contemporary musicians [60]. Stoquerus, however, seems potentially more relevant to earlier music in that he deliberately distinguishes between the principles followed by modern composers,

especially Willaert, and those of Josquin's generation. It is no accident that Leeman Perkins, for example, uses this treatise as an important basis for a recent paper on word-setting in 15th-century songs, though he does also point out that Lanfranco and Zarlino would have led him to much the same conclusions [61].

It would, of course, be unwise to trust Stoquerus' authority entirely, since his work is so far removed in time from the earlier music - 50 - 60 years from late Josquin alone, and more than a century after the copying of the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript. There exists, however, the opposite danger of overestimating differences between mid 15th-century music and that of Stoquerus' 'older composers' to the point of rejecting a great deal of useful material. In other words, we should be aware of the possibility that the underlying principles might not have changed in essence, but only in the sort of detail which would arise naturally from developments in musical style. The characteristic thoroughness of Stoquerus' treatise may therefore provide us with a number of guidelines whose possible validity can be considered, modified where necessary to allow for stylistic changes. Accordingly, I propose to examine some of its more important sections in an attempt to search out any clues to a simple, consistent mode of underlay for the earlier music and, in particular, for the style of the English Masses of the Brussels manuscript.

In the portion most relevant to the music of Josquin's generation, Stoquerus presents five 'obligatory rules' [62], which may be summarised as follows:

(i) A note may not carry more than one syllable.

(ii) A dot is part of a given note, so that a dotted note can similarly only carry one syllable.

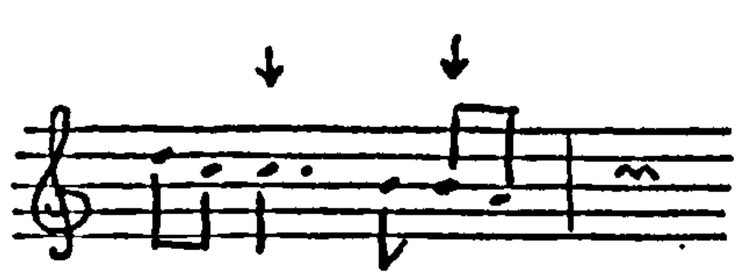
(iii) A ligature carries one syllable.

(iv) Repeated notes of the same pitch each carry their own syllable.

(v) The first syllable falls on the first note and the final syllable on the last note.

These are then qualified somewhat in following chapters: in order to accommodate an excess number of syllables, for instance, notes may be split, a dot may be separated from the main note provided that offensive dissonance does not arise, and ligatures may be split [63]. Syllables may even be omitted if necessary. Regarding (iv), an anticipatory note and its resolution do not require separate syllables, an exception which applies, for instance, in the standard cadential pattern Ex.2, where the marked notes do not require a change of syllable [64].

Ex.2



Stoquerus' rules are not in themselves at all surprising, and certainly the first, second and fourth are, by nature, practical in that they make for general convenience and ease of reading. Indeed, one might reasonably expect that some conscious effort would be required on the part of the performer to break any one of them, and situations are extremely uncommon where it is necessary to do this in straightforwardly textable parts from the type of repertoire with which we are primarily concerned [65]. The matter of ligatures is a more vexed question, but again it must be said that these very rarely have to be broken in parts which move mainly in shorter note values, and the specific reference to the rule made in the newly discovered 15th-century treatise certainly adds significant weight to it.

The fifth rule has probably been stated excessively loosely here, since there is much to suggest that it should be applied not merely to whole sections of a given text, but also to individual phrases. The implication of this is that the placing of phrases of text should depend on the placing of main cadences, and that coherent groups of words will commonly be separated by internal cadences. Lanfranco suggests much the same in the exposition of his first rule, which states that the composer ought to plan his cadences according to the meaning and grouping of the words [66]. Clearly, this idea is potentially a considerable aid in the placing of many syllables other than merely the first and last of each main section of the text [67].

Though Stoquerus does not comment in these terms, the second part of this fifth rule also requires some qualification in that cadence notes, at least in the mid 15th century, are quite commonly followed by some decoration or link with the next phrase. Sometimes this may mean that the final syllable will not fall on the final note of the phrase, but on the cadence note.

Perhaps one of the most instructive points about Stoquerus' obligatory rules is, however, that he should have allowed that they could, if circumstances demanded, be broken. That ligatures have occasionally to be split is difficult to deny, at least in slower-moving lower parts; but that long and dotted notes may also be divided up if necessary is a potentially much more dramatic admission. We must remember, of course, that he may merely be referring to situations where a part is being texted which was originally intended to be vocalised or played on an instrument, or perhaps where retexting has taken place without appropriate rhythmic alterations being made to the music. On the other hand, these exceptions to the rules could also be taken as acceptance of the splitting of long notes to accommodate the full text in the slow-moving lower parts of many

Mass settings [68].

The main limitation of Stoquerus' 'obligatory rules' is, of course, that they provide relatively little help with underlay in the middle of melismatic phrases, and since, in practice, this is usually the most pressing problem, we must now move on to an analysis of his so-called 'optional rules of the older composers' [69]. How optional these really are may be judged from the strong suggestion that, while not followed by all musicians, they are in fact as essential to good performance as the 'obligatory rules' [70]. It is, nevertheless, explicitly stated that they are left to the discretion of the musician [71], showing that, with regard to the precise placing of middle syllables, there is some room for choice on the part of either performer, composer or both. This idea echoes and, by inference, considerably clarifies earlier comments to the effect that the obligatory rules are not just for singers but also for composers [72]. To Stoquerus, the prime consideration appears to be that the rules apply to singers (perhaps even because the manuscripts were not always very helpful), but that composers should nevertheless abide by them. To us, however, the very fact that the rules are directed at the performer at all, and that he may, furthermore, go so far as to exercise some degree of discretion in their application is far more interesting. It is evidently accepted that details of underlay may sometimes be resolved in more than one way, and that it is up to the performer to decide for himself what to do in ambiguous cases. The implications of such an idea for modern editions should not be underestimated.

The optional rules guiding the performer are set out in Chapter XIX of the treatise after quite a lengthy introduction, and they are then expounded in more detail during subsequent chapters. I propose now to examine much of this section point by point, refer-

ring to Lowinsky's translation and description of the treatise [73].

> We have said that all ambiguity centres in the problem of how to distribute one syllable each among groups of notes. These groups may be said to be ligatures not in form but in essence.

In other words, ligatures signify what we would now term slurs, but they cannot always be used because of the note lengths involved. Stoquerus has already stated that ligatures should, if possible, be used to indicate slurring [74], and we might therefore deduce that, if two or more notes are not joined even though they could be, they are not intended to be slurred. Regrettably, practice shows that this principle was not consistently followed by scribes in the mid 15th century, though it often does apply in otherwise ambiguous cases.

> The solution to this question (i.e. the distribution of syllables among groups of notes) can be derived in part from the words, in part from the notes. From the words: for as the accent demands more time in pronunciation, so does it allow the reception of more than one note in singing.

This is reinforced by the first optional rule, which states that the syllables of each penultimate or antepenultimate may take on several semiminims, provided that they are accented [75]. The literal meaning here is clearly rather too limited for our purposes, however, since in a more florid style it will almost certainly be necessary to allot a number of notes longer than semiminims to any given syllable, not just the later ones of a phrase. In practice, we should probably infer only that accented syllables will require more notes, or at least a longer time-span, than unaccented ones, though not that the latter should necessarily receive only one note, especially in a highly melismatic context [76].

In Chapter XX, Stoquerus also states that grammatical and musical sense should ideally be linked [77], intending perhaps that any focal point in a phrase of the text (such as, for instance, a strong

accent) ought to be reflected in the melodic shape and the method of underlay. How far this principle can be applied consistently to music before Josquin may well be debatable, but it may usefully be considered as a potential guideline, and links up conveniently with the idea of marking off coherent groups of words by the use of cadences [78].

> From the notes: for certain notes, because of their dissimilarity, cannot be gathered into one group; therefore they must be treated as separate entities. If, for example, a semiminim receives a syllable and is followed by a longer note, the latter cannot be regarded as connected with the preceding semiminim but demands its own syllable.

It is to be noted here that Stoquerus is only discussing the situation where a short note has received its own syllable, and the rule will not necessarily apply where it has not done so. Neither is he necessarily referring to the slurring of long to following short notes, judging by his examples both here and in Chapter XXI [79]. Prohibition of this would, in any case, be quite impracticable, dotted rhythms alone constituting a very important example where this type of slurring is normally mandatory [80].

Furthermore, the most literal interpretation of the passage in question is, for our purposes, far too narrow since the semiminim was even less likely to carry its own syllable in the mid 15th century than in Stoquerus' time, partly because of the predominantly longer note lengths and partly because of the more melismatic quality of the music. While what we have here hardly amounts to a full theoretical justification, the passage does suggest that, in the more melismatic 15th-century context, we might apply the principle not to semiminims, but to the shorter notes of the given rhythmic scheme, i.e. to minims where the movement is primarily in minims and semibreves, and even to semibreves where the movement is primarily

in semibreves and breves. Thus, in O time, a minim carrying its own syllable should, ideally, not be slurred to a semibreve or longer note, nor should a semibreve with its own syllable be slurred to a breve or longer note in most C/¢ time [81].

However, which notes can conveniently be gathered into a group can be comprehended from the nature of the dot or the quality of the notes. From the dot: for if a semibreve or minim be accompanied by a dot, the note following the dot receives the same syllable as the dotted note. This is so because a dotted note does not complete the bar (= mensura). This rule is observed even more strictly if not one but two notes follow the dot, these two notes being equal in length to the duration of the dot. Since in view of their great velocity these notes can hardly receive one syllable each, the previous syllable should in most cases be held out for the following note. Here and in Chapter XXII Stoquerus allows exceptions, but generally only where the dotted note is followed by one rather than two notes. In mid 15th-century music, of course, such exceptions would only normally apply at the dotted semibreve/minim and higher rhythmic levels. If, furthermore, the music is very melismatic, there will almost certainly be no need to apply syllables to the shorter notes anyway [82].

However, with regard to the property of the notes, the question is whether sets of two or more notes should take one syllable. If the former, note that the syllable should preferably go to the one that occurs as minim or semiminim at the beginning of the bar, or, if they be semiminims, to the one that comes on the up- or downbeat of the measure; the following note is regarded as a part of its predecessor, or rather both are considered necessary for the constitution of a complete measure, or minim.

For our purposes, this is perhaps the core of Stoquerus' thinking, since what he is saying effectively means that, where syllables are to be distributed over a number of short notes, they should fall on the accents or subsidiary accents. He is, of course, only referring directly to cases in which primary stress falls on the first beat and secondary stress on other beats of the modern bar, and is therefore taking the simplest of all possible situations. The idea can, nevertheless, be extended relatively easily to take in simple syncopation within the mensura, and even within a group of mensurae.

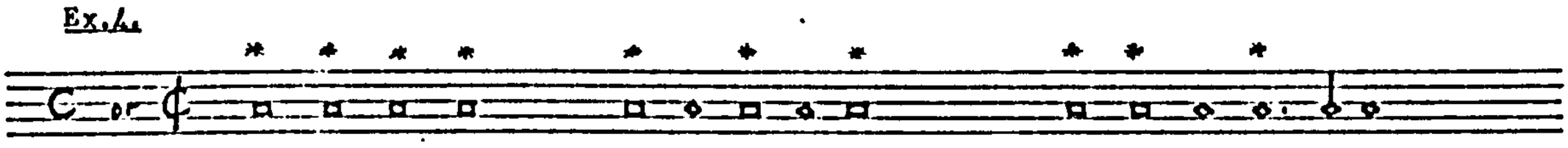
In O time, for example, a mensura of six minims is frequently grouped in two threes rather than the more 'normal' three twos, and in slow C time (minim/semibreve movement predominating), the eight minims constituting a long often divide into an arrangement of two threes and a two. The resulting natural accents are marked with asterisks in Ex.3. Similarly, in fast C/¢ time (semibreve/breve movement predominating), the eight semibreves constituting the duplex long may be regrouped as two threes and a two as in Ex.4.

It is not suggested, of course, that the marked notes are intended to be consciously emphasised in singing, which is why conventional accent signs have not been used to distinguish them. The idea is simply that they tend to carry a slight natural stress and will, in a melismatic context at least, carry separate syllables more readily than those which have not been so marked. It should also be clear that the rationale behind the placing of the stresses is far from complex, as it is consistently based on three natural principles: first, that such stresses fall on the first note of groups each of which comprise the equivalent of two or three minims (minim/semibreve movement) or semibreves (semibreve/breve movement); second, that long notes are stressed rather than short ones, i.e. semibreves rather than minims in minim/semibreve movement and breves rather than semibreves in semibreve/breve movement; and third, that

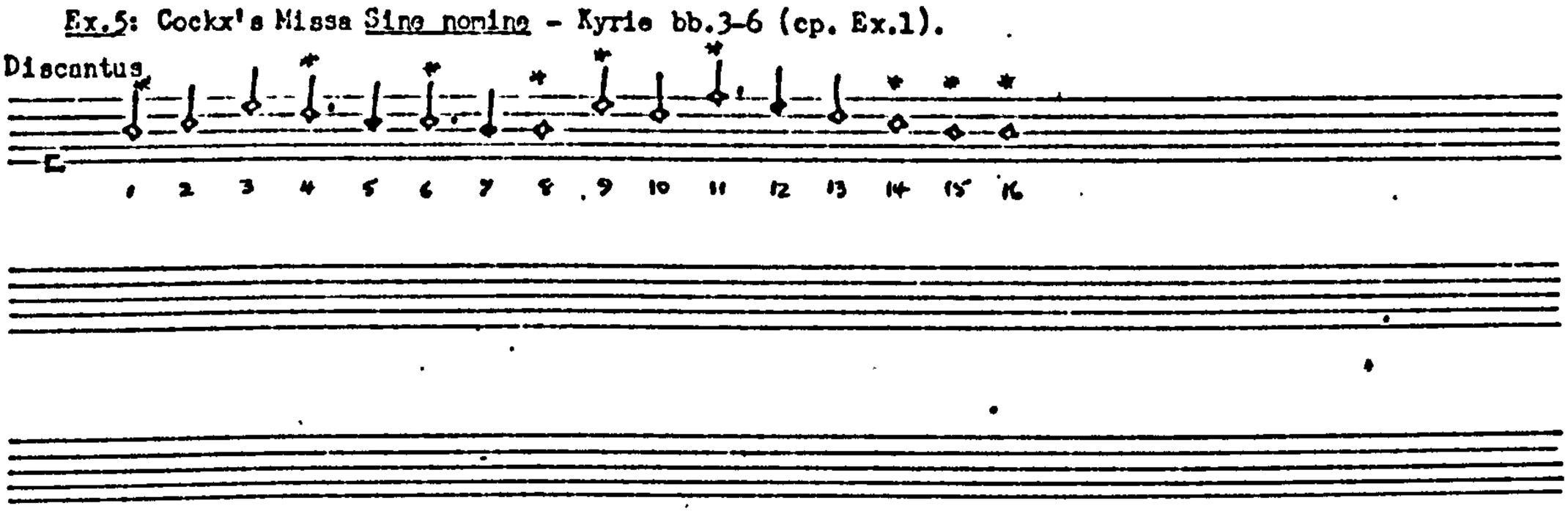
Ex.3.



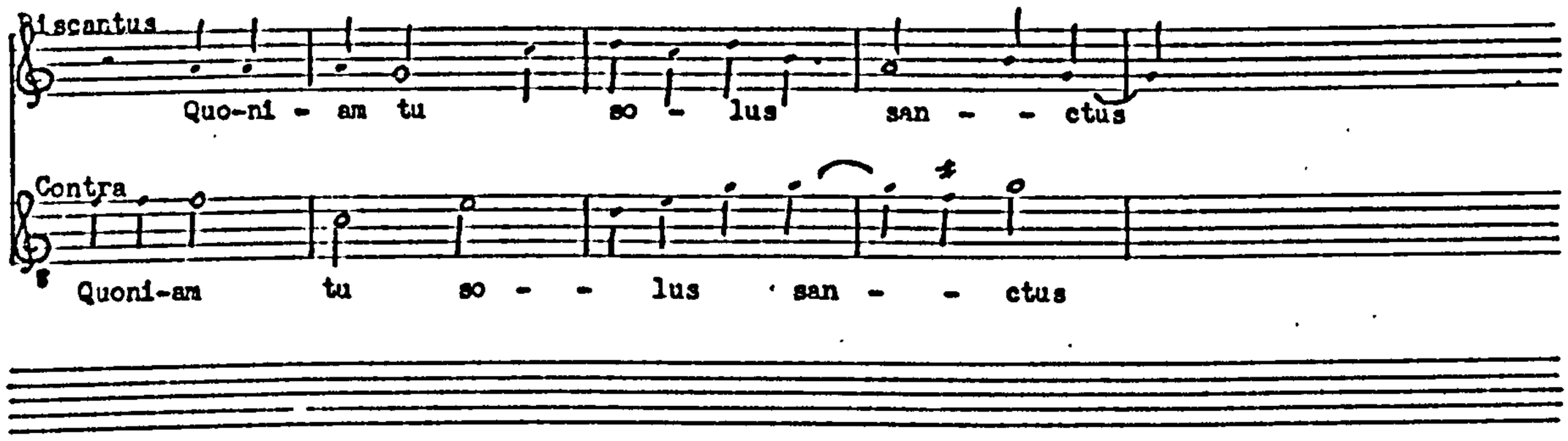
Ex.4a



Ex.5: Cockx's Missa Sine nomine - Kyrie bb.3-6 (cp. Ex.1).



Ex.6: Cockx's Missa Sine nomine - Gloria bb.71-75.



a dotted note is assigned the same status as a note equal to it plus its complementary short note, i.e. a dotted minim as a semibreve and a dotted semibreve as a breve. When these principles are used as a basis for text underlay, it will be apparent that the second is entirely consistent with the rule condemning the slurring of a short note with its own syllable to a following long note, and the third is surely implicit in the strong association Stoquerus attributes to the dotted note and its complement [83].

Neither are these principles necessarily invalidated where the notes of a syncopated passage bear much less relationship with the bar-lines of a modern transcription, as may be seen from Ex.5. Here, only the first and last notes fall on first beats when the example is transcribed in 3/4 time, and it might therefore appear difficult to pin down any possible stresses. Following the ideas set out above, however, a pattern of natural stresses is quite obvious, and has been supplied above the notes. That the unstressed note 10 comes on what looks uncomfortably like a cadence [84] need not worry us unduly, since Cockx very commonly blurs his internal cadences. In Ex.6, for example, it is much more consistent to place the last syllable of the phrase not on the last b (the cadence beat), but on the following G (the cadence note), the latter being the more naturally accented. Much the same argument favours stressing notes 9 and 11 of Ex.5, especially as any stress on 10 would require an unnatural stress on note 13 and the elimination of natural stresses on notes 11 and 14 [85].

> If the semibreve may demand one syllable, then if it be divided into two minims, the syllable given to the former may be held out for the following note. The same holds for semiminims, for if one minim be resolved into two semiminims both shall share in one syllable together. Finally, if several notes take one syllable - and this happens most commonly in the

> case of several semiminims and all other note values smaller than a minim - one gives a syllable only to the first, since the others, because of their speedy course, do not easily admit syllables.

Apart from relating with the simplest application of the previous extract, this also shows that individual syllables should not be put to very short notes, and that the latter should all be slurred together, not subdivided into smaller groups [86].

Stoquerus summarises his findings in Chapter XXV, and suggests that, if all the words have been sung and many notes remain, text may be repeated discreetly [87]. When such a practice came into use is not entirely clear, but well underlaid mid 15th-century manuscripts do not apparently follow it, evidently preferring a more melismatic effect [88]. For his part, Lanfranco suggests that either the words should be repeated as necessary, or else the singer should remain on the penultimate syllable until the last note of the phrase [89], this latter solution appearing to be more relevant to our purposes.

Another point which may be mentioned at this stage is Zarlino's seventh rule, which states that the first note after a rest should carry a new syllable [90]. This, however, is given neither by Stoquerus nor by Lanfranco, and it is dubious whether it should or even can be applied consistently to music as early as the mid 15th century [91].

Theory can probably take us little further and, before testing the plausibility of what has essentially been an attempt to modify known 16th-century rules to suit earlier music, this seems a convenient opportunity to summarise the general principles we have inferred for the purposes of underlaying melismatic music. If appropriate at all, we may expect these to hold in the majority of cases, though there is no reason to suppose that any of them cannot be broken if circumstances demand [92].

(i) A note cannot carry more than one syllable. A dotted note is regarded only as a single unit.

(ii) A ligature carries one syllable.

(iii) The non-existence of a ligature where one is possible may sometimes indicate that slurring is not intended.

(iv) Repeated notes of the same pitch carry separate syllables, except in the case of anticipatory notes.

(v) The first and last syllables of a text phrase or fragment fall on the first and cadential resolution notes of the musical phrase respectively, except in certain cases mentioned above.

(vi) Underlay should reflect any links between the melodic shape and the focal points of the text. In particular, accented syllables will cover a longer time-span and therefore normally carry more notes than unaccented ones.

(vii) A short note with its own syllable is not slurred to a following longer one.

(viii) A dotted note and its complementary short note(s) should be slurred, especially if there are two of the latter.

(ix) Middle syllables will fall on notes which are naturally stressed; these stresses will occur every two or three minims in minim/semibreve movement or semibreves in semibreve/breve movement, and fall on the longer of the predominating note values in preference to the shorter, dotted minims counting as semibreves and dotted semibreves as breves.

(x) Groups of very short notes are slurred together without subdivision.

(xi) Words are not repeated.

(xii) In cases where the manuscript does not specify a particular solution and various equally acceptable possibilities exist, precise placing of syllables is a matter for the discretion

of the performer [93].

As a vehicle for showing what sort of results may be obtained by applying the general principles given above, I have chosen the Kyrie of Cockx's Missa Sine nomine. This piece has been considered particularly suitable in that it exhibits a blend of melismatic and more declamatory writing fairly typical of mid 15th-century English Mass composition, and more especially because it is rhythmically intricate enough to provide a yard-stick for testing the application of the theory to syncopated passages. In view of the somewhat unusual purpose of the transcription, I have used a slightly adapted editorial method as follows:

Manuscript underlay has been almost entirely rejected as arbitrary, except insofar as it shows which text phrase goes with which music [94]. I have not therefore cluttered my transcription unnecessarily by showing it, neither have I indicated any of the incipits.

Syllables which can be placed with a reasonable degree of certainty following the propositions outlined above have been printed in capitals. Where there are a number of different possibilities for underlay, each of which seems reasonably equally consistent, the syllables in question have been printed in lower-case letters in one of the acceptable positions. Other notes which may just as appropriately carry these syllables have been marked with asterisks, and it is obviously permissible for the notes which already carry syllables according to my tentative underlay to carry different ones in any rearrangement.

In order to clarify rhythmic groupings resulting from the considerable amount of syncopation [95], these have, as far as possible, been appropriately beamed, and the so-called Mensurstrich has been used in preference to the bar-line.

The problems associated with the opening and bars 25 - 28 of the

tenor part have been discussed elsewhere [96], and the long notes split up accordingly.

In addition, a number of assumptions have had to be made because of gaps in the theory. While these may therefore appear speculative and even somewhat arbitrary in some ways, they are intended to provide practical underlay with a reasonable degree of consistency [97]. Thus:

In certain passages which are clearly declamatory (e.g. bars 26 - 28) shorter notes will readily carry syllables.

It is assumed that the same syllable is not very distantly separated in the different vocal parts.

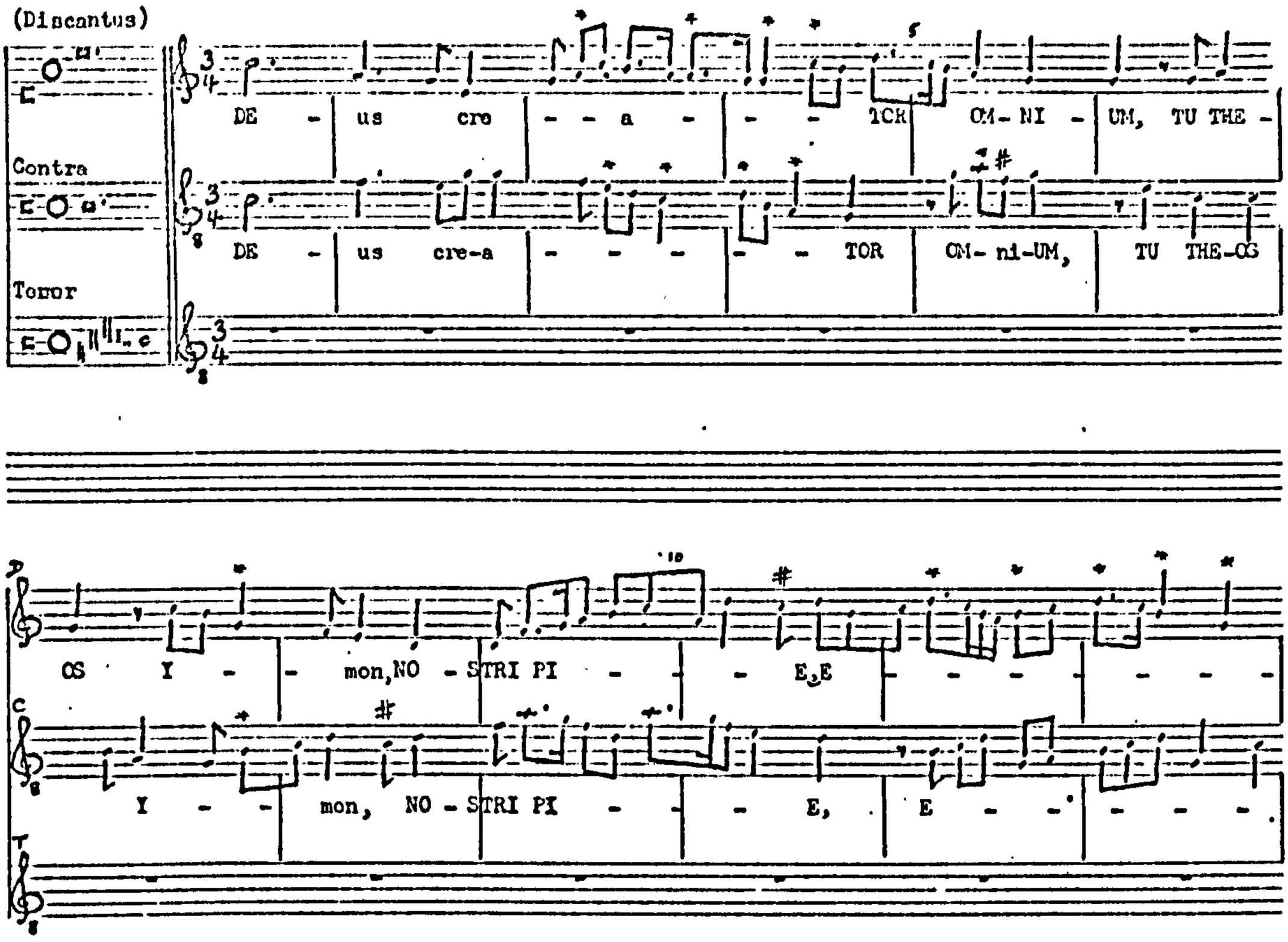
For the purposes of placing first and last syllables of coherent groups of words, the term cadence has been taken in its widest sense. Cadences are reckoned to occur in, for example, bars 5 (3rd beat), 8 (3rd beat), 10 (3rd beat), 14 (2nd beat) and 19 (1st beat). It has also been found helpful to assign to such resolutions as are found in bars 4 (3rd beat), 29 (1st beat) and 54 (second half of 3rd beat) a broadly similar role, though applying to less important syllables; these have been termed 'pseudo-cadences'.

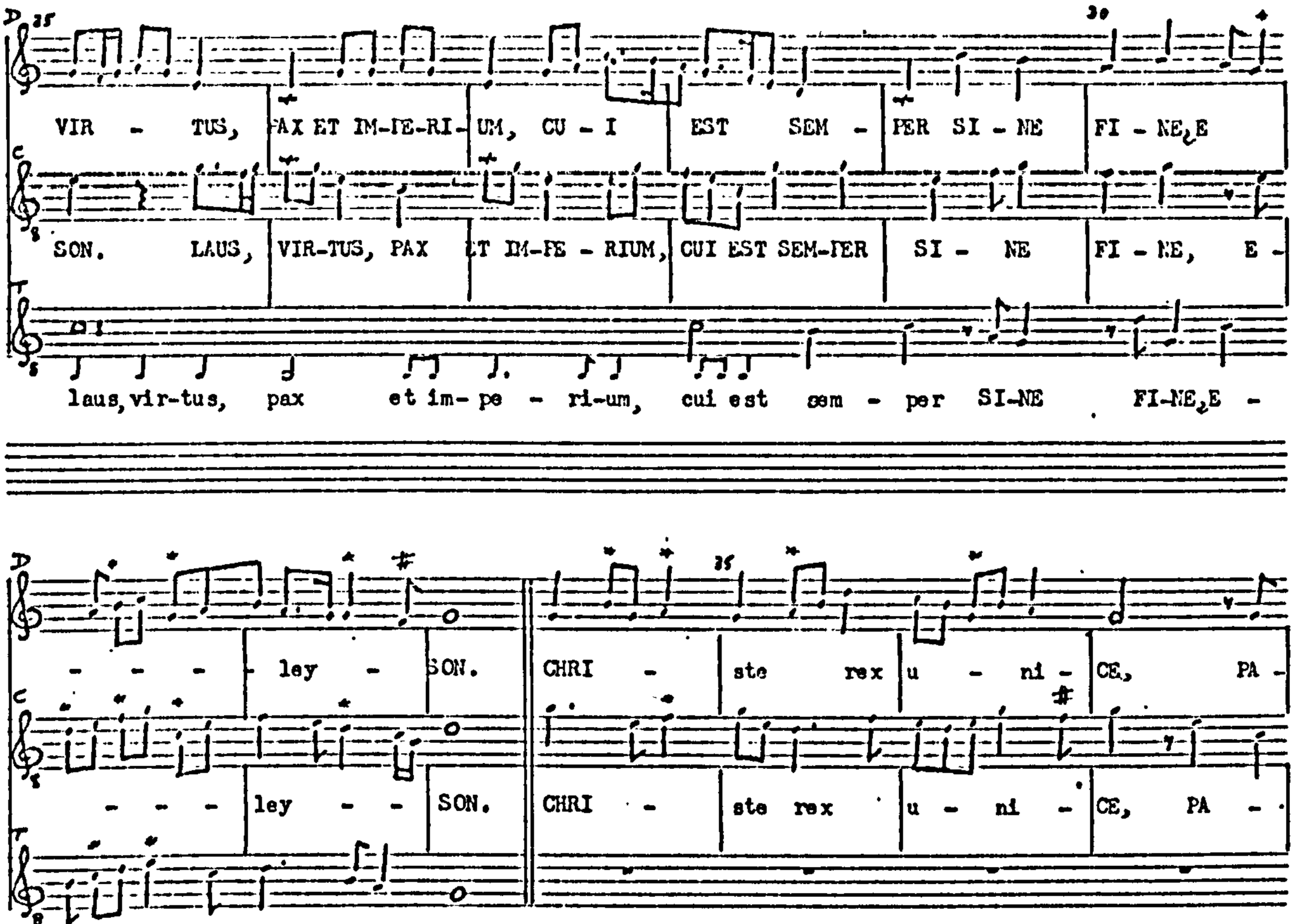
Where the word immediately preceding it ends in the letter 'e', and there is no intervening rest, the first syllable of 'eleyson' is elided [98]. The latter is assumed to contain four syllables in practice [99], the penultimate always falling on the penultimate note of the phrase.

The dotted semibreve in minim/semibreve movement and the dotted breve in semibreve/breve movement can have two different effects on the pattern of stresses. Bar 2 of the transcription, for example, shows that a dotted note can either fit into an unsyncopated rhythmic scheme as in the discantus part (usually then following (viii) above), or it can set up or be part of a syncopated rhythm as in the contra [100].

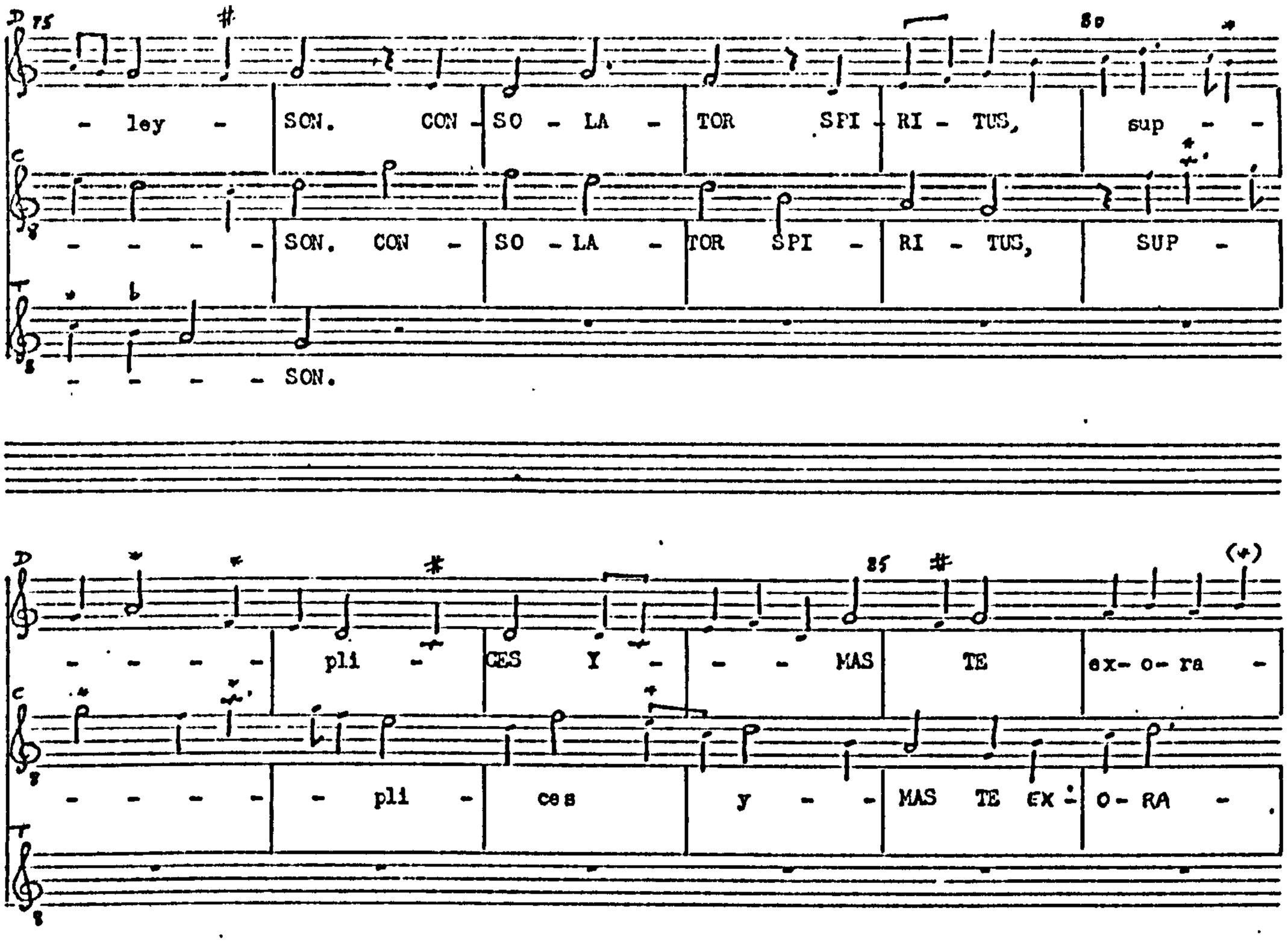
There inevitably arises a difficulty in subdividing certain combinations of notes where there is a choice as to the ordering of groups of two and three short notes. I have considered it appropriate that, where the movement has been primarily contained within the normal beat, the group of three short notes which introduces an obviously syncopated passage should be placed as late as possible, i.e. directly before the first syncopated long note [101]. On the other hand, in a passage which is already freely syncopated, it seems that a smoother effect is often produced by grouping the ambiguous semibreve-minim-minim-minim-semibreve, for example, as 3 + 2 + 2 rather than the perhaps more obvious 2 + 3 + 2 [102]. Another useful principle is that the note following a melodic leap is rather more likely to carry a stress than one which is approached by step. Naturally, there may be good reasons for ignoring these in given cases, and they are, on occasions, mutually exclusive anyway. Where no obvious solution has emerged, however, I have attempted, rightly or wrongly, to produce the least rhythmically obtrusive effect possible.

Ex.7: Cocx.l's Missa Sine nomine - Kyrie




VIR - TUS, PAX ET IM-PE-RI-UM, CU - I EST SEM - PER SI - NE FI - NE, E
SON. LAUS, VIR-TUS, PAX ET IM-PE - RIUM, CUI EST SEM-PER SI - NE FI - NE, E -
laus, vir-tus, pax et im- pe - ri-um, cui est sem - per SI-NE FI-NE, E -
- - - - ley - SON.
CHRI - ste rex u - ni - CE, PA -
- - - ley - - SON.
CHRI - ste rex u - ni - CE, PA - -
- - - - ley - - SON.
tris AL - MI NA - TE, CO - e -TER - NE, E - - - - ley
TRIS al - mi na - - TE, CO - e-TER - NE, E - - - - -
- - - - SON.
QUI PERDI-TUM HO - MI - NEM SAL - va - -
- ley - - SON.
QUI PERDI-TUM HO - MI - NEM sal - - va - - -
QUI PERDI-TUM HO - MI - NEM salva - - - -


STI do mor - - - - - TE
STI DE mor - - - - - - TE RED - - DENS VI -
STI do mor - - - - TE RED - - dens vi - -
E - - - - - - ley - SON.
TE, E - - - - - ley - - SON.
- - - - - - - - te, E - - - - - - ley - SON.
NE PE - RE - ANT PAS - CU - - E O - - ves tu -
NE PE - RE - ANT PAS - CU - E O - VES TU - -
NE PE - RE - - ANT PAS - CU - E O - - - VES
- E, JE - SU PAS-TOR BO - - ne, E - - -
- e, JE - SU PASTOR BO - NE, E - - - - - - ley -
TU- E, JE - SU PASTOR BO - NE, E - - - - - - ley -


A
75
- ley - SON. CON - SO - LA - TOR SPI - RI - TUS, sup - -
C
- - - - SON. CON - SO - LA - TOR SPI - RI - TUS, SUP -
T
- - - - SON.
80
- - - - pli - CES Y - - - MAS TE ex- o- ra -
- - - - - pli - ces y - - MAS TE EX - O- RA -
85
(*)
- mus, e - ley - SON. VIRTUS NO - - STRA, DO - MI -
MUS, E - - LEY - - SON. VIR - TUS NO - STRA, DO - MI -
VIR - TUS NO - STRA, DO-MI -
95
NE, AT - - QUE SA - LUS NO - STRA IN e -
NE, AT - - QUE SA - - - lus no - stra IN
NE, AT - - que sa - - - - lus NO- STRA in e -


T
- tor - - NUM, E -
C
E - TER - NUM, E - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
T
- ter - - NUM, E -
105
- - - - ley - SON.
- - - - ley - - SON.
- - ley - - - - SON.
ne
SUM - me De - - - - us u - ne
SUM - ME De - - - - us u - ne VI -
SUM - me De - - - - us u - ne vi -
115
vi - te DO - na no - bis tri - bu - E MI - SER - TUS
TE DO - na no - bis tri - bu - E MI - - - ser -
TE DO - NA NO - - bis tri-bu - E MI - SER - TUS NO-stri -
120
NOS- STRIQUE TU di - gner-is, e - ley - - - - - SON.
tus no-stri - que tu di - gner - is, e - - ley- - - - - - - SON.
- QUE TU di - gner - is, e - - - - - - - ley - - SON.

Specific problems and points of interest [103].

bb.2-4: '-a-' is the accented syllable so should probably be placed fairly early.

bb.5-6 (D): The repeated notes prevent '-um' from falling on the cadence note.

b.9 (C): Here (as occasionally elsewhere) it seems preferable that the cadence note should carry an accented syllable rather than the end of the word.

bb.14-15 (C): Or the G in b.14 may be slurred to the preceding C. A ligature would have clarified the situation, but no help of this kind has been given anywhere in the O-time sections of the movement (except bb.119-20 of the contra), and remarkably little even in the C-time section where ligatures are more widely possible.

b.35: The pseudo-cadence on the first beat requires a syllable, i.e. '-ste' or 'rex', but which is uncertain. If the latter, 'u-' and perhaps also '-ni-' will have to be placed earlier in both parts.

bb.37-38 (D): Against (vii) above, but alternatives are even less attractive since the words are then much less evenly distributed.

bb.48-52: There seem to be many possibilities here, though prime factors for consideration are that the accented syllables '-va-' and 'mor-' should be sufficiently weighted, and that the pseudo-cadence on the first beat of b.50 can hardly fail to carry '-sti'.

b.70: The cadence would normally take the last syllable of a word, but this is not possible in the tenor part, and such unusually chordal writing requires block declamation.

b.83 (C): The rhythmic context tends to suggest that a syllable should fall on the F rather than the cadence note.

bb.85 - 87: My underlay is based on a ∪ ∪ - - rhythm for 'exoramus', and most other solutions tend to stress the first two syllables unduly.

bb.97 - 99 (T): There is one C too many here. Apart from the solution given here, the first C could continue the '-a' of 'nostra' or the third and fourth C minims could be joined. The whole passage bb.93 - 99 is very difficult.

b.112 (D): Or the cadence can be treated more strictly with the '-te' falling on the G and the E being regarded as purely decorative.

C. The omission and telescoping of text.

The third problem involved in associating the words with the music of the five English Masses of the Brussels manuscript arises from the incomplete texts of a number of the movements. Each work has substantial passages omitted from its Credo, the pieces by Cockx and Plummer miss phrases from the Gloria also, and the version of Plummer's Mass even leaves out three invocations from the troped Kyrie [104]. One of the points at issue here must therefore be the significance of such omissions, and in particular what sort of approach the modern editor can reasonably take to them.

Since, however, this type of omission from the Credo and, to a lesser extent, from the Gloria is such a commonplace in the 15th-century polyphonic Mass repertoire, and therefore these five works are actually part of a much more general problem, it will again be necessary to widen the area of our discussion rather more than elsewhere in this thesis. Through the use of a broader approach it is hoped that the general trends may become clear and that it may then be possible to reach definite conclusions about such omissions as are made in the Masses of Frye, Cockx and Plummer. Also, since one of the most important matters which will arise in the course of this enquiry is the close connection between omission of text and the device of telescoping, this latter phenomenon will have to be examined in some detail as well. On the other hand, while all the text omissions made in the English Masses of the Brussels manuscript will be considered, there will be no more general discussion of telescoping or omission in settings of texts other than the Credo since, where the matter arises at all, it will be found that the same principles and general trends apply [105].

Accordingly, Table 2 is presented as a catalogue of Credo set-

Table 1: The text of the Credo, with phrases numbered.[106]

1 Credo in unum Deum,

2 (a) Patrem omnipotentem, factorem celi et terre,

(b) visibilium omnium et invisibilium;

3 (a) Et in unum Dominum (b) Jesum Christum, (c) Filium Dei unigenitum;

4 (a) Et ex Patre natum (b) ante omnia secula;

5 (a) Deum de Deo, (b) lumen de lumine, (c) Deum verum de Deo vero;

6 (a) Genitum non factum, (b) consubstantialem Patri, (c) per quem omnia facta sunt;

7 (a) Qui propter nos homines (b) et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis;

8 (a) Et incarnatus est (b) de Spiritu Sancto (c) ex Maria virgine, (d) et homo factus est;

9 (a) Crucifixus etiam pro nobis (b) sub Pontio Pilato passus (c) et sepultus est;

10 (a) Et resurrexit (b) tertia die (c) secundum scripturas;

11 (a) Et ascendit in celum (b) sedet at dexteram Patris;

12 (a) Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos, (b) cuius regni non erat finis;

13 (a) Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem (b) qui ex Patre Filioque procedit;

14 (a) Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, (b) qui locutus est per prophetas;

15 (a) Et unam sanctam catholicam (b) et apostolicam ecclesiam;

16 Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum;

17 Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum;

18 Et vitam venturi seculi;

19 Amen.

Table 2 [107].

		Publ. edition	Texting
GB:Llm Add.57950			
1.	No.69: Sturgeon	CMM46	a-p incomp.
2.	71:	"	a-p
3.	72: Damett	"	a-p
4.	73: Leonel = 41	"	a-p incomp.
5.	74: = 56, 70, 111	"	a-p incomp.
6.	75:	"	a-p
7.	77:	"	a-p
8.	82:	"	a-p
9.	83: Leonel = 16	"	2-section
10.	86: Swynford	"	2-section
11.	87: Typp	"	2-section
12.	90: (+ GB:Llm Add.40011B f13)	"	(2-section)
13.	92: Cooke	"	a-p
14.	93: Damett	"	a-p
I:Bc Q15			
15.	ff23'-24: Dunstable = 21	MB8/8	om. - a-p
16.	109'-10: De Anglia (Leonel) = 9	CMM46	2-section
17.	159'-61: Anglicanus		om. - a-p
I:TRmn92			
18.	No.1404: Leonel Rex seculorum	MB8/20	a-p corrupt
19.	1427: (Dunstable?) = 54, 68, 112	MB8/10	om. - a-p
20.	1460: Anglicanus = 28, 34		a-p
21.	1462: Dunstable = 15	MB8/8	a-p
22.	1471: Anglicanus	DTO61/49	2-section
23.	1472: (Forest) = 27	DTO61/47	a-p corrupt
24.	1517: Bloym		om. - a-p
25.	1518: Markham	DTO61/50	a-p corrupt
26.	1520: Dunstable Jesu Christe Fili Dei	MB8/16	a-p corrupt?
27.	1541: Forest = 23	DTO61/47	a-p corrupt
28.	1553: (Anglicanus) = 20, 34		a-p
I:TRmn87			
29.	No.4: (Leonel) Alma redemptoris mater = 37	DFL1/2	a-p
30.	7:	DTO61/52	a-p incomp.
31.	20: = 42		a-p corrupt
32.	26: Leonel (?/Benet?/Dunstable?) = 52, 66	MB8/57	a-p corrupt
33.	155: (Pullois (?)) = 44, 73	CMM41	om. - retext
I:AO			
34.	ff138'-40: (Anglicanus) = 20, 28		a-p
35.	140'-43:		a-p

36.	ff142'-44: De Anglia = 55, 69		a-p corrupt
37.	221'-23: Leonel Alma redemptoris mater = 29	DIL1/2	a-p
38.	226'-28: Dunstable De caudiorum premia	MB8/17	a-p
39.	233'-34:		a-p corrupt
40.	236'-38: Dunstable	MB8/12	a-p
41.	238'-40: (Leonel) = 4	CMM46	a-p corrupt
42.	240'-42: = 31		a-p corrupt

I:TRmd93

43.	No.1614: (Bedingham) = 81		om. - a-p
44.	1759: Pullois (?) = 33, 73	CMM41	om. - retext
45.	1763: (Dufay (?)) Caput = 59, 96	CMM1/2	om. - retext
46.	1764: Salve sancta parens = 60	EECM22	om. - retext
47.	1765: Quem malignus spiritus = 61, 113	EECM22	
48.	1766: Fuit homo missus = 62	EECM22	om. - retext
49.	1767: Pullois (?) = 63, 116	CMM41	om. - a-p
50.	1771: (Benet?) = 64		om. - a-p
51.	1772: (Benet) = 65, 110, 114		om. - retext
52.	1774: (Leonel/Dunstable/Benet?) = 32, 66	MB8/57	om. - retext
53.	1776: Hardo hardo = 67		
54.	1778: (Dunstable?) = 19, 68, 112	MB8/10	om. - a-p
55.	1779: (De Anglia) = 36, 69		om. - retext
56.	1780: = 5, 70, 111	CMM46	om. - retext
57.	1785: Homo quidam = 71		om. - retext
58.	1787: = 72		om. - a-p

I:TRmn90

59.	No.933: (Dufay (?)) Caput = 45, 96	CMM1/2	om. - retext
60.	934: Salve sancta parens = 46	EECM22	om. - retext
61.	935: Quem malignus spiritus = 47, 113	EECM22	
62.	936: Fuit homo missus = 48	EECM22	om. - retext
63.	937: Pullois (?) = 49, 116	CMM41	om. - a-p
64.	940: (Benet?) = 50		om. - a-p
65.	941: (Benet) = 51, 110, 114		om. - retext
66.	943: (Leonel/Dunstable/Benet?) = 32, 52	MB8/57	om. - retext
67.	945: Hardo hardo = 53		
68.	947: (Dunstable (?)) = 19, 54, 112	MB8/10	om. - a-p
69.	948: (De Anglia) = 36, 55		om. - retext
70.	949: = 5, 56, 111	CMM46	om. - retext
71.	954: Homo quidam = 57		om. - retext
72.	956: = 58		om. - a-p
73.	957: (Pullois (?)) = 33, 44	CMM41	om. - retext
74.	1033: le Rouge Soyez arrantiz = 119	DTO120/3	a-p corrupt

75.	No.1037:			om. - retext
76.	1099: Bedingham Deuil angoisseaux = 80		DTO61/67	om. - a-p
77.	1110:			om. - retext
78.	1124: Cousin Tubae		DTO120/1	
	I:TRmn88			
79.	No.200: Veterem hominem = 115		EECM22	
80.	215: (Bedingham) Deuil angouisseux = 76		DTO61/67	om. - a-p
81.	227: (Bedingham) = 43			om. - a-p
82.	231:			
83.	245:			
84.	250: Puisque m'amour			
85.	399: = 118			
86.	408: Le servitour		DTO38/4	om. - retext?
87.	413: Cornago Ayo visto			
88.	424:			
89.	428: Simon de Insula O admirabile			om. - retext?
90.	438: Standley		DTL1/6	curtailed
91.	477: O rosa bella (I)		DTO22/1	om. - retext??
92.	484: Grüne linden		DTO38/5	
	I:TRmn89			
93.	No.511: Fons bonitatis			curtailed?
94.	570:			a-p
95.	608:			
96.	679: Dufay (?) Caput = 45, 59		CMM1/2	om. - retext
97.	689:			
98.	694: Du cuer je souspir		DTO120/4	om. - a-p
99.	700: Bassere			
100.	713: Quant che voudra			
101.	717: O rosa bella (III) = 117, 121		DTO22/3	corrupt
102.	724: Christus surrexit		MTLII/1	
103.	738: (Tik) = 120			
104.	748: (Caron) Clemens et benigna = 122			corrupt?
	B:Br5557 (first fascicle)			
105.	ff2'-10: Frye Summe Trinitati		CMM19	om. - retext
106.	10'-20: (Plummer)			curtailed
107.	20'-30: Cockx			om. - a-p
108.	30'-38: Frye Flos regalis		CMM19	om. - retext
109.	38'-48: Frye Nobilis et pulcra		CMM19	om. - retext

Other sources

110.	GB:Ob Add.C.87*, ff221' & 224: (Benet) = 51, 65, 114			a-p corrupt
111.	GB:Ouc192, f27': = 5, 56, 70		CM146	a-p corrupt
112.	GB:Cpc314, p.4: (Dunstable?) = 19, 54, 68		MB8/10	a-p incomp.
113.	GB:Cu Ii.V.18, ff223'-24': Quem malignus spiritus = 47, 61		EECM22	
114.	D:Mbs Clm 14274, ff141'-43: Benet = 51, 65, 110			om. - a-p
115.	CS:P Strahov D.G.IV.47,No.130: Veterem hominem = 79		EECM22	
116.	134: Pullois (?) = 49, 63		CMM41	
117.	138: O rosa bella (III) = 101, 121		DTO22/3	
118.	I:Rvat SPB80, ff65'-67: = 85			
119.	74'-76: (le Rouge) Soyez aprantiz = 74		DTO120/5	om. - retext
120.	I:Las 238, f5': Tik = 103			
121.	I:MOe ∝ M.I.13, IX: O rosa bella (III) = 101, 117		DTO22/3	full text
122.	XII: Caron Clemens et benigna = 104			full text

tings with telescoping or omission of text which occur in the manuscripts I:Bc Q15, I:TRmn92, I:TRmn87, I:AO, I:TRmn93, I:TRmn90, I:TRmn88, I:TRmn89 and the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript, together with their concordances in other sources [108]. It begins, however, with a list of the telescoped settings from the Old Hall Manuscript (GB:Lbm Add.57950), undoubtedly the most extensive collection of the earliest-known pieces to use the technique. Ten complete works are involved, and the telescoping patterns of these together with an eleventh which can be successfully completed from another English source, are as follows [109]:

2. Tr1&2: 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
   Tr3: 2 4 5 7 8 9 11 12 14 15 17 18 19

3. Tr: {Patrem om-} 2 3 4 5 6 / 10 11 12 13a / 16 17 18 19
   C: {nipotentem} 7 8 9 / 13b 14 / 15

6. Tr1&2: 2 3ab 3c 5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13 14b 15 16 17 18 19
   Tr3: 2 3ab 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14a 14b 15 16 17 18 19

7. Tr1a: {Patrem om-} 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12a 12b 13 14 15 18 19
   1b: {nipotentem} 16
   Tr2 : - 2 - 4 5 - 7 - 9 10 - - 12b 13 - 17 18 19

8. Tr1: - - 5 7 - - 11 13 - 16 - 18 19
   Tr2: 2 3 4 6 8 9 10 12 14 15 17

9(=16), 10, 11. Tr: 2 - 12 / 19
   C: 13 - 18

12. Tr1: 2 - 18
    Tr2: 2 - 12 / 19
    C: 13 - 18

13. Tr: 2 - 7 8d 9 11 13 15 16 17 19
    C: 3 4 5 6a 6b 8abc 10 12 14 18

14. Tr: 2 3 6 7 9 10 12 13 14b 15 16 17 19
    C: 4 5 - 8 - 11 - 14a - 18

Two basic methods of telescoping are at work here, of which the one entails splitting the text into two continuous segments, and setting these simultaneously, as in Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12. This can conveniently be termed 'two-section' telescoping, and it may be noted that the division is invariably made between phrases 12 and 13. The other, more common method involves the simultaneous treatment of alternate phrases or groups of phrases, and can be referred to as 'al-

ternate-phrase' telescoping. By this second technique there arise almost as many different patterns as there are pieces: the particular pairs of phrases which are combined and the actual amount of the text telescoped vary, and no particular section of the text is more likely to be telescoped than any other, though at least the beginning of phrase 2 seems to be presented untelescoped in the majority of cases.

In spite of this apparent freedom, the patterns employed are far from arbitrary, and the following principles may be said to represent the norm in Old Hall:

(i) Only triplex and contra parts are involved in the telescoping.

(ii) In general, no more than two independent passages of text are sung at the same time.

(iii) The phrases allotted to a given part occur in the correct order. This means, for example, that a part does not contain one passage of text during a telescoped section, and then return to an earlier phrase for an ensuing untelescoped section.

(iv) Where the end of a section is clearly defined by a bar-line, a change of mensuration, or an obviously structural cadence, text presented is complete up to that point.

(v) The entire text is underlaid.

How far adherence to these principles can be said to be necessary for 'correct' or 'authentic' telescoping obviously depends on how reliable Old Hall is in its texting. On the other hand, they are used consistently in that manuscript, and therefore provide the nearest thing we have to a measure by which to assess the procedures used in later sources. Certainly, they seem to be broadly applicable to the Credo of Cockx's Mass, where the discantus omits phrases 5, 6, 12, 14, 15 and 17. Of these, phrase 12 is fully underlaid to a contra/tenor duo, and incipits to phrases 5, 14, 15 and 17 are given

in the lower parts. Assuming that all these are to be sung where indicated in the source, with phrase 6 following phrase 5 in the contra part - and there is no difficulty fitting the words to the music - we can reconstruct an entirely convincing setting of the full text with the following telescoping scheme [110]:

107. D: 2 3 4 7 8 9 10 11 - 13 16 18 19
C: 2 5 6 7 8 / 9 10 11 12 14 16 / 18 19
T: - 3 4 - 8 9 10 - 12 15 - 17 19

Here, it will be seen that the only major differences between this pattern and those used in the Old Hall manuscript are that principles (i) and (ii) have been broken. It is arguable, however, that these may merely be matters of individual technique, and it is possible to cite other later examples of their infringement [111].

The type of situation found in the Brussels version of Cockx's Mass, whereby omission of text is only apparent and should be remedied by telescoping, is by no means uncommon, particularly in manuscripts from the first half of the 15th century. As an example, we may take one of Dunstable's Credo settings as it is found in I:Bc Q15, the earliest surviving continental source containing Mass movements with telescoped or cut text (No.15). Here phrases 13, 15 and 17 are left out precisely where the contra text dries up:

15. D: 2a 2b 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 19
C: 2a 3 5 7 9 11 12* .....

and one might reasonably suspect that the transmission has been faulty. Indeed, another, in this respect more reliable version of the same piece in I:TRmn92 leaves very little room for doubt that straightforward alternate-phrase telescoping was intended throughout the piece:

21. D: 2a 2b 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18
C: 2a 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19

So far, we have only discussed relatively simple cases of inade-

quate transmission, and by no means all the problems raised by the English Masses of the Brussels manuscript can be solved anything like as readily. In order to make further progress, it will therefore be necessary to examine a number of more difficult examples, and to this end we shall begin by considering a piece by Leonel which, in I:AO, has the irregular telescoping plan:

41. Tr: 2 3 4 6 8 10 11 12 14 16 18 19
C: - - 5 7 - - - 15 .....

On the positive side, the texting of the Aosta top part corresponds, for the most part, with that of the work's Old Hall concordance (No. 4), where the triplex is the sole surviving part. The Aosta contra, on the other hand, does not provide all the remaining words, and of the three omitted phrases, 9, 13 and 17, only the last can conveniently be fitted. Apparently, the other two must either be left out completely, or else set, here most implausibly, in the tenor part.

Supposing, however, that the Aosta version did not exist at all, and we considered only the texting of the triplex and principles behind the telescoping found elsewhere in Old Hall, we might then expect an original scheme rather more like:

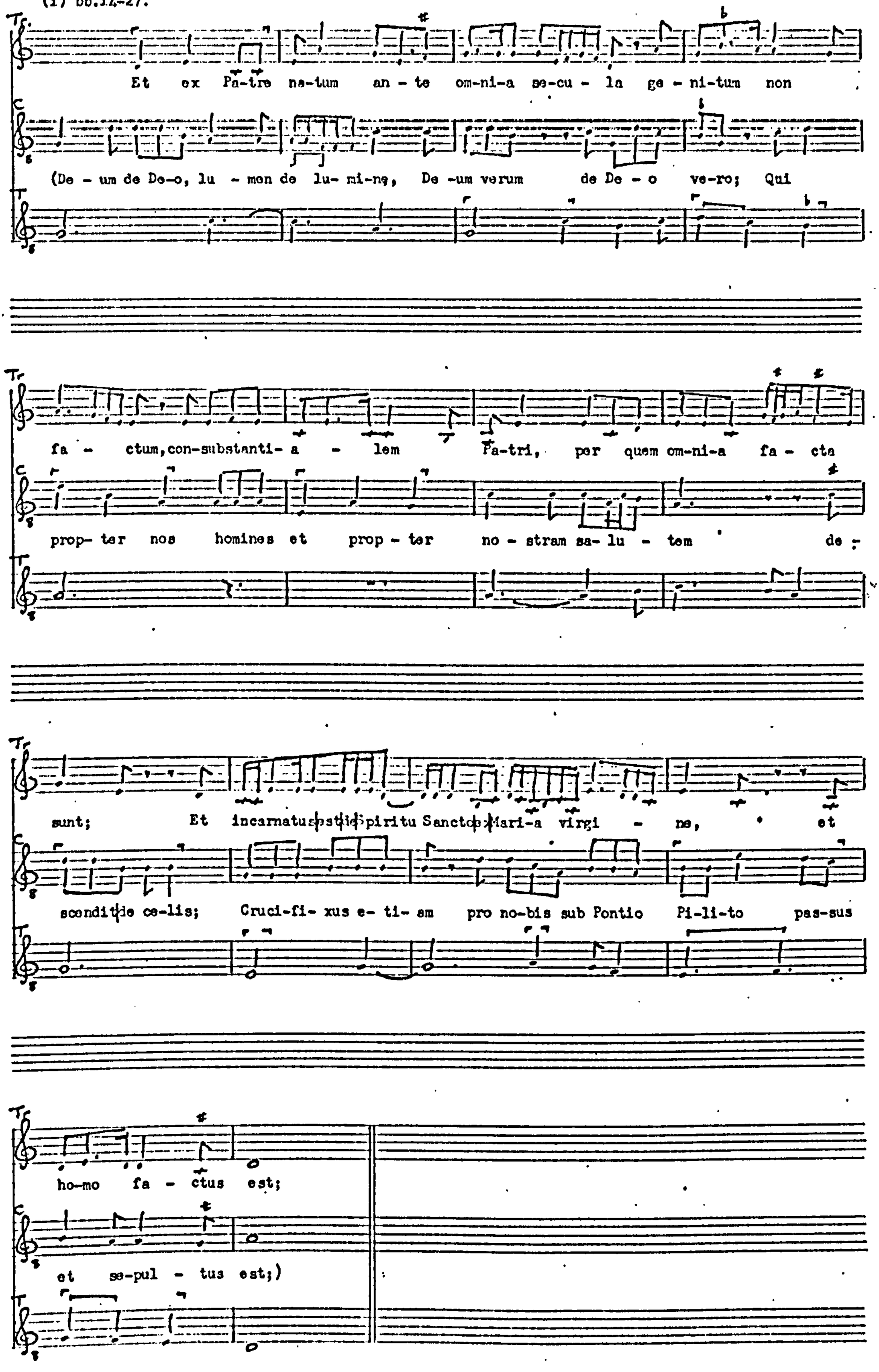
4. Tr: 2 3 4 6 8 10 11 12 14 16 18
(C: - - 5 7 9 - - - 13 15 17)[19]

Speculative as it may seem at first sight, in practice this texting fits the contra part like a glove (see Ex. 8) - underlay is largely syllabic as in the triplex, rests occur at natural breaks in the text, and there is no longer any need to have repeated notes of the same pitch applied to a single syllable. The only problem occurs at bar 15, where it is probable that the scribe of I:AO or his exemplar altered the rhythm to fit the greater number of syllables of the text he was using; certainly, examples of this sort of minor modification are not hard to find in other music of the period.

In the light of this reconstruction, it becomes all the more obvious that a great many other Credo settings in I:AO, I:TRmn92 and

Ex.8: Leonel's Credo = Nos.4/41 of Table 2 - a reconstruction of the telescoped sections (cp. CMM6 No.73).

(i) bb.14-27.



(11) bb.44-57.


Qui cum Pa-tre et Fi - li - o simul a-do-ra- tur, et conglorifica- tur, qui locutus
(Et in Spi-ri-tum San - ctum Do-mi - num et vi-vi-fi - cantem, qui ex Pa - tre Filio -
est per pro - phe - - - - tas; Confi-te- or u - num bap- tis - ma
que pro-ce-dit;Et u-nam sanctam ca - tho - licam et a-po-sto - li - cam ec - cle-
in remis-si-o-nem peccato - - - - rum; Et vi - tam ven- tu-ri se - cu - li;
- si - am; Et ex - spe -cto resurre-cti- onem mortuo - rum;)
etc.

I:TRmn87 have similarly corrupted telescoping schemes, and as just two further instances, we may cite the following:

25. D: 2 4 6a 8 9 11 13a - 15 17 18 19
C: - 3 5 7 6b 12 14a 14b 13b 16

31/42. D: 2 3 4 6 ..... / 10 12 14 / 16 17 18 19
C: 13 15

It is also hardly surprising that, with the passage of time, still more problems should have arisen in the transmission of texting, and the nature of some of these may be seen in a group of Credo settings which occur in earlier sources, and reappear a little later in I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90.

For example, an anonymous piece from the second section of I:AO, No.36 of Table 2, has phrases fitted to the tenor, as well as to the discantus and contra parts, in what seems to have been a vain attempt to include as much of the text as possible.

36. D: 2a 2b 5 7 8 9 10 11 16 18 19
C: 3 4 6 - 12 14b 15a
T: 2* 8*- 13* 15*

In I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90, however, while the texting of discantus is still substantially the same as in the Aosta version, all independent text has been removed from the lower parts, and incipits corresponding with the discantus have been inserted instead. Thus we have a piece which, by the time it has reached these later sources, has undergone at least two important modifications. First, the original telescoping scheme has been corrupted, resulting in the garbled account given in I:AO; and second, the lower parts have shed their words and new incipits have been put in, so that substantial text omissions appear [112].

Changes in underlay do not, however, invariably result from incomplete copying of words or purely incidental corruption of telescoping schemes by careless scribes, but can often arise from a deliberate policy of retexting. As an example, we may take the Credo of the Mass variously ascribed to Dunstable, Leonel and Benet, which

occurs in I:TRmn87 (No.32 of Table 2) in a version which is probably already somewhat corrupt. The concordance in I:TRmd93, as it was originally copied (No.52(i)), clearly represents a later stage of degeneration, since the text is often fragmentary in both upper parts, rather as if the copyist was unsure of the correct underlay. A still later scribe has, however, made various alterations (No.52 (ii)), the most important of which involved the fitting of more text to the top part. The I:TRmn90 version (No.66) then follows the revisions made in the discantus part in I:TRmd93, but leaves the lower parts untexted [113].

		bars:	1-16	16-36	37-64	65-121	122-144
32.	D:			2b 5	7 8	9 10 11 16	17 18 19
	C:	2a	/	3 4	/ 6	/ - 13 14	/ 15
	T:		-	2*		9 12	17* 19
52(i).	D:			2b 5	7(frag.)....	9 10 11 16	17 18 19
	C:	2a	/	3 ...	/ 5-8(frags.)	/ 9* 14b 15	/ 17*
	T:		-			12 13	17*
52(ii).	D:			2b 4 5ab	5c 6 8	9 10 11 16	17 18 19
	C:	2a	/	3	/ 5-8(frags.)	/ 9* 14b 15	/ 17*
	T:		-	3 4	5c 6bc 7	9*	17*
66.	D:	2a		2b 4 5ab	5c 6 8	9 10 11 16	17 18 19
	C:	2*	/		/	/ 9* ?*	/ 17*
	T:		-	3*		9*	

Among the various other examples of retexting in I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90 for which we can derive direct evidence, by far the most dramatic occurs in No.56 of Table 2. This work has a concordance in Old Hall lacking the top part and, given the nature of the texting in the contra, we might reasonably expect alternate-phrase telescoping to have been intended, perhaps along the lines:

56. (Tr: 2 4 6 10 11 12 13 16 17)
C: 2 3 5 7 8 9 14 15 18 19

Instead of merely suppressing the text of the contra part, as ultimately happens in most other cases examined so far, the versions in I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90 have, in fact, completely abandoned whatever were the original words of the discantus, and contain in their place as much continuous text as the scribe could fit, viz. phrases 2-4, 6-12 and 19, the remainder simply being omitted.

The extent of the revision which has taken place here must inevitably raise questions about the original texting of other similar pieces in I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90. While we might perhaps be reasonably confident that the only corruption of this sort that has befallen some pieces is that their independent contra text has been suppressed, others are more problematical. At first sight, for example, it might seem that two-section telescoping was intended in the case of No.50 of Table 2, since phrases 13 - 18 are missing and the contra is untexted, but closer examination shows that phrases 13 - 18 do not fit the music of the contra at all convincingly. Besides, this mode of telescoping would appear to have fallen out of use by this time, judging by the very small number of examples surviving after Old Hall; moreover, it would not provide any obvious solution to the omissions made in various of the other pieces like, for example, No.46 which omits phrases 5 and 11 - 16.

There is no escaping the fact that telescoping certainly was originally intended in most of the works in question: in the discantus and contra parts, the ends of musical phrases are consistently staggered, so that, if one attempts to impose the same text on both voices, there arise improbably bad alignment of words, and strong melodic closes - even substantial rests - in the middle of text phrases; the text set to the discantus often conflicts strongly with the rhythm of the contra, and sometimes cannot be fitted to the latter at all. By far the most convenient explanation for such discrepancies is that the two parts should have different texts, and where it appears impossible to provide a telescoping scheme consistent with the pattern of omission, as happens in many of the pieces in question, the likelihood must surely follow that drastic retexting has taken place.

With this in mind, we may now return to the English Masses of

the Brussels manuscript and consider the Credo settings from Frye's three works. Here, the problems involved are neatly exemplified by the strange layout of the Credo Flos regalis:

108.	D:	2	-	omnium	2(remainder)		3	4	5	6	-	7	8	-	10	12	18	19
	C:	2a			-		-	3*					8	9	10*		18*	19
	T:	-			-		-						-	-	10*			19
	B:	-				2b							-	9		16*		

At first sight, the incipit in the bass part for phrase 16 might lead us to assume that this is a simple instance of alternate-phrase telescoping, and that, in the course of transmission, the remaining independent text has disappeared from the contra and bass parts. Closer examination shows that, for a number of reasons, such a solution is most unlikely. First, it would mean that, while the opening O-time section of the movement would be untelescoped, the ensuing C-time section would have a very large amount of text crammed into it, a situation not totally without precedent, but nevertheless extremely unusual. Second, it is not a little dubious whether so much text could be fitted conveniently to the C-time section anyway, given the underlay already provided. These points, taken together, imply that at least one, and perhaps as many as three phrases of the text set in the C-time section in the Brussels version were originally placed in the O-time section.

Third, discrepancies in the first section show that retexting has also taken place here at some stage, the most obvious of these being the bad co-ordination in the setting of phrase 2 between the discantus on the one hand and the contra and bass parts on the other. This plainly comes about through an attempt by a revising scribe to force an extra phrase of the text into the discantus part [114]. Thus at least one phrase of text fewer than the number found in the Brussels manuscript was originally given to this top part.

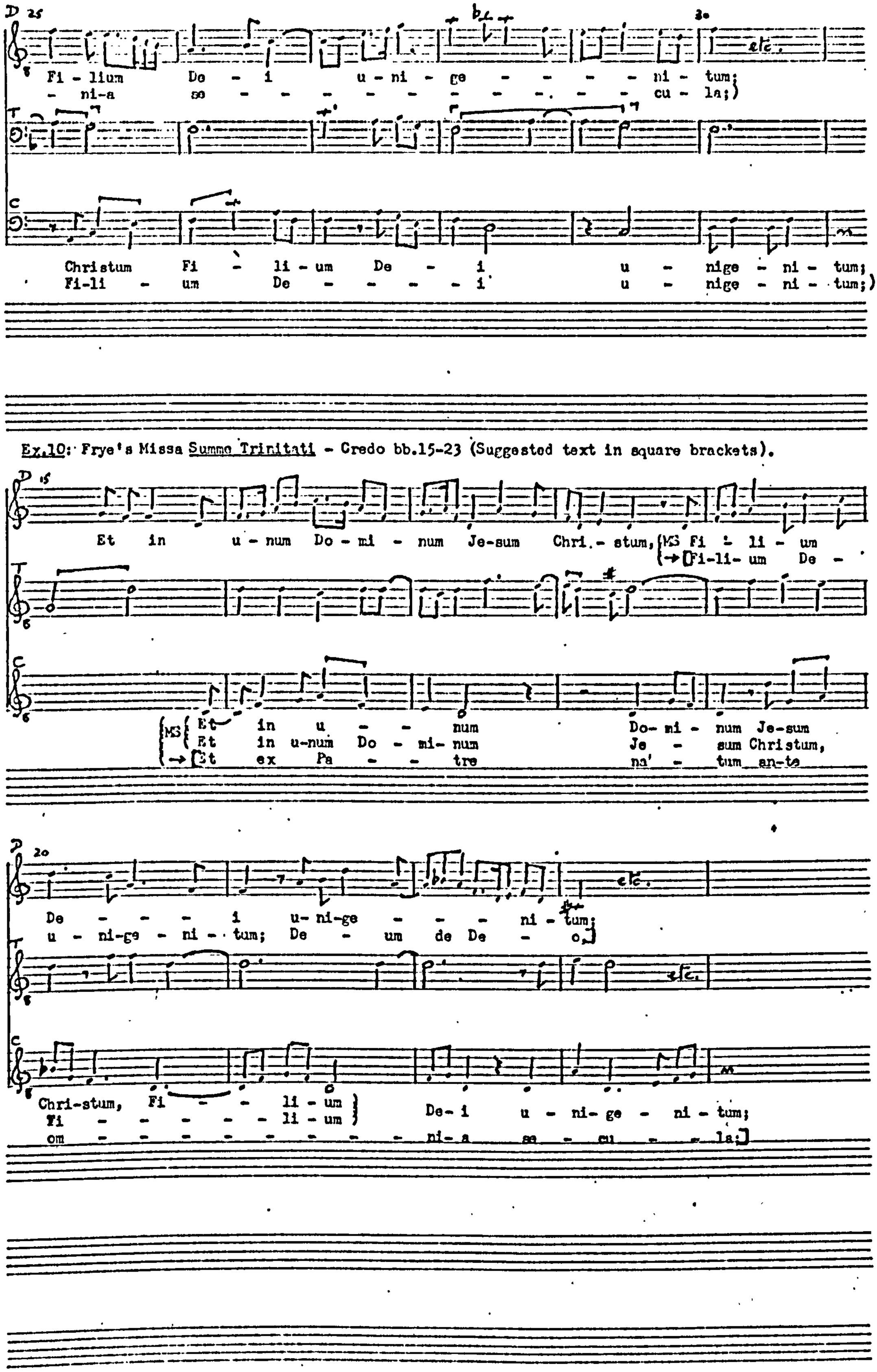
Accepting these points, we may now postulate a pre-revision form of this movement in which the discantus contained only four or five

phrases of the text in the O-time section and perhaps three or four plus the Amen in the C-time section. The remainder of the text was therefore set to the contra part and, it would appear, probably also to the bass. As I have already suggested, the C-time section should probably begin somewhere about phrase 9 or 10, perhaps even 11, but not with phrase 8 as in the Brussels manuscript [115].

The portions of text set in the Credo settings of Frye's other two Masses are broadly similar to that set in the Credo Flos regalis and, although there are no explicit signs that these originally involved telescoping, there are plenty of clear indications that this was almost certainly the composer's intention. At the beginning of the Credo Nobilis et pulcra, for example, there may seem to be little problem applying the text given in the source to the discantus part, but quite serious difficulties occur in the contra part from bar 9 onwards (see. Ex. 9). In particular, following the Brussels manuscript, the notes of bars 13 - 15 must either take 'visibilium', with the result that alighment of text with the discantus is somewhat far-fetched and a ligature has to be broken; or else 'omnium' must come at this point, an exceedingly clumsy piece of word-setting as will be seen. If, on the other hand, we assume that telescoping was originally envisaged, bars 13 - 15 of the contra immediately reveal themselves to be ready-made for 'Et in unum', the beginning of phrase 3, and it is not especially difficult to set the remainder of that phrase ending in bar 31. This means that the discantus requires different words from bar 18 through to bar 30, and it will be clear that phrase 4 fits quite as convincingly as does what is found in the manuscript.

A comparable situation occurs at the beginning of the first full section of the Credo Summe Trinitati (Ex.10). If the same words are applied to both discantus and contra parts, there will arise either a substantial rest between 'unum' and 'Dominum', or else the whole

Ex.9: Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra - Credo bb.1-30. (Suggested text in square brackets)



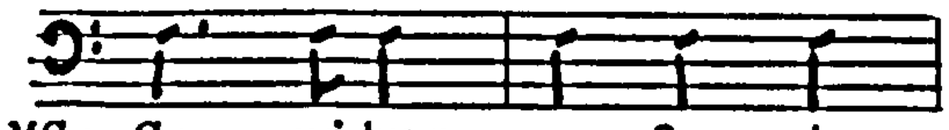
Ex.10: Frye's Missa Summo Trinitati - Credo bb.15-23 (Suggested text in square brackets).

of 'Et in unum Dominum' must be accommodated, very awkwardly, in bars 15 - 17. In the first case, there results the additional problem of bad alignment during the remainder of the phrase, and the word-setting in the second case can hardly be described as elegant. If, however, phrase 4 is substituted, the problem rest in bars 17 - 18 falls between 'Et ex Patre' and 'natum ante omnia secula', damaging the continuity of the words far less. The remainder of the phrase also fits relatively easily [116].

It is not, of course, particularly difficult to imagine why scribes should have carried out such seemingly extensive revisions. The earlier parts of Table 2 show just how many Credos had their independent contra text suppressed and, whether this happened by accident through inadequate copying or by design in order to remove the telescoping, the end result was, as often as not, an almost incoherently fragmentary discantus text. It is hardly surprising, in the circumstances, that later scribes should have discarded what looked suspiciously like nonsense, substituted as much continuous and coherent text as could reasonably be fitted to the music, and simply omitted the remainder. This does, however, leave the modern editor in an uncomfortable dilemma, since any attempt to return to a posited original necessarily involves the complete redistribution of the text of the work concerned; and because we are dealing with a highly melismatic style where it is possible for many phrases of the music to accommodate different sections of the text without doing notable violence to any of them, the reconstruction is bound, to a great extent, to be speculative. Moreover, even apparently obvious indications of correct texting, like rhythmic groups of repeated notes, commonly turn out to be less than conclusive guides, usually because more than one set of words can be fitted to the notes even as they stand. If we then take into account possible minor rhythmic altera-

tions of a type of which even the least competent scribe, musically speaking, not to mention the actual performer, would have been perfectly capable, still more possibilities present themselves. The sort of ambiguities which are likely to arise are typified by Ex.11, where the beginning of a musical phrase of Frye's Credo Nobilis et pulcra admits at least four possible texts, two with the notes as they stand in the manuscript, and two which involve only very insignificant rhythmic changes.

Ex.11: Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra - Credo bb.41 - 42 (contra)



In spite of these difficulties, I feel that there ought to be a potential market for such reconstructions, particularly among more specifically performing editions; at the same time, however, I fully appreciate the danger of further confusing what is already, admittedly with good reason, an alarming state of anarchy with respect to editorial underlay. Accordingly, since the existing edition of Frye's Masses, whatever its other limitations, does place the text more or less as it is found in the Brussels manuscript, I have sought to produce reconstructions of the Credo settings incorporating full texts by means of telescoping. Clearly, I cannot claim full authenticity for these, but it is hoped, nevertheless, that they come rather closer to the spirit of Frye's original versions, and that they are more grateful to perform than straight transcriptions from the source [117].

We must pass on now to Plummer's Mass, the Brussels version of

which involves some of the most brutal text-cutting to be found in all the surviving 15th-century repertoire. Particularly unusual here is the manner in which three of the nine invocations are omitted from the Kyrie, excisions which, it will be seen, cannot reasonably be remedied by giving more text to the discantus part. Furthermore, since the only clear break in the music comes at the mid-point change in mensuration, there can be no question of any alternatim setting following established patterns. Other plausible ways of accounting for the missing text might either be to rearrange the underlay so that the first six invocations are set to the existing music, and the remaining three to a repeat of the first section, or alternatively might involve telescoping. The first of these possibilities may safely be rejected, however, since the Kyrie would then no longer follow the broadly parallel construction of the other four movements [118], and it would also have to end, most unconvincingly, on an imperfect cadence.

As far as telescoping is concerned, this question must be discussed in relation to the text cuts made in the Gloria and Credo, since, for the sake of consistency, it seems most reasonable that all three movements should either telescope or omit text, but not mix the two techniques. A number of factors render the general use of telescoping in this work most unlikely, however. First, while it may be physically possible to retext the Kyrie and Gloria to accommodate all the words according to normal telescoping principles, it is totally impractical in the Credo since, as the movement stands, there is nothing like sufficient music; even an extensive rewriting of the rhythms would probably not be enough to remedy the situation. Second, the underlay of these three movements shows none of the discrepancies mentioned above which tend to characterise telescoped and subsequently retexted pieces. Third, extensive imitation is an integral part of the style throughout all the music, occurring not only

at the beginnings but also in the middles of musical phrases of duos and full sections alike. It would seem somewhat perverse to suggest that what is essentially the same musical idea should differ in its texting between the voices, even were it generally a practical possibility, which it very rarely is [119]. Fourth, there exists no precedent for the telescoping of a Kyrie. It appears, therefore, most improbable that Plummer's music was ever intended to accommodate all the words; indeed, it is more than likely that, with regard to the texting, no scribal interference of any great significance has taken place.

So far, it has been possible to establish fairly clearly that the five Masses of the first layer of the Brussels manuscript do not present any single approach to the setting of long texts, and such variety perhaps requires some further comment. However, any attempt at a more accurate placing of these works in relation to their context presents certain difficulties. In particular, because of the amount of scribal revision which has clearly taken place in many of the sources, it is not at all easy to pin down precisely when settings of genuinely curtailed texts, as opposed to retexted versions of originally telescoped pieces, begin to appear. Up to and including I:TRmn87 and I:AO, we seem to be dealing exclusively with originally telescoped works, though the texting of at least one piece has been extensively altered at some stage. Telescoping may well also have been intended originally in most, if not all of the pieces in I:TRmd93 but, as we have seen, a much larger proportion of these are likely to have been completely retexted. Unfortunately, however, with respect to these latter works, there are two definite problem cases, namely the Credo settings on Quem malignus spiritus [120] and Herdo herdo. So many passages from the first of these contain close imitation between the discantus and contra parts, and demand identi-

cal texting, that it appears, at least at first sight, impossible to fit more than three of the four omitted phrases to the music as it stands. On the other hand, it must be said that phrase 13 is omitted from the discantus in all three sources, which surely makes nonsense of the following phrase which is included, unless the former can be incorporated by means of some sort of telescoping. Four possibilities seem to present themselves: first, it is conceivable that the piece should be telescoped, with the whole text fitted by some method which has so far eluded me; second, we may have a genuine setting of a curtailed text which does not happen to make especially good sense; third, the setting may be telescoped, nevertheless omitting one of the phrases, probably 5; and fourth, there may have been some scribal interference which has so far escaped attention. I can add little more at present, beyond suggesting that the third of these can claim neither precedent, except in blatantly corrupt sources, nor has it any very clear rationale.

The Credo Herdo herdo is also extremely difficult to assess, since the large number of repeated notes leads one to suspect considerable scribal interference with the original rhythms. Again, however, there is widespread imitation, which may possibly indicate the deliberate setting of a curtailed version of the text. The problems associated with this work are doubly tantalising, of course, since the musical style suggests that it might be one of the earliest compositions in I:TRmd93; in other words, there seems here to be at least some possibility that the setting of curtailed texts goes back further than might be expected.

Of the pieces in I:TRmn90 which have not come from I:TRmn93, those by Bedingham and Guillaume le Rouge are certainly telescoped, as is evident from incipits for independent contra text, and the two anonymous works show every sign of having been originally telescoped but subsequently drastically retexted. The Credo of Cousin's Missa

Tubae, a work which must go back to before I:TRmn90 since the Gloria is in I:TRmd93 [121], represents another problem since, like the Credo Quem malignus spiritus, it omits phrase 13, but not 14. Much as one might expect that telescoping was the original intention, therefore, there are no clear indications that this was so, and, in any case, it is by no means easy to be sure whether the contra and/or tenor parts can be texted at all. As far as the pieces in I:TRmn88 and I:TRmn89 are concerned, preliminary work suggests that the canonic Credo by Standley from I:TRmn88 (No.90 of Table 2) is one, probably of a very substantial number of settings of curtailed texts. Indeed, it is highly likely that only a minority of these later Mass movements should be telescoped since, judging by its scant use by subsequent composers, the practice was probably falling out of use very rapidly by this time [122].

This tends to suggest that, in the course of the 15th century, there was a general trend away from telescoping and towards the setting of curtailed versions of the Credo; and that sources such as I:TRmn90, I:TRmn88, I:TRmn89 and the Brussels manuscript belong to an especially crucial point in the development of this process. Exactly how and why the changeover came about is, of course, rather less certain, though, on the basis of the chronology of the sources, we might begin by postulating three stages [123], namely:

(i) Corruption of telescoping patterns and omission of indépendent contra text. Since, early on, the corruption which took place in transmission almost invariably involved the muddled texting of the contra part and left that of the discantus largely unscathed, it follows that these two problems are different facets of the same phenomenon, i.e. lack of scribal concern with text not set in the top voice.

(ii) Drastic retexting of discantus parts. This evidently comes about in order to avoid the omission of alternate phrases re-

sulting from simple suppression of independent contra text, and the incoherently fragmentary text which often remained. As a result of such retexting, a continuous and coherent portion of text is given to the discantus part, the remainder being omitted.

(iii) The composition of settings of intentionally curtailed texts. Here, the actual portions of text used are comparable with those set in revisions belonging to the previous stage.

Though this order of events may seem to follow the chronology of the sources remarkably closely, it would, however, be naive to accept it uncritically as a necessarily satisfactory picture of developments. Apart from anything else, there is a considerable overlap of the three stages, as may be seen from the variety of approach we have found as relatively late as the Brussels manuscript. Neither is the appearance of a piece like Cockx's Credo whose telescoped origins have remained unobscured an isolated case. I:TRmn89 contains two cyclic Masses the telescoping of whose Credo settings is similarly indicated by incipits for independent contra text, and whose texting does not seem to have been significantly revised or corrupted [124].

Furthermore, the carelessness with which independent contra texts were transmitted and the sort of performances which must have resulted from the often lamentably corrupt copies seem necessarily to imply at least a tacit acceptance of text omission. In effect, had full texting been so absolutely essential, it could hardly have involved such an excessive effort for the scribes to have copied all the words, in whatever vocal part they happened to be. Such scrupulousness was evidently not required, and it surely follows therefore that text omission had become at least tolerated, and perhaps even approved. This leads us to question the sequence of the stages outlined above, because, if text omission had become at all acceptable, we would expect intentionally curtailed settings to have

been written very early on, presumably more or less contemporaneously with the works of the apparent first stage. Indeed, it would not be at all beyond the bounds of possibility if curtailed settings actually arose out of the significant fall from favour of telescoping which seems to be implicit in its woefully inadequate transmission. This could easily have encouraged the modification of surviving pieces to make them conform to the new aesthetic, first by the suppression of independent contra texts, and subsequently by retexting in order to avoid nonsensical omission of alternate phrases. In this way, the starting point would not be what appeared as our first stage above but, paradoxically, the last one.

Clearly, in the almost total absence of hard evidence, we are in danger of moving into the realms of wildest speculation, and in practice it is probably only possible to establish a more accurate chronology of developments through the sort of detailed stylistic analysis of the works involved which must, unfortunately, be regarded as well beyond the terms of reference of the present enquiry. Nevertheless, before leaving the subject of chronology and style completely, it will be helpful to make a number of general remarks about the provenance of the various works which do use telescoping or omit text.

As far as this matter is concerned, even the most cursory glance at the first part of Table 2 shows that, up to and including the pieces in I:TRmd93, a large proportion of the pieces have specifically English ascriptions, whereas only three, the Credo of the pseudo-Dufay Caput Mass and the two attributed to Pullois (Nos.33/44/73 and 49/63/116) are credited to continental composers. Of the remainder, two works are almost certainly English since they occur in insular sources (Nos.19/54/68/112 and 47/61/113), and these, together with all the rest, appear in Hamm's catalogue of anonymous English

music on convincing grounds [125]. In the circumstances, we can hardly avoid questioning the authorship of the three apparently continental works.

That of the Caput Mass has, of course, been a matter of controversy for some years, and it is not practicable to discuss it in detail here. It has, however, proved possible to furnish new evidence supporting English provenance elsewhere in this thesis [126] and, although the Credo Caput is not telescoped in any of its extant sources, all the indications are that it should be: omission of text, staggering of cadences, and the impossibility of fitting the same text conveniently to both top parts. Furthermore, various features suggest that significant retexting has taken place at some stage, most notably the manner in which many of the main melodic cadences do not correspond with ends of text phrases, and the strange inclusion of only the very beginning of phrase 10, 'Et resurrexit'.

In many ways, the problems associated with the authorship of the pieces ascribed to Pullois are at least as great as those concerning that of the Caput Mass and, since they have in the past been given only very scant attention, they are probably worth a short digression here. The two Credo settings are, as Gülke points out, not quite identical twins [127], almost the same music being set on F as final in one (Nos.33/44/73) and D as final in the other (Nos.49/63/116). The D version evidently belongs to a five-movement cyclic Mass, though for some unknown reason the I:TRmn87 copy of the complete work mistakenly contains the F version of the Credo. No F versions of the other movements of the full Mass have so far turned up [128].

When we come to examine the texting of the two Credo settings as they appear in the Trent Codices, we find the following:

bars:	1 - 62	63 - 92	93 - 131 (as in D version)
49/63. D:	2 5 7 8	/ 9 10 11 12 13a	/ 13b 16 17 18 19
33. D:	2 3 4 5c 6 ..	/ 8 9 10 11	/ 13b 16 17 18 ..
44. D:	2 3 4 5c 6 7	/ 8 9 10 11	/ 16 17 18 19
73. D:	2 3 4 5c 6 7	/ 8 9 10 11 19 (Remainder missing)	

Thus, Nos.49 and 63, the D versions from I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90, have the same texting, from which it will be seen that No.33, from I:TRmn 87, differs significantly. No.44, the F version of I:TRmd93, clearly derives from the latter version, but deletes phrase 13b as nonsensical in isolation. No.73, the F version of I:TRmn90, breaks off at the end of the duple-time section, and since it corresponds with No.44 in other respects was presumably incompletely copied from it [129].

The inference is that the two D versions derive from one line of transmission, and the three F versions from another, an idea which is also reinforced by the way in which the former have their middle sections in ¢ time with note values of twice the length of those of the latter, which are in C time. Furthermore, there are some quite significant musical differences between the D and F versions which, together with other evidence just presented, might tend to suggest that the lines of transmission were well separated by the time the work reached the Trent Codices.

There are, on the other hand, also indications that the two traditions might, after all, not have parted so very long before I:TRmn 87: first, as we have already seen, I:TRmn87 includes the F Credo as one of the movements of a cyclic Mass for which the D version was clearly intended; and second I:TRmn87 shares with the two D versions the extraordinary variant of phrase 13b 'Qui cum (sic!) Patre Filioque procedit', an error one would expect to have derived from a single exemplar not far removed from the Trent Codices, otherwise it would presumably have been corrected.

This is a complex problem worthy of a considerably more detailed study than is practicable here. Whatever the answer, however, we may

reasonably assume a single lost model for the full Mass and the separate Credo which, though it may only pre-date I:TRmn87 by a relatively short space of text, must in any case be regarded as extremely early for Pullois, whose music is otherwise associated with the later parts of I:TRmn90 and more recent sources. Neither need the many ascriptions be regarded as too independent to be rejected, especially as all five of the movements in I:TRmn87 are anonymous. It is quite possible that the credits in I:TRmn93 and I:TRmn90 derive from a single mistake[130], and, since so much of the music of the Strahov Codex seems to come from the same general repertoire as does that of the middle Trent Codices, the ascription there may easily arise from the same original error.

Apart from this, the works in question are so completely unlike anything else attributed to Pullois [131], and exhibit other characteristics which tend to point to English authorship. The peculiar discrepancy between the respective notations of the duple sections of the twin Credos is a strong indication of insular origin, since it may well arise from differing interpretations of the characteristically English use of C time [132]. The tenor part of each movement is probably derived from a single chant-like melodic line in the same way as the tenor parts of the Leonel/Dunstable/Benet Missa Sine nomine also probably stem from a common model [133]; in fact, the basis of the 'Pullois' tenor lines may even be the tenor of the short Kyrie [134]. It might at first seem strange that the 'Pullois' work shows little sign of a ground plan, though in this respect it may be compared with certain other so-called freely-composed Masses by English composers [135]. In fact, the only facet of this Mass which is uncharacteristic of the English repertoire is the use of the same music for the two settings of the Osanna, and the same music for the first and third Agnus, though how significant an objection this is is difficult to say.

While, therefore, it looks as if all the Credo settings with telescoping or omission of text up to I:TRmn93 may well be English, by the time we reach the later settings of I:TRmn90, the authorship question becomes significantly more difficult to assess. True, one work is by Bedingham, and the two anonymous Credos (Nos.75 and 77 of Table 2) look very much as if they may also be English, even though they are not on Hamm's list[136]; on the other hand, we have no firm evidence concerning Guillaume le Rouge's nationality, and Jean Cousin was definitely a continental[137]. Again, many of the works in I:TRmn88 and I:TRmn89 are undoubtedly insular; apart from the Caput Credo and those attributed to Bedingham and Standley, there are the Credos of the Masses Veterem hominem and Christus surrexit, together with Nos.88 and 94 from Table 2, all four being listed by Hamm on stylistic and other grounds[138]. To these I am tempted to add at least the Credo Du cuer je souspir (No.98), because the Mass has a troped Kyrie, and a particularly strict ground plan. There are, nevertheless, several specifically continental ascriptions, and many of the anonymous pieces are similarly unlikely to be English; it is clear, therefore, that by this time continental composers were also regularly writing settings of genuinely curtailed and, probably to a lesser extent, telescoped texts. Within a very short time, of course, continental settings with text omissions became a commonplace, especially in such sources as I:Rvat CS14, I:Rvat CS51, I:Rvat Chigi C.VIII.234, I:Rvat SPB80, I:MOe ∝ M.I.13, the remaining fascicles of the Brussels manuscript and so on, though telescoping is probably not intended, except in rare cases[139]. At the same time, up-to-date English Mass music disappears from continental sources, and such later insular manuscripts as survive seem only to give settings of curtailed versions of the Credo, like, for example, those from the Masses by Thomas Packe in Ritson's manuscript.

Though this account of the likely provenance of the works listed in Table 2 does not, perhaps, help us directly in our attempt to establish a more certain chronology for developments in telescoping and text omission, it does indirectly suggest a reason behind some of the difficulties involved. As has already been pointed out, the order of the three stages given above relies excessively on the order in which individual works occur in a relatively small number of continental manuscripts. Furthermore, these sources have to be regarded as decidedly secondary for the repertoire of English music which we have seen to be central to the whole discussion, and they may not, therefore, necessarily represent developments as they actually took place in England.

It is at least arguable that, since so much English music found its way to the continent, and so little continental music was apparently copied into insular sources, the pattern of influence may have been almost entirely one-way. This would suggest that, since much the same developments in the texting of English Masses seem to apply in both English and continental sources [140], the general trends probably originated in changes of approach which took place in England and not on the continent. The trouble here is that the very few insular manuscripts which do survive are quite insufficient to confirm a chronology of developments with any degree of reliability. Even those which exist are often difficult to date at all accurately, and can be at least as far removed from the original versions as are the Trent Codices; the Cambridge copy of the Missa Quem malignus spiritus, for example, was almost certainly copied later than I:TRmd 93 [141]. We cannot therefore assume that the order in which pieces occur in sources now extant - be they insular or continental - is anything like the order in which they were originally composed. That an Old Hall piece should crop up as late as I:TRmn90 and the Caput Mass as late as I:TRmn89 (both, incidentally, in company with plenty

of stylistically comparable works) ought to be quite sufficient warning against any such rash supposition.

This means also that we cannot necessarily deduce the chronology of the five English Masses of the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript from the trends we have so far been able to trace. Admittedly, there is much else to suggest that Plummer's work is more advanced, if not actually later than the other four [142], and this is exactly what we would expect, since curtailed rather than telescoped texts are set. On the other hand, it is difficult to establish much at this stage about the chronology of the works by Frye and Cockx [143]. Again, we are left with the impression that any more detailed answers to the various questions raised by this and other contemporary manuscripts can only arise out of a much better understanding of the musical styles involved than as yet exists.

Nevertheless, in spite of the scale of the existing problem and the many holes which still remain, it should be clear that, with regard to telescoping and omission of text, the five works in question do fit remarkably neatly into what can at present be ascertained about the wider context. And if it may seem disturbing that we have isolated here yet another respect in which it is not possible to take for granted what a particular source gives, it must be reassuring that an explanation of that context, as far as this has been feasible, can at least provide the editor with some indication as to how he is to regard the texting of the problem movements.

Footnotes to Chapter III.

[1] This may not apply in Credo settings which have been retexted: see below, p.193ff.

[2] That is unless some direct link with the composer can be established. As with the majority of other 15th-century sources, no such link can be demonstrated, at any rate with regard to the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript. It is to be noted that there would be little need to insert the full text of the Mass for much of the time, since singers would have been very familiar with the words.

[3] See fn.1.

[4] See section C, p.188ff.

[5] The Missa Fuit homo missus is published in EECM22, and the Gloria and Credo Herdo herdo are in I:TRmd93 Nos.1731 and 1776 and I:TRmn90 Nos.921 and 945. (Concerning the priority of I:TRmd93, see fn.108below.)

[6] See, for example, No.73 in CMM46/Vol.2.

[7] The Missa Quem malignus spiritus is in I:TRmd93 as Nos.1707, 1765, 1791 and 1792 (Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei), in I:TRmn90 as Nos.897, 935, 962 and 963 (same movements), in GB: Cu Ii.V.18 ff219'-228 (complete with Kyrie, but a page missing, with the loss of part of the Credo and Sanctus), and in I:Las 238 ff24bis-24'bis (part of Gloria). It is published in EECM22.

[8] See I:AO ff142'-44 cf. I:TRmd93 No.1779 and I:TRmn90 No.948.

[9] He certainly seems to have omitted independent contra texts in telescoped movements: see below, p.193 etc.

[10] This is put forward by Margaret Bent in EECM22 (see p.175).

[11] ibid., p.173 suggests early 1470's.

[12] The Lucca fragment provides no further evidence here.

[13] Reduced-scoring sections in the Missa Caput are not strictly comparable here. There are, perhaps, more nearly comparable examples in Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra, where the tenor joins the contra (but not the discantus) in free duos in each movement.

[14] With Glorias and Credos we may include here troped Kyries, and with Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings untroped Kyries.

[15] Again, it must be stressed how few surviving sources can be demonstrated to be close enough to the composer to be accepted as totally reliable.

[16] E.g. the two Kyrie settings in I:AO ff11'-12' and a Missa Sine nomine for three equal voices at I:TRmn89 Nos.569-573.

[17] Much of the Plummer work is underlaid in the Brussels manuscript.

[18] But see Harrison: Tradition and Innovation in instrumental usage 1100-1450, p.328ff.; also Page: Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the performance of music, which refers to secular music of an

earlier age, but could conceivably have some relevance here.

19 See also fn.14 above.

20 See Bowles: Were musical instruments used in the liturgical service during the middle ages? McKinnon: Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art provides iconographical evidence which also seems to support performance without other instruments - see especially p.48ff.

21 See, for example, the Gloria and Credo Herdo herdo.

22 See, for example, the Credo of Dufay's Missa L'homme armé, with the tenor part set out as in CMM1/Vol.3.

23 But see writings of Stoquerus - discussed below, p.159ff.

24 Unless the texting of the tenor of the Gloria in GB:Cpc314 (published as MB8 No.2) is authentic, which looks improbable, at least in bb.1-56.

25 See CMM1/Vol.3 and appendix to this thesis, p.290ff.

26 Dunstable's Gloria and Credo Jesu Christe Fili Dei are in I:TRmn92 as Nos.1519-20 (published edition: MB8 Nos.15-16), and Leonel's Missa Alma redemptoris mater is in I:TRmn87 as Nos.3-6, I:AO ff219'-226, and I:TRmd93 No.1712 (Gloria only) and I:TRmn90 No.902 (same movement). The Leonel work is published as DPL1/2.

27 I:TRmd93 Nos.1708, 1766 and 1793, and I:TRmn90 Nos.898, 936 and 964.

28 Nos.219-20.

29 See I:TRmd93 No.1706 and I:TRmn90 No.896, especially the second openings, where full text is given to the tenor.

30 The possibility of fitting plainsong text to the tenor parts of these two works is recognised in EECM22, pp.170 and 181.

31 Though this latter point may seem important, there is no particularly compelling reason why the plainsong should only need to be stated once.

32 It may be noted that the tenor of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum is exceptional in these respects (see Appendix).

33 This part represents something of a problem anyway, and it is suggested in EECM22 (p.xiii) that it may be a later addition.

34 For further discussion of Stoquerus' writings, see below, p.159ff.

35 A fourth part could be either of these: see above, p.91ff.

36 See, for example, Kyrie bb.46-48, Gloria bb.35-36 and Credo bb.135-140.

37 These latter are at Kyrie bb.25-28, Gloria bb.20-23 and Credo bb.42-46. The opening of the Agnus Dei presents no problem. A fourth potentially difficult point is at Gloria b.92.

38 See above, p.110ff. A comparable situation applies at the beginning of each movement of the Missa Flos regalis, where the rhythms of the first two bars are the same quite regardless of whether the words fit or not. In practice, the principle of not having two or more consecutive notes of the same pitch on the same syllable - the reverse case from what happens in the Cockx work - has to be broken in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and probably also in the Credo.

39 As far as the Missa Flos regalis is concerned, the question is somewhat hypothetical, since we do not have the text of the plainsong.

40 See above, p.86.

41 See above, p.86.

42 See Kyrie bb.29-32 and 157-61, and corresponding passages of the other movements.

43 See above, p.86ff.

44 Concerning problems over telescoped movements, see below, p.188ff.

45 See below, p.196ff.

46 See above, p.86.

47 In particular, perhaps, in the so-called freely-composed Mass repertoire.

48 Neither would one wish to be too categorical about most of the Old Hall repertoire, though there are obvious and perhaps insurmountable problems over a piece like No.28 (CMM46/Vol.1).

49 Accordingly, the present edition gives, with all due reservation, text to all parts in all five of the English Masses: see Editorial Commentary, Vol.2, p.3.

50 This criticism is not levelled at editions which are deliberately more akin to diplomatic copies, but rather at those where no consistent effort has been made to judge whether the manuscript underlay makes any sense.

51 But see CMM1/Vol.3, Introduction p.XIff., and The Medici Codex, p.90ff. of Part 1.

52 Here the words are placed exactly as in the manuscript.

53 Harrán: In pursuit of origins: the earliest writing on text underlay (c.1440),

54 Harrán, op.cit., p.219. I have used Harrán's translation here.

55 ibid., p.227ff. It could conceivably be that the quotation above refers not necessarily to the composer but to the copyist. It will, however, already be apparent how few scribes took such care over exact placing.

56 See below, p.162.

57 A conclusion also reached by Leeman Perkins in Toward a rational approach to text placement in the secular music of Dufay's time, p.102.

58 Harrán, op.cit., p.220.

59 For Lanfranco's work, see facsimile edition and Harrán: New light on the question of text underlay prior to Zarlino; for Zarlino's work, see facsimile edition and, for certain of the more relevant passages, Strunk's translation in Source Readings in Music History, p.259ff.; for Stoquerus' work, see Lowinsky: A treatise on text underlay by a German disciple of Francisco de Salinas.

60 That this is so at least in the case of Lanfranco is suggested by Harrán in New light on the question of text underlay prior to Zarlino, p.29.

61 op.cit., p.103.

62 Ch.XI, translated in Lowinsky, op.cit., p.236.

63 Chh.XII, XIV and XIII. The discrepancy in the order of the chapters follows Lowinsky.

64 Ch.XV, as in Lowinsky, op.cit., p.237. Another possible exception to Rule 4 which is ignored by Stoquerus arises when there is no way of expressing in a single symbol the particular duration of note required.

65 By these I mean discantus and contra parts, together with short-note passages in tenor and bass parts.

66 Harrán: New light on the question of text underlay prior to Zarlino, p.32ff.

67 See below, p.164; also p.172.

68 See above, p.150ff. In this connection, it may be that Stoquerus' acceptance of the omission of individual syllables may justifiably be regarded as less relevant. In particular, what he says is rather ambiquous, in that it is difficult to tell whether he envisages the sort of 'coherent summary' alluded in the first section of this chapter (p.146), or something more limited. The problems of the former have already been discussed and, so far as the latter is concerned, it would seem a great deal more logical to split a few long notes to accommodate the entire text than to omit the occasional syllable here and there.

69 Chh.XVIII-XXV, described in Lowinsky, op.cit., p.237ff.

70 ibid., p.237.

71 ibid., p.237.

72 Ch.XVII, ibid., p.237.

73 Lowinsky's translation (op.cit., pp.238-39) has been used since I have had no access to the original.

74 Ch.XIII, ibid., p.237.

75 ibid., p.238.

76 See also a passage of Ch.XX (Lowinsky, op.cit., p.239):

> As in speech an accented syllable receives more time, so it can, in song, take many notes and thus be rendered in a longer interval of time.

77 ibid., p.239.

78 See above, p.161.

79 Lowinsky, op.cit., p.239.

80 See below, p.165.

81 Concerning C/¢ time with semibreve/breve movement, see above, p.88ff.

82 Concerning dotted notes which do not, properly speaking, have complementary short notes, see below, p.172.

83 Nevertheless, ligatures in semibreve/breve movement do occasionally call expressly for slurring from the previous short note - in fact, whenever a semibreve is joined to a dotted semibreve - and this is so clear that it must obviously be respected. Unfortunately, there is no way of clarifying the parallel case in minim/semibreve movement.

84 See full transcription, b.4.

85 If this does not appear to fit in very well with conventional tactus theory, it might be remembered that neither does extensive syncopation of this sort.

86 See also Ch.XXIV; Lowinsky, op.cit., p.239.

87 ibid., p.239.

88 But see exceptional case at the end of the Agnus II of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum, where the word 'miserere' is repeated for special effect.

89 Rules 7 and 8: see Harrán: New light on the question of text underlay prior to Zarlino, p.43ff.

90 Strunk, op.cit., p.260.

91 It certainly does not seem possible in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings of the English Masses from the Brussels manuscript.

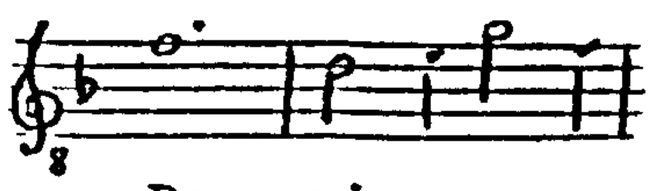
92 In particular, these principles will often have to be broken in the more problematic tenor and bass parts, and probably occasionally in the more straightforward discantus and contra parts.

93 One would like to be able to provide much more support for the ideas suggested here from musical sources but, as has been pointed out, it is impossible to be sure whether these are any more reliable. Even the second layer of the Old Hall MS., which one might expect to constitute one of the most useful comparisons both because its underlay seems to be fairly painstaking and be-

cause some of its pieces use a melismatic style not unlike that of later English music, is not without problems. Rhythms like ♩ ♪♩ ♪ (values quartered) often crop up in O time, usually with syllables marked on the crotchets; occasionally, however, they are marked on the first crotchet and ensuing quaver, and this may even be necessitated because the first two notes are on the same pitch (see, for example, b.49 triplex of Sturgeon's Salve mater, No.113 in CMM46/Vol.2). A Gloria (No.40 in CMM46/Vol.2) contains the following difficult passage (bb.39-40, triplex part):



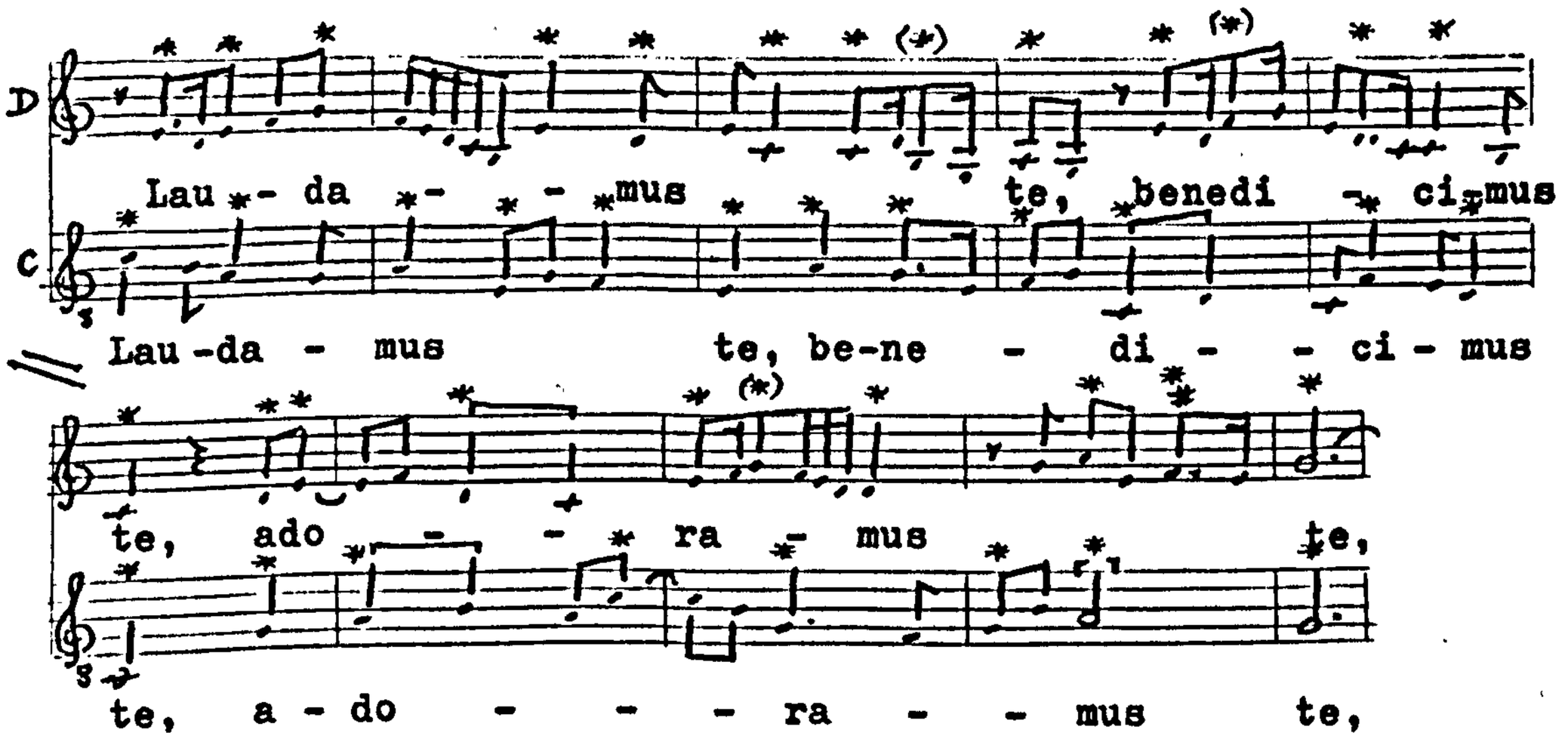
where the placing of 'De-' goes against what I have been suggesting; neither is there any obvious alternative. The following:



from a Gloria by Damett (No.39 in CMM46/Vol.2; bb.72-73, triplex) seems strange and could, of course, just be a mistake; or, perhaps, the scribe did not consider it necessary to place the '-ne' precisely because the correct underlay was obvious.

It is easy to over-emphasise the number and importance of the problems, and it must be pointed out that my interpretation of Stoquerus' rules is broadly consistent with underlay given in the majority of rhythmically complex passages as they appear in such so-called 'good' sources as the second layer of the Old Hall MS. and the Brussels version of Dufay's Missa Ecce ancilla Domini. It is particularly interesting to see how closely the underlay of an especially syncopated passage from the latter conforms with my suggestions - here the words are placed as in the source, and natural stresses are marked with asterisks:

Gloria bb.11-20.



The only possible disagreement here is over the syllables 'benedi-' which can be regarded as having been treated in a more declamatory manner than the rest. The principles which I have inferred apply, of course, primarily to melismatic music.

94 Which words have been copied by the scribe are discussed in the Critical Commentary to the main edition, together with cases where the manuscript texting has not been followed.

95 See principle (ix) above.

96 See above, p.150ff.

97 It is, of course, probable that many performances were not unified to this degree, though this is not to say that inconsistency is therefore desirable. Perhaps one of the most important points of this discussion is that it ought to have been possible for the trained singer to underlay text according to a combination of simple rules-of-thumb and reasonably consistent habits acquired in the course of his experience and his fitting in with the remainder of the ensemble of which he was a part.

98 This is commonly enough specified in the remaining fascicles of the Brussels and other manuscripts.

99 Cp. CMM1/Vol.3 Introduction, p.XIII.

100 While the second case appears to contravene principle (viii) above, it does not, in fact, do so since the dotted note technically has no complementary short note, and constitutes instead a grouping corresponding to three short notes.

101 e.g. Cockx's Kyrie bb.3 (discantus), 12 (contra), 28 (contra).

102 e.g. Cockx's Kyrie bb.3 (contra), 7-8 (contra), 23 (tenor).

103 A full critical commentary has been omitted here, since it has been provided for the main edition.

104 The text omitted is as follows:
Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati - Credo: phrases 11, 13-18 (for key to numbering of phrases, see Table 1).
Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra - Credo: phrases 5, 13-18.
Frye's Missa Flos regalis - Credo: phrases 11, 13-17 (though an incipit is given for 16).
Cockx's Mass - Gloria: 'Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram'.
- Credo: see ensuing discussion.
Plummer's Mass - Kyrie: Invocations IV, V and VIII.
- Gloria: 'Domine Deus, rex celestis, Deus Pater omnipotens'; 'Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris'; 'Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram'.
- Credo: phrases 6, 11-17.
The omissions from Plummer's Kyrie are especially unusual, though other examples of settings of incomplete Kyrie texts do exist, e.g. the relevant movements of Plummer's Missa Nesciens Mater in GB:Lbm Add.54324 ff.1'-2 and the Missa Salve Sancta parens (see EECM22, p.180, etc.)

105 For a theological theory concerning text omissions, see Hannas: Concerning deletions in the polyphonic Mass Credo, but the fact that such omissions are made in movements other than the Credo tends to undermine most of her arguments. In particular, there can surely be no good theological reason for cutting the phrases missing from the Gloria settings of Cockx and Plummer - see fn. 104 above.

106 This numbering corresponds broadly with that used by Hannas.

107 In this table, 'a-p' denotes alternate-phrase telescoping, '2-section' denotes two-section telescoping, 'incomp.' indicates that the piece has been incompletely copied, and 'retext' shows that the underlay has been drastically revised. Concerning the authorship of Nos.18, 19/54/68/112 and 32/52/66, see MB8, pp. 187, 185 and 203. No.43/81 belongs to a Mass whose Sanctus is attributed to Bedingham in GB:Ob Add.C.87*; No.50/64 bears a striking resemblance to the Gloria paired in the same manuscript with No.51/65/110/114 and may also be by Benet.

108 Concerning the priority of I:TRmd93 over I:TRmn90 and the fact that the latter is a less-than-ideal copy of the former, see EECM22, p.xff.

109 Here and elsewhere, the phrases are numbered in accordance with Table 1, and the pieces with Table 2. The key to the examples is as follows:
Tr = Triplex; D = Discantus; C = Contra; T = Tenor; B = Bassus; - = rest; .... = section untexted (this may not be marked if it is otherwise obvious); * = incipit.

110 Assuming here that the tenor joins with the discantus text in the first section.

111 e.g. No.94 of Table 2.

112 A not dissimilar fate befalls a Credo possibly by Dunstable, whose I:TRmn92 version (No.19) already omits three phrases from the contra, but whose I:TRmd93 and I:TRmn90 versions (Nos. 54 and 68) remove all underlay from that part, leaving the discantus with what is, on its own, an almost incoherently fragmentary text.

113 This lends further support to the fact that I:TRmd93 is the original and I:TRmn90 the copy - see above, fn.108.

114 Not, of course, necessarily that in the Brussels manuscript.

115 In fact, the reconstruction I have attempted tends to suggest that phrase 9 is the most likely possibility.

116 The change in the texting of the discantus part was found to be necessary in the course of the reconstruction of the whole movement.

117 See edition.

118 See above, p.109ff.

119 Pervasive imitation, while being a notable characteristic of almost all Plummer's work (see above, p.421ff.), does of course present a sharp contrast to the much less rigid relationship between the melodic lines of, for example, the Frye and Cockx Masses; hence we should not be unduly surprised if Plummer's approach to the texting is also different.

120 I am grateful to Professor Margaret Bent for having drawn my attention to the particular difficulties involved in this piece.

121 No.1742.

122 But see below on telescoped pieces from I:TRmn89.

123 Ignoring for the moment the dubious evidence of the Credo Herdo herdo.

124 Nos.94 and 98 of Table 2.

125 See A catalogue of anonymous English music in 15th-century continental manuscripts, especially p.64ff.

126 See above, p.93ff.

127 CMM41, Introduction, p.X.

128 See CMM41 for list of concordances for the Mass movements as they are found in I:TRmn87, I:TRmn90 and CS:P Strahov D.G.IV. 47. Gülke omits those in I:TRmn93, presumably on the assumption that the copies are not worth mentioning. In view of the precedence of I:TRmn93 over I:TRmn90, I add them here:

Kyrie: No.1703 (ff124'-25) - Pilloys.
Gloria: No.1709 (ff137'-38) - (anon.); No.1752 (ff214'-16) - Pylois.
Credo (on D): No.1767 (ff245'-47') - (anon.).
Credo (on F): No.1759 (ff223'-25') - Pylois.
Sanctus: No.1794 (ff311'-12') - (anon.).
Agnus Dei: No.1795 (ff313-14) - Pylois.

129 See fn.108 for which this provides further evidence. It is worth noting that the texting of the D versions seems to fit the music noticeably better than that of the F versions.

130 It is almost certain, for instance, that the scribe of the I:TRmn93 Credo on F was aware of the D version, since he muddled them on two occasions, incorrectly providing clefs as for the latter, and only subsequently correcting the first of his errors.

131 Noted by Gülke in the introduction to CMM41, p.X.

132 Concerning the basis of the problem, see p.130, fn.23. A comparable discrepancy exists between the notations of the duple-time sections of the Gloria and Credo Herdo herdo.

133 See above, p.127ff.

134 If this work were English, it would not be unique in having an untroped Kyrie - see also the corresponding movement of Bedingham's Missa Sine nomine.

135 See above, p.126.

136 Cited in fn.125 above.

137 See MGG article, XV/1623.

138 op.cit., pp.72-73. Hamm's list also includes the Missa O admirabile by Simon de Insula, which exhibits various English characteristics. 'de Insula' should, however, indicate that the composer was not from England but from Lille.

139 One of the most interesting points about these later curtailed settings which clearly requires further investigation is that concordances very rarely agree as to which text should be sung and which omitted.

140 Conceivably with the exception of completely retexted revisions.

141 See fn.11 above.

142 See above, p.110, for instance.

143 Apart from anything else, comparison is hampered by the difference in genres.

Chapter IV:

The English Masses: Manuscript Accidentals.

It is only fair to say that considerable advances have been made during recent years concerning the general principles behind the interpretation of manuscript accidentals; it would, nevertheless, be idle to claim that individual difficulties and areas of disagreement do not still remain. Very often, particularly in 15th-century sources, the most pressing problem is not, strangely enough, that there are so many accidentals that it is difficult to reconcile them, but rather that there are too few for it to be possible to establish any clear pattern. I propose, therefore, to concern the main part of the first section of this chapter with a relatively chromatic work, the Missa Sine nomine by John Plummer, and only then to attempt any generalisations about the other four works of the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript. The second section will then set out to place what has been discovered empirically about one scribe's practices in the context of the tradition of musical theory. By such means, it is hoped that certain more universal trends will emerge which may help in the interpretation of accidentals in other sources.

A. The practices of the scribe.

Before embarking on the discussion of Plummer's Mass which, as I have said, will make up the greater part of this section, it is necessary to begin with certain general observations. First, if any practically useful conclusions are to be deduced at all, we need to find some degree of consistency in the application of the accidentals encountered. Such consistency does not have to be absolutely strict within the source, of course, provided that any inconsistencies can be reasonably explained. Second, it is important to question briefly the initial authenticity of the accidentals since, while it is obvious enough that the vast majority were intended by the Brussels scribe - they are clearly spaced between the notes [1] - this does not conclusively prove that Plummer intended them. Indeed, the piece does, in fact, sound perfectly well (if arguably less interesting) in a completely diatonic form, and it is difficult to isolate any indicative features of the type which Lowinsky suggests drive certain later works inexorably flatwards [2]. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that, assuming the correctness of the ensuing discussion, the effect of the vast majority of the accidentals is to set up a type of major/minor tension which is wholly comparable with that to be found in much other 15th-century music including, as we shall see, the Masses of Frye and Cockx [3]. Since, in addition, it is not at all clear why anyone, however far removed from the composer, should have wished to impose so many unwarranted accidentals, for the purposes of this discussion, their authenticity will, in principle, be accepted.

Third, there are a number of unspaced accidentals, some or all of which may not have been written by the main scribe, and whose level of authenticity and/or function may therefore be different from those that have been spaced [4]. In addition, certain accidentals

applying to high notes have been supplied over rests or lower notes. Most of these are almost certainly in the main scribe's hand and arise, perhaps, because he considered that a space was superfluous in the given situation; some may, however, have been added later.

The essential principles underlying the use of accidentals in the Brussels version of Plummer's Mass are typified in the opening duo of the Kyrie (see Ex.1). This shows that the first B flat in bar 3 of the contra has, in order to make sense of what follows, to affect all the remaining Bs on the remainder of that stave of the manuscript [5]. The same applies also to the B flat in bar 7 of the discantus, and the E flats in bar 9 of the discantus and bar 5 of the contra must affect the remaining Es of the staves in question. In effect, then, these accidentals function as effective signatures: indeed, use of B flat from bar 7 of the discantus part through the next manuscript stave is indicated by what appears to be a normal signature. Neither, it will be noted, do signatures or accidentals with continuing effect necessarily lapse at the end of one manuscript stave, even when they are not re-stated at the beginning of the next. E and B flats must clearly continue in operation in the new line of the discantus beginning with the last note of bar 15, as must E flats in the contra from bar 18. We would also expect the Bs from bar 10 of the contra to be flattened, and an E flat is necessary in bar 12 of the same part, all of which may be explained in terms of accidentals continuing from the previous manuscript stave. Like the B and E flats, the A flat in bar 11 of the contra also appears to have some degree of long-term application, though this clearly leads to disagreement with the discantus part at bar 14, unless A flats are also included here without the explicit sanction of the manuscript. The question of the precise status of A flats, together with those associated with the lack of written A flat in the

Ex.1: Plummer's Missa Sine nomine - Kyrie bb.1-19.



discantus part here, the apparently superfluous E flat in bar 12 of the discantus, and the unspaced B flat in bar 16 of the contra, will be discussed later.

While a more detailed examination of the background theory must be considered beyond the terms of reference of this section of our enquiry, it will be as well to note that it is not possible to relate music of this sort directly with the classic recta hexachord system as it is received by the theorists supposedly from the work of Guido d'Arezzo [6]. Relatively little use is made of the hexachords on G and C in the passage in question; indeed the greater part of Ex.1 revolves around the hexachords on F, B flat and E flat, only the first of which is conventional musica recta. Furthermore, the B naturals, which would normally belong to the recta system seem, at least after bar 5, to function more in the manner of cadential ficta. In effect, what we have here might be described as a transposed system in which a different set of hexachords from usual takes on the role of recta, and certain notes which would normally be recta function as if they were only ficta.

In the light of similar difficulties attached to many pieces found in the Old Hall manuscript, Andrew Hughes has evolved an explanation based on the idea that the function of a marked B flat, whether as a signature or as a mid-stave accidental with continuing significance, is not merely to define that note as fa, its classic function in theory, but is also to transpose the gamut once flatwards in order to give a new system of hexachords based on C, F and B flat. Similarly, further addition of an E flat gives a system based on F, B flat and E flat, the notes of which become the effective recta. If we apply this scheme to Ex.1, it will be clear that most of it uses Hughes' 'transposed recta', whereby B and E naturals are effectively musica ficta, and, apart from the obviously acceptable B and E flats, A flats would also be allowed as what we may convenient-

ly term 'next-flat' recta analogous to B flat in the normal system. Thus A flats could legitimately be used, for instance in bars 16 - 19 of the discantus part in Ex.1 [7].

Though, as we shall see, this explanation has to be regarded with some caution from a purely theoretical point of view, it does at least provide us with a possible practical framework within which we can assess the use of signatures and mid-stave accidentals in Plummer's Mass, especially since, in practice, all the spaced mid-stave B and E flats in the work must be assumed to function as signatures in order to make sense of the music [8]. In order to facilitate further discussion, these have been listed in Table 1, below, distinction being made between flats which occur immediately before the first note to which they apply, and those which are written one or more symbols earlier (i.e. are 'preplaced'). Those flats which have not been spaced by the scribe have been enclosed in brackets, and those which are strictly superfluous either because they have already been stated earlier in the manuscript stave or because they have necessarily to be assumed to continue from the previous stave (usually because there are essential B or E flats earlier in the new stave) have been marked with an asterisk [9].

Table 1: Mid-stave B and E flats in Plummer's Mass.

	Preplaced flats		Flats placed before the first note to which they apply	
	B flats	E flats	B flats	E flats
Kyrie:	Discantus: 7D, 55G; Contra: 3C, 44G, 63r, 76D; Tenor: 32r.	Discantus: 9G, 12D*, 57^{1}D; Contra: 5G, 17F; Tenor: 46G, 56^{1}D.	None.	Discantus: 44, 81^{3}E; Tenor: 79.
Gloria:	Discantus: 6D, 49G, (56^{2}D*).	Discantus: (21C); Tenor: 70F.	Discantus: 37*; Contra: 2, 33*, 40*,	Discantus: 18, 36*, 43, 55, 57*; Tenor:

			56, 59*, 68, 70; Tenor: 43*, 50.	24, 31*, 50.
Credo:	Discantus: 6^{2}C; Contra: (7C), 61A; Tenor: (26F).	Discantus: 46^{1}C, 72F, 75G; Contra: 82F; Tenor: (44C*), 71G.	Discantus: 70; Contra: 16, 24, 39, (70), 77.	Discantus: 42; Contra: 63.
Sanctus:	None.	Discantus: (5r); Contra:(45^{1}G); Tenor:(12C), (23A).	Contra: 6.	Discantus: 46, 74^{1}E; Tenor: 32*.
Agnus Dei:	Discantus: 6C.	Contra: 55G*; Tenor: 43C.	Contra: 3.	Discantus: 53, 64; Tenor: 13, (53*).

The apparent trend away from mid-stave flats during the course of the work corresponds with an increase in the use of beginning-of-stave signatures [10]. Though the reason for this trend is not clear, since all the signatures and mid-stave B' and E flats amount to the same thing in practice, it is probably of no great significance. Similarly, the use both of accidentals immediately before the first notes to which they apply and pre-placed accidentals may also appear strange at first consideration, especially as there seems to be no clear pattern distinguishing the two usages. Of the preplaced flats which have been spaced, all occur at points at which the singer would be most likely to change from one hexachord to another if he were solmising the passages in question, which seems to suggest that their role is to indicate the necessary mutation. In spite of this, the fact that other spaced B and E flats have not been pre-placed need not be particularly significant for at least two reasons. First, it is generally desirable - arguably necessary - to look

some way beyond the note one is actually singing, and it is therefore presumably possible to effect any essential hexachord mutation sometime before it is indicated, should this happen to be convenient. Second, it may be argued that accidentals serve primarily to place the mi/fa semitones, and it is generally sufficient that the singer should be able to locate these without automatically solmising every note slavishly [11].

As will be seen from Table 1, there are a number of B and E flats which have not been clearly spaced. Of these, those in bar 21 of the Gloria (discantus) and bar 7 of the Credo (contra) are placed over a low note and a rest respectively, are clearly in the hand of the main scribe, and conform to his practices as these have so far been described. Those at bar 26 of the Credo (tenor) and bar 53 of the Agnus Dei (tenor) stand above a rest and a low ligature respectively and, while we cannot be certain who wrote them, they both necessarily apply in practice, and the preplaced flat occurs at the point of mutation. The four unspaced E flats in the Sanctus are somewhat more puzzling, and as far as the first three are concerned it is only the A flat in bar 9 of the contra and its implications which seems to point to their relative authenticity. Perhaps the main scribe accidentally omitted them and the copy was subsequently corrected. Certainly, whoever added these flats was less scrupulous over where he placed them: the one at bar 13 of the tenor is placed before the second note of the part, whereas it should more logically come either before the first or before the E in bar 13; that at bar 23 of the same part is placed at least one note before mutation would take place, and that at bar 45 of the contra as many as five notes before mutation.

Two of the remaining unspaced B and E flats, those at bar 56 of the Gloria (discantus) and Bar 44 of the Credo (tenor), are superfluous, being implied already in the manuscript stave in which they

occur; presumably they were added later solely as a reminder [12]. Not all the strictly superfluous B and E flats are later additions, however, and these remaining examples fall into two general types: those which represent a second statement of the flat on the manuscript stave in question, and those which have already necessarily been assumed to continue from the previous line. Some of these may be reminders - the E flat at bar 36 of the Gloria (discantus), for example, which comes after a long rest - and some or perhaps all the remainder may have come at the beginnings of staves in the model and were unthinkingly copied by the Brussels scribe [13]. If the ultimate model accommodated about thirty notes per stave, this would explain the superfluous B flats in the contra part of the Gloria quite neatly: those at bars 33 and 40 are thirty-one symbols apart; the flat at bar 59 is forty symbols from the beginning of the section (bar 46), but since many of these are rests, they would take up less space; those at bars 59 and 70 are sixty-eight symbols apart - presumably two lines' worth [14]. Admittedly, thirty notes per stave is rather a small number (far fewer than one would normally expect in an English source of the period), but then we do not know at how many removes the Brussels manuscript is from the original. In fact, any of the copying stages could have involved the gain of mid-stave accidentals which were originally beginning-of-stave signatures, not to mention the loss of accidentals which we now assume to continue from one manuscript stave to the next without restatement.

Clearly we have encountered certain problems of detail - the indiscriminate use of beginning-of-stave signatures, preplaced mid-stave flats and flats placed immediately before the first note to which they refer; the inclusion of superfluous flats by the main scribe; the continuation of flats from one manuscript stave to the next without restatement - but the trend is clear enough, namely

that, in this piece, manuscript B and E flats shift attention from the normal recta hexachords based on G, C and F towards those based on F, B flat and, occasionally, also E flat, the resulting shifts being essentially long-term. Whether this principle applies also to A flats is a problem which must now be examined.

In Plummer's Mass, there is a total of ten manuscript A flats (see Table 2 below), all of these being in the hand of the main scribe except perhaps that at bar 48 of the Agnus Dei (tenor) which seems to be necessary to the music anyway.

Table 2: Mid-stave A flats in Plummer's Mass.

	Preplaced flats	Flats placed before the first note to which they apply
Kyrie:	Tenor: (48F).	Contra: 11; Tenor: 58, 81.
Gloria:	None.	Discantus: 59.
Credo:	None.	None.
Sanctus:	None.	Contra: 9, 78^{3}A.
Agnus Dei:	Discantus: (27^{2}r); Tenor: (48E).	Contra: 27.

As with the other flats, there appears to be no distinction between the effects of those which are preplaced and those which are not, though the three preplaced A flats do occur at reasonable points for hexachord mutation. Most only affect one or two notes, because they occur either near the ends of sections or just before B or E sharps acting as cancellers [15], and the extent of the effect is quite obvious from the context. Three are, however, rather more problematic, namely those at bar 11 of the Kyrie (contra) and bars 9 and 78 of the Sanctus (both contra again). Of these, the last-mentioned cannot go beyond the cadence at bar 79 unless the passage following is to be construed with E flats, which seems, on balance, improbable, and it is an extremely difficult question how far the other Sanctus A flat continues: almost certainly it has lapsed by the end of the stave (bar 18), but has, in fact, probably done so as early as the

cadence at bar 11. The A flat at bar 11 of the Kyrie seems to be preferable as far as bar 20, with A flats added by analogy to the discantus, but here we have the difficulty of a mid-stave unspaced B flat in bar 16 of the contra part [16]. Such a flat can only be explained as a mistake or as an indication that B is to be solmised as fa, the implication of the latter being that A is mi and therefore natural. Paradoxically, if the flat in question were properly spaced we could probably dismiss it more readily as an error or a copying quirk resulting from differences in stave endings between the Brussels manuscript and its model. This flat has, however, almost certainly been added later, presumably as a correction designed to clarify the solmisation of this passage [17]. That its effect may easily be only temporary (i.e. applying only to ^{1}A in bar 16) is, however, suggested by the probable A flats later in bar 16 and in bar 18.

Having discussed the functions and usage of flats in Plummer's Mass, we may now turn our attention to the considerably smaller number of sharps, which are listed below.

Table 3: Mid-stave sharps in Plummer's Mass.

	F sharps	B sharps	E sharps
Kyrie	Tenor: 42F.	Contra: (21^{1}C).	Discantus: (60^{2}C), (76^{1}D).
Gloria	Discantus: 16G; Contra: 42F, 78F.	Contra: (62^{2}C), (69^{2}C); Tenor: 38^{1}B.	Discantus: 60G; Tenor: 61^{3}F.
Credo:	Discantus: (73G).	Discantus: 49B; Contra: (c.54), (69B), 73B, (82^{2}C).	Tenor: (83C).
Sanctus	Tenor: 87^{1}G.	Discantus: (60D); Contra: (49C).	None.

Agnus Dei	Contra: (77F).	Discantus: 60B, (70D); Tenor: 61[1]C.	Discantus: (67D).

As Andrew Hughes has pointed out in relation to the accidentals of the Old Hall manuscript, the functions of sharps seem to be rather different from those of flats, particularly since the former are only very rarely used as signatures in early sources [18]. Their main roles in Old Hall tended to be as cancellers of existing flat signatures and as indications of miscellaneous and essentially short-term ficta. This experience is confirmed also in our copy of Plummer's Mass, where the B sharps are used in both these capacities. Those at bar 21 of the Kyrie (contra) and bar 49 of the Sanctus (contra) are almost certainly original, although placed over rests, and both have the effect of cancelling existing B and E flats, returning the music to the normal recta system. That at bar 54 of the Credo (contra) has much the same effect, though is superfluous as it occurs at the beginning of a section, and may well be an addition [19]. The B sharp at bar 82 of the Credo is slightly more tricky since, while it effectively cancels the existing E flat, and indicates B naturals in bar 83 of the contra, it is possible that the Bs in bars 84 - 85 should be flattened, perhaps by normal recta.

Of the remaining spaced B sharps, those at bar 49 of the Credo (discantus) and bar 60 of the Agnus Dei (discantus) are clear cases of cadential ficta providing major thirds at ends of sections [20], and that at bar 38 of the Gloria (tenor) must also be understood as temporary, since E and B flats are necessary after the cadence in bar 39. The B sharp at bar 73 of the Credo (contra) can either be understood as a canceller - the B flat is restated at bar 77 - or as cadential ficta in a rather wider sense. That at bar 61 of the Agnus Dei (tenor) is a particularly strange case, since it occurs between a B flat signature and the first note of the section in question.

The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that, in principle, the signature takes effect for the whole manuscript stave - it is certainly necessary from bar 64 - but that the sharp makes a temporary inflection at bar 61 only [21].

In addition, there are five further unspaced B sharps, all of which may well be later additions. Of these, the ones at bar 69 of the Gloria (contra), bar 69 of the Credo (contra) and bar 60 of the Sanctus (discantus) are clear cases of cadential ficta which have been inserted presumably as a reminder to the singers. A return to B flats is provided in each case - at bar 70 of the Gloria (spaced, but originally superfluous if the sharp at bar 69 is a later addition), at bar 70 of the Credo (a later addition like the sharp?), and at the beginning of the second section of the Sanctus by a new signature. The other two unspaced B sharps, at bar 62 of the Gloria (contra) and bar 70 of the Agnus Dei (discantus), are somewhat more difficult to interpret logically, though both seem to work most easily if they are understood to apply only to the Bs immediately following, an effective B flat signature continuing in operation after that.

The seven F sharps all function more or less as cadential ficta, though the term cadence must be taken in a fairly wide sense here. Little detailed comment is required except to note that the sharp at bar 78 of the Gloria (contra) specifies a double leading-note cadence. Naturally, while this emphasises the well-known problem of whether such cadences were employed in music of the mid-15th century, such an isolated example hardly helps us much since we could interpret it either as indicating exceptional use of the figuration or, contrarily, as a reminder of an existing convention. Certainly, such reminders often occur at unexpected places - one might expect convention to have been sufficient to cope with a cadential figure like that in the contra of Gloria bar 69, which has, nevertheless,

been given a B sharp. On the other hand, current musicological opinion is, for the most part, against use of the double leading-note cadence by this period, and it is extremely difficult to establish that such theory as supports it is applicable to music after the 1420's or 30's, if even then.

While the F sharps fulfil much the same role in this source as the effective ficta B sharps, the E sharps follow the other function of the B sharps, that of the canceller. Those at bar 60 of the Gloria (discantus), bar 61 of the same movement (tenor), bar 83 of the Credo (tenor) and bar 67 of the Agnus Dei (discantus), whether spaced or not (all seem necessary to the sense of the music), serve to cancel only the existing E flats and, as we may reasonably expect, do not affect the continuing application of B flats. It must be pointed out here that the other two sharps given as applying to E (in bars 60 and 76 of the discantus part in the Kyrie) are somewhat ambiguous in that they could conceivably be placed in the F space rather than on the E line. The first makes excellent sense as an E sharp cancelling the existing E flat, B flat being necessary at the end of the stave at bar 64. As an F sharp, however, we would only expect it to affect the E and F in bar 60, since F sharps do not generally have long-term significance; such an interpretation is much less satisfactory, since E naturals are almost certainly necessary from bar 60 onwards. The sharp at bar 76 makes no sense at all, either as applying to E or F. A far more probable explanation is that it is an error for E flat, since discantus E and B flats are necessary to the sense of the music from bar 76 to the end of the movement and these are not otherwise stated before the E flat in bar 81 [22].

Having discussed the various functions of the accidentals included by the scribe of Plummer's Mass, it is desirable now to say

something of the considerable number of accidentals which are implied by the context, but which are not actually stated. The great majority of these are signatures which, though not stated at the beginning of the stave in question, may be understood to continue in effect from the previous stave. This may, at first glance, seem a rather inconsistent, not to say cavalier, approach on the part of the scribe. On the other hand, the effect intended is usually quite clear from the source; no-one would dream, for instance, of reverting to E and B naturals at bar 15 of Ex.1 just because these flats are not restated at the beginning of the new stave.

Most of the necessary flats which would result from such 'implied' signatures could, furthermore, be regarded as effective next-flat recta if we accept the practical relevance of the system postulated by Andrew Hughes. This obviously applies to all B flats where there is no stated signature, and where there is a stated B flat signature, as is the case during, in particular, much of the Sanctus, E flats could similarly be considered acceptable without necessarily being specified. On occasions, where B and E flats are already in effect, as in bars 14 - 20 (discantus) and 18 (contra) of the Kyrie, and bar 29 of the Agnus Dei (tenor), As may, in practice be altered by next-flat effective recta, even though they are not marked thus. It will be clear, however, that written A flats never imply effective recta D flats, which underlines the differing function of those A flats.

Another point which tends to suggest that the performers should have been able to cope with these 'implied' signatures is connected with aural analogy. In practice, the tenor could hardly sing an A natural at bar 29 of the Agnus Dei, for example, simply because the voice is imitating the discantus and contra parts which have just carried the same figure with an A flat. Neither need this process of analogy only apply where there is strict imitation, as may be seen

at, for instance, bars 31 - 32 of the Credo, in which the contra will naturally take E flats in order to make sense with the tenor.

Aural analogy plays an equally important part where we have to assume implied cancellers. At bar 36 of the Kyrie, E naturals must be used in the discantus in deference to the lower parts, and the indication is that the existing E flat effect of bars 9 - 20 has automatically ceased at the end of that passage [23]. Much the same situation must probably be assumed to apply at bar 30 of the Credo (tenor) and bar 82 of the same movement (discantus), and at bar 79 of the Sanctus (discantus and contra), in each of which cases existing flats have lapsed at changes of scoring marked by major structural cadences.

What has been said here about implied signatures and cancellers may, at first consideration, seem surprising in view of the relatively logical manner in which written accidentals are employed; indeed, they might be considered to represent a serious exception to the consistency of the notation. Clearly, such an objection can hardly be dismissed completely, though it should in practice be regarded in perspective. We are, after all, at a stage in the development of notation where much is still primarily in the nature of an aide-mémoire, and this is particularly true with respect to manuscript accidentals. In such circumstances, it is far more important that those sharps and flats which have been specified by the main scribe should be individually accountable and, within certain limits already mentioned, consistent in their function and usage; it is, however, likely to be much less significant if a number of practically necessary accidentals are not actually written in, provided that the intention is reasonably clear to the performers [24].

At this stage, it will be useful to summarise our main findings concerning the practices used by the scribe of the first fascicle of

the Brussels manuscript as these apply in Plummer's Mass.

(i) B and E flats are written both as beginning-of-stave signatures, and as mid-stave accidentals which, in turn, occur either before the first note to which they apply or at the most convenient point for hexachord mutation. Their obvious role is to mark B or E as fa, at least for the duration of the manuscript stave, and often longer, but their practical effect is also to establish a sort of transposed recta. Where, as often applies in the work in question, B and E flats are in effect, the music is contained by the hexachords upon F, B flat and occasionally E flat, and the only use of, for instance, B natural, is comparable with cadential ficta in the normal recta system.

(ii) A flats occur only as mid-stave accidentals [25] and, like other flats, mark fa. They do not, in general, seem to continue in effect beyond the phrase in which they immediately occur.

(iii) Flats, especially E flats, are not necessarily restated at the beginning of each stave, even though they continue in effect. That they should continue is almost always clear by aural analogy, and such implied flats can, more often than not, be justified as next-flat effective recta within the transposed system used. E flat is generally acceptable where a B flat signature is in force, and A flat where B and E flats apply. Written A flats, however, never imply possible D flats, at least in this work.

(iv) Sharps have two functions: they may clarify ficta, or they may cancel existing flats. All the F sharps and many of the B sharps are of the first type, and apply only to the musical figure in which they occur. Other B sharps and all the correct E sharps are cancellers, the former removing exist-

ing B and E flats, and the latter reducing the effective signature from B and E flat to simple B flat. In the case of the B sharps, precise function is usually clear from context, so that any ambiguity is apparent rather than real.

(v) It is possible, exceptionally, for a group of rests or a structural cadence to imply cancellation of an effective signature.

(vi) A few superfluous accidentals, all flats, are included, many or perhaps all of which result from copying quirks.

Those of the unspaced accidentals which were possibly added later fall into the following categories:

(i) Those which are necessary to the sense of the music, but which were not inserted by the main scribe, perhaps because the musical context was thought to be sufficient indication. They then had to be added subsequently in order to clarify the effect intended [26].

(ii) Accidentals which are superfluous either because they have already been stated on the manuscript stave concerned, or because they must be understood to have continued from the previous stave as there are other inflected notes of that pitch earlier on the line. These may well be reminders added later in the light of practical experience[27].

(iii) Clarifications of cadential <u>ficta</u> or effective <u>ficta</u>, all of which have a relatively short-term effect. While most of these can only be satisfactorily explained as simple reminders, it is difficult to see why they should have been marked, since one would expect convention to have been quite sufficient to lead the performers to the correct solution.

(iv) Miscellaneous cases, such as the E flats which were probably accidentally omitted from the Sanctus when it was first copied, various flats indicating a return to the effective sig-

nature after the later marking of effective cadential ficta, and the B flat at bar 16 of the Kyrie (contra) which cancels the existing A flat, at least temporarily.

It is likely that most, if not all of these have some significance, since there is every indication that they were added in the light of practical experience. On balance, then, it is probably only their respective roles which differ somewhat from those of the more clearly original accidentals, and not their relative authority. Indeed, in practice, the vast majority have to apply anyway, since the musical context renders them necessary.

Whether the general principles outlined above can help in the interpretation of sources other than the first layer of the Brussels manuscript is, for the moment, an open question; indeed, we cannot even assume that they have been followed consistently in the other four Masses from that fascicle, since their ultimate models may be different, and so reflect slightly different practices. A brief survey of the manuscript accidentals in the works by Frye and Cockx is therefore necessary in order to check how far the general principles characterising the notation of Plummer's work are likely to provide a reasonable solution for them also.

Interpretation of the accidentals of Frye's Missa Summe Trinitati presents few practical problems, since the brief forays into the realm of B flats are usually fairly well-defined, either by written flats and cancellers in all relevant parts, or by aural analogy when B flats are marked in only one of the parts concerned. While marked flats seem to continue in effect at least to the end of a given stave, it never seems necessary, however, to assume a transposition of the effective recta system, but merely the use of hexachords on F instead of G. Indeed, since effective recta availability of B flat hexachords through a transposition of the system once

flatwards would give Phrygian cadences on D, which are not practically justified, it is actually highly undesirable to assume such a transposition.

The fact that all the written B flats of the Missa Summe Trinitati are therefore contained strictly within normal recta means, of course, that they fulfil a completely different function from that of the written B and E flats in Plummer's Mass, and this will, no doubt, appear to be a significant objection to the possible universality of the principles behind the notation of the latter. On the other hand, it could be argued that such a discrepancy is more apparent than real, in that, within the context of Frye's Mass, B flats represent the extreme in flatward movement, and are in that sense comparable with the A flats of Plummer's work. In other words, it may be that the most extreme flat in a given work often has a more ambiguous role than any others used and, in particular, may not itself effect transposition of the effective recta. This seemingly rather pragmatic interpretation of the situation will, of course, have to be checked much further, but it is worth noting that experienced performers could very easily have recognised the possibility of and made allowances for such variations in function.

Frye's Missa Flos regalis is modally similar to the Missa Summe Trinitati and, in so far as no Phrygian cadences on D seem to be required, evidently makes use of B flats in much the same way as the three-part work. Two notable problems arise in practice, both of which possibly stem from corruption in the course of copying. The more immediately accountable of these, perhaps, occurs in the Sanctus from bar 54 through to the end of the section at bar 82. Here the bass part is given a B flat at bar 54 which probably continues during the next stave, near the end of which another B flat is given (bar 66); the flat then continues to bar 82 as a beginning-of-stave signature. The most obvious explanation of the misplacing of the B

flat in bar 66 seems to be a discrepancy in line ends between the Brussels manuscript and its model, or perhaps some similar copying peculiarity further back in the transmission.

There remains now the difficulty of the discantus and contra parts where no B flats are specified except in bar 66 of the discantus, ten bars after they seem to be necessary. Obviously B flats are available as recta, and would have been provided by aural analogy with the bass, but why then write in this discantus flat which, by bar 66, was surely quite superfluous? Perhaps another B flat was originally marked in the discantus somewhere about bar 55 or 56 and dropped out in the course of transmission, but we certainly cannot be sure of this.

The second problem is attached to the E flat at bar 8 of the Gloria (contra), in that it and the B flats it implies must also be transferred by aural analogy into the discantus, even though neither is specified. In practice, this would not matter unduly, were it not that the first necessary B flat in the upper part (bar 8) comes before the E flat of the contra which actually triggers off the move flatwards [28]. Here again, it looks as if something may be missing from the discantus.

The context and practical effect of the contra E flat seems to be a shift towards an effective recta consisting of the notes of the hexachords on F and B flat, rather after the manner of the usage found in Plummer's Mass. This raises two potential problems of consistency, the first of which is that, whereas elsewhere in the Missa Flos regalis B flats have been stated not to imply effective recta E flats, here we actually have one of the latter. On the other hand, there is a considerable difference in the contexts - here we have a single stated E flat, whereas elsewhere it is a matter of usually fairly isolated B flats - and so presumably this distinction is sufficient to justify the apparent variation in practice. The second

problem of consistency is that the shift effected by the E flat is very much less long-term than is common in the Plummer work: indeed, it can hardly continue past the cadence in bar 11. The situation we have here can probably be said to correspond, however, with similar cases in Plummer's Mass, where structural cadences imply cancellation of existing effective signatures.

There occur a number of E flats in Cockx's Mass also, these functioning in a manner broadly comparable to the isolated example in the Missa Flos regalis. Each is clearly spaced and there is no particular reason to raise doubts as to authenticity. All of the written E flats are in the contra part, where they shift the effective recta to hexachords on F and B flat, so involving B and sometimes perhaps E flats in the discantus part, usually by aural analogy [29]. Of the written E flats - eight in all - one occurs at the end of a section, and the matter of how long it applies does not therefore arise [30]. Three are associated with written discantus B flats and probably have long-term effect [31]; thus B and E flats should probably apply in both discantus and contra (E flats in the former by effective recta derived from the written B flat which does transpose the system) throughout the passages Sanctus bars 65 - 77 and Agnus Dei bars 96 - 102. Two more E flats could be considered to lapse at the end of the stave in which they occur [32], this solution producing the most satisfactory musical results. The remaining cases are, however, rather more difficult. The first, at bar 126 of the Credo, could lapse either at the cadence in bar 127 or at the section end (bar 134): the obvious reference to the main motif in bars 128 - 29 [33] tends to favour the former interpretation, though this is not wholly consistent with the scribe's normal practice as found in this particular work. By a not dissimilar analysis, the second, at Sanctus bar 50, probably lapses at the cadence in bar 53. In no cases, it will be noted, do the E flats imply possible use of A

flats, so that the former represent the extreme, in the same way as do A flats in the Plummer work, and B flats in the two Masses of Frye which have so far been discussed.

Before discussing the use of manuscript accidentals in Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra, it is worth considering briefly the modal/tonal effects of the majority of the flats we have encountered in the four works so far examined. It will already have become clear that, in the case of Plummer's Mass, the effect is to set up a conflict within the work between the major and minor. Frye's Masses Summe Trinitati and Flos regalis are perhaps more easily assessed modally since they have their finals on G and are reasonably clearly Mixolydian [34]. Nevertheless, the B flats which, in theory at least, would not normally be used in this mode [35] establish the same sort of major/minor tension as that to which we have already alluded, though it must be admitted that this idea is nothing like as thoroughly exploited by Frye as by Plummer [36]. Again, the B and E flats used in Cockx's Mass produce much the same effect. Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra, however, represents a rather different case, since its modal basis is clear Dorian, and major/minor tensions are not likely to arise in quite the same way.

As a result, we need not be surprised to find that the few E flats which occur in this work do not institute the kind of wholesale moves flatwards that apply in the other works discussed. Furthermore, the fact that they do not should not necessarily lead us to assume a real inconsistency in notational practice, since it is perfectly in order that different modal situations should give rise to different implications for written accidentals. Indeed, in the Missa Nobilis et pulcra there are only a very few E flats, most of which are cancelled almost immediately by E sharps. Moreover, the two which are not explicitly cancelled [37] must both be assumed to lapse at the ends of the phrases in which they occur [38]. In all

cases, the E flats may be seen to function in essentially the same manner as ficta sharps.

The main questions here are concerned rather with the precise meaning of the considerable number of beginning-of-stave signature and mid-stave accidental B flats. That they amount to the same thing in practice is clear from their context, all of them continuing in effect at least until the end of the stave in which they occur. On the other hand, though they obviously imply use of the hexachord on F instead of the one on G, there does not appear to be any question of transposition of the effective recta. This is clear from the cadences on D which would, if E flat were generally available, be Phrygian, whereas in this and many other modally similar works, such cadences must involve C sharps and E naturals [39].

The work also emphasises the question of whether an effective signature flattening, say, high Bs also necessarily affects low Bs in the same part. Here, at least, this seems unlikely, since all high Bs have to be flattened in practice [40], but low Bs must often be natural. At bar 78 of the Sanctus (discantus) a high B flat signature appears, but the low B in bar 80 must clearly be natural because of the E natural in the contra part. On the other hand, a very large proportion of low Bs in the discantus part do have to be flattened, such inflections being, of course, regarded as normal recta. In principle, therefore, an effective signature only affects notes within the range in which it occurs, though will often, in practice, have to be carried into other ranges.

Clearly, this has had to be a somewhat less detailed account of the functions of the accidentals found in the Masses by Frye and Cockx [41]. Nevertheless, it should serve to indicate that the isolation of the scribal practices characterising the copy of Plummer's Mass goes a considerable way towards providing the key to most of

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the other accidentals in the fascicle. A number of apparent discrepancies do arise which might appear to limit the wider application of the principles inferred on pp.241 - 42 above, but in practice these can be accounted for in terms of differences in the modal situations and degrees of flatward movement. In particular, it has been found that the most extreme flat in general use in a work does not necessarily bring about transposition of the effective recta system, and may often be treated in a slightly more ambiguous manner than will apply with other less extreme flats. This suggests, in effect, that while the accidentals of each of the five works may have to be interpreted according to slightly different standards, these standards derive from a consistent basic method, and variations merely reflect the different demands of the individual contexts.

B. Musica recta, musica ficta and the coniuncta.

Having attempted to rationalise the manner in which the scribe of the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript uses accidentals, we must now turn to an examination of some of the background theory. Here it seems relevant to point out straight away that discussions of pitch in 14th and 15th-century treatises are set almost entirely within the context of solmisation and the hexachord system. While much in such theory was undoubtedly inserted purely for the sake of convention, the fact that a relatively thorough description of the system is included in even the most basically practical treatises would indicate that it was of fundamental importance. This is not to say that the practised singer necessarily slavishly solmised every single note; simply, he instinctively sang according to the principles of the system much as performers of later generations instinctively read music according to the principles of the tonal system [42]. Thus musica recta, that which was considered the normal vocabulary of the musician of the period, ... comprises the seven hexachords of the gamut and Guidonian hand, as shown in Table 4. Here, it will be noticed that consecutive solmisation syllables on the same hexachord are a tone apart, except for mi and fa, the distance between which is only a semitone. This means that hexachords on F include B flat, and that the B flats acuta and superacuta are therefore part of the recta system [43]. Hence, we cannot identify musica recta completely with notes which are not chromatically altered.

Table 4: The seven hexachords of the gamut.

	ee					la
	dd				la	sol
super-	cc				sol	fa
acutae	bb♮					mi
	bb♭				fa	
	aa			la	mi	re
	g			sol	re	ut
	f				fa	ut
	e			la	mi	
	d		la	sol	re	
acutae	c		sol	fa	ut	
	b♮			mi		
	b♭		fa			
	a	la	mi	re		
	G	sol	re	ut		
	F	fa	ut			
	E	la mi				
	D	sol re				
graves	C	fa ut				
	B♮	mi				
	A	re				
sub-	Γ	ut				
gravis						

The standard definition of musica ficta runs as follows[44]:

> Est ficta musica quando de tono facimus semitonium, et e converso de semitonio tonum.... Ubi igitur invenimus ♭ rotundum, dicimus istam vocem fa, et ubi invenimus ♮ quadratum, dicimus illam vocem mi,

i.e.

> Musica ficta is when we make a semitone from a tone, and conversely a tone from a semitone.... Where, therefore, we find ♭, we call that note fa, and where we find ♮, we call that note mi.

What this means, in effect, is that musica ficta occurs where there are intervals which do not correspond with the recta system shown

above. Thus the interval C sharp to D, which being a semitone is solmised mi fa must be regarded as ficta, since neither of these notes can properly be solmised in this way within the recta system. Similarly, the interval E flat to F cannot be solmised in accordance with musica recta, because being a tone it cannot be expressed as mi fa.

It should be borne in mind here that, strictly speaking, it is not the notes themselves which are referred to as ficta, but the solmisation of a given progression in an irregular manner. Ugolino is quite clear about this when he states [45]:

> Musica ficta est alicuius vocis in loco ubi per se non est ad consonantiae perfectionem [46] necessaria positio.

Since vox is fairly consistently used by Ugolino, Prosdocimus and a number of other theorists as a technical term meaning a solmisation syllable [47], we may translate thus:

> Musica ficta is the necessary placing of a solmisation syllable where, by its very nature, it cannot be placed, in order to achieve a perfect consonance.

Similarly, musica recta is not strictly the notes of the seven hexachords, but the solmisation of those notes in the regular manner.

Theory on the subject of ficta is tantalisingly sparse before the 14th century, though the De musice mensurabili attributed to John of Garland (c.1240) and the late 13th-century Anonymous II, for example, briefly mention musica falsa, defining it as above [48]. It would appear from this that the term falsa is merely an earlier name which later became unfashionable, perhaps because of its unfortunate semantic implications. Even after 1400, there are few detailed discussions of the precise purpose of ficta. The Ars Nova of Philippe de Vitry mentions musica falsa briefly as a means of avoiding imperfect chords [49], and the 'standard definition' cited above is from

the Ars contrapuncti which is taken to represent his teaching; unfortunately, neither gives us any further information. Before the mid 15th century, perhaps the most important surviving treatises to set out any reasonably thorough account of musica ficta are those by Johannes de Muris (1320's) and Petrus dictus Palma ociosa (dated 1336) from the 14th century [50], and Prosdocimus (dated 1412-13) and Ugolino (1430's) from the 15th [51].

This cannot, for reasons which will become clear in due course, be the place for an analysis of the many variations in detail between the views of these theorists, but it is important to note certain principles which are common to all four. First, the main role of ficta is in polyphony, and it is entirely characteristic of the relevant theory that it should be concerned primarily with harmonic rather than melodic matters. Second, in the theorists' musical examples ficta provides for what are essentially temporary aberrations from a general context of recta. Its most important functions are, in fact, to provide for the avoidance of 'mi contra fa' in perfect intervals which would give harmonic tritones or false octaves, and to modify harmonic thirds and sixths before perfect intervals as in Ex. 2.

Ex.2:



That ficta essentially applies only in the short term is explicitly mentioned by Prosdocimus, a passage from whose Tractatus de contrapuncto [52] runs as follows:

> Scias tamen quod, quando hec signa ponuntur propter aliquam consonantiam colorandam, semper poni debent immediate ante notam que in voce propter talem consonantiam colorandam varianda est, sive talis nota sit in tenore sive in discantu; et sive ipsa sit in linea sive in spatio, cum quodlibet tale signum non de-

serviat, nisi note immediate sequenti ipsi,

i.e.

.... when these signs are placed in order to colour a certain consonance, they ought always to be placed immediately before the note whose syllable (or pitch) has to be changed in order to colour such a consonance, whether that note be in the tenor or discantus, and whether it be on a line or in a space, since whatever the sign, it does not serve properly except for the note immediately following.

Such a statement cannot, of course, mean that literally only the one note is solmised irregularly, since this would be pointless; furthermore, in each of Prodocimus' examples [53], the irregularity must certainly continue for at least two notes. What he presumably intends, therefore, is that, while the irregular solmisation may apply throughout the length of the figure in which it is placed, it ceases its effect after that [54]. It is, in any case, quite clear that neither he nor, for that matter, the other theorists mentioned so far, are referring to the sort of situation where mid-stave accidentals can function as effective signatures, neither do they recognise signatures themselves.

At this point, we need to turn our attention to another phenomenon, the coniuncta, which, though examined by fewer theorists than is musica ficta, receives sufficiently consistent treatment for some explanation to be feasible. Up to the time of Tinctoris, the main sources dealing with the coniuncta are the first treatise of the Berkeley theory manuscript (olim Phillipps 4450 - copied c.1375), the Tractatus de musica plana et mensurabili of Anonymous XI (c. 1450) and Tinctoris' own Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum (1476) [55]. In addition, there is some discussion in the two treatises of I:Rvat Lat.5129 (c.1400) and one of many in I:Rvat Capponi

206 (15th century) [56], and passing reference is made by a few other theorists [57], but too briefly for it to be possible to deduce much [58].

At first sight, it may well appear that musica ficta and coniunctae are probably much the same thing, since the standard definition of the coniuncta [59]:

> Coniuncta est dum fit de tono regulari semitonium irregulare aut de semitonio regulari tonum irregularis.... est appositio ♭ rotundi aut ♮ quadri in loco irregulari,

i.e.

> A coniuncta is when an irregular semitone is made from a regular tone, or an irregular tone from a regular semitone.... It is the positioning of ♭ or ♮ in an irregular place,

looks remarkably like the one which was cited for musica ficta [60]. Anonymous XI gives a fuller but essentially similar definition [61]:

> Coniuncta.... est facere de tono semitonium et e converse de semitonio tonum; nam in eo loco in quo solebat esse semitonium per coniunctam sumitur tonus. Similiter in loco in quo solebat esse tonus per coniunctam habetur semitonium, et cum dicitur mi fa ut solebat dici re mi etc., de similibus etiam per fa sol, mi fa .... Et sciendum quod omnis coniuncta signata per ♭ molle dicitur fa; sed per ♮ quadratum dicitur mi loco cuius frequenter h,

i.e.

> A coniuncta is the making of a semitone from a tone and conversely a tone from a semitone; where there was usually a semitone, by the use of a coniuncta a tone is taken. Similarly, where there was usually a tone, by the use of a coniuncta there is a semitone, and so mi fa is said where re mi was usually said, similarly also mi fa for fa sol. And it is to be noted that every coniuncta indicated by ♭ is to be said as

fa, but by ♮ as mi, the place of which is often h (i.e. B natural).

The anonymous theorist of I:Rvat Lat.5129 also writes in much the same terms, continuing as follows[62]:

> Quare fuit inventa coniuncta? Fuit inventa duabus de causis; prima causa fuit causa necessitatis.... vel secunda causa fuit ad habendum vocem pulchriorem seu semitonum dulciorem,

i.e.

> Why was the coniuncta invented? It was invented for two reasons; the first reason was necessity.... the second reason was either to obtain a more beautiful sound or a sweeter semitone.

This may be compared with[63]:

> Fuit autem inventa falsa musica propter duos causas, scilicet causa necessitatis et causa pulchritudinis cantus per se,

i.e.

> Musica falsa, however, was invented for two reasons, that is for reason of necessity and for reason of the beauty of the music in its own right.

Musica falsa, as has already been pointed out, is simply another term for ficta.

It is the Berkeley treatise, however, which most obviously implies a possible distinction, though much of the discussion is decidedly ambiguous. The crucial passage begins by referring to[64]

> .... aliquis inusitatus cantus quem aliqui sed male falsam musicam appelant alii fictam musicam alii vero coniunctas eam nominant et bene,

i.e.

> .... some unusual music, which some wrongly call musica falsa, others musica ficta, and others in fact call it coniunctae,

and that correctly,

which, apart from being unequivocal in its rejection of musica falsa as a valid term, also suggests that coniuncta is a more accurate term than musica ficta. Such a preference might, more obviously perhaps, reflect a simple personal prejudice on the part of the theorist, and if so would not then discount the possibility that the two meant the same thing. On the other hand, it might equally arise because, while the particular phenomenon to which the writer was referring was sometimes called musica ficta, and was more correctly described as coniuncta, other situations did exist where ficta was a perfectly acceptable, perhaps even a preferable term. Which of these interpretations is correct cannot, so far at least, be determined.

A few lines later, there occurs another potentially indicative, but unfortunately again somewhat ambiguous passage [65]:

Est enim coniuncta quadam [66] acquisita canendi actualis attribucio in qualibet facere de tono semitonum [67] et e converso. Vel aliter, coniuncta est alicuius proprietatis seu deductionis de loco proprio ad alienum locum secundum sub vel supra intellectualis transpositio. Pro cuius evidentia notandum est, quod omnis coniuncta aut signatur per ♭ aut ♯ in locis inusitatis positum. Item ubicumque ponitur signum ♭ debet deprimi sonus verus illius articuli per unum maius semitonum et dici fa. Et ubi signum ♯ ponitur, sonus illius articuli debet per maius semitonum elevari et dici ibidem mi,

i.e.

For any adventitious coniuncta is an addition to the actual music at any point in order to make a semitone from a tone and vice versa. Or, otherwise, a coniuncta is the mental transposition of any property or hexachord from its proper place upwards or downwards to a second unusual place. For indication of this, it is to be noted that every coniuncta is shown

by either ♭ or ♯ located in an unusual position. Wherever the sign ♭ is located, the real pitch of (that note) is to be sounded a major semitone lower (than usual) and called fa. And where the sign ♯ is located, the pitch of (that note) is to be raised by a major semitone and called at the same place mi.

Most of this is, of course, relatively expected, though it is extremely unusual to find theory from such an early date which explicitly describes accidentals as lowering or raising pitches. The most significant point of this passage for our immediate purpose is, however, that the coniuncta is not simply an entity, such as a sharp/natural or flat, but also a process of transposition [68]; and transposition is something we would normally expect to be a longer-term matter than the sort of situation described by Prosdocimus as musica ficta. The element of ambiguity still arises, nevertheless, since even the most short-term displacement of the mi-fa semitone might conceivably be thought of as transposition of a sort.

The next sentence is much more definite that a coniuncta can have a long-term effect, however [69]:

> Item quandocumque aliquod istorum signorum pro coniuncta ponitur in principio regule vel spacii, cuiuscumque omnis voces illius regule vel spacii cantari debent virtute illius signi in principio positi, nisi per aliud specialius in medio vel alibi hoc tollatur, etiam si fieret deductione in deductionem,

i.e.

> Whenever any of these signs for a coniuncta is placed at the beginning of a line or space (on the stave), all solmisation syllables of whichever line or space must be sung in accordance with that sign placed at the beginning (of the stave) unless it is removed by something else more specific (which is placed) in the middle or elsewhere, even if it should be-

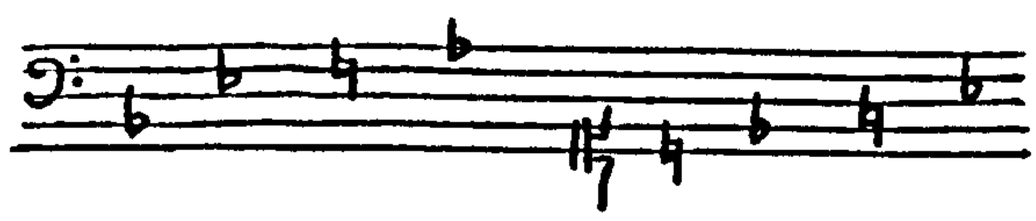
come a hexachord within a hexachord.

While this raises certain problems of detail, not least as regards what constitutes a hexachord within a hexachord [70], it does seem reasonably clear that a coniuncta can be a beginning-of-stave signature, and unless such a signature is cancelled or otherwise affected it continues in effect throughout the line at the beginning of which it is placed. Conventional ficta theory, as I have suggested already, does not allow for this sort of situation at all; indeed, the Berkeley treatise serves here to fill one of the major gaps which has appeared to exist in the surviving theory.

There still remains, however, the possibility that the Berkeley theorist is referring only to a special case, and therefore that coniunctae may, if not placed at the beginning of a stave, have the same short-lived effect as what is most commonly meant by musica ficta. In order to assess this, it will be necessary now to examine the context in which the theorists discuss the coniuncta, and the manner in which they apply it to musical examples.

While the surviving theory on musica ficta is, as has already been remarked, based on harmonic considerations, the main tradition surrounding the coniuncta, at least up to the time of Tinctoris, has as its focal point plainsong and the modes, clearly a primarily melodic background. Typically, the theorists begin by listing the coniunctae which they recognise: Anonymous XI and the anonymous theorist from I:Rvat Lat.5129, for instance, furnish a total of eight, which seem to constitute the basic ones in general use [71]:

Ex.3:



In addition, the Berkeley theorist provides those marked as A flat

and C sharp graves and C sharp superacuta, but he rejects low B flat as a coniuncta since, unusually, he considers it to derive from an eighth hexachord on F below Γ which exists on the Guidonian hand secundum artem [72]. In passing, we may note here that, even though this and the anonymous Capponi treatise give ten and the rather later Florentius de Faxolis as many as twelve coniunctae [73], these do not even provide all the notes which are necessary for cadential ficta, let alone all those used in the more chromatic works of the later 14th and early 15th centuries. This point alone should make us wary of any suggestion that ficta and coniunctae are identical, even though the studied omission from the various lists of B flats acuta and superacuta, apparently because they are recta, inevitably suggests a connection.

The next stage in the treatises is generally to give examples drawn from plainchant which show the use of each coniuncta individually [74]. Here it is of particular significance that in each case the coniuncta is present because the mode of the illustration is transposed. This is perhaps most obviously apparent in the examples given by Anonymous XI, partly because these are reasonably extended, and partly because he also specifies alternative notes on which the singer may begin in order to reverse the transposition and so avoid the coniuncta in question. Thus, his example for the first coniuncta has its final on G, the Dorian mode being transposed once flatwards, his example for the second has been transposed twice flatwards, for the third once sharpwards, and so on [75].

The general principle is pointed neatly by Tinctoris in his Liber de natura et proprietati tonorum, where he is clearly dealing with irregular finals caused by modal transposition. He states, for example, that [76]

> Primus itaque tonus atque secondum intra manum irregulariter finire poterunt in G sol re ut gravi per b molle ac naturam

et in C fa ut per coniunctas E la mi gravis ac ♭ mi et per b molle,

i.e.

Thus the first and second modes can finish irregularly within the (Guidonian) hand on G gravis through (the use of) the soft and natural (hexachords), and on C gravis through (the use of) the coniunctae on E gravis and B gravis and the soft (hexachord).

At least two crucial points arise from these examples. First, the use of any coniuncta to transpose a mode necessarily presupposes long-term application; in effect, it must continue throughout the extent of the transposition. Tinctoris expresses his coniunctae as beginning-of-stave signatures [77], and we have already established theoretical justification for these affecting the whole line on which they occur. Much of the time, the Berkeley writer and Anonymous XI also follow this principle, and place the coniuncta in question at the beginning of their illustrations [78]. Often, however, they place it in the middle of the stave, either at a convenient point for mutation or immediately before the first note to which it applies. In order to make sense of the examples, it has necessarily to be assumed that these mid-stave coniunctae have the same status as those at the beginnings of staves; in other words, a coniuncta may actually be placed wherever it happens to be convenient, without to the slightest extent prejudicing its long-term effect.

The second point is that modal transposition arising from the use of a coniuncta may have much more profound implications than the isolated use of one irregular hexachord. The transposition of, for instance, the Dorian modes twice flatwards to end on C will normally involve use of irregular hexachords on both low F and B flat throughout any piece so affected, in preference to the hard and natural hexachords. Indeed, in practice, B and E naturals will, if used at all,

come to fulfil a function more akin to that of sharps in an untransposed context, i.e. as part of effective ficta progressions. Conversely, the hexachords on F below Γ and B flat, though strictly irregular, will assume a role corresponding to the recta hard and natural hexachords in an untransposed context. In a parallel manner, where Anonymous XI gives an example for the use of the coniuncta marked by C sharp [79], he necessarily presupposes use of hexachords on D as well as A (otherwise the transposition would be nonsensical) [80], and a role for these which would correspond to normal recta were his example not transposed. On the other hand, notes such as F and C naturals which are normally accommodated within musica recta would be solmised in a manner more readily comparable with ficta in the untransposed version of the example [81].

Most of this tallies remarkably well with our experience of accidentals as they occur in the Brussels version of Plummer's Mass. Flats, whether expressed as signatures or mid-stave accidentals, almost always have precisely this long-term effect, and it seems not unreasonable to term them coniunctae. Though it is difficult to assess the work according to the strictly modal terms typical of the theory, its flats can very conveniently be regarded as setting up situations whereby hexachords on low F and the B flats function as a sort of effective recta, whereas notes like B and E naturals which are part of the normal recta system exist only in effective ficta progressions.

Probably the most obvious difference is that sharps are not used as coniunctae in the Brussels copy, but only to clarify cadential inflections. Indeed, we may note here that very few sources do use sharps as coniunctae, a situation for which it is extremely difficult to account adequately. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that sharps occur so commonly at cadences where their function

is strictly short-term, and to use them also as <u>coniunctae</u> could easily lead to ambiguity [82]. Also, the style of the music is such that any modulation, if that is the correct term, tends almost invariably to drift flatwards, frequently setting up the sort of major/minor tension mentioned in the previous section. While this may not explain the relative absence of initial sharp signatures, it is consistent with the extreme rarity of <u>coniuncta</u> sharps occurring in the middle of pieces.

All this does not, however, raise any objection to our applying the principles of <u>coniuncta</u> theory in Plummer's Mass, since there does not seem to be any obvious reason why some manuscript accidentals should not be long-term <u>coniunctae</u> and others short-term cadential <u>ficta</u>, provided that it is clear from the context which meaning is intended at any given point. Superficially, at least, a far more reasonable objection is that <u>coniuncta</u> theory is so specifically concerned with plainchant in the sources that its application to polyphony might, on logical grounds, appear less than completely justified. Indeed, the only theory I have found which might conceivably connect the <u>coniuncta</u> with anything other than chant is a purely incidental comment by Anonymous XI [83]:

> Cum ergo cognitio talium coniunctarum necessaria sit in cantu plano et etiam organico idcirco videndum diligenter de eis et scrutandum,

i.e.

> Since, therefore, knowledge of such <u>coniunctae</u> is necessary in plainsong and even <u>cantus organicus</u>, on that account examination and study of them must be diligently made.

The problem with this, however, is that the precise meaning of <u>cantus organicus</u> is extremely difficult to determine, particularly since the word 'organicus' implies strongly that instruments may be involved. In his <u>Diffinitorium</u>, Tinctoris actually defines <u>musica</u>

organica, which one would expect to be the same as cantus organicus, in the following terms [84]:

. Musica organica est illa quae fit in instrumentis flatu sonum causantibus,

i.e.

.... that which is made by instruments which produce the sound by wind.

It is most unlikely that this was what Anonymous XI intended, however, since such an interpretation can hardly be justified by the context of the remark quoted above; hence, we must therefore investigate other possibilities.

Jacobus de Liège, for instance, writes the following in the Speculum Musicae in the course of one of his many highly partisan invectives against the moderni [85]:

Sed cantus alios multos dimiserunt quibus in propria forma non utuntur, sicut fecerunt Antiqui, ut cantus organicos mensuratos vel non ubique mensuratos ut est organum purum vel duplum de quo forsan pauci sciunt Modernorum,

i.e.

But (the moderns) demean many other kinds of music which they do not compose in the proper way, as did the ancients (who wrote) cantus organicus (which was either) mensural or not completely mensural, that is pure organum or organum duplum, concerning which, perhaps, few of the moderns know (anything).

This meaning of cantus organicus also seems implicit in the title - Tractatus de musica plana et organica - of an anonymous treatise in Volume II of Coussemaker's Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi [86], which discusses first plainsong and then organum.

It is, however, by no means clear why Anonymous XI should have been referring specifically to organum as late as the mid 15th century, and it is difficult to believe that he did not also envisage

the application of coniunctae to other polyphony if this is what he meant. In this connection, it may perhaps be relevant that Florentius de Faxolis identifies musica organica with cantus figurativus, a term which is associated with mensural music, and therefore presumably with nearly all the various types of polyphony which were in current use [87].

Even if the preceding discussion is inconclusive, there is also the important question as to why chant was ever chosen to illustrate the use of coniunctae in the first place, since it would appear unlikely that it was generally transposed to quite such distant finals as the theorists imply in their examples. While we may meet occasional examples of plainsong in transposed modes, usually removed once flatwards or, less commonly, once sharpwards, there seems to be no tradition outside coniuncta theory for more extreme shifts; nor is there any reasonably plausible motive for carrying out this sort of process. One is tempted to infer, therefore, that the purpose of the theorists may really have been to describe situations which were likely to arise in polyphonic music, but that they chose to illustrate with examples drawn from chant simply because it was more straightforward and involved a body of material which was sufficiently well-known for the implications of the text to be readily clarified. Unfortunately, there appears no way of demonstrating the truth of such an assertion, and we can therefore judge the relevance of coniuncta theory to polyphony only by assessing the results of applying it. Certainly, it is my contention that, in the case of Plummer's Mass from the Brussels manuscript, and many other works besides, the only way to achieve reasonable musical results is to interpret the majority of flats as coniunctae.

It remains now to define more precisely the status of coniunctae vis-à-vis musica ficta, and to examine the implications of certain

ways in which effective signatures are commonly applied both in theory and in practice.

The immediate question is, inevitably, whether coniunctae are ficta or not. That they may not be is strongly suggested by their different function, and the fact that the normally ficta hexachords they establish behave in a manner more directly comparable with recta. We might therefore conjecture that the role of the coniuncta is to transpose the gamut so that a new set of hexachords is available as actual recta. On the other hand, it can hardly be coincidental that no list of coniunctae ever mentions those B flats which are part of the conventional recta system [88], and it surely would be necessary to include these if coniunctae and musica ficta were completely distinct. Besides, if the first extract given above from the Berkeley treatise prefers the former term, it certainly does not reject the latter [89], a fact which also seems to imply that coniunctae are in some sense part of the general area of musica ficta. Perhaps the clearest indication that there is a connection occurs in Tinctoris' Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum, where he states that [90]

> .... ipsi tamen toni in omnibus locis alius regularibus aut per veram aut per fictam musicam correspondentibus sive intra manum sive extra finire possunt, et tunc irregulares appellati sunt,

i.e.

> Those modes may, however, have their finals on all other normal places on or outside the (Guidonian) hand, through (the use of) either musica recta or musica ficta, and then they are called irregular.

Since any notes which are not part of the normal recta system are termed coniunctae in the ensuing examples [91], it follows that he must have referred to the latter as ficta in the above quotation.

We may conclude, therefore, that musica ficta really takes in two different phenomena: what the theorists normally refer to as ficta i.e. the short-term inflections brought about for harmonic reasons, and the coniuncta. In other words, the two terms are not identical, but the latter is a special part of the former. In particular, this means that no transposed system set up by a coniuncta can ever be anything other than ficta where it involves irregular solmisation, and the fact that any ficta hexachords involved may function in a manner more akin to recta does not render them real recta.

On the other hand, it is not necessarily a contradiction to think in practice of a coniuncta as establishing a sort of secondary recta by transposition, as long as it is remembered that some of this effective recta may actually contain theoretical ficta; certainly, this seems by far the most convenient way in which to understand many of the situations which arise in Plummer's Mass. It is also highly likely that such an approach is advocated in certain theoretical sources. For instance, some of the comments made by Spangenberg in his Quaestiones may be relevant here, even though this work seems rather late for our purposes [92]:

> Quid est transpositio canto? Est coniunctarum evitatio; dum enim coniunctas vitare intendimus, cantum ex loco proprio sui finis sursum ad quintam elevamus,

i.e.

> What is transposition? It is the avoidance of coniunctae; for if we wish to avoid coniunctae, we raise the music by a fifth from the normal place of its final;

and

> Transpositio est coniunctarum remedium atque excusatio,

i.e.

> Transposition is the remedy for coniunctae and the reason

for their existence.

This probably does not mean merely that coniunctae are avoided or created by the transposition of a given piece, but also that the singer could avoid reading the coniunctae (which would complicate his job) by mentally transposing the normal system to a different part of the stave. The pragmatic placing of effective recta wherever it is most convenient to do so is surely also implicit in the clefless pieces of Binchois and examples to be found in certain 15th-century treatises [93]. Here only flats are provided at the beginning of the stave, but these serve to place not only all the semitones, but also the hexachords which constitute the effective recta for the pieces involved.

This leads naturally to the question of how many different types of hexachord may be contained in such transposed systems. The obvious answer is three, that being the number comprising normal recta, but in practice there arise significant difficulties, especially where there are signatures which consist of two flats, and which therefore define only two notes as fa. Thus, if a B flat and E flat signature is given, we might expect the system to be transposed twice flatwards, and therefore that hexachords on F, B flat and E flat should be in force; the explicit B flat, however, fixes B as fa, hence A as mi, thus apparently ruling out use of the E flat hexachord. Theory is, unfortuately, of little help here, though it is worth noting that, in Plummer's Mass, A flats did sometimes have to be assumed in situations where a B flat and E flat signature was in force, even though they were not actually written in [94]. Furthermore, specified A flats did not imply further transposition, and were therefore better described as next-flat effective recta [95].

The situation is also rather tricky with relation to signatures consisting of recta B flats and/or the low B flat coniuncta. True,

these do not by their very nature appear to preclude the use of E flats by next-flat effective recta in the same way as a B flat and E flat signature may seem to preclude use of A flats; indeed, Tinctoris specifically allows for the use of E flats where the Lydian modes have their final irregularly on B flat, even though he does not include them in the signatures preceding his examples. The passage in question runs as follows [96]:

> Quintus etiam tonus et sextus intra manum irregulariter finire poterunt in C fa ut per naturam et per ♮ durum ac in b fa ♮ mi acuto per b molle et per naturam ac per coniunctam E la mi acuti si opus fuerit.

i.e.

> The fifth and sixth modes can also finish irregularly within the (Guidonian) hand on C through (the use of) the natural and hard (hexachords) and on B flat acuta through (the use of) the soft and natural (hexachords) and the coniuncta on E acuta if the situation demands.

Thus far, at least, theory and practice seem to indicate that effective recta systems by transposition can contain three, and not just two hexachords.

The real problem here, however, is that B flat signatures very often do not imply modal transposition at all, a fact which is clear both from practice [97], and from examples in a number of theoretical works. The author of Quatuor Principalia, for example, gives B flat signatures to examples in modes I, V and VI without ever involving any departure from their regular forms [98]. Later, the same theorist explicitly states that B flats are commonly used in the Dorian and Lydian modes, but not normally in the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes [99].

Where there is no implied transposition, there can, of course, be no question of E flats being available as effective next-flat

recta, a fact which is clear from the impossibility of having Phrygian-type cadences on D. The role of such B flat signatures can therefore only be to establish that, within the normal recta system, the soft rather than the hard hexachord is to be used. This is completely consistent with the high incidence of partial signatures in pieces based on the Dorian and Lydian modes, since it is natural for pieces ending on D and F to have individual parts with either no signature or one of B flat, depending on their particular solmisation requirements. Similarly, where these modes are transposed once flatwards, it is natural for pieces ending on G and B flat to contain partial signatures using B flat on its own with B flats and E flats. From this we may infer two highly significant points: first, that where a partial signature is in force, the extra flat only expresses a hexachord preference and not an extension of the effective recta; and second, that in the Dorian and Lydian modes signatures can be ambiguous, for instance a B flat signature in all parts involving effective recta use of either the normal system of the hexachords on C, F and B flat, depending on the final of the music. It is also possible to construct the following table of modal transpositions, together with the resulting finals, the hexachords which are likely to be used in each case, and the possible effective signatures, remembering that these latter may occur as mid-stave accidentals as well as at the beginnings of lines [100].

Table 5:

	Final	Hexachords	Signatures
Dorian: normal form	D	G, C, F.	- / B♭
transposed			
(i) once flatwards	G	C, F, B♭.	B♭ / B♭,E♭
(ii) twice flatwards	C	F, B♭, E♭.	B♭,E♭ / B♭,E♭,A♭
(iii) once sharpwards	A	D, G, C.	F♯ / -

Phrygian: normal form	E	G, C, (F).	-
transposed			
(i) once flatwards	A	C, F, (B♭).	B♭
(ii) twice flatwards	D	F, B♭, (E♭).	B♭,E♭
(iii) once sharpwards	B	D, G, (C).	F#
Lydian: normal form	F	G, C, F.	- / B♭
transposed			
(i) once flatwards	B	C, F, B♭.	B♭ / B♭,E♭
(ii) twice flatwards	E	F, B♭, E♭.	B♭,E♭ / B♭,E♭,A♭
(iii) once sharpwards	C	D, G, C.	- / F#
Mixolydian: normal form	G	G, C, (F).	-
transposed			
(i) once flatwards	C	C, F, (B♭).	B♭
(ii) twice flatwards	F	F, B♭, (E♭).	B♭,E♭
(iii) once sharpwards	D	D, G, (C).	F#

Where a given work is easily accommodated within the modal system, this table can prove remarkably effective as a guide to the functions of many of the manuscript accidentals. Thus Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra is clear Dorian, based on that mode's normal final D. It uses hexachords based on G, C and F, and partial signatures with combinations of B flat and nothing at all are found in the work. Because any B flat signatures only express preference for the soft hexachord and do not bring about modal transposition or, therefore, transposition of the effective recta, E flats are effective as well as actual ficta. As we saw in the previous section, this did indeed seem to be the status of the few E flats which occurred during the course of the work [101].

Frye's Masses Summe Trinitati and Flos regalis both have their final on G and, since the greater parts of these works do not have effective signatures, they are, for most of the time, reasonably described as Mixolydian. Accordingly, the music is contained mainly by the hexachords on G and C, though recta B flats are almost always necessary to provide Phrygian cadences on A. This incidental

use of unwritten B flats is essentially different, however, from the various longer-term moves towards the minor heralded by the written B flats. To call such passages normal Mixolydian is clearly meaningless, since they move in an area which most closely resembles some form of the Dorian [102], and we must therefore accept that, for want of a term with less tonal connections, some sort of modulation has taken place [103]. The most plausible possibility would probably be an explanation in terms of the mode most obviously related to the regular Mixolydian, that is, the Dorian transposed once flatwards, and this must certainly be examined. In such a situation, the final would still be G, but the hexachords in use would be those on C, F and B flat, and the effective signatures would consist of either one or two flats; E flats would be available as the next flat in the effective recta, and cadences on D would necessarily be Phrygian. Here, however, we meet an apparently insurmountable difficulty in that nowhere in these works are such cadences marked, nor are they at all likely. In other words, either the scheme I am proposing is fundamentally unsound, or there are certain additional factors which still have to be taken into account. Needless to say, it will be necessary to return to this problem.

Plummer's Mass is, in some ways, a still more difficult case since we may be tempted to doubt how useful it is to ascribe a mode to it in the first place. Since most of the 'major-key' passages have no signature and have their final on C, we could think of the work as being basically in the Lydian mode transposed once sharpwards, and using only the hexachords on G and C. On the other hand, certain of these passages have a B flat signature, which would point to the Mixolydian mode transposed once flatwards. Fortunately there is, in practice, no difficulty in deciding what constitutes the effective recta while the piece preserves the feeling of C major. As long as there is no effective signature in force, there are, for ex-

ample, no potentially Phrygian cadences on A.

Where, however, the music turns to the minor, we seem most clearly to be in the Dorian mode transposed twice flatwards, using hexachords on F, B flat and occasionally also E flat, and effective signatures of either two or three flats. This, of course, corresponds fairly closely with what actually happens for much of the work, and explains the fact that B and E flats, which bring about transpositions of the effective recta, are used rather more systematically than A flats, which merely mark existing effective recta once the transposition has taken place [104]. As in the last group of work discussed, however, we run into certain difficulties over cadences. Whereas there is no question of D flats being available as effective recta to give Phrygian cadences on C, A flat ought to be available for Phrygian cadences on G; musical considerations and lack of specified cadences of this sort seem, on the other hand, to render these latter highly unlikely [105].

When we come down to considering the relevant cadences individually, this state of affairs becomes a great deal less surprising because, in each case, neither the stated nor the effective signatures in force are sufficient to allow use of such effective recta A flats. Usually these former amount, in fact, to various combinations involving B flat, B and E flats, or, very occasionally, nothing at all, partial signatures which are technically insufficient for transposition of the Dorian mode to have its final on C. In strictly modal terms, this might be interpreted in two ways. First, many of the passages involved may be considered as modulating only to the Dorian mode on G, so that the question of A flats and Phrygian cadences on G does not arise. This is consistent both with the predominating signatures and with the fact that many of the relevant passages actually end on G rather than C [106]. Second, and this could account for all but possibly two of the cases [107], we may still think basically

in terms of the Dorian mode based on C, but interpret the technically inadequate signatures as a trick of the notation which was specifically designed to prevent use of Phrygian cadences on G. Thus, as in other cases where partial signatures are employed, the extra flat only expresses a preference for a particular hexachord, and not a transposition of the effective recta, with the result that A flat is not, after all, available [108]. Whether this means that we can still talk meaningfully about use of the Dorian mode in such passages is, of course, a moot point, but there seems, on the face of it, little reason why composers should not have adapted the modal system in this sort of manner, just as later composers may be considered to have adapted the key system.

Two cadences on G in Plummer's Mass represent slightly different cases, since they are associated with written-in high A flats in the tenor part. In both these passages, bar 50 of the Kyrie and bar 50 of the Agnus Dei, however, the note crucial to the cadence is low A which, assuming that the effective recta system has, by transposition, been lowered by a tone, should be natural, since low A flat is not technically available. On the other hand, situations frequently arise within the normal recta system where the low B flat seems to be required for Phrygian cadences on A [109], and the Berkeley scribe is prepared to regard the note as recta secundum artem [110]. It is, therefore, dangerous to be dogmatic in these particular cases, and the best we can do here is to note that a Phrygian cadence appears unlikely in the passage from the Kyrie, but is just feasible in that from the Agnus Dei.

At this point, we can return to our discussion of the difficulties encountered when attempting to apply the proposed scheme to Frye's Masses Summe Trinitati and Flos regalis, remembering that the potentially problematic cadences are those on D, not G. There are, in fact, only eight relevant examples in the two works, and we

will not, perhaps, be surprised to find that six of them occur at points where the effective signatures are insufficient for the Dorian mode transposed to G, that is, combinations of B flat and nothing [111]. The situation here is parallel with that found in Plummer's Mass, and the possible interpretations are either that the modulation is actually only to the Dorian based on D, or that the scribe has used these partial signatures as a notational device to prevent Phrygian cadences on D. In the remaining two cases [112], B flat effective signatures are used in both vocal parts involved, apparently allowing the interpretation that the phrases concerned are Dorian based on G. Since neither actually moves towards G at all, but each tends towards and finally cadences on D, they may be more satisfactorily understood as being untransposed Dorian, for which B flat signatures are equally legitimate; hence, again, the D cadences can properly be sharpened.

Cockx's work, like the Masses Summe Trinitati and Flos regalis of Frye, is basically Mixolydian, and contains only two cadences on D which are reasonably definitely associated with effective flat signatures, these being at bars 69 and 72 of the Sanctus. While some of what has been said of the Frye works inevitably applies to this piece also, the two cadences in question should almost certainly not be sharpened as in cases from these latter, since both the sense of the music and the effective signature ($B^{\flat}/B^{\flat},E^{\flat}$) establish that the modulation has been to a regular form of the Dorian mode based on G. In such circumstances, E flat is available as effective recta and must, presumably, bring about Phrygian cadences on D [113].

Before leaving this matter completely, it will be useful to consider a small sample of other works to check the wider validity of the scheme. These have been chosen more because they may appear problematical than because they are completely typical of the repertoire - most music of the mid 15th century can, in fact, be explained rela-

tively easily in these terms.

(i) Dunstable: O rosa bella [114].

Final is G, and, among many variant effective signatures, the most common types are combinations of one and two flats. This piece is therefore basically Dorian transposed once flatwards and, since the effective recta comprises the hexachords on C, F and B flat, manuscript E flats do not imply next-flat effective recta A flats. (The written A flat in bar 31 marks what is essentially a temporary diversion.) As a result, 6/3 cadences on G cannot be Phrygian, but those on D should be. This raises no problems apart from the case of the cadences in bars 17 - 18, which have been sharpened by the editors of the Complete Works. The concordantiae and organ arrangements suggest the correctness of this action, but may be an unreliable guide since they alter the form of the cadence in one way or another. There is an argument, therefore, for Phrygian cadences in the passage in question; otherwise we can only regard it as a temporary diversion into the untransposed Dorian.

(ii) Dunstable: Salve scema sanctitatis [115].

Final is F, and signatures -/-/B♭/B♭,E♭. These latter are very puzzling until it becomes clear that, though the lower part is contained entirely by the low B flat hexachord which is specified by the E flat signature, it does not in fact use any E flats. This piece can therefore be accommodated within the Lydian mode, the top two parts using hexachords on G, C and F, and the third part those on C and F. That the lowest part uses an apparently inappropriate hexachord is of no practical importance - it just happens to be the most convenient one by which to solmise the part, since it completely avoids mutation. Accordingly, the work uses the normal recta system, with Phrygian cadences on A, but not on D.

(iii) Dufay: Belle, veullies moy retenir [116].

Final is C, and effective signature -/B♭,E♭/B♭,E♭. This is not easy to describe in strictly modal terms, but the strange signature seems to be a pragmatic way of allowing a tension between what are, fairly freely speaking, the Lydian mode transposed once flatwards (major) and the Dorian mode transposed twice flatwards (minor). A B flat signature is unnecessary in the discantus up to bar 13 and might, if included, be construed as allowing next-flat effective recta E flats, so destroying the major/minor tension. B flat and E flat signatures are necessary in the lower parts in order to maintain the Dorian aspect of the piece. Mere B flats would be inadequate, since a partial signature of -/B♭/B♭ does not, as we have seen, allow for effective recta E flats [117].

Clearly this last example shows that assessment on a very rigidly modal basis is, in certain works, likely to be highly undesirable - even a practical impossibility - but it would appear that the principles behind the scheme I am proposing may prove helpful nonetheless, as in, for example, the following:

(iv) Dunstable: Gloria Spiritus et alme [118].

Final is C, and effective signatures -/B♭/B♭ (I:AO version) or varying combinations of nothing and B flat (I:TRmn92 version). This is difficult or impossible to describe in conventionally modal terms: the Lydian mode transposed once sharpwards is out of the question because of the flats, and a conventional use of the Mixolydian mode transposed once flatwards seems unlikely in view of the incomplete B flat signature [119]. Besides, the latter would allow Phrygian cadences on D, E flat being available as next-flat effective recta, and these do not appear to be required [120]. What we possibly have here is an irregular use of the Mixolydian mode transposed once flatwards, but with a technically insufficient signature employed in order to maintain sharpened cadences on D. Such a situ-

ation is, of course, directly comparable with those prevailing in passages from the Frye and Plummer works, where insufficient signatures were also used, apparently to circumvent Phrygian cadences on particular notes.

(v) Dufay: Missa Ave regina celorum [121].

Final is C, and, while the effective signature at the opening of each movement in the Brussels version appears to be -/-/B♭/E♭, the E flat in the bass must actually be understood to lapse fairly quickly [122]. As in the previous example, we have what can, within our limited scheme, only be described as irregular use of the Mixolydian mode transposed once flatwards. Again, the signature is technically insufficient for conventional application of this mode: accordingly, a very high proportion of B naturals is required in all parts but the tenor and, in particular, cadences on D must, in the absence of other indications, be of the sharpened not the Phrygian type.

There are four substantial excursions towards what approximates to the Dorian mode based on C, but this never involves Phrygian cadences on G since, if the question ever arises at all, the effective signatures are always insufficient to allow for effective recta A flats [123].

To end this enquiry, we may draw up a number of provisional conclusions:

(i) Manuscript accidentals especially flats can, in theory as well as in practice, have a long-term effect, regardless of whether they appear at the beginning or in the middle of a stave. Such accidentals are termed coniunctae by the theorists.

(ii) Though coniunctae are technically part of the area of musica ficta, they are associated with what, for practical purposes, we may call 'effective recta' systems, which are simply

transposed versions of the normal gamut.

(iii) In principle, an effective signature, i.e. a coniuncta or a written-in recta B flat with long-term effect, causes transposition not only of effective recta but also of the mode in use. Exceptionally in the case of the Dorian and Lydian modes the last flat can express a mere hexachord preference, without any possibility of further next-flat effective recta; where there is a partial signature, the extra flat always functions in this way.

(iv) The idea of modes should be applied fairly flexibly to music of the mid 15th century. Modulation, for example, is a convenient concept in the explanation of the major/minor tensions employed in four of the five English Masses of the Brussels manuscript.

(v) It is possible for a composer to use an effective signature which is technically insufficient for the mode to which his music most closely ocrresponds, this trick of notation being used to avoid normal next-flat effective recta for that mode, and the particular Phrygian cadences which would come about.

Clearly, there is a great deal of scope for further work on this subject, relating to the theory and its practice. These conclusions seem, nevertheless, to be fairly consistent with both, in particular pointing to a basic logic in the treatment of accidentals in the first fascicle of the Brussels manuscript, the search for which was our original intention. Furthermore, the scheme inherent in the conclusions and table of modal transpositions given above seems, if taken suitably flexibly, to provide a tool suitable for explaining potential ambiguities in the use of accidentals and signatures in many other works. Precisely how widely useful it is, and whether it can be made more reliable by certain refinements remains, perhaps, to be seen.

Footnotes to Chapter IV.

1 i.e. the spaces between notes and accidentals are roughly the same as those between notes.

2 Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet, p.15ff.

3 See edition and ensuing discussion.

4 It is by no means easy to tell which were written by the main scribe and which were not, since his flats are not quite consistent and it is nearly always virtually impossible to distinguish sharps anyway.

5 Here the divisions between staves are marked by extra bar-lines and the accidentals are placed as in the manuscript.

6 For further discussion and definitions of recta and ficta, see below, p.250ff.

7 Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus, p.47ff. There is, however, no question here of written A flats indicating possible D flats.

8 Except, that is, for special cases where the only relevant notes after statement of the accidental are conventionally raised, e.g. for cadences.

9 Here, 57^{1}D indicates that the flat in question in placed before the first D in the relevant part in bar 57; r stands for a rest. There are certain factors which could not be shown on the table, and which will crop up in the ensuing text:

Kyrie: contra E♭ in b.17 - this is superfluous if the B♭ at b.16 is a later addition.

Gloria: contra B♭ in b.70 - superfluous if the B♯ at b.69 is a later addition.

Sanctus: tenor E♭ in b.32 - superfluous if the E♭ at b.23 is a later addition.

See also below, fn.22.

10 These have not been listed, since they are clearly marked in the edition.

11 Cp. Allaire: The theory of hexachords, solmization and the modal system, p.44, which comments: 'The musician could indeed sing or play without reference to these syllables, but in accordance with the rules of the system.'

12 The B flat at bar 70 of the Credo (contra) is also a later addition, the purpose of which will be discussed in due course.

13 Cp. Hughes' 'latent' signatures: op.cit., p.57ff.

14 That the flat at b.70 may be superfluous, see fn.9.

15 Concerning cancellers, see below.

16 This was not included in Table 1 because its function is different from that of the other B and E flats of the work.

17 See fn.9 concerning the effect of this on the E♭ at b.17.

18 op.cit., p.47 and elsewhere. Hughes is wrong in stating that there is no evidence for the use of sharp signatures - as examples it is possible to cite Antonello's Notes pour moi (CMM53 No.7), a four-part arrangement of Dufay's chanson Se la face ay pale (CMM1/Vol.6 No.87), and perhaps even three pieces by Adam de la Halle (Oeuvres Complètes, pp.65, 96 and 266). These last-mentioned pieces are also in the new edition of Adam's works as Nos.I/17, I/25 and IV/4, but use of sharp signatures is not clear here.

19 This occurs over the opening rests in the part, and the bar number given is only very approximate.

20 It is not clear why these are not marked at the corresponding points of the Kyrie and Gloria.

21 It is not clear why B♯s are not marked in the corresponding passages from the Credo and Sanctus.

22 The E♭ at bar 81 would then become redundant.

23 It is impossible to tell whether B flats have also been cancelled because there are no Bs before B flat is again brought about by the E flat in b.44.

24 See also the possibility of 'insufficient signatures' below, p. 273ff.

25 Except for the one at b.59 of the Gloria (discantus) which occurs, purely fortuitously, at the beginning of a stave.

26 Their omission in the first place may compare with the omission of signatures, even where these latter should apply; but see also fn.24.

27 But note the possibility that the double leading-note effect was specified because of its uncommon usage - see above, p.237.

28 The fact that the B♭ (as it surely must be) in b.8 of the contra comes before the E♭ has been stated matters less, since this note would be affected in the light of the performer's forward reading.

29 Each marked E♭ occurs in a discantus/contra duo, so that we do not need to concern ourselves with the tenor parts here.

30 At Gloria b.48.

31 Those at Sanctus bb.65 and 74 (both in conjunction with the discantus flat at b.64), and Agnus Dei b.96.

32 Those at Gloria b.76 and Credo b.34.

33 Concerning this motif, see above, p.111ff.

34 Though that it may be possible to assign a mode to the Plummer work, at least for some purposes, see below, p.272ff.

35 See below, p.269.

36 In the Missa Summe Trinitati, it is, of course, in the nature of the plainsong that there should be some major/minor tension because of the marked B flats.

37 At b.40 of the Gloria and b.23 of the Agnus Dei, both in the contra part.

38 i.e. by b.42 of the Gloria and b.24 of the Agnus Dei.

39 That E♭ may not be available in the Lydian mode where there are B♭ signatures, see below, p.269ff.

40 Though one or two are not actually marked such.

41 Especially on the subject of marked ficta sharps - see editorial notes for the ways in which these have been interpreted.

42 See above, fn.11.

43 Not, in the normal course of events, low B♭, but see below, p. 260.

44 Ars contrapuncti secundum Philippum de Vitriaco (CSIII), p.26.

45 Ugolini urbevetani declaratio musice discipline (CSM7), Vol.2, p.44.

46 CSM7: 'perfectionum'.

47 See for example CSIII, p.194, where Prosdocimus writes: '... voces musicales, que sunt sex, scilicet: ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la.' We need not be concerned here with Tinctoris' definition in his Diffinitorium (Parrish edition, pp.72-73):'Vox est sonus naturaliter aut artificialiter prolatus' i.e. '.... a sound produced naturally or artificially', which is ambiguous, to say the least.

48 CSI, pp.166 and 312.

49 CSM8, Ch.14.

50 See Ars discantus attributed to Jean de Muris (CSIII, p.71ff.), who strangely does not use the terms falsa or ficta at all; and the Compendium de discantu mensurabili of Petrus (in Wolf: Ein Beitrag zur Diskantlehre des 14. Jahrhunderts).

51 See the Tractatus de contrapuncto (CSIII, p.198ff.) by Prosdocimus and Ugolino's Declaratio (especially CSM7/Vol.2, p.44ff.)

52 CSIII, p.198, translated by Hughes in op.cit., p.59.

53 CSIII, p.199; also those in the Libellus Monochordi (CSIII, p. 254).

54 This, to some extent, begs the question of what constitutes a 'figure', though precise usage should normally be clear from the context.

55 For the Berkeley treatise, see Ellsworth: The Berkeley Manuscript (olim Phillipps 4450): a compendium of fourteenth-century music theory, especially Vol.1, pp.1-29, 84-104, and Vol. 2, pp.7-74; the text, but not the translation has been taken from this. For Anonymous XI, see CSIII, p.416ff., and for the Tinctoris work, see CSM22/Vol.1, p.59ff.

56 The first treatise in I:Rvat Lat.5129 (which is anonymous) is published as CSM9, in which there is also some discussion of the second (by Talhandier). The anonymous treatise in I:Rvat Capponi 206 is mentioned by Waite in Two musical poems of the middle ages, though he gives no date for the manuscript. Since most of its contents date from the 14th century or earlier, we may reasonably assume that it is fairly retrospective in character. See also Seay: The 15th-century coniuncta, a preliminary study, p.731.

57 e.g. Hothby - see CSM10, p.42.

58 16th-century use of the term is quite common, e.g. by Rhau.

59 In Tinctoris' Diffinitorium (Parrish edition, pp.14-15).

60 See above, p.251.

61 See CSIII, p.426.

62 CSM9, p.47. The use of 'vocem' here refers back to 'vocem hominis' in the previous sentence, and does not, therefore, mean a solmisation syllable.

63 Anonymous II (CSI), p.312.

64 f5': Ellsworth, op.cit., Vol.1, p.9.

65 f6: Ellsworth, op.cit., Vol.1, p.9. At this period, # and ♮ generally mean the same thing, i.e. solmisation of the marked note as mi.

66 The manuscript gives 'quamdam'.

67 The manuscript gives 'semitoni'.

68 According to Ellsworth (Vol.2, p.14ff. of op.cit.), transposition includes the property of a hexachord, the latter being the quality of being hard, natural or soft.

69 f6: Ellsworth, op.cit., Vol.1, p.9.

70 This may refer to the sort of situation found in No.76 of the Old Hall MS.; see notes in CMM46/Vol.3 to that piece.

71 CSIII, p.427, and CSM9, p.47.

72 f7 (Ellsworth, op.cit., Vol.1, p.11) contains the passage: 'Ego autem, incipiens manum seu palmam secundum artem, videlicet in F gravi inferiori, dico in B gravi non esse coniunctam....' i.e. 'I, however, beginning the (Guidonian) hand or palm artificially, namely at F below ⌐, say that there is no coniuncta at B gravis.

73 ff20-22 of the Capponi manuscript; see Seay: The Liber Musices

of Florentius de Faxolis, p.82 . The latter is dated c.1496 by Seay.

74 This does not happen in the anonymous treatise from I:Rvat Lat. 5129, which is too fragmentary.

75 See CSIII, p.426ff. The theorist's examples are not, however, without their problems: that for the fourth coniuncta makes no sense, that for the fifth is not a true transposition, etc.; neither does he assign a proper status to the eighth.

76 CSM22/Vol.1, p.98.

77 ibid., p.99ff.

78 CSIII, p.426ff., and Berkeley manuscript f6'ff. (Ellsworth, op. cit., Vol.1, p.151).

79 CSIII, p.428.

80 He actually gives an F♯ in the middle of the stave.

81 Though there is actually a C♮ (marked as a ♭) towards the end of the transposed version of the example.

82 See fn.18 above.

83 CSIII, p.426.

84 Diffinitorium (Parrish edition, pp.44-45). Compare also Jerome of Moravia's Tractatus de musica (CSI, p.5), which lists three types of sound, of which the second is 'organica, que ex flatu consistit' i.e. '... which consists of wind'.

85 CSM3/Vol.7, p.89.

86 Anonymous IX, p.484.

87 See Seay: The Liber Musices of Florentius de Faxolis, p.89ff. The fact that organum was still current in certain parts of Europe as late as the 15th century is probably not relevant here.

88 And the Berkeley treatise appears to reject low B♭ as a coniuncta because it accepts it as recta, albeit 'secundum artem'.

89 See above, p.256ff.

90 CSM22/Vol.1, p.98.

91 ibid., p.99ff.

92 See fB4.

93 e.g. Binchois' Mon seul et souverain desir, and the Anonymous of CSIV (p.441). Concerning the Binchois piece, see further discussion in Caldwell: Medieval Music, p.236ff. The version of Dufay's Se la face ay pale mentioned in fn.18 above is, of course, a transposition once sharpwards.

94 See, for instance, Kyrie bb.14-19 (discantus).

95 It might seem possible that isolated E♭ signatures as found in certain Old Hall pieces (e.g. No.82) could have been used to provide for use of B♭ hexachords with either F or E♭ hexachords depending on context. This works well enough in the tenor of Old Hall No.82, but unfortunately A♭s are required also in the contra (e.g. at b.18) which has a B♭ and E♭ signature. The explanation in the case of this piece seems simply to be that the tenor makes no use of the hexachord on low F, and that there is therefore no need to mark it with a B♭ signature.

96 CSM22/Vol.1, p.100.

97 See, for instance, Frye's Missa Nobilis et pulcra, where the tenor part has a flat signature throughout all but a few sections of the work.

98 CSIV, pp.235, 241-42.

99 ibid., pp.248-49.

100 In practice, B♭,E♭,A♭ signatures would not be stated as such, but as effective E♭,A♭ signatures, which also imply B♭.

101 See above, p.247.

102 This seems much more likely than the other 'minor' mode, the Phrygian.

103 The concept is also reasonably applied, surely, to plainchant in mixed modes.

104 See above, pp.234ff., 241.

105 Except the possibility noted below, p.274.

106 e.g. Sanctus bb.69-73.

107 See below, p.274.

108 e.g. Sanctus bb.40-48.

109 e.g. Missa Nobilis et pulcra: Gloria b.76.

110 See above, fn.72.

111 Missa Summe Trinitati: Agnus Dei bb.32 and 40; Missa Flos regalis: Gloria bb.79, 88 and 93, and Sanctus b.62.

112 Missa Summe Trinitati: Credo b.8, and Missa Flos regalis: Sanctus b.67.

113 The same will apply also at b.82 of the Gloria if the B and E flats continue past the cadence at b.78, and at b.38 of the Credo if these flats continue past the cadence in b.37. On the other hand, the longer-term effect of the manuscript B♭s is in some doubt in these two cases - see above, p.246.

114 MB8, No.54.

115 MB8, No.30.

116 CMM1/Vol.6, No.30.

117 Note (i) that a modulation is marked in the discantus at b.14, but this has apparently lapsed by b.18; (ii) that the E in b. 17 must be flat, and the last F in the discantus part of b.25 should be sharp (this is not a Phrygian cadence, because of the insufficient signature).

118 MB8, No.9.

119 The Ionian mode is a later invention which does not concern us here.

120 Though there are some E♭s at bb.93-94, an essentially temporary diversion.

121 See appendix to edition in this thesis.

122 Almost certainly by the end of the head motif at b.8 of each movement.

123 The passages in question occur at Gloria b.80ff., b.120ff., Credo b.145ff., Agnus Dei b.72ff.

Appendix:

The Brussels Manuscript and the texting of Dufay's last two Masses [1].

As a result of recent research on Dufay carried out by such scholars as Wright and Planchart [2], a number of points have emerged about that composer's last twenty years or so, and more specifically about the Mass music he wrote during this time.

(i) He was based at the Savoy court from 1450 to 1458, and then remained at Cambrai from November 1458 until his death in 1474 [3].

(ii) Of his Masses, only the four attributed cantus firmus works appear to survive from these twenty years, namely those based on Se la face ay pale, L'homme armé, Ecce ancilla Domini and Ave regina celorum [4].

(iii) Of these, only the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini can be shown conclusively to have been copied into the Cambrai choirbooks, this having taken place in 1463 [5]. A Missa Ave regina celorum, unattributed in the records, was copied in 1473 [6], and this, not unreasonably, has been identified with the work known to have been by Dufay. There is, however, some room for doubt here, and the possibility of the 1473 accounts referring to another Missa Ave regina celorum must be recognised, since one might expect Dufay's name to have been specified as it so often is elsewhere [7].

(iv) There does not appear to have been an organ at Cambrai cathedral during Dufay's time [8], and therefore performances of these two works were presumably a cappella, the use of other instruments being forbidden in the Mass [9].

(v) The earlier Masses Se la face ay pale and L'homme armé were probably written not for Cambrai but for the Savoy court chapel, and use of an organ may therefore have been possible [10]. As a result of this, and the fact that secular cantus firmi are used, many of the remarks made in this report about the later pair of Masses will be irrelevant to the ear-

lier ones.

Both the Cambrai Masses survive in the Brussels manuscript [11], and, since the cathedral choirbooks recorded in the archives are apparently not extant, this manuscript has been accepted as the most reliable remaining source [12]. Such acceptance has been based on its assumed relative accuracy [13], and also on its chronological and geographical proximity to the Cambrai copies. In the Brussels manuscript, both Masses occur in what were originally separate and self-contained fascicles, the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini having been copied by one scribe on paper which probably dates from much the same time as the Cambrai copies, and the Missa Ave regina celorum by another scribe on what is, perhaps, slightly later paper [14]. Since there seems little reason to doubt that the pieces were written out within a very few years of the manufacture of the paper - paper was rarely stored for many years before use [15] - these versions are probably almost contemporary with the lost Cambrai ones.

The accepted geographical proximity arises from the assumption made in the past that the Brussels manuscript was compiled for the chapel of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy from 1467 to 1477 [16], and the considerable documentary evidence of cultural contact between the Burgundian court and Cambrai [17]. The fact that the manuscript was probably not copied for the ducal chapel does, of course, detract somewhat from its authority, but strong links with Cambrai probably still have to be assumed [18].

The Missa Ecce ancilla Domini also survives in I:Rvat CS14, and the Missa Ave regina celorum in I:MOe ∝ M.I.13 and I:Rvat SPB80 [19], all versions which are not superior musically to those in the Brussels manuscript, and notably corrupt with regard to the underlay of the text. That of the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini in I:Rvat CS14, for example, omits portions of text from both top parts, and is extremely muddled and inconsistent over that of its plainsong-bearing ten-

or [20].

The apparently cavalier attitude shown by 15th-century scribes towards word underlay is, of course, a source of considerable frustration to modern editors [21], and it is therefore of particular interest that the copyist of the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini in the Brussels manuscript should have been more than usually painstaking in his precise placing of many of the syllables under what he considered were the appropriate notes [22]. In the discantus and contra parts, this underlay follows fairly strictly a number of straightforward principles which may be summarised as follows:

(i) There is never more than one syllable to a note.

(ii) Where there are two notes of the same pitch to one syllable, the first is merely a short anticipatory note whose duration is of a minim or less. Otherwise, consecutive notes of the same pitch take separate syllables.

(iii) The final syllable of a phrase generally falls on its last note, unless the part continues through the cadence for the purpose of decoration or overlap into the next section.

(iv) Where there is imitation, the underlay is usually the same in both voices, so that displacement of the text may then be as much as two or three syllables. Otherwise, the same syllable comes fairly close together in both voices, without often actually coinciding except at the ends of phrases.

(v) Text is never repeated in either voice.

(vi) Ligatures do not accept more than one syllable.

(vii) Notes as short as a minim may carry their own syllables, especially in phrases where the musical rhythm follows that of the words [23].

Like the upper parts, the first tenor also has text carefully set out in full, and its underlay following exactly the same princi-

ples. The words, however, are not those of the Mass, but of the chants Ecce ancilla Domini and Beata es Maria, and it is these plainsong words which are evidently intended to be sung.

Since we can therefore reconstruct fairly easily what the underlay of the three upper parts should be, at least according to this scribe, it may come as a surprise to discover that treatment of the second tenor is comparatively casual. Indeed, the manuscript texts only three short passages in the whole part, otherwise providing no more than a handful of incipits. Neither can these latter always be taken at face value. The first incipits in the Gloria and Credo, for instance, are placed immediately after the heading tenor 2^{s}, and under the first notes of the part rather than the previous rests. Since 'Et in terra' and 'Patrem' can hardly have been the words intended to be sung where the part entered, we have a case of incipits functioning only as titles.

Perhaps more significantly, however, the Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei cannot be underlaid with Mass text without splitting a high proportion of the ligatures. Indeed, in places there are so many long notes in this second tenor part that, in order to fit the words of the Mass, it is even necessary either to split many of the notes up, or else to miss out much of the text and have different groups of words running concurrently in this vis-à-vis the discantus and contra parts [24]. As I have already suggested elsewhere, some of these solutions must certainly be considered for many works dating from a somewhat earlier period [25]. However, at this relatively late stage in the development towards the fully polyphonic style, it might appear less likely that composers should have made so little allowance for texting.

Superficially at least, it does not appear that the Brussels version of the Missa Ave regina celorum can shed much light on this

problem since, with regard to its word underlay, it is notably inferior to that of the Ecce ancilla Domini Mass. While most of the Mass text is to be found in the discantus part, for example, it is not unambiguously placed, and even the contra part merely contains incipits in the Gloria and Credo settings.

The tenor part, a highly decorated version of the plainsong Ave regina celorum, is not properly underlaid, though does contain a number of incipits for the antiphon words. The indication, as Planchart has convincingly argued, is that the part is intended to carry the plainsong text throughout, in the same way as it does in the Ecce ancilla Domini Mass [26]. Indeed, the only points at which the Mass text is to be found in the tenor in the Brussels manuscript are 'Qui propter' under a series of rests, 'Gaude gloriosa Osanna', and 'Valle vade (a scribal slip for 'valde') Osanna in excelsis'. The first of these merely marks the text of the discantus/contra duo at that point, and it seems improbable that the other two fragments of Mass text are to be sung in preference to the plainsong words, since the tenor never departs from its decorated version of the chant.

As in the Ecce ancilla Domini Mass, the underlay in the lowest part, here marked bassis, is very problematical. Certainly, there is no question of fitting the Mass text in either the Gloria or Credo without resorting either to systematic breaking of ligatures and long notes, or extensive dis-alignment and omission of text [27]. Again, problems of consistency arise because of the unusual mixture of incipits from both the Mass and antiphon texts. More specifically, as Planchart has recently observed, the very precise placing of the syllables of 'Gaude gloriosa' in the bass part of the Gloria shows that these antiphon words should almost certainly be sung in preference to those of the Mass [28]. Finally, much of the Mass text given is so manifestly unsatisfactory - a substantial proportion of the incipits and portions of underlay are significantly misplaced, the

margin of error being anything up to fourteen bars [29].

Simple errors, such as the slip 'vade' for 'valde' mentioned above, and an error of incipit on f115' - there are two 'Gaude gloriosa' incipits in the tenor part, the first of which should read 'Salve radix' - might easily arise from a slightly careless copy. To explain the larger-scale inconsistencies, however, we might rather suspect that the scribe added the Mass text to the bassis part himself without always checking its precise placing. In other words, either his model had little or no underlay in the bassis and he wished to provide some, or else he was attempting an extensive revision of the underlay in his model.

If he were starting from the bare music, it seems unlikely that he would have provided such a baffling mixture of incipits. On the other hand, his model can hardly have contained only the text of the Mass, since this in no way explains the misplaced incipits or the inclusion of any of the antiphon text. A far more acceptable alternative, in fact, follows as a logical extension of Planchart's observation mentioned above: simply, the original version of the work gave the words of the antiphon to the bassis as well as to the tenor part, and the scribe of the Brussels version (or his model) was attempting an extensive substitution of the Mass text.

In practice, this proves to be a simple and elegant solution, since, in the process of reinstating the antiphon text, the most pressing problems, such as the misplaced incipits and difficult underlay, are miraculously removed [30]. Furthermore, such a solution is particularly suitable in that it arises naturally out of the rhythmic similarity which predominates between the tenor and bass parts, and the various thematic connections between them [31]. There are, however, four substantial sections, Christe II, Kyrie V, 'Et ascendit' and Agnus II, where the bass part is completely independent of the tenor, and it is to these that our attention must now be turned.

Of the passages in question, the first three occur at points where there is no suitable antiphon text for the bassis to sing, and since each involves a greater than usual rhythmic similarity between the bassis and the upper parts, all three voices should presumably take the Mass words [32]. The Agnus II, however, coinciding as it does with the sole omission from the tenor of any portion of the cantus firmus, represents an interesting and important exception since, although the bassis part may seem very free here, its first entry is actually related to the missing phrases of the antiphon melody (see Ex.1). The corresponding words

Salve radix sancta ex qua mundo lux est orta

should therefore be substituted, thus rendering the antiphon text as complete in the Agnus Dei as it is in the other movements.

A less obvious, but nevertheless important question arises as to what words the contra should be singing in this duo passage since in the Brussels manuscript the four distinct sub-sections comprising the Agnus II are inconsistently underlaid as follows:

bb.38 - 47	discantus	Agnus Dei,
	contra	Agnus Dei (incipit),
bb.47 - 63	contra	qui tollis (incipit),
	bassis	Agnus Dei (incipit),
bb.63 - 71	discantus	qui tollis peccata mundi,
	contra	peccata mundi (incipit),
bb.72 - 82	discantus/ contra/bassis	miserere miserere miserere nobis.

Apart from the misplaced bassis incipit 'Agnus Dei' which should, as we have seen, be replaced by the plainsong text 'Salve radix....', there is a peculiar discrepancy between the respective placings in the discantus and contra parts of the words 'qui tollis'. We would naturally expect one or other part to be wrong and, in order to give more logical alignment, it would be tempting to omit 'qui tollis' completely from the discantus, so that both parts begin on 'peccata' at bar 63. One of the other sources of the works, I:MOe ∝ M.I.13,

Ex.1: Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum - Agnus Dei bb.47-63 (bassis) cf. plainsong [33].

indicates another, more probable solution, however, since the incipits it gives at the beginning of the contra part of the Agnus II run

Agnus Dei Salve radix.

Even though the underlay in this source is generally so corrupt, the totally unexpected inclusion here of the words 'Salve radix' can hardly be fortuitous. The strong implication is that the contra, as well as the bassis, should in fact take the plainsong words during bars 47 - 63, a supposition which is further supported by the imitation between the two parts. As a result, we may postulate a revised underlay for the four sub-sections of the Agnus II as follows:

bb.38 - 47	discantus/contra	Agnus Dei,
bb.47 - 63	contra/bassis	SALVE RADIX SANCTA EX QUA MUNDO LUX EST ORTA,
bb.63 - 71	discantus/contra	qui tollis peccata mundi,
bb.72 - 82	discantus/contra/ bassis	miserere miserere miserere nobis.

It will be apparent that such a reconstruction brings about a highly unusual trope effect, the significance of which is somewhat problematical, since it appears to call on Mary, as well as Christ, to take away the sins of the world. Into the same category fall three other similar 'tropes' resulting from tenor/bassis duos placed between full sections:

(i) Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris,
GAUDE GLORIOSA,
Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;

(ii) Qui cum Patre,
SUPER OMNES (SPECIOSA),
Et Filio simul adoratur;

(iii) Pleni sunt celi et terra,
SALVE RADIX SANCTA,
Gloria tua [34].

A plausible explanation might be that Dufay is aiming at an extravagant praise of the Blessed Virgin by direct association with each of the Persons of the Trinity in turn, superficially the more reasonable if, as Planchart has surmised, the work was written for the consecration in 1472 of Cambrai's Notre Dame Cathedral [35]. Such an interpretation would, however, reveal these passages not simply as the products of decadent Marianism, but as outright heresy. Indeed, if taken literally, not only would those from the Gloria and Agnus Dei attribute to Mary the power to remove sin, but the other two would respectively equate her with the Holy Spirit, and even fill creation with her glory rather than God's, doctrines which are theologically improper in the extreme.

That Dufay was a heretic is not, of course, completely beyond all bounds of possibility, but it does appear highly unlikely. He was, after all, a theologically educated man, and sufficiently 'respectable' to entertain Pierre de Ranchicourt, bishop of Arras, on the occasion of the dedication of Cambrai cathedral, something which a known heretic could hardly have been permitted to do [36].

The opposite view, that the trope effects are purely fortuitous, is not altogether attractive either, however, for several reasons. Firstly, symbolically juxtaposed texts are still enough of a commonplace in continental music of the mid 15th century for it to be difficult to envisage the complete independence of any two texts intended to be sung together. Secondly, duos of the lowest parts are almost unheard-of in Dufay's four-part music; there are none at all in the isorhythmic motets or the Masses L'homme armé and Ecce ancilla Domini, and only a single short passage in the Missa Se la face ay pale [37]. That there should be as many as three such duos in the Missa Ave regina celorum would seem to indicate an act of deliberate policy, and we might therefore expect them to have some definite significance.

The third objection is connected with Dufay's practice of dividing the Mass text into coherent and relatively self-contained phrases or phrase groups and not generally altering the combination of voices during one of these sections. The Gloria and Agnus Dei 'tropes' turn out to be placed at typical dividing points where Dufay commonly changes texture in his other Masses and Mass movements. 'Pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua' is, however, a section which he never breaks elsewhere, typically setting it continuously for reduced forces; similarly, 'Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur' is also treated as an indivisible unit [38]. If it is rather surprising that he should have changed texture in these passages from the Missa Ave regina celorum, it must surely be doubly strange that, in addition, such alien material as a completely different set of words should have been inserted, and we would expect him to have had some specific purpose in mind.

This objection is especially hard to explain away since, if the precise placing of the 'tropes' is to have any significance at all, we might most naturally expect it to be on syntactical grounds, and therefore to involve a more probably literal interpretation. In other words, Dufay's placing of, for example, 'Salve radix sancta' between 'Pleni sunt celi et terra' and 'gloria tua' rather than before 'Pleni' or after 'tua' would seem likely to arise from pre-occupation with a particular required word order, and in the circumstances such precision would only be crucial if the interpolation had literal significance.

In the case of the passage from the Credo, it may well be that the problem is more apparent than real since, while the words 'Qui cum Patre' fall before the tenor/bassis duo in the contra part of the Brussels version, they clearly fall after that duo in the discantus part. The improbably bad alignment which results can most easily be circumvented if we assume that the contra has been incor-

rectly texted here, and that 'Qui cum Patre' should really be placed after the duo in both upper parts. This solution is supported by the I:MOe ∝ M.I.13 copy, and does, of course, avoid the offending interruption of a relatively self-contained phrase of the Mass text. It provides no help, however, with the Sanctus 'trope' which, if not literally implying such extravagant glorification of the Blessed Virgin (as we must surely assume it does not), can only seemingly be otherwise explained away if the exact placing of the tenor/bassis duo depends on purely musical considerations. Bearing in mind that Dufay never splits the phrase in question in his other settings of the text, such an argument might easily be regarded as somewhat flimsy, especially since what evidence we have tends to confirm him as one of the most scrupulously careful word-setters of the 15th century, and unlikely therefore to sacrifice the continuity of the text for such debatably arbitrary reasons.

Disregarding this awkward point, for which I claim no very convincing explanation - indeed, perhaps there may be a danger of overstating its significance - we might see the interruptions of the Mass text not so much as tropes, but merely as a means of drawing attention to a plainsong whose text was peculiarly suitable to the occasion for which the work was composed. Although the Mass and antiphon texts would not then need to have any literal connection, they could reasonably be linked symbolically, a possibility amply supported by Dufay's treatment of the end of the Agnus II.

Here, the discantus, contra and bassis parts join in an exact quotation from the composer's 1464 setting of the source antiphon, the music for the antiphon trope 'miserere miserere supplicanti Dufay' being applied instead to the Mass words 'miserere miserere miserere nobis'[39]. The parallel nature of these two fragments of text seems to indicate the deliberate introduction of the composer into the 'nobis' of the Mass, thus giving that work a measure of the spe-

cifically personal slant so characteristic of the antiphon. To stop at this would, however, be to underestimate the importance attached to the Blessed Virgin in the antiphon setting; indeed, it is solely to her that the composer's prayer is directed. Symbolically, therefore, the quotation from the antiphon not only renders the Mass a vehicle for Dufay's own petitions, but it also implicitly links Mary with Christ as having mercy on the Church, and on the composer in particular.

Such a role as dispenser of mercy is not, of course, open to the sort of doctrinal objections voiced with regard to the trope effects, and it is certainly an extremely common theme in motet texts. Neither is Dufay unique in introducing it into a Mass setting: Obrecht's Missa <u>super Sub tuum praesidium confugimus</u>, containing some remarkable juxtapositions of different texts, constitutes only one of a number of later parallels. In its Kyrie, for example, there emerges the following combination of words:

Discantus	Other parts
Sub tuum praesidium confugimus,	Kyrie eleison.
sancta Dei genitrix eleison.	
Nostras deprecationes ne despicias	Christe eleison.
in necessitatibus eleison.	
Sed a periculis cunctis libera nos	Kyrie eleison.
semper virgo benedicta eleison.	

which specifically calls on Mary for mercy. A passage from the Gloria,

Discantus	Other parts
Sed a periculis cunctis libera nos	Qui tollis peccata mundi,
	miserere nobis;
	Qui tollis peccata mundi,
	suscipe deprecationem
	nostram;
	Qui sedes ad dexteram
	Patris,
	miserere nobis.

like two of Dufay's 'tropes', might almost suggest that she is being heretically called upon to take away the sins of the world. Such an interpretation would be superficial, however, as is shown by further text incorporated into the Sanctus,

> Mediatrix nostra quae es post deum spes sola, tuo filio nos representa,

which is explicit in regarding the Blessed Virgin simply as a mediator between the Church or individual and Christ. It is in the acceptance of this status that her prime act of mercy in fact lies, and petitions like those implied in the Agnus Dei of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum, and actually found in the antiphon setting, are therefore to be regarded as perfectly proper [40].

It is difficult, however, to escape the conclusion that we are left with music of a liturgically somewhat esoteric nature, and given the obvious prestige of Dufay's works it would hardly be surprising if scribes carried out revisions designed to render the Missa Ave regina celorum more generally useful. The Brussels version is to be regarded as a typical reworking, the chief aim of which was to reduce the importance of the antiphon text by removing it almost completely from the bass line. The scribe would have no problem fitting Mass words into the bassis of the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, though he made a particularly poor job of the Sanctus, completely misplacing most of the text. On the other hand, there were much more serious problems with the underlay of the other two movements, and he therefore merely left incipits, some of which, as already noted, he also misplaced.

The possibility that the Brussels version of the Missa Ecce ancilla Domini is a similar victim of the 15th-century would-be editor is tempting, though it must be admitted immediately that, unlike the corresponding version of the later work, the copy in question gives

no indication at any point that the second tenor part might take the plainsong words [41]. Furthermore, while the plainsong may well have had liturgical significance in the service for which the Mass was composed, there appears to be no attempt to link its text more directly with that of the Mass, as we find in the later work; neither are there any trope effects, since there are no duos of the two tenor parts.

A fairly encouraging picture emerges, however, when we consider the music. As I have already shown, underlay of the Mass text in the second tenor of the Gloria and Credo movements could, at this late date, be considered unsatisfactory because of the necessity of either breaking ligatures and long notes or allowing extensive omission of text and bad alignment vis-à-vis the carefully-managed discantus and contra parts. By contrast, setting of the plainsong text in the Gloria and Credo is generally a simple matter, since the two tenors perform together most of the time [42]. For the sake of consistency, we would expect the same principles to apply also to the other three movements, and again, few problems occur [43]. Without more substantial proof, however, it might be as well to leave the question open.

To sum up then, even the Brussels manuscript, in spite of its good musical readings, must be considered with great circumspection as a source for Dufay's last two Masses. It may well not represent the composer's intentions with regard to the texting of the second tenor of the Ecce ancilla Domini Mass, and certainly does not transmit the original version of the Ave regina celorum Mass, even though the texting of that original can, as we have seen, be largely deduced. Since, at any rate as far as the latter work is concerned, it is clear that no known authoritative manuscript survives, it seems reasonable, in order to produce a performable edition of the work, to carry editing procedures some way beyond the mere transcription of a

'best source', and the appended reconstruction has been prepared accordingly [44]. Furthermore, since we have yet another salutary reminder here that scribal revision was so common as almost to represent the norm in the 15th century, it becomes the more important to realise that there may be many other 'best sources' which in fact only tell half-truths. Paradoxically, therefore, it would appear that this brief report, like much other current research, tends to lay more rather than less responsibility on the shoulders of the modern editor, a situation which provides us with an ever-increasing challenge.

Footnotes to the Appendix.

1 This is a revised version of an article to appear shortly in AM LI (1979), entitled: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS.5557 and the texting of Dufay's "Ecce ancilla Domini" and "Ave regina celorum" Masses.

2 See Wright: Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions, and two articles by Planchart: Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions (referred to here simply as Notes and Revisions), and Guillaume Dufay's Masses: A view of the manuscript traditions (referred to here as A view....).

3 Wright, op.cit., p.188ff.

4 For published editions, see CMM1/Vol.3. Attempts to ascribe anonymous Masses to Dufay, such as the Missa La mort de Saint Gothard (by Besseler) and various others (notably by Feininger) have proved inconclusive, and it would appear that the Caput Mass has to be accepted as English.

5 Houdoy: Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai, p.194.

6 ibid., p.200.

7 See, for example, accounts for 1459, 1462-64, 1470 and 1472 in Houdoy, op.cit., pp.192-95 and 198-99.

8 Houdoy, op.cit., p.92 and Wright, op.cit., p.199ff.

9 See Bowles: Were musical instruments used in the liturgical service during the middle ages?, and above, p.145.

10 Planchart: A view...., pp.37-42, especially 37 and 42; but see above, p.145.

11 See inventory, p.6ff.

12 By Besseler, for instance, who treats it as primary source in his editions of the two works.

13 Noted, for example, by Kenney in Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise, p.37.

14 See above, p.16. It is important to realise that the two fascicles were not copied on identical paper (as Kenney implies, op. cit., p.39), and that there was probably some passage of time between their respective production. The fact that two different scribes are involved has rarely been made completely clear either (see, for instance, Kenney, op.cit., pp.55-57, and Planchart, A view...., p.60 fn.100).

15 See Ch.I, fn.35.

16 See, for instance, Kenney, op.cit., p.36.

17 See Houdoy, op.cit., p.87 and elsewhere.

18 See above, p.32ff.

19 See inventory of the Brussels manuscript, p.6 above.

20 See, for instance, CMM1/Vol.3 Notes p.XVI on texting.

21 For fuller discussion of this, see above, p.156ff.

22 See, in particular, Ch.III fn.93 above.

23 See discussion of Stoquerus' rules, with which this practice corresponds closely: above, p.159ff.

24 e.g. Credo bb.152-63.

25 See above, p.150ff.

26 A view...., pp.47-48. Besseler clearly suspected that this might be the case: see CMM1/Vol.3 Introduction, p.XIII.

27 e.g. Credo bb.1-24.

28 See Planchart, A view...., p.48, referring to bb.77-83 of the movement.

29 See, in particular, the inaccurate placing of 'Dominus Deus Sabaoth' and 'Pleni sunt' ('celi et terra' omitted) 'gloria tua'.

30 The fact that there is occasional repetition of notes of the same pitch to one syllable in the tenor and bassis parts (e.g. at the beginning of each movement) is surely of no importance, since this is a common enough occurrence in plainsong.

31 It will be noticed that obvious connection is provided in the Missa Ave regina celorum by imitation between tenor and bassis in the head motif, and by such effects as the answering duos at the ends of the Gloria and Credo movements - bb.139-48 and 196-205 respectively.

32 While it is not passible to fit the text of the Et ascendit section without breaking of ligatures, the problem of having too few notes does not arise. In the imitative contra/bassis duo 'Glorificamus te' (Gloria bb.21-26), the bassis part must also, in the absence of suitable plainsong words, take the Mass text.

33 As in Antiphonale Romanum (1912), p.55.

34 Gloria bb.61-91, Credo bb.144-164, and Sanctus bb.38-69 respectively; the first is discussed by Planchart in A view...., p.48.

35 Notes and Revisions, p.21; see also Houdoy, op.cit., p.78ff.

36 Planchart, ibid., p.21, and Houdoy, op.cit., pp.199-200. Besides this, various important Vatican manuscripts contain his music (e.g. I:Rvat CS14 and 51), strongly suggesting that he was held in continuing esteem by the Roman Church.

37 At 'Confiteor unum baptisma' (Credo bb.165-70); I am ignoring passages where the tenor and bass parts provide simple overlaps between the phrases of the discantus and contra.

38 Except in the Missa Se la face ay pale, but the underlay and alignment in this Credo is so problematic anyway that its sources may merely turn out to be corrupt.

39 Antiphon (as in CMM1/Vol.5) bb.86-96 cf. Agnus Dei bb.72-82. Note the unusual but clearly intentional word-repetition in both excerpts. For dating of the antiphon, see Houdoy, op.cit., p. 195.

40 Compare also
'We can address her with confidence, if this helps us to see Jesus with new eyes and reach him more easily.'
(A New Catechism, p.212.)

41 In the absence of other inconsistencies, the incorrectly placed incipit 'Qui tollis' (at b.76 of the Gloria) is of marginal significance; it probably functions as a sort of sub-title.

42 Exceptional passages in the Gloria are a contra/tenor 2 duo on the words 'Domine Deus, rex celestis, Deus Pater omnipotens' (bb.36-45), and a discantus/contra/tenor 2 trio at 'Suscipe deprecationem nostram' (bb.76-83), where the lowest part presumably takes the Mass text in preference to repeating the plainsong words. Two similar passages occur in the Credo: a contra/tenor 2 duo at 'Genitum.... facta sunt' (bb.47-62), and a discantus/contra/tenor 2 trio at 'sanctam catholicam.... peccatorum' (bb.168-87).

43 In the three-part Christe, however, all parts must surely take the Mass text, and the opening of the Sanctus, scored for the same three voices, will involve a similar solution. In the later trio 'in excelsis' (bb.72-79), on the other hand, the tenor 2 could take the plainsong words 'secundum verbum tuum' which would otherwise be omitted from the part.

44 See Appendix to edition.

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