

CRITICAL COMMENTARY TO NOS 93-102

93. Missa *Veterem hominem*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 1v-9r (latter four movements) and ff. 264v-266r (Kyrie). DTÖ VII inventory nos 199-202 and 404;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 140r-147v (all movements except the Kyrie, with Agnus III preceding the other movements given);
- (iii) Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597, annotations. (A short extract from the first section of the Gloria printed in score, in black notation).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is an antiphon at Lauds on the Octave of Epiphany (AS plate 95). Further, see the section on structure.

Kyrie (Trent 88 ff. 264v-266r, unicum).

[Superius]; 1: m sign given before first stave, & 1,1-2,1 are obliterated by a lacuna but suppliable from older literature on the Trent manuscripts / 3,2-4,1: uc due to lacuna / 65: 2 dtd, & 4 is m / 67: p div follows 2 / 81: 1 & 2 are F E / 97: no custos / 98: 1 obliterated by a lacuna (conj supplied) and on the second page opening the m sign is given in all voices before their first staves as cut-C. I substitute C since this Mass is likely to be insular, but in Trent 88 C is only found written in the Agnus (at 93). / 107,1-108,3: obliterated by lacuna (conj supplied) / 204: 1 A. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Tenor bassus-Contra. As with some other insular works in this series I have given the O-C relationship in this Mass with semibreve equivalent, but those dissatisfied with the resulting tempi might try O perfect breve = C long.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 12,3-13,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 15: 1 om (conj supplied) / 21: p div follows 3 / 22: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 29,3-5: as at 12 / 47,3-48,1: likewise / 66,2-68,1: likewise / 83,3-84,1: likewise / 84,2-97: the end of the first Contra section is copied onto a roughly drawn part-stave at the bottom of the page due to lack of space. / 97: no custos / 121-122: uc due to lacuna / 124,5: likewise / 204: 2 E / 232-233: as at 12.

Tenor; 1: m sign given before stave, & in both lower voices 20 measures of rests are given but only 19 are needed in each voice (if the held note at 10 in the upper voices was a long rather than a breve, the rests would be correct). / 38: p div follows 2 / 91: likewise / 95: 2 B / 96: 1 is colored / 144: 1 om (conj supplied, to match the Gloria Tenor).

Tenor bassus; 24: p div follows 1 / 33,1: uc due to lacuna / 34: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied) / 40-41,1: uc due to lacuna / 65: written on a short end of stave extension / 72: 3 C / 90-rest in 92: as at 65 / 134-137: ns / 218: not dtd / 233: no custos.

Underlay; sectional incipits are given instead of full text. The Superius has '[K]yrie Deus Creator omnium' at 1, the Tenor has 'Kyrie veterem hominem' and the Contra has 'Kyrie'. In the second section the Superius has 'Criste', the Tenor has 'xte veterem hominem' and the Contra and Tenor bassus have 'xte'. 'Veterem hominem' in both Tenor sections is given in bold capitals. Full underlay using the *Deus Creator* trope has been provided in the outer voices, and the Tenor has been given cantus firmus text in all movements. The way in which subsections have been allotted editorial text largely follows the plan of the Bent edition listed below, and some editorial applications of 'eleyson' have had a dieresis added over the 'y'.

Bibliography; Gerber, R., Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent (MRM vol. XII, Chicago and London, 2008) no. 1 (edition after Trent 88). Bent, M. (ed), Four Anonymous Masses (EECM vol. 22, London, 1979) no. 4 (edition after Trent 88). Feininger, L. (ed), MPLSER Series I, no. 2 (edition after Trent 88, 1951-52).

Mitchell, R., The new Trent 89 edition (online at DIAMM) pp. 1429-1433 (comparison of the *Veterem hominem* and *Caput Masses*).

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 1v-3r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation (from Sarum Gloria 5) is supplied from GS plate 12⁺, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 23: 1-3 om (supplied from Strahov). In Trent 88 there is a cs above the omission and a piece of stave in the left margin with the part-legible comment ‘?... scriptus’ to indicate the omission. / 46: 4 uc / 63,4-64,2: these notes are overmarked for no apparent reason / 76: 2 B (corr using Strahov) / 81: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: at the start of the second page opening, all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves (I have replaced cut-C with C) / 122: 2 & 3 are G G / 173: 1 A / 179: 2 C. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus. All pages of the latter four movements in Trent 88 suffer from fading in their top two or three staves, resulting in some legibility problems.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 23: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 50: p div follows 2 / 54: p div follows 4 / 56: 2 E (corr using Strahov) / 74: sbr rest instead of m rest / 77: 1 not dtd, & 3 is D (77,3 is corr using Strahov) / 203: 1 D (corr using Strahov).

[Tenor]; 35: p div follows 2 / 161-162: ns.

[Tenor bassus]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 26: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 29: p div follows 2 / 52: likewise / 60-81: due to lack of space, the end of the first section is given on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page / 61: p div follows 2 / 64 & 71: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 41-45 an editorial rpt of ‘Deus’ is needed in the Tenor bassus. ‘Christe’ is given as ‘criste’ at 67 in the Superius, and as ‘xpe’ at 187.

(ii) Strahov ff. 140v-142r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a large stave gap before the clef and m sign (presumably left for a majuscule initial) & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-13,1) / 14,3: corrected from A, with downward diagonals on either side of this note / 24: 7-9 replaced by dtd-m B sm A / 27: 1 replaced by sbr F sbr F / 30: erasures follow rest / 31,2-3: minor color / 38: 2 G / 45: only one sbr rest given / 49: no lig / 60: 2-4 are C B A, & 5-6 are dtd-m & sm / 71,2-3: no lig / 74-75: no lig / 78-79: likewise / 79,5-80,1: minor color / 80: 4-6 are m m sbr / 81: no custos in any voice / 82: at the start of the second page opening the m sign is given as cut-C before the first stave, and the clef is only given on the first stave for this section (82-107) / 110-111: no lig / 112: cor over 1 / 119: no b / 121,1-2: replaced by m A / 122: 2 & 3 are G G / 173: 1 A / 175-176: no lig / 176: 1 & 2 ligd / 179: 2 C / 180: 2 replaced by m G m G / 187: 2 not dtd, & m rest follows / 191-192: no lig / 192: 1 & 2 ligd / 204: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor primus (the Trent 88 Tenor bassus)-Contratenor secundus (the Trent 88 Contra).

[Contratenor secundus]; 1: the m sign is om, and the first-section clef is only given for the first stave (1-14,4) / 11: 3 G / 15: 5 sbr / 17: cor over 1 / 18: 2 dtd / 29: 2 E / 32: 3 A / 35: 3 sbr / 36-37: replaced by two measures of rests / 42,2-3: minor color / 44: 3 E / 50: no p div / 61: 2 A / 67: 3 & 4 are both m / 70: 4 m / 73: 3 F / 74: sbr rest instead of m rest / 77: 1 not dtd / 80: 2 D / 81: written after the end of a stave with a cor above, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef is only given on the first stave of the second section (82-108,2) / 89: 2 not ligd / 96-98: no lig / 112: cor over 1 / 124-125: no lig / 128: replaced by sbr C br E / 132: no lig / 141-142: likewise / 146: 2 C / 166: 1 E / 176: 2 E / 201: 2 F.

[Tenor]; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-60) / 19: p div follows

2 / 22: 2 om, and therefore the preceding br would be perfect / 27-30: ligd / 52-53,1: ligd / 54: no lig / 55-56: ligd / 81: no lig, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on the first stave (82-166) / 134-137: no lig / 145-147, 160-162, 182-184, 187-189 & 198-200: likewise / 204: no lig, & no custos.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-37) / 27: 1 dtd, & 2 om / 28: 1 om / 29: no p div / 43: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm / 52: 1 A, & no p div / 61: no p div / 64: likewise / 68: p div follows 2 / 71: no p div / 81: cor over 1, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on the first stave (82-151) / 140: not ligd / 153,3-155,1: ligd / 156-158: no lig / 162: 1 & 2 om / 163: no lig / 168-169: ligd / 170: no lig / 174 & 185: likewise / 186: 1 B / 192-193: no lig / 196-197: no lig, & 196,2 replaced by sbr G m G / 204: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits in the lower voices. In the first section the Tenor incipit is ‘Veterem hominem’, the lowest voice has ‘Laudamus te’ and the higher Contra has no incipit. In the second section, the lowest voice has ‘Qui tollis primum’ and the two other lower voices have ‘Qui tollis’.

Strahov gives a reading with many mistakes, and a few less ligatures. However, true variants are almost absent.

(iii) Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597, Annotations, p. 11.

This source gives measures 17-24 of the Gloria in score plus the first Superius, Contra and Tenor bassus notes of measure 25 in black notation with void coloration (as part of a discussion of triple mensuration) and without text.¹ Barlines are drawn after measure 19 and after measure 22. Notes 22,1-2 in the Contra are ligd, and in the same voice 25,1 is sbr. The Tenor bassus at 25,1 is also sbr. The m sign O is given in all voices, and the following words occur before this example on p. 10. ‘But if they thinke maister Taverner partiall, let them looke in the works of our English doctors of musicke, as *D. Fayrfax*, *D. Newton*, *D. Cooper*, *D. Kirby*, *D. Tie*, and divers other excellent men, as *Redford*, *Cornish*, *Piggot*, *White*, and *M. Tallis*. But if they will trust none of these, here is one example which was made before any of the aforementioned were borne.’ Evidently Morley went to some trouble to reproduce the black notation of the original.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 3v-5r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 3: 1 A (corr using Strahov) / 12: rest uc / 80,6-81: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: on the second page opening all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves. As in other movements I have substituted C. / 186: 2 & 3 are D C, both col err, and with ‘a’ under each note (for ‘alba’) indicating correction / 206: 3 sm (corr using Strahov). The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[C]ontra; 1: m sign om / 44,6-8: written on a short end of stave extension / 62,1-rest in 64: likewise / 66: p div follows 1 / 70: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 80,5-81: as at 44 / 118-119: ns.

[T]enor; 35: p div follows 2 / 150-161: 10 br rests are given, but 12 are needed.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, and the m sign is om / 17-18: ns / 27,2: this note is overmarked, possibly as a correction from E to D / 35: p div follows 2 / 40 & 65: likewise / 114-117: ns / 120 & 165-166: likewise / 192-195: this lig is awkwardly written, with a descent to a square

¹ Identified in Dart, T., ‘A Footnote for Morley’s Plain and Easy Introduction’ in M & L 35 (1954) p. 183.

note following an oblique / 208: the final L is oddly written, as a rough imitation of an English final chequerboard L.

Text; fully underlaid in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices (at 29-30 'Christum' is given as 'xpum'). The Tenor has a 'visibilium omnium' incipit at 17 and 'Et resurrexit' at 114, but cantus firmus text possibly suits this part better than Ordinary text. This setting of the Credo omits 'Qui propter...descendit de celis' at the section break (82) plus 'Crucifixus...sepultus est' at the full second section entry (114-117) and 'Et in Spiritum...venturi seculi' at 193. The text deletions seem to be too extensive to restore by editorial telescoping.

(ii) Strahov ff. 142v-144r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), the m sign is present, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-13,6) / 13: 1 D / 16,2-3: minor color / 17: cor over 1 / 19,4-5: minor color / 21,2-3, 22,2-3 & 23,1-2: likewise / 23,4-24,6: likewise / 28,2-3: likewise / 30: 1-3 replaced by col sbr col m & m / 32: 2 C / 46,4-5 & 47,4-5: minor color / 48,2-3: minor color, & 3 is A / 49: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 50: no lig / 54,1-2: minor color, & 54,3-4 are replaced by sbr E / 55,2-3: minor color / 56,1-2: likewise / 61,4-62,2: minor color / 64: no lig / 72: 2 G / 79: 5 sbr / 80,2-9: replaced by m A sbr F / 81: no custos / 82: the m sign is given as cut-C, but this is the only voice for the second section with an m sign. Also, for the second section the clef is only given on the first stave (82-108,2). / 82-85: no lig / 87: not ligd / 103: 1 & 2 ligd / 114: no cs / 121,2: replaced by sm A sm B / 122: 1 dtd / 124: 2 sbr / 137: 2 F / 171: 2 B / 173: not ligd / 183: likewise / 187: no lig / 189: a superfluous dot follows 2 / 208: no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the m sign is om, the clef for the first section is only given on the first part-stave (1-6) and the voice name is inconsistent with that in the Gloria, where Tenor bassus is called 'Contratenor primus'. / 5,4-5: minor color / 6: no lig / 9: an erased sbr upper G follows 2 / 11,1-2: minor color / 13: 1 B / 14,5-15,2: minor color / 15,6-7: likewise / 17: cor over 1 / 19: 1 G / 20,2-3: minor color / 22: 2 sbr / 23: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 32,3-4: minor color / 40: p div follows 2 / 43,4-5: minor color / 44,2-3: likewise / 68: 5 G / 50: m rest instead of sbr rest / 52: 2 not dtd, & 3 is G / 55: 2 not col / 58:1 dtd / 69: 1 not dtd / 71: 2 replaced by m E m D / 72: 2 & 3 are both m / 73,2-3: minor color / 78: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 79: 1 om / 80: 1 & 2 not col, 3 & 4 are D C, & 5-6 are m A sbr B / 81: 1 C, & no custos / 82: the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-111,2) & the m sign is om / 94-95: not ligd / 127-128: replaced by L D / 136: replaced by sbr A br A / 138: 1 & 2 ligd / 159: no lig / 168: 2 C / 181: 1 & 2 ligd / 188: 2 C / 189-193: om / 194: 1 replaced by sbr rest / 198: 1 not dtd / 203-204: replaced by sbr G & ligd sbr E sbr F plus m rest & m E / 207: 3 A, followed by the superfluous notes m lower F sbr A / 208: 1 B, & no custos.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on its first stave (1-62) / 22: 1 dtd / 24: 2 uc / 28: 1 B / 29: 1 C, ligd with 27-28 / 54: not ligd / 81: not ligd, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-rest in 170) / 136-139: no lig / 147-149: likewise / 15-166: replaced by br G br G, and the second note here is not ligd / 177-180: given as a single lig / 180: 1 C / 184: not ligd / 186-188: likewise / 191-193 & 202-204: likewise / 208: not ligd, & no custos.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on its first stave (1-32) / 22: 3 B / 27: 2 F (which creates consecutive octaves with the Contra) / 35: no p div / 63: 1 D / 64: 1 A / 65: 1 D, & p div given above 2 rather than after it / 70,1-71,1: ligd / 72-75: ligd / 79: the rest is higher on the stave than is usual, & 2 is G / 81: no divisi B, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-147) / 118-119: ligd, & 119 is lower C / 120-123: ligd separately from the latter / 140: 1 A / 142: 1 D / 143-144: ligd / 153: 1 F / 154: 1 C / 173: not ligd / 174-176: ligd / 183: 1 E / 184: 1 D / 192: 1 & 2 are A C / 194-195: not ligd / 204: not ligd / 208: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with only one incipit for the lower voices in the first section ('visibilium' in the lowest voice) and 'Et resurrexit' incipits for the two lowest voices in the second section.

The Strahov reading abounds in mistakes and includes much more minor color in the upper voices than in Trent 88. In the first section the cantus firmus has pitch errors, and in both sections the two upper voices have miscopied cadences.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 5v-7r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om, and only two invocations of 'Sanctus' are provided. I take this to suggest that an intonation may have preceded the polyphony, and consequently I provide a chant intonation from the Sarum 3 Sanctus chant as in the Bent edition of this Mass (GS plate 15⁺). Strahov gives three 'Sanctus' invocations instead. / 4: 5 m (corr using Strahov) / 42: both upper voices are marked 'Duo' here, which is incorrect because this section does not exclude the lower pair of voices / 57: cs over 2, which is also incorrect / 93: on the second page opening all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves. As in other movements I have substituted C. / 114: single custos in both voices / 195: 2-4 are B A G (corr using Strahov) / 218: 1 uc. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 24: p div follows 2 / 33, rest & 3: written on a short end of stave extension / 35: 3 C (corr using Strahov) / 58, 1-4: written on an end of stave extension / 72,3-73,4: likewise / 80: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 90-92: as at 72 / 234: following the double custos measures 194-234 are duplicated (without the lig at 219-220) presumably because the copyist thought that there should be another Osanna section. 'Nichil est' is written at the start of this duplication to show that the copyist recognised his error.

[T]enor; 1: m sign given before stave / 37: p div follows 2 / 87: likewise.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: m sign given before stave, & the voice name is incomplete on both page openings / 25: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 33: p div follows 2 / 37: both notes here are overmarked for no particular reason, & a p div follows 2 / 58: cs over 1 / 67: single custos / 70: p div follows 2 / 72: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 81: likewise / 82: p div follows 2 / 84,4-85,4: overmarked, and written over erasures / 141: cs over 1 / 162-165: this lig consists of two longs written vertically with an adjoining stem.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. Editorial repeats of 'Sabaoth' are needed in all voices except the Tenor at 33-41, and the same voices also need a repeat of 'in excelsis' at 82-92. At 141 in the lowest voice I have made an editorial text entry on a part-word. The Tenor in Trent 88 is not given any cantus firmus text, and has the incipits 'Dominus Deus' at 19, 'Pleni' at 42, 'gloria tua' at 50, 'Osanna' at 68 and 'in nomine Domini' at 141. Those who do not like the Tenor's cantus firmus text appearing in this movement can of course substitute Ordinary text, but I see no reason why the Tenor of this movement should be singled out as different in texting from the Tenors of any other movements.

(ii) Strahov ff. 144v-146r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), the m sign is present, & the clef for the first page's Superius (consisting of 1-67) is only given on the first stave (1-13,4) / 6,1-2: minor color / 8: cor over 2 / 15-16: no lig / 17,3-6: minor color / 19: cor over 1 instead of cs / 23,5-24,4: minor color / 24: 7 is dtd & followed by a superfluous m E / 27: 2 is sbr, & 4 & 5 are both sm / 29,1-2: minor color / 41: no custos / 42: no 'Duo' marking in either active voice / 47-48: 47,3 is dtd, & 48,2 is sm / 48: 4 & 5 are both m / 52: an erased sbr C follows 3 / 53,5-54,2: minor color / 54,5-6: minor color / 55,2-3: likewise / 67: no custos / 68: on the second page opening of this movement the Superius clef is only given on the first

stave (68-80,2) / 80,5-86,2: minor color / 84: 4 & 5 are both sbr / 85: 1 om / 86,1-2: minor color / 89,2-3: likewise / 92: no custos in any voice / 93: no m sign given in any voice / 100: a superfluous m G follows 5 / 110: 3 & 4 are both m / 114: 1 is br without cor in both active voices, followed by 2 measures of rests in each voice / 139: 2 uc / 132-133: no lig / 141: cor instead of cs, misplaced over 140,3 / 152: 2-4 replaced by m sm sm / 160,2-162,1: ligd / 172: 1 & 2 are both m, & 3 is not dtd / 173: 1-4 replaced by m F m F sbr E / 195: 2 B / 233: 1-3 replaced by m A sbr F m E / 234: no custos. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Contratenor primus-Contratenor secundus-Tenor, with the Pleni sunt from the higher Contra copied after the latter. On the second page opening the order is Superius-Tenor, then the Osanna I for the lowest voice plus the Benedictus for the higher Contra, and finally the lowest voice for the Benedictus.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the m sign is present, the clef for 1-41 is only given on the first stave (1-14,1) and the voice name is inconsistent with that in the Gloria, where Tenor bassus is called 'Contratenor primus'. / 6: 3 uc, and 4-5 have minor color / 7: 3 D / 11: 4 E / 12: 2-4 uc / 16,3-17,1: replaced by col sbr D col m C col sbr B col m A / 19: cor instead of cs / 19,4-20,2: minor color / 22: 1 & 2 ligd / 24: no p div / 27: 1 F / 31: 1 & 2 ligd, 2 is C, & 3 is L (which is not ligd & not col) / 38: 2 not dtd / 40: 3 sbr / 41: no custos / 42: the Contratenor for the Pleni sunt section is copied last of all on the first page opening (after the Tenor) and the clef is given for its first stave (42-59) / 48: 2 m, & 3 is dtd / 58,5-59,2: minor color, & 59,2 is dtd / 61,2-3: minor color / 66: 5-6 replaced by sm C / 67: no custos / 68-92: for this section the voice name is given as '[C]ontratenor Osanna secundus' & the clef is only given for the first part stave (68-76,3) / 75: 2 not ligd / 79: 1 & 2 are sbr m / 84: no lig, 3 is sbr, & 4 is om / 92: no custos, & 92,1 is written after the end of a stave / 93 onwards: the clef for this section is only given for the first part stave (93-119) and the music is given after the Tenor bassus for Osanna I with the incipit 'Benedictus con[tratenor] pri[mus]' / 114: see the Superius notes for the variant here / 121,2-122,2 ligd, with the first note dtd & the second not dtd / 124: 1 & 2 are G F / 141: cor instead of cs / 157-159: no lig / 169-170: ligd / 172: 2 not dtd / 173: 1 replaced by m rest / 181,2-182,1: ligd / 182,1-2: not ligd / 185,3-186,1: not ligd / 210-211: ligd / 222: 2 om / 233: 2 B / 234: no custos.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om, and on the first page opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-57) / 33: not ligd / 41: no custos / 55: not ligd / 60-67: 32 measures of rests are given here, but only 10 are needed / 67: no custos / 87: no p div / 92: no custos / 93: on the second page opening the first Osanna is duplicated exactly as before but with the clef included / 93-154: this passage only has a clef on its first part-stave (93-154) & the m sign is om / 162-165: no lig / 191-192: replaced by L G / 197-199: ligd / 200-201: ligd separately from the latter / 203-206: written as a single lig / 210: not ligd / 212-214: likewise / 217-218, 219-222 & 223-225: likewise / 228-234: the end of this part is given on a roughly drawn part-stave at the bottom right of the page / 228-230: no lig / 234: no custos.

[Secund]us Contratenor; 1: the m sign is om, and on the first page opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-57) / 27: 2 not ligd / 33: no p div / 34-36: no lig / 37: 1-2 are sbr br / 40: 2 G / 41: no custos / 67: likewise / 68: on the second page opening the clef for 68-92 is only given on the first stave (68-89,2) / 70: no p div / 85,2-5: minor color / 87: p div follows 2 / 88: 1 C / 92: no custos / 93: the end of this voice follows the higher Contra on the second page opening, the m sign is om, & the clef for 93-234 is only given on the first stave in this voice (93-187) / 148: 1 D / 162-165: no lig / 173-175: likewise / 187-188: no lig, & 187 is written after the end of a stave / 196: 1 E / 200-202: no lig / 206: not ligd / 212: likewise / 234: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius (with three 'Sanctus' at the start instead of Trent 88's two) some internal text in the higher Contra's first section, and otherwise sectional incipits for the lower voices. No cantus firmus text is given for the Tenor. The lower voice incipits are as follows. Contratenor primus: 'sanctus' (at 10), 'Dominus' (at 19), 'Deus' (at 29,2), 'sabbaoth' (at 30-41), 'Pleni sunt' (at 42), '[C]ontratenor Osanna secundus' (at 68) & 'Benedictus' at 93. Tenor: 'Dominus Deus' (at 19), 'Osanna' (at 68), 'Benedictus' (at 93) & 'in nomine Domini' at 141 to the end. Secundus Contratenor: 'Dominus Deus' (at 19), 'Pleni' (at 42), 'gloria' (at 58), 'Osanna' (at 68), 'Benedictus' (at 93) and 'in nomine' (at 141).

Strahov gives a reading which duplicates the first Osanna in the Tenor, it mixes up voice names and parts for the two Contra parts, and is full of small errors. True variants are quite few, and there are some ligaturing and minor color differences.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 7v-9r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 10: single custos in both active voices / 17: cor instead of cs / 25: 1 F (corr using Strahov) / 68: no custos in the Superius or Tenor, & single custos in the Contra & Tenor bassus / 94: m signs ind before first staves in all voices on the second page opening / 122: 2 B (corr using Strahov) / 169,2-170: uc / 206-207: these notes are overmarked. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, & the m sign is om / 15,3-5: written on a short end of stave extension / 20-21: 20,2-3 are dtd-sbr & m, squashed in like a correction as is 21,1 / 22: 4 F (corr using Strahov) / 33-34: as at 15 / 37:3 B (corr using Strahov) / 39: single custos / 60,1-3: as at 15 / 70: 1 dtd / 71: 1 is col sbr (corr using Strahov) / 72: p div follows 2 / 76,3-77,2: as at 15 / 83,1: this ligd note has correcting downward diagonals on each side of it for no apparent reason / 116:1 F (corr using Strahov) / 144-145: 144 not dtd, & 145,2 dtd (corr using Strahov) / 151-rest in 153: om (conj supplied).

[T]enor; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 35: p div follows 2 / 39: no custos / 58-68: 10 measures of rests are given, with the last pair of rests having two small horizontal lines through them (11 measures are needed) / 88: p div follows 2.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the m sign is om, & the voice name is incomplete on both page openings / 35: p div follows 2 / 39: single custos / 58: p div follows 2 / 65: 4 F / 72: p div follows 2 / 75,2: corr from C by erasure of an oblique ligature end / 76,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension / 93-117: 28 measures of rests are given but only 24 are needed, and the last four rests given seem to be erased / 149: 2 F (corr using Strahov) / 151,1-154,1: as at 76 / 160: cs over 1, which is inaccurate because the next entry point for the Superius and Tenor is at 161.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices & partial texting in Agnus II for the Contra and Tenor bassus. The Tenor is not given any cantus firmus text, and has the incipits 'Agnus' (at 1), 'qui tollis' (50), 'miserere nobis' (69), 'qui tollis' (118) and 'dona' (161). The section beginning at 40 is called 'Agnus secundus' in the Tenor bassus, and as in the Sanctus I permit entry on an editorial part-word in a single instance (at 17).

(ii) Strahov ff. 146v-147r & 140r (Agnus III is on f. 140r);

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), & the clef for the first page's Superius (consisting of 1-92) is only given on the first stave (1-13,3) / 7,2-3, 8,2-3 & 9,1-2: minor color / 10: no custos, & a br rest is given after 1 / 17,1: cor instead of cs / 25,3-4 & 32,2-3: minor color / 39: no custos / 48,2-3 & 50,3-51,2: likewise / 53: no lig / 58-68: 12 br rests are given (only 11 are needed) / 68: no custos / 72: 1 & 2 are A F / 72,3-73,2: ligd / 75,2-3 & 76,1-2 & 4-5: minor color / 92: no custos / 93 onwards: this section precedes the rest of the Mass in Strahov and is marked '3us agnus veterem hominem' under the start of the Superius. The m sign is given as cut-C before the first stave, and the clef is only given for that stave (93-122,3) / 104: 4 A / 112: 1 uc (looks like F rather than E) / 117: 2 col err, but with a small chevron underneath to indicate the error / 118: cor over 1 / 129: no lig / 138: 2 & 3 replaced by m F / 172: 5 uc / 190: 2 A / 206: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr F / 208: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order is

Superius-Tenor-higher Contra-lower Contra, except on the page for Agnus III where the Tenor is the last voice copied.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: this voice name for the higher Contra is inconsistent with some previous movements, & the m sign is om. In Agnus III this voice is confusingly named as [C]ontratenor primus. The clef on the first page opening is only given for the first stave (1-13). / 6: 3 uc / 8,4-9,3: replaced by col sbr E col m D col sbr D col m C / 12: 2 E / 14,4-5: minor color / 15: 2 replaced by col sbr G col m F / 15,4-16,3: replaced by sbr upper G m F m E sbr upper G m D m E sbr upper G m F (which are far too many notes for this cadential passage) / 17: cor over 1 / 20: 2 & 3 are dtd-sbr & m as in Trent 88 / 21: 1 om, & 2-3 are A E / 23: 3 F / 32: 1-2 have minor color, 2 is E, & 32,4-5 are replaced by m F dtd-m G & sm F / 33-34: no lig, & 33,2 is E / 36: 2 is A, dtd / 39: cor over 1, & no custos / 40: p div follows 2 / 48: 1 replaced by sbr D m D / 60,1-2 & 61,2-3: minor color / 65: 1-2 have minor color, & 4-6 are replaced by m C col sbr D col m E m F / 66,2-5: minor color / 68: cor over 1, & no custos / 69-70,1: 69 not dtd, & 70,1 dtd / 71: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 72: no p div / 81: 2 D / 92: no custos / 93: the m sign is om, there is no clef change, & the clef for the final section is only given on the first part-stave (93-106) / 113: 3 A / 117-118: no lig, & cor over 117 / 121: 1 is upper G / 149: 2 C / 169-171: no lig / 172-176: om / 187: 2 om / 191: 1 E / 199: 2 is sbr as in Trent 88 / 205: 2 D / 208: no custos. Further on a duplicated passage of the higher Contra in the other Contra part here, see the notes below for that voice.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om / 19: cor over 1 (for entry of Superius at 19,3?) / 25-26: ligd / 27-30: ligd / 32: this br rest is followed by the superfluous notes ligd br lower G L upper D & br lower G plus one more br rest. The mistake seems be caused by miscopying of 28-35. / 39: not ligd, & no custos / 40-49: 12 br rests are given (only 10 are needed) / 55: not ligd / 59-68: 8 br rests are given, but 11 are needed / 68: no custos / 78: not ligd / 88: no p div / 92: not ligd, & no custos / 93: the m sign is om, & the clef is only given for the first stave of this section (93-179) / 139-142: no lig / 150-152: likewise / 163-165: replaced by br F L G, with no lig / 166-168: no lig / 170-172: likewise / 176-177: ligd / 178-179: ligd separately from the latter / 180-208: the end of this section is given on a roughly drawn small stave at the bottom of the page / 185-187: no lig / 201-203: likewise / 207: not ligd / 208: no custos.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: this voice name is inconsistent with the name in some previous movements, the m sign is present, & the clef is only given on the first page opening for the first stave (1-37,1) / 26,1-27,1: ligd, & 27,1 is not col / 27,2-28,2: no lig / 29: p div follows 2 / 35: no p div / 38: cor over 1 / 39: 1 D, & no custos, and this is followed in Strahov by a crossed-out passage of the higher Contra at 13-21,2 which has the following variants with Trent 88 (given here in italics to avoid confusion with the main notes in this paragraph). 15: *replaced by m F m G m F m E sbr upper G* / 16: *replaced by m D m E sbr upper G & m F* / 17: *cor over 1* / 20: 2 & 3 are sbr & dtd-sbr / 22: 2 E / 60: 4 G / 65: 4 F / 66: 4 replaced by m Bb m B / 68: cor over 1, & no custos / 71: 2 G / 72: no p div / 76: 1 not ligd, & p div follows 2 / 78-79: no lig / 81: 2 not col / 89,2-90,1: ligd / 90: p div follows 2 / 92: no custos / 93: m sign om, and the clef for this section is only given on the first part-stave (93-143) / 118-122: no lig / 121-125: om / 126-128: replaced by ligd sbr F sbr G br lower D br A / 129-130: ligd / 137-140: ligd / 146-150: om / 152-153: no lig / 159-161: no lig / 169: 1 C, but possibly corr by a small mark on this note / 176: 1 D / 179: not ligd / 180: 1 A / 199-200: ligd / 205-207: ligd / 207: no divisi B / 208: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. These are as follows. Higher Contra: 'Agnus' (at 1) and 'miserere nobis' (at 69-92). Tenor: 'Agnus miserere' (at 1) and 'Agnus' at 93. Lower Contra: 'miserere' (17) and 'miserere nobis' (69). Nowhere is the Tenor given any cantus firmus text.

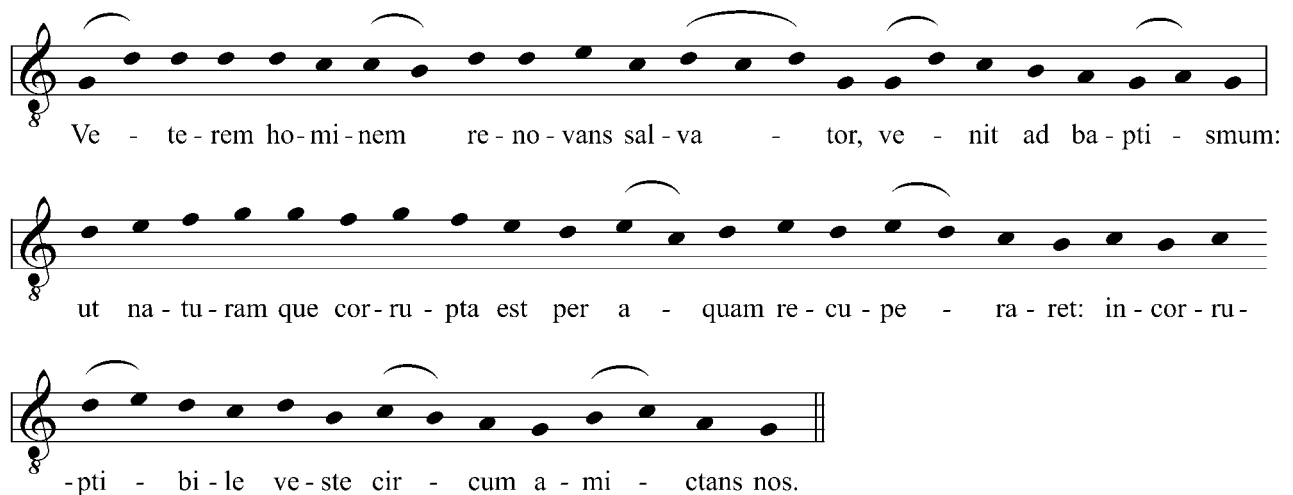
Strahov is full of errors, and probably unusable on account of its miscopying of the cantus firmus in the first section and the Agnus III entry in the lower Contra.

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Structure

This extended Tenor cantus firmus Mass has a better claim to being insular than most other English-looking Masses in continental manuscripts in view of a black-notation extract from the Gloria appearing in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* of 1597. Morley uses the example to illustrate music by foregoing generations of English composers, so it is unlikely that he would have used an imported piece for this purpose. Stylistic and structural features plus the extensive troped Kyrie also suggest English origin, as do some English-looking cadential clichés and a feebly drawn imitation of an English chequerboard-style final long in the Tenor bassus at the end of the Credo in *Trent* 88.

The troped Kyrie is one of the most extended examples of its type (with 233 measures) and all movements give two statements of the Tenor cantus firmus, which is an antiphon at Lauds for the Octave of Epiphany. Its text celebrates baptism, and translates as “Renewing the old man [i.e. Adam], the saviour came to baptism, that by water he might restore the nature which was corrupted, clothing us around with an incorruptible garment”. The following example gives the cantus firmus largely as it appears in the critical apparatus to the Margaret Bent edition of the Mass.

4.1. The *Veterem hominem* chant;²


The image shows three staves of musical notation in treble clef, each starting with a 'C' time signature. The notes are black dots on a five-line staff. Brackets are placed above the notes to group them into measures. Below each staff is the corresponding Latin text in a Gothic script font.

Ve - te - rem ho - mi - nem re - no - vans sal - va - tor, ve - nit ad ba - pti - smum:

ut na - tu - ram que cor - ru - pta est per a - quam re - cu - pe - ra - ret: in - cor - ru -

-pti - bi - le ve - ste cir - cum a - mi - ctans nos.

The complete cantus firmus is given twice and unelaborated in each movement, once in triple time and once in duple. The triple statements form a rhythmically more or less identical set, and the duple statements are also almost another identical set apart from small discrepancies. First-statement discrepancies are at Kyrie 25 and Sanctus 24 (breve-semibreve in the Sanctus replaces a single perfect breve in the Kyrie here) and at Kyrie 27 and Sanctus 26 (where the same variant occurs). The sole second-statement discrepancy is at Kyrie 192-193 and Gloria 161-162 (where two breves in the Kyrie are replaced by a long in the Gloria).³ All cantus firmus statements are divided by rests at the same textual point (after ‘baptismum’) and the Tenor rests at the start of most of the sections and also at the dividing point in each cantus firmus statement vary. It is this feature which accounts for the differing movement lengths, and in descending order of size the movements are Credo, Kyrie, Sanctus, Gloria and Agnus.

All movements have delayed entry Tenors where the two upper voices begin with introductory duets, and all second-half duple sections also have introductory duets scored for the same voices. There is a strong similarity with the anonymous *Caput* Mass in this layout, and also as in the Missa *Caput* it appears that cantus firmus

² AS plate 95.

³ The first two variants here are shared by the Credo and Agnus Tenors, and the third (two-breve) variant also occurs in the Sanctus and Agnus. It is probable that the original did not have any of these Tenor inconsistencies.

text will fit the Tenors better than some of the Ordinary-text cues provided in both main sources. Underlay in the Mass Tenors can be made to resemble the texting of the chant closely, but repeated notes in the Tenors necessitate slight modifications to the texting.

All movements have a motto opening in which measures 1-3,1 in both active voices are identical. The lower voice in these openings seems to be taken from the Missa *Caput* motto, which for this purpose has been transposed an octave down. Internal duple section openings are all independently related to each other apart from the second section of the Kyrie, and Osanna I resembles the movement-opening motto. The other internal subdivisions (such as the Pleni sunt and those in the subdivided Agnus) do not begin with related material. All movemental cadences also share melodic and harmonic similarities. The Tenor is an internal voice permitting fourths against the Superius, and the so-called Tenor bassus alternates between acting as a bass-like part and a filler voice. All movements begin on C but end on G, and most sectional cadences are on G (the exceptions being Agnus I, which ends with a construct on C and the Pleni sunt and Agnus IIa sections which both end on D). The vocal scoring and preferred cadence pitches are therefore close to both elements in the Missa *Caput*, as is the Tenor's feature of rising to upper G (at 'ut naturam') which provides some textural contrast in full sections. In internal reduced-voice passages the preferred duet combinations are for the two upper voices or the Contra and Tenor bassus, although the two outer parts do have a duet passage at Kyrie 170-186. This too is similar to the scoring in the *Caput* Mass, where the Tenor is never allowed topmost-voice prominence in duet passages.

In terms of style there is also much here that resembles the *Caput* Mass, such as the limited mobility duple idiom (where rhythmic acceleration is only used at the end of duet passages) and the predominance of the Superius in full sections. Imitation is hardly present at all except in minor instances such as at Kyrie 8 and Sanctus 63-64. In full sections the Superius line against the Tenor is sometimes synthetic (see Kyrie 159-165 and Gloria 124-136). Upper-voice fifths are permitted, and a particularly important feature shared with the *Caput* Mass is that some cadences or cadence-like progressions on upper D do not require accidentals on preceding C's (see Kyrie 70-71 and Credo 100-103). In the former instance accidentalised C's are not possible because of the simultaneous presence of C naturals in the Contra. But in other ways the *Veterem hominem* Mass differs from its likely stylistic model. It is more harmonically varied than the Missa *Caput* and seems to require both sharpwise and flatwise editorial accidentals in different cadences on A. Its lowest part convincingly carries Ordinary text, whereas in my edition of the *Caput* Mass I did not text this part except in the Sanctus and Agnus. But perhaps most importantly its melodic lines have three characteristics which the *Caput* Mass largely does not share. Firstly there are some gloriously longwinded phrases and a tendency to use sequential patterns (as at Kyrie 126-130) and also changing-note figures (see Kyrie 179-182).⁴ Secondly, there is a particular melodic turn consisting of an ornamented descent of a fifth which is found in the Superius at Gloria 119-120 and 165-167, Credo 127-129, Sanctus 129-131 and Agnus 171-173 (all duple-section occurrences). Thirdly, its melodic lines sometimes involve repetitions of small sets of pitches. For example, at Gloria 18-19 exactly the same Superius notes serve for two consecutive measures. At Gloria 49-51 the same three pitches serve to end one phrase and to begin another. The lower duet voice at Credo 9-11,1 repeats the same four pitches, and the Superius at Sanctus 27,2-28,4 also repeats four pitches. Additionally the Contra at 180-186 makes up a phrase of upper duet voice with repeated pitches, the Contra at Sanctus 13-15,3 has a lower duet voice which repeats five pitches and the Sanctus at 169-175 has two successive and closely spaced cadences on G. It is for reasons like these that I am reluctant to attribute the *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* Masses to a single composer. Added to which the presence of the *Caput* motto theme in the lower duet voice at the start of movements might suggest that the *Veterem hominem* composer is building something new onto somebody else's start-point.

There is much in the rhythmically muscular-sounding triple sections of this Mass which will appeal to those used to works by Dunstable and Leonel, and the Superius is slightly more florid than in the *Caput* Mass. As

⁴ This is of course not to ignore the imitative sequential duo passage in the *Caput* Kyrie at 137-143.

might be expected, there are a few moments where the partwriting is not as generally consonant as it was in the later fifteenth century. The Credo's first section ends with a dissonant cadence, and the introductory Kyrie duet has a brief excursion with B flats which sounds unusual (at 15-18). Also the two topmost voices have near-consecutive octaves at Kyrie 143, and there is an upward-resolving fourth on a strong beat in a duet passage at Agnus 53. Most movements also share a peculiar characteristic also found in other probably insular cycles and also some movements of Dufay's *Se la face ay pale* Mass - namely that different panels in each section are often similarly or identically scored and often share the same cadential pitches.⁵ This is partly the result of writing several movemental exercises over the same cantus firmus. Neither the *Caput* nor the *Veterem hominem* Mass is strictly isomelic in this sense, but *Caput* comes close. Its Gloria and Credo panels share the same temporary scorings and cadence pitches apart from at 141-143 in the Gloria and 197-213 in the Credo, where the former has a temporary trio and the latter has a duet passage for the two Contra parts. The *Caput* Sanctus and Agnus are also close to each other in the same respect, but again the successions of scorings and cadence pitches are not identical. The *Caput* Kyrie seems to stand outside either scoring scheme. In *Veterem hominem* the Gloria and Credo are again close but not identical in terms of small panels and their cadence pitches, and the Kyrie once more seems to be outside any scheme that might be present. The *Veterem hominem* Sanctus and Agnus come closest to isomelic twinning, as the following table of temporary scorings and cadence pitches shows. Rows in italics illustrate passages in each movement which do not correspond with each other.

TABLE 4.1
Similarly scored passages in the *Veterem hominem* Sanctus and Agnus

Sanctus measures	Details	Agnus measures	Details
1-9	First half of introductory S-Ct duet cadencing on C and followed by one measure's rest.	1-10	First half of introductory S-Ct duet cadencing on C.
10-19	Second half of introductory duet, cadencing on G.	11-17	Second half of introductory duet, cadencing using a construct on G.
19-20	<i>Lower voice trio cadencing on D.</i>	18-19	<i>No cadence here, and the Superius has two semibreve rests at start of 19.</i>
21-41	<i>Full passage, cadencing using a construct on G.</i>	20-39	<i>Full passage, cadencing using a construct on C.</i>
42-50	Duet passage for the two upper voices, cadencing on G.	40-49	Duet passage for the two upper voices, cadencing on G.
50-57	S-T duet passage, cadencing on D.	50-57	S-T duet passage, cadencing on D.
58-67	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.	58-68	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.
68-92	Full section (Osanna I) cadencing on G.	69-93	Full section (Agnus IIb) cadencing using a construct on G.
93-114	First half of duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.	94-118	Duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.
115-141	<i>Second half of duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.</i>		
141-175	Full passage, cadencing on G.	118-152	Full passage, cadencing on G.
176-188	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.	153-160	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.
188-234	Full passage, cadencing on G.	161-208	Full passage, cadencing on G.

The critical commentary to Gerber's edition also draws attention to the length of some of the introductory duets, since those which begin the Gloria, Credo and Agnus I are all sixteen measures long.⁶ However, this scheme does not extend to other parts of the Mass. Copies of this *Veterem hominem* must have circulated until the sixteenth century in England and perhaps for several years into the mid-fifteenth century on the continent.

⁵ For another example see the Gloria and Credo on *Pax vobis* in Instalment 1, no. 28.

⁶ Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 41.

Typically for an English setting, the Kyrie became separated from the rest of the Mass in transmission and appears much later in Trent 88 than the rest of the work. In Strahov the Kyrie does not appear at all, and the movements are given in a confused order with much minor color in the notation and many copying mistakes. Finally, the bipartite structure of this Mass and also *Caput* probably gave rise to many structural imitations, and there might be a further sign of the ‘*Caput motto*’ being used in another work as well as in this Mass. This is because the Gloria of Touront’s *Missa Sine nomine* I has a Superius which begins with the first six pitches of the *Caput* Gloria Superius. That seems to be a gesture of musical homage which is perhaps as significant as the adaption of the *Caput motto* in the *Veterem hominem* Mass.

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Numerology

I have little to report here that I have not yet already written in my comparison of this Mass with the anonymous *Missa Caput*. Possibly the *Veterem hominem* Mass is not the sort of work to yield symmetries easily as its Gloria and Credo both have 81 measures for their first sections but respectively follow these with sections of 123 and 127 measures.

In terms of tempora other items of interest are that the Kyrie and Sanctus are close in size (consisting of 233 and 234 measures respectively), and the Pleni sunt and Osanna I sections are also close (with 26 and 25 measures respectively). The sum of all triple measures in this Mass is 444. Exactly how the subdivided Sanctus and Agnus should be counted in terms of sections is not clear, since the Agnus marks off the first part of its introductory duo with a sectional custos but the Sanctus has a measure’s rest at the same point. Therefore which is a separate subdivision, and which is not?

Note counts give us the following interesting totals. Tenor statements usually have 58-60 notes per statement, and the Kyrie’s first section has 883 notes (possibly this was once 880). Likewise the Gloria’s second section has 604 notes (possibly once 600), the Credo’s first-section Superius has 301 notes (maybe originally 300) and the Agnus I Superius has 320 notes. The Benedictus Superius also has a rounded-looking total with 575 notes. The first two section of the Sanctus have a combined note total of 501 (possibly this was once 500).

Information on sectional sizes of movements as percentages (and how these compare with similar data from the *Missa Caput*) can be found in my discussion of that Mass. However the important thing to keep in mind is that these calculations do not seem to show much of significance.

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94. *Missa Puis que m’amour* (Trent 88 ff. 85v-93r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 249-251).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the Tenor of a chanson by Dunstable, the earliest reliable version of which is in EscA. A copy also precedes this Mass, on Trent 88 ff. 84v.

Gloria (ff. 85v-87r);

[Superius]; 1: the title ‘Puiskemor’ appears above the music, the intonation is supplied from IB 15154 f. 147v transposed an octave up, and the m sign is given before the first stave. / 34: 4 sbr / 42: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 179: 1 F. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Tenor-Contra secundus-Contra primus, and on the second opening the order of the two Contras is reversed.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 3: ns / 16: p div follows 3 / 23: 3 B / 59: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 140: note that the divisi here is the only one in this voice in the entire movement / 142-144: written on a short

end of stave extension / 157,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 174,1-2: as at 142 / 198: 1 C.

[T]enor; 117-133: 18 breve rests are given but only 17 are needed / 148: 1 br / 165: 2 G / 170: not dtd.

Contratenor primus; 1-2: ns / 20-21: likewise / 25: p div follows 2 / 27: likewise / 83-85: ns / 148: not dtd / 149: 2 B / 165-182: 17 breve rests are given but 18 are needed / 196: 3 is sbr / 195: erased sbr lower E follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. Both occurrences of 'Christe' in the Superius are spelt as 'Criste', and I allow for a little editorial telescoping at 153-170 since 'Tu solus Dominus' is not given in the Superius. An editorial repeat of 'Deus' is needed in the Contra secundus at 48-49. At 132 in the same voice an entry on an editorial part-word has been provided since no better solution suggests itself here. Lastly, the Tenor can only be given isolated phrases of text in view of its large number of extended values.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 27 (edition of Mass) and no. 26 (edition of the parent song after Trent 88). The *Puis que m'amour* chanson is also published in John Dunstable, Complete Works (revised edition, 1970) no. 55, where its two alternative Contras are given. Further regarding the song see Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs... p. 333. Lastly, in The Paleography and Repertory... vol. I (1989) I pp. 101 and 121 I suggested that this Mass and also the ModC version of the Missa *O rosa bella* III might be the work of Henricus Tik. I no longer support that claim.

Credo (ff. 87v-91r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 22, 23, 36, 40 & 47: the Superius and some other voices are well supplied with congruent signs in this section, and all of them appear to have practical purposes such as marking Tenor entries and cessations, and entries of other voices. / 63: the scoring of this trio is questionable as its middle part (given as part of the Tenor in Trent 88) rises to Superius B. However, allotting the middle trio voice to the Contra primus would give that part a movemental range of two octaves plus a semitone (which would be very unusual) and giving the middle voice to the Contra secundus would also give that part a movemental two-octave range. Accordingly I have left the middle voice of the trio as part of the Tenor, since the Tenor also has non-cantus firmus material in the Duo starting at 194. / 101: 5 b / 110: cor given as cs / 194: 'Duo' ind in both voices, and m sign rptd at new page opening in both active voices / 285: 5 & 6 not col. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus, but on the last two page openings the order of the two Contras is reversed.

Contra secundus; 6: 4 is sbr / 7: superfluous m upper B follows 3 / 10: 7 C / 28: p div follows 1 / 36: cs is given over 1 rather than over the rest here / 49: 2 C, & clef change is at start of new stave / 62: no 'Tacet' direction given / 144: 1 A / 160: the m sign cut-C here is given above the breve rest / 178: 1 om (conj supplied) / 271: 1 & 2 are E A / 275: 2 A / 280: 1 C / 283: p div follows 2 / 287: p div follows 1.

[T]enor; 34: sharp ind before 34,1 / 89: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 102, likewise, & 1 has flat / 117: 5 E / 138-156: 18 breve rests are given (19 are needed) / 179-180: ns / 183-188: om (conj supplied) / 246: p div follows 2 / 253: b ind before 252,2 / 260: p div follows 1.

[C]ontra primus; 29: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied) / 31,2-32,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 44: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 51: 3 not dtd / 52: 1 F / 62: following this final sectional long a direct to lower G is given, suggesting that the continuation in the following trio is part of this voice rather than part of any other. / 72: 2 uc / 75,3-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 94: 1 br / 99: 3 & 4 are m sbr / 100-

101,3: Trent 88 reads m lower E sbr G m lower E m lower C m lower D & sbr lower C. The emendation provided is to avoid dissonance as well as to supply the correct number of notes (not enough are given). / 107: 2 sbr / 109: 6 uc / 120: the lower divisi note is om (conj supplied) and the upper divisi is br rather than L / 125: the upper divisi note here is F / 151: om (conj supplied) / 152: p div follows 3 / 193: this sectional L is om (conj supplied), Trent 88 reads ligd dtd-sbr upper F sbr A plus m G & dtd-sbr E m C sbr E plus ligd br D L C, and no custos follows / 260: 2 & 3 are D E / 261: 1 F / 271,1-3: written on a short end of stave extension / 285,3-287: likewise / 298: 1 A.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et ascendit... erit finis' (at 194). As with the Gloria, lower parts can only be made to carry partial text. At 59 in the Contra secundus a repeat of 'de Deo' is needed, and in the same voice at 169-173 a repeat of 'Et resurrexit' is needed, 'Christum' in the Superius at 26-27 is spelt as 'xpum', and 'catholicam' in the same voice at 260-261 is spelt as 'katholicam'.

Sanctus (ff. 91v-93r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices (O is assumed) / 17: 4 F / 36: 6 & 7 are E D (emended to make a more conventional cadence) / 53: 1-4 om (conj supplied) / 55: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 122: 2 D / 131: 1 A / 142: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 185: m sign given as cut-O / 199: 3 G. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra secundus; 76: both Contra parts indicate the two Osanna sections as 'Osanna primus' and 'Osanna secundus' / 95-107: 12 breve rests are given (13 are needed) / 186: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 190: 2 is sbr, & not col / 199: 3 D (below).

[T]enor; 175-176: none of these notes are col / 193-194: ns / 200,2-201: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

[C]ontra primus; 39,4: a cancelling 'O' sign is given after this colored passage / 44: 1 m / 53,5-54,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 193-194: ns / 200,2-201: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 107: 1 br / 113: upper divisi note not col / 190,7-10: all of these notes are m / 199,2: this note is an L, imperfected *ad partem remotam*.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 24 in the Contra secundus an entry on an editorial part-word seems unavoidable. An editorial repeat of 'Sabaoth' is needed in all voices at 44-54, and all voices also need editorial repeats of 'excelsis' at 108-141.

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Structure

There is nothing quite like the Missa *Puis que m'amour* anywhere else in the later Trent manuscripts. These three movements (Gloria, Credo and Sanctus) were once possibly part of a larger work since in Trent 88 a blank page opening follows the Sanctus which might have been intended for an Agnus Dei. The Credo is particularly extensive (consisting of nearly 300 measures) and all three movements are richly sonorous with the Contra secundus as a higher filler Contra instead of as a bass-like part. Much the same texture occurs in the Trent 89 Mass pair on *Beata Dei genitrix*. Both Contras contain occasional divisi notes, and there is a proliferation of insular melodic clichés and accented sixths which might suggest either English origin or stylistic influence. This is not a conventional Tenor cantus firmus Mass. As will be seen, the way that it is written poses questions about voice ranges and texture.

The Tenor cantus firmus is the Tenor of Dunstable's Rondeau *Puis que m'amour*, which seems to have had a fairly wide circulation.⁷ Each movement presents the song Tenor once, differently elaborated and split up into sections which are interpolated by reduced-voice subdivisions and internal passages of rests. The cantus firmus is only present in full sections, but one of these (the final section of the Credo) includes a free Tenor passage where one of the Contras temporarily has some song material. If the scoring and voice names in Trent 88 are to be trusted, the Tenor also has a supporting role in reduced-voice sections. However I will return to this in due course.

All three movements have delayed entry Tenors in their first sections, but not in their internal full sections. The mensuration pattern and panel scoring in all movements varies, but all three movements follow the basic pattern O - O - cut-C - O. The Gloria and Sanctus Superius openings are similar and the openings of all three main duple sections are harmonically similar, but no further likenesses occur between section openings. The resemblance between the Gloria and Sanctus openings and the motto of Dufay's Missa *Se la face ay pale* may only be coincidental. All three movements have a final minor-mode cadence on G like the song. Throughout, the song Tenor is generally subjected to considerable elaboration. The following example gives the parent song in its probably earliest complete form, and the subsequent table outlines how the Tenor is used in successive movements.

⁷ Trent 88 is one of the sources for this song, which immediately precedes this Mass (on f. 84v).

4.2. Dunstable, *Puis que m'amour* (with first stanza of text only);⁸

T Puis que m'a - mour m'a pris en des - - - - -
 Ct Puis que m'a - mour m'a pris en des - - - - -
 6
 - plai - - - - - sir et a vo - lu aul - tre
 - plai - - - - - sir et a vo - lu aul -
 - plai - - - - - sir et a vo - lu aul - tre
 12
 de moy es - - li - - re, Es - - - - -
 - tre de moy es - - li - - re, es - - - - -
 de moy es - - li - - re, Es - - - - -
 18
 - ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - - ser, et ri -
 - ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - - ser, et
 - ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - - ser, et ri -
 24
 - re, tout mon veult je n'au - - - - ray a
 ri - re tout mon veult je n'au - - - - ray
 - re tout mon veult je n'au - ray a plai -

⁸ This example is adapted from the EsCA version given in John Dunstable, Complete Works (revised edition), no. 55.



TABLE 4.2

Tenor cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Puis que m'amour*

Section	Measures	Use
Et in terra	1-14	Introductory Tenorless trio.
	14-41	Tenor elaborates first half of song Tenor (1-16).
Domine Deus	42-72	Tenorless duet.
Qui tollis	73-116	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 17-22.
	117-133	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	134-172	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 23-27,1.
	173-182	Sectional Tenor ends with rests.
Cum sancto	183-200	Tenor elaborates song Tenor, 27,2-33.
Patrem	1-22	Introductory Tenorless trio.
	23-42	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 1-8.
	43-46	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	47-62	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 10-16.
Genitum non factum	63-119	Tenor is the middle voice of a free trio.
Crucifixus	120-137	Tenor has song Tenor 17-19,1 rhythmically altered.
	138-156	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	157-193	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 19,1-22.
Et in Spiritum	194-256	Tenor is free and is lower voice of a duo.
Et unam	257-298	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 24-33, but with a free passage interpolated at 267-281 (see below for Contra primus use of borrowed material here).
Sanctus	1-24	Introductory Tenorless duet.
	25-54	Tenor elaborates first half of song Tenor (1-16).
Pleni sunt	55-75	Tenorless duet.
Osanna I	76-94	Tenor has rhythmically altered song Tenor, 17-19,1.
	95-107	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	108-141	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 19,2-27,1.
Benedictus	142-184	Tenor is free and is lower voice of a duo.
Osanna II	185-201	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 27,2-33.

Comparison between the song Tenor and Mass Tenors shows that rhythmic transformation can be considerable, with some notes from the song being changed into maximas and longs. To return to the subject of ranges, Tenor participation in some of the free reduced-scoring sections results in an overall range of two octaves for this voice in the Credo. Shifting around the scoring so that the Tenor only sings cantus firmus material in full sections does not seem that satisfactory either. Allotting the Tenor's supposed reduced-scoring lines to either Contra also results in very wide ranges for these parts, so the safest policy seems to be to retain the Trent 88 vocal scoring. Given that both Contra parts and the Superius contain divisio, there is a probability that this Mass was sung by an ensemble with more than one voice per part. Consequently notes that are outside the range of some singers could easily be allotted to others. This seems to be one of the very few instances of probable nonchalance about voice ranges that I have come across in fifteenth century Mass cycles.

The outer voices feature very little material from the parent song. The initial full triple sections in each movement end with cadences on F and then cadences on G as the song does at 12-16, and the hemiola rhythms in the song *Superius* at 15 and 25 also feature prominently in triple sections (see the *Gloria Superius* at 4-5 and 48-51). But there is only one traceable quotation of song *Superius* material throughout, and this is where the Tenor temporarily ceases to feature *cantus firmus* in the middle of the Credo's 'Et unam' section. At 263,3-267,2 the *Contra primus* (as the top voice of a temporary trio passage here) strongly resembles the song *Superius* at 25-28.

Imitation features prominently in this Mass, with types of imitative writing including unison imitation in duets (*Gloria* 48-50), triadic imitation between lower voices in full sections (*Gloria* 194-195 and *Sanctus* 193-194), duet imitation at the fifth (*Credo* 250-256) and sesquialtera passages in all main duple sections which are worked out as two- or three-voice imitative points (*Gloria* 117-132, *Credo* 136-157 and *Sanctus* 94-107). This Mass 'jubilates' with triple proportion passages much like some of the later Fayrfax songbook repertory. The *Credo* and *Sanctus* also begin with imitative outer-voice trio and duet passages, with the *Credo* providing an extended imitative trio passage at 15-22 containing some work in small values. The 'Genitum' trio in the *Credo* is also remarkably extended, resulting in a succession of passages that respectively use three-voice unison imitation (71-74), cross-accents (75 onwards), combined O and dotted-C mensuration (83 onwards), imitative changing-note figures (88-91), triadic imitation in two and then in three voices (100-106) and finally an active middle voice with slow-moving outer parts (111-116). It is as if the composer were displaying what he could do with three parts rather like on a shop-front. Four-part sections also display occasional activity like the extended *Contra primus* syncopated dotted passage at 36-39, the same part has an animated passage at *Sanctus* measure 190, and also some isolated triplet figures at *Sanctus* measure 39.

This detailed and attractive trio and also the rich sonorities throughout are not achieved without some dissonance. The *Credo* and *Sanctus* end with hybrid cadences, and these are also found in the *Gloria* at 36-37 and 147. At 36-37 we are forced to tolerate a hybrid cadence with a major seventh sound since the preceding construct on E in measure 36 requires a B natural to be struck against it. That B natural then sounds against C an octave below at the end of the measure. Equally unexpectedly, *Osanna I* has an inverted doubled-leadingnote cadence involving upper-voice fifths, the *Contra primus* has a seventh against the Tenor at *Sanctus* 115, the first cadence in the *Pleni sunt* duet involves a semibreve dissonance on a strong beat (*Sanctus* 57) and the otherwise immaculately written 'Genitum' trio in the *Credo* has lower-voice consecutive fifths at *Credo* 80. There is also a certain liberality in allowing unusual outer-voice passing notes in long note Tenor passages (see *Credo* 280-281 and *Sanctus* 41-42). Occasional descents into Bb and Eb sonorities prior to cadences on F provide moments of variety (see *Credo* 53-58). The composer of this Mass was evidently talented even if his partwriting occasionally lapsed.

Deciding whether this Mass is insular or not is difficult. In the absence of features such as extensive *Credo* text deletions and a consistent mensural plan, James Cook has suggested that it might be a continental work and therefore its English musical guise might only be Anglophilia.⁹ In support of this point some of the musical devices in the 'Genitum' section are rather like the devices used internally in the larger movements of the *Dufay Sancti Anthonii Padovens* Mass, and the extensive trio work at the start of the *Credo* is perhaps also untypical of insular music. Furthermore the similarly scored Mass pair on *Beata Dei genitrix* is equally sonorous in the same English-influenced sense, but that particular *Gloria-Credo* pair shows other signs of being continental rather than English. It therefore seems sensible not to allot a provenance to the *Missa Puis que m'amour* until we find out more about its origins. As regards a likely composition date, the crossing *Contra* parts and hybrid cadences probably suggest a few years on either side of 1450.

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⁹ See Cook, J., *Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles in Continental Sources* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Nottingham University, 2014) I pp. 261-262.

Numerology

There seems to be little evidence of number symmetry in this Mass, possibly because there were once more movements than now survive. If the final movemental longs of the Sanctus are excluded, I find that the Osanna I (with 66 measures) constitutes exactly 33% of the total tempora in the Sanctus, and this is possibly significant because Osanna I is the central subsection of five in that movement. The overall sizes of the Gloria and Sanctus are also close, with 200 and 201 measures respectively (including their final longs). The first panel of the 'Genitum' trio in the Credo may also be significant in having 33 measures.

Note counts show that the final section of the Credo has exactly 444 notes, or 400 if the sectional longs are removed.

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95. Missa *Rozel im gorten*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 295v-301r (Gloria, Credo and Sanctus) and 302v-304r (Agnus). DTÖ VII inventory nos 423-425 and 427;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 121v-131r (first three movements plus Agnus III) with four batches of independent music on the same pages as each movement, and with the title *Officium Rozel im gorten andersch franczose* at the start of the Gloria Tenor.

This Mass cycle seems to use an otherwise lost cantus firmus which is elaborated differently in each movement. For a partial reconstruction see the section on structure.

Gloria

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 295v-297r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Sarum Gloria chant 5 (GS plate 12, transposed a fourth up) & in the two topmost voices the m signs are given before the first staves / 77: m sign ind before stave / 182,3-183: written on a short end of stave extension / 213: as at 77. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor primus-Contratenor secundus. If performers do not like the O-cut-C equivalent given in the score, they may care to use the O-C equivalent O perfect breve = long of duple section (which is suggested in this edition for other probably English Masses).

Contratenor primus; 13,3-14,3: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Strahov / 26: p div follows 2 / 67: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 76: no custos / 77: m sign ind before stave / 125,2-127,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 157-183: 28 breve rests are given but only 27 are needed / 183: no custos / 184: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 190-192: as at 125 / 202,1: this note is squashed in / 219,3-223,1: as at 125 and 190 / 226: a sharp sign precedes 226,2 / 235,2-236: as at 125, 190 and 219.

Tenor; 13: p div follows 2 / 28: likewise / 54: after this measure in both lower voices is a double custos and then the rests for 55-66, & no custos is given in either voice at 66 / 76: no custos / 181-183: written on a short end of stave extension.

Contratenor secundus; 31: 1 A / 41: p div follows 2 / 51: likewise / 83-84: ns / 155-183: 28 breve rests are given, but 29 are needed / 183: single custos / 202: 1 A (corr using Strahov) / 231,2-6: Trent 88 reads sm B sm C br C dtd-m B sm A (corr using Strahov) / 232: 2 & 3 om (supplied from Strahov) / 234: 3 not dtd, and

4 om (both corr using Strahov) / 235: after 235,2 Trent 88 reads sm A sm G and ligd sbr A sbr F (corr using Strahov) / 236: single custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with partial text in the Contratenor primus and less text in the two lower voices. At 117-121 the Contratenor primus needs an editorial repeat of 'suscipe' and at 226-229 the same voice needs a repeat of 'in gloria Dei Patris'. 'Christe' is given in both upper voices at 61 as 'Criste', the same spelling is given in the Contratenor primus at 203, & at 202 the lower Contra gives 'xpe'.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 99 (edition after Trent 88) and pp. 101-102 (commentary). Schmalz, R., Selected fifteenth century Polyphonic Mass Ordinaries based upon pre-existent German material (Ph. D. dissertation, Pittsburgh University, 1971) pp. 65-72 (description). Snow, R. The Manuscript Strahov, D. G. IV. 47... vol. I pp. 104-105. Cook, J., Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles vol. I pp. 258-259.

(ii) Strahov ff. 121v-124r;

[Superius]; the sections of this movement are disordered in Strahov so that the duple subdivisions appear after the final triple section. In addition, most of f. 123r is taken up with a textless voice (probably a Contratenor to another piece) that has nothing to do with this Mass and is not even in the same scribal hand. 1: a gap has been left at the start of the first stave (probably for a majuscule initial) / 3,3-4: minor color / 30: 4-5 replaced by m A / 34: 1 not dtd / 36-37: no lig / 44: 2-3 replaced by sbr E / 45: no lig / 46: 3-4 replaced by br D / 48: 1 om / 49,3-4: no minor color, & 4 is G / 50: 2 C / 56: 1 & 2 ligd / 57: 3 not dtd / 58: 2-5 replaced by m G m F m F m E / 62: 1-4 replaced by sbr D m C m B, & the following A is corr from col err by means of a small mark underneath it / 66: cor over 1, & no custos / 97-98: no lig / 108-109: likewise / 110-113: written over erasures / 114-152: this passage is om from the main copy and is given after 183. Congruent signs at both the point of omission and the addition of the insert indicate the correction. / 133-134: no lig / 147-148: Strahov reads ligd sbr A sbr F, and the following L and breve rests are squashed on an end of stave extension / 162: no lig / 164: 2 not dtd / 165: 2 replaced by sbr rest / 172: 2 not ligd / 173,2-174,1: likewise / 183: cor over 1, & no custos / 216: 3 & 4 are both m / 217-218: no lig / 231,4-5: no minor color / 235: 5-6 replaced by sm E sm E sm D / 236: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is basically the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor altus gemellisans; this voice probably has its unusual name because it functions as the topmost voice in two internal duet sections, at 67-76 and 84-212. 1: m sign om / 2: no lig / 2-3: likewise / 3,3-4: ligd / 11: cs over 2 / 13: 1 & 2 ligd / 15-16: no lig / 20-21: likewise / 23: 3-4 replaced by m A, & 23,5 is col err but corr by a v-like mark under the note / 24-49: this passage is written on two clefless staves / 25: cs over 1 / 26: no p div / 29-30: no lig / 31-32: likewise / 35-36: likewise / 38: no minor color / 48: 2 & 3 are both m / 55: no lig / 58-59: likewise / 63,3-66: this passage is written on a clefless stave / 66: cor over 1, & no custos / 67: 'duorum' ind in both voices, but the Tenor part for this section is given before the Contratenor / 76: as at 66 / 84: the two duet parts for 184-212 are given before the full duple section, and again the lower part for this section is given first / 84: not ligd / 92: 1 & 2 are E C / 107: not ligd / 108-112: 6 breve rests are given instead of 5 / 113: om (hence the previous difference in rests) / 122: not ligd / 134-135: likewise / 139-141: likewise / 146: likewise / 155-156: after this L a single custos is given, and the rests at 157-183 are om / 184: 'Duo' is ind by 'duum' in this voice and 'duo' in the lower voice / 192: not ligd / 194,3-195: replaced by dtd-sbr C m B m B m A / 201-202: replaced by sbr E br C sbr D / 203: 1 & 2 ligd / 207: 3 & 4 replaced by m F m F m E / 212: cor over 1, & no custos / 215-216: no lig / 225: no minor color, & 2 is F / 226,2: no sharp sign / 234,2-3: minor color / 235: 2-4 are m sbr m / 236: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 13: no p div / 18: no minor color / 18-19: no lig / 25: cs over 1 / 28: no p div / 36: 1 & 2 ligd / 37-38: no lig / 51-52: likewise / 53: upside-down cor under 1 / 55-66: rests om, & no custos at 66 / 69-70: no lig / 76: cor over 1, & no custos / 77: no lig / 79-82: ligd / 83: not ligd / 101-102: not ligd / 114-117: no lig / 118: not ligd / 119-120: ligd / 127-128: ligd / 129-132: ligd / 133-134: ligd / 135-136: no lig / 143: not dtd / 144: replaced by ligd sbr F sbr G / 145: ligd to 144,1-2 / 146: not ligd / 163: likewise / 169,1-170,1: ligd / 170,2-171: no lig / 183: not ligd, cor over this note, & no custos / 215: dot after 1 / 217-218: no lig / 219-220:

likewise / 231-232: likewise / 232-233: likewise / 236: no custos.

Bassus; this voice is named 'Bassus' following the Strahov 'Gratias agimus' incipit, but is given as 'Contra secundus' for the section starting at 77. Also, at 1 the m sign is om / 25-27: no lig / 31: 1 A as in Trent 88 / 39-54: this passage is written on a clefless stave / 39: 3 A / 40: 2 & 3 are both m / 41: no p div / 46: 1 & 2 replaced by br G / 48: 2 not col / 50-51,1: ligd / 51: no p div / 52,1: not ligd / 53: 1 D, with cor above / 55-66: rests om, & no custos at 66 / 77-80: no lig / 91-96: this passage is added in a compressed manner as a correction over erasures / 113-115: replaced by L br / 128-129: no lig / 130,2-132: replaced by br & dtd-br / 133-134: no lig / 136: likewise / 138-140: replaced by ligd br C br D L E, with the descending tail on the L crossed out / 141: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr B, & this lig extends to 143 / 155-183: rests om, & no custos at 183 / 192,2: no lig / 194-197: ligd / 212: no custos / 213: the m sign is followed by 28 breve rests, which seems to mean that this voice actually rested for the preceding duet (which is 29 measures long). It therefore seems that Strahov might have allotted the lower duet voice at 'Tu solus Altissimus' to the Tenor, despite this voice having the name 'Contratenor' at its text incipit. / 220: 3 & 4 are both m / 220-221: no lig / 236: 2-3 replaced by a divisi L with F and a colored C pitch above it, plus a corona above the C & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and gives sectional incipits in the lower voices for the first section. The first duet section is fully texted in both voices, and sections 3 and 4 have lower-voice incipits like section 1 apart from the upper Contra in section 4 (which is fully texted). In the final section all voices have text.

Strahov abounds in mistakes, scoring confusions and omissions, and gives less ligatures and Trent 88 plus a few variants which are simpler than the latter reading. It is quite neatly copied but would have been difficult to use because of its errors.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 297v-299r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, the m sign is given before the first stave, & there is a lacuna over 1,1 / 11: 1 & 2 uc due to lacuna / 37,4: uc due to lacuna / 39,2-40,1: likewise / 66: 3 E / 105: the m sign is om in both outermost voices, and is given as C in the Contra and Tenor primus. I have adopted cut-C here as in Strahov, and also in order to be consistent with the Gloria. / 108: as at 37,4 / 128: rest uc / 180: as at 37,4 / 242: m sign om / 246: 4 & 5 uc due to lacuna. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign before first stave / 15: 2 & 3 uc due to lacuna / 31,2-32,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 48,3-50,1: likewise / 68-70: likewise / 85,2: uc due to lacuna / 85,3-87: as at 31 / 87: single custos / 88: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 103-104: as at 31-32 / 104: single custos / 171-199: 12 breve rests are given (29 are needed) / 200: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 242: m sign given before stave.

Tenor primus; this voice has the same function as the third voice down in the Gloria (named there simply as the Tenor). 31: p div follows 2 / 34: likewise / 52: likewise / 53: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 70-87: 16 measures of rests are given (18 are needed) / 95,4-104: the end of this duet section is written on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space / 100: 2 corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 107-108: ns / 132,1: uc due to lacuna / 133,2: likewise / 183,2: likewise / 257,2-266: the end of this section is written on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space.

Tenor secundus; this voice has the same function as the Contratenor secundus in the Gloria. 29: 3 B (corr using Strahov) / 35,6-36,1: uc due to lacuna / 38: written on a short end of stave extension / 51: both readings give E C here instead of C E, which creates consecutive octaves with the Contra / 61-62: as at 38 / 63-69: copied on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page due to lack of space / 70-87: the rests here are not

given, and instead there is a part-legible and faded instruction ‘Tenor 2us’ (which is obviously some sort of ‘Tacet’ direction) / 107-108: ns / 148,2-149,2: uc due to lacuna / 171-199: as in the Contra 12 breve rests are given (29 are needed) / 199: despite the ‘Et iterum tacet’ direction here, it should be noted that the matching penultimate Duo section in the Gloria is scored for the second and fourth voices down rather than the second and third. / 242: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices (except for the Tenor in the duet at 88-104 which has full text). This setting of the Credo omits ‘Genitum non factum...sunt’ at 69, which can be restored by editorial telescoping in the Contra. The other omission is ‘Et in Spiritum...remissionem peccatorum’ at 242. This is too large a portion of text to restore by editorial means. ‘Christum’ in the Superius (29) is given as ‘xpum’, at 146-154 ‘die’ is given above ‘secundum’, and ‘secundum’ is written twice.

(ii) Strahov ff. 124v-126v;

[Superius]; 1: a gap has been left at the start of the first stave (probably for a majuscule initial) / 8: 3 not dtd / 10,3-4: replaced by dtd-m C sm B sm A sm G / 26: no minor color / 28: 4 B / 31: no minor color / 34: 1 D / 38: 4 & 5 are dtd-m & sm / 39: 1-4 replaced by ligd sbr F dtd-sbr E / 42: replaced by dtd-br C / 43,2: corr from C with a chevron under this note / 50,1-2: replaced by ligd sbr C dtd-sbr B / 54: no minor color / 56: likewise / 57: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 62: 4 B / 66: 3 E / 74: 4 & 5 replaced by m F / 87: cor over 1, & no custos / 105: at the start of this section the m sign is given as cut-C in the two upper voices, and the Superius has the marginal comment ‘discantus’ since it does not begin at the top of a page. The first stave here (105-140) is given a third too high and has a confusion of C clefs on the first and second stave lines. / 124,2-125,2: ligd / 129-130: ligd / 142-143: likewise / 147-149: ligd / 153-155: likewise / 157-161,1: written in a compressed manner over erasures / 174-175: ligd / 184-185: likewise / 187,2-188,1: ligd / 188,2: no lig / 190,2-191,2: ligd / 199: cor over 1, & no custos / 242: the m sign is present / 245,1-2: replaced by sbr C / 246,2-3: minor color / 254,1-2: minor color / 255,2-5: likewise / 262: 1-3 replaced by dtd-m A sm G m F, with no minor color / 264: no minor color / 265: 4 replaced by m F m D, & 5 is sbr / 266: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is basically the same as that of Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 1: m sign om / 1-2: replaced by dtd-br F dtd-br F / 8: 1 not dtd, & 2 is B / 9: no minor color / 11: 4 replaced by m D followed by m rest / 12: 2 & 3 are both m / 13-14: cor over 13,1 & 13,2-14,1 replaced by dtd-sbr E / 15,2-31: the stave on which this passage is copied has a confusion of clefs on the second and third stave lines / 18: all notes are m / 21: 1 & 2 are m m / 22: 2-4 replaced by sbr C & m upper F m upper G / 23: cor over 1 / 27: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr A which is ligd to the following note / 32: 1 & 2 ligd / 35: no minor color / 36: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 41: 1 & 2 ligd / 47,4-48,1: replaced by dtd-m F sm E / 52: replaced by br A dtd-m F & sm D / 62,3-4: replaced by m G / 65: 1 & 2 ligd / 69: 1 dtd / 72: 3 & 4 ligd / 74: likewise / 76: 1 & 2 ligd / 77: likewise / 83,2-84,1: replaced by dtd-sbr G / 87: cor over 1, & no custos / 88-104: ‘Duo’ not ind in either voice, and the Contra part for this section is given following the Tenor duet part / 88,1-2: replaced by dtd-br E / 95: 3 G / 100,4-101,4: replaced by sbr G m E m D m C / 104: cor over 1, & no custos / 111-112: ligd / 113-114: replaced by ligd br E br D, with the second note corr from col err by a ‘v’ sign (for ‘vacat’) underneath it / 148: no lig / 149: 1 & 2 ligd / 169,2: corr from col err with a ‘v’ sign above this note / 171-199: 20 breve rests are given, but 29 are needed / 199: no custos / 200: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 203-206: copied in a compressed manner over erasures, & 207-212 are added on a right-hand stave extension immediately following. Also at the bottom of this page (f. 126r) 200 to the rest in 217 are recopied with an ‘Et iterum venturus est’ incipit but the passage is crossed out. In this second version 205-206 are ligd. / 212,1-2: replaced by br C / 220: 1 & 2 ligd / 221,1: not ligd / 224: 1 & 2 ligd / 225: likewise / 241: cor over 1, & no custos / 243: 1 & 2 ligd / 244: no minor color / 246,3-247,6: replaced by m E dtd-m C sm D dtd-m E sm C sbr C m B / 250: 5 is dtd / 251: 1 is sm / 252: no minor color / 253: 1 B / 258: 2 & 3 replaced by m G m E / 261: 1 & 2 replaced by m C m D / 264: 3 & 4 replaced by m m / 266: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 22: no minor color / 27-28,1: replaced by L C / 38: 1 & 2 ligd / 38,3-39,2: ligd separately / 42-43: replaced by dtd-br C dtd-br D / 45: replaced by dtd-br / 51-52,1: ligd, & lig is col err but corr by a

mark immediately to its right / 52: no p div / 53-54,1: ligd / 59: cs over 1 for no apparent reason / 60-61: replaced by dtd-br C dtd-br G / 67: 3 C / 69: a single custos follows this note, & then 12 measures of rests (18 are needed) 87: no custos / 97: 2 not dtd / 98: 1 & 2 replaced by m C sbr C m C / 99: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr C / 104: cor over 1, & single custos / 107-110: 109-110 are replaced by L C, and 107-110 are ligd / 112-113: ligd / 114-118: ligd / 119-122: replaced by ligd L F L G / 129-130: ligd / 132,2-133,1: col err, and corr with a downward oblique above the lig / 144-145: ligd / 146-151: ligd / 152-153: replaced by L D, which is ligd to 154 / 155: 2 not ligd / 160,2: not ligd / 161-162: ligd, & 162,2 is G / 174,2-175,2: ligd / 189: 1 & 2 ligd / 190: no lig / 199: cor over 1, & no custos / 203-204: replaced by L C / 211: replaced by br G, which is ligd to 212 / 213: 2 E / 214-215: no lig / 235-236: ligd / 241: written after the end of a stave, with a cor above & no custos / 255: a further two measures of rests here are erased, & followed by the rests for 256 / 260: cs over 1 / 261: 2 & 3 are m m / 266: cor over 1, & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 24: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr D & m B m A / 27: 3 & 4 are both m / 32: 1-2 replaced by dtd-br / 38: 1 & 2 not col / 39: 2 & 3 col / 45-46: replaced by dtd-br A dtd-br G / 53: 2 & 3 col / 54: no minor color / 59-69: copied on a roughly-drawn part-stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space / 66: no minor color / 68-69: cor over this note, & the rests at 70-87 are om / 87: no custos / 109-111: written over erasures, & no lig at 110-111 / 125: 1 & 2 ligd / 126-127: ligd separately / 146-147: ligd / 151: rest replaced by sbr G / 156: 2 C, but with correction mark indicating that B was probably intended / 158: not ligd / 161-162: om / 171-199: 28 measures of rests are given (29 are needed) / 199: no custos / 242: the m sign is present / 262,1: corr from D by an oblique mark / 263: 3 & 4 are both m / 265: no minor color, & 2 is B / 266: upper divisi is col with a cor above, & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and includes the first of the Trent 88 text omissions as part of the Superius underlay. The first internal duet section is fully texted in both voices, but otherwise the lower voices have sectional incipits. These are as follows. Section 1: the Contratenor primus has 'Patrem', the Tenor has 'visibilium omnium' and the Contratenor secundus has 'Et in unum Dominum Jhesum'. The first Contra also has 'consubstantialem Patri' written twice internally (at 50 and 66-68) and at the end of the section from 69 onwards is 'Et incarnatus' (crossed out) and 'Qui propter...celis'. Section 3: all lower voices have 'Crucifixus' and the first Contra has an internal cue at 'Et ascendit'. Section 4: neither voice has any text beyond 'Et iterum venturus'. Section 5: all lower voices have 'Et expecto'.

Strahov is not closely related to the Trent 88 reading. There are a few simpler variants, but the lower voices contain several values that are not split as in Trent 88 and there are considerable ligaturing differences.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 299v-301r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices except the Tenor primus / 2: 1 uc due to lacuna / 47: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 76: the m sign given here in all voices except the Tenor secundus is C. I have replaced this with cut-C in order to be consistent with the Gloria & with Strahov. / 76-79: uc due to lacuna / 136: the instruction 'qui venit tacet' is given here, and at 137-155 18 breve rests are given but 19 are needed. / 161: 2 A (corr using Strahov) / 212,5: uc due to lacuna.

Contra; 11: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm (corr from Strahov due to imitation of the Superius) / 16,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 38: 2 C / 39: 4 E / 43: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 54: 3-7 are m F m G sm F sm G m A / 60: no custos, & 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 109,2-110,1: uc due to lacuna / 113: single custos / 182: uc / 211,1-2: there are lacunas on both noteheads here / 217: single custos.

Tenor primus; this voice has the same function as the identically named voice in the Credo. 16: 1-3 are sm C sm B m C (emended to match the Superius at 10) / 31,2-32,2: uc due to lacuna / 47: in addition to the 'Tacet'

direction here 16 breve rests are given to cater for this part up to the subsection ending at 61. However, only 15 are needed and it is unusual to find a 'Tacet' direction and rests where other voices patently form a Duo. / 62: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 76: this section is called 'Osanna primum' in both lower parts, and the copying for both of these voices is disordered on the second page-opening of this movement in Trent 88. The Tenor primus Benedictus and Osanna II are copied where Osanna I should be, and the Tenor primus Osanna I is given at the bottom of the right-hand page plus the Tenor secundus Osanna I below it with the latter on a roughly-drawn additional stave and the voice name 'Bassus'. / 168-169: a single custos follows this note, & the rests at 170-183 are om.

Tenor secundus; this voice has the same function as the identically named voice in the Credo. 45: 3 B / 46: no 'Tacet' direction given, but normally the presence of a named Duo would cancel the need for 'Tacet' / 76: m sign om / 113: no 'Tacet' direction given / 184: see the Tenor notes above for the disordered copying of Osanna I, and Osanna II is named 'Osanna secundi' / 196: 3 F / 215: 2 & 3 are both m.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices except in the Benedictus (where the lower voices have full text) and Osanna II in the Tenor primus (which has full text). At 195-217 all voices need editorial repeats of 'excelsis' and 'in excelsis'.

(ii) Strahov ff. 127v-130r;

[Superius]; 1: this movement is preceded in Strahov by an independent Sanctus setting on f. 127r which was copied by a different scribe from the one who copied the Mass, and which is for three voices and has a Tenor in black chant notation. There is a gap before the start of the Mass Sanctus's Superius (presumably left for a majuscule initial) and the m sign is present. / 4: 3 & 4 are both m / 8: 2 & 3 replaced by m A / 9,2-10,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 12: no minor color / 23: rest replaced by 2 sbr rests & a single sbr upper C / 25: 3 & 4 ligd / 31: no minor color / 32: 4 corr from col err by means of a small chevron above this note, & 5-6 are both m / 45-46: 45,4-5 replaced by sbr F, and this note plus the rest of 45-46 are written after the end of a stave with a cor over 46 & no custos. / 47: 'Duo' ind in Superius only / 52,3-4: minor color / 57: no minor color / 59,5-60,6: minor color / 61: cor over 1, & no custos / 76: m sign given in all voices as cut-C / 104,1-105: replaced by ligd sbr C B plus sbr A / 113: cor over 1, & no custos / 114: m sign rptd in this voice and the Contra / 123-124: ligd / 132,2-133,2: ligd / 137-155: 20 breve rests are given but only 19 are needed / 155: no custos / 166: 2 D / 178-179: no lig / 182: 3-5 are m sm sm / 183: cor over 1, & no custos / 187: no minor color / 188: likewise / 195: 4 & 5 replaced by sbr C / 196: no minor color, & 5-7 replaced by dtd-m B & sm A / 210: 1-4 replaced by ligd sbr G dtd-sbr E / 212: no minor color / 213: 4 D / 215: 4 & 5 replaced by m B / 216: 3 & 4 replaced by sm F / 217: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 4: 1-3 replaced by sbr E br D, & no lig / 10,1-11,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 19: 4 is D, & 5-6 are replaced by sbr B / 23: cs over 1 / 32: 3 & 4 are both m / 39: no minor color, & 4 E / 40: upside-down cs under 1 / 41-46: this passage is written in a compressed manner over erasures / 43: 3 & 4 are E F / 46: single custos / 47-61: this subsection is om from the main copy, and is given at the bottom of the page with congruent signs in both places indicating the omission. Most of 47-61 appears to be written over erasures, & the m sign O is given at 47 / 53: 1-4 replaced by m C sbr F m G m A / 54: replaced by dtd-m G sm E m F m G sm F sm G m A / 57: 3 E / 61: cor over 1, & no custos / 62: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 113: single custos / 114: the m sign cut-C is rptd / 125: 1 & 2 ligd / 126: likewise / 133,2-134,1: ligd, & 134,1 is D / 149: 1 E / 155: no custos / 165: replaced by dtd-sbr E & m C / 176: 1 & 2 ligd / 177: no lig / 183: single custos / 184,1-185,1: replaced by L F / 189,3-190,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 192: replaced by br F sbr F / 194: 1 dtd / 196: 2 & 3 are both m / 200,4-201,1: replaced by m E m E / 210,3: replaced by col sbr G col m E / 215: no minor color / 217: no custos.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 16: 1-3 replaced by sbr C / 19: no minor color / 33: corr from col err with a chevron above this note / 41: superfluous sbr C follows 1 / 46: written after the end of a stave, with a cor above & no custos / 47: no 'Tacet' direction given / 63: no b / 68: no minor color / 74: likewise / 5: cor over 1, & no custos

/ 83-84: no lig / 85-86: likewise / 112: not ligd, there is a cor above this note, & no custos following / 149: 1 & 2 are C B / 154-155: ligd / 155: no cor over 1, & no custos / 156: cs over 1 / 166-169: replaced by mx C, which is written under the following rests / 170-183: 12 breve rests are given but 14 are needed / 183: no custos / 206: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr C / 208: cs above 1 / 208-211,1: ligd / 211,2: not ligd / 215: erasures follow 1 / 217: cor over 1, & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 23-25,1: replaced by ligd L F br A, with a dot above the F / 31: 1 C, and 2 corr from col err with a mark above this note / 35: 1 dtd, & 2 not dtd / 36: 2 & 3 are both m / 37: no minor color / 41: 2 & 3 are both dtd / 42: 4 & 5 are both m / 44: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 45: no minor color, & 3 is B / 46: the upper divisi is col with a cor above it & no custos, & no 'Tacet' direction is given / 76-81: replaced by dtd-L C & ligd br A br B br G / 82-83: ligd / 88: 1 is L / 96: 1 is L / rest in 100: replaced by sbr A / 101-102: replaced by ligd sbr B sbr C & ligd sbr lower G sbr lower D / 108: no lig / 113: upper divisi is col with a cor above, no custos, & no 'Tacet' direction / 190, 2 & 3 are both m, but 190,3 is col err with a correcting chevron above the note-stem / 196: 3 F / 198: 4 & 5 replaced by m A / 211: no minor color / 215: 2 & 3 are both m / 216: no minor color / 217: divisi has no lower stem, the upper note is col with a cor above it, & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and otherwise gives sectional incipits for the lower voices except in the Tenor at 'gloria tua', 'qui venit in nomine' and the second Osanna (which are texted) and all lower voices in Osanna I (which are also texted).

As with previous movements, the Strahov Sanctus reading is not closely related to Trent 88. There are a few simpler variants, some of which might be simplifications rather than true variants (see in particular the Tenor at 16). There are also ligaturing differences, and there are more copying mistakes than in Trent 88.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 302v-304r;

[Superius]; 2,1-2: 2,1 is obliterated by a lacuna which also leaves 2,2 uc / 23: 4 A / 41: 5 G / 53: 5-7 uc due to lacuna / 58-71: rests om / 72: the m sign is given as C (I adopt cut-C as in previous movements) and 'Duo' is only ind in the Contra / 103: single custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Contra-Tenor primus-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 5: 1 & 2 are br sbr / 60: 1 & 2 are sbr & dtd-sbr / 62,5: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 71: no custos / 72: m sign om / 103: single custos.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is only complete on the second page opening / 12,2: the pitch of this note is indistinct, but C is more likely than B in view of the way that the Gloria Tenor has shared material which uses C / 104: m sign given as C / 131: 1 F (corr using Strahov) / 153: single custos / 164,3: Trent 88 gives m F m F instead of sbr (corr using Strahov) / 169: 3 uc due to lacuna.

Tenor secundus; 23: uc due to lacuna / 39: 4 B / 143: the 'Tacet' direction is given at the end of this voice on f. 304r / 104: m sign om / 153: single custos / 170: 5 D.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices except in Agnus II where there is partial texting.

(ii) Strahov ff. 130v-131r;

[Superius]; only Agnus III is given in Strahov, and the music is preceded on f. 130r by a three-voice Agnus by 'Philipi Francis' that has nothing to do with this Mass, but which may have been used as an Agnus I and II to the Mass Agnus since only two sections of the 'Philipi' piece are given. But strictly speaking this additional setting should probably be paired with the similar Sanctus setting on f. 131v. / 104: the m sign is given as cut-C but only in the two upper voices / 113,1-114,2: ligd / 130: 2 F / 131: 2 & 3 replaced by m D / 132: replaced by sbr E br E / 141: rest om / 152: 1 is br with a cor above it, & no custos follows / 156: no minor color / 160: 1 sbr / 168: no minor color / 169: 2 m / 172: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 137: 2 D / 148: not ligd / 152-153: not ligd, & no custos at 153 / 154: 1 replaced by sbr A sbr A / 158: no minor color / 160: following the rest is a mid-stave clef change to C clef on the middle stave line / 160,2-161,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 162: no minor color / 164,1-2: minor color / 168,2: here (at the start of a new stave) the clef changes back to C clef on the second stave line up / 168,3-4: Strahov reads dtd-m & sm / 170: no minor color / 172: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 104: m sign om / 152: 1 is br with cor above, & no custos follows / 162: 3-5 are all m, & 5 is uc / 163: 1 & 2 ligd, & 1 is col err / 163,4-164,2: no minor color / 164: an upward stem on 164, 3 is erased / 165: cs over 1 / 171,4-172: written after the end of a stave, with a cor over 172 & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 104: m sign om / 135,2: no lig / 137: 1 & 2 ligd / 138-139: ligd separately from 137 & both of these notes are L rather than breves / 141: 2 b, ind before 141,1 / 142-144: ligd / 152: upper divisi is col with a cor above it, the lower note has an upside-down cor under it, & no custos follows / 155: no minor color / 169: 2 G, & 5 C / 170: 3-6 are m F m upper C m upper C m F / 171: no flat / 172: as at 152.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully and gives the lower voices sectional incipits apart from the Contratenor secundus at 'dona nobis pacem'.

Strahov is incomplete and has minor variants with Trent 88. The presence of the 'Philipi' three-voice Agnus I and II preceding the Agnus III of this Mass makes it suggestible that the Strahov Mass scribe intended the three sections to make up a single composite movement.

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Structure

This Mass was first extensively studied by Robert J. Snow in his study of Strahov, and by Robert Schmalz in his thesis on Masses using German-language cantus firmus. Snow concluded that the Mass is probably based on a Tenor cantus firmus which is elaborated differently in each movement (with which I agree) and Schmalz gave a short analysis of repeated material from the Mass but drew few conclusions.

Even the most cursory look that this music and its original readings makes me wonder why it has the 'Rozel im gorten' title given in Strahov. There seems to be very little or nothing that looks Germanic about it, and English origin seems to be likely for the following reasons. There is no Kyrie present. C rather than cut-C is given as the prevailing duple mensuration sign in most of the Trent 88 movements. There seem to be confusions over the correct naming of lower voices and there are duet sections with rests poorly indicated for the silent voices. Some sections are subdivided for successive duet combinations (as in music by Plummer and Frye) and the Superius contains melodic figures which seem to be typically English (see Gloria 220-221, Credo 38-39, Sanctus 9-11 and 31-33). Duple sections occasionally contain asymmetrical semibreve syncopations as otherwise found in Bedingham works (see Sanctus 125-131) and the harmonies in full sections sometimes involve accented sixths (see Gloria 149 and Agnus 106-107). Duple sections move in the 'limited

mobility' style often associated with Dunstable and Leonel, many sectional cadences involve final constructs with thirds, and the second part down in Strahov has the odd name 'Contra altus gemellisans'.¹⁰ Whatever the reason for this name, it may have originated in an earlier source which used the word 'gymel'. All of these points seem to indicate that we might be dealing with either an insular work or a very good imitation of one.

As for the Strahov 'Rozel im gorten andersch franczose' title, it may be a misnomer for the following reason. In Trent 88 the Sanctus of this Mass was copied with Touront's *O florens rosa* following. Strahov does not do this, but by the time that the Mass reached the Strahov compiler the 'rose' name might have stuck merely because the Mass may have been repeatedly recopied with the unrelated motet attached.¹¹ However the title came about, Strahov seems equally careless about what constitutes the genuine music for this cycle and what does not. Apart from having more extra music overwritten on the same pages that contain the first three movements by a different copyist, Agnus I and II are missing and it seems like the scribe has tried to make up this deficiency by using the first two sections from an unrelated Agnus setting for three voices.

The Tenor cantus firmus for this Mass seems to be lost, but is likely to be partially detectable. Otherwise the basic structural features are as follows. The Gloria, Credo and Agnus each have five sections which alternate various permutations of full sections and duets. Each movement also begins with an introductory duet for the two upper voices. The Sanctus has seven sections, and the reason for this total is because the Pleni sunt and Benedictus panels are each subdivided. The mensural plan O - O - cut-C - cut-C - O is used for all movements except the Sanctus, whose subsections follow a similar pattern. In the Gloria and Credo the sectional duet scorings match apart from the second internal duet's lower voice being allotted to the second Contra rather than the Tenor.

There is no motto opening. The Gloria and Credo open differently, and the latter two movements have opening themes that are only slightly related. However the Superius - Contra primus duet which starts each movement is followed in each case by a Contra primus - Tenor duet in which the Tenors all seem to have similar material. All movements begin and end on F and all movements also end similarly, but there is a variety of internal cadencing pitches (C, G and F) and the sections seem to spend much of their internal life around cadences on C rather than F. The final triple sections all have related opening material, and these also share elements of internal scoring contrasts and opening Tenor material. The full duple sections (Qui tollis, Crucifixus, Osanna I and Agnus IIIa) are not so well connected and only the Crucifixus and Osanna I begin with melodically similar passages. But each of these duple sections seem to start with the same Tenor material.

The ranges are unusual. As previously mentioned the higher Contra ascends almost as high as the Superius in all movements, but also goes down to G below middle C. The Contra secundus (called a 'Tenor secundus' in some Trent 88 movements) is a filler part whose range is the same as the cantus firmus Tenor in each movement. Hybrid cadences are fairly frequent, for example at Gloria 87-88 where the two Contras follow the familiar Contra lines of octave-leap and doubled leading note formulas simultaneously. Gloria measure 38 has a less tolerable cadence where the inner degrees of a doubled leadingnote formula clash in the two Contras. In this particular Mass, the C-B major seventh sound caused by hybrid cadences seems best unamended by B flats instead of B naturals.

In style the triple sections are simple and have no complexities, although a few readings in Trent 88 look improbable such as the odd Contra primus at Credo measure 12 and very occasional dotted semiminim-fusa pairs such as at Sanctus 8. Likewise the duple sections are simply written and no sections contain any drive devices or sesquialtera. Duet passages are casually imitative, but imitation is mostly absent from full sections.

¹⁰ Probably so named because this voice has an active role in duet subsections where its range is sometimes similar to that of the Superius.

¹¹ I regard Strahov's 'andersch franczose' as meaning "another French piece" which is therefore a definite marker that this Mass was not local (wherever it came from).

If I was asked to name a well-known piece which is aurally the most similar to this Mass, I would choose the convincingly reconstructed Dunstable *Descendi in ortum* (no. 73 in the revised Dunstable edition) even though the latter has no duple section. Its undemanding triple meter and scoring contrasts match this Mass quite well, and in view of the points suggested earlier regarding provenance I am quite content to suggest that the *Missa Rozel im gorten* might be insular.¹² In the following discussion of how this Mass seems to be constructed, I have retained most features of the Trent 88 reading despite Strahov occasionally giving simpler variants than the former. This is for a good reason; at least one passage in Strahov seems to be a simplification. At the Sanctus Tenor 16,1-3 the Trent 88 values are replaced by a C semibreve. This destroys some imitation with the upper Contra at 10-11 and so is unlikely to be authentic. Probable simplifications are a feature of other Strahov concordances with the Trent manuscripts, notably in the Touront *Missa Sine nomine* I discussed in my Trent 89 edition.¹³ Similarly, both sources are less than convincing regarding duple mensuration signs. Strahov gives cut-C consistently, but Trent 88 gives cut-C for the Gloria and thereafter C for all other movements. Accordingly, this is another cycle whose duple-panel speeds can be anglicised by changing my equivalents in the score to O perfect breve = C long and vice versa for final sections.

The presence of Tenor cantus firmus in this Mass is best suggested by similarities in the following examples. I have already mentioned the presence of similar Tenor passages at the openings of initial duet sections in that voice, but there is nothing to support the idea that these passages involve pre-existent material. A more strategic (and more usual) place for pre-existent material to begin is where all parts begin to sound together. This is the place in each movement from which I take my examples below, which I shall name Phrase 1.¹⁴

4.3. Full section entry-point Tenors from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

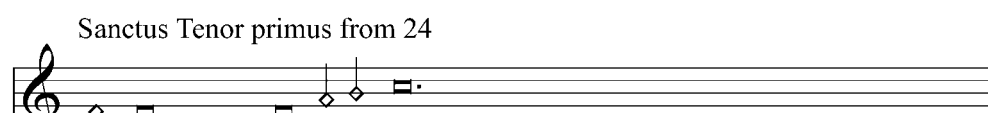
Et in terra Tenor from 26



Patrem Tenor primus from 25



Sanctus Tenor primus from 24



Agnus Tenor primus from 23



The first four pitches of the latter passages all agree, and it looks as though the Patrem phrase either elaborates the content of the Gloria Tenor or (less possibly) that the Gloria simplifies what is present in the Patrem. The Sanctus and Agnus Tenors at these points retain a degree of independence. It is also likely that what is given in the Gloria here is melodically disguised or elaborated material too.

¹² This is almost the same conclusion as reached by James Cook (*Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles* vol. I pp. 258-259) who holds back from suggesting insular origin on account of the Strahov title's 'franczoseł'.

¹³ See the critical commentary to no. 3 in the Trent 89 edition, and also p. 361 and 363-364 of this edition, where Strahov's likely simplifications to two further Kyries are detailed.

¹⁴ All subsequent cantus firmus examples in this section are given in simplified mensural notation, so that extended passages can fit onto single staves.

Phrase 2 for the purposes of this discussion consists of the immediate continuations of the first three Tenors above and the concluding sectional phrases of the initial Sanctus and Agnus sections (additional material follows the Gloria and Credo Phrase 2 examples, which is dealt with in due course). As with Phrase 1, it looks as though that the Phrase 2 Patrem Tenor might elaborate some content of the Gloria phrase, and again the Tenors in the remaining two movements look more elaborative.

4.4. Phrase 2 Tenors from the Missa *Rozel im gorten*;

Et in terra Tenor, 33-40

Patrem Tenor primus, 36-54

Sanctus Tenor primus, 29-46

Agnus Tenor primus, 36-43

The Gloria and Credo continuations up to the end of the Et in terra and Patrem sections are given below as Phrase 3. It will be seen from the examples below that both cadence on G, and that it looks questionable whether the two involve any further common material.

4.5. Phrase 3 Tenors from the Missa *Rozel im gorten*;

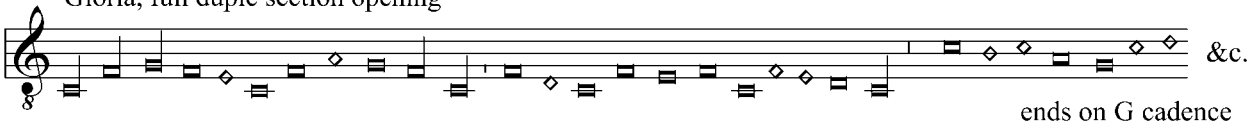
Et in terra Tenor, 41-54

Patrem Tenor primus, 55-69

The main duple section Tenor openings of all four movements are given below, and since some of these Tenors are extended I do not give the full part in each case. Here, it will be seen that the trail starts to go cold as regards common material. While the opening pitches in each section tend to agree, the continuations all differ and they suggest that any elaboration of basic material here might be considerable.

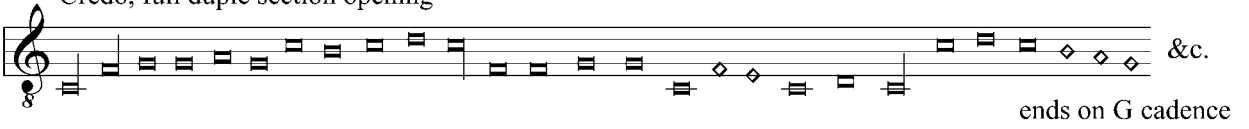
4.6. Main dupe section Tenor openings from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

Gloria, full dupe section opening



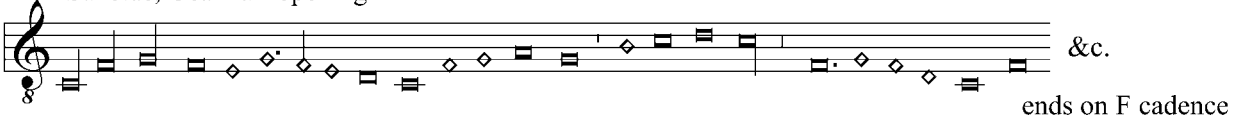
&c.
ends on G cadence

Credo, full dupe section opening



&c.
ends on G cadence

Sanctus, Osanna I opening



&c.
ends on F cadence

Agnus IIIa opening

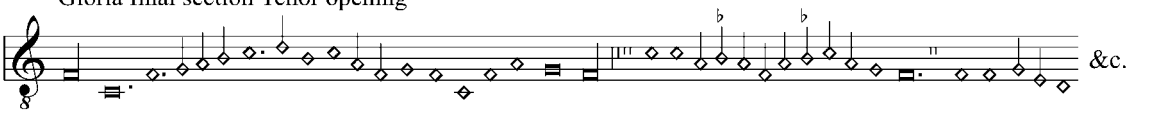


&c.
ends on F cadence

The start of the final section Tenors for the first three movements are given below, plus all of the Agnus IIIb Tenor. Similarities between the parts are more encouraging here, as are consistencies with internal scoring. All movements except the Sanctus in these sections have the scoring scheme of a full passage followed by a duet for the upper two voices, then a duet for the middle voices, and then a full passage to finish. The Osanna II varies this scheme by simply placing a passage for the middle two voices between two fully scored passages. There are also melodic similarities in the outer parts in these sections, but by themselves neither these nor the similarities of the Tenors guarantee the presence of pre-existent material.

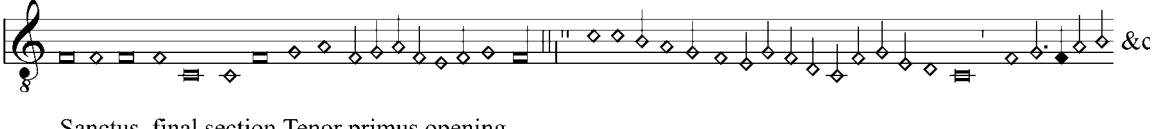
4.7. Final section Tenor openings from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

Gloria final section Tenor opening



&c.

Credo final section Tenor primus opening



&c.

Sanctus, final section Tenor primus opening



&c.

Agnus, final section Tenor primus opening



To conclude this short survey of the Tenors, the question of whether pre-existent material is involved or not is best answered as follows. The Phrase 1 and Phrase 2 passages compare well, as do the openings of the main

duple and the final sections. I have also mentioned that the duet passages which begin the Tenor in each movement have similar material, and since the Tenor participates in duet sections here as well as full sections I would tentatively describe the make-up of this Mass as follows. There simply seems to be too much related Tenor material to pass off as free invention which is melodically integrated, and therefore elaborated cantus firmus Tenors in at least most of each movement seem to be likely. Additionally, the duet passages in the Tenor(s) suggest the likelihood that at least some stretches of Tenor in this Mass might not use pre-existent material at all.

In view of that conclusion we might also return to the matter of where this Mass properly belongs. Having suggested insular origin for this work, I might add that it also seems uncommon amongst demonstrably Germanic Masses of this period to have highly elaborated Tenors. Therefore the comment ‘andersch franczoesel’ by the Strahov scribe probably reveals the fact that he knew this piece to be an import, or maybe its composer was a visitor to central Europe. There is much that is attractive about this work despite the way in which the second Contra is sometimes an awkward filler part, and it contains notable passages such as the movement endings involving minim motion, the fairly extended duet pairings which begin the Gloria and Credo, and occasional unexpected excursions like the B flat at the end of the Gloria duet at 178-183. As for the mysterious ‘rose’ of the Strahov title, a long search through chansonniers, motets and antiphon settings has not yet revealed anything like the material presented in our Tenor examples. Maybe time and a little more searching might reveal the cantus firmus which I have been unable to locate.

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Numerology

Both readings for this Mass seem to be towards the end of extended lines of transmission, so the effect of probable additions and variants seems to be to blur any numerical organisation that might have once been apparent. Consequently I find little in its tempora totals to comment on, except that the lengths of the Gloria and Credo final sections are similar (24 and 25 measures respectively) and also that the length of Agnus I (43 measures) is 25% of the total measures of that movement.

Note counts likewise reveal little. The total of notes in the Et in terra section minus its sectional longs is 555. The Pleni sunt duet similarly totals 111 minus the sectional longs. Its following subsection (‘gloria tua’) totals 100 notes if counted in the same way, and the total for the ‘in nomine’ section counted likewise is 101. These two totals might originally have been the same.

Finally, the total of Superius notes in the Sanctus is 401 (this might originally have been 400) and the total of all notes in Agnus IIb is 200. This last figure is probably not coincidental.

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96. Missa *Se tu t'en marias* (Trent 88 ff. 77v-84r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 244-247).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is a monophonic song which also features in Binchois's *Files a marier* and *Robinet se vault marier* / *Se tu t'en marias* in EscB (f.65v).

Gloria (ff. 77v-79r);

[Superius]; 1: the title 'Officium Se tu te maries' is given above the music, and is very faded (this was misread by the editors of the DTÖ VII inventory as 'Officium Sancti'). The intonation is supplied from GP f. 184r, transposed a fifth down. / 5: 2 E / 147: 3 & 4 are both f / 151,4-152: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, & for the first section no b sig is given. / 31,2: b ind before 30,2 / 106: 2 C / 144: 3 G (above) / 150: superfluous sbr rest follows 1.

Tenor; 1: for the first section no b sig is given / 134-135: ns / 149, rest and 2: Trent 88 gives 2 sbr rests here, which does not reproduce the cantus firmus properly.

Contra secundus; 52: p div follows 2 / 60: rests om (conj supplied) / 90: cs ind by cor / 110,1-112, rest: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 136: 2 F / 140: ns.

Underlay; all parts only have sectional incipits. Experiment shows that the Superius will convincingly carry most of the Gloria text, with a little telescoping in the two topmost parts at 78-90 in order to fit the whole text in. Both the Tenor and part of the Contra secundus look convincing with the French cantus firmus text, since the borrowed melody is given in a rhythmic guise which is probably similar to its original. The Gerber edition underlays the Tenor with phrases of Mass Ordinary text, which is of course a viable alternative.

Bibliography; Gerber, Sacred Music no. 25 (edition). Picker, M., 'The cantus firmus in Binchois's *Files a marier*' in JAMS 18 (1965), pp. 235-236.

Credo (ff. 79v-81v);

[Superius; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 44: the cs here merely indicates the end of a subsection / 57: clef change is in mid-stave / 58,3: b ind before 58,1 / 64: 3 & 4 are C B (emended to make this voice more melodically conventional) / 85: 'Duo' ind in neither voice, but the section starting at 174 is incorrectly marked 'Duo' in the same two voices / 165: b ind before 164,3 / 241: 2 D / 259: 7 is m, intended for alteration. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 23: 2 is br B / 44: the passage signed with a '3' here is slightly irregular in notational terms, since the preceding signature is dotted-C rather than O. However, it is clear from the other voice present here that sesquialtera in O mensuration is intended. / 45: 6 m, intended for alteration / 46: p div follows 4 / 48: 7 not col / 59,3-60: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 227,1-2: likewise / 252: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 174: the text incipit in both lower voices is 'Et resurrexit', which is incorrect because the previous upper-voice Duo begins with those words. / 197-200: ns / 252-264: neither of the two lower voices have flat signatures for their final section / 259: p div follows 1 / 260: p div follows 2 / 261: likewise / 262: likewise / 263,2-264: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra secundus; 1: m sign om / 18,4-19,4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 49: 2 m, intended for alteration / 53: p div follows 1 / 58: b ind before 57 / 74: b ind before 73,2 / 83: p div follows 2 / 226: b ind before 225 / 254: ns / 262: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. 'Et expecto...mortuorum' (at 259-260) is omitted and 'Pilato' at 77-78 is not given. 'Christum' at 24 is given as 'xpum'. The Contratenors can be used to fill out the missing portions of the Credo text in the Superius, so that apart from the omissions above the non-cantus firmus voices sing virtually the whole Credo text. As in other movements

I have given the Tenor its cantus firmus text. Trent 88 confuses the order of the two duple sections, misnaming the second of these as a Duo and giving both lower voices the wrong text incipit.

Sanctus (ff. 81v-83r);

[Superius]; 39: at the page-turn point here the m sign is rptd in the two topmost voices / 46-52: rests totalling 8 measures are given here, but only 6 measures are needed / 53-61: the odd succession of note values used for sesquialtera here calls for some comment. At 53 there is a '3' sign followed by colored values representing the basic semibreve triplet in O as a dotted breve. In 54 this value is changed so that a uncolored dotted minim then represents the same semibreve triplet. At 61 the value is changed again so that a dotted semibreve then represents the same value (this last change represents conventional notation for sesquialtera in O). One would expect some sort of proportional or mensural sign before 54,4 (where the minims start) and at 61 where the second rhythmic change occurs, but none are given and I can think of none that are suitable unless the ratio changes are expressed by numbers (which is a method proposed by Tinctoris). / 53: 4 G / 55: 1 sbr / 64: p div follows 2 / 69: m sign O rptd again in both Superius and Contra primus / 91: 'Duo' ind in both voices, & clef change is in mid-stave / 143: 'Osanna' ut supra' ind in Superius and also in the Tenor at the end of the Osanna section. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 9: superfluous col upper br F follows 5 / 16: 1 C / 18: Trent 88 gives sbr sbr instead of br / 48: 3 br / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 54-60: 6 measures of rests are given but only five and two thirds are needed / 79: 2 om (conj supplied).

Tenor; 18-19: ns / 36: p div follows 2 / 38: no 'Tacet' direction given / 75-77: rests om (conj supplied) / 78: 1 mx / 87: p div follows 1 / 88: p div follows 2.

Contra secundus; 1: m sign om / 50: 3 om (conj supplied) / 51: b ind before 51,1 / 53: 4 not dtd / 65: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 76-81 both Contras need an ed rpt of 'Osanna'. As in previous movements I have texted the various appearances of the cantus firmus in the Tenor and Contratenors with its own secular text. Not doing this would leave us with the uncomfortable task of finding Latin sacred text to replace it with.

Agnus (ff. 83v-84r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 29: 'Duo' ind in Superius only / 75: 2 A, & a p div follows this note / 83: 'Agnus tertius ut supra' ind in Superius only. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and from 1-25,4 the clef pitches the music a third too high / 16: 4 F / 69: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 4: p div follows 1 / 26: p div follows 2.

Contra secundus; 19: 4 D.

Underlay; Agnus I and II text is given in the Superius, the two Contras have sectional incipits, and the Tenor is untexted. The 'ut supra' instruction indicates the repeat of the first section for Agnus III, but no Agnus III text is provided.

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Structure

This is a relatively simple Mass to describe, since it does not attempt much that is adventurous with its Tenor cantus firmus. The borrowed material is a monophonic song which was also used in Binchois's combinative chanson *Files a marier* and also in *Robinet se vault marier* in EscB. Most presentations of the cantus firmus in this Mass are simple and the version given below seems to be quite faithful to the tune as described in Martin Picker's short 1965 article.¹⁵ The notes are numbered for ease of reference in the following analysis.

4.8. *Se tu t'en marias* (with editorial text added to the song, as the music appears at the end of the Gloria and Credo);

Se tu t'en ma - ri - as tu t'en re - pen - ti - ras.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Et quant? Et quant? a - vant qu'il soit ung an.
 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

The Gloria and Credo Superius parts begin similarly to each other, but the Sanctus and Agnus openings are melodically independent of the latter pair and also each other. Section endings in full sections tend to have cadential and melodic similarities because of the way in which the outer parts are written against the cantus firmus. Only the Gloria and Agnus have identical mensural patterns, but all movements broadly follow the mensural sequence O - cut-C - O. Both the Osanna and Agnus III are 'ut supra' repeat sections.

All movements except the Agnus have delayed entry cantus firmus, and the Gloria's second section plus the Osanna also have delayed entry Tenors. In terms of scoring the Contra primus generally acts as 'second voice down' (occasionally crossing the Superius) while the leaping Contra secundus combines the roles of filler part and bass. Doubled leading note and octave leap cadences predominate, so this cycle probably either dates from around 1450 or a little before. The Tenor (whose presentation is occasionally in long notes) permits fourths against the Superius as at Gloria 34 and 95. Scoring throughout is a little varied, with the Pleni sunt section being a Tenorless trio and the delayed-entry Patrem section featuring a short trio passage before the Tenor sounds. Cantus firmus statements also appear in voices other than the Tenor, and are occasionally transposed or have rests interpolated between notes of the borrowed melody. The cantus firmus is heard three times each in the Gloria and Credo, and 'on paper' (i.e. not including *ut supra* repeats) it occurs four times in the Sanctus and once in the Agnus. Because the cantus firmus is never significantly altered (and also because it contains repeated notes on identical pitches) there is some question as to what text it can carry. The parent text of course fits the music well but some churches might have regarded this as not quite fitting. A text that reads *If you marry you'll regret it - and when? Maybe within a year* might not be thought appropriate if combined with the Mass Ordinary. However to do otherwise (and therefore to provide Latin sacred trope texts for all occurrences of the cantus firmus) would be a formidable task and therefore I am quite content to leave the original tune with its secular text - if only because it fits. The following table sets out the use of the *Se tu t'en marias* cantus firmus throughout.

¹⁵ It is of course impossible to say whether the tune originated in triple guise (as here) or with duple syllabic values as it appears in the EscB combinative piece. For the latter, see Hanen, M. (ed), The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24 (3 vols, 1983), II, pp. 231-234.

TABLE 4.3
Cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Se tu t'en marias*
(non-Tenor statements are in bold type)

Section	Measures	Use
Et in terra	1-21	Introductory Tenorless duo.
	22-35	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values, with a rest after note 3 (note 8 is omitted).
	36-40	Tenor has rests.
	41-51	Tenor has notes 9-15 in extended values.
	52-57	Tenor has rests.
	57-64	Tenor has rest of cantus firmus, partly in extended values.
Qui tollis	65-89	Introductory Tenorless duo / trio.
	90-102	Tenor has duple version of notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 is omitted).
	103-108	Tenor has rests.
	109-120	Tenor has duple version of notes 9-15 in extended values.
	121-123	Tenor has rests.
	124-139	Tenor has duple version of rest of cantus firmus, partly in extended values and with note 23 omitted.
Cum sancto	140-153	Tenor has whole cantus firmus.
Patrem	1-22	Introductory Tenorless duo / trio.
	23-36	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values, with a rest after note 3 (notes 8 is omitted).
	37-51	Tenor has rests.
	52-61	Tenor has notes 9-14 in extended values.
	62-71	Tenor has rests.
	72-78	Tenor has notes 15-19, mostly in extended values with extra rests interpolated.
	79-81	Tenor has rests.
	81-84	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus in extended values.
Et resurrexit	85-173	Superius-Contra primus duet.
Et in Spiritum	174-186	Tenor has duple version of notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 & 9 are omitted).
	187-196	Tenor has rests.
	197-205	Tenor has duple version of notes 10-12 in extended values.
	206-224	Tenor has rests.
	225-251	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus in extended values, with note 15 duplicated and modified rests.
	252-265	Tenor has whole cantus firmus.
Sanctus	1-9	Introductory Tenorless duo.
	10-19	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 and 9 are omitted).
	20-23	Tenor has rests.
	24-38	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus, mostly in extended values.
Pleni sunt	39-48,3	Free duo / trio.
	48,4-54	Contra primus has complete cantus firmus in sesquialtera, transposed up a fifth and with one or two notes melodically altered.
	55-68	Contra secundus has complete cantus firmus at pitch, with minor rhythmic modifications and an elaborated ending at 67-68.
Osanna	69-71	Tenor has rests.
	72-90	Tenor has complete cantus firmus, with modified rests and some extended values.

(Table 4.3, contd.)

Section	Measures	Use
Benedictus	91-143	Superius-Contra primus duet.
Agnus I / III	1-10	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 and 9 are omitted).
	11-13	Tenor has rests.
	13-18	Tenor has notes 10-15, with note 15 duplicated.
	19-21	Tenor has rests.
	22-28	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus, with some extended values.
Agnus II	29-61	Superius-Contra primus duet.
	62-76	Continuation of duet, in which the Superius has a slightly elaborated version of the notes 1-24 pitched an octave up and in sesquialtera.
	77-83	Elaborative Superius passage ending on the final F of the cantus firmus.

The way in which the cantus firmus is arbitrarily split up is rather like the Tenors of some structured motets; note that in the Credo at 52-71 there is a batch of rests before the F that ends the first half of the song is reached. It will also be seen that the statements differ little from each other, and where melodic alterations have been made (i.e. in the Contra primus statement at Sanctus 48-54) the cantus firmus is always easily recognisable.

One important aspect of this Mass to note is its occasional rhythmic complexity. In the Credo there is some inexact imitation in syncopated values in the duet at 6-9. At 38-49 there is a subsection using sesquialtera and combined triple mensurations in which the Superius passage at 41-42 uses syncopated sesquialtera breves with coloration. Likewise, in the Pleni sunt section from 53 onwards the Superius expresses sesquialtera firstly in breves, then in minims (at 54-60) and finally in conventional sesquialtera semibreve notation at 61-63. This is unorthodox: no proportional signs are given to indicate the changes of ratio, and indeed none can really be applied since what the composer has done is rather beyond the mensural system as it was commonly used. The animated duet passage at Credo 143-148 is also interesting and rather difficult to sing accurately.

Listening to this Mass persuades me that the following passages are questionable in terms of partwriting and melodic awkwardness. I suspect that its composer was probably a minor master or a youngster whose handling of consonance and dissonance is sometimes awkward.

Gloria

1. The cantus firmus entry at 22-25 is surrounded by partwriting which is unconventional and perhaps sounds unstable.
2. There are simultaneous false relations at 31, which are perhaps avoidable with cosmetic *musica ficta*. However, adding more accidentals than given in our score would make this passage sound odd.
3. At 45 there is an accented Superius fourth against the F in the Contra secundus.
4. At 53 there is an accented Superius B natural against the F in the Contra primus.
5. At 99 there is a minor-second dissonance between the Contra primus and Tenor which could easily have been avoided.
6. The Contra primus passage at 129-130 looks rhythmically unconventional.
7. The cadence at 136-138 arguably sounds weak.

Credo

1. In the opening duet there is an audible hiatus at 6 caused by rests and the ensuing syncopation.

2. The two Contratenors at 16 are dissonant with each other.
3. There are lower-voice consecutive fifths at 74.
4. There is a seventh immediately before a sectional cadence, at 83.
5. The Superius melodic line at 246-251 (again, before a sectional cadence) is weak and has a pentatonic element.
6. There is an accented Superius seventh at 254,5.
7. There is a Superius-Contra secundus dissonance at 257.

Sanctus

1. The temporary trio passage at 12-13 has weak harmonies.
2. The Superius cadential cliché at 37 is slightly dissonant.
3. The lower-voice partwriting at 50 looks odd.
4. There is an accented fourth in the Superius at 88.

Agnus

1. There is an accented Superius seventh with the Tenor at 9,5.

I have come across a similarly lax attitude towards contrapuntal niceties before, notably in the Missa *Christ ist erstanden* in Trent 89 and also in the Missa *Te Deum* from the same manuscript. Due to the existence of a work rather similar to the Missa *Se tu t'en marias* in Lucca (the Missa *Hec dies*) Reinhard Strohm has characterised such works as 'succentor's music'.¹⁶ In other words, these are undistinguished-sounding Masses containing passages of rhythmic complexity which attempt to add a 'learned' feel to the work concerned. During the mid-century there might have been several choirmasters writing such music for the churches of the Netherlands and northern France. Having acquired the skills to write a cyclic work, the fruit of their labours probably served well enough for local purposes but was likely to be eclipsed or replaced elsewhere by the productions of more famous masters. In conjunction with this view I also observe the *Se tu t'en marias* composer's keen use of two-voice imitation at the fifth. The full sections of this Mass are mostly non-imitative, but there are instances of duet imitation at the fifth in the Credo at 47-48, 62-64, 144-146, 188-191 and 192-195, and also in the Benedictus in a sesquialtera passage at 120-132. It seems as if the composer wished to display a certain sort of soundness in writing such passages.

Small features of this Mass also display interesting techniques which were developed further by later generations. At 6-9 in the Agnus there are motives in the two topmost voices which are repeated a tone higher, and there is another passage of repeated themes (which descend in this instance) in the Contra primus at Credo 125-130. The animated sesquialtera duet passage in the Credo at 45-49 also finds counterparts in works by Touront and Compère.

To conclude, the Missa *Se tu t'en marias* is conveniently simple example to use for the demonstration of Tenor cantus firmus. But in musical terms it is definitely a second-rate work. We are fortunate that it has survived, though, because extended examples of 'succentor's music' in this period seem to remain rare.

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¹⁶ Regarding the Missa *Hec dies* see Strohm, R. Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985) pp. 127-128 and 226-235.

Numerology

There may not be a lot to find in this Mass regarding numbers. Both final passages of the Gloria and Credo are each 14 measures long, although the Gloria's final O section is not split from the preceding duple section.

In terms of tempora the Agnus seems to be written symmetrically. Taking one measure off each section for the final long gives the sectional totals of 27, 54, and 27 again for the Agnus III repeat. It will therefore be seen that $27 \times 2 = 54$, and that the length of each section is probably deliberate.

The Patrem section's Superius has 299 notes (nearly 300), and both the initial Sanctus section and the Osanna have matching note totals in both their Superius and Contra primus parts (the Sanctus section has 122 notes in each of these voices, and the Osanna has 69 in each). The total of Superius notes in the whole Sanctus movement (not including the Osanna repeat) is 399 (again, very near to a rounded total) and likewise the Credo Superius has 663 notes (very nearly 666). Also the Pleni sunt and Agnus II Superius parts each have 97 notes, and so do the Contra primus in the Benedictus and the Contra secundus in the Gloria's first section. However, some of these totals of 97 might be coincidental. Finally, the Contra primus has near-matching totals in the note counts for Agnus I and Agnus II (these sections respectively total 91 and 90 notes in that voice).

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97. Missa *Sine nomine*

- (i) Trent 90 ff. 318v-321r (Gloria), 321v-324r (Credo) & 250v-254r (Sanctus). DTÖ VII inventory nos 1036, 1037 and 970;
- (ii) Trent 93 ff. 322v-326r (Sanctus, DTÖ VII inventory no. 1801);
- (iii) Trent 88 ff. 21v-22r (Agnus, DTÖ VII inventory no. 210).

These mostly separated movements form a cyclic Mass whose movements seem to be related by style. Regarding the partly illegible title which is given in Trent 88, see the section on structure.

Gloria (Trent 90 ff. 318v-321r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 182v / 5: p div follows 2 / 22,2-23,5: written over erasures / 28: 4 & 5 are E D / 36: 1 C / 47: p div follows rest / 55: corr from G, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 61: single custos in all voices / 62: m sign given before the first stave on a new page opening / 173: 1 C / 197: 2 A / 198: 1 D (above) / 201: as at 61 / 202: m signs given before first staves in all voices on a new page opening / 222: 1 C / 236: as at 61 & 201. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Primus Contra-Secundus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 1: the m sign is om in this voice and all other lower voices / 23: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 26,3: corr from A, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 36-40,1: written over erasures / 51-61: the end of the first section in this voice is given on a clefless stave / 62: m sign om / 123-201: again, the end of this section is given without clefs / 143: 2 uc / 163 & 164: these ligd notes have diagonal marks on them for no apparent reason / 190-191: 190,1 is E (below) and the lig extends to 191 / 202: at the start of the third section the clef is restored, but the first clef looks confused between C clef and F clef types / 211,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note.

[T]enor; 34: p div follows 2 / 230: 4 E / 236: 1 is mx in both this voice & the Primus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 3: 3,3 is sbr, intended for alteration / 5: p div follows 2 / 7,1-3: written over an erasure / 28:

p div follows 2 / 40: p div follows 3 / 53: 3 & 4 om (conj supplied) / 62: m sign given before first stave on a new page opening / 126-128: this passage is written over erasures with a crossed-out direct in mid-stave / 134: a superfluous sbr rest follows 1 / 152: p div follows 1 / 205: 1 col err / 228,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 229: 3 uc.

Underlay; texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The Trent 90 Superius omits 'Qui sedes ad dexteram...nobis' at 120-135 and instead starts to text this passage with 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus' with further unconvincing-looking texting up to the end of the second section. I have restored the missing text, which seems to eliminate any need for editorial text repetition. The lower voices are probably best vocalised for the greater part of their extent since the Superius sometimes has a faster rate of declamation which is not shared by the supporting parts (i.e. at 13, 15 and 137-138). However I have added editorial lower-voice text cues at 10-12, 19-22, in the duet subsections at 62-118, at 144-152, and at the extensive final 'Amen'. In the Superius the two occurrences of 'Christe' are respectively spelt 'xte' and 'criste'

Bibliography; Gozzi, M., Il manoscritto Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. 1377... vol. II pp. 52-74 (edition of Gloria and Credo) & I, p. 85 (brief listing and discussion of the various movements). Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 8 (edition of Agnus). Strohm, The Rise of European Music 1380-1500 p. 430 (where it is briefly suggested that there is elaborated Tenor cantus firmus which might be the Introit *Terribilis est locus iste*).

Credo (Trent 90 ff. 321v-324r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & m signs are given before first staves in this voice, the Tenor and the Primus Contra / 16-34: the second stave of the Superius on this page has no clef / 17,1: corr from F, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 45: 4 G / 76: after the page-turn, the new m sign is given before first staves in all voices / 113,1-118,3: the second stave of the Superius on this page has no clef / 264: 3 om (conj supplied) / 267: single custos in all voices / 268: as at 76 / 283: 2 E / 298: p div follows 2 / 313,3-323,3: this passage is copied on a clefless stave / 320,2: corr from D, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 326: 1 is mx in this voice & the Primus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 1: m sign om / 2: p div follows 2 / 15: 3 F / 21,3-45,5: the passage is copied on a clefless stave / 41: 3 B / 43: 1 B / B in 67- end of 68: written over erasures / 97-98: ns / 75: single custos / 239: 1 F / 246: 1 is L, but with crossout marks through its descending tail / 275: 3 B / 281: p div follows 2 / 315: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied).

[T]enor; 23: 1 is erased, & 2 is dtd / 25: p div follows 2 / 26, 36 & 44: likewise / 69: 1 col err, with 'a' under the note (for 'alba') indicating correction / 75: single custos / 163: clef change is at start of new stave / 168,3-173: written over erasures / 273: p div follows 2 / 304,4: a superfluous squashed-in sbr D follows this note.

Primus Contra; 4: p div follows 2 / 46: p div follows 2 / 47: likewise / 50: 5 E / 51,3-54,4: written in a compressed manner over erasures / 75: after the double custos, the L at 75 is rptd with a single custos following it / 180: cor given instead of cs / 226-231: written over erasures / 279: p div follows 2 / 300: 4 B / 310,3: corr from D, with upward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 315,2-316,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Underlay; texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et in unum Dominum...secula' (which I restored by adding the missing text as telescoping in the Secundus Contra at 19-42) and also 'Et in Spiritum...Prophetas' at 268 (which is not restorable by telescoping). There seem to be less opportunities for adding lower-voice text in this movement than in the Gloria, and much of the supporting texture is probably best vocalised wordlessly. However I have texted the lower voices in the duet passages at the start of the second section, there seems to be a clear need for a text cue in the Primus

Contra at 198-202 ('sedet at dexteram Patris'), and I have also texted all lower voices in the extended 'Amen'. At 271 in the Superius 'catholicam' is spelt 'katholicam'.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 93 ff. 322v-326r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices (O is assumed) / 33: an 'a' (for 'alba') above this tightly-written br ensures that it is not misread as colored / 43: 2 & 3 are both m, & so are 4 & 5 / 46,4-47,1: written over an erasure / 60: single custos in all voices except the Contratenor, which has double custos / 107: single custos in all voices / 108: the cut-O sign here is not strictly a tempo sign since it serves to remind singers where to turn back to for the 'ut supra' Osanna / 113: 4 B (corr using Trent 90) / 128: p sync follows 2 / 141: as at 60 / 237: single custos in all voices, & 'Osanna ut supra' only ind after the end of the Subcontratenor. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor-Subcontratenor.

Contratenor; 15,3: corr from col err with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 17: 2 E / 66, 2 & 3: these m have doubled noteheads, with the first reading D plus F above and the second as F with A above / 69: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 98: 1 om (conj supplied) / 108: cut-O sign om / 122: 2 D / 141: 1 G / 142-163: Trent 93 gives 18 measures of rests (22 are needed) / 169: 2 E (corr using Trent 90) / 234: 1 D (corr using Trent 90).

Tenor; 12: p div follows 1 / 104: p div follows 3 / 107: an L lower A follows the custos, serving as a direct to the first note on the next page / 113: p div follows 1 / 126: p sync follows 2 / 141: cor is given upside down under 1 / 142-163: the same mistake is made with rests here as in the Contratenor.

Subcontratenor; 2: p div follows 2 / 21: likewise / 60: cor is given upside down under 1 / 69-86: this passage is on two complete staves which give all of their pitches a third too high / 83,2: this note is duplicated a third above, but the duplication is crossed out / 93,6: given as br, but with a mark following which may be a correction sign / 94: p div follows 4 / 95: 1 not dtd / 126: scr corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the note / 134,6-141: given on a staff which is clefless / 151: b ind before 151,1 / 178,2-179,1: both notes are col err, but with a single 'a' underneath (for 'alba') which corrects both errors.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The brevity of the Sanctus text means that editorial text easily fits the lower voices. At 117-123 all voices have been given an editorial repeat of 'Osanna'.

(ii) Trent 90 ff. 250v-254r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om in all voices, and 1-3,4 are written in a compressed manner / 33: the small 'a' given above this note in Trent 93 is also given here, even though the note is plainly not colored / 47,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') above this note / 60: no cor, & single custos in all voices / 107: single custos in all voices / 141: no cor, & single custos in all voices / 154: 2 b. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 93.

[C]ontra; 7: 7,2 is erased and looks like B rather than A / 15: 3 is col / 17: 2 E as in Trent 93 / 42-43: these measures are om on the main staff & are given on a staff extension to the right, with a trailing line indicating the omission / 98,1-2: Trent 90 reads dtd-sbr upper D / 107: cor over 1 / 108: cut-O sign om as in Trent 93 / 118: 1 is col / 122: 2 D as in Trent 93 / 141: 1 G as in Trent 93, but with downward diagonals on either side of the note correcting the pitch / 142: m sign om / 142-163: unlike in Trent 93 the correct number of rests are given, but with the last 10 of these overmarked / 169: 2 E, with diagonal marks correcting the pitch to F / 221: 1 br / 234: 1 C / 237: 1 is col br, with cor above.

[T]enor; 97: 2 & 3 col / 104: no p div / 107: no cor / 116: 1 dtd / 142: m sign om / 142-163: unlike in Trent 93

the correct number of rests are given, but with the last 4 of these overmarked / 235: no cor.

Subcontratenor; 143: rest om / 45: p div follows 3 / 60: no cor / 61: the incorrect m sign cut-C is given here / 69-86: Trent 90 reproduces the Trent 93 pitch errors in this part (in Trent 90 the error is corr after 86 by a mid-stave direct) / 93: 6 is br as in Trent 93 / 94: no p div / 95: 1 not dtd as in Trent 93 / 107: no cor / 108-141: this section is written on clefless staves / 127-128,2: col / 134: 4 replaced by sm F sm F, written in a compressed manner / 141: no cor / 142: m sign om / 178,2-179,1: the same coloration error and correction are given as in Trent 93 / 235: no cor.

Underlay; much as in Trent 93, but with the Osanna ind in the Superius as 'Osanna primum'. The incipits for the lower voices are 'Sanctus' (at 1), 'Pleni sunt' in the Tenor and 'Pleni' in the two Contratenors (at 61), 'Osanna' in all lower voices at 108, & 'Benedictus' in the Subcontratenor at 142 plus 'qui venit' in the Tenor at 164. The Contratenor has no incipits in the final section.

Trent 90 is a slavish copy of Trent 93 that even reproduces errors and correction signs. There are otherwise few notational differences between the readings and no ligature variants.

Agnus (Trent 88 ff. 21v-22r);

[Discantus primus]; 1: this voice is labelled as a 'Discantus' here since the lower duet voice in Agnus II has the same clef as this voice, and therefore the Agnus II lower voice cannot really be part of the Contra secundus with which it is given (if all of this music was for one voice, the Contra secundus would have a two-octave range). I therefore assume that the Agnus II lower voice is a Discantus secundus. Also, above the start of the music is a part-legible title 'Officium ?Avecu...' / 13: 1-3 are dtd-m sm & m / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 61: 'Ut supra' indication not given in any voice. The manuscript voice order is Discantus primus-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus-Discantus secundus.

[Discantus secundus]; 37: 3 D.

Contra secundus; 1: the m sign is om in all three lower voices / 33,3-34: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor; 3: p div follows 1.

Contra primus; 3: p div follows 2.

Underlay; Agnus I text is given in the Superius, and all lower voices have sectional incipits. At 43-45 the Discantus secundus needs an ed rpt of 'peccata'.

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Structure

This possibly incomplete Mass with D finals only appears in this study because its Agnus Dei is unique to Trent 88. As for the other movements, the Gloria and Credo are unique to Trent 90 and the Sanctus appears in both Trent 93 and Trent 90. There may have also been a Kyrie which has not survived. So far as I am aware

this is the first study to present all of the movements together, and recognition that these movements actually form a cycle seems to have been slow.¹⁷

The part-legible title above the topmost voice of the Agnus in Trent 88 is of little help in identifying what type of Mass this might be. If Gozzi's reading 'Avecu...' is correct, it might be the start of a French incipit beginning 'Avec', it could equally be a garbled composer attribution, or as a more remote possibility it might be part of 'Ave cuius...'. But the only text that comes to mind with that incipit (as used in Ludford's *Ave cuius conceptio*) has no known chant associated with it even though it was a widespread text in fifteenth-century Books of Hours.¹⁸ There are also no known chanson incipits beginning with 'Avec'. Alternatively the deteriorated writing might hide a word which gives the Mass's intended liturgical destination or possibly the name of a Saint.¹⁹

In layout terms the Gloria and Credo are tripartite, the Sanctus has four sections and the Agnus has two. It would be hard to demonstrate that these movements share a common Tenor cantus firmus since most Tenor sections begin differently. Only the Gloria's Qui tollis Tenor and the Pleni sunt Tenor of the Sanctus seem to share related material; the first eight pitches in each section are identical. Otherwise, details of how the Tenors begin are given below.

First Tenor sections; the openings of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus suggest - for roughly their first ten measures - that highly elaborated cantus firmus might be involved. For example, the opening pitches of the Patrem Tenor are D C D B A and the Sanctus begins D C D A. However, the Gloria opening diverges (D C B A and then up to E) and the Agnus I begins D A C D. The continuations of these Tenors seem to share no extended common material, and the Patrem Tenor has an octave leap at 38-39 which is not found in the Gloria Tenor.

Second Tenor sections; in the Gloria and Credo the Tenors enter as part of delayed entry lower-voice duets in duple meter. In the Sanctus the Pleni sunt Tenor is also part of delayed entry lower voice duet but it is in triple meter. As previously mentioned, the Gloria and Sanctus Tenors here share their first eight pitches. The matching Tenor entry in the Credo's Crucifixus section is melodically unrelated, and so is the duple Benedictus Tenor entry in the Sanctus.

Other Tenor sections; the Osanna begins with the ascending notes A C D A (a Tenor opening found nowhere else in this Mass) and the Tenors of the Gloria and Credo final sections also open in ways unrelated to each other and also other Tenor sections.

It is therefore improbable that continuous cantus firmus is in use. If this Mass has no Tenor cantus firmus and likewise does not appear to paraphrase Ordinary chants in its Superius, other options present themselves. Firstly, some sections might conceal opening references to chants which are not continued (as in later works by Obrecht and others). Secondly, the mysterious title might refer to a chanson model which is now lost, and which is drawn upon sporadically. Thirdly, the movements may all be freely composed and may only be unified by means of style.

¹⁷ The movements are mentioned in Strohm, R. 'Zur Rezeption der frühen Cantus-firmus-Messe im deutschsprachigen Bereich' in Konold, W. (ed), Deutsche-Englische Muzilbeziehungen (Munich and Salzburg, 1985) pp. 9-38 but otherwise there seems to be very little mention of them before Gozzi's edition of the Gloria and Credo. Elsewhere Strohm has suggested that this might be a Missa *Terribilis est* based on the Dedication Introit chant (see The Rise of European Music 1380-1500 p. 430)

¹⁸ For Ludford's setting and the text see Sandon, N. (ed), Nicholas Ludford: Domine Jesu Christe and Ave cujus conceptio (Antico Edition RCM 127, Newton Abbot, 1993).

¹⁹ Gerber (*op. cit.* p. 46) reads the title as 'Officium Marie', she does not mention any movements other than the Agnus, and suggests that this movement might have a chant-based Superius.

The first option is - to my mind - difficult to prove as one would have to find at least two or three liturgically linked chants whose presence in this work is clearly demonstrable. The second has a degree of subjectivity in that since we do not have a suitable model song, a reconstruction would have to be created from material which may only be casually linked. That leaves the option of probable free composition, which seems to be reasonable until the makeup of this Mass can be demonstrated to be different. I therefore suggest that the loose similarities between the Tenors are the result of this Mass having movements which do not share pre-existent structural elements.

Regarding motto organisation, all four movements have similar Superius openings and progressions at their openings for the first three to six measures. The main duple sections in the Gloria and Credo both open with successions of paired duets which are respectively for the upper and lower pairs of voices, but both sections start in a melodically unrelated way. However the duple Benedictus section starts similarly to the Gloria's duple section. The Osanna and the final Gloria and Credo sections (which are all in triple meter) all open independently of each other. As for the other openings the Agnus II opening closely resembles that of the Crucifixus, and the Pleni sunt opening is independent. The closing measures of the Gloria, Credo and Agnus I / III are also similar to each other.

In mensural terms the Gloria and Credo both have the pattern O - cut-C - O and this is shared by the 'ut supra' Agnus. The Sanctus varies this scheme by having three triple sections before the duple Benedictus and then a repeat of the Osanna. The only real complication occurs towards the end of the Patrem section, where the higher Contra moves into C mensuration against the O mensuration of the other voices. Texturally this Mass is odd, since the only significant relief from continuous full texture comes at the duets which feature in internal sections and in short lower-voice trio passages. In terms of voice names it calls the lower Contra 'primus' but allows voice crossing between all lower parts. The higher Contra also sometimes crosses above the Superius, and also very occasionally the Tenor. The music is quite dissonant and includes many progressions which might have been acceptable in early fifteenth century four-voice writing but which look old-fashioned by the standards of the mid-century. Neither does this seem to be a case of one added Contra being the continual culprit in making uncomfortable sounds. The music seems to be written with the idea that different parts - while being separately consonant with the Tenor - can occasionally clash with other. I will highlight passages of particular concern in due course, and because of this a composition date of before 1450 seems likely. Another feature suggesting a date in the 1440's or earlier is the way in which the texture in the Gloria and Credo will not easily accept much lower-voice text. Much of the extent of the lower voices in these movements seems to be best vocalised rather than texted, and there are several instances in the Gloria and Credo Superius parts where the Superius values move faster than the values in the supporting voices (i.e. 'Benedicimus te' and 'Adoramus te' in the Gloria and at 'consubstantialem' in the Credo).

Apart from related section openings, the movements seem to be internally integrated by the repetition of just a few standard devices. The Et in terra and Patrem sections end with drive passages involving crossrhythms (Gloria 55-61 and Credo 54-75). The same feature also occurs in a section ending at Sanctus 131-141 and internally in the Sanctus at 84-91. Similar and extended drive passages also occur at the ends of the Gloria and Credo. The Gloria's duple section also ends with a similar passage involving syncopation (see 181-201). There are also several internal Superius cadences in drawn-out values where the Superius ends on E (see Gloria 29-32, Credo 293-295 and Sanctus 14-16). Plain harmonies are also occasionally used for effect, such as at Gloria 152-159 where the Superius has A G F E in long notes against more rapidly moving lower voices, and where the Superius continuation (F E D C) is similar. There is also a brief passage of long-note Superius work in the Sanctus at 33-37. Duple sections are not that rhythmically varied apart from used of doubled harmonic pace at the end of the initial Benedictus duet.

One or two internal devices call for more comment. Both the Superius and the lower Contra have passages of sesquialtera against the cut-C signature of the other voices (see Gloria 120-171) and the lower Contra in the

Gloria at 54 has a single measure of sesquialtera where two of the other parts move in dotted rhythms.²⁰ The Gloria's cut-C sesquialtera passages (which are partly syllabic in the Superius) bring us to the question of where this Mass might have originated. The proportions of the movements (with the Sanctus being almost the same size as the Gloria) may suggest an English composer, as might the likely use of telescoping in the Credo in addition to text deletions therein. So might the behaviour of the Superius with its decorated cadential clichés and simple movement in duple meter, and so might the successions of paired duets in duple sections. No doubt these are the reasons why all movements appear in the 2017 revised Curtis and Wathey handlist of likely insular works from this period. But other factors make it far more likely that this is an imitation of English style than an insular work. Firstly, the Gloria's cut-C sesquialtera passages are exactly the sort of thing that might occur in a Mass Ordinary setting by Dufay or his continental contemporaries, but which have no counterpart - so far as I know - in English settings. Secondly, the phrase ending in a 4-3 suspension in the Superius at Credo 28-29 is a device which can be found in chansons of the 1410-1430 period but which is probably uncommon in insular Mass settings.²¹ Third, the occasional use of homophony is equally only rarely found in insular Masses. Lastly the Credo clearly uses C mensuration in a polymensural passage and follows this with a cut-C duple section, and all duple sections of this Mass use cut-C (the use of cut-C in insular sacred music before 1450 seems to be unlikely).

Added to these points is the haphazard nature of the four-part texture. By itself this would not exclude English origin for the music, but the points given below make it clear that the composer of this Mass had an inept or at least an old-fashioned grasp of four-part writing. Since consonance and euphony were important factors in insular polyphonic styles, the way in which this Mass is written seems to take us still further away from the idea of English origin. The following sectional list attempts to include most progressions which can be reasonably objected to, and it should be borne in mind that these occur in a score where I have already made a few emendations to avoid acute dissonance,

Et in terra

1. Ct 2-Tenor dissonance in a cadential cliché at 9.
2. Second between the two Contras at 20.
3. Upper-voice consecutive fifths at 33-34.
4. Ct 2 halts to avoid consecutive octaves at 37.
5. Outer-voice seventh at end of 58.
6. Same dissonance as at no. 1 above.

Qui tollis

7. Second between the two Contras at 122.
8. Superius-Tenor second at 140.
9. Dissonance between the two Contras at 98.
10. Outer-voice dissonance at 105-106.

Cum sancto

11. Second inversion progression at 207.
12. Fourth between outer voices at 214.
13. Consecutive octaves between outer parts in a doubled leadingnote cadential formula at 220-221.
14. Second between the two upper voices at 226.

²⁰ Perhaps the '3' sign and triplets in the lower Contra here are a misinterpretation of minor color values which should more properly be treated as duple (i.e. normal dotted values).

²¹ A similar Superius line occurs at the halfway point in Arnold de Lantini's *Las pouray je* published in van den Borren, C. (ed), *Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance Liegeoise (XVe siècle)* (Brussels, 1950) p. 25. Likewise, feminine melodic endings of this type are fairly frequent in the surviving chansons by Matteo da Perugia.

15. Second between the Tenor and Contra primus at 228.
16. Virtual consecutive fifths between the two inner parts at 236.

Patrem

17. Second between the two upper voices at 9.
18. Second between the two Contras at 21.
19. Seventh between the inner parts at 41.
20. Seventh between the outer voices at 51.
21. Virtual consecutive fifths between the outer parts at 69.
22. Both lower parts are dissonant with the Superius at 70-71.

Crucifixus

23. Single fourth in a duet passage at 80.
24. Construct involving a sixth in an unexpected place at 195.
25. Outer voice seventh at 199.
26. Outer voice fourth at 236.
27. Seventh between the upper voices at 239.

Et unam

28. Upper-voice second at 272.
29. Superius-Tenor seventh at 275.
30. Consecutive fifths between inner parts at 277.
31. Seventh between the Contras at 278.
32. Upper voice consecutive fifths at 296.
33. Outer voice seventh at 303.
34. Dissonant inner parts in a cadential cliché at 304.
35. Second between the Contra parts at 306.
36. Seventh between the outer parts at 311.
37. Likewise at 312.
38. Tenor and Ct 1 second at 320.
39. Tenor and Ct 1 seventh at 321.
40. Superius-Tenor fourth at 325.

Sanctus

41. Dissonant imitation between Superius and Ct 2 at 10-12.
42. Ct 2 is dissonant with all other parts at 18.
43. Seventh between the two upper voices at 21.
44. Likewise at 25.
45. Oddly mobile upper parts in a cadential cliché at 30.
46. Seventh between the Contra parts at 47.

Pleni sunt

47. Seventh between outer parts at 86.
48. Superius-Tenor seventh at 88.
49. Likewise at 95.

50. Doubled leading notes and likely false relations in sectional cadence at 106-107.

Osanna

51. Superius-Ct 2 second at 112.

52. Superius-Tenor seventh at 127.

53. Outer voice consecutive octaves in a doubled leadingnote formula at 134.

54. Superius-Tenor seventh at 135.

55. Same cadential problem at 140-141 as at 106-107.

Benedictus

56. Upper-voice consecutive seconds at 173-174.

57. Hybrid cadence at 179-180.

58. Same cadential problem at 194-195 as at 106-107 and 140-141.

59. Seventh between lower parts at 202.

60. Second between upper parts at 210.

61. Seventh between outer parts at 215.

62. Likewise at 220.

63. Same cadential problem as at 106-107, 140-141 and 194-195.

Agnus I / III

64. Virtual consecutive fifths between the two topmost parts at 10-11.

65. Seventh between the outer parts at 13.

66. Seventh between the Contra parts at 16.

I have numbered all items here consecutively for a good reason, since this enables us to identify and isolate different types of dissonance. The dissonances of most concern are nos 50, 55, 58 and 63, which all occur in the Sanctus and which are all similar cadences where the upper Contra has been added awkwardly. Similarly the instance of upper voice consecutive seconds (no. 56) is something that might be expected to occur occasionally in an Ars Nova structured motet but not in a cyclic Mass written in the years leading up to 1450. Most of the other dissonances listed involve a slightly free attitude to the use of fourths (see 23, 26 and 40 above), a greater tolerance of incidental clashes than in most mid-century sacred music, and occasional moments where the partwriting seems to be uncontrolled (see 22 and 45 above). Upper-voice consecutive fifths are - I think - to be expected in this style of music, as are some passing-notes which look unorthodox. But the important element about all of this uncomfortable partwriting is that the music seems to sound better than it looks - a quality which I have also encountered in some Machaut's less consonant three-part works. Given three single, clear and unobtrusive voices on the three lower parts plus a Discantus section with doubled voices, many of the uneasy passages and brief dissonances listed above merely pass notice. Indeed, some sort of doubling for the topmost voice in this particular Mass is likely, since Agnus II has a supporting part which is in Discantus rather than Contra range.

I would not pretend that this is first-rate music. The crossrhythm drive passages at the end of the Gloria and Credo sound stodgy, and are less well written from similar passages in works by Dufay where dissonance is more controlled. Similarly the movement with the most contrapuntal problems (the Sanctus) sounds undistinguished and equally stodgy. While we cannot prove that this Mass is not English, it is probably one of the clearer cases of continental stylistic mimicry. I would be enthusiastic to see descriptions of this work appearing in accounts of how continental musicians initially responded to English style, perhaps along with early examples of non-English cantus firmus Ordinaries like the Poignare Gloria in [Trent 87](#) and examples of 'late' works by musicians chiefly known from earlier fifteenth century sources such as Bartolomeo Brolo's Gloria in [Trent 90](#).

Numerology

The Gloria and Sanctus of this Mass are very close in size (236 and 237 measures respectively) and parity might have once existed if the final or sectional final longs had been written differently. Otherwise multiples of 11 might play some role in how this work was constructed. The Osanna is has 44 measures, and the first section of the Sanctus has 660 notes. Note-counts in the Gloria and Credo duple sections may also be relevant here: the Qui tollis has 554 notes (very nearly 555) and the Crucifixus has 665 (nearly 666). Otherwise I find no evidence of overall numerical organisation.

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98. Simon de Insula; Missa *O admirabile* (Trent 88 ff. 304v-311r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 428-431).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the antiphon *O admirabile beati Gregorii*, which is elaborated differently in each movement. Further, see the section on structure.

Gloria (ff. 304v-306r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 181r (transposed a tone up) and the m sign is given before the first stave in both upper voices. / 89: single custos / 90: the m sign is given before the first stave on a new page in both upper voices / 124-137: the colored passage marked with the O sign here would surely be proportionally incorrect by the standards of later writers, but corresponds with the O-C equivalent given in our score at 90 / 161: this note is squashed in (as a correction?). The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 59: p div follows 2 / 85: likewise / 89: single custos / 186,3-187,3: these notes are duplicated following 187,3 but the duplication is erased / 210: single custos.

Tenor; 1: in both lower voices the m sign is given following the initial rests / 53: p div follows 2 / 67, 68, 70, 77, 83, 86 & 88: likewise.

Bassus; 68: p div follows 2 / 84: p div follows 3 / 89: no custos / 210: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with extensive text in the first section for the Contra and Bassus. The upper Contra carries text well, but after the first section in this movement there is only a single Bassus incipit. The Tenor does not seem to carry cantus firmus text well in view of the way that phrases are split up by rests, and neither does it appear to carry shortened Gloria text well. I therefore suggest that much of the Tenor may have been wordlessly vocalised, and the same probably applies to the Bassus sections in the Gloria and Credo. Therefore the texture of this Mass would imitate the texting in my edition of the Missa *Caput* Gloria and Credo to which the first two movements here are stylistically close. At 77-89 I have inserted editorial repeats of 'Filius Patris' in the two upper voices. 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' at Superius, 64 and thereafter as 'xpe'. The Bassus text as underlaid consists of 'Gratias agimus...propter magnam... tuam. Domine Deus Rex celestis... omnipotens...Domine Fili...Jhesu xpe...Domine...Filius Patris'.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 101 (edition). Gerber (p. 103) associates the composer with the 'Britoni' listed amongst singers in Rome in 1452, on the basis that 'de Insula' can refer to persons from England. Alternatively it can also refer to persons from Brittany or Lille, and the latter may also be the right birthplace for the 'Francus de Insula' named as a composer in Ox 213. Additionally the Mass composer may or may not be identifiable with the Burgundian chaplain Simon le Breton who spent some of his working life in Lille (see the article on Simon de Insula by David Fallows in The New Grove). Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory vol. I pp. 82-83 associates Simon de Insula with the composition of several Masses of English origin - a view which I no longer uphold. Meanwhile I wish to thank Reinhard Strohm here for the suggestion that the

composer might be the musician Simon Vromont, who worked at St. Peter's, Lille during the mid-century (private communication, February 2021).

Credo (ff. 306v-308r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 9: single custos in both upper voices / 32,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 78: p div follows 3 / 103: at the start of a new page the m sign is given before first staves in the Superius, Tenor & Bassus / 182: sharp ind before 180,1 / 275: single custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 2: p div follows 1 / 16,2-4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 25: cs is written under 25,2, upside-down / 33,1-3: as at 16 / 36: p div follows 3 / 40: 2 has sharp / 43-44: ns / 44: p div follows 1 / 59: p div follows rest / 75: p div follows 2 / 78,1-2: as at 16 / 85: p div follows 2 / 89: b ind before rest / 197: natural ind as sharp before 196,1 / 214,2-215,2: as at 16 / 250,3-251: likewise.

Tenor; 1: m sign given before first stave / 31: p div follows 2 / 39 & 78: likewise.

Bassus; 1: m sign om / 36 & 49: p div follows 2 / 53: p div follows rest / 64-67: written on a short end of stave extension / 65: p div follows 2 / 100,3-105: as at 64 / 190-194: likewise / 200,1: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 232,2: col err, but with correcting mark above note / 233: as at 64.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with partial texting in the first section of the Contra. Other sections and voices have sectional incipits and occasional internal cues. The same seems to apply here as in the Gloria regarding the vocalisation of most of the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et in Spiritum... remissionem peccatorum' from 232 onwards, and such a large text deletion cannot be restored by editorial telescoping. At 33 in the Superius 'Christum' is given as 'xpum'.

Sanctus (ff. 308v-310r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices except the Bassus / 24: p div follows rest / 55,3-56: written on a short end of stave extension / 73: sharp ind before 72,4 / 84: m sign ind before stave at the start of a new page opening / 215: 1 col err, but with a correcting mark above. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 1: this voice is called Contra primus on the first page opening and 'Contra' on the second / 16: p div follows 2 / 37: sharp ind before 36,2 / rest at 64: the cs here is upside-down under the rest / 74,3: the cs here is upside-down under the note.

Tenor; 21: p div follows 2 / 35: likewise / 56: following the 'Pleni tacet' direction 16 measures of rests are given (27 would be needed if the rests for this section were fully written out). / 121-124: written on a short end of stave extension.

Bassus; 13-14: all notes in these measures are col for no apparent reason / 16,1-2: written over an erasure / 17: an erased m A follows 5 / 31: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 40: p div follows 3 / 49: b ind before 49,1, & p div follows 2 / 64: the cs here is upside-down under the note / 74: another upside-down cs is given under 74,1.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for most lower-voice sections but the 'Pleni sunt' has fully texted supporting voices. The Tenor seems best vocalised to 'a' since neither Sanctus text nor cantus firmus text seems to fit it well, but the Trent 88 scribe has given the usual incipits for this voice plus

full text at the end of the Benedictus and also Osanna II from 157 onwards. Possibly he wanted to avoid the repeated C's in this part 165 being untexted, but - even so - setting these notes to 'venit' does not coincide with my editorial placing of that word in the outer parts. I therefore regard the Tenor texting here as possibly not authentic. There are several same-pitch repeated notes in this particular Tenor (see 18-20, 21-22, 44-46, 194-196 and 205-207) but maybe editorial text here is not the right solution.

Agnus (ff. 310v-311r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in this voice & the Contra / 38: single custos / 100: 2 E. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 2: 3 uc / 24: 1 corr from m by erasure of upper stem / 44: no custos / 58,2-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 62: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm, written over erasures / 65: single custos / 66: m sign given as cut-C / 74,2: there is an erased br D above this note / 80,1-81,1: as at 58 / 98-99: Trent 88 reads G B / 100: om (conj supplied) / 102: 1 & 2 not col / 134: 1 E / 150: 2 is B, & col err.

Tenor; 30: rest om (conj supplied) / 39-53: 16 measures of rests are given (only 15 are needed) / 81: rest om (conj supplied).

Bassus; 38: no 'Tacet' direction given / 65-151: there is no Agnus III section in this voice (conj supplied).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the Contra and Bassus, and some text in the Tenor. As before, this voice seems to have been problematic for the scribe, He gives the start incipit 'Agnus' for the first section, the end incipit 'nobis' in Agnus II and likewise the start and end incipits 'Agnus' and 'pacem' in Agnus III. Much of the Tenor can be vocalised as in the Sanctus (probably best done with 'a'), since neither cantus firmus text nor Mass Ordinary text seems to fit this part well. However, at 54-65 the Tenor is the lower voice of a duet, and I have added editorial text here since no cantus firmus material seems to be involved.

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Structure

As indicated in the critical commentary there is some doubt about where this Tenor cantus firmus Mass originated, with Gerber suggesting a Roman location for the composer as a northern expatriate and other evidence suggesting that 'de Insula' might mean a composer from Lille or even England. I am inclined to favour a Franco-Burgundian origin for this Mass, for reasons that will be explained in due course. Otherwise Gerber was the first to correctly identify the cantus firmus of this Mass as a version of the antiphon *O admirabile beati Gregorii*, which is the first antiphon for Lauds on St. Gregory's day. From the pattern of surviving chant sources it seems that this was a northern-tradition chant that may not have been present or common in Italian chant manuscripts. I give the chant below, with the caution that the version here seems to be considerably removed from the version used for the Mass Tenors.

4.9. *O admirabile beati Gregorii*,²²

O ad-mi-ra-bi-le be-a-ti Gre-go-ri-i, me-ri-tum

quo in-ter-ce-den-te os-sa do-mi-ni-ci cor-po-ris pars di-gi-ti au-ri-

-cu-la-ris san-gui-ne cru-en-ta in-ven-ta ac o-sten-sa est.

There is one very good reason why the Mass seems to use this chant as its Tenor rather than the far more common Circumcision antiphon *O admirabile commercium* (LU 1997 pp. 442-443) with which *O admirabile beati Gregorii* is melodically connected.²³ If the former chant were the cantus firmus, most first-section statements would appear to end halfway through the word ‘semine’ in the *O admirabile commercium* text which would be illogical. The St. Gregory antiphon’s text allows for most first-section breaks at the textual point ‘digi’ in the latter example. The text of the St. Gregory antiphon celebrates the discovery of a relic, and translates as ‘O admirable merit of blessed Gregory, by whose intercession the bones of the Lord’s body, part of the little finger stained with blood, was discovered and displayed’.²⁴

Like myself other specialists have also noticed that this Mass seems to be stylistically and structurally close to the English Missa *Caput*. As in the Missa *Caput*, the cantus firmus begin on B and the layout of the *O admirabile* Mass is close to the latter. Also as in *Caput* the Gloria and Credo are bipartite, and the Sanctus is a four-section movement where the Pleni sunt uses reduced scoring and the Osanna I is fully scored from its start. In the Missa *O admirabile* as in *Caput* the Sanctus and Benedictus/Osanna II sections feature delayed entry Tenors. The three-section Agnus also has a delayed entry Tenor in its first section but not in its third (again, like the Missa *Caput*) and in both Masses Agnus II involves reduced scoring. All four *O admirabile* movements feature a varied motto opening for the two upper voices, and in all of these except the Sanctus opening the Superius soon reaches a phrase-ending on lower D. Internal sections are not so closely related but the Et incarnatus and Benedictus Superius openings are similar, and the Pleni sunt and Agnus III form a second pair of related openings. All movements begin and end on G, and both this Mass and *Caput* allow for fourths between the Superius and Tenor. The initial Sanctus and Agnus sections are the only ones in this Mass which do not end on G.

Texturally this is a simple work, with the higher Contra generally acting as an alto part and the lower Contra (called Bassus) being a largely bass-like filler part with much perfect cadencing throughout (see Sanctus 42-47 for a noticeably simple lowest part). Internal duets occur as in the *Caput* Mass, but generally only between the upper parts. Agnus II is unique in featuring a Contra-Tenor duet passage, and this is the only place in the Mass where the Tenor does not seem to have cantus firmus material. Perhaps this passage should be re-scored to feature the Bassus as the lowest trio voice instead of the Tenor (as happens in the Pleni sunt section). The mensuration layout is also simple: the Gloria and Credo use O - C, the Agnus uses O - O - C and the Sanctus has O - O - C - C. Apart from some drive-like writing in duple sections there is little or no complexity, and the Gloria Superius has a solitary proportional passage at 124-137.

²² Supplied here from the twelfth century source Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms 17296, ff. 76r-v.

²³ The modern version of this chant and many medieval versions are pitched a fifth below the St. Gregory chant in our example, but fifteenth-century versions of *O admirabile commercium* survive which start on B (for example, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms 1799 f. 23r). This manuscript is a thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphonal.

²⁴ After Gerber, *op. cit.* p.103.

The cantus firmus layout also appears to be simple, but since it seems to be quite removed from the latter chant example there is some doubt about how it actually proceeds. Gerber is no doubt correct in that successive statements appear to be slight modifications or elaborations of the Et in terra Tenor, but the continuations of the chant seem to be obscured by the way that they vary. The Et in terra section uses the chant up to ‘digi’ and so does the following Qui tollis section, but there appears to be a cadential modification to G A G at the end of this Tenor so a conventional cadence can be made. The Patrem section follows the same material as the Qui tollis and is melodically close, and again there seems to be a cadential modification (to B A G) at the end of this Tenor. The same applies to the second section in the Credo.

Thereafter I differ from Gerber about how the chant seems to be applied. The first section of the Sanctus Tenor probably gives the chant up to ‘dominici’, the Pleni sunt is a free section without the Tenor, and Osanna I possibly gives the chant from ‘corporis’ to ‘cruenta’ with a free cadential B A G extension at Sanctus 122-124. (I say ‘possibly’ here because the chant at this point begins with E F whereas the Osanna I Tenor begins D E D C). The Benedictus gives the chant from the start up to ‘cruenta’ with C B A G as a closing free extension.²⁵ Gerber states that the Osanna I, Benedictus and Agnus I give the remainder of the chant after ‘digi’, and she also says that in each case the phrase for ‘auricularis sanguine’ is omitted. I fail to see this, but the chief difficulty here is that we are dealing with Tenors that are not close to the nearest available chant version and which themselves may be cumulative elaborations.

I see the remainder of the cantus firmus use as follows. Agnus I seems to use the chant up to ‘ossa’ and then follows this with a free extension at 35-38. Agnus II looks as though it is free, despite using the Tenor as its lowest voice. Agnus III gives the cantus firmus up to ‘digi’ again, followed by a B A G cadential extension at 149-151. At no point in any of the Tenors does the end of the melody at ‘inventu ac ostensa est’ appear to be used (this phrase uses a high G, and no high G appears towards the end of any of the Mass Tenors). Having indicated that the Tenors vary somewhat, it should also be stressed that the series of pitches in the opening passages of all movements are close.

There is another problem with the Tenor since many of its phrases are separated by rests of varying lengths, and there are repeated same-pitch notes throughout. Experiments in applying cantus firmus text seem to be a dead end, and likewise continuous Mass Ordinary text will not happily fit to these Tenors. Therefore this part must have either had a different text, it might have been wordlessly vocalised, or it might have been played on an instrument like a slide-trumpet. The second alternative seems to be the most viable, for two reasons. Firstly because the Tenor is part of a close four-voice texture, and highlighting it with a different sound or different text might compromise that texture. Secondly, vocalisation of lower voices seems to be in order for the Gloria and Credo of the Missa *Caput*, so a similar approach might be suitable in a Mass that closely imitates the latter work. Performance experiment has shown me the vocalised Tenor blends in well with the other parts, even where its vowel sound(s) might not be the same as those in the surrounding voices.²⁶

Now we come to why this Mass is close to the Missa *Caput*, and the ways in which both works are similar. The decision to imitate the Missa *Caput* may have come about as a purely musical one rather than as a result of a patron’s request, since only a musician who knew the *Caput* Mass would find a parent chant beginning on B like the *Caput* melisma and only a musician familiar with *Caput* would imitate its mensural plan and delayed-entry bipartite Tenor layout. There is also much more: the Superius has gestures similar to those of the Missa *Caput* Superius and there are progressions and small sections throughout which also recall the older work. The following list of comparison points does not attempt to be exhaustive, but it surely shows that Simon de Insula knew the older Mass thoroughly.

²⁵ In defence of my suggestion for probable cantus firmus use in Osanna I, I note that the pitches which it uses are mostly reproduced at the end of the Benedictus Tenor (Sanctus, 205-233).

²⁶ As also encountered in occasional cantus firmus Sanctus settings such as the Sanctus super *Iste puer magnus* in Mu 3154 (no. 73).

1. The ranges of the parts in both Masses are similar, and the Tenors are given in a similar rhythmic way in both works - with most note values therein being semibreves, breves and longs.
2. The delayed entry and bipartite cantus firmus layout in both Masses is also similar, as are the reduced scorings in the *Pleni sunt* and *Agnus II* sections of both works.
3. In both Masses, the simple use of accelerated motion towards the ends of introductory duple duet sections is similar.
4. The choice of C as the sole mensural duple sign is also reminiscent of the *Missa Caput*.
5. There is much use of accented-sixth writing over constructs on D (i.e. with a Superius proceeding B A with lower parts that give D with F above it). For examples in the *Missa Caput* see the Kyrie at 33, the Gloria at 49, the Sanctus at 29-30 and also at 34. For instances in the *Missa O admirabile* see the Gloria at 202, the Credo at 177, 198-200 and 209-210.
6. The *Caput* Kyrie at measure 18 and the *O admirabile* Gloria at 18-20 have very similar imitative duet writing.
7. There are other clear melodic reminders of the *Caput* Mass in *O admirabile*. The Gloria Superius in *O admirabile* at 84 sounds like that *Caput* Credo Superius at 246-247. Also the Contra-Bassus duet in the *O admirabile* Gloria at 56-59 is reminiscent of a similarly scored passage in the *Caput* Gloria at 59-62. Note also that the latter occurrence and the similarity cited in point 6 above both occur at similar places in the Glorias of both works.
8. The Superius parts of both works have a tendency towards Landini-sixth D cadence motives which - in both Masses - are not always strictly cadential and do not always seem to require editorial accidentalisation of C's. For examples see the *Missa Caput* Gloria Superius at 210-212, and the Sanctus Superius at 64-65 and 80-81. In the *Missa O admirabile* see the Gloria Superius at 45-46 and 202-203, and the Credo Superius at 92-93 and 259-261.
9. In the *Missa Caput* so-called 'English' melodic figures occur, and similarly these are found in the Simon de Insula Mass, sometimes with coloration. For some varied examples see the *O admirabile* Credo Superius at 35 and 79, the Sanctus Contra at 39-40, and the final cadence of the same movement.
10. There also seems to be a numerical connection between the first sections of both Glorias (see the following section for details).

It is therefore clear that the composer's structural and style choices here were chiefly motivated by a desire to imitate the *Caput* Mass, and that he also went to some length to achieve the required mimic detail. But ultimately Simon was a man of his own time and probably not an Englishman who was writing in the 1430's or 1440's. Therefore aspects of his Mass differ notably from *Caput*. I have already mentioned the sometimes repetitively chording lowest voice. There are also some declamatory text passages (see Gloria 12-13 and Credo 198-202), brief false relations in the *Agnus* at 4-5, and four instances throughout of progressions which are cadences on C with dominant sevenths.²⁷ To sum up, there seems to be a certain ease and facility in the musical resources used and these are not words which I would use to describe either the texture or the sound of the *Missa Caput*. Finally, I return to the matter of where this Mass might have originated. On the strength of Hans Schoop's entry in *The New Grove* on the *Ox 213* composer Francus de Insula probably being from Lille, the same might apply to Simon de Insula. Two more things seem to remove this Mass from a possibly southern or Roman orbit. Firstly the apparent northern-tradition circulation of the cantus firmus, and secondly that elements of this Mass seem to reflect the number 31. Regarding the possible relevance of that number in Burgundian court culture see the following section.

²⁷ Credo 35-36, 81-82, 266-267 and *Agnus* 121-122.

Numerology

Tempora counts for this Mass seem to produce no results of importance except for Agnus I being 25% of the total movement in terms of measures if all final and sectional longs are omitted. The rough arc of movement sizes (respectively 210, 275, 233 and 151 measures) seems not to conceal any overall scheme.

Note counts here are of more interest. Excluding final and sectional longs, the Superius in each section of the Credo totals 310 notes. There is further evidence of multiples of 31 being present, namely that the two upper voices of Agnus II total 155 notes (31×5) while the only other active voice in this section (the Tenor) totals 33 notes. The number of Contra primus notes in the Et in terra section is 279 (31×9) and the Gloria Tenor's two sections respectively total 61 and 63 notes ($=124$, which is 31×4).

Looking at note totals in other ways also produces some interesting results. The sum of all notes in the lower voices in the Credo's second section is 444 and the lower voices in Agnus I total 222. The Benedictus Superius note total is 221 (very nearly 222) and the length of the Gloria's second section in tempora is 121 (11×11). Excluding its sectional longs, the first section of the Sanctus consists of 55 measures. Eleven and its multiples also seems to feature in the Missa *Caput*.²⁸ Excluding final movemental longs, that Mass consists of 1,110 measures. The measure total of the Missa *O admirabile* (869 including movemental longs) is also divisible by eleven ($79 \times 11 = 879$).

The likely presence of permutations of 31 may (or may not) connect this Mass to others in Trent 89 which seem to feature similar calculations, such as the Missa *Te Deum*, the Missa *Du cuer* and the Missa *Beati Anthonii*. All may have some connection to the Order of the Golden Fleece with its mid-century membership of 31 people. Finally, in view of the structural and stylistic connection with the Missa *Caput* it should come as no surprise that the Et in terra section in each Mass totals 89 measures.

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99. [Ockeghem]; Missa *Caput*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 286v-295r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 418-422, anon);
- (ii) Chigi ff. 64v-75r, Ockeghem.

The cantus firmus of this Mass is the final melisma of the antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*, which is also the Tenor cantus firmus of Mass no. 29a-b in the DIAMM Trent 89 edition. In Ockeghem's Mass the cantus firmus is in the lowest voice while the Trent 89 Mass has the cantus firmus Tenor as an internal voice.

(i) Trent 88;

[Superius]; 1: there is a lacuna where the m sign should normally be / 20: 1 uc / 22: single custos / 23: m sign before stave / 50: written on a short end of stave extension, & followed by a single custos / 53: m sign before stave. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign before stave / 23: likewise, 1 has sharp, & all of the Christe section is given with the clef on the fourth line up (making all of this section a third too low). Possibly the staves were cleffed before any music was entered. / 30,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 52: custos obliterated by lacuna.

²⁸ See pp. 1434-1435 of the DIAMM Trent 89 edition.

[T]enor secundus; 2: sharp ind before 2,1 / 6: p div follows 2 / 52: no custos.

[T]enor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and the voice names in the two lower parts here are no doubt prompted by the unusual arrangement of having the cantus firmus as the lowest voice of four. The verbal canon ‘alterum caput descendendo tenorem per diapason’ is partially damaged by lacunas and can be translated as ‘another caput [mass] in which the tenor descends an octave’. Accordingly this voice is written an octave higher than its performance pitch. / 16-18: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Chigi / 48-49: likewise / 61: 1 & 2 uc due to lacuna / 72: no custos.

Underlay; ‘Kyrie’, ‘Xpe’ and ‘eleyson’ entries are given in all voices, but ‘eleyson’ often needs to be treated as a four-syllable word and I have elided one ‘eleyson’ entry at 47 in the lowest voice. The cantus firmus in the lowest voice cannot carry all of the text because of its extended values, and it also needs a repeat of ‘-son’ on its final note. Neither source gives precise enough texting to establish whether two or three ‘Kyrie’ / ‘Christe’ invocations are needed per section. My editorial text allows for three in each section, plus an editorial repeat of ‘eleyson’ in the Tenor primus at the end of the Christe.

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(ii) Chigi ff. 64v-65r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, and the first three Superius staves are indented to make space for a very large and penwork-decorated capital ‘K’. The lowest voice (immediately below the Superius) has two of its three staves indented for a similar but smaller capital ‘B’ (for ‘Bassus’). In both of these voices, the initial text letter of each section is overmarked by red horizontal lines, there is a panelled illustration at the bottom of the first page, plus coloured grotesques around the borders of the second. / 4: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 7: no lig / 8: 4 & 5 are dtd-m & sm / 22: double custos in all voices / 30-32: ligd / 50: no divisi C / 52: single custos / 55,1-2: minor color / 56: no lig / 59,1-2: minor color / 60: 3 & 4 are both m / 65-66: no lig / 66: 2 replaced by sbr E m C, & 3-4 have minor color / 68-69: no lig / 70,3-4: minor color. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented and the voice-name is written in majuscules with a very elongated ‘C’ / 4: 2 C / 6: p div follows 3 / 20: 1 is col / 23: no sharp / 52: single custos / 53: no clef change / 56: no lig / 69: 2 G / 70: 1 & 2 ligd / 71: 3 A / 72: single custos.

Tenor; 1: the first two staves are slightly indented to make space for a majuscule voice name in the same style as the preceding Contra’s voice name. / 2: no sharp / 9,2: replaced by sm F sm E / 11: 1 b / 12,2: replaced by sbr F m F / 16: 1 dtd, & 2 not dtd / 18,5-19,2: ligd / 19,4-20,1: ligd / 44: replaced by sbr D m B sbr B / 71: 2 & 3 are sbr m (which should be in minor color).

Bassus; 1: the canon for this voice is given in red following Kyrie I, and in this version it reads ‘Alterum caput descendendo tenorem per diapason et sic per totam missam’. As in Trent 88 this voice is given an octave above its intended performance pitch. / 22: replaced by sbr rest and L D / 52: single custos.

Underlay; much the same as in Trent 88 except that ‘eleyson’ is spelt ‘eleison, and ‘Criste’ is spelt ‘Criste’.

Chigi is immaculately copied. It gives very few variants, and also very few errors.

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 287v-289r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 182v, the m sign is given before the first stave, & 1,1-2 are uc due to a lacuna. / 10: uc due to lacuna / 14,2-3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 18: cs is given upside down under rest / 95: m sign uc due to lacuna / 108: 1 has sharp / 120: 2 has sharp, ind under 118,3 / 158: 2 E / 162: 2 D (corr using Chigi) / 164: 2 F (corr using Chigi) / 175: 1 uc / 216: single custos in this voice & the Contra. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 5,2: uc due to lacuna / 27: p div follows 2 / 42,2-45,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 54: p div follows 2 / 61,rest-64: as at 42 / 76,1: uc due to lacuna / 82-84: as at 42 / 82: p div follows 2 / 86,1-2: oblique shape in lig made uc by lacuna / 94: single custos / 95: m sign before stave / 121,1-2: not col / 141: 2 B / 149: 2 G (corr using Chigi) / 213: 2 A.

[T]enor secundus; 1: the m sign is uc due to a lacuna / 9: both lower parts have a single custos here to mark off the initial duet subsection in the upper voices / 23: 3 F / 35-39,4: written on a short end of stave extension / 53: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 59-60,2: as at 35 / 80-81: likewise / 94: no custos / 137-138: ns / 175-176: ns / 210: b ind above 209,1.

[T]enor primus; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and as in the Kyrie and all subsequent movements this part is given an octave higher than its performance pitch. / 39: p div follows 2 / 57 and 71: likewise / 95: m sign before stave / 155,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 207-216: written on and end of stave extension.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits and a few internal cues in the lower voices. In the Superius 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' at 78-80, and as 'xpe' at 188-191. As in the following Credo, there is a degree of uncertainty in how to text the lowest voice since it has quite a few extended values.

(ii) Chigi ff. 65v-67r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork-decorated 'E', & 1,1-2 are replaced by a br without a dot. / 18: no cs / 21: 1 & 2 ligd / 28: 3 dtd / 29: rest om, but a gap has been left where the rest should be / 39: 3 & 4 replaced by sbr F / 41: 5 & 6 replaced by m E / 43,2-3: minor color / 54: 2 is col / 69: 1 & 2 ligd / 71: 1 not col / 73,3-4: minor color / 78: no lig / 88: no sharp / 95: the second page opening starts with a majuscule initial (in this case 'Q') and 2 indented staves as on the first page. / 120: no sharp / 121: no cs / 125-127: ligd / 128: no lig / 129-130: likewise / 132,1-2: ligd / 133: 3 D / 134: 1 replaced by sbr E sbr E / 147-150: ligd / 157: 2 E / 166: 1 & 2 ligd / 167: likewise / 171-172: ligd / 175,2-176,2: replaced by dtd-br D / 177: 1 & 2 ligd / 185: no lig / 189: no lig / 193-194: no lig / 194: 2 F / 195: 1 & 2 ligd / 196-198: ligd separately from 195 / 212,3-213,1: ligd / 216: single custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the two top staves are slightly indented to make space for the vertically-written voice name in majuscules, with 'C' starting at the top of the name. / 15-16: no lig, & 15,4 is replaced by sbr E m E / 18: cs over 1 / 19: no sharp / 29: 1 & 2 are both m / 31,2-3: minor color / 38: 2 & 3 are both m / 40,1-41,1: replaced by sbr C & col br C / 43: 2 & 3 ligd / 49: 1 & 2 replaced by m D dtd-m F sm G / 53: 2 is col / 75: 3 replaced by sm G sm F / 89: no sharp / 91: 1 replaced by sm B sm C / 94: double custos / 95: on the second page opening the indentation and style of voice name are the same as with the first half of this voice / 112: 1 & 2 ligd / 119,2-3: minor color / 120-121: all notes here are colored, & 120,1-2 are br m m / 123: dot given above rest instead of cs / 125-127: replaced by lig br C br A br B / 131: no lig / 133,1-2: ligd / 143,2: not ligd / 144-146: ligd / 152: 1 is col br / 159,1-160,1: ligd / 160: 2 is col br / 161: 2 is col sbr / 169-171: no lig / 177,2: not ligd / 178: 1 & 2 ligd / 179: 1 not ligd / 180: 1 & 2 ligd / 181: 2 is col br / 182: 2 is col sbr / 212: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr B / 213: replaced by m C sbr D sbr A / 216: double custos.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the style of voice name is the same as in the Contratenor, but with no stave indentation / 9: no custos in either lower voice / 37: no b / 43: 2 & 3 are both m / 61: no lig / 63,1-64,1: replaced by L D / 64: p div follows 2 / 73,2-3: minor color / 81,1-2: likewise / 82: 2 B / 84-94: the end of the first section is given at the bottom of the page to the left due to lack of space, with diamond shaped four-dot indicators given on both pages / 90: no minor color / 95: at the page-turn the style of voice name is the same as at 1 / 131: not ligd / 140,1-141,1: ligd / 143: no lig / 153-155,1: ligd / 158-159,1: ligd / 209: minor color.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the style of voice name is the same as in the Contratenor, but with only the first stave indented / 13: p div follows 2 / 39: 1 not ligd, & p div follows 2 / 52: p div follows 2 / 95: the style of voice name is the same as at 1 / 140-141,1: replaced by dtd-br G which is ligd to 141,2 / 166: not ligd / 201-205: given as a single lig.

Underlay; Chigi fully texts the Superius and gives more lower-voice cues than Trent 88. These are as follows. Contratenor from 1 onwards: 'Et in terra...Laudamus te'. At 95 onwards: 'Qui tollis peccata mundi... Qui sedes'. From here onwards the part is fully texted. Tenor secundus: 'Laudamus te' at 18, 'suscipe deprecationem nostram' at the second-section entry point, 'Filius Patris' from 87 onwards, 'Cum sancto' at 185 and 'Amen' at 211. Tenor secundus: 'Laudamus te' at 18, 'suscipe; at the second-section entry point, 'Cum sancto...Amen' from 183 to the end.

Chigi has some ligaturing differences and small variants, and its underlay is clear but not necessarily authoritative. The Chigi variants in the Contratenor at 49 and 212-213 are better than their Trent 88 alternatives.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 289v-291r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is om / 12,1: uc due to lacuna / 24: 1 not dtd (corr using Chigi) / 28,1-29,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 48: as at 28 / 63,1-3: likewise / 68: 1 is L / 80-82,1: as at 28 / 89: p div follows 2 / 94,3-95: as at 28 / 98: m sign given before stave, but is uc due to fading / 123-125: uc due to lacuna / 132,2-3: as at 28 / 161: 1 uc / 187,1: corr from A, with downward diagonals on either side of this note / 192,2-194,1: as at 28. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 18,4-19,1: uc due to lacuna / 20: 3 G / 21,1: cs is given upside down under this note / 30,4-31,2: obliterated by a lacuna & supplied from Chigi / 31-33,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 51,5-52,2: likewise / 66: b ind before 66,1 / 80,3-81: as at 31 / 88: 2 D / 98: m sign given before stave / 150,2: obliterated by a lacuna & supplied from Chigi / 171: ns / 257: single custos.

[T]enor secundus; 1: m sign om / 26,3: col err, but corr with a 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 29: p div follows 2 / 37-39: uc due to lacuna / 45: 3 m / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 76,1-5: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: 1 col err / 98: the opening incipit for the second section is 'Et incarnatus altera missa caput' / 146: sharp ind above 144,1 / 159: col err / 181-182: as at 76 / 185-186: ns.

1: [T]enor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 42: p div follows 2 / 57-58,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 61: p div follows 2 / 76: likewise / 209-210: ns / 256 & 257: these two notes are col.

Underlay; Trent 88 only gives sectional incipits in each voice. Reconstruction of the underlay has been done here with considerable reference to Chigi, resulting in a score which uses the full Credo text but which telescopes at 144-197, where the two inner voices have 'Et in Spiritum...Prophetas'. Editorial repeats of 'Qui ex Patre...procedit' are needed in both of these voices at 168-179. I have found the second section of this setting particularly hard to text, because for much of the extent of its fully-scored passage homophony is simply not possible. Further, see the underlay notes to the Chigi version below which splits some values in

this section.

(ii) Chigi ff. 67v-70r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first two staves of the Superius are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'P'. / 7: no minor color / 9: no lig / 10: no cor in either voice / 21: no cs, & 21,4 is replaced by sbr B m B / 34: replaced by col br D col m C col m D col sbr B col m A / 49,2-3: ligd, & 49,3-502 have minor color / 52: after this measure Chigi puts the rest of this section on a new page opening, and at the start of the new page the word 'residuum' is written in downward-facing majuscules with the first two Superius staves indented. / 61: no minor color / 73,3-74,2: ligd / 77: 2 not dtd / 78: 2 & 3 replaced by dtd-sbr D / 79,4-5: no minor color, & 79,5 is E / 85,3-5: replaced by sbr A sbr F / 95: replaced by col br D & L D / 98: the m sign is present in all voices, and the style of majuscule 'E' at the start of the new page opening is the same as at 1 / 129: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 146: no cs / 158: no lig / 162: replaced by col br & col sbr / 164: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 167-168: no lig / 169,2-170,1: ligd / 170,2: not ligd / 176: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 177: no lig / 180: likewise / 182: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 192,2-3: minor color / 221-222: ligd / 226,1-2: replaced by br F / 228: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 240: replaced by sbr F sbr F / 241: no lig / 246: no minor color / 251: 1 & 2 ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice name is written vertically and downward-facing in majuscules, & the first two staves are slightly indented / 7,3-4: minor color / 17: 3 & 4 ligd / 18: likewise / 20: 3 G / 21: no cs / 24: 3 A / 29: no minor color / 34: 1 & 2 ligd / 43,1-2: minor color / 47,1-2: no minor color / 52,2-3: ligd / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the Superius / 59,2-4: replaced by ligd sbr G dtd-sbr upper D / 63: no minor color / 64,3-4: ligd / 66: no flat / 66,6-7: minor color / 68,3-69,1: ligd / 73: 1 & 2 ligd / 80,3-4: minor color / 84: 1 & 2 ligd / 92,1-2: minor color / 93: 1 & 2 are both m / 98: the style of the voice-name 'Contra' is the same as at 1 / 99: no flat / 100: 2 G / 139: 3 G / 171: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 176: replaced by sbr E sbr E / 184,2: not ligd / 203: 3 F / 208: no color / 257: single custos.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and its style plus the indentation here is the same as in the Contratenor / 24: 1 & 2 ligd / 31: likewise / 35: 3 & 4 ligd / 37-42: given as a single lig / 45: no lig or minor color / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous two voices / 64: 1 & 2 ligd instead of 2 & 3 / 68: no minor color / 78,3-79,1: replaced by dtd-sbr D ligd to 79,2 / 92,3-4: minor color / 94,3-4: likewise / 169-170: ligd / 171-172: given as a separate lig / 201: 1 has flat / 234: replaced by col br & col sbr, & the first of these notes is ligd to 230-233 / 326-end: this passage is given on the bottom of the page to the left due to lack of space, with diamond shaped four-dot indicators given on both pages / 236,1-2: replaced by col br col m col m / 250: replaced by col br col sbr, & ligd to 248-249 / 251: replace by col br col sbr.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & is given with the same style and indentation as the Tenor secundus voice name / 42: 1 not ligd / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous voices / 95: 1 not dtd, which means that the following rest would be in measure 95 and that the following two notes in the score (br D br L) would form a two-measure coloration group. Technically according to our barring method this would make the Chigi version of this section a measure shorter than the Trent 88 version. / 98: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous voices, except that only the first stave is indented / 165-166,1: replaced by dtd-br G ligd to 166,2 / 227: not ligd / 228-231: ligd / 256-257: replaced by L D.

Underlay; Chigi gives full Superius text, and the texting of the lower voices is as follows. The Contratenor has 'Patrem... Et in unum Dominum', an 'Et ex Patre' incipit at 34, 'Genitum non factum' at 50, 'consubstantialem... omnia' at 53-59, 'descendit de celis' at 92-97, 'Et incarnatus est' at 98, and thereafter the following incipits; 'ex Maria Virgine', 'Crucifixus etiam', 'passus et sepultus', 'Et in Spiritum', 'Qui ex Patre', 'Qui cum Patre', 'et conglorificatur', 'Qui locutus est', 'Et unam...Ecclesiam', 'Confiteor' and 'Amen'. The Tenor secundus has 'Et in unum Dominum' at 20, 'Genitum non factum' at 49, 'per quem...sunt'

at 58,2, ‘descendit de celis’ at 89-97, ‘Et in Spiritum’ at 144, ‘venturi seculi’ at 237 and ‘Amen’ at 248-257. The Tenor primus has ‘Et in unum Dominum’ at 21, ‘Genitum non factum’ at 44-50, ‘consubstantialem...sunt’ at 53, ‘descendit de celis’ at 85-97, ‘Et resurrexit tertia die’ at 146 and ‘Et vitam venturi seculi’ at 234.

Chigi presents a version which has ligaturing and minor color differences, and which otherwise shows signs of some editing (presuming that Trent 88 was closer to the original version). In the Chigi reading there are consecutive fifths between the two outer voices at 77-78 (possibly a modification done without much thought) and several breves in the two upper voices of the second section of the Trent 88 reading are replaced by pairs of same-pitch semibreves. I count over half a dozen instances of this in the critical notes above, in addition to other small modifications where pairs of same-pitch semibreves have been made into breves. This seems to be a clear indication that somebody has modified the music before its entry into Chigi so that its intended text fits according to the taste or opinion of the revisor. There also remain small questions about detail in the two readings. For example, at Tenor secundus 49,2-4 both readings give three minims instead of dotted minim-seminim-minim. I regard the latter as preferable because it anticipates the Superius at 50. Secondly, the sources differ on how the held-over cadence to the first section works in the lowest voice.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 291v-293r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 2: 3 uc / 9: cor above 1 is uc / 19: cor given instead of cs / 47: single custos / 50: 5 not dtd / 51: 2 & 3 are both sm / 67: p div follows 2 / 72: p sync follows 1 / 81,3-82: written on a short end of stave extension / 86: p div follows 2 / 93: 4 om (supplied from Chigi) / 95: m sign om / 124: cs given upside down under 1 / 173: 3 uc / 193: clef change is in mid-stave. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 9: single custos follows 1 / 18,1: Trent 88 gives cor instead of cs / 18,2-rest in 40: om (supplied from Chigi; presumably the copyist missed a stave in his exemplar). / 47: single custos / 53: p div follows 2 / 62,1-2: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Chigi / 76: single custos / 78,4-5: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 83: p div follows 3 / 85: p div follows 1 / 93: b ind before 92,4 / 94: single custos / 95: m sign before stave at the start of a new page / 131: uc due to lacuna / 162: b ind before 161,1 / 214: natural ind by sharp before the rest in 212.

Tenor secundus; 9: a cor is given above the breve rest for this measure / 19,1: cs is given upside down under this note / 38,3: a ‘2’ is given here, intended to indicate alteration but semibreve alteration with colored groupings is not notationally correct. It would have been better to omit the lig at 38,2-3, omit the color, and write 38,3 as br / 45: 1 not dtd (corr using Chigi) / 76: single custos / 77: p div follows 2 / 87: 4 dtd / 183: 2 E (corr using Chigi) / 219: b ind before 220,1 / 222,3-223: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor [primus]; 1: m sign om, & the voice name is incomplete / 40: p div follows 2 / 47: a superfluous br rest follows 1 / 60: p div follows 2 / 95: m sign given before first stave at the start of a new page / 146: 1 C (corr using Chigi).

Underlay; most sections only have incipits plus a couple of internal cues, and some of our underlay has been done with reference to Chigi. At 83-85 an editorial repeat of ‘Osanna’ in all voices seems necessary.

(ii) Chigi ff. 70v-73r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first two staves of the Superius are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule ‘S’ / 8: no sharp / 9: 1 has sharp but no cor / 10,1-2: minor color / 18: 2-4 replaced by m dtd-m & sm / 19: no cs / 40: after the rest is a new stave with a clef change to C clef on the second line up / 45: 1 & 2 ligd / 47: no cor / 47: at the start of a new page opening, the first ‘P’ of

the text is in the same style as the ‘S’ at 1, with the two top staves slightly indented. The clef also returns to C clef on the bottom stave line. / 50: 5 not dtd / 51: 2 & 3 are both sm / 76: cor over 1 / 85-86,1: ligd / 90: no minor color / 93: 1-3 are sm sm m / 95: at the start of a new page opening, the first ‘B’ of the text is in the same style as the ‘P’ at 47, with the two top staves slightly indented. / 104,3-104,1: replaced by col sbr col m / 114: 1 B / 117,1-2: replaced by col br col sbr / 138-139: ligd / 140: rest & 1 replaced by dtd-br F / 145: 1 & 2 ligd / 148-149: ligd / 157: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 193: no clef change / 194,3-194,1: ligd / 194,2: not ligd / 211: not ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice-name is entered vertically and downward-facing in majuscules, and the first two staves are slightly indented / 32: erasure follows rest / 47: 1 is joined to previous lig, & double instead of single custos / 48: at the start of a new page, the voice name ‘Contra’ is in the same style as the voice name at 1 / 48-49: replaced by ligd col L E br D / 52,3-4: minor color / 63-64: no lig / 71: 2 G / 76: double custos / 81: 1 & 2 are given as a semibreve lig, & no color at 81,2 / 83: no p div / 85: no p div / 90,5-6: minor color / 93: no b / 94: double custos / 95: at the start of a new page, the voice name ‘Cont[raten]or’ is in the same style as before but only the first stave is indented / 104: 2 D / 111-115: no lig / 118,1-119,2: ligd / 123: not ligd / 124: cs over 1 / 134,2-135,2: replaced by dtd-br D which is ligd to 136-140,1 / 157: ligd to 153-156 / 162: no b / 168,3-169,1: ligd / 176,2-177,2: replaced by dtd-br F, ligd to 175,2-176,1 / 177-178: no lig / 193: ligd to 194-195 / 214: no accidental, and 214,1 is replaced by br B sbr B / 215: 1 not ligd.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name style and indentation are the same as in the Contratenor at 1, but the voice name is given as ‘Tenor bass...’ which is confusing as the lowest voice in this movement has a similar name. / 19: no cs, & 1-2 are ligd / 29,3-30,1: replaced by sbr A / 37: 3 not col / 38: 2 not ligd / 38,3-39,2: ligd (the notation at 38-39 thereby avoids the error here in Trent 88) / 48: at the start of a new page the voice name, style and indentation is the same as at 1 but the voice name is changed to ‘Basitenor’ / 58,3-4: minor color / 70,2-71,2: ligd / 76: single custos / 88,1-2: minor color / 91: no b / 95: no clef change, & the voice name is given vertically as ‘Tenor’ in downward facing majuscules without stave indentation. / 153,1-2: replaced by br A / 134-136: not ligd, & 135,2 is replaced by br A sbr A / 137-138: ligd / 155,1: ligd to 153-154 / 175: 1 not ligd / 176-177: ligd / 178: 1 & 2 ligd / 184: 1 br (the final note in the lig here lacks a downward stem) / 211: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 219: b ind before 219,1.

Tenorbass[us]; 1: the voice name’s style and indentation are the same as in the Contratenor at 1 / 40: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br D ligd to 39,1-2 / 48: at the start of a new page, this voice is called ‘Tenor’ in downward facing majuscules written vertically without stave indentation. / 81-86: given as a single lig / 95: at the start of a new page, the style and spelling of the voice name are the same as at 48 / 210-214: given as a single lig.

Underlay; Chigi gives full Superius underlay, and only the lower voices in the Benedictus are not fully texted. However, I do not agree with all of its placement decisions.

Chigi gives a reading which is reasonably close to that of Trent 88 but which splits or joins a few notes differently from the latter, and in which the names of the two lowest voices seem to be confused.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 293v-295r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 2: 3 uc / 13,3-rests in 14: written on a short end of stave extension / 33,2-4: Trent 88 reads dtd-m sm m (corr using Chigi) / 41: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 43: likewise, & 1 has sharp / 76,2-77,1: uc due to lacuna / 88: 1 not dtd / 113: 1 has sharp. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 7: single custos / 17,2: uc due to lacuna / 35: dot after rest / 40: 3 has sharp / 43: clef change is in mid-stave / 59: 2 uc / 67: written on a short end of stave extension / 68-69: uc due to lacuna / 71-72: likewise / 75: m sign given before stave on a new page opening / 93: there is a cs here, but it is not correct because the both lower voices enter one measure later / 95: clef change is in mid-stave.

Tenor secundus; 1-13: 14 measures of rests are given (only 13 are needed) and after the ninth breve rest in both lower voices a single custos is given (this is incorrect because the custos should be at 7). / 33: 4 dtd / 40,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 41-42: written on a short end of stave extension / 43-74: the two staves containing this voice for Agnus II are clefless / 58: 2 C / 63,2: corr from D, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 75: m sign given before stave on a new page opening / 141: b ind before 140,1.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & at 1-13 15 measures of rests are given (only 13 are needed) / 35: p div follows 2 / 42: single custos / 55: p div follows 2 / 75: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with extensive lower voice texting in Agnus I and II, plus full texting in the Tenor secundus for Agnus III. In all voices at 30-34 an editorial repeat of 'miserere' is needed.

(ii) Chigi ff. 73v-75r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first stave is indented to make space for the large penwork-decorated majuscule capital 'A' / 5: 3-5 are dtd-m f f / 7: no cor or custos in either active voice / 11,4-5: minor color / 12: no lig / 13: 2 G / 14: cs above first rest / 14,1: replaced by sbr B m B, & no lig at 14-15 / 16: 1 & 2 ligd / 17,1-2: minor color / 21: 2 col / 41 & 43: neither clef change is at the start of a new stave / 43: 1 has sharp as in Trent 88 / 59,1-60,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C br A / 70: 2 F / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style and indentation of the majuscule 'A' is the same as at 1 / 78: no lig, and 1 is replaced by dtd-m D sm C / 88,1-2: replaced by col br G sm F sm E / 94: cs above rest / 100,1-102,2: ligd / 104,2-105,1: ligd / 124: 1 & 2 ligd / 125: 2 & 3 replaced by sbr F / 143,2-144,1: ligd / 147,5-148,2: minor color. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice name is written vertically and downward facing in majuscules, with a slight indentation for the first stave. The clef is C clef on the middle stave line. / 8: 1 & 2 ligd / 10,3-11,1: no lig / 34,4: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 36: replaced by br C sbr C / 37-42: the single stave which has the end of this voice for Agnus I has C clef on the fourth line up / 37,4-38,1: ligd / 38,1-2: not ligd / 64: following the rest is about a third of a stave with erasures / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1 / 93: replaced by br B sbr B / 95: the clef change to C clef on the fourth line up is at 96, which is the start point for a new stave / 98-101: given as a single lig / 103-105: ligd / 108: no sharp / 120: 1 & 2 ligd / 123,3-124,1: ligd / 126: no lig, & 126,2-127,1 are replaced by br B / 127,2-128,1: ligd / 128,2-129,2: ligd / 130,2-131,1: ligd / 134,1-2: minor color / 147,2-148,1: ligd.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, but has the same style and indentation as the Contratenor voice name at 1. / 1-12: the correct number of rests are given, with no intervening custos / 14: no cs / 28,1-2: minor color / 30: p div follows 2 / 33: 2 C, & 4 not dtd / 34: 2 followed by p sync / 40: 1 & 2 ligd / 42: 1 is C, with cor above / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1 / 112: 2 & 3 replaced by m F / 137-138: written on a short end of stave extension / 141: b ind before 141,1.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, but it has the same style and indentation as the Contratenor and Tenor voice names at 1 / 1-13: the correct number of rests are given, with no intervening custos / 35: 1 is dtd, 2 is om, & no p div / 75: at the start of a new page opening the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1, & the m sign is present.

Underlay; the Superius is fully texted, and the lower voices have a mixture of sectional incipits and internal cues. Some of the text placement differs from that in Trent 88.

Chigi gives a reading which is not too different from Trent 88, but a few notes are split differently and each source has a few errors.

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Structure

In Instalment 3 I discussed the *Missa O rosa bella II*, which is likely to be a derivative work. Ockeghem's *Missa Caput* is more solidly derivative since it is unlikely to antedate the English Mass on the same cantus firmus, and it could not really differ more from the structurally and stylistically derivative *Missa O admirabile* previously discussed. Ockeghem's Mass has enjoyed a wide circulation in modern times since it was one of the first of his Masses to be seen in a modern edition (in 1912). Most modern accounts of it stand in the shadow of Bukofzer's study of the three *Caput* Masses, in which he gave an inspiringly colourful account of how Ockeghem's music tends to differ from that of his contemporaries. The cantus firmus is the same as that of the *Missa Caput* in Trent 89.²⁹ It is given in two statements per movement in all movements except the Kyrie, and most of the triple and duple statements take their rhythmic configurations literally from the Tenors of the older Mass too. But instead of giving the cantus firmus at its normal pitch as an internal voice, Ockeghem transposes it an octave down and uses it as a lowest voice in a part which Trent 88 names 'Tenor'.³⁰ Since both sources give verbal instructions for transposition of the chant-bearing part which mention 'another *Caput* Mass' this is what marks the work as derivative. The cantus firmus as normally heard is given below.

4.10. The final melisma from the *Venit ad Petrum* antiphon;

The latter four movements of this Mass begin on A and end on D, so the composer adapts the cantus firmus as follows. Since the chant melisma begins on B all movements except the Kyrie have extensively delayed cantus firmus entries, and most cantus firmus statements have a few rests at the end of the chant which are followed by an added D in the cantus firmus voice so that the borrowed material ends at the same pitch as the

²⁹ The cantus firmus is the optional final melisma from the Maundy Thursday antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*, given in Example 4.10 from Harley 2942 ff. 48r-v. Van Benthem *op. cit.* p. viii usefully gives a comparison score of the Tenors from the triple and duple Tenor statements in Ockeghem's Mass.

³⁰ Both Trent 88 and Chigi confuse names for the two lower voices, with Trent 88 being the more misleading. The cantus firmus voice is often called 'Tenor' in the latter manuscript and the voice above it is called 'Tenor secundus'. For the sake of thoroughness I prefer to name the lowest part as a 'Tenor primus'. Chigi gives confusing lower voice names in the Sanctus, calls the cantus firmus part 'Bassus' in the Kyrie, and both lower parts are called 'Tenor' in the Agnus.

voices above it (Agnus II does not have this addition). The start of the Kyrie (where the cantus firmus has an initial one-measure rest) encapsulates the strangeness of the cantus firmus entries in the following movements, since the construct on B in measure 2 is succeeded by a sixth-chord on G and then a construct on F in which there are Superius F naturals. No other fifteenth-century work opens quite like this. The Kyrie is also special since it splits the cantus firmus into three sections instead of two. In doing so, it adds a free cadential D at the end of Kyrie I, and omits a section of melodically repetitive cantus firmus found in the Gloria at 63-75. Kyrie II then gives the rest of the cantus firmus with the delayed free D at the end. All sections of the Agnus also omit the same repetitive passage as in the Kyrie, and the Agnus retains bipartite form by making Agnus I and Agnus II both serve as part of its triple section.

There are minor differences between other cantus firmus statements, rests between portions of borrowed material vary, and there is also a variant with the Tenor of the older Mass in the Sanctus (at 53, where other statements and sources give dotted-breve instead breve and semibreve). A few passages in the cantus firmus of Ockeghem's Mass also need editorial B flats added to avoid basic discords or close false relations (see Credo 44 and 48, and Agnus 142-143).

All movements except the Kyrie share a motto opening for the two upper voices which begins on A, and these share very similar or identical partwriting until the start of the third measure. The continuations then diverge. All movements also end similarly on D, with the lowest part generally resting and the three upper parts proceeding in accelerated motion until they reach the final D cadence. In the Sanctus the rests for the lowest part are brief, and in a similarly contrived cadence at the end of Kyrie I there are no rests for the lowest voice. Amongst the subdivision openings only the Christe and Benedictus Superius openings are linked, and these use material which is independent from the motto opening.

The texture is generally full but is varied by temporary lower-voice trios and duos, and all movements except the Kyrie have introductory duets. Otherwise the Pleni sunt and Agnus II have short duet passages, which may be a feature taken from similarly scored passages in the older Missa *Caput*. There would be some justification in visualising the Kyrie as the last movement written, as the composer and his colleagues were probably quite used to seeing English Mass cycles without their Kyrie movements attached. It is also by far the shortest of the movements, and possibly the composer attempted his bottom-voice cantus firmus exercise because there are four-voice insular works which have borrowed material in the same position.³¹

This is very probably the earliest of Ockeghem's four-voice Masses to survive, and it is interesting to see traits that are present in his later works already appearing here. Such as the relatively brief Kyrie, the wide range of the Superius (which spans an octave and a sixth in the Agnus), rhythmic sophistication involving small values in O mensuration (see Credo 15-17) and declamatory passages following melismatic writing (see the Gloria Superius at 95-108). We also see redicta figures in the Superius (see Agnus III at 'mundi'), short stretches of pedal-point work (Gloria 73-74 and Agnus 28-29) and just a few accidentals used for noteworthy effect. For example, the B flat in the lower voice soon after the start of the Credo's second section gives the impression of a whole new musical excursion beginning. There are also some irregular suspensions (see Gloria 14, Sanctus 4-5 and Sanctus 191-192). The duple mensuration sections are also rhythmically sophisticated and differ very little in style from those in pieces by Ockeghem from the 1470's and later. The mostly non-imitative texture is also typical, as is the tendency in four-part writing to rely on what we now call II-I progressions. This is also not the only exercise of his to feature cantus firmus in the lowest voice since Ockeghem's four-part *Salve Regina* is similarly designed.³² This work too adds cadential D's in the lowest voice to help unify a piece whose cantus firmus in this setting does not begin on D. Like the Missa *Caput* Kyrie I cadence it also has cadences where the lowest voice has A and then D in extended values, and in which

³¹ For example the Credo on *Requiem eternam* in C87, which is published in *EECM* 42, no. 2.

³² Published in Wexler, R. and Plamenac, D. (eds), *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works vol. III: motets and chansons* (Boston, 1992) pp. 13-17.

the upper voices have pedal-point motion above the A before cadencing. Because the two works are similar in style they may also be close in date.

The process of writing several movemental exercises above a cantus firmus which has many B naturals throughout is taxing, and I highlight the following passages to illustrate some of the difficulties involved. The Credo's second-section full entry begins on a first-inversion construct, and several Superius passages have melodic progressions in which neither B natural nor F natural can be changed to obtain a smoother line (see Kyrie 12, Gloria 38 and 130-134). There are close false relations at Gloria 19-20, and a very odd cadence-like progression at Gloria 41-42 in which the Superius has a typical cadential cliché ending on F plus a lowest part beneath which goes from B natural to D. There are also occasional upper-voice consecutive fifths (see Credo 48-49) and temporary second-inversion constructs at Gloria 175 and 193). At measure 58 in the same movement is a cadence in a temporary lower-voice trio whose part-movement resists the addition of either a lowest-voice flat or upper-voice sharps, and in many places throughout there are more first-inversion constructs on G than would normally appear in other continental four-part exercises of this date. Usually in this Mass such progressions are created by an accented E-D in one of the upper voices.

The Gloria and Credo first sections are slightly longer and more leisurely in pace than similar exercises in other Masses, and this is due to the length of the cantus firmus and the general absence of accelerative devices in these sections. There also seems to be a more increased use of sustained values in the final two movements of this Mass, which is a feature that occurs in other Ockeghem Masses and gives the impression of reverence. But perhaps the most surprising feature of this unusually-written work is that despite occasional awkwardnesses it is successful as a musical structure and has increased the composer's renown where other and later works of his might have been more deserving. Several recordings testify to continued lively interest in its style and features.³³ Also, the fact that Ockeghem had composed a derivative Mass on this cantus firmus was probably an encouragement for Obrecht producing his own gloriously extended and accomplished *Missa Caput*.

Now I come to some of those perennial issues which tend never to leave fifteenth century studies. Firstly, what in this Mass do we emend and what is best left alone? A typical example is at the start of measure 9 in the Credo, where we have a pair of contrary-motion small values leading outwards to the octave but where the lower pair is dotted. Since both sources read the same and since the dissonance hardly sounds, I have left this passage unaltered. Likewise, the way in which a Superius suspension is struck at Sanctus 191 causes a dissonance with the Contratenor which is not resolved in the normal manner. Again, I have not emended this passage since both sources read identically. Of the two readings for this Mass, the immaculately copied Chigi version immediately attracts attention since this source for many of Ockeghem's works is beautifully presented with miniatures and marginal decorations. But neither neatness nor showy presentation guarantees that everything in Chigi is authoritative, and in my critical commentary I note that quite a few values in the Credo, Sanctus and Agnus are split or joined differently from Trent 88. In the Credo this is particularly important since the texting differs somewhat from Trent 88 and seems to have been adapted. Therefore Trent 88 (which was probably complete by the early 1460's) takes precedence over Chigi which was possibly copied about thirty years later. Indeed, the way that the second halves of the Gloria and Credo have to be editorially texted brings the texture close to uncontrollability since homophony is impossible for most of these sections. Therefore the fact that the Chigi Credo looks adapted shows that the texting of this movement might have been problematic at the time of copying. Finally, the question of exactly how closely Ockeghem wished to emulate the older *Caput* Mass is explored in the following section on numbers. Since other textures of his are known for painstaking work, the same might apply here.

³³ The Hilliard Ensemble have performed the Sanctus on the CD Coro 16048, *For Ockeghem* (1996), and in the same decade a Radio 3 broadcast featured the whole Mass sung by the same performers. It is also available on the 1998 CD *Gaudeamus 186* performed by The Clerks Group, and also the 2019 CD *Fra Bernardo 1909373* where it is performed by the vocal ensemble Beauty Farm.

Numerology

In terms of tempora, the Credo has 257 measures in the Trent 88 version and 256 in the Chigi version (a difference caused by variants at the end of the first section). 256 is possibly more correct since this is part of the duple generational sequence which also includes 64, 128, 512 and 1,024. Otherwise multiples of 11 seem to be prominent, as the following instances show.

Total measures in Kyrie I: 22.

Total measures in Qui tollis: 121 (11 x 11).

Total measures in Sanctus excluding the movemental long: 222.

Total measures in Agnus II and III combined: 111.

There also seems to be some influence present from the older English *Caput* Mass, which has 47 measures in the first section of its Sanctus. Ockeghem's Mass has the same feature, and also 94 measures in its Et in terra section (47 x 2). In the older Mass single first-section Tenor statements mostly have 94 notes.

It has already been shown that the Sanctus has a small discrepancy with the cantus firmus of the older Mass, and the sequence of Tenor primus totals for each movement are as follows: 61, 199, 200, 196 and 134. The Kyrie gives its divided cantus firmus in three sections in which the outer ones are the same length in measures (these respectively being 19, 21 and 19) and both the Sanctus and Agnus open with 34-measure sections (in the older Mass, the same sections each open with 33 measures each).

In terms of note counts multiples of 11 again feature prominently, The Gloria Superius has 441 notes (very nearly 440) and the Contra in Agnus II has 336 (nearly 333). There are also 334 notes in the Credo's Tenor secundus. Otherwise different numbers feature as follows; the total of Superius notes in the Et in terra is 251 (nearly 250) and the total of Superius notes in the entire Agnus is 399 (nearly 400).

Counting sectional note totals by removing all sectional longs reveals further multiples of eleven. Calculated in this way the Agnus Superius has a total of 396 notes (11 x 36) and the Tenor secundus in Agnus I has 77 notes. Also the total of Tenor notes in Ockeghem's Gloria (198 with sectional longs removed) is 11 x 18, and the total of Superius notes in the Credo is 924 (11 x 84).

Finally the entire total of notes in the Agnus counted in the same way is 1,111, which may have something to do with the 1,110 entire measures of the older Missa *Caput*.³⁴ Since Trent 88 and Chigi both have errors as well as variants, it is likely that neither is particularly close to the putative first version. But to find this much in even a fairly poor copy of Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass implies that at least some of our calculations might have featured in the original. I also doubt very much that I have found all of the secrets that that this remarkable work may conceal.

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100. [Dufay]; Missa *Se la face ay pale*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 97v-105v (DTÖ VII inventory nos 253-257). All five movements, anon;
- (ii) CS 14 ff. 27v-38r, Dufay, all five movements, with the Sanctus Superius being slightly incomplete;
- (iii) Siena K.I.2 ff. 222r-223v, fragmentary and anon, parts of the Sanctus and Credo only.

³⁴ This figure is obtained from the measure count of a cleaned-up version of *Caput* in the DIAMM Trent 89 edition, and it is known that the Trent 89 version of the Missa *Caput* is not the earliest available. However, if the original measure count was a little different (and also if the note count of the Ockeghem Agnus was a little different too) the observation made here might still be valid.

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the Tenor of the well-known three-voice chanson of the same name by Dufay. Further, see the section on structure.

Kyrie

(i) Trent 88 ff. 97v-98r;

[Superius]; 1: the title ‘Selafaczepalay’ appears above the music, there is a large gap after the m sign (probably intended for a majuscule initial) and the first section is ind as ‘[K]yrie primus’. / 9: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 27: 2 & 3 are G A, with downward diagonals on either side of 27,3 to indicate one of these mistakes (corr using CS 14) / 49-58: ten measures of rests are given (only nine and a half are needed) and 9 of these rests are spaced across the stave in sets of three - because the greater rhythm of this section is triple rather than duple (i.e. it divides into regular patterns of three measures of C mensuration, or perfect minor modus). / 59: 2 & 3 are F G (corr using CS 14) / 65: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 78: this section is ind as ‘Kyrie ultimus’ in all voices except the Tenor / 82: p div follows rest / 85-86,1: written over erasures / 97: 2 & 3 are B E, with downward diagonals on either side of 97,3 to indicate one of these mistakes (corr using CS 14) / 98: 2 uc. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

[C]ontra; 1: there is a gap before the first note (probably intended for a majuscule initial) / 2: p div follows 2 / 4: 2 C (corr using CS 14) / 8: sharp ind before 7,1 / 9: p div follows 2 / 13-14: Trent 88 gives E A (corr using CS 14) / 18,2: corr from B by stretching of a ligature end / 22: 2 E (corr using CS 14) / 23: 2 D (corr using CS 14) / 24: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 40: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 45: 3 B (corr using CS 14) / 56,2-5: written over erasures / 58: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 59-70: these 12 br rests are grouped in sets of three like the Christe rests in the Superius / 96,2-97,2: Trent 88 reads B C D E (corr using CS 14) / 101: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and the direction ‘du^o’ at the start is an indication of the simple augmentation which the Tenor part has throughout this movement. The CS 14 ‘Crescit in duplo’ direction is given in our score since this is clearer in intention. / 4: p div follows A / 24: p div follows C / 31,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension / 37: no ‘Tacet’ direction given / 78: m sign om / 83: m rest given instead of sbr rest.

[T]enor bassus; 1: there is a gap before the first note (probably intended for a majuscule initial) / 1-2: ns / 7: p div follows 2 / 20: erasure follows 1, 2 is F (corr using CS 14) & 3 is uc / 21: ns / 28: corr from F by erasure of a ligature end / 38-46: these rests are grouped in threes as are other br rests in the Christe section / 63: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 80: a superfluous and squashed-in br rest follows 2 (implying that 80,2 would have been altered in the Trent 88 reading) & 80,3-81,2 are om (supplied using CS 14) / 98: 2 & 3 are E D (corr using CS 14) / 101: 1 E (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; all voices have the usual ‘Kyrie’ and ‘Christe’ incipits plus ‘eleyson’ apart from at the end of the lowest voice. I have added diereses throughout to most occurrences of ‘eleyson’, and an editorial repeat of ‘eleyson’ is needed in the three lower voices at 21-23. ‘Eleyson’ also needs to be repeated in the Tenor at 32-37, and the Superius and Tenor bassus both need a rpt of ‘eleyson’ at the end of the Christe (71-77). Part of the reason for these repeats are same-pitch values in the cantus firmus voice. The Tenor at the start of Kyrie II also has the incipit ‘Tant je me deduis’, which is not part of the original cantus firmus text but might be a misreading or mis-remembering of the phrase ‘La belle a qui suis’ which occurs in the song Tenor at this point.

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(ii) CS 14 ff. 27v-29r;

[Superius]; 1: the first four staves are indented to make room for a gilt-framed coloured miniature of Amphitrite (Poseidon's wife) riding on the back of a dolphin. / 14: no divisi D / 34-35: no lig / 36,2-3: minor color / 36,4-37: these notes are after the end of a stave, & no custos is given / 38: the m sign is given as cut-C in this voice but as C in the other active voices / 49 onwards: as in Trent 88 breve rests in this copy tend to be given in groups of threes / 61: this lig is given as an upward oblique / 78: at the start of a new page opening, the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'K' / 85: 3 & 4 replaced by m C dtd-m C sm B sm A / 93,5-94,2: minor color / 94,3-5: replaced by m C dtd-m B.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'C' for the first letter of the voice name / 34: 2-4 not col / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'C' much like the initial at 1, and the first two staves are indented / 101: no p div.

Tenor; 1: the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, the m sign is om, and 'crescit in duplo' is given following the 'Tacet' direction after the end of Kyrie I / 4: no p div / 37: 'Xpe tacet' given on the stave following the double custos / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'T' much like the initial at 1, and the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented. The m sign is present, & the instruction 'dicitur ut primus' is given following the final double custos. / 91,2: uc due to lacuna.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, & the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name. / 7: 1 not col, & no p div after 7,2 / 21-22,1: ligd / 22: 1-2 replaced by br D, which is perfect / 27-30: ligd / 31: p div follows 2 / 57: not ligd / 62-63: likewise / 74: no b / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'T' much like the initial at 1, and the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented. / 86-87,2: ligd / 89: no lig.

Underlay; all eight invocations of 'Kyrie' / 'Christe eleyson' in the Superius are texted (the ninth one is the second 'Christe', which is sung by lower voices). Likewise the Contra and Tenor bassus have full text in the first two sections, but they only have the incipits 'Kyrie' and 'eleyson' for Kyrie II. The Tenor has the incipit 'Se la face ay pale' and two invocations of 'Kyrie eleyson' for the first section, and 'Tant ie me deduis' plus a single 'Kyrie eleyson' for Kyrie II. The CS 14 underlay is very neat, but some of its positioning is questionable and there are clearly not enough syllables given to cater for the repeated same-pitch notes in the Tenor.

CS 14 has minimal differences with Trent 88 and unlike the latter is error-free. It also provides thorough verbal instructions for the augmented Tenor.

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 98v-100r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat. 17,328 f. 168r³⁵, there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) and above the music is the title ‘Selafacepalay’. / 19-20: uc / 47,3-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 55: 1 & 2 are C B (corr using CS 14) / 65: p div follows 2 / 71-82: the rests and most other groups of breve rests throughout tend to be grouped in threes (i.e. going through two stave lines) to indicate perfect minor modus / 91: p div follows 3 / 118: no custos / 236: Trent 88 reads dtd-sbr F m E sbr E m D & L F, with these notes squashed in & no custos following (corr using CS 14) / 237: m sign given above last note of previous section. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 1: there is a gap between the m sign and first note, probably left for insertion of a majuscule initial / 2: p div follows 3 / 3: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 7: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration & with a p div following / 17: p div follows 3 / 18: as at 3 / 97: 2 G (corr with the help of CS 14) / 106: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 115: p div follows 2 / 134: col err, but with correcting ‘a’ (for ‘alba’) underneath this note / 152-153: ns / 207: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 220: 2 corr from C by an extra mark on an oblique ligature / 260: 2 F (corr using CS 14) / 264,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and as in the Kyrie the Trent 88 instructions for augmentation in the first two sections are minimal. / 24: p div follows 1 / 46: 1 dtd / 48: rest om / 54: p div follows 1 / 100,2-118: due to lack of space the end of this section for the Tenor is given on the page to the left, with sharp signs in both places indicating the continuation / 112-115: written on a short end of stave extension / 115: rpt sign given following 1, which seems to be superfluous as the cantus firmus is not repeated in section 1 / 119: m sign om / 164: 1 dtd / 166: rest om / 172: p div follows 1 / 233: repeat sign given following 1 plus ‘prout iacet’, which provides for the Tenor in the final section.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: m sign om, & the voice name is incomplete / 61: p div follows 2 / 65: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 73,1: two dots arranged horizontally are given under this note for no apparent reason / 82: cor given instead of cs / 96: b ind before 95,2 / 103-104: ns / 145: 1 G (corr using CS 14) / 164-169: these three imperfect L’s are colored because of the presence of perfect minor modus (with sets of breve rests drawn across three spaces). Void longs are perfect in perfect minor modus when there is nothing to imperfect them. For other examples see the Contra in the Sanctus at 150, and this voice in the Agnus at 93. / 264: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The Tenor does not seem suited to continuous text and can only accommodate phrases roughly in parallel with those in the Superius. In the Tenor at 253 a repeat of ‘gloria’ is needed, at 254-257 a repeat of ‘Dei’ is needed, and ‘gloria Dei’ needs a further repeat at 257-258. In the Contra, a repeat of ‘miserere nobis’ is needed at 190-200, and in the Tenor bassus a rpt of ‘Domine Fili’ is needed at 70-75 plus a repeat of ‘Unigenite’ at 84-87 and a repeat of ‘miserere nobis’ at 190-200. In the Superius, ‘Christe’ is given as ‘xpe’ at 90 & as ‘Criste’ at the end of the second section.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 29v-31r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital ‘E’ for the first letter of the text / 2: no lig / 3,4-4,3: ligd / 45,2-3: minor color / 56,1-2: replaced by dtd-br A / 65: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br E / 85: 2-3 ligd / 91: no p div / 112: no lig / 113 & 116: likewise / 118: given

³⁵ This manuscript is a Cistercian Paris Rite Gradual from the 12th century.

after the end of a very compressed stave, with a single custos following / 119: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule initial 'Q' with the same indentation, style and size as the initial at 1 / 145-146: no lig / 157: 2 A / 185,3-186,1: ligd / 188: 1 not dtd / 236: double custos in all voices / 246: 1-3 replaced by ligd sbr G sbr F, the second of which needs alteration / 256: 1 & 2 ligd / 259: 3 & 4 are F E / 260: 1 replaced by col br F col br G / 263: 2-3 replaced by col br B / 264: p div follows 2. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given, and the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'E' as in the Superius / 3: 1 & 2 are ligd sbr sbr, & no p div follows / 7: no p div / 21: 4 replaced by col sbr E & col m D / 50,3-4: minor color / 54: no lig / 55-57: given as a single lig / 77,4-78,2: minor color / 82: no cs / 95: p div follows 2 / 97: 2 dtd / 98: 1 not dtd / 115: no p div / 118: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm, and 118,3-4 are after the end of a stave with no custos following / 119: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule initial 'Q' as in the Superius / 170: not ligd / 200: no cs / 213-215: ligd / 221: no lig / 223: 1 & 2 ligd / 255: no lig / 235-236: no divisi notes / 263,6-7: minor color / 264: p div follows 2 / 270,1: no color.

Tenor; 1: all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves. The m sign is present, and following the first section's double custos full verbal instructions are given as follows. *Canon. Tenor ter dicitur primo / Quilibet figura crescit / in triplo / 2º in duplo / 3º ut iacet.* / 24: no p div / 54: no p div / 106-107: ligd / 119: the m sign is present / 224-225: ligd / 236: a repeat sign is given before the double custos, and therefore as in Trent 88 the Tenor for the third section is not written out.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, the m sign is om, and all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a capital 'T' for the voice name / 20-22: ligd, & 21,1-2 are replaced by br C / 37,1-2: replaced by br G, which is ligd to 38,1 / 49: 1 & 2 replaced by br F / 55: b ind above rest in 53 / 71: no cs / 77: replaced by sbr G & br lower C / 82: no cs / 95: p div follows 2 / 98,4-99,2: ligd / 108: p div follows 2 / 115: likewise / 119: the start of this voice on the second page opening has an initial as at 1 / 150-153: ligd / 185-187: ligd / 208-209,1: replaced by dtd-br C / 209: no lig / 210-212: ligd / 220,2-221,2: replaced by dtd-br C / 230-232: ligd / 238: 3 b / 240: 1-2 replaced by br F / 254: p div follows 2 / 256-257: replaced by ligd sbr C br F br lower C plus unligd br lower C / 272: superfluous sbr F follows second rest / 274,2-3: this lig is written as an upward oblique.

Underlay; full text in the Superius and Contra, plus extensive partial texting in the Tenor bassus and some Ordinary text in the Tenor ('Adoramus...tuam' in the first section, very compressed, plus 'miserere nobis...deprecationem nostram' in the second section). Despite the texting in CS 14 being clear, I doubt that all of its placing is relevant for editorial underlay purposes.

CS 14 presents few variants apart from a few notes in the Tenor bassus being split differently and occasional minor color in the upper parts. It is also nearly error free, unequivocally clear about how the augmented Tenor is to be performed, and corrects errors in the Trent 88 reading of this voice.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 100v-102r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, and there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) / 19: Trent 88 gives cor instead of cs / 42: 2 F (corr using CS 14) / 45: rest is written on a short end-of-stave extension / 68: 3 col err, but with a correcting 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 71 onwards: as in the Gloria, rests in this copy tend to be written in groups of threes / 117-118: written on a short end of stave extension / 265,1-5: om (supplied from CS 14) / 276: triple instead of double custos.

Contra; 1: there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) / 11: p div follows 2 / 12: likewise / 13: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 14: err p div follows 1 / 30: p div follows 2 / 34: using both divisi lines here results in the uncomfortable presence of doubled thirds, so possibly just the upper notes are authentic / 40: 2 uc / 50: 4 G (corr using CS 14) / 64: p div follows 2 / 72,1-73,1: this passage is om on the main stave and is given in the right margin with cruciform figures in both places indicating the omission, plus 'ut supra' in the margin / 87: p div follows rest / 88: 1 is sbr (intended for alteration) & a p div follows / 96: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 97: 4 F (corr using CS 14) / 105: 5 D (corr using CS 14) / 115: p div follows 2 / 118,3-4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 191: 3 uc / 204,2-205,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 260: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 261: p div follows 2 / 265-266: om (supplied from CS 14).

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and as in previous movements the Trent 88 instructions for augmentation in the first two sections are minimal. / 24: p div follows 1 / 119: m sign om / 167-169: written on a short end of stave extension / 172: p div follows 1 / 214: 2 col err / 228-236: the end of the Tenor's second section is written on the page to the left due to lack of space, with sharp signs in both places indicating the continuation / 233: following the double custos is a repeat sign and the indication 'prout iacet' to cater for the Tenor's final section.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the voice name is incomplete on the first page opening / 48: b ind before 48,1 / 73: cs over 1 for no apparent reason / 74,2-75,1: Trent 88 reads G F (corr using CS 14) / 101: p div follows 2 / 115: likewise / 252: 1 col err / 273: 1 G (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting uses the full Credo text, but as in the Gloria the lower voices can only take limited text due to their extended values. At 114-118 the Contra needs a repeat of 'dexteram Patris', at 188-200 the Contra and Tenor bassus need repeats of 'et conglorificatur', at 252-254 the Contra and Tenor need repeats of 'remissionem', at 264-266 the Tenor needs a repeat of 'mortuorum', and at 268-270 it needs a repeat of 'venturi'. At 219 in the Superius 'catholicam' is spelt 'katholicam'. In general the Superius texting is very compressed, and at 58-60 'descendit de celis' is written under 'et propter nostram' due to lack of space.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 31v-34r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'P' for the first letter of the text / 15,2-16,2: replaced by sbr C sbr D / 31: 4 C / 54: 2 A / 64,2-3: minor color / 68: 3-4 are dtd-m & sm / 99: likewise / 114: p div follows 4 / 117: 1 G / 118: given after the end of a stave, & no custos / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'E' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 164: 1 dtd, & no rest at 166 / 183: 1 replaced by col br / 204: 1 B / 237: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'C' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 239: 3 not ligd / 240: 2 & 3 not col / 267: no lig / 277: double custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: 1 not dtd, no voice name is given on any of the three page openings, & the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'P' for the first letter of the text / 7,1-8,2: ligd / 11: no p div / 12: likewise / 14: p div follows 2 / 24: p div follows 2 / 29: 1 b, ind before rest / 30: no p div / 80: 4 replaced by dtd-m C & sm A / 87: no p div / 90,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 96,2-3: minor color / 110: 2-3 are dtd-m & sm / 114: b ind before 114,1 / 116: 2 replaced by sbr A sbr A / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'E' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 221: 1 & 2 ligd / 221-222: no lig / 236: single custos / 237: replaced by br F sbr F / 240: 3 not ligd / 241: 2 & 3 col / 261: no p div / 263,1-264,1: ligd.

Tenor; 1: all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves. The m sign is present. Following the first section's double custos and a 'verte', verbal instructions are given as follows. *Et dicitur pro ut et in terra* / 24: no p div / 42: p div follows 1 / 54:

likewise / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1, & the m sign is om / 142: p div follows 1 / 174-175: no lig / 118: no rpt sign is given, & the Tenor for the third section is fully written out on the third page opening / 119: the m sign is present / 227: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1, & the m sign is om / 244: p div follows 2 / 245,3-4: this lig is written as an upward oblique.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on all page openings, the m sign is om, & all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a majuscule, penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the voice name / 75: replaced by br G sbr G, & the first note is ligd / 88: not dtd / 112-115,1: ligd / 119: at the start of the second page opening, all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves / 153: 1 is col / 168: replaced by sbr rest & sbr F / 175: 1 b, ind before 173,1 / 183: no color / 202-203: not ligd / 208-211: only three br rests are given / 220,2-221,2: no lig, & these two notes are replaced by dtd-br / 223-226: given as a single lig / 230: no lig / 235: likewise / 227: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 250-251: no lig / 257: p div follows 2 / 272: no lig / 273-274: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius and Contra, but with underlay that is fairly compressed. The Tenor bassus has partial text in all three sections. The Tenor has 'et invisibilium' for section 1, 'cuius...vivificantem' for section 2, and 'Confiteor unum baptisma' for the final section.

CS 14 gives an almost error-free reading but which is inferior to Trent 88 on account of some very minor variants, one of which causes outer-voice parallel fifths (Superius, 31-32).

(iii) Siena K.I.2 ff. 223r-v;

This fragmentary single-page reading gives the Contra and Tenor for the first section, and the Superius and Tenor bassus for the second. Parts of the photographs used for reading this source have legibility problems.

[Superius]; 1-118: missing / 163: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 183:1 is col br / 204: no lig / 236: no more music survives after this point.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given / 3: replaced by ligd sbr G sbr C & sbr C / 7,1-8,2: ligd / 11-14: no p divs in any of these measures, & 13,1-14,1 are ligd / 22-23: uc / 30: no p div / 45: 2-3 ligd instead of 1-2 / 49,2-50,1: replaced by dtd-br C / 51-52,1: ligd / 64: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br, & no p div / 66: 2 replaced by sbr F sbr F / 68,1-2: replaced by col L / 84,5-6: minor color / 87: no p div / 88,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 89,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 90,1-2: likewise / 91,1-2: minor color / 96,4: replaced by m C dtd-sbr C / 97,2: replaced by m D m D / 97-98: no lig, & 98,2 replaced by sbr E m E / 98,3-99,1: replaced by sbr D m D / 102,2-3: minor color / 105: 5 D / 106,1: replaced by sbr B sbr B / 110,5-6: minor color / 116: 2 replaced by sbr A sbr A, & followed by p div / 118: triple instead of double custos, & no more music survives for this voice.

Tenor; 1: the m sign is om, and the verbal canon is given as 'Crescit in triplo' / 24: no p div / 68: no b / 85: cs over 1 for entry of Superius / 106-107: no lig. No more music for this voice survives after the first section.

[Tenor bassus]; 1-118: missing / 119: no voice name is given / 152-154: col / 168: replaced by sbr rest & sbr F / 183: no color / 197: no minor color / 208-211: only 3 br rests are given / 223-226: given as a single lig / 227-228: no lig / 234-236: ligd, After 236 no more music survives for this voice.

Underlay; Siena K.I.2 gives full text for its single Superius section and partial text in the Contra and Tenor bassus. Apart from the verbal canon the Tenor is untexted.

The Siena K.I.2 has significant variants in its surviving Contra section, and otherwise repeats a few of the minor CS 14 variants.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 102v-104r;

[Superius]; 1: in both upper voices there are large gaps between the initial m signs and first notes (probably left for the insertion of majuscule initials) / 12,6-7: added on a short end of stave extension / 31: 3 G (corr using CS 14) / 33: both upper voices wrongly mark the Pleni sunt section as 'Duo' / 34: 2 B (corr using CS 14) / 57-62: as with other movements, breve rests here tend to be grouped in threes / 92: the Benedictus section is also wrongly marked as 'Duo' in both upper voices / 106: 3 A (corr using CS 14) / 131: not dtd / 152: 2 E (corr using CS 14) / 156: 3 G (corr using CS 14) / 157: an erased sbr A follows 2 / 158,1-159,2: these four notes are all given a tone too low (corr using CS 14) / 189: 1 dtd. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 35: p div follows 2 / 63: likewise / 69: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 73: p div follows 3 / 75: p div follows 2 / 76: p div follows 4 / 110: cs above 1 instead of cor / 131: likewise, & 131 is not dtd / 150: regarding the colored L here see the critical notes to the Tenor bassus in the Gloria at 164-169 / 158: b ind before 158,1 / 160: natural ind by sharp.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and no verbal canon is given to indicate the augmentation ratio (canon supplied from CS 14) / 16: p div follows A / 32: no 'silet' direction given / 73: the Tenor here is marked 'Ad Osanna primum' but the marking is crossed out / 91: 'silet' instruction given after the Osanna I section for the Tenor bassus on the second page opening. At the end of the first page opening is a crossed-out copy of the second half of the cantus firmus, marked 'Osanna' and with no custos at the end. / 162: m sign om.

Tenor bassus; 1: on the first page opening the voice name is given twice, at the start of each of the first two staves for this voice. On the second page opening it is merely called 'Bassus'. / 20: p div follows 2 / 22: 1 is sbr (intended for alteration) & a p div follows / 26,1: corr from A by the lengthening of a ligature end, & a p div follows 26,2 / 32: no custos / 66: p div follows 2 / 92: m sign om, and on the second page opening the Benedictus section is given after a crossed-out duplicate of the Tenor bassus for Osanna I with a single custos at its end / 136: 1 G (corr using CS 14) / 141,2-142,1: om (supplied from CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 25-32 all voices except the Tenor need a repeat of 'Sabaoth'. At 49 in the Tenor bassus editorial entry on a part-word is advisable because of the imitation which follows, and the same voice needs a repeat of 'gloria' at 57-62. The Tenor in Osanna I needs repeats of 'Osanna' at 74-81 and 'in excelsis' at 84-91. The same voice also needs a repeat of 'Osanna in excelsis' at 175-195. Repeated same-pitch values in the Tenor are the cause of most of these editorial interventions.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 34v-36r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'S' for the first letter of the text / 12,4-7: replaced by sbr C m B / 13: cs over 1 / 33: no 'Duo' markings in any voice, & the m sign is rptd in all active voices / 73: at the start of the second page opening, the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'O' for the first letter of the text. This has a drawing of a king's head inside the 'O', and the m sign is rptd. / 92: as at 33 / 128,1-2: minor color / 131: not dtd / 162: m sign rptd in the two upper voices / 176: 1 & 2 are dtd-sbr & m, they are followed by a sbr F, and the rest of the music is missing. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, the m sign is om, & the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'S' for the first letter of the text / 6: not ligd / 13: cs over 1 / 23-24: no lig / 25-27: ligd / 33-35,1: no lig / 48: not dtd / 71: 3 dtd / 73: at the start of the second page opening the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'O' for the first letter of the text, & 73,2-3 are F E / 76: no p div / 106: 1 & 2 ligd / 110: not dtd / 118-119: no lig / 122-123: likewise / 131: not dtd / 199: cor over 1.

Tenor; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name which spans two and a half staves, & the m sign is present. / 32: single custos, & no 'silet' direction given / 73: the Tenor on the second page-opening begins with a capital 'T' for the voice name similar in size, decoration and indentation to the initial at 1 / 76: p div follows C / 91: 'silet' direction given as 'Benedictus tacet' / 162: the m sign is present.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, & the m sign is present. / 20: no p div / 22: likewise / 60-61: no lig / 63: p div follows 2 / 73: the Tenor bassus on the second page-opening begins with a capital 'T' for the voice name similar in size, decoration and indentation to the initial at 1, & 73,1 is not ligd / 74-75,1: ligd / 77-81: given as a single lig / 131: the final line of three br rests here has a cor above it / 134-136: ligd / 158: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 167: b ind before 166,1 / 168-170: no lig / 180: not dtd.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, and with nearly complete text in all other voices.

CS 14 gives a reading which is close to Trent 88 and does not transmit its errors nor its confusion with cantus firmus sections. However, the Superius for the end of this movement is missing in CS 14.

(iii) Siena K.I.2 f. 222r;

This fragmentary reading has just the Contra part for the Benedictus and Osanna II, plus the Tenor for Osanna II.

[Contra]; 92: the Siena reading starts at this point, and no voice name is given / 106: 1 & 2 ligd / 110: not dtd, & no cor / 117,3-118,2: minor color / 131: not dtd, & no cor / 138: 1 D / 158: no b / 160: natural ind by natural sign / 162: m sign rptd / 181: 3 replaced by sbr m.

[Tenor]; 162: the Siena reading starts at this point, & the m sign is given as C instead of O / 175: 1 m.

Underlay; Siena K.I.2 only gives the Contra incipits '[B]enedictus' and '[O]sanna in excelsis', plus the Tenor incipit 'Osanna'.

Not enough of the Siena K.I.2 reading survives to make judgements, but at a guess it might have contained quite a few variants as in this manuscript's Credo reading.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 104v-105v;

[Superius]; 1: in both upper voices there are large gaps between the initial m signs and first notes (probably left for the insertion of majuscule initials) / 3: 2 uc / 37: 2 corr from B, with downward diagonals on either side of the note / 44: this section ind as 'Agnus 2us' in all active voices / 59: an erased m B follows 2 / 69: an erased m G follows 1 / 100: 2 B (corr using CS 14) / 106: 3 is sm (corr using CS 14) / 111: m sign om in all

voices, and this section is ind in the Superius as '3us'. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 32: dot under this note for no apparent reason / 38: rest om (supplied from CS 14) / 53: 1 F (corr using CS 14) / 105: 3 B (corr using CS 14) / 127: b ind before 127,2.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and the augmentation instruction [*Crescit in*] *duplo* is only given at the start of Agnus III. / 10: p div follows A / 43: 1 & 2 are both m (corr using CS 14), & no 'Tacet' direction is given / 114: p div follows D.

[T]enor bassus; 1: m sign om / 8: p div follows 2 / 24: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 70,3-73: written on an end of stave extension / 82: 3 E / 93: regarding the colored L here see the notes for this voice in the Gloria at 164-169 / 104: a superfluous sbr F follows 1 / 117: p div follows 3 / 119: likewise / 120: p div follows 2 / 124: 2 D (corr using CS 14) / 132: 2 F (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices plus a few internal cues for these voices in Agnus II. At 21-25 the Contra and Tenor bassus need a repeat of 'mundi', and the Tenor at 36-43 needs a repeat of 'miserere nobis'. Also the Tenor bassus at 82-83 needs a repeat of 'mundi'. In the Tenor of this movement I have ignored the repeated pitch at 19-20 for underlay purposes, just as the repeated pitches in the Contra at 10-11 and Tenor bassus 13-14 are likewise not used for editorial text syllables.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 36v-38r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'A' for the first letter of the text / 43: 'Agnus secundus' markings not given in any voice / 46: 3 G / 61,3-62,2: minor color / 99: no lig / 100: 3 dtd / 101: 1 not dtd / 102: no lig / 109: 2-3 replaced by m G / 111: at the start of the second page opening there is a capital 'A' in the same style and size as at 1, the m sign is present in the Superius & Tenor bassus, & no 'Agnus tertius' marking is given. / 128,1-2: minor color / 134: 4 C. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus. On the second page opening the lower two parts are switched round by mistake.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'C' for the first letter of the voice name / 2,3-4: replaced by sbr A / 3,1-4,1: ligd / 21: 1-3 ligd / 36: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br / 43: single custos / 65: 1 is L instead of br, & correspondingly the following batch of br rests is one measure shorter than in Trent 88 / 111: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule capital 'A' in the same style and size as the 'C' at 1 except that that the two staves which it covers are not indented, & a p div follows 111,2 / 117-119,1: ligd / 120,2-121,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 123,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 127: b ind before 127,3 / 128: 4 A / 132,2: uc due to lacuna / 135,2: likewise.

Tenor; 1: all musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, the m sign is present, and *Canon. Crescit in duplo* is given at the bottom of the page following the first section. / 10: p div given after A, above stave / 11-12: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 30: p div follows C / 31-32: no lig / 43: 'Agnus tacet' given following double custos / 111: at the start of the second page opening a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name is given (with the same size and indentation as the initial at 1) but the Tenor is placed below the Contra where the Tenor bassus normally is. / 125,2: from this point to the end the Tenor is written with C clef on the second line up.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and the first letter of the voice name is a majuscule capital 'T' like the initial at the start of the Tenor / 23: 2-3 ligd instead of 1 & 2 / 32: 2 has b / 72,3-73,1: ligd / 82: 3 E as in Trent 88 / 103-104: ligd / 110: single custos / 111: on the second page opening this voice is placed

where the Tenor should normally be, there is a decorated majuscule initial for the first letter of the voice name as at 1, & a p div follows 111,2 / 117: no p div / 119 & 120: no p divs in these measures / 126,2-127,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 128: 4 b, ind before 128,2.

Underlay; all voices apart from the Tenor bassus in Agnus I & II have full text.

CS 14 gives a reading which is very close to Trent 88.

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Structure

This much written about and frequently edited and recorded work entered modern musicology with the 1900 DTÖ VII edition, and has continued to fascinate scholars and performers ever since.³⁶ Being a well-known work by a famous composer, study of this Mass tended to be uneven until recent years until it was recognised that it is close to Dufay's later structured motets. The Tenor cantus firmus is the Tenor of Dufay's own *Se la face ay pale* chanson, a *ballade équivoque* which achieved a wide circulation in its own lifetime and survives in ten readings plus two intabulations.³⁷ There are also citations of the song and one derivative Gloria apart from this Mass.³⁸ Since the song appears in Ox 213 we can safely assume that it was written before the late 1430's, and the latest extant readings with variant Contrás come from EscB, Schedel and Trent 89 which are sources associated with the 1460's. The example below gives the parent song, and the following table illustrates the disposition of the cantus firmus throughout.

³⁶ For recent recordings see the Binchois Consort CD Dufay: The Court of Savoy (Hyperion CDA67715, 2008) and Dufay: Les messes à teneur (double CD MEW 1577-1578, 2016) by Cut Circle dir. Jesse Rodin. I first heard the the work on the LP EMI 3C 065 (1973) by David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London.

³⁷ Set as text, the music contains no internal repeats - and *équivoque* means that the final words of lines are homonyms which play on their own meanings, such as 'amer' (meaning love and also bitterness) and 'l'amer' (the sea). See Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs... pp. 362-363 for most sources and citations of the song. To this list I would also add the opening of the four-part Rondeau *Creature la plus belle* in Florence 2356 (ff. 17v-18r) whose first nine Superius pitches plus their rhythm reproduce the opening Contra line of the *Cum sancto* section, albeit a fourth lower than in the Mass.

³⁸ The likely derivative piece is the short three-part Gloria no. 37 in this edition, which contains some probable song references. Further, see pp. 377-378 in the critical commentary to Instalment 1.

4.11. Dufay, *Se la face ay pale*;³⁹

Se la face ay pa - - le, La cause est a - mer,

T Se la face ay pa - - le, La cause est a - mer,

Ct Se la face

7 c'est la prin - ci - pa - - le, et tant m'est a - mer

c'est la prin - ci - pa - - le, et tant m'est a - mer l'a-

13 l'a - mer, qu'en la mer me vou-droy-e voir; or, scet bien de - voir

- mer qu'en la mer me vou-droy-e voir; or, scet bien de - voir

19 la bel - le a qui suis que nul bien a - voir sans el - le ne

la bel - le a qui suis que nul bien a - voir sans el - le - ne

25 puis.

puis.

³⁹ Given here after *Ox* 213 ff. 53v-54r, with only the first of three stanzas of text. The temporary minor passage at 14 and the triadic figures at the end are also features of other early period and mid-period Dufay songs such as *Navré je suis* and *Donnés l'assault*, but the minor passage at 14 does not seem to be reflected anywhere in the *Se la face ay pale* Mass.

TABLE 4.4
Tenor cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Se la face ay pale*

Measures	Section	Mensuration	Details
Kyrie 1-37	Kyrie I	O	First half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with three free notes added at 37 (A B C).
38-77	Christe	C	Free trio.
78-102	Kyrie II	O	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Gloria 1-118	Et in terra	O	Cantus firmus in double augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Gloria 119-236	Qui tollis	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Gloria 237-276	Cum sancto	O	Cantus firmus in <i>integer valor</i> , with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 1-118	Patrem	O	Cantus firmus in double augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 119-236	Et iterum	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 237-276	Confiteor	O	Cantus firmus in <i>integer valor</i> , with each half preceded by rests.
Sanctus 1-32	Sanctus	O	First quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, preceded by rests.
Sanctus 33-72	Pleni sunt	O	Free trio.
Sanctus 73-91	Osanna I	O	Second quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with three free notes added at 91 (A B C).
Sanctus 92-161	Benedictus	C	Free trio.
Sanctus 162-198	Osanna II	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Agnus 1-43	Agnus I	O	First half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, preceded by rests and with three free notes added at 43 (A B C).
Agnus 44-110	Agnus II	C	Free trio.
Agnus 111-135	Agnus III	O	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.

The Gloria and Credo are identically sized and scored (with three cantus firmus statements per movement) and the Kyrie and Agnus have identical cantus firmus treatment with one statement of cantus firmus each split between outer sections. All movements except the Kyrie begin with delayed entry Tenors, and the second and third sections of the Gloria and Credo also have delayed entry Tenors. The three free values added at the end of Kyrie I, Osanna I and Agnus I seem to be present to effect full constructs at cadence points. Fourths are permitted between the Superius and Tenor, and the Tenor keeps its original rhythmic configuration throughout apart from mostly being augmented and having passages of rests inserted.

The cadential pitches seem rather odd in this Mass. The parent song is clearly centred on C and all movements of the Mass begin on C, but out of the twelve internal openings only one begins on C (the Cum sancto section). The rest use F openings or constructs on F, and all sectional cadences are on F apart from the cadence to the Qui tollis section. All movement endings and most section endings use the final C of the cantus firmus as a pedal note, and the second sections of the Gloria and Credo respectively have plagal formulas and perfect formulas which exploit the sustained C of their Tenors. Amongst sectional cadences the first section of the Sanctus is the ‘odd one out’ since the composer quarters his cantus firmus in this movement and the D-C motion of the Tenor at 29-30 more or less demands a cadence on C before the outer parts move to a construct

on F. The four trio sections all have doubled leading-note cadences, as do the cadences of Kyrie I, Osanna I and Agnus I. These are the three sections in the previous table where rests occur after the Tenor's mid point.

All movements begin with a Superius motto that usually consists of four measures but which has only three in the Kyrie. The Superius theme here is not derived from the parent song. The only other Superius section openings which are related are those in the *Christe* (which resembles the Kyrie I opening) and the *Et iterum* and *Benedictus* openings (which use independent triadic themes). There are also similarities in the cadential approaches which end various sections, but I will return to these in due course since they are connected to the repeats of related material in successive movements.

Most melodic material in this Mass is generated by the Superius, and very occasionally by the Contra. The latter has the status of being the principal melodic part at the start of the *Cum sancto* and in duet episodes occurring in the course of both full and reduced sections. In full sections the lower voices are rhythmically subordinate, although there is a small stretch of Tenor plus Tenor bassus duet at *Credo*, 243-247 and the Tenor is the topmost voice in a trio episode at *Agnus* 21-24. The Tenor bassus is a rhythmic equal to the upper voices in reduced sections, and in full sections it crosses above the Tenor quite frequently. The Contra crosses below the Tenor too. In the passages involving repeated high A's in the cantus firmus (as at *Gloria* 49-51) the Tenor is temporarily at the top of the texture. There is some confusion in the sources regarding the naming of the two lower voices, no doubt because the lowest voice in standard four-part texture was more normally called a *Contra secundus*.⁴⁰ Upper-voice fifths between the three topmost parts can occur (for example, between the Superius and Tenor at *Credo* 268-269 and between the two upper voices at *Sanctus*, 79-80). Additionally it is a feature of the double-augmentation sections that the Tenor's shorter values are sometimes treated liberally in terms of dissonance. For example, at *Gloria* measure 92 then Tenor's F initially has a diminished progression built around it, and at *Credo* 43 the Tenor's F allows for a very brief fourth in a polyrhythmic passage. Other double augmentation sections in cyclic Masses sometimes treat long-note Tenors similarly.

Unlike many mid-century four voice Masses the *Se la face ay pale* cycle does not include much outer-voice material from its parent song in its own outer voices. Apart from two instances where the midpoint cadence on G in the song might be reflected in the Superius (*Gloria* and *Credo* 258-260) all other allusional instances to Superius song material are taken from the triadic imitation in the song at 25-27. These (with the Superius being the prominent voice in all cases) occur at Kyrie 90-92, *Gloria* 100-104 and 270-272, *Credo* 60-63 and 270-272, *Sanctus* 93-96, 123-124 and 180-183, plus *Agnus* 93-97 and 123-126. No doubt the relatively undeveloped adaption of parent material here has prompted scholars to consider this as a fairly early four-part Mass. Anne Walters Robertson (the author of an otherwise most careful article about this Mass) goes further, and states that "...the work is the first surviving Mass to base all five movements...on a single vernacular cantus firmus".⁴¹ This is in blatant oversight of the obviously earlier three-voice Mass in *TuB* (whose cantus firmus has a repeat scheme and is possibly secular) and also overlooks the wealth of less developed and roughly contemporary cycles in *Trent 90*, *Trent 88* and *Trent 89* which might antedate Dufay's Mass. In this connection I am particularly thinking of the *Missa O rosa bella* I, Guillaume Le Rouge's *Missa Soyez aprantiz* and texturally related three-voice Masses which use secular cantus firmus. Some writers regard the known dispersal of the *Missa Se la face ay pale* as disappointing because there are only three surviving readings. However, in view of the likely loss of manuscripts I would prefer not to come to conclusions about how well-circulated this Mass might have been.

The augmentation in the Tenors results in breve rests being drawn across three stave spaces, indicating perfect minor modus. In *CS 14* proper verbal canons are given for the augmentation instead of the abbreviated ones in *Trent 88*, and Dufay received an approving nod from Tinctoris for providing clear verbal instruction on

⁴⁰ Possibly the twin-Tenor names in the lower voices are derived from similar scoring in Dufay's *Fulgens iubar*, which has a 'Tenor primus' and a 'Tenor secundus'.

⁴¹ Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 377.

how the Tenors are to be performed.⁴² As a result of the perfect minor modus a few longs in passages using C mensuration are colored, which may look unconventional but is necessary because longs would be perfect in modus notation unless they were colored or unless there were other notes or rests to imperfect them. Where possible, rests in the outer parts are mostly drawn across three stave spaces too.

Several writers have cited this Mass in connection with procedures such as augmentation and multiple cantus firmus presentation per movement, which may or may not have started a trend amongst composers of similar cyclic Masses.⁴³ I am sceptical of there being any direct influence since there were other organised cantus firmus and mensural transformation models to imitate (notably Domarto's *Spiritus almus* Mass) but parts of the *Missa Se la face ay pale* are integrated in other ways that connect it to Dufay's previous works. Firstly although it is not 'isorhythmic' or a fully structured piece like his 1440's motet *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera / Virgo*, there are elements of isomelic repetition which can be clearly seen in the identically sized Gloria and Credo. These movements also have a shared scoring scheme, for which I refer readers to the following section on number. Exactly how close these movements are in textural terms is best illustrated by the coloured chart in Cristoffersen's edition, figure 1.⁴⁴ The similar passages occur at the same or similar points in each movement, and this is possibly a feature taken over from cantus firmus works that are likely to be earlier such as the Gloria and Credo on *Pax vobis* (which may be English) and some movements of the *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* Masses.⁴⁵ The following table attempts to track most occurrences, and organisation on this level is something of an achievement in these two very extended movements.

TABLE 4.5
Similar Gloria and Credo passages in the *Missa Se la face ay pale*

Gloria	Credo	Details
1-4	1-4	Both duets start with Superius upper C and move to lower D with a Contra B in support below it.
10-13	10-13	Both duet voices have cadences on G, followed by the Contra beginning new material on C above its previous cadential G. In both instances the new material involves imitation on starting with the notes C D E.
18-19	18-19	Both movements end their introductory duos with cadences on C, and this C is the point where both lower parts enter.
27-28	27-28	Both movements cadence on C with very similar Contra parts in each instance.
58-60	58-60	In both movements the Superius proceeds to B in a construct on G.
71-82	71-82	The duet subsections in both movements here are similar and have similar successions of cadence points.
86-87	86-87	Closely related Superius motives in cadences on G.
91-93	91-93	Similar approaches to cadences on G in both movements.
100-102	100-102	Related triadic movement in the upper voices against sustained C's in the Tenor bassus.
111-118	111-118	Similar approaches to the first-section cadence on F in both movements.

⁴² See Woodley, R., *The Proportionale Musices of Johannes Tinctoris: a critical edition, translation and study* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Oxford, 1982), I, p. 364.

⁴³ Regarding this and also integration in Dufay's music in general see Brothers, T., 'Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475' in *JAMS* 44 (1991) pp. 1-56. Also Sandresky, M., 'The Continuing Concept of the Platonic-Pythagorean System and Its Application to the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Music' in *Music Theory Spectrum* 2 (1979) pp. 107-120, Brown, S. Jr., 'New Evidence of Isomelic design in Dufay's Isorhythmic Motets' in *JAMS* 10 (1957) pp. 7-13, and Nitschke, W., *Studien zu den Cantus-Firmus-Messen Guillaume Dufays* (Berlin, 1968).

⁴⁴ The same chart also shows the Kyrie and Agnus to be close in terms of texture.

⁴⁵ For the *Pax vobis* Gloria-Credo pair see Instalment 1 no. 28, plus the list of similar material in both movements listed on p. 357.

(Table 4.5, contd.)

Gloria	Credo	Details
125-131	125-131	Repeated cadential motives on C in both introductory duets to the second sections.
161-164	161-164	Similar approaches to cadences on C in temporary trio texture.
190-200	190-200	The duet subsections in both movements here are similar and have similar successions of cadence points.
237-239	237-239	Similar rhythms at the start of the upper voice in both sectional openings here.
258-260	258-260	Similar cadences on G in both passages.
267-270	267-270	Similar approaches to lower E in both Superius parts.
270-272	270-272	Similar song-derived triadic imitation in both passages.
273-276	273-276	Related approaches to the final cadence in both movements.

None of the shorter movements' full sections have such close links, although the trio sections also have integrated elements. Notably, these feature alternating duet passages and much repeated material involving cadences on C. The *Christe* starts with a motive similar to the *Kyrie* motto and its first 20 measures (*Kyrie* 38-58) features two C cadences. Repeated cadencing on C is also found in the *Pleni sunt* trio at 40-48 and 66-70, in the *Benedictus* at 113-121 and 143-154, and in the *Agnus II* at 48-52, 54-55 and 79-93. In the following section on number I also suggest that at least some of the subdivisions in these trios have scoring symmetries. All of these sections also end with doubled leadingnote cadences on F in which some of the melodic motion is similar, and where filler-Contra harmonies predominate in the cadential approaches. Finally as regards texture the full sections often have a rhythmic simplicity which is absent from some mid-century Masses, and the nearest equivalent to the extended and sometimes leisurely first sections of the *Gloria* and *Credo* are probably Dufay's *Moribus* and *Fulgens iubar* motets. These were probably less than ten years old when Dufay was writing the *Se la face ay pale* movements, and it seems logical that in this Mass he would have relied on a musical style to which he was accustomed. Another style feature which will strike listeners is that there seem to be a relatively high proportion of B naturals in this Mass for a work which contains many cadences and cadence-like progressions leading to F. But sometimes elsewhere in Dufay's middle-period works constructs involving E and B natural occur quite closely to F cadences, so I would not add more editorial flats than I have already provided.⁴⁶

The question of the immediate purpose for this cycle has attracted some suggestions of historical context. The wedding of the future Duke Amadeus IX of Savoy and Yolande of France in 1452 was suggested as an apt occasion by Alejandro Planchart.⁴⁷ Anne Walters Robertson's article on this Mass suggest that a more appropriate occasion might have been the arrival of the so-called Shroud of Turin in either Chambéry or Geneva in 1453. This is convincing for the reason that she shows the 'suffering' elements in the *Se la face ay pale* text to be related to christological literature. Therefore Dufay might have written the parent song during his first period in Savoy in the 1430's, and following its growth in circulation it then might have served a second purpose as the cantus firmus to a Mass welcoming one of the most sacred of Christian relics. Finally, one of the most readable and informed accounts of Dufay's Mass is the one by Alejandro Planchart which accompanies his 2008 online edition of the work. He makes it clear that the Savoy chapel had a 'trompette' - Étienne Fourrier - from 1427, and who was probably quite capable of playing the Tenor cantus firmus of this Mass on a slide trumpet in G with the Bb in this part being the only problematic note. However, to any experienced player the Bb would not have been impossible. On this basis he suggests that the Tenor (which

⁴⁶ For an example of a B natural which is quite close to a cadence on F see the contrafact version of Dufay's *Mirandas parit* (no. 3 in this edition) measures 30-33. I would not even add a ficta Bb to the free Tenor A B C additions which occur at the ends of *Kyrie I*, *Osanna I* and *Agnus I*. My reason: the measures that lead up to these cadences all involve B naturals.

⁴⁷ See Planchart, A., 'Fifteenth-Century Masses: Notes on Performance and Chromology' in *Studi Musicali* 10 (1981), pp. 3-30.

is quite difficult to text editorially) might have been intended for such an instrument. While I agree that it is playable, I would be far more comfortable with a slide trumpet accompanying four or more singers than with the Tenor relegated to the slide trumpet alone. Planchart also made the point that this Mass is sometimes performed at unnecessarily slow speeds. With semibreve equivalent between O and C mensurations in the outer voices, there is no reason why a speed like semibreve = 86 cannot work well.

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Numerology

Modus or greater rhythm preoccupies this Mass to the extent that nearly all of its sections have outer-voice measures which fall into groups of two or three, even in sections without cantus firmus. The sole exception is the Pleni sunt trio, which has 39 measures before its final long.⁴⁸ This feature of near-overall rhythmic discipline (combined with the augmented and repeated cantus firmus) makes this Mass exactly the sort of work where number symmetries are likely to be detected.

Others have surveyed this Mass before me, most notably Robert Nosow in his 1993 article which discusses it in the middle of a chronological series of other Dufay works which seem to have numerical interest. I do not believe everything that this brilliantly clever study offers, chiefly because it mentions Fibonacci and golden section numbers used in terms of integers. In a 2006 article Ruth Tatlow argued that it was not possible to express these mathematical ideas in integers much before the nineteenth century, and therefore their suggested numerical use in musical works from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is probably anachronistic.⁴⁹ But where Nosow was undoubtably right is in the construction of the identically-sized *Se la face ay pale* Gloria and Credo movements. These are the same in terms of tempora and mensural use, and the scoring of their successive sections and subsections is also identical in each movement. The lengths of these subsections seem to express number symmetries which break down into the series 2 6 1 4 in each section.

This feature is probably best explained as follows by an assessment of the Et in terra section. The division operator is at first 27 (3 x 9) because a number is needed which will reduce the totals threefold while retaining whole numbers, and also it reflects the three-measures-to-one nature of the initial double augmentation in these movements.

18 measures of duet (54 semibreves) divided by 27 = 2.

54 full section measures (162 semibreves) divided by 27 = 6.

9 measures of duet (27 semibreves) divided by 27 = 1.

36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 27 = 4.

The Qui tollis section breaks down identically if the division operator is changed from 27 to 18, expressing the difference between 3:1 and 2:1 in the augmented Tenors of these sections.

18 measures of duet (36 semibreves) divided by 18 = 2.

54 full section measures (108 semibreves) divided by 18 = 6.

9 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 18 = 1.

36 full section measures (72 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 18 = 4.

Change the division operator from 18 to 9 (to express the shift from augmentation to *integer valor*) and the Cum sancto section works similarly.

⁴⁸ Properly, if this section had a true 'greater rhythm' it should proceed in the double O measures of the previous Sanctus section. But 39 is of course 13 x 3.

⁴⁹ See Tatlow, R., 'The Use and Abuse of Fibonacci Numbers and the Golden Section in Musicology Today' in *Understanding Bach I* (2006), pp. 69-85.

6 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 9 = 2.
 18 full section measures (54 semibreves) divided by 9 = 6.
 3 measures of trio (9 semibreves) divided by 9 = 1.
 12 full section measures (36 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 9 = 4.

Exactly the same series of proportions is found in the Credo.

The same principle seems not to apply to the shorter movements, as the Kyrie totals show. Nevertheless a 3:2 proportion can be seen between the outer sections.

Kyrie I: 36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 6.
 Christe: free section of 39 measures (78 semibreves excluding final long).
 Kyrie II: 24 full section measures (72 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 4.

The Agnus breaks down as follows, with the outer sections producing the reduced number series 1 6 4.

Agnus I: 6 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 18 = 1, plus 36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 6.
 Agnus II: free section of 66 measures excluding final long.
 Agnus III: 24 full section measures (72 semibreves excluding final long) divided by 18 = 4.

The Sanctus will not fit into any of the schemes described here. Its alternation of five cantus firmus and reduced sections results in the reduced-number series 16 9 12 for the sizes of the full sections according to Nosow, and the sizes of the Pleni sunt and Benedictus sections do not relate to these numbers. But beyond Nosow's calculations there are other ways of looking at the shorter movements. For example, the Kyrie with all cadential sectional longs removed has 99 measures, and the measures of the Agnus counted in the same way results in the respective totals of 42, 66 and 24 for the three sections. The total of all of these is 132, and when the latter numbers are all divided by 6 we have the number series 7 11 4.

Likewise I suspect that the free sections (the Christe, Pleni sunt, Benedictus and Agnus II) might also contain some subdivisional symmetries like the Gloria and Credo. Including the final longs, the first duet of the Christe takes up exactly a quarter of its length. In the Pleni sunt, the introductory duet has 40% of the section's length. In the Benedictus, the first two 21-measure panels make up 60% of the section, and in Agnus II the first duet subsection takes up exactly one third of that section. There are also a few matching and near-matching note totals (the two upper voices in the Christe each have 63 notes), and the Superius and Contra in the Et in terra have 310 and 309 notes respectively. Maybe these totals were once equal. Similarly, in Osanna I the four voices in descending order have the note totals 71, 70, 43 and 44. Perhaps either of the upper values or the Tenor bassus total were once different, allowing for the upper and lower pairs of these voices to share identical note totals. In addition, the Kyrie's three sectional tempora totals (36, 39, and 24) are all divisible by 3 and produce the reduced totals of 12, 13 and 8. Add these together and they produce 33. Lastly, the grand total of all notes in this Mass is 6,601. Given the differences between the sources and likely small alterations needed to produce number symmetry in Osanna I, it is perhaps likely that the overall total could be changed to 6,600 with just a few alterations. But that is not to say that the overall note total here is necessarily significant or indeed relevant.

Finally, to those who find the likely number schemes in this Mass slightly daunting it should be remembered that Dufay had around thirty years of experience of writing structured pieces before this Mass was composed. Therefore the exceptional nature of its construction is perhaps to be expected from the most outstanding composer of the era.

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CRITICAL COMMENTARY TO NOS 93-102

93. Missa *Veterem hominem*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 1v-9r (latter four movements) and ff. 264v-266r (Kyrie). DTÖ VII inventory nos 199-202 and 404;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 140r-147v (all movements except the Kyrie, with Agnus III preceding the other movements given);
- (iii) Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597, annotations. (A short extract from the first section of the Gloria printed in score, in black notation).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is an antiphon at Lauds on the Octave of Epiphany (AS plate 95). Further, see the section on structure.

Kyrie (Trent 88 ff. 264v-266r, unicum).

[Superius]; 1: m sign given before first stave, & 1,1-2,1 are obliterated by a lacuna but suppliable from older literature on the Trent manuscripts / 3,2-4,1: uc due to lacuna / 65: 2 dtd, & 4 is m / 67: p div follows 2 / 81: 1 & 2 are F E / 97: no custos / 98: 1 obliterated by a lacuna (conj supplied) and on the second page opening the m sign is given in all voices before their first staves as cut-C. I substitute C since this Mass is likely to be insular, but in Trent 88 C is only found written in the Agnus (at 93). / 107,1-108,3: obliterated by lacuna (conj supplied) / 204: 1 A. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Tenor bassus-Contra. As with some other insular works in this series I have given the O-C relationship in this Mass with semibreve equivalent, but those dissatisfied with the resulting tempi might try O perfect breve = C long.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 12,3-13,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 15: 1 om (conj supplied) / 21: p div follows 3 / 22: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 29,3-5: as at 12 / 47,3-48,1: likewise / 66,2-68,1: likewise / 83,3-84,1: likewise / 84,2-97: the end of the first Contra section is copied onto a roughly drawn part-stave at the bottom of the page due to lack of space. / 97: no custos / 121-122: uc due to lacuna / 124,5: likewise / 204: 2 E / 232-233: as at 12.

Tenor; 1: m sign given before stave, & in both lower voices 20 measures of rests are given but only 19 are needed in each voice (if the held note at 10 in the upper voices was a long rather than a breve, the rests would be correct). / 38: p div follows 2 / 91: likewise / 95: 2 B / 96: 1 is colored / 144: 1 om (conj supplied, to match the Gloria Tenor).

Tenor bassus; 24: p div follows 1 / 33,1: uc due to lacuna / 34: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied) / 40-41,1: uc due to lacuna / 65: written on a short end of stave extension / 72: 3 C / 90-rest in 92: as at 65 / 134-137: ns / 218: not dtd / 233: no custos.

Underlay; sectional incipits are given instead of full text. The Superius has '[K]yrie Deus Creator omnium' at 1, the Tenor has 'Kyrie veterem hominem' and the Contra has 'Kyrie'. In the second section the Superius has 'Criste', the Tenor has 'xte veterem hominem' and the Contra and Tenor bassus have 'xte'. 'Veterem hominem' in both Tenor sections is given in bold capitals. Full underlay using the *Deus Creator* trope has been provided in the outer voices, and the Tenor has been given cantus firmus text in all movements. The way in which subsections have been allotted editorial text largely follows the plan of the Bent edition listed below, and some editorial applications of 'eleyson' have had a dieresis added over the 'y'.

Bibliography; Gerber, R., Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent (MRM vol. XII, Chicago and London, 2008) no. 1 (edition after Trent 88). Bent, M. (ed), Four Anonymous Masses (EECM vol. 22, London, 1979) no. 4 (edition after Trent 88). Feininger, L. (ed), MPLSER Series I, no. 2 (edition after Trent 88, 1951-52).

Mitchell, R., The new Trent 89 edition (online at DIAMM) pp. 1429-1433 (comparison of the *Veterem hominem* and *Caput Masses*).

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 1v-3r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation (from Sarum Gloria 5) is supplied from GS plate 12⁺, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 23: 1-3 om (supplied from Strahov). In Trent 88 there is a cs above the omission and a piece of stave in the left margin with the part-legible comment ‘?... scriptus’ to indicate the omission. / 46: 4 uc / 63,4-64,2: these notes are overmarked for no apparent reason / 76: 2 B (corr using Strahov) / 81: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: at the start of the second page opening, all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves (I have replaced cut-C with C) / 122: 2 & 3 are G G / 173: 1 A / 179: 2 C. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus. All pages of the latter four movements in Trent 88 suffer from fading in their top two or three staves, resulting in some legibility problems.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 23: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 50: p div follows 2 / 54: p div follows 4 / 56: 2 E (corr using Strahov) / 74: sbr rest instead of m rest / 77: 1 not dtd, & 3 is D (77,3 is corr using Strahov) / 203: 1 D (corr using Strahov).

[T]enor; 35: p div follows 2 / 161-162: ns.

[T]enor bassus; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 26: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 29: p div follows 2 / 52: likewise / 60-81: due to lack of space, the end of the first section is given on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page / 61: p div follows 2 / 64 & 71: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 41-45 an editorial rpt of ‘Deus’ is needed in the Tenor bassus. ‘Christe’ is given as ‘criste’ at 67 in the Superius, and as ‘xpe’ at 187.

(ii) Strahov ff. 140v-142r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a large stave gap before the clef and m sign (presumably left for a majuscule initial) & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-13,1) / 14,3: corrected from A, with downward diagonals on either side of this note / 24: 7-9 replaced by dtd-m B sm A / 27: 1 replaced by sbr F sbr F / 30: erasures follow rest / 31,2-3: minor color / 38: 2 G / 45: only one sbr rest given / 49: no lig / 60: 2-4 are C B A, & 5-6 are dtd-m & sm / 71,2-3: no lig / 74-75: no lig / 78-79: likewise / 79,5-80,1: minor color / 80: 4-6 are m m sbr / 81: no custos in any voice / 82: at the start of the second page opening the m sign is given as cut-C before the first stave, and the clef is only given on the first stave for this section (82-107) / 110-111: no lig / 112: cor over 1 / 119: no b / 121,1-2: replaced by m A / 122: 2 & 3 are G G / 173: 1 A / 175-176: no lig / 176: 1 & 2 ligd / 179: 2 C / 180: 2 replaced by m G m G / 187: 2 not dtd, & m rest follows / 191-192: no lig / 192: 1 & 2 ligd / 204: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor primus (the Trent 88 Tenor bassus)-Contratenor secundus (the Trent 88 Contra).

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: the m sign is om, and the first-section clef is only given for the first stave (1-14,4) / 11: 3 G / 15: 5 sbr / 17: cor over 1 / 18: 2 dtd / 29: 2 E / 32: 3 A / 35: 3 sbr / 36-37: replaced by two measures of rests / 42,2-3: minor color / 44: 3 E / 50: no p div / 61: 2 A / 67: 3 & 4 are both m / 70: 4 m / 73: 3 F / 74: sbr rest instead of m rest / 77: 1 not dtd / 80: 2 D / 81: written after the end of a stave with a cor above, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef is only given on the first stave of the second section (82-108,2) / 89: 2 not ligd / 96-98: no lig / 112: cor over 1 / 124-125: no lig / 128: replaced by sbr C br E / 132: no lig / 141-142: likewise / 146: 2 C / 166: 1 E / 176: 2 E / 201: 2 F.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-60) / 19: p div follows

2 / 22: 2 om, and therefore the preceding br would be perfect / 27-30: ligd / 52-53,1: ligd / 54: no lig / 55-56: ligd / 81: no lig, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on the first stave (82-166) / 134-137: no lig / 145-147, 160-162, 182-184, 187-189 & 198-200: likewise / 204: no lig, & no custos.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-37) / 27: 1 dtd, & 2 om / 28: 1 om / 29: no p div / 43: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm / 52: 1 A, & no p div / 61: no p div / 64: likewise / 68: p div follows 2 / 71: no p div / 81: cor over 1, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on the first stave (82-151) / 140: not ligd / 153,3-155,1: ligd / 156-158: no lig / 162: 1 & 2 om / 163: no lig / 168-169: ligd / 170: no lig / 174 & 185: likewise / 186: 1 B / 192-193: no lig / 196-197: no lig, & 196,2 replaced by sbr G m G / 204: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits in the lower voices. In the first section the Tenor incipit is ‘Veterem hominem’, the lowest voice has ‘Laudamus te’ and the higher Contra has no incipit. In the second section, the lowest voice has ‘Qui tollis primum’ and the two other lower voices have ‘Qui tollis’.

Strahov gives a reading with many mistakes, and a few less ligatures. However, true variants are almost absent.

(iii) Morley, A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, 1597, Annotations, p. 11.

This source gives measures 17-24 of the Gloria in score plus the first Superius, Contra and Tenor bassus notes of measure 25 in black notation with void coloration (as part of a discussion of triple mensuration) and without text.¹ Barlines are drawn after measure 19 and after measure 22. Notes 22,1-2 in the Contra are ligd, and in the same voice 25,1 is sbr. The Tenor bassus at 25,1 is also sbr. The m sign O is given in all voices, and the following words occur before this example on p. 10. ‘But if they thinke maister Taverner partiall, let them looke in the works of our English doctors of musicke, as *D. Fayrfax*, *D. Newton*, *D. Cooper*, *D. Kirby*, *D. Tie*, and divers other excellent men, as *Redford*, *Cornish*, *Piggot*, *White*, and *M. Tallis*. But if they will trust none of these, here is one example which was made before any of the aforementioned were borne.’ Evidently Morley went to some trouble to reproduce the black notation of the original.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 3v-5r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 3: 1 A (corr using Strahov) / 12: rest uc / 80,6-81: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: on the second page opening all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves. As in other movements I have substituted C. / 186: 2 & 3 are D C, both col err, and with ‘a’ under each note (for ‘alba’) indicating correction / 206: 3 sm (corr using Strahov). The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[C]ontra; 1: m sign om / 44,6-8: written on a short end of stave extension / 62,1-rest in 64: likewise / 66: p div follows 1 / 70: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 80,5-81: as at 44 / 118-119: ns.

[T]enor; 35: p div follows 2 / 150-161: 10 br rests are given, but 12 are needed.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, and the m sign is om / 17-18: ns / 27,2: this note is overmarked, possibly as a correction from E to D / 35: p div follows 2 / 40 & 65: likewise / 114-117: ns / 120 & 165-166: likewise / 192-195: this lig is awkwardly written, with a descent to a square

¹ Identified in Dart, T., ‘A Footnote for Morley’s Plain and Easy Introduction’ in M & L 35 (1954) p. 183.

note following an oblique / 208: the final L is oddly written, as a rough imitation of an English final chequerboard L.

Text; fully underlaid in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices (at 29-30 'Christum' is given as 'xpum'). The Tenor has a 'visibilium omnium' incipit at 17 and 'Et resurrexit' at 114, but cantus firmus text possibly suits this part better than Ordinary text. This setting of the Credo omits 'Qui propter...descendit de celis' at the section break (82) plus 'Crucifixus...sepultus est' at the full second section entry (114-117) and 'Et in Spiritum...venturi seculi' at 193. The text deletions seem to be too extensive to restore by editorial telescoping.

(ii) Strahov ff. 142v-144r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), the m sign is present, & the clef for the first section is only given on the first stave (1-13,6) / 13: 1 D / 16,2-3: minor color / 17: cor over 1 / 19,4-5: minor color / 21,2-3, 22,2-3 & 23,1-2: likewise / 23,4-24,6: likewise / 28,2-3: likewise / 30: 1-3 replaced by col sbr col m & m / 32: 2 C / 46,4-5 & 47,4-5: minor color / 48,2-3: minor color, & 3 is A / 49: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 50: no lig / 54,1-2: minor color, & 54,3-4 are replaced by sbr E / 55,2-3: minor color / 56,1-2: likewise / 61,4-62,2: minor color / 64: no lig / 72: 2 G / 79: 5 sbr / 80,2-9: replaced by m A sbr F / 81: no custos / 82: the m sign is given as cut-C, but this is the only voice for the second section with an m sign. Also, for the second section the clef is only given on the first stave (82-108,2). / 82-85: no lig / 87: not ligd / 103: 1 & 2 ligd / 114: no cs / 121,2: replaced by sm A sm B / 122: 1 dtd / 124: 2 sbr / 137: 2 F / 171: 2 B / 173: not ligd / 183: likewise / 187: no lig / 189: a superfluous dot follows 2 / 208: no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the m sign is om, the clef for the first section is only given on the first part-stave (1-6) and the voice name is inconsistent with that in the Gloria, where Tenor bassus is called 'Contratenor primus'. / 5,4-5: minor color / 6: no lig / 9: an erased sbr upper G follows 2 / 11,1-2: minor color / 13: 1 B / 14,5-15,2: minor color / 15,6-7: likewise / 17: cor over 1 / 19: 1 G / 20,2-3: minor color / 22: 2 sbr / 23: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 32,3-4: minor color / 40: p div follows 2 / 43,4-5: minor color / 44,2-3: likewise / 68: 5 G / 50: m rest instead of sbr rest / 52: 2 not dtd, & 3 is G / 55: 2 not col / 58:1 dtd / 69: 1 not dtd / 71: 2 replaced by m E m D / 72: 2 & 3 are both m / 73,2-3: minor color / 78: 1 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 79: 1 om / 80: 1 & 2 not col, 3 & 4 are D C, & 5-6 are m A sbr B / 81: 1 C, & no custos / 82: the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-111,2) & the m sign is om / 94-95: not ligd / 127-128: replaced by L D / 136: replaced by sbr A br A / 138: 1 & 2 ligd / 159: no lig / 168: 2 C / 181: 1 & 2 ligd / 188: 2 C / 189-193: om / 194: 1 replaced by sbr rest / 198: 1 not dtd / 203-204: replaced by sbr G & ligd sbr E sbr F plus m rest & m E / 207: 3 A, followed by the superfluous notes m lower F sbr A / 208: 1 B, & no custos.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on its first stave (1-62) / 22: 1 dtd / 24: 2 uc / 28: 1 B / 29: 1 C, ligd with 27-28 / 54: not ligd / 81: not ligd, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-rest in 170) / 136-139: no lig / 147-149: likewise / 15-166: replaced by br G br G, and the second note here is not ligd / 177-180: given as a single lig / 180: 1 C / 184: not ligd / 186-188: likewise / 191-193 & 202-204: likewise / 208: not ligd, & no custos.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: m sign om, & the clef for the first section is only given on its first stave (1-32) / 22: 3 B / 27: 2 F (which creates consecutive octaves with the Contra) / 35: no p div / 63: 1 D / 64: 1 A / 65: 1 D, & p div given above 2 rather than after it / 70,1-71,1: ligd / 72-75: ligd / 79: the rest is higher on the stave than is usual, & 2 is G / 81: no divisi B, & no custos / 82: m sign om, & the clef for the second section is only given on its first stave (82-147) / 118-119: ligd, & 119 is lower C / 120-123: ligd separately from the latter / 140: 1 A / 142: 1 D / 143-144: ligd / 153: 1 F / 154: 1 C / 173: not ligd / 174-176: ligd / 183: 1 E / 184: 1 D / 192: 1 & 2 are A C / 194-195: not ligd / 204: not ligd / 208: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with only one incipit for the lower voices in the first section ('visibilium' in the lowest voice) and 'Et resurrexit' incipits for the two lowest voices in the second section.

The Strahov reading abounds in mistakes and includes much more minor color in the upper voices than in Trent 88. In the first section the cantus firmus has pitch errors, and in both sections the two upper voices have miscopied cadences.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 5v-7r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om, and only two invocations of 'Sanctus' are provided. I take this to suggest that an intonation may have preceded the polyphony, and consequently I provide a chant intonation from the Sarum 3 Sanctus chant as in the Bent edition of this Mass (GS plate 15⁺). Strahov gives three 'Sanctus' invocations instead. / 4: 5 m (corr using Strahov) / 42: both upper voices are marked 'Duo' here, which is incorrect because this section does not exclude the lower pair of voices / 57: cs over 2, which is also incorrect / 93: on the second page opening all voices give the m sign as cut-C before their first staves. As in other movements I have substituted C. / 114: single custos in both voices / 195: 2-4 are B A G (corr using Strahov) / 218: 1 uc. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 24: p div follows 2 / 33, rest & 3: written on a short end of stave extension / 35: 3 C (corr using Strahov) / 58, 1-4: written on an end of stave extension / 72,3-73,4: likewise / 80: 1 E (corr using Strahov) / 90-92: as at 72 / 234: following the double custos measures 194-234 are duplicated (without the lig at 219-220) presumably because the copyist thought that there should be another Osanna section. 'Nichil est' is written at the start of this duplication to show that the copyist recognised his error.

[T]enor; 1: m sign given before stave / 37: p div follows 2 / 87: likewise.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: m sign given before stave, & the voice name is incomplete on both page openings / 25: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 33: p div follows 2 / 37: both notes here are overmarked for no particular reason, & a p div follows 2 / 58: cs over 1 / 67: single custos / 70: p div follows 2 / 72: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 81: likewise / 82: p div follows 2 / 84,4-85,4: overmarked, and written over erasures / 141: cs over 1 / 162-165: this lig consists of two longs written vertically with an adjoining stem.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. Editorial repeats of 'Sabaoth' are needed in all voices except the Tenor at 33-41, and the same voices also need a repeat of 'in excelsis' at 82-92. At 141 in the lowest voice I have made an editorial text entry on a part-word. The Tenor in Trent 88 is not given any cantus firmus text, and has the incipits 'Dominus Deus' at 19, 'Pleni' at 42, 'gloria tua' at 50, 'Osanna' at 68 and 'in nomine Domini' at 141. Those who do not like the Tenor's cantus firmus text appearing in this movement can of course substitute Ordinary text, but I see no reason why the Tenor of this movement should be singled out as different in texting from the Tenors of any other movements.

(ii) Strahov ff. 144v-146r;

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), the m sign is present, & the clef for the first page's Superius (consisting of 1-67) is only given on the first stave (1-13,4) / 6,1-2: minor color / 8: cor over 2 / 15-16: no lig / 17,3-6: minor color / 19: cor over 1 instead of cs / 23,5-24,4: minor color / 24: 7 is dtd & followed by a superfluous m E / 27: 2 is sbr, & 4 & 5 are both sm / 29,1-2: minor color / 41: no custos / 42: no 'Duo' marking in either active voice / 47-48: 47,3 is dtd, & 48,2 is sm / 48: 4 & 5 are both m / 52: an erased sbr C follows 3 / 53,5-54,2: minor color / 54,5-6: minor color / 55,2-3: likewise / 67: no custos / 68: on the second page opening of this movement the Superius clef is only given on the first

stave (68-80,2) / 80,5-86,2: minor color / 84: 4 & 5 are both sbr / 85: 1 om / 86,1-2: minor color / 89,2-3: likewise / 92: no custos in any voice / 93: no m sign given in any voice / 100: a superfluous m G follows 5 / 110: 3 & 4 are both m / 114: 1 is br without cor in both active voices, followed by 2 measures of rests in each voice / 139: 2 uc / 132-133: no lig / 141: cor instead of cs, misplaced over 140,3 / 152: 2-4 replaced by m sm sm / 160,2-162,1: ligd / 172: 1 & 2 are both m, & 3 is not dtd / 173: 1-4 replaced by m F m F sbr E / 195: 2 B / 233: 1-3 replaced by m A sbr F m E / 234: no custos. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Contratenor primus-Contratenor secundus-Tenor, with the Pleni sunt from the higher Contra copied after the latter. On the second page opening the order is Superius-Tenor, then the Osanna I for the lowest voice plus the Benedictus for the higher Contra, and finally the lowest voice for the Benedictus.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: the m sign is present, the clef for 1-41 is only given on the first stave (1-14,1) and the voice name is inconsistent with that in the Gloria, where Tenor bassus is called 'Contratenor primus'. / 6: 3 uc, and 4-5 have minor color / 7: 3 D / 11: 4 E / 12: 2-4 uc / 16,3-17,1: replaced by col sbr D col m C col sbr B col m A / 19: cor instead of cs / 19,4-20,2: minor color / 22: 1 & 2 ligd / 24: no p div / 27: 1 F / 31: 1 & 2 ligd, 2 is C, & 3 is L (which is not ligd & not col) / 38: 2 not dtd / 40: 3 sbr / 41: no custos / 42: the Contratenor for the Pleni sunt section is copied last of all on the first page opening (after the Tenor) and the clef is given for its first stave (42-59) / 48: 2 m, & 3 is dtd / 58,5-59,2: minor color, & 59,2 is dtd / 61,2-3: minor color / 66: 5-6 replaced by sm C / 67: no custos / 68-92: for this section the voice name is given as '[C]ontratenor Osanna secundus' & the clef is only given for the first part stave (68-76,3) / 75: 2 not ligd / 79: 1 & 2 are sbr m / 84: no lig, 3 is sbr, & 4 is om / 92: no custos, & 92,1 is written after the end of a stave / 93 onwards: the clef for this section is only given for the first part stave (93-119) and the music is given after the Tenor bassus for Osanna I with the incipit 'Benedictus con[tratenor] pri[mus]' / 114: see the Superius notes for the variant here / 121,2-122,2 ligd, with the first note dtd & the second not dtd / 124: 1 & 2 are G F / 141: cor instead of cs / 157-159: no lig / 169-170: ligd / 172: 2 not dtd / 173: 1 replaced by m rest / 181,2-182,1: ligd / 182,1-2: not ligd / 185,3-186,1: not ligd / 210-211: ligd / 222: 2 om / 233: 2 B / 234: no custos.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om, and on the first page opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-57) / 33: not ligd / 41: no custos / 55: not ligd / 60-67: 32 measures of rests are given here, but only 10 are needed / 67: no custos / 87: no p div / 92: no custos / 93: on the second page opening the first Osanna is duplicated exactly as before but with the clef included / 93-154: this passage only has a clef on its first part-stave (93-154) & the m sign is om / 162-165: no lig / 191-192: replaced by L G / 197-199: ligd / 200-201: ligd separately from the latter / 203-206: written as a single lig / 210: not ligd / 212-214: likewise / 217-218, 219-222 & 223-225: likewise / 228-234: the end of this part is given on a roughly drawn part-stave at the bottom right of the page / 228-230: no lig / 234: no custos.

[Secund]us Contratenor; 1: the m sign is om, and on the first page opening the clef is only given for the first stave (1-57) / 27: 2 not ligd / 33: no p div / 34-36: no lig / 37: 1-2 are sbr br / 40: 2 G / 41: no custos / 67: likewise / 68: on the second page opening the clef for 68-92 is only given on the first stave (68-89,2) / 70: no p div / 85,2-5: minor color / 87: p div follows 2 / 88: 1 C / 92: no custos / 93: the end of this voice follows the higher Contra on the second page opening, the m sign is om, & the clef for 93-234 is only given on the first stave in this voice (93-187) / 148: 1 D / 162-165: no lig / 173-175: likewise / 187-188: no lig, & 187 is written after the end of a stave / 196: 1 E / 200-202: no lig / 206: not ligd / 212: likewise / 234: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius (with three 'Sanctus' at the start instead of Trent 88's two) some internal text in the higher Contra's first section, and otherwise sectional incipits for the lower voices. No cantus firmus text is given for the Tenor. The lower voice incipits are as follows. Contratenor primus: 'sanctus' (at 10), 'Dominus' (at 19), 'Deus' (at 29,2), 'sabbaoth' (at 30-41), 'Pleni sunt' (at 42), '[C]ontratenor Osanna secundus' (at 68) & 'Benedictus' at 93. Tenor: 'Dominus Deus' (at 19), 'Osanna' (at 68), 'Benedictus' (at 93) & 'in nomine Domini' at 141 to the end. Secundus Contratenor: 'Dominus Deus' (at 19), 'Pleni' (at 42), 'gloria' (at 58), 'Osanna' (at 68), 'Benedictus' (at 93) and 'in nomine' (at 141).

Strahov gives a reading which duplicates the first Osanna in the Tenor, it mixes up voice names and parts for the two Contra parts, and is full of small errors. True variants are quite few, and there are some ligaturing and minor color differences.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 7v-9r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 10: single custos in both active voices / 17: cor instead of cs / 25: 1 F (corr using Strahov) / 68: no custos in the Superius or Tenor, & single custos in the Contra & Tenor bassus / 94: m signs ind before first staves in all voices on the second page opening / 122: 2 B (corr using Strahov) / 169,2-170: uc / 206-207: these notes are overmarked. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, & the m sign is om / 15,3-5: written on a short end of stave extension / 20-21: 20,2-3 are dtd-sbr & m, squashed in like a correction as is 21,1 / 22: 4 F (corr using Strahov) / 33-34: as at 15 / 37:3 B (corr using Strahov) / 39: single custos / 60,1-3: as at 15 / 70: 1 dtd / 71: 1 is col sbr (corr using Strahov) / 72: p div follows 2 / 76,3-77,2: as at 15 / 83,1: this ligd note has correcting downward diagonals on each side of it for no apparent reason / 116:1 F (corr using Strahov) / 144-145: 144 not dtd, & 145,2 dtd (corr using Strahov) / 151-rest in 153: om (conj supplied).

[Tenor]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 35: p div follows 2 / 39: no custos / 58-68: 10 measures of rests are given, with the last pair of rests having two small horizontal lines through them (11 measures are needed) / 88: p div follows 2.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the m sign is om, & the voice name is incomplete on both page openings / 35: p div follows 2 / 39: single custos / 58: p div follows 2 / 65: 4 F / 72: p div follows 2 / 75,2: corr from C by erasure of an oblique ligature end / 76,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension / 93-117: 28 measures of rests are given but only 24 are needed, and the last four rests given seem to be erased / 149: 2 F (corr using Strahov) / 151,1-154,1: as at 76 / 160: cs over 1, which is inaccurate because the next entry point for the Superius and Tenor is at 161.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices & partial texting in Agnus II for the Contra and Tenor bassus. The Tenor is not given any cantus firmus text, and has the incipits 'Agnus' (at 1), 'qui tollis' (50), 'miserere nobis' (69), 'qui tollis' (118) and 'dona' (161). The section beginning at 40 is called 'Agnus secundus' in the Tenor bassus, and as in the Sanctus I permit entry on an editorial part-word in a single instance (at 17).

(ii) Strahov ff. 146v-147r & 140r (Agnus III is on f. 140r);

[Superius]; 1: there is a small stave gap before the clef (presumably left for a majuscule initial), & the clef for the first page's Superius (consisting of 1-92) is only given on the first stave (1-13,3) / 7,2-3, 8,2-3 & 9,1-2: minor color / 10: no custos, & a br rest is given after 1 / 17,1: cor instead of cs / 25,3-4 & 32,2-3: minor color / 39: no custos / 48,2-3 & 50,3-51,2: likewise / 53: no lig / 58-68: 12 br rests are given (only 11 are needed) / 68: no custos / 72: 1 & 2 are A F / 72,3-73,2: ligd / 75,2-3 & 76,1-2 & 4-5: minor color / 92: no custos / 93 onwards: this section precedes the rest of the Mass in Strahov and is marked '3us agnus veterem hominem' under the start of the Superius. The m sign is given as cut-C before the first stave, and the clef is only given for that stave (93-122,3) / 104: 4 A / 112: 1 uc (looks like F rather than E) / 117: 2 col err, but with a small chevron underneath to indicate the error / 118: cor over 1 / 129: no lig / 138: 2 & 3 replaced by m F / 172: 5 uc / 190: 2 A / 206: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr F / 208: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order is

Superius-Tenor-higher Contra-lower Contra, except on the page for Agnus III where the Tenor is the last voice copied.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 1: this voice name for the higher Contra is inconsistent with some previous movements, & the m sign is om. In Agnus III this voice is confusingly named as [C]ontratenor primus. The clef on the first page opening is only given for the first stave (1-13). / 6: 3 uc / 8,4-9,3: replaced by col sbr E col m D col sbr D col m C / 12: 2 E / 14,4-5: minor color / 15: 2 replaced by col sbr G col m F / 15,4-16,3: replaced by sbr upper G m F m E sbr upper G m D m E sbr upper G m F (which are far too many notes for this cadential passage) / 17: cor over 1 / 20: 2 & 3 are dtd-sbr & m as in Trent 88 / 21: 1 om, & 2-3 are A E / 23: 3 F / 32: 1-2 have minor color, 2 is E, & 32,4-5 are replaced by m F dtd-m G & sm F / 33-34: no lig, & 33,2 is E / 36: 2 is A, dtd / 39: cor over 1, & no custos / 40: p div follows 2 / 48: 1 replaced by sbr D m D / 60,1-2 & 61,2-3: minor color / 65: 1-2 have minor color, & 4-6 are replaced by m C col sbr D col m E m F / 66,2-5: minor color / 68: cor over 1, & no custos / 69-70,1: 69 not dtd, & 70,1 dtd / 71: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 72: no p div / 81: 2 D / 92: no custos / 93: the m sign is om, there is no clef change, & the clef for the final section is only given on the first part-stave (93-106) / 113: 3 A / 117-118: no lig, & cor over 117 / 121: 1 is upper G / 149: 2 C / 169-171: no lig / 172-176: om / 187: 2 om / 191: 1 E / 199: 2 is sbr as in Trent 88 / 205: 2 D / 208: no custos. Further on a duplicated passage of the higher Contra in the other Contra part here, see the notes below for that voice.

[T]enor; 1: m sign om / 19: cor over 1 (for entry of Superius at 19,3?) / 25-26: ligd / 27-30: ligd / 32: this br rest is followed by the superfluous notes ligd br lower G L upper D & br lower G plus one more br rest. The mistake seems be caused by miscopying of 28-35. / 39: not ligd, & no custos / 40-49: 12 br rests are given (only 10 are needed) / 55: not ligd / 59-68: 8 br rests are given, but 11 are needed / 68: no custos / 78: not ligd / 88: no p div / 92: not ligd, & no custos / 93: the m sign is om, & the clef is only given for the first stave of this section (93-179) / 139-142: no lig / 150-152: likewise / 163-165: replaced by br F L G, with no lig / 166-168: no lig / 170-172: likewise / 176-177: ligd / 178-179: ligd separately from the latter / 180-208: the end of this section is given on a roughly drawn small stave at the bottom of the page / 185-187: no lig / 201-203: likewise / 207: not ligd / 208: no custos.

[C]ontratenor primus; 1: this voice name is inconsistent with the name in some previous movements, the m sign is present, & the clef is only given on the first page opening for the first stave (1-37,1) / 26,1-27,1: ligd, & 27,1 is not col / 27,2-28,2: no lig / 29: p div follows 2 / 35: no p div / 38: cor over 1 / 39: 1 D, & no custos, and this is followed in Strahov by a crossed-out passage of the higher Contra at 13-21,2 which has the following variants with Trent 88 (given here in italics to avoid confusion with the main notes in this paragraph). 15: *replaced by m F m G m F m E sbr upper G* / 16: *replaced by m D m E sbr upper G & m F* / 17: *cor over 1* / 20: 2 & 3 are sbr & dtd-sbr / 22: 2 E / 60: 4 G / 65: 4 F / 66: 4 replaced by m Bb m B / 68: cor over 1, & no custos / 71: 2 G / 72: no p div / 76: 1 not ligd, & p div follows 2 / 78-79: no lig / 81: 2 not col / 89,2-90,1: ligd / 90: p div follows 2 / 92: no custos / 93: m sign om, and the clef for this section is only given on the first part-stave (93-143) / 118-122: no lig / 121-125: om / 126-128: replaced by ligd sbr F sbr G br lower D br A / 129-130: ligd / 137-140: ligd / 146-150: om / 152-153: no lig / 159-161: no lig / 169: 1 C, but possibly corr by a small mark on this note / 176: 1 D / 179: not ligd / 180: 1 A / 199-200: ligd / 205-207: ligd / 207: no divisi B / 208: no custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. These are as follows. Higher Contra: ‘Agnus’ (at 1) and ‘miserere nobis’ (at 69-92). Tenor: ‘Agnus miserere’ (at 1) and ‘Agnus’ at 93. Lower Contra: ‘miserere’ (17) and ‘miserere nobis’ (69). Nowhere is the Tenor given any cantus firmus text.

Strahov is full of errors, and probably unusable on account of its miscopying of the cantus firmus in the first section and the Agnus III entry in the lower Contra.

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Structure

This extended Tenor cantus firmus Mass has a better claim to being insular than most other English-looking Masses in continental manuscripts in view of a black-notation extract from the Gloria appearing in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* of 1597. Morley uses the example to illustrate music by foregoing generations of English composers, so it is unlikely that he would have used an imported piece for this purpose. Stylistic and structural features plus the extensive troped Kyrie also suggest English origin, as do some English-looking cadential clichés and a feebly drawn imitation of an English chequerboard-style final long in the Tenor bassus at the end of the Credo in *Trent* 88.

The troped Kyrie is one of the most extended examples of its type (with 233 measures) and all movements give two statements of the Tenor cantus firmus, which is an antiphon at Lauds for the Octave of Epiphany. Its text celebrates baptism, and translates as “Renewing the old man [i.e. Adam], the saviour came to baptism, that by water he might restore the nature which was corrupted, clothing us around with an incorruptible garment”. The following example gives the cantus firmus largely as it appears in the critical apparatus to the Margaret Bent edition of the Mass.

4.1. The *Veterem hominem* chant;²

The image shows three staves of musical notation in a single system. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 'C' time signature, indicating common time. The notes are black dots on a five-line staff. Brackets are placed above the notes to indicate phrasing. The lyrics are written below the staves, aligned with the notes. The first staff contains the lyrics: 'Ve - te - rem ho - mi - nem re - no - vans sal - va - tor, ve - nit ad ba - pti - smum:'. The second staff contains: 'ut na - tu - ram que cor - ru - pta est per a - quam re - cu - pe - ra - ret: in - cor - ru -'. The third staff contains: '- pti - bi - le ve - ste cir - cum a - mi - ctans nos.'.

The complete cantus firmus is given twice and unelaborated in each movement, once in triple time and once in duple. The triple statements form a rhythmically more or less identical set, and the duple statements are also almost another identical set apart from small discrepancies. First-statement discrepancies are at Kyrie 25 and Sanctus 24 (breve-semibreve in the Sanctus replaces a single perfect breve in the Kyrie here) and at Kyrie 27 and Sanctus 26 (where the same variant occurs). The sole second-statement discrepancy is at Kyrie 192-193 and Gloria 161-162 (where two breves in the Kyrie are replaced by a long in the Gloria).³ All cantus firmus statements are divided by rests at the same textual point (after ‘baptismum’) and the Tenor rests at the start of most of the sections and also at the dividing point in each cantus firmus statement vary. It is this feature which accounts for the differing movement lengths, and in descending order of size the movements are Credo, Kyrie, Sanctus, Gloria and Agnus.

All movements have delayed entry Tenors where the two upper voices begin with introductory duets, and all second-half duple sections also have introductory duets scored for the same voices. There is a strong similarity with the anonymous *Caput* Mass in this layout, and also as in the *Missa Caput* it appears that cantus firmus

² AS plate 95.

³ The first two variants here are shared by the Credo and Agnus Tenors, and the third (two-breve) variant also occurs in the Sanctus and Agnus. It is probable that the original did not have any of these Tenor inconsistencies.

text will fit the Tenors better than some of the Ordinary-text cues provided in both main sources. Underlay in the Mass Tenors can be made to resemble the texting of the chant closely, but repeated notes in the Tenors necessitate slight modifications to the texting.

All movements have a motto opening in which measures 1-3,1 in both active voices are identical. The lower voice in these openings seems to be taken from the Missa *Caput* motto, which for this purpose has been transposed an octave down. Internal duple section openings are all independently related to each other apart from the second section of the Kyrie, and Osanna I resembles the movement-opening motto. The other internal subdivisions (such as the Pleni sunt and those in the subdivided Agnus) do not begin with related material. All movemental cadences also share melodic and harmonic similarities. The Tenor is an internal voice permitting fourths against the Superius, and the so-called Tenor bassus alternates between acting as a bass-like part and a filler voice. All movements begin on C but end on G, and most sectional cadences are on G (the exceptions being Agnus I, which ends with a construct on C and the Pleni sunt and Agnus IIa sections which both end on D). The vocal scoring and preferred cadence pitches are therefore close to both elements in the Missa *Caput*, as is the Tenor's feature of rising to upper G (at 'ut naturam') which provides some textural contrast in full sections. In internal reduced-voice passages the preferred duet combinations are for the two upper voices or the Contra and Tenor bassus, although the two outer parts do have a duet passage at Kyrie 170-186. This too is similar to the scoring in the *Caput* Mass, where the Tenor is never allowed topmost-voice prominence in duet passages.

In terms of style there is also much here that resembles the *Caput* Mass, such as the limited mobility duple idiom (where rhythmic acceleration is only used at the end of duet passages) and the predominance of the Superius in full sections. Imitation is hardly present at all except in minor instances such as at Kyrie 8 and Sanctus 63-64. In full sections the Superius line against the Tenor is sometimes synthetic (see Kyrie 159-165 and Gloria 124-136). Upper-voice fifths are permitted, and a particularly important feature shared with the *Caput* Mass is that some cadences or cadence-like progressions on upper D do not require accidentals on preceding C's (see Kyrie 70-71 and Credo 100-103). In the former instance accidentalised C's are not possible because of the simultaneous presence of C naturals in the Contra. But in other ways the *Veterem hominem* Mass differs from its likely stylistic model. It is more harmonically varied than the Missa *Caput* and seems to require both sharpwise and flatwise editorial accidentals in different cadences on A. Its lowest part convincingly carries Ordinary text, whereas in my edition of the *Caput* Mass I did not text this part except in the Sanctus and Agnus. But perhaps most importantly its melodic lines have three characteristics which the *Caput* Mass largely does not share. Firstly there are some gloriously longwinded phrases and a tendency to use sequential patterns (as at Kyrie 126-130) and also changing-note figures (see Kyrie 179-182).⁴ Secondly, there is a particular melodic turn consisting of an ornamented descent of a fifth which is found in the Superius at Gloria 119-120 and 165-167, Credo 127-129, Sanctus 129-131 and Agnus 171-173 (all duple-section occurrences). Thirdly, its melodic lines sometimes involve repetitions of small sets of pitches. For example, at Gloria 18-19 exactly the same Superius notes serve for two consecutive measures. At Gloria 49-51 the same three pitches serve to end one phrase and to begin another. The lower duet voice at Credo 9-11,1 repeats the same four pitches, and the Superius at Sanctus 27,2-28,4 also repeats four pitches. Additionally the Contra at 180-186 makes up a phrase of upper duet voice with repeated pitches, the Contra at Sanctus 13-15,3 has a lower duet voice which repeats five pitches and the Sanctus at 169-175 has two successive and closely spaced cadences on G. It is for reasons like these that I am reluctant to attribute the *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* Masses to a single composer. Added to which the presence of the *Caput* motto theme in the lower duet voice at the start of movements might suggest that the *Veterem hominem* composer is building something new onto somebody else's start-point.

There is much in the rhythmically muscular-sounding triple sections of this Mass which will appeal to those used to works by Dunstable and Leonel, and the Superius is slightly more florid than in the *Caput* Mass. As

⁴ This is of course not to ignore the imitative sequential duo passage in the *Caput* Kyrie at 137-143.

might be expected, there are a few moments where the partwriting is not as generally consonant as it was in the later fifteenth century. The Credo's first section ends with a dissonant cadence, and the introductory Kyrie duet has a brief excursion with B flats which sounds unusual (at 15-18). Also the two topmost voices have near-consecutive octaves at Kyrie 143, and there is a upward-resolving fourth on a strong beat in a duet passage at Agnus 53. Most movements also share a peculiar characteristic also found in other probably insular cycles and also some movements of Dufay's *Se la face ay pale* Mass - namely that different panels in each section are often similarly or identically scored and often share the same cadential pitches.⁵ This is partly the result of writing several movemental exercises over the same cantus firmus. Neither the *Caput* nor the *Veterem hominem* Mass is strictly isomelic in this sense, but *Caput* comes close. Its Gloria and Credo panels share the same temporary scorings and cadence pitches apart from at 141-143 in the Gloria and 197-213 in the Credo, where the former has a temporary trio and the latter has a duet passage for the two Contra parts. The *Caput* Sanctus and Agnus are also close to each other in the same respect, but again the successions of scorings and cadence pitches are not identical. The *Caput* Kyrie seems to stand outside either scoring scheme. In *Veterem hominem* the Gloria and Credo are again close but not identical in terms of small panels and their cadence pitches, and the Kyrie once more seems to be outside any scheme that might be present. The *Veterem hominem* Sanctus and Agnus come closest to isomelic twinning, as the following table of temporary scorings and cadence pitches shows. Rows in italics illustrate passages in each movement which do not correspond with each other.

TABLE 4.1
Similarly scored passages in the *Veterem hominem* Sanctus and Agnus

Sanctus measures	Details	Agnus measures	Details
1-9	First half of introductory S-Ct duet cadencing on C and followed by one measure's rest.	1-10	First half of introductory S-Ct duet cadencing on C.
10-19	Second half of introductory duet, cadencing on G.	11-17	Second half of introductory duet, cadencing using a construct on G.
19-20	<i>Lower voice trio cadencing on D.</i>	18-19	<i>No cadence here, and the Superius has two semibreve rests at start of 19.</i>
21-41	<i>Full passage, cadencing using a construct on G.</i>	20-39	<i>Full passage, cadencing using a construct on C.</i>
42-50	Duet passage for the two upper voices, cadencing on G.	40-49	Duet passage for the two upper voices, cadencing on G.
50-57	S-T duet passage, cadencing on D.	50-57	S-T duet passage, cadencing on D.
58-67	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.	58-68	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.
68-92	Full section (Osanna I) cadencing on G.	69-93	Full section (Agnus IIb) cadencing using a construct on G.
93-114	First half of duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.	94-118	Duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.
115-141	<i>Second half of duple section introductory duet, cadencing on G.</i>		
141-175	Full passage, cadencing on G.	118-152	Full passage, cadencing on G.
176-188	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.	153-160	Ct-Tb duet passage, cadencing on D.
188-234	Full passage, cadencing on G.	161-208	Full passage, cadencing on G.

The critical commentary to Gerber's edition also draws attention to the length of some of the introductory duets, since those which begin the Gloria, Credo and Agnus I are all sixteen measures long.⁶ However, this scheme does not extend to other parts of the Mass. Copies of this *Veterem hominem* must have circulated until the sixteenth century in England and perhaps for several years into the mid-fifteenth century on the continent.

⁵ For another example see the Gloria and Credo on *Pax vobis* in Instalment 1, no. 28.

⁶ Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 41.

Typically for an English setting, the Kyrie became separated from the rest of the Mass in transmission and appears much later in Trent 88 than the rest of the work. In Strahov the Kyrie does not appear at all, and the movements are given in a confused order with much minor color in the notation and many copying mistakes. Finally, the bipartite structure of this Mass and also *Caput* probably gave rise to many structural imitations, and there might be a further sign of the ‘*Caput motto*’ being used in another work as well as in this Mass. This is because the Gloria of Touront’s *Missa Sine nomine* I has a Superius which begins with the first six pitches of the *Caput* Gloria Superius. That seems to be a gesture of musical homage which is perhaps as significant as the adaption of the *Caput motto* in the *Veterem hominem* Mass.

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Numerology

I have little to report here that I have not yet already written in my comparison of this Mass with the anonymous *Missa Caput*. Possibly the *Veterem hominem* Mass is not the sort of work to yield symmetries easily as its Gloria and Credo both have 81 measures for their first sections but respectively follow these with sections of 123 and 127 measures.

In terms of tempora other items of interest are that the Kyrie and Sanctus are close in size (consisting of 233 and 234 measures respectively), and the Pleni sunt and Osanna I sections are also close (with 26 and 25 measures respectively). The sum of all triple measures in this Mass is 444. Exactly how the subdivided Sanctus and Agnus should be counted in terms of sections is not clear, since the Agnus marks off the first part of its introductory duo with a sectional custos but the Sanctus has a measure’s rest at the same point. Therefore which is a separate subdivision, and which is not?

Note counts give us the following interesting totals. Tenor statements usually have 58-60 notes per statement, and the Kyrie’s first section has 883 notes (possibly this was once 880). Likewise the Gloria’s second section has 604 notes (possibly once 600), the Credo’s first-section Superius has 301 notes (maybe originally 300) and the Agnus I Superius has 320 notes. The Benedictus Superius also has a rounded-looking total with 575 notes. The first two section of the Sanctus have a combined note total of 501 (possibly this was once 500).

Information on sectional sizes of movements as percentages (and how these compare with similar data from the *Missa Caput*) can be found in my discussion of that Mass. However the important thing to keep in mind is that these calculations do not seem to show much of significance.

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94. *Missa Puis que m’amour* (Trent 88 ff. 85v-93r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 249-251).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the Tenor of a chanson by Dunstable, the earliest reliable version of which is in EscA. A copy also precedes this Mass, on Trent 88 ff. 84v.

Gloria (ff. 85v-87r);

[Superius]; 1: the title ‘Puiskemor’ appears above the music, the intonation is supplied from IB 15154 f. 147v transposed an octave up, and the m sign is given before the first stave. / 34: 4 sbr / 42: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 179: 1 F. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Tenor-Contra secundus-Contra primus, and on the second opening the order of the two Contras is reversed.

[C]ontratenor secundus; 3: ns / 16: p div follows 3 / 23: 3 B / 59: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 140: note that the divisi here is the only one in this voice in the entire movement / 142-144: written on a short

end of stave extension / 157,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 174,1-2: as at 142 / 198: 1 C.

[T]enor; 117-133: 18 breve rests are given but only 17 are needed / 148: 1 br / 165: 2 G / 170: not dtd.

Contratenor primus; 1-2: ns / 20-21: likewise / 25: p div follows 2 / 27: likewise / 83-85: ns / 148: not dtd / 149: 2 B / 165-182: 17 breve rests are given but 18 are needed / 196: 3 is sbr / 195: erased sbr lower E follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. Both occurrences of 'Christe' in the Superius are spelt as 'Criste', and I allow for a little editorial telescoping at 153-170 since 'Tu solus Dominus' is not given in the Superius. An editorial repeat of 'Deus' is needed in the Contra secundus at 48-49. At 132 in the same voice an entry on an editorial part-word has been provided since no better solution suggests itself here. Lastly, the Tenor can only be given isolated phrases of text in view of its large number of extended values.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 27 (edition of Mass) and no. 26 (edition of the parent song after Trent 88). The *Puis que m'amour* chanson is also published in John Dunstable, Complete Works (revised edition, 1970) no. 55, where its two alternative Contras are given. Further regarding the song see Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs... p. 333. Lastly, in The Paleography and Repertory... vol. I (1989) I pp. 101 and 121 I suggested that this Mass and also the ModC version of the Missa *O rosa bella* III might be the work of Henricus Tik. I no longer support that claim.

Credo (ff. 87v-91r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 22, 23, 36, 40 & 47: the Superius and some other voices are well supplied with congruent signs in this section, and all of them appear to have practical purposes such as marking Tenor entries and cessations, and entries of other voices. / 63: the scoring of this trio is questionable as its middle part (given as part of the Tenor in Trent 88) rises to Superius B. However, allotting the middle trio voice to the Contra primus would give that part a movemental range of two octaves plus a semitone (which would be very unusual) and giving the middle voice to the Contra secundus would also give that part a movemental two-octave range. Accordingly I have left the middle voice of the trio as part of the Tenor, since the Tenor also has non-cantus firmus material in the Duo starting at 194. / 101: 5 b / 110: cor given as cs / 194: 'Duo' ind in both voices, and m sign rptd at new page opening in both active voices / 285: 5 & 6 not col. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus, but on the last two page openings the order of the two Contras is reversed.

Contra secundus; 6: 4 is sbr / 7: superfluous m upper B follows 3 / 10: 7 C / 28: p div follows 1 / 36: cs is given over 1 rather than over the rest here / 49: 2 C, & clef change is at start of new stave / 62: no 'Tacet' direction given / 144: 1 A / 160: the m sign cut-C here is given above the breve rest / 178: 1 om (conj supplied) / 271: 1 & 2 are E A / 275: 2 A / 280: 1 C / 283: p div follows 2 / 287: p div follows 1.

[T]enor; 34: sharp ind before 34,1 / 89: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 102, likewise, & 1 has flat / 117: 5 E / 138-156: 18 breve rests are given (19 are needed) / 179-180: ns / 183-188: om (conj supplied) / 246: p div follows 2 / 253: b ind before 252,2 / 260: p div follows 1.

[C]ontra primus; 29: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied) / 31,2-32,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 44: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 51: 3 not dtd / 52: 1 F / 62: following this final sectional long a direct to lower G is given, suggesting that the continuation in the following trio is part of this voice rather than part of any other. / 72: 2 uc / 75,3-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 94: 1 br / 99: 3 & 4 are m sbr / 100-

101,3: Trent 88 reads m lower E sbr G m lower E m lower C m lower D & sbr lower C. The emendation provided is to avoid dissonance as well as to supply the correct number of notes (not enough are given). / 107: 2 sbr / 109: 6 uc / 120: the lower divisi note is om (conj supplied) and the upper divisi is br rather than L / 125: the upper divisi note here is F / 151: om (conj supplied) / 152: p div follows 3 / 193: this sectional L is om (conj supplied), Trent 88 reads ligd dtd-sbr upper F sbr A plus m G & dtd-sbr E m C sbr E plus ligd br D L C, and no custos follows / 260: 2 & 3 are D E / 261: 1 F / 271,1-3: written on a short end of stave extension / 285,3-287: likewise / 298: 1 A.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et ascendit... erit finis' (at 194). As with the Gloria, lower parts can only be made to carry partial text. At 59 in the Contra secundus a repeat of 'de Deo' is needed, and in the same voice at 169-173 a repeat of 'Et resurrexit' is needed, 'Christum' in the Superius at 26-27 is spelt as 'xpum', and 'catholicam' in the same voice at 260-261 is spelt as 'katholicam'.

Sanctus (ff. 91v-93r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices (O is assumed) / 17: 4 F / 36: 6 & 7 are E D (emended to make a more conventional cadence) / 53: 1-4 om (conj supplied) / 55: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 122: 2 D / 131: 1 A / 142: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 185: m sign given as cut-O / 199: 3 G. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra secundus; 76: both Contra parts indicate the two Osanna sections as 'Osanna primus' and 'Osanna secundus' / 95-107: 12 breve rests are given (13 are needed) / 186: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 190: 2 is sbr, & not col / 199: 3 D (below).

[T]enor; 175-176: none of these notes are col / 193-194: ns / 200,2-201: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

[C]ontra primus; 39,4: a cancelling 'O' sign is given after this colored passage / 44: 1 m / 53,5-54,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 193-194: ns / 200,2-201: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 107: 1 br / 113: upper divisi note not col / 190,7-10: all of these notes are m / 199,2: this note is an L, imperfected *ad partem remotam*.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 24 in the Contra secundus an entry on an editorial part-word seems unavoidable. An editorial repeat of 'Sabaoth' is needed in all voices at 44-54, and all voices also need editorial repeats of 'excelsis' at 108-141.

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Structure

There is nothing quite like the Missa *Puis que m'amour* anywhere else in the later Trent manuscripts. These three movements (Gloria, Credo and Sanctus) were once possibly part of a larger work since in Trent 88 a blank page opening follows the Sanctus which might have been intended for an Agnus Dei. The Credo is particularly extensive (consisting of nearly 300 measures) and all three movements are richly sonorous with the Contra secundus as a higher filler Contra instead of as a bass-like part. Much the same texture occurs in the Trent 89 Mass pair on *Beata Dei genitrix*. Both Contras contain occasional divisi notes, and there is a proliferation of insular melodic clichés and accented sixths which might suggest either English origin or stylistic influence. This is not a conventional Tenor cantus firmus Mass. As will be seen, the way that it is written poses questions about voice ranges and texture.

The Tenor cantus firmus is the Tenor of Dunstable's Rondeau *Puis que m'amour*, which seems to have had a fairly wide circulation.⁷ Each movement presents the song Tenor once, differently elaborated and split up into sections which are interpolated by reduced-voice subdivisions and internal passages of rests. The cantus firmus is only present in full sections, but one of these (the final section of the Credo) includes a free Tenor passage where one of the Contras temporarily has some song material. If the scoring and voice names in Trent 88 are to be trusted, the Tenor also has a supporting role in reduced-voice sections. However I will return to this in due course.

All three movements have delayed entry Tenors in their first sections, but not in their internal full sections. The mensuration pattern and panel scoring in all movements varies, but all three movements follow the basic pattern O - O - cut-C - O. The Gloria and Sanctus Superius openings are similar and the openings of all three main duple sections are harmonically similar, but no further likenesses occur between section openings. The resemblance between the Gloria and Sanctus openings and the motto of Dufay's Missa *Se la face ay pale* may only be coincidental. All three movements have a final minor-mode cadence on G like the song. Throughout, the song Tenor is generally subjected to considerable elaboration. The following example gives the parent song in its probably earliest complete form, and the subsequent table outlines how the Tenor is used in successive movements.

⁷ Trent 88 is one of the sources for this song, which immediately precedes this Mass (on f. 84v).

4.2. Dunstable, *Puis que m'amour* (with first stanza of text only);⁸

The musical score is written in mensural notation on three staves. The first staff is for the voice (Soprano), the second for the Tenor (T), and the third for the Canto (Ct). The lyrics are in French and are written below the staves. The score is divided into five systems, each starting with a measure number (6, 12, 18, 24). The lyrics are as follows:

6
 Puis que m'a - mour m'a pris en des -
 T Puis que m'a - mour m'a pris en des -
 Ct Puis que m'a - mour m'a pris en des -

12
 - plai - sir et a vo - lu aul - tre
 - plai - sir et a vo - lu aul -
 - plai - sir et a vo - lu aul - tre

18
 de moy es - li - re, Es -
 - tre de moy es - li - re, es -
 de moy es - li - re, Es -

24
 -ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - ser, et ri -
 -ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - ser, et
 -ba - te - ment, chan - ter, dan - ser, et ri -

30
 -re, tout mon veult je n'au - ray a
 ri - re tout mon veult je n'au -
 -re tout mon veult je n'au - ray a plai -

⁸ This example is adapted from the EsCA version given in John Dunstable, Complete Works (revised edition), no. 55.

TABLE 4.2
Tenor cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Puis que m'amour*

Section	Measures	Use
Et in terra	1-14	Introductory Tenorless trio.
	14-41	Tenor elaborates first half of song Tenor (1-16).
Domine Deus	42-72	Tenorless duet.
Qui tollis	73-116	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 17-22.
	117-133	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	134-172	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 23-27,1.
	173-182	Sectional Tenor ends with rests.
Cum sancto	183-200	Tenor elaborates song Tenor, 27,2-33.
Patrem	1-22	Introductory Tenorless trio.
	23-42	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 1-8.
	43-46	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	47-62	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 10-16.
Genitum non factum	63-119	Tenor is the middle voice of a free trio.
Crucifixus	120-137	Tenor has song Tenor 17-19,1 rhythmically altered.
	138-156	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	157-193	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 19,1-22.
Et in Spiritum	194-256	Tenor is free and is lower voice of a duo.
Et unam	257-298	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 24-33, but with a free passage interpolated at 267-281 (see below for Contra primus use of borrowed material here).
Sanctus	1-24	Introductory Tenorless duet.
	25-54	Tenor elaborates first half of song Tenor (1-16).
Pleni sunt	55-75	Tenorless duet.
Osanna I	76-94	Tenor has rhythmically altered song Tenor, 17-19,1.
	95-107	Interpolated rests in Tenor.
	108-141	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 19,2-27,1.
Benedictus	142-184	Tenor is free and is lower voice of a duo.
Osanna II	185-201	Tenor elaborates song Tenor 27,2-33.

Comparison between the song Tenor and Mass Tenors shows that rhythmic transformation can be considerable, with some notes from the song being changed into maximas and longs. To return to the subject of ranges, Tenor participation in some of the free reduced-scoring sections results in an overall range of two octaves for this voice in the Credo. Shifting around the scoring so that the Tenor only sings cantus firmus material in full sections does not seem that satisfactory either. Allotting the Tenor's supposed reduced-scoring lines to either Contra also results in very wide ranges for these parts, so the safest policy seems to be to retain the Trent 88 vocal scoring. Given that both Contra parts and the Superius contain divisis, there is a probability that this Mass was sung by an ensemble with more than one voice per part. Consequently notes that are outside the range of some singers could easily be allotted to others. This seems to be one of the very few instances of probable nonchalance about voice ranges that I have come across in fifteenth century Mass cycles.

The outer voices feature very little material from the parent song. The initial full triple sections in each movement end with cadences on F and then cadences on G as the song does at 12-16, and the hemiola rhythms in the song *Superius* at 15 and 25 also feature prominently in triple sections (see the *Gloria Superius* at 4-5 and 48-51). But there is only one traceable quotation of song *Superius* material throughout, and this is where the Tenor temporarily ceases to feature *cantus firmus* in the middle of the Credo's 'Et unam' section. At 263,3-267,2 the *Contra primus* (as the top voice of a temporary trio passage here) strongly resembles the song *Superius* at 25-28.

Imitation features prominently in this Mass, with types of imitative writing including unison imitation in duets (*Gloria* 48-50), triadic imitation between lower voices in full sections (*Gloria* 194-195 and *Sanctus* 193-194), duet imitation at the fifth (*Credo* 250-256) and sesquialtera passages in all main duple sections which are worked out as two- or three-voice imitative points (*Gloria* 117-132, *Credo* 136-157 and *Sanctus* 94-107). This Mass 'jubilates' with triple proportion passages much like some of the later Fayrfax songbook repertory. The *Credo* and *Sanctus* also begin with imitative outer-voice trio and duet passages, with the *Credo* providing an extended imitative trio passage at 15-22 containing some work in small values. The 'Genitum' trio in the *Credo* is also remarkably extended, resulting in a succession of passages that respectively use three-voice unison imitation (71-74), cross-accents (75 onwards), combined O and dotted-C mensuration (83 onwards), imitative changing-note figures (88-91), triadic imitation in two and then in three voices (100-106) and finally an active middle voice with slow-moving outer parts (111-116). It is as if the composer were displaying what he could do with three parts rather like on a shop-front. Four-part sections also display occasional activity like the extended *Contra primus* syncopated dotted passage at 36-39, the same part has an animated passage at *Sanctus* measure 190, and also some isolated triplet figures at *Sanctus* measure 39.

This detailed and attractive trio and also the rich sonorities throughout are not achieved without some dissonance. The *Credo* and *Sanctus* end with hybrid cadences, and these are also found in the *Gloria* at 36-37 and 147. At 36-37 we are forced to tolerate a hybrid cadence with a major seventh sound since the preceding construct on E in measure 36 requires a B natural to be struck against it. That B natural then sounds against C an octave below at the end of the measure. Equally unexpectedly, *Osanna I* has an inverted doubled-leadingnote cadence involving upper-voice fifths, the *Contra primus* has a seventh against the Tenor at *Sanctus* 115, the first cadence in the *Pleni sunt* duet involves a semibreve dissonance on a strong beat (*Sanctus* 57) and the otherwise immaculately written 'Genitum' trio in the *Credo* has lower-voice consecutive fifths at *Credo* 80. There is also a certain liberality in allowing unusual outer-voice passing notes in long note Tenor passages (see *Credo* 280-281 and *Sanctus* 41-42). Occasional descents into Bb and Eb sonorities prior to cadences on F provide moments of variety (see *Credo* 53-58). The composer of this Mass was evidently talented even if his partwriting occasionally lapsed.

Deciding whether this Mass is insular or not is difficult. In the absence of features such as extensive *Credo* text deletions and a consistent mensural plan, James Cook has suggested that it might be a continental work and therefore its English musical guise might only be Anglophilia.⁹ In support of this point some of the musical devices in the 'Genitum' section are rather like the devices used internally in the larger movements of the *Dufay Sancti Anthonii Padovens* Mass, and the extensive trio work at the start of the *Credo* is perhaps also untypical of insular music. Furthermore the similarly scored Mass pair on *Beata Dei genitrix* is equally sonorous in the same English-influenced sense, but that particular *Gloria-Credo* pair shows other signs of being continental rather than English. It therefore seems sensible not to allot a provenance to the *Missa Puis que m'amour* until we find out more about its origins. As regards a likely composition date, the crossing *Contra* parts and hybrid cadences probably suggest a few years on either side of 1450.

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⁹ See Cook, J., *Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles in Continental Sources* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Nottingham University, 2014) I pp. 261-262.

Numerology

There seems to be little evidence of number symmetry in this Mass, possibly because there were once more movements than now survive. If the final movemental longs of the Sanctus are excluded, I find that the Osanna I (with 66 measures) constitutes exactly 33% of the total tempora in the Sanctus, and this is possibly significant because Osanna I is the central subsection of five in that movement. The overall sizes of the Gloria and Sanctus are also close, with 200 and 201 measures respectively (including their final longs). The first panel of the 'Genitum' trio in the Credo may also be significant in having 33 measures.

Note counts show that the final section of the Credo has exactly 444 notes, or 400 if the sectional longs are removed.

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95. Missa Rozel im gorten

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 295v-301r (Gloria, Credo and Sanctus) and 302v-304r (Agnus). DTÖ VII inventory nos 423-425 and 427;
- (ii) Strahov ff. 121v-131r (first three movements plus Agnus III) with four batches of independent music on the same pages as each movement, and with the title *Officium Rozel im gorten andersch franczose* at the start of the Gloria Tenor.

This Mass cycle seems to use an otherwise lost cantus firmus which is elaborated differently in each movement. For a partial reconstruction see the section on structure.

Gloria

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 295v-297r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Sarum Gloria chant 5 (GS plate 12, transposed a fourth up) & in the two topmost voices the m signs are given before the first staves / 77: m sign ind before stave / 182,3-183: written on a short end of stave extension / 213: as at 77. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor primus-Contratenor secundus. If performers do not like the O-cut-C equivalent given in the score, they may care to use the O-C equivalent O perfect breve = long of duple section (which is suggested in this edition for other probably English Masses).

Contratenor primus; 13,3-14,3: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Strahov / 26: p div follows 2 / 67: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 76: no custos / 77: m sign ind before stave / 125,2-127,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 157-183: 28 breve rests are given but only 27 are needed / 183: no custos / 184: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 190-192: as at 125 / 202,1: this note is squashed in / 219,3-223,1: as at 125 and 190 / 226: a sharp sign precedes 226,2 / 235,2-236: as at 125, 190 and 219.

Tenor; 13: p div follows 2 / 28: likewise / 54: after this measure in both lower voices is a double custos and then the rests for 55-66, & no custos is given in either voice at 66 / 76: no custos / 181-183: written on a short end of stave extension.

Contratenor secundus; 31: 1 A / 41: p div follows 2 / 51: likewise / 83-84: ns / 155-183: 28 breve rests are given, but 29 are needed / 183: single custos / 202: 1 A (corr using Strahov) / 231,2-6: Trent 88 reads sm B sm C br C dtd-m B sm A (corr using Strahov) / 232: 2 & 3 om (supplied from Strahov) / 234: 3 not dtd, and

4 om (both corr using Strahov) / 235: after 235,2 Trent 88 reads sm A sm G and ligd sbr A sbr F (corr using Strahov) / 236: single custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with partial text in the Contratenor primus and less text in the two lower voices. At 117-121 the Contratenor primus needs an editorial repeat of 'suscipe' and at 226-229 the same voice needs a repeat of 'in gloria Dei Patris'. 'Christe' is given in both upper voices at 61 as 'Criste', the same spelling is given in the Contratenor primus at 203, & at 202 the lower Contra gives 'xpe'.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 99 (edition after Trent 88) and pp. 101-102 (commentary). Schmalz, R., Selected fifteenth century Polyphonic Mass Ordinaries based upon pre-existent German material (Ph. D. dissertation, Pittsburgh University, 1971) pp. 65-72 (description). Snow, R. The Manuscript Strahov, D. G. IV. 47... vol. I pp. 104-105. Cook, J., Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles vol. I pp. 258-259.

(ii) Strahov ff. 121v-124r;

[Superius]; the sections of this movement are disordered in Strahov so that the duple subdivisions appear after the final triple section. In addition, most of f. 123r is taken up with a textless voice (probably a Contratenor to another piece) that has nothing to do with this Mass and is not even in the same scribal hand. 1: a gap has been left at the start of the first stave (probably for a majuscule initial) / 3,3-4: minor color / 30: 4-5 replaced by m A / 34: 1 not dtd / 36-37: no lig / 44: 2-3 replaced by sbr E / 45: no lig / 46: 3-4 replaced by br D / 48: 1 om / 49,3-4: no minor color, & 4 is G / 50: 2 C / 56: 1 & 2 ligd / 57: 3 not dtd / 58: 2-5 replaced by m G m F m F m E / 62: 1-4 replaced by sbr D m C m B, & the following A is corr from col err by means of a small mark underneath it / 66: cor over 1, & no custos / 97-98: no lig / 108-109: likewise / 110-113: written over erasures / 114-152: this passage is om from the main copy and is given after 183. Congruent signs at both the point of omission and the addition of the insert indicate the correction. / 133-134: no lig / 147-148: Strahov reads ligd sbr A sbr F, and the following L and breve rests are squashed on an end of stave extension / 162: no lig / 164: 2 not dtd / 165: 2 replaced by sbr rest / 172: 2 not ligd / 173,2-174,1: likewise / 183: cor over 1, & no custos / 216: 3 & 4 are both m / 217-218: no lig / 231,4-5: no minor color / 235: 5-6 replaced by sm E sm E sm D / 236: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is basically the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor altus gemellisans; this voice probably has its unusual name because it functions as the topmost voice in two internal duet sections, at 67-76 and 84-212. 1: m sign om / 2: no lig / 2-3: likewise / 3,3-4: ligd / 11: cs over 2 / 13: 1 & 2 ligd / 15-16: no lig / 20-21: likewise / 23: 3-4 replaced by m A, & 23,5 is col err but corr by a v-like mark under the note / 24-49: this passage is written on two clefless staves / 25: cs over 1 / 26: no p div / 29-30: no lig / 31-32: likewise / 35-36: likewise / 38: no minor color / 48: 2 & 3 are both m / 55: no lig / 58-59: likewise / 63,3-66: this passage is written on a clefless stave / 66: cor over 1, & no custos / 67: 'duorum' ind in both voices, but the Tenor part for this section is given before the Contratenor / 76: as at 66 / 84: the two duet parts for 184-212 are given before the full duple section, and again the lower part for this section is given first / 84: not ligd / 92: 1 & 2 are E C / 107: not ligd / 108-112: 6 breve rests are given instead of 5 / 113: om (hence the previous difference in rests) / 122: not ligd / 134-135: likewise / 139-141: likewise / 146: likewise / 155-156: after this L a single custos is given, and the rests at 157-183 are om / 184: 'Duo' is ind by 'duum' in this voice and 'duo' in the lower voice / 192: not ligd / 194,3-195: replaced by dtd-sbr C m B m B m A / 201-202: replaced by sbr E br C sbr D / 203: 1 & 2 ligd / 207: 3 & 4 replaced by m F m F m E / 212: cor over 1, & no custos / 215-216: no lig / 225: no minor color, & 2 is F / 226,2: no sharp sign / 234,2-3: minor color / 235: 2-4 are m sbr m / 236: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 13: no p div / 18: no minor color / 18-19: no lig / 25: cs over 1 / 28: no p div / 36: 1 & 2 ligd / 37-38: no lig / 51-52: likewise / 53: upside-down cor under 1 / 55-66: rests om, & no custos at 66 / 69-70: no lig / 76: cor over 1, & no custos / 77: no lig / 79-82: ligd / 83: not ligd / 101-102: not ligd / 114-117: no lig / 118: not ligd / 119-120: ligd / 127-128: ligd / 129-132: ligd / 133-134: ligd / 135-136: no lig / 143: not dtd / 144: replaced by ligd sbr F sbr G / 145: ligd to 144,1-2 / 146: not ligd / 163: likewise / 169,1-170,1: ligd / 170,2-171: no lig / 183: not ligd, cor over this note, & no custos / 215: dot after 1 / 217-218: no lig / 219-220:

likewise / 231-232: likewise / 232-233: likewise / 236: no custos.

Bassus; this voice is named 'Bassus' following the Strahov 'Gratias agimus' incipit, but is given as 'Contra secundus' for the section starting at 77. Also, at 1 the m sign is om / 25-27: no lig / 31: 1 A as in Trent 88 / 39-54: this passage is written on a clefless stave / 39: 3 A / 40: 2 & 3 are both m / 41: no p div / 46: 1 & 2 replaced by br G / 48: 2 not col / 50-51,1: ligd / 51: no p div / 52,1: not ligd / 53: 1 D, with cor above / 55-66: rests om, & no custos at 66 / 77-80: no lig / 91-96: this passage is added in a compressed manner as a correction over erasures / 113-115: replaced by L br / 128-129: no lig / 130,2-132: replaced by br & dtd-br / 133-134: no lig / 136: likewise / 138-140: replaced by ligd br C br D L E, with the descending tail on the L crossed out / 141: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr B, & this lig extends to 143 / 155-183: rests om, & no custos at 183 / 192,2: no lig / 194-197: ligd / 212: no custos / 213: the m sign is followed by 28 breve rests, which seems to mean that this voice actually rested for the preceding duet (which is 29 measures long). It therefore seems that Strahov might have allotted the lower duet voice at 'Tu solus Altissimus' to the Tenor, despite this voice having the name 'Contratenor' at its text incipit. / 220: 3 & 4 are both m / 220-221: no lig / 236: 2-3 replaced by a divisi L with F and a colored C pitch above it, plus a corona above the C & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and gives sectional incipits in the lower voices for the first section. The first duet section is fully texted in both voices, and sections 3 and 4 have lower-voice incipits like section 1 apart from the upper Contra in section 4 (which is fully texted). In the final section all voices have text.

Strahov abounds in mistakes, scoring confusions and omissions, and gives less ligatures and Trent 88 plus a few variants which are simpler than the latter reading. It is quite neatly copied but would have been difficult to use because of its errors.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 297v-299r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, the m sign is given before the first stave, & there is a lacuna over 1,1 / 11: 1 & 2 uc due to lacuna / 37,4: uc due to lacuna / 39,2-40,1: likewise / 66: 3 E / 105: the m sign is om in both outermost voices, and is given as C in the Contra and Tenor primus. I have adopted cut-C here as in Strahov, and also in order to be consistent with the Gloria. / 108: as at 37,4 / 128: rest uc / 180: as at 37,4 / 242: m sign om / 246: 4 & 5 uc due to lacuna. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign before first stave / 15: 2 & 3 uc due to lacuna / 31,2-32,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 48,3-50,1: likewise / 68-70: likewise / 85,2: uc due to lacuna / 85,3-87: as at 31 / 87: single custos / 88: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 103-104: as at 31-32 / 104: single custos / 171-199: 12 breve rests are given (29 are needed) / 200: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 242: m sign given before stave.

Tenor primus; this voice has the same function as the third voice down in the Gloria (named there simply as the Tenor). 31: p div follows 2 / 34: likewise / 52: likewise / 53: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 70-87: 16 measures of rests are given (18 are needed) / 95,4-104: the end of this duet section is written on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space / 100: 2 corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 107-108: ns / 132,1: uc due to lacuna / 133,2: likewise / 183,2: likewise / 257,2-266: the end of this section is written on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space.

Tenor secundus; this voice has the same function as the Contratenor secundus in the Gloria. 29: 3 B (corr using Strahov) / 35,6-36,1: uc due to lacuna / 38: written on a short end of stave extension / 51: both readings give E C here instead of C E, which creates consecutive octaves with the Contra / 61-62: as at 38 / 63-69: copied on a roughly drawn stave at the bottom of the page due to lack of space / 70-87: the rests here are not

given, and instead there is a part-legible and faded instruction ‘Tenor 2us’ (which is obviously some sort of ‘Tacet’ direction) / 107-108: ns / 148,2-149,2: uc due to lacuna / 171-199: as in the Contra 12 breve rests are given (29 are needed) / 199: despite the ‘Et iterum tacet’ direction here, it should be noted that the matching penultimate Duo section in the Gloria is scored for the second and fourth voices down rather than the second and third. / 242: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices (except for the Tenor in the duet at 88-104 which has full text). This setting of the Credo omits ‘Genitum non factum...sunt’ at 69, which can be restored by editorial telescoping in the Contra. The other omission is ‘Et in Spiritum...remissionem peccatorum’ at 242. This is too large a portion of text to restore by editorial means. ‘Christum’ in the Superius (29) is given as ‘xpum’, at 146-154 ‘die’ is given above ‘secundum’, and ‘secundum’ is written twice.

(ii) Strahov ff. 124v-126v;

[Superius]; 1: a gap has been left at the start of the first stave (probably for a majuscule initial) / 8: 3 not dtd / 10,3-4: replaced by dtd-m C sm B sm A sm G / 26: no minor color / 28: 4 B / 31: no minor color / 34: 1 D / 38: 4 & 5 are dtd-m & sm / 39: 1-4 replaced by ligd sbr F dtd-sbr E / 42: replaced by dtd-br C / 43,2: corr from C with a chevron under this note / 50,1-2: replaced by ligd sbr C dtd-sbr B / 54: no minor color / 56: likewise / 57: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 62: 4 B / 66: 3 E / 74: 4 & 5 replaced by m F / 87: cor over 1, & no custos / 105: at the start of this section the m sign is given as cut-C in the two upper voices, and the Superius has the marginal comment ‘discantus’ since it does not begin at the top of a page. The first stave here (105-140) is given a third too high and has a confusion of C clefs on the first and second stave lines. / 124,2-125,2: ligd / 129-130: ligd / 142-143: likewise / 147-149: ligd / 153-155: likewise / 157-161,1: written in a compressed manner over erasures / 174-175: ligd / 184-185: likewise / 187,2-188,1: ligd / 188,2: no lig / 190,2-191,2: ligd / 199: cor over 1, & no custos / 242: the m sign is present / 245,1-2: replaced by sbr C / 246,2-3: minor color / 254,1-2: minor color / 255,2-5: likewise / 262: 1-3 replaced by dtd-m A sm G m F, with no minor color / 264: no minor color / 265: 4 replaced by m F m D, & 5 is sbr / 266: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is basically the same as that of Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 1: m sign om / 1-2: replaced by dtd-br F dtd-br F / 8: 1 not dtd, & 2 is B / 9: no minor color / 11: 4 replaced by m D followed by m rest / 12: 2 & 3 are both m / 13-14: cor over 13,1 & 13,2-14,1 replaced by dtd-sbr E / 15,2-31: the stave on which this passage is copied has a confusion of clefs on the second and third stave lines / 18: all notes are m / 21: 1 & 2 are m m / 22: 2-4 replaced by sbr C & m upper F m upper G / 23: cor over 1 / 27: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr A which is ligd to the following note / 32: 1 & 2 ligd / 35: no minor color / 36: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 41: 1 & 2 ligd / 47,4-48,1: replaced by dtd-m F sm E / 52: replaced by br A dtd-m F & sm D / 62,3-4: replaced by m G / 65: 1 & 2 ligd / 69: 1 dtd / 72: 3 & 4 ligd / 74: likewise / 76: 1 & 2 ligd / 77: likewise / 83,2-84,1: replaced by dtd-sbr G / 87: cor over 1, & no custos / 88-104: ‘Duo’ not ind in either voice, and the Contra part for this section is given following the Tenor duet part / 88,1-2: replaced by dtd-br E / 95: 3 G / 100,4-101,4: replaced by sbr G m E m D m C / 104: cor over 1, & no custos / 111-112: ligd / 113-114: replaced by ligd br E br D, with the second note corr from col err by a ‘v’ sign (for ‘vacat’) underneath it / 148: no lig / 149: 1 & 2 ligd / 169,2: corr from col err with a ‘v’ sign above this note / 171-199: 20 breve rests are given, but 29 are needed / 199: no custos / 200: ‘Duo’ ind in both voices / 203-206: copied in a compressed manner over erasures, & 207-212 are added on a right-hand stave extension immediately following. Also at the bottom of this page (f. 126r) 200 to the rest in 217 are recopied with an ‘Et iterum venturus est’ incipit but the passage is crossed out. In this second version 205-206 are ligd. / 212,1-2: replaced by br C / 220: 1 & 2 ligd / 221,1: not ligd / 224: 1 & 2 ligd / 225: likewise / 241: cor over 1, & no custos / 243: 1 & 2 ligd / 244: no minor color / 246,3-247,6: replaced by m E dtd-m C sm D dtd-m E sm C sbr C m B / 250: 5 is dtd / 251: 1 is sm / 252: no minor color / 253: 1 B / 258: 2 & 3 replaced by m G m E / 261: 1 & 2 replaced by m C m D / 264: 3 & 4 replaced by m m / 266: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 22: no minor color / 27-28,1: replaced by L C / 38: 1 & 2 ligd / 38,3-39,2: ligd separately / 42-43: replaced by dtd-br C dtd-br D / 45: replaced by dtd-br / 51-52,1: ligd, & lig is col err but corr by a

mark immediately to its right / 52: no p div / 53-54,1: ligd / 59: cs over 1 for no apparent reason / 60-61: replaced by dtd-br C dtd-br G / 67: 3 C / 69: a single custos follows this note, & then 12 measures of rests (18 are needed) 87: no custos / 97: 2 not dtd / 98: 1 & 2 replaced by m C sbr C m C / 99: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr C / 104: cor over 1, & single custos / 107-110: 109-110 are replaced by L C, and 107-110 are ligd / 112-113: ligd / 114-118: ligd / 119-122: replaced by ligd L F L G / 129-130: ligd / 132,2-133,1: col err, and corr with a downward oblique above the lig / 144-145: ligd / 146-151: ligd / 152-153: replaced by L D, which is ligd to 154 / 155: 2 not ligd / 160,2: not ligd / 161-162: ligd, & 162,2 is G / 174,2-175,2: ligd / 189: 1 & 2 ligd / 190: no lig / 199: cor over 1, & no custos / 203-204: replaced by L C / 211: replaced by br G, which is ligd to 212 / 213: 2 E / 214-215: no lig / 235-236: ligd / 241: written after the end of a stave, with a cor above & no custos / 255: a further two measures of rests here are erased, & followed by the rests for 256 / 260: cs over 1 / 261: 2 & 3 are m m / 266: cor over 1, & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 24: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr D & m B m A / 27: 3 & 4 are both m / 32: 1-2 replaced by dtd-br / 38: 1 & 2 not col / 39: 2 & 3 col / 45-46: replaced by dtd-br A dtd-br G / 53: 2 & 3 col / 54: no minor color / 59-69: copied on a roughly-drawn part-stave at the bottom of the page, due to lack of space / 66: no minor color / 68-69: cor over this note, & the rests at 70-87 are om / 87: no custos / 109-111: written over erasures, & no lig at 110-111 / 125: 1 & 2 ligd / 126-127: ligd separately / 146-147: ligd / 151: rest replaced by sbr G / 156: 2 C, but with correction mark indicating that B was probably intended / 158: not ligd / 161-162: om / 171-199: 28 measures of rests are given (29 are needed) / 199: no custos / 242: the m sign is present / 262,1: corr from D by an oblique mark / 263: 3 & 4 are both m / 265: no minor color, & 2 is B / 266: upper divisi is col with a cor above, & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and includes the first of the Trent 88 text omissions as part of the Superius underlay. The first internal duet section is fully texted in both voices, but otherwise the lower voices have sectional incipits. These are as follows. Section 1: the Contratenor primus has 'Patrem', the Tenor has 'visibilium omnium' and the Contratenor secundus has 'Et in unum Dominum Jhesum'. The first Contra also has 'consubstantialem Patri' written twice internally (at 50 and 66-68) and at the end of the section from 69 onwards is 'Et incarnatus' (crossed out) and 'Qui propter...celis'. Section 3: all lower voices have 'Crucifixus' and the first Contra has an internal cue at 'Et ascendit'. Section 4: neither voice has any text beyond 'Et iterum venturus'. Section 5: all lower voices have 'Et expecto'.

Strahov is not closely related to the Trent 88 reading. There are a few simpler variants, but the lower voices contain several values that are not split as in Trent 88 and there are considerable ligaturing differences.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 299v-301r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices except the Tenor primus / 2: 1 uc due to lacuna / 47: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 76: the m sign given here in all voices except the Tenor secundus is C. I have replaced this with cut-C in order to be consistent with the Gloria & with Strahov. / 76-79: uc due to lacuna / 136: the instruction 'qui venit tacet' is given here, and at 137-155 18 breve rests are given but 19 are needed. / 161: 2 A (corr using Strahov) / 212,5: uc due to lacuna.

Contra; 11: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm (corr from Strahov due to imitation of the Superius) / 16,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 38: 2 C / 39: 4 E / 43: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 54: 3-7 are m F m G sm F sm G m A / 60: no custos, & 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 109,2-110,1: uc due to lacuna / 113: single custos / 182: uc / 211,1-2: there are lacunas on both noteheads here / 217: single custos.

Tenor primus; this voice has the same function as the identically named voice in the Credo. 16: 1-3 are sm C sm B m C (emended to match the Superius at 10) / 31,2-32,2: uc due to lacuna / 47: in addition to the 'Tacet'

direction here 16 breve rests are given to cater for this part up to the subsection ending at 61. However, only 15 are needed and it is unusual to find a 'Tacet' direction and rests where other voices patently form a Duo. / 62: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 76: this section is called 'Osanna primum' in both lower parts, and the copying for both of these voices is disordered on the second page-opening of this movement in Trent 88. The Tenor primus Benedictus and Osanna II are copied where Osanna I should be, and the Tenor primus Osanna I is given at the bottom of the right-hand page plus the Tenor secundus Osanna I below it with the latter on a roughly-drawn additional stave and the voice name 'Bassus'. / 168-169: a single custos follows this note, & the rests at 170-183 are om.

Tenor secundus; this voice has the same function as the identically named voice in the Credo. 45: 3 B / 46: no 'Tacet' direction given, but normally the presence of a named Duo would cancel the need for 'Tacet' / 76: m sign om / 113: no 'Tacet' direction given / 184: see the Tenor notes above for the disordered copying of Osanna I, and Osanna II is named 'Osanna secundi' / 196: 3 F / 215: 2 & 3 are both m.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices except in the Benedictus (where the lower voices have full text) and Osanna II in the Tenor primus (which has full text). At 195-217 all voices need editorial repeats of 'excelsis' and 'in excelsis'.

(ii) Strahov ff. 127v-130r;

[Superius]; 1: this movement is preceded in Strahov by an independent Sanctus setting on f. 127r which was copied by a different scribe from the one who copied the Mass, and which is for three voices and has a Tenor in black chant notation. There is a gap before the start of the Mass Sanctus's Superius (presumably left for a majuscule initial) and the m sign is present. / 4: 3 & 4 are both m / 8: 2 & 3 replaced by m A / 9,2-10,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 12: no minor color / 23: rest replaced by 2 sbr rests & a single sbr upper C / 25: 3 & 4 ligd / 31: no minor color / 32: 4 corr from col err by means of a small chevron above this note, & 5-6 are both m / 45-46: 45,4-5 replaced by sbr F, and this note plus the rest of 45-46 are written after the end of a stave with a cor over 46 & no custos. / 47: 'Duo' ind in Superius only / 52,3-4: minor color / 57: no minor color / 59,5-60,6: minor color / 61: cor over 1, & no custos / 76: m sign given in all voices as cut-C / 104,1-105: replaced by ligd sbr C B plus sbr A / 113: cor over 1, & no custos / 114: m sign rptd in this voice and the Contra / 123-124: ligd / 132,2-133,2: ligd / 137-155: 20 breve rests are given but only 19 are needed / 155: no custos / 166: 2 D / 178-179: no lig / 182: 3-5 are m sm sm / 183: cor over 1, & no custos / 187: no minor color / 188: likewise / 195: 4 & 5 replaced by sbr C / 196: no minor color, & 5-7 replaced by dtd-m B & sm A / 210: 1-4 replaced by ligd sbr G dtd-sbr E / 212: no minor color / 213: 4 D / 215: 4 & 5 replaced by m B / 216: 3 & 4 replaced by sm F / 217: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 4: 1-3 replaced by sbr E br D, & no lig / 10,1-11,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 19: 4 is D, & 5-6 are replaced by sbr B / 23: cs over 1 / 32: 3 & 4 are both m / 39: no minor color, & 4 E / 40: upside-down cs under 1 / 41-46: this passage is written in a compressed manner over erasures / 43: 3 & 4 are E F / 46: single custos / 47-61: this subsection is om from the main copy, and is given at the bottom of the page with congruent signs in both places indicating the omission. Most of 47-61 appears to be written over erasures, & the m sign O is given at 47 / 53: 1-4 replaced by m C sbr F m G m A / 54: replaced by dtd-m G sm E m F m G sm F sm G m A / 57: 3 E / 61: cor over 1, & no custos / 62: 'Duo' not ind in either voice / 113: single custos / 114: the m sign cut-C is rptd / 125: 1 & 2 ligd / 126: likewise / 133,2-134,1: ligd, & 134,1 is D / 149: 1 E / 155: no custos / 165: replaced by dtd-sbr E & m C / 176: 1 & 2 ligd / 177: no lig / 183: single custos / 184,1-185,1: replaced by L F / 189,3-190,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 192: replaced by br F sbr F / 194: 1 dtd / 196: 2 & 3 are both m / 200,4-201,1: replaced by m E m E / 210,3: replaced by col sbr G col m E / 215: no minor color / 217: no custos.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 16: 1-3 replaced by sbr C / 19: no minor color / 33: corr from col err with a chevron above this note / 41: superfluous sbr C follows 1 / 46: written after the end of a stave, with a cor above & no custos / 47: no 'Tacet' direction given / 63: no b / 68: no minor color / 74: likewise / 5: cor over 1, & no custos

/ 83-84: no lig / 85-86: likewise / 112: not ligd, there is a cor above this note, & no custos following / 149: 1 & 2 are C B / 154-155: ligd / 155: no cor over 1, & no custos / 156: cs over 1 / 166-169: replaced by mx C, which is written under the following rests / 170-183: 12 breve rests are given but 14 are needed / 183: no custos / 206: 1 & 2 replaced by sbr C / 208: cs above 1 / 208-211,1: ligd / 211,2: not ligd / 215: erasures follow 1 / 217: cor over 1, & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 23-25,1: replaced by ligd L F br A, with a dot above the F / 31: 1 C, and 2 corr from col err with a mark above this note / 35: 1 dtd, & 2 not dtd / 36: 2 & 3 are both m / 37: no minor color / 41: 2 & 3 are both dtd / 42: 4 & 5 are both m / 44: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 45: no minor color, & 3 is B / 46: the upper divisi is col with a cor above it & no custos, & no 'Tacet' direction is given / 76-81: replaced by dtd-L C & ligd br A br B br G / 82-83: ligd / 88: 1 is L / 96: 1 is L / rest in 100: replaced by sbr A / 101-102: replaced by ligd sbr B sbr C & ligd sbr lower G sbr lower D / 108: no lig / 113: upper divisi is col with a cor above, no custos, & no 'Tacet' direction / 190, 2 & 3 are both m, but 190,3 is col err with a correcting chevron above the note-stem / 196: 3 F / 198: 4 & 5 replaced by m A / 211: no minor color / 215: 2 & 3 are both m / 216: no minor color / 217: divisi has no lower stem, the upper note is col with a cor above it, & no custos.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully, and otherwise gives sectional incipits for the lower voices except in the Tenor at 'gloria tua', 'qui venit in nomine' and the second Osanna (which are texted) and all lower voices in Osanna I (which are also texted).

As with previous movements, the Strahov Sanctus reading is not closely related to Trent 88. There are a few simpler variants, some of which might be simplifications rather than true variants (see in particular the Tenor at 16). There are also ligaturing differences, and there are more copying mistakes than in Trent 88.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 302v-304r;

[Superius]; 2,1-2: 2,1 is obliterated by a lacuna which also leaves 2,2 uc / 23: 4 A / 41: 5 G / 53: 5-7 uc due to lacuna / 58-71: rests om / 72: the m sign is given as C (I adopt cut-C as in previous movements) and 'Duo' is only ind in the Contra / 103: single custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Contra-Tenor primus-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 5: 1 & 2 are br sbr / 60: 1 & 2 are sbr & dtd-sbr / 62,5: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 71: no custos / 72: m sign om / 103: single custos.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is only complete on the second page opening / 12,2: the pitch of this note is indistinct, but C is more likely than B in view of the way that the Gloria Tenor has shared material which uses C / 104: m sign given as C / 131: 1 F (corr using Strahov) / 153: single custos / 164,3: Trent 88 gives m F m F instead of sbr (corr using Strahov) / 169: 3 uc due to lacuna.

Tenor secundus; 23: uc due to lacuna / 39: 4 B / 143: the 'Tacet' direction is given at the end of this voice on f. 304r / 104: m sign om / 153: single custos / 170: 5 D.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices except in Agnus II where there is partial textung.

(ii) Strahov ff. 130v-131r;

[Superius]; only Agnus III is given in Strahov, and the music is preceded on f. 130r by a three-voice Agnus by 'Philipi Francis' that has nothing to do with this Mass, but which may have been used as an Agnus I and II to the Mass Agnus since only two sections of the 'Philipi' piece are given. But strictly speaking this additional setting should probably be paired with the similar Sanctus setting on f. 131v. / 104: the m sign is given as cut-C but only in the two upper voices / 113,1-114,2: ligd / 130: 2 F / 131: 2 & 3 replaced by m D / 132: replaced by sbr E br E / 141: rest om / 152: 1 is br with a cor above it, & no custos follows / 156: no minor color / 160: 1 sbr / 168: no minor color / 169: 2 m / 172: cor over 1, & no custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor primus; 137: 2 D / 148: not ligd / 152-153: not ligd, & no custos at 153 / 154: 1 replaced by sbr A sbr A / 158: no minor color / 160: following the rest is a mid-stave clef change to C clef on the middle stave line / 160,2-161,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 162: no minor color / 164,1-2: minor color / 168,2: here (at the start of a new stave) the clef changes back to C clef on the second stave line up / 168,3-4: Strahov reads dtd-m & sm / 170: no minor color / 172: cor over 1, & no custos.

Tenor; 104: m sign om / 152: 1 is br with cor above, & no custos follows / 162: 3-5 are all m, & 5 is uc / 163: 1 & 2 ligd, & 1 is col err / 163,4-164,2: no minor color / 164: an upward stem on 164, 3 is erased / 165: cs over 1 / 171,4-172: written after the end of a stave, with a cor over 172 & no custos.

Contratenor secundus; 104: m sign om / 135,2: no lig / 137: 1 & 2 ligd / 138-139: ligd separately from 137 & both of these notes are L rather than breves / 141: 2 b, ind before 141,1 / 142-144: ligd / 152: upper divisi is col with a cor above it, the lower note has an upside-down cor under it, & no custos follows / 155: no minor color / 169: 2 G, & 5 C / 170: 3-6 are m F m upper C m upper C m F / 171: no flat / 172: as at 152.

Underlay; Strahov texts the Superius fully and gives the lower voices sectional incipits apart from the Contratenor secundus at 'dona nobis pacem'.

Strahov is incomplete and has minor variants with Trent 88. The presence of the 'Philipi' three-voice Agnus I and II preceding the Agnus III of this Mass makes it suggestible that the Strahov Mass scribe intended the three sections to make up a single composite movement.

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Structure

This Mass was first extensively studied by Robert J. Snow in his study of Strahov, and by Robert Schmalz in his thesis on Masses using German-language cantus firmus. Snow concluded that the Mass is probably based on a Tenor cantus firmus which is elaborated differently in each movement (with which I agree) and Schmalz gave a short analysis of repeated material from the Mass but drew few conclusions.

Even the most cursory look that this music and its original readings makes me wonder why it has the 'Rozel im gorten' title given in Strahov. There seems to be very little or nothing that looks Germanic about it, and English origin seems to be likely for the following reasons. There is no Kyrie present. C rather than cut-C is given as the prevailing duple mensuration sign in most of the Trent 88 movements. There seem to be confusions over the correct naming of lower voices and there are duet sections with rests poorly indicated for the silent voices. Some sections are subdivided for successive duet combinations (as in music by Plummer and Frye) and the Superius contains melodic figures which seem to be typically English (see Gloria 220-221, Credo 38-39, Sanctus 9-11 and 31-33). Duple sections occasionally contain asymmetrical semibreve syncopations as otherwise found in Bedingham works (see Sanctus 125-131) and the harmonies in full sections sometimes involve accented sixths (see Gloria 149 and Agnus 106-107). Duple sections move in the 'limited

mobility’ style often associated with Dunstable and Leonel, many sectional cadences involve final constructs with thirds, and the second part down in Strahov has the odd name ‘Contra altus gemellisans’.¹⁰ Whatever the reason for this name, it may have originated in an earlier source which used the word ‘gymel’. All of these points seem to indicate that we might be dealing with either an insular work or a very good imitation of one.

As for the Strahov ‘Rozel im gorten andersch franczose’ title, it may be a misnomer for the following reason. In Trent 88 the Sanctus of this Mass was copied with Touront’s *O florens rosa* following. Strahov does not do this, but by the time that the Mass reached the Strahov compiler the ‘rose’ name might have stuck merely because the Mass may have been repeatedly recopied with the unrelated motet attached.¹¹ However the title came about, Strahov seems equally careless about what constitutes the genuine music for this cycle and what does not. Apart from having more extra music overwritten on the same pages that contain the first three movements by a different copyist, Agnus I and II are missing and it seems like the scribe has tried to make up this deficiency by using the first two sections from an unrelated Agnus setting for three voices.

The Tenor cantus firmus for this Mass seems to be lost, but is likely to be partially detectable. Otherwise the basic structural features are as follows. The Gloria, Credo and Agnus each have five sections which alternate various permutations of full sections and duets. Each movement also begins with an introductory duet for the two upper voices. The Sanctus has seven sections, and the reason for this total is because the Pleni sunt and Benedictus panels are each subdivided. The mensural plan O - O - cut-C - cut-C - O is used for all movements except the Sanctus, whose subsections follow a similar pattern. In the Gloria and Credo the sectional duet scorings match apart from the second internal duet’s lower voice being allotted to the second Contra rather than the Tenor.

There is no motto opening. The Gloria and Credo open differently, and the latter two movements have opening themes that are only slightly related. However the Superius - Contra primus duet which starts each movement is followed in each case by a Contra primus - Tenor duet in which the Tenors all seem to have similar material. All movements begin and end on F and all movements also end similarly, but there is a variety of internal cadencing pitches (C, G and F) and the sections seem to spend much of their internal life around cadences on C rather than F. The final triple sections all have related opening material, and these also share elements of internal scoring contrasts and opening Tenor material. The full duple sections (Qui tollis, Crucifixus, Osanna I and Agnus IIIa) are not so well connected and only the Crucifixus and Osanna I begin with melodically similar passages. But each of these duple sections seem to start with the same Tenor material.

The ranges are unusual. As previously mentioned the higher Contra ascends almost as high as the Superius in all movements, but also goes down to G below middle C. The Contra secundus (called a ‘Tenor secundus’ in some Trent 88 movements) is a filler part whose range is the same as the cantus firmus Tenor in each movement. Hybrid cadences are fairly frequent, for example at Gloria 87-88 where the two Contras follow the familiar Contra lines of octave-leap and doubled leading note formulas simultaneously. Gloria measure 38 has a less tolerable cadence where the inner degrees of a doubled leadingnote formula clash in the two Contras. In this particular Mass, the C-B major seventh sound caused by hybrid cadences seems best unamended by B flats instead of B naturals.

In style the triple sections are simple and have no complexities, although a few readings in Trent 88 look improbable such as the odd Contra primus at Credo measure 12 and very occasional dotted semiminim-fusa pairs such as at Sanctus 8. Likewise the duple sections are simply written and no sections contain any drive devices or sesquialtera. Duet passages are casually imitative, but imitation is mostly absent from full sections.

¹⁰ Probably so named because this voice has an active role in duet subsections where its range is sometimes similar to that of the Superius.

¹¹ I regard Strahov’s ‘andersch franczose’ as meaning “another French piece” which is therefore a definite marker that this Mass was not local (wherever it came from).

If I was asked to name a well-known piece which is aurally the most similar to this Mass, I would choose the convincingly reconstructed Dunstable *Descendi in ortum* (no. 73 in the revised Dunstable edition) even though the latter has no duple section. Its undemanding triple meter and scoring contrasts match this Mass quite well, and in view of the points suggested earlier regarding provenance I am quite content to suggest that the *Missa Rozel im gorten* might be insular.¹² In the following discussion of how this Mass seems to be constructed, I have retained most features of the Trent 88 reading despite Strahov occasionally giving simpler variants than the former. This is for a good reason; at least one passage in Strahov seems to be a simplification. At the Sanctus Tenor 16,1-3 the Trent 88 values are replaced by a C semibreve. This destroys some imitation with the upper Contra at 10-11 and so is unlikely to be authentic. Probable simplifications are a feature of other Strahov concordances with the Trent manuscripts, notably in the Touront *Missa Sine nomine* I discussed in my Trent 89 edition.¹³ Similarly, both sources are less than convincing regarding duple mensuration signs. Strahov gives cut-C consistently, but Trent 88 gives cut-C for the Gloria and thereafter C for all other movements. Accordingly, this is another cycle whose duple-panel speeds can be anglicised by changing my equivalents in the score to O perfect breve = C long and vice versa for final sections.

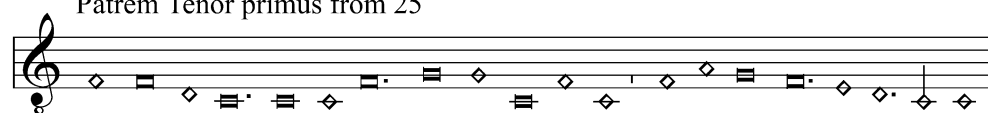
The presence of Tenor cantus firmus in this Mass is best suggested by similarities in the following examples. I have already mentioned the presence of similar Tenor passages at the openings of initial duet sections in that voice, but there is nothing to support the idea that these passages involve pre-existent material. A more strategic (and more usual) place for pre-existent material to begin is where all parts begin to sound together. This is the place in each movement from which I take my examples below, which I shall name Phrase 1.¹⁴

4.3. Full section entry-point Tenors from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

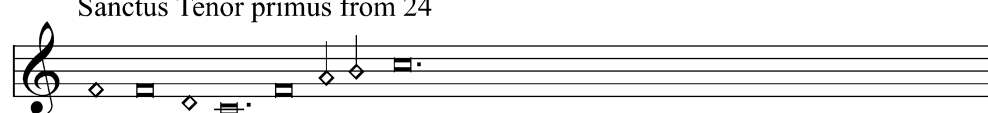
Et in terra Tenor from 26



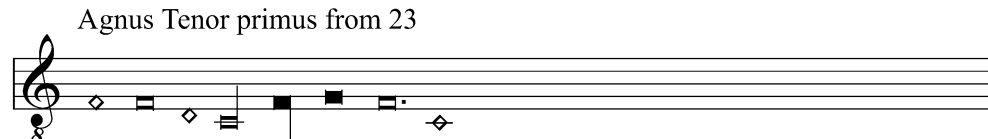
Patrem Tenor primus from 25



Sanctus Tenor primus from 24



Agnus Tenor primus from 23



The first four pitches of the latter passages all agree, and it looks as though the Patrem phrase either elaborates the content of the Gloria Tenor or (less possibly) that the Gloria simplifies what is present in the Patrem. The Sanctus and Agnus Tenors at these points retain a degree of independence. It is also likely that what is given in the Gloria here is melodically disguised or elaborated material too.

¹² This is almost the same conclusion as reached by James Cook (Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles vol. I pp. 258-259) who holds back from suggesting insular origin on account of the Strahov title's 'franczoseł'.

¹³ See the critical commentary to no. 3 in the Trent 89 edition, and also p. 361 and 363-364 of this edition, where Strahov's likely simplifications to two further Kyries are detailed.

¹⁴ All subsequent cantus firmus examples in this section are given in simplified mensural notation, so that extended passages can fit onto single staves.

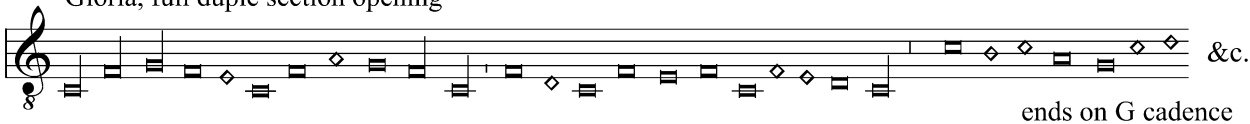
Phrase 2 for the purposes of this discussion consists of the immediate continuations of the first three Tenors above and the concluding sectional phrases of the initial Sanctus and Agnus sections (additional material follows the Gloria and Credo Phrase 2 examples, which is dealt with in due course). As with Phrase 1, it looks as though that the Phrase 2 Patrem Tenor might elaborate some content of the Gloria phrase, and again the Tenors in the remaining two movements look more elaborative.

4.4. Phrase 2 Tenors from the Missa *Rozel im gorten*;

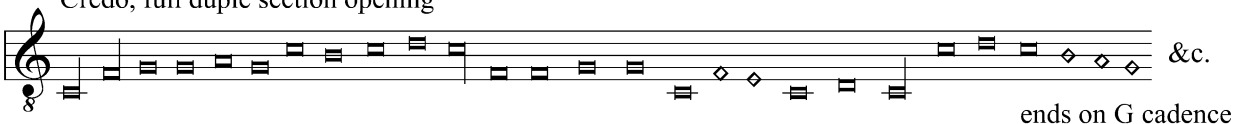
Et in terra Tenor, 33-40

4.6. Main dupe section Tenor openings from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

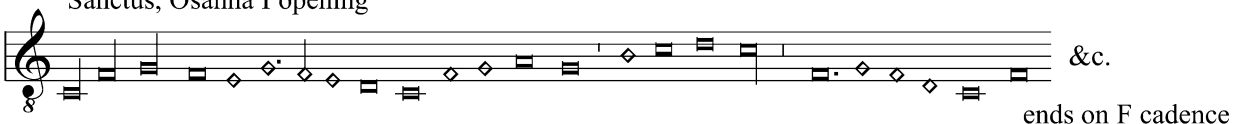
Gloria, full dupe section opening



Credo, full dupe section opening



Sanctus, Osanna I opening



Agnus IIIa opening



The start of the final section Tenors for the first three movements are given below, plus all of the Agnus IIb Tenor. Similarities between the parts are more encouraging here, as are consistencies with internal scoring. All movements except the Sanctus in these sections have the scoring scheme of a full passage followed by a duet for the upper two voices, then a duet for the middle voices, and then a full passage to finish. The Osanna II varies this scheme by simply placing a passage for the middle two voices between two fully scored passages. There are also melodic similarities in the outer parts in these sections, but by themselves neither these nor the similarities of the Tenors guarantee the presence of pre-existent material.

4.7. Final section Tenor openings from the *Missa Rozel im gorten*;

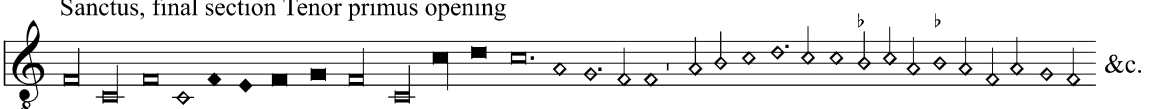
Gloria final section Tenor opening



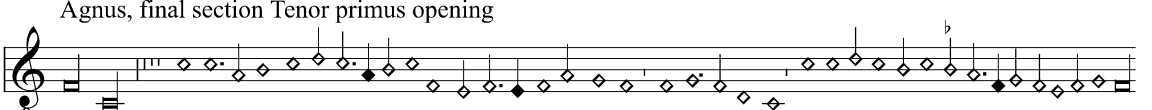
Credo final section Tenor primus opening



Sanctus, final section Tenor primus opening



Agnus, final section Tenor primus opening



To conclude this short survey of the Tenors, the question of whether pre-existent material is involved or not is best answered as follows. The Phrase 1 and Phrase 2 passages compare well, as do the openings of the main

duple and the final sections. I have also mentioned that the duet passages which begin the Tenor in each movement have similar material, and since the Tenor participates in duet sections here as well as full sections I would tentatively describe the make-up of this Mass as follows. There simply seems to be too much related Tenor material to pass off as free invention which is melodically integrated, and therefore elaborated cantus firmus Tenors in at least most of each movement seem to be likely. Additionally, the duet passages in the Tenor(s) suggest the likelihood that at least some stretches of Tenor in this Mass might not use pre-existent material at all.

In view of that conclusion we might also return to the matter of where this Mass properly belongs. Having suggested insular origin for this work, I might add that it also seems uncommon amongst demonstrably Germanic Masses of this period to have highly elaborated Tenors. Therefore the comment ‘andersch franczoesel’ by the Strahov scribe probably reveals the fact that he knew this piece to be an import, or maybe its composer was a visitor to central Europe. There is much that is attractive about this work despite the way in which the second Contra is sometimes an awkward filler part, and it contains notable passages such as the movement endings involving minim motion, the fairly extended duet pairings which begin the Gloria and Credo, and occasional unexpected excursions like the B flat at the end of the Gloria duet at 178-183. As for the mysterious ‘rose’ of the Strahov title, a long search through chansonniers, motets and antiphon settings has not yet revealed anything like the material presented in our Tenor examples. Maybe time and a little more searching might reveal the cantus firmus which I have been unable to locate.

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Numerology

Both readings for this Mass seem to be towards the end of extended lines of transmission, so the effect of probable additions and variants seems to be to blur any numerical organisation that might have once been apparent. Consequently I find little in its tempora totals to comment on, except that the lengths of the Gloria and Credo final sections are similar (24 and 25 measures respectively) and also that the length of Agnus I (43 measures) is 25% of the total measures of that movement.

Note counts likewise reveal little. The total of notes in the Et in terra section minus its sectional longs is 555. The Pleni sunt duet similarly totals 111 minus the sectional longs. Its following subsection (‘gloria tua’) totals 100 notes if counted in the same way, and the total for the ‘in nomine’ section counted likewise is 101. These two totals might originally have been the same.

Finally, the total of Superius notes in the Sanctus is 401 (this might originally have been 400) and the total of all notes in Agnus IIb is 200. This last figure is probably not coincidental.

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96. Missa *Se tu t'en maries* (Trent 88 ff. 77v-84r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 244-247).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is a monophonic song which also features in Binchois's *Files a marier* and *Robinet se vault marier* / *Se tu t'en maries* in EscB (f.65v).

Gloria (ff. 77v-79r);

[Superius]; 1: the title 'Officium Se tu te maries' is given above the music, and is very faded (this was misread by the editors of the DTÖ VII inventory as 'Officium Sancti'). The intonation is supplied from GP f. 184r, transposed a fifth down. / 5: 2 E / 147: 3 & 4 are both f / 151,4-152: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, & for the first section no b sig is given. / 31,2: b ind before 30,2 / 106: 2 C / 144: 3 G (above) / 150: superfluous sbr rest follows 1.

Tenor; 1: for the first section no b sig is given / 134-135: ns / 149, rest and 2: Trent 88 gives 2 sbr rests here, which does not reproduce the cantus firmus properly.

Contra secundus; 52: p div follows 2 / 60: rests om (conj supplied) / 90: cs ind by cor / 110,1-112, rest: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 136: 2 F / 140: ns.

Underlay; all parts only have sectional incipits. Experiment shows that the Superius will convincingly carry most of the Gloria text, with a little telescoping in the two topmost parts at 78-90 in order to fit the whole text in. Both the Tenor and part of the Contra secundus look convincing with the French cantus firmus text, since the borrowed melody is given in a rhythmic guise which is probably similar to its original. The Gerber edition underlays the Tenor with phrases of Mass Ordinary text, which is of course a viable alternative.

Bibliography; Gerber, Sacred Music no. 25 (edition). Picker, M., 'The cantus firmus in Binchois's *Files a marier*' in JAMS 18 (1965), pp. 235-236.

Credo (ff. 79v-81v);

[Superius; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 / 44: the cs here merely indicates the end of a subsection / 57: clef change is in mid-stave / 58,3: b ind before 58,1 / 64: 3 & 4 are C B (emended to make this voice more melodically conventional) / 85: 'Duo' ind in neither voice, but the section starting at 174 is incorrectly marked 'Duo' in the same two voices / 165: b ind before 164,3 / 241: 2 D / 259: 7 is m, intended for alteration. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 23: 2 is br B / 44: the passage signed with a '3' here is slightly irregular in notational terms, since the preceding signature is dotted-C rather than O. However, it is clear from the other voice present here that sesquialtera in O mensuration is intended. / 45: 6 m, intended for alteration / 46: p div follows 4 / 48: 7 not col / 59,3-60: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 227,1-2: likewise / 252: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 174: the text incipit in both lower voices is 'Et resurrexit', which is incorrect because the previous upper-voice Duo begins with those words. / 197-200: ns / 252-264: neither of the two lower voices have flat signatures for their final section / 259: p div follows 1 / 260: p div follows 2 / 261: likewise / 262: likewise / 263,2-264: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Contra secundus; 1: m sign om / 18,4-19,4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 49: 2 m, intended for alteration / 53: p div follows 1 / 58: b ind before 57 / 74: b ind before 73,2 / 83: p div follows 2 / 226: b ind before 225 / 254: ns / 262: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. 'Et expecto...mortuorum' (at 259-260) is omitted and 'Pilato' at 77-78 is not given. 'Christum' at 24 is given as 'xpum'. The Contratenors can be used to fill out the missing portions of the Credo text in the Superius, so that apart from the omissions above the non-cantus firmus voices sing virtually the whole Credo text. As in other movements

I have given the Tenor its cantus firmus text. Trent 88 confuses the order of the two duple sections, misnaming the second of these as a Duo and giving both lower voices the wrong text incipit.

Sanctus (ff. 81v-83r);

[Superius]; 39: at the page-turn point here the m sign is rptd in the two topmost voices / 46-52: rests totalling 8 measures are given here, but only 6 measures are needed / 53-61: the odd succession of note values used for sesquialtera here calls for some comment. At 53 there is a '3' sign followed by colored values representing the basic semibreve triplet in O as a dotted breve. In 54 this value is changed so that a uncolored dotted minim then represents the same semibreve triplet. At 61 the value is changed again so that a dotted semibreve then represents the same value (this last change represents conventional notation for sesquialtera in O). One would expect some sort of proportional or mensural sign before 54,4 (where the minims start) and at 61 where the second rhythmic change occurs, but none are given and I can think of none that are suitable unless the ratio changes are expressed by numbers (which is a method proposed by Tinctoris). / 53: 4 G / 55: 1 sbr / 64: p div follows 2 / 69: m sign O rptd again in both Superius and Contra primus / 91: 'Duo' ind in both voices, & clef change is in mid-stave / 143: 'Osanna' ut supra' ind in Superius and also in the Tenor at the end of the Osanna section. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 9: superfluous col upper br F follows 5 / 16: 1 C / 18: Trent 88 gives sbr sbr instead of br / 48: 3 br / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 54-60: 6 measures of rests are given but only five and two thirds are needed / 79: 2 om (conj supplied).

Tenor; 18-19: ns / 36: p div follows 2 / 38: no 'Tacet' direction given / 75-77: rests om (conj supplied) / 78: 1 mx / 87: p div follows 1 / 88: p div follows 2.

Contra secundus; 1: m sign om / 50: 3 om (conj supplied) / 51: b ind before 51,1 / 53: 4 not dtd / 65: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 76-81 both Contras need an ed rpt of 'Osanna'. As in previous movements I have texted the various appearances of the cantus firmus in the Tenor and Contratenors with its own secular text. Not doing this would leave us with the uncomfortable task of finding Latin sacred text to replace it with.

Agnus (ff. 83v-84r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is given before the first stave / 29: 'Duo' ind in Superius only / 75: 2 A, & a p div follows this note / 83: 'Agnus tertius ut supra' ind in Superius only. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and from 1-25,4 the clef pitches the music a third too high / 16: 4 F / 69: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 4: p div follows 1 / 26: p div follows 2.

Contra secundus; 19: 4 D.

Underlay; Agnus I and II text is given in the Superius, the two Contras have sectional incipits, and the Tenor is untexted. The 'ut supra' instruction indicates the repeat of the first section for Agnus III, but no Agnus III text is provided.

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Structure

This is a relatively simple Mass to describe, since it does not attempt much that is adventurous with its Tenor cantus firmus. The borrowed material is a monophonic song which was also used in Binchois's combinative chanson *Files a marier* and also in *Robinet se vault marier* in EscB. Most presentations of the cantus firmus in this Mass are simple and the version given below seems to be quite faithful to the tune as described in Martin Picker's short 1965 article.¹⁵ The notes are numbered for ease of reference in the following analysis.

4.8. *Se tu t'en marias* (with editorial text added to the song, as the music appears at the end of the Gloria and Credo);

Se tu t'en ma - ri - as tu t'en re - pen - ti - ras.

8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Et quant? Et quant? a - vant qu'il soit ung an.

16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

The Gloria and Credo Superius parts begin similarly to each other, but the Sanctus and Agnus openings are melodically independent of the latter pair and also each other. Section endings in full sections tend to have cadential and melodic similarities because of the way in which the outer parts are written against the cantus firmus. Only the Gloria and Agnus have identical mensural patterns, but all movements broadly follow the mensural sequence O - cut-C - O. Both the Osanna and Agnus III are 'ut supra' repeat sections.

All movements except the Agnus have delayed entry cantus firmus, and the Gloria's second section plus the Osanna also have delayed entry Tenors. In terms of scoring the Contra primus generally acts as 'second voice down' (occasionally crossing the Superius) while the leaping Contra secundus combines the roles of filler part and bass. Doubled leading note and octave leap cadences predominate, so this cycle probably either dates from around 1450 or a little before. The Tenor (whose presentation is occasionally in long notes) permits fourths against the Superius as at Gloria 34 and 95. Scoring throughout is a little varied, with the Pleni sunt section being a Tenorless trio and the delayed-entry Patrem section featuring a short trio passage before the Tenor sounds. Cantus firmus statements also appear in voices other than the Tenor, and are occasionally transposed or have rests interpolated between notes of the borrowed melody. The cantus firmus is heard three times each in the Gloria and Credo, and 'on paper' (i.e. not including *ut supra* repeats) it occurs four times in the Sanctus and once in the Agnus. Because the cantus firmus is never significantly altered (and also because it contains repeated notes on identical pitches) there is some question as to what text it can carry. The parent text of course fits the music well but some churches might have regarded this as not quite fitting. A text that reads *If you marry you'll regret it - and when? Maybe within a year* might not be thought appropriate if combined with the Mass Ordinary. However to do otherwise (and therefore to provide Latin sacred trope texts for all occurrences of the cantus firmus) would be a formidable task and therefore I am quite content to leave the original tune with its secular text - if only because it fits. The following table sets out the use of the *Se tu t'en marias* cantus firmus throughout.

¹⁵ It is of course impossible to say whether the tune originated in triple guise (as here) or with duple syllabic values as it appears in the EscB combinative piece. For the latter, see Hanen, M. (ed), The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24 (3 vols, 1983), II, pp. 231-234.

TABLE 4.3
Cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Se tu t'en marias*
(non-Tenor statements are in bold type)

Section	Measures	Use
Et in terra	1-21	Introductory Tenorless duo.
	22-35	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values, with a rest after note 3 (note 8 is omitted).
	36-40	Tenor has rests.
	41-51	Tenor has notes 9-15 in extended values.
	52-57	Tenor has rests.
	57-64	Tenor has rest of cantus firmus, partly in extended values.
Qui tollis	65-89	Introductory Tenorless duo / trio.
	90-102	Tenor has duple version of notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 is omitted).
	103-108	Tenor has rests.
	109-120	Tenor has duple version of notes 9-15 in extended values.
	121-123	Tenor has rests.
	124-139	Tenor has duple version of rest of cantus firmus, partly in extended values and with note 23 omitted.
Cum sancto	140-153	Tenor has whole cantus firmus.
Patrem	1-22	Introductory Tenorless duo / trio.
	23-36	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values, with a rest after note 3 (notes 8 is omitted).
	37-51	Tenor has rests.
	52-61	Tenor has notes 9-14 in extended values.
	62-71	Tenor has rests.
	72-78	Tenor has notes 15-19, mostly in extended values with extra rests interpolated.
	79-81	Tenor has rests.
	81-84	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus in extended values.
Et resurrexit	85-173	Superius-Contra primus duet.
Et in Spiritum	174-186	Tenor has duple version of notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 & 9 are omitted).
	187-196	Tenor has rests.
	197-205	Tenor has duple version of notes 10-12 in extended values.
	206-224	Tenor has rests.
	225-251	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus in extended values, with note 15 duplicated and modified rests.
	252-265	Tenor has whole cantus firmus.
Sanctus	1-9	Introductory Tenorless duo.
	10-19	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 and 9 are omitted).
	20-23	Tenor has rests.
	24-38	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus, mostly in extended values.
Pleni sunt	39-48,3	Free duo / trio.
	48,4-54	Contra primus has complete cantus firmus in sesquialtera, transposed up a fifth and with one or two notes melodically altered.
	55-68	Contra secundus has complete cantus firmus at pitch, with minor rhythmic modifications and an elaborated ending at 67-68.
Osanna	69-71	Tenor has rests.
	72-90	Tenor has complete cantus firmus, with modified rests and some extended values.

(Table 4.3, contd.)

Section	Measures	Use
Benedictus	91-143	Superius-Contra primus duet.
Agnus I / III	1-10	Tenor has notes 1-7 in extended values (notes 8 and 9 are omitted).
	11-13	Tenor has rests.
	13-18	Tenor has notes 10-15, with note 15 duplicated.
	19-21	Tenor has rests.
	22-28	Tenor has remainder of cantus firmus, with some extended values.
Agnus II	29-61	Superius-Contra primus duet.
	62-76	Continuation of duet, in which the Superius has a slightly elaborated version of the notes 1-24 pitched an octave up and in sesquialtera.
	77-83	Elaborative Superius passage ending on the final F of the cantus firmus.

The way in which the cantus firmus is arbitrarily split up is rather like the Tenors of some structured motets; note that in the Credo at 52-71 there is a batch of rests before the F that ends the first half of the song is reached. It will also be seen that the statements differ little from each other, and where melodic alterations have been made (i.e. in the Contra primus statement at Sanctus 48-54) the cantus firmus is always easily recognisable.

One important aspect of this Mass to note is its occasional rhythmic complexity. In the Credo there is some inexact imitation in syncopated values in the duet at 6-9. At 38-49 there is a subsection using sesquialtera and combined triple mensurations in which the Superius passage at 41-42 uses syncopated sesquialtera breves with coloration. Likewise, in the Pleni sunt section from 53 onwards the Superius expresses sesquialtera firstly in breves, then in minims (at 54-60) and finally in conventional sesquialtera semibreve notation at 61-63. This is unorthodox: no proportional signs are given to indicate the changes of ratio, and indeed none can really be applied since what the composer has done is rather beyond the mensural system as it was commonly used. The animated duet passage at Credo 143-148 is also interesting and rather difficult to sing accurately.

Listening to this Mass persuades me that the following passages are questionable in terms of partwriting and melodic awkwardness. I suspect that its composer was probably a minor master or a youngster whose handling of consonance and dissonance is sometimes awkward.

Gloria

1. The cantus firmus entry at 22-25 is surrounded by partwriting which is unconventional and perhaps sounds unstable.
2. There are simultaneous false relations at 31, which are perhaps avoidable with cosmetic *musica ficta*. However, adding more accidentals than given in our score would make this passage sound odd.
3. At 45 there is an accented Superius fourth against the F in the Contra secundus.
4. At 53 there is an accented Superius B natural against the F in the Contra primus.
5. At 99 there is a minor-second dissonance between the Contra primus and Tenor which could easily have been avoided.
6. The Contra primus passage at 129-130 looks rhythmically unconventional.
7. The cadence at 136-138 arguably sounds weak.

Credo

1. In the opening duet there is an audible hiatus at 6 caused by rests and the ensuing syncopation.

2. The two Contratenors at 16 are dissonant with each other.
3. There are lower-voice consecutive fifths at 74.
4. There is a seventh immediately before a sectional cadence, at 83.
5. The Superius melodic line at 246-251 (again, before a sectional cadence) is weak and has a pentatonic element.
6. There is an accented Superius seventh at 254,5.
7. There is a Superius-Contra secundus dissonance at 257.

Sanctus

1. The temporary trio passage at 12-13 has weak harmonies.
2. The Superius cadential cliché at 37 is slightly dissonant.
3. The lower-voice partwriting at 50 looks odd.
4. There is an accented fourth in the Superius at 88.

Agnus

1. There is an accented Superius seventh with the Tenor at 9,5.

I have come across a similarly lax attitude towards contrapuntal niceties before, notably in the Missa *Christ ist erstanden* in Trent 89 and also in the Missa *Te Deum* from the same manuscript. Due to the existence of a work rather similar to the Missa *Se tu t'en marias* in Lucca (the Missa *Hec dies*) Reinhard Strohm has characterised such works as 'succentor's music'.¹⁶ In other words, these are undistinguished-sounding Masses containing passages of rhythmic complexity which attempt to add a 'learned' feel to the work concerned. During the mid-century there might have been several choirmasters writing such music for the churches of the Netherlands and northern France. Having acquired the skills to write a cyclic work, the fruit of their labours probably served well enough for local purposes but was likely to be eclipsed or replaced elsewhere by the productions of more famous masters. In conjunction with this view I also observe the *Se tu t'en marias* composer's keen use of two-voice imitation at the fifth. The full sections of this Mass are mostly non-imitative, but there are instances of duet imitation at the fifth in the Credo at 47-48, 62-64, 144-146, 188-191 and 192-195, and also in the Benedictus in a sesquialtera passage at 120-132. It seems as if the composer wished to display a certain sort of soundness in writing such passages.

Small features of this Mass also display interesting techniques which were developed further by later generations. At 6-9 in the Agnus there are motives in the two topmost voices which are repeated a tone higher, and there is another passage of repeated themes (which descend in this instance) in the Contra primus at Credo 125-130. The animated sesquialtera duet passage in the Credo at 45-49 also finds counterparts in works by Touront and Compère.

To conclude, the Missa *Se tu t'en marias* is conveniently simple example to use for the demonstration of Tenor cantus firmus. But in musical terms it is definitely a second-rate work. We are fortunate that it has survived, though, because extended examples of 'succentor's music' in this period seem to remain rare.

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¹⁶ Regarding the Missa *Hec dies* see Strohm, R. Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985) pp. 127-128 and 226-235.

Numerology

There may not be a lot to find in this Mass regarding numbers. Both final passages of the Gloria and Credo are each 14 measures long, although the Gloria's final O section is not split from the preceding duple section.

In terms of tempora the Agnus seems to be written symmetrically. Taking one measure off each section for the final long gives the sectional totals of 27, 54, and 27 again for the Agnus III repeat. It will therefore be seen that $27 \times 2 = 54$, and that the length of each section is probably deliberate.

The Patrem section's Superius has 299 notes (nearly 300), and both the initial Sanctus section and the Osanna have matching note totals in both their Superius and Contra primus parts (the Sanctus section has 122 notes in each of these voices, and the Osanna has 69 in each). The total of Superius notes in the whole Sanctus movement (not including the Osanna repeat) is 399 (again, very near to a rounded total) and likewise the Credo Superius has 663 notes (very nearly 666). Also the Pleni sunt and Agnus II Superius parts each have 97 notes, and so do the Contra primus in the Benedictus and the Contra secundus in the Gloria's first section. However, some of these totals of 97 might be coincidental. Finally, the Contra primus has near-matching totals in the note counts for Agnus I and Agnus II (these sections respectively total 91 and 90 notes in that voice).

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97. Missa *Sine nomine*

- (i) Trent 90 ff. 318v-321r (Gloria), 321v-324r (Credo) & 250v-254r (Sanctus). DTÖ VII inventory nos 1036, 1037 and 970;
- (ii) Trent 93 ff. 322v-326r (Sanctus, DTÖ VII inventory no. 1801);
- (iii) Trent 88 ff. 21v-22r (Agnus, DTÖ VII inventory no. 210).

These mostly separated movements form a cyclic Mass whose movements seem to be related by style. Regarding the partly illegible title which is given in Trent 88, see the section on structure.

Gloria (Trent 90 ff. 318v-321r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 182v / 5: p div follows 2 / 22,2-23,5: written over erasures / 28: 4 & 5 are E D / 36: 1 C / 47: p div follows rest / 55: corr from G, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 61: single custos in all voices / 62: m sign given before the first stave on a new page opening / 173: 1 C / 197: 2 A / 198: 1 D (above) / 201: as at 61 / 202: m signs given before first staves in all voices on a new page opening / 222: 1 C / 236: as at 61 & 201. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Primus Contra-Secundus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 1: the m sign is om in this voice and all other lower voices / 23: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 26,3: corr from A, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 36-40,1: written over erasures / 51-61: the end of the first section in this voice is given on a clefless stave / 62: m sign om / 123-201: again, the end of this section is given without clefs / 143: 2 uc / 163 & 164: these ligd notes have diagonal marks on them for no apparent reason / 190-191: 190,1 is E (below) and the lig extends to 191 / 202: at the start of the third section the clef is restored, but the first clef looks confused between C clef and F clef types / 211,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note.

[T]enor; 34: p div follows 2 / 230: 4 E / 236: 1 is mx in both this voice & the Primus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 3: 3,3 is sbr, intended for alteration / 5: p div follows 2 / 7,1-3: written over an erasure / 28:

p div follows 2 / 40: p div follows 3 / 53: 3 & 4 om (conj supplied) / 62: m sign given before first stave on a new page opening / 126-128: this passage is written over erasures with a crossed-out direct in mid-stave / 134: a superfluous sbr rest follows 1 / 152: p div follows 1 / 205: 1 col err / 228,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 229: 3 uc.

Underlay; texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The Trent 90 Superius omits 'Qui sedes ad dexteram...nobis' at 120-135 and instead starts to text this passage with 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus' with further unconvincing-looking texting up to the end of the second section. I have restored the missing text, which seems to eliminate any need for editorial text repetition. The lower voices are probably best vocalised for the greater part of their extent since the Superius sometimes has a faster rate of declamation which is not shared by the supporting parts (i.e. at 13, 15 and 137-138). However I have added editorial lower-voice text cues at 10-12, 19-22, in the duet subsections at 62-118, at 144-152, and at the extensive final 'Amen'. In the Superius the two occurrences of 'Christe' are respectively spelt 'xte' and 'criste'

Bibliography; Gozzi, M., Il manoscritto Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. 1377... vol. II pp. 52-74 (edition of Gloria and Credo) & I, p. 85 (brief listing and discussion of the various movements). Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 8 (edition of Agnus). Strohm, The Rise of European Music 1380-1500 p. 430 (where it is briefly suggested that there is elaborated Tenor cantus firmus which might be the Introit *Terribilis est locus iste*).

Credo (Trent 90 ff. 321v-324r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & m signs are given before first staves in this voice, the Tenor and the Primus Contra / 16-34: the second stave of the Superius on this page has no clef / 17,1: corr from F, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 45: 4 G / 76: after the page-turn, the new m sign is given before first staves in all voices / 113,1-118,3: the second stave of the Superius on this page has no clef / 264: 3 om (conj supplied) / 267: single custos in all voices / 268: as at 76 / 283: 2 E / 298: p div follows 2 / 313,3-323,3: this passage is copied on a clefless stave / 320,2: corr from D, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 326: 1 is mx in this voice & the Primus Contra.

Secundus Contra; 1: m sign om / 2: p div follows 2 / 15: 3 F / 21,3-45,5: the passage is copied on a clefless stave / 41: 3 B / 43: 1 B / B in 67- end of 68: written over erasures / 97-98: ns / 75: single custos / 239: 1 F / 246: 1 is L, but with crossout marks through its descending tail / 275: 3 B / 281: p div follows 2 / 315: 1 & 2 om (conj supplied).

[T]enor; 23: 1 is erased, & 2 is dtd / 25: p div follows 2 / 26, 36 & 44: likewise / 69: 1 col err, with 'a' under the note (for 'alba') indicating correction / 75: single custos / 163: clef change is at start of new stave / 168,3-173: written over erasures / 273: p div follows 2 / 304,4: a superfluous squashed-in sbr D follows this note.

Primus Contra; 4: p div follows 2 / 46: p div follows 2 / 47: likewise / 50: 5 E / 51,3-54,4: written in a compressed manner over erasures / 75: after the double custos, the L at 75 is rptd with a single custos following it / 180: cor given instead of cs / 226-231: written over erasures / 279: p div follows 2 / 300: 4 B / 310,3: corr from D, with upward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 315,2-316,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Underlay; texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et in unum Dominum...secula' (which I restored by adding the missing text as telescoping in the Secundus Contra at 19-42) and also 'Et in Spiritum...Prophetas' at 268 (which is not restorable by telescoping). There seem to be less opportunities for adding lower-voice text in this movement than in the Gloria, and much of the supporting texture is probably best vocalised wordlessly. However I have texted the lower voices in the duet passages at the start of the second section, there seems to be a clear need for a text cue in the Primus

Contra at 198-202 ('sedet at dexteram Patris'), and I have also texted all lower voices in the extended 'Amen'. At 271 in the Superius 'catholicam' is spelt 'katholicam'.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 93 ff. 322v-326r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices (O is assumed) / 33: an 'a' (for 'alba') above this tightly-written br ensures that it is not misread as colored / 43: 2 & 3 are both m, & so are 4 & 5 / 46,4-47,1: written over an erasure / 60: single custos in all voices except the Contratenor, which has double custos / 107: single custos in all voices / 108: the cut-O sign here is not strictly a tempo sign since it serves to remind singers where to turn back to for the 'ut supra' Osanna / 113: 4 B (corr using Trent 90) / 128: p sync follows 2 / 141: as at 60 / 237: single custos in all voices, & 'Osanna ut supra' only ind after the end of the Subcontratenor. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contratenor-Subcontratenor.

Contratenor; 15,3: corr from col err with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 17: 2 E / 66, 2 & 3: these m have doubled noteheads, with the first reading D plus F above and the second as F with A above / 69: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 98: 1 om (conj supplied) / 108: cut-O sign om / 122: 2 D / 141: 1 G / 142-163: Trent 93 gives 18 measures of rests (22 are needed) / 169: 2 E (corr using Trent 90) / 234: 1 D (corr using Trent 90).

Tenor; 12: p div follows 1 / 104: p div follows 3 / 107: an L lower A follows the custos, serving as a direct to the first note on the next page / 113: p div follows 1 / 126: p sync follows 2 / 141: cor is given upside down under 1 / 142-163: the same mistake is made with rests here as in the Contratenor.

Subcontratenor; 2: p div follows 2 / 21: likewise / 60: cor is given upside down under 1 / 69-86: this passage is on two complete staves which give all of their pitches a third too high / 83,2: this note is duplicated a third above, but the duplication is crossed out / 93,6: given as br, but with a mark following which may be a correction sign / 94: p div follows 4 / 95: 1 not dtd / 126: scr corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the note / 134,6-141: given on a stave which is clefless / 151: b ind before 151,1 / 178,2-179,1: both notes are col err, but with a single 'a' underneath (for 'alba') which corrects both errors.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The brevity of the Sanctus text means that editorial text easily fits the lower voices. At 117-123 all voices have been given an editorial repeat of 'Osanna'.

(ii) Trent 90 ff. 250v-254r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om in all voices, and 1-3,4 are written in a compressed manner / 33: the small 'a' given above this note in Trent 93 is also given here, even though the note is plainly not colored / 47,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') above this note / 60: no cor, & single custos in all voices / 107: single custos in all voices / 141: no cor, & single custos in all voices / 154: 2 b. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 93.

[C]ontra; 7: 7,2 is erased and looks like B rather than A / 15: 3 is col / 17: 2 E as in Trent 93 / 42-43: these measures are om on the main stave & are given on a stave extension to the right, with a trailing line indicating the omission / 98,1-2: Trent 90 reads dtd-sbr upper D / 107: cor over 1 / 108: cut-O sign om as in Trent 93 / 118: 1 is col / 122: 2 D as in Trent 93 / 141: 1 G as in Trent 93, but with downward diagonals on either side of the note correcting the pitch / 142: m sign om / 142-163: unlike in Trent 93 the correct number of rests are given, but with the last 10 of these overmarked / 169: 2 E, with diagonal marks correcting the pitch to F / 221: 1 br / 234: 1 C / 237: 1 is col br, with cor above.

[T]enor; 97: 2 & 3 col / 104: no p div / 107: no cor / 116: 1 dtd / 142: m sign om / 142-163: unlike in Trent 93

the correct number of rests are given, but with the last 4 of these overmarked / 235: no cor.

Subcontratenor; 143: rest om / 45: p div follows 3 / 60: no cor / 61: the incorrect m sign cut-C is given here / 69-86: Trent 90 reproduces the Trent 93 pitch errors in this part (in Trent 90 the error is corr after 86 by a mid-stave direct) / 93: 6 is br as in Trent 93 / 94: no p div / 95: 1 not dtd as in Trent 93 / 107: no cor / 108-141: this section is written on clefless staves / 127-128,2: col / 134: 4 replaced by sm F sm F, written in a compressed manner / 141: no cor / 142: m sign om / 178,2-179,1: the same coloration error and correction are given as in Trent 93 / 235: no cor.

Underlay; much as in Trent 93, but with the Osanna ind in the Superius as 'Osanna primum'. The incipits for the lower voices are 'Sanctus' (at 1), 'Pleni sunt' in the Tenor and 'Pleni' in the two Contratenors (at 61), 'Osanna' in all lower voices at 108, & 'Benedictus' in the Subcontratenor at 142 plus 'qui venit' in the Tenor at 164. The Contratenor has no incipits in the final section.

Trent 90 is a slavish copy of Trent 93 that even reproduces errors and correction signs. There are otherwise few notational differences between the readings and no ligature variants.

Agnus (Trent 88 ff. 21v-22r);

[Discantus primus]; 1: this voice is labelled as a 'Discantus' here since the lower duet voice in Agnus II has the same clef as this voice, and therefore the Agnus II lower voice cannot really be part of the Contra secundus with which it is given (if all of this music was for one voice, the Contra secundus would have a two-octave range). I therefore assume that the Agnus II lower voice is a Discantus secundus. Also, above the start of the music is a part-legible title 'Officium ?Avecu...' / 13: 1-3 are dtd-m sm & m / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 61: 'Ut supra' indication not given in any voice. The manuscript voice order is Discantus primus-Tenor-Contra primus-Contra secundus-Discantus secundus.

[Discantus secundus]; 37: 3 D.

Contra secundus; 1: the m sign is om in all three lower voices / 33,3-34: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor; 3: p div follows 1.

Contra primus; 3: p div follows 2.

Underlay; Agnus I text is given in the Superius, and all lower voices have sectional incipits. At 43-45 the Discantus secundus needs an ed rpt of 'peccata'.

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Structure

This possibly incomplete Mass with D finals only appears in this study because its Agnus Dei is unique to Trent 88. As for the other movements, the Gloria and Credo are unique to Trent 90 and the Sanctus appears in both Trent 93 and Trent 90. There may have also been a Kyrie which has not survived. So far as I am aware

this is the first study to present all of the movements together, and recognition that these movements actually form a cycle seems to have been slow.¹⁷

The part-legible title above the topmost voice of the Agnus in Trent 88 is of little help in identifying what type of Mass this might be. If Gozzi's reading 'Avecu...' is correct, it might be the start of a French incipit beginning 'Avec', it could equally be a garbled composer attribution, or as a more remote possibility it might be part of 'Ave cuius...'. But the only text that comes to mind with that incipit (as used in Ludford's *Ave cuius conceptio*) has no known chant associated with it even though it was a widespread text in fifteenth-century Books of Hours.¹⁸ There are also no known chanson incipits beginning with 'Avec'. Alternatively the deteriorated writing might hide a word which gives the Mass's intended liturgical destination or possibly the name of a Saint.¹⁹

In layout terms the Gloria and Credo are tripartite, the Sanctus has four sections and the Agnus has two. It would be hard to demonstrate that these movements share a common Tenor cantus firmus since most Tenor sections begin differently. Only the Gloria's Qui tollis Tenor and the Pleni sunt Tenor of the Sanctus seem to share related material; the first eight pitches in each section are identical. Otherwise, details of how the Tenors begin are given below.

First Tenor sections; the openings of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus suggest - for roughly their first ten measures - that highly elaborated cantus firmus might be involved. For example, the opening pitches of the Patrem Tenor are D C D B A and the Sanctus begins D C D A. However, the Gloria opening diverges (D C B A and then up to E) and the Agnus I begins D A C D. The continuations of these Tenors seem to share no extended common material, and the Patrem Tenor has an octave leap at 38-39 which is not found in the Gloria Tenor.

Second Tenor sections; in the Gloria and Credo the Tenors enter as part of delayed entry lower-voice duets in duple meter. In the Sanctus the Pleni sunt Tenor is also part of delayed entry lower voice duet but it is in triple meter. As previously mentioned, the Gloria and Sanctus Tenors here share their first eight pitches. The matching Tenor entry in the Credo's Crucifixus section is melodically unrelated, and so is the duple Benedictus Tenor entry in the Sanctus.

Other Tenor sections; the Osanna begins with the ascending notes A C D A (a Tenor opening found nowhere else in this Mass) and the Tenors of the Gloria and Credo final sections also open in ways unrelated to each other and also other Tenor sections.

It is therefore improbable that continuous cantus firmus is in use. If this Mass has no Tenor cantus firmus and likewise does not appear to paraphrase Ordinary chants in its Superius, other options present themselves. Firstly, some sections might conceal opening references to chants which are not continued (as in later works by Obrecht and others). Secondly, the mysterious title might refer to a chanson model which is now lost, and which is drawn upon sporadically. Thirdly, the movements may all be freely composed and may only be unified by means of style.

¹⁷ The movements are mentioned in Strohm, R. 'Zur Rezeption der frühen Cantus-firmus-Messe im deutschsprachigen Bereich' in Konold, W. (ed), Deutsche-Englische Muzilbeziehungen (Munich and Salzburg, 1985) pp. 9-38 but otherwise there seems to be very little mention of them before Gozzi's edition of the Gloria and Credo. Elsewhere Strohm has suggested that this might be a Missa *Terribilis est* based on the Dedication Introit chant (see The Rise of European Music 1380-1500 p. 430)

¹⁸ For Ludford's setting and the text see Sandon, N. (ed), Nicholas Ludford: Domine Jesu Christe and Ave cujus conceptio (Antico Edition RCM 127, Newton Abbot, 1993).

¹⁹ Gerber (*op. cit.* p. 46) reads the title as 'Officium Marie', she does not mention any movements other than the Agnus, and suggests that this movement might have a chant-based Superius.

The first option is - to my mind - difficult to prove as one would have to find at least two or three liturgically linked chants whose presence in this work is clearly demonstrable. The second has a degree of subjectivity in that since we do not have a suitable model song, a reconstruction would have to be created from material which may only be casually linked. That leaves the option of probable free composition, which seems to be reasonable until the makeup of this Mass can be demonstrated to be different. I therefore suggest that the loose similarities between the Tenors are the result of this Mass having movements which do not share pre-existent structural elements.

Regarding motto organisation, all four movements have similar Superius openings and progressions at their openings for the first three to six measures. The main duple sections in the Gloria and Credo both open with successions of paired duets which are respectively for the upper and lower pairs of voices, but both sections start in a melodically unrelated way. However the duple Benedictus section starts similarly to the Gloria's duple section. The Osanna and the final Gloria and Credo sections (which are all in triple meter) all open independently of each other. As for the other openings the Agnus II opening closely resembles that of the Crucifixus, and the Pleni sunt opening is independent. The closing measures of the Gloria, Credo and Agnus I / III are also similar to each other.

In mensural terms the Gloria and Credo both have the pattern O - cut-C - O and this is shared by the 'ut supra' Agnus. The Sanctus varies this scheme by having three triple sections before the duple Benedictus and then a repeat of the Osanna. The only real complication occurs towards the end of the Patrem section, where the higher Contra moves into C mensuration against the O mensuration of the other voices. Texturally this Mass is odd, since the only significant relief from continuous full texture comes at the duets which feature in internal sections and in short lower-voice trio passages. In terms of voice names it calls the lower Contra 'primus' but allows voice crossing between all lower parts. The higher Contra also sometimes crosses above the Superius, and also very occasionally the Tenor. The music is quite dissonant and includes many progressions which might have been acceptable in early fifteenth century four-voice writing but which look old-fashioned by the standards of the mid-century. Neither does this seem to be a case of one added Contra being the continual culprit in making uncomfortable sounds. The music seems to be written with the idea that different parts - while being separately consonant with the Tenor - can occasionally clash with other. I will highlight passages of particular concern in due course, and because of this a composition date of before 1450 seems likely. Another feature suggesting a date in the 1440's or earlier is the way in which the texture in the Gloria and Credo will not easily accept much lower-voice text. Much of the extent of the lower voices in these movements seems to be best vocalised rather than texted, and there are several instances in the Gloria and Credo Superius parts where the Superius values move faster than the values in the supporting voices (i.e. 'Benedicimus te' and 'Adoramus te' in the Gloria and at 'consubstantialem' in the Credo).

Apart from related section openings, the movements seem to be internally integrated by the repetition of just a few standard devices. The Et in terra and Patrem sections end with drive passages involving crossrhythms (Gloria 55-61 and Credo 54-75). The same feature also occurs in a section ending at Sanctus 131-141 and internally in the Sanctus at 84-91. Similar and extended drive passages also occur at the ends of the Gloria and Credo. The Gloria's duple section also ends with a similar passage involving syncopation (see 181-201). There are also several internal Superius cadences in drawn-out values where the Superius ends on E (see Gloria 29-32, Credo 293-295 and Sanctus 14-16). Plain harmonies are also occasionally used for effect, such as at Gloria 152-159 where the Superius has A G F E in long notes against more rapidly moving lower voices, and where the Superius continuation (F E D C) is similar. There is also a brief passage of long-note Superius work in the Sanctus at 33-37. Duple sections are not that rhythmically varied apart from used of doubled harmonic pace at the end of the initial Benedictus duet.

One or two internal devices call for more comment. Both the Superius and the lower Contra have passages of sesquialtera against the cut-C signature of the other voices (see Gloria 120-171) and the lower Contra in the

Gloria at 54 has a single measure of sesquialtera where two of the other parts move in dotted rhythms.²⁰ The Gloria's cut-C sesquialtera passages (which are partly syllabic in the Superius) bring us to the question of where this Mass might have originated. The proportions of the movements (with the Sanctus being almost the same size as the Gloria) may suggest an English composer, as might the likely use of telescoping in the Credo in addition to text deletions therein. So might the behaviour of the Superius with its decorated cadential clichés and simple movement in duple meter, and so might the successions of paired duets in duple sections. No doubt these are the reasons why all movements appear in the 2017 revised Curtis and Wathey handlist of likely insular works from this period. But other factors make it far more likely that this is an imitation of English style than an insular work. Firstly, the Gloria's cut-C sesquialtera passages are exactly the sort of thing that might occur in a Mass Ordinary setting by Dufay or his continental contemporaries, but which have no counterpart - so far as I know - in English settings. Secondly, the phrase ending in a 4-3 suspension in the Superius at Credo 28-29 is a device which can be found in chansons of the 1410-1430 period but which is probably uncommon in insular Mass settings.²¹ Third, the occasional use of homophony is equally only rarely found in insular Masses. Lastly the Credo clearly uses C mensuration in a polymensural passage and follows this with a cut-C duple section, and all duple sections of this Mass use cut-C (the use of cut-C in insular sacred music before 1450 seems to be unlikely).

Added to these points is the haphazard nature of the four-part texture. By itself this would not exclude English origin for the music, but the points given below make it clear that the composer of this Mass had an inept or at least an old-fashioned grasp of four-part writing. Since consonance and euphony were important factors in insular polyphonic styles, the way in which this Mass is written seems to take us still further away from the idea of English origin. The following sectional list attempts to include most progressions which can be reasonably objected to, and it should be borne in mind that these occur in a score where I have already made a few emendations to avoid acute dissonance,

Et in terra

1. Ct 2-Tenor dissonance in a cadential cliché at 9.
2. Second between the two Contras at 20.
3. Upper-voice consecutive fifths at 33-34.
4. Ct 2 halts to avoid consecutive octaves at 37.
5. Outer-voice seventh at end of 58.
6. Same dissonance as at no. 1 above.

Qui tollis

7. Second between the two Contras at 122.
8. Superius-Tenor second at 140.
9. Dissonance between the two Contras at 98.
10. Outer-voice dissonance at 105-106.

Cum sancto

11. Second inversion progression at 207.
12. Fourth between outer voices at 214.
13. Consecutive octaves between outer parts in a doubled leadingnote cadential formula at 220-221.
14. Second between the two upper voices at 226.

²⁰ Perhaps the '3' sign and triplets in the lower Contra here are a misinterpretation of minor color values which should more properly be treated as duple (i.e. normal dotted values).

²¹ A similar Superius line occurs at the halfway point in Arnold de Lantini's *Las pouray je* published in van den Borren, C. (ed), *Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance Liegeoise (XVe siècle)* (Brussels, 1950) p. 25. Likewise, feminine melodic endings of this type are fairly frequent in the surviving chansons by Matteo da Perugia.

15. Second between the Tenor and Contra primus at 228.
16. Virtual consecutive fifths between the two inner parts at 236.

Patrem

17. Second between the two upper voices at 9.
18. Second between the two Contras at 21.
19. Seventh between the inner parts at 41.
20. Seventh between the outer voices at 51.
21. Virtual consecutive fifths between the outer parts at 69.
22. Both lower parts are dissonant with the Superius at 70-71.

Crucifixus

23. Single fourth in a duet passage at 80.
24. Construct involving a sixth in an unexpected place at 195.
25. Outer voice seventh at 199.
26. Outer voice fourth at 236.
27. Seventh between the upper voices at 239.

Et unam

28. Upper-voice second at 272.
29. Superius-Tenor seventh at 275.
30. Consecutive fifths between inner parts at 277.
31. Seventh between the Contras at 278.
32. Upper voice consecutive fifths at 296.
33. Outer voice seventh at 303.
34. Dissonant inner parts in a cadential cliché at 304.
35. Second between the Contra parts at 306.
36. Seventh between the outer parts at 311.
37. Likewise at 312.
38. Tenor and Ct 1 second at 320.
39. Tenor and Ct 1 seventh at 321.
40. Superius-Tenor fourth at 325.

Sanctus

41. Dissonant imitation between Superius and Ct 2 at 10-12.
42. Ct 2 is dissonant with all other parts at 18.
43. Seventh between the two upper voices at 21.
44. Likewise at 25.
45. Oddly mobile upper parts in a cadential cliché at 30.
46. Seventh between the Contra parts at 47.

Pleni sunt

47. Seventh between outer parts at 86.
48. Superius-Tenor seventh at 88.
49. Likewise at 95.

50. Doubled leading notes and likely false relations in sectional cadence at 106-107.

Osanna

51. Superius-Ct 2 second at 112.

52. Superius-Tenor seventh at 127.

53. Outer voice consecutive octaves in a doubled leadingnote formula at 134.

54. Superius-Tenor seventh at 135.

55. Same cadential problem at 140-141 as at 106-107.

Benedictus

56. Upper-voice consecutive seconds at 173-174.

57. Hybrid cadence at 179-180.

58. Same cadential problem at 194-195 as at 106-107 and 140-141.

59. Seventh between lower parts at 202.

60. Second between upper parts at 210.

61. Seventh between outer parts at 215.

62. Likewise at 220.

63. Same cadential problem as at 106-107, 140-141 and 194-195.

Agnus I / III

64. Virtual consecutive fifths between the two topmost parts at 10-11.

65. Seventh between the outer parts at 13.

66. Seventh between the Contra parts at 16.

I have numbered all items here consecutively for a good reason, since this enables us to identify and isolate different types of dissonance. The dissonances of most concern are nos 50, 55, 58 and 63, which all occur in the Sanctus and which are all similar cadences where the upper Contra has been added awkwardly. Similarly the instance of upper voice consecutive seconds (no. 56) is something that might be expected to occur occasionally in an Ars Nova structured motet but not in a cyclic Mass written in the years leading up to 1450. Most of the other dissonances listed involve a slightly free attitude to the use of fourths (see 23, 26 and 40 above), a greater tolerance of incidental clashes than in most mid-century sacred music, and occasional moments where the partwriting seems to be uncontrolled (see 22 and 45 above). Upper-voice consecutive fifths are - I think - to be expected in this style of music, as are some passing-notes which look unorthodox. But the important element about all of this uncomfortable partwriting is that the music seems to sound better than it looks - a quality which I have also encountered in some Machaut's less consonant three-part works. Given three single, clear and unobtrusive voices on the three lower parts plus a Discantus section with doubled voices, many of the uneasy passages and brief dissonances listed above merely pass notice. Indeed, some sort of doubling for the topmost voice in this particular Mass is likely, since Agnus II has a supporting part which is in Discantus rather than Contra range.

I would not pretend that this is first-rate music. The crossrhythm drive passages at the end of the Gloria and Credo sound stodgy, and are less well written from similar passages in works by Dufay where dissonance is more controlled. Similarly the movement with the most contrapuntal problems (the Sanctus) sounds undistinguished and equally stodgy. While we cannot prove that this Mass is not English, it is probably one of the clearer cases of continental stylistic mimicry. I would be enthusiastic to see descriptions of this work appearing in accounts of how continental musicians initially responded to English style, perhaps along with early examples of non-English cantus firmus Ordinaries like the Poignare Gloria in [Trent 87](#) and examples of 'late' works by musicians chiefly known from earlier fifteenth century sources such as Bartolomeo Brolo's Gloria in [Trent 90](#).

Numerology

The Gloria and Sanctus of this Mass are very close in size (236 and 237 measures respectively) and parity might have once existed if the final or sectional final longs had been written differently. Otherwise multiples of 11 might play some role in how this work was constructed. The Osanna is has 44 measures, and the first section of the Sanctus has 660 notes. Note-counts in the Gloria and Credo duple sections may also be relevant here: the Qui tollis has 554 notes (very nearly 555) and the Crucifixus has 665 (nearly 666). Otherwise I find no evidence of overall numerical organisation.

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98. Simon de Insula; Missa *O admirabile* (Trent 88 ff. 304v-311r, unicum, DTÖ VII inventory nos 428-431).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the antiphon *O admirabile beati Gregorii*, which is elaborated differently in each movement. Further, see the section on structure.

Gloria (ff. 304v-306r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 181r (transposed a tone up) and the m sign is given before the first stave in both upper voices. / 89: single custos / 90: the m sign is given before the first stave on a new page in both upper voices / 124-137: the colored passage marked with the O sign here would surely be proportionally incorrect by the standards of later writers, but corresponds with the O-C equivalent given in our score at 90 / 161: this note is squashed in (as a correction?). The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 59: p div follows 2 / 85: likewise / 89: single custos / 186,3-187,3: these notes are duplicated following 187,3 but the duplication is erased / 210: single custos.

Tenor; 1: in both lower voices the m sign is given following the initial rests / 53: p div follows 2 / 67, 68, 70, 77, 83, 86 & 88: likewise.

Bassus; 68: p div follows 2 / 84: p div follows 3 / 89: no custos / 210: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with extensive text in the first section for the Contra and Bassus. The upper Contra carries text well, but after the first section in this movement there is only a single Bassus incipit. The Tenor does not seem to carry cantus firmus text well in view of the way that phrases are split up by rests, and neither does it appear to carry shortened Gloria text well. I therefore suggest that much of the Tenor may have been wordlessly vocalised, and the same probably applies to the Bassus sections in the Gloria and Credo. Therefore the texture of this Mass would imitate the texting in my edition of the Missa *Caput* Gloria and Credo to which the first two movements here are stylistically close. At 77-89 I have inserted editorial repeats of 'Filius Patris' in the two upper voices. 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' at Superius, 64 and thereafter as 'xpe'. The Bassus text as underlaid consists of 'Gratias agimus...propter magnam... tuam. Domine Deus Rex celestis... omnipotens...Domine Fili...Jhesu xpe...Domine...Filius Patris'.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 101 (edition). Gerber (p. 103) associates the composer with the 'Britoni' listed amongst singers in Rome in 1452, on the basis that 'de Insula' can refer to persons from England. Alternatively it can also refer to persons from Brittany or Lille, and the latter may also be the right birthplace for the 'Francus de Insula' named as a composer in Ox 213. Additionally the Mass composer may or may not be identifiable with the Burgundian chaplain Simon le Breton who spent some of his working life in Lille (see the article on Simon de Insula by David Fallows in The New Grove). Mitchell, The Paleography and Repertory vol. I pp. 82-83 associates Simon de Insula with the composition of several Masses of English origin - a view which I no longer uphold. Meanwhile I wish to thank Reinhard Strohm here for the suggestion that the

composer might be the musician Simon Vromont, who worked at St. Peter's, Lille during the mid-century (private communication, February 2021).

Credo (ff. 306v-308r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is given before the first stave / 9: single custos in both upper voices / 32,2: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 78: p div follows 3 / 103: at the start of a new page the m sign is given before first staves in the Superius, Tenor & Bassus / 182: sharp ind before 180,1 / 275: single custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 2: p div follows 1 / 16,2-4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 25: cs is written under 25,2, upside-down / 33,1-3: as at 16 / 36: p div follows 3 / 40: 2 has sharp / 43-44: ns / 44: p div follows 1 / 59: p div follows rest / 75: p div follows 2 / 78,1-2: as at 16 / 85: p div follows 2 / 89: b ind before rest / 197: natural ind as sharp before 196,1 / 214,2-215,2: as at 16 / 250,3-251: likewise.

Tenor; 1: m sign given before first stave / 31: p div follows 2 / 39 & 78: likewise.

Bassus; 1: m sign om / 36 & 49: p div follows 2 / 53: p div follows rest / 64-67: written on a short end of stave extension / 65: p div follows 2 / 100,3-105: as at 64 / 190-194: likewise / 200,1: corr from col err, with 'a' (for 'alba') under this note / 232,2: col err, but with correcting mark above note / 233: as at 64.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with partial texting in the first section of the Contra. Other sections and voices have sectional incipits and occasional internal cues. The same seems to apply here as in the Gloria regarding the vocalisation of most of the lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et in Spiritum... remissionem peccatorum' from 232 onwards, and such a large text deletion cannot be restored by editorial telescoping. At 33 in the Superius 'Christum' is given as 'xpum'.

Sanctus (ff. 308v-310r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in all voices except the Bassus / 24: p div follows rest / 55,3-56: written on a short end of stave extension / 73: sharp ind before 72,4 / 84: m sign ind before stave at the start of a new page opening / 215: 1 col err, but with a correcting mark above. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 1: this voice is called Contra primus on the first page opening and 'Contra' on the second / 16: p div follows 2 / 37: sharp ind before 36,2 / rest at 64: the cs here is upside-down under the rest / 74,3: the cs here is upside-down under the note.

Tenor; 21: p div follows 2 / 35: likewise / 56: following the 'Pleni tacet' direction 16 measures of rests are given (27 would be needed if the rests for this section were fully written out). / 121-124: written on a short end of stave extension.

Bassus; 13-14: all notes in these measures are col for no apparent reason / 16,1-2: written over an erasure / 17: an erased m A follows 5 / 31: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 40: p div follows 3 / 49: b ind before 49,1, & p div follows 2 / 64: the cs here is upside-down under the note / 74: another upside-down cs is given under 74,1.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for most lower-voice sections but the 'Pleni sunt' has fully texted supporting voices. The Tenor seems best vocalised to 'a' since neither Sanctus text nor cantus firmus text seems to fit it well, but the Trent 88 scribe has given the usual incipits for this voice plus

full text at the end of the Benedictus and also Osanna II from 157 onwards. Possibly he wanted to avoid the repeated C's in this part 165 being untexted, but - even so - setting these notes to 'venit' does not coincide with my editorial placing of that word in the outer parts. I therefore regard the Tenor texting here as possibly not authentic. There are several same-pitch repeated notes in this particular Tenor (see 18-20, 21-22, 44-46, 194-196 and 205-207) but maybe editorial text here is not the right solution.

Agnus (ff. 310v-311r);

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om in this voice & the Contra / 38: single custos / 100: 2 E. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Bassus.

Contra; 2: 3 uc / 24: 1 corr from m by erasure of upper stem / 44: no custos / 58,2-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 62: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm, written over erasures / 65: single custos / 66: m sign given as cut-C / 74,2: there is an erased br D above this note / 80,1-81,1: as at 58 / 98-99: Trent 88 reads G B / 100: om (conj supplied) / 102: 1 & 2 not col / 134: 1 E / 150: 2 is B, & col err.

Tenor; 30: rest om (conj supplied) / 39-53: 16 measures of rests are given (only 15 are needed) / 81: rest om (conj supplied).

Bassus; 38: no 'Tacet' direction given / 65-151: there is no Agnus III section in this voice (conj supplied).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with sectional incipits for the Contra and Bassus, and some text in the Tenor. As before, this voice seems to have been problematic for the scribe, He gives the start incipit 'Agnus' for the first section, the end incipit 'nobis' in Agnus II and likewise the start and end incipits 'Agnus' and 'pacem' in Agnus III. Much of the Tenor can be vocalised as in the Sanctus (probably best done with 'a'), since neither cantus firmus text nor Mass Ordinary text seems to fit this part well. However, at 54-65 the Tenor is the lower voice of a duet, and I have added editorial text here since no cantus firmus material seems to be involved.

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Structure

As indicated in the critical commentary there is some doubt about where this Tenor cantus firmus Mass originated, with Gerber suggesting a Roman location for the composer as a northern expatriate and other evidence suggesting that 'de Insula' might mean a composer from Lille or even England. I am inclined to favour a Franco-Burgundian origin for this Mass, for reasons that will be explained in due course. Otherwise Gerber was the first to correctly identify the cantus firmus of this Mass as a version of the antiphon *O admirabile beati Gregorii*, which is the first antiphon for Lauds on St. Gregory's day. From the pattern of surviving chant sources it seems that this was a northern-tradition chant that may not have been present or common in Italian chant manuscripts. I give the chant below, with the caution that the version here seems to be considerably removed from the version used for the Mass Tenors.

4.9. *O admirabile beati Gregorii*,²²

O ad-mi-ra-bi-le be-a-ti Gre-go-ri-i, me-ri-tum

quo in-ter-ce-den-te os-sa do-mi-ni-ci cor-po-ris pars di-gi-ti au-ri-

-cu-la-ris san-gui-ne cru-en-ta in-ven-ta ac o-sten-sa est.

There is one very good reason why the Mass seems to use this chant as its Tenor rather than the far more common Circumcision antiphon *O admirabile commercium* (LU 1997 pp. 442-443) with which *O admirabile beati Gregorii* is melodically connected.²³ If the former chant were the cantus firmus, most first-section statements would appear to end halfway through the word ‘semine’ in the *O admirabile commercium* text which would be illogical. The St. Gregory antiphon’s text allows for most first-section breaks at the textual point ‘digi’ in the latter example. The text of the St. Gregory antiphon celebrates the discovery of a relic, and translates as ‘O admirable merit of blessed Gregory, by whose intercession the bones of the Lord’s body, part of the little finger stained with blood, was discovered and displayed’.²⁴

Like myself other specialists have also noticed that this Mass seems to be stylistically and structurally close to the English Missa *Caput*. As in the Missa *Caput*, the cantus firmus begin on B and the layout of the *O admirabile* Mass is close to the latter. Also as in *Caput* the Gloria and Credo are bipartite, and the Sanctus is a four-section movement where the Pleni sunt uses reduced scoring and the Osanna I is fully scored from its start. In the Missa *O admirabile* as in *Caput* the Sanctus and Benedictus/Osanna II sections feature delayed entry Tenors. The three-section Agnus also has a delayed entry Tenor in its first section but not in its third (again, like the Missa *Caput*) and in both Masses Agnus II involves reduced scoring. All four *O admirabile* movements feature a varied motto opening for the two upper voices, and in all of these except the Sanctus opening the Superius soon reaches a phrase-ending on lower D. Internal sections are not so closely related but the Et incarnatus and Benedictus Superius openings are similar, and the Pleni sunt and Agnus III form a second pair of related openings. All movements begin and end on G, and both this Mass and *Caput* allow for fourths between the Superius and Tenor. The initial Sanctus and Agnus sections are the only ones in this Mass which do not end on G.

Texturally this is a simple work, with the higher Contra generally acting as an alto part and the lower Contra (called Bassus) being a largely bass-like filler part with much perfect cadencing throughout (see Sanctus 42-47 for a noticeably simple lowest part). Internal duets occur as in the *Caput* Mass, but generally only between the upper parts. Agnus II is unique in featuring a Contra-Tenor duet passage, and this is the only place in the Mass where the Tenor does not seem to have cantus firmus material. Perhaps this passage should be re-scored to feature the Bassus as the lowest trio voice instead of the Tenor (as happens in the Pleni sunt section). The mensuration layout is also simple: the Gloria and Credo use O - C, the Agnus uses O - O - C and the Sanctus has O - O - C - C. Apart from some drive-like writing in duple sections there is little or no complexity, and the Gloria Superius has a solitary proportional passage at 124-137.

²² Supplied here from the twelfth century source Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms 17296, ff. 76r-v.

²³ The modern version of this chant and many medieval versions are pitched a fifth below the St. Gregory chant in our example, but fifteenth-century versions of *O admirabile commercium* survive which start on B (for example, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ms 1799 f. 23r). This manuscript is a thirteenth-century Cistercian antiphonal.

²⁴ After Gerber, *op. cit.* p.103.

The cantus firmus layout also appears to be simple, but since it seems to be quite removed from the latter chant example there is some doubt about how it actually proceeds. Gerber is no doubt correct in that successive statements appear to be slight modifications or elaborations of the Et in terra Tenor, but the continuations of the chant seem to be obscured by the way that they vary. The Et in terra section uses the chant up to ‘digi’ and so does the following Qui tollis section, but there appears to be a cadential modification to G A G at the end of this Tenor so a conventional cadence can be made. The Patrem section follows the same material as the Qui tollis and is melodically close, and again there seems to be a cadential modification (to B A G) at the end of this Tenor. The same applies to the second section in the Credo.

Thereafter I differ from Gerber about how the chant seems to be applied. The first section of the Sanctus Tenor probably gives the chant up to ‘dominici’, the Pleni sunt is a free section without the Tenor, and Osanna I possibly gives the chant from ‘corporis’ to ‘cruenta’ with a free cadential B A G extension at Sanctus 122-124. (I say ‘possibly’ here because the chant at this point begins with E F whereas the Osanna I Tenor begins D E D C). The Benedictus gives the chant from the start up to ‘cruenta’ with C B A G as a closing free extension.²⁵ Gerber states that the Osanna I, Benedictus and Agnus I give the remainder of the chant after ‘digi’, and she also says that in each case the phrase for ‘auricularis sanguine’ is omitted. I fail to see this, but the chief difficulty here is that we are dealing with Tenors that are not close to the nearest available chant version and which themselves may be cumulative elaborations.

I see the remainder of the cantus firmus use as follows. Agnus I seems to use the chant up to ‘ossa’ and then follows this with a free extension at 35-38. Agnus II looks as though it is free, despite using the Tenor as its lowest voice. Agnus III gives the cantus firmus up to ‘digi’ again, followed by a B A G cadential extension at 149-151. At no point in any of the Tenors does the end of the melody at ‘inventa ac ostensa est’ appear to be used (this phrase uses a high G, and no high G appears towards the end of any of the Mass Tenors). Having indicated that the Tenors vary somewhat, it should also be stressed that the series of pitches in the opening passages of all movements are close.

There is another problem with the Tenor since many of its phrases are separated by rests of varying lengths, and there are repeated same-pitch notes throughout. Experiments in applying cantus firmus text seem to be a dead end, and likewise continuous Mass Ordinary text will not happily fit to these Tenors. Therefore this part must have either had a different text, it might have been wordlessly vocalised, or it might have been played on an instrument like a slide-trumpet. The second alternative seems to be the most viable, for two reasons. Firstly because the Tenor is part of a close four-voice texture, and highlighting it with a different sound or different text might compromise that texture. Secondly, vocalisation of lower voices seems to be in order for the Gloria and Credo of the Missa *Caput*, so a similar approach might be suitable in a Mass that closely imitates the latter work. Performance experiment has shown me the vocalised Tenor blends in well with the other parts, even where its vowel sound(s) might not be the same as those in the surrounding voices.²⁶

Now we come to why this Mass is close to the Missa *Caput*, and the ways in which both works are similar. The decision to imitate the Missa *Caput* may have come about as a purely musical one rather than as a result of a patron’s request, since only a musician who knew the *Caput* Mass would find a parent chant beginning on B like the *Caput* melisma and only a musician familiar with *Caput* would imitate its mensural plan and delayed-entry bipartite Tenor layout. There is also much more: the Superius has gestures similar to those of the Missa *Caput* Superius and there are progressions and small sections throughout which also recall the older work. The following list of comparison points does not attempt to be exhaustive, but it surely shows that Simon de Insula knew the older Mass thoroughly.

²⁵ In defence of my suggestion for probable cantus firmus use in Osanna I, I note that the pitches which it uses are mostly reproduced at the end of the Benedictus Tenor (Sanctus, 205-233).

²⁶ As also encountered in occasional cantus firmus Sanctus settings such as the Sanctus super *Iste puer magnus* in Mu 3154 (no. 73).

1. The ranges of the parts in both Masses are similar, and the Tenors are given in a similar rhythmic way in both works - with most note values therein being semibreves, breves and longs.
2. The delayed entry and bipartite cantus firmus layout in both Masses is also similar, as are the reduced scorings in the *Pleni sunt* and *Agnus II* sections of both works.
3. In both Masses, the simple use of accelerated motion towards the ends of introductory duple duet sections is similar.
4. The choice of C as the sole mensural duple sign is also reminiscent of the *Missa Caput*.
5. There is much use of accented-sixth writing over constructs on D (i.e. with a Superius proceeding B A with lower parts that give D with F above it). For examples in the *Missa Caput* see the Kyrie at 33, the Gloria at 49, the Sanctus at 29-30 and also at 34. For instances in the *Missa O admirabile* see the Gloria at 202, the Credo at 177, 198-200 and 209-210.
6. The *Caput* Kyrie at measure 18 and the *O admirabile* Gloria at 18-20 have very similar imitative duet writing.
7. There are other clear melodic reminders of the *Caput* Mass in *O admirabile*. The Gloria Superius in *O admirabile* at 84 sounds like that *Caput* Credo Superius at 246-247. Also the Contra-Bassus duet in the *O admirabile* Gloria at 56-59 is reminiscent of a similarly scored passage in the *Caput* Gloria at 59-62. Note also that the latter occurrence and the similarity cited in point 6 above both occur at similar places in the Glorias of both works.
8. The Superius parts of both works have a tendency towards Landini-sixth D cadence motives which - in both Masses - are not always strictly cadential and do not always seem to require editorial accidentalisation of C's. For examples see the *Missa Caput* Gloria Superius at 210-212, and the Sanctus Superius at 64-65 and 80-81. In the *Missa O admirabile* see the Gloria Superius at 45-46 and 202-203, and the Credo Superius at 92-93 and 259-261.
9. In the *Missa Caput* so-called 'English' melodic figures occur, and similarly these are found in the Simon de Insula Mass, sometimes with coloration. For some varied examples see the *O admirabile* Credo Superius at 35 and 79, the Sanctus Contra at 39-40, and the final cadence of the same movement.
10. There also seems to be a numerical connection between the first sections of both Glorias (see the following section for details).

It is therefore clear that the composer's structural and style choices here were chiefly motivated by a desire to imitate the *Caput* Mass, and that he also went to some length to achieve the required mimic detail. But ultimately Simon was a man of his own time and probably not an Englishman who was writing in the 1430's or 1440's. Therefore aspects of his Mass differ notably from *Caput*. I have already mentioned the sometimes repetitively chording lowest voice. There are also some declamatory text passages (see Gloria 12-13 and Credo 198-202), brief false relations in the *Agnus* at 4-5, and four instances throughout of progressions which are cadences on C with dominant sevenths.²⁷ To sum up, there seems to be a certain ease and facility in the musical resources used and these are not words which I would use to describe either the texture or the sound of the *Missa Caput*. Finally, I return to the matter of where this Mass might have originated. On the strength of Hans Schoop's entry in *The New Grove* on the *Ox 213* composer Francus de Insula probably being from Lille, the same might apply to Simon de Insula. Two more things seem to remove this Mass from a possibly southern or Roman orbit. Firstly the apparent northern-tradition circulation of the cantus firmus, and secondly that elements of this Mass seem to reflect the number 31. Regarding the possible relevance of that number in Burgundian court culture see the following section.

²⁷ Credo 35-36, 81-82, 266-267 and *Agnus* 121-122.

Numerology

Tempora counts for this Mass seem to produce no results of importance except for Agnus I being 25% of the total movement in terms of measures if all final and sectional longs are omitted. The rough arc of movement sizes (respectively 210, 275, 233 and 151 measures) seems not to conceal any overall scheme.

Note counts here are of more interest. Excluding final and sectional longs, the Superius in each section of the Credo totals 310 notes. There is further evidence of multiples of 31 being present, namely that the two upper voices of Agnus II total 155 notes (31×5) while the only other active voice in this section (the Tenor) totals 33 notes. The number of Contra primus notes in the Et in terra section is 279 (31×9) and the Gloria Tenor's two sections respectively total 61 and 63 notes ($=124$, which is 31×4).

Looking at note totals in other ways also produces some interesting results. The sum of all notes in the lower voices in the Credo's second section is 444 and the lower voices in Agnus I total 222. The Benedictus Superius note total is 221 (very nearly 222) and the length of the Gloria's second section in tempora is 121 (11×11). Excluding its sectional longs, the first section of the Sanctus consists of 55 measures. Eleven and its multiples also seems to feature in the Missa *Caput*.²⁸ Excluding final movemental longs, that Mass consists of 1,110 measures. The measure total of the Missa *O admirabile* (869 including movemental longs) is also divisible by eleven ($79 \times 11 = 879$).

The likely presence of permutations of 31 may (or may not) connect this Mass to others in Trent 89 which seem to feature similar calculations, such as the Missa *Te Deum*, the Missa *Du cuer* and the Missa *Beati Anthonii*. All may have some connection to the Order of the Golden Fleece with its mid-century membership of 31 people. Finally, in view of the structural and stylistic connection with the Missa *Caput* it should come as no surprise that the Et in terra section in each Mass totals 89 measures.

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99. [Ockeghem]; Missa *Caput*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 286v-295r (DTÖ VII inventory nos 418-422, anon);
- (ii) Chigi ff. 64v-75r, Ockeghem.

The cantus firmus of this Mass is the final melisma of the antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*, which is also the Tenor cantus firmus of Mass no. 29a-b in the DIAMM Trent 89 edition. In Ockeghem's Mass the cantus firmus is in the lowest voice while the Trent 89 Mass has the cantus firmus Tenor as an internal voice.

(i) Trent 88;

[Superius]; 1: there is a lacuna where the m sign should normally be / 20: 1 uc / 22: single custos / 23: m sign before stave / 50: written on a short end of stave extension, & followed by a single custos / 53: m sign before stave. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign before stave / 23: likewise, 1 has sharp, & all of the Christe section is given with the clef on the fourth line up (making all of this section a third too low). Possibly the staves were cleffed before any music was entered. / 30,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 52: custos obliterated by lacuna.

²⁸ See pp. 1434-1435 of the DIAMM Trent 89 edition.

[T]enor secundus; 2: sharp ind before 2,1 / 6: p div follows 2 / 52: no custos.

[T]enor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and the voice names in the two lower parts here are no doubt prompted by the unusual arrangement of having the cantus firmus as the lowest voice of four. The verbal canon ‘alterum caput descendendo tenorem per diapason’ is partially damaged by lacunas and can be translated as ‘another caput [mass] in which the tenor descends an octave’. Accordingly this voice is written an octave higher than its performance pitch. / 16-18: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Chigi / 48-49: likewise / 61: 1 & 2 uc due to lacuna / 72: no custos.

Underlay; ‘Kyrie’, ‘Xpe’ and ‘eleyson’ entries are given in all voices, but ‘eleyson’ often needs to be treated as a four-syllable word and I have elided one ‘eleyson’ entry at 47 in the lowest voice. The cantus firmus in the lowest voice cannot carry all of the text because of its extended values, and it also needs a repeat of ‘-son’ on its final note. Neither source gives precise enough texting to establish whether two or three ‘Kyrie’ / ‘Christe’ invocations are needed per section. My editorial text allows for three in each section, plus an editorial repeat of ‘eleyson’ in the Tenor primus at the end of the Christe.

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(ii) Chigi ff. 64v-65r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, and the first three Superius staves are indented to make space for a very large and penwork-decorated capital ‘K’. The lowest voice (immediately below the Superius) has two of its three staves indented for a similar but smaller capital ‘B’ (for ‘Bassus’). In both of these voices, the initial text letter of each section is overmarked by red horizontal lines, there is a panelled illustration at the bottom of the first page, plus coloured grotesques around the borders of the second. / 4: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 7: no lig / 8: 4 & 5 are dtd-m & sm / 22: double custos in all voices / 30-32: ligd / 50: no divisi C / 52: single custos / 55,1-2: minor color / 56: no lig / 59,1-2: minor color / 60: 3 & 4 are both m / 65-66: no lig / 66: 2 replaced by sbr E m C, & 3-4 have minor color / 68-69: no lig / 70,3-4: minor color. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented and the voice-name is written in majuscules with a very elongated ‘C’ / 4: 2 C / 6: p div follows 3 / 20: 1 is col / 23: no sharp / 52: single custos / 53: no clef change / 56: no lig / 69: 2 G / 70: 1 & 2 ligd / 71: 3 A / 72: single custos.

Tenor; 1: the first two staves are slightly indented to make space for a majuscule voice name in the same style as the preceding Contra’s voice name. / 2: no sharp / 9,2: replaced by sm F sm E / 11: 1 b / 12,2: replaced by sbr F m F / 16: 1 dtd, & 2 not dtd / 18,5-19,2: ligd / 19,4-20,1: ligd / 44: replaced by sbr D m B sbr B / 71: 2 & 3 are sbr m (which should be in minor color).

Bassus; 1: the canon for this voice is given in red following Kyrie I, and in this version it reads ‘Alterum caput descendendo tenorem per diapason et sic per totam missam’. As in Trent 88 this voice is given an octave above its intended performance pitch. / 22: replaced by sbr rest and L D / 52: single custos.

Underlay; much the same as in Trent 88 except that ‘eleyson’ is spelt ‘eleison, and ‘Criste’ is spelt ‘Criste’.

Chigi is immaculately copied. It gives very few variants, and also very few errors.

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 287v-289r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 182v, the m sign is given before the first stave, & 1,1-2 are uc due to a lacuna. / 10: uc due to lacuna / 14,2-3: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 18: cs is given upside down under rest / 95: m sign uc due to lacuna / 108: 1 has sharp / 120: 2 has sharp, ind under 118,3 / 158: 2 E / 162: 2 D (corr using Chigi) / 164: 2 F (corr using Chigi) / 175: 1 uc / 216: single custos in this voice & the Contra. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 5,2: uc due to lacuna / 27: p div follows 2 / 42,2-45,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 54: p div follows 2 / 61,rest-64: as at 42 / 76,1: uc due to lacuna / 82-84: as at 42 / 82: p div follows 2 / 86,1-2: oblique shape in lig made uc by lacuna / 94: single custos / 95: m sign before stave / 121,1-2: not col / 141: 2 B / 149: 2 G (corr using Chigi) / 213: 2 A.

[T]enor secundus; 1: the m sign is uc due to a lacuna / 9: both lower parts have a single custos here to mark off the initial duet subsection in the upper voices / 23: 3 F / 35-39,4: written on a short end of stave extension / 53: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 59-60,2: as at 35 / 80-81: likewise / 94: no custos / 137-138: ns / 175-176: ns / 210: b ind above 209,1.

[T]enor primus; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and as in the Kyrie and all subsequent movements this part is given an octave higher than its performance pitch. / 39: p div follows 2 / 57 and 71: likewise / 95: m sign before stave / 155,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 207-216: written on and end of stave extension.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits and a few internal cues in the lower voices. In the Superius 'Christe' is given as 'Criste' at 78-80, and as 'xpe' at 188-191. As in the following Credo, there is a degree of uncertainty in how to text the lowest voice since it has quite a few extended values.

(ii) Chigi ff. 65v-67r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork-decorated 'E', & 1,1-2 are replaced by a br without a dot. / 18: no cs / 21: 1 & 2 ligd / 28: 3 dtd / 29: rest om, but a gap has been left where the rest should be / 39: 3 & 4 replaced by sbr F / 41: 5 & 6 replaced by m E / 43,2-3: minor color / 54: 2 is col / 69: 1 & 2 ligd / 71: 1 not col / 73,3-4: minor color / 78: no lig / 88: no sharp / 95: the second page opening starts with a majuscule initial (in this case 'Q') and 2 indented staves as on the first page. / 120: no sharp / 121: no cs / 125-127: ligd / 128: no lig / 129-130: likewise / 132,1-2: ligd / 133: 3 D / 134: 1 replaced by sbr E sbr E / 147-150: ligd / 157: 2 E / 166: 1 & 2 ligd / 167: likewise / 171-172: ligd / 175,2-176,2: replaced by dtd-br D / 177: 1 & 2 ligd / 185: no lig / 189: no lig / 193-194: no lig / 194: 2 F / 195: 1 & 2 ligd / 196-198: ligd separately from 195 / 212,3-213,1: ligd / 216: single custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the two top staves are slightly indented to make space for the vertically-written voice name in majuscules, with 'C' starting at the top of the name. / 15-16: no lig, & 15,4 is replaced by sbr E m E / 18: cs over 1 / 19: no sharp / 29: 1 & 2 are both m / 31,2-3: minor color / 38: 2 & 3 are both m / 40,1-41,1: replaced by sbr C & col br C / 43: 2 & 3 ligd / 49: 1 & 2 replaced by m D dtd-m F sm G / 53: 2 is col / 75: 3 replaced by sm G sm F / 89: no sharp / 91: 1 replaced by sm B sm C / 94: double custos / 95: on the second page opening the indentation and style of voice name are the same as with the first half of this voice / 112: 1 & 2 ligd / 119,2-3: minor color / 120-121: all notes here are colored, & 120,1-2 are br m m / 123: dot given above rest instead of cs / 125-127: replaced by lig br C br A br B / 131: no lig / 133,1-2: ligd / 143,2: not ligd / 144-146: ligd / 152: 1 is col br / 159,1-160,1: ligd / 160: 2 is col br / 161: 2 is col sbr / 169-171: no lig / 177,2: not ligd / 178: 1 & 2 ligd / 179: 1 not ligd / 180: 1 & 2 ligd / 181: 2 is col br / 182: 2 is col sbr / 212: replaced by ligd sbr C sbr B / 213: replaced by m C sbr D sbr A / 216: double custos.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the style of voice name is the same as in the Contratenor, but with no stave indentation / 9: no custos in either lower voice / 37: no b / 43: 2 & 3 are both m / 61: no lig / 63,1-64,1: replaced by L D / 64: p div follows 2 / 73,2-3: minor color / 81,1-2: likewise / 82: 2 B / 84-94: the end of the first section is given at the bottom of the page to the left due to lack of space, with diamond shaped four-dot indicators given on both pages / 90: no minor color / 95: at the page-turn the style of voice name is the same as at 1 / 131: not ligd / 140,1-141,1: ligd / 143: no lig / 153-155,1: ligd / 158-159,1: ligd / 209: minor color.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the style of voice name is the same as in the Contratenor, but with only the first stave indented / 13: p div follows 2 / 39: 1 not ligd, & p div follows 2 / 52: p div follows 2 / 95: the style of voice name is the same as at 1 / 140-141,1: replaced by dtd-br G which is ligd to 141,2 / 166: not ligd / 201-205: given as a single lig.

Underlay; Chigi fully texts the Superius and gives more lower-voice cues than Trent 88. These are as follows. Contratenor from 1 onwards: 'Et in terra...Laudamus te'. At 95 onwards: 'Qui tollis peccata mundi... Qui sedes'. From here onwards the part is fully texted. Tenor secundus: 'Laudamus te' at 18, 'suscipe deprecationem nostram' at the second-section entry point, 'Filius Patris' from 87 onwards, 'Cum sancto' at 185 and 'Amen' at 211. Tenor secundus: 'Laudamus te' at 18, 'suscipe; at the second-section entry point, 'Cum sancto...Amen' from 183 to the end.

Chigi has some ligaturing differences and small variants, and its underlay is clear but not necessarily authoritative. The Chigi variants in the Contratenor at 49 and 212-213 are better than their Trent 88 alternatives.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 289v-291r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, & the m sign is om / 12,1: uc due to lacuna / 24: 1 not dtd (corr using Chigi) / 28,1-29,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 48: as at 28 / 63,1-3: likewise / 68: 1 is L / 80-82,1: as at 28 / 89: p div follows 2 / 94,3-95: as at 28 / 98: m sign given before stave, but is uc due to fading / 123-125: uc due to lacuna / 132,2-3: as at 28 / 161: 1 uc / 187,1: corr from A, with downward diagonals on either side of this note / 192,2-194,1: as at 28. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 18,4-19,1: uc due to lacuna / 20: 3 G / 21,1: cs is given upside down under this note / 30,4-31,2: obliterated by a lacuna & supplied from Chigi / 31-33,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 51,5-52,2: likewise / 66: b ind before 66,1 / 80,3-81: as at 31 / 88: 2 D / 98: m sign given before stave / 150,2: obliterated by a lacuna & supplied from Chigi / 171: ns / 257: single custos.

[T]enor secundus; 1: m sign om / 26,3: col err, but corr with a 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 29: p div follows 2 / 37-39: uc due to lacuna / 45: 3 m / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 76,1-5: written on a short end of stave extension / 82: 1 col err / 98: the opening incipit for the second section is 'Et incarnatus altera missa caput' / 146: sharp ind above 144,1 / 159: col err / 181-182: as at 76 / 185-186: ns.

1: [T]enor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 42: p div follows 2 / 57-58,1: written on a short end of stave extension / 61: p div follows 2 / 76: likewise / 209-210: ns / 256 & 257: these two notes are col.

Underlay; Trent 88 only gives sectional incipits in each voice. Reconstruction of the underlay has been done here with considerable reference to Chigi, resulting in a score which uses the full Credo text but which telescopes at 144-197, where the two inner voices have 'Et in Spiritum...Prophetas'. Editorial repeats of 'Qui ex Patre...procedit' are needed in both of these voices at 168-179. I have found the second section of this setting particularly hard to text, because for much of the extent of its fully-scored passage homophony is simply not possible. Further, see the underlay notes to the Chigi version below which splits some values in

this section.

(ii) Chigi ff. 67v-70r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first two staves of the Superius are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'P'. / 7: no minor color / 9: no lig / 10: no cor in either voice / 21: no cs, & 21,4 is replaced by sbr B m B / 34: replaced by col br D col m C col m D col sbr B col m A / 49,2-3: ligd, & 49,3-502 have minor color / 52: after this measure Chigi puts the rest of this section on a new page opening, and at the start of the new page the word 'residuum' is written in downward-facing majuscules with the first two Superius staves indented. / 61: no minor color / 73,3-74,2: ligd / 77: 2 not dtd / 78: 2 & 3 replaced by dtd-sbr D / 79,4-5: no minor color, & 79,5 is E / 85,3-5: replaced by sbr A sbr F / 95: replaced by col br D & L D / 98: the m sign is present in all voices, and the style of majuscule 'E' at the start of the new page opening is the same as at 1 / 129: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 146: no cs / 158: no lig / 162: replaced by col br & col sbr / 164: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 167-168: no lig / 169,2-170,1: ligd / 170,2: not ligd / 176: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 177: no lig / 180: likewise / 182: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 192,2-3: minor color / 221-222: ligd / 226,1-2: replaced by br F / 228: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 240: replaced by sbr F sbr F / 241: no lig / 246: no minor color / 251: 1 & 2 ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice name is written vertically and downward-facing in majuscules, & the first two staves are slightly indented / 7,3-4: minor color / 17: 3 & 4 ligd / 18: likewise / 20: 3 G / 21: no cs / 24: 3 A / 29: no minor color / 34: 1 & 2 ligd / 43,1-2: minor color / 47,1-2: no minor color / 52,2-3: ligd / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the Superius / 59,2-4: replaced by ligd sbr G dtd-sbr upper D / 63: no minor color / 64,3-4: ligd / 66: no flat / 66,6-7: minor color / 68,3-69,1: ligd / 73: 1 & 2 ligd / 80,3-4: minor color / 84: 1 & 2 ligd / 92,1-2: minor color / 93: 1 & 2 are both m / 98: the style of the voice-name 'Contra' is the same as at 1 / 99: no flat / 100: 2 G / 139: 3 G / 171: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 176: replaced by sbr E sbr E / 184,2: not ligd / 203: 3 F / 208: no color / 257: single custos.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and its style plus the indentation here is the same as in the Contratenor / 24: 1 & 2 ligd / 31: likewise / 35: 3 & 4 ligd / 37-42: given as a single lig / 45: no lig or minor color / 49: 2 & 3 are both m / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous two voices / 64: 1 & 2 ligd instead of 2 & 3 / 68: no minor color / 78,3-79,1: replaced by dtd-sbr D ligd to 79,2 / 92,3-4: minor color / 94,3-4: likewise / 169-170: ligd / 171-172: given as a separate lig / 201: 1 has flat / 234: replaced by col br & col sbr, & the first of these notes is ligd to 230-233 / 326-end: this passage is given on the bottom of the page to the left due to lack of space, with diamond shaped four-dot indicators given on both pages / 236,1-2: replaced by col br col m col m / 250: replaced by col br col sbr, & ligd to 248-249 / 251: replace by col br col sbr.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & is given with the same style and indentation as the Tenor secundus voice name / 42: 1 not ligd / 53: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous voices / 95: 1 not dtd, which means that the following rest would be in measure 95 and that the following two notes in the score (br D br L) would form a two-measure coloration group. Technically according to our barring method this would make the Chigi version of this section a measure shorter than the Trent 88 version. / 98: at the start of the new page opening 'residuum' is given in the same style as in the previous voices, except that only the first stave is indented / 165-166,1: replaced by dtd-br G ligd to 166,2 / 227: not ligd / 228-231: ligd / 256-257: replaced by L D.

Underlay; Chigi gives full Superius text, and the texting of the lower voices is as follows. The Contratenor has 'Patrem... Et in unum Dominum', an 'Et ex Patre' incipit at 34, 'Genitum non factum' at 50, 'consubstantialem... omnia' at 53-59, 'descendit de celis' at 92-97, 'Et incarnatus est' at 98, and thereafter the following incipits; 'ex Maria Virgine', 'Crucifixus etiam', 'passus et sepultus', 'Et in Spiritum', 'Qui ex Patre', 'Qui cum Patre', 'et conglorificatur', 'Qui locutus est', 'Et unam...Ecclesiam', 'Confiteor' and 'Amen'. The Tenor secundus has 'Et in unum Dominum' at 20, 'Genitum non factum' at 49, 'per quem...sunt'

at 58,2, ‘descendit de celis’ at 89-97, ‘Et in Spiritum’ at 144, ‘venturi seculi’ at 237 and ‘Amen’ at 248-257. The Tenor primus has ‘Et in unum Dominum’ at 21, ‘Genitum non factum’ at 44-50, ‘consubstantialem...sunt’ at 53, ‘descendit de celis’ at 85-97, ‘Et resurrexit tertia die’ at 146 and ‘Et vitam venturi seculi’ at 234.

Chigi presents a version which has ligaturing and minor color differences, and which otherwise shows signs of some editing (presuming that Trent 88 was closer to the original version). In the Chigi reading there are consecutive fifths between the two outer voices at 77-78 (possibly a modification done without much thought) and several breves in the two upper voices of the second section of the Trent 88 reading are replaced by pairs of same-pitch semibreves. I count over half a dozen instances of this in the critical notes above, in addition to other small modifications where pairs of same-pitch semibreves have been made into breves. This seems to be a clear indication that somebody has modified the music before its entry into Chigi so that its intended text fits according to the taste or opinion of the revisor. There also remain small questions about detail in the two readings. For example, at Tenor secundus 49,2-4 both readings give three minims instead of dotted minim-seminim-minim. I regard the latter as preferable because it anticipates the Superius at 50. Secondly, the sources differ on how the held-over cadence to the first section works in the lowest voice.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 291v-293r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 2: 3 uc / 9: cor above 1 is uc / 19: cor given instead of cs / 47: single custos / 50: 5 not dtd / 51: 2 & 3 are both sm / 67: p div follows 2 / 72: p sync follows 1 / 81,3-82: written on a short end of stave extension / 86: p div follows 2 / 93: 4 om (supplied from Chigi) / 95: m sign om / 124: cs given upside down under 1 / 173: 3 uc / 193: clef change is in mid-stave. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 9: single custos follows 1 / 18,1: Trent 88 gives cor instead of cs / 18,2-rest in 40: om (supplied from Chigi; presumably the copyist missed a stave in his exemplar). / 47: single custos / 53: p div follows 2 / 62,1-2: obliterated by a lacuna, & supplied from Chigi / 76: single custos / 78,4-5: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 83: p div follows 3 / 85: p div follows 1 / 93: b ind before 92,4 / 94: single custos / 95: m sign before stave at the start of a new page / 131: uc due to lacuna / 162: b ind before 161,1 / 214: natural ind by sharp before the rest in 212.

Tenor secundus; 9: a cor is given above the breve rest for this measure / 19,1: cs is given upside down under this note / 38,3: a ‘2’ is given here, intended to indicate alteration but semibreve alteration with colored groupings is not notationally correct. It would have been better to omit the lig at 38,2-3, omit the color, and write 38,3 as br / 45: 1 not dtd (corr using Chigi) / 76: single custos / 77: p div follows 2 / 87: 4 dtd / 183: 2 E (corr using Chigi) / 219: b ind before 220,1 / 222,3-223: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor [primus]; 1: m sign om, & the voice name is incomplete / 40: p div follows 2 / 47: a superfluous br rest follows 1 / 60: p div follows 2 / 95: m sign given before first stave at the start of a new page / 146: 1 C (corr using Chigi).

Underlay; most sections only have incipits plus a couple of internal cues, and some of our underlay has been done with reference to Chigi. At 83-85 an editorial repeat of ‘Osanna’ in all voices seems necessary.

(ii) Chigi ff. 70v-73r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first two staves of the Superius are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule ‘S’ / 8: no sharp / 9: 1 has sharp but no cor / 10,1-2: minor color / 18: 2-4 replaced by m dtd-m & sm / 19: no cs / 40: after the rest is a new stave with a clef change to C clef on the second line up / 45: 1 & 2 ligd / 47: no cor / 47: at the start of a new page opening, the first ‘P’ of

the text is in the same style as the ‘S’ at 1, with the two top staves slightly indented. The clef also returns to C clef on the bottom stave line. / 50: 5 not dtd / 51: 2 & 3 are both sm / 76: cor over 1 / 85-86,1: ligd / 90: no minor color / 93: 1-3 are sm sm m / 95: at the start of a new page opening, the first ‘B’ of the text is in the same style as the ‘P’ at 47, with the two top staves slightly indented. / 104,3-104,1: replaced by col sbr col m / 114: 1 B / 117,1-2: replaced by col br col sbr / 138-139: ligd / 140: rest & 1 replaced by dtd-br F / 145: 1 & 2 ligd / 148-149: ligd / 157: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 193: no clef change / 194,3-194,1: ligd / 194,2: not ligd / 211: not ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice-name is entered vertically and downward-facing in majuscules, and the first two staves are slightly indented / 32: erasure follows rest / 47: 1 is joined to previous lig, & double instead of single custos / 48: at the start of a new page, the voice name ‘Contra’ is in the same style as the voice name at 1 / 48-49: replaced by ligd col L E br D / 52,3-4: minor color / 63-64: no lig / 71: 2 G / 76: double custos / 81: 1 & 2 are given as a semibreve lig, & no color at 81,2 / 83: no p div / 85: no p div / 90,5-6: minor color / 93: no b / 94: double custos / 95: at the start of a new page, the voice name ‘Cont[raten]or’ is in the same style as before but only the first stave is indented / 104: 2 D / 111-115: no lig / 118,1-119,2: ligd / 123: not ligd / 124: cs over 1 / 134,2-135,2: replaced by dtd-br D which is ligd to 136-140,1 / 157: ligd to 153-156 / 162: no b / 168,3-169,1: ligd / 176,2-177,2: replaced by dtd-br F, ligd to 175,2-176,1 / 177-178: no lig / 193: ligd to 194-195 / 214: no accidental, and 214,1 is replaced by br B sbr B / 215: 1 not ligd.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name style and indentation are the same as in the Contratenor at 1, but the voice name is given as ‘Tenor bass...’ which is confusing as the lowest voice in this movement has a similar name. / 19: no cs, & 1-2 are ligd / 29,3-30,1: replaced by sbr A / 37: 3 not col / 38: 2 not ligd / 38,3-39,2: ligd (the notation at 38-39 thereby avoids the error here in Trent 88) / 48: at the start of a new page the voice name, style and indentation is the same as at 1 but the voice name is changed to ‘Basitenor’ / 58,3-4: minor color / 70,2-71,2: ligd / 76: single custos / 88,1-2: minor color / 91: no b / 95: no clef change, & the voice name is given vertically as ‘Tenor’ in downward facing majuscules without stave indentation. / 153,1-2: replaced by br A / 134-136: not ligd, & 135,2 is replaced by br A sbr A / 137-138: ligd / 155,1: ligd to 153-154 / 175: 1 not ligd / 176-177: ligd / 178: 1 & 2 ligd / 184: 1 br (the final note in the lig here lacks a downward stem) / 211: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 219: b ind before 219,1.

Tenorbass[us]; 1: the voice name’s style and indentation are the same as in the Contratenor at 1 / 40: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br D ligd to 39,1-2 / 48: at the start of a new page, this voice is called ‘Tenor’ in downward facing majuscules written vertically without stave indentation. / 81-86: given as a single lig / 95: at the start of a new page, the style and spelling of the voice name are the same as at 48 / 210-214: given as a single lig.

Underlay; Chigi gives full Superius underlay, and only the lower voices in the Benedictus are not fully texted. However, I do not agree with all of its placement decisions.

Chigi gives a reading which is reasonably close to that of Trent 88 but which splits or joins a few notes differently from the latter, and in which the names of the two lowest voices seem to be confused.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 293v-295r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 2: 3 uc / 13,3-rests in 14: written on a short end of stave extension / 33,2-4: Trent 88 reads dtd-m sm m (corr using Chigi) / 41: clef change is at the start of a new stave / 43: likewise, & 1 has sharp / 76,2-77,1: uc due to lacuna / 88: 1 not dtd / 113: 1 has sharp. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 7: single custos / 17,2: uc due to lacuna / 35: dot after rest / 40: 3 has sharp / 43: clef change is in mid-stave / 59: 2 uc / 67: written on a short end of stave extension / 68-69: uc due to lacuna / 71-72: likewise / 75: m sign given before stave on a new page opening / 93: there is a cs here, but it is not correct because the both lower voices enter one measure later / 95: clef change is in mid-stave.

Tenor secundus; 1-13: 14 measures of rests are given (only 13 are needed) and after the ninth breve rest in both lower voices a single custos is given (this is incorrect because the custos should be at 7). / 33: 4 dtd / 40,3: corr from E, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 41-42: written on a short end of stave extension / 43-74: the two staves containing this voice for Agnus II are clefless / 58: 2 C / 63,2: corr from D, with downward diagonals on either side of the notehead / 75: m sign given before stave on a new page opening / 141: b ind before 140,1.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & at 1-13 15 measures of rests are given (only 13 are needed) / 35: p div follows 2 / 42: single custos / 55: p div follows 2 / 75: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with extensive lower voice texting in Agnus I and II, plus full texting in the Tenor secundus for Agnus III. In all voices at 30-34 an editorial repeat of 'miserere' is needed.

(ii) Chigi ff. 73v-75r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is present in all voices, & the first stave is indented to make space for the large penwork-decorated majuscule capital 'A' / 5: 3-5 are dtd-m f f / 7: no cor or custos in either active voice / 11,4-5: minor color / 12: no lig / 13: 2 G / 14: cs above first rest / 14,1: replaced by sbr B m B, & no lig at 14-15 / 16: 1 & 2 ligd / 17,1-2: minor color / 21: 2 col / 41 & 43: neither clef change is at the start of a new stave / 43: 1 has sharp as in Trent 88 / 59,1-60,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C br A / 70: 2 F / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style and indentation of the majuscule 'A' is the same as at 1 / 78: no lig, and 1 is replaced by dtd-m D sm C / 88,1-2: replaced by col br G sm F sm E / 94: cs above rest / 100,1-102,2: ligd / 104,2-105,1: ligd / 124: 1 & 2 ligd / 125: 2 & 3 replaced by sbr F / 143,2-144,1: ligd / 147,5-148,2: minor color. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the voice name is written vertically and downward facing in majuscules, with a slight indentation for the first stave. The clef is C clef on the middle stave line. / 8: 1 & 2 ligd / 10,3-11,1: no lig / 34,4: replaced by sbr D sbr D / 36: replaced by br C sbr C / 37-42: the single stave which has the end of this voice for Agnus I has C clef on the fourth line up / 37,4-38,1: ligd / 38,1-2: not ligd / 64: following the rest is about a third of a stave with erasures / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1 / 93: replaced by br B sbr B / 95: the clef change to C clef on the fourth line up is at 96, which is the start point for a new stave / 98-101: given as a single lig / 103-105: ligd / 108: no sharp / 120: 1 & 2 ligd / 123,3-124,1: ligd / 126: no lig, & 126,2-127,1 are replaced by br B / 127,2-128,1: ligd / 128,2-129,2: ligd / 130,2-131,1: ligd / 134,1-2: minor color / 147,2-148,1: ligd.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, but has the same style and indentation as the Contratenor voice name at 1. / 1-12: the correct number of rests are given, with no intervening custos / 14: no cs / 28,1-2: minor color / 30: p div follows 2 / 33: 2 C, & 4 not dtd / 34: 2 followed by p sync / 40: 1 & 2 ligd / 42: 1 is C, with cor above / 75: at the start of a new page opening, the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1 / 112: 2 & 3 replaced by m F / 137-138: written on a short end of stave extension / 141: b ind before 141,1.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, but it has the same style and indentation as the Contratenor and Tenor voice names at 1 / 1-13: the correct number of rests are given, with no intervening custos / 35: 1 is dtd, 2 is om, & no p div / 75: at the start of a new page opening the style & indentation of the voice name is the same as at 1, & the m sign is present.

Underlay; the Superius is fully texted, and the lower voices have a mixture of sectional incipits and internal cues. Some of the text placement differs from that in Trent 88.

Chigi gives a reading which is not too different from Trent 88, but a few notes are split differently and each source has a few errors.

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Structure

In Instalment 3 I discussed the *Missa O rosa bella II*, which is likely to be a derivative work. Ockeghem's *Missa Caput* is more solidly derivative since it is unlikely to antedate the English Mass on the same cantus firmus, and it could not really differ more from the structurally and stylistically derivative *Missa O admirabile* previously discussed. Ockeghem's Mass has enjoyed a wide circulation in modern times since it was one of the first of his Masses to be seen in a modern edition (in 1912). Most modern accounts of it stand in the shadow of Bukofzer's study of the three *Caput* Masses, in which he gave an inspiringly colourful account of how Ockeghem's music tends to differ from that of his contemporaries. The cantus firmus is the same as that of the *Missa Caput* in Trent 89.²⁹ It is given in two statements per movement in all movements except the Kyrie, and most of the triple and duple statements take their rhythmic configurations literally from the Tenors of the older Mass too. But instead of giving the cantus firmus at its normal pitch as an internal voice, Ockeghem transposes it an octave down and uses it as a lowest voice in a part which Trent 88 names 'Tenor'.³⁰ Since both sources give verbal instructions for transposition of the chant-bearing part which mention 'another *Caput* Mass' this is what marks the work as derivative. The cantus firmus as normally heard is given below.

4.10. The final melisma from the *Venit ad Petrum* antiphon;

The image shows a musical score for the final melisma from the *Venit ad Petrum* antiphon. It consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The staves are labeled A1, A2, B1, B2, and C. The notes are written in a rhythmic pattern that suggests a chant melody. The first staff (A1) starts with a 'ca' and a dash. The second staff (B1) starts with a 'B1'. The third staff (B2) starts with a 'B2'. The fourth staff (C) starts with a 'C'. The notes are connected by slurs, indicating a continuous melisma. The score ends with a double bar line and the text '- put.'

The latter four movements of this Mass begin on A and end on D, so the composer adapts the cantus firmus as follows. Since the chant melisma begins on B all movements except the Kyrie have extensively delayed cantus firmus entries, and most cantus firmus statements have a few rests at the end of the chant which are followed by an added D in the cantus firmus voice so that the borrowed material ends at the same pitch as the

²⁹ The cantus firmus is the optional final melisma from the Maundy Thursday antiphon *Venit ad Petrum*, given in Example 4.10 from Harley 2942 ff. 48r-v. Van Benthem *op. cit.* p. viii usefully gives a comparison score of the Tenors from the triple and duple Tenor statements in Ockeghem's Mass.

³⁰ Both Trent 88 and Chigi confuse names for the two lower voices, with Trent 88 being the more misleading. The cantus firmus voice is often called 'Tenor' in the latter manuscript and the voice above it is called 'Tenor secundus'. For the sake of thoroughness I prefer to name the lowest part as a 'Tenor primus'. Chigi gives confusing lower voice names in the Sanctus, calls the cantus firmus part 'Bassus' in the Kyrie, and both lower parts are called 'Tenor' in the Agnus.

voices above it (Agnus II does not have this addition). The start of the Kyrie (where the cantus firmus has an initial one-measure rest) encapsulates the strangeness of the cantus firmus entries in the following movements, since the construct on B in measure 2 is succeeded by a sixth-chord on G and then a construct on F in which there are Superius F naturals. No other fifteenth-century work opens quite like this. The Kyrie is also special since it splits the cantus firmus into three sections instead of two. In doing so, it adds a free cadential D at the end of Kyrie I, and omits a section of melodically repetitive cantus firmus found in the Gloria at 63-75. Kyrie II then gives the rest of the cantus firmus with the delayed free D at the end. All sections of the Agnus also omit the same repetitive passage as in the Kyrie, and the Agnus retains bipartite form by making Agnus I and Agnus II both serve as part of its triple section.

There are minor differences between other cantus firmus statements, rests between portions of borrowed material vary, and there is also a variant with the Tenor of the older Mass in the Sanctus (at 53, where other statements and sources give dotted-breve instead breve and semibreve). A few passages in the cantus firmus of Ockeghem's Mass also need editorial B flats added to avoid basic discords or close false relations (see Credo 44 and 48, and Agnus 142-143).

All movements except the Kyrie share a motto opening for the two upper voices which begins on A, and these share very similar or identical partwriting until the start of the third measure. The continuations then diverge. All movements also end similarly on D, with the lowest part generally resting and the three upper parts proceeding in accelerated motion until they reach the final D cadence. In the Sanctus the rests for the lowest part are brief, and in a similarly contrived cadence at the end of Kyrie I there are no rests for the lowest voice. Amongst the subdivision openings only the Christe and Benedictus Superius openings are linked, and these use material which is independent from the motto opening.

The texture is generally full but is varied by temporary lower-voice trios and duos, and all movements except the Kyrie have introductory duets. Otherwise the Pleni sunt and Agnus II have short duet passages, which may be a feature taken from similarly scored passages in the older Missa *Caput*. There would be some justification in visualising the Kyrie as the last movement written, as the composer and his colleagues were probably quite used to seeing English Mass cycles without their Kyrie movements attached. It is also by far the shortest of the movements, and possibly the composer attempted his bottom-voice cantus firmus exercise because there are four-voice insular works which have borrowed material in the same position.³¹

This is very probably the earliest of Ockeghem's four-voice Masses to survive, and it is interesting to see traits that are present in his later works already appearing here. Such as the relatively brief Kyrie, the wide range of the Superius (which spans an octave and a sixth in the Agnus), rhythmic sophistication involving small values in O mensuration (see Credo 15-17) and declamatory passages following melismatic writing (see the Gloria Superius at 95-108). We also see redicta figures in the Superius (see Agnus III at 'mundi'), short stretches of pedal-point work (Gloria 73-74 and Agnus 28-29) and just a few accidentals used for noteworthy effect. For example, the B flat in the lower voice soon after the start of the Credo's second section gives the impression of a whole new musical excursion beginning. There are also some irregular suspensions (see Gloria 14, Sanctus 4-5 and Sanctus 191-192). The duple mensuration sections are also rhythmically sophisticated and differ very little in style from those in pieces by Ockeghem from the 1470's and later. The mostly non-imitative texture is also typical, as is the tendency in four-part writing to rely on what we now call II-I progressions. This is also not the only exercise of his to feature cantus firmus in the lowest voice since Ockeghem's four-part *Salve Regina* is similarly designed.³² This work too adds cadential D's in the lowest voice to help unify a piece whose cantus firmus in this setting does not begin on D. Like the Missa *Caput* Kyrie I cadence it also has cadences where the lowest voice has A and then D in extended values, and in which

³¹ For example the Credo on *Requiem eternam* in C87, which is published in *EECM* 42, no. 2.

³² Published in Wexler, R. and Plamenac, D. (eds), *Johannes Ockeghem, Collected Works vol. III: motets and chansons* (Boston, 1992) pp. 13-17.

the upper voices have pedal-point motion above the A before cadencing. Because the two works are similar in style they may also be close in date.

The process of writing several movemental exercises above a cantus firmus which has many B naturals throughout is taxing, and I highlight the following passages to illustrate some of the difficulties involved. The Credo's second-section full entry begins on a first-inversion construct, and several Superius passages have melodic progressions in which neither B natural nor F natural can be changed to obtain a smoother line (see Kyrie 12, Gloria 38 and 130-134). There are close false relations at Gloria 19-20, and a very odd cadence-like progression at Gloria 41-42 in which the Superius has a typical cadential cliché ending on F plus a lowest part beneath which goes from B natural to D. There are also occasional upper-voice consecutive fifths (see Credo 48-49) and temporary second-inversion constructs at Gloria 175 and 193). At measure 58 in the same movement is a cadence in a temporary lower-voice trio whose part-movement resists the addition of either a lowest-voice flat or upper-voice sharps, and in many places throughout there are more first-inversion constructs on G than would normally appear in other continental four-part exercises of this date. Usually in this Mass such progressions are created by an accented E-D in one of the upper voices.

The Gloria and Credo first sections are slightly longer and more leisurely in pace than similar exercises in other Masses, and this is due to the length of the cantus firmus and the general absence of accelerative devices in these sections. There also seems to be a more increased use of sustained values in the final two movements of this Mass, which is a feature that occurs in other Ockeghem Masses and gives the impression of reverence. But perhaps the most surprising feature of this unusually-written work is that despite occasional awkwardnesses it is successful as a musical structure and has increased the composer's renown where other and later works of his might have been more deserving. Several recordings testify to continued lively interest in its style and features.³³ Also, the fact that Ockeghem had composed a derivative Mass on this cantus firmus was probably an encouragement for Obrecht producing his own gloriously extended and accomplished *Missa Caput*.

Now I come to some of those perennial issues which tend never to leave fifteenth century studies. Firstly, what in this Mass do we emend and what is best left alone? A typical example is at the start of measure 9 in the Credo, where we have a pair of contrary-motion small values leading outwards to the octave but where the lower pair is dotted. Since both sources read the same and since the dissonance hardly sounds, I have left this passage unaltered. Likewise, the way in which a Superius suspension is struck at Sanctus 191 causes a dissonance with the Contratenor which is not resolved in the normal manner. Again, I have not emended this passage since both sources read identically. Of the two readings for this Mass, the immaculately copied *Chigi* version immediately attracts attention since this source for many of Ockeghem's works is beautifully presented with miniatures and marginal decorations. But neither neatness nor showy presentation guarantees that everything in *Chigi* is authoritative, and in my critical commentary I note that quite a few values in the Credo, Sanctus and Agnus are split or joined differently from *Trent 88*. In the Credo this is particularly important since the texting differs somewhat from *Trent 88* and seems to have been adapted. Therefore *Trent 88* (which was probably complete by the early 1460's) takes precedence over *Chigi* which was possibly copied about thirty years later. Indeed, the way that the second halves of the Gloria and Credo have to be editorially texted brings the texture close to uncontrollability since homophony is impossible for most of these sections. Therefore the fact that the *Chigi* Credo looks adapted shows that the texting of this movement might have been problematic at the time of copying. Finally, the question of exactly how closely Ockeghem wished to emulate the older *Caput* Mass is explored in the following section on numbers. Since other textures of his are known for painstaking work, the same might apply here.

³³ The Hilliard Ensemble have performed the Sanctus on the CD Coro 16048, *For Ockeghem* (1996), and in the same decade a Radio 3 broadcast featured the whole Mass sung by the same performers. It is also available on the 1998 CD *Gaudeamus 186* performed by The Clerks Group, and also the 2019 CD *Fra Bernardo 1909373* where it is performed by the vocal ensemble Beauty Farm.

Numerology

In terms of tempora, the Credo has 257 measures in the Trent 88 version and 256 in the Chigi version (a difference caused by variants at the end of the first section). 256 is possibly more correct since this is part of the duple generational sequence which also includes 64, 128, 512 and 1,024. Otherwise multiples of 11 seem to be prominent, as the following instances show.

Total measures in Kyrie I: 22.

Total measures in Qui tollis: 121 (11 x 11).

Total measures in Sanctus excluding the movemental long: 222.

Total measures in Agnus II and III combined: 111.

There also seems to be some influence present from the older English *Caput* Mass, which has 47 measures in the first section of its Sanctus. Ockeghem's Mass has the same feature, and also 94 measures in its Et in terra section (47 x 2). In the older Mass single first-section Tenor statements mostly have 94 notes.

It has already been shown that the Sanctus has a small discrepancy with the cantus firmus of the older Mass, and the sequence of Tenor primus totals for each movement are as follows: 61, 199, 200, 196 and 134. The Kyrie gives its divided cantus firmus in three sections in which the outer ones are the same length in measures (these respectively being 19, 21 and 19) and both the Sanctus and Agnus open with 34-measure sections (in the older Mass, the same sections each open with 33 measures each).

In terms of note counts multiples of 11 again feature prominently, The Gloria Superius has 441 notes (very nearly 440) and the Contra in Agnus II has 336 (nearly 333). There are also 334 notes in the Credo's Tenor secundus. Otherwise different numbers feature as follows; the total of Superius notes in the Et in terra is 251 (nearly 250) and the total of Superius notes in the entire Agnus is 399 (nearly 400).

Counting sectional note totals by removing all sectional longs reveals further multiples of eleven. Calculated in this way the Agnus Superius has a total of 396 notes (11 x 36) and the Tenor secundus in Agnus I has 77 notes. Also the total of Tenor notes in Ockeghem's Gloria (198 with sectional longs removed) is 11 x 18, and the total of Superius notes in the Credo is 924 (11 x 84).

Finally the entire total of notes in the Agnus counted in the same way is 1,111, which may have something to do with the 1,110 entire measures of the older Missa *Caput*.³⁴ Since Trent 88 and Chigi both have errors as well as variants, it is likely that neither is particularly close to the putative first version. But to find this much in even a fairly poor copy of Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass implies that at least some of our calculations might have featured in the original. I also doubt very much that I have found all of the secrets that that this remarkable work may conceal.

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100. [Dufay]; Missa *Se la face ay pale*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 97v-105v (DTÖ VII inventory nos 253-257). All five movements, anon;
- (ii) CS 14 ff. 27v-38r, Dufay, all five movements, with the Sanctus Superius being slightly incomplete;
- (iii) Siena K.I.2 ff. 222r-223v, fragmentary and anon, parts of the Sanctus and Credo only.

³⁴ This figure is obtained from the measure count of a cleaned-up version of *Caput* in the DIAMM Trent 89 edition, and it is known that the Trent 89 version of the Missa *Caput* is not the earliest available. However, if the original measure count was a little different (and also if the note count of the Ockeghem Agnus was a little different too) the observation made here might still be valid.

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle is the Tenor of the well-known three-voice chanson of the same name by Dufay. Further, see the section on structure.

Kyrie

(i) Trent 88 ff. 97v-98r;

[Superius]; 1: the title ‘Selafaczepalay’ appears above the music, there is a large gap after the m sign (probably intended for a majuscule initial) and the first section is ind as ‘[K]yrie primus’. / 9: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 27: 2 & 3 are G A, with downward diagonals on either side of 27,3 to indicate one of these mistakes (corr using CS 14) / 49-58: ten measures of rests are given (only nine and a half are needed) and 9 of these rests are spaced across the stave in sets of three - because the greater rhythm of this section is triple rather than duple (i.e. it divides into regular patterns of three measures of C mensuration, or perfect minor modus). / 59: 2 & 3 are F G (corr using CS 14) / 65: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 78: this section is ind as ‘Kyrie ultimus’ in all voices except the Tenor / 82: p div follows rest / 85-86,1: written over erasures / 97: 2 & 3 are B E, with downward diagonals on either side of 97,3 to indicate one of these mistakes (corr using CS 14) / 98: 2 uc. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

[C]ontra; 1: there is a gap before the first note (probably intended for a majuscule initial) / 2: p div follows 2 / 4: 2 C (corr using CS 14) / 8: sharp ind before 7,1 / 9: p div follows 2 / 13-14: Trent 88 gives E A (corr using CS 14) / 18,2: corr from B by stretching of a ligature end / 22: 2 E (corr using CS 14) / 23: 2 D (corr using CS 14) / 24: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 40: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 45: 3 B (corr using CS 14) / 56,2-5: written over erasures / 58: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 59-70: these 12 br rests are grouped in sets of three like the Christe rests in the Superius / 96,2-97,2: Trent 88 reads B C D E (corr using CS 14) / 101: p div follows 2.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and the direction ‘du^o’ at the start is an indication of the simple augmentation which the Tenor part has throughout this movement. The CS 14 ‘Crescit in duplo’ direction is given in our score since this is clearer in intention. / 4: p div follows A / 24: p div follows C / 31,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension / 37: no ‘Tacet’ direction given / 78: m sign om / 83: m rest given instead of sbr rest.

[T]enor bassus; 1: there is a gap before the first note (probably intended for a majuscule initial) / 1-2: ns / 7: p div follows 2 / 20: erasure follows 1, 2 is F (corr using CS 14) & 3 is uc / 21: ns / 28: corr from F by erasure of a ligature end / 38-46: these rests are grouped in threes as are other br rests in the Christe section / 63: 1 B (corr using CS 14) / 80: a superfluous and squashed-in br rest follows 2 (implying that 80,2 would have been altered in the Trent 88 reading) & 80,3-81,2 are om (supplied using CS 14) / 98: 2 & 3 are E D (corr using CS 14) / 101: 1 E (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; all voices have the usual ‘Kyrie’ and ‘Christe’ incipits plus ‘eleyson’ apart from at the end of the lowest voice. I have added diereses throughout to most occurrences of ‘eleyson’, and an editorial repeat of ‘eleyson’ is needed in the three lower voices at 21-23. ‘Eleyson’ also needs to be repeated in the Tenor at 32-37, and the Superius and Tenor bassus both need a rpt of ‘eleyson’ at the end of the Christe (71-77). Part of the reason for these repeats are same-pitch values in the cantus firmus voice. The Tenor at the start of Kyrie II also has the incipit ‘Tant je me deduis’, which is not part of the original cantus firmus text but might be a misreading or mis-remembering of the phrase ‘La belle a qui suis’ which occurs in the song Tenor at this point.

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(ii) CS 14 ff. 27v-29r;

[Superius]; 1: the first four staves are indented to make room for a gilt-framed coloured miniature of Amphitrite (Poseidon's wife) riding on the back of a dolphin. / 14: no divisi D / 34-35: no lig / 36,2-3: minor color / 36,4-37: these notes are after the end of a stave, & no custos is given / 38: the m sign is given as cut-C in this voice but as C in the other active voices / 49 onwards: as in Trent 88 breve rests in this copy tend to be given in groups of threes / 61: this lig is given as an upward oblique / 78: at the start of a new page opening, the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'K' / 85: 3 & 4 replaced by m C dtd-m C sm B sm A / 93,5-94,2: minor color / 94,3-5: replaced by m C dtd-m B.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'C' for the first letter of the voice name / 34: 2-4 not col / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'C' much like the initial at 1, and the first two staves are indented / 101: no p div.

Tenor; 1: the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, the m sign is om, and 'crescit in duplo' is given following the 'Tacet' direction after the end of Kyrie I / 4: no p div / 37: 'Xpe tacet' given on the stave following the double custos / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'T' much like the initial at 1, and the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented. The m sign is present, & the instruction 'dicitur ut primus' is given following the final double custos. / 91,2: uc due to lacuna.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, & the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name. / 7: 1 not col, & no p div after 7,2 / 21-22,1: ligd / 22: 1-2 replaced by br D, which is perfect / 27-30: ligd / 31: p div follows 2 / 57: not ligd / 62-63: likewise / 74: no b / 78: at the start of a new page, there is a majuscule 'T' much like the initial at 1, and the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented. / 86-87,2: ligd / 89: no lig.

Underlay; all eight invocations of 'Kyrie' / 'Christe eleyson' in the Superius are texted (the ninth one is the second 'Christe', which is sung by lower voices). Likewise the Contra and Tenor bassus have full text in the first two sections, but they only have the incipits 'Kyrie' and 'eleyson' for Kyrie II. The Tenor has the incipit 'Se la face ay pale' and two invocations of 'Kyrie eleyson' for the first section, and 'Tant ie me deduis' plus a single 'Kyrie eleyson' for Kyrie II. The CS 14 underlay is very neat, but some of its positioning is questionable and there are clearly not enough syllables given to cater for the repeated same-pitch notes in the Tenor.

CS 14 has minimal differences with Trent 88 and unlike the latter is error-free. It also provides thorough verbal instructions for the augmented Tenor.

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 98v-100r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat. 17,328 f. 168r³⁵, there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) and above the music is the title ‘Selafacepalay’. / 19-20: uc / 47,3-4: written on a short end of stave extension / 55: 1 & 2 are C B (corr using CS 14) / 65: p div follows 2 / 71-82: the rests and most other groups of breve rests throughout tend to be grouped in threes (i.e. going through two stave lines) to indicate perfect minor modus / 91: p div follows 3 / 118: no custos / 236: Trent 88 reads dtd-sbr F m E sbr E m D & L F, with these notes squashed in & no custos following (corr using CS 14) / 237: m sign given above last note of previous section. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 1: there is a gap between the m sign and first note, probably left for insertion of a majuscule initial / 2: p div follows 3 / 3: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 7: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration & with a p div following / 17: p div follows 3 / 18: as at 3 / 97: 2 G (corr with the help of CS 14) / 106: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 115: p div follows 2 / 134: col err, but with correcting ‘a’ (for ‘alba’) underneath this note / 152-153: ns / 207: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 220: 2 corr from C by an extra mark on an oblique ligature / 260: 2 F (corr using CS 14) / 264,1-2: written on a short end of stave extension.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and as in the Kyrie the Trent 88 instructions for augmentation in the first two sections are minimal. / 24: p div follows 1 / 46: 1 dtd / 48: rest om / 54: p div follows 1 / 100,2-118: due to lack of space the end of this section for the Tenor is given on the page to the left, with sharp signs in both places indicating the continuation / 112-115: written on a short end of stave extension / 115: rpt sign given following 1, which seems to be superfluous as the cantus firmus is not repeated in section 1 / 119: m sign om / 164: 1 dtd / 166: rest om / 172: p div follows 1 / 233: repeat sign given following 1 plus ‘prout iacet’, which provides for the Tenor in the final section.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: m sign om, & the voice name is incomplete / 61: p div follows 2 / 65: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 73,1: two dots arranged horizontally are given under this note for no apparent reason / 82: cor given instead of cs / 96: b ind before 95,2 / 103-104: ns / 145: 1 G (corr using CS 14) / 164-169: these three imperfect L’s are colored because of the presence of perfect minor modus (with sets of breve rests drawn across three spaces). Void longs are perfect in perfect minor modus when there is nothing to imperfect them. For other examples see the Contra in the Sanctus at 150, and this voice in the Agnus at 93. / 264: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. The Tenor does not seem suited to continuous text and can only accommodate phrases roughly in parallel with those in the Superius. In the Tenor at 253 a repeat of ‘gloria’ is needed, at 254-257 a repeat of ‘Dei’ is needed, and ‘gloria Dei’ needs a further repeat at 257-258. In the Contra, a repeat of ‘miserere nobis’ is needed at 190-200, and in the Tenor bassus a rpt of ‘Domine Fili’ is needed at 70-75 plus a repeat of ‘Unigenite’ at 84-87 and a repeat of ‘miserere nobis’ at 190-200. In the Superius, ‘Christe’ is given as ‘xpe’ at 90 & as ‘Criste’ at the end of the second section.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 29v-31r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital ‘E’ for the first letter of the text / 2: no lig / 3,4-4,3: ligd / 45,2-3: minor color / 56,1-2: replaced by dtd-br A / 65: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br E / 85: 2-3 ligd / 91: no p div / 112: no lig / 113 & 116: likewise / 118: given

³⁵ This manuscript is a Cistercian Paris Rite Gradual from the 12th century.

after the end of a very compressed stave, with a single custos following / 119: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule initial 'Q' with the same indentation, style and size as the initial at 1 / 145-146: no lig / 157: 2 A / 185,3-186,1: ligd / 188: 1 not dtd / 236: double custos in all voices / 246: 1-3 replaced by ligd sbr G sbr F, the second of which needs alteration / 256: 1 & 2 ligd / 259: 3 & 4 are F E / 260: 1 replaced by col br F col br G / 263: 2-3 replaced by col br B / 264: p div follows 2. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given, and the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'E' as in the Superius / 3: 1 & 2 are ligd sbr sbr, & no p div follows / 7: no p div / 21: 4 replaced by col sbr E & col m D / 50,3-4: minor color / 54: no lig / 55-57: given as a single lig / 77,4-78,2: minor color / 82: no cs / 95: p div follows 2 / 97: 2 dtd / 98: 1 not dtd / 115: no p div / 118: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm, and 118,3-4 are after the end of a stave with no custos following / 119: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule initial 'Q' as in the Superius / 170: not ligd / 200: no cs / 213-215: ligd / 221: no lig / 223: 1 & 2 ligd / 255: no lig / 235-236: no divisi notes / 263,6-7: minor color / 264: p div follows 2 / 270,1: no color.

Tenor; 1: all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves. The m sign is present, and following the first section's double custos full verbal instructions are given as follows. *Canon. Tenor ter dicitur primo / Quilibet figura crescit / in triplo / 2º in duplo / 3º ut iacet.* / 24: no p div / 54: no p div / 106-107: ligd / 119: the m sign is present / 224-225: ligd / 236: a repeat sign is given before the double custos, and therefore as in Trent 88 the Tenor for the third section is not written out.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, the m sign is om, and all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a capital 'T' for the voice name / 20-22: ligd, & 21,1-2 are replaced by br C / 37,1-2: replaced by br G, which is ligd to 38,1 / 49: 1 & 2 replaced by br F / 55: b ind above rest in 53 / 71: no cs / 77: replaced by sbr G & br lower C / 82: no cs / 95: p div follows 2 / 98,4-99,2: ligd / 108: p div follows 2 / 115: likewise / 119: the start of this voice on the second page opening has an initial as at 1 / 150-153: ligd / 185-187: ligd / 208-209,1: replaced by dtd-br C / 209: no lig / 210-212: ligd / 220,2-221,2: replaced by dtd-br C / 230-232: ligd / 238: 3 b / 240: 1-2 replaced by br F / 254: p div follows 2 / 256-257: replaced by ligd sbr C br F br lower C plus unligd br lower C / 272: superfluous sbr F follows second rest / 274,2-3: this lig is written as an upward oblique.

Underlay; full text in the Superius and Contra, plus extensive partial texting in the Tenor bassus and some Ordinary text in the Tenor ('Adoramus...tuam' in the first section, very compressed, plus 'miserere nobis...deprecationem nostram' in the second section). Despite the texting in CS 14 being clear, I doubt that all of its placing is relevant for editorial underlay purposes.

CS 14 presents few variants apart from a few notes in the Tenor bassus being split differently and occasional minor color in the upper parts. It is also nearly error free, unequivocally clear about how the augmented Tenor is to be performed, and corrects errors in the Trent 88 reading of this voice.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 100v-102r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, and there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) / 19: Trent 88 gives cor instead of cs / 42: 2 F (corr using CS 14) / 45: rest is written on a short end-of-stave extension / 68: 3 col err, but with a correcting 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 71 onwards: as in the Gloria, rests in this copy tend to be written in groups of threes / 117-118: written on a short end of stave extension / 265,1-5: om (supplied from CS 14) / 276: triple instead of double custos.

Contra; 1: there is a large gap following the m sign (probably left for a majuscule initial) / 11: p div follows 2 / 12: likewise / 13: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 14: err p div follows 1 / 30: p div follows 2 / 34: using both divisi lines here results in the uncomfortable presence of doubled thirds, so possibly just the upper notes are authentic / 40: 2 uc / 50: 4 G (corr using CS 14) / 64: p div follows 2 / 72,1-73,1: this passage is om on the main stave and is given in the right margin with cruciform figures in both places indicating the omission, plus 'ut supra' in the margin / 87: p div follows rest / 88: 1 is sbr (intended for alteration) & a p div follows / 96: 1 om (supplied from CS 14) / 97: 4 F (corr using CS 14) / 105: 5 D (corr using CS 14) / 115: p div follows 2 / 118,3-4: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 191: 3 uc / 204,2-205,2: written on a short end of stave extension / 260: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 261: p div follows 2 / 265-266: om (supplied from CS 14).

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and as in previous movements the Trent 88 instructions for augmentation in the first two sections are minimal. / 24: p div follows 1 / 119: m sign om / 167-169: written on a short end of stave extension / 172: p div follows 1 / 214: 2 col err / 228-236: the end of the Tenor's second section is written on the page to the left due to lack of space, with sharp signs in both places indicating the continuation / 233: following the double custos is a repeat sign and the indication 'prout iacet' to cater for the Tenor's final section.

[Tenor] bassus; 1: the voice name is incomplete on the first page opening / 48: b ind before 48,1 / 73: cs over 1 for no apparent reason / 74,2-75,1: Trent 88 reads G F (corr using CS 14) / 101: p div follows 2 / 115: likewise / 252: 1 col err / 273: 1 G (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. This setting uses the full Credo text, but as in the Gloria the lower voices can only take limited text due to their extended values. At 114-118 the Contra needs a repeat of 'dexteram Patris', at 188-200 the Contra and Tenor bassus need repeats of 'et conglorificatur', at 252-254 the Contra and Tenor need repeats of 'remissionem', at 264-266 the Tenor needs a repeat of 'mortuorum', and at 268-270 it needs a repeat of 'venturi'. At 219 in the Superius 'catholicam' is spelt 'katholicam'. In general the Superius texting is very compressed, and at 58-60 'descendit de celis' is written under 'et propter nostram' due to lack of space.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 31v-34r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'P' for the first letter of the text / 15,2-16,2: replaced by sbr C sbr D / 31: 4 C / 54: 2 A / 64,2-3: minor color / 68: 3-4 are dtd-m & sm / 99: likewise / 114: p div follows 4 / 117: 1 G / 118: given after the end of a stave, & no custos / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'E' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 164: 1 dtd, & no rest at 166 / 183: 1 replaced by col br / 204: 1 B / 237: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'C' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 239: 3 not ligd / 240: 2 & 3 not col / 267: no lig / 277: double custos. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: 1 not dtd, no voice name is given on any of the three page openings, & the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'P' for the first letter of the text / 7,1-8,2: ligd / 11: no p div / 12: likewise / 14: p div follows 2 / 24: p div follows 2 / 29: 1 b, ind before rest / 30: no p div / 80: 4 replaced by dtd-m C & sm A / 87: no p div / 90,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 96,2-3: minor color / 110: 2-3 are dtd-m & sm / 114: b ind before 114,1 / 116: 2 replaced by sbr A sbr A / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'E' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 221: 1 & 2 ligd / 221-222: no lig / 236: single custos / 237: replaced by br F sbr F / 240: 3 not ligd / 241: 2 & 3 col / 261: no p div / 263,1-264,1: ligd.

Tenor; 1: all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves. The m sign is present. Following the first section's double custos and a 'verte', verbal instructions are given as follows. *Et dicitur pro ut et in terra* / 24: no p div / 42: p div follows 1 / 54:

likewise / 119: at the start of the second page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1, & the m sign is om / 142: p div follows 1 / 174-175: no lig / 118: no rpt sign is given, & the Tenor for the third section is fully written out on the third page opening / 119: the m sign is present / 227: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1, & the m sign is om / 244: p div follows 2 / 245,3-4: this lig is written as an upward oblique.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on all page openings, the m sign is om, & all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a majuscule, penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the voice name / 75: replaced by br G sbr G, & the first note is ligd / 88: not dtd / 112-115,1: ligd / 119: at the start of the second page opening, all music symbols are indented to make room for a majuscule decorated capital 'T' for the voice name which spans two staves / 153: 1 is col / 168: replaced by sbr rest & sbr F / 175: 1 b, ind before 173,1 / 183: no color / 202-203: not ligd / 208-211: only three br rests are given / 220,2-221,2: no lig, & these two notes are replaced by dtd-br / 223-226: given as a single lig / 230: no lig / 235: likewise / 227: at the start of the third page opening this voice has an initial 'T' in the same style and size as the initial at 1 / 250-251: no lig / 257: p div follows 2 / 272: no lig / 273-274: likewise.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius and Contra, but with underlay that is fairly compressed. The Tenor bassus has partial text in all three sections. The Tenor has 'et invisibilium' for section 1, 'cuius...vivificantem' for section 2, and 'Confiteor unum baptisma' for the final section.

CS 14 gives an almost error-free reading but which is inferior to Trent 88 on account of some very minor variants, one of which causes outer-voice parallel fifths (Superius, 31-32).

(iii) Siena K.I.2 ff. 223r-v;

This fragmentary single-page reading gives the Contra and Tenor for the first section, and the Superius and Tenor bassus for the second. Parts of the photographs used for reading this source have legibility problems.

[Superius]; 1-118: missing / 163: 2 & 3 are dtd-m & sm / 183:1 is col br / 204: no lig / 236: no more music survives after this point.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given / 3: replaced by ligd sbr G sbr C & sbr C / 7,1-8,2: ligd / 11-14: no p divs in any of these measures, & 13,1-14,1 are ligd / 22-23: uc / 30: no p div / 45: 2-3 ligd instead of 1-2 / 49,2-50,1: replaced by dtd-br C / 51-52,1: ligd / 64: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br, & no p div / 66: 2 replaced by sbr F sbr F / 68,1-2: replaced by col L / 84,5-6: minor color / 87: no p div / 88,1: replaced by sbr C sbr C / 89,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 90,1-2: likewise / 91,1-2: minor color / 96,4: replaced by m C dtd-sbr C / 97,2: replaced by m D m D / 97-98: no lig, & 98,2 replaced by sbr E m E / 98,3-99,1: replaced by sbr D m D / 102,2-3: minor color / 105: 5 D / 106,1: replaced by sbr B sbr B / 110,5-6: minor color / 116: 2 replaced by sbr A sbr A, & followed by p div / 118: triple instead of double custos, & no more music survives for this voice.

Tenor; 1: the m sign is om, and the verbal canon is given as 'Crescit in triplo' / 24: no p div / 68: no b / 85: cs over 1 for entry of Superius / 106-107: no lig. No more music for this voice survives after the first section.

[Tenor bassus]; 1-118: missing / 119: no voice name is given / 152-154: col / 168: replaced by sbr rest & sbr F / 183: no color / 197: no minor color / 208-211: only 3 br rests are given / 223-226: given as a single lig / 227-228: no lig / 234-236: ligd, After 236 no more music survives for this voice.

Underlay; Siena K.I.2 gives full text for its single Superius section and partial text in the Contra and Tenor bassus. Apart from the verbal canon the Tenor is untexted.

The Siena K.I.2 has significant variants in its surviving Contra section, and otherwise repeats a few of the minor CS 14 variants.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 102v-104r;

[Superius]; 1: in both upper voices there are large gaps between the initial m signs and first notes (probably left for the insertion of majuscule initials) / 12,6-7: added on a short end of stave extension / 31: 3 G (corr using CS 14) / 33: both upper voices wrongly mark the Pleni sunt section as 'Duo' / 34: 2 B (corr using CS 14) / 57-62: as with other movements, breve rests here tend to be grouped in threes / 92: the Benedictus section is also wrongly marked as 'Duo' in both upper voices / 106: 3 A (corr using CS 14) / 131: not dtd / 152: 2 E (corr using CS 14) / 156: 3 G (corr using CS 14) / 157: an erased sbr A follows 2 / 158,1-159,2: these four notes are all given a tone too low (corr using CS 14) / 189: 1 dtd. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 35: p div follows 2 / 63: likewise / 69: 1 D (corr using CS 14) / 73: p div follows 3 / 75: p div follows 2 / 76: p div follows 4 / 110: cs above 1 instead of cor / 131: likewise, & 131 is not dtd / 150: regarding the colored L here see the critical notes to the Tenor bassus in the Gloria at 164-169 / 158: b ind before 158,1 / 160: natural ind by sharp.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and no verbal canon is given to indicate the augmentation ratio (canon supplied from CS 14) / 16: p div follows A / 32: no 'silet' direction given / 73: the Tenor here is marked 'Ad Osanna primum' but the marking is crossed out / 91: 'silet' instruction given after the Osanna I section for the Tenor bassus on the second page opening. At the end of the first page opening is a crossed-out copy of the second half of the cantus firmus, marked 'Osanna' and with no custos at the end. / 162: m sign om.

Tenor bassus; 1: on the first page opening the voice name is given twice, at the start of each of the first two staves for this voice. On the second page opening it is merely called 'Bassus'. / 20: p div follows 2 / 22: 1 is sbr (intended for alteration) & a p div follows / 26,1: corr from A by the lengthening of a ligature end, & a p div follows 26,2 / 32: no custos / 66: p div follows 2 / 92: m sign om, and on the second page opening the Benedictus section is given after a crossed-out duplicate of the Tenor bassus for Osanna I with a single custos at its end / 136: 1 G (corr using CS 14) / 141,2-142,1: om (supplied from CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices. At 25-32 all voices except the Tenor need a repeat of 'Sabaoth'. At 49 in the Tenor bassus editorial entry on a part-word is advisable because of the imitation which follows, and the same voice needs a repeat of 'gloria' at 57-62. The Tenor in Osanna I needs repeats of 'Osanna' at 74-81 and 'in excelsis' at 84-91. The same voice also needs a repeat of 'Osanna in excelsis' at 175-195. Repeated same-pitch values in the Tenor are the cause of most of these editorial interventions.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 34v-36r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'S' for the first letter of the text / 12,4-7: replaced by sbr C m B / 13: cs over 1 / 33: no 'Duo' markings in any voice, & the m sign is rptd in all active voices / 73: at the start of the second page opening, the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'O' for the first letter of the text. This has a drawing of a king's head inside the 'O', and the m sign is rptd. / 92: as at 33 / 128,1-2: minor color / 131: not dtd / 162: m sign rptd in the two upper voices / 176: 1 & 2 are dtd-sbr & m, they are followed by a sbr F, and the rest of the music is missing. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name is given on either page opening, the m sign is om, & the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'S' for the first letter of the text / 6: not ligd / 13: cs over 1 / 23-24: no lig / 25-27: ligd / 33-35,1: no lig / 48: not dtd / 71: 3 dtd / 73: at the start of the second page opening the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'O' for the first letter of the text, & 73,2-3 are F E / 76: no p div / 106: 1 & 2 ligd / 110: not dtd / 118-119: no lig / 122-123: likewise / 131: not dtd / 199: cor over 1.

Tenor; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name which spans two and a half staves, & the m sign is present. / 32: single custos, & no 'silet' direction given / 73: the Tenor on the second page-opening begins with a capital 'T' for the voice name similar in size, decoration and indentation to the initial at 1 / 76: p div follows C / 91: 'silet' direction given as 'Benedictus tacet' / 162: the m sign is present.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings, the musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, & the m sign is present. / 20: no p div / 22: likewise / 60-61: no lig / 63: p div follows 2 / 73: the Tenor bassus on the second page-opening begins with a capital 'T' for the voice name similar in size, decoration and indentation to the initial at 1, & 73,1 is not ligd / 74-75,1: ligd / 77-81: given as a single lig / 131: the final line of three br rests here has a cor above it / 134-136: ligd / 158: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 167: b ind before 166,1 / 168-170: no lig / 180: not dtd.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, and with nearly complete text in all other voices.

CS 14 gives a reading which is close to Trent 88 and does not transmit its errors nor its confusion with cantus firmus sections. However, the Superius for the end of this movement is missing in CS 14.

(iii) Siena K.I.2 f. 222r;

This fragmentary reading has just the Contra part for the Benedictus and Osanna II, plus the Tenor for Osanna II.

[Contra]; 92: the Siena reading starts at this point, and no voice name is given / 106: 1 & 2 ligd / 110: not dtd, & no cor / 117,3-118,2: minor color / 131: not dtd, & no cor / 138: 1 D / 158: no b / 160: natural ind by natural sign / 162: m sign rptd / 181: 3 replaced by sbr m.

[Tenor]; 162: the Siena reading starts at this point, & the m sign is given as C instead of O / 175: 1 m.

Underlay; Siena K.I.2 only gives the Contra incipits '[B]enedictus' and '[O]sanna in excelsis', plus the Tenor incipit 'Osanna'.

Not enough of the Siena K.I.2 reading survives to make judgements, but at a guess it might have contained quite a few variants as in this manuscript's Credo reading.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 104v-105v;

[Superius]; 1: in both upper voices there are large gaps between the initial m signs and first notes (probably left for the insertion of majuscule initials) / 3: 2 uc / 37: 2 corr from B, with downward diagonals on either side of the note / 44: this section ind as 'Agnus 2us' in all active voices / 59: an erased m B follows 2 / 69: an erased m G follows 1 / 100: 2 B (corr using CS 14) / 106: 3 is sm (corr using CS 14) / 111: m sign om in all

voices, and this section is ind in the Superius as '3us'. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor bassus-Contra-Tenor.

Contra; 32: dot under this note for no apparent reason / 38: rest om (supplied from CS 14) / 53: 1 F (corr using CS 14) / 105: 3 B (corr using CS 14) / 127: b ind before 127,2.

Tenor; 1: m sign om, and the augmentation instruction [*Crescit in*] *duplo* is only given at the start of Agnus III. / 10: p div follows A / 43: 1 & 2 are both m (corr using CS 14), & no 'Tacet' direction is given / 114: p div follows D.

[T]enor bassus; 1: m sign om / 8: p div follows 2 / 24: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 70,3-73: written on an end of stave extension / 82: 3 E / 93: regarding the colored L here see the notes for this voice in the Gloria at 164-169 / 104: a superfluous sbr F follows 1 / 117: p div follows 3 / 119: likewise / 120: p div follows 2 / 124: 2 D (corr using CS 14) / 132: 2 F (corr using CS 14).

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional incipits for the lower voices plus a few internal cues for these voices in Agnus II. At 21-25 the Contra and Tenor bassus need a repeat of 'mundi', and the Tenor at 36-43 needs a repeat of 'miserere nobis'. Also the Tenor bassus at 82-83 needs a repeat of 'mundi'. In the Tenor of this movement I have ignored the repeated pitch at 19-20 for underlay purposes, just as the repeated pitches in the Contra at 10-11 and Tenor bassus 13-14 are likewise not used for editorial text syllables.

(ii) CS 14 ff. 36v-38r;

[Superius]; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'A' for the first letter of the text / 43: 'Agnus secundus' markings not given in any voice / 46: 3 G / 61,3-62,2: minor color / 99: no lig / 100: 3 dtd / 101: 1 not dtd / 102: no lig / 109: 2-3 replaced by m G / 111: at the start of the second page opening there is a capital 'A' in the same style and size as at 1, the m sign is present in the Superius & Tenor bassus, & no 'Agnus tertius' marking is given. / 128,1-2: minor color / 134: 4 C. The manuscript voice order on the first page opening is Superius-Tenor-Contra-Tenor bassus. On the second page opening the lower two parts are switched round by mistake.

Contra; 1: the first two staves are indented to make room for a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'C' for the first letter of the voice name / 2,3-4: replaced by sbr A / 3,1-4,1: ligd / 21: 1-3 ligd / 36: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br / 43: single custos / 65: 1 is L instead of br, & correspondingly the following batch of br rests is one measure shorter than in Trent 88 / 111: at the start of the second page opening there is a majuscule capital 'A' in the same style and size as the 'C' at 1 except that that the two staves which it covers are not indented, & a p div follows 111,2 / 117-119,1: ligd / 120,2-121,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 123,1-2: replaced by dtd-br / 127: b ind before 127,3 / 128: 4 A / 132,2: uc due to lacuna / 135,2: likewise.

Tenor; 1: all musical symbols on the first two staves are indented to make space for a majuscule penwork decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, the m sign is present, and *Canon. Crescit in duplo* is given at the bottom of the page following the first section. / 10: p div given after A, above stave / 11-12: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 30: p div follows C / 31-32: no lig / 43: 'Agnus tacet' given following double custos / 111: at the start of the second page opening a majuscule and penwork-decorated capital 'T' for the first letter of the voice name is given (with the same size and indentation as the initial at 1) but the Tenor is placed below the Contra where the Tenor bassus normally is. / 125,2: from this point to the end the Tenor is written with C clef on the second line up.

Tenor [bassus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and the first letter of the voice name is a majuscule capital 'T' like the initial at the start of the Tenor / 23: 2-3 ligd instead of 1 & 2 / 32: 2 has b / 72,3-73,1: ligd / 82: 3 E as in Trent 88 / 103-104: ligd / 110: single custos / 111: on the second page opening this voice is placed

where the Tenor should normally be, there is a decorated majuscule initial for the first letter of the voice name as at 1, & a p div follows 111,2 / 117: no p div / 119 & 120: no p divs in these measures / 126,2-127,1: replaced by dtd-sbr / 128: 4 b, ind before 128,2.

Underlay; all voices apart from the Tenor bassus in Agnus I & II have full text.

CS 14 gives a reading which is very close to Trent 88.

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Structure

This much written about and frequently edited and recorded work entered modern musicology with the 1900 DTÖ VII edition, and has continued to fascinate scholars and performers ever since.³⁶ Being a well-known work by a famous composer, study of this Mass tended to be uneven until recent years until it was recognised that it is close to Dufay's later structured motets. The Tenor cantus firmus is the Tenor of Dufay's own *Se la face ay pale* chanson, a *ballade équivoque* which achieved a wide circulation in its own lifetime and survives in ten readings plus two intabulations.³⁷ There are also citations of the song and one derivative Gloria apart from this Mass.³⁸ Since the song appears in Ox 213 we can safely assume that it was written before the late 1430's, and the latest extant readings with variant Contrás come from EscB, Schedel and Trent 89 which are sources associated with the 1460's. The example below gives the parent song, and the following table illustrates the disposition of the cantus firmus throughout.

³⁶ For recent recordings see the Binchois Consort CD Dufay: The Court of Savoy (Hyperion CDA67715, 2008) and Dufay: Les messes à teneur (double CD MEW 1577-1578, 2016) by Cut Circle dir. Jesse Rodin. I first heard the the work on the LP EMI 3C 065 (1973) by David Munrow's Early Music Consort of London.

³⁷ Set as text, the music contains no internal repeats - and *équivoque* means that the final words of lines are homonyms which play on their own meanings, such as 'amer' (meaning love and also bitterness) and 'l'amer' (the sea). See Fallows, A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs... pp. 362-363 for most sources and citations of the song. To this list I would also add the opening of the four-part Rondeau *Creature la plus belle* in Florence 2356 (ff. 17v-18r) whose first nine Superius pitches plus their rhythm reproduce the opening Contra line of the *Cum sancto* section, albeit a fourth lower than in the Mass.

³⁸ The likely derivative piece is the short three-part Gloria no. 37 in this edition, which contains some probable song references. Further, see pp. 377-378 in the critical commentary to Instalment 1.

4.11. Dufay, *Se la face ay pale*;³⁹

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass). The lyrics are in French and are written below the staves. The first system starts with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second system starts with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The third system starts with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are as follows:

System 1:
 S: Se la face ay pa - - le, La cause est a - mer,
 A: T Se la face ay pa - - le, La cause est a - mer,
 B: Ct Se la face

System 2:
 S: c'est la prin - ci - pa - - le, et tant m'est a - mer
 A: c'est la prin - ci - pa - - le, et tant m'est a - mer l'a-
 B: c'est la prin - ci - pa - - le, et tant m'est a - mer l'a-

System 3:
 S: l'a - mer, qu'en la mer me vou-droy-e voir; or, scet bien de - voir
 A: - mer qu'en la mer me vou-droy-e voir; or, scet bien de - voir
 B: l'a - mer, qu'en la mer me vou-droy-e voir; or, scet bien de - voir

System 4:
 S: la bel - le a qui suis que nul bien a - voir sans el - le ne
 A: la bel - le a qui suis que nul bien a - voir sans el - le - ne
 B: la bel - le a qui suis que nul bien a - voir sans el - le - ne

System 5:
 S: puis.
 A: puis.
 B: puis.

³⁹ Given here after *Ox* 213 ff. 53v-54r, with only the first of three stanzas of text. The temporary minor passage at 14 and the triadic figures at the end are also features of other early period and mid-period Dufay songs such as *Navré je suis* and *Donnés l'assault*, but the minor passage at 14 does not seem to be reflected anywhere in the *Se la face ay pale* Mass.

TABLE 4.4
Tenor cantus firmus layout in the Missa *Se la face ay pale*

Measures	Section	Mensuration	Details
Kyrie 1-37	Kyrie I	O	First half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with three free notes added at 37 (A B C).
38-77	Christe	C	Free trio.
78-102	Kyrie II	O	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Gloria 1-118	Et in terra	O	Cantus firmus in double augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Gloria 119-236	Qui tollis	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Gloria 237-276	Cum sancto	O	Cantus firmus in <i>integer valor</i> , with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 1-118	Patrem	O	Cantus firmus in double augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 119-236	Et iterum	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with each half preceded by rests.
Credo 237-276	Confiteor	O	Cantus firmus in <i>integer valor</i> , with each half preceded by rests.
Sanctus 1-32	Sanctus	O	First quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, preceded by rests.
Sanctus 33-72	Pleni sunt	O	Free trio.
Sanctus 73-91	Osanna I	O	Second quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, with three free notes added at 91 (A B C).
Sanctus 92-161	Benedictus	C	Free trio.
Sanctus 162-198	Osanna II	C in outer voices & O in Tenor	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Agnus 1-43	Agnus I	O	First half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation, preceded by rests and with three free notes added at 43 (A B C).
Agnus 44-110	Agnus II	C	Free trio.
Agnus 111-135	Agnus III	O	Second half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.

The Gloria and Credo are identically sized and scored (with three cantus firmus statements per movement) and the Kyrie and Agnus have identical cantus firmus treatment with one statement of cantus firmus each split between outer sections. All movements except the Kyrie begin with delayed entry Tenors, and the second and third sections of the Gloria and Credo also have delayed entry Tenors. The three free values added at the end of Kyrie I, Osanna I and Agnus I seem to be present to effect full constructs at cadence points. Fourths are permitted between the Superius and Tenor, and the Tenor keeps its original rhythmic configuration throughout apart from mostly being augmented and having passages of rests inserted.

The cadential pitches seem rather odd in this Mass. The parent song is clearly centred on C and all movements of the Mass begin on C, but out of the twelve internal openings only one begins on C (the Cum sancto section). The rest use F openings or constructs on F, and all sectional cadences are on F apart from the cadence to the Qui tollis section. All movement endings and most section endings use the final C of the cantus firmus as a pedal note, and the second sections of the Gloria and Credo respectively have plagal formulas and perfect formulas which exploit the sustained C of their Tenors. Amongst sectional cadences the first section of the Sanctus is the ‘odd one out’ since the composer quarters his cantus firmus in this movement and the D-C motion of the Tenor at 29-30 more or less demands a cadence on C before the outer parts move to a construct

on F. The four trio sections all have doubled leadingnote cadences, as do the cadences of Kyrie I, Osanna I and Agnus I. These are the three sections in the previous table where rests occur after the Tenor's mid point.

All movements begin with a Superius motto that usually consists of four measures but which has only three in the Kyrie. The Superius theme here is not derived from the parent song. The only other Superius section openings which are related are those in the *Christe* (which resembles the Kyrie I opening) and the *Et iterum* and *Benedictus* openings (which use independent triadic themes). There are also similarities in the cadential approaches which end various sections, but I will return to these in due course since they are connected to the repeats of related material in successive movements.

Most melodic material in this Mass is generated by the Superius, and very occasionally by the Contra. The latter has the status of being the principal melodic part at the start of the *Cum sancto* and in duet episodes occurring in the course of both full and reduced sections. In full sections the lower voices are rhythmically subordinate, although there is a small stretch of Tenor plus Tenor bassus duet at *Credo*, 243-247 and the Tenor is the topmost voice in a trio episode at *Agnus* 21-24. The Tenor bassus is a rhythmic equal to the upper voices in reduced sections, and in full sections it crosses above the Tenor quite frequently. The Contra crosses below the Tenor too. In the passages involving repeated high A's in the cantus firmus (as at *Gloria* 49-51) the Tenor is temporarily at the top of the texture. There is some confusion in the sources regarding the naming of the two lower voices, no doubt because the lowest voice in standard four-part texture was more normally called a *Contra secundus*.⁴⁰ Upper-voice fifths between the three topmost parts can occur (for example, between the Superius and Tenor at *Credo* 268-269 and between the two upper voices at *Sanctus*, 79-80). Additionally it is a feature of the double-augmentation sections that the Tenor's shorter values are sometimes treated liberally in terms of dissonance. For example, at *Gloria* measure 92 then Tenor's F initially has a diminished progression built around it, and at *Credo* 43 the Tenor's F allows for a very brief fourth in a polyrhythmic passage. Other double augmentation sections in cyclic Masses sometimes treat long-note Tenors similarly.

Unlike many mid-century four voice Masses the *Se la face ay pale* cycle does not include much outer-voice material from its parent song in its own outer voices. Apart from two instances where the midpoint cadence on G in the song might be reflected in the Superius (*Gloria* and *Credo* 258-260) all other allusional instances to Superius song material are taken from the triadic imitation in the song at 25-27. These (with the Superius being the prominent voice in all cases) occur at *Kyrie* 90-92, *Gloria* 100-104 and 270-272, *Credo* 60-63 and 270-272, *Sanctus* 93-96, 123-124 and 180-183, plus *Agnus* 93-97 and 123-126. No doubt the relatively undeveloped adaption of parent material here has prompted scholars to consider this as a fairly early four-part Mass. Anne Walters Robertson (the author of an otherwise most careful article about this Mass) goes further, and states that "...the work is the first surviving Mass to base all five movements...on a single vernacular cantus firmus".⁴¹ This is in blatant oversight of the obviously earlier three-voice Mass in *TuB* (whose cantus firmus has a repeat scheme and is possibly secular) and also overlooks the wealth of less developed and roughly contemporary cycles in *Trent 90*, *Trent 88* and *Trent 89* which might antedate Dufay's Mass. In this connection I am particularly thinking of the *Missa O rosa bella* I, Guillaume Le Rouge's *Missa Soyez aprantiz* and texturally related three-voice Masses which use secular cantus firmus. Some writers regard the known dispersal of the *Missa Se la face ay pale* as disappointing because there are only three surviving readings. However, in view of the likely loss of manuscripts I would prefer not to come to conclusions about how well-circulated this Mass might have been.

The augmentation in the Tenors results in breve rests being drawn across three stave spaces, indicating perfect minor modus. In *CS 14* proper verbal canons are given for the augmentation instead of the abbreviated ones in *Trent 88*, and Dufay received an approving nod from Tinctoris for providing clear verbal instruction on

⁴⁰ Possibly the twin-Tenor names in the lower voices are derived from similar scoring in Dufay's *Fulgens iubar*, which has a 'Tenor primus' and a 'Tenor secundus'.

⁴¹ Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 377.

how the Tenors are to be performed.⁴² As a result of the perfect minor modus a few longs in passages using C mensuration are colored, which may look unconventional but is necessary because longs would be perfect in modus notation unless they were colored or unless there were other notes or rests to imperfect them. Where possible, rests in the outer parts are mostly drawn across three stave spaces too.

Several writers have cited this Mass in connection with procedures such as augmentation and multiple cantus firmus presentation per movement, which may or may not have started a trend amongst composers of similar cyclic Masses.⁴³ I am sceptical of there being any direct influence since there were other organised cantus firmus and mensural transformation models to imitate (notably Domarto's *Spiritus almus* Mass) but parts of the *Missa Se la face ay pale* are integrated in other ways that connect it to Dufay's previous works. Firstly although it is not 'isorhythmic' or a fully structured piece like his 1440's motet *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera / Virgo*, there are elements of isomelic repetition which can be clearly seen in the identically sized Gloria and Credo. These movements also have a shared scoring scheme, for which I refer readers to the following section on number. Exactly how close these movements are in textural terms is best illustrated by the coloured chart in Cristoffersen's edition, figure 1.⁴⁴ The similar passages occur at the same or similar points in each movement, and this is possibly a feature taken over from cantus firmus works that are likely to be earlier such as the Gloria and Credo on *Pax vobis* (which may be English) and some movements of the *Caput* and *Veterem hominem* Masses.⁴⁵ The following table attempts to track most occurrences, and organisation on this level is something of an achievement in these two very extended movements.

TABLE 4.5
Similar Gloria and Credo passages in the *Missa Se la face ay pale*

Gloria	Credo	Details
1-4	1-4	Both duets start with Superius upper C and move to lower D with a Contra B in support below it.
10-13	10-13	Both duet voices have cadences on G, followed by the Contra beginning new material on C above its previous cadential G. In both instances the new material involves imitation on starting with the notes C D E.
18-19	18-19	Both movements end their introductory duos with cadences on C, and this C is the point where both lower parts enter.
27-28	27-28	Both movements cadence on C with very similar Contra parts in each instance.
58-60	58-60	In both movements the Superius proceeds to B in a construct on G.
71-82	71-82	The duet subsections in both movements here are similar and have similar successions of cadence points.
86-87	86-87	Closely related Superius motives in cadences on G.
91-93	91-93	Similar approaches to cadences on G in both movements.
100-102	100-102	Related triadic movement in the upper voices against sustained C's in the Tenor bassus.
111-118	111-118	Similar approaches to the first-section cadence on F in both movements.

⁴² See Woodley, R., *The Proportionale Musices of Johannes Tinctoris: a critical edition, translation and study* (Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Oxford, 1982), I, p. 364.

⁴³ Regarding this and also integration in Dufay's music in general see Brothers, T., 'Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450-1475' in *JAMS* 44 (1991) pp. 1-56. Also Sandresky, M., 'The Continuing Concept of the Platonic-Pythagorean System and Its Application to the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Music' in *Music Theory Spectrum* 2 (1979) pp. 107-120, Brown, S. Jr., 'New Evidence of Isomelic design in Dufay's Isorhythmic Motets' in *JAMS* 10 (1957) pp. 7-13, and Nitschke, W., *Studien zu den Cantus-Firmus-Messen Guillaume Dufays* (Berlin, 1968).

⁴⁴ The same chart also shows the Kyrie and Agnus to be close in terms of texture.

⁴⁵ For the *Pax vobis* Gloria-Credo pair see Instalment 1 no. 28, plus the list of similar material in both movements listed on p. 357.

(Table 4.5, contd.)

Gloria	Credo	Details
125-131	125-131	Repeated cadential motives on C in both introductory duets to the second sections.
161-164	161-164	Similar approaches to cadences on C in temporary trio texture.
190-200	190-200	The duet subsections in both movements here are similar and have similar successions of cadence points.
237-239	237-239	Similar rhythms at the start of the upper voice in both sectional openings here.
258-260	258-260	Similar cadences on G in both passages.
267-270	267-270	Similar approaches to lower E in both Superius parts.
270-272	270-272	Similar song-derived triadic imitation in both passages.
273-276	273-276	Related approaches to the final cadence in both movements.

None of the shorter movements' full sections have such close links, although the trio sections also have integrated elements. Notably, these feature alternating duet passages and much repeated material involving cadences on C. The *Christe* starts with a motive similar to the *Kyrie* motto and its first 20 measures (*Kyrie* 38-58) features two C cadences. Repeated cadencing on C is also found in the *Pleni sunt* trio at 40-48 and 66-70, in the *Benedictus* at 113-121 and 143-154, and in the *Agnus II* at 48-52, 54-55 and 79-93. In the following section on number I also suggest that at least some of the subdivisions in these trios have scoring symmetries. All of these sections also end with doubled leadingnote cadences on F in which some of the melodic motion is similar, and where filler-Contra harmonies predominate in the cadential approaches. Finally as regards texture the full sections often have a rhythmic simplicity which is absent from some mid-century Masses, and the nearest equivalent to the extended and sometimes leisurely first sections of the *Gloria* and *Credo* are probably Dufay's *Moribus* and *Fulgens iubar* motets. These were probably less than ten years old when Dufay was writing the *Se la face ay pale* movements, and it seems logical that in this Mass he would have relied on a musical style to which he was accustomed. Another style feature which will strike listeners is that there seem to be a relatively high proportion of B naturals in this Mass for a work which contains many cadences and cadence-like progressions leading to F. But sometimes elsewhere in Dufay's middle-period works constructs involving E and B natural occur quite closely to F cadences, so I would not add more editorial flats than I have already provided.⁴⁶

The question of the immediate purpose for this cycle has attracted some suggestions of historical context. The wedding of the future Duke Amadeus IX of Savoy and Yolande of France in 1452 was suggested as an apt occasion by Alejandro Planchart.⁴⁷ Anne Walters Robertson's article on this Mass suggest that a more appropriate occasion might have been the arrival of the so-called Shroud of Turin in either Chambéry or Geneva in 1453. This is convincing for the reason that she shows the 'suffering' elements in the *Se la face ay pale* text to be related to christological literature. Therefore Dufay might have written the parent song during his first period in Savoy in the 1430's, and following its growth in circulation it then might have served a second purpose as the cantus firmus to a Mass welcoming one of the most sacred of Christian relics. Finally, one of the most readable and informed accounts of Dufay's Mass is the one by Alejandro Planchart which accompanies his 2008 online edition of the work. He makes it clear that the Savoy chapel had a 'trompette' - Étienne Fourrier - from 1427, and who was probably quite capable of playing the Tenor cantus firmus of this Mass on a slide trumpet in G with the Bb in this part being the only problematic note. However, to any experienced player the Bb would not have been impossible. On this basis he suggests that the Tenor (which

⁴⁶ For an example of a B natural which is quite close to a cadence on F see the contrafact version of Dufay's *Mirandas parit* (no. 3 in this edition) measures 30-33. I would not even add a ficta Bb to the free Tenor A B C additions which occur at the ends of *Kyrie I*, *Osanna I* and *Agnus I*. My reason: the measures that lead up to these cadences all involve B naturals.

⁴⁷ See Planchart, A., 'Fifteenth-Century Masses: Notes on Performance and Chromology' in *Studi Musicali* 10 (1981), pp. 3-30.

is quite difficult to text editorially) might have been intended for such an instrument. While I agree that it is playable, I would be far more comfortable with a slide trumpet accompanying four or more singers than with the Tenor relegated to the slide trumpet alone. Planchart also made the point that this Mass is sometimes performed at unnecessarily slow speeds. With semibreve equivalent between O and C mensurations in the outer voices, there is no reason why a speed like semibreve = 86 cannot work well.

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Numerology

Modus or greater rhythm preoccupies this Mass to the extent that nearly all of its sections have outer-voice measures which fall into groups of two or three, even in sections without cantus firmus. The sole exception is the Pleni sunt trio, which has 39 measures before its final long.⁴⁸ This feature of near-overall rhythmic discipline (combined with the augmented and repeated cantus firmus) makes this Mass exactly the sort of work where number symmetries are likely to be detected.

Others have surveyed this Mass before me, most notably Robert Nosow in his 1993 article which discusses it in the middle of a chronological series of other Dufay works which seem to have numerical interest. I do not believe everything that this brilliantly clever study offers, chiefly because it mentions Fibonacci and golden section numbers used in terms of integers. In a 2006 article Ruth Tatlow argued that it was not possible to express these mathematical ideas in integers much before the nineteenth century, and therefore their suggested numerical use in musical works from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is probably anachronistic.⁴⁹ But where Nosow was undoubtably right is in the construction of the identically-sized *Se la face ay pale* Gloria and Credo movements. These are the same in terms of tempora and mensural use, and the scoring of their successive sections and subsections is also identical in each movement. The lengths of these subsections seem to express number symmetries which break down into the series 2 6 1 4 in each section.

This feature is probably best explained as follows by an assessment of the Et in terra section. The division operator is at first 27 (3 x 9) because a number is needed which will reduce the totals threefold while retaining whole numbers, and also it reflects the three-measures-to-one nature of the initial double augmentation in these movements.

18 measures of duet (54 semibreves) divided by 27 = 2.

54 full section measures (162 semibreves) divided by 27 = 6.

9 measures of duet (27 semibreves) divided by 27 = 1.

36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 27 = 4.

The Qui tollis section breaks down identically if the division operator is changed from 27 to 18, expressing the difference between 3:1 and 2:1 in the augmented Tenors of these sections.

18 measures of duet (36 semibreves) divided by 18 = 2.

54 full section measures (108 semibreves) divided by 18 = 6.

9 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 18 = 1.

36 full section measures (72 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 18 = 4.

Change the division operator from 18 to 9 (to express the shift from augmentation to *integer valor*) and the Cum sancto section works similarly.

⁴⁸ Properly, if this section had a true 'greater rhythm' it should proceed in the double O measures of the previous Sanctus section. But 39 is of course 13 x 3.

⁴⁹ See Tatlow, R., 'The Use and Abuse of Fibonacci Numbers and the Golden Section in Musicology Today' in *Understanding Bach I* (2006), pp. 69-85.

6 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 9 = 2.
 18 full section measures (54 semibreves) divided by 9 = 6.
 3 measures of trio (9 semibreves) divided by 9 = 1.
 12 full section measures (36 semibreves, excluding the final measure) divided by 9 = 4.

Exactly the same series of proportions is found in the Credo.

The same principle seems not to apply to the shorter movements, as the Kyrie totals show. Nevertheless a 3:2 proportion can be seen between the outer sections.

Kyrie I: 36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 6.
 Christe: free section of 39 measures (78 semibreves excluding final long).
 Kyrie II: 24 full section measures (72 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 4.

The Agnus breaks down as follows, with the outer sections producing the reduced number series 1 6 4.

Agnus I: 6 measures of duet (18 semibreves) divided by 18 = 1, plus 36 full section measures (108 semibreves, excluding final long) divided by 18 = 6.
 Agnus II: free section of 66 measures excluding final long.
 Agnus III: 24 full section measures (72 semibreves excluding final long) divided by 18 = 4.

The Sanctus will not fit into any of the schemes described here. Its alternation of five cantus firmus and reduced sections results in the reduced-number series 16 9 12 for the sizes of the full sections according to Nosow, and the sizes of the Pleni sunt and Benedictus sections do not relate to these numbers. But beyond Nosow's calculations there are other ways of looking at the shorter movements. For example, the Kyrie with all cadential sectional longs removed has 99 measures, and the measures of the Agnus counted in the same way results in the respective totals of 42, 66 and 24 for the three sections. The total of all of these is 132, and when the latter numbers are all divided by 6 we have the number series 7 11 4.

Likewise I suspect that the free sections (the Christe, Pleni sunt, Benedictus and Agnus II) might also contain some subdivisional symmetries like the Gloria and Credo. Including the final longs, the first duet of the Christe takes up exactly a quarter of its length. In the Pleni sunt, the introductory duet has 40% of the section's length. In the Benedictus, the first two 21-measure panels make up 60% of the section, and in Agnus II the first duet subsection takes up exactly one third of that section. There are also a few matching and near-matching note totals (the two upper voices in the Christe each have 63 notes), and the Superius and Contra in the Et in terra have 310 and 309 notes respectively. Maybe these totals were once equal. Similarly, in Osanna I the four voices in descending order have the note totals 71, 70, 43 and 44. Perhaps either of the upper values or the Tenor bassus total were once different, allowing for the upper and lower pairs of these voices to share identical note totals. In addition, the Kyrie's three sectional tempora totals (36, 39, and 24) are all divisible by 3 and produce the reduced totals of 12, 13 and 8. Add these together and they produce 33. Lastly, the grand total of all notes in this Mass is 6,601. Given the differences between the sources and likely small alterations needed to produce number symmetry in Osanna I, it is perhaps likely that the overall total could be changed to 6,600 with just a few alterations. But that is not to say that the overall note total here is necessarily significant or indeed relevant.

Finally, to those who find the likely number schemes in this Mass slightly daunting it should be remembered that Dufay had around thirty years of experience of writing structured pieces before this Mass was composed. Therefore the exceptional nature of its construction is perhaps to be expected from the most outstanding composer of the era.

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101. Petrus de Domarto; Missa *Spiritus almus*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 401v-410r, all five movements, P. de Domarto (DTÖ VII inventory nos 497-501);
- (ii) Lucca ff. 11v-17r, parts of all movements except the Credo, P. de Domarto;
- (iii) ModC ff. 117v-129r, all five movements, P. de Domarto;
- (iv) CS 14 ff. 38v-47r, all five movements, de Domarto;
- (v) Poz 7022 pp. 17, 18, 27 and 28 out of forty fragmentary sides of music (parts of the Credo and Sanctus, anon).

The Tenor cantus firmus of this Mass is taken from the final phrase of the Responsory *Stirps Jesse*, which is transposed a fifth up in the Tenor primus. On paper the cantus firmus in all full sections is monomorphic, but the mensurations and rests differ and therefore the rhythms of the cantus firmus vary in different sections. Further, see the section on structure. I have taken it for granted that in the following notes and the score users will recognise that the cantus firmus part mostly uses varying degrees of augmentation.

Kyrie

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 401v-402r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 6: 1 has sharp / 21,1-22,1: these notes are duplicated, but the duplication is erased / 26: the m sign given for the two upper voices here is C, which cannot be correct since C simultaneously occurs in the Tenor primus which moves at half the speed of the outer parts. C2 is substituted. / 90: single custos / 94: 1 has sharp / 99 & 110: likewise. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 90: 1 has sharp / 115: likewise.

Tenor primus; 1: only the Tenor primus for Kyrie I is given, and the column of m signs indicates that this must be sung in O mensuration in the outer sections & in C mensuration in the Christe. / 25: no custos.

Tenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 6: cor above 1 for no apparent reason / 24,3-25; written on a short end of stave extension / 26: m sign om / 115: no custos.

Underlay; the outer voices have 'Kyrie / Christe' and 'eleyson' as usual, and the Tenor primus seems best sung to its cantus firmus text in this and subsequent movements. 'Christe' is given as 'Xpe' in the outer voices, and the two upper voices require editorial repeats of 'Kyrie' at 10-13. The Contratenor and Tenor secundus also require similar repeats at 95-98, and in one or two places I have elided '-le-y-' as '-leÿ-'.

Bibliography; Gerber, *op. cit.* no. 143 (edition after Trent 88). Kidger, D. (ed), Petrus de Domarto, Complete Works vol. II (Antico, Newton Abbot, 2005. Edition after Trent 88). Sherr, *op. cit.* no. 7 (edition after CS 14). Wegman, R., 'Petrus de Domarto's Missa *Spiritus almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century' in EMH 10 (1991), pp. 235-303. Perz, M., 'The Lvov Fragments' in TVNM 36 (1986) pp. 26-51 (description of Poz 7022). Perz lists parts of this Kyrie and Gloria from this Mass as both present in Poz 7022. Unless he had access to more material than is now part of the fragments this is not the case, but he cites the manuscript has having 24 folios (i.e. 48 pages or part-pages). Only 40 photographs are present.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Perz's 1986 study describes some of the fragments as no bigger than 1 cm. None of these appear to have been photographed.

(ii) Lucca ff. 11v-13r;

[Superius]; 1: a large page cut has taken away what was probably once a boxed and illuminated initial, together with the clef and probably also the m sign on the first stave. / 6: 1 has sharp / 10: likewise / 11: no minor color / 20-22: uc due to fading and page cut / 24,5-6: obliterated by lacuna / 26: on a new page opening the first stave is indented to make space for a majuscule penwork-decorated letter 'X', and the m sign is given as C in the two upper voices as in Trent 88 / 29: 2 E / 38,2-39,1: ligd / 39,2: not ligd / 46,2-47,1: ligd / 48: uc due to deterioration / 72: 3-5 are m sm sm / 90: double custos / 94, 99 & 110: likewise / 114: 2 B. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the m sign is om and the voice name is given above the first stave, which is indented to make way for a boxed, coloured and decorated letter 'K'. / 26: on a new page opening the first stave is indented to make space for a majuscule 'X' here in the same style and size as in the Superius. / 31-33: ligd / 34: 1 & 2 ligd / 42-45: ligd / 51: no lig / 55: 1 & 2 ligd / 76-84: uc / 90: no sharp / 97: no minor color / 113,1-2: obscured by later additions in large capitals.

[T]enor primus; 1: the voice name is incomplete, a page cut has removed what was probably once a boxed initial plus the first clef, & the only m sign given is O. / 14-15,2: these notes are obscured by the latter page cut / 25: double custos / 26: on a new page opening the Tenor is rewritten with the paired m signs C and O.

Tenor secundus; 1: the m sign is om and the first stave has indentation and a boxed coloured initial as in the Contratenor. / 26: later additions in large capitals obscure the place where the m sign might have been / 74-76: no lig / 82-83: ligd / 105: no minor color.

Underlay; Lucca is texted much as in Trent 88.

This reading has minimal variants with Trent 88, but shares some of its possibly superfluous sharps and seems to edit the rhythm at Superius 72,3-5 to make it more conventional.

(iii) ModC ff. 117v-119r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave has a boxed, decorated and coloured capital 'K', & the initial m signs are present in all voices / 6: no sharp / 11: no minor color / 26: m sign given as cut-C in all parts except the Tenor / 27: 1 & 2 are ligd sbr sbr / 29: 2 E / 46,2-47,1: ligd / 69-70: replaced by br E & ligd sbr E sbr F / 70-71: no lig / 72: 3-5 are m sm sm / 90: double custos / 91: the m sign is given in all voices as cut-O, and the first 'K' of Kyrie II is a decorated red majuscule in the left margin / 94: no sharp, & 3-4 are both m / 99: no sharp / 110: no sharp / 114: no minor color. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: the first letter of the voice name is a red decorated majuscule, & the first 'K' of 'Kyrie' is a blue majuscule with red decoration. / 3,1: not ligd / 12,1-2: replaced by dtd-br C / 17,1-2: likewise / 24: 3 & 4 replaced by sbr D / 31-33: ligd, with cs over 32 / 42-45: ligd / 55,1-2: ligd / 90: no sharp / 91: on the second page-opening the styles and colours for the capitals of the voice name and first letter of text are the same as in Kyrie II of the Superius / 97: no minor color / 109: 2 C / 115: 3 not col.

Tenor; 1: the style and colours for the capitals of the voice name and first letter of text are the same as in Kyrie II of the Superius, and only the m signs O and C are given with the Kyrie I Tenor. / 17: p div follows 2 / 25: a repeat mark is given before the double custos / 91: on the second page opening the complete Tenor is rewritten with the same style of decorative initials as before, but with a cut-O m sign and no repeat sign.

Bassus; 1: the style and colours for the capitals of the voice name and first letter of text are the same as in Kyrie II of the Superius / 7-10: ligd / 13: p div follows 2 / 17-18: replaced by L A with a p div following / 65-

90: the last stave of the *Christe* section is written with F clef on the fourth line up / 82-87: given as a single lig / 91: the style and colours for the capitals of the voice name and first letter of text are the same as in *Kyrie II* of the *Superius* / 92: 4 G / 97: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br E / 100: likewise / 105: no minor color / 111: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br C.

Underlay; much as in the two previous readings except that '*Christe*' is unabbreviated.

ModC - like Lucca - is a neat and carefully copied version with very few variants. Notably, the sharps in the first two sources are dispensed with, and a few values in the lowest part seem to have been joined. ModC may well have been copied and assembled under the direction of Johannes Martini.⁵¹

(iii) CS 14 ff. 38v-39r;

[*Superius*]; 1: the composer attribution '*de domarto*' has red decoration, and the first three staves of musical symbols in the *Superius* are indented to make space for a very large multicoloured and decorated capital 'K'. Also the m sign is om. / 6: 1 has sharp / 8,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 11: no minor color / 12-13: lig given as an upward oblique / 22: 4-5 uc due to lacuna / 25: single custos / 26: m sign given as cut-C in all voices except the Tenor / 29: 2 E / 38,2-39,1: ligd / 39-40: no lig / 54: 1 has sharp / 57-58: as at 12-13 / 72: 3-5 are m sm sm / 90: single custos / 94: 1 has natural / 99: 1 has natural / 101,2-3: minor color / 110: 1 has natural. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a large majuscul 'C' with penwork decoration, & the m sign is present / 25: single custos / 31-33: ligd / 34: 1 & 2 ligd / 42-45: ligd / 55: 1 & 2 ligd / 90: 1 has sharp / 92,2-3: minor color / 115: 1 has sharp.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, all musical symbols on the first stave are indented, & there is a majuscul 'T' in the same style as the first initial in the previous voice. / 16: p div follows 6. As in Trent 88 the Tenor primus is only written out once since the whole *Kyrie* is on a single page opening.

Tenor secundus; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented & there is a majuscul 'T' in the same style as the first initial in the previous voice, & the m sign is present / 64-65: these two ligas are given as upward obliques / 82-83: ligd / 105: no minor color.

Underlay; much as in previous readings, with a few minor omissions and '*Christe*' sometimes abbreviated.

CS 14 is close to Trent 88 and may be a direct descendant of it in terms of stemmata. Note the naturals in the *Superius* which indicate diatonic values instead of the medieval use of the sign as a sharp.

Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 402v-404r;

[*Superius*]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat ff. 183r-v, & the m sign is om / 30: p div follows 2 / 36: 1-3 are sm sm m (corr using Lucca) / 41: 1 has sharp / 56: p div follows 2 / 65,2: col err, but with a correcting 'a' (for '*alba*') under this note / 68: m sign om / 95: single custos / 121,2: written on a short end of stave extension. The manuscript voice order is *Superius*-Tenor primus-Contratenor-Tenor secundus.

Contratenor; 1: m sign om / 2: 2,2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 9: 1 has sharp / 31: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 43: p div follows 2 / 95: single custos / 154,2-156: written on a short end of stave extension.

⁵¹ See Steib, M., '*Herculean Labours: Johannes Martini and the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms α.M.1.13*' in EMH 33 (2014), pp. 183-257.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & the m sign dotted-C is given before the stave in a different ink to the main copy / 67: no custos / 95: single custos / 156: likewise.

Tenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 21-22: ns / 55: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 67: no custos / 88: p div follows 2.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with sectional and some internal text cues in the Contra and Tenor secundus. The three Tenor primus sections in augmented values seem best sung to their cantus firmus text. The three outer voices all need editorial repeats of 'Amen' at 144-156, and 'Christe' in the Superius at 51 is given as 'criste' but at 95 as 'xpe'.

(ii) Lucca ff. 13v-14v;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave is indented to make space for a large majuscule penwork-decorated 'E', & the m sign is om / 7: cs over 1 / 25: 1 has sharp / 25-26: no minor color / 31: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 33: 5-6 replaced by m C / 37: cs over 1 / 41: no sharp / 43: 2-3 replaced by m D / 68: the first 'Q' of the text here is a small majuscule in the left margin / 69: 1 has sharp / 71: cs over 1 / 72: 3 & 4 are dtd-sbr & m / 77: 1 has sharp / 83: the first rest here has a cs over it / 95: single custos / 100: 2 not ligd / 102: upside-down cs under 1 / 104-105: no lig / 111: not ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: the voice name is given above the first stave, the first stave is indented to make space for a large majuscule penwork-decorated 'E', & the m sign is om / 9: 1 has sharp / 20: 3-4 replaced by m D / 22: no minor color, & 5 is replaced by m D sm C sm D / 29: 3-5 are m sm sm / 31: b ind before 31,1 / 37-45: this passage is erased and overwritten with later additions in a large hand / 50-60: likewise. No more survives of this voice in Lucca.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the first stave is indented with a majuscule 'T' like the 'E' in the Superius, and the voice name is incomplete on the first page opening / 67: no custos / 68-95 and 96-156: the two sections of Tenor are each fully written out / 96: the m sign is given as dotted-C plus 3 / 137: cs over 1 / 156: single custos.

Tenor secundus; 1: the indentation and style of majuscule 'T' is the same as in the previous voice, & the m sign is om / 56: not ligd / 67: 1 not col, & no custos. No more survives of this voice in Lucca.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with far more partial text in the Contratenor and Tenor secundus than in Trent 88. The Tenor primus has cantus firmus text, plus the incipits 'Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere' at 68 and 'Cum sancto Spiritu' at 96.

Lucca is very close to Trent 88 and has few variants.

(iii) ModC ff. 119v-122r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave has a boxed, decorated and coloured capital 'E' & the initial m signs are present in all voices / 9: p div follows 2 / 25-26: no minor color / 33: 5 & 6 replaced by m C / 41: no sharp / 43: 2-3 replaced by m D / 68: the m signs are present in all voices, & the first letter of the text for this section is a majuscule decorated red 'Q' in the left margin / 72: 3 & 4 are dtd-sbr & m / 95: no divisi, 3 is L with a cor above, & single custos / 96: the first letter of the text here is a majuscule in the same style and colour as at 68 / 100,2; not ligd / 104-105: no lig / 111: not ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: both the voice name first letter and the first letter of text are majuscule decorated capitals, with the first mostly being in red and the second mostly in blue / 20: 3 & 4 replaced by m D / 21: 4 & 5 replaced by m D / 22: no minor color, & 5 is replaced by m D sm C sm D / 28: no sharp / 30: 2 C, followed by p div / 41: p

div follows 2 / 65: no minor color / 68: the style and colours of the first letters of the voice name and text are the same as at 1 / 70: 1 & 2 ligd, & 3-5 ligd separately / 74-75: no lig / 75,4: not ligd / 75: 1 & 2 ligd / 77: no color / 95: cor over 5, & single custos / 96: as at 68 / 102: 1 & 2 ligd / 105-107: not ligd / 152,1-153,2: ligd / 154-155: no lig / 155: no lig.

Tenor; 1: the style and colours of the first letters of the voice name and text are the same as in the Contra at 1 except that the colours are reversed / 67: double custos / 68: as at 1 / 95: cor over 1, & single custos / 96: as at 1.

Bassus; 1: the style and colours of the first letters of the voice name and text are the same as the Tenor at 1 / 9: p div follows 2 / 23: p div follows 2 / 26: 1 not ligd, & p div follows 2 / 41: p div follows 2 / 67: 1 not col, & double custos / 68: as at 1 / 74: 4 C, & 5 replaced by sbr B sbr B / 78: 2 & 3 ligd, & 4-5 ligd separately / 93,2-94,1: ligd / 95: cor over 1, & single custos / 96: as at 1 / 138: 1 dtd / 141-145: ligd.

Underlay; this reading gives full Superius text plus more extensive partial texting in the Contra and Bassus than in Trent 88. The Tenor has the Ordinary text incipits ‘Et in terra’, ‘miserere nobis’ and ‘Cum sancto’ for each of the respective sections, and is only named as ‘Spiritus almus’ at the start of the first section.

ModC gives a reading which incorporates a few of the simpler variants in Lucca, and is otherwise not too distant from Trent 88 despite a slightly different approach to lower voice texting (see the Bassus split-note variant at 74).

(iv) CS 14 ff. 39v-41r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om (but only in this voice) & the first two staves of musical symbols are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule ‘E’ for the first letter of the text. / 9: p div follows 2 / 16,2-3: minor color / 25: 1 has sharp / 31: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 33: 5 & 6 replaced by m D / 41: 1 has natural / 43: 2 & 3 replaced by m D / 68: the m signs are present in all voices, & the first stave is indented for a majuscule ‘Q’ in the same style as the larger initial at the start / 69: 1 has natural / 72: 3 & 4 are dtd-sbr & m / 74: no lig / 77: 1 has sharp / 94: 3 om / 95: 2 has sharp, 3 is L with divisi, & single custos / 104: 1 has sharp / 111: not ligd / 118: 1 has sharp / 126: 1 & 2 ligd / 126,3-127,2: ligd separately / 156: single custos. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the first stave has a majuscule capital C for the voice-name decorated with penwork, & a p div follows 1,3 / 9: 1 has sharp / 11-25: this passage is on a single stave which has its C clef on the middle stave line instead of on the fourth line up / 20: 3 & 4 replaced by m D / 21: 4 & 5 replaced by m D / 22: 5 replaced by m D sm C sm D / 29: 3-5 are m sm sm / 30: p div follows 2 / 31: b ind before 31,1 / 40-63: this passage is all on two staves which have the middle-line C clef as before / 41: p div follows 2 / 52,3-53,1: replaced by sbr D m D / 65: no minor color / 68: the first letter of text here has a majuscule initial in the same style and size as at 1 / 70: 1 & 2 ligd, and 3-5 are ligd separately / 74-75: no lig / 75-76: likewise / 77: no color / 79: 1 has natural / 81: 5 & 6 not ligd, & squashed in as a correction / 95: cor over 1, & single custos / 105-107: no lig / 138: 1 has sharp / 142: 1 not ligd / 152,1-153,2: ligd.

Tenor primus; 1: the first stave has a majuscule ‘T’ for the voice name in the same style and size as the initial at the start of the Contratenor / 67: double custos / 68: there is a ‘T’ in the same style and size at the start of this section / 95: single custos.

Tenor secundus; 1: the first stave has a majuscule ‘T’ for the voice name in the same style and approximate size as the initial at the start of the Tenor primus / 9: p div follows 2 / 23: p div follows 2 / 47-48: ligd / 49,1: not ligd / 56-58: ligd / 59-60: ligd separately / 67: double custos / 68: the first stave has a majuscule ‘T’ for the voice name as at 1 / 76,2: replaced by br F br F / 78: 2 & 3 ligd, and 4-5 ligd as an upward oblique / 89: 1-3 ligd / 90,1-3: ligd separately / 94,1: uc due to lacuna / 95: single custos / 152,2-153,2: uc due to lacuna /

156: single custos.

Underlay; CS 14 has full Superius text and very extensive partial texting in the Contratenor and Tenor secundus in a smallish text hand. The Tenor primus merely has ‘Spiritus almus’ incipits for each section.

CS 14 has a few variants, but is not too distant from Trent 88.

Credo

(i) Trent 88 ff. 404v-407r;

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64, and the m sign is om / 38: 1 uc / 76: single custos / 78: 4 has sharp / 102: 1 has sharp / 110: single custos / 111: m sign om / 159,2; a crossed-out sbr G follows this note. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Tenor primus-Contra-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 14: 2 uc / 30: Trent 88 reads sbr E & br B, with the second note squashed in as a correction (emended using ModC, since the Trent 88 variant results in consecutive fifths with the lowest voice) / 46-rest in 48: written on a short end of stave extension / 76: 1 has sharp / 102: 1 has sharp / 110: single custos / 111: m sign om / 145: 1 has sharp.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete.

Tenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 68: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus and sectional cues plus a few internal incipits in the Contra and Tenor secundus. This setting seems to use the full Credo text, but in the supporting voices there are many omissions in my editorial text. At 54-55 the Tenor secundus needs a repeat of ‘Qui propter’, ‘Christum’ at 19 in the Superius is given as ‘xpum’, and ‘catholicam’ at 155-157 is spelt ‘katholicam’.

(ii) ModC ff. 122v-126r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave has a boxed, decorated and coloured capital ‘P’, & the initial m signs are present in all voices / 8: 3-4 have minor color instead of 5-6 / 35: no minor color / 42: 6 replaced by dtd-m C sm B / 45,4: ModC splits the first section after this note, with the rest of the section on a new page opening / 48: the first ‘p’ of the text here is given as a red decorated majuscule capital in the left margin / 48-49: no minor color / 71: no minor color / 76: double custos in all voices / 77: on the next page opening, the first ‘C’ of the text here is a capital in the same style and colour as at 48 / 78: no sharp / 98: under this rest is an upside down cs to indicate the cantus firmus entry / 102: no sharp / 105: 7-9 are m sm sm / 109: 5 E / 110: double custos in all voices / on the next page opening the first ‘E’ of the text here is a capital in the same style and colour as at 48, & the m sign is present in all voices / 156: 2-3 replaced by sbr D.

Contra; 1: both the voice name’s first letter and the first letter of text are majuscule decorated capitals, with the first mostly being in red and the second mostly in blue / 4: 2-4 are m sm sm / 11: upside down cs under 1 / 20: 4-6 are m sm sm / 34: no minor color / 36: likewise / 44,6-7: replaced by m D / 47: cs above 1 / 46: on a new page opening starting here, the voice name and letter ‘p’ of the text at 48 are given in the same style as at 1, but with the colours reversed / 49: no minor color / 58: likewise / 61: only one sbr rest given (implying that the previous L was imperfected by a single rest) / 76: no sharp, & 1-2 replaced by a divisi L whose pitches are A and F / 77: the voice name and letter ‘C’ of the text are given in the same style as at 1 / 83: cs over 1 / 98: upside down cs under 1 / 102: no sharp / 103: 3 & 4 ligd / 109,5-110,2: given as a single lig, with color at

110 / the voice name and letter 'E' of the text are given in the same style as at 46 / 123: cs above rest / 131: not ligd / 145: no sharp / 169: upside-down cs under the rest here.

Tenor; 1: both the first letter of the voice name and the 'v' of the 'visibilium' incipit here are capitals, respectively in red and blue and with red decoration / 46: at a new page opening starting here, the m sign is rptd and the first letters of the voice name and the 'p' of the 'per quem omnia' incipit are capitals in the same style as at 1 but with the colours reversed / 77: at a new page opening starting here, the first letter of the voice name and the 'E' of the 'Et resurrexit' incipit are capitals in the same style and colours as at 46 / 111: the same applies to the voice-name and capital 'q' of the 'Qui ex Patre' incipit here as at 77 / 169: cs above 1.

Bassus; 1: both the first letter of the voice name and the 'v' of the 'visibilium' incipit here are capitals, respectively in blue and red and with red decoration / 26: p div follows 2 / 27: 1 G / 46: at a new page opening starting here, the first letters of the voice name and the 'p' of the 'per quem omnia facta sunt' incipit are capitals in the same style as at 1 but with the colours reversed / 49: no minor color / 59: likewise / 64-67: ligd / 72: rest om, making the br in 72 perfect / 77: at a new page opening starting here, the first letters of the voice name and the 'p' of the 'per quem omnia facta sunt' incipit are capitals in the same style and colours as at 1 / 88: 1 & 2 ligd, & 3-4 ligd separately / 102: cs above 1 / 111: at a new page opening starting here, the first letter of the voice name and the 'q' of the 'Qui ex Patre' incipit are capitals in the same style and colours as at 46 / 143: 2 not ligd.

Underlay; full text in the Superius, with more extensive partial text in the Contra and Bassus than in Trent 88. The Tenor has Ordinary text incipits on each of the four page openings, and is only named as 'Spiritus almus' after the first section's 'visibilium' incipit.

ModC is very close to Trent 88, otherwise omitting some probably unnecessary sharps and being a carefully put together piece of work with more congruent signs than in the Trent reading. It also gives a better reading for the Contra at 30 than Trent 88.

(iii) CS 14 ff. 41v-44r;

[Superius]; 1: the m sign is om, & the first stave of musical symbols is indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'P' for the first letter of the text / 8: 3-4 have minor color instead of 5-6 / 17,4-5: minor color / 21,2-3: likewise / 28: 1 has sharp / 35: no minor color / 42: 6 replaced by dtd-m C sm B / 49: 3 replaced by col sbr C col m B / 71: no minor color / 73,3-4: minor color / 77: the first two staves of musical symbols on the second page opening are indented to make space for a majuscule 'C' in the same style as the initial at 1 / 78: 4 has sharp / 88-89: no lig / 102: 1 has sharp / 109: 5 E / 110: single custos / 111: at the start of a new page opening there is a majuscule 'E' in the same style as at 1, & the m signs are present in all voices / 139: 1 has natural / 156: 2-3 replaced by sbr D.

Contratenor; 1: the voice name has a majuscule decorated 'C' in the same size and style as the Superius, & the m sign is om / 4: 2-4 are m sm sm / 6: 1 has sharp / 20: 4-6 are m sm sm / 30: 1 om / 36: no minor color / 37: 1 has sharp / 44: 6-7 replaced by m D / 50: 1 has sharp / 58: no minor color / 59,1-2: minor color / 61: only one sbr rest given (implying that the previous L was imperfected by a single rest as in ModC) / 64: 1 has sharp / 76: 1 & 2 not col / 77: at the start of a new page opening, the voice name has a majuscule decorated 'C' in the same size and style as at 1 / 83: cs over 1 / 87,3-102: this passage is on two staves which both have their C clef on the middle stave line / 102: 1 has sharp / 103: here the clef changes back to C clef on fourth line up, & 103,3-4 are ligd instead of 103,1-2 / 110: 1 & 2 not col / 77: at the start of a new page opening the voice name has a majuscule decorated 'E' in the same size and style as the initial at 1 / 125: 1 has sharp / 131: not ligd / 145: 1 has sharp / 183,1-2: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 184: no lig / 193: replaced by L F.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and its first 'T' is a majuscule which is decorated and in the same size and style as the Superius initial at 1. / 22: uc due to lacuna / 55,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 77: at the start of a new page opening the voice name has a majuscule capital 'T' in the same size and style as the Superius initial at 77 / 99,2-3: uc due to lacuna / 111: the majuscule 'T' for the voice name which starts this section is in the same size and style as at 77 but only indents the musical symbols on a single stave.

Tenor secundus; 1: the first letter of the voice name is a majuscule decorated capital 'T' which indents the musical symbols on the first two staves, & the m sign is om / 49: no minor color / 59: likewise / 64: not ligd / 66-67: ligd / 77: the first letter of the voice-name is in the same style and size as the initial at 1, but only indents the musical symbols on the first stave of this section / 88: 1-2 ligd, and 3-4 ligd separately as an upward oblique / 100,4-5: this lig written as an upward oblique / 101-102,1: ligd / 111: the first letter of the voice name is a majuscule 'T' like at 1, but which only indents the musical symbols on a single stave / 143: 2 not ligd / 171: 1 not ligd / 177,2-178,1: this lig is written as an upward oblique / 179: upside down cs under 1 / 180-183: not ligd / 193: not ligd.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with cantus firmus incipits in the Tenor primus and almost full texting in the other parts. The size of the text hand in CS 14 is small compared with the notes as in the Gloria, hence the thorough texting.

Like ModC, CS 14 gives a reading close to Trent 88 but includes several probably superfluous sharps and also has a difficulty in the Contratenor at 30 as Trent 88 does.

(iv) Poz 7022 pp. 17, 27 and 28;

The three sides of music which preserve part of this movement in Poz 7022 give part of the Superius and Tenor primus for sections 2 and 3 (p. 28) and parts of sections 1, 2 and 3 for the other voices (pp. 17 and 27). Perz's inventory gives foliation for all pages in this source instead of page numbers, but his numbering was based on fascicular reconstruction rather than what pages of the manuscript now exist. The folio numbers that he gave for Domarto's Mass in Poz 7022 are 8r-9v, 11r-12v, and a question-marked 13r-16r.

[Superius]; 86: this is where the surviving music begins on p. 28, on a badly damaged stave on which the clef is lost and where the first stave of music (86-93) is hard to read. / 87,4: obliterated by a lacuna / 88: 5-6 ligd / 88-89: no lig / 90: 4-5 ligd / 91,3-92,2: replaced by br D / 92,3-4: replaced by sbr B / 94-96,3: this passage was at the beginning of a stave where the clef and also these notes are now lost / 102: 1 has sharp / 104: 3 not ligd, & 4-5 ligd / 106,3-107,2: ligd / 107,3-108,3: as at 94 this passage at the beginning of a stave is now missing / 109: 5 is sm E / 119,2: replaced by sbr E sbr E / 123: cs over rest / 129-132: as at 107 / 138: 2 replaced by sm B sm A / 147,3: uc due to lacuna / 155,2-158,1: as at 107 / 169,2: replaced by sbr A sbr A / 171: 1 & 2 ligd / 178-181,1: as at 107 / 183: 1 & 2 ligd / 192: 2 & 3 replaced by col sbr C. The voice order seems to have been the same as in Trent 88.

[Contra]; 15: this is where the surviving music begins on p. 27 / 18,1-2: replaced by dtd-br G / 19-28: uc due to lacuna / 20: 4-6 are m sm sm / 31: 1 is sbr / 34: 4-5 replaced by m F sm E sm D / 36: no minor color / 40: 2-3 replaced by sm D sm C sm B sm A / 41-42: obliterated by a lacuna / 44: 6 & 7 replaced by m D / 47: 1 & 2 ligd / 49: no minor color / 50: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-br C / 54,2-57: missing due to page cut / 58: no minor color / 59,1-2: minor color / 61: only 1 sbr rest given as in ModC and CS 14 / 62: 4-6 replaced by sbr B / 70,5-72: lost due to page cut / 76: 1 & 2 replaced by divisi L A & F with cor above, and the rest of the surviving Contra is on p. 17 / 77-85,1: missing / 85,2-3: ligd / 86: 2 replaced by sbr G sbr G / 87: 3-4 replaced by br G / 87,5-96: missing due to lacuna / 97: 1 & 2 ligd / 98: 3 A / 102: 1 has sharp / 103: 3 & 4 ligd / 105: 2-5 are all m / 105,7-109,2: missing due to page cut / 110: no lig or color, & 1 is replaced by dtd-sbr F & m G / 111: m sign given as cut-C / 123: cs over rest / 126-127: ligd / 128-144: missing due to page cut / 145: no sharp, & 1 replaced by dtd-sbr C m C / 149: 2 replaced by sm E sm D / 151,1-152,1: replaced by br A / 154: 1 & 2 ligd

/ 155: likewise / 156-157: ligd, & 157,1-2 replaced by br E / 179-185: missing due to page cut / 193: 1 has sharp for lower divisi note, plus cor above A.

[Tenor primus]; 83: this is where the Tenor primus part begins on p. 28 but the clef, m sign and part of the first note are cut off / 98,1: a sign like a repeat mark is given below the stave here for no apparent reason / 105-110: almost obliterated by a lacuna, but a cor above 110 is visible as are a few of the preceding note stems / 111-126: uc due to lacuna / 170-193: missing.

[B]assus; 1: this part begins on the lower part of p. 27. The first stave has an indented F clef on the fourth line up instead of the middle stave line, & the m sign is om / 10: cs above rest / 15-18: ligd, & with 17,1-2 replaced by br D / 22-23: ligd, & with 23,1-3 replaced by br G / 28: not ligd / 31,1: this note is partially cut off, & 31,2-33 are missing due to a page cut / 47-48: replaced by ligd br C br D / 49: no minor color / 56,2: uc due to lacuna / 58,1-2: replaced by dtd-br A / 59: 1-2 replaced by sbr A / 60-62,1: missing due to page cut / 69: not ligd, & replaced by br C sbr C / 70,1-2: ligd / 72: rest replaced by sbr A / 75,2-76: obliterated by a lacuna, and the rest of the surviving music is on the lower half of p. 17 / 88: 1 & 2 ligd, & 3-5 ligd separately / 89-97: missing due to page cut / 99,1: not ligd, 2 not ligd, & 3-4 ligd / 100: 1-3 ligd / 101,1-4: ligd / 102: not ligd / 103,1-2: replaced by dtd-L / 109-124,1: missing due to page cut / 131: 2 D / 132: replaced by sbr B sbr B / 143: 2 not ligd / 146-193: missing due to page cut.

Underlay; what is preserved of this reading leaves the Superius and Tenor untexted, & the Contra and Bassus have the following incipits. Contra: 'cuius regni' / 'Et in Spiritum' / 'Qui locutus est'. Bassus: 'Et resurrexit' / 'mortuos' / 'cuius regni' / 'qui cum] Patre et Filio'.

Poz 7022 is distant from the other readings and incorporates many differences in variants, split or joined notes, and ligatures.

Sanctus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 407v-409r;

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 28: p div follows 6 / 29: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 34: single custos / 35: 'Duo' ind in Superius only / 55: single custos in both active voices / 56: p div follows 2 / 67: 3 has sharp / 68: the double custos in the middle of a cantus firmus statement here is only given in this voice and the Tenor secundus / 72: p div follows 2 / 86: single custos / 87: the m sign is given as cut-C, roughly drawn in the left margin / 184,1: corr from G by erasure of an oblique ligature end.

Contra; 1: m sign om / 9,1: this note is squashed in / 21: p div follows 2 / 23: p div follows 3 / 67: 1 has sharp / 83: p div follows 2.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 34: the unusual appearance of the Tenor primus here (with a cadential breve followed by a perfect sbr rest) is because the initial cantus firmus statement in this movement is split into two with a Tenorless duet intervening. / 87: in both lower voices, the m signs are roughly drawn and are given before first staves as in the Superius.

Tenor secundus; 1: m sign om / 25: 1 is sbr, intended for alteration / 34: one br rest is given following 1, & no 'Tacet' direction is given / 72: p div follows 2 / 73: erasure follows 1.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus. The two other voices have sectional incipits plus a few internal cues. At 30-31 the Contra needs a repeat of 'Sabaoth', and at 61-68 both upper voices need repeats of 'tua'. Also at 73-76 the Contra needs repeats of 'Osanna' and at 108-129 it needs a repeat of 'Benedictus'.

(ii) Lucca ff. 15r-16r;

[Superius]; one page is missing and consequently this voice begins at 87, where the 'B' of 'Benedictus' is a large capital in the left margin. The m sign is given as C in all voices. / 106: not ligd / 168-169: ligd / 197: the final double custos is faded and not really visible. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: the first stave is slightly indented for make space for a majuscule decorated capital 'S', & the m sign is om / 23: no p div / 34: a single br rest follows 1 together with a 'Duo' marking before the double custos / 55: double custos / 67: 1 has sharp / 68: no custos / 86: single custos / 87: the 'B' of 'Benedictus' is a medium-sized capital at the start of a new page / 109: 3-5 are m sm sm / 135: not ligd / 155,3-156,1: ligd.

Tenor primus; as in the Superius the first page is missing & this voice begins at 87. There are no further discrepancies.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on the first page opening, the 'T' of the voice name is a majuscule decorated capital given before the first stave, & the m sign is om / 34: one br rest is given following 1, together with an on-stave 'Pleni sunt tacet' instruction in large script / 68: cor over 1, but no custos / 86: following 1 is the on-stave instruction 'verte folium Wagh'es' in the same style as at 34 (Wagh'es was one of the scribes of Lucca) / 197: 1 not ligd.

Underlay; what survives of Lucca is fully texted in all voices, with cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus.

The Lucca and Trent 88 readings are very close.

(iii) ModC ff. 126v-128r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave has a boxed, decorated and coloured capital 'S', & the initial m signs are present in all voices / 9: no minor color / 12: 1 dtd / 13-16,1: ModC reads sbr rest plus br F dtd-sbr F m G sbr A & dtd-sbr A m G br E / 29,1-30,1: replaced by col L / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices, with the Superius Duo marking being at the start of a stave which begins at 33,1. The 'P' of 'Pleni' is a red majuscule with decoration. / 39: no minor color / 43: 1 dtd / 44: ModC reads sbr rest plus imperfect br F / 53: no minor color / 54,2-3: minor color / 55: double custos / 59: no minor color / 62 & 66: likewise / 67: no sharp, & 3 is br / 69: the 'O' of 'Osanna' is a red decorated majuscule like the initial at 35 / 75: no minor color / 86: double custos / 87: the 'B' of 'Benedictus' is a blue majuscule with red decoration (in the same size as previous internal sectional initials) & the m sign is given as cut-C in all voices except the Tenor / 105-108: ligd, with a cs over 108 / 132-134: ligd / 136,2-139: no lig / 168-169: ligd / 195: 1 & 2 are both m / 197: following the double custos is an 'Osanna ut supra' instruction, which is incorrect because it would call for repetition of the ending of a cantus firmus statement. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: both the voice name's first letter and the first letter of text are majuscule decorated capitals, with the first mostly being in red and the second mostly in blue / 23: no p div / 29: 1 & 2 replaced by dtd-sbr E / 35: the first 'P' of 'Pleni' is a blue majuscule capital decorated in red / 55: not ligd, & double custos / 67: double custos / 69: on a new page opening the first letter of the voice name and the first letter of text are majuscule decorated capitals as at 1, except that the colours are reversed / 74: 1 & 2 replaced by br F / 87: the first letter of 'Benedictus' is a red decorated majuscule capital / 109: 3-5 are m sm sm / 155,3-156,1: ligd.

Tenor; 1: both the first letter of the voice name and the first 'S' of the 'Sanctus' incipit here are capitals, respectively in red and blue and with red decoration / 34: 'Pleni tacet' is given on the stave following the double custos / 56: m sign rptd at the start of a new stave / 67: no cor / 68: at the start of a new page opening, the 'T' of 'Tenor' is a red decorated capital / 86: 'Osanna ut supra' is given on the stave following the double custos / 175: upside down cs under 1.

Bassus; 1: both the voice name first letter and the first 'S' of the text are majuscule decorated capitals, with the first mostly being in red and the second mostly in blue / 20-21: not ligd / 26: 1 & 2 replaced by br F / 34: a single breve rest follows 1, & 'Pleni tacet' is given on the stave following the double custos / 56: m sign rptd / 67: cor over 1 / 68: at the start of a new page opening, the 'B' of 'Bassus' and the 'O' of 'Osanna' are decorated capitals, with the first being mostly blue and the second mostly red / 74-78: ligd / 110: no sharp / 129: cs over 1, probably to indicate the end of a duet subsection / 133-135: ligd / 136-139: ligd / 175-177: replaced by dtd-L / 197: 'Osanna ut supra' written following the double custos, on the stave.

Underlay; full text in the Superius, with very extensive partial text in the Contra plus a few less internal text cues in the Bassus. The Tenor has 'Sanctus' and 'Spiritus almus' at its start, and then Ordinary-text sectional incipits at 'gloria tua', 'Osanna' and 'in nomine'.

ModC is close to Trent 88 apart from a single issue concerning text. It extends the internal text of the duple section so that this ends with 'Domini', and then gives ut supra directions for the repeat of the first Osanna. This makes the ModC Sanctus inconsistent with all other movements since it is the only one that calls for part-repetition of a cantus firmus statement.

(iv) CS 14 ff. 44v-46r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave of musical symbols is indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'S' for the first letter of the text, & the m sign is om in all voices except the Tenor primus. / 9: no minor color / 13-16,1: CS 14 reads sbr rest with cs above, plus br F dtd-sbr F m G sbr A & dtd-sbr A m G br E / 17: 1 has sharp / 34: a single br rest follows 1, & then single instead of double custos / 35: 'Duo' ind in both voices / 39: no minor color / 53 & 59: likewise / 62: 1 has sharp, & no minor color / 65,2-3: no lig / 66: no minor color / 67: 3 has sharp plus cor above, & no double custos / 75: no minor color / 87: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a majuscule 'B' in the same style as the initial at 1, & the m sign is given as cut-C in all voices except the Tenor primus. / 106: not ligd / 146: this lig is given as an upward oblique / 168-169: ligd / 170-172: no lig / 175: 1 has natural / 180: as at 146 / 181: likewise. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'C' for the first letter of the voice name / 3: not ligd / 13: cs above 1 / 34: 1 has sharp, & single custos / 41-42: no lig / 55: not ligd / 57,1-2: this lig is given as an upward oblique / 66,3-4: likewise / 68: no custos / 71,1-2: as at 57 / 87: at the start of a new page opening the voice name's first letter is in the same style and size as at 1 / 107: upside down cs under the dot on this br / 109: 3-5 are m sm sm / 136: as at 57 / 145-197: the last three staves of this voice use C clef on the middle stave line / 155,3-156,1: ligd / 164,2-165,1: as at 57 / 176: likewise.

Tenor [primus]; 1: all musical symbols on the first stave are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'T' for the first letter of the voice name, & the voice name is incomplete / 34: single custos, followed by an on-stave 'Pleni tacet' instruction / 86: single custos / 87: at the start of a new page opening the first two staves of musical symbols are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'T' for the first letter of the voice name / 141-142: this lig is given as an upward oblique.

Tenor secundus; 1: the first letter of the voice name has a first letter in the same size and style as the Tenor primus at 1 / 34: a single br rest follows 1, and then a single custos plus an on-stave 'Pleni tacet' instruction / 68: cor over 1, followed by single custos / 79-80: no lig / 87: as at 1 / 125: b ind before 122 / 193-194: no lig / 197: not ligd.

Underlay; full text in the Superius plus cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus, together with the incipits 'sanctus' and 'gloria tua' plus 'Osanna in excelsis'. The other voices are both fully texted.

CS 14 is another reading close to that of Trent 88.

(v) Poz 7022 p. 18;

The single side of the Sanctus in this set of fragments consists of parts of the Superius and Tenor primus.

[Superius]; on the first stave (which is damaged) only 28,6 and 32,2-6 are visible / 35-37,3: missing due to page cut / 38: 3 & 4 are dtd-m & sm / 39: no minor color / 41: 2 & 3 replaced by m E m F / 43: 1 is dtd / 44: replaced by sbr rest & imperfect br / 45,1-2: minor color / 45,5-48,4: missing due to page cut / 49: 3 replaced by dtd-m A & sm B / 53: no minor color / 53,6: replaced by dtd-m F sm E / 55: cor over 1 / 56-57: replaced by col ligd L E br G / 59-62,3: as at 35 / 65,2-3: no lig, & 3 replaced by dtd-m B sm A / 66: 4-5 replaced by sbr D / 67: 3 not col / 72: no p div / 75-80,4: as at 35 / 84,4-85,1: replaced by dtd-m A sm G dtd-m F sm E. No more music for this voice survives after 86, and presumably the manuscript voice order was the same as in Trent 88.

[Tenor primus]; 1-16: missing due to page cut / 34: 'Pleni tacet' is written on the stave / 64-72,1: as at 1-16 / 86: cor over 1. No more music survives beyond this point.

Underlay; in the Superius only the words '-us Sa'- and '-ni sunt ce-' are given. The Tenor primus has a 'Sanctus' incipit.

As with the Poz 7022 Credo, this reading is distant from the other sources.

Agnus

(i) Trent 88 ff. 409v-410r;

[Superius]; 1: the m signs are om in all voices except the Tenor primus / 20: 1 has sharp / 29: 'Duo' ind in both voices, but both also have C as their m sign. This has been emended to C2 since at this point ModC also gives a diminished sign (cut-C) / 90: no 'ut supra' direction given for Agnus III. The manuscript voice order is Superius-Contra-Tenor primus-Tenor secundus.

Contra; 18: 4 A (corr using ModC) / 19,1: uc due to lacuna / 23,3: corr from err col, with 'a' (for 'alba') under the note / 90: single custos.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete.

Tenor secundus; 6: p div follows 2.

Underlay; full text in the Superius and cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus, with sectional incipits for the other two voices plus some internal text cues at the end of the first section.

(ii) Lucca ff. 16v-17r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave is indented to make space for a decorated majuscule capital 'A', & the m sign is om in all voices except the Tenor primus / 20: no sharp / 29: the 'A' of 'Agnus' is a small capital in the left margin, 'Duo' is ind in Contra only, & the m sign in both duet voices is given as C as in Trent 88 / 43-44: no minor color / 90: no 'ut supra' direction given in any voice. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

[Contra]; 1: no voice name given, & the first 'A' of the text is a majuscule capital in the left margin / 17,2-3: uc due to fading / 17,4-18,1: ligd / 19: 1-2 ligd, & 3 not ligd / 24: 4-6 are m sm sm / 76,1-2: obscured by later additions in large writing / 88: 1 & 2 ligd / 89-90: ligd separately.

Tenor primus; 1: the 'T' of the voice name is a majuscule decorated capital / 6: 2 not ligd / 7: 1 & 2 ligd / 28: following the double custos '2us tacet' is written on the stave.

Tenor [secundus]; 1: the 'T' of the voice name is a majuscule decorated capital, and the voice name is incomplete / 28: following the double custos '2. Agnus tacet' is written on the stave.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with cantus firmus text in the Tenor and extensive texting in the other two voices. In Agnus II the Contra has full text.

Lucca is close to Trent 88, even to the point of giving the same presumably wrong mensuration sign for the duet section.

(iii) ModC ff. 128v-129r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave has a boxed, decorated and coloured capital 'A', & the initial m signs are present in all voices / 6: 1 & 2 ligd / 7: no sharp / 20: likewise / 26,5-6: minor color / 29: 'Duo' ind in both voices, the 'A' of 'Agnus' is a decorated red capital in the left margin, and the m sign is given as cut-C in both voices / 41-42: no lig / 42,1-2: ligd / 43-44: no minor color / 47: no sharp / 52-53: no lig / 53,1-54,1: ligd / 64: not ligd / 69,3-70,2: replaced by col br & col sbr / 87,2-88,2: ligd. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contra; 1: both the voice name's first letter and the first letter of text are majuscule decorated capitals, with the first mostly being in red and the second mostly in blue / 17,4-18,5: ligd / 18: 3 E / 19: 1-2 ligd, & 3 not ligd / 24: 4-6 are m sm sm / 70-71: ligd / 88: 1 & 2 ligd / 89-90: ligd separately.

Tenor; 1: the 'T' of the voice name is a blue capital with red decoration, & the first 'A' of Agnus is a red capital / 6,2-7,1: no lig / 7: 1-2 ligd.

Bassus; 1: the 'B' of the voice name is a red capital with decoration, and the first 'A' of 'Agnus' is a blue capital with red decoration / 26-27: no lig / 27: 1-2 ligd, & 3 not ligd.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius. The Tenor has an 'Agnus Dei' incipit and then 'Spiritus almus', and the Contra has 'Agnus Dei qui tollis' in the first section plus full text in Agnus II. The Bassus has full Agnus I text but does not give the different Agnus III ending as the Superius does.

ModC is another reading which is close to Trent 88.

(iv) CS 14 ff. 46v-47r;

[Superius]; 1: the first stave of musical symbols is indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'A' for the first letter of the text / 12,1-2: minor color / 14: sbr rest om / 19,1-2: minor color / 20: natural sign given before rest, & no sharp / 26,5-6: minor color / 28: single custos / 29: 'Duo' ind in both voices, and the m sign in both voices is cut-C / 43-44: no minor color / 47: natural instead of sharp / 52-53: this lig given as an upward oblique / 80: no lig / 85: as at 52-53 / 90: no 'ut supra' direction given. The manuscript voice order is the same as in Trent 88.

Contratenor; 1: the first stave of musical symbols is indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule 'C' for the first letter of the voice name, & the m sign is om. / 19: 1-2 ligd instead of 2-3 / 24: 4-6

are m sm sm / 70: this lig given as an upward oblique / 84: likewise / 88: 1 & 2 ligd / 89-90: ligd separately.

Tenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, and the first two staves of musical symbols are indented to make space for a large penwork-decorated majuscule ‘T’ for the first letter of the voice name. / 6,2-7,2: col / 16,1-2: this lig is given as an upward oblique / 19: p div follows 6.

Tenor secundus; 1: the ‘T’ of the voice name is in the same style and size as the Tenor primus initial, but occupies the start of the otherwise empty stave above this part as well as the stave where this part begins. Also the m sign is om. / 28: on the stave below the end of this voice, ‘secundus Agnus tacet’ is written.

Underlay; full Agnus I text in the Superius, Contra and Tenor secundus, plus cantus firmus text in the Tenor primus. No provision is made for Agnus III.

CS 14 gives another reading close to that of Trent 88.

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Structure

Petrus de Domarto’s *Missa Spiritus almus* survives in five sources, of which three give complete readings. It is therefore a very well distributed work for a continental mid-century cyclic Mass, but little is known about its composer. He is recorded as a singer at the church of Our Lady in Antwerp in 1449, and was in Tournai in 1451. He was considered for employment at Cambrai Cathedral in that year but was passed over in favour of a certain ‘Paulus Iuvenis’. Documents also survive which show that a Petrus Domart alias Hamyon, (a cleric of Arras) submitted two petitions in 1443-1444 for papal dispensation over illegitimacy to obtain admission to minor orders. This might have been our composer. He may also have been related to the Reginaldus de Domarto who was master of the choirboys at St Pierre, Lille, in 1457–58 and both musicians may have come from the small town of Domart-en-Ponthieu.⁵² Reinhard Strohm has suggested that Domarto may be identifiable with the Pierre Maillart who knew Dufay, but no evidence has been found to support this.⁵³ Likewise, a possible identification with the ‘Pietro Domarlla Francioso’ who worked at Siena in 1447-48 has no documentary support yet.⁵⁴ Apart from this Mass only three other works survive by Domarto; a three-voice Mass and two three-voice chansons.⁵⁵ He is mentioned disapprovingly four times in Tinctoris’s *Proportionale* of 1472-73 and once equally negatively in the same author’s *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477. These citations of Domarto concern notational practice and dissonance technique. Much of the work on Domarto and the *Missa Spiritus almus* has been done by Rob Wegman in his outstanding 1990 article on this Mass. My account is by necessity shorter than the latter, and will concentrate in part on varying aspects of the different readings. Apart from the poorly preserved fragment Poz 7022 the sources for this Mass are mostly very legible in reproduction and therefore provide students with an excellent introduction in comparison of mid-century cyclic Mass sources. Before the internet age quality photographs of the Trent and Sistine manuscripts and the Lucca fragments were hard to obtain. Now that we have good reproductions one of the best uses for them is in comparative studies.

⁵² For biographical information see Wegman, *op. cit.*, plus the same author’s article on Domarto in The New Grove.

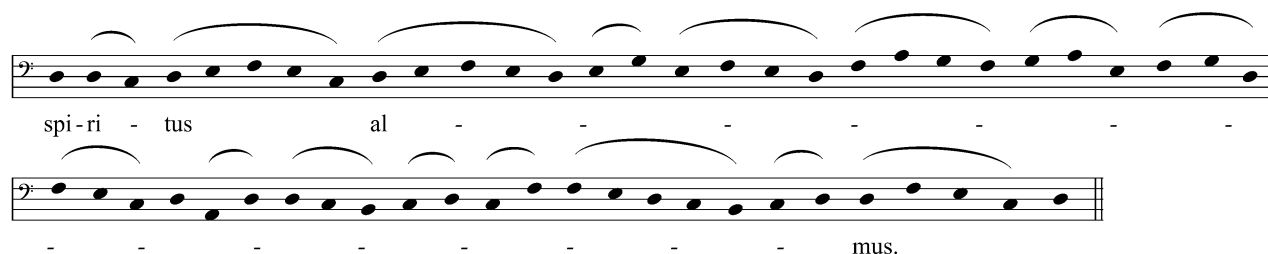
⁵³ See Strohm, R., Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985) p. 124.

⁵⁴ See D’Accone, F., The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance (University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 175.

⁵⁵ The other works are a three-voice Mass in SP B80 whose Kyrie is the work of a different composer (Egidius Cervelli) plus the three-voice chansons *Je vis tous jours* (in EscB and Pix) and *Chelui qui est* in Florence 176. The three-voice Mass is published as no. 17 in the DIAMM Trent 89 edition and also in Kidger, *op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 1-20.

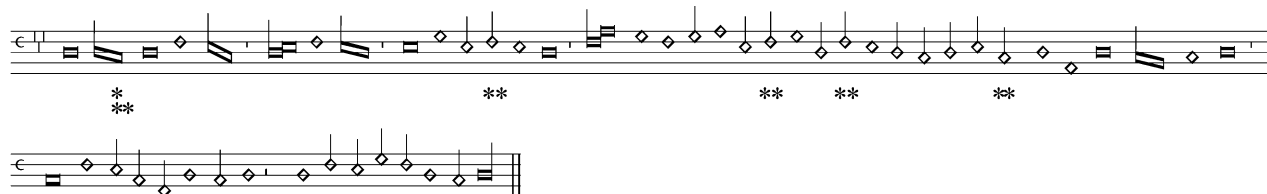
The cantus firmus of this voice (given exclusively in the voice named Tenor primus) is the final melisma in the Marian Responsory *Stirps Iesse*, whose text relates the story of the tree of Jesse. Domarto transposes the borrowed chant up a fifth. The whole chant was also used by Busnois as the cantus firmus in his motet *Anima mea*, where the ‘Spiritus almus’ section is given special prominence. As Wegman shows, the two versions of the chant used are not close and there is probably no direct connection between the two works. But this final phrase of the chant may have had some sort of special significance amongst polyphonists. There are other surviving works from the thirteenth century onwards which relate to the tree of Jesse.⁵⁶

4.12. The *Spiritus almus* melisma;⁵⁷



Domarto’s Tenor primus turns this melisma into a cantus firmus whose notes are graphically immutable (i.e. they always remains the same) but whose durations can be changed by the placement of different mensuration signs at the start of successive statements. The rests before its start and after the eighteenth note also vary. In mensurations with perfect prolation and also in O mensuration (which has perfect tempus) alteration plays a part in changing some note values. This type of Tenor has acquired the name mensural transformation Tenor, and in the following example asterisked notes indicate values which are subject to alteration in O. Double asterisked notes indicate values which are subject to alteration in the mensurations dotted-C and dotted-O.⁵⁸ For those unfamiliar with the principles of alteration I suggest that the following example is compared with the edition score.

4.13. The *Spiritus almus* Tenor primus;



In all full sections except Kyrie I and II and Agnus I, the Tenor primus is to be sung in augmented values. No verbal instructions accompany the Tenor primus here, and strictly speaking none are necessary where the cantus firmus proceeds in C against the C2 of the outer voices (i.e. in the *Christe* and *Benedictus*).

⁵⁶ Notably thirteenth-century motets which use the ‘flos filius’ part of the same chant as their Tenor, the fourteenth-century motet *Orto sole* in [Cgc 512](#), the motet *O radix Jesse* in [TuB](#), and also the [Trent 89](#) motet *Odas clangat* (which is largely textless but has the lower-voice cue ‘Iesse produxit’).

⁵⁷ Taken from the version of *Stirps Iesse* in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale ms 38, ff. 330r-v. This manuscript is a thirteenth century antiphonal from Cambrai with later additions.

⁵⁸ Wegman, ‘Petrus de Domarto’s Missa *Spiritus almus*’... discusses possibly earlier examples of similar Tenors in detail, in particular in the Missa *Te Deum* from [Trent 89](#) and also the late fourteenth century motet *Inter densas* from [Chantilly 564](#). I might add here that there are other early examples, such as the solitary structured Tenor given as no. 66 in [John Dunstable Complete Works](#) (revised version, 1970) and the Tenor of the [Trent 88](#) motet *Advenisti / Lauda Syon*. However, the Missa *Te Deum* and the [Trent 88](#) motet have faults meaning that their Tenor schemes only work ‘on paper’.

Concerning the cantus firmus part in triple-meter sections, Tinctoris was a strong critic of the use of dotted-C and dotted-O mensurations in augmented Tenors without verbal instructions such as ‘crescit in duplo’ to indicate simple augmentation. An alternative solution which he suggested was to follow a dotted-C with a proportional cipher indicating the augmentation involved (for example, a ‘1’ with a ‘2’ under it). But in *Spiritus almus* Domarto did neither, and was therefore using the dotted mensural signs simultaneously as a mensuration and also a proportion. Le Rouge, Pullois and Dufay attracted criticism from Tinctoris for similar reasons.⁵⁹ I shall return to other citations by Tinctoris concerning Domarto in due course.

The basic layout of this Mass is tripartite in all movements except the Sanctus, and with the Agnus I serving as an ut supra Agnus III. The mensurations throughout and places where augmentation are applied are as follows.⁶⁰

TABLE 4.6
Mensurations in the Missa Spiritus almus

Section	Outer voices	Tenor primus	Comments
Kyrie I	O	O	No cantus firmus augmentation.
Christe	C2	C	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Kyrie II	O	O	No cantus firmus augmentation.
Et in terra	O	Ⓒ	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Qui tollis	O2	O	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Cum sancto	C2	C3	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Patrem	O	Ⓒ	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Crucifixus	O2	O	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Et in Spiritum	C2	C3	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Sanctus	O	Ⓒ	First half of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Pleni sunt	O	n/a	Tenorless duet
gloria tua	O	Ⓒ	Third quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Osanna I	O	Ⓒ	Fourth quarter of cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Benedictus	C2	C	Cantus firmus in simple augmentation.
Agnus I / III	O	O	No cantus firmus augmentation.
Agnus II	C2	n/a	Tenorless duet

Two further aspects of mensural usage here were criticised by Tinctoris. Firstly, the use of O2 against O in the Qui tollis and Crucifixus sections. According to Tinctoris the ‘2’ in this compound sign indicated *dupla*, but Domarto was using O2 to indicate perfect minor modus with triple division of the long. No doubt the theorist would also have objected to the Tenor primus in these sections being in augmented O mensuration without a verbal canon or a proportional cipher. The other sign error which concerned Tinctoris was the use of C3 in the final sections of the Gloria and Credo. Since there is no dot in the ‘C’ of C3 the division of the semibreve - according to logic - must be duple. But here it is not; the augmented C3 sections act like dotted-C mensuration in every respect. Strictly speaking, C3 would have been correct and one source actually uses this sign.⁶¹ Wegman observes that it is unusual to find such a concentration of mensural inconsistencies in a

⁵⁹ See Wegman, *op. cit.* p. 254. For the Tinctoris citation of Domarto see Woodley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 362.

⁶⁰ The signs given in this table have been made consistent in accordance with those in the edition score.

⁶¹ For these two mentions by Tinctoris see Wegman, *op. cit.* p. 256 and Woodley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 370-371 and 372.

single work, and also that Domarto's Mass was probably significant in spreading the contamination of the mensural system which Tinctoris objected to. Of the mensural problems cited by Tinctoris the use of augmentational dotted mensural signs is widely known elsewhere, as is the use of O2 as a mensuration.⁶² Therefore the theorist seems to have been arguing for a purer and more consistent practice in the music of his own time, as theorists tend to do.

All movements of this Mass begin and end on D, but the cantus firmus carrying Tenor primus is permitted fourths against the Superius and it is the Tenor secundus which is the structurally essential lowest voice. Apart from acting as a real Tenor this part can also be bass-like. The sources present some difficulties with the naming of the lower parts.⁶³ The Superius has a motto opening in the first four movements in which the first seven pitches are identical, and all of these openings are only accompanied by the Contratenor. The Agnus opening presents most of the previous Superius theme in the Tenor secundus, and gives an independent Superius part above it. Internal subdivision openings are not that well connected, with only the Cum sancto, Crucifixus and Benedictus resembling each other. All subdivision openings are on D or use constructs on D apart from those in the Christe, gloria tua and Osanna I sections (these start on A or use constructs on A). The Gloria and Credo movement endings are related and both use sesquialtera in their outer voices. Unusually for a four-part mid-century Mass the Tenor primus never crosses beneath the structurally essential Tenor secundus, although the Contra briefly goes beneath the Tenor secundus in the Benedictus section. The Tenor primus has some G-A movement throughout, and while it can of course be performed without any accidentals this would result in some cadences on A without sharpened leading notes. My version adds an editorial ficta sharp just once in the cantus firmus, at Kyrie measure 16. Repeating this sharp in subsequent statements seems to be safe although it results in briefly simultaneous false relations at Credo 56, and there is one similar instance where I would not apply this accidental (at Sanctus 66). That is as near to complete consistency as the pitches of this particular Tenor seem to be able to manage. I will return to accidentals later in this discussion, as some of those in the outer voices pose considerable problems.

The *Missa Spiritus almus* essentially has a simple texture. There is much decorated triadic movement in the upper voices over the sustained D's and A's in the lower voices, and considerable use of lower-voice trio passages to vary the texture as at Kyrie 8-9 and 17-19. Apart from at section openings protracted internal duet passages are rare, but the Christe gives a brief lower-voice duet passage and the Benedictus gives two successive duet pairings before its cantus firmus enters. The various ways in which the composer harmonises the outer voices against the Tenor tend to fall into formulas, so that identical cantus firmus passages in different movements tend to have similar outer voices. For example the cantus firmus has B-A at Gloria 27-28 and Credo 33-34, and these passages resemble each other. So do the last three measures of the Gloria and Credo, and also the endings of duet passages involving the cantus firmus at Kyrie 64-68 and Credo 99-102. Where G-A movement in the Tenor primus does not result in cadences in A, it is often used as the middle degree of a doubled leadingnote cadence. Another sound that is heard quite frequently throughout is harmonic movement above a sustained E before a cadence on A occurs (as at Kyrie 11-12). Apart from the sesquialtera passages there are no accelerative drive passages throughout, and no real complexities. The harmonic pace is sometimes as simple as one construct per outer-voice measure (see Gloria 8-9, 46-48 and Sanctus 79-80) and occasionally one construct per double outer-voice measure (see Gloria 87-88 and Credo 64-65). The last section of the Credo relies heavily on syllabic writing much as is found in Masses by Ockeghem and Touront. Apart from some two-voice instances imitation is absent (see Credo 34-39 and the Agnus II duet at 49-55) and the voices are rather stratified in terms of musical activity with the Superius having the greatest quantity of small values. These features recall structured motet techniques.

⁶² O2 occurs in some of the [Trent 88](#) Proper settings, which probably date from the 1440's. Tenors using augmentational dotted-C are also found in Dunstable's *Missa Da gaudiorum* and Gloria-Credo pair on *Jhesu Christe Fili Dei*, Faugues's *Missa La bassedanse* and the [Trent 89](#) *Missa De cuer je soupier*. Both of the latter probably predate 1455.

⁶³ [ModC](#) consistently calls the Tenor primus and secundus 'Tenor' and 'Bassus', other sources are lax in naming the cantus firmus voice as a 'primus', and [Lucca](#) does not always label the lowest voices as 'secundus'.

The dissonance technique calls for some comment. Tinctoris objects to Domarto making a whole semibreve a discord and cites the Contratenor and Tenor secundus from Gloria, 19-21 as an example of this.⁶⁴ He also cites Busnois's chanson *Maintes femmes* for committing a similar error (note that this is another piece with a structurally interesting Tenor, derived from verbal instructions). There is also more in this Mass that observers of consonance and dissonance might question, such as the brief second between the Superius and cantus firmus part in a cadential cliché at Kyrie 106-107. In addition the approach to the final cadences in Kyrie I, the Et in terra, Osanna I and Agnus I sections all feature Tenor B naturals against Superius F. The diminished intervals pass quickly in each case, but there could have been more conventional ways of writing the outer parts here. Likewise, the way in which the Superius is written against the cantus firmus in a duet passage allows a brief second between these voices at 136. Once more, the progression hardly sounds but the Superius could have been written differently. Occasionally in full sections doubled thirds occur (as at Gloria 21 and Sanctus 27), and consecutive fifths can also occur between the Superius and Tenor primus (see Gloria 94-95). Wegman characterises Domarto's writing as crude in comparison with later cyclic works, but I think that there is an explanation for at least some of the features cited here. Quite simply, the composer's stylistic models may have been English or Binchois-like pieces of the 1430's and 1440's where the rather fastidious application of consonance and dissonance that is apparent in Tinctoris's writings did not yet exist. The suggestion that Domarto's four-part Mass might have been considered rather old in the terms of the 1460's and '70's is borne out by some of the features of the Trent 88 copy which do not occur in the other readings.

Trent 88 is easily the oldest of the surviving copies, as its compilation period (probably during the 1450's and 1460's) puts it ahead of Lucca and ModC by about ten years or more. CS 14's principal layer is probably from the 1470's. In the preceding critical notes I count more than fifteen instances where rhythms reading two semiminims plus a minim have been changed to minim plus two semiminims in concordant sources. These instances are made up of roughly half a dozen Superius and Contra passages which have been changed in all of the sources cited, but nevertheless they give a clear picture that somewhere down the line of transmission the former rhythm (which is also characteristic of some Binchois chansons and pieces in EscA) was regarded as unstylish and in need of emendation.

Likewise there is some evidence that the mensural usage in Domarto's Mass caused confusion to the copyists who were dealing with it. This seems to be evident in Trent 88 since there are signs of uncertainty in some movements. Kyrie I's outer voices have no mensuration signs, and these voices give C mensuration for the Christe as well as the Tenor primus - with no indication that the Tenor primus needs augmentation. In the Et in terra section there are similarly no outer-voice mensuration signs at the start, and the Tenor's initial dotted-C sign is given in a darker ink to the rest of the copy and is placed in the left margin. This suggests that the copyist might have checked the sign from a second parent source before inserting it. Additionally, there is some confusion in the Benedictus section. Here, cut-C in the Superius and C in the Tenor have been roughly drawn in the left margin, as has C2 in the Tenor secundus. As with the dotted-C sign previously mentioned, maybe some doubts had occurred or some checking was in progress. Trent 88 and Lucca also give C mensuration for Agnus II instead of C2. The latter seems to make more musical sense than C. In addition to these shortcomings, the Trent 88 reading has other small drawbacks. It gives a Contra variant at 30 which results in lower-voice consecutive fifths (which do not occur in the other readings) and its lower-voice texting is generally sparse.

The other readings also transmit mensural errors. Lucca shares the C mensuration error in the Christe, and also gives C for all voices in the Benedictus. It gives the Et in terra mensuration as O instead of dotted-C, and gives the Tenor primus mensuration in the Gloria's final section as C3.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Tinctoris, The Art of Counterpoint chapter 30.

⁶⁵ The preservation of what looks like two simultaneous sorts of C mensuration without further directions in Trent 88 and Lucca could be authentic, in which case Tinctoris would have been given even more material to criticise Domarto.

Lucca and all complete readings apart from ModC present a considerable number of sharps. In the Trent 88 Kyrie I there are three sharps which I have relegated to the critical notes as probably non-essential. Amongst the other Trent 88 movements there are two such sharps in the Gloria, five in the Credo, two in the Sanctus and one in the Agnus. Like Trent 88 the Lucca fragments give a moderate number of sharps, but in CS 14 there are forty notes with sharps throughout the whole Mass. Admitting many of these as probably authentic would cause problems of stability and consonance in the music, and the adding of accidentals in these related sources seems to have been accretional as CS 14 is particularly close to the Trent 88 reading. CS 14 also gives some natural signs, at least a few of which seem to be intended in their modern meaning, Poz 7022 also gives a couple of accidentals, but ModC stands alone in largely omitting them. I believe that this is for a sound reason - namely that scribes probably under the direction of Johannes Martini produced ModC as a cyclic Mass source for practical use. Therefore its readings - while not necessarily always authoritative - tend to be sensibly given. But even ModC also gives a few errors, notably that it texts the final section of the Sanctus to end with the Benedictus and therefore requires a repeat of Osanna I as a second Osanna. Performers may of course experiment with the sharps that I have removed from my score, and the recorded version of this Mass by the Binchois Consort admits some accidentals that I have discarded - notably at cadences where final chords can be made major.⁶⁶ But for me to admit that more of these sharps are necessary would be to go against previous editorial policy. For example, in the two sources for Cornágo's Mass Trent 88 is fairly full of sharps, some of which do not appear in the Kyrie and Gloria concordances in Strahov.

Lower voice texting also shows up differences between the sources. Trent 88 gives typically skeletal texting in the Contra and the Tenor secundus. What survives of Lucca is a little better, with extensive texting in the Contra and Tenor secundus of the Gloria and Sanctus. ModC provides yet more text in these voices in the Gloria and Credo, but all of these sources have the singular drawback of having a text hands which are quite large in relation to note and stave size. Hence perhaps the reluctance of the Trent copyists to text lower voices more fully, although on occasion they tried to do this.⁶⁷ Many of the underlay decisions in our edition have been made with the help of CS 14, which gives more extensive Gloria and Credo text than any of the other sources and does so in a small text hand which makes at least some word-to-note correlation possible. A similar effort at textual neatness is also evident in parts of the Verona 759 Mass collection. All of these manuscripts apart from Trent 88 appear to have been presentational or for practical use, as CS 14, ModC and Lucca all contain artwork on initials which would have taken time, staff and money to complete. This is in contrast to the Trent copies (perhaps largely intended as 'cold storage' for cyclic works which could be put to use when required) or the more casual copy in Poz 7022 which contains very little texting. These different quality standards of transmission and the likely evidence of mensural confusion in the Trent 88 copy point to imported works not always being understood thoroughly nor indeed copied carefully. Despite Poz 7022 being rediscovered in modern times in material from Lvov, it may not be local to that area and could have originated in the German-speaking lands.

Wegman traces a convincing line of development from Domarto's Mass which includes other mensural transformation works such as the lengthy *Missa Groß senen* in Trent 89, the *Missa L'ardant desir* in CS 51 and Busnois's *Missa O crux lignum*. While these works are not all directly connected, they form part of a family of pieces whose creation might have been inspired by Domarto's Mass and whose Tenors behave in similar ways to the latter. The *Missa Groß senen* was very probably composed with Domarto's Mass in mind, as it uses some of the same mensuration signs as the latter and its main second section in the Credo uses outer-voice O2 as Domarto's Mass does. It also uses diminished C against C as in Domarto's *Christe* and *Benedictus*. A further stage of development is represented by the *Missa L'ardant desir*, since the mensurally transformed Tenors are subjected here to procedures such as omissions of note stems, swapping-round of note values and turning the cantus firmus upside down - with such things being indicated by verbal canons that are sometimes

⁶⁶ Helios CD H55288 (2008) recorded together with Busnois's *Missa L'homme armé*.

⁶⁷ The Trent 91 copy of Vincenet's *Missa O gloriosa* appears to be the work of at least two scribes, one of whom added some extra lower-voice text in the Gloria and Credo. Further, see the DIAMM Trent 91 edition p. 1026.

Biblical references. Some verbal instructions with this Mass are also given in Greek.⁶⁸ Thus we see mensural transformation joining the repertory of other typically northern-tradition devices such as mensuration canon and Tenors entirely derived from verbal instructions. Further along related developmental lines we find the schematically altered Tenors of the Naples *L'homme armé* Masses and similar schematic Tenors in Obrecht's Masses and motets.

There is also a connection between the Domarto Mass and an anonymous four-voice motet in Mu 3154. The piece concerned (*Salve mundi gloria*, no. 47 in this manuscript) has an opening very much like the start of the *Spiritus almus* Gloria, and the motet also ends with a clear mimicry of measures 4-6 of the Kyrie. The text (an incompletely given and possibly central European poem Marian poem also found in Neumarkt, f. 197v) may not be authentic, but there is another resemblance to Domarto's Mass in that the so-called Tenor is the lowest voice and shares Tenor and Bassus functions like the Tenor secundus in the *Missa Spiritus almus*.⁶⁹ Unusually this lowest voice mostly moves in sustained values. The motet's style suggests that it is probably not the work of the same composer as the Mass, but it is highly likely that it was used with the *Spiritus almus* cycle as a Mass-motet combination. Despite its appearance in a manuscript largely copied in Innsbruck, the motet may be of western provenance. Finally those interested in the *Missa Spiritus almus* will no doubt also appreciate his other Mass cycle, a three-voice work in which the stylistic link between Domarto's surviving output and the sacred music of Binchois becomes quite clear.⁷⁰ Whether Domarto lived long enough to write music closer in style to that by Busnois and Hayne cannot be determined until more biographical details come to light.

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Numerology

In terms of tempora, Kyrie I and Kyrie II are of the same length but do not relate symmetrically to the length of the Christe section. Likewise, Agnus I is an 'ut supra' section but does not relate symmetrically to the length of Agnus II. Some sections total in multiples of eleven if their sectional longs are disregarded. Counted in this way the Et in terra has 66 measures, the Crucifixus has 33, and so does the first section of the Sanctus.

The total of all tempora is 751, and if measures 67-68 in the Sanctus are counted as a single measure (this is the point in which the cantus firmus is sectionally split) then there would be 750 tempora in all. However I see no way in which the various movement and section sizes make any symmetries around this figure.

Note-counts illustrate a few matching or near-matching sectional totals. The Contra and Tenor primus each have 58 notes in Kyrie I, and in the Christe the Contra nearly reaches that total again with 56. In the Christe and Kyrie II the Tenor secundus has 55 notes in each section. Possibly in the original all of these totals were once 58, which is the number of notes in the Tenor primus cantus firmus.

Multiples of eleven may feature with another purpose in this Mass: Kyrie I has 222 notes, the Patrem has 660, the first section of the Sanctus has 220 and Osanna I has 133 (very nearly 132, which is 12 x 11). Some Superius note totals also have or approach rounded totals. The Crucifixus Superius has 150 notes, the Sanctus first-section Superius has 103, the entire Sanctus Superius has 403 and the Agnus II Superius has 99. Given

⁶⁸ See Wegman, R., 'Another Mass by Busnoys?' in M & L 71 (1990) pp. 1-19.

⁶⁹ Further, see Nosow, R., Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 113-116.

⁷⁰ See Seay, A. (ed), Johannis Tinctoris Opera Theoretica (CSM 22/I, 1975) p. 154, where the Mass is named as 'Missa quinti toni irregularis' in a passage from the Tinctoris *Liber imperfectionem notarum*. Here, the theorist criticises the imperfection of an otherwise perfect long by a single semibreve (see measures 4-6 in the Tenor of the Credo on p. 394 of the DIAMM Trent 89 edition).

that Trent 88 and its concordances differ in some details, some of these totals might have once have been even hundreds.

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102. [Faugues]; Missa *Le serviteur*

- (i) Trent 88 ff. 411v-422v (DTÖ VII inventory nos 503-507). All five movements, with Kyrie attribution to 'Jo Okeghem';
- (ii) Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti, chapter 32. Citation of a small part of the Gloria's second section. The accompanying text attributes the Mass to Faugues.

The Tenor cantus firmus of this cycle (which is the Tenor of a Dufay chanson) is the same as in the Mass in Instalment 3, no. 87.

Kyrie (Trent 88 ff. 411v-413r);

[Superius] 1: the attribution 'Jo Okeghem' is given above the single custos in the two upper parts, & there is no custos in the two lower parts / 49-135: in this voice there is only the lower flat in the Superius signature, & the first 'K' of the text is a large and decorative outline majuscule at the start of the first stave. / 22,1-2: uc due to lacuna / 45: 1 E, with correcting diagonals on either side of the notehead / 135: no custos in any of the active voices here / 136-160: for this passage the flat signature is given as lower Bb plus Eb, and for the subsequent two staves only the lower Bb is given / 169: 2 & 3 are both m (emended to be imitative with the Tenor) / 175: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order in Kyrie I and Kyrie II places the Tenor above the two Contras, but all parts for the Christe section are given on f. 412r in the correct order.

Contratenor primus; 1: m sign om / 19: 5 & 6 are both sm / 27: p div follows 2 / 32,3-48: the end of Kyrie I for this voice is given on an extra hand-drawn stave at the bottom of f. 411v / 45: 7 sm / 48: following the single custos is an unnecessary clef change to C clef on the top stave line with a Bb-Eb-Bb signature (the lower Contra uses this clef, but this voice does not). Also the m sign is given before the stave in both Contras here. / 66: b ind before 66,1 / 130: p div follows 2 / 136: m sign om, and for the final section this voice is merely called 'Contratenor' / 140: a superfluous br A follows 2 / 148: 1 & 2 are dtd-m & sm, & 5 is m.

Tenor; 1: the squares of the first clef are inked in, & both at 1 and 136 the cantus firmus part's title is spelt 'Le servituer' / 5: p div follows 2 / 27 & 32: likewise / 48: the 'Tacet' instruction is given as 'Tenor criste tacet' before the higher Contra for that section on f. 412r / 138: p div follows 2.

Contratenor bassus; 1: m sign om / 12: b ind before 12,1 / 18: 2-5 are col sbr col m col m col sbr (emended, since a triplet group here would cause a little dissonance) / 24,2-48: from this point onwards (at the start of a new stave) this part is a third too high up to the section ending / 31: 1-3 are sbr sm sm (emended for the sake of consonance) / 45-48: written on an end of stave extension / 88: 1 dtd / 136: p div follows 2 / 150: 1 & 2 are both m (emended for the sake of imitation).

Underlay; fully texted in the first two Superius sections, but with only two invocations of 'Christe eleyson' in the Christe. The Tenor also has full text in Kyrie I. Sectional incipits make up the rest of the underlay, with 'Kyrie' normally being spelt as 'Kirie' and 'Christe' sometimes being given as 'Criste' and 'Xpe'. The extent of this movement (175 measures) means that all voices seem to need editorial repeats in all sections. 'Eleyson' is sometimes given as 'eleyson' and accordingly I have also added some diereases throughout, in addition to elision of two words in the Tenor at 142.

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Gloria

(i) Trent 88 ff. 413v-415r;

(ii) Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti, chapter 34 (excerpt only).

(i) Trent 88:

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from Grad Pat f. 182v (transposed a tone down), the first 'E' of the text is a large on-stave and outline majuscule, & the m sign is om. / 34: 1 & 2 not col, & 34,5 not dtd / 40: 3 E / 53,5: corr from sm / 67: 2 F / 72: 2 dtd / 88: no custos in any voice / 89: at the start of the new page, the first letter of the text is an outline majuscule given before the first stave / 190: rest uc / 231: 2 corr from m / 287: single custos in Tenor, & no custos in any other voice. The manuscript voice order places the Tenor before the two Contras.

Contratenor primus; 20: p div follows 2 / 52: 4 F / 66-67: written on an end of stave extension / 67: 1 not dtd / 78: 2 m, & 3 is E / 85,6-88: as at 66-67 / 89: on the first stave of the second page opening (89-118,1) the b sig is given as B flat only / 156: 1 & 2 col err / 157,1-5: written on a short end-of-stave extension, & 5 is sbr / 249: 2 E.

Tenor; 1: m sign om / 24: the cantus firmus text incipit is spelt 'leservituer' / 30: p div follows 2 / 36: 2 is sbr, intended for alteration / 37-38: these 2 notes are col and given as a lig with two square notes linked with a right-hand stem / 39: 2 is sbr / 49: p div follows rest / 88: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 89: m sign om / 221: 1 A / 283-287: written on an end-of-stave extension.

Contratenor bassus; 28: p div follows 2 / 48,3-50: written on an end-of-stave extension / 56,4: Trent 88 reads sm C sm B (emended for the sake of imitation) / 63,2: a '2' above this note clarifies the intended semibreve alteration / 72,2-74,1: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 78: p div follows 2 / 89: m sign om / 162: 1 D.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with more or less complete text in the Contra primus. The lower voices have sectional incipits plus cues at 'Cum sancto Spiritu'. The texting in this copy is rather compressed and therefore probably not that useful for editorial underlay purposes. The following editorial repeats seem necessary throughout. Contratenor primus: two repeats of 'Rex' (at 46 and 47), 'Domine Fili' (58-59), 'Agnus' (74-77), 'Qui sedes' (164-172) and 'Spiritu' (241-244). Contratenor bassus: 'Domine Fili' (58-60) & 'solus sanctus' (207-216). Some of these repeats are made necessary by imitative texture. 'Christe' is given as 'criste' for three of its four occurrences in the two upper voices, with 'xpe' being given instead at 230.

(ii) Tinctoris, Liber de arte contrapuncti, chapter 34;

This section of Tinctoris's treatises deals with 'false concords' and how they might be avoided, and as the first of three short examples respectively by Faugues, Busnois and Caron it gives the two lowest voices of the Gloria at the second-section entry point (159-171). The Tenor is identical with the Trent 88 reading except that 170 is not ligd, and there is a cs over 169 to indicate where the 'false concord' occurs (i.e. E flat against A below). In the Contratenor bassus (called 'Contratenor' here) 163 is not ligd, and 169 is again marked with a cs. Tinctoris says: "Nevertheless I have found the opposite very often in countless composers, even the most famous, such as Faugues in the mass *Le serviteur*, in Busnoys in the chanson *Je ne demande*, and in Caron likewise in a chanson that is called *Helas...*" (the translation here is after the online version of Tinctoris's theoretical works, ed. by Ronald Woodley and Jeffrey Dean).

Credo (Trent 88 ff. 415v-417r);

[Superius]; 1: the intonation is supplied from LU 1997 p. 64 (transposed a tone down), the m sign is om, and the first letter of the text is an outline majuscule in the left margin. / 71,1: this high E is preceded by an 'F' written before the leger line to indicate the upper limit of the *gamut* / 86: no custos in any voice except the Contra primus, which has a single custos / 87: m sign given before first stave on a new page-opening, & only given in this voice and the Tenor / 126: ns / 161: 2 A / 181: 1 om (conj supplied) / 269: 3 uc / 276: no custos in any voice. The manuscript voice order places the Tenor before the two Contras.

Contra [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete on both page openings / 43: 3 & 4 are both sm / 52,2: b ind above 51,3 / 66: 2 uc / 85,5-86: written on a short end of stave extension / 102: erasures follow 102,3 / 142: 1 uc / 146: cs given over 145,1 by mistake / 243,3-244,1: written on a short end of stave extension, & 243,4 is B / 251-255: this passage is om from the main stave. The omission is indicated by a plus sign, and a plus sign also accompanies the insertion in the left margin which gives the missing notes. / 260: 2 E.

Tenor; 1-26: in both this voice and the Contra bassus, 24 breve rests are given at the start (26 are needed in each voice). Also the Tenor m sign is given before the first Tenor stave. / 25: the cantus firmus title is given as 'leservituer' / 29: p div follows 2 / 34, 67 & 81: likewise / 87: as at the start, the initial rests at the beginning of the second section are inaccurate in both lower voices. 55 breve rests are given in each voice, but 59 are needed. / 253: ns.

Contra bassus; 42: p div follows 2 / 52 & 54: likewise / 78: 2 E / 162-163: ns.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with almost full texting in the Contra primus plus sectional cues and a few internal cues in the two lower voices. This setting of the Credo omits 'Et iterum... est per Prophetas' at 186-191, and in view of the substantial portion of text omitted I have not attempted editorial telescoping here. As in the Gloria some editorial repeats are needed throughout. These are as follows. Superius: 'Qui propter nos' (71) and 'Ecclesiam' (218-222). Contra primus: 'omnium' (15), 'per quem omnia' (62-63), 'Qui propter' (69), 'propter' (73-74), 'et apostolicam Ecclesiam', plus a further rpt of 'Ecclesiam' as well (206-222). Tenor: 'Qui propter nos' (72). Contra bassus: 'lumine' (45-47), 'per quem omnia' (61-63), 'Qui propter nos' (70) & 'catholicam' (197-203). Some of these repeats are prompted by imitative writing. As with the Gloria Tenor, the Tenor here can only accept a few phrases of text per section and the amount of editorial note-splitting in my score is minimal. In both upper voices at 25-27 'Christum' is given as 'xpum', and in the same parts at 191-192 'catholicam' is spelt 'katholicam'.

Sanctus (Trent 88 ff. 417v-420r);

[Superius]; 1: m sign om / 59: single instead of double custos / 60-172: for all of this voice in the Pleni sunt and Osanna sections, only the lower Bb of the sig is given / 131: 3 C / 139: as at 59 / 142: 3 A (emended because of the identical passage at Agnus measure 150 with a more conventional cambiata figure) / 172: single instead of double custos / 183: 2 F / 240: 1 uc / 252: 'Osanna ut supra' given in all three active voices. The manuscript voice order places the Tenor before the two Contras.

Contratenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete, & for all of the first section (1-59) the Eb in the sig is lacking / 22: 1 & 2 are both m, & 4 is om (conj supplied) / 47: 1 is sbr / 139: single custos / 172: likewise / 235: 2-4 are F G A / 252: single custos in both Contra parts here.

Tenor; 1: the cantus firmus title is spelt 'leservituer' / 51-59: 4 measures of rests are given (9 are needed) / 59: 'verte folium' is given following 'Pleni tacet', and on the following page 'Pleni tacet' is repeated with a blank piece of stave & a single custos following. / 172: no 'Tacet' direction given.

Contratenor bassus; 1-59 & 172: the first and third sections of this part are written on six-line staves / 3: p div follows 2 / 8: 2 B (altered to anticipate the Superius at measure 9) / 36: 1 L, colored / 39: p div follows 2 / 59: single custos / 60: m sign om, and at 60-83 28 breve rests are given (24 are needed) / 112,2-114: written on a short end-of-stave extension / 134-135,2: likewise / 146: p div follows 2 / 157: as at 112 / 159-172: this last stave of the Osanna section is added on a hand-drawn stave at the bottom of the page / 173: m sign om / 252: single custos.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius with almost full text in the Contra primus, partial text in the Contra bassus, and sectional incipits in the Tenor. At 103-108 the Contra primus needs an editorial repeat of 'et terra'. Otherwise in this very extended Sanctus no further text repeats seem to be required.

Agnus (ff. 420v-422v);

[Superius]; 1: in the two topmost parts the m signs are each given before first staves / 14-24,2: on the second Superius stave (which consists of this passage) only the lower flat in the sig is given / 26: 4 m / 148: m sign om. The manuscript voice order places the Tenor before the two Contras.

Contratenor [primus]; 1: the voice name is incomplete / 21: rest uc, & 21,6 is not dtd / 24: 2 D / 34 & 35,1: these two notes are col / 145,4-147: written on a short end-of-stave extension.

Tenor; 4: p div follows 2 / 24-32: 8 breve rests are given (9 are needed) / 32: 'Tacet' direction given as 'Agnus Dei 2us tacet in isto tenore' / 158: p div follows 2 / 171,3-173: the end of the Tenor is given above the main part at the end of the stave which contains the close of the Superius.

Contra bassus; 18: 2 C / 30: 3 & 4 are both m / 133: 1 A / 148: m sign om.

Underlay; fully texted in the Superius, with almost complete text in the Contra primus and sectional incipits plus a few internal cues in the two lower voices. At 16-18 the Contra primus needs a rpt of 'peccata', & at 163-164 the Contra bassus needs a rpt of 'mundi'.

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Structure

Currently there are four known Masses based on Dufay's famous Rondeau *Le serviteur* plus a Credo by De Orto, motets by various composers which also use the song, and a host of secular derivatives.⁷¹ Mass I is in Trent 88 and is given in Instalment 3 of this edition. Mass II is in Trent 89, and the present Faugues Mass only occurs completely in Trent 88. The fourth *Le serviteur* Mass is by Agricola. It is fitting that this description of the Faugues Mass comes almost at the conclusion of my written work on cyclic Masses, since this piece has long been recognised as an outstanding example of its type and has also attracted attention due to its quotational methods foreshadowing later parody technique. It is also extensive: the Kyrie has more measures than the 167-measure Kyrie to Touront's Missa *Mon oeil*, its Gloria has more measures than those in the *Mon oeil* and *Groß senen* Masses, and in terms of measures the four sections of its Sanctus are almost as long as the five-section Sanctus in the *Groß senen* Mass too. In terms of Faugues's known output the Missa *Le serviteur* seems to be a developed example of his style because of its use of outer-voice borrowed material, but it is possibly not the most advanced work of his that is now extant. This is because a partial reconstruction of the lost model for Faugues's Missa *Je suis en la mer* likewise shows that work to feature a probably high percentage of outer-voice material from its parent piece.⁷²

In order to discuss Faugues's *Le serviteur* Mass effectively this description is divided into five sections, respectively dealing with the Tenor cantus firmus and voice dispositions, motto material, quotations from the model song in the outer voices, difficulties with accidentals, and a general conclusion. Despite the respect with which this piece is generally treated in music histories, it is quite a difficult work to deal with and it therefore seems to require a clinical account of its features.

1. Tenor cantus firmus and voice dispositions.

All full sections of this Mass feature the song's Tenor as a Tenor cantus firmus, and in the first three movements there are two cantus firmus statements per movement. In all movements the Tenors are presented in differing rhythms but they remain fairly faithful to the pitches of the cantus firmus. The Gloria and Credo are bipartite and both have delayed entry cantus firmus in all of their sections. The Kyrie has a Tenorless trio as its Christe section. The Sanctus and Agnus only have two full sections per movement, and in each of these movements the cantus firmus is given once but split into two halves. The Pleni sunt, Benedictus and Agnus II sections are Tenorless trio sections like the Christe. The following example numbers the Tenor notes of the song, since in the subsequent table (clarifying Tenor layout) the final column shows that Faugues occasionally omits and changes notes in the cantus firmus.

⁷¹ Further, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs...* pp. 251-254.

⁷² See Schuetze, G., *An Introduction to Faugues* (New York, 1960) pp. 26-28, 48 and 52.

4.14. Dufay, *Le serviteur*,⁷³

Le ser - vi - teur hault guer - don -

Ct

T

Le 1 2 3 ser 4 - 5 6 vi 7 - 8 teur hault 9 guer 10 11 12 don 13 -

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

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

10 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

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

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

15 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46

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

- ce. Me trou - ve

47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56

⁷³ This example is identical to the version of the song given in Instalment 3 pp. 996-997 and is based on the version in Hanen, M. (ed), *The Chansonnier Escorial IV.a.24* (3 vols, The Institute of Medieval Music, 1983), III, pp. 272-275.

20

par la pour - ve - an - - ce

57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67

25

D'ung tout seul mot bien

68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87

30

or - - don - - né.

88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105

TABLE 4.7

Tenor cantus firmus layout in the Faugues Missa *Le serviteur*

Section	Use	Discrepancies with song Tenor
Kyrie I	Whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	Note 38 duplicated, & note 57 om.
Christe	Tenorless trio	
Kyrie II	Delayed entry whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	B added after note 20, & note 57 om.
Et in terra	Delayed entry whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	Note 18 changed to D, note 57 om, & C added after note 88.
Qui tollis	Delayed entry whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	Note 57 om.
Patrem	Delayed entry whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	Notes 18, 26 & 57 om, & C added after note 88.

(Table 4.7, contd.)

Section	Use	Discrepancies with song Tenor
Et incarnatus	Delayed entry whole Tenor with varied rhythm.	Note 57 om, & G added after note 63.
Sanctus	Notes 1-47 with varied rhythm (first half of cantus firmus) with rests following.	Note 18 om.
Pleni sunt	Tenorless trio	
Osanna	Notes 48-end with varied rhythm (second half of cantus firmus).	Notes 51 & 57 om, & C added after note 88.
Benedictus	Tenorless trio	
Agnus I	Notes 1-47 with varied rhythm (first half of cantus firmus) with rests following.	B added after note 20, & note 26 om.
Agnus II	Tenorless trio	
Agnus III	Notes 48-end with varied rhythm (second half of cantus firmus) with rests interpolated after note 67.	Notes 51 & 57 om, & F added after note 93.

The 57th note of the cantus firmus is consistently omitted. Variations in rhythm include stretching of some Tenor pitches in the Gloria and Credo second sections to maxima length enabling varied harmonies to be written around the borrowed material. Voice ranges in this Mass are wide. This is partly to do with the model song having equally wide ranges. In all movements the Superius and Contra bassus each have the range of an octave and a sixth, and in the three central movements the Contra primus has the same span. Part of the reason why the Contra bassus reaches high E flat is because of participation in imitative material taken from the song. In the non-cantus-firmus trio sections all active voices exploit these wide ranges to effect a range of duet textures, passages with a middle part like a filler Contra, and also passages with the lower Contra acting as a real bass. Only two mensurations are used throughout (O and cut-C) with all movements alternating these sectionally, and sesquialtera only occurs in short patches at the end of the Christe and in the Et in terra.

2. Motto material.

This *Le serviteur* Mass applies motto openings in a more thorough way than in many cyclic Masses, with the longest song-related Superius motto references being in the Kyrie I, the Patrem and the Sanctus. The following list describes motto openings as they appear in each section.

Kyrie I: measures 1-12,1 strongly resemble measures 1-9 of the song Superius.

Christe: the opening is free.

Kyrie II: measures 136-149 also resemble the song Superius at 1-9,1.

Et in terra: Superius measures 1-7,1 strongly resemble the song Superius at 1-5,1, and the Contra primus in the same passage resembles the start of the song Tenor.

Qui tollis: the Superius is not song-related, but its opening vaguely resembles that of the Christe Superius.

Patrem: Superius measures 1-13 strongly resemble the song Superius at 1-9,1, and the Contra primus at 1-7,1 vaguely resembles the start of the song Tenor.

Et incarnatus: the Superius is not song-related, but its opening resembles that of the Gloria's Qui tollis section.

Sanctus: measures 1-12,1 strongly resemble measures 1-5 of the song Superius.

Pleni sunt: the opening is free.

Osanna: free outer voices around the Tenor cantus firmus.

Benedictus: this Superius opening resembles the Christe Superius opening.

Agnus I: measures 1-8,1 strongly resemble measures 1-5,1 of the song Superius.

Agnus II: Superius 33-48,1 elaborates the song Superius at 1-5,1 in duple rhythm.

Agnus III: the opening is identical to the Osanna opening.

As can be seen, there is a degree of melodic correlation even between the openings of internal duple sections. Some internal entries where all four parts sound after a delayed entry introductory duet also feature Superius passages similar to the song Superius opening, and the most significant of these are dealt with in the following section. Most full sections also end with reference to the song's ending, with the Agnus I ending being the singular exception here.

3. Quotations from the model song in the outer voices.

This section deals with borrowed material from the song largely in the vertical sense, whereas section 1 dealt with linear cantus firmus. Therefore in the following description the cited activity of the Tenor by necessity duplicates some material already covered in section 1. This is because the lines of the Tenor are essential to description of how Faugues reworks three-voice imitative material from the song.

In addition to the song's opening there are five internal passages from the song which are re-used throughout, and four of these are imitative. These are as follows.

1. The three-voice passage of unison imitation in the song at 10-11 (with the entry order Tenor-Superius-Contra), which I shall call passage 1.
2. The three-voice unison imitation in the song starting at measure 15 with the entry order Contra-Tenor-Superius leading to a cadence on G at 23,1 (which I shall call passage 2).
3. The song Superius alone at 23,2-25, which I shall call passage 3. This passage generally acts as a lead to passage 4 below, but reasons for labelling passage 3 separately will become apparent in due course.
4. The Tenor-Contra-Superius unison imitation passage at 24-27,2, which is called passage 4 here.
5. The song's ending (beginning with the Tenor-Superius imitation at 27 and extending to 33) which I shall call passage 5.

Items 2 and 5 above are of course more than mere melodic motives, but labelling them enables to see how Faugues created effective musical mirroring of the song by restating, recombining and reworking these excerpts. They would of course be memorable to anybody who knew the song, and in turn they are connected to my section 4 discussion of how editorial accidentals in the Mass might be applied sensibly. The following movemental descriptions attempt to locate all song-related material throughout this Mass, and it is assumed that when a passage is cited in the following lists its appearance is rarely identical to its equivalent occurrence in the song.

Kyrie:

Kyrie I. After the motto (1-12,1) the following song-derived material is found.

21-29: passage 1 occurs in a modified form with the imitative order Superius-Contra bassus-Tenor-Contra primus.

35-section ending at 48: passage 5 is treated elaboratively, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius plus non-imitative Contra primus.

It should be noted that Kyrie I's ending provides the most complex reworking of the song's ending throughout.

Christe. At 105-107 in the Contra primus passage 3 occurs in duple rhythm, pitched a fourth lower than its usual pitch starting on G.

105-115: passage 4 occurs with the imitative order Contra bassus-Superius-Contra primus starting on Bb instead of the more usual Eb, and the melodic material here is based on the song's Tenor line in passage 4 rather than the texture of the song's other parts.

Kyrie II. After the motto (136-149) a shortened version of passage 1 is found at 149-151, with the imitative order Contra primus-Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius.

155-163: passage 2 is occurs here with the imitative order Superius-Contra primus-Tenor-Contra bassus, and with motivic repetition in the Superius at 158-160 an octave higher than at the usual pitch.

163,2-165: passage 3 in the Superius.

164-169: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra primus-Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius.

169-section ending at 175: passage 5 is treated elaboratively, with the imitative order Tenor-Contra primus-Superius-Contra bassus.

It should be noted that Kyrie II effectively paraphrases or reworks the whole song, a fact obscured by the passage at 152-155 leading to a cadence on D which (unlike in the song at the same point) does not seem to need E flats. I will return to the status of Kyrie II in this Mass in due course.

Gloria.

Et in terra. After the motto (1-7,1) a shortened version of passage 1 is at 44-47, with the imitative order Superius-Contra bassus-Tenor plus non-imitative Contra primus.

55-63: passage 2 occurs, with an anticipatory Contra primus at 55-56 and the imitative order Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius.

67-72: the Contra bassus anticipates a modified version of passage 3 at 67-69, followed by passage 3 in the Superius at 70-72.

73-section end (88): passage 5 occurs with the imitative order Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor-Contra primus.

Qui tollis. Following the initial duet, the Superius at the first full entry (162-182) resembles the song Superius opening at 1-5,1.

236-253: passage 2 occurs, with an anticipatory Contra primus and the imitative order Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor.

255-259: passage 3 in the Superius, with the immediately preceding Contra bassus and imitative Tenor being reminiscent of the song's Contra at 23-24.

256-265: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius plus non-imitative Contra primus.

266-section end (287): passage 5, with the imitative order Tenor-Superius plus the other parts being non-imitative.

It will be noticed that although the Qui tollis section works through some of the song material loosely, it uses all five motives listed at the start of this section.

Credo.

Patrem. After the motto (1-13), the Superius at 15,6-19,1 resembles the Superius of part of passage 5.

20-22,1: the Superius here is like the Tenor in passage 4, but here the relevant material begins on Bb rather than on Eb a fifth below.

27-36: the Superius is loosely like measures 1-5 of the song Superius.

58-67: passage 2, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Contra primus-Tenor-Superius.

69,2-5: passage 3 in the Superius.

69-74: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra primus-Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor.

74-section end (86): passage 5, with the imitative order Tenor-Superius plus the other parts being non-imitative.

Et incarnatus. 115-118: the imitative Superius and Contra primus resemble the song's Superius at 1-2,1.
 119-123: the Superius resembles the start of the passage 5 Superius here.
 218-222: passage 3 in the Superius, transposed a tone up.
 220-242: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius plus a non-imitative Contra primus.
 244-248: passage 3 in the Superius, with the immediately preceding and imitative Contra bassus and Tenor resembling the song's Contra at 23-24.
 245-254: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Tenor-Superius plus a non-imitative Contra primus.
 255-section end (276): passage 5, with the imitative order Tenor-Superius plus the other parts being non-imitative.

Note that the first two entries above for the Patrem section give two allusional passages that are not in melodic order, and also note the transposed song material at 218-222.

Sanctus

Following the motto at 1-12, the section end (53-59) has a modified version of passage 5 with a non-imitative start, and only the Superius and two Contras are involved.

Pleni sunt (free).

Osanna: at 159-172 (the section end) is another modified version of passage 5, with the imitative order Superius-Tenor-Contra bassus and non-imitative Contra primus.

Benedictus: the Superius opening of this section (173-195,1) consists of a passage which seems to be a very elaborative version of the song Superius at 1-3,1.

Agnus

Agnus I: following the motto (1-8,1) passage 4 occurs at 14-19,1 with the imitative order Contra primus-Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor.

Agnus II: the Superius opening of this section (33-48,1) is very like the song Superius at 1-5.1.

Agnus III: at 159-161 passage 3 occurs in the Superius.

161-165: passage 4, with the imitative order Contra primus-Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor.

165-section end (173): passage 5, with the imitative order Contra bassus-Superius-Tenor plus non-imitative Contra primus.

To summarise, the most important points in these movemental lists are the number of imitative points with varied entry orders, and the way in which imitative points taken from the song are shortened, lengthened, and altered in other ways such as with brief internal repetition. My comments following some of the items also show that song material is sometimes transposed, and in the Credo at 15-22 two song-derived passages occur in succession which are not in their correct parent-piece order. This is unusual in derivative Masses dating from before the 1480's, and by comparison the Vincenet Missa *O gloriosa* in [Trent 91](#) (another work which contains much referential outer-voice parent material) has no such re-orderings throughout. Barbingant's three-voice Missa *Terriblement* in [Verona 759](#) (a straightforward Tenor Mass with referential Superius

quotations from its model) also seems not to re-order any of its important segments of borrowed material.⁷⁴

4. Difficulties with accidentals

The ‘false consonance’ problem in fifteenth-century studies is well-known and results in situations where there seem to be sustained B flats with an E below prior to final cadential notes, or sometimes there are similar situations with pre-cadential E flats with an A below them. Only rarely do diminished intervals seem to be legitimate on sustained values, and only then because all other solutions seem unrealistic.⁷⁵ Derivatives of the *Le serviteur* song tend have false-consonance problems for the following reason: the original song featured no perfect cadences on D, and where such cadences supplant the older doubled-leading-note progression the pre-cadential diminished construct A with Eb above is likely to occur because the *Le serviteur* Tenor has a twin-flat signature.⁷⁶

Therefore in this Mass such cadences as the ones at Kyrie 2-3 and Gloria 53-55 pose problems because the resulting dissonance either has to be tolerated or accidentals have to be applied to the Tenor and other parts too. There are - of course - no unequivocally ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers with such passages, but I prefer to apply E naturals and sharpened Superius leading-notes at such cadences to avoid unconventional progressions. This policy seems to be the least worst alternative in this particular Mass because the D perfect cadence formula occurs frequently, and sometimes using sustained values too. Treating these passages in any other way would result in a very strange-sounding Mass indeed.

A related problem also occurs with the A flats that the song seems to need as editorial accidentals, particularly towards its end. Where A-G progressions that are song-related are harmonised with the perfect-cadence bass formula D G beneath, flattening the A that occurs before G will also create false consonances as at Kyrie measure 173. However doing without the A flats or distorting the end of the well-known song into a ‘major’ version with E naturals both seem to be the wrong solutions here - firstly because the unflattened A’s would sound unstylish, and secondly because no source for the original song - so far as I know - calls for E naturals towards its close. I have therefore found it necessary to tolerate brief false consonances of the D – A flat type in this Mass because they never last for more than a minim in O mensuration, and also because tolerating them preserves what seems to be the characteristic minor mode of the song at its ending.⁷⁷

As regards the Superius of this Mass, many E flats have to be added as editorial accidentals to a degree which some might see as tiresome, but imposing a twin-flat signature on the Superius is probably not right because there are passages throughout where E flats do not seem to be called for (see Kyrie 49-59, and the Agnus Superius at 10-11 and 57-71). Likewise, where some editorial A flats need to be added these create temporary diminished progressions which are best tolerated (see Kyrie 41-42, Sanctus 15 and 170). Some diminished intervals even occur in duet passages (see Credo 17 and Sanctus 195).

A fourth problem with accidentals in this Mass is that editorial D flats occasionally seem to be required (see Sanctus, 66 and 182). While application of D flat here and there relieves melodic difficulties, these can also create temporary diminished intervals (see Credo 108 and 131, and also Sanctus 76).

⁷⁴ Published in Meier, B. (ed), *Jacobi Barbireau Opera Omnia* (CMM 7, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1954), I, pp. 52-67. Further, see Daniskas, J., ‘Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der parodie-techniek’ in *TVNM* XVII (1948), pp. 21-43.

⁷⁵ For examples see the DIAMM [Trent 89](#) edition p. 1020 Example 4.11 (featuring a very strange cadence in the *Missa De cuer*) and also p. 710 regarding unavoidable false consonances in Caron’s *Missa Clemens et benigna*.

⁷⁶ Neither is *Le serviteur* the only ‘twice-transposed Dorian’ piece to suffer at the hands of revisors who added new Contra parts. The three- and four-part versions of Molinet’s *Tart ara* have similar difficulties (see Fallows *op. cit.* pp. 382-383 for the sources of this piece and its later derivatives).

⁷⁷ The fairly recent recording of this Mass by the ensemble *The Sound and the Fury* (CD ORF SACD 3025, 2008) follows a policy on accidentals quite different from this edition.

Lastly, false relations or near-false relations seem to be a feature of this Mass (see Kyrie measure 6, Gloria 86 and 276, Credo 119 and 265, Sanctus 50-54 and 64, and Agnus 65-66). Again, attempts to avoid them seem to make poorer music than actually exists with the supposedly ‘offending’ passages present, so I have allowed them to occur where the progressions of individual parts suggests them as the least worst of alternatives.

5. Conclusion

It would be wrong to leave this Mass without comment that it is very well-worked. Some appreciation of its finer points aside from musical borrowing is also needed. The activity level of the higher Contra is particularly close to the activity of the Superius in both full Kyrie sections, and this may be for a reason: namely that Kyrie I and Kyrie II were probably intended to have matching note totals in their two topmost parts (see the numerology section for details). I also commented in section 3 that Kyrie I provides the most complex reworking of the song’s ending at its sectional ending, and also that Kyrie II seems to be the section which most clearly paraphrases or reworks nearly all of the song throughout its length. It is therefore suggestible that the Kyrie was written after all of the other movements had been completed, and that Kyrie II is intended as a ‘summa’ or best presentation of the musical ideas previously reworked. It would also be wrong to leave the impression that this Mass distils the *Le serviteur* song without having any contrapuntal life of its own. Not only are the largely free trio sections wonderfully extended, but the extended duple sections of the Gloria and Credo also supply extended introductory duets and freely imitative full-section material in their own right. Like the trios in the Faugues *Bassedanse* Mass, the trio sections here are worthy of close study in their use of melodic integration, strict and casual imitation, cadential drive passages and long melodic lines.

There must also be some question as to how the more complex full sections of this Mass were put together. It is commonly believed that composers used erasable slates to work out passages of polyphonic music, but in view of the frequency of vertical considerations in the quotational makeup of this Mass I think it likely that at least some passages (probably those involving passage 5 previously discussed) were probably worked out and then put aside prior to final assembly. Otherwise we might have the countenance the idea of fifteenth-century composers with Bachian contrapuntal abilities who could summon up imitative recombinations with speed and faultless skill, which I think is unlikely.

As in some of his other Masses, Faugues leaves Osanna II to be sung ‘ut supra’ and he also repeats other musical material. Agnus III begins with the same music as the Osanna. It will also be noticed that there is a slight textural difference between the first three movements’ initial full sections and the less dense and less quotational opening sections of the Sanctus and Agnus. This is because these two sections only use half the amount of cantus firmus given in previous movements, and are therefore perhaps more prone to outer-voice clichés suitable with long note cantus firmus Tenors.

This Mass also has a varied palette of musical colours, such as the unexpectedly major start of the Christe, and likewise unexpectedly major-mode passages in Agnus II at 56-72 and 136-143. The modal shift in the Benedictus at 184-210 is also highly unusual, as is the upward transposition of a single example of borrowed material by a second at Credo, 218-222. Likewise, some of the Tenor passages with more extended notes have inventive harmonies woven around them (see Credo 148-164). Throughout, the lower voices remain fairly inactive in full sections and there are no significant lower voice reduced-scoring passages in four-part work. There are also small stylistic features which rarely occur in other fifteenth century Masses, such as the hung-over Superius cadential phrase at Gloria 114-115, and the equally unusual Superius cadence figure at 189-190 in the same movement. The density of some fully-scored passages perhaps also makes it easy to see why this Mass was misattributed to Ockeghem.

As is also typical of Faugues, occasional oddities in terms of partwriting occur throughout. There are upper-voice consecutive fifths at Kyrie 93, Sanctus 52 and 154-155 and Agnus 131-132. The Pleni sunt section also features a short passage where the two voices retain minim movement despite the progressions involved being briefly dissonant (see Sanctus, 127-128). Likewise the Superius at Gloria 231 is briefly dissonant in a fully-

scored passage, and there is an unusual handling of dissonance in a duet passage at Gloria 5-6. But throughout the composer retains superb control of his rather hard-to-handle borrowed material. I only find one passage throughout to be questionable in terms of where the implied accidentals seem to lead us: this is at the start of the temporary trio which ends the first Sanctus section at 50-54. Here, the fairly quick succession of E flat, E natural and then E flat again in the outermost voices seems to be slightly wanting, but to accidentalise this passage in any other way would perhaps make it sound less satisfactory. However this single shortcoming hardly affects the quality of what must be one of the most fascinating and beautiful Mass cycles of its period, and I hope that the way in which I have put together my score and considered the issue of accidentals gives it the best of possible presentations.

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Numerology

Like Faugues's *Missa La bassedanse* this Mass seems to show evidence of individual movemental and sectional number planning (see no. 123 in the DIAMM [Trent 91](#) edition). My numerical work on that Mass also suggested that a number scheme might have been present which was not carried through in all movements of the work. Curiously, the same might apply to the *Le serviteur* Mass. Details are given below. If the Gloria was written first of all, this might explain some of the near-matching note totals involved therein (despite similar near-matching totals in the Kyrie, this movement might not have been written first in view of its complexity). Some sections in this Mass have active parts after the final construct of each section has been reached (i.e. at the end of Kyrie I) so there is some flexibility as to how 'removing sectional longs' might be applied for counting purposes.

In terms of tempora, two sections consist of 80 measures each (the two trios in the Sanctus) and Kyrie II is numerically related in having 40 measures.

If the movemental final long is removed from the Kyrie, the totals of the sections are respectively 48, 87 and 39 measures. This produces a Christe section which has exactly 50% of the measures in the movement, as follows.

48	27.58%
87	50%
39	22.41%

A similar result can be obtained in the Agnus if the measure totals are slightly revised. The totals of the three sections in Agnus II are respectively 32, 115 and 26 measures. By altering these totals slightly (to 32, 114 and 25) the number of measures in Agnus II add up to 66.66% of the movemental measure total.

32	18.71%
114	66.66%
25	14.61%

In terms of note-counts some surprising results turn up. Four sections (the outer Kyrie sections, the Et in terra and Agnus I) have near-matching note totals in their two uppermost voices.

Kyrie I	Superius: 162	Contra primus: 157
Kyrie II	Superius: 147	Contra primus: 146
Et in terra	Superius: 318	Contra primus: 316
Agnus I	Superius: 122	Contra primus: 126

At least some of these sections may have originally had identical totals in these voices.

The number of Tenor notes per section is usually determined by the cantus firmus, resulting just over a hundred notes per movement for the first six full sections. Likewise, the full Tenor sections in the Sanctus respectively consist of 45 and 57 Tenor notes, and the full sections in the Agnus respectively have 47 and 57 notes.

The Contra bassus in the Gloria has 160 notes in each section, and excluding sectional longs the Benedictus trio consists of 444 notes. Further on this section, the note totals for the voices in descending order are 168, 181 and 99 notes with sectional longs included. If we alter these totals slightly as follows, within this section the middle voice has exactly 40% of the notes calculated as follows.

Superius	167	= 37.95% of 440 notes
Contra altus	176	= 40% of 440 notes
Contra bassus	97	= 22.04% of 440 notes

This last calculation may be a little too contrived for some readers, but it is nevertheless pleasing to find that at least two of the lengthy and ambitious trio sections in this Mass seem to contain symmetries. It is probably also noteworthy that the Agnus movements of all three *Le serviteur* Masses in the Trent Codices seem to contain elements of numerical planning.

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SIGLA FOR PRIMARY SOURCES AND SELECTIVE SECONDARY SOURCES NOT CITED OR
INFREQUENTLY CITED IN PREVIOUS INSTALMENTS
(secondary sources are asterisked).

<u>AS</u> *	Frere, W. (ed), Antiphonale Sarisburiense (6 vols, London, 1901-25)
<u>CGC 512</u>	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms 512/543 (non-musical fourteenth century manuscript with musical insertions of English origin)
<u>Chigi</u>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Chigi C.VIII.234 (the Chigi manuscript)
<u>CS 14</u>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina ms 14
<u>CS 51</u>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina ms 51
<u>Florence 176</u>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms Magl. xix.176

<u>Florence 2356</u>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms 2356
<u>GS</u> *	Frere, W. (ed), Graduale Sarisburiense (2 vols, London, 1894)
<u>ModC</u>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, ms α .M.1.13
<u>Neumarkt</u>	Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, ms 58 (<i>olim</i> Breslau, Diözesanarchiv, ms 58; the Neumarkt Cantionale of 1474)
<u>Poz 7022</u>	Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, ms 7022 (fifteenth-century fragments found in a sixteenth-century accounts book from Lvov)
<u>Siena K.I.2</u>	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms K.I.2 (a fragmentary and later fifteenth century source for sacred polyphony)
<u>TuB</u>	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Codex J.II.9, section B (the polyphonic part of a combined chant and polyphony source whose repertory is originally from Cyprus, ca. 1420)

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